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Faculty of Arts and Humanities

History

Southampton's Maritime Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

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This thesis examines the trade of Southampton in the late eighteenth century, focussing particularly on the 1770s, a period which has not hitherto been the subject of any empirical study. Through a detailed analysis of the town's shipping patterns it provides new information and data about the patterns of Southampton's maritime trade. The development of a database, for the first time quantifying the shipping information published in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, offers evidence of a complex and wide ranging trade network, which included Southampton's neighbouring ports. The data analysis carried out for this project shows that, rather than merely a bilateral relationship with London, Britain's overwhelmingly largest port, Southampton's maritime trade was multifaceted, with goods imported to the port from domestic and foreign locations and transhipped to other destinations both near and far. The port saw just a small number of regular traders and most vessels called only occasionally, indicating that for many vessels Southampton served as an intermediate stop on longer journeys rather than the main destination. Southampton's close connections with the Channel Islands were particularly important and there is evidence that the inhabitants of the islands depended on the cargoes shipped from Southampton for their daily lives. The analysis of the *Hampshire Chronicle* demonstrates how the wars of the late eighteenth century had an impact on the maritime trade of Southampton and on the daily lives of its inhabitants, offering opportunities for increased profits, particularly for shipowners, but also threats to both ships and seafarers.

Southampton's Maritime Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century

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RESEARCH THESIS: DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

Print name: Maria Newbery

Title of thesis: Southampton's Maritime Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century

I 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.

I confirm that:

This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

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;

Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

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;

I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

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;

None of this work has been published before submission

Signature: Date: 1 December 2020

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NOTE ON SHIP NAMES

In common with scholarly convention, all ship names have been italicised, except when appearing as part of a quote where the name appears as in the original.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Southampton has declined gradually in trade, since the beginning of the last century [...] But if it has decreased in trade, it is increased prodigiously in splendor and elegance. And many gentlemen of fortune have come to settle here, since it has become so polite a place.¹

This traditional view of eighteenth-century Southampton as an attractive town with no trade of any importance has been reiterated as fact in guides and histories since the 1760s. However, until now very little empirical work has been done to study Southampton's trade in this period, in the decades before the arrival of steam-powered ships. This thesis explores Southampton's seaborne trade in the late eighteenth century. Through a detailed analysis of the town's patterns of trade, particularly in the 1770s, it quantifies, analyses and examines commercial contacts and networks with particular focus on the vessels that carried the trade and the men that sailed them, a group not often included in histories of British trade in this period. One of the key questions investigated in this study is the impact on Southampton's trade by the outbreak or threat of war, a frequent occurrence in the last decades of the eighteenth century. In answering this question, and in using sources which have hitherto only been used in a limited way to investigate the trade of provincial English ports, this thesis will address an omission in the existing historical research.

The historiography of eighteenth-century maritime trade

Maritime, particularly naval, history has long been an integral part of the histories of nations, initially primarily embraced by non-academic historians. In Britain, the formation of the Navy Records Society in 1893 by a group of naval officers, journalists, civil servants, and academics was an example of the thriving interest in naval history, which also saw the early stages of the development of maritime history as an academic discipline. Although the stated aim of the Society was political, namely 'to publish documents on the history of the Royal Navy in order to influence naval policy and doctrine', its publications helped to promote primary research by making sources more widely available. The next step in this development was the launch in 1910 of the Society for Nautical Research. The new organisation's purpose was explicitly to encourage 'research into matters relating to seafaring and shipbuilding in all ages among all nations, into the language and customs of the sea, and into other subjects of nautical interest'.

¹ Anon., *The Southampton Guide* (Southampton: T. Baker, 1775), p. 20.

Chapter 1

Early articles in the Society's journal, *Mariner's Mirror*, included 'Eminent Marine Artists', 'Round-Sterned Ships' and 'A Bibliography of Nautical Dictionaries'.²

A widening of the topics researched by academic historians and a greater recognition in the academy of the value of research into maritime topics coincided with a growing interest in economic history and the view of it as a discipline separate from economics. This was exemplified by the foundation in 1926 of the Economic History Society. Initially research was mainly focussed on living standards, prices, and the causes of industrialisation, but from the 1950s, a quantitative approach to history became more widespread and this approach was used to research maritime topics as well. An example of the way in which economic historians combined an interest in quantitative data with insights into maritime matters is Ralph Davis' article 'Merchant Shipping in the Economy of the Late Seventeenth Century', in which the author gave a quantified overview of the main features of English shipping and trade in the seventeenth century.³ The first half of the twentieth century also witnessed the rising influence of the French *Annales* school of history. It had developed in the early 1900s, was named after the scholarly journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, and took a new approach to academic research as it focussed on social rather than political history. Fernand Braudel was perhaps the most famous exponent of this approach. He was an influential editor of the journal, and his first book *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Epoque de Philippe II* (1949) gave inspiration to the emerging discipline of maritime history, taking as its starting point a sea rather than a nation state.⁴

The 1960s saw the publication of several important studies into maritime history. One of these was Ralph Davis' analysis of English overseas shipping, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, which built on his earlier article. Davis was one of the founders of a new approach to maritime history research in Britain, with emphasis now being laid on the detailed analysis and contextualising of sources rather than on simple description. Davis

² Navy Records Society, <https://www.navyrecords.org.uk/about-us/history-development/>; The Society for Nautical Research, <https://snr.org.uk/about/> [Both accessed 1 July 2017].

³ Johan Fourie and Leigh Gardner, 'The Internationalization of Economic History: A Puzzle', *Economic History of Developing Regions*, 29.1 (2014), 1–14 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/20780389.2014.922842>>; Roger E Backhouse, 'History of Economics, Economics and Economic History in Britain, 1824–2000', *The European Journal of the History of Economic Thought*, 11.1 (2004), 107–27; Mats Larsson, Lars Magnusson, and Kersti Ullenhag, 'Scholarship in Business History', *Business History*, 56.1 (2014), 1–4; Ralph Davis, 'Merchant Shipping in the Economy of the Late Seventeenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, 9.1 (1956), 59–73.

⁴ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1995); Gelina Harlaftis, 'Maritime History or the History of Thalassa', in *The New Ways of History: Developments in Historiography*, ed. by Gelina Harlaftis and others (London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2010), p. 260.

argued that the main aim of the Navigation Acts of 1660 onwards had been to improve English shipping in order to provide men and ships for the Navy in times of war. However, he suggested that the Acts had indirectly laid the foundations of the Industrial Revolution by protecting the interests of English merchants from overseas competition, particularly from the Dutch and especially in the trade with colonial produce.⁵ The Navigation Acts required goods to and from England to be shipped on English-owned ships, crewed primarily by English sailors. Producers of raw materials in the colonies were forbidden to trade directly with any nation other than England. All coastal trade had to be carried on English (and later British) ships, a requirement that remained in force, in a modified form, until 1853.⁶

Davis' study focussed on overseas shipping, because he argued that coastal trade had already been analysed by T.S. Willan, whose important study of the English coasting trade was re-published in 1967, with a new preface, in the hope that the publication would encourage further research into this area.⁷ Both Willan and Davis called for further research, particularly more detailed analysis of individual ports and people, as the next step in the understanding of maritime trade.⁸ A few such studies have been published in the years since then, including Gordon Jackson's important overview of the physical fabric of British ports.⁹ Like Davis, Jackson pointed to the Navigation Acts as the primary cause of the growth of trade in the English provincial ports, as the Acts created a need for English ships. 'When England acted through the Navigation Laws to exclude Dutch shipping from her trade', Jackson wrote, 'she had, in fact, little shipping of her own and, apparently, no significant ship-building'. The void left by the exclusion of Dutch shipping was, argued Jackson, filled by 'enterprising merchants in the outports'.¹⁰ Davis argued that the shipping industry was one of Britain's main users of capital

⁵ Gelina Harlaftis and others, *The New Ways of History: Developments in Historiography*. (London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2010); International Maritime History Association, 'Biographies of IMHA Founders' <<https://imha.info-founders/>> [accessed 19 June 2020]; Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Modern Maritime Classics Reprint, 3 (London: National Maritime Museum, 1972), p. 393.

⁶ The original Acts applied to England and Wales. After the Act of Union in 1707, they were extended to include Scotland. From 1779, Ireland was also included. John Armstrong, *The Vital Spark: The British Coastal Trade, 1700-1930*, Research in Maritime History, no. 40 (St. John's, Nfld: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2009), p. 3; Stephen Conway, 'Another Look at the Navigation Acts and the Coming of the American Revolution', in *The Royal Navy and the British Atlantic World, c. 1750-1820*, ed. by John McAleer and Christer Petley (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 77-96 (pp. 80-81).

⁷ T.S. Willan, *The English Coasting Trade, 1600-1750*, Publications of the University of Manchester (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1938); T.S. Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), p. ix.

⁸ Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750*, pp. ix and 54; Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 408.

⁹ Gordon Jackson, *The History and Archaeology of Ports* (Tadworth, Surrey: World's Work, 1983).

¹⁰ Jackson, *The History and Archaeology of Ports*, p. 28.

and that it, after cloth making and construction, was the country's largest user of manpower. He suggested that, whereas it is impossible reliably to calculate the balance of trade, an analysis of the 'changing geographical pattern of trade over time' is valuable for the investigation of Britain's trade.¹¹ This thesis will carry out such an analysis, with a local, rather than a national focus.

In 1726, Defoe stated that 'The inland trade of England [...] is the foundation of all our wealth and greatness; it is the support of all our foreign trade, and of our manufacturing, and [...] of the tradesman who carry it on'.¹² In contrast to the focus placed by the majority of maritime studies on overseas trade, a significant proportion of the trade in an outport like Southampton was domestic and Willan argued that coastal trade was a 'vital not only to the places concerned but to the whole economic life of the country'.¹³ In spite of a widespread consensus about the importance of coastal and short-sea shipping, most research into British trade in the eighteenth century focuses on overseas trade.¹⁴ A number of reasons for this can be suggested, including the relative importance that has been attached to overseas trade, seen by some as the main driver for the Industrial Revolution.¹⁵ Peter Skidmore has suggested that research into coastal trade may have been thought 'too mundane', but he and others have also argued that a major reason for the imbalance in the research is that the source material for overseas trade is more readily available.¹⁶ Jackson cautioned, 'care must be taken to avoid overemphasising trade which can be easily measured at the expense of that which cannot'.¹⁷

¹¹ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 389; Ralph Davis, *The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), p. 80.

¹² Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman* (London: Rivington, 1726), p. 387.

¹³ Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750*, p. xvi.

¹⁴ See for example Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*; Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750*; Armstrong, *The Vital Spark*.

¹⁵ Davis, *The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade*, pp. 9–10.

¹⁶ Peter Skidmore, 'The Maritime Economy of North West England in the Later Eighteenth Century' (unpublished PhD, University of Greenwich, 2009), p. 243; Peter Skidmore, 'Vessels and Networks: Shipowning in North-West England's Coasting Trade in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 99.2 (2013), 153–70 (p. 153); Elizabeth Baigent, 'Economy and Society in Eighteenth-Century English Towns: Bristol in the 1770s', in *Urban Historical Geography. Recent Progress in Britain and Germany*, ed. by Dietrich Denecke and Gareth Shaw, 1988, pp. 109–24 (p. 109); John Armstrong, 'Introduction', in *Coastal and Short Sea Shipping*, ed. by John Armstrong, *Studies in Transport History* (Aldershot, Hants ; Brookfield, Vt: Scolar Press, 1996), pp. ix–xii (p. xi); Sheilagh Ogilvie, 'The European Economy in the Eighteenth Century', in *The Eighteenth Century: Europe 1688–1815*, ed. by T. W. C. Blanning, *The Short Oxford History of Europe*, XII (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 91–130 (p. 93).

¹⁷ Gordon Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Economic and Social History*, University of Hull Publications (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 71.

With the development of a new database from hitherto only sparsely used source material, this thesis takes steps to address the imbalance.

Until recently, little had been written about the organisation of eighteenth-century English regional trade. Simon Ville addressed this in 1987, with his study of the shipowning firm of Henleys, an investigation which also presented a new analysis of the important coal trade from north-east England.¹⁸ Robin Craig has studied British tramp shipping in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, focussing particularly in the earlier period on the role of shipmasters. Both Craig and Ville suggested that the capital investment that shipping required was an important factor in the industrialisation of Britain, particularly as the share denominations were often low and investing in shipping was a good way to enter the investment market.¹⁹ Recent research has advocated an improved recognition of the importance of the role of consumer demand as a driving force behind the Industrial Revolution.²⁰ It has been argued that the Industrial Revolution is best understood 'with the regional perspective at centre stage'.²¹ This thesis will focus on the importance of regional trade as a key component of the country's economic life.

Although there are no specific studies of Southampton's trade in the eighteenth century, the port has been included in some broader histories. Most notable is Alfred Temple Patterson's three-volume *History of Southampton 1700-1914*. Patterson described Southampton's maritime trade in the eighteenth century as mainly coastal, with shipping to and from London and the coal trade as the main commercial activities carried on in the port. Basing his conclusions on the Southampton Petty Customs Books, selected *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists and other sources, such as contemporary guides to Southampton, Patterson suggested that in the decades before the War of American Independence, there was a regular pattern of trade, which declined in years of war and recovered each time peace was restored. After 1783,

¹⁸ Simon Ville, *English Shipowning during the Industrial Revolution: Michael Henley and Son, London Shipowners, 1770-1830* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1987).

¹⁹ Robin Craig, *British Tramp Shipping, 1750-1914*, Research in Maritime History, no. 24 (St. John's, Nfld: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2003), p. 41; Ville, *English Shipowning during the Industrial Revolution*, p. 2; Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 82.

²⁰ Maxine Berg, 'From Imitation to Invention: Creating Commodities in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *The Economic History Review*, 55.1 (2002), 1–30 (p. 1).

²¹ Pat Hudson, *Regions and Industries: A Perspective on the Industrial Revolution in Britain*, Hudson, Pat (Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 2.

trade increased beyond pre-war levels. The wider range of sources used and the analysis presented in this thesis will seek to quantify and expand on Patterson's work.²²

There are several studies of other individual English ports in the eighteenth century, including Gordon Jackson's *Hull in the Eighteenth Century* (1971). This was one of the first examples of a local maritime history based mainly on primary sources. Jackson provided information about Hull's trade in the late 1700s, which is comparable to the Southampton data collected for this study, including overviews of numbers of ships and patterns of trade for Hull in the 1770s.²³ A substantial amount of research has also been carried out into the maritime history of Bristol and smaller ports in the Bristol Channel. Among these, David Hussey's *Coastal and River Trade in Pre-Industrial England* is particularly significant for this study because of the methodology and sources used. Using the local Port Books, recording the goods entering and clearing ports, Hussey provided a comprehensive analysis of the trade of Bristol in the period 1680-1730, providing detailed statistical and qualitative analysis of cargoes, voyages, and merchants.

Hussey used the voyage as the standard unit of assessment and stated that, 'Voyages have been used to demonstrate linkage not value'.²⁴ This thesis uses the quantification of data relating to the number of voyages, rather than the value of cargoes, to assess Southampton's commercial links in the late eighteenth century.

Gregory Stevens Cox has carried out detailed research into Guernsey's trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Cox's stated aim was to present 'an urban rather than just a port history', by including information about the relationship between St Peter Port and its hinterland as well as the neighbouring French and English coasts and the social and commercial networks in which its merchants and population participated. He argued that St Peter Port was able to develop as an international entrepôt due to its geographic location, the

²² A. Temple Patterson, *Volume One: An Oligarchy in Decline 1700-1835, A History of Southampton 1700-1914*, 3 vols (Southampton: University Press, 1966), pp. 72-73.

²³ Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*; In addition to the studies referred to in the text, these include, among others J.M Barney, 'Shipping in the Port of King's Lynn, 1702-1800', *The Journal of Transport History*, 20.2 (1999), 126-40; D.J. Pope, 'Shipping and Trade in the Port of Liverpool 1783-1793, Vols.1-3' (unpublished PhD, University of Liverpool, 1970); J. E. Williams, 'Whitehaven in the Eighteenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, 8.3 (1956), 393-404; S.K. Jones, 'A Maritime History of the Port of Whitby, 1700-1914' (unpublished PhD, University of London., 1982); Sheryllynne Haggerty, 'Trade and Trading Communities in the Late Eighteenth Century: Liverpool and Philadelphia' (unpublished PhD, University of Liverpool, 2002).

²⁴ David Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade in Pre-Industrial England: Bristol and Its Region, 1680-1730* (Ithaca, N.Y: Regatta Press, 2000), pp. 23, 47-50; W. E. Minchinton, *The Trade of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*, Bristol Record Society's Publications, 20 (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1957); Baigent; Kenneth Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

development of the Atlantic economy and the fact that Guernsey merchants were able to either take advantage of or ignore the Navigation Acts at will, which were confused in their definition of 'English' in relation to the Channel Islands.²⁵

In recent years, these published studies have been supplemented by a number of research projects, leading to the development of several databases which include data relating to various aspects of eighteenth-century maritime trade. Many of these projects are still under way at the time of writing. The Navigocorpus database was set up with support from the French Agence Nationale de la Recherche with the aim of providing a forum where individual researchers' databases can be preserved. The database currently contains shipping records for individual French and American ports in the 1780s and 1800s. Silvia Marzagalli, one of the researchers involved with the Navigocorpus project, has recently suggested that by linking databases and making them available online for other researchers, the potential impact of the projects 'would be increased exponentially'.²⁶ The Sound Toll, first introduced as early as the 1400s, was levied by the King of Denmark on all ships entering or leaving the Baltic. The account books, the Sound Toll Registers, have been preserved for the period 1497-1857. In 2007, they were included in the UNESCO Memory of the World Register. A project to make the registers available online started in 2009 and is now nearing completion.²⁷ The present thesis is part of this wider trend. Through the development of a new database and the combination of this with existing data it becomes possible to re-examine A.T. Patterson's assessment of Southampton's maritime trade and to put it on a secure empirical footing.

In his study of the coal trade of north-east England, Simon Ville saw a clear distinction between the ship masters primarily sailing to foreign destinations, who were skilled in navigation, cargo handling and personnel management and the coastal ship masters, who were 'normally at sea

²⁵ Gregory Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680-1830: The History of an International Entrepôt* (Rochester, NY, USA, 2000), p. 19.

²⁶ 'Navigocorpus Online | Navigocorpus' <<http://navigocorpus.org/>> [accessed 26 November 2016]; Jean-Pierre Dedieu and others, 'Navigocorpus at Work: A Brief Overview of the Potential of a Database', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 24 (2012), 331-59 (pp. 331-33); 'Liverpool As A Trading Port' <<http://www.liverpoolmaritime.org/>> [accessed 5 August 2018]; Benjamin Asmussen, 'Business Encyclopedia of the Oldenburg Monarchy - Business Encyclopedia of the Oldenburg Monarchy' <http://oldenburgbusiness.net/index.php?title=Business_Encyclopedia_of_the_Oldenburg_Monarchy>; Silvia Marzagalli, 'Clio and the Machine: New Database Projects in Maritime History', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 24.1 (2012), 253-56 (p. 256).

²⁷ 'Sound Toll Registers | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization' <<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-8/sound-toll-registers/>> [accessed 14 January 2017]; Soundtoll Registers Online, 'Welcome' <<http://www.soundtoll.nl/index.php/en/>> [accessed 15 July 2018].

only a few days'.²⁸ However, the lines between foreign, short-sea and coastal shipping are blurred; ships that traded overseas could also be found carrying goods to other British ports. According to Armstrong eighteenth-century ships traded wherever they could find a cargo and 'hence coastal ships undertook voyages to the near continent or even the Mediterranean'. Davis agrees with this assessment of the coastal trade, observing that 'The coasting trade [...] has an importance for all the nearby trades [...]. Moreover, much of the coastal shipping is loosely connected with overseas trade'. Many of the ships involved in the continental and Irish trades were also employed in the coastal trade.²⁹ In her recent study of British shipping in the Mediterranean, Katerina Galani noted that the 'dichotomy in shipping, between long-distance and short-distance hauls, although pronounced, was not absolute', as many British vessels, having completed the long voyage to the Mediterranean, would remain to carry coastal cargoes in the Mediterranean for a time until they returned to Britain.³⁰ Many, but not all, coastal ship masters were also merchants. This was the case too in much of the short-sea trade with northern Europe but it was not so in the coal trade or in the foreign trade that went further afield.³¹ There were geographical variations: according to Willan, in Southampton in the 1730s, it was 'exceptional' for a ship master 'to be also a merchant'.³²

The distinctions between foreign, short-sea and coastal shipping become even less defined in light of the more recent historiographical developments in the study of areas, regions, and seas, which generally aim to highlight the links between the histories of the different peoples within a maritime region. Geoffrey Scammel, for example, in his preface to Butel's *The Atlantic*, argued that 'seas and oceans have had a significant cultural influence on civilizations adjoining them' while Kirby and Hinkkanen-Lievonen, in their study of the Baltic and North Seas, suggested that 'coastal regions often had a wider and more vibrant range of contacts with each other than with the hinterland'.³³ Buschmann has argued that these 'aquacentric

²⁸ Ville, *English Shipowning during the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 76, 95.

²⁹ John Armstrong, 'The Significance of Coastal Shipping in British Domestic Transport, 1550-1830', *International Journal of Maritime History*, III.2 (1991), 63–94 (p. 68); Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 209.

³⁰ Katerina Galani, *British Shipping in the Mediterranean during the Napoleonic Wars: The Untold Story of a Successful Adaptation*, Brill's Studies in Maritime History, 4 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), p. 42.

³¹ Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750*, p. 20; W. E. Minchinton, 'Bristol: Metropolis of the West in the Eighteenth Century: The Alexander Prize Essay', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4 (1954), 69–89 (p. 72).

³² Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750*, p. 43.

³³ Peter A. Coclanis, 'Introduction', in *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*, ed. by Peter A. Coclanis (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), pp. xi–xix (p. xi); Paul Butel, *The Atlantic, Seas in History* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), p. xi; D. G. Kirby and Merja-Liisa Hinkkanen-Lievonen, *The Baltic and the North Seas, Seas in History* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 3; Renaud Morieux, *The*

views open alternative perspectives on the conceptualization of world history', while Peter A. Coclanis suggested that by linking Atlantic history with the historiographies of other trade circuits, it would be possible to 'offer a broader, richer, amplified view of Atlantic dynamics'.³⁴ A recent major international research project set out to assess the importance of the sea on world history and concluded that 'the sea is the key to History' and 'evidently the catalyst of our future'.³⁵ Bentley too, argued in favour of using seas and ocean basins as the framework for historical analysis, particularly when examining 'commercial, biological and cultural exchange'. He stated that 'maritime regions [...] have tremendous value as constructs that bring large-scale historical processes into clear focus'. However, he warned against regarding these regions as fixed units of analysis due to the 'constantly changing relationships between bodies of water and masses of land'.³⁶ Morieux argued that 'by looking at the ways in which the local, the regional, the national and the international were interlocked, one can grasp and understand phenomena which have often escaped the attention of historians'.³⁷ This view was supported by Bentley, who cautioned historians not to 'lose sight either of local experiences or of the global interactions that sometimes conditioned the experiences of the regions themselves'.³⁸ Based on an analysis of Southampton's maritime trade, this thesis uses as its frame of reference the oceans and seas upon which the ships that traded in Southampton sailed. By analysing the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping list data on the basis of voyages to or from the English Channel, Irish Sea, North Atlantic, Mediterranean, North Sea and Baltic, it becomes possible to chart the sea routes followed by merchant vessels and to assess their relative importance to different ports and regions.

Channel: England, France and the Construction of a Maritime Border in the Eighteenth Century, Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories, 23 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); M. N. Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*, Seas in History (London; New York: Routledge, 2003); Kären Wigen, 'Oceans of History: Introduction', *The American Historical Review*, 111.3 (2006), 717–21 <<https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr.111.3.717>>; Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, 'The Mediterranean and "the New Thalassology"', *The American Historical Review*, 111.3 (2006), 722–40; Matt K. Matsuda, 'The Pacific', *The American Historical Review*, 111.3 (2006), 758–80; Werner Scheltjens, *Dutch Deltas: Emergence, Functions and Structure of the Low Countries' Maritime Transport System, ca. 1300–1850*, Brill's Studies in Maritime History, volume 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

³⁴ Rainer F. Buschmann, 'Oceans of World History: Delineating Aquacentric Notions in the Global Past', *History Compass*, 2.1 (2004), 1–10 (p. 6); Peter A. Coclanis, 'Beyond Atlantic History', in *Atlantic History. A Critical Appraisal*, ed. by Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 337–56 (p. 349).

³⁵ *The Sea in History The Early Modern World*, ed. by Christian Buchet and Gerard Le Bouedec (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), pp. xxiii–xxv.

³⁶ Jerry H. Bentley, 'Sea and Ocean Basins as Frameworks of Historical Analysis', *Geographical Review*, 89.2 (1999), 215–24 (pp. 216–17).

³⁷ Morieux, *The Channel*, p. 23.

³⁸ Bentley, p. 222.

Chapter 1

Through the studies of a number of British and Irish communities in the years 1775-1782, Stephen Conway has shown how the War of American Independence affected local communities in the British Isles, economically, culturally, and politically. The war years saw economic crisis following the loss of the American markets, as well as welfare improvements, as the poor laws in England and Wales were reformed. Conway argued that 'the American war saw a redefining of Britishness', on one hand bringing together the English, Scots, Irish and Welsh in the face of the threat of invasion, on the other hand driving a wedge between the nations due to political disagreement over the war.³⁹

In recent years, social networking analysis, previously used as a technique in sociology, has been deployed to research commercial networks in the eighteenth century. In their article 'Business Networking in the Industrial Revolution', Robin Pearson and David Richardson suggested that 'it is now widely argued that networks are an integral part of economic activity, which is moulded by social, cultural and political influences as well as by market mechanisms'. They concluded that during the Industrial Revolution, British business was characterised by 'inter-firm cooperation and collective action taken with the aim of reducing risk, cutting information costs and labour costs, and raising prices and profits'. Sherylynne Haggerty has analysed the trading networks of Liverpool and Philadelphia merchants in the second half of the eighteenth century, focussing on the use and value of different means of information exchange, including newspapers. She found that newspapers and letters were essential tools for merchants in the late eighteenth century and she argued that reliance on family or religious contacts decreased during the century, although established personal contacts remained important in order to minimise risks.⁴⁰ A recent study of Scottish wine merchants on Madeira concluded that eighteenth-century business networks were primarily personal, but based on national, religious and political as well as familial connections.⁴¹ It is beyond the scope of this thesis to carry out a detailed analysis of Southampton's commercial networks.

³⁹ Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 61–62, 114–15, 129–36, 165–73.

⁴⁰ Robin Pearson and David Richardson, 'Business Networking in the Industrial Revolution', *The Economic History Review*, 4, 2001, 657–79 (pp. 657 and 677); Sherylynne Haggerty, 'A Link in the Chain: Trade and the Transhipment of Knowledge in the Late Eighteenth Century', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 14.1 (2002), 157–72; Sherylynne Haggerty, "You Promise Well and Perform as Badly:" The Failure of the "Implicit Contract of Family" in the Scottish Atlantic', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 23.2 (2011), 267–82 (pp. 268–69).

⁴¹ David Hancock, 'Combining Success and Failure: Scottish Networks in the Atlantic Wine Trade', in *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Gent [Belgium]: Academia Press, 2007), pp. 5–37 (p. 16).

However, as far as the sources have allowed, attention has been paid to the personal and wider business connections of the mariners connected with the town's trade.

Sources and Methodology

Information about maritime trading activity in the 1700s can be found in a wide range of sources including official customs records, such as port books and Petty Customs records and also in lists compiled by private companies, including *Lloyd's Register* and newspapers.

Business activities and commercial dealings generated vast amounts of documents and records, and navigating through these has often proved off-putting for historians. Most other research into maritime trade in the 1700s is focused on the vessels 'belonging to' or registered in an individual port. This thesis explores the wider trade of Southampton rather than just that which was carried in locally-based vessels, thus providing a more comprehensive view of the town's maritime connections.

Port books were created by local customs officials based in all major British ports as a record of goods on which duties were paid, when entering or clearing the port. As coastal trade was not subject to customs duties, only imports and exports were recorded and a declaration issued to masters of vessels with British destinations that the cargo was not subject to duty as it was not overseas trade. For the 1700s, the Southampton Port Books survive for the following dates: 1700-1720, 1747-1752, 1754-1756 and 1758-1759, so there is no information available for the period covered by this study. However, a few port books are available for ports trading with Southampton, so it is possible to access information about some of the town's trade in the 1770s.⁴² Petty Customs dues were levied by the Southampton Corporation on goods entering and clearing the port and were among several dues levied by the Corporation on trade in and out of the port.⁴³ The income raised was used to maintain the quays and harbour walls, but they offer an incomplete record. In 1754, the Corporation lifted the Petty Customs dues on trade to Africa and America in order to encourage connections with these destinations. They also proposed to limit the Petty Customs liability on any merchant, based in the town, who carried out any foreign trade. The Petty Customs records are therefore unlikely to be a full record of all ships entering and leaving the port. However, the records provide useful

⁴² The National Archives, 'Merchant Trade Records: Port Books 1565-1799', *Research Guides* <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/merchant-trade-records-port-books-1565-1799/>> [accessed 17 January 2017].

⁴³ Other dues included wharfage, cranage and anchorage.

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information about the commodities imported and exported from Southampton. For the 1700s, they are available for 1769-1772.⁴⁴

In 1966, A. Temple Patterson suggested that the Southampton Petty Customs Books together with the shipping lists in the local newspaper, *The Hampshire Chronicle*, could be used to analyse the town's trade. However, in a time before computer analysis, Patterson argued that detailed reference to the shipping list data would have been 'impracticably numerous'.⁴⁵ David Hancock, in a recent analysis of the development of Atlantic trade, noted that by the end of the eighteenth century the commercial importance of shipping information published in newspapers was 'immense', while D.J. Pope, in his analysis of shipping and trade in Liverpool, stated that 'many eighteenth-century newspapers, especially those published in seaports and coastal areas, contain a wealth of maritime information'. The historical research potential of local newspapers 'is clearly many-sided', noted Donald Read in his study of local newspapers in the north of England.⁴⁶ Yet, so far, this valuable source has only been sparsely used in academic research. This gap may be explained by the substantial amount and inconsistent nature of the information available in the different provincial newspapers. Read predicted that the task of sifting the large volume of material available in provincial newspapers 'will itself be a work of generations'.⁴⁷ When such work did take place, it did so on a relatively modest scale. For example, Skidmore made use of the shipping lists in regional newspapers as a comparative source with port books and shipping registers to determine trade and vessel ownership patterns within the Irish Sea by vessels owned in north-west England. However, he used relatively small samples and specifically focussed on the coastal trade in north-west England.⁴⁸ Merging shipping information from the *Waterford Chronicle* for 1771 with similar data from *Lloyd's List*, John Mannion presented a reconstruction of the shipping patterns in Waterford 'as far as one is likely to achieve for any Irish port in a single year'.⁴⁹ Supplementing his research with other sources, including prize court records and other official documents, Carl E.

⁴⁴ Patterson, *History of Southampton*, p. 37; Southampton City Records Office D/PM25/1.

⁴⁵ Patterson, *History of Southampton*, p. 72 n.4.

⁴⁶ Pope, p. 2; David Hancock, 'The Intensification of Atlantic Maritime Trade (1492-1815)', in *The Sea in History The Early Modern World*, ed. by Christian Buchet and Gerard Le Bouedec (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 19-29 (p. 23); Donald Read, 'North of England Newspapers and Their Value to Historians', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, VIII (1957), 200-215 (p. 213).

⁴⁷ Read, p. 213.

⁴⁸ Skidmore, 'Vessels and Networks: Shipowning in North-West England's Coasting Trade in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries'.

⁴⁹ John Mannion, 'The Maritime Trade of Waterford in the Eighteenth Century', in *Common Ground: Essays on the Historical Geography of Ireland*, ed. by William J. (ed. & pref.) Smyth, Kevin (ed. & pref.) Whelan, and A. A. (bibliog.) Horner, xvi, 332 pp. vols (Cork: Cork UP, 1988), pp. 208-33 (p. 209).

Swanson has used shipping lists to quantify American privateering 1739-48, revealing the significance of privateering in pre-Revolutionary America.⁵⁰

This project examines shipping lists published in the *Hampshire Chronicle*. The lists were published on a weekly basis and included the names of the ships that had arrived at or left a number of local ports as well as the names of the ships' masters and the port where the ships had arrived from or were going to. The shipping list data is compared with other sources, including the Southampton Petty Customs Books, *Lloyd's Register*, and the Sound Toll Registers, among others. The sheer amount of data available in the shipping lists in the newspaper makes it a challenging source, which has only become accessible with the advent of information technology.

The *Hampshire Chronicle* was first published in August 1772 by Southampton schoolmaster James Linden, who also operated a circulating library as well as being the publisher of the first guidebook to Southampton. Linden had previously acted as agent and news collector for the *Salisbury Journal*.⁵¹ The new publication was not greeted with universal approval. Within a month of the launch, Benjamin Collins, the owner of the *Salisbury Journal*, until then the region's main paper, noted in his paper: 'there is not the least occasion for any other News-paper in this part of the kingdom, (so amply supplied already) on any pretence whatever, especially at a time of profound Peace'.⁵²

There is a variable availability of the shipping lists over the period between the first publication of the newspaper in August 1772 and the end of the wars with France in 1815. Particularly in the years during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, there was frequently so much news about the war to fit into the newspaper that the shipping information was omitted. However, even before then, this editorial policy was exercised regularly in times of war, as can be seen from the following notice:

⁵⁰ Carl E. Swanson, 'Privateering in Early America', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 1.2 (1989), 253–78 (pp. 275–76).

⁵¹ C.Y. Ferdinand, *Benjamin Collins and the Provincial Newspaper Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford ; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 2, 83.

⁵² Quoted in Ferdinand, p. 117; In other parts of the country, for example in Newcastle, local newspapers reduced the threat of competition by each focusing on different markets, Victoria E M Gardner, 'Newspaper Proprietors and the Social Stratification of the News-Reading Market in North-East England, 1760–1820', *Northern History*, 50.2 (2013), 285–306 (p. 292) <https://doi.org/10.1179/0078172X13Z.0000000040>.

On account of the great length of the *Gazette Extraordinary*, and the importance of the advices of the unfortunate surrender of General Burgoyne's army, we have been obliged to omit many articles less interesting, and a great number of advertisements.⁵³

John McCusker suggested that local newspapers only included information about shipping 'inconsistently and incompletely, almost as a filler, never as a matter of first priority'.⁵⁴ However, the reason for the decision to leave out regular features in favour of war news was probably primarily financial. The extended quotes from the *London Gazette* referred to above attracted new readers and additional income. Indeed, the editor noted that 'The great demand for this week's paper has occasioned us to print a second impression'.⁵⁵ There was a physical limit to the size of a newspaper. In 1712, a Stamp Act had been introduced, imposing a duty on each sheet of paper used and on each newspaper published. The law was revised in 1725, closely defining what constituted a newspaper and tightening the rules for the payment of paper duty. In order to remain competitive, all provincial newspapers now consisted of four pages printed on half-sheet sized paper.⁵⁶ With its mixture of shipping lists, local news and advertisements, the *Hampshire Chronicle* provides fascinating and detailed information about the daily economic life of the region around Southampton and Portsmouth, information which allows the historian better to understand the context within which the participants in the area's maritime trade operated.

Although the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists contain a wealth of detailed information about the ships that called at Southampton, the data only concerns destinations directly connected to the port. Most overseas goods, and all East India trade, came via London, which acted as an entrepôt for domestic goods as well. These commodities would have appeared in the shipping lists as coming from London, rather than from their actual port of origin.⁵⁷

The local ports that were included in the shipping lists vary over time. Portsmouth, Cowes and Southampton were included more regularly than other ports like Lymington, which only featured after 1793. There were probably several reasons for this variability. Firstly, an editorial decision could have been made as to which ports were likely to be of interest to the

⁵³ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 8 December 1777.

⁵⁴ John J. McCusker, 'The Demise of Distance: The Business Press and the Origins of the Information Revolution in the Early Modern Atlantic World', *The American Historical Review*, 110.2 (2005), 295–321 (p. 313).

⁵⁵ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 8 December 1777.

⁵⁶ Ferdinand, pp. 14–15; Andrew Walker, 'The Development of the Provincial Press in England c. 1780–1914', *Journalism Studies*, 7.3 (2006), 373–86 (p. 376) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700600680674>>.

⁵⁷ Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 82–86.

readers of the newspaper. Secondly, the inclusion of different ports may at times have had to rely on the availability of information. This point can be illustrated by the following notice, published at the end of the shipping news section in one issue in 1799: 'We shall be much obliged to those Gentlemen who send us the Port News to be a little more punctual as to the day they send it'.⁵⁸ These factors make the newspaper shipping lists an incomplete source to shipping patterns over extended time spans, but one which can be used for the selected periods when the lists are complete and which can also be used to indicate longer term trends.

In the first few years of its existence, the *Hampshire Chronicle* went through turbulent times, when its founder James Linden ran into financial trouble and went bankrupt in 1778. The newspaper was then purchased by a consortium, in which the owner of the *Salisbury Journal*, Benjamin Collins, held a controlling stake. The paper's publication was moved from Southampton to Collins' base in Winchester. However, further financial problems followed and the consortium was dissolved following a lawsuit in 1783 with Collins retaining full ownership.⁵⁹

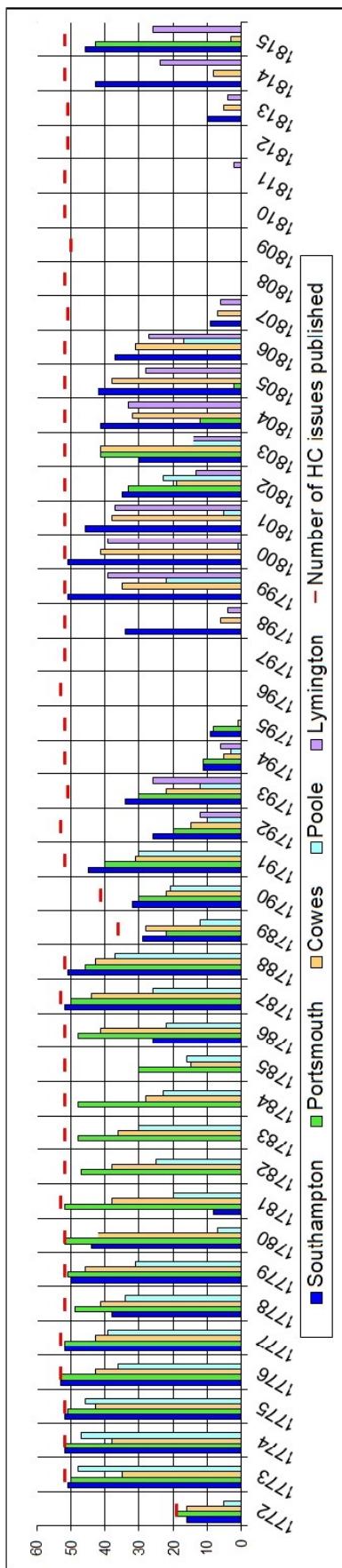
For this project, data was collected from the first 43 years of publication of the *Hampshire Chronicle* (1772-1815). The data collecting was primarily carried out through the British Library's online newspaper archive, but as the papers for some of the years within the period had not yet been scanned, some data was also collected from the microfilm holdings of the Hartley Library by photographing the microfilm reader screen. A database was set up using Microsoft Access and the collected data transcribed into this database. In order to limit errors, the data was entered verbatim so that possible typing errors could be picked up when comparing with other similar entries from other dates. The analysis was done using ArcGIS, Access, and Microsoft Excel.

Figure 1.1 shows the availability of shipping list information in the *Hampshire Chronicle* for the years 1772-1815, clearly showing the variable nature of the data. For this thesis, it was decided to focus on the period 1773-1777 as the Southampton data is almost complete, while information is missing for the years immediately before and after. The Southampton data for 1773-1777 was compared with data for Portsmouth and Cowes for 1775 and also with Southampton data for the years 1787-88 and 1799-1800, the only other years when the *Hampshire Chronicle* data is complete. Following the creation of a Microsoft Access database,

⁵⁸ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 4 March 1799.

⁵⁹ Ferdinand, pp. 3-5.

Figure 1.1: Availability of shipping list data by number of weeks in the *Hampshire Chronicle* (HC)



the data was 'cleaned' in order to identify and map destinations as well as 'standard' ships and masters. Some errors were obvious and were caused by misspellings or typesetting errors, e.g. 'Alderaey', 'Snnderland' and 'Longfound' for Alderney, Sunderland and Longsound. Other inconsistencies probably related to mishearing regional or foreign accents when the name of the destination was recorded on arrival in port, e.g. 'Bricksom', 'Bayon', 'Delff Siel' and 'Dungarven' for Brixham, Bayonne, Delfzijl and Dungarvan. The inconsistent recording was more difficult to clarify with respect to the names of ships and masters. A conservative approach was adopted, so that only vessels that were clearly the same were identified as such, e.g. '*Aletta*/Kiegstad', '*Alitta*/Kiegstad' and '*Aletta*/Kingstad' recorded in Southampton on eighteen occasions in the years 1773-75 on journeys to or from Frederikshald in Norway. There were five occurrences of '*Britannia*/Davis' in 1775, four arriving in or leaving from Southampton for Carmarthen, one arriving in Portsmouth from Barbados. It was decided to identify these as two separate 'standard' vessels.

The data analysis was primarily based on maritime regions rather than countries, although this information was recorded too. As it was necessary in order to carry out this analysis, to define fairly simple, but exact boundaries of the various seas, it was decided to use the definitions of seas used by *Worldatlas.com*, an educational geography website. The analysis emphasises cultural and geographical connections rather than national borders. For a ship leaving Southampton, it would have been easier to travel to northern France or the Netherlands than to the north of England. The maritime region analysis captures this better than analysis solely based on land borders would have done.

Lloyd's Register of Ships, a classification aimed at assisting insurance underwriters to assess commercial risk, was published from 1764, and annually from 1775. For this thesis, the 1778 volume was used as a sample and all vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists 1773-77 and also clearly identifiable in the 1778 edition of *Lloyd's Register* were transcribed into a database and analysed using Microsoft Access and Excel. Although every port in Britain recorded in detail the vessels and goods that travelled in and out, only a few of these Port Books from the 1770s have survived. An additional problem encountered was that the Port Books which were relevant to this project were unavailable at the National Archives in Kew due to poor physical condition. It has therefore only been possible to consult the Port Books for Newcastle and Sunderland for 1775-76.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ English Port Books available for all or part of the period 1773-77 and which would have been relevant for this project include, in addition to Newcastle and Sunderland for 1775-77, Poole, King's Lynn,

The data recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists provides the historian with a 'key' to a range of sources such as *Lloyd's Register*, the Sound Toll Registers, records of Mediterranean Passes and surviving Port Books from other ports with direct contact with Southampton. By combining the information from the shipping lists with these other sources, this thesis is able to provide a more nuanced picture of Southampton's trade in the late eighteenth century than previous studies have been able to offer.

Southampton - history and geography

Like all the major commercial ports in the eighteenth century, Southampton was a river port. The town's geographical position, protected from the English Channel by the Isle of Wight, meant that it benefitted from double high tides, which allowed even large vessels to use the port without the risk of running aground. This feature was of great significance before the advent of powered propulsion.⁶¹ Over the centuries, the scale of trade fluctuated significantly; in the Middle Ages, Southampton was one of England's principal ports for imports and exports. However, after the 1530s, the town's important trade with Venetian merchants dwindled and the wool trade ceased due to government regulations prohibiting the export of English wool. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Southampton's maritime trade had dwindled dramatically. Daniel Defoe visited Southampton around 1720 and described the town's trade as being in decay, having been overwhelmed by London. However, he felt that Southampton's trade had the potential for revival due to the number of inhabitants and the large quay.⁶² The growth of the service sector, a significant feature of Southampton's development in the late eighteenth century, can be linked to a more general tendency across England for country gentry to settle in towns. The resulting growth of a middle class as well as improvements to the fabric of towns is a trend which also affected Southampton.⁶³ In the 1740s, chalybeate, or

Yarmouth, Exeter and Dartmouth, Bridgwater, Bristol as well as Newcastle and Sunderland for the years before 1775. All require conservation treatment before they become available; TNA E 190.

⁶¹ Jackson, *The History and Archaeology of Ports*, p. 43; Kenneth Morgan, 'Port Location and Development in the British Atlantic World in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *The Sea in History. The Early Modern World*, The Sea in History (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 158–67 (p. 159).

⁶² *English Inland Trade 1430-1540: Southampton and Its Region*, ed. by Michael Hicks (Oxford; Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2015), p. 2; L. E. Tavener, 'The Port of Southampton', *Economic Geography*, 26.4 (1950), 260–73 (p. 266); Patterson, *History of Southampton*, p. 26; Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (London: Strahan, 1724), I, LETTER II, p. 80.

⁶³ Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680-1830*, pp. 1–6; Alan Dyer, 'Small Towns in England, 1600-1800', in *Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland: Change, Convergence, and Divergence*, by P. Borsay and L.J. Proudfoot, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 108 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 53–67 (p. 61).

iron-rich mineral springs were discovered north of Southampton and the town began attracting visitors seeking the health benefits of mineral waters and sea-bathing. From 1750, Frederick Prince of Wales started frequenting the Southampton spa and this royal patronage greatly increased the town's popularity. By the end of the 1770s, pavements were being laid and street lighting introduced. The Corporation now employed a watchman in order to improve the safety of any late-night revellers and tree-lined avenues stretched from the town gates north and east. A theatre had opened to entertain the summer visitors and a circulating library was established in the High Street, with a branch opening during the summer season next to one of the prominent bath houses. Every summer, fashionable London shopkeepers arrived in Southampton to supply the wealthy visitors with the goods and services that they were used to. This included hatters, lace-makers, hairdressers as well as a dentist who arrived from Bath, promising to 'make false teeth from that of a seahorse'.⁶⁴ In 1772-73, the old Market House which stood in the middle of the High Street, obstructing the traffic, was demolished and a new one built on the side of the road, funded by the Corporation. Poultry and butter markets were held in front of the new building, which had a council chamber upstairs.⁶⁵

Southampton's maritime trade was overwhelmingly with other British ports; in 1770, about 75 per cent of the vessels that entered or left the port were engaged in 'coastwise' trade. Exports included agricultural produce, particularly wheat, oats, and peas. The port also exported flints to Wales, for grinding and re-exportation to potteries in the north of England.⁶⁶ According to Defoe, substantial quantities of oak timber, suitable for shipbuilding, were floated down river from the New Forest to Southampton and from there transported to other places. Like a few other south coast ports, including Cowes, Southampton was a centre for the redistribution of imported goods and coal from the north-east of England. A significant proportion of the port's trade was carried out with Welsh and English west coast ports as well as London. Many small

⁶⁴ Patterson, *History of Southampton*, pp. 40-50; A. Temple Patterson, *Southampton. A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1970), pp. 74-79; John Oldfield, 'From Spa to Garrison Town: Southampton during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1793-1815', in *Southampton: Gateway to the British Empire*, ed. by Miles Taylor (London; New York: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2007), pp. 1-13 (pp. 1-2); Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680-1830*, p. 8 n.44; *Hampshire Chronicle*, 16 September 1776. A 'seahorse' was the name for a walrus at this time.

⁶⁵ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 11 October 1773, Patterson, *History of Southampton*, p. 52.

⁶⁶ Patterson, *History of Southampton*, p. 72; Ferdinand, p. 131; Barrie Trinder, *The Making of the Industrial Landscape* (Gloucester: Sutton, 1987), p. 97.

vessels carried out most of Southampton's trade, with a regular import of wine and fruit from Oporto and Malaga carried in a small number of larger vessels.⁶⁷

Coastal trade was facilitated by the development of crucial infrastructure. During the 1760s, one of the town's quays, Watergate Quay, was extended by 120 feet in order to enable larger ships to load and unload. But the Corporation's influence over imports and exports was slipping away. During the 1770s and 1780s, a growing number of private quays were established. The owners of these quays challenged the Town Corporation's commercial privileges by refusing to pay import dues and after a number of lawsuits, the Corporation had to accept that cargoes landed at the private quays were not liable for Corporation dues.⁶⁸

Southampton in the 1770s was a developing town, with improving infrastructure and a diversifying economic base. Although the port was not participating in long-distance foreign trade in any significant way, it had regular and frequent contact with destinations both near and far.

Britain's Domestic Maritime Trade

British foreign trade grew rapidly and in bursts during the eighteenth century, with a significant boom following the War of American Independence. However, the growth was increasingly concentrated on a relatively small number of provincial ports, illustrated by the fact that in 1772 only seven ports had more than 10,000 tons of shipping involved in overseas trade, 82 per cent of the national total. Smaller ports like Southampton made up for the reducing amount of long-distance foreign trade by having a significant coastal trade. About three quarters of the ships that called at Southampton were engaged in coastal trade with other English ports, particularly with the West Country, London and Tyne and Wear.⁶⁹ According to Willan 'much of the coasting trade seems to have been conducted in a rather casual and haphazard manner despite the fact that the food supply of London and many provincial centres depended in part upon it.' However, Hussey disagreed, observing that 'Despite Willan's unflattering picture of regional coasting as chaotic and unstructured, it is clear [...] that coastal voyages in the Bristol Channel followed distinctive and regular

⁶⁷ Defoe, I, LETTER II, p. 78; Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750*, pp. 146, 153; Patterson, *History of Southampton*, p. 72.

⁶⁸ Patterson, *History of Southampton*, pp. 38, 73–75.

⁶⁹ Gordon Jackson, 'The Ports', in *Transport in the Industrial Revolution*, ed. by D.H. Aldcroft and Michael J. Freeman (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), pp. 177–209 (pp. 187–88 and 193); Patterson, *History of Southampton*, p. 72.

patterns.⁷⁰ The data analysis presented in this thesis supports Hussey's view by showing clear voyage patterns for most of Southampton's trade.

According to Dwight E. Robinson's analysis of the Admiralty's registers of impressment protection in the 1770s, the British coasting fleet made up more than half of the total number of 9,200 British-owned vessels and employed more than half of the almost 78,000 crew. Corresponding to this view of the importance of the coastal trade, Skidmore found that coastal trade, including short-sea trading across the Irish Sea to Ireland played an important part in the industrialisation and prosperity of north-west England.⁷¹

One of the cargoes imported regularly to Southampton was coal from the north-east of England, particularly Newcastle and Sunderland.⁷² In 1938, T.S. Willan commented that 'it is not in keeping with the traditional picture of the England of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that of all the commodities carried by the coasting trade one of the most important should have been coal'. However, the importance of coal as a domestic fuel, long before the advent of the Industrial Revolution, put it at the same level of importance as corn. During the Civil War, the coal supply to London was used as an economic weapon when Royalists occupied Newcastle, Sunderland and Blyth, and Parliament imposed an embargo on coal imports from these towns while also attempting to fix prices in order to avoid unrest.⁷³ The importance of the coal trade, particularly to London, was immense. In 1724, Daniel Defoe visited Harwich and saw 'between three and four hundred sail of collier ships, all in this harbour at a time' and in 1782, Horace Walpole noted that 'an east wind has half starved London, as a fleet of colliers cannot get in'.⁷⁴ Several initiatives were taken to protect the coal trade from winter storms, particularly the trade from north-east England to London. In 1701, 1735 and 1750 Acts of Parliament levied taxes on colliers to establish 'harbours of refuge' between the Tees and the Wash. Such harbours were built or improved at Whitby, Scarborough, and Bridlington.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750*, p. 192; Hussey, p. 39.

⁷¹ Dwight E. Robinson, 'Secret of British Power in the Age of Sail: Admiralty Records of Coasting Fleet', *The American Neptune: A Quarterly Journal of Maritime History*, 48.1 (1988), 5–21 (p. 20); Skidmore, 'Vessels and Networks: Shipowning in North-West England's Coasting Trade in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', p. 169.

⁷² Patterson, *History of Southampton*, p. 3.

⁷³ Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750*, pp. 55–57.

⁷⁴ Dwight E. Robinson, p. 17; Philip S. Bagwell, *The Transport Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 51.

⁷⁵ Jackson, *The History and Archaeology of Ports*, p. 40.

Among the ports that grew fastest in the eighteenth century were the north-east coal ports, particularly Newcastle and Sunderland and Armstrong argued that 'coal was the single most important cargo for coastal shipping between 1760 and 1914'.⁷⁶ This importance is underlined by the fact that colliers were partially protected from impressment, as the master, master's mate and carpenter on all colliers were protected, as well as one seaman per 100 tons of vessel.⁷⁷ The coal trade from north-east England has been analysed by Simon Ville, through the business archive of Henley and Son, a London-based shipowner and coal merchant and one of the main suppliers of coal to the Royal dockyards. Ville showed that vertical integration was common in the coal trade, where merchants and colliery owners invested in shipping. He suggested that shipping was one of the country's chief users of capital, which played an important role in the industrialisation of Britain. By being adaptable for use in many trades, including the Baltic timber trade, Ville argued that colliers were an attractive investment.⁷⁸ It has been estimated that in 1799, the production of coal in Wales was the same volume as the production in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire and Derby put together, about 1.4 million tons. This was about half of the annual production of the coalfields in north-east England. Whereas the production of coal in the north-eastern coalfields had remained about one third of the total British coal production in the period 1770-1800, the proportion produced in south Wales increased from 1.8 per cent in 1770 to 8 per cent in 1800. The increased production probably reflects an increased local consumption after 1780 as the local iron industries developed.⁷⁹ Swansea and Milford supplied coal to the south coast, including Southampton, which also imported and redistributed coal from north-east England.⁸⁰

The second most important cargo carried by the coastal trade, after coal, was corn. East Anglia supplied corn, both to the London market, but also to north-east England. According to Defoe, all the southern English counties supplied corn to London.⁸¹ In the specific context of the south coast of England, not far from Southampton, Chichester and other Sussex ports supplied grain, flour, timber and groceries to Portsmouth, a port with which Southampton had close and regular contact. Salt was produced locally at Lymington and on Portsea Island and was shipped

⁷⁶ Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680-1830*, p. 6; John Armstrong, 'Transport and Trade', in *Atlas of British Social and Economic History Since C1700*, ed. by Rex Pope (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 96-133 (p. 101).

⁷⁷ David Steel, *The Ship-Master's Assistant and Owner's Manual* (David Steel, 1788), p. 230.

⁷⁸ Ville, *English Shipowning during the Industrial Revolution*, p. 3,21 and 148.

⁷⁹ Sidney Pollard, 'A New Estimate of British Coal Production, 1750-1850', *The Economic History Review*, 33.2 (1980), 212-35 (pp. 219, Table 5, 226 and 230, Table 15).

⁸⁰ Hussey, p. 45; Patterson, *History of Southampton*, p. 72.

⁸¹ Bagwell, p. 50; Gordon Jackson, *The Trade and Shipping of Eighteenth-Century Hull* (Hull: East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1975), pp. 80-81.

along the coast as well as traded inland, while Southampton ships carried timber from nearby Hythe and Redbridge to the naval dockyard in Portsmouth.⁸²

In the first half of the eighteenth century, about 60 per cent of Southampton's non-coastal trade was to the Channel Islands, but in smaller vessels than those that went to the Mediterranean, Baltic, or America. Most of the trade between Southampton and Guernsey was carried in vessels of 40-50 tons.⁸³ The Channel Islands had an advantageous geographical position and the islands, particularly Guernsey, served as entrepôts, clearing goods between England and many other countries. A significant factor behind the development of the Channel Islands as entrepôts for the wine trade was the absence of bonded warehouses in England. By storing wine in the warehouses of Guernsey and Jersey, the payment of import duty could be delayed until the wine was required for sale in England.⁸⁴ When Defoe visited Southampton in the 1720s, he recorded that the port's main trade was with Jersey and Guernsey. A hundred years later, this trade was still important, as shown by this comment in a contemporary manual for ship masters: 'Southampton [...] is the only port at which wool sent duty free to the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney and Sark, may be shipped'.⁸⁵ The wool trade between Southampton and the Channel Islands increased significantly in the late seventeenth century when the ban on the export of wool was lifted and English merchants were allowed to send raw wool to the Channel Islands in order for it to be turned into knitted stockings.⁸⁶ In the early eighteenth century, about 10 per cent of all cargoes shipped from Southampton to Jersey were of wool, not necessarily originating in the town or its hinterland. Many vessels would have called in at Southampton only to register the cargo as they were required to do by law. There is evidence that wool came to Southampton from London, having been shipped from other ports further afield. This trade enhanced the importance of Southampton's shipping to the regional economy.⁸⁷

⁸² James H Thomas, *The Seaborne Trade of Portsmouth, 1650-1800*, Portsmouth Papers, 40 (Portsmouth: Portsmouth City Council, 1984).

⁸³ Alex Anderson, 'Trade Between the Channel Islands (Particularly Jersey) and Southampton in the Mid-Eighteenth Century', *Annual Bulletin of La Societe Jersaise*, 18, part 4 (1964), 445-51 (p. 446); Jonathan Duncan, *The History of Guernsey; with Occasional Notices of Jersey, Alderney, and Sark, and Biographical Sketches* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1841), p. 266.

⁸⁴ Duncan, pp. 232-33; Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680-1830*, pp. 18, 21.

⁸⁵ Defoe, I, LETTER II, p. 80; David Steel and William Dickinson, *The Ship-Master's Assistant and Owner's Manual*, 15th edn (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821), p. 505.

⁸⁶ Jonathan Duncan, *The History of Guernsey; with Occasional Notices of Jersey, Alderney, and Sark, and Biographical Sketches* (London Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1841), p. 122 .

⁸⁷ Alex Anderson, p. 449.

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In addition to wool, Southampton sent out a range of foodstuffs, domestic goods and building materials necessary for life on the islands, particularly bricks manufactured in Southampton. Later in the eighteenth century, an increasing amount of luxury goods for consumption was shipped from Southampton. Ships' biscuits and a large number of clay pipes were imported to Jersey from Southampton, where there was a clay pipe factory. Guernsey imported colonial re-exports and materials, particularly bottles, for the entrepôt trade.⁸⁸ Southampton imported stockings from the Channel Islands, as well as leather for tanning in the town and other agricultural produce, including cattle. Cider as well as small quantities of French and Iberian wines were also brought from the islands. The volume of knitwear exported from Guernsey reduced significantly in the second half of the eighteenth century, while the stocking trade remained important for Jersey's economy throughout the century. According to Anderson, 'in 1748 Jersey sent 14,022 dozen pairs of stockings to Southampton [...] and nearly every incoming cargo at Southampton included some bales of stockings'.⁸⁹

It has been suggested that privateering and smuggling were important for the economy of Guernsey. However, Cox argued that, in spite of the profits made in this way, regular trade was the main driver of the Channel Islands' economy. Nevertheless, on numerous occasions the British Government tried to suppress the smuggling with the appointment of Customs officers and in 1767, in the face of local opposition, a Customs House was established in Guernsey. In 1777, a Guernsey merchant commented that due to the uncertain times (during the War of American Independence) the Navigation Acts were not being enforced in the island, with a resulting positive effect on the profits of local merchants. There was relatively more smuggling from Alderney, due to that island's proximity to the British mainland.⁹⁰ During the War of American Independence Irish and Scottish merchants, settled in Ostend, took advantage of the conflict by organising an elaborate smuggling operation involving Guernsey merchants. This smuggling network illegally traded tobacco, tea, brandy and Dutch gin via Ostend and Guernsey to south coast ports, including Southampton, Poole, and Portsmouth.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Alex Anderson, pp. 449–50; Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680–1830*, p. 30; Patterson, *History of Southampton*, pp. 3–4.

⁸⁹ Alex Anderson, p. 449; Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680–1830*, p. 30.

⁹⁰ *A People of the Sea: The Maritime History of the Channel Islands*, ed. by A. G. Jamieson (London; New York: Methuen, 1986), pp. 152–94; Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680–1830*, pp. 18–20, 23.

⁹¹ Jan Parmentier, 'The Sweets of Commerce: The Hennesys of Ostend and Their Network in the Eighteenth Century', in *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by David Dickson, Jane H. Ohlmeyer, and Jan Parmentier (Gent [Belgium]: Academia Press, 2007), pp. 67–91 (p. 80).

Britain's Overseas Maritime Trade

The records for the trade between England and Ireland are more comprehensive than is the case for much of the rest of the trade round the British Isles. This is due to the fact that the trade with Ireland was considered as overseas trade in government records until 1824. The Anglo-Irish trade has been analysed in L.M. Cullen's *Anglo Irish trade 1660-1800* (1968), described as 'a landmark in Irish economic history'. Cullen showed that the Anglo-Irish trade 'bears a closer resemblance to the coastal trade of the period than to the foreign commerce', which was often carried on by 'more or less organised "colonies" of [British] merchants'.⁹²

English imports from Ireland were primarily agricultural and included cattle products, beef, tallow and hides, butter, and grain. Cork was the leading exporter of cattle products and salt beef was sold in substantial quantities to the Army and Navy. Hence, in the 1770s, there were about 60 master coopers in Cork, responsible for the salting of beef. After 1760, Irish exports of pork grew significantly and by 1798, more than 52,000 sides of bacon were exported to England annually, mainly from Waterford.⁹³ From the early 1700s Ireland exported heavily salted butter to continental Europe, particularly to Spain and Portugal, but was prohibited from exporting butter to Britain. However, in 1758, the British Cattle Act was suspended, lifting the ban on Irish export of beef and butter to Britain. From the late 1760s, a lightly salted butter was developed in Ireland to appeal to British consumer taste and exports rose substantially. Cork was one of the main exporters of butter to Britain and also exported butter to the Caribbean. In 1774-75, Cork supplied 34 per cent of all Irish butter exports to Britain. Other towns also participated in the butter export trade, particularly Youghal which was the centre of butter exports to Holland, France, and the Baltic and which also exported large quantities of grain, particularly oats. Armstrong suggested that in the 1750s Irish butter was sent coastwise from Bristol as far as Portsmouth while in the late 1750s, the Navy imported butter direct from Cork and Kinsale to Deptford, Portsmouth, and Plymouth.⁹⁴ Some of these

⁹² Skidmore, 'The Maritime Economy of North West England in the Later Eighteenth Century', p. 11 n9; Ralph Davis, 'Review of Cullen: Anglo-Irish Trade 1660-1800', *Irish Historical Studies*, 16.64 (1969), 503-5 (p. 505); L. M. Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968), p. 91; Thomas M Truxes, 'London's Irish Merchant Community and North Atlantic Commerce in the Mid-Eighteenth Century', in *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by David Dickson, Jan Parmentier, and Jane H. Ohlmeyer (Gent [Belgium]: Academia Press, 2007), pp. 271-93 (p. 273).

⁹³ David Dickson, *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster 1630-1830* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2005), p. 140; Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800*, p. 73.

⁹⁴ Dickson, *Old World Colony*, pp. 143-44 and 375; Skidmore, 'The Maritime Economy of North West England in the Later Eighteenth Century', p. 184; Horatio Townsend, *Statistical Survey of the County of*

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vessels would undoubtedly have called at Southampton. In the 1600s, wool and wool yarn was the single most important export article from Ireland to England, making up almost 52 per cent of total value of the exports. During the eighteenth century, wool exports gradually declined while the importance of linen increased significantly. English import restrictions on Irish linen were removed in 1696 and 1705 and linen, produced mainly in Ulster, became an important export to Britain. By 1788, linen products accounted for 71 per cent of all Irish exports to England.⁹⁵

British exports to Ireland included a significant proportion of re-exported colonial goods, mainly sugar, tobacco, and rum. Ireland imported large amounts of coal from Wales and Cumberland. For most of the eighteenth century, Whitehaven accounted for the largest proportion of this trade. In 1750, the port shipped between 70 and 80 per cent of the total coal exports from England to Ireland. However, it is possible that ships en route from Southampton to Ireland could have picked up a cargo from one of the Welsh coal ports.⁹⁶ Chichester, Arundel and Shoreham were among a handful of English ports exporting malt and wheat to Ireland in the second half of the eighteenth century. Vessels based in these towns were among those recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists trading in Southampton.⁹⁷

Throughout the eighteenth century, the continent was Britain's main export market. In 1751, 71 per cent of all English domestically produced exports went to a European country. The countries of north-western Europe, e.g. the Dutch Republic, the southern Netherlands and Germany, were the destination for a significant proportion of these exports. Not only British manufactured goods were traded with the northern European ports. By 1770, 85 per cent of British tobacco imports from America were re-exported and about one third of this trade went to northern and central Europe via Dutch ports. Other colonial re-exports, including rice, rum, and coffee, were also significant in this trade.⁹⁸ British merchants settled in continental towns

Cork (Dublin: The Dublin Society, 1810), p. 620; Armstrong, 'The Significance of Coastal Shipping in British Domestic Transport, 1550-1830', p. 73; Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800*, pp. 72-73.

⁹⁵ Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800*, p. 51; Ian Friel, *The British Museum Maritime History of Britain and Ireland C400-2001* (London: British Museum Press, 2003), p. 159; Davis, 'Review of Cullen: Anglo-Irish Trade 1660-1800', p. 504.

⁹⁶ Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800*, p. 82.

⁹⁷ Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800*, p. 90; *Lloyd's Register* 1778.

⁹⁸ Stephen Conway, 'Continental Connections: Britain and Europe in the Eighteenth Century', *History*, 90.299 (2005), 353-74 (pp. 358-59); C. Knick Harley, 'Trade: Discovery, Mercantilism and Technology', in *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, Industrialisation, 1700-1860*, ed. by Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), I, 175-203 (p. 183); Jacob M. Price, 'What Did Merchants Do? Reflections on British Overseas Trade, 1660-1790', *The Journal of Economic History*, 49.2 (1989), 267-84 (p. 276).

and cities, including Ostend, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Hamburg, and developed international trading networks.⁹⁹

Southampton had regular contact with several French ports including Dunkirk and Le Havre and in the 1780s a packet service was opened between Southampton and Le Havre in competition with a similar service from Portsmouth.¹⁰⁰ Elsewhere along the northern French coastline, Dunkirk supplied the London market with brandy and French wine. The town had a tobacco processing plant and a spirits distillery, both of which contributed to a growing population. Between 1774 and 1789, the population of Dunkirk almost doubled, from 15,944 to 27,106. St Malo, not far from Jersey supplied hemp to the dockyard in Portsmouth, much of it shipped in Southampton vessels.¹⁰¹ Further south, La Rochelle developed a significant colonial re-export trade in the course of the eighteenth century, as the port was one of a very small number with the privilege to trade directly with the French colonies. In 1787, this privilege was lifted and the port's importance waned.¹⁰² Overall, French trade decreased during the second half of the eighteenth century, particularly following the Seven Years War, but whenever international relations allowed, Britain had a busy trade with France, particularly in the re-export of British colonial goods.¹⁰³

There was a regular trade to Southampton with wine and fruit from Oporto, Lisbon, Cadiz, and Malaga. This trade was carried by a small number of larger ships, of about 130 tons.¹⁰⁴ Trade between Britain and the Iberian Peninsula was long established, particularly with Portugal where English merchants established substantial settlements in Lisbon and San Lucar during the eighteenth century. The English merchants were primarily involved in the direct trade between Portugal and England or North America, but probably also acted as agents for English

⁹⁹ Stephen Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Similarities, Connections, Identities* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 220; H.E.S. Fisher, 'Lisbon, Its English Merchant Community and the Mediterranean in the Eighteenth Century', in *Shipping, Trade and Commerce*, ed. by P.L. Cottrell and D.H. Aldcroft (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1981), pp. 23–44 (p. 23); W. E. Minchinton, 'Introduction', in *The Growth of English Overseas Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by W. E. Minchinton, Debates in Economic History (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1969), pp. 1–63 (p. 32).

¹⁰⁰ Patterson, *History of Southampton*, p. 73; Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 205.

¹⁰¹ Parmentier, 'The Sweets of Commerce: The Hennesys of Ostend and Their Network in the Eighteenth Century', p. 76; Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680-1830*, p. 10; Thomas, *The Seaborne Trade of Portsmouth, 1650-1800*, p. 9.

¹⁰² John Garretson Clark, *La Rochelle and the Atlantic Economy during the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), pp. 8, 156–57.

¹⁰³ Clark, p. 157; Price, 'What Did Merchants Do? Reflections on British Overseas Trade, 1660-1790', p. 276.

¹⁰⁴ Patterson, *History of Southampton*, p. 72.

merchants elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Scottish wine merchants settled in Madeira, where, by the end of the eighteenth century, more than a third of the 200-strong British merchant community were from Scotland.¹⁰⁵ As part of the Methuen Treaty between England and Portugal, signed in December 1703, England granted reduced customs duty on Portuguese wine and Portugal became England's, and later Britain's most important supplier of legally imported wine. Other Portuguese exports to Britain included fruits, such as figs, oranges, and lemons as well as cork and salt, which came from Setubal. The main import from Spain was wine, but also olive oil, which was used in the woollen industry. Raisins came from Malaga and Alicante and oranges from Seville. Spanish salt was exported from Alicante and Cadiz, while Bilbao exported wool and Basque iron to Britain. Britain exported woollen goods to both Spain and Portugal as well as fish from Newfoundland.¹⁰⁶ British ships carried a significant proportion of the Portuguese trade to Continental Europe as Portuguese vessels tended to concentrate on the trade with Brazil and the Portuguese Atlantic islands. According to British diplomatic reports half of the vessels entering or leaving Lisbon in 1772-73 were British.¹⁰⁷

Smuggling was an important, if unquantifiable, part of Britain's contact with the near continent and people from Southampton and its neighbouring ports undoubtedly participated in this traffic. According to contemporary estimates, the English smuggling trade employed 20,000 people in 1746, the main export being raw wool and the main imports brandy and French wines as well as colonial goods.¹⁰⁸

From the late 1660s, there was a growing demand in England for timber, both for housebuilding, a demand accelerated by the need to rebuild after the Great Fire of London, but also for shipbuilding, for naval as well as for merchant ships. The introduction of the Navigation Laws meant increased demand for English shipping as the Dutch who had previously been the principal carriers of English import goods were excluded and at the same time, English forests were unable to supply enough timber for the growing demand.¹⁰⁹ The

¹⁰⁵ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 228; David Hancock, 'Combining Success and Failure: Scottish Networks in the Atlantic Wine Trade', pp. 9-10; Fisher, 'Lisbon, Its English Merchant Community and the Mediterranean in the Eighteenth Century', pp. 23, 28.

¹⁰⁶ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 229; Simon Ville, *Transport and the Development of the European Economy, 1750-1918* (Houndsill, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 1990), p. 98; Rafael Uriarte Ayo, 'Anglo-Spanish Trade through the Port of Bilbao during the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century: Some Preliminary Findings', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 4.2 (1992), 193-217 (p. 195); Parmentier, 'The Sweets of Commerce: The Hennesys of Ostend and Their Network in the Eighteenth Century', p. 75.

¹⁰⁷ Fisher, 'Lisbon, Its English Merchant Community and the Mediterranean in the Eighteenth Century', pp. 27 and 34-35.

¹⁰⁸ Conway, 'Continental Connections: Britain and Europe in the Eighteenth Century', pp. 367-68.

¹⁰⁹ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 212.

Baltic region, including the Scandinavian countries, particularly Norway, had seemingly unlimited supplies of timber, iron and other naval stores such as hemp, flax and tar. Norway was the main source of timber to Britain. This included a wide range of different types, from house- and ship-building timber to ships' masts, primarily small and medium sized, i.e. less than 12 inches in diameter. The Norwegian timber was of a better quality than that from other sources and Norwegian sawmills were able to supply ready-cut timber, thus saving space, and freight costs, on the timber-carrying ships. Sweden supplied small amounts of timber, but until the 1760s, was Britain's main supplier of iron.¹¹⁰

From the middle of the eighteenth century, Russia became an increasingly important supplier of naval stores to Britain, underlined by the signing of an Anglo-Russian trade agreement in 1766.¹¹¹ Although the Royal Navy continued to prefer Swedish iron, during the 1760s, Russia became Britain's main supplier of iron.¹¹² By 1770 Russia was the world's largest exporter of iron, hides, hemp, flax, sailcloth and fur and Russian iron represented more than 50 per cent of total British iron imports. St Petersburg, the Russian capital, was the country's main port, but British merchants also traded through Archangel and Onega in the White Sea. In 1780, about 500 British merchants lived in St Petersburg, working alongside the Muscovy Company, which had held a monopoly on trade with Russia until 1698. The vast forests of the eastern Baltic were the source of oak, fir, and spruce timber, mainly for shipbuilding, including 'great' masts and for barrel staves, but also for other purposes such as housebuilding and furniture. As Russia's share of the timber and mast market grew, attracting some trade away from the eastern Baltic, grain exports from this area became progressively more important for British merchants.¹¹³ During the 1700s, Russia and the eastern Baltic became increasingly important export markets for British woollen cloth, and from the 1740s, Cheshire salt was exported into the Baltic in substantial quantities.¹¹⁴ Southampton had a small, but regular trade with the Baltic. Imports were mainly Norwegian and Russian timber and small quantities of iron. Like

¹¹⁰ H. S. K. Kent, 'The Anglo-Norwegian Timber Trade in the Eighteenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, 8.1 (1955), 62–74 (p. 62); Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, pp. 213, 217–19.

¹¹¹ P.H. Clendenning, 'The Background and Negotiations for the Anglo-Russian Commercial Treaty of 1766', in *Great Britain and Russia in the Eighteenth Century* (Newtonville, Mass: Oriental Research Partners, 1979), pp. 145–63.

¹¹² Clendenning, p. 148; Arcadius Kahan, 'Eighteenth-Century Russian-British Trade', in *Great Britain and Russia in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Anthony Glenn Cross (Newtonville, Mass: Oriental Research Partners, 1979), pp. 181–89 (p. 182).

¹¹³ Kent, 'The Anglo-Norwegian Timber Trade in the Eighteenth Century', p. 62; Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 29–30.

¹¹⁴ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, pp. 219, 225.

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most of the town's other trade, the Baltic trade grew significantly in the 1780s following the conclusion of the War of American Independence.¹¹⁵

The American colonies had an abundance of land, but a shortage of capital and labour. This position meant that American merchants were able to compete with their European counterparts in the supply of agricultural produce, both to Europe and to the West Indies, but not in the supply of manufactured goods. In the 1760s and early 1770s, Britain imported grain and flour from Quebec, Virginia, and Maryland, the latter two also supplied tobacco, and rice from the Carolinas and Georgia. Other imports included masts and other naval stores. The main exports from Britain to America were manufactured goods, principally cloth and a growing amount of consumer goods, particularly tea re-exported from the East.¹¹⁶

Based on an analysis of customs records, Gary Walton argued that most trade to and from America followed regular shuttle routes rather than triangular patterns. He also suggested that most of the trade between Britain and New England as well as the 'middle' colonies of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania was carried in colonially-owned vessels, whereas trade between Britain and the southern colonies of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia was predominantly carried in British-owned vessels.¹¹⁷ Doerflinger's analysis of the Philadelphia shipping registers for 1769-72 confirmed Walton's findings that triangular routes were uncommon and that 'most vessels followed a shuttle path, back and forth, between two ports'. Doerflinger argued that these regular trade patterns were the forerunners of the shipping lines, established from the early nineteenth century.¹¹⁸ In the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Southampton ships had participated in the cod and whale fisheries off Newfoundland. However, by the 1770s, the Newfoundland trade had moved away from Southampton, to Poole and other south coast ports. Ships from Jersey also participated in this trade.¹¹⁹

In November 1765, American merchants started a boycott of imported British goods, in response to direct taxes imposed by the 1765 Stamp Act. The boycott was not universally

¹¹⁵ Patterson, *History of Southampton*, pp. 72-73.

¹¹⁶ Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia*, ed. by Institute of Early American History and Culture (Williamsburg, Va.) (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987), pp. 107, 136; Kent, 'The Anglo-Norwegian Timber Trade in the Eighteenth Century', p. 64; Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 88-89.

¹¹⁷ Gary M. Walton, 'New Evidence on Colonial Commerce', *The Journal of Economic History*, 28.3 (1968), 363-89 (p. 366).

¹¹⁸ Doerflinger, pp. 116-17.

¹¹⁹ Alex Anderson, p. 450; Duncan, p. 233.

adopted and by 1770, it had dwindled and the Stamp Act was repealed.¹²⁰ During the following years sporadic conflicts occurred between British soldiers and armed colonists, incited by Parliament's renewal of direct taxes on tea. On 1 December 1774, the First Continental Congress banned imports from Britain. As the American rebellion gathered pace during 1775, Britain started a naval blockade. From 10 September 1775, all exports to Britain were banned by the colonists.¹²¹

In 1777, British privateers regularly intercepted American merchant ships with cargoes for or from Nantes in France. In June, the *Hampshire Chronicle* reported that American privateers were cruising outside Plymouth harbour. The following year the American privateer John Paul Jones raided Cumberland and northern coasts of Ireland and Hull's population was thrown 'into a great consternation' at the sight of an enemy privateer in the Humber. In 1778, France declared war on Britain. By 1780, Britain was also at war with Spain and the Netherlands, a situation that presented many dangers and problems for maritime trade.¹²²

However, although the War of American Independence caused serious disruption to British and American shipping, the strong commercial links across the Atlantic were durable. Britain's trade with America returned to pre-war levels almost as soon as the war ended in 1783 and before long trade with the United States of America was flourishing.¹²³

Conclusion

At the end of the eighteenth century, Britain's maritime trade was a global undertaking. Large and small vessels connected the British Isles with destinations around the world. The focus of smaller ports, such as Southampton, was primarily nearby destinations. For Southampton, this included the Channel Islands and the near continent. However, the town also had a thriving trade with other destinations such as Ireland, the Iberian Peninsula, and the coal ports in north-east England.

The present thesis examines and analyses the details of a database created for this research project from the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists. With the use of computer analysis,

¹²⁰ Doerflinger, pp. 188–92.

¹²¹ Doerflinger, pp. 194, 204; 'US History Timeline: 1700 - 1800'

<http://faculty.washington.edu/qtaylor/a_us_history/1700_1800_timeline.htm> [accessed 31 January 2017].

¹²² *Hampshire Chronicle*, 2, 9 and 16 June 1777. Friel, p. 135; Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*, p. 282.

¹²³ Kenneth Morgan, 'Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century', *English Historical Review*, 107.424 (1992), 626–50; Kenneth Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century*; Butel, p. 145.

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primarily using Microsoft Access, Excel and ArcGIS, the data is interrogated in order to understand the trading patterns used by merchant vessels calling at Southampton in the late eighteenth century. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the findings of the Southampton data for the years 1773-77 and supplements the information from the *Hampshire Chronicle* with data from other sources, notably *Lloyd's Register*. Based on a framework linked to maritime regions, chapters 3 to 5 investigate in turn Southampton's trade with the English Channel; the North Atlantic and Irish Sea, and the North Sea and the Baltic in the period 1773-77. This detailed analysis of the historical data provides the first systematic charting of the sea routes used by the vessels that carried Southampton's trade. Chapter 6 investigates the trade in two of Southampton's neighbouring ports, Portsmouth, and Cowes, particularly based on *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping list data for 1775 and compares this data with that from Southampton for the same year. Chapter 7 explores the seaborne trade of Southampton in the years 1787-88 and 1799-1800, primarily based on data from the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists. The evidence provided by this data, together with that examined in earlier chapters, offers an outline of the trends of Southampton's trade in peace and war during the final three decades of the eighteenth century. Chapter 8 uses case studies to illuminate the impact of the hostilities between Britain and America on Southampton's trade and the more general implications of the war for Britain's trade at this time. The concluding Chapter 9, argues that the relative importance of short-haul and long distance maritime trade in the eighteenth century is more complex and interlinked than hitherto has been assumed.

CHAPTER 2: SOUTHAMPTON'S MARITIME TRADE IN THE 1770S

This chapter offers an overview of Southampton's maritime trade in the 1770s. It provides an analysis of the patterns of shipping and trade in Southampton in the period between 1773 and 1777, based on quantified information from the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists and other sources. Until now very little empirical work has been done to study Southampton's trade in this period and by quantifying and analysing the commercial contacts and networks that comprised Southampton's seaborne trade, this thesis provides the first detailed analysis of the town's patterns of trade.

In 1761 the Swedish Count Kielmansegg visited Southampton and commented:

Southampton is supposed to be one of the prettiest and healthiest country towns in England; it is rather extensive and well populated, and possesses several fine houses. Its situation close to the sea, which runs far into the land here, and the surrounding country make it an exceedingly pleasant place. The town has its own harbour, of no great importance, however, and the trade is not extensive, being less than it might and ought to be [...]. Many people come here every year, partly for sea-bathing, partly by order of their physicians, who consider the air of Southampton to be the healthiest in all England.¹

In spite of this, often repeated, view of Southampton as a resort rather than a commercial port, many of the town's inhabitants made their living from the sea in one way or another. Both naval and merchant mariners had their home there and others were employed as ferrymen, ship-builders and Customs officers. As well as a number of resident merchants, the town and the surrounding countryside was also home to several East India Company officials who had returned from service abroad. It is possible to glimpse the presence of these people in Southampton in the parish registers, electoral rolls, and other local records as well as in the pages of the *Hampshire Chronicle*. An example is found in November 1786 when the newspaper recorded the marriage of Edward Fyott, 'commander of the Hartwell East-Indiaman' to Miss Sarah Lys, daughter of a Southampton gentleman.² In April 1777 Stephen Hobbs, a ferryman on the Hamble, inserted a notice in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, apologising for having 'neglected to be in readiness, on the 31st of December last, to carry over all passengers immediately upon their requiring it'. He had been prosecuted for his absence,

¹ Quoted in Patterson, *History of Southampton*, p. 40.

² *Hampshire Chronicle* 20 November 1786.

which could possibly have been due to excessive New Year's celebrations and had agreed to pay for the newspaper advertisement in lieu of a fine.³ An indication of the number of seafarers who could be found in Southampton can be seen in a report from July 1790, when the press-gang had made a 'general sweep at Northam and Southampton river, paying no regard to protections. – It is said that they picked up more than 26 able seamen'.⁴ As might be expected in a port town, there is regular evidence in Southampton of seafarers from elsewhere; when Nicholas Morant married Elizabeth Galley in December 1776, the parish register noted that the groom was 'of the shallop Providence now in the harbour of Southampton' and was, therefore, almost certainly not from the town.⁵ So, eighteenth-century Southampton was a maritime town where the pace of life was inextricably linked to the ebb and flow of the shipping and trade of the Solent.

The *Hampshire Chronicle* Shipping Lists

When the first shipping lists were published in the new *Hampshire Chronicle* in August 1772, readers were able to access regular information about the port's maritime trade for the first time. Other newspapers, such as the *Salisbury Journal* and *Lloyd's List* already included some information about vessels calling at Southampton, but not on a regular basis. The shipping lists were of immediate interest to shipowners and merchants, who needed up to date commercial information, to prospective passengers or shippers of goods but also to mariners and their relatives who would want to follow the activity of colleagues, relatives and friends. In November 1772, a notice in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, highlighted the importance of the shipping news, observing that 'If masters of vessels would, in such stormy weather as we have had latterly, send to the nearest News-paper an early notice of their arrival at any port, it would give great satisfaction to the parties concerned'.⁶

For the historian, the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists provide information about trade routes and shipping patterns. The lists can also be used as a key to additional sources including customs records, *Lloyd's Register*, the Sound Toll Registers, records of Mediterranean Passes

³ *Hampshire Chronicle* 14 April 1777.

⁴ *Hampshire Chronicle* 19 July 1790. Protections were documents issued to some seafarers in order to protect them from being forcibly recruited by the Royal Navy.

⁵ Transcription of Holy Rhood parish registers, 1653-1812, Southampton City Archive. Of the 383 men voting in Southampton in the 1774 Parliamentary election 45 were listed as either merchants, mariners, ship builders, block makers, sail makers or customs officers. The most numerous group of voters were the 118 gentlemen (Southampton Record Office SC12/2/5). A shallop was a two-masted boat, William Falconer and William (rev) Burney, *New Universal Dictionary of the Marine* (London: Macdonald & Jane's, 1815, reprinted 1974).

⁶ *Hampshire Chronicle* 16 November 1772

and surviving port books from other ports with which Southampton was connected. The quantitative analysis of the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for 1773-77 enables us to understand some of the factors that affected not just Southampton's trade, but which influenced the commercial life of Britain at this time. As discussed in the introduction, the five-year period 1773-77 has been chosen as the focus of this study, primarily because of the availability of an almost complete sequence of *Hampshire Chronicle* Southampton data for these years.

Journeys between Southampton and Portsmouth or the Isle of Wight were mostly not recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, probably because of the proximity of the ports and the regular traffic that undoubtedly took place. According to the *Southampton Guide* 1775, 'there are passage boats and sloops to Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight almost every day' and also a regular goods traffic. However, these vessels may have been regarded as too small or too numerous to be included.⁷ Administratively, Portsmouth was regarded as part of the port of Southampton by the Board of Customs.⁸ As a Head Port, Southampton's customs officers included the customer, controller and searcher, who had jurisdiction over the two member ports, Portsmouth and Cowes and some smaller creeks. However, there is no evidence that this administrative link between the three ports affected the recording of trade with other ports in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists.⁹

Figures 2.1 and 2.2 show the regional composition of the destinations of ships arriving in and leaving from Southampton between 1773 and 1777. Most of the town's direct trade was with ports located in the English Channel and North Sea, with a smaller number of journeys recorded to and from North Atlantic ports. Direct trade with ports in the Baltic, Mediterranean, Caribbean and Irish Sea made up just a small proportion of the recorded journeys. There were a total of 5093 journeys recorded in Southampton between 1773 and 1777, with a noticeable drop in numbers of journeys in 1775, a year which marked an increase in hostilities between Britain and the American colonists. Stephen Conway has shown how the War of American Independence affected local communities in the British Isles, economically, culturally, and politically. The impact of increased government spending on provisions and

⁷ Anon., *The Southampton Guide*, pp. 27, 70.

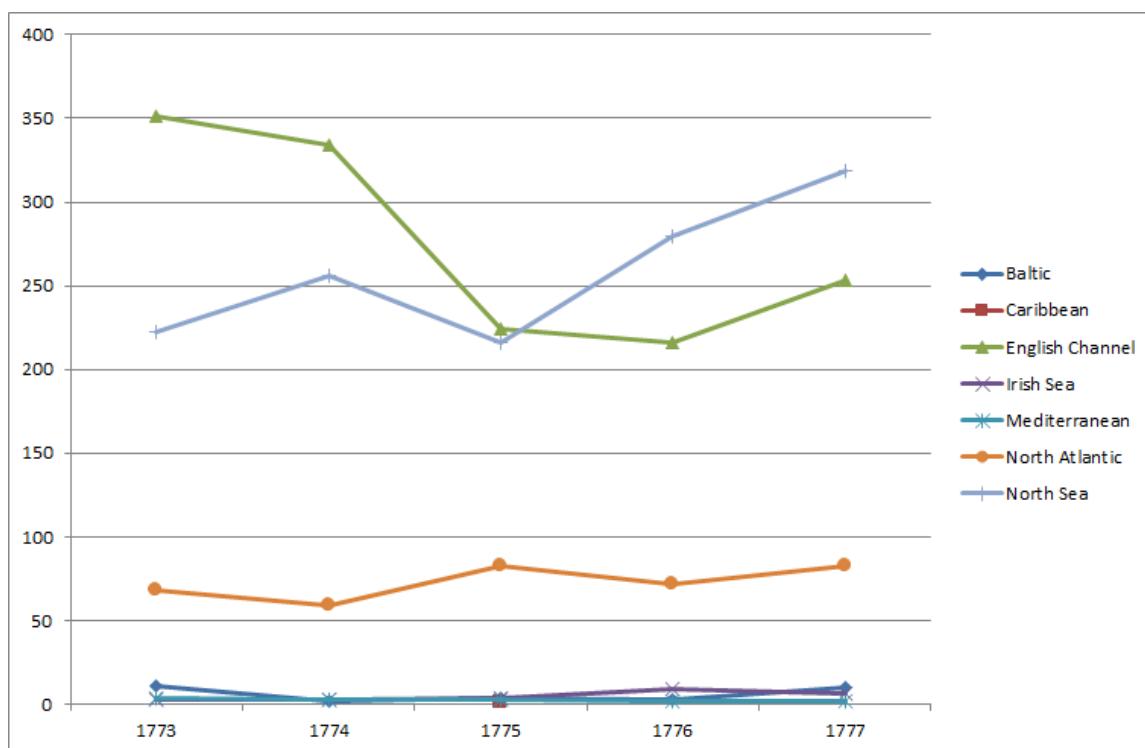
⁸ E.A. Carson, 'The Customs Records of Portsmouth', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 5.7 (1977), 429-36; R. C. Jarvis, 'Sources for the History of Ports', *The Journal of Transport History*, fs-3.2 (1957), 76-93.

⁹ Elizabeth Evelynola Hoon, *The Organization of the English Customs System, 1696-1786*. By Elizabeth Evelynola Hoon. (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1968), p. 167; Henry Saxby, *The British Customs* (London: Baskett, 1757), p. 392; R. C. Jarvis, 'The Appointment of Ports', *The Economic History Review*, 11.3 (1959), 455-66 (p. 466).

supplies to the Army and Navy affected food prices and increased the tax burden. One possible cause of the reduced number of recorded journeys is the reduced availability of shipping for Southampton's trade. Shipowners would have been attracted by the government's need for ships to carry supplies and men to the Royal Navy bases and across the Atlantic and may have opted for that business rather than ordinary coastal traffic. The increased dangers presented by American privateers may also have put shipowners off trade on the south Coast.¹⁰

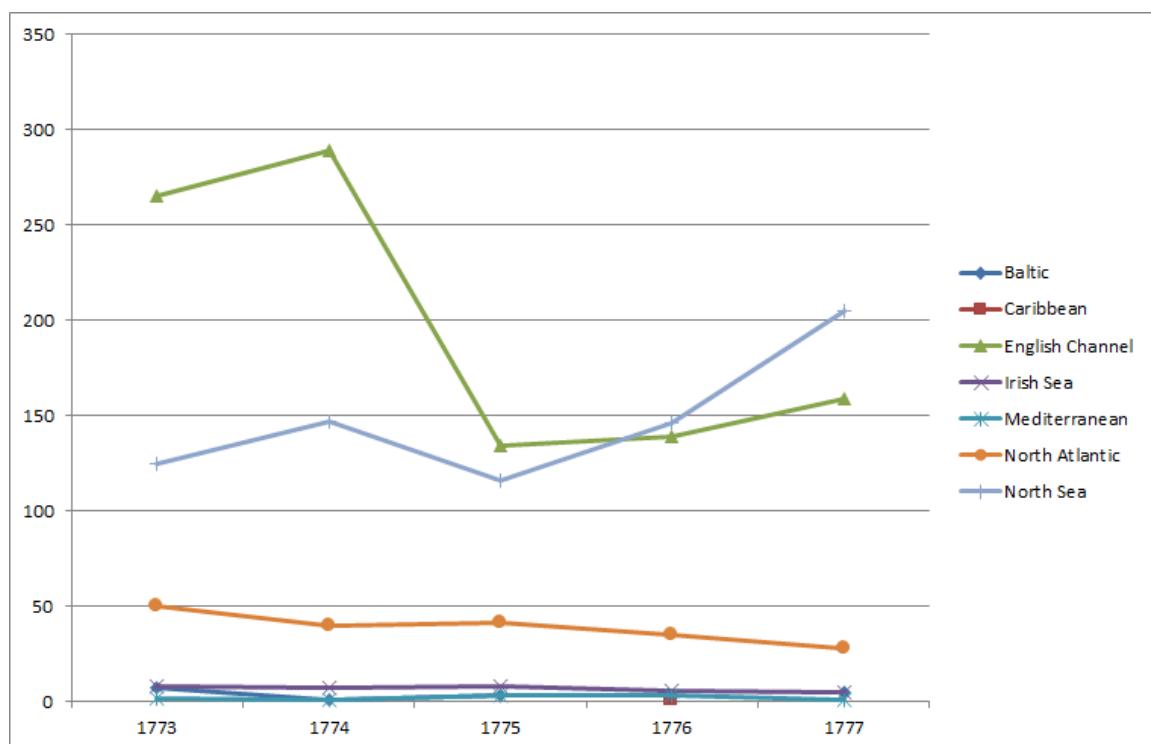
The decrease in numbers is particularly noticeable in relation to the number of departing ships. The number of journeys gradually increased again in 1776 and 1777, but not to the same level as in the pre-war years. In 1773, 52 per cent of the vessels arriving in Southampton came from a port located in the English Channel. By 1777, this figure had dropped to 38 per cent, primarily due to a near halving of the number of vessels arriving from ports in south-west England. The proportion of vessels leaving Southampton for a port in the English Channel dropped from 57 per cent in 1773 to 40 per cent in 1777. The decrease was mainly due to the

Figure 2.1: Vessels arriving at Southampton, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

¹⁰ Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*; David Syrett, 'The Organization of British Trade Convoys During the American War, 1775–1783', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 62.2 (1976), 169–81.

Figure 2.2: Vessels clearing Southampton, 1773-1777

Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

number of vessels leaving for ports in south-west England declining from 92 in 1773 to 38 in 1777. The number of vessels leaving for Channel Island ports decreased from 120 in 1773 to 98 in 1777 while only 11 vessels left Southampton for a port in south-east England in 1777, compared to 41 in 1773.

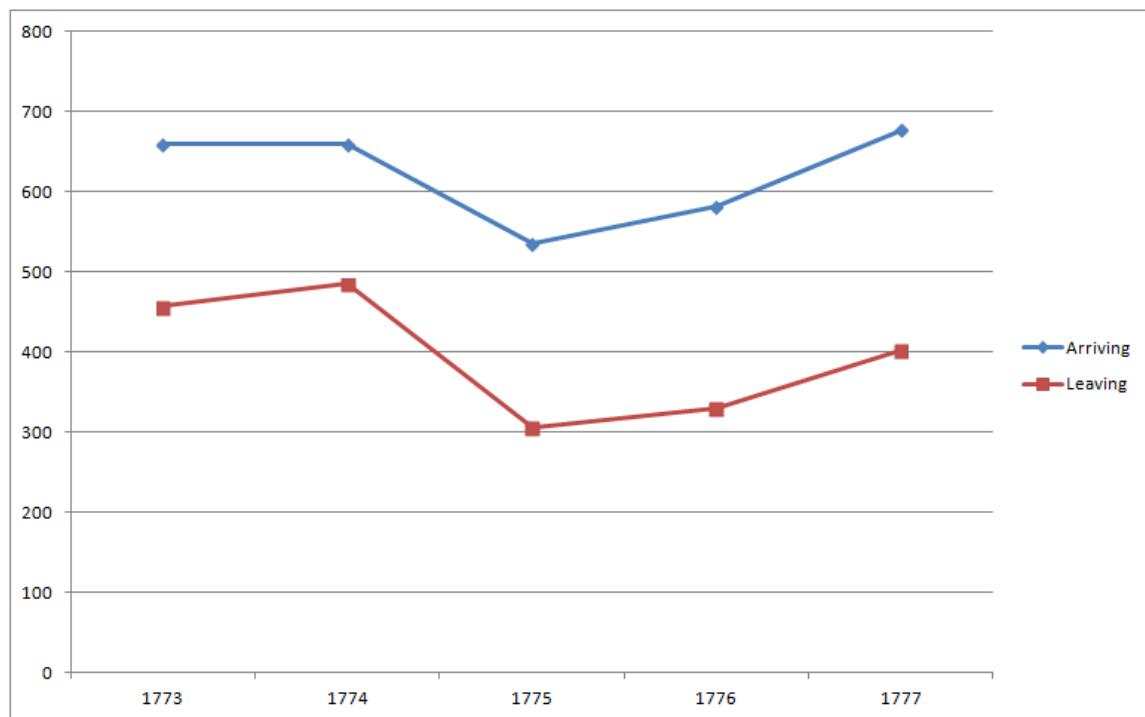
There are no directly comparable figures for any other British port as most other studies list 'coastal' as a category, without dividing the data into different geographical areas of the British Isles. An example of this is Pope's analysis of Liverpool's trade in the 1780s, which shows that almost 50 per cent of the port's trade was in vessels coming from or going to a coastal port. Around 40 per cent of the Liverpool vessels traded with foreign North Atlantic ports, while vessels trading with foreign ports in the North Sea, Baltic, Mediterranean and Irish Sea totalled about 10 per cent.¹¹ However, Jackson's study of Hull includes enough detail for it to be possible to calculate the relative importance of vessels arriving from and leaving for different regions, both British and foreign. In the early 1770s, almost 50 per cent of the vessels calling at Hull were for or from a North Sea port, with English Channel ports at 35 per cent. Vessels trading with ports in the Irish Sea, North Atlantic or Mediterranean made up less than 5 per

¹¹ Pope, Vol. 1, Table 21.

cent with about 12 per cent trading with ports in the Baltic.¹² In the same way that the Southampton data from the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists shows a predominance of destinations which are geographically close to Southampton, Jackson's study showed how Hull's shipping was focussed on nearby destinations. As mentioned previously, the data does not provide information about the further journeys of the vessels recorded.

The distribution between arrivals in and departures from Southampton 1773-1777 (Figure 2.3) shows more arrivals recorded than departures. The graphs for arrivals and departures are close to being parallel but are not overlapping. The gap between the two graphs probably indicates that ships leaving in ballast, e.g. without a commercial cargo, were not recorded. Similar patterns of more vessels being recorded arriving in than clearing a port have been found in both Hull and London for the 1760s and 1770s and also in Bristol and other south-west English ports in the early 1700s. However, Hussey's analysis of the Bristol port books data from the early 1700s showed that the south Wales coal ports had significantly greater numbers of departing than arriving vessels, 'a result of the economics of the coal trade and the commercially underdeveloped nature of the south Wales hinterland' which made it difficult for

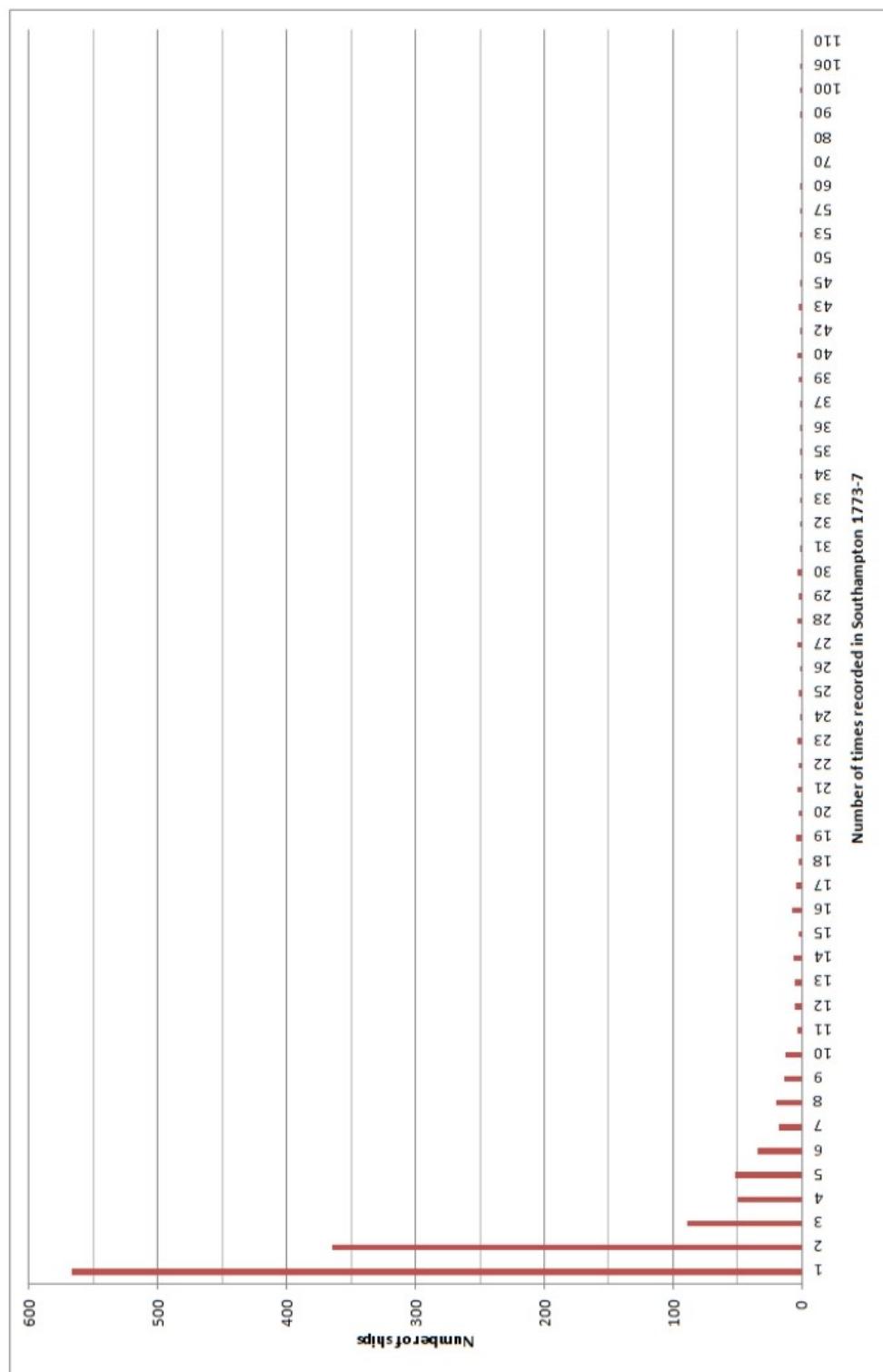
Figure 2.3: Vessels arriving at or leaving from Southampton, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

¹² Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, Appendices 3, 7 and 12.

Figure 2.4: Vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for Southampton, 1773-1777



collier captains to get a return cargo.¹³ It is likely that the information published in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists originated from local customs records which would have been copied by the newspaper's correspondents. The lower number of recorded clearances corresponds with the fact that the purpose of customs records was to record the entry and exit of goods, not vessels.

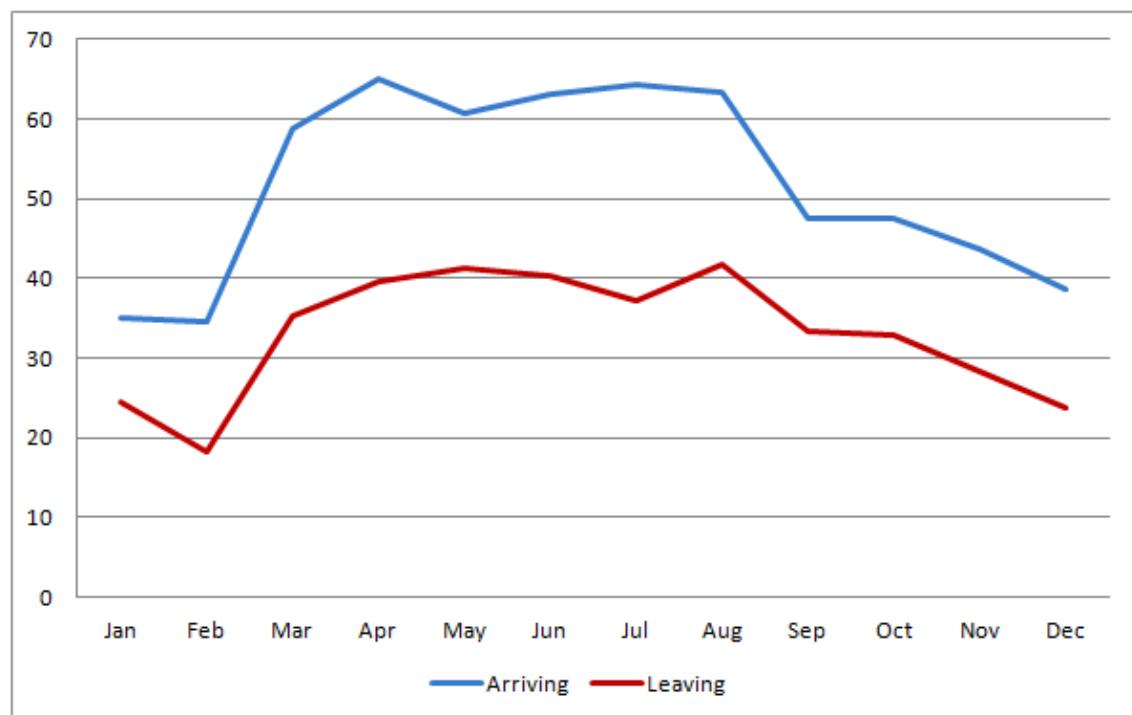
Figure 2.4 illustrates the composition of Southampton's trade in the 1770s. Based on the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists it is possible to identify 1311 unique ship-master combinations which called at Southampton in the years between 1773 and 1777. Of these, 567 or 43 per cent of the ships called just once during the five-year period. Only 89 ships called more than 10 times, however these ships accounted for 46 per cent or 2323 of the total number of journeys. These figures indicate a complex pattern of trade, with a small group of regular traders and the majority of vessels calling only on an occasional basis. The case studies discussed below illustrate that there were probably many different reasons why a vessel might appear in Southampton only once in the five-year period. One possible cause can be derived from Hussey's analysis of the patterns of Bristol's trade in the early 1700s. Hussey argued that captains might pick up cargoes for intermediate coastal ports on their way between their main destinations, e.g. North Sea ports and Bristol, in order to avoid a lengthy stay in port while waiting for cargo with resulting expensive port dues. The *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping list data suggests that for many vessels Southampton may have been one of these intermediate coastal ports.¹⁴ Mannion argued that the frequency with which a vessel was recorded in a port could illustrate its wider trading pattern, venturing that 'A focus on the movement of individual vessels indicates the extent to which they were committed to a single route or visited a port less regularly, one leg in a more complicated spatial pattern of voyages'.¹⁵ While there could be many different reasons why a vessel would only be recorded in Southampton once during the period 1773-77, the seasonal variations of Southampton's trade were more straightforward. Unsurprisingly, the port's maritime traffic was greatest during the summer months, when the weather was better and it was safer to travel by sea (Figure 2.5). On average, fewest ships left the port in February, most in August. Most vessels arrived in April, when an average of 65 ships would arrive during the month, but a steady number of

¹³ Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, Appendices 3, 7 and 12; Christopher J. French, 'The Trade and Shipping of the Port of London, 1700-1776' (unpublished Doctor of Philosophy, University of Exeter, Department of Economic History, 1980), pp. 173, 182; Hussey, pp. 36-41.

¹⁴ Hussey, p. 37.

¹⁵ Mannion, 'The Maritime Trade of Waterford in the Eighteenth Century', p. 208.

Figure 2.5: Vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for Southampton 1773-1777, monthly averages



more than on average 60 arrivals per month occurred between April and August. Very limited research has been published about the seasonal variations of British maritime trade in the eighteenth century, however it is well known that most merchant ships would be laid up during the winter when, as Defoe put it 'the northern seas and coasts being [...] dangerous, the nights long, and the voyage hazardous'.¹⁶ The shipping patterns uncovered in Figure 2.5 correspond well with data from the logbook of the Baltic trader *Ann*, trading between London and Petersburg in the 1790s. The vessel would usually leave London on the first voyage of the year in April, arriving in Petersburg in May and returning to London in July. A second voyage would commence in September, returning to London towards the end of December.¹⁷

Lloyd's Register

By comparing the information provided by the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists with *Lloyd's Register* for a sample year, it is possible to enhance the fairly limited shipping data listed in the newspaper and to suggest what type of vessels traded on Southampton in the 1770s. The year 1778 has been chosen as a sample because the surviving edition of *Lloyd's Register* is complete

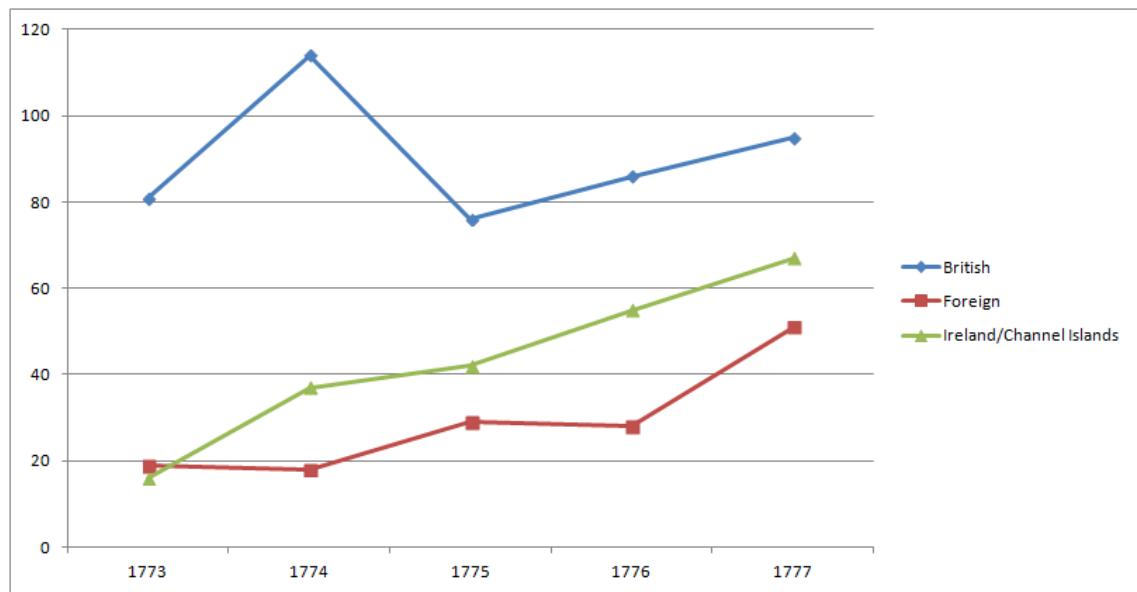
¹⁶ Quoted in Jackson, *The History and Archaeology of Ports*, p. 43.

¹⁷ Paper by Alex Werner: 'The Merchant Trader *Ann* in Port and Beyond' at 'Before the Docks: London River and Port in the Eighteenth Century' conference of the Docklands History Group, 7 May 2016.

and as it is at the end of the period studied, so should include as many of the vessels as possible.

Of the 1311 ships calling at Southampton between 1773 and 1777, 15 per cent or 206 ships are also listed in *Lloyd's Register* 1778. Behrendt and Solar's study of the use of *Lloyd's Register* as a source for late eighteenth-century maritime history has shown that the *Register* is more comprehensive for foreign-going ships than for coasting vessels.¹⁸ However, the spread of destinations as recorded for Southampton in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists 1773-77 for just the 206 vessels listed in *Lloyd's Register* for 1778 (figure 2.6) shows that most of the journeys undertaken by these vessels were to or from a British port, with destinations in Ireland and the Channel Islands second. The number of journeys to and from foreign ports increased from 19 in 1773 to 51 in 1777 out of a total number of journeys in 1777 of 217.

Figure 2.6: Distribution of number of journeys undertaken by vessels listed in *Lloyd's Register* 1778 and recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for Southampton to and from British, Foreign and Irish/Channel Island ports



Figures 2.7, 2.8, 2.9 and 2.10 compare the regional distribution of 1773-1777 journeys recorded in Southampton by ships listed in *Lloyd's Register* 1778 with all the journeys recorded in Southampton 1773-1777. Although the distributions are not identical, the overall spread of destinations is similar for the two groups, with a concentration of journeys to the Channel Islands, north-east England, Ireland, Portugal and the near continent. The assumption has

¹⁸ Stephen D Behrendt and Peter M. Solar, 'Sail on, Albion: The Usefulness of Lloyd's Registers for Maritime History, 1760-1840', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 26.3 (2014), 568-86.

Figure 2.7: Distribution of journeys recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for Southampton 1773-1777 by vessels listed in *Lloyd's Register* 1778

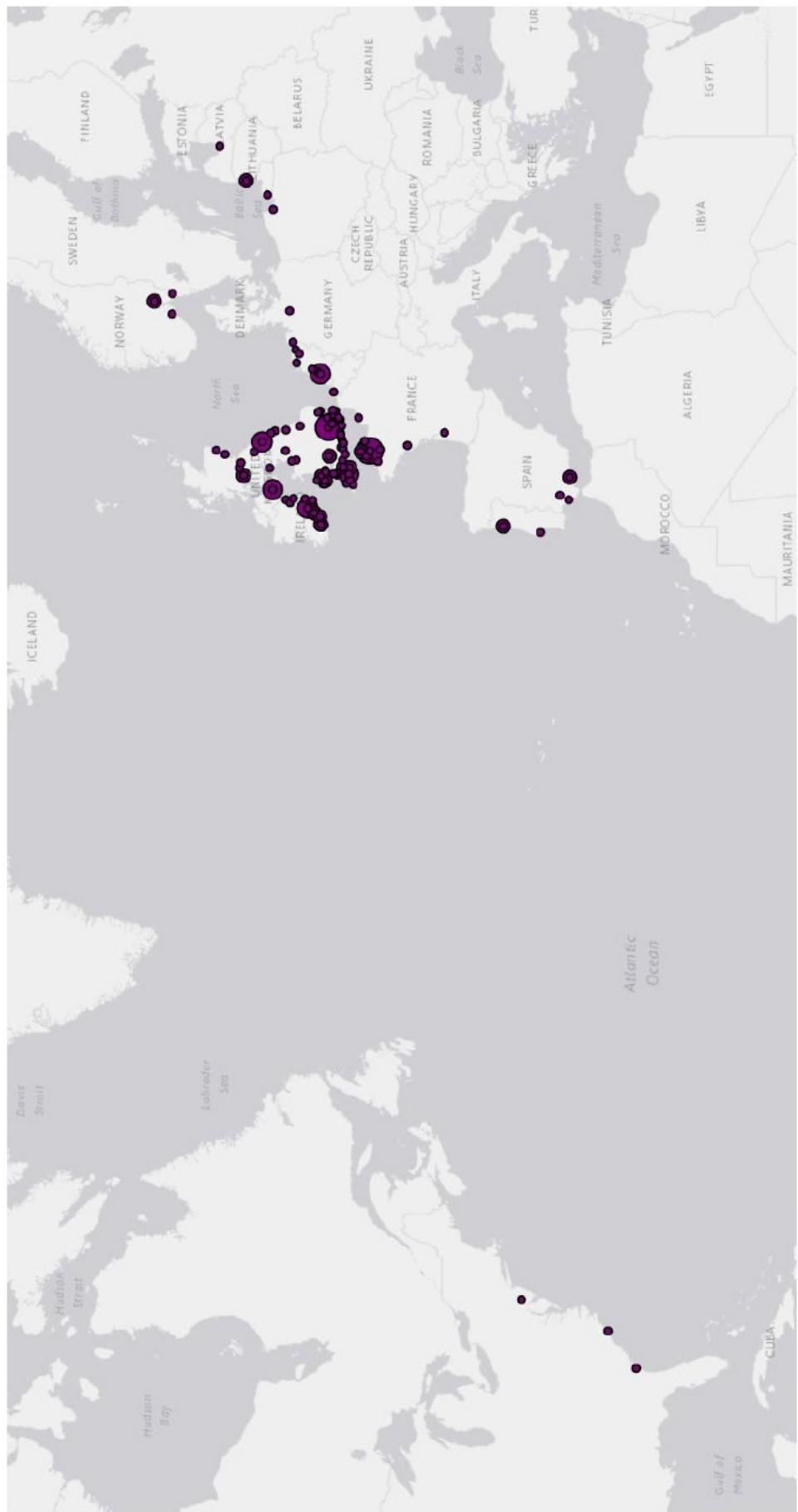


Figure 2.8: Distribution of all journeys recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for Southampton 1773-1777

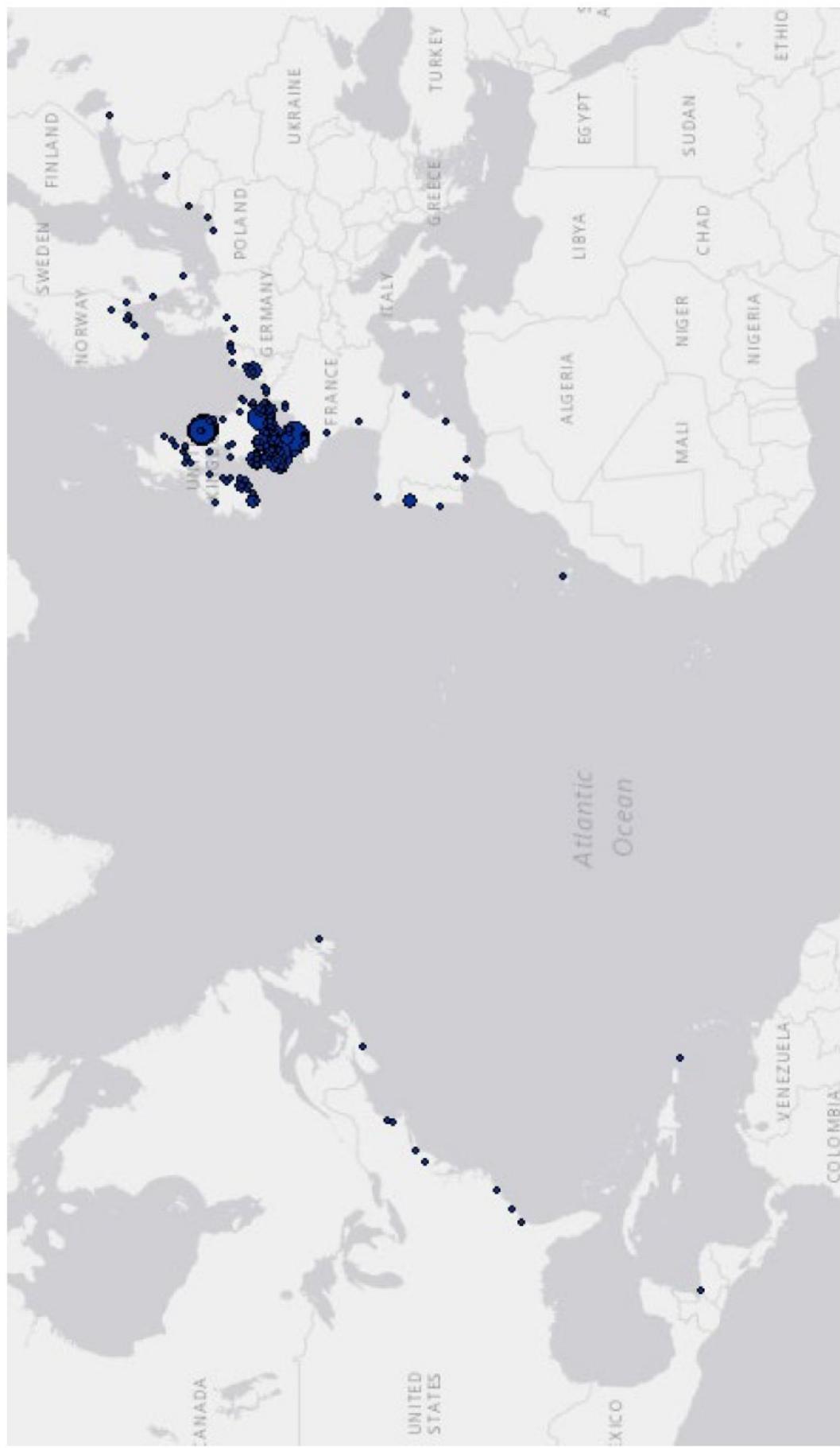


Figure 2.9: Regional percentage of journeys recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for Southampton 1773-1777 by vessels listed in *Lloyd's Register* 1778

	Baltic	Caribbean	English Channel	Irish Sea	Mediterranean	North Atlantic	North Sea
1773	7.8%	0.0%	31.0%	1.7%	1.7%	18.1%	39.7%
1774	1.2%	0.0%	44.4%	2.4%	0.6%	19.5%	32.0%
1775	0.7%	0.0%	30.6%	4.1%	2.0%	24.5%	38.1%
1776	1.2%	0.0%	26.0%	5.9%	2.4%	26.6%	37.9%
1777	3.3%	0.0%	32.4%	2.8%	1.4%	24.9%	35.2%

Figure 2.10: Regional percentage of all journeys recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for Southampton 1773-1777

	Baltic	Caribbean	English Channel	Irish Sea	Mediterranean	North Atlantic	North Sea
1773	1.6%	0.0%	54.2%	1.0%	0.5%	11.6%	31.1%
1774	0.3%	0.0%	53.9%	0.9%	0.4%	9.4%	35.3%
1775	0.8%	0.1%	42.6%	1.4%	0.7%	14.8%	39.5%
1776	0.3%	0.1%	38.8%	1.6%	0.5%	11.8%	46.7%
1777	1.4%	0.0%	38.2%	1.0%	0.3%	10.4%	48.7%

therefore been made for this study that the group of 206 ships listed in *Lloyd's Register* 1778 can be used as a good sample. The *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping list information can thus be combined with information from other sources, such as *Lloyd's Register*, to unlock additional information about the nature of the fleet of ships that traded in Southampton in the 1770s.

According to Davis, 'Nearly all ships [...] were much smaller than 200 tons, even as late as 1788'. Ship registration in 1788 show that five out of every six ships were less than 200 tons, 'The proportion would have been appreciably higher two decades earlier'.¹⁹ The information from *Lloyd's Register* relating to the vessels recorded in Southampton 1773-77 can be compared with research done into the composition of Hull's and Liverpool's merchant fleets in the 1770s and 1780s. In 1770, the average size of vessels clearing Hull was 134 tons, while the average tonnage of vessels entering the port was 153 tons.²⁰ The average sizes of vessels entering and clearing Liverpool in 1785 ranged from 39 tons for vessels engaged in coastal trade to 304 tons for vessels trading to the Baltic. The average tonnage of a vessel trading between Liverpool and the Mediterranean in 1785 was 92 tons, while North Sea traders averaged 138 tons.²¹ The tonnage of vessels that traded in Southampton was probably comparable to the figures quoted for Liverpool where, as we have seen, most vessels were

¹⁹ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 79.

²⁰ Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 134.

²¹ Pope, Vol. 1, Table 26.

Chapter 2

engaged in the coastal trade. 63 per cent of the vessels, listed in *Lloyd's Register* 1778 and recorded in Southampton between 1773 and 1777 were 100 tons or less. Only nine vessels were larger than 200 tons (Figure 2.11).

Figure 2.11: Tonnage of vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for Southampton 1773-1777 and listed in *Lloyd's Register* 1778

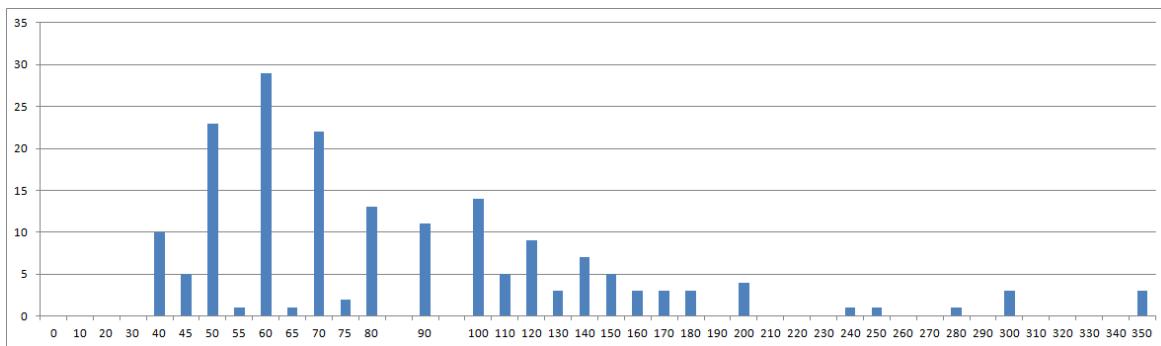


Figure 2.12: Rigging type and build place of vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for Southampton 1773-1777 and listed in *Lloyd's Register* 1778

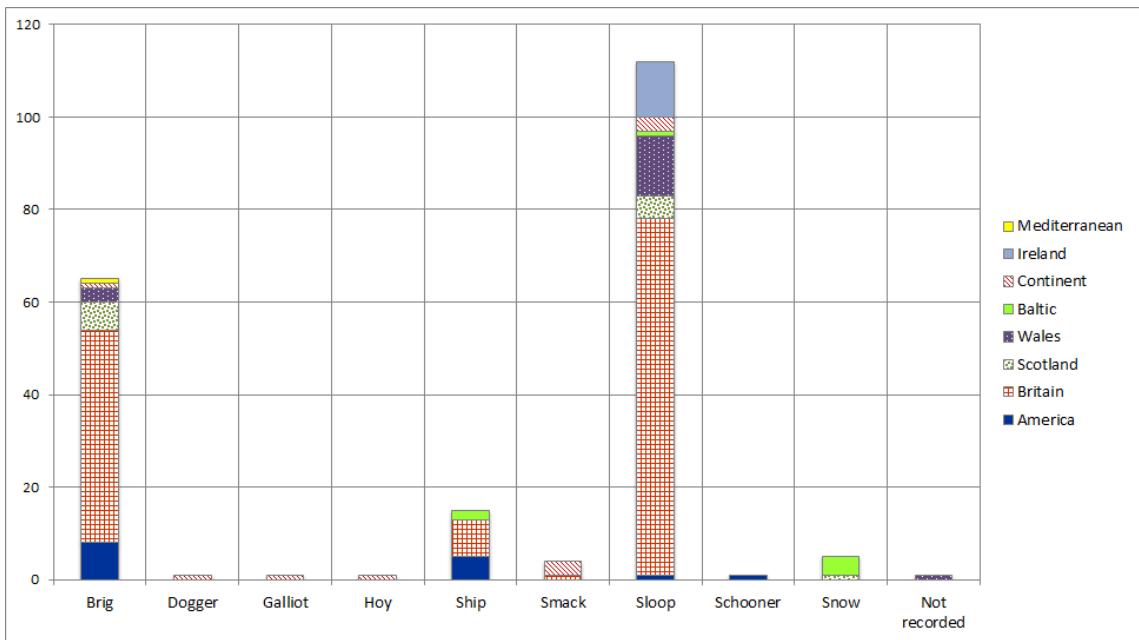


Figure 2.12 shows that more than half of the vessels, listed in *Lloyd's Register* 1778 and recorded in Southampton between 1773 and 1777, were sloops. These were small one-masted vessels, the majority of which traded on the routes to the Channel Islands, south-west, and south-east England. Very occasionally, sloops would make journeys further afield, as far as Portugal or the Baltic. This use of sloops for longer-distance voyages was not uncommon, in

the Caribbean, 'sloops as small as four and five registered tons made 2,500-mile round-trip voyages between Bermuda and Jamaica in the 1680s'.²²

The second most frequently occurring rigging type was that of the brig or brigantine. Most of the journeys undertaken in or out of Southampton by brigs were for or from north-east England, where the collier brig was a popular vessel. Brigs were also used in Southampton's trade with Spain and Portugal and with America. The brig *Kingston*, 120 tons, employed seven crew while the sloop *Hollam*, 60 tons, carried a crew of eight. Both vessels sailed on the routes between Southampton and Spain or Portugal, so the size of the vessel was obviously not the main determining factor when deciding how many crew members to employ.²³ Journeys made by the larger, three-masted ship-rigged vessels totalled less than seven per cent of the total number of journeys recorded in Southampton by vessels listed in *Lloyd's Register* 1778. Most of these journeys were to or from the Baltic, where bulky cargoes of timber and masts required large vessels. A few of the journeys undertaken by ships were also for or from Norwegian ports or ports in north-west England. The remaining rigging types represented were mostly single-masted ships, some of Dutch origin, like the Hoy or the Dogger.²⁴

Figure 2.13.a: Brig or brigantine

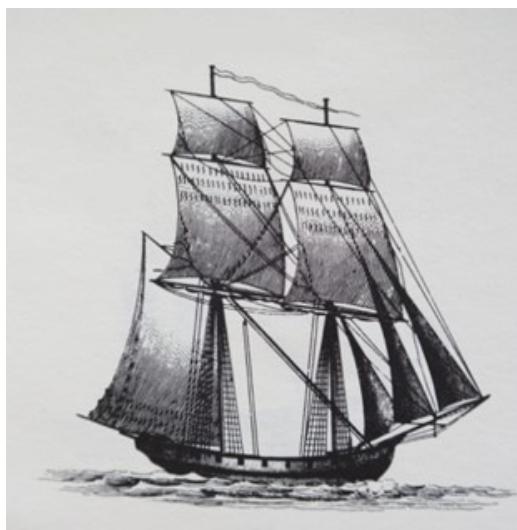
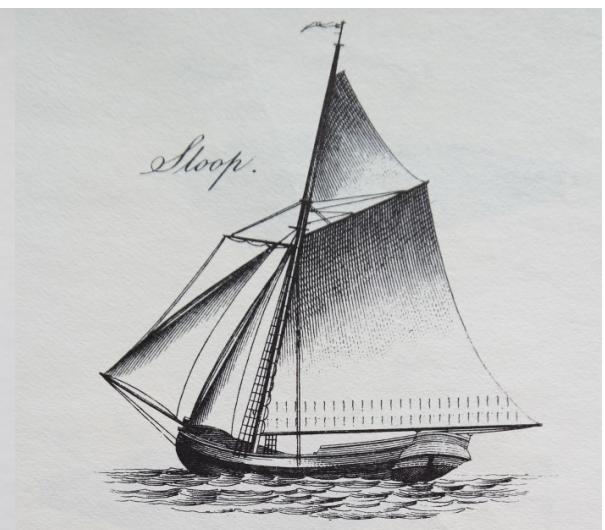


Figure 2.13.b: Sloop



Source: Both from Falconer: *A New Universal Dictionary of the Marine* (1815, reprinted 1974)

²² Michael J. Jarvis, 'On the Material Culture of Ships in the Age of Sail', in *Pirates, Tar, and Memory: New Directions in American Maritime History*, ed. by P.A. Gilje and William Pencak (Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport, 2007), pp. 51–72 (p. 53).

²³ TNA Mediterranean passes ADM 7/100

²⁴ David R. MacGregor, *Merchant Sailing Ships. 1: 1775 - 1815: Sovereignty of Sail*, 2.ed (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1985), pp. 99–107.

Peter Solar has analysed all the entries in *Lloyd's Register* for 1779 and his analysis shows that square-rigged brigs or ships accounted for almost 70 per cent of all the vessels recorded, while sloops were the third most frequently occurring, accounting for only around 12 per cent, so a distinctly different picture to that emerging for the vessels trading in Southampton.²⁵

About three quarters of the 206 vessels listed in the 1778 *Lloyd's Register* and also in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists were British built, with most of those being built in southern England. Seventeen had been built in Southampton. Most of the vessels that had not been built in Britain came from America, some possibly taken as prizes in the early years of the war. In 1788, nine out of Guernsey's fleet of 69 were identified as prize ships.²⁶ The origin of the other non-British ships reflected Southampton's trading contacts, including the Norwegian-owned and -built snow *Ingeborg Sophia*, which was recorded twice in Southampton in 1777 on a return journey from Frederikshald in Norway. The snow was popular in the Baltic region, where it was regarded as a fast and responsive vessel. It was described by contemporaries as 'the largest of all two-masted vessels employed by Europeans'.²⁷

Vessels were commonly owned by a number of part-owners, which widened investment opportunities to include shareholders with limited resources as well as those of greater wealth. The ownership of many larger vessels was divided into shares in divisors of four, so eighths, sixteenths, thirty-seconds, or sixty-fourths. However, many small vessels had only one or two owners. Probably due to limitations of space, *Lloyd's Register* listed only one named shipowner per vessel, often with '& co' to indicate a larger number of owners.²⁸

Most of the 206 of the vessels listed in *Lloyd's Register* 1778 and recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for Southampton between 1773 and 1777 were owned by someone who did not own any other vessels within this group (Figure 2.14). If all the data in *Lloyd's Register* had been analysed, it is possible that some of these owners owned other ships that did not call at Southampton. However, such an analysis is beyond the scope of this study. 90 of the vessels were owned by the ship's captain or the captain in partnership with others and another eight by someone with the same name as the captain. These eight owners were

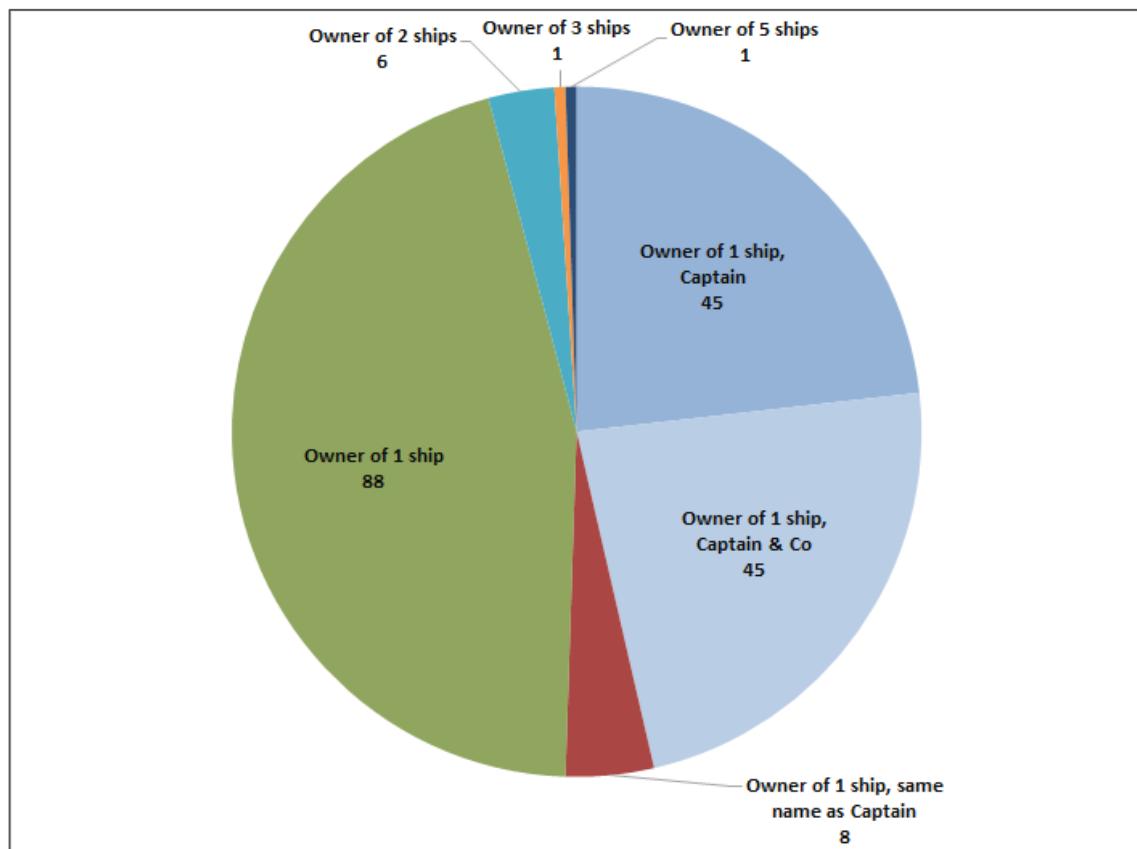
²⁵ Peter M. Solar, 'Late Eighteenth-Century Merchant Ships in War and Peace', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 28.1 (2016), 36–63 (p. 45).

²⁶ Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680–1830*, p. 42.

²⁷ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 24/2/1777 and 10/3/1777. William Falconer and William (rev) Burney, *New Universal Dictionary of the Marine* (London: Macdonald & Jane's, 1815), p. 487.

²⁸ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, pp. 82–83; R. C. Jarvis, 'Fractional Shareholding in British Merchants Ships with Special Reference to the 64ths', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 45.4 (1959), 301–19; Galani, p. 132.

Figure 2.14: Ownership of vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for Southampton 1773-1777 and listed in *Lloyd's Register* 1778



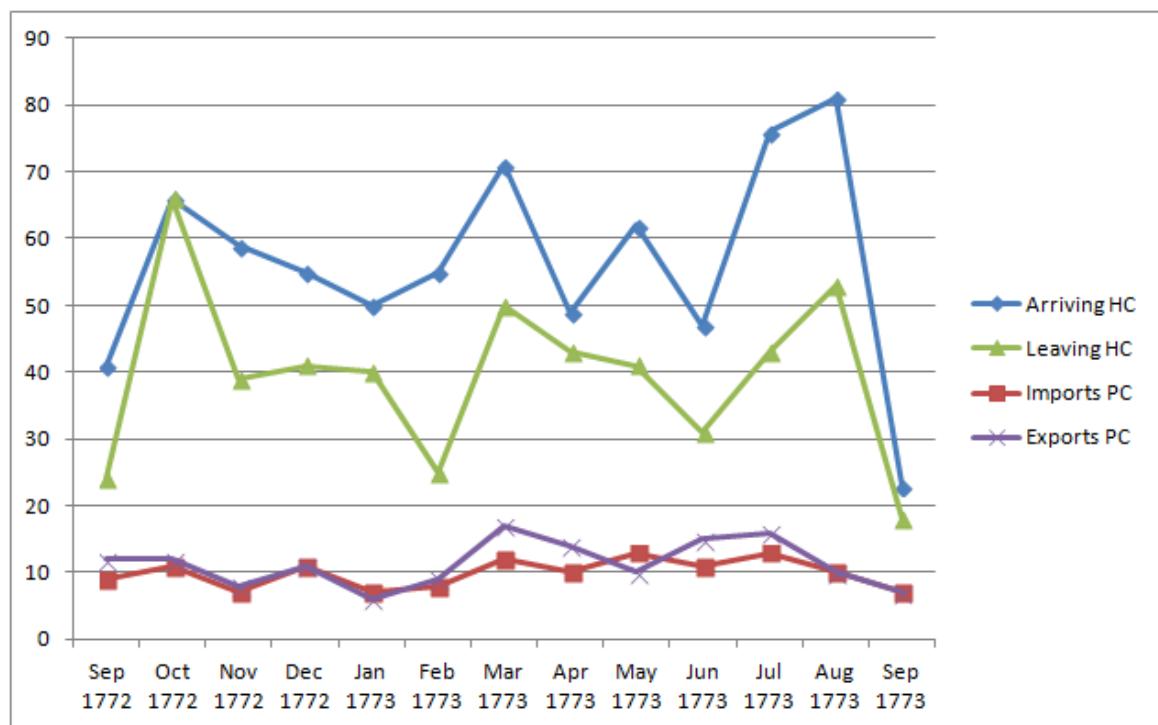
possibly relatives of the captain. Only eight of the shipowners owned more than one of the 206 vessels, only 20 vessels were owned by someone who owned several vessels. B. Ogden owned three of the vessels listed in *Lloyd's Register* 1778 and recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for Southampton between 1773 and 1777, all brigs and between 110 and 130 tons, so fairly substantial in comparison with most of the other vessels on the list. *Betty*, captained by R. Luck was recorded four times in Southampton in 1773-74, all journeys to or from Sunderland. *Concord*, captained by A. Ruston was recorded four times in Southampton in 1776-77 and once in Portsmouth in 1775. All the journeys were to or from Sunderland. The third vessel owned by B. Ogden was *Albion*, captained by W. Thompson, which was recorded three times in Southampton in 1777, arriving and leaving from Sunderland, so the three vessels were all colliers, as coal was almost the sole export cargo from Sunderland. The Ogden family in Sunderland, including Bernard Ogden, were Quakers and influential members of the

abolitionist movement in the north-east. It is not yet clear if the shipowner B. Ogden is related to this family.²⁹

Petty Customs records

For the period between September 1772 and September 1773, both the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists and the Southampton Petty Customs Book recorded details of the town's trade. While the published newspaper lists just included the name of the vessel, the master and the origin or the destination of the journey, the Petty Customs Book also included information about the cargoes carried by the vessels listed as well as details of the importer or exporter. The two sources support and complement each other, but also display some differences. Figures 2.15 and 2.16 show the distribution of entries recorded in the two sources. There were a total of 432 vessels recorded entering or leaving the port over the 13-month period. Of these, 159 vessels were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists, but not in the Petty Customs book, 32 were listed in the Petty Customs book, but not included in the *Hampshire Chronicle* lists.

Figure 2.15: Number of all entries recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for Southampton (HC) and Southampton Petty Customs Book (PC) September 1772-September 1773



²⁹ TNA E 190/274/1; Patricia Hix, 'American and North East England's Quaker Anti-Slavery Networks', *North East History. Journal of the North East Labour History Society*, 39 (2008), 25–44.

Nine of the 32 entries for vessels listed in the Petty Customs Records but not in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists occur on dates when the shipping information for Southampton was missing in the newspaper. This was the case for three issues in 1772 and for one issue in 1773. For the remainder, there are insufficient details about the vessels not listed in the *Hampshire Chronicle* to explain their absence from the weekly shipping list. It is likely that only the vessels recorded in the Petty Customs book carried goods that were taxable in Southampton. Thus the 159 vessels only recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* probably carried goods exempt from local taxation.

Figure 2.16: Number of foreign or Channel Island entries recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for Southampton (HC) and Southampton Petty Customs Book (PC)

	Entries in both HC and PC	Entries in HC only	Entries in PC only	Total
America	1	1	1	3
Channel Islands	205	68	31	304
France		16		16
Gibraltar	1	1		2
Ireland	13	27		40
Netherlands	2	3		5
Norway	1	20		21
Portugal	13	6		19
Prussia		13		13
Russia	1			1
Spain	4	3		7
Sweden		1		1
TOTAL	241	159	32	432

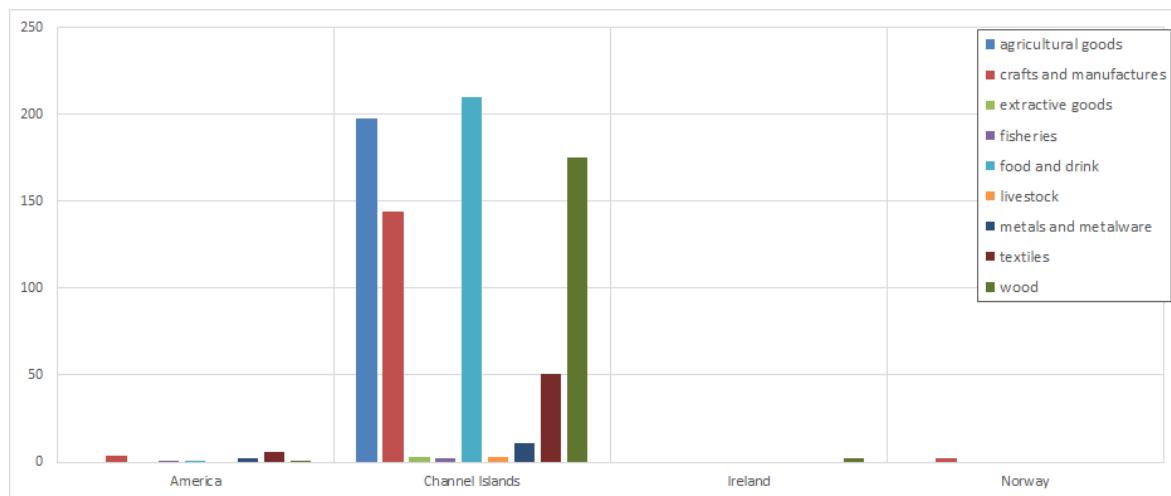
The Petty Customs records provide insight into a selection of the commodities that passed through the port of Southampton. As discussed by Hussey in his analysis of Bristol's local trade in the early 1700s, port book data relating to cargoes has previously been dismissed as 'either too plural to permit analysis or too uniform to warrant detailed investigation'.³⁰ However, by using a generic classification system to group the commodities, Hussey is able to outline an analysis of Bristol's trade. The analysis counts the number of different items traded, rather than volume which is often difficult to translate and compare.³¹ Hussey's categories have been applied to the Southampton Petty Customs records for the year 1772, with the addition of 'livestock' as a separate category, due to the number of cargoes including live animals. The results of the analysis are presented in figures 2.17-2.20. Because of the small number of voyages recorded to and from destinations other than the Channel Islands it is difficult to draw

³⁰ Hussey, p. 61.

³¹ The eight commodity classifications used by Hussey are Agriculture; Crafts and Manufactures; Extractive; Fishery; Food and Drink; Metals; Textiles; Wood (Hussey, Appendix 3)

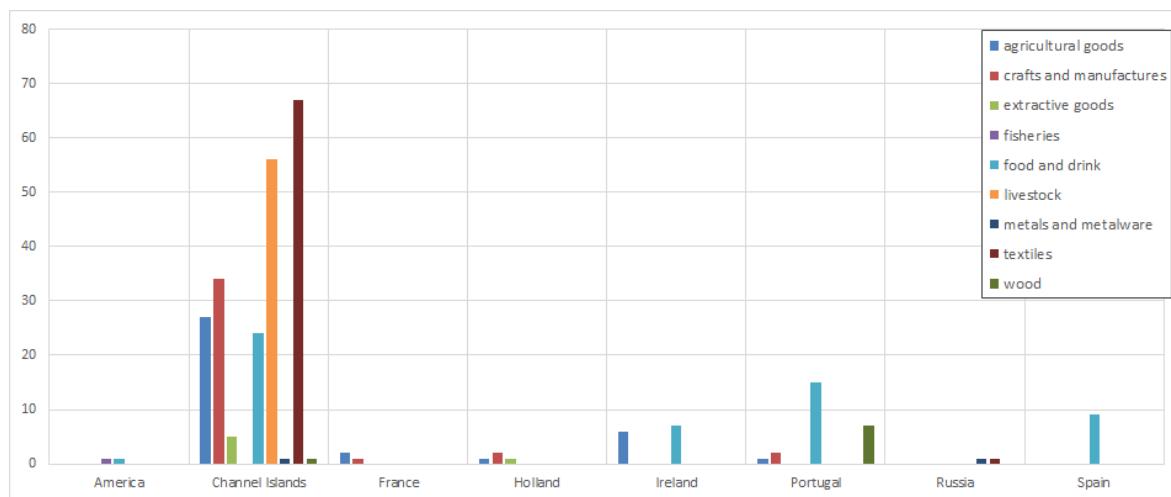
wider conclusions from the Petty Customs records, but the figures show the wine imports from Spain and Portugal from where cargoes also included cork, as well as butter and pork from Ireland and a range of manufactured goods from Holland. It is not clear why there is such a geographical imbalance in the Petty Customs records, with 248 of the 277 records in 1772 relating to the Channel Islands, as no contemporary information survives relating to the detail of which goods should be included in the records.

Figure 2.17: Number of cargoes including particular commodities exported from Southampton, 1772



Source: Southampton Petty Customs Book

Figure 2.18: Number of cargoes including particular commodities imported to Southampton, 1772



Source: Southampton Petty Customs Book

Figure 2.19: Percentage of voyages exporting goods from Southampton by commodity class, 1772

	Total journeys	agricultural goods	crafts and manufactures	extractive goods	fisheries	food and drink	livestock	metals and metalware	textiles	wood
America	1	0	100	0	100	100	0	100	100	100
Channel Islands	140	81	70	2	1	80	2	8	23	66
France	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Holland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ireland	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
Norway	2	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portugal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Russia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	144									

Source: Southampton Petty Customs Book

Figure 2.20: Percentage of voyages importing goods into Southampton by commodity class, 1772

	Total journeys	agricultural goods	crafts and manufactures	extractive goods	fisheries	food and drink	livestock	metals and metalware	textiles	wood
America	1	0	0	0	100	100	0	0	0	0
Channel Islands	109	24	29	5	0	22	35	1	60	1
France	2	100	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Holland	1	100	100	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ireland	8	50	0	0	0	88	0	0	0	0
Norway	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portugal	9	11	22	0	0	100	0	0	0	78
Russia	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	100	0
Spain	2	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0
Total	133									

Source: Southampton Petty Customs Book

Most of the cargoes exported from Southampton recorded in the Petty Customs Book went to the Channel Islands and included a wide range of necessities such as food and drink, housebuilding materials, fabrics, haberdashery and tobacco pipes. Pipe smoking had become widespread in British society in the eighteenth century and was a popular pastime among sailors. However, the clay pipes were fragile and could break easily, so replacements were needed. Clay tobacco pipes were manufactured in Southampton, so the exported pipes may have been made locally.³² Abraham Picott, on board the *Mary Yacht*, left Southampton on 9 March 1772 with a cargo for Jersey which included biscuit, peas, flour, ironware and cordage as well as 240 tobacco pipes and five bags of wool. Southampton exported raw wool to the Channel Islands, most of which was re-imported as stockings, a cargo which could be found on most vessels arriving in Southampton from the Channel Islands. Another regular import from

³² Joanna Dabal, 'Tobacco Clay Pipes', in *The General Carleton Shipwreck, 1785 =: Wrak Statku General Carleton, 1785*, ed. by Waldemar Ossowski, Archaeological Research of the Polish Maritime Museum, 1 (Gdańsk: Centralne Muzeum Morskie, 2008), pp. 241–47; David A. Higgins, *Southampton French Quarter 1382 Specialist Report Download F2: Clay Tobacco Pipes* <https://library.thehumanjourney.net/48/1/SOU_1382_Specialist_report_download_F2.pdf> [accessed 13 August 2017].

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the Channel Islands was livestock, particularly from Jersey. On 28 February 1772, Ph. Journeau arrived in Southampton from Jersey on board his vessel *Fanny*, carrying a cargo consisting of seven cows, eight heifers, a bull and a mare, as well as a puncheon of cider, nine bars of iron and four bales of stockings.

Further comparisons between the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists and other contemporary sources including the Sound Toll Registers and surviving port books from other destinations are included as part of the analysis of each relevant geographical area below.

Conclusion – Southampton’s Maritime Trade in the 1770s

The *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists provide data which in this thesis has, for the first time, been the subject of empirical study. The quantified information from the shipping lists enables a detailed analysis of the shipping patterns and trading networks of eighteenth-century Southampton.

In 1773 more than half of the arrivals and departures were for or from ports in the English Channel, with destinations in the North Sea the second most frequent. There was a steady trade with destinations in the North Atlantic of around 50 arrivals and 50 departures each year. Trade with the Baltic, Irish Sea, Caribbean and Mediterranean was undertaken by low, but steady numbers of vessels. These trades were probably relatively more important to Southampton than the small numbers of journeys indicate, as the vessels trading on these destinations were generally larger than vessels trading to other regions. After 1775, there was a change in the pattern of the trade as well as a drop in the overall number of journeys undertaken, possibly affected by the increase in hostilities between Britain and the American colonists. By the end of the five-year period, in 1777, most of Southampton’s trade was with ports located in the North Sea. However, destinations in the English Channel still accounted for 38 per cent of all journeys undertaken in that year.

The following chapters provide a more detailed analysis of the data relating to each of the geographical regions with which Southampton traded, examining the factors which affected journeys to different destinations at different times. Commencing in the English Channel, with the ports closest to Southampton, the regional analysis of the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists reveals how Southampton was linked to global trading networks through the individual vessels examined in this thesis, for example as a calling point for vessels connecting ports to the west of Southampton with London or as the shipper of supplies for the Newfoundland fishing fleets in Jersey and Poole.

CHAPTER 3: SOUTHAMPTON'S TRADE WITH PORTS IN THE ENGLISH CHANNEL

Introduction

As well as being in a strategic position as a gateway between northern Europe and the Atlantic, the Channel was also, in the words of historian Stephen Conway, a zone 'of exchange and interaction', a means of contact between people rather than a border.¹ The Channel was the access to and from Britain's Atlantic world and during the eighteenth century, as Britain acquired an expanding empire, overseas trade grew to unprecedented levels in both volume and value. Imports of goods from the Caribbean and the Far East, including sugar, cotton and tea, fuelled an increase in prosperity, particularly concentrated in London.² In order to reach the city, every vessel bringing these valuable colonial goods had to pass through the Channel, which thus became a waterway of immense importance to the nation. The Royal Navy's Channel Fleet, or Western Squadron, has been described by Brian Lavery as 'the main keystone of British defence' in the late eighteenth century. Created in 1745, the squadron's primary purpose was to protect British convoys arriving off the south-west of England. It also guarded the British Isles against invasion from the Continent and kept an eye on, or even blockaded, the French fleet when international relations required it.³

In 2016, the French historian Renaud Morieux suggested that coastal societies on both sides of the Channel, in France and Britain, had more in common than each had with their inland compatriots as 'communications were quicker, cheaper and more efficient between the two countries than within them'. A similar view was expressed by John Falvey and William Brooks, who in 1991 described the Channel thus: 'It links and divides those who live upon its shores'.⁴ The data drawn from the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists provides evidence that supports

¹ Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 253.

² John Rule, *The Vital Century: England's Developing Economy, 1714-1815*, Social and Economic History of England (London; New York: Longman, 1992), p. 263; Martin Daunton, 'The Wealth of the Nation', in *The Eighteenth Century, 1688-1815*, ed. by Paul Langford, The Short Oxford History of the British Isles (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 158-80 (p. 174); Patrick Crowhurst, *The Defence of British Trade, 1689-1815* (Folkestone: Dawson, 1977), p. 43; Knick Harley, I, pp. 175-77.

³ N. A. M. Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain 1649 - 1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2004), p. 250; Brian Lavery, *Nelson's Navy: The Ships, Men and Organisation; 1793 - 1815*, Repr. (2000) (London: Conway, 1989), p. 245; N. A. M. Rodger, 'Sea-Power and Empire, 1688-1793', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, ed. by P. J. Marshall and Alaine M. Low (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), II, 169-83 (pp. 174-75).

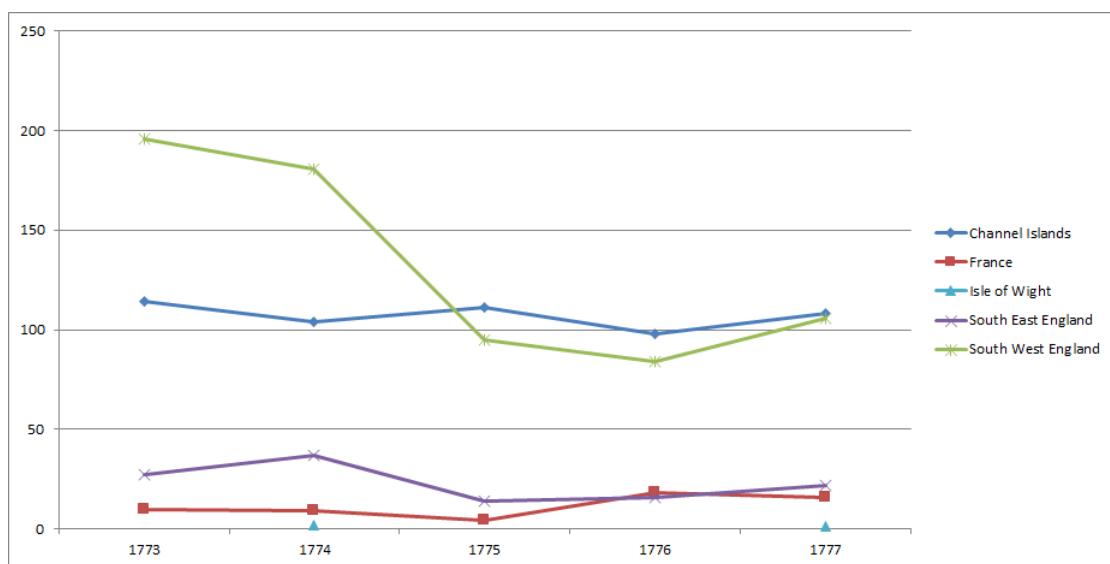
⁴ Morieux, *The Channel*, p. 25; John Falvey and William Brooks, 'The Channel in the Eighteenth Century: Bridge, Barrier and Gateway', ed. by John Falvey and William Brooks, *The Channel in the Eighteenth Century: Bridge, Barrier and Gateway*, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 292 (1991), 3-6 (p. 3).

the views quoted above, including those of Conway and Morieux, of the Channel as a connector rather than a barrier.

Ports in the English Channel were the most frequent destinations for vessels trading to or from Southampton. Between 1773 and 1777, 986 journeys left the port for a destination in the English Channel while 1378 arrivals from English Channel ports were recorded. Just over half of the traffic was carried along the south coast, rather than across the Channel, 1231 of the total of 2364 journeys. 1046 voyages, or slightly less than half of the total, were for or from the Channel Islands, with just 87 journeys direct to or from a French port.

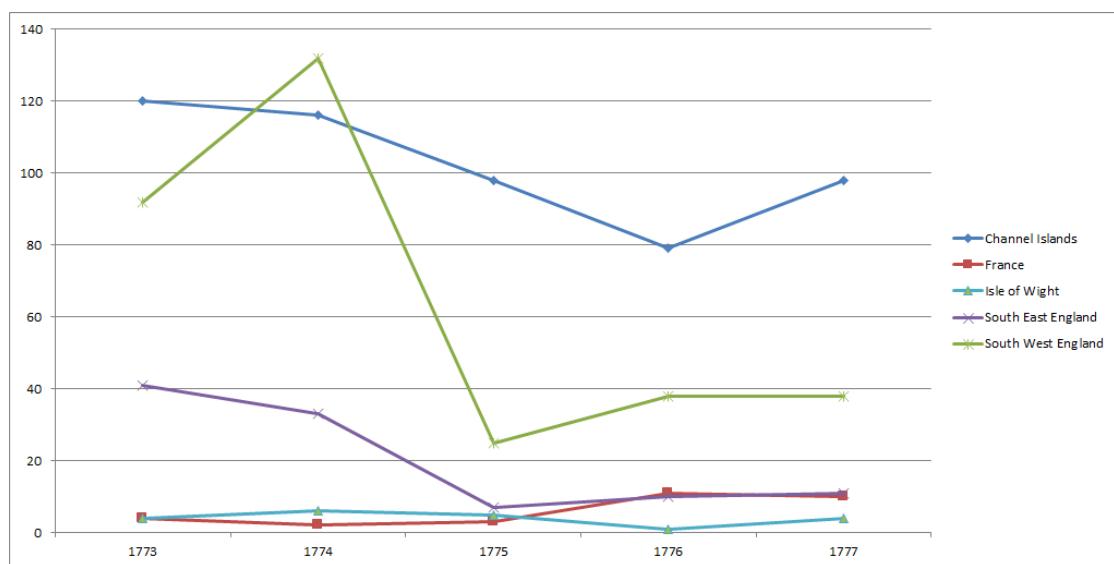
No meaningful comparison has been made in the secondary literature with shipping records for other English Channel ports. However, in 1775, 36 vessels were recorded in Hull arriving from a port in the English Channel and nine vessels cleared for this destination.⁵ In the same year, 224 vessels arrived in and 134 cleared Southampton from or for ports in the English Channel. Considering the different locations of the two ports in relation to the Channel, the contrasting number of vessels is not surprising. Southampton's special position as the Channel Islands' primary contact on the British mainland was reflected in the number of journeys recorded, as 111 vessels arrived and 98 departed Southampton for Jersey, Guernsey or Alderney in 1775, corresponding to 50 per cent of all arrivals from and 73 per cent of all departures for a port in the English Channel.

Figure 3.1: Vessels arriving at Southampton from ports in the English Channel, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

⁵ Jackson, *The Trade and Shipping of Eighteenth-Century Hull*, Appendix 12.

Figure 3.2: Vessels clearing Southampton for ports in the English Channel, 1773-1777

Data: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Most of the journeys recorded in Southampton were to or from the Channel Islands and south-west England (figures 3.1 and 3.2). Both regions were important trading partners for Southampton and many of the journeys that included a destination in the south-west were undertaken by vessels which also traded further afield, particularly to Ireland, placing Southampton within a trading network which reached far beyond the local or regional.

From 1775 the number of journeys between Southampton and Channel ports reduced by about a third, from just over 600 journeys per year to between 350 and 400. It is likely that this reduction was caused by the increased number of American privateers in the Channel. Initially, the threat from privateers was greater for vessels trading with the West Indies and North America. However, as hostilities intensified, so did the threat to shipping nearer to British coasts. In June 1777, the *Hampshire Chronicle* reported from Plymouth that 'it is now become dangerous to ship any goods here from London or any other place, the American privateers hovering about within sight of our harbour'.⁶

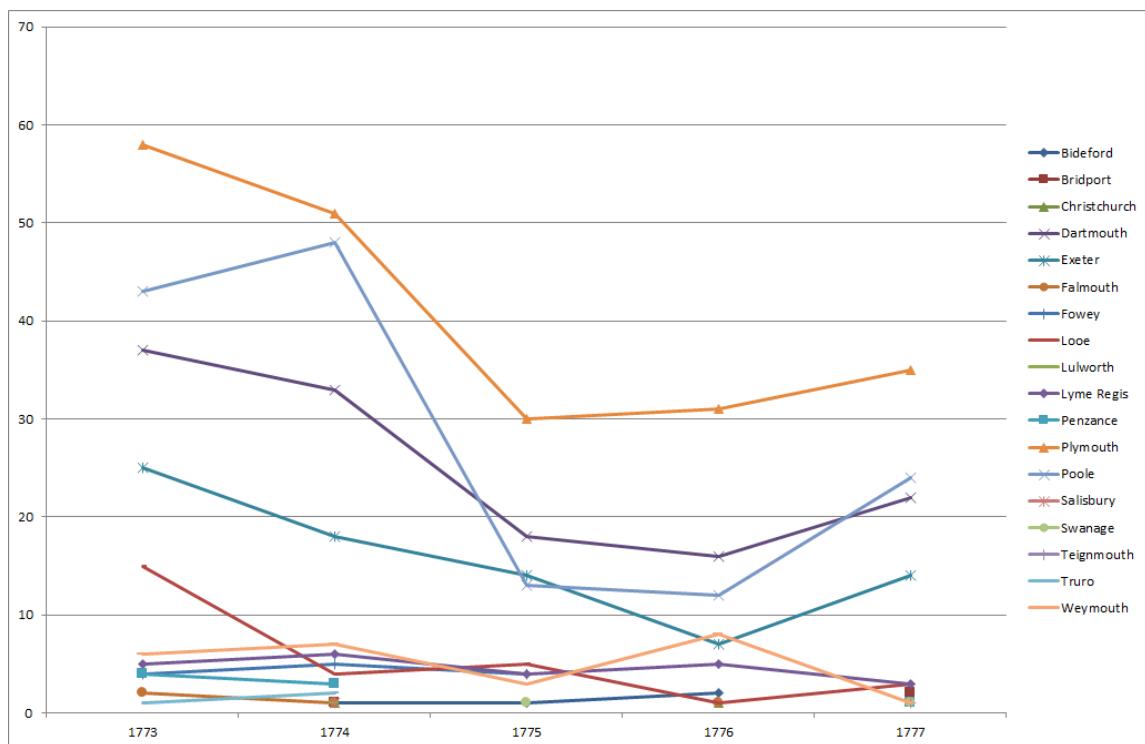
Although the number of vessels leaving for the Channel Islands did reduce slightly from 1775 onwards, the number of journeys arriving from the Channel Islands was not reduced, an indication of the reliance by the populations of the islands on Southampton as a hub for the exchange of goods.

⁶ *Hampshire Chronicle* 16 June 1777. See also Chapter 8: 'The Impact of War'.

South-West England

Vessels called at Southampton on their way to or from ports in south-west England on a regular basis. Figures 3.3 and 3.4 show that the West Country ports with the most frequent contact with the town were Plymouth, Exeter, and Dartmouth, as well as the more local ports Poole and Weymouth. The number of journeys undertaken between Southampton and ports in south-west England reduced from 1775 to about one third of those recorded in previous years, probably as a consequence of the increased presence of American privateers in these waters. Plymouth remained the most visited destination, possibly because of the supplies needed by the Royal Navy. The Royal Dockyards in Plymouth and Portsmouth underwent significant expansion and development in the 1760s and 1770s and merchant ships brought building materials from far and wide, including granite from Cornwall and Aberdeen, Welsh slate and also bricks from Southampton.⁷ Devonport near Plymouth was home to the principal British Navy victualling base. Supplies, particularly agricultural produce, were brought to the

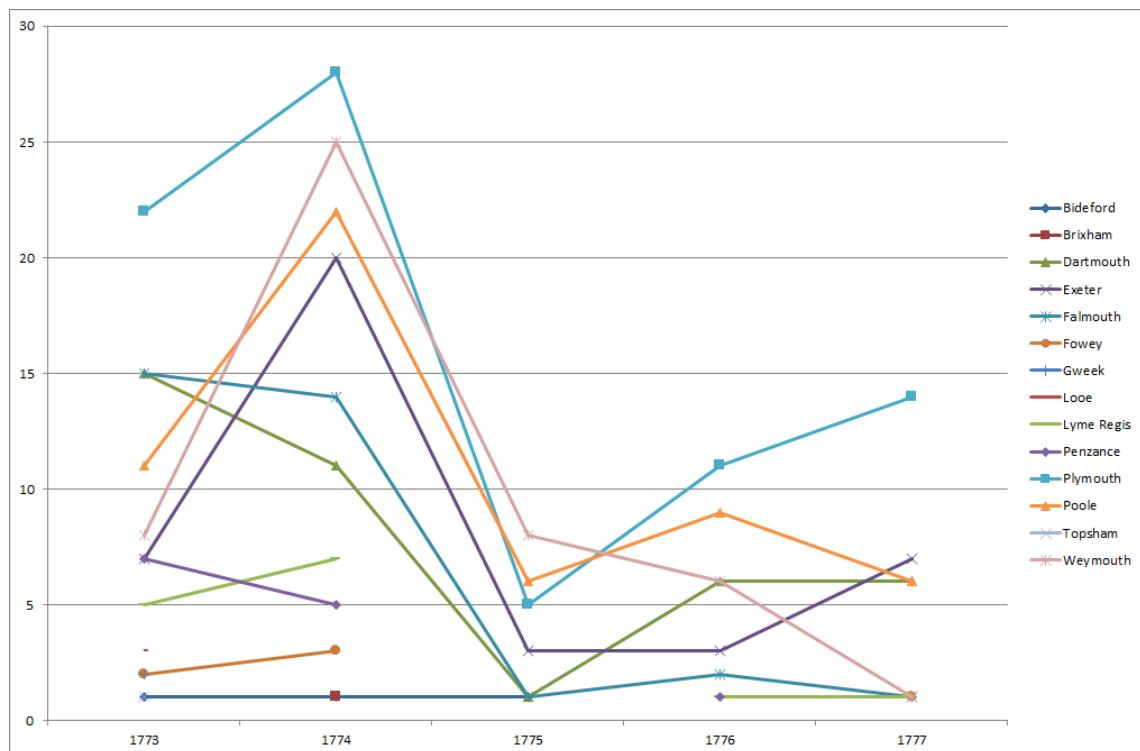
Figure 3.3: Vessels arriving at Southampton from English Channel ports in south-west England, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

⁷ J. G. Coad, *The Royal Dockyards, 1690-1850: Architecture and Engineering Works of the Sailing Navy*, Studies in Naval History, no. 1 (Aldershot, Hants, England; Brookfield, Vt., USA: Scolar Press, 1989), p. 17; Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750*, pp. 163–64.

Figure 3.4: Vessels clearing Southampton for English Channel ports in south-west England, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

victualling yard from around the British Isles, to be sorted and stored before being allocated to the Navy's ships. Provisions were purchased from private contractors and shipped in on merchant ships, so it would have provided work for many local mariners.⁸

Southampton shipped a wide range of goods to ports in the West Country, including locally manufactured brown paper, used for wrapping and packaging in various trades. In the late eighteenth-century Southampton exported brown paper to several ports, including Exeter, Plymouth, and Dartmouth.⁹

By the early eighteenth century, Southampton's coastwise trade included salt, the bulk of which went to ports in south-west England, a pattern which developed up to and beyond the 1770s. Wine was shipped to Bristol and other south coast ports, bricks to Plymouth and Truro. In the 1760s and 1770s, Southampton exported wheat, barley, and wheat flour to Exeter,

⁸ Coad, pp. 273, 283; R. J. B. Knight and Martin Howard Wilcox, *Sustaining the Fleet, 1793-1815: War, the British Navy and the Contractor State* (Woodbridge; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2010), p. 31; Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean*, p. 307; David Syrett, 'Christopher Atkinson and the Victualling Board, 1775-82', *Historical Research*, 69.169 (1996), 129-42 (p. 129).

⁹ W. G. Hoskins, *Industry, Trade and People in Exeter 1688-1800*, History of Exeter Research Group, Monograph No. 6 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935), p. 108.

while the town's exports to Weymouth included timber and wine, a re-export from the Iberian trade.¹⁰

Southampton's imports from south-west England included cider and oats from Exeter as well as paving stones from Poole.¹¹ In the 1720s, the Plymouth port books recorded that the town imported timber from Southampton, which also sent timber to Truro around this time.¹²

Tobacco pipes were manufactured in Southampton and the port imported pipeclay from Poole, Teignmouth and to a smaller extent from Bideford.¹³ Other wares shipped to Southampton from Poole were fish and other goods derived from Poole's flourishing trade with Newfoundland from where the imports included cod, salmon, whale oil, seal skins and furs.¹⁴

Brixham was an important fishing port, which supplied the markets in Bath and Exeter, but also the London market via Portsmouth. It is likely that some of the fish from Brixham were also landed in Southampton, particularly during the summer season, when wealthy tourists from London were staying in Southampton and there was an increased demand for quality goods, while other fish were imported more regularly from Torbay. In 1775, the *Southampton Guide* noted that 'Fine soals, john dories, and red mullets, are frequently brought here from Torbay, and sold very cheap'.¹⁵ In the 1720s, Defoe described Weymouth as 'a sweet, clean, agreeable town', with a considerable trade. It was the centre for the shipping of Portland stone, which would have been Southampton's main import from the port.¹⁶

Lymington and Southampton Customs records show that salt was shipped on a regular basis from Lymington to Southampton in the first half of the eighteenth century for onwards transport, particularly to the Newfoundland fisheries. Between 1724 and 1766, the Southampton Petty Customs Records show that 64 vessels arrived from Lymington with salt.¹⁷ As discussed previously, journeys between Southampton and Portsmouth or the Isle of Wight

¹⁰ Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750*, pp. 152–53, 164; Hoskins, p. 98.

¹¹ Daniel Lysons and Samuel Lysons, 'Produce', in *Magna Britannica: Volume 6, Devonshire*, Web, British History Online (London: T Cadell and W Davies, 1822), p. cclxxvi–ccxcviii <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/magna-britannia/vol6/cclxxvi-ccxcviii>> [accessed 26 January 2018]; Hoskins, p. 98.

¹² Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750*, pp. 163–64.

¹³ Lysons and Lysons.

¹⁴ British History Online, 'Poole', in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Dorset: Volume 2, South East*, Online edition (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970), pp. 189–240 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/dorset/vol2/pp189-240>> [accessed 25 January 2018].

¹⁵ Lysons and Lysons; Anon., *The Southampton Guide*, p. 22.

¹⁶ Defoe, I, LETTER II, p. 357; Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750*, pp. 157–58.

¹⁷ A.T. Lloyd, 'The Salterns of the Lymington Area', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club & Archaeological Society*, 24 (1967), 86–102 (pp. 89–91).

were mostly not recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle*. It is likely that shipping from Lymington was regarded in the same way.¹⁸

Several vessels were regular traders on specific routes, between Southampton and only one or two ports. Among these vessels were *Dartmouth*, with Captain Philp which was recorded on 27 occasions arriving from or leaving for Dartmouth, *Eleanor* with Captain Farmer which undertook 14 journeys between Southampton and Plymouth and Captain Corney in *John and Elizabeth*, which arrived 15 times and left three times, all between Southampton and Dartmouth. Although Captain Cooper in *Calcutt* arrived in Southampton twice from and left five times for Penzance, the vessel was also recorded on 18 occasions arriving from or leaving for Plymouth, so this must be regarded as that vessel's primary destination. *Richard and Mary*, with Captain Clarke, arrived in Southampton six times, three times from Penzance, twice from Plymouth and once from Exeter. The vessel was recorded departing ten times in total, seven times for Penzance and once each for Falmouth, Plymouth, and Lyme Regis. All the journeys took place between April 1773 and December 1774. *Richard and Mary* also arrived from and left for Penzance in November 1772. None of the journeys undertaken by *Richard and Mary* before October 1773 were recorded in the Petty Customs book, indicating that the cargoes carried were exempt from taxation.

The data relating to Southampton's trade with south-west England highlights the port's place as a link in a global trading network. Although many of the journeys recorded were relatively short, the vessels undertaking the journeys carried goods from far and wide for local consumption or for re-shipping to or from other ports.

Channel Islands

By law, all raw wool exported to the Channel Islands had to be registered in Southampton even if it did not originate there. Southampton also supplied many of the daily necessities that the populations of the islands required, such as building materials, furniture and foodstuffs including cheese, flour and beer.¹⁹ Southampton was the main point of contact in England for the Channel Islands and the trade was mainly carried in small vessels, around 40-50 tons.²⁰ In the period 1773-1777, 20 per cent of all the journeys recorded in Southampton (or 1046 out of a total of 5093 journeys) departed for or arrived from one of the Channel Islands. There were close links between the islands and Southampton, where many Channel Island mariners and

¹⁸ Carson; R. C. Jarvis, 'Sources for the History of Ports'. See also above, Chapter 2.

¹⁹ Alex Anderson, p. 449. Southampton Petty Customs, Southampton City Archive SC 5/4/105.

²⁰ Alex Anderson, p. 446.

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merchants settled and the names of Channel Islanders appear regularly in the Southampton Parish Registers. In June 1771, Abraham Gallienne 'of St Peter Port, Guernsey' thus married Elizabeth Knight in All Saints Church in Southampton High Street. Gallienne was master of the Southampton-based sloop *Southampton Packet*.²¹

One of the most frequent traders between Southampton and the Channel Islands, particularly Guernsey, was *Ceres*, captained by Daniel Judas, whose family had settled in Southampton. Built in Southampton in 1760, the vessel continued to trade from Southampton for several decades. It was recorded 106 times in Southampton between 1773 and 1777 and a further 25 times in 1787-88. In addition to Guernsey, the vessel's destinations included Jersey, Poole, Chichester, and Le Havre.²² The cargoes carried by the vessel were wide-ranging and mixed. In January 1772, *Ceres* left Southampton for Guernsey with a cargo which included flour, barley, peas, biscuits, beer, barrel hoops, oak timber, oak bark, tobacco pipes and 'half a dozen chairs'. The return cargoes from Guernsey often included wine for one or more Southampton merchants, as well as livestock and 'old paper stuff'.²³ The Judas family had strong personal and business links with Southampton as Captain Judas' father Joseph, had been a captain in the Guernsey trade too. He became a merchant and shipowner as his sons came of age and became ship masters in their own right.²⁴

Another regular trader between Southampton and the Channel Islands was Captain Journeau in the 40-ton sloop *Fanny*, which primarily traded to Jersey. The vessel was recorded 35 times in Southampton between 1773 and 1776, 32 of these journeys were to or from Jersey. *Fanny* was built in Southampton in 1750 and was owned by Mr Moody, a local Southampton merchant.²⁵

Figure 3.5 and 3.6 show the distribution of journeys recorded between Southampton and the Channel Islands in 1773-77. Guernsey was geographically closer to Southampton than Jersey and accounted for more than half of all Channel Island journeys. As the smallest island, Alderney was the destination with the fewest number of journeys. In June 1772, the vessel

²¹ Transcript of the Registers of All Saints' Church, Southampton City Archive, *Hampshire Chronicle* 16 September 1776.

²² *Lloyd's Register* 1789

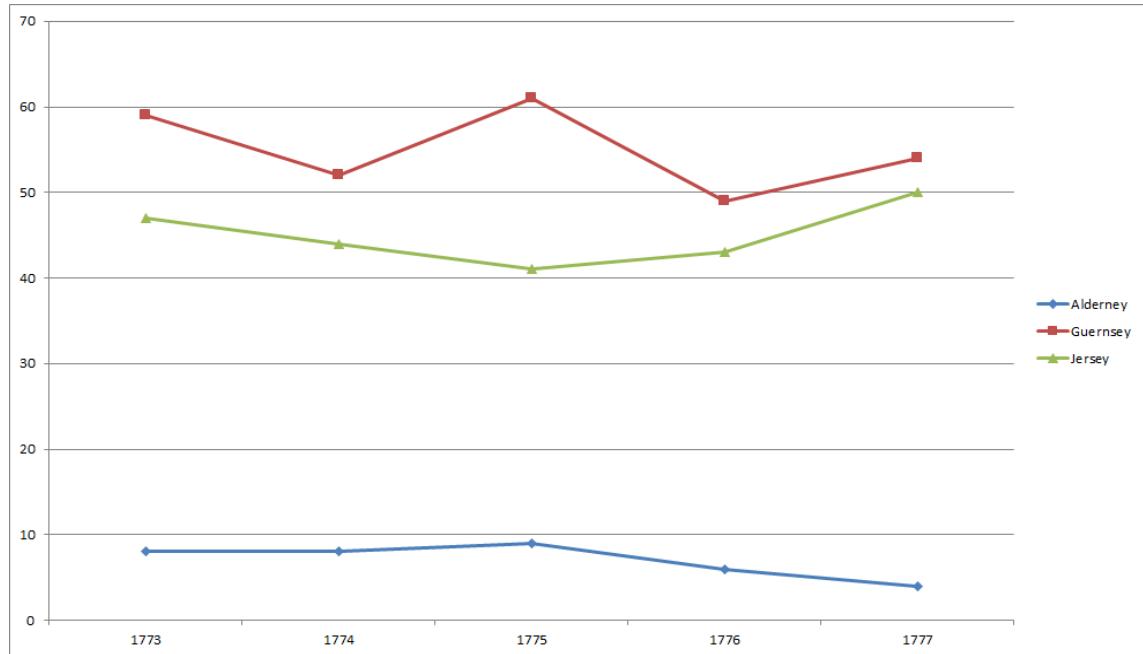
²³ In August 1777, Captain Judas in *Ceres* carried passengers for Guernsey. The vessel left Southampton on the 9th August, 'put into Yarmouth – remain'd there until the 13th – then sailed and got the 15th inst to Guernsey'. Gregory Stevens Cox, *The Guernsey Merchants and Their World in the Georgian Era* (Guernsey: Toucan Press, 2009), p. 29, quoting 'Elisha Dobree's journal 1776-1782'.

²⁴ TNA IR 26/416/361 (the will of Joseph Judas senior); *Lloyd's Register* 1789; *Hampshire Chronicle* 10 June 1799

²⁵ *Lloyd's Register* 1775 and 1776

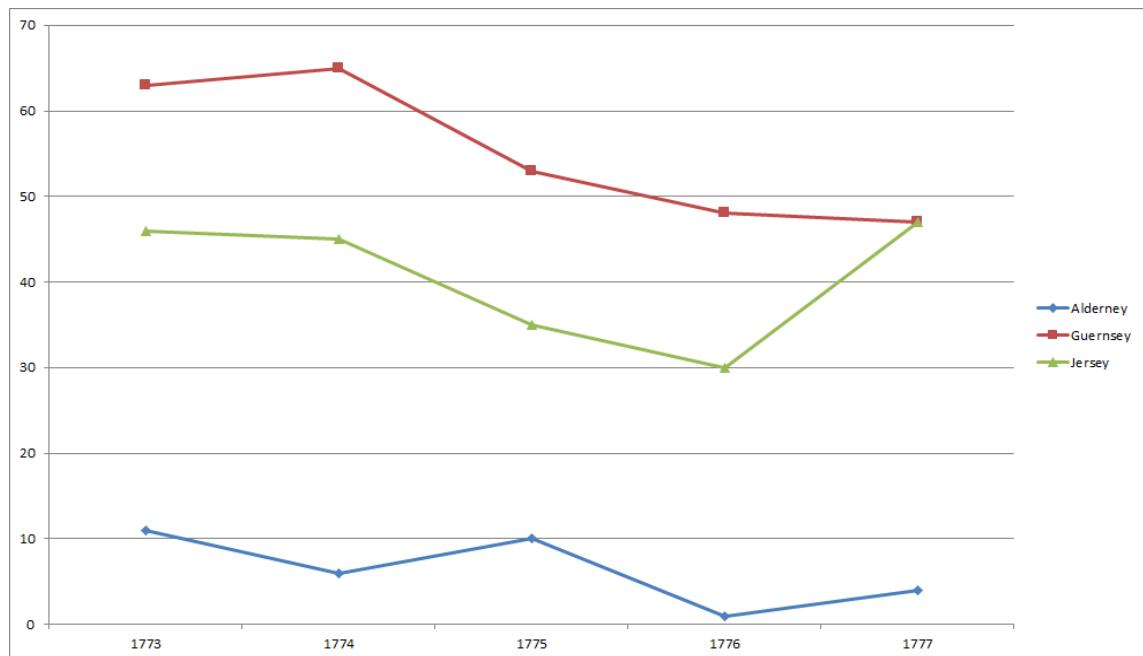
Fanny was recorded in the Petty Customs book arriving in Southampton from 'Alderney & Jersey', but this was the only occasion that journeys including more than one Channel Island was recorded. Alderney's trade with Southampton was similar to that of Jersey, with stockings and livestock exported from the island to Southampton and a wide range of daily necessities traded in the opposite direction.

Figure 3.5: Vessels arriving in Southampton from Channel Island ports 1773-77



Data: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Figure 3.6: Vessels clearing Southampton for Channel Island ports 1773-77



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

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In 1769, Jersey saw several riots, primarily demanding a ban on the export of corn from the island. These disturbances would undoubtedly have affected local trade and, following the riots, Jersey's laws were modernised and published.²⁶ Laws and legislation affected maritime trade between Southampton and Jersey in other ways. In March 1771, it became law in Jersey that all houses in St Helier and St Aubin should have slate or tile roofs rather than the thatch previously used. There is no evidence in the Petty Customs records that the slate or tiles were shipped from Southampton. However, 11 journeys departing from Southampton for Jersey were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* between November 1772 and October 1773 but not in the Petty Customs records. It is possible that these may have carried roof tiles or slate.²⁷ Jersey had a thriving Newfoundland fishing fleet and many of the supplies for this fleet were shipped to the island on vessels from Southampton. These supplies included ships' biscuits and clay pipes, manufactured in Southampton. In 1771, about 45 Jersey vessels were trading to Newfoundland and the surrounding regions.²⁸

Jersey's most important trade with Southampton was the wool and stocking trade, mentioned above. Raw wool was shipped from or through Southampton and almost every vessel returning from Jersey to Southampton included stockings in its cargo. There is evidence that wool was shipped to Southampton from London in order for the cargo to be registered there before re-shipping. An example of this re-shipping of wool was *London Packet*, which was recorded on 34 occasions in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists between 1772 and 1777, sailing between London, Southampton and Jersey, often arriving in Southampton and leaving on the same day. A few of these journeys were also recorded in the Petty Customs records, which show that *London Packet* was exporting wool to Jersey.²⁹ In June 1772, nine vessels were recorded in the Southampton Petty Customs book importing goods from Jersey. Six of the cargoes included stockings, ranging in quantity from 106 to 346 dozen pairs, or between 1272 and 4152 pairs of stockings. In the summer months, cattle was a key import from both Alderney and Jersey. All the vessels mentioned above, importing goods from Jersey, were also

²⁶ Raoul Lemprière, *History of the Channel Islands* (London: R. Hale, 1974), pp. 127–30. Unfortunately, Southampton's Petty Customs records have not survived for the years immediately before 1769. In the year Oct 1765–Sep 1766, 35 vessels were recorded arriving in Southampton from Jersey, two of these cargoes included oats. In the year Oct 1769–Sep 1770, 55 vessels arrived from Jersey, none carrying grain. Southampton City Archive SC 5/4/103 and SC 5/4/105.

²⁷ *The Guernsey and Jersey Magazine*, ed. by Jonathan Duncan (London: Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper, 1837), III, p. 40.

²⁸ Alec Podger, 'Jersey Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Annual Bulletin of La Societe Jersaise*, 1981, 62–71 (p. 64).

²⁹ Alex Anderson, p. 449. *Hampshire Chronicle* 28 June and 23 August 1773; Southampton Petty Customs Register 1769–1773, SC 5/4/105, 22 June and 18 August 1773.

carrying cattle, one, *Expedition Pacquet*, carried 141 dozen pairs of stockings, 23 cows and one bull. Also significant for Jersey was the leather trade. Jersey exported skins to Southampton, which in turn exported leather to the island, probably as a supplement to the leather tanned on the island itself, as Southampton also exported oak bark to both Jersey and Guernsey, which was a key component in the tanning process.³⁰ Jersey exported apples and potatoes, but imported many basic foodstuffs, including flour.³¹

There was a noticeable increase in the number of vessels leaving Southampton for Jersey in 1777. The detailed data relating to individual vessels does not explain the reason for this expansion, which was primarily due to an increased number of departures by vessels that were already regular Jersey traders, including *Sukey*, captained by C. Nicholle (five departures in 1776, 10 in 1777, all for Jersey), *Expedition Packet* with Captain Le Quesne (four departures all for Jersey in 1776, eight in 1777) and *Swift* with Captain Duseau (an increase from one departure in 1776 to five in 1777, all for Jersey). One possible reason for the increased trade could be the need for supplies for Jersey vessels being fitted out as privateers as part of the increasing hostilities with the American colonists. Jersey had a long tradition for privateering, with the dual purpose of defending the island and disrupting the trade of the enemy. In 1778, 22 privateers were based in Jersey, a figure that almost doubled by the end of the war.³²

Jersey historian Alex Anderson estimated that the passage between Southampton and Guernsey or Jersey was often completed in 24 hours, although two to five or even ten days were not uncommon, while an 1843 guide to Jersey stated that a week or 10 days was a normal duration of passage between Southampton and Jersey before the advent of steamships.³³ Occasionally, however, the journey could take much longer, such as in the example of a passenger travelling from Southampton to Guernsey in the summer of 1793, quoted in a history of Guernsey published in the early 1800s. Having embarked in a regular trading vessel, he arrived in Cowes in a few hours, but then had to wait for a convoy which joined them from Portsmouth. 'They weighed anchor and sailed several times, but never got beyond Yarmouth, being baffled by contrary winds and calms'. In the end, the journey took almost three months to complete.³⁴

³⁰ Alex Anderson, p. 450; Southampton Petty Customs Register 1769-1773, SC 5/4/105.

³¹ Anon., *A Guide to Jersey and Guernsey* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Company, 1843), p. 70.

³² John Jean, *Jersey Sailing Ships* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1982), pp. 31-34; Peter Raban, 'Pierre Labey: A Jersey Privateer Captain in the Seven Years War, 1756-1763', *Annual Bulletin of La Societe Jersaise*, 25.2 (1990), 317-29 (p. 317). See also Chapter 8: 'The Impact of War'.

³³ Alex Anderson, p. 448; Anon., *A Guide to Jersey and Guernsey*, p. 71.

³⁴ Duncan, pp. 266-67.

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Anderson noted that rags were imported to Southampton from the Channel Islands, probably for use in paper manufacture in and around Southampton. The Southampton Petty Customs records for 1772-73 did not record any cargoes of rags, but many which included 'old paper stuff'. It is likely that this was for recycling at the local Southampton paper mills, which, in turn, supplied paper to ports in south-west England.³⁵

In the second half of the seventeenth century St Peter Port, the principal town on Guernsey, became an important international entrepôt. Cargoes of colonial goods, wine and spirits were brought to the port, often in large foreign ships, stored on the island in specially built warehouses and then re-shipped in smaller British vessels to London and outports like Southampton. This development was caused by a combination of factors, including a growing international demand for colonial goods, Guernsey's location, which enabled it to participate in the developing Atlantic economy, as well as the island's traditional position of privilege in relation to its trade with England.³⁶

As well as being a destination for many regular traders, the Channel Islands were also a frequent stopping off point for vessels travelling between Southampton and the Mediterranean and southern Europe. In September 1772, the brig *Hollam* left Southampton bound for Seville. An entry in the Petty Customs records shows that the vessel was carrying a cargo for Guernsey, which was presumably to be dropped off on the way: cheese, bacon, hops and one great mast, which was carried for Nicholas Mourant, the master of a Guernsey ship, *Providence*. Mourant, on board *Providence*, left Southampton a few days later for Guernsey with a cargo of two horses, owned by himself, suggesting that a great mast may have been too large to carry on board *Providence*.³⁷ In September 1776, *Elizabeth*, with Captain Watson ran into a rock near Guernsey where she had stopped for water on the return journey from Oporto, another example of the use of the Channel Islands as a stopping-off point point between Southampton and the Mediterranean.³⁸

According to a nineteenth-century guide to the Channel Islands, one of the main sources of income for Guernsey was smuggling, which 'was carried on to a considerable extent in the island'.³⁹ The involvement of the Channel Islanders in the smuggling trade depended on the location of each island. Jersey was well situated to supply tobacco to French smugglers from St

³⁵ Alex Anderson, p. 451.

³⁶ Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680-1830*, pp. 18-19, 23, 27.

³⁷ *Hampshire Chronicle; Lloyd's Register 1776; SC 5/4/105*

³⁸ *Hampshire Chronicle* 2 Sep 1776

³⁹ Anon., *A Guide to Jersey and Guernsey*, p. 190.

Malo, but too far south to attract many smugglers from England. However, Guernsey and Alderney supplied spirits and tea to smugglers from the south coast of England, including Southampton. The *Hampshire Chronicle* frequently included news reports about seizures made by the local customs officers and also advertisements for sales auctioning the seized contraband, particularly brandy, rum, tea, tobacco, and different types of Indian and continental fabrics.⁴⁰ It is impossible to accurately quantify the extent of the smuggling. However, the quantities involved on a national scale were undoubtedly significant and smuggling would have affected legal sales.⁴¹ It is beyond the scope of this thesis to assess how smuggling from the Channel Islands might have affected the shipping between the islands and Southampton.

South-East England

There were 221 journeys recorded in Southampton to or from English Channel ports in south-east England in the years 1773-1777 (Figures 3.7 and 3.8). The journeys, 119 arrivals and 102 departures, were carried out by 119 individual vessels. The traffic between the ports was regular, with journeys to or from Chichester, Hastings and Rye being the most numerous.

The main import to Southampton from Chichester was malt, which was exported from Chichester to Ireland as well as locally to Sussex and Hampshire, including Southampton. Other agricultural produce shipped from Chichester to Southampton included locally produced grain and meat as well as small quantities of needles.⁴² Southampton traders imported seafood from south coast ports, including lobsters, crabs and prawns from Chichester.⁴³ Wool was imported from Rye, probably in vessels such as *Charles and Sukey*, with Captain Moore, which was recorded arriving from Rye six times, and once from Hastings, which was mainly known as a

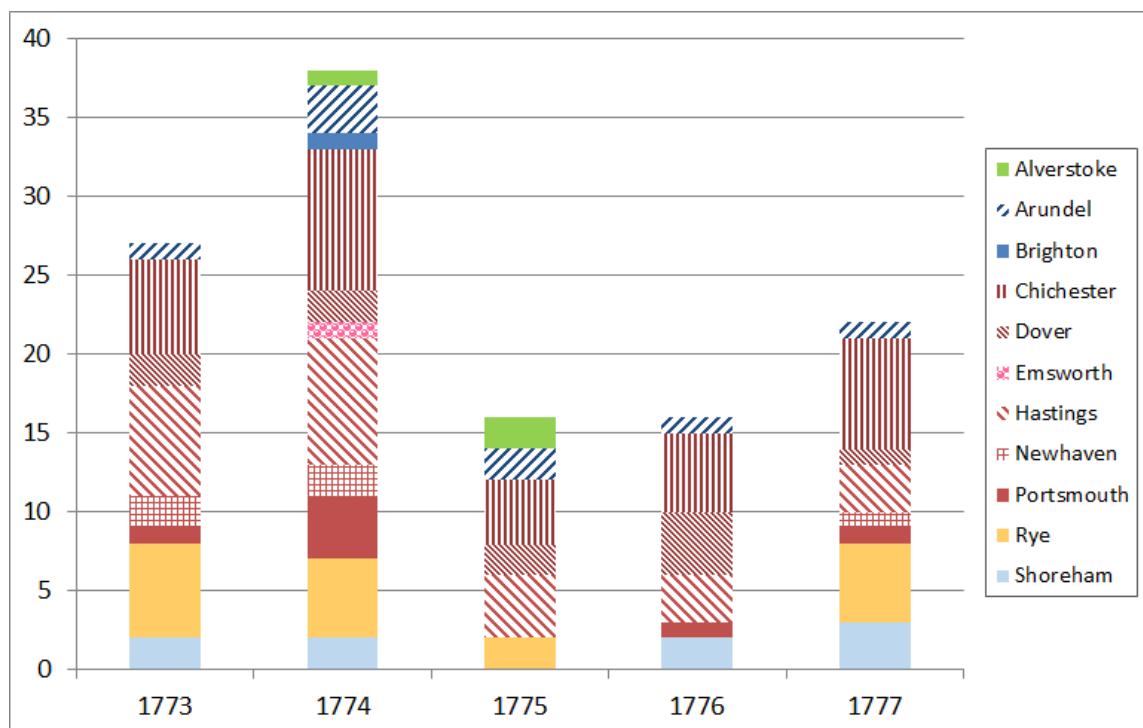
⁴⁰ Cox, *The Guernsey Merchants and Their World in the Georgian Era*, p. 28. *Hampshire Chronicle*, various including 3 October 1774, 7 November 1774, 12 May 1777.

⁴¹ W. A. Cole, 'Trends in Eighteenth-Century Smuggling', in *The Growth of English Overseas Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by W.E. Minchinton, Debates in Economic History (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1969), pp. 121-43 (p. 142); Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 275; Davis, *The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade*, p. 46.

⁴² Alexander Hay, *A History of Chichester* (Chichester: Seagrave, 1804), pp. 329-30, 362, 394. Needles had been a major export article for Chichester before the Civil War and by 1750 this industry still supported about 20 local families. However, the cottage industries producing the Chichester needles could not compete with cheaper goods mass-produced in Birmingham and Sheffield and by the end of the eighteenth century the trade had disappeared.

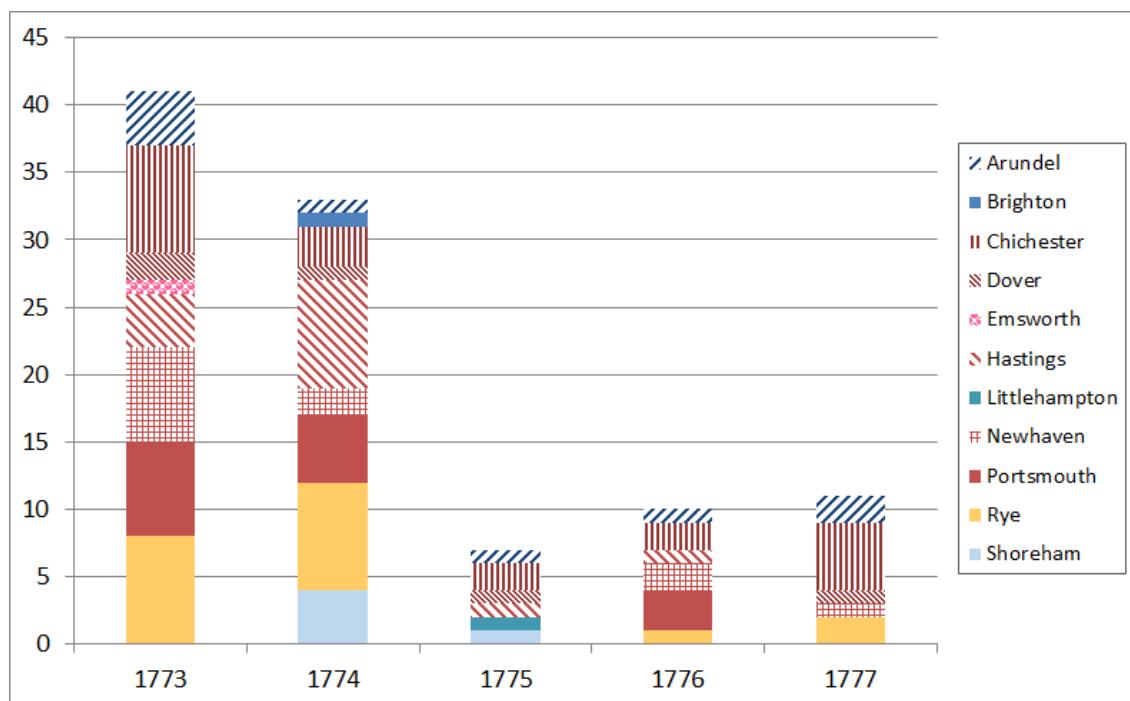
⁴³ Chichester District Museum, *Fish and Ships: The Port of Chichester and the Local Coastline over Past Centuries*. (Chichester: Chichester District Museum, 1983), p. 9.

Figure 3.7: Vessels arriving Southampton for English Channel ports in south-east England, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Figure 3.8: Vessels clearing Southampton for English Channel ports in south-east England, 1773-1777



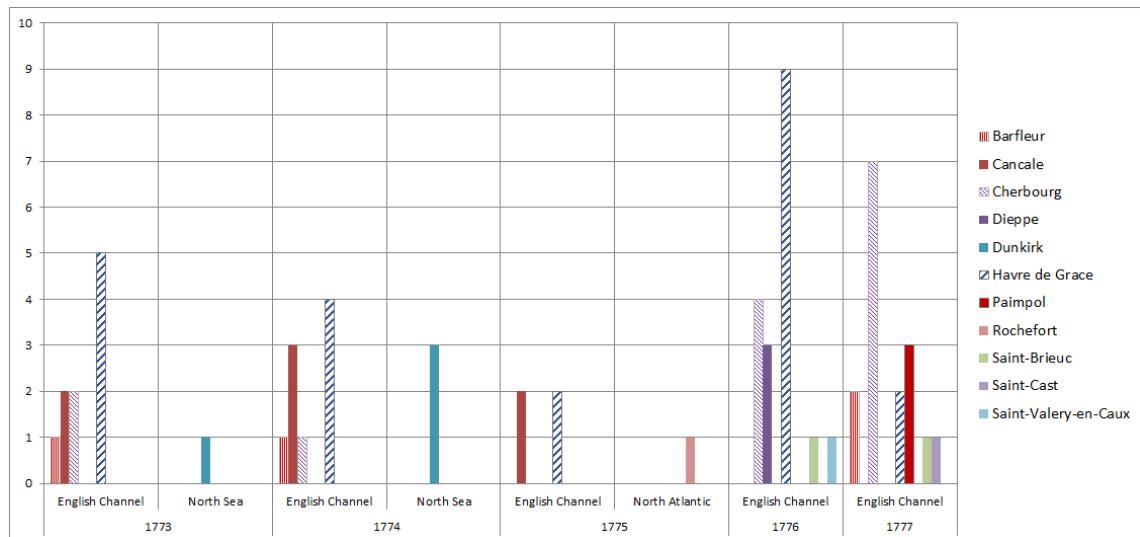
Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

fishing port, but which was developing into a seaside resort.⁴⁴ In December 1776, the *Hampshire Chronicle* carried a small advertisement for the sale of eighty barrels of Red herrings, 'just landed', probably in *Farmer's Delight*, which was recorded arriving in Southampton from Hastings on 14 December.⁴⁵ In return for these import cargoes, Southampton shipped wine and timber to Chichester. The timber, mainly used for housebuilding, was primarily Scandinavian deals, a type of plank, a product of Southampton's Baltic trade.⁴⁶

France

In the words of French historian Renaud Morieux, 'the coastal populations of southern England and northern France, living in close proximity to that indefinite, shifting and ever-changing zone that is the Channel, were in constant contact throughout the eighteenth century'.⁴⁷ This statement was true for Southampton as well as for other Channel ports located closer to the French coast. During the years 1773-77, 95 journeys were recorded in Southampton to or from a French port, 62 arrivals and 33 clearances. 87 of these journeys were to or from a port in the

Figure 3.9: Vessels arriving at Southampton from a French port, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

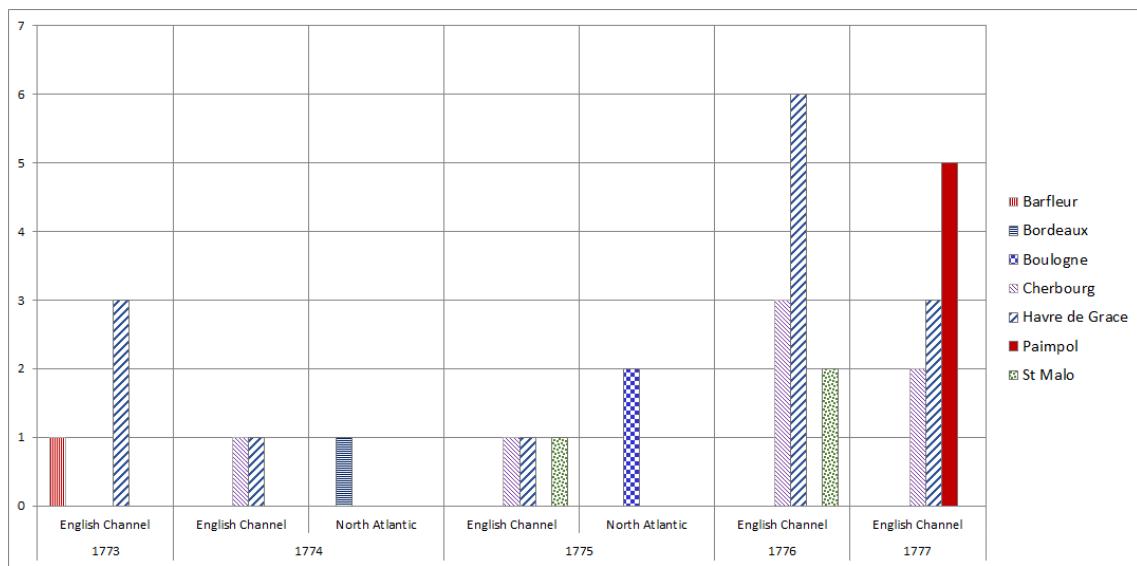
⁴⁴ Alex Anderson, p. 449. *The Hastings and St Leonard's Chronicle*, <http://hastingschronicle.net/key-events/1700-1799/> [accessed 11 March 2018]. The vessel was recorded leaving Southampton only once, for Rye.

⁴⁵ *Hampshire Chronicle* 23 December 1776.

⁴⁶ Alan H. J Green, *The Building of Georgian Chichester 1690-1830* (Chichester, England: Phillimore, 2007), p. 18.

⁴⁷ Renaud Morieux, 'Diplomacy from below and Belonging: Fishermen and Cross-Channel Relations in the Eighteenth Century', *Past & Present*, 202, 2009, 83–125 (p. 86).

Figure 3.10: Vessels leaving Southampton for a French port, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

English Channel. Four journeys were arrivals from Dunkirk in the North Sea, while another four were journeys between Southampton and French ports located in the North Atlantic, one arrival from Rochefort, two departures for Boulogne and one departure for Bordeaux. These eight journeys to or from French ports not located in the English Channel were carried out by eight different vessels (Figures 3.9 and 3.10).

The 87 journeys to and from French ports in the English Channel were undertaken by 46 different vessels, some of which were regular traders in Southampton. Although *Louisa* with Captain Brewer was primarily a regular trader to the Channel Islands, with 24 journeys to or from Jersey and four journeys to or from Guernsey recorded in the period between 1773 and 1777, it was also one of the more regular traders to France, with three journeys recorded from Cancale, one from St-Brieuc as well as one to and one from Cherbourg. This indicates that there was a regular trade across the Channel, supporting the view of Renaud Morieux that cross-Channel contacts were often easier than inland connections.

Further evidence in support of this view is the fact that unlike the shipping to most other destinations, not all the shipping between Southampton and French ports was primarily carrying goods. Several passenger vessels operated here too. The increasingly popular cultural exchange between Britain and France meant a greater demand on the routes to France, particularly Havre de Grace, for passenger berths. According to contemporary French journals a packet boat service between Southampton and Le Havre started in 1771, but it may not have been a long-lasting operation as there is no direct evidence of this in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in the period 1773-77. In the late 1780s, however, the newspaper included regular

advertisements for the route to France, including the *Joanna Packet*, whose captain John Weeks advertised that the vessel would leave Southampton every Tuesday and Havre de Grace every Friday, promising to 'be as punctual as in his power to time'.⁴⁸

Professor Frédéric Ogée, who has written extensively on Cross-Channel culture in the long eighteenth century, noted that 'Crossing the Channel was one of the favourite activities of the well-off British in the eighteenth century' and that France exercised a 'strange attraction on British intellectuals'.⁴⁹ French art, culture and food were among the attractions that drew the British tourists, who did not just include aristocrats among their numbers. Natural philosophers, artists, clergy, and physicians were all keen to have an opportunity to compare a foreign experience with British customs and institutions. According to Anne Woodhouse, who has analysed the journals and letters of British travellers to France in the eighteenth century, 'the experience of travel had the effect of strengthening the Britons' patriotism' and they 'were far more likely to preserve their English ways in France than to import French ones into England'.⁵⁰

Most of the tourists travelled to France via Dover and Calais on the regular packet boat. However, some travellers opted to depart from Southampton to Le Havre, Dieppe or Cherbourg, routes that became popular with increasing numbers of travellers from the 1760s.⁵¹ *Charming Nancy* and *Duchess of Cumberland* accounted for 15 of the Southampton journeys to or from Havre de Grace. In 1774 the captains William Donkin and Thomas Strickland entered into a partnership by offering their vessels for charter. 'Quite a new sloop, and exceedingly well adapted for Pleasure, with a Convenience for Carriages, Horses, &c will sail for Portsmouth, Isle of Wight, France, &c, &c at the shortest notice', read an advertisement for *Charming Nancy* when the partnership was launched. Prospective passengers were promised 'good accommodations, and civil treatment'.⁵²

⁴⁸ Morieux, *The Channel*, p. 288; Hampshire Chronicle 14 May 1787.

⁴⁹ Frédéric Ogée, 'Channelling Emotions: Travel and Literary Creation in Smollett and Sterne', in *The Channel in the Eighteenth Century: Bridge, Barrier and Gateway*, ed. by John Falvey and William Brooks, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 292 (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1991), pp. 27–42 (pp. 27–28).

⁵⁰ Anne F. Woodhouse, 'Eighteenth-Century English Visitors to France in Fiction and Fact', *Modern Language Studies*, 6.1 (1976), 37–41 (pp. 38–39).

⁵¹ Felix Paknadel, 'Hogarth's Gate of Calais: Myth and Reality', in *The Channel in the Eighteenth Century: Bridge, Barrier and Gateway*, ed. by John Falvey and William Brooks, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 292 (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1991), pp. 7–13 (pp. 7–8); Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2003), p. 12.

⁵² Hampshire Chronicle 11 July 1774

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The Southampton-based sloop *Charming Sally*, owned by her captain J. Langar, was recorded in Southampton on ten occasions between 1773 and 1777. This vessel also journeyed to Havre de Grace, although it primarily traded between London and the Irish ports of Cork or Dungarvan, possibly part of a triangular trade between London, France and Ireland and using Southampton as a stopping-off point en route when cargoes were available.

The most frequent French destination by far was Havre de Grace, with 25 arrivals from and 15 departures for this port recorded in Southampton. Le Havre's trade, which had been severely affected by the Seven Years War, had now recovered and both trade and industry were flourishing. In 1773, a bourse or stock market was established and two years later, two lighthouses were built to aid maritime traffic.⁵³ Other popular destinations for vessels travelling to or from Southampton were Cherbourg and Cancale, which was primarily a fishing port, a centre for the sale of oysters.⁵⁴

Bordeaux was the leading French port, with a thriving wine export, particularly to Ireland. The port also served as an entrepôt for colonial goods, which were exported to northern Europe. Several Guernsey merchants had close trading links with Bordeaux, which may explain why only one journey was recorded directly between Southampton and Bordeaux during the period 1773-77. The same is likely to have been the situation for Rochefort, an exporter of brandy, from where only one journey to Southampton was recorded during this period. The data thus supports contemporary evidence that French wine and brandy was trans-shipped to Guernsey and from there shipped to British ports, notably Southampton. Letters from eighteenth-century Guernsey merchants further suggest that some of the French wine was transferred to Spanish barrels before the onward shipping to Britain, in order to avoid the higher taxes levied on French wine in Britain.⁵⁵

Dunkirk was a great importer of English coals, which in the 1780s were reported to be 'burnt in every house in the town, and are one-third cheaper than wood'.⁵⁶ However, the absence in the Southampton shipping records of any direct traffic linking the port with the coal traffic to

⁵³ A.-E. Borely, *Histoire de La Ville Du Havre et de Son Ancien Gouvernement*, 3 vols (Le Havre: Lepelletier, 1880), III, p. 470. Le Havre Archives Municipales, http://archives.lehavre.fr/delia-CMS/archives/site/article_id-23891/sstopic_id-/topic_id-758/topic_parent_id-757/temps-modernes-1716-1788.html [accessed 22 May 2018].

⁵⁴ J. Ogée, A. Marteville, and P. Varin, *Dictionnaire Historique et Géographique de La Province de Bretagne: Dédié à La Nation Bretonne* (Rennes: Molliex, 1843), I, pp. 136-37; Bernd Klein, 'Cancale', *Brittany* <<https://www.bklein.de/brittany/cancale.php>> [accessed 21 January 2018].

⁵⁵ Cox, *The Guernsey Merchants and Their World in the Georgian Era*, pp. 48, 56, 57.

⁵⁶ J. Pinkerton, *A General Collection of ... Voyages and Travels*, A General Collection of ... Voyages and Travels, Digested by J. Pinkerton (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1809), IV, p. 519.

France from the north-east of England indicates that this traffic was carried out as a direct supply, rather than an addition to the supply of coal to the south coast ports.

The French authorities in Dunkirk directly supported the activities of British smugglers, known as 'smogleurs', in the town, through the exemption from taxes on goods such as salt. In 1774 the Dunkirk Chamber of Commerce recorded that between 1000 and 1500 English smugglers were present in the town, primarily supplying contraband to the small ports and creeks near Dover.⁵⁷

The four vessels recorded in Southampton arriving from Dunkirk were all en route to Scottish ports in the Irish Sea, an indication of the close links between the two regions. Several generations of Irish merchants had settled in Dunkirk, which had significant imports of Irish agricultural produce such as butter and salt beef. Glasgow, which was the destination of three of the four vessels, was the Scottish centre for Irish trade.⁵⁸ However, Dunkirk had other strong links with Glasgow. As a rapidly expanding entrepôt, Dunkirk had warehousing and processing facilities specially for tobacco and spirits and Glasgow was Britain's centre for the tobacco trade. Glasgow merchants had developed strong trade links with America and by the outbreak of the War of American Independence, Glasgow accounted for 45 per cent of all British tobacco trade calculated by volume.⁵⁹ In January 1774, the Glasgow brig *Crawford*, with Captain Alexander, left the Clyde carrying a cargo of tobacco to Dunkirk. *Crawford* was one of the four vessels recorded in Southampton arriving from Dunkirk a few months later, in March 1774. The vessel returned to the Clyde in April from Cowes, carrying 'goods'.⁶⁰ The four vessels arriving in Southampton from Dunkirk are an example of how the data from the *Hampshire Chronicles* shipping lists helps to uncover the detail of global trading networks.

⁵⁷ Morieux, *The Channel*, pp. 259–60; Jan Parmentier, 'Le développement de Londres en port mondial et ses relations avec les ports continentaux de la mer du Nord, Dunkerque et Ostende, au cours du XVIII^e siècle', in *Sur les traces du commerce maritime en mer du Nord du XVI^e au XVIII^e* (Dunkerque: Musée portuaire, 2011), pp. 111–23 (p. 122). The main parts of the British coast with known links to the Dunkirk smuggling trade were in Kent and Sussex, but it is likely that the people on the south Hampshire coast near Southampton were also involved.

⁵⁸ Gordon Jackson, 'Scottish Shipping 1775–1805', in *Shipping, Trade and Commerce. Essays in the Memory of Ralph Davis*, ed. by P.L. Cottrell and D.H. Aldcroft (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1981), pp. 117–36 (p. 119).

⁵⁹ Jacob M. Price, 'The Rise of Glasgow in the Chesapeake Tobacco Trade, 1707–1775', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 11.2 (1954), 179–99 (pp. 179–81, 183).

⁶⁰ Shipping lists in the *Caledonian Mercury*, 3 January and 11 April 1774.

Conclusion – Southampton’s trade with ports in the English Channel

The shipping between Southampton and other ports in the English Channel was not homogenous, but followed different patterns depending on the destinations. Although trade with the Channel Islands did see some fluctuations in the 1770s, the overall volume of trade to the islands was steady, an indication of the importance of this trade for the supply of basic necessities for the peoples of the islands. The shipping between Southampton and other regions within the English Channel suffered as the conflict with the American colonies gathered pace. In particular, trade with ports in south-west England declined from 1775 onwards.

The variety of goods traded between Southampton and other English Channel ports illustrate the methods and complexity of the distribution of goods in the eighteenth century. Local business links connected with others further afield to create a global network of trade. An example of this could be seen in the trade with clay tobacco pipes, where clay from Poole and Teignmouth was turned into tobacco pipes in Southampton, the pipes were shipped to Jersey and other ports, from where local mariners would carry them to Newfoundland and beyond.

An important feature of shipping to ports in the English Channel was the relatively higher proportion of journeys undertaken for the primary purpose of passenger or tourist traffic to or from Channel ports than was the case for destinations further afield. Considering the cultural links between France and Britain, it is not unexpected that vessels were able to find a readier market for passengers on cross-Channel journeys. Passengers did travel on long-distance sea voyages as well, but the vessels carrying them would primarily have been carrying cargo.⁶¹

⁶¹ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 287.

CHAPTER 4: SOUTHAMPTON'S NORTH ATLANTIC AND IRISH SEA TRADE IN THE 1770S

Introduction

Scholars have debated the importance, even the validity of using the Atlantic as a unit of study. Yet, there is general agreement that the Atlantic region provides a useful basis for some questions, such as research in relation to spatial analysis. Alison Games saw the Atlantic as a unit of study invented by historians. However, she took the view that the Atlantic region was a 'logically viable space', particularly concerning the movement of people and goods. Petley and McAleer highlighted the tendency among historians of the Atlantic region to focus on nation states and Kenneth Morgan has argued that there is a lack of recognition of the importance of Atlantic shipping routes in the eighteenth century.¹ Morgan was focussed on transatlantic trade and indeed, the term 'Atlantic trade' is often taken to mean 'transatlantic trade'. Yet, for most English provincial towns such as Southampton, the trade with localities situated around the Atlantic Ocean was more often than not with towns and cities in other parts of Europe rather than with ports in America or Africa. Using as a case study the development and distribution of Madeira wine during the eighteenth century, David Hancock has convincingly argued that rather than being organised and dictated from a central point, the 'Atlantic world' developed its strength by its decentralized nature. For example, the fortification of Madeira wine was introduced and developed as a consequence of consumer demand in America.²

The *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping list data shows Southampton's trade with ports around the Atlantic as decentralized and individual. The trade with each region had its own characteristics and most of the captains and vessels involved sailed in different patterns, often affected by local rather than national or international factors. Ports in the North Atlantic were the third most frequent destinations for vessels that called at Southampton between 1773 and 1777.

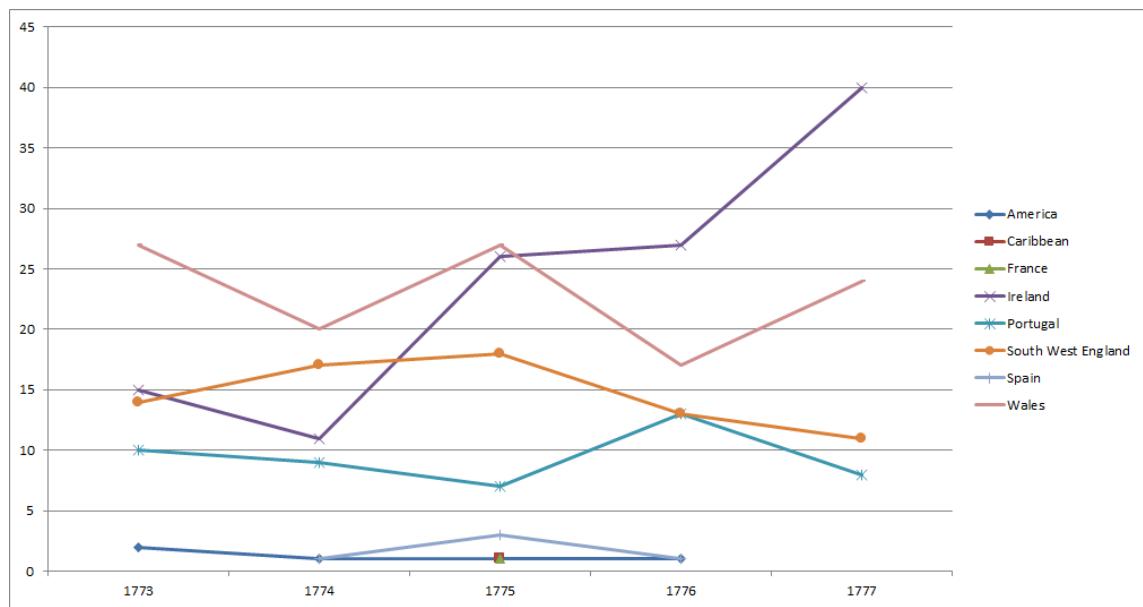
¹ Jack P. Greene, 'Hemispheric History and Atlantic History', in *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal*, ed. by Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan, *Reinterpreting History* (Oxford: New York ; Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 299–315 (pp. 299–300); Coclansis, 'Introduction', pp. xii–xiii; Alison Games, 'Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities', *The American Historical Review*, 111.3 (2006), 741–57 (pp. 742–43, 748, 755–56); Christer Petley and John McAleer, 'Introduction: The Royal Navy and the British Atlantic', in *The Royal Navy and the British Atlantic World, c. 1750–1820*, ed. by John McAleer and Christer Petley (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 1–26 (p. 4); Kenneth Morgan, 'Shipping Patterns and the Atlantic Trade of Bristol, 1749–1770', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 46.3 (1989), 506–38 (p. 507).

² David Hancock, 'Self-Organized Complexity and the Emergence of an Atlantic Market Economy, 1651–1815', in *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*, ed. by Peter A. Coclansis (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2005), pp. 30–71 (pp. 32–33).

Chapter 4

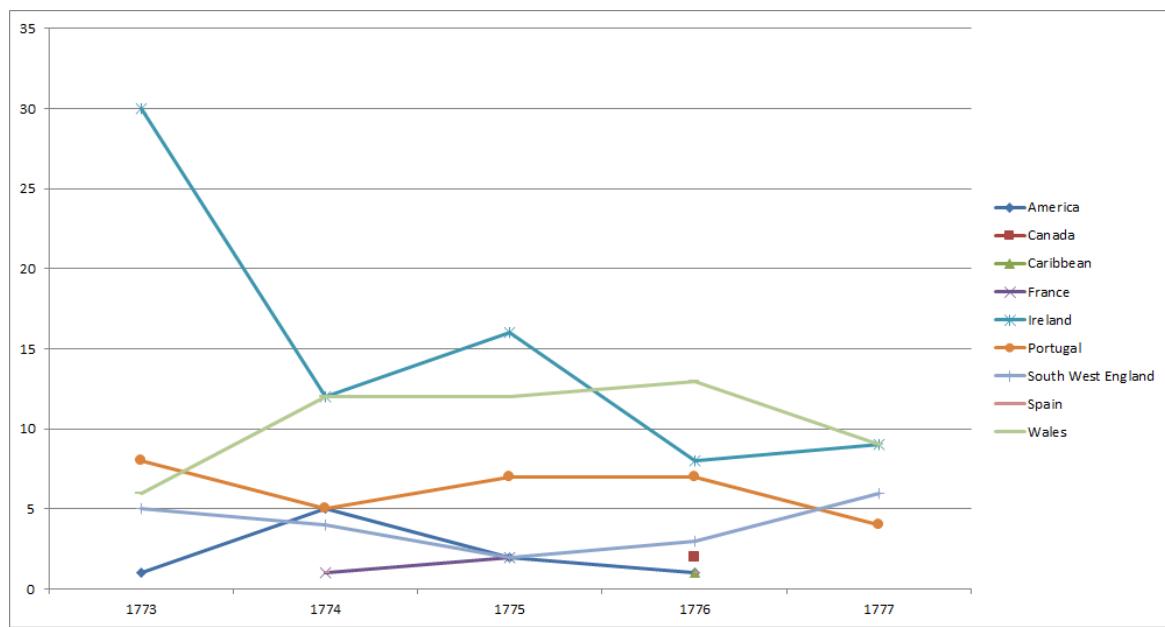
The *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists recorded 365 arrivals from and 194 departures for North Atlantic ports in this period. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 show the distribution of these journeys, with Irish and Welsh ports the most common destinations. A steady number of about ten vessels arrived from Portuguese ports each year while seven or eight vessels departed for there. A modest total of 29 journeys were recorded arriving from or departing for Atlantic ports located in North America, the Caribbean, Spain and France during the five-year period.

Figure 4.1: Vessels arriving at Southampton from North Atlantic and Caribbean ports, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Figure 4.2: Vessels clearing Southampton for a North Atlantic or Caribbean port, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Included in the Atlantic analysis is data relating to the Mediterranean and the Caribbean as the numbers of vessels trading directly between Southampton and these seas are very low and the traffic was closely linked with that of the North Atlantic. The data indicates how local factors at individual destinations could have an impact on the overall picture of trade in Southampton. For example, a local trade dispute between the Irish towns of Youghal and Dungarvan affected the number of vessels arriving in Southampton and the pattern of the town's trade. Analysis of the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping list data reveals that many of the vessels trading between Southampton and ports in south-west England, Wales and the Irish Sea were also regular traders with London, demonstrating that Southampton was often a stopping point in a larger trading network, rather than a main destination.

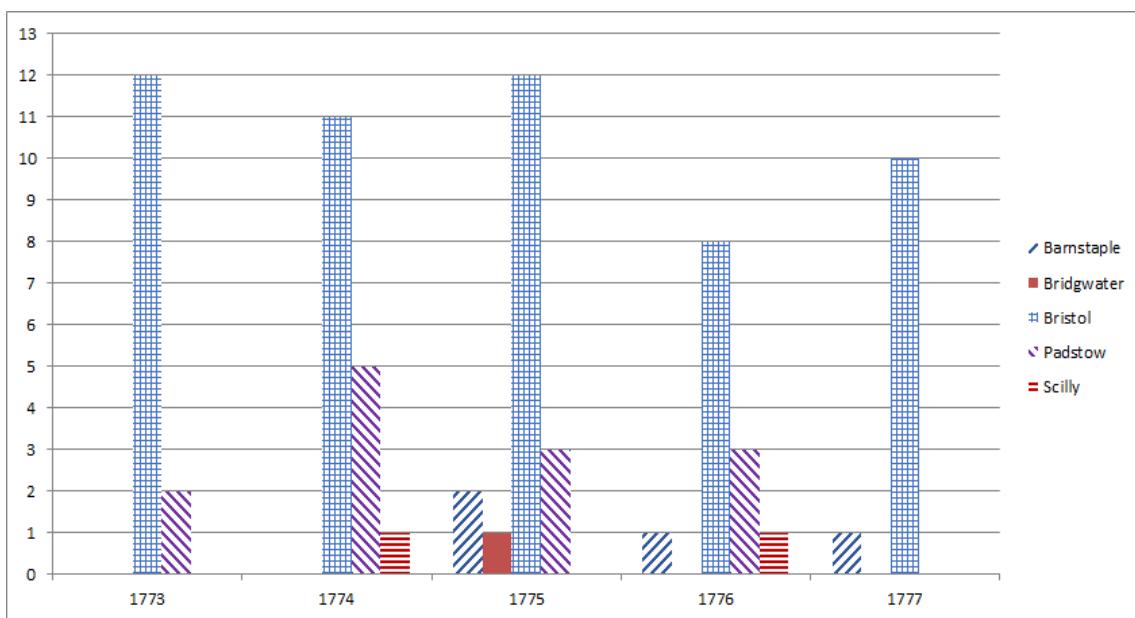
Trade with South-West England

The majority of vessels trading directly between Southampton and ports in south-west England travelled to or from ports situated in the English Channel, rather than the Atlantic. The analysis of this trade can be found in the previous chapter, relating to Southampton's trade with ports in the English Channel.

Of the 73 vessels that arrived in Southampton from a port in the North Atlantic part of south-west England, 53 came from Bristol, and thirteen from Padstow, the two most common destinations. Twenty vessels departed Southampton for a port in the North Atlantic part of south-west England, with Bristol and St Ives the most common destinations (see Figures 4.3 and 4.4). Fifty six different vessels undertook these 93 journeys with only two vessels recorded on three or more occasions. The vessel recorded most often on the route to or from Bristol was *Cam's Delight* with Captain Morris, which arrived 15 times from Bristol, departed three times for Bristol, once for Portsmouth and once for Poole. *Providence* with Captain Morey was also in the Bristol trade, the vessel was recorded arriving in Southampton five times, three times from Bristol, and once each from Cork and Plymouth.

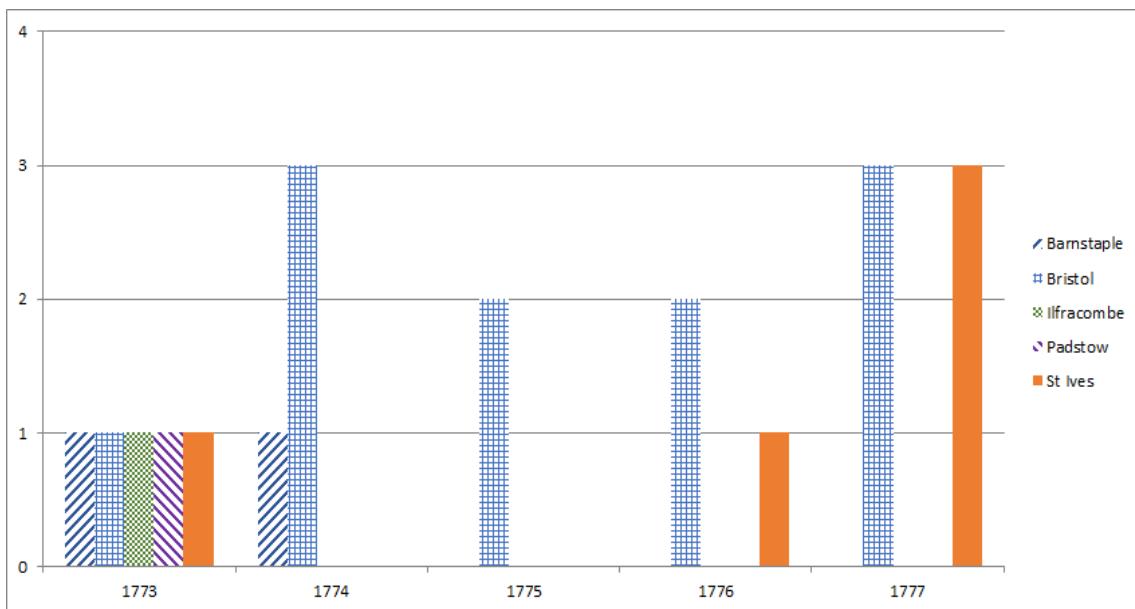
Bristol was an entrepôt for colonial goods from the Caribbean, particularly sugar, but also rum, cotton and tobacco. The port acted as a west coast distribution hub similar to London in the east, albeit on a smaller scale, with agricultural produce being part of most of the cargoes shipped out of Bristol. This included both locally grown crops and imported goods, such as Irish butter. Bristol industries comprised sugar refining, spirits distilling and soap manufacture. Eleven glassworks produced bottles for the distilling and brewing industries and they also produced window glass while copper and brass works produced wire, copper sheets for

Figure 4.3: Vessels arriving at Southampton from Atlantic ports in south-west England, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Figure 4.4: Vessels clearing Southampton for an Atlantic port in south-west England, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

sheathing ships and copper pans.³ Compared to Bristol, the other south-west ports had only limited trade although Bideford and Barnstaple were local entrepôts for tobacco as well as exporters of locally made earthenware. Bideford also exported wheat and barley while Bridgwater was primarily an exporter of agricultural goods, particularly corn, as well as garden and clover seeds.⁴ The Scottish newspaper, *Caledonian Mercury*, reporting the loss of the ship *Prosperous* in March 1777, included the information that the vessel was lost en route from Barnstaple to Southampton with a cargo of oats.⁵ The Cornish port of Padstow exported copper ore, refined tin, slate and stone.⁶

Most vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists with contact to Atlantic ports in south-west England only traded on one or two ports, so were sailing on fairly regular routes. The majority of vessels that arrived in or departed Southampton from or for south-west English Atlantic ports were only recorded once or twice, suggesting that the port was used a stopping-off point rather than a main destination.

Trade with Wales

A total of 116 arrivals and 53 departures for ports in Wales were recorded in Southampton between 1773 and 1777, about half of these were for Carmarthen, with 64 arrivals from and 23 departures for the port recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* over the five-year period. These 87 journeys were undertaken by 41 different vessels, most recorded just once or twice, seven vessels recorded four or more times, the most frequently recorded was Captain Thomas in *Blessing* which was recorded nine times between 1774 and 1777, either leaving Southampton for or arriving from Carmarthen. This trade would have primarily been carrying foodstuffs as Carmarthen was an exporter of agricultural produce, particularly corn and butter. An example illustrating the trade between Carmarthen and Southampton can be found in a collection of business papers relating to a Carmarthen-based merchant and shipowner, Morgan Lewis, preserved in the National Library of Wales. In November 1803, Lewis shipped a

³ Minchinton, *The Trade of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 130, 133; Hussey, pp. 75, 81; Kenneth Morgan, 'The Economic Development of Bristol, 1700-1850', in *The Making of Modern Bristol*, ed. by Madge Dresser and Philip Ollerenshaw (Tiverton: Redcliffe Press, 1996), p. 48.

⁴ Hussey, pp. 64, 69, 91.

⁵ *Caledonian Mercury* 15 March 1777. *Prosperous*, with Captain Pearson, was recorded three time in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists between 1774 and 1777, on each occasion arriving from a port in south-west England.

⁶ Josephine Brown, *Court House, Padstow, Cornwall. Statement of Significance* (Josephine Brown Heritage Consulting, May 2014), p. 26 (p. 4) <<http://courthousepadstow.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/The-Court-House-Padstow-Statement-of-Significance-04.141.pdf>> [accessed 2 August 2017].

cargo of 253 casks of butter and oats from Carmarthen for Southampton and London.⁷ However, Carmarthen exported goods other than agricultural produce. Around 1748, an ironworks had been established in Carmarthen and a tinworks had opened some years later. There is evidence that the town shipped metal goods from the local foundries to ports along the south coast of England.⁸ Carmarthen exported coal for domestic consumption to other Welsh ports and probably further afield too.⁹ The *Hampshire Chronicle* included regular advertisements for the sale of Welsh butter, such as 'To be sold, by Mr. Tho. Bernard, at the Grashopper, about 30 small casks of Welsh butter, of the best quality', but the newspaper contained no other mention of Southampton's trade with Wales.¹⁰ There is no qualitative information in the Southampton Petty Customs Records about vessels trading with ports in Wales but information from other ports shows that the main exports from Wales were agricultural produce and coal. Bristol imported barley from west Wales, oats from Cardigan and Carmarthen and dairy produce, meat and coal from south Wales.¹¹ Guernsey imported coal from Swansea, in the early eighteenth century to such an extent that the island re-exported coal to France.¹² Liverpool's trade with south Wales was minimal, but the port imported quarried stone and lead from North Wales, including slate, paving stones and limestones for conversion into lime for use as a fertiliser.¹³ Manufacturers and merchants in Exeter purchased coal from ports in south Wales, although Sunderland was the main supplier of coal to the town. In 1778, 28 out of 100 coal shipments came to Exeter from ports in south Wales, with Swansea the most important.¹⁴ Woollen cloth was manufactured in homes across Wales, particularly in the north, and shipped through London and Bristol which had a thriving transatlantic trade in Welsh cloth to America where it was used to make clothing for enslaved people.¹⁵

⁷ Emrys Williams, 'The Carmarthenshire Butter Trade', *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, xx (1984), 69–76 (pp. 70–71).

⁸ Francis Green, 'Carmarthen Tinworks and Its Founder', *West Wales Historical Records*, V (1915), 245–70 (p. 253); In 1764, the vessel *Bee* carried a cargo of oats, guns and tin from Carmarthen to London, as recorded in her master's logbook. Francis Green, 'Dewisland Coasters 1751', *West Wales Historical Records*, VIII (1921), 159–76 (p. 166).

⁹ Barbara J. George, 'Pembrokeshire Sea-Trading Before 1900', *Field Studies Journal*, 2.1 (1964), 1–38 (p. 29).

¹⁰ *Hampshire Chronicle* 26 April 1773

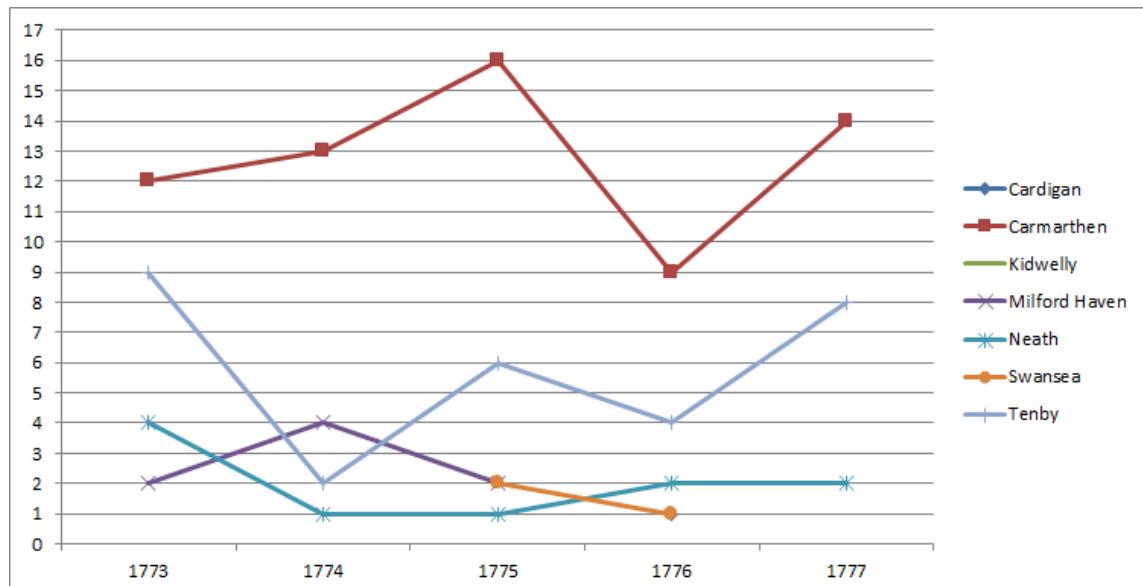
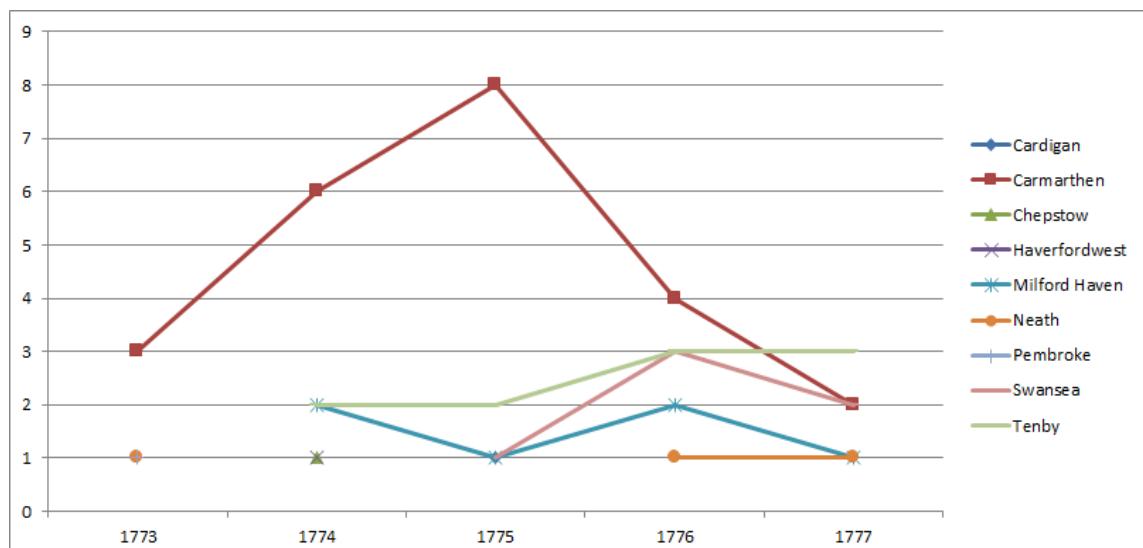
¹¹ Minchinton, *The Trade of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 133; Pope, vol. 2 p. 81.

¹² Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680–1830*, p. 35.

¹³ Pope, vol. 2 pp. 82, 102.

¹⁴ Hoskins, pp. 30, 106, 164.

¹⁵ Chris Evans, *Slave Wales: The Welsh and Atlantic Slavery, 1660–1850* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), pp. 49–52.

Figure 4.5: Vessels arriving at Southampton from Welsh ports, 1773-1777Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists**Figure 4.6: Vessels clearing Southampton for a Welsh port, 1773-1777**Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

As was the case for vessels trading between Southampton and ports in south-west England, there is evidence that Southampton was a stopping point between London and Welsh ports, rather than a primary destination. For example, *Lovely Cruiser*, with Captain Morris, was recorded on six occasions in Southampton between May 1773 and November 1775, en route between London and Carmarthen. On 20 July 1775, the vessel was also recorded in

Portsmouth, arriving from Carmarthen. It departed a week later bound for London.¹⁶ Another example of a vessel using Southampton as stopping point between London and western ports was the 60-ton sloop *William and Ann*, captained by G. Toogood. In October 1774, the vessel arrived in Southampton from London and left almost immediately for Chepstow. The following year, in September 1775, it arrived from London and left a week later for Cork. This latter journey can also be traced in *Lloyd's List*, which recorded the departure of the vessel from London for Cork on 26 August, the stop in Southampton in September and the arrival, in October, of the vessel 'from London'.¹⁷ Like Carmarthen, Chepstow exported mainly agricultural goods, particularly corn, which made up about half of the cargoes clearing both ports. In addition to grain, Chepstow also shipped a range of other produce, including leather, cider, wool, oatmeal, butter, bacon, quality timbers such as walnut and elm as well as iron.¹⁸ In the mid-eighteenth century tinplate manufactures were established in Kidwelly and Carmarthen, with Kidwelly the main place of manufacture. The port also exported coal and cloth. Only one vessel was recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists trading with Kidwelly, the *Hollam*, with Captain Foster, which arrived in Southampton from there on 9 November 1776.¹⁹

In the 1690s, Milford Haven was described as 'the best harbour in the three kingdoms', with a safe and accessible port.²⁰ It exported lead and coal as well as some agricultural produce, while imports were miscellaneous and included pitch and tar from Southampton.²¹ The oyster fisheries in Milford Haven were productive throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and exports went far and wide, including Ireland, London and the Netherlands.²² In addition to oysters, Milford Haven also had a considerable herring fishery and a large salt refinery, processing both Cheshire and imported continental salt. Quays and

¹⁶ However, it is likely that the *Lovely Cruizer* recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* was in fact two vessels; In October 1773, *Lloyd's List* reported that the Welsh coaster *Lovely Cruizer*, with Captain Morris, had been lost in the River Thames. The vessel, which was on its way to London, struck the anchor of an East Indiaman and sank. As a *Lovely Cruizer* with Captain Morris continued to be recorded on the route between Carmarthen and London, it is likely that the vessel's owner (maybe Captain Morris himself) decided to replace the lost vessel with another of the same name and to continue trade on his existing route.

¹⁷ *Hampshire Chronicle* 17 October 1774, 11 and 18 September 1775; *Lloyd's Register* 1775; *Lloyd's List* 29 August, 15 and 19 September, 13 October 1775.

¹⁸ Hussey, pp. 61–64, 70; Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600–1750*, p. 178.

¹⁹ L. J. Williams, 'The Welsh Tinplate Trade in the Mid-Eighteenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, 13.3 (1961), 440–49 (p. 440); W.H. Morris, 'The Port of Kidwelly', *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, xxvi (1990).

²⁰ Greenville Collins, *Great Britain's Coasting-Pilot* (London: Freeman Collins, 1693), p. 13.

²¹ Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600–1750*, pp. 181–82; Hussey, p. 64.

²² George, p. 21.

warehouses facilitated the importation and re-shipping of a variety of goods from America and Ireland.²³ In 1800, a naval dockyard was built in Milford Haven on land leased to the Navy by Sir William Hamilton. In 1802, Sir William, with his wife Emma and Admiral Lord Nelson stayed in Tenby while visiting the Milford Haven dockyard. Although it had previously been a coal exporting port, from the early 1770s, Tenby had become increasingly popular as a bathing resort and Sir William's nephew, Charles Greville, owned a house in the town.²⁴ Among the vessels recorded in Southampton trading with Tenby was the 70-ton sloop *Picton Castle*, captained by J. Philips. On 7 December 1776, the vessel arrived in Southampton from London. It departed on 21 December for Tenby, indicating perhaps that Southampton was merely a stop on the route between London and the Welsh port. Chichester-built sloop *Swallow*, captained by Ph. Trotter, was recorded on five occasions in Southampton, three times arriving from Tenby, once arriving from and once leaving for Chichester. In 1775, the vessel was recorded twice in Portsmouth, arriving from Tenby.²⁵ Like Milford Haven, Tenby had an important oyster industry and substantial numbers were exported, both fresh and pickled.²⁶

Swansea and Neath were both coal-exporting ports, which also had copper- and tin-smelting works, with a significant tin-plate industry in Swansea. Raw materials were imported from Cornwall, which in return imported Welsh coal from the Swansea area for the pumping engines in the Cornish mines.²⁷ One of the vessels which probably delivered Welsh coal to Southampton was *Betsey*, with Captain Button. In 1775-76, the vessel made two journeys between Southampton and south Wales, arriving from Neath on 15 April 1775 and leaving on 6 May for Swansea. The following year, this journey was repeated, when it arrived from Neath on 21 December, departing for Swansea on 30 December.²⁸ A contemporary writer described Cardigan as a 'handsome town' with a 'considerable trade', although only two journeys were recorded in Southampton for or from the port between 1773 and 1777, one departure in 1775,

²³ In 1766, more than 185,000 barrels, or around 250 million individual fish, were landed at Milford Haven. Simon Hancock, 'An Eighteenth-Century Salt Refinery at Neyland', *The Journal of the Pembrokeshire Historical Society*, 25 (2016), pp. 2-3
<http://www.pembrokeshirehistoricalsociety.co.uk/eighteenth-century-salt-refinery-neyland/> [accessed 10 July 2019].

²⁴ Douglas Fraser, 'When Admiral Lord Nelson Visited Tenby', *Historical Tales of Tenby* http://www.tenbyhistoricalsociety.org.uk/historical_tales_of_tenby.html [accessed 4 August 2017]; Hussey, p. 69; Mary Morgan, *A Tour to Milford Haven in the Year 1791* (London: Stockdale, 1795), p. 299.

²⁵ *Hampshire Chronicle* 9 and 23 December 1776; *Lloyd's Register* 1778

²⁶ George, p. 21.

²⁷ Hussey, pp. 61-64, 69; Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750*, p. 177; Rule, p. 229.

²⁸ *Hampshire Chronicle* 17 April and 8 May 1775, 23 and 30 December 1776.

one arrival in 1776.²⁹ Cardigan's trade was primarily export of agricultural goods, including grain and dairy produce, produced by local farmers, such as Anne Evans, typical of Welsh butter producers at this time and whose account books and journals for the years 1778-1797 are preserved at the National Library of Wales. Anne Evans managed Highmead Farm estate, which kept on average 16 milking cows and nearly all its milk was used in the production of butter and cheese. The produce was used on the estate, sold to merchants in Carmarthen or sent to customers in London and Bath.³⁰

The data gathered and presented here indicates that there was a regular traffic of vessels trading between Southampton and ports in Wales. The goods that they carried were primarily coal and agricultural produce, particularly butter, which was advertised for sale by local retailers. Southampton's location mid-way along the south coast enabled local merchants to take advantage of the busy London trade, making Southampton a stopping-off point on the route.

Trade with Ireland and the Irish Sea

Southampton had a steady, but numerically relatively insignificant, trade with Ireland, most of it with southern Ireland, especially Cork and Dungarvan which accounted for 76 and 57 respectively of the 214 journeys recorded between Southampton and Irish ports during the years 1773-77. It is difficult directly to compare the *Hampshire Chronicle* Southampton data with information from elsewhere as the methods of analysis used in other studies vary, with most using the value or volume of cargoes rather than the number of journeys to quantify trading activity. However, John Mannion has analysed the maritime trade of Waterford with the south coast of England between 1766 and 1771. The study, which includes an examination of shipping movements between Waterford and southern England, shows that 16 vessels left Waterford for Southampton during this period while 15 arrivals were recorded.³¹ One of the few major studies including information about the number of journeys as a measure of trading activity is Minchinton's analysis of Bristol's trade in the eighteenth century. In 1778, 101 vessels entered the port of Bristol from Ireland, with 92 vessels clearing for Irish ports. The

²⁹ Samuel Rush Meyrick, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Cardigan* (London: T. Bensley for Longman, 1808), p. 93. Both journeys were carried out by the vessel *Two Sisters*, which departed Southampton in May 1775 and was recorded arriving there in July 1776.

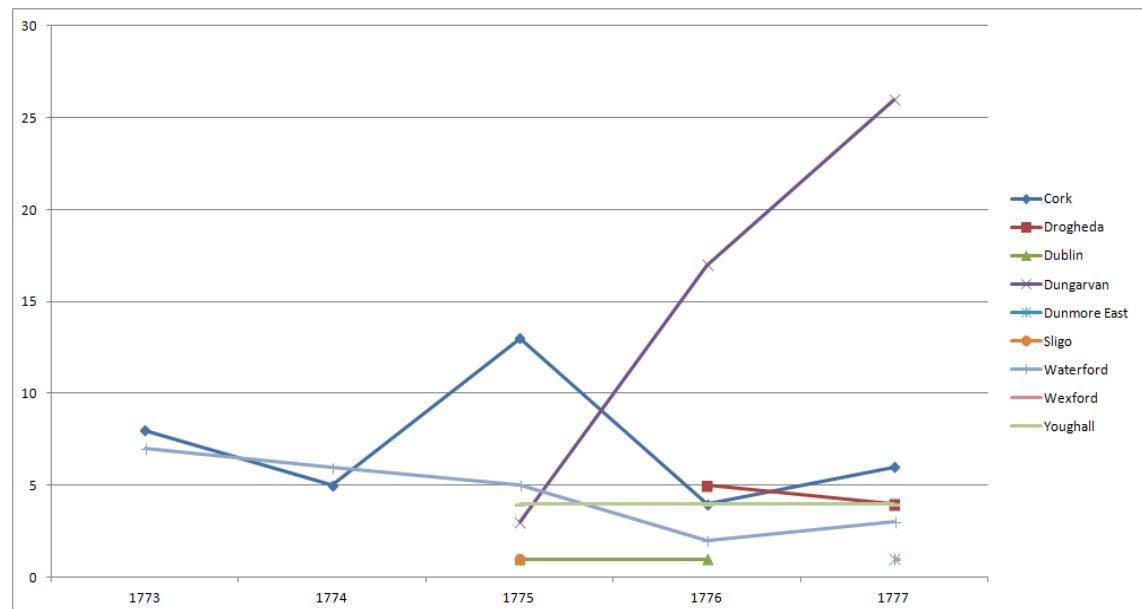
³⁰ B. G. Charles, 'The Highmead Dairy, 1778-97', *Ceredigion: Journal of the Cardiganshire Antiquarian Society*, 5.1 (1967), 76-83 (pp. 78, 81); Emrys Williams, p. 70.

³¹ John Mannion, 'Waterford and the South of England: Spatial Patterns in Shipping Commerce, 1766-1777', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 6.2 (1994), 115-53 (p. 120).

main import cargoes were wool and French wine.³² Guernsey had a considerable trade with Ireland, some of it probably on board vessels also trading in Southampton. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, merchants in Guernsey imported salted pork and beef as well as dairy products from Ireland, and exported a variety of goods, the most valuable being wine. Most of Guernsey's Irish trade was with ports located between Cork and Dublin.³³ Due to its geographical location, it was natural that Liverpool enjoyed a thriving trade with Ireland. The main imports were provisions, with rock salt being the principal return cargo. In 1770, two thirds of the volume of rock salt exported from Liverpool was for Irish ports, more than 400,000 bushels out of a total export volume of 685,000 bushels.³⁴ Imports from Ireland, consisting mainly of hides, linens, provisions and raw wool, represented the second most valuable imports (after those from Jamaica) into the Port of London in 1772-74. Re-exported colonial goods to Ireland from the Port of London became increasingly important in the second half of the eighteenth century, with rum and sugar the most important commodities.³⁵

Figures 4.7 and 4.8 show the number of arrivals and clearances recorded in Southampton from and for Irish ports in the years 1773-77. During this period, there were 131 arrivals in Southampton from and 83 clearances for an Irish port. These journeys were undertaken by 97 different vessels of which only nine travelled to ports in the Irish Sea. About 90 per cent of the

Figure 4.7: Vessels arriving at Southampton from Irish ports, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

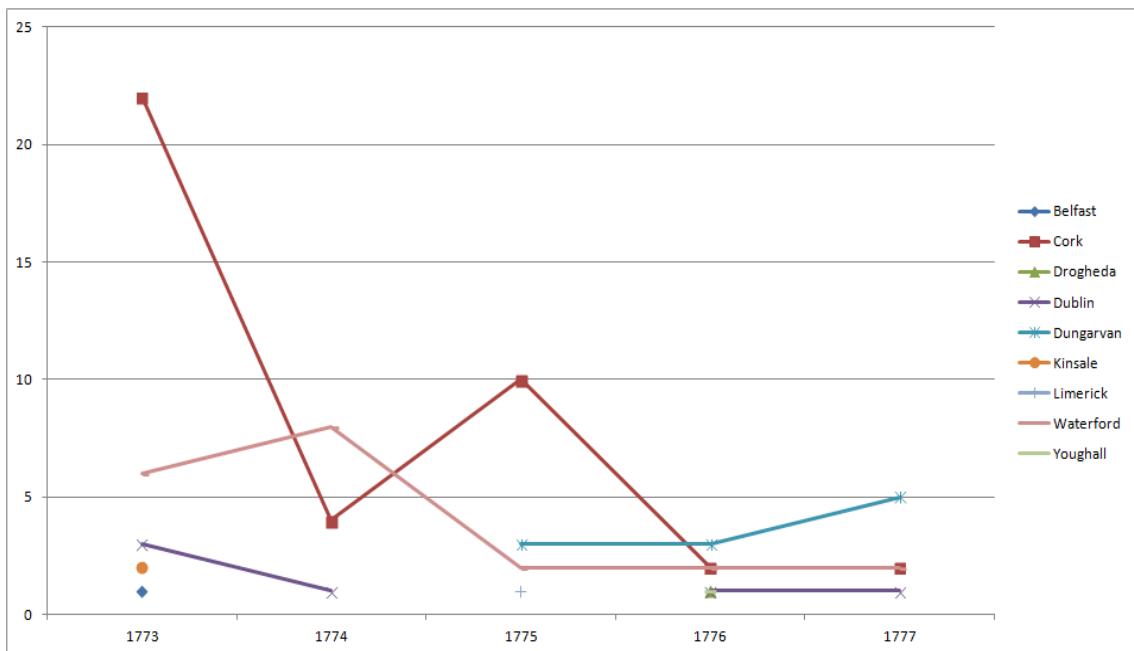
³² Minchinton, *The Trade of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 181.

³³ Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680-1830*, pp. 40-42.

³⁴ Pope, pp. 24-25, 74.

³⁵ French, 'The Trade and Shipping of the Port of London, 1700-1776', pp. 68 and 99.

Figure 4.8: Vessels clearing Southampton for an Irish port, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

journeys directly between Southampton and an Irish port were to or from a port on the North Atlantic part of the Irish coast, with only 20 journeys coming from or heading directly for a port in the Irish Sea. The ports which had most direct contact with Southampton were Dungarvan and Cork, but the pattern of trade between the ports showed different trends. In 1773, 22 clearances for Cork were recorded in Southampton, representing 19 different vessels, with only three departing more than once in the year. In 1776 and 1777, the number of clearances had reduced to two per year. Conversely, in 1775-77, the number of vessels arriving in Southampton from Dungarvan, just along the coast from Cork, grew from three to 26 per year.

Cork imported a range of goods from southern England, including salt and wine from Iberia, beer and colonial goods, all items that could have come on the vessels from Southampton. With its expanding production of salt beef, Cork was the centre of the provisions trade, supplying both the Army and the Navy. A Navy victualling yard acted as a hub for the reception and distribution of supplies.³⁶ The Southampton Petty Customs records for 1772 recorded imports of butter from Cork, Dublin and Waterford, pork from Dublin and Waterford and tallow and lard from Cork and Dublin. Only two export cargoes were recorded, both for

³⁶ Dickson, *Old World Colony*, p. 155; David Dickson, *New Foundations: Ireland, 1660-1800*, 2nd ed. (Portland: Irish Academic Press, 2000), p. 163; Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*, pp. 80-81; Knight and Wilcox, pp. 81-82; Norman Baker, *Government and Contractors: The British Treasury and War Supplies, 1775-1783*, University of London. Historical Studies, 30 (London: Athlone Press, 1971), p. 66; Lavery, *Nelson's Navy*, p. 236.

Waterford, of wooden pegs or trenails and barrel hoops. As previously discussed, not all cargoes were recorded in the Petty Customs Book, so it is likely that a wider range of goods were traded between Southampton and Ireland. One vessel which almost certainly participated in the supply of wine from Portugal and possibly also re-exported colonial goods to Cork was the 60-ton Southampton-based sloop *Hollam*, which was recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* on 17 occasions between 1773 and 1775, sailing between Southampton and Iberia (Lisbon, Oporto and Malaga), London and Cork. Several journeys also included destinations located on the route between Southampton and Cork (Tenby, Milford Haven, Plymouth and Bristol).³⁷ Examples of other vessels participating in the trade with Cork, and possibly also the Irish trade with Bristol, include Captain Brooker in his 50-ton sloop *John and Ann*, who was recorded arriving in Southampton three times between 1773 and 1777, once from Tenby in Wales, twice from Bristol. In the same period, the vessel was recorded leaving Southampton five times, twice for Cork, twice for Chichester and once for Bristol, with the two clearances for Cork both taking place in 1773. The arrival from Tenby in September 1773 was the only voyage falling within the period covered by the Southampton Petty Customs records, but the vessel was not recorded here, indicating that the cargo, most likely coal, was exempt from import duty.³⁸ The vessel *Expedition*, with Captain Jupp, was recorded three times arriving in Southampton between 1773 and 1777, once from Tenby, once from London and once from Bristol. The vessel was recorded leaving Southampton twice in this period, both times for Cork. However, as the departures are recorded on 21 November and 4 December in 1773, it is likely that these two entries relate to the same departure, possibly delayed because of bad weather. According to reports in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, November 1773 had been a month of stormy weather. On 9 November in Southampton 'the wind blew very hard from S.W. attended with a very heavy storm', while a few days later a violent storm with thunder and lightning brought down the top mast and rigging of a vessel in the port. On 15 November, a 'hurricane' brought down trees and chimneys inland while at the same time vessels crossing the Atlantic were damaged by storms including a packet boat travelling from Florida to Portsmouth which lost all her masts.³⁹

As mentioned above, Cork was the centre of the provisions trade. Between 1776 and 1779, the government spent on average £500,000 per year on provisions in Cork, in order to supply the many army transports and naval vessels required to support the fight against the rebelling

³⁷ Information about *Hollam* in *Lloyd's Register* 1775.

³⁸ *Lloyd's Register* 1778.

³⁹ *Hampshire Chronicle* 15, 22 November and 6 December 1773.

American colonies.⁴⁰ At the beginning of this period, in 1776, following Government concerns about a possible shortage of provisions, an embargo on private trade in the port was introduced. It is likely that the reduction in the number of vessels clearing Southampton for Cork from 1776 onwards was caused by price rises and a shortage of corn and other provisions available for sale in the town following the embargo. A letter from Cork, published in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in 1776, expressed concern that stores of provisions were low and prices 'exorbitant'.⁴¹

There had been food riots in several Irish town in the 1750s and 60s and a subsidy was introduced in 1758 for the Irish grain trade, with the subsidy being extended to include coastal trade in 1767 in order to support the supply of food to Dublin. Riots occurred again in the early 1770s, notably in Cork, against exporters of grain and importers of woollen goods to the city. While the riots in Cork primarily occurred for economic reasons, e.g. food shortages and fears of unfair competition by imported goods, there were rising political tensions in Ireland too. Inspired by the example of the American colonists, Irish protestants increasingly agitated for commercial and economic equality with Britain.⁴²

In the early 1770s, an export trade in oats had started from the two neighbouring towns of Youghal and Dungarvan to south-west England. However, following food riots in Youghal, a trade conflict broke out between the two towns, leading to an increase in Dungarvan's grain export trade.⁴³ In September 1773, the Youghal Corporation Book recorded:

Whereas, the Town of Youghall had formerly a considerable Corn trade, that many merchants made opulent fortunes by; but [...] said Corn trade has been insensibly stole away to Dungarvan, where every encouragement to the exportation has been given. [...] our merchants [...] could not venture to buy a single barrel for exportation, as they and their shipping were opposed by wanton mobs, and the magistrates not exerting their power for suppressing such riots, for which reason the Dungarvan merchants, we may rather call them hucksters, availed themselves of our confusion, and sent their

⁴⁰ Theresa M. O'Connor, 'The Embargo on the Export of Irish Provisions, 1776-9', *Irish Historical Studies*, 2.5 (1940), 3-11 (pp. 6-7, 11).

⁴¹ *Hampshire Chronicle* 29 August 1776.

⁴² Neal Garnham, 'Riot Acts, Popular Protest, and Protestant Mentalities in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *The Historical Journal*, 49.2 (2006), 403-23 (p. 415); Padhraig Higgins, 'Consumption, Gender, and the Politics of "Free Trade" in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 41.1 (2007), 87-105 (p. 95); James Kelly, *Prelude to Union: Anglo-Irish Politics in the 1780s*, Studies in Irish History (Cork: Cork University Press for the Irish Committee of Historical Sciences, 1992), p. 21.

⁴³ Dickson, *Old World Colony*, pp. 284-85 and 379. Dungarvan was also a centre for the export of potatoes to Dublin.

agents to our very Gates to buy corn, and had it conveyed from hence [...] and shipped it at Dungarvan when our merchants dare not ship a barrel.⁴⁴

To resolve the situation, the Youghal Corporation decided to lift all local taxes on locally sold oats and oatmeal, but to impose taxes on exports if there were a local shortage. One of the warehouses owned by the Corporation was set aside for the storage of oats and oatmeal in order that a supply could be available at reasonable prices for the poor in times of need. All corn exporters were required to supply two barrels of oats at cost for this purpose. In the following years, the new policies were called into use, for example in September 1775, when a Dungarvan merchant refused to pay the export tax. The Corporation asked the Youghal Bailiff to enforce the payment, by confiscating either the corn, some of the rigging of the vessel exporting the corn, or by taking legal action against the merchant.⁴⁵

There were 46 arrivals recorded in Southampton from Dungarvan in 1775-77, nine from Youghal, none from either town in 1773-74. The journeys were undertaken by 36 different vessels, undoubtedly vessels taking advantage of the increased supply of grain for export from Dungarvan and evidence that the Youghal/Dungarvan grain export trade extended along the south coast of England, beyond just ports in the south-west. In addition to grain, the south-eastern region of Ireland, particularly Dungarvan, was an important exporter of potatoes. In 1754, Cork exported potatoes to a number of ports, including Portsmouth, so it is likely that cargoes for Southampton may also have included this commodity.⁴⁶ Contemporary sources state that Youghal's trade declined in the 1760s and 1770s, but that woollen yarn was exported to Bristol.⁴⁷ Of all the vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* only four were recorded as trading directly with both Cork and Dungarvan between 1773 and 1777. Two of these were *Charming Sally* and *Charming Polly*, both small Southampton-built sloops and both owned by their captains. The vessels traded regularly between Southampton and several other ports. In the years 1772-1777, *Charming Polly* was recorded a total of 11 times in Southampton, trading with a range of different ports, including London, Jersey, Guernsey as well as Cork and Dungarvan. *Charming Sally*'s trading activity between 1773 and 1777 included London, Havre de Grace, Cork and Dungarvan. Only once were the two vessels recorded in

⁴⁴ *The Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal from 1610 to 1659, from 1666 to 1687, and from 1690 to 1800.*, ed. by Richard Caulfield (Guildford, Surrey: J. Billing and Sons, 1878), pp. 485-86.

⁴⁵ Caulfield, pp. 486-87, 491-93.

⁴⁶ James Coombes, 'The Sea Trade in Potatoes in South West Cork (1730-1850)', *Seanchas Chairbre*, 3 (1993), 3-15 (p. 6).

⁴⁷ Charles Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the City of Cork*, 2 vols (Dublin: W. Wilson, 1774), I, p. 119.

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Southampton simultaneously, in December 1777, when they both arrived from Dungarvan, maybe as part of a convoy.⁴⁸

Waterford, on the south coast, was Ireland's third busiest port, after Dublin and Cork. John Mannion's analysis of the spatial patterns of the port's maritime trade in the 1760s and 1770s showed that there were two distinctive patterns of trade. One, carried by the majority of Waterford vessels, serviced the Newfoundland trade, carrying supplies of food and other daily necessities. This trade included a thriving passenger traffic, estimated by one contemporary observer at 3000-5000 people annually, who travelled to work at the Newfoundland fishing grounds during the season, March to November.⁴⁹ The second pattern of trade identified by Mannion was the butter trade between Waterford and England, including Southampton, carried by a smaller proportion of the town's vessels.⁵⁰ The *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists recorded 43 journeys to or from Waterford in the period 1773-77, 23 leaving for Waterford, 20 arriving 1773-77, undertaken by 32 different vessels. One of the regular traders in Southampton was Joshua Covey, who was recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* on eight occasions in 1773-74 arriving from or leaving for London and various Irish ports. One of the journeys was also recorded in the Petty Customs Book, on 4 September 1773, when Covey, in *Good Intent*, arrived from Waterford with a cargo of butter and pork.

Dublin was Ireland's largest port, with a growing number of middle class consumers and with strong international commercial connections.⁵¹ Karen Cheer has calculated that there were more than 649 vessel movements in Dublin in 1770, with more than half for or from English ports, particularly London, Chester and Liverpool.⁵² The town's main exports were linen yarn and other linen products, beef, butter, pork and various by-products such as skins and tallow. Many colonial goods, particularly tobacco and sugar were re-shipped to Dublin through Scottish ports. Thus, most of the tobacco and almost 20 per cent of the sugar imported to Dublin was shipped through a Scottish port, rather than from England or directly from America

⁴⁸ *Lloyd's Register* 1778, *Hampshire Chronicle* 1 December 1776

⁴⁹ A. Young, *A Tour in Ireland; with General Observations on the Present State of That Kingdom: Made in the Years 1776, 1777, and 1778. And Brought down to the End of 1779*, A Tour in Ireland; with General Observations on the Present State of That Kingdom: Made in the Years 1776, 1777, and 1778. And Brought down to the End of 1779, 2 vols, 1780, I, p. 521.

⁵⁰ Mannion, 'Waterford and the South of England: Spatial Patterns in Shipping Commerce, 1766-1777', p. 140; Mannion, 'The Maritime Trade of Waterford in the Eighteenth Century', p. 211.

⁵¹ Karen A. Cheer, 'Irish Maritime Trade in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Patterns of Trade, Market Structures, and Merchant Communities' (unpublished MA, Victoria University of Wellington, 2008), pp. 87-97.

⁵² Cheer, pp. 34, 45, 49.

or the Caribbean.⁵³ Eight journeys were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* directly between Southampton and Dublin, two arriving, six leaving. Most of the eight vessels undertaking these journeys were also recorded arriving from or leaving for other ports, particularly West Country, Welsh or Irish Sea ports. The only record of a cargo to or from Dublin in the Southampton Petty Customs Book was on 10 January 1772, when John Wright in *Unity* landed a cargo of tallow and butter.

According to a nineteenth-century local history of Drogheda, linen and butter were the port's main exports in the late eighteenth century, so either or both of these cargoes would most likely have been included in the cargoes carried on vessels trading from that port to Southampton. Nine vessels were recorded on the route in 1776-1777, eight of which were arrivals in Southampton. One vessel, *Providence* with Captain Williamson, returned back to Drogheda, while the other eight vessels were either not recorded leaving or headed for another port. Two of the vessels, *Cochram* and *Lord Frederick*, left for Glasgow. *Cochram* arrived in Southampton on 8 June and departed for Glasgow on 22 June. At the beginning of August, *Cochram* was recorded in a Scottish newspaper leaving Greenock for Drogheda with a cargo of coal, one of the port's main import cargoes. The vessel was not recorded in Southampton again. The absence of vessels recorded in Southampton from Drogheda before 1776 may be linked to harbour improvements carried out in Drogheda in the late 1760s and early 1770s.⁵⁴

The majority of the vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists as trading directly between Southampton and Irish ports also traded with ports in Wales or south-west England. This evidence illustrates a pattern of trade between Ireland and southern English ports supported by the findings of Hussey, Armstrong, and Morgan that vessels would adjust their voyages to minimise the time idling in port or trading in ballast.⁵⁵

Most of the vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* confined themselves to trade with just one or two specific Irish ports, probably taking advantage of local trading networks. The

⁵³ Cheer, pp. 37-38. Under the Navigation Laws, Irish merchants were prohibited from importing goods directly from the colonies, except in return for exported Irish linen. Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800*, p. 48.

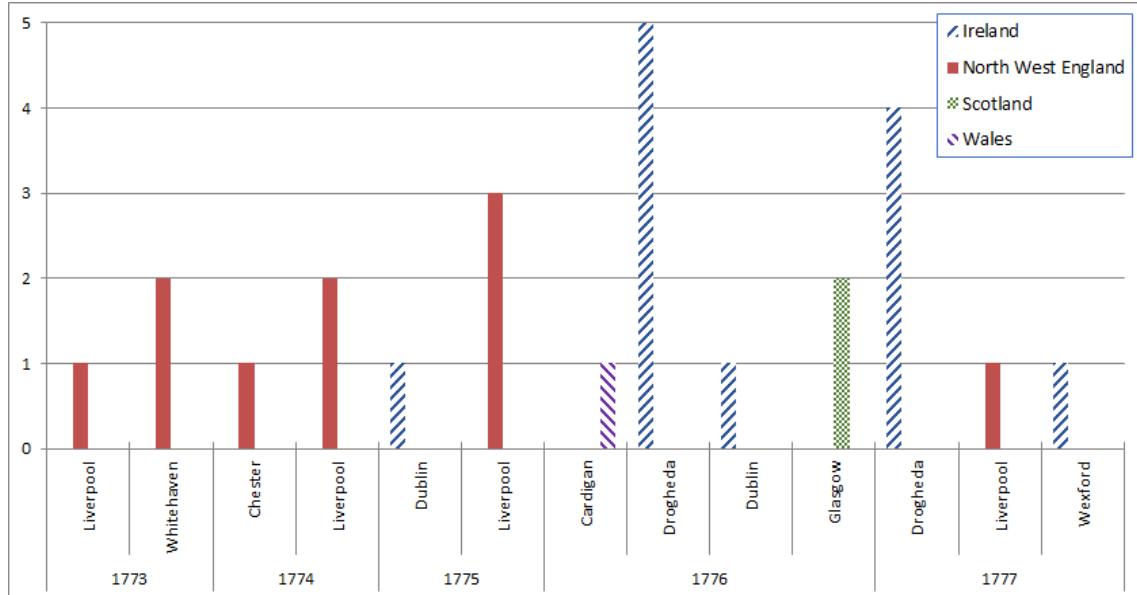
⁵⁴ John D'Alton, *The History of Drogheda, with Its Environs*, 2 vols (Dublin: D'Alton, 1844), I, pp. 78, 81; *Hampshire Chronicle* 10 and 24 June 1776; *Caledonian Mercury* 3 August 1776; John D'Alton, *The History of Drogheda, with Its Environs*, 2 vols (Dublin: D'Alton, 1844), II, p. 364.

⁵⁵ Hussey, p. 37; Armstrong, 'The Significance of Coastal Shipping in British Domestic Transport, 1550-1830', p. 68; Kenneth Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 71.

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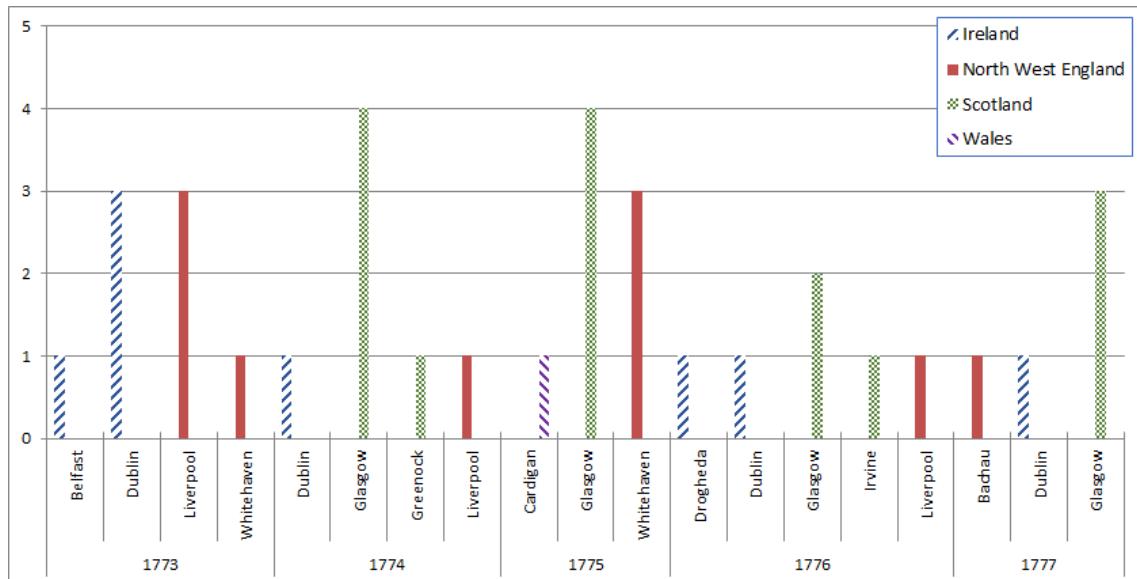
number of vessels trading directly between Southampton and ports in the Irish Sea was modest, 59 journeys were recorded in the years 1773-1777, as shown in figures 4.9 and 4.10.

Figure 4.9: Vessels arriving at Southampton from Irish Sea ports, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Figure 4.10: Vessels clearing Southampton for an Irish Sea port, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

These journeys were made by 50 different vessels, indicating that Southampton was not the primary destination for regular traders, but a stopping-off point. Nine vessels were recorded making two journeys to or from the Irish Sea, four of these to or from both a Scottish and Irish port, including *Jane*, arriving on 18 Dec 1775 from Dublin, leaving 15 Jan 1776 for Irvine and

the sloop *Cochram*, which arrived from Drogheda on 10 June 1776 and left for Glasgow on 24 June.⁵⁶

In 2009, Peter Skidmore examined the economy of north-west England during the second half of the eighteenth century and found that an integrated maritime economy existed within the Irish Sea region, where 'complex regional trade existed alongside increasing overseas trade'. The primary goods traded were corn, salt and coal, increasingly supplemented by a range of colonial goods conveyed through Liverpool.⁵⁷ The modest number of journeys recorded directly between Southampton and Irish Sea ports support Skidmore's findings regarding an integrated maritime economy within the Irish Sea, where vessels from the outside would be able to trade only in a limited way. During the years 1773-1777, only 20 journeys were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* between Southampton and ports in north-west England. As Figures 4.9 and 4.10 show, 12 of the journeys were for or from Liverpool, with Whitehaven the second most popular destination. The 20 journeys were undertaken by 17 different vessels, of which seven were recorded twice, mostly part of the same journey, arriving from one port and leaving for another. An example of this was *Lark* with Captain Corkhill, which arrived in Southampton on 29 April 1775 from Plymouth and departed a week later, on 6 May, for Whitehaven. Ten of the vessels trading with ports in north-west England were regular traders in Southampton, most of them recorded arriving from or leaving for ports in Wales or south-west England. Three vessels also traded with continental ports⁵⁸, while one, *Hampshire* with Captain Dalton, was recorded twice leaving Southampton for Irish ports.

Southampton's direct trade with Liverpool was split between five departures and seven arrivals. The arriving vessels could have carried a wide range of both domestic and overseas goods, as Liverpool's export trade included coal, salt and manufactured goods, as well as a wide range of re-exported colonial goods, such as sugar and tobacco. Research has shown that in the mid-1780s, Southampton imported coal from Liverpool.⁵⁹ Cargoes carried from Southampton to

⁵⁶ *Cochram*, also listed variously as *Cochran* or *Cochrane*, with Captain Lang, was recorded several times in the *Caledonian Mercury*, sailing to or from destinations in Scotland and Ireland. In August 1773, it left Glasgow for Belfast with a cargo of tobacco; In October 1773, it arrived in Glasgow from Ayr with a cargo of herrings; In December 1775, it arrived in Glasgow from Drogheda with 'goods' and on 2 August 1776, the vessel left Glasgow for Drogheda with a cargo of 'coals &c'. *Caledonian Mercury* 11 Oct 1773, 16 Aug 1773, 2 Dec 1775, 3 Aug 1776. Information about *Cochram* in *Lloyd's Register* 1778.

⁵⁷ Skidmore, 'The Maritime Economy of North West England in the Later Eighteenth Century', pp. iv, 238.

⁵⁸ These ports were Emden, Rotterdam, and the French port of Paipol.

⁵⁹ Francis Edwin Hyde, *Liverpool and the Mersey: An Economic History of a Port, 1700-1970*, The Ports of the British Isles (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971), pp. 25-29; Pope, vol. 2, pp. 81-82.

Liverpool were mainly grain and grain products, particularly flour and malt.⁶⁰ Thus, in March 1771, the vessel *Newport* arrived in Liverpool from Southampton with a cargo of barley and malt.⁶¹ Only six journeys were recorded directly between Southampton and Whitehaven, where the main focus was on the supply of coal to Ireland, as well as some re-exportation of American tobacco.⁶² Typical of the pattern for these voyages was Captain Lewis in the vessel *Phoebe* who arrived in Southampton in December 1772 from Carmarthen. He left again on 2 January 1773, heading for Whitehaven.⁶³

Seventeen journeys for or from Scottish ports in the Irish Sea were recorded in Southampton between 1773 and 1777, almost all (thirteen journeys) of the vessels leaving for Glasgow, most likely with cargoes of wood or bark, like Captain Ballantine in the vessel *Theory*, who was recorded in the *Caledonian Mercury* on 7 June 1773 arriving in the Clyde from Southampton with a cargo of bark.⁶⁴ Glasgow and Greenock were Scotland's busiest ports in 1775, when both ports saw, respectively, 20,000 and 26,000 tons of foreign-going shipping entering and 20,000 and 18,000 tons leaving. The third-largest port was Leith, on the east coast, where 18,000 tons of shipping entered from foreign ports.⁶⁵ Glasgow was an entrepôt for the trade between America and the Continent, with tobacco the main commodity traded.⁶⁶ In 1774, almost 15 tons of tobacco was imported into Glasgow, about 80 per cent of the value of all Scottish imports from North America.⁶⁷ The shipping lists of the *Caledonian Mercury* illustrate the importance of the tobacco trade to Glasgow: of the eight vessels leaving the Clyde on 3 January 1774, for example, six were carrying tobacco to foreign ports.⁶⁸ Following outbreak of war with the American colonies, Glasgow's tobacco imports from America collapsed, as the Navigation Laws no longer applied to American trade and colonial produce could be taken directly to ports on the Continent rather than transhipping through a British port. It is possible that the increase in the numbers of vessels trading directly between Glasgow and

⁶⁰ Pope, vol. 1, p 207.

⁶¹ *Manchester Mercury*, 5 March 1771.

⁶² Cullen, *Anglo-Irish Trade, 1660-1800*, p. 86; Minchinton, 'Introduction', p. 34; M. J. Robinson, 'Coastal Shipping in Cumberland, 1680-1740', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 92.3 (2006), 270-81 (pp. 272, 280).

⁶³ There are no further records of Captain Lewis in the *Hampshire Chronicle* and the journey was not recorded in the Petty Customs Book.

⁶⁴ This vessel had not been recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* leaving Southampton.

⁶⁵ Jackson, 'Scottish Shipping 1775-1805', p. 118.

⁶⁶ M. L. Robertson, 'Scottish Commerce and the American War of Independence', *The Economic History Review*, 9.1 (1956), 123-31 (p. 123).

⁶⁷ Price, 'The Rise of Glasgow in the Chesapeake Tobacco Trade, 1707-1775', p. 179; Carolyn Marie Peters, 'Glasgow's Tobacco Lords: An Examination of Wealth Creators in the Eighteenth Century' (unpublished PhD, University of Glasgow, 1990), p. 27.

⁶⁸ Two vessels were carrying tobacco to Dunkirk, two were for Rotterdam and two were for Waterford.

Southampton after 1775 can be attributed to the increase in English demand for Scottish goods, which was seen in 1775-1776. Scottish exports to England in the mid-1770s were varied and included fine linen, manufactured in the Glasgow area, iron goods and coal as well as transhipped colonial goods, such as sugar and cotton.⁶⁹

Southampton's trade with Ireland and ports in the Irish Sea was carried by a mixture of regular traders and vessels only recorded once or twice in the port. The *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists recorded 257 journeys between Southampton and ports in Ireland or non-Irish ports in the Irish Sea in the years 1773-1777, undertaken by 168 different vessels. Agricultural produce, notably Irish and Welsh butter, was imported to Southampton, while exports from the port included wood, bark, and grain products. Re-exports from Spain and Portugal, particularly wine and fruit were traded from Southampton, which saw other transhipped colonial goods, such as tobacco, carried on the vessels arriving in the port. The data analysed above shows how Southampton served as a stopping point for vessels trading between London and ports to the west of Southampton, including ports in south-west England, Wales, and Ireland, a position which placed the port as part of both local, regional, and international trading networks.

Iberian and Mediterranean Trade

As part of the Methuen Treaty between England and Portugal, signed in December 1703, England granted reduced customs duty on Portuguese wine and Portugal became England's, and later Britain's, most important supplier of legally imported wine. Other Portuguese exports to Britain included fruits, such as figs, oranges and lemons as well as cork and salt, which came from Setubal. Britain exported woollen goods to Portugal as well as fish from Newfoundland. However, probably the most important feature of the Portuguese trade was that it allowed access for British manufacturers to the Portuguese-controlled South American market, which in turn provided a supply of precious metals received as payment for the British goods.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ M. L. Robertson, p. 125; T. M. Devine, 'Glasgow Merchants and the Collapse of the Tobacco Trade 1775-1783', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 52.153 (1973), 50-74 (pp. 63-64); T. M. Devine, 'The Colonial Trades and Industrial Investment in Scotland, c. 1700-1815', *The Economic History Review*, 29.1 (1976), 1-13 (p. 8); T. M. Devine, 'Glasgow Merchants in Colonial Trade, 1770-1815' (unpublished PhD, University of Strathclyde, 1971), p. 318.

⁷⁰ Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 69, 88; Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 229; H.E.S. Fisher, 'Anglo-Portuguese Trade 1700-1770', in *The Growth of English Overseas Trade in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, ed. by W. E. Minchinton (London: Methuen, 1969), pp. 144-64 (pp. 161-63); Norman R. Bennett, 'The Golden Age of the Port Wine System, 1781-1807', *The International History Review*, 12.2 (1990), 221-48 (pp. 224-26); Inês Amorim, 'Salt Trade in Europe and the Development of Salt Fleets', in *The Sea in History The Early Modern World*, ed. by Christian Buchet and Gerard Le Bouedec (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 244-53 (p. 251).

British trade with Spain also acted as a source of South American precious metals and from the seventeenth century, Iberia was the main export market for English, later British, woollen goods. Wine was the main import from Spain, but the country also exported olive oil to Britain, a vital raw material in the woollen industry. Other British imports from Spain included raisins from Malaga and Alicante, oranges from Seville as well as iron from Bilbao.⁷¹

In 1775, the *Southampton Guide* described the town's trade with Portugal for wine and fruit as its 'chief trade' alongside the trade with the Channel Islands. The trade was mainly carried out by Southampton-based vessels and therefore attracted more attention from the *Hampshire Chronicle* than most of the town's other maritime connections. The paper regularly reported on the progress of individual vessels, such as in May 1774, when it was reported that 'the *Kingston*, Capt. Shepperd, arrived here this week from Oporto, after a very tedious passage of 26 days; spoke with the Friend's Goodwill, Capt. Watson the 24th of last month, within a few hours sail of Oporto – all well'.⁷² Like *Kingston* and *Friend's Goodwill*, most vessels that came to Southampton from Iberian ports in this period traded with Oporto, where there was a large community of English merchants. The port was the main wine exporting centre in Portugal, in the 1770s exporting about 20,000 pipes, or 9.4 million litres of wine to Britain every year.⁷³ This pattern of trade with the Mediterranean and the Iberian Peninsula could be found in other British ports, for example in Hull, where in the mid-1700s between six and twelve vessels annually imported wine, oil and fresh and dried fruit from Spain and Portugal.⁷⁴

From the late seventeenth century, Britain signed peace treaties with the Barbary states Morocco, Tripoli, Algiers and Tunis in order to prevent disruption to British trade with the Mediterranean region by Barbary corsairs and to protect British mariners from enslavement. As part of the treaties, passes were issued to British-owned and -crewed vessels, which helped identify British vessels at sea.⁷⁵ The passes were issued by the Admiralty via local Customs Collectors and were returned in any British port on expiry, their design was changed on a

⁷¹ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 229; Stanley L. Engerman and Patrick K. O'Brien, 'The Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective', in *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, Industrialisation, 1700-1860*, ed. by Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), I, 451–64 (p. 456); Ayo, p. 195.

⁷² Anon., *The Southampton Guide*, p. 19; Hampshire Chronicle 16 May 1774.

⁷³ Charles Sellers, *Oporto Old and New* (London: Herbert E. Harper, 1899), p. 137.

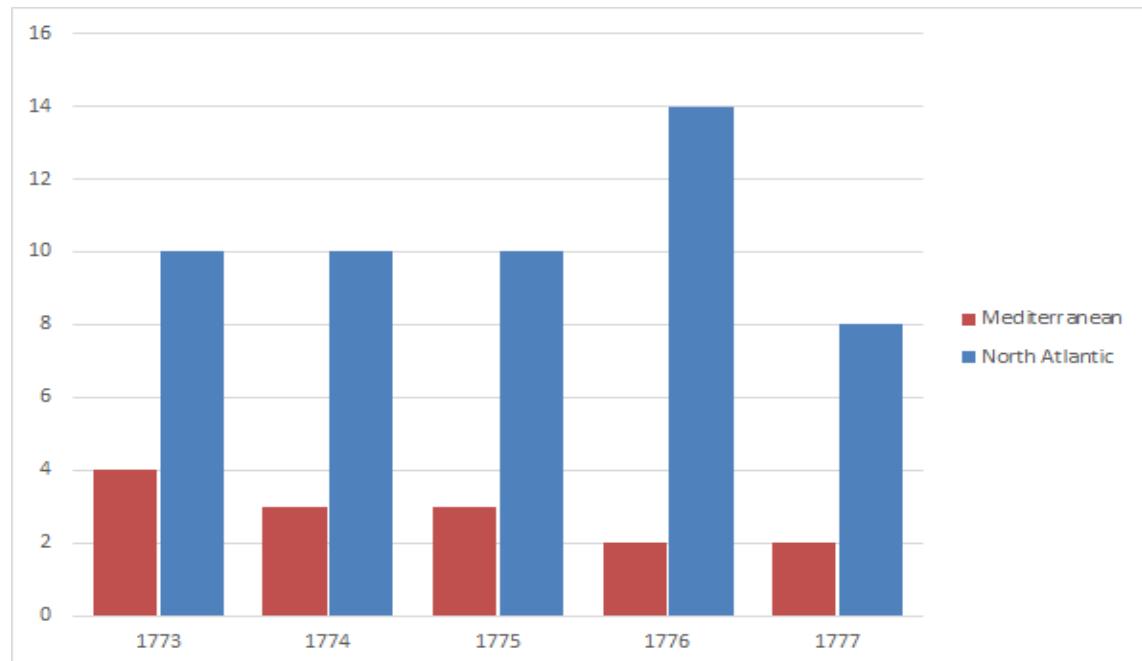
⁷⁴ Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 36–37.

⁷⁵ Tristan Stein, 'Passes and Protection in the Making of a British Mediterranean', *Journal of British Studies*, 54.3 (2015), 602–31 (pp. 603–5); Galani, pp. 113–14. Corsairs were privateers, commissioned by the Muslim Barbary states and others, to seize property and subjects of mostly Christian foreign powers.

regular basis in order to limit fraud.⁷⁶ Although the Registers of Mediterranean Passes, now held in The National Archives, contain details about the vessels listed therein, it is not possible without a comprehensive computer analysis of the Registers to gain much information about Southampton's trade. Such an analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, where the information is available the Registers provide interesting support for the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping list data. An example is the *Friends Goodwill*, which was recorded 13 times in the newspaper in the years 1774-1777. A Mediterranean Pass was issued for the vessel on 4 October 1774 and returned to the Southampton Customs office on 23 April 1777. The journeys recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for *Friends Goodwill* for this period include eight journeys to or from Oporto and two from Newcastle. The additional information which can be gathered from the Register of Mediterranean Passes regarding this vessel show that *Friends Goodwill* was a 100-ton Southampton-built brig, with one gun. Her home port was Southampton and her crew included eight British and six foreign mariners.⁷⁷

In the period 1773-1777, a total of 66 vessels were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* arriving from ports on the Iberian Peninsula. In the same period, 43 vessels departed from Southampton for these ports. Figures 4.11, 4.12 and 4.13 show the distribution of these

Figure 4.11: Vessels arriving at Southampton from Iberian ports, 1773-1777

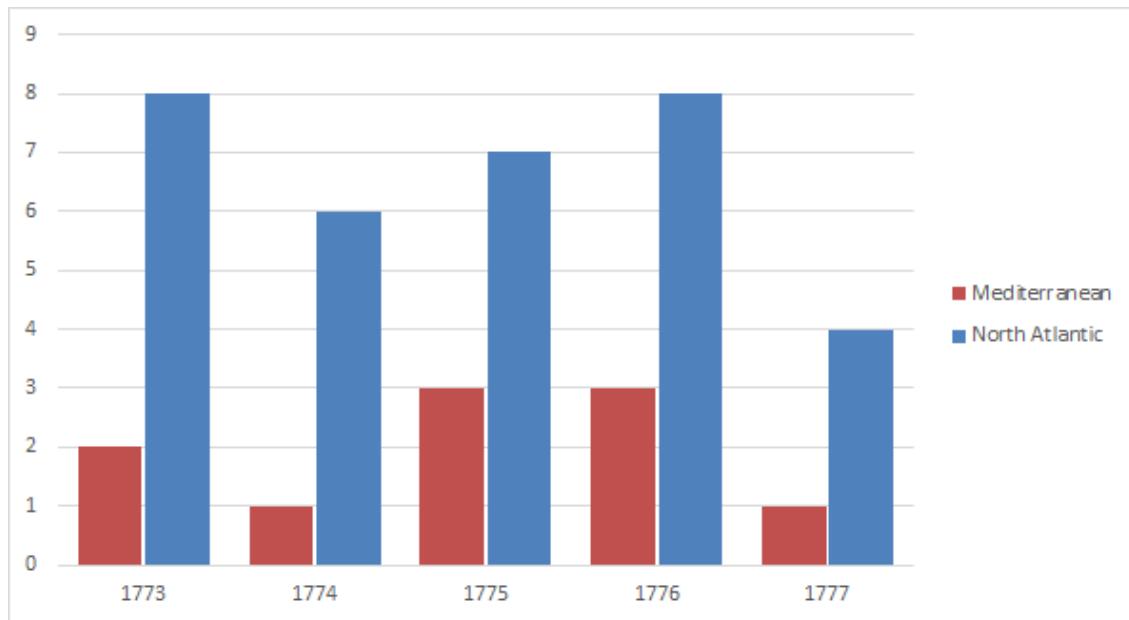


Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

⁷⁶ In the eighteenth century, the design of the Mediterranean passes changed in 1722, 1730, 1753, 1766 and 1777. T. Benady, 'The Settee Cut: Mediterranean Passes Issued at Gibraltar', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 87.3 (2001), 281-96 (p. 282).

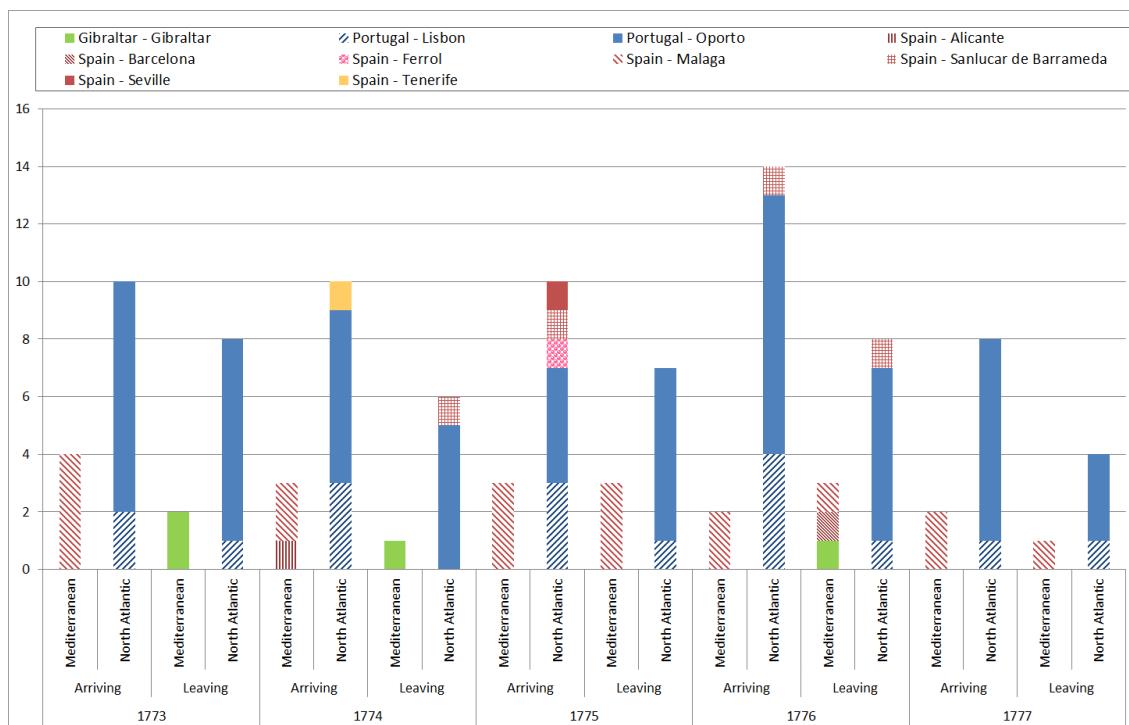
⁷⁷ ADM 7/98/2684.

Figure 4.12: Vessels clearing Southampton for an Iberian port, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Figure 4.13: Southampton's contacts with Iberian ports, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

arrivals and departures, with 47 vessels arriving from Portugal, 19 from Spain, 31 vessels leaving for Portuguese ports and eight leaving for Spanish ports. Four vessels were recorded as leaving for Gibraltar, in each instance the vessel departing for Gibraltar returned from Malaga.

Some of the vessels that traded with Iberian ports shuttled between Southampton and just one or two foreign ports, others traded more widely. This latter group included the *Hollam*, with Captain Foster, which traded between Lisbon, Malaga and Southampton, but also with a wide range of other ports, including London, Cork, Bristol, Plymouth and several ports in Wales, probably carrying wine as well as fresh and dried fruits to most of these destinations. The regular traders included the 120-ton brig *Kingston* with Captain Richard Shepard, which was recorded on 25 occasions arriving in or leaving Southampton between 1773 and 1777. Eighteen of *Kingston*'s recorded journeys were for or from Oporto, five for or from Portsmouth and two from Guernsey, where the vessel would stop on the return journey from Oporto in order to pick up a cargo of wine. Southampton's trade with the Iberian Peninsula was characterised by being carried out by a small number of vessels, mainly based in Southampton, trading on regular routes. Nine vessels were recorded in Southampton on six or more occasions, carrying out 82 of the 109 journeys recorded. 27 vessels were only recorded once or twice in Southampton and only once arriving from a port on the Iberian Peninsula or in the Mediterranean.⁷⁸ Three of these vessels were also recorded going to or coming from an Irish port, confirming the findings above that vessels trading in Southampton participated in the wine trade to Ireland.

Trade with North America and the Caribbean

During the eighteenth century, the markets in North America and the Caribbean grew in importance for Britain as consumers in those colonies developed a taste for manufactured goods.⁷⁹ By 1772-73, trade with North America and the West Indies accounted for 39 per cent of all British imports and about 38 per cent of the exports. This growth in the trade was also due to an expansion of the markets, as by 1770, the population of the British North American colonies was eight times the size of what it had been in 1700. British provincial west coast towns, particularly Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow developed strong trade links with America,

⁷⁸ The latter group included four anomalous entries of vessels which were regularly recorded in Southampton trading with London, but only once recorded arriving from Oporto. The reason is likely to be a mistake made by the typesetter on the *Hampshire Chronicle*. The vessels were listed thus: 'Dove, White; Rose in June, Bevis; Lymington, Footner; London, Johnson; and Hollam, Adams, from Oporto'. It is likely that the typesetter mistook the vessel name *London* for the place name as of the five vessels listed, only *Hollam* was listed again arriving from Oporto, while the other four vessels were regular London traders (*Hampshire Chronicle* 18 October 1773).

⁷⁹ T. H. Breen, "Baubles of Britain": The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century', *Past & Present*, 119.1 (1988), 73-104 (p. 75); David Ormrod, *The Rise of Commercial Empires: England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650-1770*, Cambridge Studies in Modern Economic History (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 64.

whereas towns on the east coast continued to focus on trade with the Baltic and the near continent.⁸⁰ Smaller locations also profited from the transatlantic connections. Jersey had a thriving trade with America, particularly the Newfoundland fisheries. In 1771, 45 Jersey vessels were engaged in this trade, where vessels would leave Jersey in the spring or summer for cod on the Newfoundland banks, returning in the Autumn, often via ports in Brazil or on the Iberian Peninsula, where the fish were in great demand.⁸¹ British exports to America included a wide range of manufactured goods, particularly metal goods, such as tools, nails and pots and pans, woollen goods and personal and household items including hats, china, paper and drugs.⁸² The American colonies exported raw materials and foodstuffs to Britain, including rice from the Carolinas and Georgia, tobacco from the Chesapeake colonies as well as sugar and rum from the West Indies. Naval stores, particularly masts, pitch and tar were strategically important as an essential staple for the Navy and American-grown wheat was imported to supplement insufficient harvests in Britain.⁸³ When, in 1775, all trade between Britain and the rebelling American colonies ceased, British trade was supported by the fact that the West Indies now needed supplies which previously had come from North America, particularly foodstuffs.⁸⁴

Conforming to the pattern described above, Southampton only had a limited trade with American and Caribbean ports, with eighteen journeys recorded to or from Southampton in the period 1773-77 (see Figure 4.14). Of the seventeen vessels undertaking these journeys, at

⁸⁰ Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 88, 90, 93; Kenneth Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 2; R. C. Nash, 'The Organization of Trade and Finance in the British Atlantic Economy, 1600-1830', in *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*, ed. by Peter A. Coclanis (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), pp. 95-151 (pp. 95-96).

⁸¹ Anon., *A Guide to Jersey and Guernsey*, p. 75; Podger, pp. 62-66.

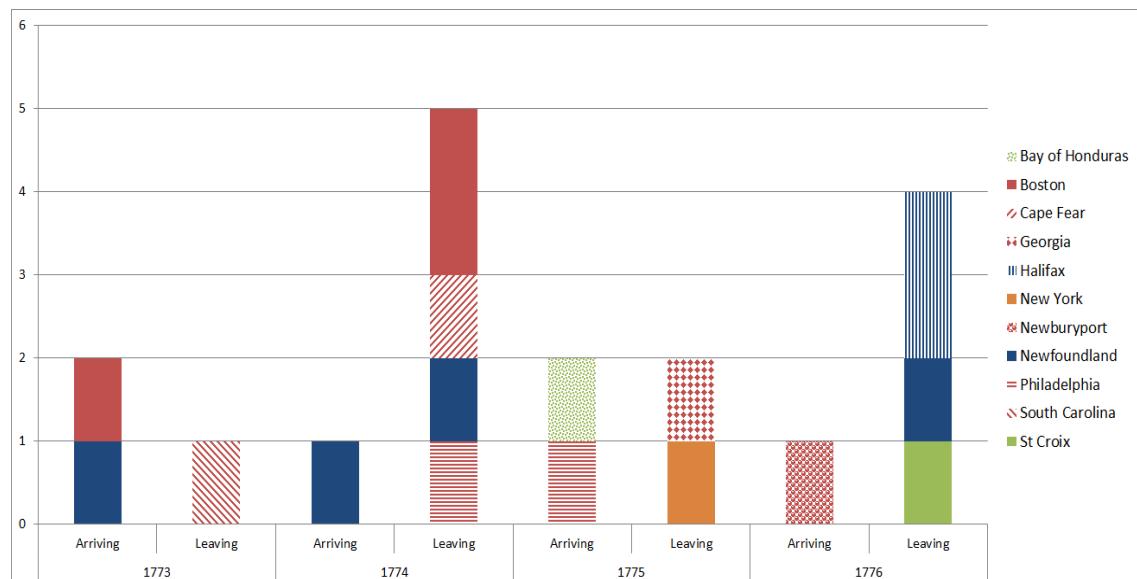
⁸² James F Shepherd and Gary M Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 107; Ralph Davis, 'English Foreign Trade, 1700-1774', in *The Growth of English Overseas Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by W. E. Minchinton, *Debates in Economic History* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1969), pp. 99-118 (p. 106); T. H. Breen, 'An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690-1776', *The Journal of British Studies*, 25.4 (1986), 467-99 (pp. 492-93).

⁸³ Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 88; Butel, pp. 138-49; Haggerty, 'Trade and Trading Communities in the Late Eighteenth Century: Liverpool and Philadelphia', p. 13; Kenneth Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 2; Joseph Avitable, 'The Atlantic World Economy and Colonial Connecticut' (unpublished PhD, University of Rochester, 2009), p. 63; Joseph J. Malone, *Pine Trees and Politics: The Naval Stores and Forest Policy in Colonial New England, 1691-1775* (London: Longmans, 1964); James F. Shepherd, 'Commodity Exports from the British North American Colonies to Overseas Areas, 1768-1772: Magnitudes and Patterns of Trade', *Explorations in Economic History*, 8.1 (1970), 5-76 (pp. 12-23); Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the Atlantic Economies*, *World Economic History*, 7. printing (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 255, 260-61.

⁸⁴ Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 92.

least two were transport vessels. Newspapers regularly reported on soldiers marching through Southampton en route to America and on 25 April 1774, the *Hampshire Chronicle* reported that the 4th Regiment of Foot had arrived in Southampton from Winchester. 'They are to embark for America tomorrow' and the following week the paper reported 'Sunday morning last the fourth regiment of foot embarked from this port for America'. The troops embarked on the *Ocean* and *Sea Venture* transports, both recorded on 2 May 1774 arriving in Southampton from Portsmouth and leaving for Boston.⁸⁵ There are no further records of troops embarking in Southampton for the war in America. However, the port became a major embarkation port during the wars with Revolutionary France, when visitors described Southampton Water as 'a forest of transports, which were partly waiting for troops, and were partly laden with horses'.⁸⁶ This role was further consolidated during the nineteenth century, when the port became 'Britain's No. 1 Military Embarkation Port'.⁸⁷

Figure 4.14: Southampton's contacts with American and Caribbean ports, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Built in Southampton in 1769 and captained by Thomas Ash, the brig *Amity* was the only vessel recorded more than once in Southampton with a direct journey to or from America, Canada or the Caribbean. The vessel was listed in *Lloyd's Register* for 1775 and it was recorded in

⁸⁵ The *Sea Venture* transport was listed in *Lloyd's Register* for both 1775 and 1778. Built in Scarborough in 1759 and captained by Thomas Hall, *Sea Venture* was a 300-ton ship, whose normal trading route before it became a transport vessel had been between London and America. Reports in other newspapers confirmed that the 4th Regiment had embarked in Southampton on the *Ocean* and *Sea Venture* transports for Boston, e.g. *Manchester Mercury* 3 May 1774.

⁸⁶ *Southampton 1540-1956: Visitors' Descriptions*, ed. by Robert Douch, Southampton Papers, 2, 2nd edn (Southampton: City of Southampton, 1978), p. 21.

⁸⁷ Adrian Rance, *Southampton: An Illustrated History* (Horndean: Milestone, 1986), p. 138.

Chapter 4

Southampton on three occasions. In September 1774, it departed for Philadelphia and the following spring, in April 1775, it arrived from London and departed a few days later for Georgia. Southampton's direct contacts with the Caribbean were occasional rather than regular, only two vessels were recorded between 1773 and 1777. In August 1775, *Venus*, with Captain Collas, arrived from the Bay of Honduras and a few days later departed for Jersey. A similar pattern occurred with the only other vessel to be recorded in Southampton before or after a direct journey to the Caribbean: on 17 August 1776, *Ranger*, with Captain Remon arrived from Jersey. Three weeks later, on 21 September, the vessel departed for St. Croix. Neither of the vessels was recorded in Southampton again. It is possible that Captain Remon was a regular trader between Jersey and the West Indies and that his journey to Southampton was a local merchant's attempt at adding to the luxuries available for the visitors to the town for on 26 August, the *Hampshire Chronicle* included an advertisement for 'A few very fine turtles, just arrived from the West Indies, to be sold'.

Conclusion – Southampton's North Atlantic and Irish Sea Trade in the 1770s

Trade between Southampton and ports in the North Atlantic, Caribbean, Mediterranean and Irish Sea was complex and diverse and local conditions determined the nature and frequency of the direct contacts between ports. Southampton's direct contacts with ports in North America and the West Indies were limited. However journeys made to or from ports on the European side of the North Atlantic were the third most frequent recorded in the port between 1773 and 1777. Although the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists do not include information about the cargoes carried, it is possible to outline the nature of Southampton's import and export trade with this region from other sources. Agricultural produce from Ireland, Wales and the West Country dominated the trade, supplemented by Welsh coal, manufactured and colonial goods from Bristol, Glasgow and Liverpool as well as luxuries such as oysters from Wales and turtles from the West Indies. Wine and fruit were carried by regular traders from Iberia and the Mediterranean, while Southampton was a stopping point, rather than a main destination on routes between other ports, particularly ports to the west of Southampton and London.

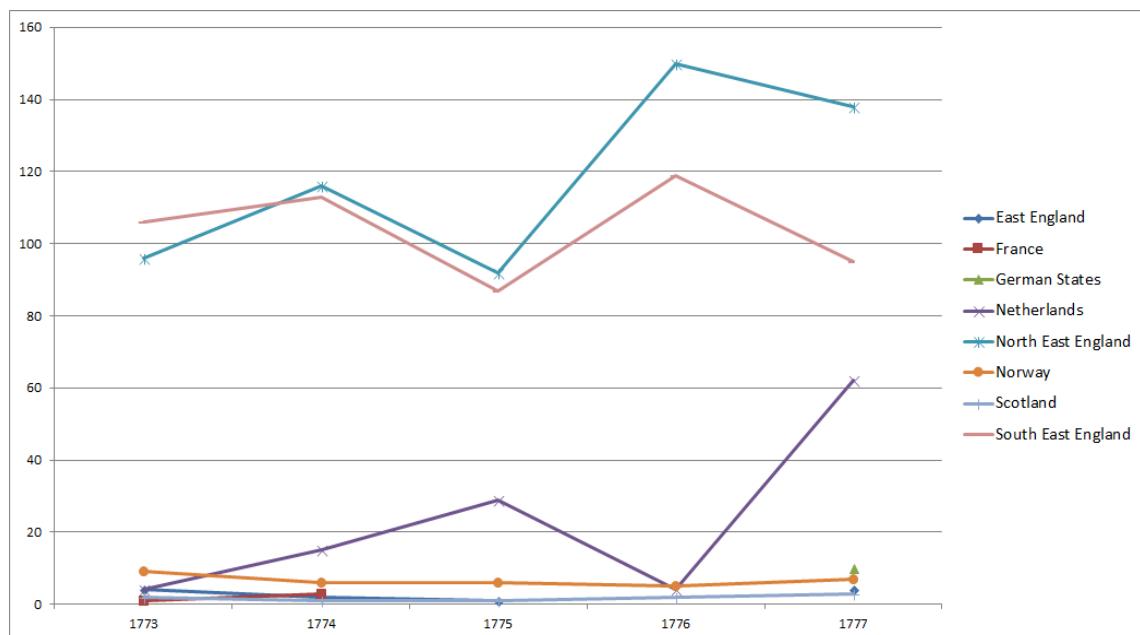
CHAPTER 5: SOUTHAMPTON'S TRADE WITH NORTH SEA AND BALTIC PORTS IN THE 1770s

Introduction

This chapter analyses the trade between Southampton and the North Sea-Baltic region. For Southampton, North Sea trade included both domestic coastal trade, particularly the vital supply of coal from north-east England, as well as shipping to and from overseas ports. But with Scandinavian destinations straddling the two seas, the links are so close that it is logical to combine the analysis.¹

In the 1770s, Southampton's trade with North Sea and Baltic ports involved the second largest number of vessels arriving at or leaving the port bound for any region, second only to ports in the English Channel. Indeed, after 1775, the region rose to become the most important destination for vessels trading to or from Southampton. Shipping between Southampton and domestic ports located on the British North Sea coast, rather than foreign ports, dominated the trade, particularly London and the coal ports in north-eastern England.

Figure 5.1: Vessels arriving in Southampton from ports in the North Sea, 1773-1777

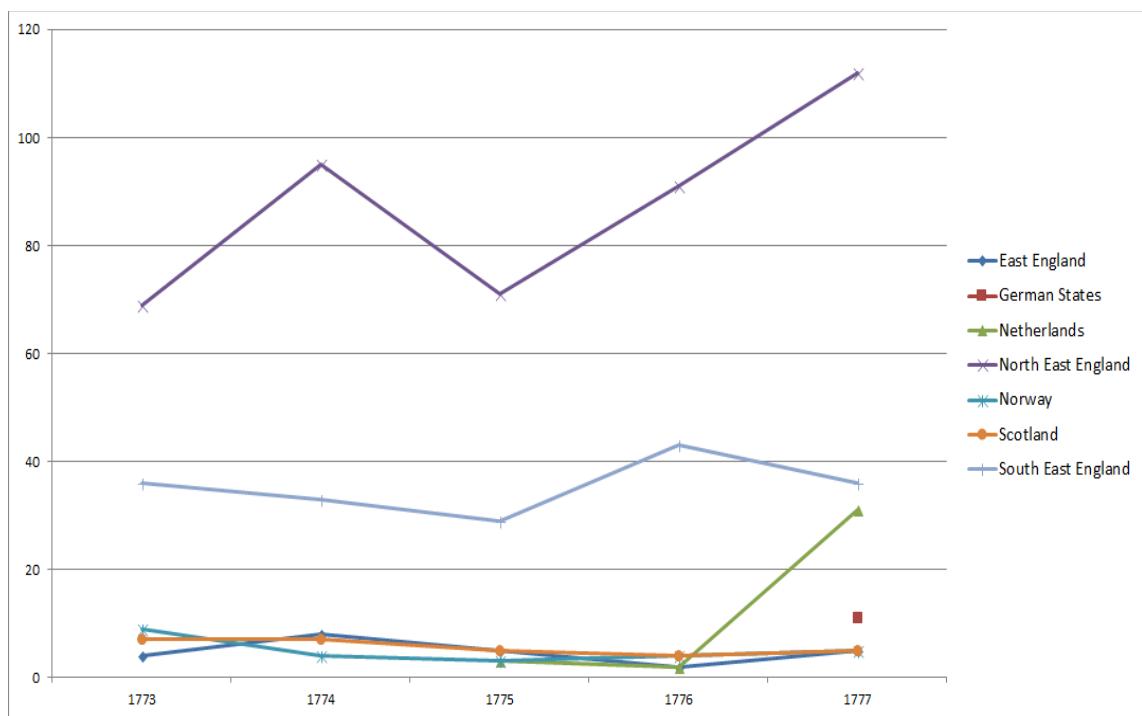


Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

¹ The North Sea and its cultural and maritime history has been the subject of international research for several decades, resulting in a number of conferences and symposia. In 1995, the International North Sea and Culture conference concluded that 'that the North Sea does not stop at the Skagerrak or Kattegat, but that the major part of the Baltic should be taken into consideration as well', *The North Sea and Culture (1550-1800): Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Leiden 21-22 April 1995*, ed. by Juliette Roding and Lex Heerma van Voss (Hilversum: Verloren, 1996), p. 493.

During the years 1773-1777, 2032 journeys were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists between Southampton and ports in the North Sea, 1293 arriving and 739 departing. More than half of the journeys, 1030, were for or from a port in the north-east of England and, apart from 15 journeys, these were all to or from Newcastle or Sunderland, important suppliers of coal. London was the single most frequented port with 637 journeys, just ahead of Sunderland at 621, because of the wide range of goods that were shipped from there, many of which had been transhipped from elsewhere. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show the distribution of the Southampton journeys between different regions within the North Sea.

Figure 5.2: Vessels clearing Southampton for ports in the North Sea, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

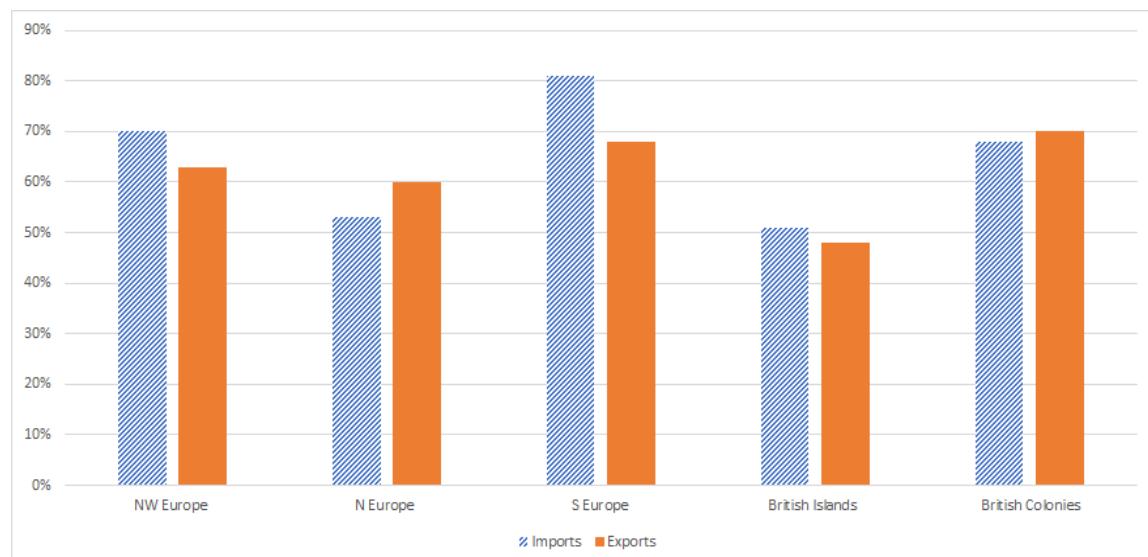
South-East England

‘This whole Kingdom, as well as the people, as the land, and even the sea, in every part of it, are employ’d to supply the City of London with provisions’, commented Daniel Defoe in 1724.² In 1700, 69 per cent of the domestic trade of England and Wales went to or from London and contemporary commentators, such as Defoe, acknowledged the importance of the capital to the British economy. This importance has also been recognised by modern historians, for

² Defoe, I, LETTER II, p. 12.

example Gordon Jackson, who noted that 'The chief trade of most places was with London'.³ In the 1770s, London's overseas trade with all areas except the British Islands (Ireland and the Channel Islands) was greater than that of all the outports combined. Figure 5.3 shows the figures for London's percentage in Britain's overseas trade, as calculated by Christopher French, who attributes the relatively lower percentage of London's share of the trade with the British Islands to the damage that successive wars had on London's direct trade with Ireland.⁴ However, the importance of Bristol and Liverpool undoubtedly also affected London's part of this trade. Much of London's overseas trade was re-shipped to outports, such as Southampton, for further distribution to the English provincial market.

Figure 5.3: London's percentage share of Britain's overseas trade, 1772-1774



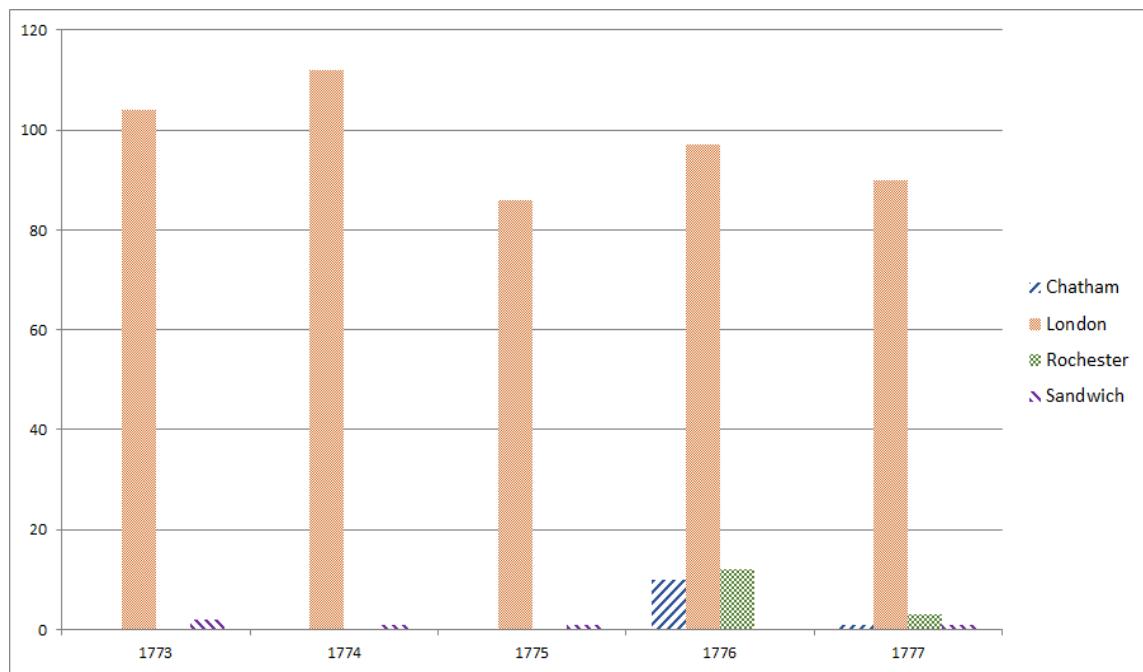
Source: French: 'Crowded with traders and a great commerce': London's Domination of English Overseas Trade, 1700–1775, Table II, p.32

Like most other outports, Southampton's trade with the south-eastern corner of Britain, as shown in figures 5.4 and 5.5, was dominated by journeys to and from London. On average, 90 per cent of the vessels sailing between Southampton and ports in south-east England came from or left for London and journeys for or from London accounted for an average of 16 per

³ John Armstrong and Philip S. Bagwell, 'Coastal Shipping', in *Transport in the Industrial Revolution*, ed. by D.H. Aldcroft and Michael J. Freeman (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), pp. 142–76 (p. 142); Jackson, 'The Ports', p. 180; See also Christopher J. French, "‘Crowded with Traders and a Great Commerce’: London’s Domination of English Overseas Trade, 1700–1775", *The London Journal*, 17.1 (1992), 27–35 (p. 27) <<https://doi.org/10.1179/ldn.1992.17.1.27>>; David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 86–87.

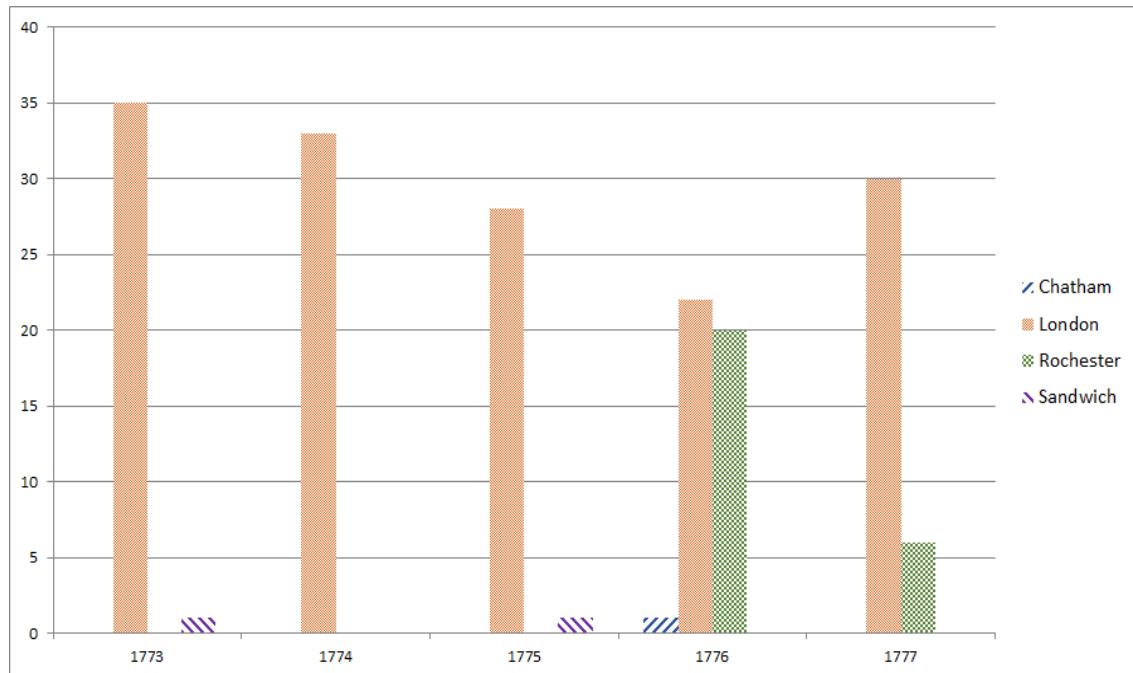
⁴ French, "‘Crowded with Traders and a Great Commerce’: London’s Domination of English Overseas Trade, 1700–1775", p. 31.

Figure 5.4: Vessels arriving in Southampton from North Sea ports in south-east England, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Figure 5.5: Vessels clearing Southampton for North Sea ports in south-east England, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

cent per year of all the arrivals and eight per cent of all the departures recorded in Southampton in the years 1773-1777. Over the five years between 1773 and 1777, on average 98 vessels arrived in and 30 vessels left Southampton for London each year. There is only

limited comparative data available, but in 1775, 387 vessels left Hull for London, while 386 arrived from the capital. In 1785, 25 vessels left Exeter for London, while 54 arrived from there, showing that, like in Southampton, the imports from London to Exeter far exceeded the exports.⁵

A total of 637 journeys were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* between Southampton and London during the period 1773-1777, made by 145 distinct ship-master combinations. 92 of these were only recorded once on a journey to or from London, however, some of the vessels that were recorded only once arriving from or leaving for London, were regular traders between Southampton and other destinations. Examples of such vessels were *Ocean* and *Amity*: *Ocean* was listed once in Southampton leaving for London, but was recorded 30 times between 1775 and 1777, travelling between Newcastle and Southampton.⁶ Captain T. Ash in his vessel *Amity* was only recorded once arriving in Southampton from London, but the vessel was also recorded twice leaving for American ports and was regularly noted in *Lloyd's List* sailing between London, Iberia and ports in America, so for this vessel, Southampton was merely a stop-over port between the primary destinations.⁷

There were 16 very regular traders between Southampton and London, each recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* more than 15 times on this journey in the period 1773-1777. Most frequently recorded was Captain White in *Dove*, whose primary route was probably London to Portsmouth, where it was recorded eight times in 1775. According to *Lloyd's List*, the vessel also frequently sailed to Lymington, which may have been the captain's home port. *Dove* was recorded in Southampton on 45 occasions in the period 1773-1777, all but one of these en route to or from London.⁸ Another regular London trader in Southampton was Captain

⁵ Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 83; Hoskins, p. p168; The London Ports Books for the period 1697-1799 were destroyed in the late nineteenth century as the series was deemed too incomplete to retain. French, “Crowded with Traders and a Great Commerce”: London’s Domination of English Overseas Trade, 1700–1775’, p. 27; Neville Williams, ‘The London Port Books’, *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 18, part 1 (1955), 13–26 (p. 13).

⁶ In addition to the one stop in London which was recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, the vessel was also recorded twice arriving in Southampton from Chatham, twice from Rochester and six times leaving for Rochester. *Ocean* also occasionally continued beyond Southampton to Poole and Plymouth.

⁷ *Lloyd's List*, 5 April 1774 (arriving in South Carolina from London), 20 May 1774 (arriving in Oporto from South Carolina), 14 Feb 1775 (arriving in London from Philadelphia & Cadiz); *Lloyd's Register* 1778.

⁸ On 18 October 1773, *Dove* was listed in the *Hampshire Chronicle* as having arrived from Oporto. However, this was likely a mistake by the typesetter, as it was part of a list of regular London traders, e.g. ‘*Dove*, *White*; *Rose* in June, *Bevis*; *Lymington*, *Footner*; *London*, *Johnson*; and *Hollam*, *Adams*, from Oporto’. The first four vessels in the list, including *London*, sailed regularly between London and Southampton, whereas *Hollam* was a regular Portugal trader. That a mistake occurred is even more likely considering that *Lloyd's List* recorded the arrival in Southampton from London of Captain Johnson in *London* and Captain *Footner* in *Lymington* on 14 October 1773.

Chapter 5

Wheeler in the 90-ton brig *Robert and Susannah*, which was recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* on 21 occasions in Southampton between 1773-1776, always arriving from London. Records from 1775 show that the vessel usually spent a few days in Portsmouth before calling at Southampton, often on the way home to Lymington. In November 1776, *Robert and Susannah* was lost in a storm near Poole and Captain Wheeler and his son both drowned.⁹

Data from the *Hampshire Chronicle* shows that several of the traders between Southampton and London used Southampton as a stopping-off point. Among these was Captain Jarvis in *Bewley*, which was recorded 27 times in Southampton between 1773 and 1777. On 25 occasions, the vessel was arriving from London, twice it left for an Irish port.¹⁰

There are no available port books or other comprehensive data showing the details of the cargoes carried between London and Southampton. However, it is possible to glimpse the trade in contemporary newspaper reports. In August 1773, the ship *Thomas and Ann* lost all her masts and rigging in a storm en route from London to Southampton. The cargo, which was undamaged, consisted of groceries.¹¹ Captain John Lys in the 70-ton vessel, *London Packet*, was recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* 33 times between 1773 and 1777. On 15 occasions it arrived in Southampton from London, on 12 occasions it left for Jersey. Every now and again the journey would go in the opposite direction, but *London Packet* was never recorded arriving from or clearing for other destinations.¹² The vessel was recorded six times in the Petty Customs book, each time exporting, or probably more likely re-shipping wool from Southampton to Jersey.¹³

In order to reduce congestion in the Pool of London, coasters from different locations were allocated specific quays. Vessels trading between Southampton and London loaded and unloaded their cargoes at Cotton's, Hay's, Symonds', or Chamberlain's Wharves in Southwark.¹⁴ In 1773, a dispute broke out between the London wharf owners (wharfingers)

⁹ *Hampshire Chronicle; Lloyd's List; Lloyd's Register*, 1776. On the fatal journey in November 1776, *Robert and Susannah* was carrying a cargo of stones from Swanage. The captain and his son drowned, while the remaining crew of five were saved by clinging to the mast for several hours until they could be rescued, *Hampshire Chronicle*, 9 December 1776.

¹⁰ On 2 August 1773 *Bewley* was recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* leaving Southampton for Kinsale; on 12 December 1774, the vessel left for Waterford.

¹¹ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 30 August 1773. Another vessel, *Hollam*, was damaged in an October storm carrying groceries from London to Portsmouth and Southampton (*Hampshire Chronicle*, 11 Oct 1773).

¹² The vessel was recorded three times arriving from Jersey and three times leaving for London.

¹³ Southampton City Archive, D/PM 25/1.

¹⁴ Anon., *The New Complete Guide to All Persons Who Have Any Trade or Concern with the City of London* (London: T. Longman, J. Rivington, Hawes, Clarke and others, 1774), p. 132. Other coasters moored in the same area, near London Bridge while traders from further afield moored gradually further downstream, with North European traders mooring off St. Katharine's church, colliers near

and the captains trading between Southampton, Portsmouth, and London. It was common for a ship's crew to help load and unload goods, but merchants, wharfingers and ship masters all had a different interpretation of where the responsibility lay for the safety of the cargo, with the captains seemingly held liable by the wharfingers for damage that might occur while the goods were on the wharf. In April 1773, a group of seven local captains, all regular traders in Southampton, advertised in the *Hampshire Chronicle* to give notice that, in order to avoid such unjust situations, after the first of May, 'we will not, by any means whatever, unload or cause to be unloaded, any cart, dray, or Porter, that shall or may bring goods to either Chamberlain's or Hay's Wharfs, to be shipped in any of our respective vessels'.¹⁵ There is evidence of other disputes in the London trade. In 1776, in response to ongoing disputes with tradesmen from Winchester and the surrounding area, the masters of the London coasting vessels joined together to refuse to transport goods from Northam to London without payment in advance of the freight rates.¹⁶

In 1773-5, around 98 per cent of the vessels sailing between Southampton and ports in south-east England came from or left for London. However, the pattern changed in the following two years, particularly in 1776, when London's percentage of all vessels arriving from a port in south-east England fell to 81 per cent and the London percentage of vessels departing Southampton for a port in south-east England fell to 51 per cent. An example demonstrating this change was Captain William Wild in the sloop *Benjamin*, who was a regular trader in Southampton, primarily carrying goods between London, Southampton, and ports in south-west England, such as Plymouth, Poole, and Weymouth. However, in 1776, the vessel's voyage pattern changed: there were no recorded journeys for the vessel between Southampton and London. The eight journeys undertaken that year were to Rochester and Chatham.¹⁷ In January 1777, *Benjamin* departed Southampton for Rochester, returning from there on 22 February. These were the only ones out of a total of 21 journeys recorded in the period between 1772 and 1777 when *Benjamin* called on Rochester and Chatham. The reasons for the sudden increase in journeys between Southampton and Rochester are not clear, but are likely to be connected to the increase in hostilities between Britain and the American colonists. Defoe

Wapping while larger foreign-going ships and West Indiamen in Limehouse Reach, not far from Canary Wharf. The largest ships and East Indiamen moored in Blackwall Reach, opposite Greenwich (Gordon Jackson: *The History and Archaeology of Ports* [Tadworth, Surrey: World's Work, 1983], p 55).

¹⁵ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 26 April 1773. The dispute rumbled on, for further correspondence on the matter can be found in the newspaper on 15 November and 13 December.

¹⁶ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 7 October 1776.

¹⁷ Three arrivals from Rochester, two from Chatham and three departures for Rochester

described Rochester as home to the 'chief arsenal of the Royal Navy', and the town was the centre for the supply and storage of a wide range of naval stores, including ship fittings, rope, blocks, and furniture. In Chatham, the Royal Dockyard was expanded in the 1770s in order for the yard to have facilities for both the building and repair of ships.¹⁸ Both Rochester and Chatham were hives of activity with the fitting out of transports and other naval vessels as the American crisis deepened and would have seen a steady stream of merchant vessels delivering the supplies needed.¹⁹ An additional local area of activity, which might have required timber and other materials from Southampton was the modernisation of the medieval Rochester bridge, which was undertaken around this time.²⁰ In August 1776, an advertisement in the *Kentish Gazette* asked for quotes for the supply of 'fifty loads and upwards of good round elm timber to be delivered at the Bridge Yard' for the Rochester Bridge works.²¹

The data from the shipping lists shows clearly how the trade between Southampton and the south-east of England was dominated by the London trade. Between 1773 and 1777, an average of 16 per cent per year of all the arrivals recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in Southampton and eight per cent of all the departures were for or from the capital. This distinctive pattern was disrupted in 1776 and 1777, when several of the vessels normally trading with London instead journeyed to Rochester or Chatham, possibly due to captains taking advantage of the additional need for transport vessels to support the preparations underway in response to the hostilities in America.

East England

Southampton's direct trade with ports in the east of England was very limited. As is shown in Figures 5.6 and 5.7, 35 arrivals and departures were recorded from or for these ports in the five-year period 1773-1777. These journeys were undertaken by 29 different ship-master combinations.

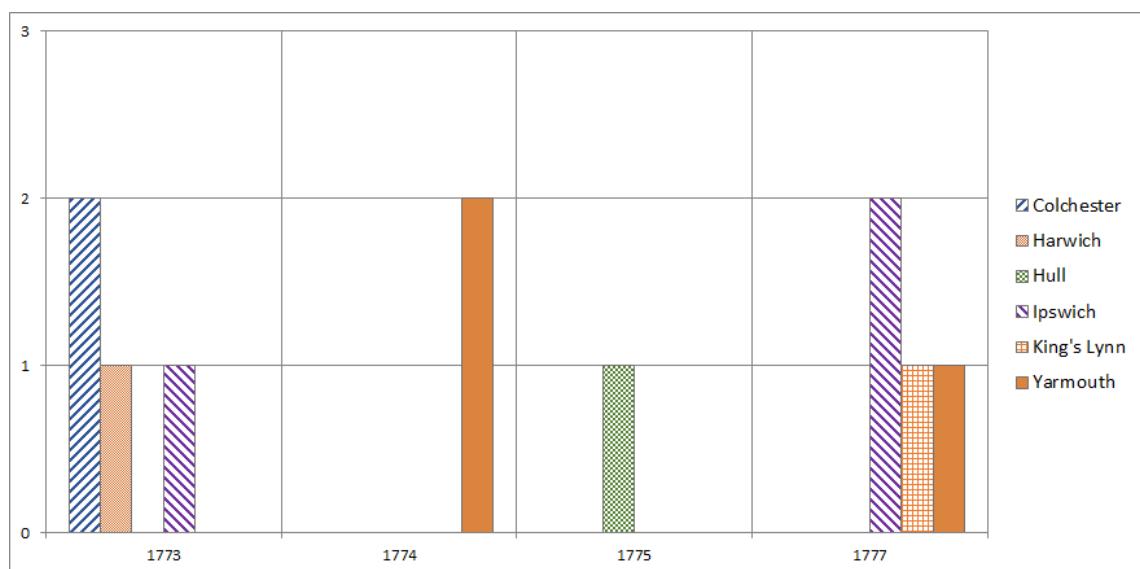
Most of the vessels recorded in Southampton on their way to or from a port in east England, were also recorded travelling to or from other destinations. This included Captain Garson in *Providence*, which can be traced in local newspapers in different parts of the country. Most

¹⁸ Defoe, I, LETTER II, p. 20; Coad, p. 16.

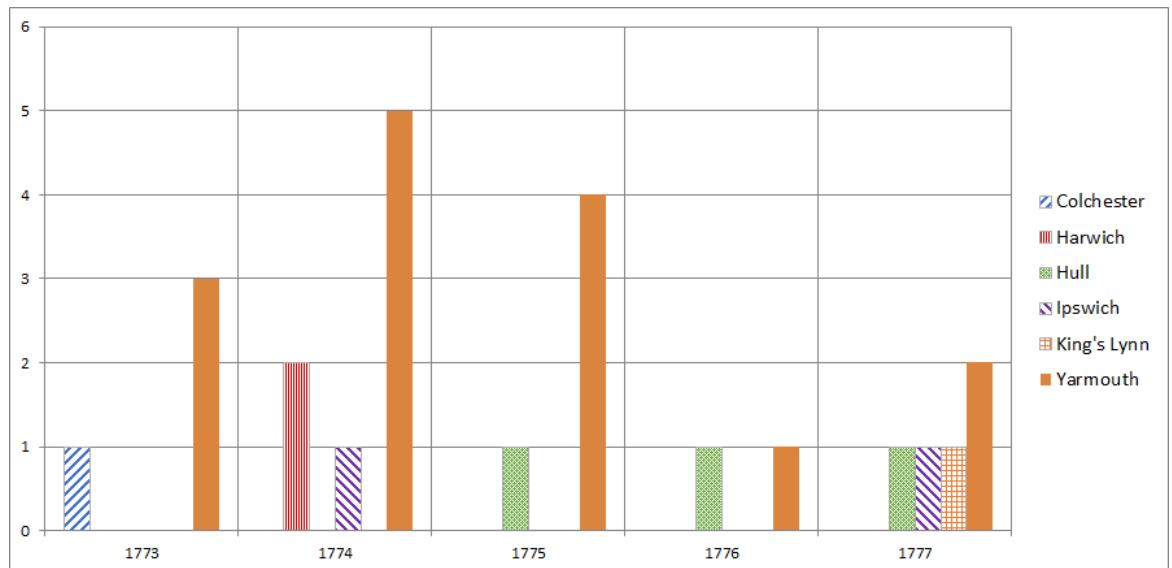
¹⁹ Around the country, local newspapers reported how riggers, sailmakers, ropemakers, blacksmiths and labourers in Chatham Dockyard were asked to work extra shifts in order to cope with the additional amount of work, see for example *Caledonian Mercury*, 22 May, 8 August and 11 December 1776 and *Derby Mercury*, 26 April 1776.

²⁰ <http://www.rbt.org.uk/bridges/historical-bridges/the-medieval-bridge/> [accessed 2 October 2018].

²¹ *Kentish Gazette*, 24 Aug 1776.

Figure 5.6: Vessels arriving in Southampton from ports in east England, 1773-1777

Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Figure 5.7: Vessels clearing Southampton for ports in east England, 1773-1777

Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

frequently, the vessel was employed supplying corn to London from Yarmouth, but also sometimes coal from Sunderland to Yarmouth. *Providence* was recorded on 10 occasions in the *Hampshire Chronicle* between 1773 and 1777, four times arriving in Southampton from Sunderland, once arriving from Yarmouth, five time leaving for Yarmouth.²² Overseas ports were regularly among the destinations of vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in Southampton sailing to or from a port in east England. For example, *Good Intent* arrived in

²² *Norfolk Chronicle*, 2 Mar and 5 Dec 1776, 20 Mar 1777; Sunderland Port Books, TNA E 190/274/1.

Southampton on 30 December 1775 from Rotterdam and left for Yarmouth on 3 February 1776. On 6 November 1773, Captain Gardiner in *Oporto Merchant* arrived in Southampton from Malaga. The vessel's departure for Colchester was recorded on 13 November, however an advertisement in the *Hampshire Chronicle* stated that it had arrived from Malaga, 'laden with wine and fruit for this port and Hull'.²³

There was only a modest trade directly between Southampton and ports in east England and it is likely that the cargoes carried to Southampton primarily consisted of agricultural produce, similar to that evidenced in the Newcastle port books, which in March 1776 recorded vessels arriving from Yarmouth and Lyme Regis with flour and peas and the *Newcastle Courant* which included regular reports of agricultural produce imported from East Anglian ports.²⁴ Most of London's corn supply also came from East Anglia.²⁵ More than two-thirds of the vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* trading with a port in East England were departing from Southampton and it can be shown that the ports that they were heading for were most often a stop on the journey between Southampton and elsewhere, particularly ports in the north-east of England.

North-East England

The north-east of England was the largest centre for British coal mining, the source of more than 30 per cent of the total British coal output and the supply of coal was of key importance to coastal shipping.²⁶ Coal was used for domestic heating, but was also required in a wide range of industrial processes, including brickmaking, brewing and the manufacture of salt.²⁷ In the mid-1770s, about 80 per cent of the coal output in the north-east was transported by sea.²⁸ A contemporary account recorded that in 1764, 3727 vessels cleared the Tyne with coal for other British ports.²⁹

²³ On 10 December 1773, the *Derby Mercury* reported that Robert Gardener in *Oporto Merchant* had arrived in Hull from Cadiz and Malaga, 'with wine, raisins, nuts, almonds, grapes, lemons, oranges and reeds', the latter possibly picked up during the vessel's stop in Colchester.

²⁴ For example, *Newcastle Courant*, 5 and 19 Jun 1773, which mention vessels arriving from Lynn (Lyme Regis) and Yarmouth with cargoes of corn, flour and oats.

²⁵ Bagwell, p. 50.

²⁶ Pollard, p. 229; Armstrong, 'Transport and Trade', pp. 101–2.

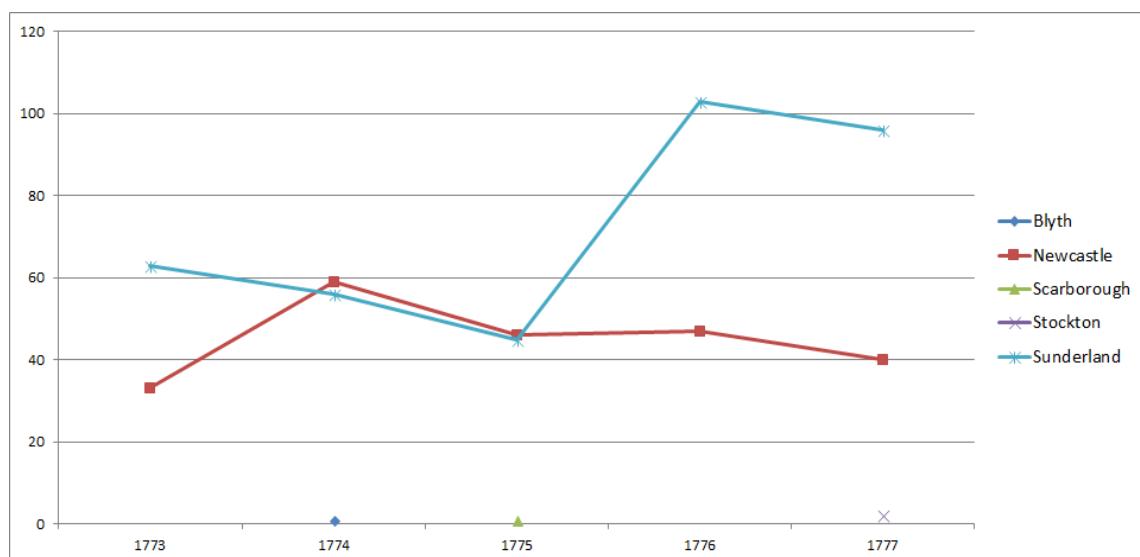
²⁷ Bagwell, p. 49.

²⁸ Pollard, pp. 221–23.

²⁹ John Brand, *The History and Antiquities of the County and Town of Newcastle upon Tyne* (London: B. White & Sons, 1789), p. 309. By comparison, the *Hampshire Chronicle* recorded a total of 1961 clearances from Southampton between 1773 and 1777.

There has been an ongoing debate among scholars about the productivity and profitability of the coal extraction and trade in the north-east and about the possible influence of coal availability on the Industrial Revolution in Britain. Simon Ville argued that the importance of the coal industry was closely related to the amount of capital and labour employed therein and that the profitability of the trade has been underestimated.³⁰ The importance of the coal trade was wider than merely the supply of coal, and contemporaries argued that the many colliers also acted as a resource for other vessels needing mariners: 'The coal-trade of Newcastle and Sunderland are the great nurseries of seamen in England from whence His Majesties Navy Royal is supplied in time of War and the merchant-ships furnished in time of peace with able seamen.'³¹

Figure 5.8: Vessels arriving in Southampton from ports in north-east England, 1773-1777



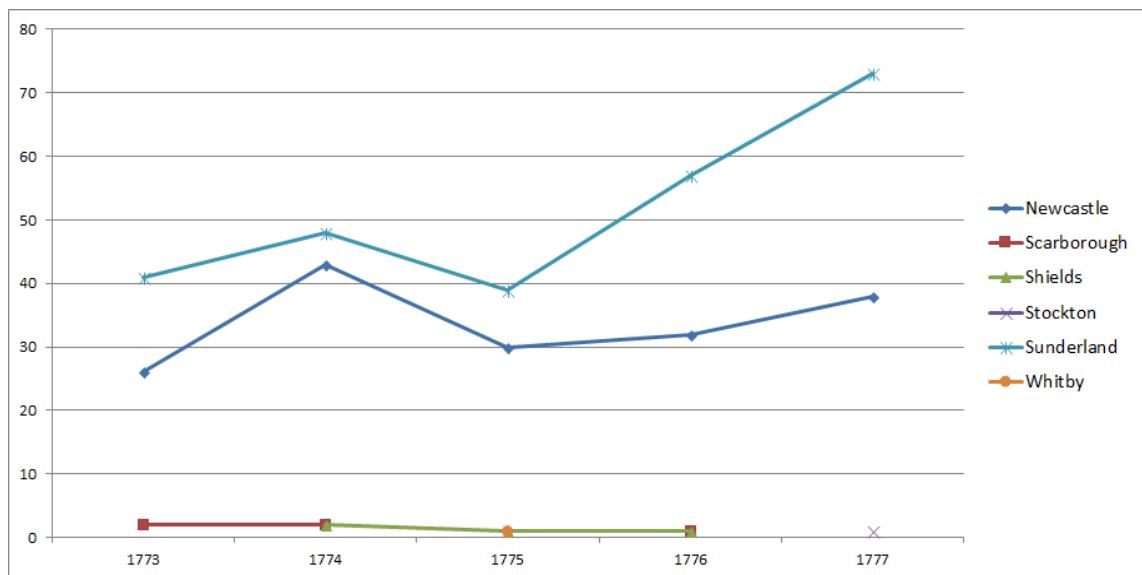
Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

³⁰ Gregory Clark and David Jacks, *Coal and the Industrial Revolution, 1700-1869* (University of California, Davis, Department of Economics, 10 April 2006), pp. 1-2

<<https://EconPapers.repec.org/RePEc:cda:wpaper:06-16>> [accessed 1 January 2017]; William J. Hausman, 'The English Coastal Coal Trade, 1691-1910: How Rapid Was Productivity Growth?', *The Economic History Review*, 40.4 (1987), 588-96 (pp. 588-90); Simon Ville, 'Total Factor Productivity in the English Shipping Industry: The North-East Coal Trade, 1700-1850', *The Economic History Review*, 39.3 (1986), 355-70 (pp. 356-57); Simon Ville, 'Note: Size and Profitability of English Colliers in the Eighteenth Century: A Reappraisal', *The Business History Review*, 58.1 (1984), 103-20 (p. 103).

³¹ Quote from 1698 petition by Sunderland mariners, coal traders and mine-owners, addressed to Parliament. The petitioners were concerned that a new proposed Act to make the River Aire and Calder navigable in Yorkshire would damage their trade.

https://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/sites/default/files/work-in-progress/1698_sunderland_coal_trade.pdf [accessed 6 August 2017].

Figure 5.9: Vessels clearing Southampton for ports in north-east England, 1773-1777

Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

The value of the coal trade was reflected in the number of vessels trading between Southampton and the coal ports of Newcastle and Sunderland. Figures 5.8 and 5.9 show the distribution of the 592 arrivals and 438 clearances, a total of 1030 journeys recorded between Southampton and ports in the north-east of England. These journeys were undertaken by 297 different ship-master combinations, with some vessels returning to Southampton on a regular basis, including Captain Tristram, who was recorded in Southampton on average eight times every year between 1773 and 1777 in the vessel *New Recovery*.

Simon Ville has shown that journey times for the vessels transporting coal from north-east England to London were reduced during the eighteenth century by about 20 per cent. In the early part of the century, a vessel was able to complete a maximum of eight journeys a year on this route, whereas that figure had increased to nine or ten by the 1790s. The reduction in journey times was partly due to improved turn-around times, with mine owners erecting riverside loading facilities so that the colliers could load directly without the need for keel boats or barges and also because cranes were introduced for unloading in London.³² This improvement benefited Southampton too. Sunderland Captain William Burletson completed five round-trips between Sunderland and Southampton in 1775, with a journey from Sunderland to Southampton taking on average about 10 days.³³ According to Ville, it is likely

³² Ville, 'Total Factor Productivity in the English Shipping Industry: The North-East Coal Trade, 1700-1850', pp. 358-64.

³³ *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists; Newcastle and Sunderland Port Book, TNA E 190/274/1; *Lloyd's Register*, 1780.

that most vessels spent about half their time in the coal trade and the rest of the time carrying other goods. However, there is no evidence in the Sunderland port books or elsewhere that Captain Burletson traded in cargoes other than coal.³⁴

In 1785, Newcastle was home to Britain's second largest fleet of merchant ships, after London, with 70 per cent of the vessels between 100 and 300 tons, or as Simon Ville put it, 'medium-sized'. Most of the Newcastle vessels were employed supplying coal in the coastal trade, mainly to London, but some travelled further and supplied ports on England's south coast, including Southampton.³⁵ However, Sunderland was the port in north-east England with which Southampton had the most direct contact. And the Sunderland port books show that the port's most carried export cargo – by some considerable margin – was coal, which was supplied to both British and foreign ports.³⁶ Occasionally other goods were mentioned as small part cargoes, particularly earthenware. But Southampton was not necessarily the end of the journey for the Sunderland colliers. Some vessels travelled beyond Southampton, including Captain Haswell in *William and Mary* which arrived in Southampton from Sunderland on 12 April 1773. On 22 May, the vessel departed for Dublin, returning to Southampton again, from Sunderland, on 14 August.³⁷

Southampton's trade with ports in north-east England was significant, with hundreds of vessels arriving from and departing for Sunderland and Newcastle each year. This was the route for Southampton's main supply of coal, which was used both industrially and for domestic heating and cooking. An advertisement in the *Hampshire Chronicle* linked the different uses, offering a cargo of Newcastle coals for sale, imported to Southampton by Richard Light. The advertisement added that 'As Mr Light uses a considerable quantity of coals in his iron manufactory, the public may depend on being supplied with the best sorts'.³⁸

³⁴ Ville, 'Total Factor Productivity in the English Shipping Industry: The North-East Coal Trade, 1700-1850', pp. 360-61.

³⁵ In comparison, analysis of information about vessel size in the 1778 edition of Lloyd's Register, indicates that the average vessel recorded in Southampton between 1773 and 1777 was smaller, at 90 tons. Simon Ville, 'Shipping in the Port of Newcastle, 1780-1800', *The Journal of Transport History*, 3, 9.1 (1988), 60-77 (pp. 63, 73); 1786-1806 the 181 ton *Henley* coaled between London and Newcastle. An extra crew member was hired when she went to Portsmouth, Plymouth or Baltic Ville, *English Shipowning during the Industrial Revolution*, p. 95.

³⁶ The main overseas buyers of Sunderland coal in the late eighteenth century were France and the Netherlands, which imported large quantities.

https://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/sites/default/files/work-in-progress/economy_and_society_1719.pdf [accessed 6 August 2017]

³⁷ *Lloyd's List* reported that on 18 June 1773, Captain Haswell in *William and Mary* arrived in Milford on his return journey from Dublin.

³⁸ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 24 July 1775.

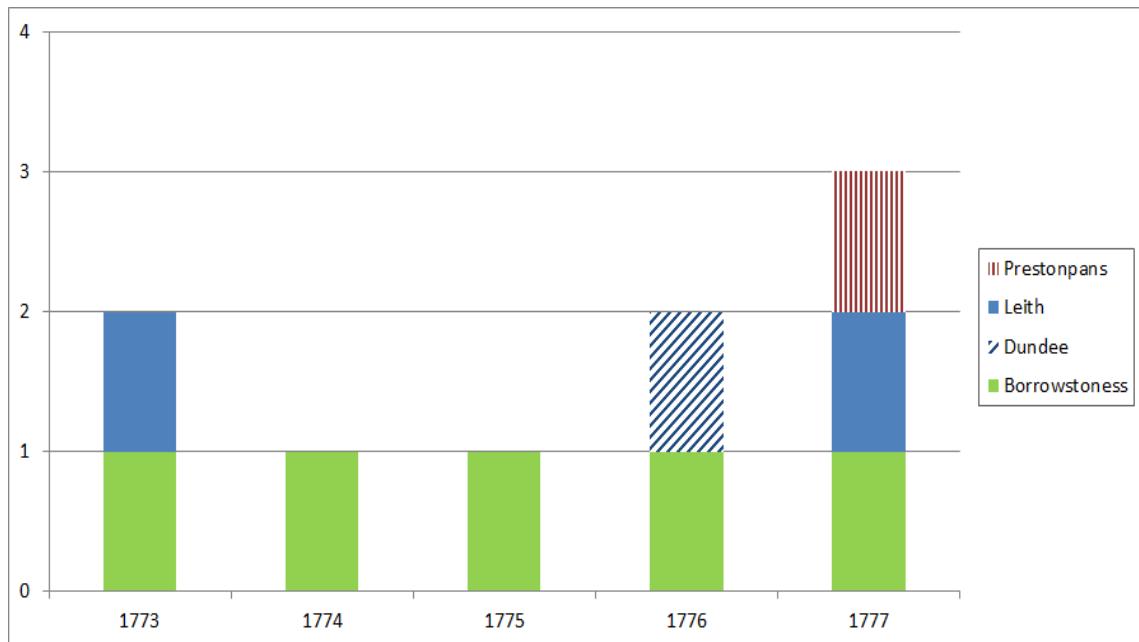
Scotland

The brig *Happy Union*, Ezekiel Coats master, is now in the harbour of Leith, and will be ready to sail by the 1st of October. For freight or passage, apply to the master of the ship. [...] The *Happy Union* is 200 tons burthen, and sails constantly betwixt Leith and Plymouth, and commonly calls at the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, Southampton and Chichester.³⁹

Happy Union was recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* 12 times in Southampton between 1773 and 1777 and also five times in Portsmouth in 1775. This was the vessel recorded most often travelling between Southampton and Scottish North Sea ports. The voyage pattern documented in the *Hampshire Chronicle* supports the information provided in the advertisement quoted above, including five departures from Southampton for Leith as well as arrivals from Newcastle, Plymouth, Bideford, and Borrowstoness near Falkirk.⁴⁰

The *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists recorded a total of 37 journeys directly between Southampton and a Scottish North Sea port in the years 1773-1777 (see Figures 5.10 and 5.11), undertaken by 23 different ship-master combinations. Leith was Scotland's busiest North Sea port, with 18,000 tons of shipping entering from foreign ports in 1775 and it was the Scottish

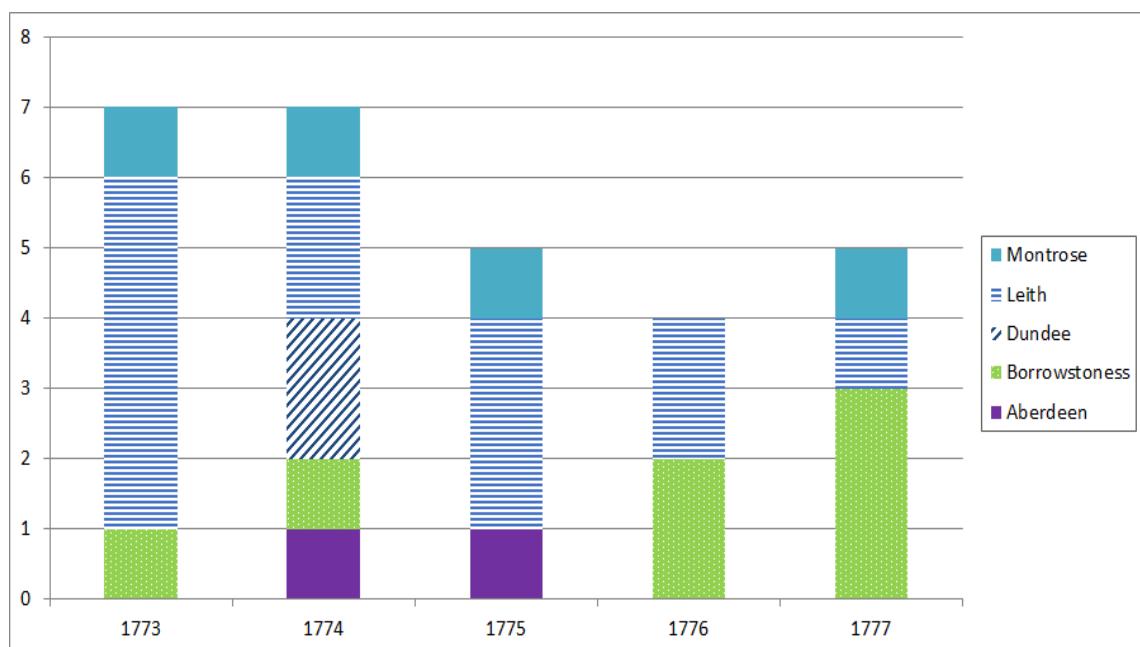
Figure 5.10: Vessels arriving in Southampton from Scottish East coast ports, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

³⁹ Advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury* 25 September 1775.

⁴⁰ Today Borrowstoness is known as Bo'ness.

Figure 5.11: Vessels clearing Southampton for Scottish East coast ports, 1773-1777

Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

east coast port with which Southampton had most direct contact.⁴¹ The shipping lists recorded 15 voyages between Leith and Southampton, two arrivals and 13 departures, while 12 voyages were recorded between Southampton and the second-most listed destination, Borrowstouness, five arrivals and seven departures.

Whereas the *Caledonian Mercury* regularly listed vessels arriving in Leith from Southampton carrying 'wood', 'oak-wood', 'oak-plank' and bark, there is only limited evidence of the goods traded in the opposite direction. In February 1775, the *Happy Union*, mentioned above, left Leith with a cargo of herring for Plymouth and there is evidence that other English ports received cargoes of fish from Scotland.⁴² Dundee also shipped fish, including salmon and herring, to English ports.⁴³ The main cargo carried into the Baltic on board vessels from Borrowstouness was coal, so it is likely that this was the main cargo shipped from that port to Southampton too. Both Borrowstouness, Leith and nearby Prestonpans also shipped a range of industrial goods.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Jackson, 'Scottish Shipping 1775-1805', p. 118.

⁴² *Caledonian Mercury*, 31 August 1771, 18 January, 13 March and 15 December 1773, 27 February, 3 and 15 April 1775, *Newcastle Courant*, 9 January 1773, 8 May 1773, 26 June 1773, and 10 July 1773.

⁴³ C. McKean, Claire Swann, and Malcolm Archibald, 'Maritime Dundee and Its Harbour c.1755-1820', in *Dundee: Renaissance to Enlightenment*, Edinburgh University Press Series (Dundee University Press, 2009), pp. 268-93 (p. 284).

⁴⁴ Soundtoll Registers Online; Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 80. In October 1773, 'Scotch Coals' were advertised for sale from Watergate Quay (*Hampshire Chronicle*, 11 Oct 1773).

Combining information from the *Hampshire Chronicle* and the *Caledonian Mercury*, it is possible to calculate that the average journey time between Southampton and Leith was 10 days, with the quickest journey recorded being undertaken by Sunderland-based captain Matthew Smetham, who left Southampton on 9 April 1773 and arrived in Leith with a cargo of wood and bark five days later, on 14 April.

Four different vessels were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* clearing Southampton for Montrose, two of which had arrived in the port from Sunderland, so had probably picked up a cargo of coal on their way south. The previous destinations of the other two vessels were not recorded. However, combining the data from the *Hampshire Chronicle* with information from other sources, it is possible to show that the vessels that were recorded in Southampton coming from a Scottish port frequently made journeys into the Baltic and some travelled very widely.⁴⁵

Distance meant that there was only a limited direct trade between Southampton and Scottish North Sea ports, mainly concentrated on Leith, which was the largest Scottish port in the North Sea. Scottish exports included perishable goods, such as fish, and for the vessels that did make the long journey along the east coast of England, there is evidence that Southampton was a stopping point, rather than the main destination. Southampton exports to Scotland were primarily wood products, particularly oak and bark, probably used in tanning.

Southampton's Trade with North Sea ports in the Netherlands and Germany

In the seventeenth century, the northern Netherlands (the United Provinces) held a dominant position in Europe's commercial life. However, during the eighteenth century, the country saw a relative decline in its trade while British commerce expanded.⁴⁶ Stephen Conway and others have argued that one of the principal aims of the Navigation Acts was to reduce the influence of Dutch shipping and there is evidence that it was successful, leading to long-term damaging

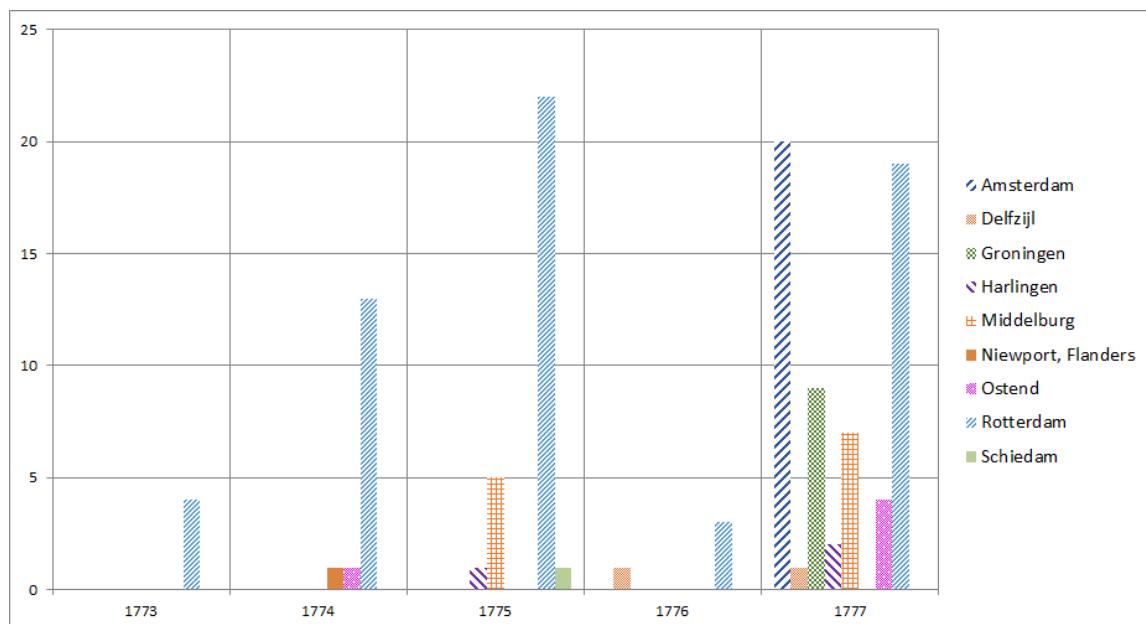
⁴⁵ The *Caledonian Mercury* and *Lloyd's List* contain frequent references to vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* as sailing between Southampton and Scottish North Sea ports. For example, between 1772 and 1775, Captain Jonathan Stratton from Montrose in the brig *Jennet* was regularly recorded in *Lloyd's List*, with destinations including Petersburg, Riga, Königsberg, Lisbon, Falmouth, Hamburg and Livorno. The vessel called in Southampton once, arriving from Sunderland on 15 October 1774 and leaving for Montrose on 26 November (*Hampshire Chronicle*).

⁴⁶ M. S. Anderson, *Europe in the Eighteenth Century: 1713 - 1783*, A General History of Europe, 8, 2. ed., 4. impr (London: Longman, 1981), pp. 72, 133; Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600 - 1800*, The History of Human Society (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), pp. 311-14; Michael-W. Serruys, 'The Port and City of Ostend and the Process of State Consolidation in the Southern Netherlands in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Geopolitical Approach', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 19.2 (2007), 319-48 (p. 321).

effects on the Dutch merchant fleet.⁴⁷ In 1698, 1028 Dutch ships and 228 English ships entered the Baltic; by 1778, the Dutch entries were virtually the same as 80 years previously (at 1161), while entries to the Baltic by British ships had almost quadrupled at 803.⁴⁸ A close relationship developed between British and Dutch merchants during the seventeenth century and it was common for British merchants to send their sons to the Netherlands in order to learn business practice. In spite of the growing importance of British trade during the 1700s, this tradition declined, but still continued as the century progressed.⁴⁹

As shown in Figures 5.12 and 5.13, 150 journeys were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* between Southampton and ports in the Netherlands (36 leaving, 114 arriving) during the

Figure 5.12: Vessels arriving in Southampton from ports in the Netherlands (the United Provinces and southern Netherlands), 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

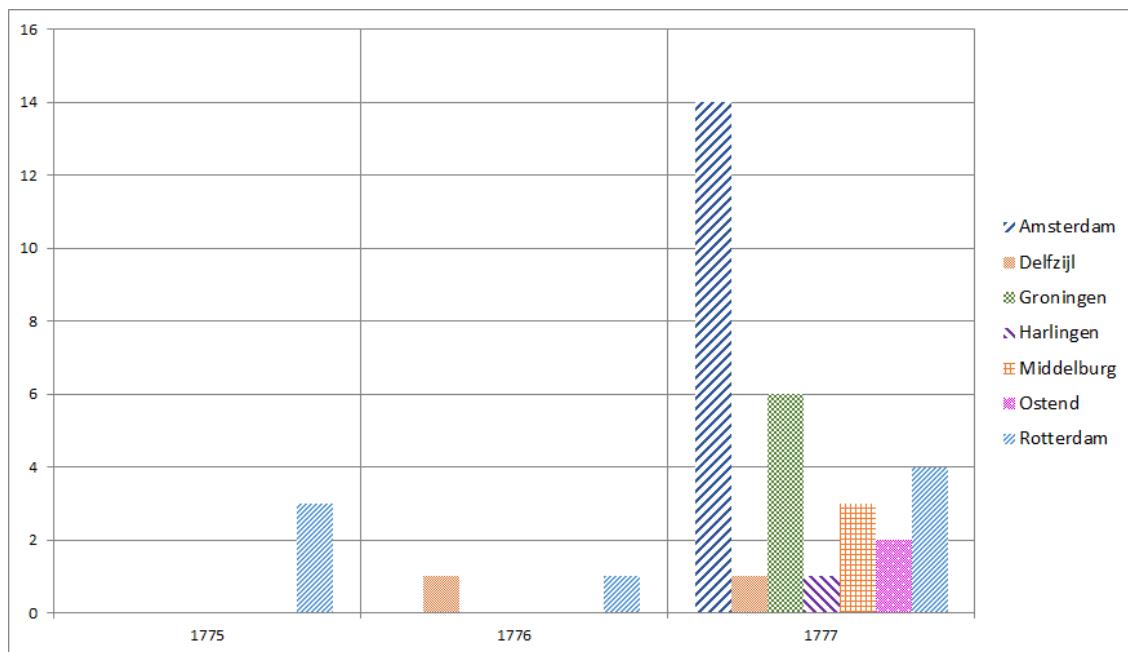
⁴⁷ Conway, 'Another Look at the Navigation Acts and the Coming of the American Revolution', p. 80; Kenneth Morgan, 'Anglo-Dutch Economic Relations in the Atlantic World, 1688–1783', in *Dutch Atlantic Connections, 1680-1800*, ed. by Gert Oostindie and Jessica V. Roitman, The Atlantic World, 29, ebook (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2014), pp. 119–38 (p. 122)

⁴⁸ https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004271319_007; Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 226; Jeroen van der Vliet, 'One source to rule them all? Combining data about trade and shipping from Amsterdam to the Baltic in the late eighteenth-century', *Revue de l'OFCE*, 140.4 (2015), 111–36 (p. 113) <https://doi.org/10.3917/reof.140.0111>.

⁴⁹ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 226; Bristol merchant Graffin Prankard imported Russian iron from Rotterdam in the 1720s, but from 1730, he established direct imports from St Petersburg, illustrating the decline in the importance of Dutch commerce. Chris Evans, Owen Jackson, and Göran Rydén, 'Baltic Iron and the British Iron Industry in the Eighteenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, 55.4 (2002), 642–65 (p. 647).

⁴⁹ Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 100.

Figure 5.13: Vessels clearing Southampton for ports in the Netherlands (the United Provinces and southern Netherlands), 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

period 1773-77. Most of these journeys took place towards the end of the period, particularly in 1777, when 93 journeys were recorded, compared to 6 in 1776, 32 in 1775, 15 in 1774 and 4 in 1773. 98 unique ship-master combinations can be identified that sailed on these routes. For 37 of these either ship, master or both had distinctly Dutch-sounding names, for example the vessels *Vrow Geertyna*, *Jonge Vrow Tytie* and *Hett Hijs* and the Captains Vandervelde, Sybrant and Hendricks. Almost all the journeys recorded by vessels and/or captains with Dutch-sounding names were undertaken in 1777 directly between Southampton and a port in the Netherlands.

In the late eighteenth century, Baltic trade was regarded as the cornerstone of Amsterdam's prosperity and it is therefore not surprising that there was only limited direct trade across the North Sea, between Southampton and the city.⁵⁰ However, Dutch merchants tried to exploit their position of neutrality as far as possible and it is likely that the sudden increase in the appearance of Dutch vessels in Southampton in 1776 and 1777 was closely related to the hostilities in America, which would have created an opportunity for foreign captains wishing to trade in British ports.⁵¹

⁵⁰ van der Vliet, p. 114.

⁵¹ Nick van Sas, 'Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: The Logic of Neutrality', in *Colonial Empires Compared: Britain and the Netherlands, 1750-1850: Papers Delivered to the Fourteenth Anglo-Dutch*

Rotterdam was the Dutch port with most direct contacts to Southampton, 61 arrivals from the port recorded in Southampton between 1773 and 1777, only eight clearances were recorded in the same period. Rotterdam was the main Dutch port trading with Britain and it was a centre for clearing goods from the interior of north-western Europe.⁵² Two arrivals from Rotterdam were recorded in the Southampton Petty Customs Register, in September 1772 and July 1773. The cargoes included bull rushes, bricks, beans, wainscot boards (wood for interior panelling) and two grave stones. Dutch cargoes listed in local newspapers included oats and corn from Amsterdam and Rotterdam and flax from Rotterdam, undoubtedly re-exported from the Baltic.⁵³ In 1776-77, vessels from several other Dutch ports were recorded in Southampton, from major ports such as Amsterdam and Ostend, but also from a number of small ports, particularly located in northern Netherlands, including Harlingen and Groningen.

Based on an analysis of the Sound Toll Registers, Werner Scheltjens has explored the development of regional Dutch trade and has shown, from the late seventeenth century, the emergence of a distinct business of maritime transport, generating value by facilitating the exchange of goods, rather than by the exchange of goods itself. From the mid-eighteenth century, Denmark and Sweden also became more involved in this carrying business and they were able to take advantage of their neutrality during the wars of the late 1700s, including the War of American Independence.⁵⁴

Ostend was the southern Netherlands' only North Sea port and therefore the only port where customs duties were not payable to the Dutch Republic. The port had many Irish and British residents and it acted as an entrepôt for British goods, but also for oriental cargoes, primarily

Historical Conference, 2000, ed. by Bob Moore and Henk F. K. van Nierop (Aldershot, Hampshire, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 33–44 (pp. 35–36); Daniel A. Baugh, 'Maritime Strength and Atlantic Commerce', in *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815*, ed. by Lawrence Stone (London; New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 185–223 (p. 200).

⁵² Cheer, p. 36; J.V.Th. Knoppers, 'De Vaart in Europa', in *Maritieme geschiedenis der Nederlanden 3* (Bussum: De Boer Maritiem, 1977), pp. 226–61 (p. 252); Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 485.

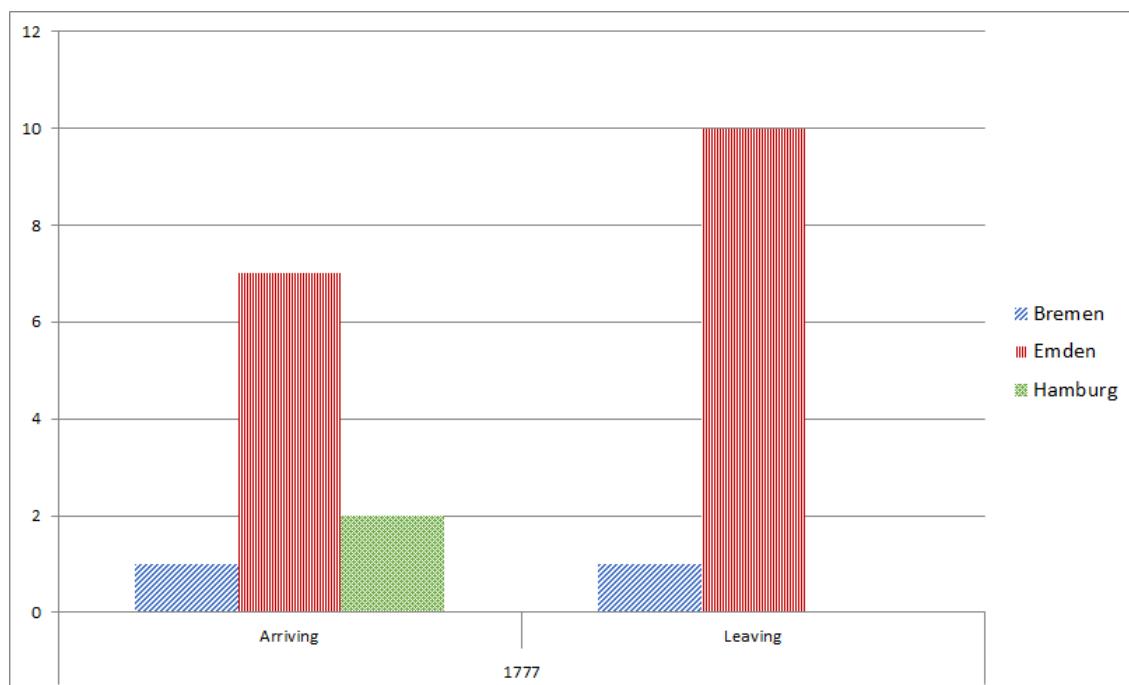
⁵³ Southampton City Archive, D/PM 25/1; *Newcastle Courant*, 24 Apr, 23 and 29 May 1773.

⁵⁴ Scheltjens, *Dutch Deltas*, p. 8; Werner Scheltjens, 'Functional Classification of Shipmasters' Domiciles as a Tool for Visual Analysis of the Structure of Baltic Shipping in the Eighteenth Century' (presented at the Sound Toll Registers online. To the Test, Leeuwarden, 2010), p. 18 <<http://www.soundtoll.nl/index.php/en/onderzoek/workshops-en-papers/7-workshops-and-papers-october-2010>> [accessed 15 February 2019]; Leos Müller, 'Nordic Neutrals and Anglo-French Wars, 1689-1815' (presented at the The Northern Mediterranean. Economic Contacts and Cultural Exchange over the North Sea and Baltic, 1550-1750, XIV International Economic History Congress, Helsinki, 2006), p. 6.

purchased via the Scandinavian East India Companies.⁵⁵ In the 1770s, the port benefited from several infrastructure improvements, including a new lighthouse and docks and it saw a rapid growth in its trade, which boomed during the War of American Independence, particularly from 1779 onwards.⁵⁶

Southampton's direct contact with German North Sea ports was quite limited and was only recorded in 1777, when 10 vessels arrived and 11 vessels cleared the port (see Figure 5.14). Most of the journeys were to or from Emden. Only one vessel was recorded in Southampton arriving directly from Hamburg, which was a major hub for international trade.⁵⁷ Pfister has shown that there was a close link between the northern Netherlands and the coastal regions of Germany, including Bremen and Hamburg, but the geography of the region probably meant

Figure 5.14: Vessels recorded between Southampton and German North Sea ports, 1773–1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

⁵⁵ Parmentier, 'The Sweets of Commerce: The Hennesys of Ostend and Their Network in the Eighteenth Century', p. 68 n6, 70, 73; Jan Parmentier, 'A Touch of Ireland: Migrants and Migrations in and to Ostend, Bruges and Dunkirk in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 27.4 (2015), 662–79 (pp. 676–77).

⁵⁶ Serruys, pp. 326–32, 340–41, 344.

⁵⁷ Erik Lindberg, 'The Rise of Hamburg as a Global Marketplace in the Seventeenth Century: A Comparative Political Economy Perspective', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 50.3 (2008), 641–62 (p. 641); Mette Guldberg, 'De varer som bonden aldrig ser? Importen over Hjerting fra Holland i 1700-tallet', in *Sjæk'len 2012*, ed. by Morten Hahn-Pedersen (Esbjerg: Fiskeri- og Søfartsmuseet, Saltvandsakvariet, 2012), pp. 66–81 (p. 69).

that most vessels trading between the German ports and the English south coast found it more profitable to stop before reaching Southampton.⁵⁸ Emden was the centre for a large fishing fleet and it also served as the main embarkation port of Hanoverian troops.⁵⁹ Cargoes imported from Emden and listed in British local newspapers all include grain, particularly oats and wheat. British exports included coal from Newcastle and Sunderland, while cargoes from Hamburg reflected the port's status as an international trade hub and often included re-shipped goods, such as wine.⁶⁰ There is no evidence of the cargoes that were shipped from Southampton to the German North Sea ports. However, it is likely that the cargoes were similar to those recorded elsewhere, so primarily oak and other wood.

There was a steep increase in the direct contact between Southampton and Dutch and German North Sea ports during the 1770s, particularly carried out by vessels and/or captains with Dutch-sounding names and it is difficult not to see this as an opportunistic flouting of Navigation Laws. There was a close similarity between the trade of the German North Sea ports and that of ports in the Netherlands, with British grain imports the most important cargo.

Baltic and Scandinavian Trade

The Baltic was the main area of foreign trade for Britain on the Continent, particularly due to the region's ability to provide vital supplies of timber and naval stores.⁶¹ The naval stores obtained by Britain from the Baltic region, included pitch and tar, iron, trees for masts, hemp for ropemaking, and oak timber, all essential for the maintenance and operation of both merchant and naval ships. The strategic importance of the Baltic supply of naval stores was enhanced when Britain lost access to the North American pine forests, that had provided a certain amount of masts, timber, and tar. This led to conflicts with smaller nations, which would otherwise not have posed a threat to Britain, notably during the Napoleonic Wars, when British naval forces twice attacked Denmark in order to maintain access to the Baltic.⁶² The

⁵⁸ Ulrich Pfister, 'Great Divergence, Consumer Revolution and the Reorganization of Textile Markets: Evidence from Hamburg's Import Trade, Eighteenth Century', *London School of Economics and Political Science, Dept of Economic History Working Papers*, Working Papers, 266 (2017), 1–73 (p. 7).

⁵⁹ Local newspapers confirm this. See, for example *Hibernian Journal*, 11 Sep 1775, and *Ipswich Journal*, 5 Apr 1777.

⁶⁰ See for example *Newcastle Courant*, 17 Jul 1773.

⁶¹ Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 87.

⁶² Kirby and Hinkkanen-Lievonen, p. 128; Malone, *Pine Trees and Politics: The Naval Stores and Forest Policy in Colonial New England, 1691–1775*, pp. 55–56; Robert Greenhalgh Albion, *Forests and Sea Power* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Book, 1965), pp. 152–53, 164–65, 178–81; Joseph J. Malone, 'England and the Baltic Naval Stores Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *The Mariner's Mirror*,

trade was seasonal, as part of the Baltic froze during the winter months and there was no access, particularly to the ice-bound ports in the eastern Baltic, including St Petersburg.⁶³

Øresund, or the Sound, was the main access to the Baltic Sea from the North Sea and although there were other sea routes to the Baltic, between Jutland and the Danish islands, traffic through the Sound represented the overwhelming proportion of the trade to and from the Baltic area.⁶⁴ The Sound Toll was introduced by the Danish King in 1429 and continued with some modifications for more than 400 years, until it was abolished in 1857. The toll records have been preserved sporadically between 1497 and 1569, and almost completely between 1574 and 1857 and they provide a unique record of the traffic in and out of the Baltic. Initially the toll applied to each vessel passing Elsinore, but from 1567 a toll on cargo was introduced and the registers therefore required more detail than previously, in order to show how the toll for each vessel had been calculated. Although some nations were exempt from the cargo toll, every vessel had to pay a small duty to support the navigation through the Sound, so every vessel was recorded and the Sound Toll Registers therefore provide comprehensive evidence of the volume and composition of the Baltic trade. In the late eighteenth century, British ships accounted for one third of all journeys through the Sound.⁶⁵

Although British trade with the Baltic, particularly Russia was growing at this time, for most of the eighteenth century, Southampton's trade with Baltic ports was limited to a little timber and iron.⁶⁶ As many Baltic ports were ice-bound for most of the winter, the trade was seasonal and much of it was centred on English east coast ports, such as Hull, rather than south coast ports like Southampton.⁶⁷

58.4 (1972), 375–95 (pp. 389–90); James Davey, 'Securing the Sine of Sea Power: British Intervention in the Baltic 1780–1815', *The International History Review*, 33.2 (2011), 161–84 (pp. 161–62); Daniel A. Baugh, 'Withdrawal from Europe: Anglo-French Maritime Geopolitics, 1750–1800', *The International History Review*, 20.1 (1998), 1–32 (pp. 23–24).

⁶³ Hans Chr. Johansen, *Shipping and Trade between the Baltic Area and Western Europe 1784–95* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1983), p. 12.

⁶⁴ Johansen, *Shipping and Trade between the Baltic Area and Western Europe 1784–95*, p. 7.

⁶⁵ Erik Gøbel, 'The Records of the Sound Toll Administration, 1497–1857', in *The Sound Toll at Elsinore: Politics, Shipping and the Collection of Duties 1429–1857*, ed. by Ole Degn (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2017), pp. 505–48 (p. 507); Erik Gøbel, 'The Sound Toll Registers Online Project, 1497–1857', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 22.2 (2010), 305–24 (pp. 306–8, 312). From 1669, the registers included information about the ship master, his home port and destination as well as the details of the cargo carried and the toll paid, but no information about vessel itself.

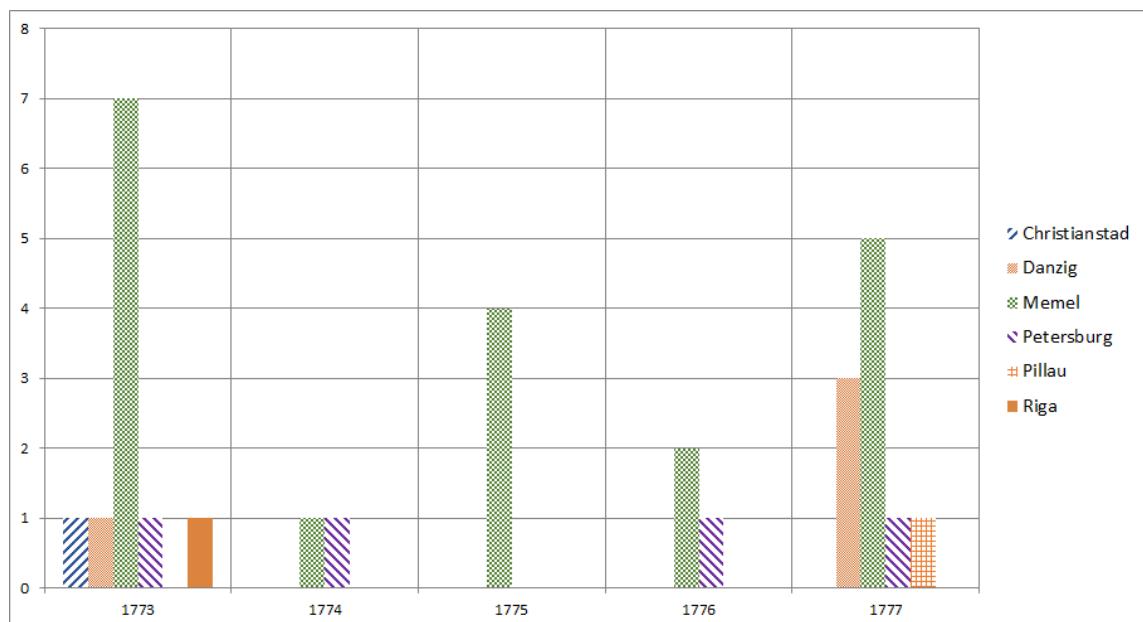
⁶⁶ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 42; Patterson, *History of Southampton*, p. 72.

⁶⁷ Ville, *English Shipowning during the Industrial Revolution*, p. 41; Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 217; Hull had a significant and regular trade with ports in the Baltic, much of it carried on Hull-based vessels. In 1772 64 vessels entered Hull from Russia, 14 from Poland and 38 from Prussia, with a further 65 entering from Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish ports.

The *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists recorded 46 journeys between Southampton and the Baltic in the period 1773-77 (see figures 5.15 and 5.16). This represents 0.9 per cent of the total number of journeys. The 46 journeys were made by 20 different ship-master combinations and most of the journeys were either to or from Memel (now Klaipeda in Lithuania). 58 journeys were recorded between Southampton and a Scandinavian North Sea port, all in Norway (see figures 5.17 and 5.18). These journeys were made by 28 different ship-master combinations, most of whom were only recorded once or twice.⁶⁸

Southampton's trade with Scandinavian and Baltic ports was undertaken by a small number of vessels. However, these vessels were generally larger than those that sailed to most of the other destinations connected directly to Southampton. Six of the 205 vessels identified in the 1778 *Lloyd's Register* as one of the vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* calling at Southampton in the period 1773-77 were Norway traders, another two were recorded on a journey to or from the Baltic. The average size of these eight vessels was 181 tons, compared

Figure 5.15: Vessels arriving in Southampton from Baltic ports, 1773-1777

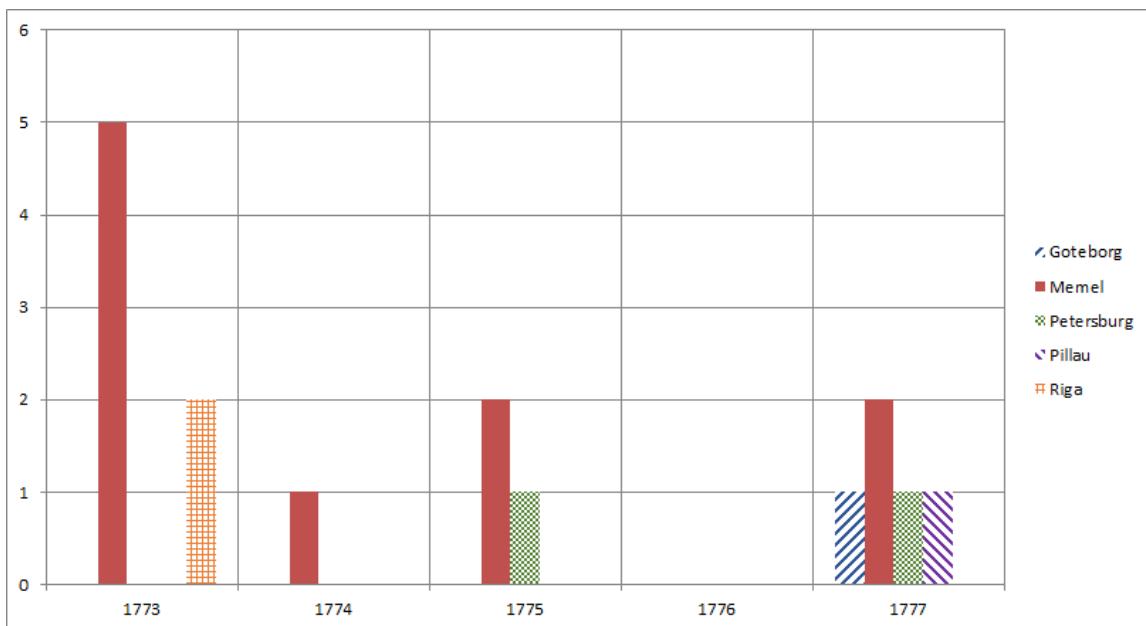


Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Hull's exports to the Baltic in 1772 were carried on 27 vessels bound for Russia, 13 for Poland and 8 for Prussia with a further six heading for Norwegian or Swedish ports. Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 335, 339.

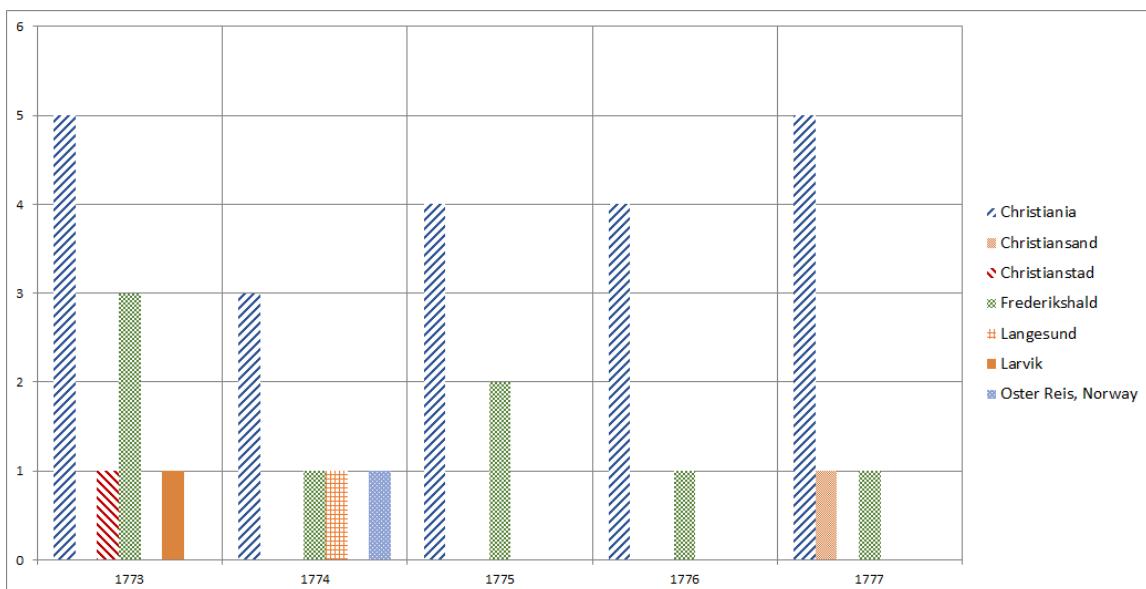
⁶⁸ The only Scandinavian Baltic ports recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* were the Swedish ports of Christianstad and Göteborg. For completeness, these ports feature in both tables 5.16-17 and 5.18-19, however as only two journeys were recorded for these destinations the results shown in the tables are not significantly changed by this duplication.

Figure 5.16: Vessels clearing Southampton for Baltic ports, 1773-1777



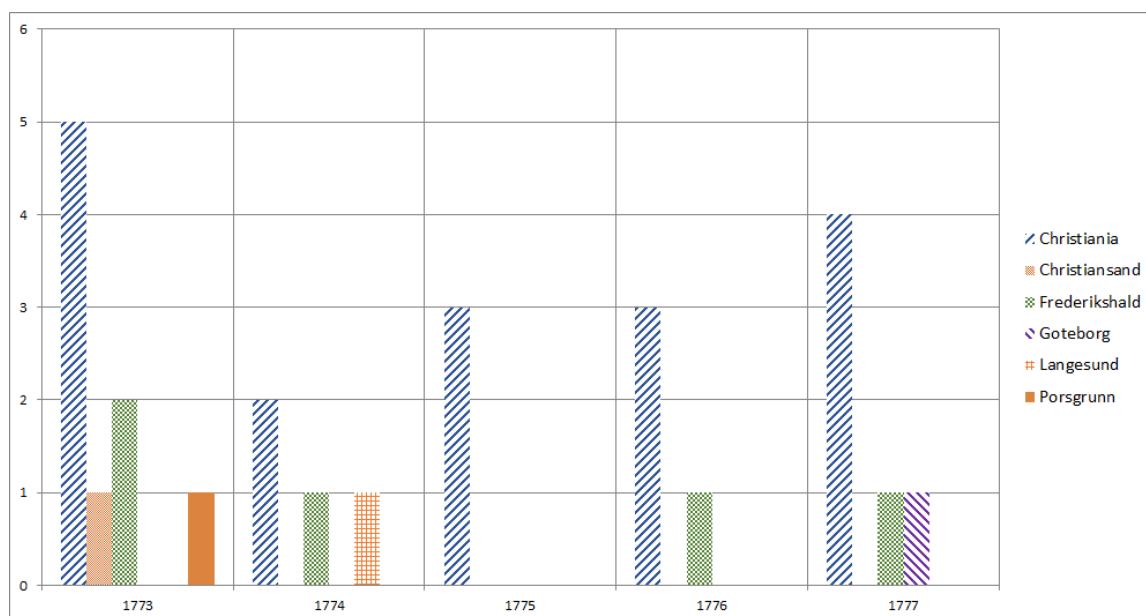
Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Figure 5.17: Vessels arriving in Southampton from Scandinavian ports, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Figure 5.18: Vessels clearing Southampton for Scandinavian ports, 1773-1777



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

to an average size of 90 tons for all the vessels trading in Southampton. Although a small sample, this corresponds with evidence from Liverpool and Hull where Baltic traders were also larger than the average vessels calling at those ports.⁶⁹

By combining information from several sources, including the Sound Toll Registers, it is possible to reconstruct journeys to the Baltic in greater detail than those to other destinations. An example of this is Captain Smetham, who, in the vessel *Quanford*, arrived in Southampton from Sunderland on 1 May 1773. On 29 May, the vessel left Southampton for Memel. On 16 June, Sunderland-based captain John Smetham was recorded in the Sound Toll Register, passing Elsinore en route from Southampton to Memel in ballast. The return journey was recorded in the Sound Toll Register on 19 July, when 'John Schmettham' was listed en route from Memel to Sunderland with a cargo of timber.⁷⁰ However, it is likely that Sunderland was not Captain Smetham's destination as only a few weeks later, on 9 August, the *Hampshire Chronicle* recorded *Quanford* arriving in Southampton from Memel and the vessel can be

⁶⁹ Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 134; Pope, vols 1, Table 26, pp 333–5.

⁷⁰ On 7 August, the *Newcastle Courant* recorded, as part of its 'Sound List' that Captain Smeatham in *Quanford* had passed Elsinore on 19 July en route from Memel to Whitehaven with timber. As the newspaper 'Sound List' information is not the same as that recorded in the Sound Toll Register, it is likely that the 'Sound List' was compiled on the basis of reports from the British Consul in Elsinore, rather than the Sound Toll Registers.

traced further, leaving Southampton for Memel on 28 August 1773 and passing Elsinore in ballast on 6 September, en route from Southampton to Memel.⁷¹

For many vessels, particularly British, the 'home port' recorded in the Sound Toll Registers changed regularly. Sometimes the ports listed were close to each other (e.g. Newcastle, Shields) and the variation could be due to inconsistent reporting by the ship master, but this was not always the case. On occasion, the variations may be due to the customs officials confusing the home port with the port of departure or destination.⁷² Sven-Erik Aström has compared the information regarding destinations recorded in English port books with that given in the Sound Toll Registers and has established that the poorest match is found for ports on England's south coast. He takes the view that the discrepancy is not due to inaccurate recording, but that vessels simply sailed to a different port to the one that was their stated destination.⁷³ Other analyses of the Sound Toll Registers have shown that the cargoes listed are often not complete. However, as there is so little cargo information available from other sources for the vessels sailing to and from Southampton, even incomplete data relating to the trade in and out of the Baltic is better than that available for most other destinations.⁷⁴

Although all the vessels en route from Southampton to a Baltic port in the 1770s were recorded in the Sound Toll Registers as sailing in ballast, there is evidence in this period of the growing economic importance of re-exported colonial goods, particularly sugar, coffee and cotton, entering the Baltic from other British and Continental ports. Klas Rönnbäck suggested that the increased volume of re-exported colonial luxury goods significantly contributed to the western European balance of trade to the Baltic by reducing the need for bullion as a form of payment for Baltic goods, such as naval stores.⁷⁵

Until the 1750s, most British iron imports came from Sweden. However, as demand grew, the second half of the eighteenth century saw a growth in iron imports from Russia.⁷⁶ Whereas the

⁷¹ *Hampshire Chronicle* 3 and 31 May, 9 and 30 August 1773; *Newcastle Courant* 7 August 1773; Sound Toll Registers Online 16 June 1773 <<http://dietrich.soundtoll.nl/public/names.php?id=235076>> [accessed 13 June 2015], 19 July 1773 <<http://dietrich.soundtoll.nl/public/advanced.php?id=241750>> [accessed 14 July 2018] and 6 September 1773 <<http://dietrich.soundtoll.nl/public/names.php?id=256162>> [accessed 13 June 2015].

⁷² Johansen, *Shipping and Trade between the Baltic Area and Western Europe 1784-95*, pp. 19–20.

⁷³ Sven-Erik Aström, 'The Reliability of the English Port Books', *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 16.2 (1968), 125–36 (p. 130) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/03585522.1968.10411495>>.

⁷⁴ Jari Ojala and Lauri Karvonen, 'Assessing the Reliability of the Sound Toll Accounts: Comparing the Data to Other Sources' (presented at the Second Arenberg Conference on History, Groningen, 2012), p. 2 <<http://www.soundtoll.nl/images/files/Andersson.pdf>> [accessed 24 September 2017].

⁷⁵ Klas Rönnbäck, 'Balancing the Baltic Trade: Colonial Commodities in the Trade on the Baltic, 1773–1856', *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 58.3 (2010), 188–202 (p. 198).

⁷⁶ Evans, Jackson, and Rydén, pp. 644–45.

increased demand from the developing industries in Sheffield primarily boosted shipping to northern ports, particularly Hull, there was an overall increase in demand which benefitted other outports including Bristol and Southampton.⁷⁷

The cargoes brought to Southampton from the Baltic included iron, hemp and flax and there were regular advertisements in the *Hampshire Chronicle* for the sale of Baltic and Scandinavian cargoes, particularly of timber from Norway and Memel.⁷⁸ Norwegian timber would have been purchased by Southampton merchants in Norway through local agents and shipped on chartered vessels once it was ready.⁷⁹ Most of the 33 vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* arriving directly from Norway between 1773 and 1777, had captains with Norwegian-sounding names, such as Keigstad, Olson, Nielson and Colbionsen. This corresponds with other research which shows that Norwegians and Danes mostly shipped their own goods, while Baltic and most other trade was primarily carried on British vessels. In 1787, foreign vessels carried about 60 per cent of the trade between Britain and Scandinavia. Between Britain and other Baltic ports, about 20 per cent of the number of ships carrying the trade were foreign.⁸⁰

Only one cargo for Norway was recorded in the Southampton Petty Customs book, 100 pieces of leather carried in the *Karen and Matthew* in May 1772 on a journey to Christiania. *Karen and Matthew*, with her captain Christen Bindrup, was a regular visitor to Southampton and was recorded on 12 occasions in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists between 1773 and 1777, always arriving from and leaving for a Norwegian port.⁸¹ Ole Hielm from Christiansund in

⁷⁷ Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 41; Iron bars imported from Sweden and Russia were not just used in manufacturing. Iron was an important commodity in overseas trade, particularly the West African slave trade, Evans, pp. 646, 651.

⁷⁸ Sound Toll Registers Online (http://dietrich.soundtoll.nl/public/places_standard.php?id=245954, http://dietrich.soundtoll.nl/public/places_standard.php?id=1662480 and http://dietrich.soundtoll.nl/public/places_standard.php?id=1648495 [all accessed 13 June 2015]); Norwegian sawn timber, spruce and fir, was usually delivered as deals, which were planks, 3½ inch thick, 7 to 11 inches wide and 8-20 feet long. Deals were used for house building, general joinery work and for ships' deck planking. Smaller planks were used for boxes and barrels. Kent, 'The Anglo-Norwegian Timber Trade in the Eighteenth Century', p. 63.

⁷⁹ H. S. K. Kent, *War and Trade in Northern Seas: Anglo-Scandinavian Economic Relations in the Mid-Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 188–89.

⁸⁰ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 42; Hans Chr. Johansen, 'Scandinavian Shipping in the Late Eighteenth Century in a European Perspective', *The Economic History Review*, 45.3 (1992), 479–93 (p. 481).

⁸¹ It is likely that the vessel's main journey was carrying Norwegian wood and that the return cargo of leather recorded in the Petty Customs book was just a way for the captain of increasing the profitability of the voyage. Evidence that captains were prepared to explore the options for the most profitable way to use their vessels can be found in the National Archives: in May 1776, while Captain Bindrup was in Southampton, having arrived from Christiania with a cargo of deals, he wrote to the Navy Board to ask about the conditions for hiring his vessel as a transport. However, the Navy Board did not wish to hire

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Norway sailed from Southampton to Copenhagen with a cargo of salt in April 1773. This journey was not recorded in the Petty Customs Records, however the journey was recorded in the Sound Toll Registers.⁸²

A few of the vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* arriving from a Baltic or Scandinavian port returned on a regular basis. An example is Whitby-based captain William Scott, in the three-masted 350-ton ship *Content's Increase*, which made a number of journeys between Southampton and Memel between 1773 and 1777. The ship would leave Southampton in ballast and return from Memel with timber. On a couple of occasions, the journey went from Southampton via either Newcastle or Whitby before heading for the Baltic.⁸³ Newcastle-based captain Henry Stodart in the 300-ton ship *Wallington* made regular journeys to Baltic ports, taking coal from Newcastle to Denmark, Sweden and Prussia and bringing back tar, iron and timber. His return destinations were Newcastle, London, and Southampton, to where he made two journeys in 1773.

Most of the journeys between Southampton and Scandinavian or Baltic ports were made by vessels that were recorded only once or twice in the period 1773-1777. However, as many of the vessels were regular Baltic traders, their voyage patterns can be traced through the Sound Toll Registers. In the 1770s and 1780s, Danzig-based captain Martin Franck on board *Johan Gotthard* was a regular trader in and out of the Baltic. He carried salt from Setubal in Spain, sugar and other colonial goods from London to the Baltic. He carried timber from the Baltic, mostly from his home port of Danzig to many destinations across Europe, including Liverpool, Dublin, Ferrol, Brest, Amsterdam, and Portsmouth. And once, at the end of December 1773, he arrived in Southampton with a cargo of mixed timber from Danzig.⁸⁴

London-based captain John Moyser made regular journeys to the Baltic, to either Memel or St Petersburg, in the American-built ship *Carolina Packet*. The ship called at Southampton once, in July 1777 when she arrived from Memel. Three weeks later she left again, heading for St

his vessel and *Karen and Matthew* returned to Christiania after a few weeks in port (ADM 106/1233/174, *Hampshire Chronicle*, 27 May and 5 Aug 1776).

⁸² http://dietrich.soundtoll.nl/public/places_standard.php?id=290216 [accessed 14 June 2015].

⁸³ *Content's Increase* was built in Whitby in 1750 and had been repaired several times. Eight arrivals and eight departures were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* for this vessel.

⁸⁴ *Hampshire Chronicle* 27 December 1773. *Lloyd's Register* for 1778 lists the vessel as a three-masted ship, 280 tons, built and owned in Danzig.

Petersburg. *Carolina Packet* was 300 tons and one of the largest ships to call at Southampton in this period.⁸⁵

For some of the vessels trading on Scandinavian or Baltic ports, Southampton was just an intermediate stop on their journey. Between September 1774 and May 1775, *Rose in June* with Captain Jones made two journeys from Wales to Southampton. In May 1775, the vessel sailed for St Petersburg and a few weeks later it was recorded in the Sound Toll Registers as en route from Southampton to the Baltic (St Petersburg is not specified) with ballast and 'small goods'. In August, the vessel was recorded again, this time en route from Petersburg to Swansea with a cargo of iron and hemp. It was not recorded again in Southampton.

The geography of the Baltic as well as the survival of the Danish Sound Toll Registers enable us to analyse the trade between Southampton and this area in much greater detail than any other region, following individual vessels on their journey between England's south coast and the Baltic. There was a regular trade between Southampton and Scandinavian and Baltic ports, primarily importing cargoes such as naval stores, including hemp, flax, and iron as well as a wide range of timber, both for shipbuilding and construction. When building commenced on the Polygon, a new luxury hotel and residential development in Southampton in 1768, the timber used was from Danzig.⁸⁶ Trade between Southampton and Norway and Sweden was primarily carried in Norwegian and Swedish vessels, while British vessels carried trade with other Baltic ports. These vessels were mostly larger than the vessels trading to other destinations and most were regular Baltic traders, with their home port in north-east England.

Conclusion – Southampton's Trade with North Sea and Baltic Ports

Trade between Southampton and ports in the North Sea was the second most numerous as recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists. Of particular significance was the supply of coal from Newcastle and Sunderland, but Southampton also had a regular and busy direct trade with London, like most other British outports. Trade with Scandinavia and ports in the Baltic was carried out by a relatively small number of vessels, however most of these were substantially larger than the average vessel seen in Southampton. Through the trade with London, the Baltic and the near Continent, Southampton was part of an international trading

⁸⁵ The journey to Southampton is not recorded in the Sound Toll Registers, where the ship can be found several times in 1775 and 1777 sailing out of London. However, on 21 June, Captain Moyser is recorded in the Sound Toll Registers en route from Memel to London, so it is possible that he stopped in London on his way to Southampton.

⁸⁶ Stuart Robertson, 'The Polygon, Southampton - Recent Fieldwork', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 56 (2001), 192–201 (p. 198).

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network, linking it with places like Newfoundland, India, and the Caribbean, and placing the port in a global setting, with direct and indirect links reaching far and wide.

CHAPTER 6: SOLENT COMPARISONS: PORTSMOUTH AND COWES IN 1775

This chapter provides a context for the detailed analysis of Southampton's maritime trade presented in the previous chapters. A snapshot of the maritime trade of Southampton's neighbours, Portsmouth and Cowes, as recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for 1775, provides useful case studies to compare and contrast with the Southampton data for the same year. The year 1775 was chosen for the comparative analysis because of the relative completeness of the shipping list data for both Portsmouth and Cowes for this year, but also because it was before the outbreak of open hostilities in America and the data therefore compares better with the peacetime trade data for Southampton.¹ The analysis of the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for Portsmouth and Cowes for 1775 was based on the same maritime regions as were used for the analysis of Southampton's trade presented above, as defined by the educational geography website [Worldatlas.com](http://www.worldatlas.com).²

The size of the three towns varied, with Southampton's population growing from about 4500 in 1774 to almost 8000 in 1801. This was smaller than neighbouring Portsmouth, which with a population of about 10000 in 1750 grew to around 33000 inhabitants in 1801, a figure undoubtedly boosted by the many people required by the town's naval dockyard in times of war. Cowes was much smaller than its neighbours: in 1801, only 2771 people lived in the whole parish of Northwood, which included the town of Cowes.³

As a town, Portsmouth was defined by its relationship with the Royal Navy. Since its establishment in 1496, the Royal Dockyard had grown to include storehouses, dry docks and

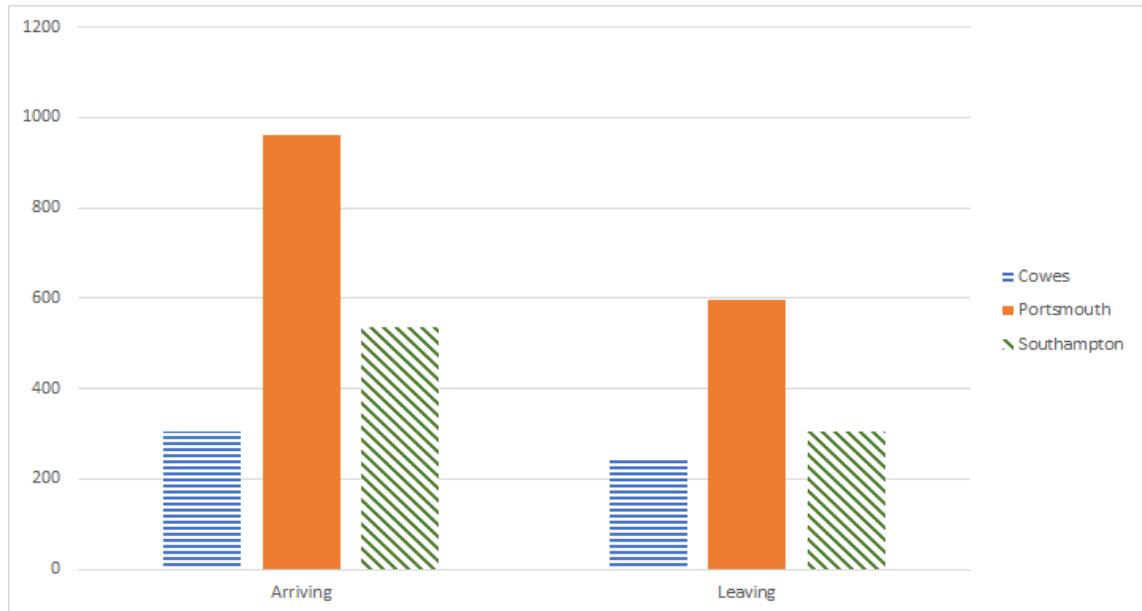
¹ Of the 52 issues of the *Hampshire Chronicle* published in 1775, 51 included shipping list data for Portsmouth, while 46 included data for Cowes. While every issue published in 1774 included data for Portsmouth, only 35 included data for Cowes. In both 1774 and 1775, shipping list data for Southampton was included in every issue.

² The *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping list data was grouped according to seas, e.g. English Channel, North Sea, North Atlantic, Irish Sea, Mediterranean, Caribbean and the borders between the seas determined by the definitions set out on [Worldatlas.com](http://www.worldatlas.com).

³ Patterson, *Southampton. A Biography*, p. 74; Peter Borsay, *The Eighteenth-Century Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1688-1820*, Readers in Urban History (London; New York: Longman, 1990), p. 42; A. Temple Patterson, *Portsmouth: A History* (Bradford-on-Avon: Moonraker Press, 1976), p. 66; *Census of Great Britain, 1831, Comparative Account of the Population of Great Britain in the Years 1801, 1811, 1821 and 1831, Vol 18*, House of Commons Papers, 348 (London: House of Commons, 1831), XVIII.1, pp. 235-36; There are no figures available to show how the growth of Portsmouth was affected by war during the final decades of the eighteenth century, but censuses from the early nineteenth century show that the town grew by more than 20 per cent in the final years of the Napoleonic War, but by only between 5 and 10 per cent in the decades following the peace, Patterson, *Portsmouth: A History*, p. 93.

many other facilities, such as a smithery and a ropeyard.⁴ The naval dockyard expanded significantly during the eighteenth century and it was generally considered the Navy's premier port, which by the end of the century employed more than 2000 labourers.⁵ The increased size and importance of the dockyard meant an expanding population in the town and a need for additional supplies, carried by a growing number of merchant vessels. When Daniel Defoe visited Portsmouth in the 1720s, he emphasized how the presence of the Navy had brought business to the town, including large fleets of merchant ships.⁶ Although Portsmouth, in terms of the Customs Office, was a member port, or part of, the port of Southampton, Figure 6.1 shows how the number of ships calling at the port in 1775 was significantly higher than the number of ships calling at Southampton in the same year.⁷ The needs of the naval dockyard undoubtedly contributed greatly to the number of merchant vessels trading in Portsmouth, as large amounts of stores were needed for any ship being fitted out for service. In 1779, the Portsmouth Dockyard yard officers listed the stores required for the fitting out of the ships *Barfleur* (98 guns) and *Marlborough* (74 guns). The list included more than 17 tons of beef, 14 tons of pork, 38 tons of beer, 35 tons of bread and 50 tons of coal.⁸

Figure 6.1: All journeys recorded in 1775



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* Shipping Lists

⁴ Coad, pp. 1–3, 132–6154; Brian Lavery, 'Dockyards and Industry', in *Nelson, Navy & Nation: The Royal Navy & the British People 1688 - 1815*, ed. by Quintin Colville and James Davey (London: Conway, 2013), pp. 58–75 (p. 62,64).

⁵ Coad, pp. 12–13; Rule, p. 136.

⁶ Thomas, *The Seaborne Trade of Portsmouth, 1650-1800*, p. 3.

⁷ Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750*, p. 154.

⁸ R. J. B. Knight, *Portsmouth Dockyard Papers, 1774-1783: The American War, a Calendar*, Portsmouth Record Series, 6 (Portsmouth: City of Portsmouth, 1987), p. ix, 116.

In 1775, 1580 journeys were recorded to and from Portsmouth, 977 arriving, 603 leaving, almost twice as many compared to the corresponding figures for Southampton.⁹ Portsmouth had busy links with the other naval dockyard towns, particularly Plymouth and Chatham. The *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping list data shows that London, Plymouth and Newcastle/Sunderland were the most frequented destinations for vessels sailing to or from Portsmouth.

Like Portsmouth, Cowes was a member port of Southampton, but with a distinct shipping pattern. Contemporaries described the town as the main port on the Isle of Wight, a safe harbour 'well known for its conveniency in loading and unshipping of goods'.¹⁰ This position as a safe anchorage benefitted the port's economy directly, particularly sales of provisions which were boosted in times of war, 'when large fleets of merchant ships often ride here for several weeks, waiting for either wind or convoy'.¹¹ From the seventeenth century onwards, Cowes developed as an entrepôt, particularly for tobacco and rice from America, with rice the most important cargo shipped through the town in the 1770s. The rice was primarily re-exported to the Netherlands, Germany and Portugal.¹² In 1775, 557 journeys were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* to and from Cowes, 309 arriving, 248 leaving.¹³

As shown in Figures 6.2 and 6.3, the North Sea was the most frequent destination for vessels recorded in both Portsmouth and Cowes in 1795. This corresponds with the pattern previously seen for Southampton in the same year. Most of the ships arriving in Cowes came from a port in the North Sea, while the destination for most of the vessels leaving the port were in the English Channel. In Portsmouth, a significant number of arrivals came from a port in the English Channel, primarily Plymouth, but like Cowes, most of the vessels arriving in Portsmouth came from a North Sea port, which was also the destination for most of the vessels leaving the

⁹ 535 arrivals and 306 departures were recorded in Southampton in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in 1775.

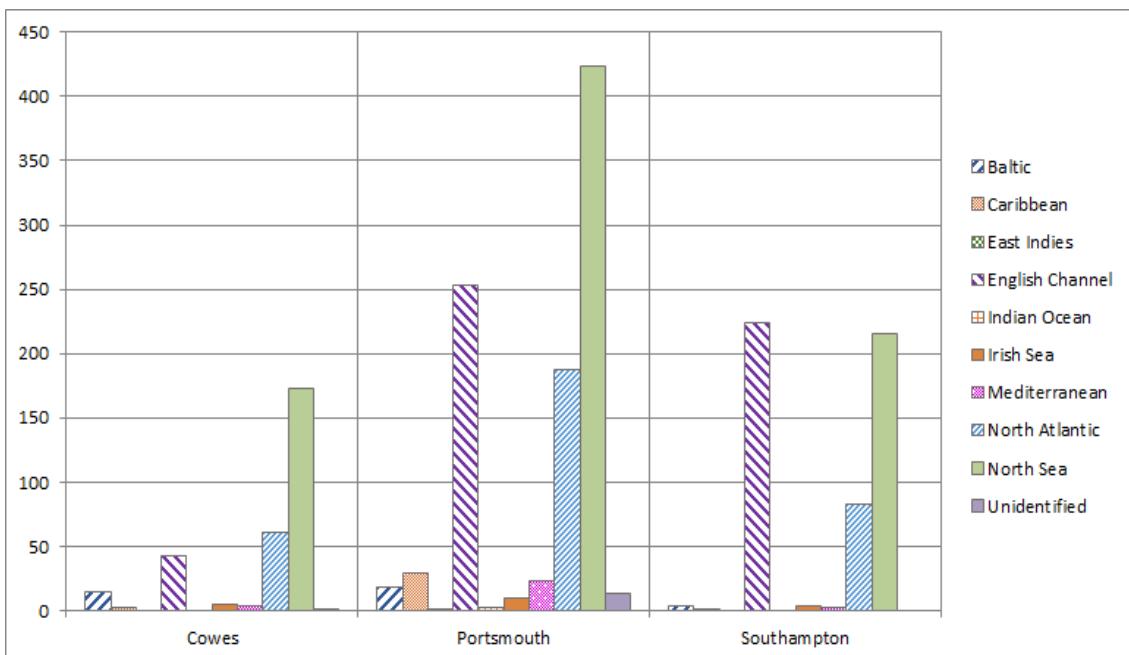
¹⁰ R. Worsley, *The History of the Isle of Wight* (London: A. Hamilton, 1781), pp. 17, 19; J. Sturch, *A View of the Isle of Wight: In Four Letters to a Friend (Second Edition Corrected and Enlarged)* (London: J. Sturch, 1780), p. 67.

¹¹ Worsley, p. 232.

¹² Rob Martin, 'Cowes and the Rice Trade', *Isle of Wight History Centre*, 2004 <<http://www.iwhistory.org.uk/RM/rice/rice.htm>> [accessed 30 April 2019]; Kenneth Morgan, 'The Organization of the Colonial American Rice Trade', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 52.3 (1995), 433–52 (p. 436); S. Max Edelson, 'The Characters of Commodities. The Reputations of South Carolina Rice and Indigo in the Atlantic World', in *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*, ed. by Peter A. Coclanis (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), pp. 344–60 (p. 348).

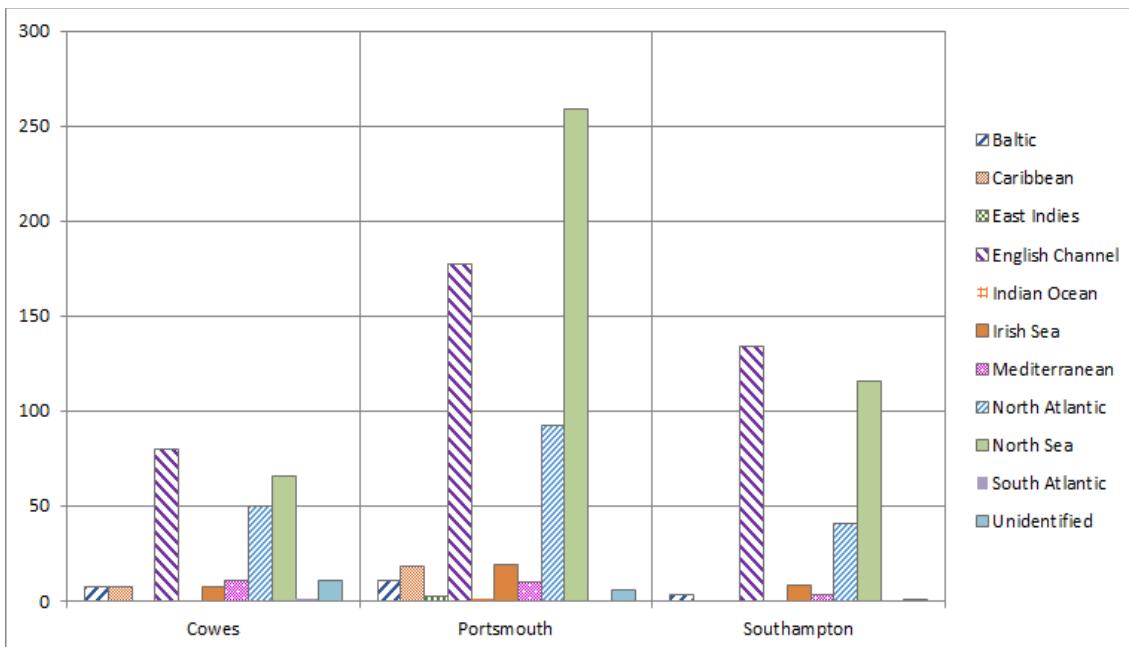
¹³ This figure is probably lower than the actual total, as Cowes featured in only 82 per cent, or 43 out of the 52 editions of the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists in 1775. It is not known if some the 'missing' data was included in later editions of the newspaper.

Figure 6.2: Arrivals recorded in 1775



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists¹⁴

Figure 6.3: Departures recorded in 1775



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

¹⁴ Figures 6.2 and 6.3 include 'unidentified' journeys. While the total dataset does include a few journeys where the destination or port of origin cannot be read or was omitted from the newspaper (0.1 per cent, or 13 of 12647 journeys), the journeys listed in Portsmouth in this category were primarily vessels arriving from 'a cruise', probably naval or Customs vessels, but not specifically listed as such. The unidentified departures from Cowes were all for 'a Market', a term which is discussed below.

town. Almost half of the vessels arriving in Cowes from a North Sea port came from London, while the distribution of clearances was a bit wider, with 19 per cent or 15 departures from Cowes for a port in the English Channel were for Poole, 14 per cent for Lyme Regis and 12 per cent for Havre de Grace. Figure 6.4 illustrates how the destinations reached by vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in Southampton, Portsmouth, and Cowes in 1775 varied between the ports, affecting the shipping pattern of each port. Rather than compete for the same trade, the ports were each part of wider commercial networks and together they complemented each other to form a trading community.

As shown in the previous chapters, trade with the Channel Islands was an important part of Southampton's trade, while neither Portsmouth nor Cowes had significant contact with the islands. Conversely, Southampton had only limited direct contact with America, while both Cowes and Portsmouth had extensive connections. The rice trade in Cowes meant that the port had strong links with South Carolina as well as with Dutch and German ports and the location of the port meant that it was an intermediate stop for vessels arriving in or leaving the English Channel from ports around the world. Much of the shipping recorded in Portsmouth in 1775 was linked in some way to the naval dockyard with hundreds of journeys undertaken between Portsmouth and the naval dockyards in Plymouth, Chatham, Woolwich and elsewhere and Portsmouth was linked with the Americas through direct trade with the Caribbean as well as a hub for the dispatch of supplies for the military overseas. Although all three ports traded with ports on the Iberian Peninsula, Figure 6.4 illustrates the different trading patterns, with only limited direct contact between Portsmouth and Portugal, the most frequent contact for Southampton in this region, while no vessels were recorded in Southampton from destinations in the Mediterranean beyond Spain, an area with which Portsmouth had regular contact.

The three ports compared in this chapter were geographically close, but there is evidence that the shipping pattern of each port differed from that of the others. Examining in more detail the trade in 1775 with each of the regions discussed in the preceding chapters enables a better understanding of the individual features of each of the ports.

Figure 6.4: All destinations reached in 1775 by vessels recorded in Southampton (blue dot), Portsmouth (red triangle) and Cowes (yellow square)



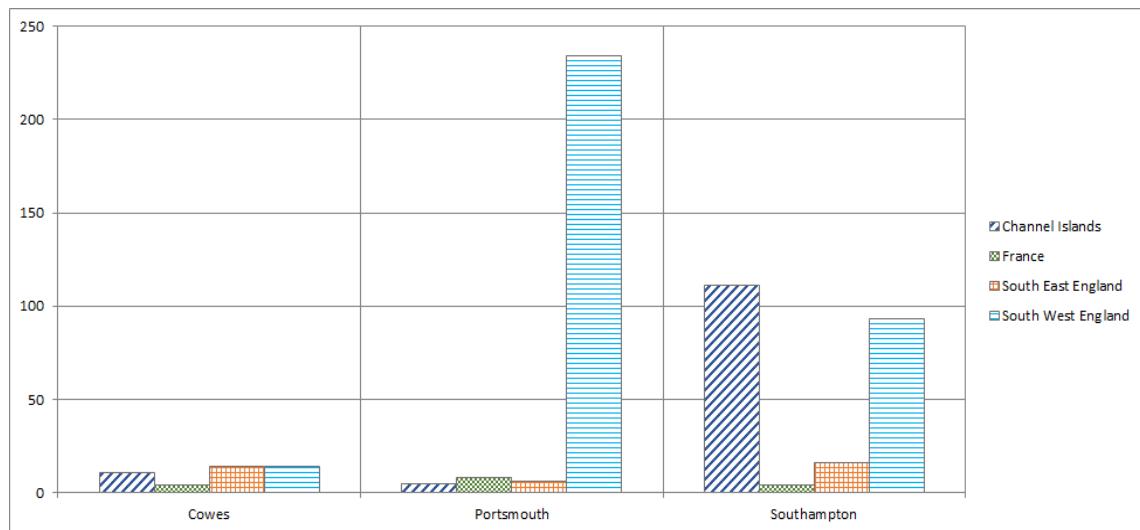
Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

English Channel

Chapter 3 above shows how Southampton's trade with ports in the English Channel was complex and varied in the years 1773-77, with the Channel Islands the port's primary trading partners in this region.

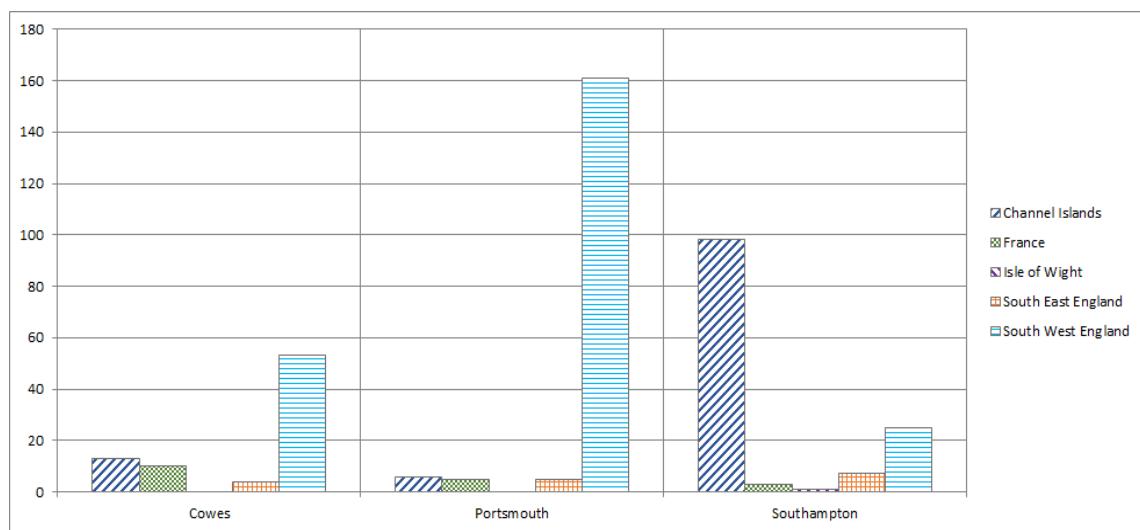
Figures 6.5 and 6.6 show the detail of the trade with English Channel ports for Cowes, Portsmouth and Southampton in 1775. The graphs illustrate how the importance of the Channel Islands as trading partners was not a feature of the shipping patterns for either Cowes or Portsmouth, whereas trade with south-west England was significant, particularly for Portsmouth.

Figure 6.5: Arrivals from English Channel ports recorded in 1775



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Figure 6.6: Departures for English Channel ports recorded in 1775



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

The overwhelming part of Portsmouth's trade with ports in the English Channel was with ports in south-west England, particularly Plymouth, which saw 67 per cent of arrivals from and 62 per cent of departures for English Channel ports in Portsmouth, making Plymouth the port's second most important trading contact overall, after London.¹⁵ Much of this traffic carried cargo and people between the two naval dockyards, which required naval stores and other goods transferred between them on a regular basis. Evidence of the traffic between the two dockyards can be found in the Navy Board records, for example a letter dated 1 September 1772, from Captain Wood, reporting his arrival in Portsmouth from Plymouth with a cargo of limestone and tar.¹⁶ Another frequent cargo on the route between the Portsmouth and Plymouth dockyards was money for the payment of dockyard workers, which was sent by road from London to Portsmouth, and then by sea to Plymouth.¹⁷

258 journeys were recorded between Portsmouth and Plymouth in 1775: 158 arrivals, 100 departures. The journeys were undertaken by 124 individual vessels, only a few of which were regular traders on this route, among these was *John and Anne*, which was recorded on 13 occasions.¹⁸ The sloop *Harrington* was also a regular trader in Portsmouth, recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* on eight occasions in 1775, always trading between Portsmouth and Plymouth.¹⁹ The sloop *Newport* was recorded once in Portsmouth, arriving from Plymouth. It was also recorded twice in Cowes in 1775, both times leaving the port for Plymouth and four times in Southampton between 1773 and 1777.²⁰ The voyage pattern of this vessel indicates that it picked up cargoes wherever available within a fairly wide area, the English Channel and Irish Sea, and that Portsmouth, Cowes and Southampton were part of a wider network of ports within which it operated. The trade between Portsmouth and ports in south-west England

¹⁵ Arrivals in Portsmouth from Plymouth accounted for 16 per cent of the total number of voyages recorded, compared to 23 per cent from London. 17 per cent of all departures from Portsmouth were for Plymouth, only just behind London which was the most frequent destination with 19 per cent of all recorded departures.

¹⁶ TNA, ADM 106/1217/177.

¹⁷ R. J. B. Knight, 'From Impressionment to Task Work: Strikes and Disruption in the Royal Dockyards, 1688-1788', in *History of Work and Labour Relations in the Royal Dockyards*, ed. by Kenneth Lunn and Ann Day, Employment and Work Relations in Context (London; New York: Mansell, 1999), p. 15 n 3.

¹⁸ *John and Anne* was not recorded at any other time or in connection with any other destination in the *Hampshire Chronicle*.

¹⁹ In November 1774, *Harrington* was in a collision with ship of the line *Marlborough*, causing damage to the naval ship of more than £5 (equal to about £500 in today's money), which *Harrington*'s master John Chapman was asked to pay as the Navy Board deemed that the sloop's crew was at fault, Knight, *Portsmouth Dockyard Papers, 1774-1783*, p. 97; <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/> [accessed 12 July 2019].

²⁰ In March-April 1773, *Newport* arrived in Southampton from Looe and departed for Liverpool. In October 1774, it arrived from Rotterdam and in April 1775, it arrived from Poole, *Hampshire Chronicle* 29 March and 5 April 1773, 24 Oct 1774, 24 April 1775 and *Lloyd's Register* 1776 N217.

other than Plymouth mostly carried foodstuffs, including Irish butter, which was shipped to Portsmouth via Bristol as well as directly from Ireland and in the 1780s, fishing smacks from Torbay carried their cargo to Portsmouth as the journey to London by cart was shorter from there.²¹ Like other south coast ports, including Southampton and Chichester, Portsmouth shipped wheat and flour to many other ports, including Exeter.²²

Most of the departures from Cowes for ports in the English Channel were for Poole and Lyme Regis in south-west England and Havre de Grace in France. Seventeen journeys were recorded between Cowes and Poole, two arrivals and 15 clearances. The journeys were undertaken by 17 different vessels. Several of the vessels recorded sailing between Cowes and Poole were also recorded with a French port as their destination. These included *Charming Polly*, which was recorded on five occasions in 1775, twice arriving in Portsmouth from London, three times leaving from Cowes, for Poole, Lyme Regis and Havre de Grace. The sloop *Charming Nancy* was recorded four times in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in 1775, three times in Southampton, once leaving Cowes for Poole. The vessel was also recorded a total of 13 times in Southampton in 1776, either arriving from or leaving for Poole, Lyme Regis, Havre de Grace or Cherbourg, with Havre de Grace the most frequent destination. These destinations reflect that *Charming Nancy* was a passenger vessel, advertised in the *Hampshire Chronicle* as 'exceedingly well adapted for pleasure, with a convenience for carriages, horses &c'. The vessel would 'sail for Portsmouth, Isle of Wight, France, &c. &c. at the shortest notice'.²³

Cowes had only limited contact with the Channel Islands with 24 journeys recorded in 1775, 11 arrivals and 13 departures. Six of the journeys were to or from Alderney, 18 were to or from Guernsey. Neither Cowes nor Portsmouth had any direct contact with Jersey. Eight of the 13 departures and 10 of the 11 arrivals in Cowes from Channel Island ports were undertaken by Captain White in *Batchelor's Delight*.²⁴ There was no overlap between the vessels trading between Cowes and the Channel Islands and those that sailed to or from Southampton. In 1775, only 11 journeys were recorded between Portsmouth and the Channel Islands, five arrivals and six departures, all to or from Guernsey. In addition to *Batchelor's Delight*, these

²¹ Armstrong, 'The Significance of Coastal Shipping in British Domestic Transport, 1550-1830', p. 73; Rule, p. 222.

²² Hoskins, pp. 97-98.

²³ *Hampshire Chronicle* 11 July 1774.

²⁴ *Batchelor's Delight* was recorded in Cowes arriving from Guernsey on eight occasions, twice from Alderney. This vessel was not recorded in Southampton at all, but was recorded on four occasions in Portsmouth, twice arriving, twice leaving. It was recorded eight times in Cowes departing for a Channel Island port, five times for Guernsey, three times for Alderney.

journeys were undertaken by six different vessels, all except one of these were regular London traders.²⁵

South-East England

Portsmouth imported both oak timber and agricultural produce, including flour, from ports in West Sussex, however in 1775 there were only 9 voyages recorded between Portsmouth and ports in East or West Sussex.²⁶ Cowes saw slightly more traffic, with 13 recorded journeys to or from Sussex ports, including five arrivals from Arundel, while 23 journeys were recorded in Southampton to or from a port in Sussex.

Almost all the journeys between Cowes and a French port in the English Channel were for or from Havre de Grace, whereas arrivals in Portsmouth from French ports were more varied.²⁷ Twenty-four voyages were recorded between Portsmouth and a French port and although 13 of these were for or from Havre de Grace, 15 different French destinations were recorded in Portsmouth including the Mediterranean ports of Marseilles and Sete, no doubt reflecting the Navy's connections across Europe.²⁸

Like Southampton, ports in the English Channel were important contacts for Portsmouth and Cowes, but the shipping patterns recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in 1775 showed distinct differences between the ports. Plymouth was of major significance for Portsmouth, while passenger vessels, many travelling for leisure, were a feature in Cowes.

North Atlantic and Irish Sea

As highlighted in Chapter 4, most of Southampton's contacts with North Atlantic ports were in Ireland or Continental Europe. Figures 6.7 and 6.8 show that the same did not apply to either Cowes or Portsmouth, where trade with America, Canada and the Caribbean accounted for 45

²⁵ Only one, *Rickman*, was also recorded in Southampton, where, between 1772 and 1774, it was trading between London and Plymouth. In 1779, *Rickman* was lost in a winter storm on a journey carrying flour from the Hamble to Guernsey (*Dublin Evening Post*, 26 Jan 1779).

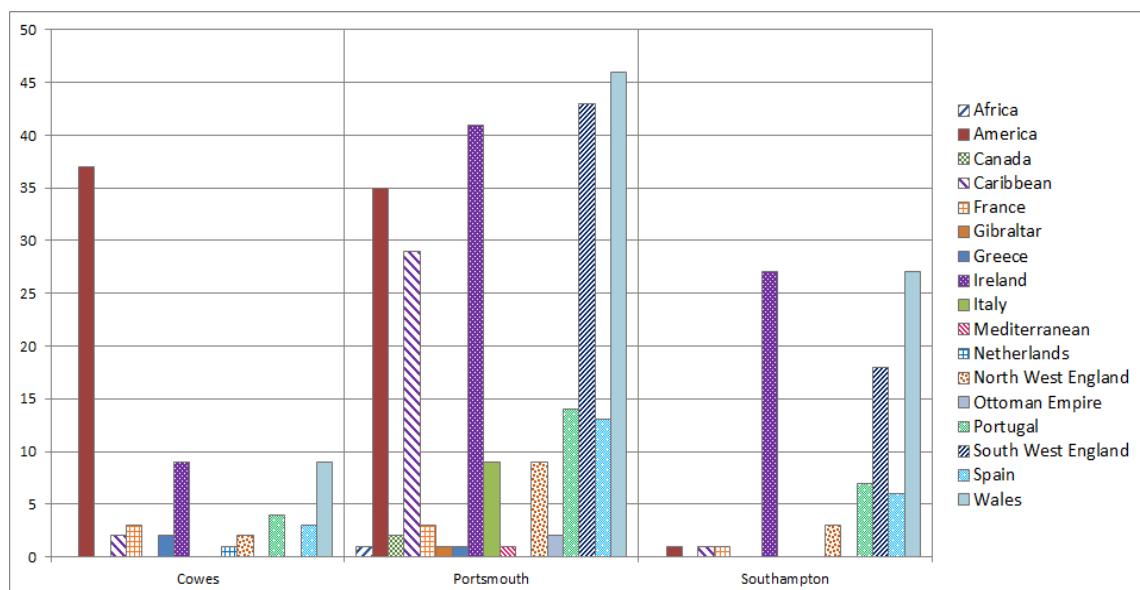
²⁶ Willan, *The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750*, p. 155; Arthur Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Sussex* (London: Richard Phillips, 1808), pp. 165, 420–21; Margaret Rogers, *Emsworth Corn Mills* (Emsworth, Hampshire: Emsworth Maritime and Historical Trust, 2018), pp. 3–4.

²⁷ Twenty journeys were recorded between Cowes and French ports, most of these to a port in the English Channel and 13 of them to or from Havre de Grace, probably mostly undertaken by passenger vessels.

²⁸ Three journeys were between Portsmouth and French Mediterranean ports, six for or from a French port in the North Atlantic and two arrivals came from Dunkirk in the North Sea.

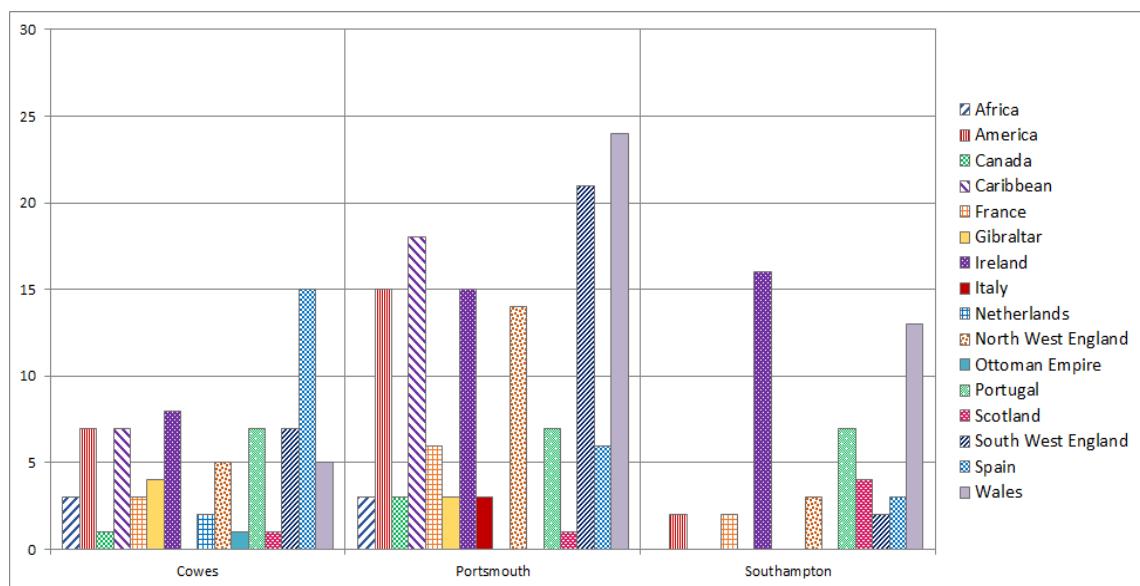
and 31 per cent of North Atlantic trade in these ports respectively. For Southampton, the corresponding figure was three per cent.

Figure 6.7: Arrivals from ports in the North and South Atlantic, Caribbean, Irish Sea and Mediterranean in 1775



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Figure 6.8: Departures for ports in the North and South Atlantic, Caribbean, Irish Sea and Mediterranean in 1775



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Bristol was the most frequented destination in south-west England for all journeys to or from North Atlantic ports recorded in both Portsmouth, Cowes, and Southampton in 1775. 31 journeys were recorded between Portsmouth and Bristol, undertaken by 20 individual vessels.

Most of the Bristol vessels recorded in Southampton were also recorded in Portsmouth on the same journey, for example *Cam's Delight*, which arrived in Southampton from Bristol on 18 February 1775. On 2 March, the vessel was recorded arriving in Portsmouth from Bristol and it left Portsmouth for Bristol on 16 March. None of the vessels recorded in both Portsmouth and Southampton on a voyage to or from Bristol were also recorded in Cowes on this route.

However, the contact between the ports is demonstrated in the example of Captain Attrill in *Charlotte*, which arrived in Portsmouth from London on 8 September 1775 and left from Cowes for Bristol on 19 October. As discussed above in Chapter 4, Bristol was home to a wide range of manufacturing, including glass making. Sand was shipped from Cowes to Bristol for this purpose.²⁹

Like Southampton, both Cowes and Portsmouth received a range of mixed cargoes from Welsh ports. An example was *Phoebe*, which arrived in Cowes from Carmarthen in December 1772 with a cargo of coals, oats and butter.³⁰ However, Portsmouth's trade with Welsh ports was dominated by the needs of the Royal Navy, with Chepstow and Milford Haven the two most frequent destinations. Milford Haven was used as a base for naval ships cruising in the waters around Ireland. It was used for the embarkation of troops for America and the port also exported corn and flour to Portsmouth in the 1770s as well as high quality coal.³¹ From Chepstow, Portsmouth naval dockyard received timber from the Forest of Dean as well as rope from the local ropeyards.³²

A total of 116 journeys were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in 1775 between Irish ports and Southampton, Portsmouth, or Cowes, seven of the journeys were to or from Dublin, the rest were for or from ports in the North Atlantic. Whereas Cork was the most frequent Irish destination recorded in Southampton in 1775, journeys to or from Waterford were more numerous and accounted for more than half of the Irish voyages recorded in both Portsmouth and Cowes.³³ Cork and Waterford were the two principal Irish towns in the provisions trade,

²⁹ John Campbell, *A Political Survey of Britain*, 2 vols (London: Author, 1774), I, p. 466.

³⁰ *Salisbury Journal*, 21 Dec 1772.

³¹ *Kentish Gazette*, 26 July 1777; TNA, ADM 7/565, List of Transports; George, p. 17; J.F. Rees, *The Story of Milford* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1954), p. 16.

³² Knight, *Portsmouth Dockyard Papers*, 1774-1783, p. 111; J. H. Andrews, 'Chepstow: A Defunct Seaport of the Severn Estuary', *Geography*, 40.2 (1955), 97-107 (p. 100); TNA, ADM 106/1233/193, ADM 106/1217/152 and 176.

³³ In 1775, 53 per cent of all journeys recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* between Southampton and an Irish port were for or from Cork (23 journeys), 16 per cent for or from Waterford (seven journeys). In Cowes, the corresponding figures were 29 and 53 per cent (five and nine journeys), while 16 per cent of the vessels recorded in Portsmouth trading with an Irish port were for or from Cork (nine journeys), 59 per cent for or from Waterford (33 journeys).

supplying mainly butter, beef and pork, with Cork the primary supplier of wet provisions (beef and pork) to both army and navy. Transports and other ships en route to America would stop to take on board provisions and when required, Cork harbour was a rendezvous for convoys.³⁴ As discussed above in Chapter 4, rising prices and reduced availability of provisions led to civilian trade moving away from Cork as the military's demands of the war in America grew. Troop transports and naval ships were not usually included in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists and it is therefore likely that most of the vessels leaving Portsmouth for Cork do not feature in the database analysis carried out for this thesis.³⁵ Like in Southampton, pork and butter were some of the main commodities imported from Ireland to Cowes and Portsmouth, where 'very fine Irish pork' and 'very choice salt butter' were advertised as being for sale to the public in March 1773.³⁶

Whereas most of Southampton's trade with Spanish or Portuguese ports was, as shown above in Chapter 4, primarily carried out by a small number of regular traders, this pattern was not repeated in either Portsmouth or Cowes. The 40 journeys to or from an Iberian port recorded in Portsmouth in 1775 were undertaken by 37 individual vessels. In Cowes, 29 journeys to or from an Iberian port were recorded, carried out by 27 individual vessels. In comparison, 23 journeys were recorded in Southampton in 1775 to or from an Iberian port, carried out by 10 individual vessels. Several of the vessels trading with Iberian ports were recorded arriving in both Southampton and Portsmouth, showing that they carried cargoes for customers in both ports. Examples of this include *Friend's Goodwill*, which arrived in Southampton from Oporto on 31 December 1774. On 19 January 1775, the vessel was recorded in Portsmouth arriving from Oporto. On 29 April 1775, Captain Leston in *Gray* arrived in Southampton from Lisbon. Only a few days later, on 4 May, the vessel was recorded in Portsmouth, arriving from Lisbon.³⁷

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Cowes established a thriving tobacco trade with North America. This trade faded, but the expertise and contacts developed

³⁴ Knight and Wilcox, p. 4; L. M. Cullen, 'The Overseas Trade of Waterford as Seen from a Ledger of Courtenay and Ridgway', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 88.2 (1958), 165–78 (p. 167); Dickson, *Old World Colony*, p. 366.

³⁵ If naval vessels and troop transports had routinely been included in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists, they would only have been a useful addition to the data collected for this thesis if it had been possible to distinguish them from other merchant vessels as the number of vessels might otherwise have distorted the picture of trade in Portsmouth. Additional research in government sources, particularly the Navy Board records (ADM) in the National Archives could help quantify this traffic, but falls outside the scope of this thesis.

³⁶ *Hampshire Chronicle* 29 March 1773.

³⁷ *Hampshire Chronicle* 2 and 23 January 1775, 1 and 8 May 1775.

continued to be used with other North American crops, particularly rice.³⁸ After 1705, rice was classified as an 'enumerated' commodity, which meant that it could not be exported directly from America to a foreign port, but that it had to be shipped via an English (later British) port under the rules of the Navigation Acts. This rule was eased in 1731, with permission given for direct exports to southern Europe to take place. However, customs clearance in a British port was still required for cargoes intended for a northern European port and Cowes was one of the most popular ports on England's south coast used for this re-shipping.³⁹

Nine of the vessels leaving Cowes in 1775 were heading for 'a market', a destination not specified for any of the vessels leaving Southampton between 1773 and 1777, nor for any of the vessels leaving Portsmouth in 1775. This term meant that the vessel was carrying a cargo of American rice, destined for sale in northern Europe, either Germany or the Netherlands and 'Cowes and a Market' was a destination used by Carolina merchants advertising for shipping for their rice cargoes.⁴⁰ An example illustrating this trade was South Carolina-based Captain J. Harrington, who was recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* arriving in Cowes in the ship *American* from South Carolina on 16 February 1775 and departing a month later, for Rotterdam.⁴¹ One of the vessels that was recorded just once in Cowes in 1775 was *Arundel*. The ship's logbook, relating to this voyage, has survived almost completely and it is therefore possible to set this data into its proper context, also relating to the rice trade.⁴² *Arundel* left London in October 1774, arriving in Port Royal, Georgia, after 55 days at sea. The ship spent a couple of months preparing for the return journey and loading rice, which was transported in barges from nearby Savannah, and left Georgia at the end of January 1775. In early March, *Arundel* arrived in Cowes and unloaded the cargo at 'Mr Kinzey's Wharf' in East Cowes. A couple of weeks were spent unloading rice and loading a new cargo of rice.⁴³ On 5 April the

³⁸ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 270.

³⁹ Kenneth Morgan, 'The Organization of the Colonial American Rice Trade', pp. 438–39; Jacob M. Price, 'The Imperial Economy, 1700–1776', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, ed. by P. J. Marshall and Alaine M. Low (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), II, 78–104 (pp. 85–86).

⁴⁰ Kenneth Morgan, 'The Organization of the Colonial American Rice Trade', pp. 448 and 450, quoting reports from 1769 that two ships were taking rice on board 'for Spain, Portugal, London or Cowes and a Market' (*South-Carolina and American General Gazette*, Nov 27–Dec 4, 1769).

⁴¹ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 20 February and 20 March 1775. *Lloyd's Register* recorded how this vessel's name was changed, first to *Fair American* and then *Liberty*, presumably reflecting the owner's political views. (*Lloyd's Register* 1776, A157)

⁴² West Sussex Record Office, Add MSS 16,635, *Log of the Arundel*.

⁴³ The merchant George MacKenzie owned most of the warehouses in East Cowes and land in South Carolina too. The rice shipped from Carolina would be landed and checked by Customs officers and, in order to reduce possible fraud, the rice would also be screened by the merchant's agent, then cleaned and re-packed as required. Kenneth Morgan, 'The Organization of the Colonial American Rice Trade', p. 450; Martin.

vessel departed Cowes – as recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* – heading for the Elbe, where it arrived after 11 days. The logbook records how *Arundel* anchored at Twielenfliet, a small town situated downstream from Hamburg and discharged the cargo into local hoys or barges, which transported the rice the final few miles of the journey, past several large sandbanks, up to Hamburg. Taking on ballast, the vessel sailed for Christiania in Norway, where it loaded a cargo of deals.⁴⁴ On 27 June 1775, *Arundel* moored at Deptford, where it discharged most of this cargo. The voyage, and the logbook, finished at Rotherhithe in July, where the remaining timber was unloaded, after almost a year away. The American rice trade was profitable to Cowes, but after the War of American Independence, the trade ceased, as recounted by a contemporary commentator on the port: ‘Here the rice ships from Carolina intended for foreign markets, usually cleared and paid their duties, a benefit of which the loss has been severely felt, as the effect of the American war, and of which Alas! there are now but little hopes that it will ever return’.⁴⁵

Portsmouth had a substantial trade with both North America and the Caribbean. The *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists recorded 104 journeys in Portsmouth in 1775 departing for or arriving from these areas, compared to 57 in Cowes and only four in Southampton. The brewing conflict in America required an increasing number of troop transports to sail for America, but as discussed above, these were only rarely included in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists. However, supplies for naval dockyards and armies overseas were carried in merchant ships and many of the 36 departures recorded in Portsmouth for North America or the Caribbean undoubtedly carried such supplies, while cargoes of sugar and rum were likely to have been shipped on the majority of the 29 vessels that arrived in Portsmouth from the Caribbean in 1775.

Because of its relatively good road connections with London, Portsmouth served as a hub for the transmission of information. Ships arriving from America and elsewhere regularly called at the port and officers went ashore to travel by road to London with the latest information. An example was *Smedmore*, which arrived in Portsmouth from South Carolina on 1 September 1775. On 4 September, the *Caledonian Mercury* reported that ‘The *Smedmore* [sic], Brown,

⁴⁴ Deals were spruce or fir planks, 3½ inch thick, 7 to 11 inches wide and 8-20 feet long. They were used for housebuilding, general joinery work and for ships’ deck planking.

⁴⁵ Sturch, *A View of the Isle of Wight: In Four Letters to a Friend (Second Edition Corrected and Enlarged)*, p. 67; J. Sturch, *A View of the Isle of Wight: In Four Letters to a Friend*. (London: W. Goldsmith, 1778), pp. 28–29.

from Charlestown, South Carolina, with dispatches of a fresher date than any yet received, is put into Portsmouth from whence she immediately sent up her letters'.⁴⁶

Jamaica was the most frequently recorded destination for vessels leaving Portsmouth for the Caribbean or arriving from there. Around 40 per cent of the journeys recorded in Portsmouth for or from the Caribbean came from or was heading for Jamaica. Nine other Caribbean destinations were recorded in Portsmouth in 1775. In Cowes, 12 Caribbean journeys were recorded in 1775, four of these leaving for Jamaica. The economic importance of the British colonies in the Caribbean meant that the islands, particularly Jamaica, were a high strategic priority for the Royal Navy and there were strong commercial links between Britain and the Caribbean.⁴⁷ Most of the vessels recorded in Portsmouth listing a Caribbean destination were recorded only once. Sixteen were recorded twice, but as part of the same journey, including *Ashley*, which arrived from London and left for Jamaica in March 1775.⁴⁸ Only a few vessels managed to fit two Caribbean journeys into the year, one of these was the 300-ton ship *Hibberts*, which arrived in Portsmouth from Jamaica en route to London in August 1775. In November, it returned to Portsmouth and it was recorded leaving Cowes for Jamaica shortly afterwards.⁴⁹

Hundreds of vessels were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in 1775 on journeys between North Atlantic ports and Portsmouth, Cowes or Southampton. For each of the three ports, the North Atlantic region was the third most frequented destination and as shown above, the analysis of the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping list data helps to substantiate the differences between the shipping patterns of each port.

⁴⁶ Bill Albert, *The Turnpike Road System in England, 1663-1840* (Cambridge, UK: University Press, 1972), pp. 41–42; William Albert, 'The Turnpike Roads', in *Transport in the Industrial Revolution*, ed. by Derek H. Aldcroft and Michael J. Freeman (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), pp. 31–63 (p. 40); Coad, p. 17; *Caledonian Mercury* 4 September 1775.

⁴⁷ Sian Williams, 'The Royal Navy and Caribbean Colonial Society during the Eighteenth Century', in *The Royal Navy and the British Atlantic World, c. 1750-1820*, ed. by John McAleer and Christer Petley (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 27–50 (pp. 30–32).

⁴⁸ *Hampshire Chronicle* 20 March 1775.

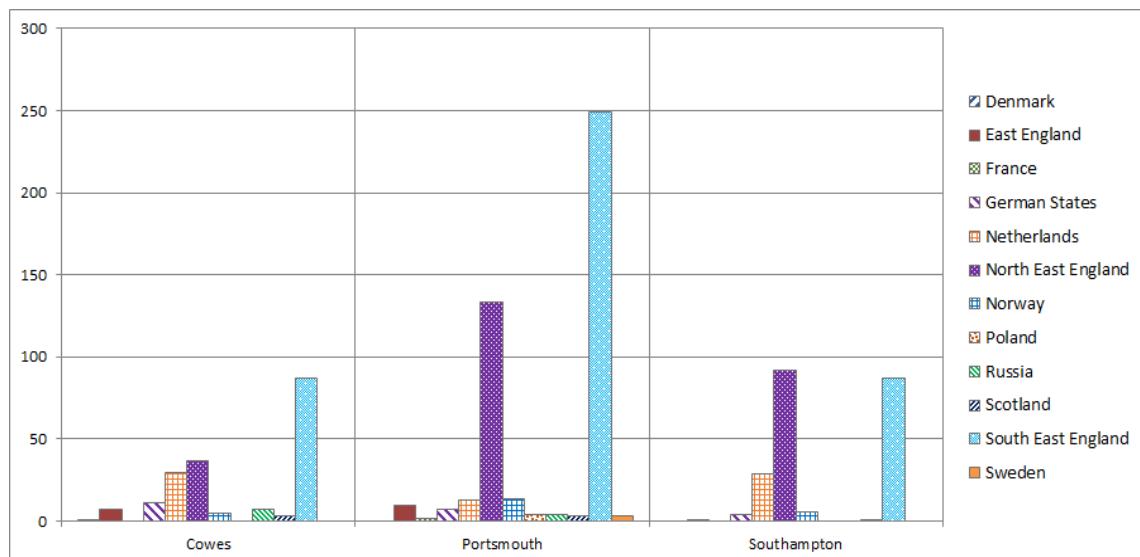
⁴⁹ *Hampshire Chronicle* 14 Aug and 27 Nov 1775. Named after its owners, the West India merchant family Hibbert, *Hibberts* was the third ship owned by the family to carry their name. The ship was listed in *Lloyd's Register* as a constant trader between London and Jamaica. Ships owned by the Hibbert family were known to be faster than a normal West Indiaman, due to their construction. Anthony Partington, 'A Memorial to Hibberts', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 95.4 (2009), 441–58 (pp. 448–49); Katie Donington, *The Bonds of Family: Slavery, Commerce and Culture in the British Atlantic World*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), p. 91; *Lloyd's Register* 1776 H211.

North Sea and the Baltic

Both Portsmouth and Cowes saw more arrivals from the North Sea region than from anywhere else and in both ports around half of all arrivals from North Sea ports came from London. As seen in Figures 6.9 and 6.10, 45 per cent of clearances for North Sea ports from Portsmouth were for London, whereas the distribution of vessels leaving Cowes for a port in this region was more varied, with German and Dutch ports accounting for more than 10 per cent, an indication of the significance of the rice trade as considered above. As discussed above in Chapter 5, in Southampton, arrivals from and departures for the coal ports in the north-east of England outnumbered those from and for London.

Almost all the journeys to or from North Sea ports in the south-east of England in 1775 were departing for or arriving from London. This was the case for journeys recorded in both Cowes and in Portsmouth, where there were more arrivals from and departures for London recorded in 1775 than were recorded in Cowes and Southampton together.⁵⁰ As shown above in Chapter 5, London was also the main destination for journeys recorded in Southampton arriving from or leaving for a port in south-east England.⁵¹

Figure 6.9: Arrivals from North Sea and Baltic ports in 1775

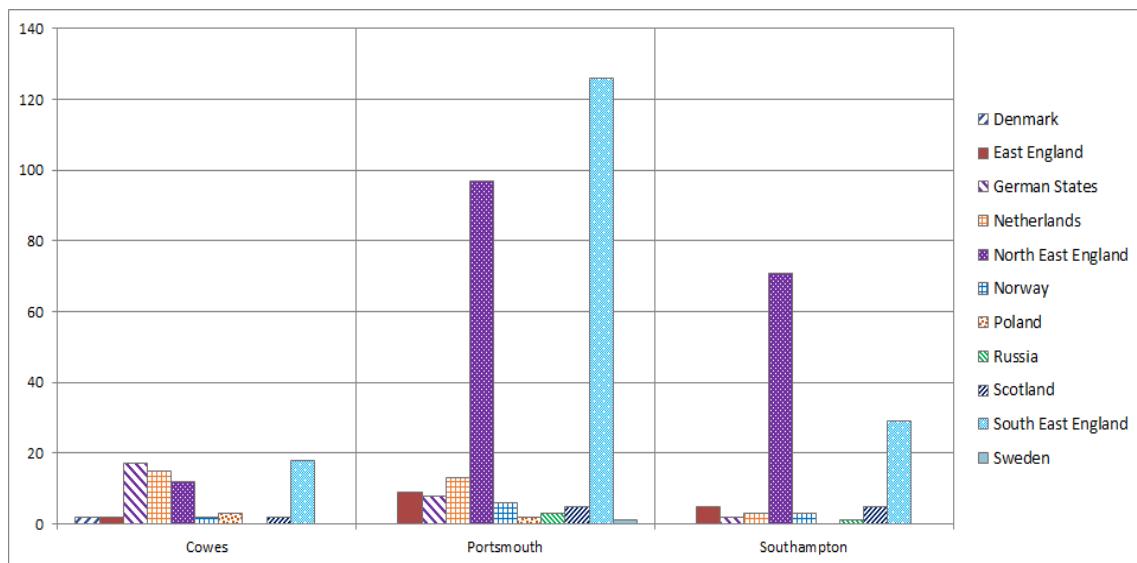


Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

⁵⁰ 330 London-journeys were recorded in Portsmouth in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in 1775 (217 arrivals, 113 departures) compared to 104 journeys to or from London recorded in Cowes (85 arrivals, 19 departures) and 114 journeys in Southampton (86 arrivals, 28 departures).

⁵¹ London was the departure port listed for 98 per cent of North Sea journeys arriving in Cowes from south-east England and the destination for all the vessels leaving Cowes for a North Sea port in south-eastern England. The corresponding percentages for Southampton were 99 and 97 per cent and for Portsmouth 87 and 90 per cent.

Figure 6.10: Departures for North Sea and Baltic ports in 1775



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

The journey pattern recorded in Portsmouth reflected the Navy's need for frequent contact with other naval yards, both at home and abroad. The *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists recorded journeys between Portsmouth and both Chatham and Woolwich, where the ropery sent supplies to other naval yards. Vessels also left for or arrived from Deptford, where the naval dockyard was a repair yard for smaller naval ships. Anchors and pumps were produced here and supplied to other yards, both naval and merchant, and experimental work was carried out.⁵² The Navy's records demonstrate how supplies and people were transferred between the naval dockyards on a daily basis. An example is a letter to the Navy Board from timber merchant John Poore, who had a contract to deliver timber to both Chatham and Portsmouth. Having made the delivery to the dockyard in Chatham, Poore enquired if the Navy Board had any stores to send to Portsmouth in the timber sloop, which now had empty cargo space.⁵³

Only a small number of journeys were recorded in Portsmouth and Cowes arriving from or leaving for ports in east England. The most frequent destination here was Hull, to where 11 journeys were recorded in Portsmouth, six clearances and five arrivals. In the late eighteenth century, Hull saw an increase in the trade of metals and metal goods. For example, the local

⁵² Philip McDougall, 'The Naval Multiplex of Kentish London', in *Five Hundred Years of Deptford and Woolwich Royal Dockyards*, Transactions of the Naval Dockyards Society, 11 (Southwick, West Sussex: The Naval Dockyards Society, 2019), pp. 18–29 (p. 20); Lavery, 'Dockyards and Industry', p. 58.

⁵³ Letter to Navy Board from John Poore, 6 December 1775, TNA ADM 106/1229/322.

port books recorded that cargoes of iron fenders were shipped from Hull to Portsmouth in 1775.⁵⁴

Almost 30 per cent of all journeys recorded in Cowes for or from a port in the North Sea had Newcastle or Sunderland as their destination, a total of 48 journeys. The corresponding figure for Portsmouth was 37 per cent, 228 journeys, while more than 56 per cent of all North Sea journeys recorded in Southampton, 160 voyages, were for or from Newcastle or Sunderland, reflecting Southampton's position as a re-distribution port from where goods, such as coal, as well as wine imported from Portugal and the Channel Islands, were re-shipped to other destinations. The coal imported to Cowes would have been used both by local people and by the ships that stopped at the port, while much of the coal imported to Portsmouth would have been for the use of the Navy.⁵⁵

Most of the journeys to or from Scotland recorded in 1775 in Portsmouth or Cowes were from ports in the North Sea. Only two clearances for a Scottish port in the Irish Sea were recorded and no arrivals. There is very limited evidence of the cargoes carried between the ports, although in October 1774, the *Caledonian Mercury* reported the arrival in Leith of a Sunderland-based vessel, *Betty*, from Portsmouth with a cargo of oak timber.⁵⁶ As discussed above, the *Happy Union* was a regular trader between Leith and Southampton, carrying freight and passengers. In 1775, *Happy Union* was recorded five times in Portsmouth, twice arriving from Plymouth, three times leaving for Borrowstoness or Leith. It was not recorded in Cowes, but arrived twice and left twice from Southampton, on different journeys to those recorded in Portsmouth.⁵⁷

As seen above, Cowes had frequent and regular contact with Dutch and German ports due to the shipping of American rice via the port. This trade was reflected in the journeys recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle*: 45 per cent of all the vessels leaving Cowes for a port in the North Sea headed for a German or Dutch port, a total of 30 voyages. In comparison, 16 vessels were recorded leaving Portsmouth for a Dutch or German port, while only three such departures were recorded in Southampton. Only four arrivals were recorded in Cowes from a German North Sea port, whereas arrivals from Dutch ports were slightly more numerous. 29 arrivals from Dutch ports were recorded in Southampton, including 22 from Rotterdam. In

⁵⁴ Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 92.

⁵⁵ Several large contracts for the supply of Pontop coal from South Durham were awarded by the Navy Board in 1774-78. Knight, *Portsmouth Dockyard Papers, 1774-1783*, pp. 111-15.

⁵⁶ *Caledonian Mercury* 29 Oct 1775.

⁵⁷ *Hampshire Chronicle* 9, 16 and 30 January, 4 and 18 September 1775. The Southampton journeys of this vessel were published on 5 and 22 May, 25 November and 30 December 1775.

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Portsmouth, three vessels were recorded leaving for a German North Sea port, while 26 journeys were recorded between Portsmouth and a Dutch port, 13 arriving and 13 leaving. Most of the vessels recorded in Portsmouth arriving from or leaving for a Dutch port had Rotterdam as their destination. Eight of the 14 vessels leaving Portsmouth for a Dutch port had arrived from an American port shortly before, so were possibly carrying rice.

The *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists recorded 22 journeys in Cowes arriving from or leaving for a Baltic port, 29 Baltic journeys were recorded in Portsmouth. The journeys can be traced in the Sound Toll Registers, which provide additional information about the journeys and the cargoes carried. Thirteen of the 15 vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* arriving in Cowes from a Baltic port came from either Memel or Petersburg, with cargoes of wood from Memel and primarily iron from Petersburg. Seven vessels were recorded leaving Cowes for a Baltic port, carrying either ballast or rice. That Cowes was used as an intermediate stop by Danish ships travelling to or from the West Indies is evidenced by two journeys recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists. In February 1775, Captain Houston in *Sophia* arrived in Cowes from Copenhagen. The vessel was not recorded in Cowes again, but it can be found in the Sound Toll Registers, passing Elsinore en route to the West Indies a few weeks earlier, on 6 January, with provisions. Travelling in the opposite direction was Captain Eben in *Good Hope*, which was recorded just once in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, leaving Cowes for Copenhagen on 1 June 1775. A few weeks later, on 20 June, the vessel passed Elsinore with a cargo of sugar. The Register did not mention Cowes, but showed that the vessel had travelled from the West Indies.⁵⁸

The lists of contractors to Portsmouth naval dockyard bear witness to the importance of the supply of naval stores from the Baltic: timber and masts from Danzig, Riga, Stettin and Gothenburg, tar from Stockholm, hemp and tallow from Russia.⁵⁹ These materials were of immense strategic significance in an age when both trade and defence relied on the building and maintenance of wooden sailing ships.⁶⁰ The Sound Toll Registers confirm this, with 18

⁵⁸ *Hampshire Chronicle* 20 February and 5 June 1775; Sound Toll Registers Online (<http://dietrich.soundtoll.nl/public/names.php?id=249837> and <http://dietrich.soundtoll.nl/public/names.php?id=221019> [both accessed 9 Aug 2019]).

⁵⁹ Lists of large contracts 1774-78, Knight, *Portsmouth Dockyard Papers, 1774-1783*, pp. 111-17.

⁶⁰ Malone, *Pine Trees and Politics: The Naval Stores and Forest Policy in Colonial New England, 1691-1775*, pp. 43-45, 55-56; P. K. Crimmin, 'Searching for British Naval Stores: Sources and Strategy c. 1802-1860', *The Great Circle*, 18.2 (1996), 113-24; James Davey, 'War, Naval Logistics and the British State' (unpublished PhD, University of Greenwich, 2009), p. 3; R. J. B. Knight, 'New England Forests and British Seapower: Albion Revised', *The American Neptune: A Quarterly Journal of Maritime History*, XLVI.4 (1986), 221-29 (p. 224).

journeys recorded in Portsmouth in the *Hampshire Chronicle* arriving from a Baltic port in 1775, all but five traceable in the Sound Toll Registers.⁶¹ The journeys include four from Danzig, carrying cargoes of wheat and mixed wood, including barrel staves. Hemp, planks and timber for shipbuilding came in eight vessels arriving in Portsmouth from Memel and Riga, while four vessels from Petersburg carried iron, tar and timber for shipbuilding. Three vessels arriving in Portsmouth from Stockholm carried cargoes of iron, tar and planks, with iron the most significant part of these cargoes since the Navy Board insisted on using Swedish iron for anchor production in the naval dockyards.⁶² All but one of the vessels recorded in the Sound Toll Registers on journeys from Portsmouth to Baltic ports sailed in ballast. Captain Barnes in *Eagle* was recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* leaving Portsmouth for Stettin on 20 April 1775. No such journey was recorded in the Sound Toll Registers, which however, did record a Captain Barnes passing Elsinore on 30 April en route from Cowes to Stettin with a cargo of rice. It is likely that either a mistake was made in Elsinore when recording where the journey had begun or Captain Barnes stopped in Portsmouth as well as in Cowes, but the *Hampshire Chronicle* correspondent did not record his departure from the island port.

Seven vessels were recorded in Cowes arriving from or leaving for a Norwegian port, 20 journeys were recorded in Portsmouth on this route.⁶³ As discussed above in Chapter 5, these journeys would primarily have carried timber and most of the vessels undertaking the journeys as well as their captains, had Scandinavian-sounding names such as *Ingebourg* and *Strand Maagen* and Captains Kroger, Biorn and Alling, confirming the research discussed above showing that Norwegians and Danes mostly shipped their own goods.⁶⁴

The Far East

Neither Southampton nor Cowes had any direct contact with ports in the Far East. However, three East Indiamen were recorded in Portsmouth in 1775, one outbound and two returning. However, Portsmouth and other communities in the south of England, including Southampton and Cowes, had many links with the East India Company, as the Company retained agents in several ports, it ordered new ships to be built in local shipyards and many retired Company

⁶¹ The untraceable vessels include *Active*, arriving from Rostock in July 1775. No captain was listed in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping list, making it impossible to identify in the Sound Toll Registers, and *John and Anne*, whose captain Anderson had a name too common to be clearly identified on the journey from Portsmouth to Lubeck.

⁶² Evans, Jackson, and Rydén, p. 646.

⁶³ In comparison, eight journeys to or from a Norwegian port were recorded in Southampton in 1775. In the period 1773-77, 58 vessels arrived in or left from Southampton from or for a Norwegian port.

⁶⁴ Johansen, 'Scandinavian Shipping in the Late Eighteenth Century in a European Perspective', p. 481.

officers settled in the area. Portsmouth was also used by the East India Company for loading silver supplies for India.⁶⁵ It is likely that the two returning East Indiamen stopped at Portsmouth in order to send letters and information by road to London, where it would have arrived quicker than the ship itself.

Conclusion – Solent Comparisons

The present analysis of the shipping patterns of the three neighbouring ports Southampton, Portsmouth and Cowes, as recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists in 1775, shows significant local variations. Although frequent connections with London was a common feature for all three ports, Portsmouth's trade was dominated by the requirements of the naval dockyard, while shipping in and out of Southampton was focussed on the Channel Islands. Roads between Portsmouth and London were of relatively good quality and there are several examples of goods, letters and people being carried as far as Portsmouth by ship before transferring to carts or carriages in order to execute a faster and safer journey to the capital.

Cowes was the smallest of the ports, but it was the central hub in a significant rice trade between South Carolina and northern Europe. Even more than was the case for Southampton, Cowes was used as a stopping-off point for vessels travelling west and south, to the south-west of England as well as further afield as shown in the examples of Danish West India ships calling at Cowes.

Whereas Southampton's trade declined after the outbreak of war in 1776, it is likely that the war would have boosted the numbers of vessels in both Portsmouth and Cowes. The amount of cargoes sent and received by the dockyard in Portsmouth would have increased during the war and as mentioned above, Cowes was a rendezvous for merchant vessels waiting to join a convoy. The additional research required to investigate the trade of Portsmouth and Cowes in the years before and after 1775 falls beyond the scope of this thesis.

Scholars have argued that rivalry between ports contributed to the development of each port town. However, the close links between Southampton, Portsmouth and Cowes as demonstrated in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists, indicate that rather than primarily

⁶⁵ James H Thomas, 'The Isle of Wight and the East India Company, 1700-1840: Some Connections Considered', *Local Historian*, 30 (2000), 4-22 (pp. 4-5, 14); A. J. Holland, *Ships of British Oak: The Rise and Decline of Wooden Shipbuilding in Hampshire* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971), pp. 121, 136; A. J. Holland, *Buckler's Hard: A Rural Shipbuilding Centre* (Emsworth, Hampshire: K. Mason, 1985), p. 83; John McAleer, 'Cesspools, Coal Chutes and Carisbrooke Castle: The East India Company on the Isle of Wight', *Untold Lives*, 2014 <<https://blogs.bl.uk/untoldlives/2014/05/cesspools-coal-chutes-and-carisbrooke-castle.html>> [accessed 31 August 2019].

rivals, the ports can better be described as part of a large, closely connected trading community, in the same way as argued by Haggerty in her analysis of the connections between Liverpool and Philadelphia in the late eighteenth century.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Frank Broeze, 'From the Periphery to the Mainstream: The Challenge of Australia's Maritime History', *The Great Circle*, 11.1 (1989), 1–13 (p. 9); Haggerty, 'Trade and Trading Communities in the Late Eighteenth Century: Liverpool and Philadelphia', p. 234.

CHAPTER 7: SOUTHAMPTON'S MARITIME TRADE IN THE LATER EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In this chapter, the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping list data for Southampton 1773-77 is compared to the Southampton data for 1787-88 and 1799-1800. As discussed in Chapter 1 above, these years were selected both in order to compare Southampton's shipping in peace as well as in war, but also due to the completeness of the shipping list data for these years. As in the previous years, other data used to support and supplement the shipping lists in 1787-88 and 1799-1800 include Lloyd's Register, *Lloyd's List* and the Sound Toll Registers. New measures regarding the registration of merchant ships were introduced in 1786. The 1786 Act of Ship Registration required all owners of British merchant ships to register their vessels with the local Customs office, recording the vessel's name, dimensions, ownership details and much more. The underlying purpose of the law was to prevent American ships benefitting from the privileges of the Navigation Laws, including ships built in America after the outbreak of war in 1775. Unfortunately, the Southampton registers have not survived.¹

There was an international economic upturn after peace was signed in 1782. In Hull, the tonnage of ships clearing the port more than doubled in the years 1781-87 and in Liverpool, trade also grew rapidly.² The reasons for the economic boost were manifold: Gordon Jackson noted that there was a sudden increase in the available merchant tonnage after 1783 due to the release of many ships which had worked on government service during the war. This brought down freight rates and encouraged increased trade and economic growth.³ Other factors worked to accelerate trade: in 1979, Ralph Davis argued that the economic growth that commenced in the 1780s was primarily due to an improvement in manufacturing techniques, particularly of cotton, which created an increased supply of goods that consumers wanted to buy.⁴ As the volume of trade increased, around the country, ports expanded and new facilities were developed. This was the case in Southampton too, where new private wharves and quays were built outside the town boundaries in the Itchen and at Four Posts in the River Test. In

¹ R. C. Jarvis, 'Liverpool Statutory Registers of British Merchant Ships', *Maritime History*, IV (1974), 107-22 (pp. 113-14); Jackson, 'Scottish Shipping 1775-1805', p. 127; The National Archives, 'Registration of Merchant Ships', *Research Guides* <<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/registration-merchant-ships/#7-lists-of-ships-1786-1880-and-1905-1955>> [accessed 12 October 2019]. Many of the vessels recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists were not Southampton-based ships. However, it has not been possible, within the scope of this thesis, to search the surviving registers for each of the vessels recorded in the shipping list database.

² Armstrong and Bagwell, p. 151; Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 65; Pope, vol. 2, p 476.

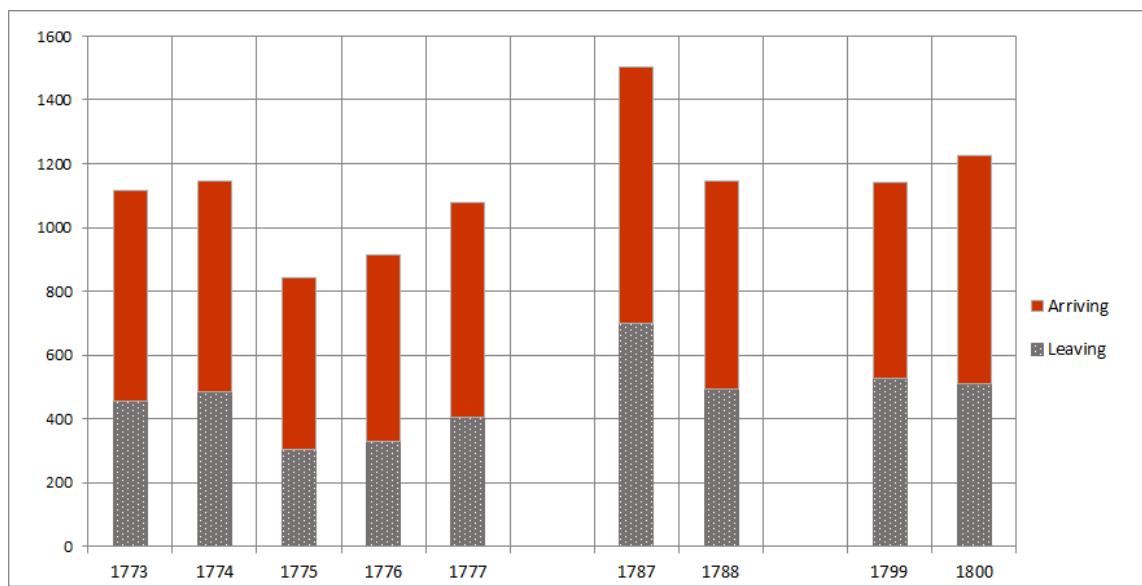
³ Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 131-32.

⁴ Davis, *The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade*, pp. 9-10.

1789, it was decided to dredge near the town's main quay, Watergate Quay, in order to provide access at all stages of the tide and further improvements were made when in 1804, after many years of local debate on the matter, the Watergate was demolished in order to improve access to the quay from the High Street.⁵

After the outbreak of the Anglo-French war in 1793, neutral shipping enjoyed the benefits of being able to trade where merchant ships belonging to the warring nations could not. This included Americans as well as Scandinavian ships.⁶ However, it is not possible, through the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists, to trace an increased number of non-British ships in Southampton in 1799-1800. As shown in Figure 7.1, Southampton too, benefitted from the improved economic trends, with a significant increase in the number of vessels recorded in the port in 1787, when 1504 journeys were recorded, compared to an annual average of 1019 in the years 1773-77. The number reduced slightly in 1788, when 1144 journeys were recorded. Although 1799-1800 were war years, the level of Southampton's trade remained at a higher level, with 1142 and 1225 journeys recorded in these two years respectively.

Figure 7.1: All journeys recorded in Southampton, 1773-77, 1788-89 and 1799-1800



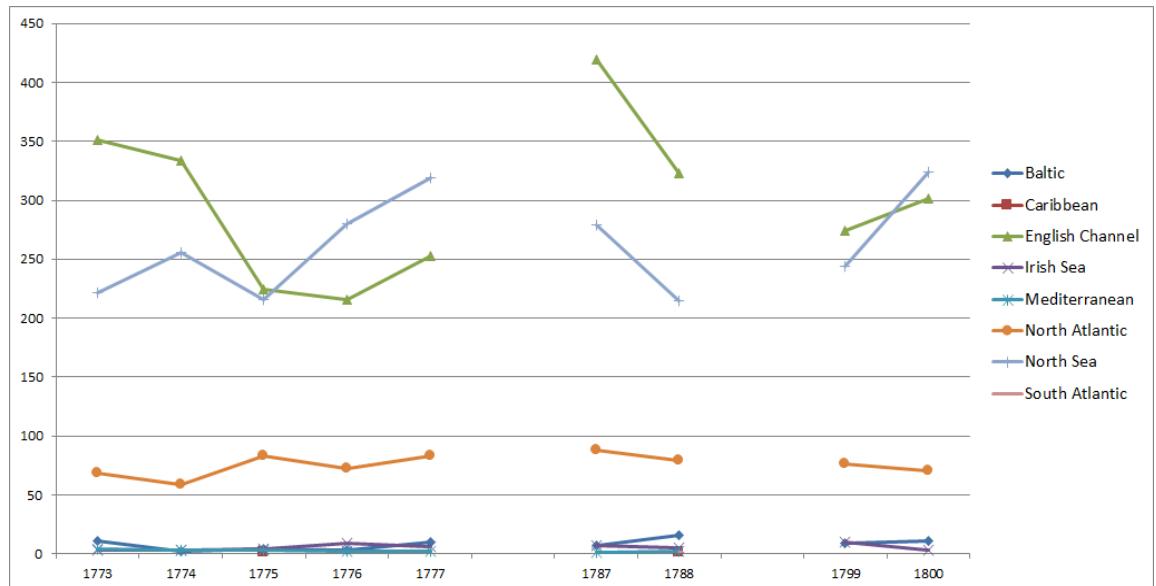
Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

⁵ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 1 August 1789; Jackson, 'The Ports', p. 177; Patterson, *History of Southampton*, pp. 73–75, 105–6.

⁶ Charles A. Keene, 'American Shipping and Trade, 1798–1820: The Evidence from Leghorn', *The Journal of Economic History*, 38.3 (1978), 681–700 (p. 681); Ole Feldbæk, *Denmark and the Armed Neutrality 1800–1801: Small Power Policy in a World War*, Københavns Universitet, Institut for Økonomisk Historie; Publikation Nr.16 (København: Akademisk Forlag, 1980), pp. 20–24. As the war intensified, some neutral nations despatched warships to protect their merchant ships, particularly on the valuable routes to Asia. Denmark introduced convoys for all important routes from 1798, a policy that, due to increased armed confrontation with British warships and privateers, eventually led to the Battle of Copenhagen in April 1801; Feldbæk, *Denmark and the Armed Neutrality 1800–1801*, pp. 14–33.

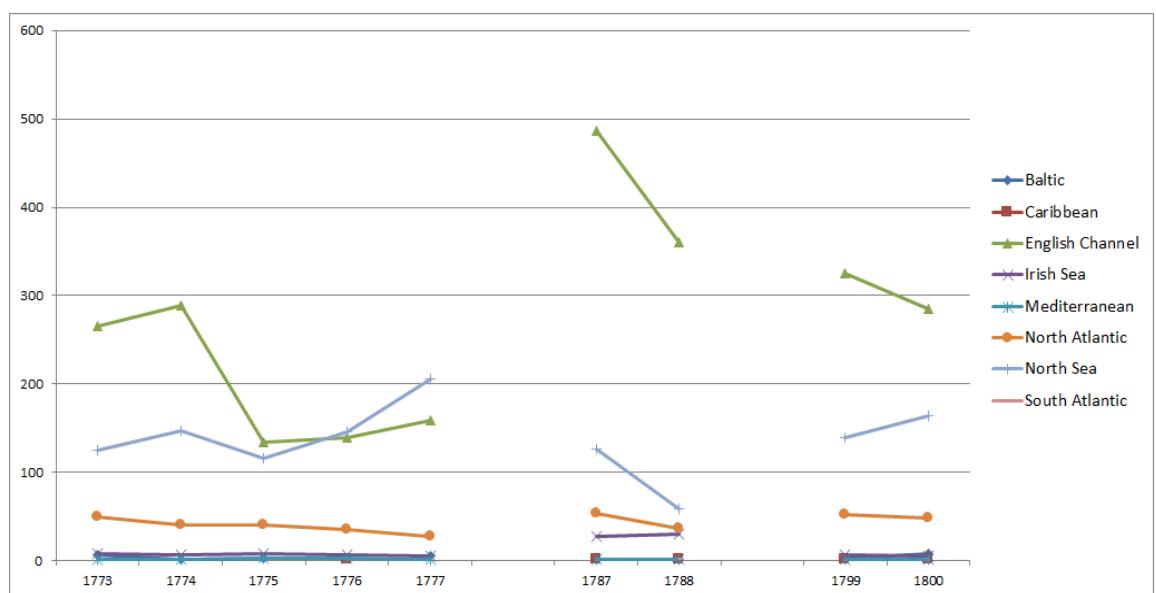
Figures 7.2 and 7.3 show the regional distribution of ships arriving in or departing from Southampton in 1788-89 and 1799-1800, compared to the earlier data from 1773-77, which has been discussed above in Chapters 3-5. The figures show that there was a significant increase in trade with ports in the English Channel in 1787-88, compared to the 1770s. The relative regional distribution of journeys remained comparatively unchanged throughout the three periods.

Figure 7.2: All arrivals recorded in Southampton, 1773-77, 1788-89 and 1799-1800



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Figure 7.3: All departures recorded in Southampton, 1773-77, 1788-89 and 1799-1800



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Chapter 7

The following pages will explore further the detail behind the data outlined in Figures 7.1-7.3. Although there was little change in the regional distribution of journeys to and from Southampton between the three periods examined here, the underlying data reveal changes in the detail. There was a noticeable increase in the shipping between Southampton and Liverpool and also ports in Scotland and France. Southampton's position as a re-shipper of goods linked with the Newfoundland trade was strengthened, particularly in relation to Poole and Iberia. The data from 1799-1800 reveals how the war with France affected shipping and food shortages in that period were also reflected in the shipping data, with an increase in the importation of grain from near and far.

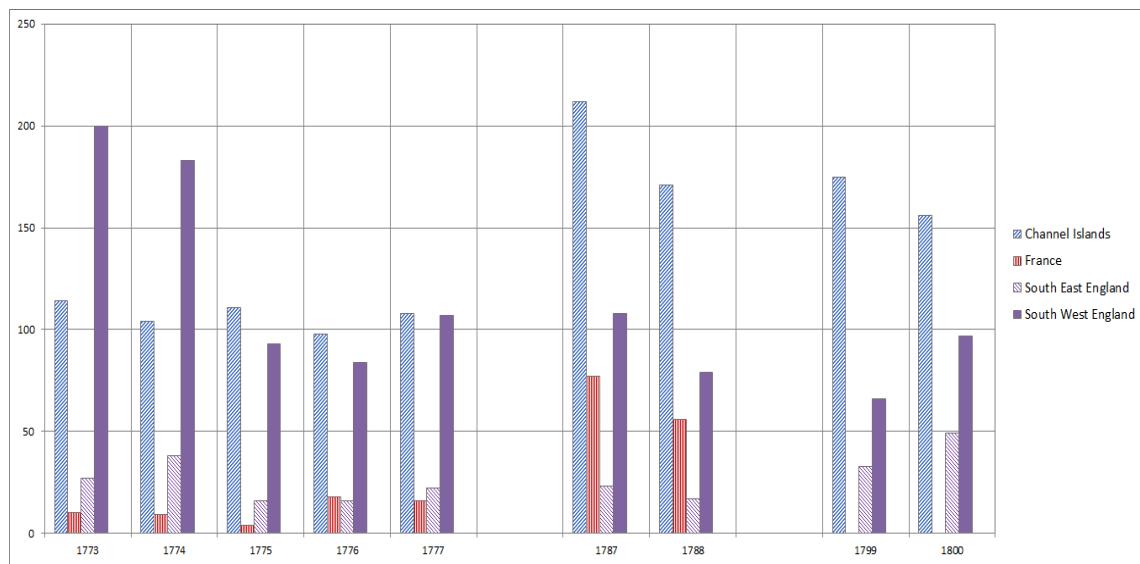
English Channel

Since the Glorious Revolution of 1689, France had been Britain's main enemy as well as its primary commercial rival and a state of open conflict existed between the two countries on and off for most of the eighteenth century.⁷ However, following the loss of the American colonies in 1783, Britain sought new markets for its manufactured goods and in spite of the long-established mutual animosity as well as against protests from both British and French merchants, an Anglo-French commercial treaty was agreed in 1786.⁸ The treaty led to increased trade between Britain and France and it was particularly beneficial for British exports, a development that can be traced in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping list data for Southampton. The destinations of journeys recorded in Southampton in 1787-88 and 1799-1800 to and from ports in the English Channel changed from the pattern observed in 1773-77. As seen in Figures 7.4 and 7.5, France became the third most frequent destination, both for arrivals and departures in the peace years 1787-88 while the importance of the Channel Islands increased significantly.

⁷ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, pp. 24-25; Judith Blow Williams, *British Commercial Policy and Trade Expansion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 186-90; Morieux, *The Channel*, p. 118.

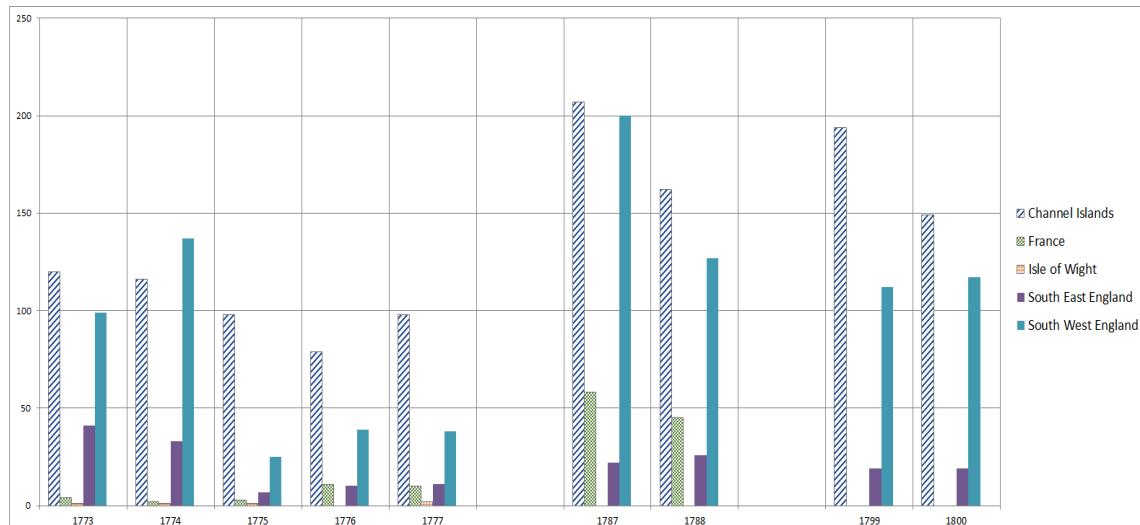
⁸ Morieux, *The Channel*, pp. 277, 280; John Steven Watson, *The Reign of George III: 1760 - 1815*, The Oxford History of England, ed. by George Clark; 12, reprint (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 288-89; W. O. Henderson, 'The Anglo-French Commercial Treaty of 1786', *The Economic History Review*, 10.1 (1957), 104-12; J. Holland Rose, 'The Franco-British Commercial Treaty of 1786', *The English Historical Review*, 23.92 (1908), 709-24; John Ehrman, *The British Government and Commercial Negotiations with Europe 1783-1793* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp. 28-29, 66-68.

Figure 7.4: All arrivals recorded in Southampton, 1773-77, 1788-89 and 1799-1800 from English Channel ports



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Figure 7.5: All departures recorded in Southampton, 1773-77, 1788-89 and 1799-1800 for English Channel ports



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

On average 50 vessels were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists each year in 1787-88 and 1799-1800, arriving in Southampton from or leaving for an English Channel port in south-east England. Chichester was the most frequently recorded destination, probably due to its position as an exporter of wheat and flour. The number of journeys recorded in Southampton from Chichester increased in 1800, coinciding with high prices, wheat shortages

and riots around the country.⁹ The *Hampshire Chronicle* described Banbury as 'a scene of the utmost riot and confusion, in consequence of the high price of bread' and in Southampton, a 'mob' seized butter and potatoes from market stalls, which they sold at reduced prices. Later, they 'proceeded to the shops of the principal bakers, and insisted on having bread at 1s 2d per gallon'.¹⁰

In 1788, nineteen vessels left Southampton for Newhaven, rather than the usual four or five. There were no recorded arrivals from Newhaven. The reason for this sudden increase in clearances from Southampton for Newhaven in this year is not clear. With its relatively new piers, the port was one of the safest on the Sussex coast and it was used as a port of refuge by ships in distress. Oak was shipped from Newhaven, as well as French wine and spirits.¹¹ In 1791, a flour mill near Newhaven was advertised for sale in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, the location 'well adapted for an extensive coasting and foreign trade in corn and flour'. Included in the purchase was a coal wharf 'whence an increasing trade is carrying on'.¹² The nineteen journeys for Newhaven recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists were undertaken by sixteen individual vessels and there seems to be a link between journeys from the north-east of England and a stop in Newhaven in this year, as eleven of the sixteen vessels had arrived in Southampton from either Newcastle or Sunderland before the journey to Newhaven.¹³ However, it has not been possible to find evidence of any increased or new activities in either Southampton, Newhaven or Newcastle particular to 1788.

The Channel Islands continued to be the most important destination in the English Channel for ships leaving or arriving at Southampton in the 1780s and 1790s, with Guernsey the most frequent destination every year apart from in 1799, when there were more journeys to or

⁹ Knight and Wilcox, pp. 76–77; 7 journeys were recorded between Southampton and Chichester in 1787 (6 arrivals, one departure), 16 in 1788 (11 arrivals, 5 departures), while 20 journeys were recorded in 1799 (17 arrivals, 3 departures) and 45 in 1800 (36 arrivals, 9 departures).

¹⁰ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 22 September 1800.

¹¹ A cargo of 50 gross, or 7200 new wine bottles, recovered from a ship stranded en route from Newcastle to Newhaven, was reported in the *Kentish Gazette* on 13 May 1788. Additional reports have been found, of vessels sailing in ballast to Newhaven from other ports, but no reports have been found of vessels carrying any cargo from Newhaven in 1787 or 1788, *Kentish Gazette*, 15 February and 18 July 1788.

¹² *Hampshire Chronicle*, 19 September 1791.

¹³ One of the Sixteen vessels, *Southampton*, was recorded on 14 occasions in Southampton in 1787 and 1788, 11 of these arriving from or leaving for London. In August 1788, the vessel arrived in Southampton from Newcastle, its only recorded journey to or from this port. Two weeks later, it left for Newhaven, its only recorded journey to this port. *Hampshire Chronicle*, 11 and 25 August 1788.

from Jersey.¹⁴ In 1787-88 and 1799-1800, almost 29 per cent of all journeys recorded in Southampton were for or from the Channel Islands, more than any other destination. The volume of stocking exports from the islands remained strong at the end of the eighteenth century and the export of cattle to Britain, particularly from Jersey became a well-established trade. By 1801, Jersey also exported 10,000 barrels of cider annually, most of it through Southampton, and following the discovery of oyster banks off Jersey in 1797, this too became a popular export.¹⁵ Guernsey's position as an entrepôt was well-established by the end of the century, trading in wine and also goods from the East Indies. The tobacco trade expanded after the end of the War of American Independence and by the late 1790s, Guernsey traded more than 5 million lbs of tobacco annually.¹⁶

Poole and Plymouth were the two most frequent south-west England destinations in the English Channel for vessels recorded in Southampton in 1787-88 and 1799-1800, particularly arrivals from Poole increased in 1799-1800, when half of all arrivals from a port in south-west England in the English Channel came from Poole. Although the dangers to coastal shipping from French privateers may have made the more local trade with Poole attractive to vessels trading in Southampton at this time, it is possible that the increased demand for fish from Newfoundland from consumers in northern Spain also played a part, as Newfoundland imports from Poole could have been re-shipped to Spain from Southampton.¹⁷ Another significant import from Poole was pipe clay, the production of which expanded from the 1780s onwards. The clay was used locally for drain pipes and chimney pots, while the potteries in the north of England and the Midlands, including Staffordshire, used Poole clay for more decorative purposes.¹⁸

In contrast with other conflicts of the eighteenth century, which had seen a continual distrust between Britain and France, in 1786, an Anglo-French commercial treaty was signed, in which the two nations agreed jointly to combat smuggling and to support mutual trade. The treaty was abandoned in 1793, after the outbreak of war.¹⁹ This brief interlude of commercial

¹⁴ In 1799, 165 journeys to or from Jersey were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists in Southampton (82 arrivals, 83 clearances) while 162 journeys were recorded to or from Guernsey (72 arrivals, 90 clearances).

¹⁵ Jean, pp. 53-54.

¹⁶ Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680-1830*, pp. 28-33.

¹⁷ Richard Blomfield and Rodney Legg, *Poole: Town and Harbour* (Wincanton: Dorset Publishing Company, 1989), pp. 40-43; Ayo, p. 207.

¹⁸ Blomfield and Legg, p. 50; www.poolemuseum.org.uk/collections/guide-to-galleries/poole-clay/ [accessed 11 Oct 2019].

¹⁹ Judith Blow Williams, pp. 188-89, 345-46; Ian R. Christie, *Wars and Revolutions: England 1760 - 1815*, The New History of England, 7, reprint (London: Edward Arnold, 1985), pp. 167-68.

contacts between Britain and France is reflected in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for Southampton, which show that arrivals from France were the third most frequent from a Channel port in 1787-88. One particular area which saw increased activity in Southampton after the War of American Independence was passenger traffic to France and several new packet boats were employed on the popular route to Le Havre. Adverts in the *Hampshire Chronicle* acclaimed the advantages of one port over another. In 1787, the *Joanna* was introduced on the route between Southampton and Havre de Grace, 'a fast sailing vessel, and has two cabins with twenty-five beds for the accommodation of passengers' announced the advertisement. In the same edition of the paper, 'the well-known vessel' *Brighthelmstone* was advertised on the Portsmouth-Havre de Grace route, the advert included the jibe

the advantage of sailing directly from Portsmouth instead of Southampton, will undoubtedly be evident when it is confirmed that a vessel will nearly compleat her voyage from this port to France, while in contrary winds, she would have been beating up or down Southampton River, being 10 leagues in precarious navigation.²⁰

However, after 1830, with the introduction of steam-powered vessels, Southampton outperformed the neighbouring ports and soon became a major passenger port, benefitting from the experience gained in the sailing ship era.

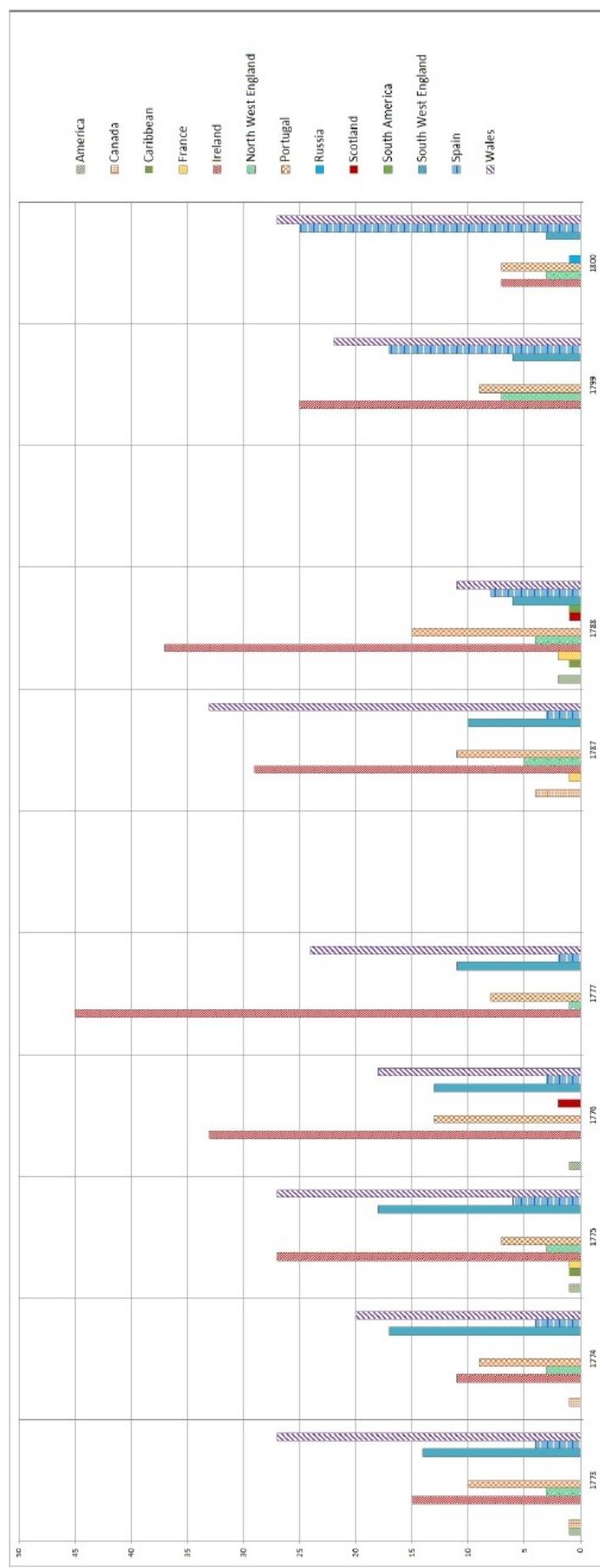
There was an increase in the number of journeys recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists, particularly with ports in the English Channel, in the years following the peace with the former American colonies. The number of vessels sailing to or from the Channel Islands increased and France emerged as a popular destination, an early indication of Southampton's future role as a major international passenger port.

North Atlantic and Irish Sea

The North Atlantic remained the third most frequently recorded destination in Southampton in 1787-88 and 1799-1800, with Irish ports the most numerous among those listed. As seen in Figures 7.6 and 7.7, trade with Iberia changed in the last decades of the eighteenth century, with Spanish ports becoming more important destinations for vessels sailing to and from Southampton.

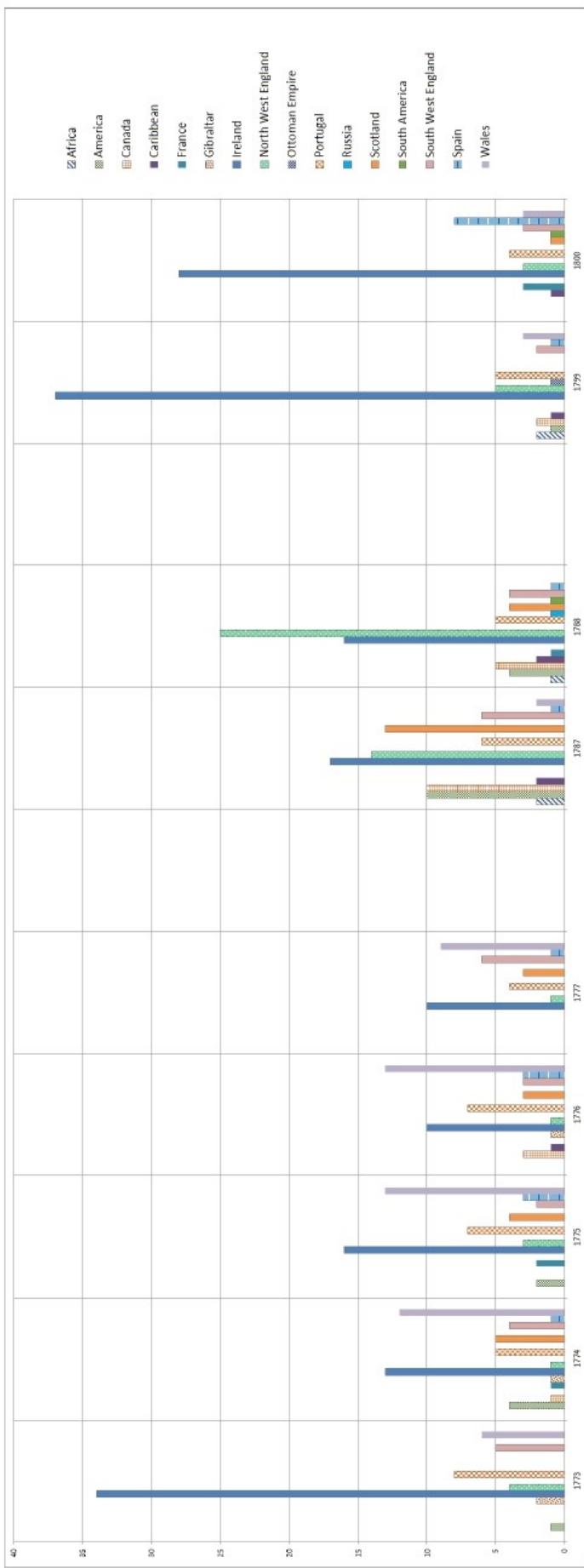
²⁰ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 14 May 1787.

Figure 7.6: All arrivals recorded in Southampton, 1773-77, 1788-89 and 1799-1800 from ports in the Atlantic, Irish Sea, Caribbean and Mediterranean



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Figure 7.7: All departures recorded in Southampton, 1773-77, 1788-89 and 1799-1800 for ports in the Atlantic, Irish Sea, Caribbean and Mediterranean



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

The number of voyages recorded in Southampton to or from Atlantic ports in south-west England reduced from 16 in 1787 to 6 in 1800.²¹ The decline was linked to the position of Bristol, whose importance as the nation's second city dwindled in the late eighteenth century, hastened by the growth of the trade of Liverpool.²² This was clearly evidenced in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists, which saw journeys to or from Bristol decline from an average of 1.3 per cent annually of all journeys to or from Southampton in the years 1773-77 to 0.6 per cent in 1787-88. The corresponding figures for journeys to or from Liverpool increased from on average 0.2 per cent per year in 1773-77 to 1.9 per cent of all journeys in 1787-88. In 1787, 18 journeys were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists directly between Southampton and Liverpool, in 1788 29 journeys were recorded, compared to an annual average of 2.4 journeys in the years 1773-77.²³ In 1799-1800, the number of recorded voyages between Southampton and Liverpool decreased, probably due to the war with France.²⁴ The importance of the relationship between Southampton and Liverpool continued to develop and became more significant after the introduction of steamships, as both ports became centres for passenger traffic and rivals over the lucrative and prestigious routes across the North Atlantic.

Most of the vessels which were recorded in Southampton on a journey to or from Liverpool in 1787 or 1788, were also recorded with a French port as the destination of another journey. Examples of this were *Diana*, which arrived in Southampton from Dunkirk on 22 February 1788 and left for Liverpool on 28 March and *Maria* which arrived in Southampton from Havre de Grace on 13 May 1787 and left for Liverpool on 25 May. In September the following year, this vessel again arrived in Southampton from Dunkirk and departed for Liverpool a few days later.²⁵ This connection between Liverpool and French ports can also be linked to Liverpool's

²¹ Ten arrivals and six departures for or from an Atlantic port in South West England were recorded in Southampton in 1787. The corresponding numbers for the following years are: 1788, six arrivals, four departures; 1799, three arrivals, two departures; 1800: three arrivals, three departures. In 1799, a further three arrivals were recorded from Wells in the Irish Sea.

²² W. E. Minchinton, 'The Port of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century', in *Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Patrick McGrath (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972), pp. 128-59 (pp. 157-58); Pope, p. 476; Sheila Marriner, *The Economic and Social Development of Merseyside*, Croom Helm Series on the Regional Economic History of Britain (London: Croom Helm, 1982), p. 31; Simon Hill, 'The Liverpool Economy during the War of American Independence, 1775-83', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 44.6 (2016), 835-56 (p. 851).

²³ Five vessels were recorded on journeys between Southampton and Liverpool in both 1787 and 1788, all also recorded travelling to and from ports west of Southampton, including Plymouth, Carmarthen and Tenby as well as the Irish ports of Youghal and Waterford.

²⁴ In 1799, 11 journeys were recorded between Southampton and Liverpool (six arrivals, five departures). In 1800, the number was four (one arriving, three leaving Southampton).

²⁵ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 14 and 28 May 1787, 25 February, 31 March, 22 and 29 September 1788.

close trading links across the Irish Sea; many of the vessels recorded in Southampton on a journey to or from Liverpool and France were recorded at different times arriving from or leaving for an Irish port.²⁶

The overall number of journeys recorded in Southampton to or from Welsh ports in the 1780s and 1790s remained similar to the numbers recorded in the 1770s, with 25-30 journeys per year, most of them arrivals. In 1787-88, the most frequently recorded destination in Wales was Milford Haven, with 21 and 10 journeys recorded for those years, respectively. All but one of the journeys recorded in Southampton to or from Milford Haven were arrivals and the main cargo shipped here at this time was most likely coal.²⁷ The most frequently recorded Welsh destinations in 1799-1800 were the coal ports of Tenby and Neath, together accounting for more than half of all the journeys recorded in Southampton for or from a Welsh port.²⁸

An economic downturn in southern Ireland followed the War of American Independence, as the requirement for military provisions reduced. Over the ensuing decades, there was a significant change in the Irish provisions trade with both military and civilian consumers, reducing purchases of beef in favour of pork, which was seen as more durable, but which had previously been dearer.²⁹ During this period, Ireland grew steadily closer to the British economy and by 1800, almost 90 per cent of Irish exports and 80 per cent of Irish imports were to or from Britain.³⁰ In Southampton, this increase was not detectable through the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists, where the proportion of journeys to or from Irish ports remained steady at between 2 and 5 per cent of all journeys annually.³¹ The number of

²⁶ *Rising Sun*, which was recorded five times arriving in or leaving Southampton from or for Liverpool was also recorded once arriving from Cork (*Hampshire Chronicle*, 18 January, 31 May, 2 August, 1 November and 20 December 1799 and 14 March 1800). *Friendship* was recorded in Southampton on two round trips from Youghal to Liverpool, arriving in Southampton from the Irish port on 25 January 1788, departing for Liverpool on 15 February. The vessel returned from Youghal on 1 August 1788 and left for Liverpool on 15 August (*Hampshire Chronicle*, 28 January, 18 February, 4 and 18 August 1788).

²⁷ Rees, pp. 16, 22. In 1787, 20 arrivals were recorded in Southampton from Milford Haven, one departure. In 1788, all ten recorded journeys were arrivals.

²⁸ In 1799, 22 arrivals in Southampton from a Welsh port were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, including seven from Tenby and six from Neath. In 1800, 27 arrivals were recorded, ten of these from Tenby, six from Neath. Three departures from Southampton for a Welsh port were recorded in both 1799 and 1800 respectively, one each for Neath and Tenby in 1799, none for either port in 1800, when two vessels left for Carmarthen and one for Pwlheli.

²⁹ Dickson, *Old World Colony*, pp. 368-73.

³⁰ Frank Geary, 'The Act of Union, British-Irish Trade, and Pre-Famine Deindustrialization', *The Economic History Review*, 48.1 (1995), 68-88 (pp. 69-70). These percentages relate to the value of imports and exports, not number of ships.

³¹ In the years included in the database created for this project, the percentage of journeys recorded in Southampton to or from Ireland were as follows: 1773: 4.4 per cent; 1774: 2.1 per cent; 1775: 5.1 per cent; 1776: 4.7 per cent; 1777: 5.1 per cent; 1787: 3.1 per cent; 1788: 4.6 per cent; 1799: 5.4 per cent; 1800: 2.9 per cent.

journeys recorded in Southampton directly to or from Irish ports did not diverge from the pattern recorded in the 1770s. However, the destinations changed, with Dungarvan's importance waning and Waterford becoming the most frequent Irish destination for vessels recorded in Southampton in 1787-88 and 1799-1800.³² The vessels trading between Waterford and Southampton were probably primarily carrying cargoes of bacon, a speciality commodity increasingly exported from Waterford to southern England at the end of the eighteenth century.³³

Trade between Southampton and Iberia continued its pattern from the 1770s into 1787-88, with Porto the most frequent destination. However, by 1799-1800, this shipping pattern had changed radically. Although Britain was now at war with Spain, the northern Spanish ports of Bilbao and Santander were the most frequently recorded destinations, while only eight journeys were recorded each year to or from Porto.³⁴ The *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists do not provide the reason for this change. However, research by other scholars shows that in the late eighteenth century, British imports of Spanish wool products increased, particularly through the ports of Santander and Bilbao, which also exported Basque iron, primarily for shipbuilding. Exports from Britain to these ports were closely linked to the Newfoundland fisheries and, as discussed above, it is likely that Newfoundland cargoes shipped to Southampton from Poole, were re-shipped to Spain.³⁵ The decline in the wine trade with Portugal at the end of the eighteenth century was seen in other British ports, as increased British import duties on wine led to a fall in the sale of Portuguese wine. Although there was an increase in the re-export of Brazilian cotton through Portugal to Britain, this change was not reflected in the shipping data recorded in Southampton.³⁶

There is a lack of statistical evidence regarding American shipping for the period 1775-1790, when the Americans started the collection of data relating to shipping and trade. However, customs records from Pennsylvania and South Carolina provide some information, indicating

³² It is possible that this change was linked to a restructuring of the grain and potato trades in southern Ireland at this time. Dickson, *Old World Colony*, pp. 380-81.

³³ John Mannion, 'The Waterford Merchants and the Irish-Newfoundland Provisions Trade, 1770-1820', in *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, ed. by Donald Harman Akenson (Gananoque, Ont.: Langdale Press, 1978), III, 178-203 (p. 182).

³⁴ This compares to an annual average of 12 journeys each year between Southampton and Porto in 1773-77 and 13 and 17 journeys recorded on this route in 1787 and 1788 respectively.

³⁵ Ayo, 'Anglo-Spanish Trade', pp. 202-4, 207, 210.

³⁶ James Warre, *The Past, Present & Probably the Future State of the Wine Trade* (London: J. Hatchard & Son, 1823), p. 9; H.E.S. Fisher, *The Portugal Trade: A Study of Anglo-Portuguese Commerce, 1700-1770* (London: Methuen, 1971), p. 49.

that a period of economic stagnation in America followed the peace in 1783.³⁷ Although it did not reach pre-war levels, British trade with North America resumed after the war and by the early 1790s, Britain received 31 per cent of the United States overseas exports and, in spite of the restrictions imposed by the Navigation Laws, there is evidence that American-owned ships participated in this trade.³⁸ Southampton's trade with North America and the Caribbean increased from the 1780s, with new destinations listed in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists, including Baltimore, Quebec and Nova Scotia. In the early 1700s, Southampton merchants had been closely involved in the Newfoundland trade. This had dwindled, but revived briefly in the 1780s, when in 1787, 10 journeys were recorded between Southampton and Newfoundland. This temporary increase of the Newfoundland trade was part of a project supported by a prospective MP, Henry Dawkins, whose support was withdrawn when he failed to be elected.³⁹

Another new enterprise for ships trading directly from Southampton was the African slave trade. In 1787, two ships were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists leaving Southampton with Africa as their destination. The following year, one vessel was recorded on this journey and in 1799 yet another. None of these four vessels were recorded on any other journey in Southampton. One of the four slave traders sailing directly from Southampton was the snow *John*, which left London on 15 August 1787. Following a brief stop in Lymington – maybe the Captain's home port - the vessel was recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* on 31 August, leaving Southampton for Africa. After purchasing 119 captured Africans in Cameroon, *John* headed for Jamaica, arriving in Kingston on 10 January 1789. It returned to Africa immediately after disembarking the 110 enslaved who had survived the journey.⁴⁰

Although this project has not found direct evidence of slave ships calling at Southampton in the 1770s, it is well known that West Indian merchants and other owners of enslaved people in the Caribbean lived in Southampton. This included the town's political elite and among these, prospective Parliamentary candidate and Member of the Royal Society Bryan Edwards, who in

³⁷ James F Shepherd and Gary M Walton, 'Economic Change after the American Revolution: Pre- and Post-War Comparisons of Maritime Shipping and Trade', *Explorations in Economic History*, 13.4 (1976), 397–422 (pp. 397, 420).

³⁸ Shepherd and Walton, 'Economic Change after the American Revolution', pp. 406–7, 419; P. J. Marshall, 'Britain Without America - A Second Empire?', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, ed. by P. J. Marshall and Alaine M. Low (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), II, 576–95 (pp. 585–86); Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean*, p. 367.

³⁹ Patterson, *History of Southampton*, p. 73; James Dawkins, 'Dawkins, Henry', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2006 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/107418>> [accessed 2 May 2020].

⁴⁰ The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database (<https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/0DFYzo6Q>) [accessed 23 July 2019]; *Hampshire Chronicle* 3 September 1787; *Lloyd's List* 17, 21 and 28 August 1787.

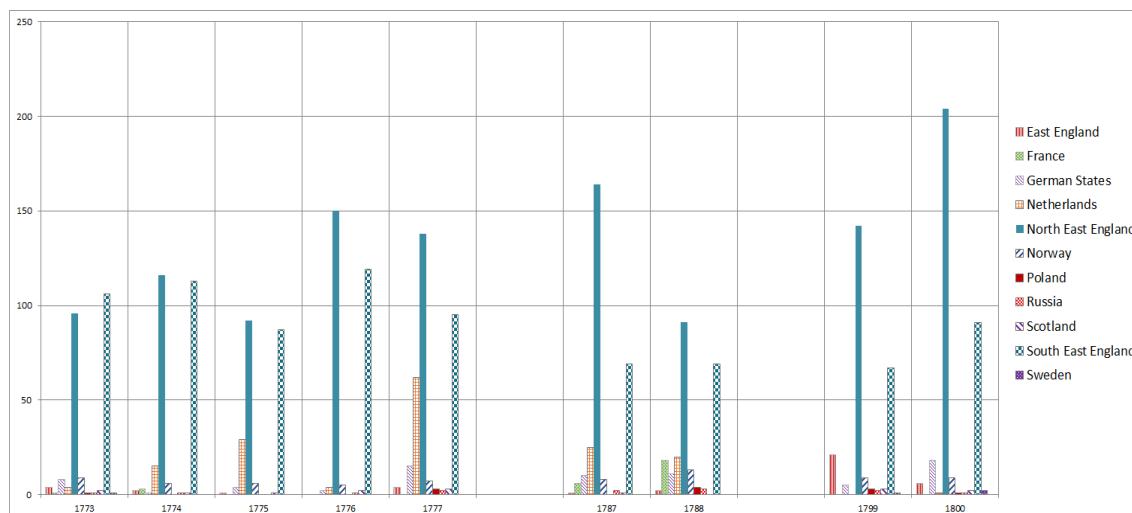
1793 published a history of the West Indies, which included strong support for slavery.⁴¹ By 1834, following the abolition of slavery, 88 individuals with a Southampton address were registered by the Slave Compensation Commission.⁴²

The data from the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists shows how the pattern of trade between Southampton and ports located in the Atlantic and the Irish Sea developed in the 1780s and 1790s. New destinations emerged, including the Spanish ports of Santander and Bilbao, while the importance of previously popular destinations declined. The shipping lists reflected national trading patterns, such as the decline of Bristol and the rise of Liverpool and for the first time, Southampton's links with the international slave trade can be traced in the shipping lists.

North Sea and the Baltic

With the English Channel, the North Sea remained the most important destination for vessels sailing to or from Southampton in the years 1787-88 and 1799-1800. In 1787, 414 of the 1500 journeys recorded that year were for or from a port in the North Sea or the Baltic.⁴³ As shown

Figure 7.8: All arrivals recorded in Southampton, 1773-77, 1788-89 and 1799-1800 from Baltic and North Sea ports



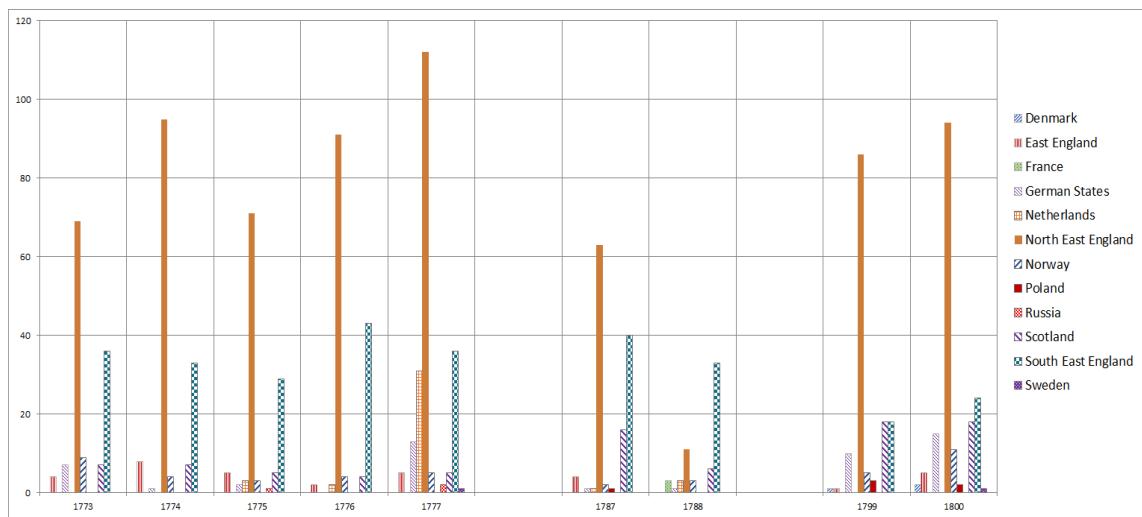
Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

⁴¹ Patterson, *History of Southampton*, p. 85; Olwyn M. Blouet, 'Bryan Edwards, F.R.S., 1743-1800', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 54.2 (2000), 215-22 (pp. 218-20).

⁴² Legacies of British Slave-ownership website <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/> [accessed 18 October 2019]; Moving Here: a National Archives Web Archive site <https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20131105223600/http://www.movinghere.org.uk/galleries/roots/caribbean/slaves/slaverregister4.htm#> [accessed 18 October 2019].

⁴³ In 1788, 291 of 1132 journeys were from or for the North Sea or Baltic, while the corresponding figures for 1799 were 395 out of a total of 140 journeys. In 1800, 507 out of a total of 1222 journeys were for or from North Sea or Baltic ports.

Figure 7.9: All clearances recorded in Southampton, 1773-77, 1788-89 and 1799-1800 for Baltic and North Sea ports



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

in Figures 7.8 and 7.9, domestic ports, particularly the coal ports in the north-east and ports in the south-east, which included London, were the most frequented destinations, the journeys to or from these ports accounting for around 20 per cent of all the journeys recorded in Southampton in 1787-88. The proportion of journeys between Southampton and London or north-east England increased to an annual average of 30 per cent of all journeys in 1799-1800.

In 1787-88 and 1799-1800, London continued to be almost exclusively the only North Sea port in south-east England with any direct contact to Southampton. Of the 411 journeys recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in these four years between Southampton and a North Sea port in south-east England, only five were not for or from London.⁴⁴ As in the 1770s, the cargoes that the vessels carried were varied and local newspapers provide more details, for example the *Kentish Gazette*, which carried regular information about vessels that had sought shelter from stormy weather in Ramsgate. In October 1787, such a report included *John and Elizabeth* and *Venus*, both 'of Southampton' and both carrying 'King's stores' from London to Portsmouth.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ In 1787, one vessel left Southampton for Ramsgate. In 1788, one arrival was recorded from Faversham. In 1799, one vessel arrived from Sandwich and in 1800 one arrival was recorded from Deal, while one vessel left Southampton for Sandwich.

⁴⁵ *Kentish Gazette*, 9 October 1787. *Venus* was a regular trader in Southampton and was recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* arriving from London on 19 October 1787, probably travelling to Southampton after delivering the stores mentioned above to the Royal Dockyard in Portsmouth. *Hampshire Chronicle*, 22 October 1787.

In February 1788, another regular Southampton trader, *Southampton*, sought shelter in Ramsgate en route from London to Portsmouth with a cargo of 'groceries'.⁴⁶

Trade between Southampton and ports in east England remained small at the end of the eighteenth century, with King's Lynn and Yarmouth the most frequent destinations in the 1780s and 1790s.⁴⁷ As seen in previous chapters, Southampton was often on the way to somewhere else, rather than the main destination and could therefore be 'lost' in the shipping information from other ports. One example was the Yarmouth-based brig *Adventure*, which was recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in April 1787, arriving in Southampton from Cadiz. A few weeks later, the vessel left Southampton for Yarmouth. However, the *Bury and Norwich Post* recorded that *Adventure* had arrived in Yarmouth from Cadiz with a cargo of wine, with no mention of the stop in Southampton.⁴⁸ The cargoes shipped from ports in East Anglia were primarily agricultural, particularly corn and flour. Although Southampton was only infrequently mentioned as the main destination, one example was in March 1797, when one vessel left King's Lynn for Southampton, another for Portsmouth, both carrying cargoes of corn.⁴⁹

Coal continued to be one of the main cargoes shipped to Southampton, and Newcastle and Sunderland were among the most frequented destinations for vessels sailing to or from Southampton.⁵⁰ In 1788, there was a sharp reduction in departures from Southampton for ports in north-east England. That year, only nine departures from Southampton for Sunderland and Newcastle were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle*. In comparison, 55 departures for these destinations were recorded in Southampton in 1787.⁵¹ It has not been possible to discover the reason for this decline in the number of vessels departing Southampton for

⁴⁶ *Kentish Gazette*, 15 February 1788. *Southampton*, with Captain Brent, was recorded in Southampton on 14 occasions in 1787-88, seven times arriving from and once leaving for London. Other destinations included Jersey and Leith and in August 1788, the vessel arrived in Southampton from Newcastle, departing a couple of weeks later for Newhaven. *Hampshire Chronicle*, 11 and 25 August 1788.

⁴⁷ Only 40 vessels were recorded in Southampton in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists in 1787-88 and 1799-1800, giving an east England port as the destination or origin of the journey.

⁴⁸ *Lloyd's Register*, 1788, A73; *Hampshire Chronicle*, 30 April and 14 May 1787; *Bury and Norwich Post*, 16 May 1787.

⁴⁹ *Norfolk Chronicle*, 11 March 1797.

⁵⁰ Journeys to or from Sunderland, recorded in Southampton in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists were: 124 in 1787 (94 arrivals, 30 departures); 94 in 1788 (45 arrivals, 4 departures); 124 in 1799 (86 arrivals, 38 departures); 180 in 1800 (132 arrivals, 48 departures). The corresponding figures for Newcastle were: 1787: 94 (69 arrivals, 25 departures); 1788: 51 (46 arrivals, 5 departures); 1799: 100 (52 arrivals, 48 departures); 1800: 109 (68 arrivals, 41 departures).

⁵¹ The number of departures from Southampton to Newcastle and Sunderland in 1787 was itself a reduction in the number seen in the other years analysed for this project. In 1799, the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists recorded 86 departures from Southampton to Newcastle or Sunderland. The figure for 1800 was 89, while 1777 had seen 111 departures for the two north-eastern ports.

Newcastle or Sunderland, but as mentioned above, there seems to be a link between this and an increase in the number of vessels sailing from Southampton to Newhaven in 1788.⁵²

Trade between Southampton and ports in Scotland increased in the 1780s and 1790s, compared to the shipping recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* during the period 1773-1777. The earlier period saw an annual average of 10 vessels arriving in or leaving from Southampton from or for a Scottish port. In the years 1787-88 and 1799-1800, an annual average of 21 vessels were recorded on these journeys. In 1787-88, just under half of the journeys were from or for Scottish ports in the Irish Sea, notably Glasgow, while in 1799-1800 only one of the 42 Scottish journeys recorded in those two years was for a Scottish port in the Irish Sea.⁵³ This development may be linked to the opening of the Forth-Clyde canal, which reached the outskirts of Glasgow in 1775 and opened fully in 1790.⁵⁴

A small number of vessels were regular traders between Southampton and various Scottish ports, for example, *Isabella* was recorded on five occasions in Southampton, travelling between Scotland and Southampton, stopping to pick up coal in Sunderland on the way south.⁵⁵ Cargoes carried to Scotland from Southampton were mostly timber or bark. Examples included *Industry*, which arrived in Leith from Southampton with a cargo of bark in May 1787.⁵⁶ The brig *Perth* was recorded on two journeys between Sunderland, Southampton and Aberdeen, in April-May 1799 and in January 1800. On 8 February 1800, *Perth* was taken by a French privateer off Whitby, but was re-taken by a Royal Navy armed cutter a few days afterwards. Newspapers reported that it was carrying a cargo of timber.⁵⁷

⁵² An example of this change in destinations was *Blessed Endeavour*, which was recorded on 24 occasions in Southampton in 1787-88. On 15 of the 24 recorded journeys, *Blessed Endeavour* arrived in Southampton from Newcastle, no other departure ports were recorded. In 1787, the vessel was recorded leaving Southampton on six occasions, three times for Newcastle, three times for Scarborough. In 1788, only three departures were recorded, one for the Norwegian port of Merdo, twice for Newhaven.

⁵³ In May 1800, Captain Sinclair in the vessel *Vine* left Southampton for Greenock. *Hampshire Chronicle*, 26 May 1800.

⁵⁴ Jackson, 'Scottish Shipping 1775-1805', p. 119.

⁵⁵ In September 1787, *Isabella* left Southampton for Kirkaldy, returning in November from Sunderland. In early December, the vessel left Southampton again, this time for Perth. It returned to Southampton from Sunderland in May 1788. *Hampshire Chronicle*, 24 September 1787, 26 November 1787, 10 December 1787, 12 May 1788.

⁵⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 5 May 1787.

⁵⁷ *Perth* arrived in Southampton from Sunderland on 19 April 1799 and left for Aberdeen on 17 May 1799. It arrived in Southampton again from Sunderland on 3 January 1800 and departed for Aberdeen on 24 January 1800. *Hampshire Chronicle*, 22 April, 20 May 1799, 6 and 27 January 1800; *Kentish Gazette*, 18 February 1800.

In December 1800, Parliament passed a Bill to support the herring fishery in the Firth of Forth through duty free allowances of salt to preserve the catch and protections from impressment for the fishermen. The purpose of this initiative was to provide cheap food for poor people at a time when other provisions were scarce. Regional newspapers reported that the House of Commons Committee looking into the high price of provisions proposed that a new method of preserving the fish should be used, requiring less salt, and making them 'much superior in flavour and in nutritive qualities to those which are prepared, for exportation to distant countries, with a greater quantity of salt'. The Committee also advocated that local subscriptions should be set up, to support the distribution and, 'by their persuasion and example' promote the consumption of the lightly cured herring, 'to remove the prejudices which at first usually oppose the introduction of a new article of food'.⁵⁸ In early February 1801, the *Hampshire Chronicle* reported that the ship with the first cargo of herrings under the new scheme was due from Leith within days. Subscriptions in Southampton had at that time reached £4899.⁵⁹

British trade with continental Europe increased in the years following the conclusion of the War of American Independence. Many merchants were reluctant to re-establish trade links with the new American republic and opted instead to look to continental European trading partners.⁶⁰ In Southampton, as discussed above, there was a steep increase in the direct contact between Southampton and Dutch and German North Sea ports towards the end of the period 1773-77, culminating in 117 journeys to or from these countries recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in 1777. 62 per cent of these journeys were arrivals and half of them were for or from Amsterdam or Rotterdam. This increased trade and the pattern of trade recorded in 1777 did not continue into the 1780s and 1790s. In 1787-88, 56 journeys were recorded between Southampton and North Sea ports in the Netherlands or Germany, almost all of them arrivals and most were from or for a port in the Netherlands, but unlike in 1777, only eight of the 56 journeys were for or from Amsterdam or Rotterdam, while 28 of the journeys were arrivals from Groningen or Middelburg.⁶¹ In 1799-1800, the trade had reduced,

⁵⁸ *Chester Courant*, 23 December 1800.

⁵⁹ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 9 February 1801.

⁶⁰ Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 94-97; Ralph Davis, 'English Foreign Trade, 1700-1774', *The Economic History Review*, 15.2 (1962), 285-303 (p. 298).

⁶¹ At this time, the focus of Groningen's trade was changing from primarily the shipping of grain from the Baltic towards being a supplier of peat, mainly to Amsterdam. Werner Scheltjens, 'The Changing Geography of Demand for Dutch Maritime Transport in the Eighteenth Century', *Histoire & Mesure [Online]*, XXVII.2 (2012), 3-48 (p. 34) <<https://doi.org/10.4000/histoiremesure.4530>>; Middelburg was the centre of the Dutch slave trade. ZeeuwsArchief (Zeeland Archives), 'History', *Slave Voyage Aboard*

undoubtedly due to the war with France, with only 12 and 23 journeys recorded between Southampton and Dutch and German North Sea ports in those two years respectively. The most frequented destinations were now Hamburg and Emden and only one journey was recorded to or from a port in the Netherlands: one vessel arriving from Rotterdam in August 1800.

For the countries around the Baltic, a recession followed the end of the War of American Independence, with falling timber prices and a reduced number of ships passing the Sound in the years 1784-89. Adding to the downturn, a couple of years of poor harvests reduced the amount of wheat and rye available for export.⁶² Improved technology and rising tariffs meant that British imports of both Swedish and Russian iron declined in the 1780s and 1790s as Britain became increasingly self-sufficient in the supply of iron.⁶³ However, an analysis of the cargoes of ships sailing from Sweden to Britain in 1787 show that iron, tar and wooden boards were still the primary cargoes. This was also the case for the Whitby-based ship, *General Carleton*, which was wrecked during a storm in 1785, carrying a cargo of iron and tar from Stockholm to London.⁶⁴ Southampton's trade with the Baltic, which had been very modest in the 1770s, continued at the same level in 1787-88, with a slight increase in numbers of vessels recorded in 1799-1800, mainly from the grain-exporting ports of Danzig and Rostock.

The North Sea continued to be one of the two most frequently visited regions for ships recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists in Southampton in 1787-88 and 1799-1800. London remained the single most popular destination, accounting for just over 8 per cent of all the journeys recorded in Southampton during those four years. Trade with Scottish ports increased, with at least some of this trade linked with the coal trade from Newcastle and Sunderland. The pattern of trade with Dutch and German ports changed in the 1780s from

the Unity <<http://www.zeeuwsarchief-educatie.nl/webprojecten/slavenhandel/en/introductie-reis/>> [accessed 2 May 2020].

⁶² Johansen, *Shipping and Trade between the Baltic Area and Western Europe 1784-95*, pp. 12-13; Shepherd and Walton, 'Economic Change after the American Revolution', p. 415; Hans Chr. Johansen, 'Demand and Supply Factors in Late Eighteenth Century Grain Trade', in *From Dunkirk to Danzig: Shipping and Trade in the North Sea and the Baltic, 1350-1850*, ed. by W.G. Heeres and J.A. Faber, Amsterdamse Historische Reeks: Grote Serie, 5 (Hilversum: Verloren Publishers, 1988), pp. 281-98 (pp. 295-96).

⁶³ Evans, Jackson, and Rydén, p. 645.

⁶⁴ Johansen, *Shipping and Trade between the Baltic Area and Western Europe 1784-95*, p. 65; Stephen Baines, 'The History of General Carleton, and Some of Those Connected with Her', in *The General Carleton Shipwreck, 1785 =: Wrak Statku General Carleton, 1785*, ed. by Waldemar Ossowski, Archaeological Research of the Polish Maritime Museum, 1 (Gdańsk: Centralne Muzeum Morskie, 2008), pp. 65-116 (pp. 90-91); Stephen Baines, *The Yorkshire Mary Rose: The Ship General Carleton of Whitby* (Pickering, UK: Blackthorn Press, 2010), p. 1.

that observed in the 1770s, and ports other than Amsterdam and Rotterdam became the most frequently visited by ships trading in Southampton. In the 1790s, it is clear that the war had an impact on the destinations available to merchant ships, reflected in the almost complete absence of Dutch ports recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in 1799-1800.

Conclusion – Southampton’s Maritime Trade in the Later Eighteenth Century

Southampton benefitted from the improved international economic trends following the War of American Independence, demonstrated in the wider range of ports recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists in 1787-88. However, changes in the distribution of trade could be detected in all regions over the years included in this research project and even in regions where the pattern of trade with Southampton remained unchanged from that recorded in the 1770s, new destinations emerged and others which had previously been important disappeared from the shipping lists. The war with France clearly affected the range of destinations listed in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists in 1799-1800, with ports in France and the Netherlands no longer safe for ships trading with British ports, including Southampton. However, trade with Spain, at this time part of the coalition against Britain, increased in 1800, an indication of the importance of the trade links with Iberia.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Research carried out by Katerina Galani confirms that British shipping to the Mediterranean region did not cease during the wars with France. Galani, pp. 78-80.

CHAPTER 8: THREATS AND OPPORTUNITIES – THE IMPACT OF WAR ON SOUTHAMPTON'S MARITIME TRADE

A letter from a ship owner in Sunderland to his master at Northam, dated May 12, says, that several ships, belonging to that and other parts, had been taken and carried into France, and that, from this and other circumstances, they were under great apprehensions that war would be immediately declared against that Power; and that the underwriters at that place, had greatly advanced their premiums on receiving the above intelligence.¹

War caused risks for shipowners and seafarers, but it also provided new opportunities for income. Merchants and mariners, as well as insurance brokers, were able to benefit financially from war, through greater demand for certain goods, higher prices or increased wages. Although there is no scholarly consensus over the nature of the impact on Britain's economy of the wars of the late eighteenth century, there is no doubt that there was an impact.² There was a reduction in British foreign trade as a consequence of the War of American Independence, both in the value of goods exported and in terms of the tonnage of shipping. However, the downturn was not primarily caused by the loss of trade with the American colonies: as almost half of all British exports went to the Continent, the serious decline in trade only started after 1778, when France, then Spain and the Netherlands joined the war.³ The Southampton shipping list data for nine years are included in this project, 1773-77, 1788-89 and 1799-1800, and for half of that time, Britain was at war.⁴ This chapter explores the impact of war on the maritime trade of Southampton and how the data collected from the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists for this project, together with other sources, adds to our knowledge of this issue.

In Bristol, there was a reduction in trade following the outbreak of the War of American Independence, while scholars have shown that Liverpool's economy was unaffected by the war

¹ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 19 May 1777.

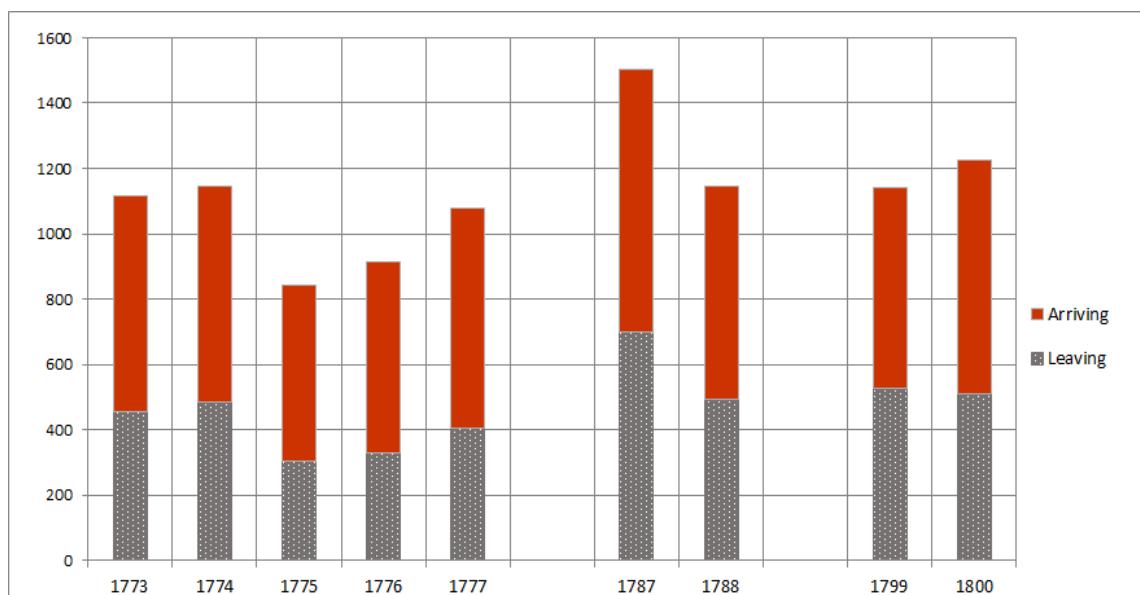
² Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*, pp. 45, 47; Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, pp. 136-37.

³ The value of exports to the thirteen colonies in 1774 was around £2.5 million. However, the loss of this trade was partially offset by increased exports to other parts of America, particularly Canada. Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*, pp. 59, 69-70; Stephen Conway, 'Empire, Europe and British Naval Power', in *Empire, the Sea and Global History: Britain's Maritime World, c. 1760-c. 1840*, ed. by David Cannadine (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 22-40 (p. 29); Paul Mantoux and T. S Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century: An Outline of the Beginnings of the Modern Factory System in England* (London: Methuen, 1964), pp. 100-102.

⁴ War years featured in this project include 1776-77, 1799-1800 and part of 1775.

until after 1779, when the number of vessels trading in the town reduced from an annual average of more than 350 to 293. Liverpool's greater resilience was undoubtedly caused by a number of local factors, including improved infrastructure in the north of England, enabling more export goods from the Midlands and Lancashire to reach the port. It has also been suggested that Merseyside's merchants were quicker to diversify their business than their counterparts in other towns.⁵ In Ireland, every international conflict from the mid-1740s until 1815 was good for the Cork region, as prices rose due to the increased demand for military provisions, including butter, pork and beef.⁶ Glasgow was an entrepôt for the trade between America and the Continent, with tobacco the main commodity traded. Unsurprisingly, Glasgow's trade plummeted after the American colonies' declaration of independence.⁷ For Southampton, the situation was different as the port only had limited direct trade with America. However, the war affected Southampton's shipping in many ways. As discussed in previous chapters, the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists illustrated how Southampton's trade fluctuated in war and peace. In the early years of the 1770s, when the country was at peace, the numbers of vessels recorded in Southampton were higher than from 1775 onwards, as the conflict in America escalated (see Figure 8.1). And in spite of the difficulty of directly

Figure 8.1: All journeys recorded in Southampton, 1773-77, 1788-89 and 1799-1800



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

⁵ Minchinton, 'The Port of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century', pp. 155, 157–58; Simon Hill, 'British Imperialism, Liverpool and the American Revolution, 1763-1783' (unpublished PhD, Liverpool John Moores University, 2015), p. 208; Sheryllynne Haggerty, *The British-Atlantic Trading Community, 1760-1810 : Men, Women, and the Distribution of Goods* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2006), p. 64; Hill, 'The Liverpool Economy during the War of American Independence, 1775–83', p. 851.

⁶ Dickson, *Old World Colony*, pp. 158, 366.

⁷ M. L. Robertson, p. 123.

comparing the data of the peace years of the 1780s with that of the later war years due to the time gap between the two sets of data, it is evident that the peace years saw greater numbers of vessels trading in Southampton.

As shown in the chapters above, shipping between Southampton and several naval ports increased in the years 1775-77 as growing numbers of military personnel and provisions were needed by the armed forces in America. This included nearby Portsmouth as well as Plymouth and Devonport and, to a smaller degree, Chatham and Rochester. Local suppliers and seafarers also benefitted from development works at the naval dockyards, particularly Portsmouth and Plymouth, hastened by the war. On several occasions, local papers included notices for masters of vessels of 20 to 70 tons 'that they may meet with constant employ, and good dispatch, in carrying stone, from Swanage to the new works at Portsmouth'.⁸

Scholars have debated the existence of the 'fiscal-military state' and the extent to which the successive wars of the eighteenth century led to the emergence of a strong machinery of state in Britain.⁹ The records examined for this thesis support the argument that Government investment within the British Isles increased as hostilities escalated and helped to offset the downturn in foreign trade caused by the war. Locally, the increased public expenditure included the cost of accommodation for military personnel and investment in shipbuilding in private yards, such as Buckler's Hard in Beaulieu.¹⁰ The *Hampshire Chronicle* included regular reports of soldiers staying in Southampton and local people undoubtedly benefitted financially from this. However, after the outbreak of the French Revolutionary War in 1792, some locals felt that there were too many soldiers in town. In 1793, the Southampton publicans petitioned the Corporation to purchase or build barracks in town, 'as they are at present so much oppressed by the number of soldiers quartered at their homes, that their families suffer considerably'.¹¹ Government investment elsewhere also affected Southampton. As discussed in Chapter 4, there was a reduction in the number of vessels clearing Southampton for Cork from 1776 onwards. Cork was the only Irish town supplying provisions for the British Army and Navy and in 1776, Government fears that there would be a shortage of provisions led to the

⁸ For example, *Hampshire Chronicle* 17 May 1773; *Salisbury Journal* 3 April 1775.

⁹ Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*, pp. 4-5, 352-53.

¹⁰ In Southampton, frigates were launched from private shipyards in Northam in 1773, 1785 and 1786 (*Hampshire Chronicle*, 16 August 1773, 14 February 1785 and 27 November 1786).

¹¹ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 16 June 1793.

introduction of an embargo on private trade in the port. The embargo would undoubtedly have reduced the availability of corn and other provisions for Southampton.¹²

Merchant vessels were hired by the government transport service in increasing numbers in wartime, providing an opportunity for additional income for shipowners. It has been estimated that the transport service used as much as 10 per cent of the British merchant fleet in the wars of the late eighteenth century.¹³ The example of regular Southampton trader, Norwegian captain Christen Bindrup has been mentioned above in Chapter 5. In May 1776, Captain Bindrup was in Southampton, having arrived from Christiania with a cargo of deals. Before the wood was unloaded, he wrote to the Navy Board to ask about the possibility of hiring his vessel as a transport. He felt that his vessel was well supplied with equipment, but added 'If anything should be wanting, I will purchase it before I sail'. However, the Navy Board response was brief: 'His Majesty's service is not in want of the vessel' and Bindrup left Southampton after a few weeks in port. He continued in the timber trade and was recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* on five occasions in 1777, on return journeys between Southampton and Christiania.¹⁴

As the conflict in America developed, the British Navy commissioned more ships and consequently, needed a growing number of seamen. In April 1776, the *Hampshire Chronicle* carried an advertisement, offering a bounty of 'three pounds for every Able Seaman, and forty shillings for every Landsman, entering on board His Majesty's ships of war'. The volunteers should report to Lieutenant Noble in Southampton, 'where they will meet with every kind of encouragement, and enter into immediate pay'.¹⁵ However, the number of men volunteering for the Navy was insufficient and other means had to be employed:

Wednesday night there was a brisk press for seamen at Southampton. They stripped all the Guernsey and Jersey ships, colliers &c of all their hands, even old men and boys, leaving only the captain or master on board.¹⁶

¹² Dickson, *Old World Colony*, pp. 366–67; O'Connor, pp. 6–7; David Syrett, *Shipping and the American War 1775–83; a Study of British Transport Organization*, University of London Historical Studies, 27 (London: University of London, Athlone Press, 1970), p. 122.

¹³ Ville, *English Shipowning during the Industrial Revolution*, p. 12; David Syrett, 'The Procurement of Shipping by the Board of Ordnance During the American War, 1775–1782', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 81.4 (1995), 409–16 (pp. 410–11).

¹⁴ ADM 106/1233/174, *Hampshire Chronicle*, 27 May and 5 Aug 1776, 26 May, 9 June, 28 July, 11 Aug and 22 Sep 1777.

¹⁵ A Landsman was a recruit with no previous experience of the sea. *Hampshire Chronicle* 1 April 1776.

¹⁶ *Derby Mercury*, 14 November 1776.

Although understandably unpopular among seafarers and shipowners alike, impressment was a measure used regularly in wartime during the eighteenth century, particularly at the beginning of the wars, when large numbers of seamen were required quickly.¹⁷

Impressment was the enforced recruitment to the Navy, either at sea, where seamen were taken out of merchant vessels which had been stopped en route to a British port by naval ships, or on land, when 'press gangs' recruited men either as volunteers, for which a bounty was paid, or involuntarily, as 'pressed' men. The press gangs were under the command of a lieutenant and were based at regional seaports from where the new recruits were sent to the nearest naval port for further processing.¹⁸ Southampton was among the ports acting as a base for press gangs, as demonstrated by the advertisement referred to above and the records of the Navy Board contain regular communications from the lieutenant stationed in Southampton, including in December 1777, a notice from Thomas Prescott confirming that he had drawn a bill for £100 'to enable me to carry on the service of raising men for His Majesty's fleet'¹⁹. In July 1790, the *Hampshire Chronicle* reported that press gangs had picked up 'more than 26 able seamen' from Northam and Southampton and that they would be sent to Portsmouth the following day.²⁰ An estimated 40,000 seamen were potentially available on board British vessels engaged in coasting or short sea shipping to the near Continent and it has been argued that the size of the British merchant fleet was a significant factor in Britain's success against France and the Netherlands in the wars during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²¹

As a means of support for merchants and shipowners, whose business was disrupted by the impressment of the seamen on board their vessels, a system of protections from impressment was available to which masters of merchant vessels could apply. This system was in force

¹⁷ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 324; Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 70; Stephen F. Grapish, *The Manning of the British Navy during the Seven Years' War*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History Series, no. 21 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1980), pp. 54–56.

¹⁸ Research has shown that during the wars with France at the end of the eighteenth century, only six per cent of the seamen on board Navy ships in Portsmouth were pressed, while most of the crews were transferred from another warship. J.R. Dancy, *The Myth of the Press Gang: Volunteers, Impressment and the Naval Manpower Problem in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 45–47, 120–21; N. A. M. Rodger, *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (London: Collins, 1986), pp. 127, 154, 163–65; Quintin Colville, 'Life Afloat', in *Nelson, Navy & Nation: The Royal Navy & the British People 1688–1815*, ed. by Quintin Colville and James Davey (London: Conway, 2013), pp. 76–93 (pp. 76–80).

¹⁹ ADM 106/1240/119.

²⁰ *Hampshire Chronicle* 19 July 1790.

²¹ Dwight E. Robinson, pp. 13–15.

throughout the eighteenth century and registration for protections began when Parliament approved additional naval spending in advance of each conflict during the century.²² Protections were issued to a wide variety of men employed in maritime trades. In December 1777, protections were issued to Benjamin Potter and John Johnson of Hythe, both employed on board a ferry connecting Hythe, Southampton and Cowes.²³ When the Navy was particularly short of crew, it could issue a 'hot press' under which protections were disregarded. In November 1776, the *Hampshire Chronicle* reported that in Portsmouth, the press was 'so very hot' that it was impossible to buy fish or oysters, 'as the fishermen are afraid to stir'.²⁴ Impressment caused hardship in maritime coastal communities, where the main breadwinner was at risk of enforced removal by the press gang and possible death during their naval service, leaving families destitute. It also made it difficult for shipowners and masters to find crews for their vessels, as many seamen chose to desert before arrival in port in order to avoid impressment.²⁵ In response to the difficulty of recruiting seamen, there are indications that some shipowners sought to employ non-British sailors, in order to avoid the impressment of their crew, since only British seamen could be pressed.²⁶

Merchants could limit risks and delays by shipping their goods in neutral, rather than British ships. Although under the rules of the Navigation Laws, all goods to and from Britain had to be shipped on British-owned ships, crewed primarily by British sailors, these rules were regularly flouted, particularly in times of war.²⁷ As seen above in Chapter 5, the number of Dutch ships recorded in Southampton in the 1770s increased significantly as the conflict in America developed, particularly in 1777, when 93 journeys to or from Dutch ports were recorded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists, many of them by vessels and captains with Dutch-sounding names. Dutch ships were the most successful neutral carriers until the outbreak of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War in 1780, after which time Scandinavian, particularly Danish ships assumed this position.²⁸ The background to the British conflict with the Dutch was a difference over the

²² Dwight E. Robinson, p. 13; Nicholas Rogers, 'British Impressment and Its Discontents', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 30.1 (2018), 52–73 (p. 60); Rodger, *The Wooden World*, pp. 177–78.

²³ ADM 7/373/34

²⁴ Rodger, *The Wooden World*, p. 178; *Hampshire Chronicle* 18 Nov 1776.

²⁵ Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 257; Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, pp. 324–25; Stephen Conway, 'The Mobilization of Manpower for Britain's Mid-Eighteenth-Century Wars', *Historical Research*, 77.197 (2004), 377–404 (p. 384).

²⁶ Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 250.

²⁷ Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 248–49; Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 133; Sas, pp. 35–36.

²⁸ Dan H. Andersen, 'The Danish Flag in the Mediterranean. Shipping and Trade 1747–1807' (unpublished PhD, University of Copenhagen, 2000), p. 198; Ole Feldbæk, *Dansk neutralitetspolitik under krigen 1778*

concept of neutrality. Since the seventeenth century, neutral powers had claimed the principle that 'free ships make free goods', e.g. that any goods carried on board a neutral ship were automatically regarded as neutral and could therefore not be confiscated by one of the warring powers. However, following the outbreak of war between France and Britain in 1779, several neutral ships were taken by British privateers and goods from or for France were confiscated. In an attempt to counter the British, Russia invited Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands to join together in an armed league of neutrality and Britain, seeking to limit the damage of this proposed alliance, declared war on the Netherlands, who therefore, no longer being a neutral nation, were unable to join the league.²⁹ There were only eight occasions in 1781 when Southampton was included in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists. None of these eight lists included any vessels sailing to or from Denmark, or any vessels or captains with Danish-sounding names. However, the data is too limited to show whether Danish vessels took over some of the shipping vacated by the Dutch in Southampton after 1780. In 1799-1800, the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists did include some Danish and Swedish vessels, but only in small numbers and there is no indication that more neutral vessels traded in Southampton at this time.³⁰ The golden age of Scandinavian neutral shipping came to an end after 1806, when in response to a British blockade of the French coast, Napoleon introduced a blockade of Britain and ceased to accept the concept of neutrality. To counter the French blockade and to preserve access to the Baltic and the essential supply of naval stores, Britain attacked Denmark in 1807, bombarding the capital and destroying the Danish navy.³¹

- 1783: *studier i regeringens prioritering af politiske og økonomiske interesser*, Publikation / Institut for Økonomisk Historie, 2 (København: Gad, 1971), pp. 28–29.

²⁹ Feldbæk, *Dansk neutralitetspolitik under krigen 1778 - 1783*, pp. 89–91; Müller, 'Nordic Neutrals and Anglo-French Wars, 1689-1815', p. 5; Baugh, 'Withdrawning from Europe: Anglo-French Maritime Geopolitics, 1750–1800', p. 24; David Starkey, 'British Privateering against the Dutch in the American Revolutionary War, 1780-1783', in *Studies in British Privateering, Trading Enterprise, and Seamen's Welfare, 1775-1900*, ed. by Harold Edward Stephen Fisher, Exeter Papers in Economic History, no. 17 (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1987), pp. 1–17 (pp. 2–4).

³⁰ In 1799, one Danish and one Swedish vessel were recorded in Southampton. In 1800, the lists included two Danish and three Swedish vessels.

³¹ Feldbæk, *Denmark and the Armed Neutrality 1800-1801*, pp. 202–7; Davey, 'Securing the Sinews of Sea Power: British Intervention in the Baltic 1780–1815', p. 176; Silvia Marzagalli, 'Port Cities in the French Wars: The Response of Merchants in Bordeaux, Hamburg and Livorno to Napoleon's Continental Blockade. 1806-1813', *The Northern Mariner*, VI.4 (1996), 65–73 (p. 66); Ole Feldbæk, *Tiden 1730-1814*, Danmarks Historie, 4 (København: Gyldendal, 1982), pp. 293–96; Leos Müller, 'The Growth of Nordic Shipping, Scandinavian Fleets, Their Construction, Crews and Ports', in *The Sea in History The Early Modern World*, ed. by Christian Buchet and Gerard Le Bouedec (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 30–39 (p. 39).

Chapter 8

Merchant shipping in wartime has been described as a gamble, with potentially rich rewards, but also with great risks.³² Shipowners took different steps to minimise the risks, by changing the voyage patterns followed by their vessels and in some cases even changing the vessels themselves. Charles A. Keene has thus shown that during the period 1798-1820, merchants trading with Livorno in Italy increasingly preferred medium-sized vessels, between 100 and 249 tons, rather than larger ships and he suggests that the reason for this was instability in availability of cargoes in wartime.³³ During the Seven Years' War, there was a simplification of the voyage pattern for vessels trading across the Atlantic, with an increase in direct voyages between two, rather than several ports, an effect of shipowners attempting to reduce their risks.³⁴ That merchants needed to be more flexible and adaptable during conflicts than in peacetime, is illustrated by Simon Ville's research into Newcastle-based merchants, the Henleys, who, during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars diversified and extended the range of trades into which their vessels were deployed, rather than relying on the coal trade which had been their main focus during the years of peace preceding the wars.³⁵ There is evidence that the vessels trading in Southampton also diversified into different trades, one example was the sloop *Delight*. Captain James Warwick, who was also part owner of the vessel, sailed mostly between Southampton and various Irish ports during 1775-76. In 1777, Captain Warwick changed his sailing pattern, first to Rochester and Rotterdam, then to the southern Baltic port of Pillau in Prussia. This change may have been forced by the emergence of American privateers making the journey to Ireland more perilous. However, the changed sailing pattern also allowed Captain Warwick to take advantage of a less regular availability of cargoes.³⁶

If trade became too risky, one option for a shipowner was to fit out their ship as a privateer, the state-sanctioned use of private merchant vessels in time of war to attack the enemy's commerce. Shipowners could reap the financial rewards of any goods or vessels captured and there was only limited expenditure for the state as the fitting-out costs were borne by the shipowner. In the eighteenth century, privateering was a popular way for nations, including

³² Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 329; Craig, p. 379.

³³ Keene, p. 686.

³⁴ Kenneth Morgan, 'Shipping Patterns and the Atlantic Trade of Bristol, 1749-1770', p. 517.

³⁵ Ville, *English Shipowning during the Industrial Revolution*, p. 52.

³⁶ We don't know when *Delight* was built, however, in 1778, *Lloyd's Register* described the vessel, an 80-ton sloop as 'old' (*Lloyd's Register* 1778, D41). The Sound Toll registers recorded Southampton as Captain Warwick's home port (Sound Toll registers online, http://dietrich.soundtoll.nl/public/places_standard.php?id=195659, accessed 13 June 2015). *Hampshire Chronicle*, 15 Aug and 19 Sep 1774, 9 Jan, 10 Jul, 7 Aug, 11 Sep and 9 Oct 1775, 13 and 27 May, 8 and 29 Jul, 26 Aug, 14 Oct, 9 Dec 1776, 12 May, 2 Jun, 7 Jul and 4 Aug 1777.

the American colonists aspiring to nationhood, to enhance their sea power.³⁷ Privateering could play an important part in the local economy and it has been suggested that Liverpool's commercial growth was in part due to the large number of privateers fitted out at the port.³⁸ In Southampton, nine local ships were commissioned as privateers during the 1777-83 war, similar to Cowes and Portsmouth from where 9 and 10 vessels respectively were commissioned. In comparison, 26 vessels from Alderney, 90 Guernsey vessels and 107 vessels from Jersey were commissioned as privateers in the same period.³⁹ In October 1778, the captain of a Guernsey privateer advertised in the *Hampshire Chronicle* for crew members: a bounty of five guineas was offered to Able Seamen, two and a half guineas to 'able-bodied Landsmen'. As an added incentive, prospective applicants were offered to 'be protected from all impress'.⁴⁰ For the Channel Islands, privateering provided an essential addition to the islands' economy in wartime and the privateers on the islands were relatively more successful in capturing prizes than their counterparts in Bristol and Liverpool. Thus more than 200 prizes were captured by Guernsey privateers during the War of American Independence.⁴¹ Research has shown that the capital to finance the fitting out of privateers in the Channel Islands came from different sources, specific to each island. While Jersey's privateers were linked to the island's large Newfoundland fishing fleet, the origin of the funding for Guernsey's privateers seems to have had close links to the island's wine trade – and the substantial, unquantified, contraband trade.⁴²

³⁷ David Starkey, 'Eighteenth-Century Privateering', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 1.2 (1989), 279–86 (p. 279); Swanson, p. 277; Marzagalli, 'Port Cities in the French Wars', p. 66; Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, pp. 331–33; W. E. Minchinton and David J. Starkey, 'Characteristics of Privateers Operating from the British Isles Against America, 1777–1783', in *Ships, Seafaring, and Society: Essays in Maritime History*, ed. by Timothy J. Runyan (Detroit, Mich: Published for the Great Lakes Historical Society by Wayne State University Press, 1987), pp. 251–74 (pp. 252–54); Dan Conlin, 'Privateer Entrepot: Commercial Militarization in Liverpool, Nova Scotia, 1793–1805', *The Northern Mariner*, VIII.2 (1998), 21–38 (p. 21); Michael J. Crawford, 'The Privateering Debate in Revolutionary America', *The Northern Mariner*, XXI.3 (2011), 219–34 (pp. 233–34).

³⁸ Hill, 'The Liverpool Economy during the War of American Independence, 1775–83', p. 844; 390 privateers were fitted out in Liverpool during the War of American Independence (David Starkey, *British Privateering Enterprise in the Eighteenth Century*, Exeter Maritime Studies [University of Exeter Press, 1990], p. 200); David Starkey, 'A Restless Spirit: British Privateering Enterprise, 1739–1815', in *Pirates and Privateers: New Perspectives on the War on Trade in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. by David Starkey, E.S. van Eyck van Heslinga, and J.A. de Moor, Exeter Maritime Studies (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997), pp. 126–40 (pp. 137–38).

³⁹ Starkey, *British Privateering Enterprise in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 200.

⁴⁰ *Hampshire Chronicle* 12 October 1778.

⁴¹ Morieux, *The Channel*, p. 254; Peter Raban, 'Channel Island Privateering, 1739–1763', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 1.2 (1989), 287–99 (p. 287); Swanson, p. 271, quoting Raban; H. C. Timewell, 'Guernsey Privateers', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 56.2 (1970), 199–218 (pp. 207–11).

⁴² Raban, 'Channel Island Privateering, 1739–1763', pp. 288, 299; Timewell, p. 199.

Scholars have argued that one possible consequence of the addition of captured prizes to the British merchant fleet after the war might have been to depress local shipbuilding. On the other hand, foreign-built prizes may have encouraged the dissemination of new ideas regarding the design and construction of ships and there is evidence of a boost to British shipbuilding due to the absence of American-built vessels for sale in the years following the war. Furthermore, the 1780s shipping registers only included vessels currently employed in merchant shipping, so in addition to vessels taken as prizes during the war, the number of new additions to the shipping registers also included previously registered ships which had been 'invisible' to the register while they were used as government transports or laid up.⁴³

Just as British shipowners tried to benefit from the economic opportunities that privateering offered, so did shipowners in other nations. As mentioned in Chapter 3 above, American privateers were present in British and European waters from 1775, affecting the trade of Southampton and many other British ports. The total losses of British merchant ships due to privateers and enemy action during the War of American Independence have been estimated at 3386 ships, although the true number of captured vessels was undoubtedly higher as, for simplicity, many privateers preferred to ransom the ships that they took.⁴⁴ One vessel lost to American privateers was the sloop *Hollam*, which at 60 tons was of average size for a vessel trading in Southampton. Based in Southampton, *Hollam*'s captain Robert Foster was one of the town's regular traders with Iberia, London and Ireland. In April 1777, on the way back from Malaga, *Hollam* was taken by the American privateer *Rising States*, carried into the French port of L'Orient and sold. The privateer was itself captured a few days later by a British warship. The event was reported in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, which added that the captured privateer had been taken to Portsmouth, where it was later sold.⁴⁵ The newspaper report included extensive

⁴³ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, p. 69; Ville, *English Shipowning during the Industrial Revolution*, p. 149; Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 132; Simon Ville, 'Rise to Pre-Eminence: The Development and Growth of the Sunderland Shipbuilding Industry, 1800–50', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 1.1 (1989), 65–86 (p. 65).

⁴⁴ Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, pp. 315, 318; In 1778, two Hull-based vessels, with cargoes worth £2160 and £5819 were ransomed for just £800 each (Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 137, n1).

⁴⁵ The paperwork relating to the capture and sale of *Rising States* has survived and includes detailed inventories of the privateer and the circumstances of her brief career as a privateer, HCA 32/442 and ADM 106/1240/29. Two log books also survive from *Rising States*, one kept by the vessel's Commander James Thompson (HCA 30/716), the other by Timothy Connor, a seaman on board the privateer (in the Library of Congress). Neither journal mention *Hollam*, but Connor's journal includes the following passage: 'Still continuing our cruise in the Channel of England till the 12th of April when we fell in with a sloop from Lisbon bound to South-Hampton having on board wine and fruit. we took her and put Mr Bullfinch on board her as prize master (being our 1st Lieutt) and men sufficient to work her into France'

quotes from a letter that Captain Foster wrote to the owners of the cargo that *Hollam* had carried, explaining the circumstances of the capture. When he was taken, the privateer put a crew of their own men on board, but Captain Foster asked permission to stay on board in the hope that they would be intercepted by a British warship before they reached France. This did indeed happen, but to no avail, as explained by Captain Foster:

I saw a man of war, which I believe was the *Foudroyant* of 80 guns, who bore down on us within a mile and then bawl'd his wind, taking no further notice of us, being a small vessel, which in my situation gave me some uneasiness.⁴⁶

While Captain Foster was waiting in France for a ship to take him home, he took the opportunity to provide intelligence to the British government about some of the American privateers in L'Orient, Nantes and St. Malo. In a deposition to the British consul in L'Orient, he gave details of the American privateers that he had seen, including *Reprisal*, carrying 16 guns and a crew of 150 men, of whom 50 were British.⁴⁷ In comparison, *Hollam* had carried a crew of eight and was unarmed.⁴⁸

As discussed above, American privateers were able to disrupt British trade in European waters and even more so in the Caribbean. In 1776, the following notice was in the *Kentish Gazette*:

Advice is received by the London, Hill, which is arrived at Brighthelmstone from Tobago, that the American privateers swarm about every island in order to intercept our homeward bound ships, and that many vessels which have been loaded for some time, are fearful of sailing till they can procure a convoy for England.⁴⁹

The British Navy was able to provide protection to foreign trade in the form of convoys in the early days of the War of American Independence, however, this became gradually more difficult after 1778, as first France, then Spain and the Netherlands entered the war against Britain. In 1779, French and American privateers prevented the departure from Cork of three convoys, leaving more than 400 vessels at anchor there with provisions for America and the Caribbean.⁵⁰ For vessels sailing to or from Southampton during the war years, the proximity to the port of the convoy assembly point at Cowes and the naval base in Portsmouth, which

(William James Morgan, *Naval Documents of the American Revolution, 1774-1775, Volume 8* (Washington: Naval History Division, Department of the Navy, 1980), p. 763).

⁴⁶ *Hampshire Chronicle*, 12 May 1777.

⁴⁷ SP/302/95.

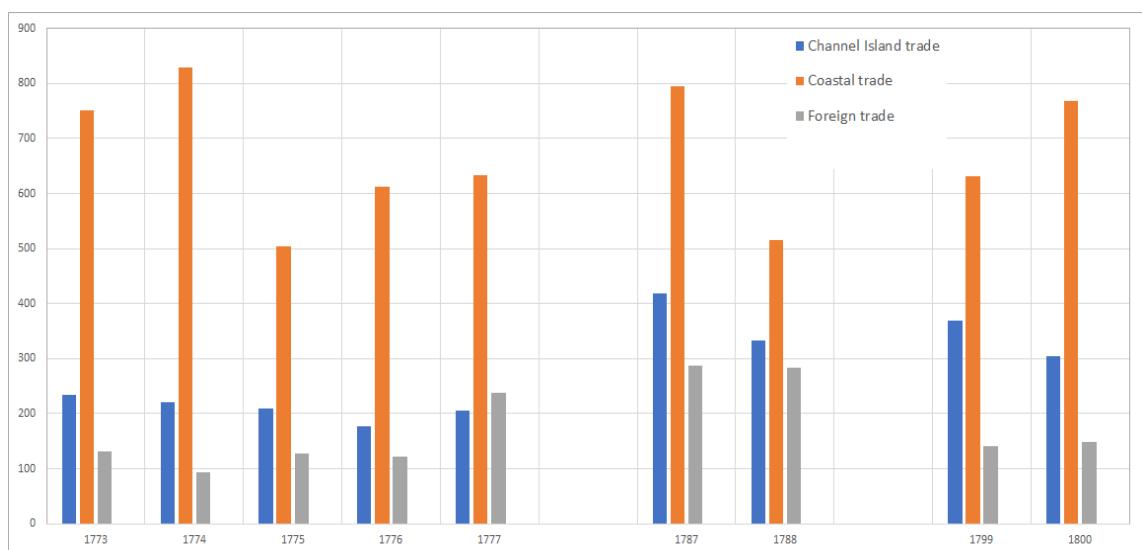
⁴⁸ ADM/7/100/2654.

⁴⁹ *Kentish Gazette*, 17 July 1776.

⁵⁰ Dickson, *Old World Colony*, p. 368.

supplied the naval ships accompanying the convoys, would have been convenient and may have assisted local trade. The seas became even more dangerous for British merchant vessels during the wars with France at the end of the eighteenth century and from 1798, most vessels in foreign trade were required to sail in convoy.⁵¹ An example of the impact of this on local trade could be seen in a notice in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in 1800, which reported that two naval ships had sailed from Cowes with 'the whole of the Oporto, Lisbon and Mediterranean fleets'. The shipping list in the same newspaper showed that 14 vessels had cleared Cowes for Oporto and Lisbon, none of which can be found in the shipping list data collected for this thesis, so were not trading in Southampton during the years for which data has been collected.⁵²

Figure 8.2: All journeys recorded in Southampton, 1773-77, 1788-89 and 1799-1800



Source: *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists

Research has shown that the tonnage of Hull-based ships engaged in coastal trade increased considerably during the War of American Independence, while foreign-going tonnage declined. In Liverpool however, overseas trade did not decline, but there was a reduction in the volume of coasting trade to and from the port.⁵³ The corresponding data for Southampton is shown in Figure 8.2, illustrating that while shipping between Southampton and the Channel Islands stayed fairly level during the 1770s and foreign trade increased slightly, there was a noticeable

⁵¹ Ville, *English Shipowning during the Industrial Revolution*, p. 13; C. Ernest Fayle, 'The Employment of British Shipping', in *The Trade Winds*, ed. by C. Northcote Parkinson (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1948), pp. 72–86 (pp. 82–83).

⁵² *Hampshire Chronicle* 21 July 1800.

⁵³ Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 133; Skidmore, 'The Maritime Economy of North West England in the Later Eighteenth Century', p. 55.

drop in the number of coastal voyages once the war broke out. Due to the lack of continuous data, it is unclear if there was also a reduction in the number of coastal vessels recorded in Southampton in 1799-1800, compared to the preceding years. Peter Skidmore suggested that the reduction in coastal trade in Liverpool during the War of American Independence was caused by a contraction in the distribution trade from that port due to a reduction in overall trade. It is possible that a similar situation existed in Southampton, from where goods from London, the Channel Islands, Ireland and south-west England were re-shipped to other destinations as discussed in previous chapters.

Conclusion – The Impact of War on Southampton's Maritime Trade

It is clear that the wars of the late eighteenth century had an impact on the maritime trade of Southampton. The *Hampshire Chronicle* reported many examples of the threats to ships and seafarers, including the risk of being captured by privateers and a shortage of mariners due to impressment. But war provided opportunities too, particularly for shipowners, who were able to take advantage of increased freight prices and new sources of income by providing vessels for the government transport service or to fit out as privateers. And life had to go on – even during conflict, seafarers of all nations had to make a living, carrying goods or fishing, in spite of any additional dangers facing maritime communities.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Falvey and Brooks, p. 5.

CHAPTER 9 - CONCLUSION

This thesis provides new information and data about the shipping patterns of Southampton's maritime trade in the late eighteenth century. It offers evidence of a complex and wide ranging trade network, which included Southampton's neighbouring ports. The data analysis carried out for this project shows that, rather than merely a bilateral relationship with London, Britain's overwhelmingly largest port, Southampton's maritime trade was multifaceted, with goods imported to the port from domestic and foreign locations and transhipped to other destinations both near and far. Southampton's close connections with the Channel Islands were particularly important and there is evidence that the inhabitants of the islands depended on the cargoes shipped from Southampton for their daily lives.

The thesis has examined the trade of Southampton in the late eighteenth century, focussing particularly on the 1770s, a period which has not hitherto been the subject of any empirical study. Alfred Temple Patterson was one of the pioneers of local, particularly town history.¹ When he suggested, in 1966, that Southampton's trade in the late eighteenth century was primarily coastal and that the port's shipping patterns were regular, he had no computing aids to help him develop this further. Through the construction of a database to analyse the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists, this thesis has moved the research into the shipping of British outports forward to place it on a firmer empirical footing. Although other studies have included a certain amount of analysis of newspaper data, this study is the first time that the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists have been analysed in detail. The shipping lists provide information about the number of journeys rather than the value of goods traded, information which gives us a detailed picture of the geography of Southampton's maritime trade and allows us better to comprehend the daily life of the port and its wider contacts.

The analysis of the shipping list data shows how a small number of regular traders, 89 vessels, accounted for almost half of the total number of 5093 journeys recorded in Southampton in the years 1773-77, while more than 1200 vessels accounted for the remaining number, a total of 2770 journeys. Most vessels called only occasionally, indicating that for many vessels Southampton was an intermediate stop on longer journeys rather than the main destination. Ship registration data shows that in 1788, there were more than 9000 vessels registered in English ports and that 83 per cent of these were smaller than 200 tons. Supplementing the data from the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists with information from *Lloyd's Register*

¹ Read, p. 205.

relating to vessels recorded in Southampton 1773-77 it can be shown that the ships trading in Southampton mirrored this pattern, with the average size of these vessels only 81 tons.²

Eighteenth-century maritime trade is often equated with overseas expansion and transatlantic and oriental commerce. However, for Southampton, like for most British ports, domestic and European destinations were the primary contacts for its seaborne activity.³ Although the Atlantic was recorded as one of the most important regions for Southampton's maritime trade, the focus was not on transatlantic connections, but on destinations closer to home, with ports in Ireland and Wales the most frequent contacts. Southampton had limited direct contact with North America and the Caribbean. However local merchants were closely involved with the trade in enslaved people from Africa to the Caribbean plantations. And Southampton shipped supplies for the Newfoundland fishing fleets in Jersey and Poole, in return receiving Newfoundland produce via the same ports. Despite the fact that there are no records of direct connections between Southampton and ports in the Far East in the 1770s, several Southampton residents were substantial investors in the East India Company, each with more than £1000 invested in the company. In 1795, eleven out of the company's 25 Hampshire-based large investors resided in Southampton.⁴

Trade with the Channel Islands was of particular importance for Southampton, where wool needed to be registered before export to the islands and the islands also relied on Southampton for the supply of daily necessities. Like in other outports, trade with London played a significant role in Southampton's trade with 16 per cent of all arrivals and 8 per cent of all departures recorded in Southampton in the years 1773-77 arriving from or departing for the capital. Passenger traffic with France boomed in the peace years following the War of American Independence and other regular passenger routes were established to local destinations, foreshadowing Southampton's future role as a major passenger port following the introduction of steamships in the 1800s.

A significant proportion of the voyages recorded in Southampton were undertaken by colliers. Coal was used in the town for domestic and industrial purposes and the port was a hub for the redistribution of coal from north-east England as well as from Wales and Scotland. Sunderland-based captain Matthew Smetham, in the brig *Providence*, was a regular trader in Southampton and the records relating to this vessel are a good example of the shipping patterns that can be

² Friel, p. 172.

³ Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 239.

⁴ Thomas, 'The Isle of Wight and the East India Company, 1700-1840: Some Connections Considered', p. 5.

detected through the analysis based on the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists. The vessel was recorded in Southampton on 21 occasions in the years 1772-77, and once in Portsmouth in 1775. Most of the journeys recorded in the shipping lists were for or from Newcastle or Sunderland, but Leith and Poole were also destinations for *Providence*. From other sources, it is known that the vessel also traded in Chichester and Rotterdam during this period.⁵

Several of the regular traders in Southampton imported fruit and wine from Iberia. This was an important link throughout the period studied in this project, a link which developed even during the wars at the end of the eighteenth century. Until the sixteenth century, Southampton had been the centre for the English wine trade. Although this position had long since gone, by the 1770s, the port was still involved in the import and transhipping of both French and Portuguese wine, directly as well as via the entrepôt of Guernsey. An important part of this traffic was the wine trade to Ireland, in which Southampton also participated.

The eighteenth century saw the development of a consumer society, with an increase in the consumption of novelties and luxuries by both wealthy and middling customers.⁶ Mette Guldberg has analysed the trade in the eighteenth century of Varde on Denmark's west coast. The analysis shows how the fluctuations in international trade were reflected in local shipping and trade as consumers demanded modern, fashionable goods.⁷ Wider patterns such as these can also be found in Southampton's trade, where the decline of Bristol and the rise of Liverpool are both echoed in the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists. Likewise, local factors in other ports affected Southampton's shipping, for example a trade dispute between the Irish towns of Youghal and Dungarvan resulted in changes in the shipping patterns recorded in Southampton.

For individual mariners, merchant shipping could be a dangerous job. Reports of vessels captured by privateers or lost in other ways were common features of eighteenth-century local newspapers. In November 1776, the Lymington-based brig *Robert and Susannah*, a

⁵ *Hampshire Chronicle* 23 Nov and 7 Dec 1772, 15 Mar and 12 Apr 1773, 12 Apr and 15 Aug 1774, 6 Mar 1775, 11 and 25 Mar, 8 and 15 Jul, 5 Aug and 23 Sep 1776, 31 Mar, 21 Apr, 22 Sep, 20 Oct and 3 Nov 1777; *Caledonian Mercury* 14 Apr 1773; Sunderland Port Books 16 Feb 1775, TNA E190/274/1; TNA ADM68/203/74, 6 Nov 1773; *Lloyd's Register* 1776 (P421) and 1780 (P356).

⁶ Maxine Berg, 'In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century', *Past & Present*, 182.1 (2004), 85–142 (pp. 92–93); Breen, "‘Baubles of Britain’: The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century”, pp. 77–78; Maxine Berg, 'Cargoes: The Trade in Luxuries from Asia to Europe', in *Empire, the Sea and Global History: Britain’s Maritime World, c. 1760-c. 1840*, ed. by David Cannadine (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 60–71 (p. 70); Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 2009), pp. 167–68, 212.

⁷ Guldberg, p. 81.

Chapter 9

frequent trader in Southampton, was lost in a storm near Poole. The master William Wheeler and his son drowned, while five other crew members clung to the rigging and were saved the following day by a boat sent out by local MP and resident of Brownsea Island, Sir Humphrey Sturt.⁸

The shipping patterns that emerge from the *Hampshire Chronicle* shipping lists through the analysis carried out in this thesis offer a new contribution to the economic and maritime history of the eighteenth century. Although the majority of Southampton's trade was coastal and short-haul shipping, this thesis has revealed how the town, through its connections with other ports, was part of a global trading network, more complex and interlinked than hitherto has been assumed.

⁸ *Hampshire Chronicle* 9 December 1776; *Caledonian Mercury* 11 December 1776;
<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/brownsea-island/features/the-history-of-brownsea-island> [accessed 16 May 2020]

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