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THE SEABORNE TRADE OF SOUTHAMPTON IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Part I

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ABSTRACT

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by David Frank Lamb

Southampton functioned as a port of regional importance. The overseas trade consisted mainly of business with Europe and of the Newfoundland fishing industry. Commerce with the transatlantic colonies remained small.

Imports were greater than exports, often considerably so. Breton linen and canvas, and French, Spanish, and Canary wines, were the chief imports. The wines and probably also the cloth were distributed throughout an extensive hinterland. Other imports comprised mainly raw materials for the cloth, shipping, and other industries, foodstuffs, and manufactured goods.

Exports were composed principally of 'new drapery' cloth, especially Southampton serge. 'Old draperies' were much less important.

France was the main overseas trading partner followed by Spain. The dominance of St. Malo and to a lesser extent Morlaix in the non-wines trade was remarkable. Southampton was one of the ports sending duty-free provisions to the Channel Islands.

The Newfoundland fishing industry was most flourishing in the fourth decade. Like all other trades it was vitiated by the Civil War.

Privateering from 1625-30 was not extensive enough to compensate for the wartime losses of the Spanish and French markets.

The modest coastal trade distributed local products, chiefly timber, and later charcoal and tobacco pipe clay also, to other areas, and brought in miscellaneous necessaries and coal. London, Cornwall to Sussex, and the north-east coast, were the main trading partners.

Southampton ships became larger and increasingly engaged in longer voyages than just the cross-Channel trades.

The merchant community consisted of English and 'French' (chiefly Huguenot and Channel Islands) merchants. By function the merchants were differentiated into merchants-adventurers, cloth merchants, and general merchants.

The long periods of depression and the limited extent of activity during good years meant that the seaborne trade was never large enough to make Southampton a really prosperous town.

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The following abbreviations have been used:-

A.P.C.	Acts of the Privy Council of England.
A.P.C., Col.	Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series.
C.S.P.C.	Calendar of State Papers, Colonial.
C.S.P.D.	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.
C.S.P.F.	Calendar of State Papers, Foreign.
C.S.P.V.	Calendar of State Papers, Venetian.
Econ. Hist. Rvw.	Economic History Review.
Eng. Hist. Rvw.	English Historical Review.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
Trans.	Transactions.
Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.
V.C.H.	Victoria County History.

The metric hundred has been used only where it is certain that this was intended. Otherwise the following form has been adopted:

C. = hundred

M. = thousand

except that the method used to express the measurement of certain kinds of cloth is given on page 46.

Dates are in the New Style.

To avoid unwieldy sentence constructions, Port Books beginning at Christmas are often dated in the text by the year to which they bore most reference. Thus the phrase "Port Book of 1614" refers to the volume beginning at Christmas 1613.

Full references are not always given in the footnotes. Complete details may be found in the Bibliography.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The importance of this study has been to continue for a further fifty years the story of the seaborne trade of Southampton during the second half of the sixteenth century which has been told by Mrs. J.L. Thomas.[1] In general, the following arrangement and presentation of material corresponds with the plan adopted by Mrs. Thomas. Her work includes discussions about a number of factors which remained constant throughout both periods, and of which, therefore, little more need be said. These factors were the excellence of Southampton's harbour,[2] the definition of the "headport of Southampton",[3] and the general customs organisation.[4]

This enquiry is principally concerned with seaborne trade at the town of Southampton. To avoid ambiguity, the term "port of Southampton" or "port of the town" will be used when referring to the town of Southampton. The term "headport" will be reserved for the legally defined port, i.e. the Hampshire coastline between Hurst Castle and Langstone, together with the Isle of Wight.

During the first half of the seventeenth century the economy of England was growing and changing. This work sets out to show how such developments affected the old provincial port of Southampton. At a time when the port of London dominated England's seaborne trade, it will be instructive to see how this outport fared. Mrs. Thomas found

1 J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), The Seaborne Trade of Southampton in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century (unpubl. M.A. thesis, Southampton University, 1955).

2 Ibid., p. 1.

3 Ibid., pp. 20-21.

4 Ibid., pp. 21-25.

that during the second half of the sixteenth century Southampton's chief functions as a port were to serve the immediately adjacent area of the Hampshire Basin for general trade, and a wider area of southern England for a more specialised trade in wine, woad, and canvas.[1]

The evidence to be presented will show that during the first half of the seventeenth century Southampton continued to be a port of only regional importance. It did not in any way recapture or acquire a function of national significance as an outport of London or otherwise in the trades with the Iberian Peninsula or the Mediterranean. Contacts with the colonies in New England, Virginia, and the West Indies remained on a small scale. The Newfoundland fish trade was of importance to Southampton, but the town's activities in that sphere were far below the levels recorded in the leading West Country Newfoundland ports of Dartmouth and Plymouth.

Southampton was primarily an importing port. Its main function was as a centre for the import of considerable quantities of French, chiefly Breton, linen and canvas, and of French and Spanish wines also.

The inland wine trade from Southampton supplied a wide area including parts of the adjacent counties of Dorset, Wiltshire, and Sussex. No records of the inland trade in linen and canvas have survived, but in view of the very large amounts involved, it is reasonable to assume that distribution embraced a far wider area than the Hampshire Basin, as it had done in the second half of the sixteenth century.[2]

Imports of woad, which had been important during the previous fifty years,[3] were at a low ebb in 1600, and died out in the early years of

1 J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., p. 50.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

the seventeenth century.

Exports consisted mainly of cloth. The chief were serges or cloth-rashes, which, together with the much lesser important perpetuanas, were manufactured mainly in Southampton by the Huguenot refugees and their descendants. The most important market for exports was in northern France.

During the first half of the seventeenth century Southampton continued to function as a provincial port supplying the needs probably only of the Hampshire Basin in a wide variety of miscellaneous merchandise, and of a wider area in wines, and probably also linen and canvas. The port acted as an export centre for cloth, mainly the "new draperies" produced in the hinterland. The largest part of the cloth export consisted of the serge manufactured in Southampton itself.

The concentration of the non-wines commerce upon St. Malo, and to a lesser extent Morlaix, was very marked throughout the period, both in imports, and to a lower degree, in exports.

CHAPTER 2

Documentary Sources

The principal source material used has been the series of Exchequer Port Books.[1] A full description of Port Books in general has been given by R.W.K. Hinton,[2] and so little more needs to be written on that subject.

There are several varieties of Exchequer Port Book. Each category of seaborne trade: overseas, coastal, and imported wines, was recorded in a separate volume. Appendix L lists the Port Books of Southampton and gives an indication of their condition. The entire analysis of

1 P.R.O., E.190/818/13 - 825/6.

2 R.W.K. Hinton (ed.), The Port Books of Boston, 1601-1640 (Lincoln Record Society, vol. 50, Lincoln, 1956), pp. xiii-xxxiii.

the Port Books had to be carried out by using microfilm copies.[1] Many of the Port Books have been badly damaged by damp. The microfilms were consequently very often extremely difficult to read since the damp patches reflected far more light from the microfilm camera bulbs than the surrounding undamaged parchment. Writing on or near the damp patches was often wholly or partly obscured by the intensity of light reflected from the background. Fading of the ink also caused many problems. Although faded writing was probably quite legible on the documents, it proved sometimes hard to detect on the microfilms. The great difficulties experienced in dealing with the microfilmed copies of the Port Books do not lessen the credibility of the evidence presented or the conclusions reached. Most of the statistics presented in this study were drawn from Port Books in good or fairly good condition. Where tables and figures have been set out which were derived from Port Books in poorer condition, causing the totals to be less than the true summations, a note is included to that effect.

In common with most of the other outports, the series of Port Books for Southampton is very incomplete. The choice of years when a full analysis of trade was made had to be entirely governed by the availability of legible volumes. Every surviving book which was capable of being analysed was used in each branch of trade. The details of every consignment were copied on to slips of paper. Various aspects of trade were analysed by sorting the slips into the categories required. These processes proved to be inordinately time consuming.

The years when detailed analyses could be carried out on the surviving Port Books are shown in Table 1. Most of the statistical tables presented later in this work are the result of analyses of the Port

1 I am indebted to the Southampton City Record Office for arranging for the supply of the microfilms.

Books surviving in the years shown below. Since the P.R.O. numbers of all the Port Books which have been analysed in detail can be seen by a glance at Table 1, no footnotes citing Port Book references are given in this study.

Table 1. Exchequer Port Books Analysed in Depth.

Overseas Trade		Coastal Trade		Imported Wines	
Year ending	P.R.O. E/190/	Year ending	P.R.O. E/190/	Year ending	P.R.O. E/190/
Mich. 1601	818/13	Xmas 1608	819/7	Mich.1602	819/1
Mich. 1602	819/2	Xmas 1628	822/7	Mich.1604	819/3
Xmas 1613	819/14	Xmas 1629	822/11	Xmas 1605	819/4
Xmas 1614	820/6	Xmas 1630	822/13	Xmas 1606	819/5
Xmas 1616	820/9	Xmas 1631	822/15	Xmas 1609	819/8
Xmas 1619	821/2	Xmas 1633	823/5	Xmas 1617	820/12
Xmas 1637	824/2	Xmas 1634	823/8	Xmas 1625	821/13
Xmas 1638	824/8	Xmas 1646	825/3	Xmas 1626	822/5
Xmas 1644	825/2			Xmas 1628	821/11
Xmas 1649	825/6			Xmas 1629	822/10
				Xmas 1631	822/14
				Xmas 1635	823/12
				Xmas 1647	825/4

The possibility that the years available for detailed analysis were exceptional has been largely checked by reading the remaining Port Books and other primary and secondary sources. Any such exceptions, together with mention of events such as wars and trade depressions likely to have

affected seaborne trade are fully discussed in the several chapters.

The validity of statistical information derived from the Port Books and other documents containing customs returns has been questioned because of widespread smuggling.[1] However, since there are no more reliable sources than the Port Books which give a detailed daily account of trade, these sources must be used to a very large extent in a survey of this nature. That smuggling was an accepted part of daily life must be borne in mind when using the statistics employed later in this study. Since it is impossible to know the extent of illicit traffic, it is surely right to make as much use as possible of the information which is available. Even though the Port Books do not tell the whole story as regards the extent of traffic, there is no reason to suppose that general conclusions drawn from them about the prosperity or otherwise of trade, and the degrees of relative importance of the various spheres of commerce, especially where widely different, should be subject to doubt, except where other evidence suggests hesitation. The unknown volume of smuggling depended on the efficiency of the customs service.

Appendix G which lists the customs officers[2] brings out the marked stability of personnel at Southampton during the period of the Great Farm of the Customs.[3] The principal officers were men of good standing in the town. Nicholas Dingley, the controller from 1608 until 1640, was a local man.[4]

1 See especially N.J. Williams, "Francis Shaxton and the Elizabethan Port Books", Eng.Hist.Rvw., vol. 66 (1951), pp. 387-395 and G.D. Ramsay, "The Smuggler's Trade: A Neglected Aspect of English Historical Development", Trans.Royal Hist.Soc., 5th series, vol.2 (1952), 131 *ff*. The problem is discussed in J.L.Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., pp. 25-26.

2 A description of the grades and duties of customs officers has been published by Mr.Hinton. [R.W.K. Hinton, op. cit., pp. xiv-xviii, and xxvii-xxx].

3 24th December 1604 - 25th May 1641. [F.C. Dietz, English Public Finance, 1558-1641 (1932), p. 332].

4 A.L. Merson (ed.), Third Book of Remembrance of Southampton, vol. III (Southampton Record Series, 1955), p. 49.

Whether such factors had any bearing on their performances of duty is impossible to say. No record of allegations of corruption against them has survived. There is no reason to suppose that during the period of the Great Farm the level of customs evasion varied very greatly.

Before the Civil War there were two official national customs offices within the headport. They were situated at Southampton and Portsmouth.

The principal office was in the town of Southampton. There were four officers: a controller, two customers, and a searcher. Several "tide-waiters" were employed,[1] but they were not included on the official establishment.[2] As they were paid no salary by the Great Farmers, they must have depended on the income from forfeitures of contraband which they detected.

The office at Portsmouth seems to have been established at or soon after Christmas 1609.[3] There was at first one customer and one controller. From the year ending Christmas 1615 there were apparently two customers.[4]

1 In 1628 John Cannon was working as a "tide-waiter". [P.R.O., S.P.16/91/90]. In 1639 Richard Masey was said to be "one of the wayters in the port of this Towne". [R.C. Anderson (ed.), Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644, vol. III, 1634-1639 (Southampton Record Society, 1934), p.93.]

2 The names of the local customs officers and the salaries and fees paid to them were recorded yearly on the Declared Customs Accounts [P.R.O., E.351/609-650]. The Declared Accounts do not record this intelligence after 1639. Information about some subsequent years appears on similar documents in the Audit Office series [P.R.O., A.O.3/197-301].

3 The Declared Customs Account for the year ending Christmas 1610 [P.R.O., E.351/611] records an additional allowance to be paid to the Southampton customers for "their deputy [unnamed] at Portsmouth to take entries of merchandises and make cocketts..... and paid by virtue of a Warrant from the Lord Treasurer dated 24th January 1609" [i.e. 1610]. The Southampton controller was also paid an additional sum "for fee of his deputy [unnamed] appointed to reside at Portsmouth".

4 The Declared Customs Account for the year ending Christmas 1615 records the Southampton customers' deputies [unnamed] at Portsmouth in the plural form for the first time [P.R.O., E.351/616].

No other customs officers were included in the official establishment lists. There are two references to customs officials working at Cowes, Isle of Wight, before the Civil War, however. The Cowes Office may have been a branch of the Newport petty customs service.[1] In 1629 there was a customer at Cowes who was making entries of prize goods.[2] Whether he did so in Exchequer Port Books or in Newport petty customs records is not known. In 1635 there was a deputy to the searcher of Southampton there.[3] As the official accounts made no provision for any payment to such a deputy, he must have depended, like the "tide-waiters" at Southampton, on the income from forfeitures of smuggled goods which he discovered.

In 1641 Parliament abolished the Great Farm of the Customs and appointed Commissioners to run the customs service. The commissioners must have considered that the many creeks and havens throughout the headport of Southampton gave an excellent opportunity for smuggling, since they were not closely supervised by customs officers. Soon after their appointment, the commissioners stationed a number of "tide-waiters" and "intelligencers" at places on the coast where none had officially been before. When new Commissioners of the Customs were appointed in 1649[4] there was a further increase in the complement, and a complete re-organisation of the customs service. The new arrangements are set out in Appendix G.

1 I am indebted to Mr. J. Jones of the Carisbrooke Castle Museum, Isle of Wight, for this suggestion.

2 P.R.O., S.P. 16/140/26.

3 C.S.P.D., 1635, p. 111, no. 46.

4 Journals of the House of Commons, vol. 6, 1648-1651, p. 271.

The Exchequer Port Books are the more valuable because of the almost complete lack of petty customs records at Southampton. This is probably due to the fact that for many years the petty customs were leased to private farmers. The petty customs book for the year ending Michaelmas 1601[1] was very inaccurately compiled, and bears numerous auditors' correction marks. No further record survives until a volume containing two separate periods: January-September 1638, and June 1642 - June 1644.[2] This book, however, very often made no mention of the origin or destination of the goods involved. Moreover, the names of the commodities carried were also frequently omitted, especially during the Civil War. No meaningful analysis is possible from such a record. It is very disappointing that the petty customs source has proved useless, since each book would have included the three branches of trade (overseas, coastal, and imported wines) which are entered in separate Exchequer Port Books. There is no single year when all three types of Port Book survive to give a composite picture of seaborne trade.

The New Imposition returns[3] provide a continuous set of figures covering almost all the long gap between 1620 and 1636 when no full overseas Port Books survive. The new duties were first exacted at Michaelmas 1608.[4]

For the first two years from Michaelmas 1608 Southampton's main exports of "new draperies" were charged with the payment of the New Impositions. From Michaelmas 1610 they were exempted.[5] Thus,

1 Southampton City Record Office, SC5/4/88.

2 Southampton City Record Office, SC5/4/89.

3 P.R.O., E.351/795-821.

4 F.C. Dietz, op. cit., p. 378.

5 Ibid., p. 371.

the New Imposition returns after 1610 are reliable only for imports and not for exports at Southampton.

The New Imposition returns[1] for the years 1635-40 have not been used because there is doubt as to their validity. They do not form a continuous series with the preceding years, as the later set of figures probably include the new increases of impositions first levied in 1635.[2]

The most useful sources in the Southampton City Record Office have been the books of Examinations and Depositions.[3] The volumes covering the years 1601-2 and 1622-44 have been printed.[4] There is a gap in the manuscripts between 1602 and 1622. Thus, all the illustrations drawn from these sources relate either to 1601-2, or to the years following 1622 until the end of the half century. Where many depositions survive after 1622 illustrating a topic, such as the Newfoundland fishing trade, or shipping, it might at first sight appear that the activity in question was far more flourishing in the second half of the period of this study than in the first. Such a conclusion would not necessarily be accurate, for the differences in the quantities of evidence would be due to the lack of depositions between 1602 and 1622. Caveats have been placed in Chapters 5 and 9 to prevent any mis-interpretation of that kind.

The entries in the Books of Examinations and Depositions are concerned solely with sessions business, and with some exceptions,

1 P.R.O. E.351/822-826.

2 F.C. Dietz, op. cit., p.378.

3 Southampton City Record Office, Books of Examinations and Depositions: November 1601 - September 1602, SC9/3/10, 1622-44, SC9/3/11, 1648-1663, SC9/3/12.

4 [R.C. Anderson (ed.),] The Book of Examinations, 1601-1602 [Southampton Record Society, 1926]. [R.C. Anderson (ed.),] The Book of Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644 [Southampton Record Society, 4 vols., 1929-1936].

to depositions taken before the justices. The depositions could then be used as evidence in subsequent litigation. The books contain many details of maritime affairs. The entries often followed some mishap in seaborne trade. The men concerned were usually anxious to make sworn statements on their arrivals at Southampton in order to put on record their own accounts of events. Their versions were naturally biased in their own favour, and blame was always attributed to other factors, such as the weather. For example, depositions were made by sailors whose cargoes had been damaged by storms, that the damage had been due entirely to natural forces, and that they were in no way to blame by unskilful sailing. Although many of the occurrences described were fortuitous interruptions of the usual trading routine, they do often shed valuable light on the organisation and pattern of the particular type of commerce concerned.

The State Papers, mainly the Domestic series, have yielded many references of interest, especially during the wartime years of 1625-30. There is no informative memorandum concerning the port to be found, as there was in 1582.[1]

The Registers of the Privy Council have been useful. It is disappointing that the first decade of Stuart rule is not represented in this series owing to a fire in Whitehall.

The records of the High Court of Admiralty were consulted to obtain a picture of the privateering activity conducted in the headport of Southampton during the wars fought by England against Spain from

1 J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., pp. 234-242.

1625 until 1630, and against France also from 1627 until 1629. The most useful group of documents in this class proved to be the files of inventories.[1] As explained in Chapter 8, however, no comprehensive list of prizes can be drawn up since many of the inventories are missing. The files of bonds for obtaining letters of marque[2] were useful. That could not be said of the Act Books,[3] or the books containing Examinations, Instance, and Prize Court materials.[4] The Act Books have been indexed only from 1629 onwards. The Books of Examinations have not been indexed. Although random samples were made in both series, no cases of interest concerning privateering in Southampton were brought to light.

The Assembly Books[5] record the proceedings of the Assembly of the mayor, aldermen, and assistants, of Southampton. These volumes are useful for information about matters concerning the corporation and the government of the town. The records from 1602 to 1616 have been published.[6] The Book of Instruments of Southampton Corporation[7] has been of only limited use. During the early years of the century commercial documents, which were produced or sworn before the mayor, were enrolled in it, as well as various letters and memoranda

1 P.R.O., H.C.A.4/1-2.

2 P.R.O., H.C.A.25/4-8.

3 P.R.O., H.C.A.3/31-33.

4 P.R.O., H.C.A.13/45-48.

5 Southampton City Record Office, Assembly Books, 1603-42, SC2/1/6, 1642-79, SC2/1/8.

6 [J.W. Horrocks (ed.),] Assembly Books [of Southampton 1602-1616, Southampton Record Society, 4 vols., 1917-1925].

7 Southampton City Record Office, Book of Instruments, 1597-1689, SC2/6/6.

concerning the government of the town. That represents the composition of the volume up to 1614. For about the next six years no entries were written in it. From 1620 onwards it seems to be entirely a record of statutes merchant.

Various other documents in the Southampton City Record Office have been used. These include the mayors' casualty accounts, 1603-1648,[1] the Sweet Wine papers,[2] and miscellaneous financial records.[3] The Register of Apprentices,[4] calendered in the Southampton Records Series,[5] has been useful.

The probate records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury were interesting. The wills of many of the principal merchants of Southampton were proved in that court. This material will be of much greater use when the inventories are made available, for it is rarely possible to estimate the value of a merchant's estate from his will alone.

The records in the Manuscripts Department of the British Museum have been a most barren source. Only one reference has been obtained. The B.M. manuscripts add nothing to knowledge of privateering at Southampton during ----------

1 Southampton City Record Office, SC5/3/11-20.

2 Southampton City Record Office, Sweet Wine papers (unnumbered).

3 Southampton City Record Office, miscellaneous financial papers, 17th Century (unnumbered).

4 Southampton City Record Office, SC9/2/12.

5 [A.J. Willis and A.L. Merson (eds.), A Calendar of Southampton] Apprenticeship Registers [1609-1740, Southampton Records Series, vol. XII, 1968].

the wars of 1625-1630, unlike the warfare of the 1590's when a number of references were discovered.[1]

It has not been possible to make any examination of the economic and trading relationships between Southampton and its hinterland, for three reasons. Firstly, the Brokage Books, which recorded the dues collected on carts passing through the Bargate, do not survive after 1566. Secondly, the Port Books of the first half of the seventeenth century only rarely indicate the town of domicile of merchants. Thirdly, there are no surviving accounts of merchants who engaged in seaborne trade detailing from whence they derived exports and whither they disposed of imports. Mrs. Thomas has discussed the pattern of economic relationships between Southampton and its hinterland in her period.[2] Perhaps the general conclusions to which she came may not have altered substantially before the Civil War.

1 J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., p. 224.

2 Ibid., pp. 44-50.

CHAPTER 3

Trade Fluctuations and Prosperity of the Town

Owing to the previous lack of a detailed study of maritime trade at Southampton during the first half of the seventeenth century, different views about the extent of seaborne commerce and the prosperity of Southampton have been arrived at by historians in the past who examined separate partial pieces of evidence, or who attempted to explain an event or circumstance in the life of the town. F.W. Camfield, after reading the Books of Examinations and Depositions, came to the conclusion that during the seventeenth century Southampton was a most important commercial centre.[1] His impression was that from Southampton ships constantly set out for the fisheries of Newfoundland, for the sugar plantations of Jamaica and the Barbados, for the tobacco plantations of Virginia, as well as for the chief trading centres of Europe.[2] Mr. Camfield went on to say that within the walls of Southampton many merchant princes resided.[3] Mr. Camfield's view, which suggests that Southampton was a maritime centre of both national and local importance, finds expression also in the work of Professor Hearnshaw. Speaking of maritime activity in the age which saw the departure of the "Mayflower" from the port of Southampton, Professor Hearnshaw said that in the adventures and enterprises of those stirring times, the seamen and merchants of Southampton seem to have had their full share.[4] Like

1 F.W. Camfield, "The Maritime Trade of Southampton in the Seventeenth Century", Hants Field Club Papers, V (1905-6), p. 140.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 F.J.C. Hearnshaw, A Short History of Southampton (1910), pp.83-4.

Mr. Camfield, Professor Hearnshaw based his views on the Books of Examinations and Depositions, which, he said, teem with stories of perils and achievements, giving a vivid picture of the heroic age of the expansion of England.[1]

A different view has been taken by R.C. Anderson. In 1619 the government assessed the ports for contributions towards setting out a fleet to put down the North African pirates. London was assessed at £40,000, Bristol at £2,500, Exeter, Plymouth, and Dartmouth, at £1,000 each.[2] Southampton was assessed at only £300, the same amount as Newcastle, but less than Barnstaple, Hull, and Weymouth.[3] The merchants and shipowners of Southampton at first would agree to contribute only £92. 3s. 4d. towards the £300 demanded by the government.[4] The mayor endeavoured to excuse the poor response by pleading that the merchants were few in number, and that some of them were poor.[5] He added that only 8 small ships were then owned in Southampton.[6]

In response to government pressure, the merchants raised their contribution first to £100,[7] then to £150,[8] and were finally forced into finding the whole sum of £300.[9]

1 F.J.C. Hearnshaw, A Short History of Southampton, op. cit., p. 84.

2 Examinations and Depositions, I, p. viii.

3 Ibid.

4 C.S.P.D., 1619-23, p. 16, no. 125.

5 P.R.O., S.P.14/105/125.

6 Ibid. The overseas Port Book for 1619 records fourteen ships as belonging to Southampton. The discrepancy between the mayor's statement and the Port Book is discussed in Chapter 9.

7 C.S.P.D., 1619-23, p.20, no. 5.

8 Ibid., p. 27, no. 52.

9 Ibid., p. 387, no. 40. Southampton City Record Office, document in a collection of various legal papers, 17th Century (unnumbered).

Mr. Anderson sought to explain the comparatively low assessment of £300, and the poor response of Southampton merchants to it, entirely in terms of a supposed depression in seaborne trade. He said that after the removal of the artificial stimulus of the Spanish war, the decline of Southampton as a port had been rapid indeed.[1]

The remainder of this chapter will be concerned with presenting evidence of the general fluctuations in the seaborne trade of the town. Comparisons may then be made between the story so revealed and the views of the historians mentioned above.

To assist in the determination of fluctuations in the prosperity of seaborne trade, resort must be made to the New Imposition returns. Since only the import figures are of use for Southampton, as explained in Chapter 2, it is that set of figures which is alone listed in Table 2.

1 Examinations and Depositions, I, p. viii.

Table 2. Rateable Valuations of Imports Bearing New Impositions, 1609-35.

Year ending Mich.	Rateable Values of Imports (£)	Ref. P.R.O., E351/
1609	18,372	795
1610	18,374	796
1611	14,589	797
1612	11,626	798
1613	9,186	799
1614	12,884	800
1615	14,861	801
1616	16,766	802
1617	19,686	803
1618	17,994	804
1619	18,861	805
1620	20,061	806
1621	19,345	807
1622	17,401	808
1623	16,234	809
1624	15,624	810
1625	15,383	811
1626	22,141	812
1627	13,221	813
1628	3,632	814
1629	8,323	815
1630	15,056	816
1631	14,180	817
1632	13,932	818
1633	12,684	819
1634	10,487	820
1635	13,137	821

Note: Rate Book values do not necessarily correspond to commercial values.

Rateable valuations shown in Tables 2 and 3 do not correspond since the New Imposition rateable values shown in the Book of Rates, 1608, were not the same as the rateable values from which customs, subsidy, and

imposition, were calculated. The latter rates appear in the Book of Rates, 1605.[1]

Table 3. Rateable Valuations of Overseas Trade, 1613-19; 1637.

Year ending Xmas:	1613	1616	1619	1637
Imports	20,606	33,159	33,554	32,098
Exports (excluding "old draperies" and unrated goods)	17,262	16,191	15,946	4,992
Total	37,868	49,350	49,500	37,090

The figures are derived from all the overseas Port Books which include rateable values of commodities.

Note: Rate Book values do not necessarily correspond to commercial values.

Table 4. "Old Drapery" Cloth Exports, 1613-19, 1637 "Shortcloths".

Year ending: Xmas	1613	1616	1619	1637
"Shortcloths" exported	402	239	436	15

A "shortcloth" was the standard unit by which the various types of "old drapery" cloths were assessed for customs duties. For example, three Hampshire kersies were reckoned as equivalent to one "shortcloth".[2] Each "shortcloth" paid customs duty of 6s.8d.

1 P.R.O., E.122/173/3, (Book of Rates, 1605).

2 Ibid.

The following analysis of trade fluctuations and the prosperity of the town is based on Tables 2 - 4 above, the evidence of the remaining Port Books, and other primary and secondary material.

The trade of the port of Southampton at the end of the sixteenth century was deeply depressed. In 1598 the town was reckoned with the decayed outports of England.[1]

During the early years of the seventeenth century the revenue derived by Southampton Corporation from petty customs and port dues was low owing to the small extent of seaborne trade. Dr. J. W. Horrocks has described how the corporation was occupied at that time in defending its chartered rights connected with the Sweet Wines grant,[2] the freedom from prisage dues,[3] and the ordinance forbidding strangers to trade with each other within the town liberties.[4] It is interesting to note that attempts by the town authorities to resurrect the Italian trade, and to secure a monopoly of free trade with Venice for the inhabitants of Southampton,[5] came to nothing.[6]

The story of the Sweet Wines grant in the second half of the sixteenth century has been told by Mrs. Thomas,[7] and during the period of this study by Dr. Horrocks[8] and M. André L. Simon.[9] M. Simon, however, was wrong in believing that the grant extended to wines brought

1 C.S.P.D., 1598-1601, p. 2.

2 Assembly Books, I, pp. xxiii-xxv.

3 Ibid., pp. xxvi-xxvii. The subject of prisage dues is mentioned also in Chapter 6 below.

4 Ibid., pp. xxv-xxvi.

5 C.S.P.V., 1603-7, p. 124.
Assembly Books, I, pp.xxiv-xxv.

6 Ibid., p. xxv.

7 J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., pp. 199-205.

8 Assembly Books, I, pp. xxiii-xxv, II, p. xxvii, III, p.xv, IV, pp.xi-xiv, xliv.

9 A.L. Simon, History of the Wine Trade, vol.III (1964, London, being reprint of 1st Edtn. dated 1905-6), pp. 152-156.

in by denizens as well as by aliens.[1] The scope of the grant had been limited to aliens by the Act of 1563.[2] The Act provided that all sweet wines of the Levant brought to England by aliens were to be landed only at Southampton, on pain of a forfeiture of 20s. per butt if landed elsewhere.[3] One half of the forfeiture was to be paid to the Crown, and the other half to the Corporation of Southampton.[4] The Act of 1563 was made permanent by an Act of 1571 upon condition that all income from the grant should be used for the repair of the town walls.[5] It may readily be seen from Chapter 6 that the grant brought no economic benefit to Southampton by way of the importation of Levant sweet wines by aliens. The grant was important only in the financial sense of the income derived from forfeitures.

The Book of Debts of Southampton Corporation, 1591-1619,[6] records several payments made to the town authorities under the Sweet Wines grant, together with the amounts spent on the repairs to the walls in the same years.

1 A.L. Simon, op. cit., p. 152.

2 J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., p. 201.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Southampton City Record Office, SC5/2/2. There is no subsequent volume after 1619.

Table 5. Income Derived by Southampton Corporation from the Sweet Wine Grant and Expenses of Repairing the Town Walls.

Year ending Mich.	Amounts derived under Sweet Wine Grant			Expenses on Town Walls, Quays, Sea-Banks etc.			Ref. S C 5/2/2 f.
	£	s	d	£	s	d	
1605	128	12	6	39	3	4	93
1606	172	10	-	156	1	2	101
1608	108	7	6	71	-	11½	136
1614	100[1]	-	-	150	3	11	218
1615	-[2]	-	-	76	13	1	221 and 224
1616	134[3]	-	-	30	18	9	229 and 232

Following the advent of James I in March 1603, peace was restored between England and Spain. Peace brought relief from the depression for Southampton, and there was an expansion of trade with her main

1 The forfeitures were leased to Alderman Robert Chambers for five years beginning Lady Day 1611 at a rent of £100 per annum. [Assembly Books, III, pp. 8-9.] Chambers terminated this lease at Michaelmas 1614 [Ibid., p. 86.]

2 Early in 1615 Robert Chambers received a free grant of the sweet wine forfeitures (except for malmsey and muscadell wines) probably for some loss or expense which he had incurred on the previous lease [Assembly Books, IV, p. xi, 3-4, 6]. Chambers died the same year, and the grant determined, but his widow apparently succeeded in some sort to his interest in sweet wine matters [Ibid., p. xi-xii, 38]. Although the account in the Book of Debts for 1613-14 records that Chambers had paid £100 for his rent of the lease of the sweet wine grant, [SC.5/2/2 f.218], the account for 1614-15 (i.e. for the year following the determination of his lease) records a payment by him of £30 which was said to be in respect of half a year's rent up to Michaelmas 1614, less £20 abated by consent. [SC 5/2/2 f.221.]

3 This sum was in respect of forfeitures on sweet wines brought into the port of London [SC5/2/2 f.232].

overseas markets and sources of supply in France and Spain.

Imports appear to have increased to a peak at the end of the first decade of the century, then to have fallen sharply to a level in 1612-13 which was perhaps only half that attained in 1609-10. However, from 1613 onwards there was a strong resurgence of imports to a new peak in 1616-17 which was a little higher than the previous peak in 1609-10. After a short recession in 1617-18, import growth was renewed to reach a peak in 1619-20. That peak was the highest recorded level for the first two decades of the century.

The story of exports cannot be as detailed owing to the unsatisfactory nature of the New Imposition returns, as previously described. Exports shared with imports in the general trade increase after the accession of James I. The levels of trade represented by the New Imposition figures of 1609-10 were substantially improved on the poor performances of 1600-2.

Between 1613 and 1619 the total export of goods subject to ad valorem duties was slowly falling. This decline was due to a decrease in the supply of such exports to the less important of Southampton's overseas markets, that is to say, areas other than northern France. At the same time there was a smaller increase in ad valorem exports to the main markets in northern France. It was because the increases of such exports sent to the main markets were less than the decreases of those exports going to the areas of less importance that the total of Southampton's ad valorem exports was declining during the period 1613-19.

Fluctuations in the total exports of "old draperies" did not follow the pattern recorded by ad valorem exports. Between 1613 and 1616 there was a serious fall in the exports of "old draperies". By 1619, however, a more than full recovery had been made, and the total was somewhat higher than in 1613.

The increases in total overseas seaborne traffic, considerable between 1613 and 1616, and small between 1616 and 1619, were almost entirely caused by the import trade, the predominant branch of commerce. The rises would have been greater but for the small slow decline in exports.

During the period 1614-20 Southampton's average annual customs revenue secured it seventh place among outports. Although its trade was considerably less than that passing through the leading outports, Hull, Exeter, and Bristol, Table 6 shows that it was far from being a decayed and neglected backwater which might well be assumed from Mr. Anderson's statement, referred to above, that since the end of the Spanish war Southampton had declined very rapidly as a port.[1]

Table 6. Customs Revenue at the Chief English Ports, 1614-20.

£ (subsidy)

	1614	1615	1616	1617	1618	1619	1620	Ann. Av.
London	105,131	123,497	112,275	121,887				
Hull	7,664	8,236	8,511	5,904	6,673	7,027	6,798	7,259
Exeter	4,096	3,709	3,716	4,427	4,919	5,133	5,727	4,533
Bristol	3,599	3,947	3,805	3,568	3,384	3,676	3,965	3,706
Newcastle	3,781	3,709	3,269	2,957	2,949	3,382	3,128	3,310
Plymouth	2,316	3,003	2,792	3,462	2,646	3,280	2,949	2,921
Lyme Regis	3,010	3,038	2,771	2,938	2,207	2,739	2,796	2,786
Southampton	2,350	2,604	2,674	3,220	2,940	2,725	2,740	2,750
Dartmouth	2,294	2,363	2,211	3,516	3,360	2,363	2,515	2,717

nearest £

1 Examinations and Depositions, I, p. viii.

2 This table appears in W.B. Stephens, Seventeenth Century Exeter (1958), p. 8, where the references given are: London figures: Sackville (Knole) MSS. I, M. 986; other figures: Sackville (Knole) MSS. I, (old nos.) 6351 in Hist. MSS. Comm., Public Record Office.

Since the statistical evidence contradicts the explanation given by Mr. Anderson for the poor response of local merchants to the relatively modest assessment towards the Algerian fleet,[1] other reasons must be advanced. In that cause it will be a useful background to briefly outline the financial problems bearing on the town and its inhabitants in the years before 1619.

Dr. Horrocks has described the period 1611-14 as a time of exceptional expenditure for the town involving an unusual amount of municipal borrowing.[2] There were three main reasons for the heavy additional expenses. Firstly, there were the lawsuits in the Common Pleas and the Star Chamber.[3] Secondly, the South Quay was extended by 60ft.[4] Thirdly, expensive repairs to the town walls were undertaken as detailed below.

In 1614 the town sent only £34. 13s. -d. towards the benevolence requested by James I. The mayor explained that poor effort in terms of losses at sea by shipwreck and piracy, the expenses of repairing the walls, quays, and sea-banks, recently damaged by gales, and many other charges (presumably for the lawsuits and repairs to municipal property), which had recently cost the town £3,000 within eighteen months.[5]

Charges for repairs to the walls, sea-banks, and quays, were heaviest in 1613-14 when £150. 3s. 11d. was spent.[6] In subsequent

1 Examinations and Depositions, I, p. viii.

2 Assembly Books, III, p. xiv.

3 Ibid., p. xv.

4 Ibid., pp. xvi, 58, 67, 78-9, 85-6.

5 Southampton City Record Office, Book of Instruments, SC2/6/6, f.254v.

6 Southampton City Record Office, Book of Debts, SC5/1/1, f.239.

years the burden was less onerous. In 1614-15 the charge was £76.13s.1d.,[1] in 1615-16 £30.18s.9d.,[2] and in 1616-17 £34.5s.2d.[3]

The extension of the South Quay cost £150.3s.11d. General costs amounted to £133.7s.11d., and a further £16.16s.0d. was paid to Sir Thomas Fleming for stones.[4]

Expenditure on the quay and the Star Chamber suit was said to have caused the town to be deeply in debt in 1616.[5] That lawsuit came to an end in 1618 which must have brought great financial relief.[6]

The extraordinarily heavy exportation of wool caused the clothworkers of Southampton and Winchester to complain in 1618 of the decay of their trade through shortage of the raw material. 3,000 of their poor were said to be consequently in distress.[7] These trading difficulties of 1618 may have caused the merchant-clothiers to be unable or unwilling to subscribe much to the government demand in the following year.

Jealousy felt by provincial merchants towards those of London probably played a part in explaining the reluctance of Southampton merchants to underwrite the total demand made by the government.

1 Southampton City Record Office, Book of Debts, SC5/2/2, f.239.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., f. 218 r.

5 [F.J.C. and D.M. Hearnshaw (eds.),] Southampton Court Leet Records, vol. 1, part III, 1603-1624 [Southampton Record Society, 1907], pp. 560-1.

6 Ibid.

7 C.S.P.D., 1611-18, p. 561, no. 54.

In attempting to justify the merchants' unwillingness to raise their contribution beyond £100, the mayor informed the Privy Council that few Southampton merchants traded beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, being prevented by the monopoly of the Levant Company.[1] The local men obviously did not see why they should subscribe to a fleet, the main purpose of which they saw as being to clear the Mediterranean of pirates - from which profitable area they were excluded by wealthy Londoners. They would not have considered sending the whole sum without some show of resistance.

Of course, the North African pirates also preyed in the Atlantic where the shipping of Southampton was at risk. Provincial merchants, whilst probably in agreement with the government decision to combat piracy, were often reluctant to shoulder their share of the cost. They preferred to trust to luck on the high seas rather than contribute to the government's scheme.

Reluctance to subscribe to the project was by no means confined to Southampton merchants. Both ports and merchant companies showed themselves unwilling to bear their share of the expense.[2] It was partly a question of the suspicion with which provincial merchants regarded the probity of government financial channels. The corruption of the Stuart court was well known, and many probably shared the view of the Cinque ports that although the money was subscribed, the ships would never sail.[3] Poole was willing but unable to contribute.[4]

1 C.S.P.D., 1619-23, p. 20, no. 5.

2 C.B. Judah, jnr., "The North American Fisheries and British Policy to 1713", Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. XVIII, nos. 3-4 (1933), p. 70.

3 C.S.P.D., 1619-23, p. 25, no. 39.

4 Ibid., p. 9, no. 69.

London opposed the project from the beginning, on the grounds that it would anger without destroying the pirates.[1]

The foregoing evidence has shown, apart from any question of the prosperity of seaborne trade, why the merchants would have been unwilling to comply with the government's demand, and why they would have been likely to have made their reluctance plain. Since the facts revealed by the Port Books and New Imposition returns make it clear that the trend of trade was the direct opposite of that postulated by Mr. Anderson, it is obvious that he assumed that trade had fallen off rapidly since the end of the Spanish war in order to explain the merchants' response to the government in 1619. It is now clear that there was no inverse relationship between the merchants' unreadiness to contribute and the prosperity of seaborne trade, as Mr. Anderson has proposed.

The sum of £300 required by the government was raised rateably on the goods of the merchants of Southampton which passed as seaborne trade, and upon shipping.[2] Before the first remittance of £150 was sent, the prominent merchants of the town had to lay out an imprest by way of loan.[3]

In 1622 Southampton sent only £47.11s.2d. towards the voluntary contribution requested by the government.[4] The mayor cited the subscription of £300 towards the Algerian fleet, £140 for the Palatine wars, contributions to the French Protestants, and loss of trade in France, as the excuses as to why no more could be sent.[5] Although,

1 C.B. Judah, op. cit., p. 70.

2 Southampton City Record Office, document in a collection of various legal papers, 17th Century (unnumbered).

3 Ibid.

4 C.S.P.D., 1619-23, p. 387, no. 40.

5 Ibid.

as has been shown, the difficulties of raising money for government assessments and benevolences do not necessarily have any direct bearing on the extent of seaborne trade, they do highlight the absurdity of Mr. Camfield's statement, mentioned above, that within Southampton there resided many "merchant princes"![1]

The early 1620's witnessed a most serious depression in the English economy.[2] In September 1621 the Privy Council wrote to the twenty leading outports for their opinions as to the decay of trade and scarcity of money.[3] The fourteen surviving reports demonstrate the extent of the commercial despondency which had settled over England: theirs was a tale of shrinking markets, unfavourable trading conditions, credit tightness, and widening poverty.[4] The report from Southampton was written anonymously.[5] A transcript of the document appears in Appendix H.

The memorandum stated that trade had fallen off because local merchants were excluded from all trades, except those with France and Spain, by the London Trading Companies. The memorandum said that the liberty given by the government to the outports to export "new draperies" to the Netherlands, Hamburg, and Eastland, had proved to be of no value, since the materials were suitable only for the climate of southern Europe.

1 F.W. Camfield, op. cit., p. 140.

2 See especially B.E. Supple, Commercial Crisis and Change in England, 1600-1642 (1959), pp. 52-72, and J.D. Gould, "The Trade Depression of the Early 1620's", Econ. Hist. Rvw., 2nd series, vol. VIII (1954), pp. 81-8.

3 A.P.C., 1621-23, pp. 40, 71, c.f. Ibid., pp. 79-80, 208.

4 B.E. Supple, op. cit., p. 55.

5 B.M., Hargrave MSS., 321, ff. 3*, 41-43 (new nos.).

The commerce of Southampton was stated to consist chiefly of linen cloth and Gascon wines from France. Owing to the recent disturbances in that country, the author claimed that Southampton's exports, being mainly broad and narrow serges manufactured in Southampton, could no longer be sold in France.

The memorandum went on to claim that the Spanish trade was small, some perpetuanas and Newfoundland fish being carried there from Southampton, with only some "vintage commodities" being returned. The report thus attributed the decline of Southampton's trade to the disruption of the French market.

In his letter to the Privy Council in 1622, which has been mentioned above, the mayor of Southampton said that owing to the difficulties in France, many of the town's merchants had lately suffered great losses. Some of them had much of their capital in the form of debts owing and goods in La Rochelle and other parts of France. Such capital had either already been lost, or was likely soon to be so. The mayor went on to explain that the scarcity of coin and the decay of trade in general were the reasons for the town being exceedingly impoverished.[1]

In 1622 the Venetian Ambassador described Southampton as a place of moderate size. He called it not a relic but a trace of the former trade of the Italians and Venetians, now so miserably reduced, and in the hands of the English alone, who seemed to guard and fortify it like so many teeth.[2]

1 P.R.O., S.P.14/130/40.

2 C.S.P.V., 1621-23, p. 430.

The report concerning the depression was written in 1621. The Port Book for 1619 records the highest trade level of the first two decades of the century. The New Imposition returns indicate a peak in imports in 1619-20. Exports, although on a gentle downward trend, were still substantial. As explained above, although total exports were falling, those going to the main market in northern France had been slowly rising for several years at least.

In the light of this evidence, the depression must have come about very suddenly, perhaps in the second half of 1620. Because of the evidence of the New Imposition returns mentioned below, it seems that the depression must, at first, have mainly affected exports. Exports must have fallen to low levels indeed to excite the concern expressed by the memorialist.

The New Imposition returns show that imports in 1620-1 had fallen little below the peak level of 1619-20. The fall was steeper in the next year 1621-2. By 1625 imports had fallen by only about a quarter below the level of 1619-20. Moreover, the figure for 1624-5 was still greater than that of 1614-5, when imports were already very significantly greater than in 1600-2.

From 1625 until 1630 England was at war with Spain, and, from 1627 until 1629, with France, also. The history of the privateering of these years is given in Chapter 9. The wars very greatly depressed Southampton's seaborne trade. The main markets of the town were located in enemy countries, and its ships subject to capture as prize.

The New Imposition returns for those years included prize goods, and so are not reliable indicators of trade fluctuations. Even so, the figures are peculiar. Total imports (i.e. trade plus prize) rose from 1624-5 to a new peak in 1625-6 which was the highest recorded by the New Imposition returns during the period 1610-35. Quite

what this sudden upsurge represents is difficult to say. According to Appendix F it is not likely to have been mainly prize goods, and therefore must have been trade - perhaps with France as the Spanish market had been cut off.

The peak of 1625-6 in imports was soon lost, and by 1627-8 imports reached the nadir of their fortunes in the years 1610-35, at a depth of less than half the value achieved in the next least prosperous year. From the depth of 1627-8 imports expanded, no doubt assisted greatly by prize goods, and a peak was reached in 1629-30 which was almost equal to the level of 1623-4 before the war against Spain had begun.

Literary evidence shows that Southampton during the wars was not a prosperous place. In June 1626 the clothing trade there was said to be dead.[1] In the following month the mayor reported the inability of the inhabitants to fortify the town without outside help. He said that so many losses had lately been sustained that little could be done to assist the preparation of the fleet at Portsmouth.[2] In April 1627 the mayor attempted to excuse Southampton from its share of the cost of building two warships, by reason of losses caused by pirates, detention of goods in France, decay of the clothing trade, and numerous other disbursements.[3]

During the wars the billeting of large numbers of troops in Southampton caused the citizens and the corporation grave financial burdens. The details of the problems arising from billeting have

1 C.S.P.D., 1625-6, p. 348, no. 25.

2 Ibid., p. 380, no. 119.

3 Ibid., 1627-8, p. 130, no. 69.

already been given by J.S. Davies.[1]

Professor Hearnshaw has stated that in 1627 the hopes of Southampton's merchants were raised high; for in that year a court minute of the East India Company ordered the unloading of the greater ships at this port.[2] He went on to say that in the next year (1628) the company's ship "Expedition" actually came to the port and discharged part of its cargo.[3] The implication of these statements is that there was a move afoot to substitute Southampton for London as the centre of the East Indies trade.

The court minutes make it clear, however, that no such development was ever contemplated. This is a case where the addition of an "s" to the word ship in Professor Hearnshaw's book[4] has completely altered the sense of the original minute. It is evident that in 1627 only two vessels, the "London" and the "Reformation", were involved. These ships were then at Portsmouth.[5] The possible discharge of the larger of them at Southampton was solely due to fears of its safety should it be brought to London, occasioned by the presence of Dutch and Dunkirker shipping in the Channel.[6]

1 J.S. Davies, History of Southampton (1883), pp. 483-4.

2 F.J.C. Hearnshaw, A Short History of Southampton, op. cit., p. 86.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 C.S.P.C., East Indies, China, and Persia, 1625-9, p. 410.

6 Ibid.

The explanation for the partial unloading of the "Expedition" at Southampton or Portsmouth[1] in 1628 lies in the fact that the vessel was carrying "private trade",[2] and, therefore, was presumably happier to land this part of its cargo before reaching the Downs. The company proposed to take action against the master for his unauthorised amendment of the route.[3]

There is no doubt that the Court of Directors was unhappy about both instances, and was not in a mood to order any future unloadings at Southampton. In this light, Professor Hearnshaw's idea that the influence of London was too strong to permit Southampton to develop as a centre of the East Indies trade[4] appears very fanciful.

It might be expected that following the return of peace with France in 1629 and with Spain in 1630, and the resumption of normal direct trading between Southampton and those countries, the way would have been open for an increase in overseas trade. According to the New Imposition returns, however, this did not happen. From the peak of 1629-30 imports fell yearly to a trough in 1633-4 which was little greater than the recession of 1612-13.

This surprising development was probably largely due to the troubled state of the French market. On a national scale the end of the war with France did not bring the expected increase in trade.

1 There is some doubt as to whether the "Expedition" came to Southampton at all. The court minute of 14 January 1628 mentions that goods were landed out of the ship at Southampton [C.S.P.O., East Indies, China, and Persia, 1625-9, p. 451], but a later minute dated 21 January 1628 states that the "Expedition" had put in at Portsmouth instead of sailing directly for the Downs [Ibid., p. 454].

2 Ibid., pp. 451 and 454.

3 Ibid., p. 454.

4 F.J.C. Hearnshaw, A Short History of Southampton, op. cit., p. 86.

English shipping continued to be seized illegally by French privateers, and the arrests, seizures and lawsuits which traditionally plagued the life of English merchants in France were to continue into the future.[1] The problem was greatly aggravated by the Marteau and Delauney seizures of English goods in France. In order to move towards a general solution of the difficulties the Privy Council, on 30 April 1632, ordered representatives from London, Southampton, Poole, Dorchester, Weymouth, Lyme Regis, Exeter, Totnes, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Barnstaple, and Bristol, to draw up regulations for the French trade.[2] However, neither Poole nor Southampton provided a member of the committee set up to discuss and report what action should be taken.[3] A few weeks later the committee recommended that the Company of French Merchants at Exeter should have authority to negotiate with the French authorities for the settlement of commercial relations with England. The company's expenses were defrayed by a levy of 1s. for every 20s. subsidy on all woollen cloths and drapery exported from the above mentioned ports to France, and 1s. per tun on French wines imported at those ports.[4]

With falling imports and hostility to English trade in France, Southampton's principal market for exports, it is unlikely that exports from the town would have made any striking recovery after the return of peace. Nationally, peace with France, even accompanied by the opening of direct trade, coincided with the worst period of the slump

1 B.E. Supple, op. cit., pp. 106-7.

2 P.R.O., P.C.2/41, pp. 543-4.

3 Southampton City Record Office, document in a collection of various legal papers, 17th century, (unnumbered).

4 These facts are reported in P.R.O., P.C.2/47, p. 263.

of the "new draperies".[1]

The next full overseas Port Book to survive covers the year ending Christmas 1637. Analysis shows that total imports recorded in this volume were slightly below the total achieved in the year ending Christmas 1616. That is to say, imports were significantly lower than at the peak of 1619-20. The level of exports in 1637 was startlingly small, being less than one-third of the average yearly total recorded in the period 1613-19.

The overseas Port Book for the year ending Christmas 1638 indicates that imports had fallen slightly below the level of the previous year. Exports did no more than maintain the poor showing of 1637.

In 1636 Southampton was said to be chiefly dependent on the Newfoundland fish trade.[2] As much of that commerce was not recorded in the Port Books, the total level of trade was no doubt somewhat greater than those documents indicated.

The very low export levels in 1637 and 1638 must have been reflected in a serious depression in the industries producing serges and perpetuanas in the town.

One reason for the depressed state of exports was probably the continued French hostility to English goods. On 27 March 1637, after seizures of English goods at Rouen, the Privy Council extended the special impositions mentioned above, which were to be paid to the treasurer of the Company of French Merchants at Exeter, to all imports and exports concerned in French trade.[3]

1 B.E. Supple, op. cit., p. 107.

2 Southampton City Record Office, document in a collection of various legal papers, 17th century, [unnumbered].

3 P.R.O., P.C.2/47, p. 264.

The 1630's witnessed high levels of piratical activity in the Channel, which was a serious threat to the mercantile marine of south coast towns. In 1636 the merchants and owners of shipping in Southampton and certain ports in Devon and Dorset complained to the Privy Council that their coasts were much infested by "Turkish" pirates from Algiers, and more especially from Sallee in Barbary. In the last few years such marauders had taken eighty-seven of the petitioners' ships, worth, with their cargoes, £96,700. 1,160 seamen had been made prisoners, besides 2,000 taken from other ships. The petitioners were put to heavy charges for the maintenance of the dependants of these men. The merchants claimed that because of the threat of piracy, they dared not trade abroad as they otherwise would have done.[1]

The decline of national economic prosperity during most of the 1630's[2] led to the crisis of the early 1640's.[3] Contemporaries saw the slump in terms of extreme scarcity of money which they considered was causing the widespread decay of inland trade.[4] Imports could not find a ready market except at great loss.[5] Exports were bound to suffer if the situation continued.[6]

Since Southampton was primarily an importing port, it may reasonably be assumed that it experienced this crisis in good measure. Imports were probably greatly reduced below the levels of 1637-8, whilst exports cannot be expected to have risen above the lowly totals

1 C.S.P.D., Addenda, 1625-49, p. 546, no. 97.

2 See especially B.E. Supple, op. cit., pp. 120-5.

3 See especially Ibid., pp. 125-131.

4 C.S.P.D., 1640-1, p. 524, no. 86.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

of those years.

Relief was not soon at hand. The Port Book for 1644 shows how disastrous was the Civil War for Southampton's seaborne trade. Total trade fell even below the low levels recorded during the deep depression at the beginning of the century. In a letter dated 19 October 1644 Lord General Essex described Portsmouth and Southampton as being in a very sad condition, both but weakly manned, and the former without money.[1]

By early December 1642 Southampton was fully secured as a matter of self-interest to the Parliamentary cause.[2] Although no fighting took place within the town itself, normal commercial life was greatly disrupted. Mr. Davies has stated that serious levies of money were extorted, especially from the more wealthy burgesses suspected of favouring the king; the town had to be kept in a posture of defence, and the evils of violent partisanship had to be endured within its walls.[3] Detailed accounts of Southampton in the Civil War have already been published.[4]

The Port Book of 1649 shows that seaborne trade had regained some of the ground lost in the Civil War. Trade in 1649 was much larger than in 1644, but had not regained the level of 1638.

The foregoing analysis has shown that both Mr. Camfield and Professor Hearnshaw overstated their cases as to Southampton's prosperity and importance because they relied upon partial evidence. There is no doubt that Southampton was not a national port in the ————————————

1 C.S.P.D., 1644-5, p. 57.

2 J.S. Davies, op. cit., p. 487.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., pp. 485-8. G.N. Godwin, The Civil War in Hampshire, 1642-45 (1904).

way that they implied. Even during the years of greatest buoyancy of the seaborne trade there were serious financial problems in the town itself. For Southampton as a whole, the first half of the seventeenth century was not a prosperous period.

CHAPTER 4

The Regional Distribution of Trade

A. General.

A port-by-port analysis of the trade recorded in the overseas Port Books mentioned in Table 1 appears in Appendix A.

Previous historians have differed in their estimates of the degrees of relative importance to be accorded to the various branches of Southampton's overseas trade during the first half of the seventeenth century.

According to L.A. Burgess, the main feature of development was the growth of trade with the New World. Mr. Burgess thought that the cod-fishing industry off Newfoundland proved particularly attractive to Southampton seamen. He considered that the New World trade had replaced the old important trades between Genoa, Venice, and Southampton, which had died out long before.[1]

A.L. Merson, however, has stated that Southampton did not share the expansion which the growth of the American colonies and the revival of the Mediterranean and Iberian trades brought to western ports such as Exeter, Bristol, and Liverpool. Mr. Merson considered that Southampton's commercial relations with the New World remained on a small scale. The documents which he examined strongly suggested that the town's seaborne trade was mainly with France and the Channel——————————

1 L.A. Burgess, "Southampton in the Seventeenth Century", Collected Essays on Southampton, J.B. Morgan and P. Peberdy (eds.) (1958), p.71.

Islands for the needs of the Hampshire area.[1]

Comprehensive analysis of the Port Books, considered with the full discussion of the Newfoundland fish trade in Chapter 5, leads to general agreement with the view of Mr. Merson. The Newfoundland fish trade became very significant, especially in the fourth decade of the century, but Mr. Burgess very much over-estimated the contribution made by it and the other Atlantic trades to the total seaborne commerce of Southampton. The Atlantic trades certainly came nowhere near to filling the positions once occupied by Genoa and Venice in Southampton's overseas trade.

Throughout the first half of the seventeenth century Southampton functioned as a regional port serving the needs of the Hampshire Basin in a wide variety of general merchandise, and supplying a more extensive area with imported wines and canvas. Southampton was primarily an importing port, and for every year in which records survive, imports were higher, sometimes very considerably higher, than exports.

As is shown in Table 7, the overseas trade of Southampton was concentrated to a very high degree upon the Channel Islands and the Breton ports of St. Malo and Morlaix. St. Malo was by far the chief of these, being the single most important trading port partner of Southampton.

Table 7 shows that the concentration of trade upon St. Malo, the Channel Islands, and Morlaix, was greater for imports and exports of "old draperies" than it was for exports of "new draperies" and miscellaneous goods. In the case of imports, this may be explained by the fact that a very large part of the total consisted of French

1 A.L. Merson, "Southampton in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", A Survey of Southampton and Its Region, F.J. Monkhouse (ed.) (1964), p. 223.

Table 7. Trade between Southampton and St. Malo, the Channel Islands, and Morlaix, as a Percentage of Total Overseas Trade.

Year ending Xmas % of	1613		1616		1619		1637	
	Ad valorem goods	"Short-cloths"	Ad valorem goods	"Short-cloths"	Ad valorem goods	"Short-cloths"	Ad valorem goods	"Short-cloths"
Imports	75.1	-	79.4	-	80.2	-	65.6	-
Exports	48.3	76.6	50.1	88.1	62.1	93.6	42.9	100
Total trade	63.0	76.6	69.8	88.1	74.4	93.6	62.5	100

Correct to first decimal place.

Notes: 1. Percentages are calculated from Rate Book valuations given in the Port Books.

2. The wine trade, the provisions trade with the Channel Islands, and unrated goods, are excluded.

linen and canvas cloth much of which was imported from St. Malo and Morlaix, especially the former. In the case of exports, the market for "new draperies", which formed the largest part of total exports, was wider than the market for the much smaller and declining export of "old draperies", the main vent for which was increasingly through St. Malo and Morlaix as the total "old drapery" export declined.

B. Imports.

Table 8 brings out the very high degree of concentration of the import trade upon the Channel Islands, St. Malo, and Morlaix. Imports from other French ports were next in importance, although very considerably lower. The import trades from the Iberian peninsula, and from the Low Countries were the only others of real significance, apart from the Newfoundland trade, the extent of which was not fully reflected in the Port Books. With other areas there seems to have been a lack of any sizeable import trade at all.

The valuations shown against particular regions include all products which were recorded as being brought from ports in those regions whether the goods were produced in those regions or not. The most important case was St. Malo, imports from which included Channel Islands products (see Table 10), and goods from the Iberian peninsula.

The figure of £1,866 of unknown origin in 1637 included £1,099 of Irish goods salvaged from a wreck. As much of that material was forwarded to Ostend in the same year, it was obviously not originally intended for Southampton, and had no bearing on the trends of trade in the port.

Table 8. Regional Import Rateable Values, 1613-19, 1637.

Year ending Xmas	1613	1616	1619	1637
				£
St. Malo and Channel Isles	9,788	20,565	15,668	14,585
Morlaix	5,690	5,777	11,240	6,466
Other French Ports	2,674	2,868	2,608	6,052
Spain and Portugal	1,243	1,436	1,318	968
Barbary	-	491	-	-
Low Countries and Northern Europe	559	1,168	701	1,703
Scotland	59	111	225	63
Ireland	286	487	388	222
Newfoundland	263	122	447	183
Virginia	-	112	237	-
East Indies	-	-	8	-
?	47	23	713	1,866
Total	20,609	33,160	33,553	32,108

Nearest £.

The wine import trade is excluded.
Rate Book values do not necessarily correspond to market values.

The figures shown against "Other French Ports" in Table 8, may be analysed regionally as in Table 9. That table shows that after the ports of St. Malo and Morlaix, the most important areas of France were Normandy and the region covering the Gironde and Charente rivers, where the ports of La Rochelle and Bordeaux were dominant.

Table 9. French Regional Import Rateable Values (except St. Malo and Morlaix), 1613-19; 1637.

Year ending Xmas	1613	1616	1619	1637
				£
Picardy	-	-	-	-
Normandy	1,139	1,444	1,487	1,983
Northern Brittany (except St. Malo and Morlaix)	56	-	-	1,253
West and South-West Brittany and Poitou	264	436	289	778
Aunis Saintonge and Guienne	1,214	987	833	2,039
Bearn	-	-	-	-
Total	2,673	2,867	2,609	6,053

Nearest £.

Actual totals:

1613: £2,673.12s.9d.

1616: £2,867.10s.5d.

1619: £2,608. 7s.0d.

1637: £6,052. 9s.2d.

Rate-Book values do not necessarily correspond to market values.

The wine import trade is excluded.

Table 10 shows how far the figures in Table 8 recorded against "St. Malo and the Channel Isles" and "Other French Ports" were composed of products of Channel Islands origin. The amounts given in Table 10 show that the contribution of Channel Islands' goods to the total import trade from St. Malo was very small.

Table 10. Rateable Values of Channel Islands' Imports, 1613-19, 1637.

Year ending Xmas	1613	1616	1619	1637
C.I. produce recorded from:				
Guernsey	306	173	100	4
Jersey	-	-	-	-
Alderney	-	-	6	14
St. Malo	158	76	117	287
Bordeaux	-	-	3	-
Total	464	249	226	305

nearest £

Actual totals:

1613 £464. 1s. 6d.

1616 £249. 9s. 0d.

1619 £225.13s. 4d.

1637 £305. 9s. 8d.

Rate Book values do not necessarily correspond to market values.

The figures in Table 10 relate entirely to Guernsey produce with the following exceptions. The figure of £173 shown against Guernsey in 1616 includes £10 in respect of forty-one sheep and lambs of the breed of Alderney and Guernsey and fourteen hogs. The amount of £6 against Alderney in 1619 is in respect of three tons of kelp or ore ashes of the growth of Alderney. The sum of £287 shown against St. Malo in 1637 includes £14. 10s. 0d. in respect of 136 raw Jersey hides. They were the only Jersey products included in Table 10. All the other imports recorded from Jersey in the four years covered by the table were of French goods. The figure of £14 for Alderney in 1637 is composed of £10 for eight Alderney cows, and £4 for 1-000[1] ells of Guernsey and Alderney linen cloth.

It is possible to divide the imports received at Southampton from overseas trade into a small number of convenient groups. Table 11 shows the Rate Book valuations of such groups for the years when Port Books having commodity valuations survive.

1 Some kinds of cloth, including Guernsey linen cloth, Vitry canvas, and Normandy canvas, were measured at the rate of 120 ells to a hundred. In this study amounts of such commodities are written so that a hyphen separates the complete hundreds from the units of 1 to 119 insufficient to form a complete hundred. Thus, a complete hundred of 120 ells appears as 1-000 or 1-00. One ell less would be 0-119. Six thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine ells would be written as 69-099 or 69-99. Six thousand nine hundred five score and ten ells would appear as 69-110.

Table 11. Rate Book Valuations of Imports, 1613-19, 1637.

	Year ending Xmas:	1613	1616	1619	1637
					£
Raw materials etc.	Linen and Canvas	15,166	27,555	28,380	22,258
	Other Cloths	120	164	-	-
	Dyestuffs	103	175	101	-
	Other materials for textiles industries	51	200	139	80
	Oils	646	403	719	610
	Rosen	3	2	72	97
	Salt	1,019	905	697	1,598
	Naval Stores	82	236	264	1,887
	Coal	55	69	132	33
	Metals		2	7	-
	Tobacco	20	207	169	-
	Materials for other industries	207	832	641	610
Foods and Preservatives	Grain	702	323	7	301
	Hops	19	151	248	38
	Sugar	648	319	247	247
	Fruits	814	861	1,228	1,582
	Vinegar	72	92	92	529
	Other foods, drinks, and preservatives	433	442	221	585
	Livestock		13	12	10
Manufactured goods	Clothing	353	111	113	180
	Other goods	73	44	42	261
	Miscellaneous	20	50	25	1,203
	Total	20,606	33,156	33,556	32,109

Nearest £.

Actual totals:

1613 £20,606.14s. 2d.

1616 £33,158.15s. 2d.

1619 £33,554. 8s. 2d.

1637 £32,107.17s. 2d.

1. Wine imports cannot be included since wine Port Books do not exist for the years given.

2. Rateable values of commodities do not necessarily correspond to market values.

3. No tobacco imports are shown for 1637, for at that time the port of London had a legal monopoly of the import of tobacco.

4. Coal imports concern only the coal derived from Scotland and not the much greater import brought by the coastal trade which is considered in Chapter 7.

5. The figure of £25 shown as "miscellaneous" in 1619 represents a commodity illegible in the Port Book.

6. The figure of £1,203 shown as "miscellaneous" in 1637 was composed of £60 being the value of two foreign ships and their furniture sold in Southampton, £27 of goods taken from a wreck, £17 of ordnance taken from wrecks, and £1,099 of Irish goods salvaged as mentioned above.

7 In 1637 there was some small re-export of French goods, mainly linen and canvas to Spain and the Atlantic Islands. This form of trade was absent from the Port Books of the second decade of the century. Its appearance in 1637 was perhaps due to the interruption of normal trade between France and Spain by the war between those countries which began in 1635.

8. There were small imports of sumach which could be used either as a dyestuff or in the tanning industry or medicinally. This commodity has been included in the section "materials for other industries".

Table 11 shows that by far the most important group of imports was the heavy linen and canvas cloths manufactured in Brittany and Normandy. The greatest part of the linen and canvas received at Southampton was

derived from Brittany.

The very high percentages of linen and canvas out of total imports are shown in Table 12 below. The predominance of linen and canvas among imports was true throughout the period covered by this study.

Table 12. Percentage of Linen and Canvas of Total Imports, 1613-19; 1637.

Year ending Xmas	1613	1616	1619	1637
				%
% of linen and canvas of total imports	73.6	82.5	84.7	69.3

correct to first decimal place.

Percentages are based on the rateable values of commodities shown in the Port Books.

Table 13 analyses the composition of the linen and canvas import. Two main classes of material comprised almost the whole of that import. Canvas, of which Vitry canvas was by far the chief variety, was the major item. The other class of importance was lockrams which consisted of treager, dowlas, and crest-cloth.

Table 13. Linen and Canvas Import, 1613-1619, 1637.

Year ending Xmas	1613	1616	1619	1637
				£
Vitry canvas	7,239	13,670	12,052	11,377
Normandy canvas	663	1,654	1,727	1,600
Packing canvas	-	-	4	-
Brittany cloth	440	1,061	1,135	1,822
Lockrams (Treager)	3,294	5,657	5,777	2,673
Lockrams (Crest-cloth)	550	1,206	618	766
Lockrams (Dowlas)	2,776	4,103	6,885	3,805
French Buckrams	68	65	84	39
Oldrons	25	13	-	34
Poldavies		-	6	30
Lawnes	26	-	-	-
Ticking	8	-	-	7
High brim		-	-	32
Linen cloth	2	-	-	-
Guernsey linen cloth	74	127	94	74
Total	15,165	27,556	28,382	22,259

Nearest £.

Actual totals:

1613 £15,165.11s. 4d.

1616 £27,555. 9s. 8d.

1619 £28,379.17s. 7d.

1637 £22,258. 4s.10d.

The significant contribution made by Vitry canvas not only to the linen and canvas group, but also to imports as a whole, is brought out in Table 14 below.

Table 14. Vitry Canvas as Percentage of (a) Linen and Canvas Imports, (b) Total Imports.

Vitry canvas as percentage of:	Year ending Xmas			
	1613	1616	1619	1637
(a) Linen and Canvas imports	47.7	49.6	42.5	51.1
(b) Total imports	35.1	41.2	35.9	35.4

Correct to first decimal place.

Percentages are calculated from the rateable valuations of commodities as shown in the Port Books.

During the second half of the sixteenth century the imported linen and canvas was distributed over a wider area of the hinterland than the Hampshire Basin alone.[1] No records of distribution survive for the first half of the seventeenth century, but it would be surprising, in view of the large amounts received, if the trade did not continue to embrace at least as wide an area of the countryside.

Canvas had a variety of uses. Covers for carts, ricks, and trunks, were of canvas material. Tents, mainly for military use, were made of canvas. One local use which must have employed a large quantity of canvas was in the manufacture of sailcloth for ships.

1 J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., pp. 47-50.

There was an important import of materials for industrial purposes. Those for the textiles industries included soap and dyestuffs such as brazil-wood, madder, kelp, and sumach. The disappearance of the woad import soon after the dawn of the seventeenth century and a possible explanation of that occurrence has been mentioned in Chapter 1. In connection with the textiles industries, small quantities of starch, teasels, wool, yarn, and occasionally flax, were imported.

Many kinds of goods were imported for other industries. The commodities included oil for soap boilers, tallow for candle makers, raw hides for tanners, galls for ink makers, and "burrs for millstones".[1] There was a small import of medicinal herbs.[2]

The ship construction and repair industry within the headport of Southampton required the goods known as "naval stores" which included deal boards, masts, spars, ropes, pitch, and tar. These commodities were obtained from the Scandinavian and Baltic countries. Importation took place either directly from the country of origin, or indirectly via the Low Countries or Scotland.

Table 11 shows that in 1637 the import of "naval stores" at £1,887 was far in excess of the levels achieved in the second decade, when £264 in 1619 was the highest of the surviving figures. Of the total of £1,887, £1,502.10s.0d. was accounted for by the import of three and a half hundred deal boards from Norway. In 1637 quantities of Baltic timber were forwarded by the coastal trade from Southampton and

1 Buhrstone, a siliceo-calcareous rock found in the upper Freshwater beds of the Paris Basin, was much used for the manufacture of millstones owing to its cellular texture. [Southampton Court Leet Records, part III, 1603-1624, p. 590]. Buhrstones were often imported with plaster of Paris. Whether the materials were to be complementary in use is not known.

2 In Table 11 apart from sumach, which had other uses as mentioned above, the only drugs included in the totals of materials for other industries were saxifrage roots and tamarinds in 1619. The former was derived from Virginia, the rateable value being £231.9s.4d. The latter was brought from the East Indies, the rateable value amounting to £7.15s.6d.

Portsmouth to Exeter.[1] This pattern of trade increased over the following decades owing to the growth of shipbuilding at Exeter.[2] The number of coastal voyages rose from six in 1637 to twenty-six in 1683.[3]

The shipping industry also used salt and hops. Salt was needed for the Newfoundland fishing voyages. Hops were used, of course, in brewing beer, the principal liquid victual on shipboard. Whilst some part of the import of salt and hops would have been used for inland consumption, a considerable amount must have been used in shipping.

The importation of wines,[4] luxury and semi-luxury foodstuffs for the consumption of provincial merchants and country gentry was an important feature of Southampton's trade. Most of the goods in this class came from south-west France and the Iberian peninsula. Most of the foodstuffs consisted of fruits. Citrus fruits were represented by oranges and lemons. There was a greater variety and more important import of dried fruits. Figs, currants, raisins and prunes were the types involved. Raisins and prunes were the most important.

Grain imports were significant in some years. In the years when Port Books survive the dates of high grain import were 1613, 1616, 1637 and 1638. There was a dearth of grain in Southampton in 1608.[5]

Miscellaneous foodstuffs, such as beans, peas, onions, cabbages, and cheese, were imported from the Low Countries. The quantities involved were very small, however.

1 W.B. Stephens, Seventeenth Century Exeter, op. cit., p. 122.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 The wine import trade is discussed in Chapter 6.

5 Assembly Books, I, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

For mainly middle class consumption was intended a wide range of manufactured articles. These included writing paper, glassware, general hardware, and the more expensive kinds of foreign cloths. The source of this material was mainly northern France, though a little came also from the Low Countries.

A wider market may have been intended for various sorts of manufactured clothing. Most of the imported clothing was of the knitted worsted variety produced in Guernsey. Stockings and waistcoats were by far the most important of such products.

The import of linen, canvas, and wines, constituted a very large part of Southampton's total import trade. Other classes of commodities were of much lesser importance, not only relatively to the two major classes, and to imports as a whole, but often absolutely also, in terms of the small levels of trade involved. Southampton's import trade was extremely unbalanced. Imports of linen, canvas, and wines, were far more important than all other imports put together.

C. Exports.

The "new draperies" provided by far the largest part of Southampton's exports. Serges or cloth rashes[1] were the most important of the "new draperies" exported. Perpetuanas were significant, at least from the second decade onwards. The first available figure for the perpetuana export, in 1613, was also the maximum of those years when records survive. From 1613 until 1619, the export of perpetuanas, unlike that of serges, was falling. It is almost certain that exports of both commodities fell sharply early in the third decade, and remained low, probably for the rest of the period, for the reasons already advanced in the

1 Cloth rash was an alternative name for Hampton [Southampton] broad serge. [Examinations and Depositions, I, p. 48.]

discussion about general trade trends in Chapter 3. It is clear from Table 15 that export levels in 1637-8, 1644, and 1649, were considerably reduced from those of the second decade.

Serges and perpetuanas were manufactured in Southampton and Winchester[1] by the Protestants and their descendants from the French-speaking Netherlands, northern France, and the Channel Islands. The first Huguenot refugees had been allowed to settle in Southampton in 1567.[2] By far the largest part of the serges and perpetuanas exported were produced in Southampton.

The export of "cottons" was important, especially during the second decade when this item constituted the second most important export. The export level in 1613 was considerably higher than in 1600-2, but in 1614 there was a very severe fall, and the export of "cottons" continued to decline, though much more gradually, to 1619. "Cottons" then doubtless shared in the general depression that began in 1620. The economic climate and other circumstances were unfavourable to Southampton's exports during the remainder of the half century, as explained in Chapter 3. It is quite probable that the export of "cottons" never regained the levels of the second decade. The very poor figures of 1637-8 show that at that time the trade was only just continuing. By 1644 it had ceased entirely.

Most of the "cottons" were probably produced in the countryside of southern England. A small part of the export of "cottons" was

1 The overseas Port Books record exports of Hampton and Winton cloth rashes. See also C.S.P.D., 1611-18, p. 561, no. 54, for a petition of the clothworkers of Southampton and Winchester to the Privy Council.

2 Assembly Books, I, p. xi.

designated "Welsh" and "northern". Since the surviving coastal Port Books contain no references to Welsh "cottons" and few references to northern "cottons" being brought to Southampton by the coastal trade, the bulk of those commodities must have been brought to Southampton overland.

Many other types of "new draperies" entered the export lists from time to time, generally in very small amounts. The only item of individual significance was says, the export of which in the second decade was noteworthy.

The category of cloths known as "old draperies" accounted for only a small and decreasing proportion of Southampton's total exports. In the second decade the extent of "old drapery" exports was small. By 1637 it had shrunk almost to nothing. The levels in the Port Books of 1638, 1644, and 1649, were greater, but the yearly totals remained small. The most important "old draperies" were Hampshire kersies and Sarum plaines. There was a much smaller export of other "old draperies". Broadcloth and Devonshire dozens were perhaps the most notable, but the export levels of these materials were low.

A small amount of miscellaneous haberdashery and mercery wares were exported from Southampton. The Channel Islands and northern France took the most part.

The export of leather and calfskins tanned in Southampton was a significant, though small, part of total exports. A large part of the export of tanned leather and calfskins was sent to the Channel Islands.

Export of other English goods was of low extent and little importance compared with the cloth trade. Yellow wax, uncast lead, and ashes for dyeing textiles, were perhaps the most noteworthy, but it must be remembered that the quantities involved, both of individual goods, and the aggregate of this miscellaneous group as a whole, were small.

Table 15. Exports of Main Types of "New Draperies" [except "Cottons"], 1600-1649.

Pieces

Year ending	Mich 1601	Mich 1602	Xmas 1613	Xmas 1614	Xmas 1616	Xmas 1619	Xmas 1637	Xmas 1638	Xmas 1644	Xmas 1649
Serges	1287	781½								
Cloth of So'ton	-	-	2274	2381	2865	2980	586 [1]	559	422½	576
Rash[4] of Winchester	-	-	203	288	212	120				
Perpetuanas of So'ton			520	459	391	367	73 [2]	187 [3] + 44 yds.	161	443
Perpetuanas of Winchester			146	60 + 12 yds.	110	80				
Says	60	9	976	830	766	429	-	1	-	-

1 Port Books from 1637 onwards do not specify the town of manufacture of serges and perpetuanas.

2 Includes 22 narrow and 9 ell broad.

3 Includes both broad and narrow.

4 As explained above cloth rash and Hampton broad serge were the same material. There was thus no climacteric between 1602 and 1613 in which the export of serge ceased and the export of a "new" commodity called cloth rash arose.

Table 16. Exports of "Cottons", 1601-49

Goads

Year ending	Mich. 1601	Mich. 1602	Xmas 1613	Xmas 1614	Xmas 1616
"Cottons"	12,050	20,750	58,278	20,890	13,080
Year ending	Xmas 1619	Xmas 1637	Xmas 1638	Xmas 1644	Xmas 1649
"Cottons"	14,246	275	1,115	-	-

The Port Books for 1600-2 record the export of a number of gelding horses or jades to Normandy, mainly to Omonville-la-Rogue and Cap de la Hague on the Cotentin peninsula. This export had ceased by the time of the next Port Book in 1613, and is not subsequently encountered during the period.

There is little sign that Southampton acted to any great extent as an entrepôt. The main re-exports, though small in amounts, were of Newfoundland fish and train oil to France.

In 1637 and 1638 there was a very small re-export trade in French goods to Spain. This may have been due to the interruption of normal Franco-Spanish trading consequent upon the war between the two countries which had broken out in 1635.

The analysis of the regional distributions of exports shown in Tables 17 and 18 below highlights the very high concentration upon northern France and the Channel Islands. Consignments for St. Malo and the Channel Islands dwarfed those to other ports.

Table 17. Regional Export Rateable Values, 1613-19, 1637.

Year ending	Xmas 1613	Xmas 1616	Xmas 1619	Xmas 1637
				£
St. Malo and Channel Isles	7,377	6,643	8,001	1,669
Morlaix	905	1,471	1,815	471
Other French Ports	5,270	5,878	5,686	2,377
Spain and Portugal	1,926	-		63
Canary Isles	-	-		372
Low Countries and Northern Europe	1,362	2,111	247	-
Ireland	158	44	64	-
?	164	44		40
Total	17,162	16,191	15,813	4,992

"Old draperies" and unrated goods excluded.

Table 18. Regional Distribution of "Old Drapery" Exports, 1613-19, 1637.

"Shortcloths"

Year ending	Xmas 1613	Xmas 1614	Xmas 1619	Xmas 1637
St. Malo and Channel Isles	269	$179\frac{5}{8}$	$358\frac{1}{12}$	$14\frac{2}{3}$
Morlaix	$38\frac{3}{4}$	$30\frac{7}{12}$	$50\frac{1}{12}$	
Other French Ports	$5\frac{1}{2}$	$17\frac{7}{12}$	$25\frac{1}{2}$	
Spain and Portugal	$32\frac{1}{6}$			
Canary Isles	-	-		
Low Countries and Northern Europe	$43\frac{3}{4}$	$10\frac{11}{12}$		
Ireland	$12\frac{1}{4}$		$2\frac{1}{2}$	
?	$\frac{1}{3}$	-		
Total	$401\frac{3}{4}$	$238\frac{11}{24}$	$436\frac{1}{6}$	$14\frac{2}{3}$

D. Regional Trades.

1. The Channel Islands.

The Channel Islands continued to be an important factor in Southampton's seaborne trade during the period of this study as it had been during the previous fifty years.[1] The anomalous customs position occupied by the Channel Islands in English maritime trade, which Mrs. Thomas has described,[2] continued throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Imports of certain necessaries and provisions up to specified amounts were allowed to be shipped customs free to the Channel Islands from designated ports on the south coast of England including Southampton. As no duties were to be collected on these goods, details of their export were entered in the coastal Port Books at the English ports. Quantities of necessaries above the specified levels and all other goods exported to the Channel Islands bore duties in the same way as other commodities entering foreign trade, and were thus recorded in the overseas Port Books.

At the beginning of the reign of James I the grants authorising the provisions trades were confirmed. The arrangements concerning Guernsey appear to have been covered by a general charter dated 18 December 1603 confirming its liberties, customs, and other privileges.[3] The special licence to Jersey, Alderney, and Sark, was dated 15 November 1604.[4] It allowed customs relief on certain quantities of "necessaries". A transcript of the document appears in Appendix J. The charter for Guernsey[5] is too faded or rubbed

1 J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., pp. 89-96.

2 Ibid., pp. 21-2.

3 P.R.O., C.66/1626.

4 P.R.O., C.66/1645.

5 P.R.O., C.66/1626.

to copy well. It does not relate to necessaries, but to customs in general. A brief search in the Patent Rolls for the early years of Charles I has failed to reveal renewed grants, but the Port Books show that the provisions arrangements continued.

Many of the ships engaged in the commerce between Southampton and St. Malo were Channel Islands' vessels. A triangular pattern of trade was thus established in which voyages between Southampton and St. Malo would often be broken at the Channel Islands. The question therefore arises as to how much of the trade recorded as passing between Southampton and the Channel Islands either originated in or was destined for the islands themselves rather than St. Malo. It is fairly simple to distinguish between Channel Islands and French goods in the import trade. Exports, however, present a greater problem. Goods listed in the coastal Port Books as being sent customs free to the Channel Islands were supposed to be for the use of the islanders themselves, and though no doubt the privilege was to some extent abused, it is doubtful if more than a small proportion of the goods involved found their way to St. Malo. Exports listed in the overseas Port Books are a different matter. There is no way of ascertaining what proportion of the goods nominally recorded as being consigned to the Channel Islands were in fact destined for St. Malo.

The Provisions Trade.

A summary of the provisions trade recorded in the coastal Port Books listed in Table 1 appears in Appendix C.

Only one useable volume survives for the reign of James I - for the year ending Christmas 1608. This book contains many fewer Channel Islands' consignments than volumes which survive during the reign of Charles I. In 1608 cloth was not one of the goods allowed as a provision. In the later surviving Port Books beginning at Christmas 1627 some duty free cloth shipments were allowed, and the greater number of

consignments in the Port Books of Charles I reflect this additional concession.

In all the years when records survive the provisions trade to Guernsey was significantly greater than to Jersey. The trade to the other islands - only Sark is mentioned in the records which exist - was occasional and very small indeed.

The main items entering the provisions trade were tanned leather, beer, malt, timber, firewood, and wool. All except wool had been important in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The wool trade began in the early years of the seventeenth century, and by 1629-30 had developed into an important commerce.

The wool was used in the woollen knitting industries of the Channel Islands. The knitting industry of Guernsey produced stockings and waistcoats. Some part of that production was sent to Southampton by way of overseas trade.

Table 19. Exports of Wool from Southampton to Channel Islands, 1608, 1628-33, 1646.

In Tods.

Year ending Xmas	1608	1628	1629	1630	1631	1633	1646
Jersey	4	255	559	403	209	378	-
Guernsey	-	260	425	630*	240	$554\frac{1}{7}$	205
Alderney	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	4	515	984	1,033	449	$932\frac{1}{7}$	205

* includes 20 tods for "Sark and Guernsey".

Tanned leather and calfskins were exported as provisions to the Channel Islands. The ultimate use of the leather may be seen from the fact that a number of merchants engaged in that trade were shoemakers of the Channel Islands. Some part of the material consisted of hides which had previously been sent raw from the islands for tanning in Southampton.[1]

The surviving coastal Port Books during the reign of Charles I include entries for many types of "old" and "new drapery" cloths sent under the provisions concessions to the Channel Islands. Although a number of different types of cloth were involved, the totals achieved by each variety were generally very small. The trades in kersies and "cottons" were practically the only ones to reach much significance. Also contained in the coastal books of the reign of Charles I were entries concerning the supply of miscellaneous items of haberdashery and mercery often called "petty shop wares". The extent of this trade was of some note.

1 There are in the Southampton City Record Office some accounts of the town viewers of tallage and package on tanned leather and calfskins exported to the Channel Islands from 1621 to 1633 [documents in various legal papers, 17th Century, (unnumbered)]. Since the totals of such accounts for the years 1628-31 are so much lower than the figures derived from the Port Books covering those years (especially in respect of tanned calfskins), it is obvious that the tallage and package accounts tell only part of the story. This appears to be because on 25 August 1597 the magistrates of Southampton exempted from the seal and view of the tallage officers all tanned leather for the sole use and provision of the Channel Islanders, and not intended to be sold [Southampton City Record Office, Book of Instruments, SC2/6/6, f. 2v.]. In such circumstances, the local tallage accounts have not been used.

Ordinary Trade.

Imports from the Channel Islands were recorded in the overseas Port Books where many goods of French or other foreign origin were included. Without such exotic commodities, the Channel Islands import trades appear considerably smaller than the records at first suggest.

The chief import trade originated at Guernsey. The main goods sent from that island were the woollen stockings and waistcoats manufactured by the island's knitting industry. The supplies of wool sent by Southampton for that industry have been given in Table 19 above.

Imports of stockings and waistcoats probably began about the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century. No such articles were imported in 1600-2. In 1608 the export of wool to Guernsey had not begun. By 1613 there was a large import of stockings and a significant trade in waistcoats. For several years, both long and short stockings were received. The short variety were imported for the remainder of the period, but 1616 is the last year in which the import of long stockings was recorded.

Table 20. Imports of Guernsey Knitted Woollen Stockings and Waistcoats, 1613-19; 1637-8; 1644-1649.

Year ending	Xmas 1613	Xmas 1614	Xmas 1616	Xmas 1619	Xmas 1637	Xmas 1638	Xmas 1644	Xmas 1649
Stockings (in pairs) short	679	912*	200	400	648	1168	-	144ø
Stockings (in pairs) long	980	144	290	-	-	-	-	
Waistcoats	50	44	72	90	140	147	120	1,653

* includes 528 of unspecified origin imported from Jersey.

ø of unspecified length.

Linen cloth made in Guernsey was imported at Southampton throughout the period.

Table 21. Imports of Guernsey Linen Cloth, 1600-49.

ells

Year ending	Mich 1601	Mich 1602	Xmas 1613	Xmas 1614	Xmas 1616	Xmas 1619	Xmas 1637	Xmas 1638	Xmas 1644	Xmas 1649
Guernsey	2-000	-	19-017*	36-088	30-100	23-050	18-060	8-040	3-110	1-020

One hundred = 120 ells.

One hundred ells is expressed as 1-000 as explained above.

* 5-080 ells of "Guernsey canvas" was also imported.

Guernsey also sent small amounts of samphire and occasionally kelp. Some grain from the island was sent in years of need. Raw hides were in some years sent for tanning in Southampton and subsequent return to to Guernsey.

Jersey was not an important source of supply of Southampton's imports. In some years the only commodities said to come from that island were palpably of French origin, and in other years French products constituted the largest part of trade.

From Jersey itself the only noticeable imports were occasional cargoes of grains and intermittent supplies of raw hides. The latter were sent to be tanned in Southampton and returned to Jersey.

In view of the large amounts of wool which according to Table 19 were sent to Jersey as well as to Guernsey, it is perhaps surprising that there were no recorded imports of the knitted manufactures of Jersey during the period.

No trading was recorded with Jersey in 1644, 1646, or 1649, presumably because the island was then under Royalist control.

Little purpose is served by a discussion of the exports recorded as going to the Channel Islands in the overseas Port Books. This is because as previously mentioned, it is impossible to know how much of that traffic was intended for the Channel Islands, and how much was to pass on to St. Malo or other French ports. As with the north Breton trade, cloth, predominantly the "new drapery" types, was the chief export. Some haberdashery, mercery wares, and hats, were the other items of note.

2. France.

i. Picardy.

Trade between Southampton and Picardy was small, occasional, and of little significance. During the years when records survive this commerce appears only in 1600-1, 1614, and 1619.

In 1600-1 a small quantity of hops was brought to Southampton from Calais.

In 1614 commerce was conducted with Abbeville and St. Valéry-sur-Somme. Imports consisted of very moderate quantities of wheat and rye from both places, with Abbeville sending also small amounts of barley, peas, and rope yarn. Exports were sent to Abbeville only. The chief commodities were horns and bones. There was a small trade in vetches, Southampton serges, Southampton perpetuanas, Hampshire kersies, honey, ashes, and cowhides.

Commerce in 1619 consisted entirely of exports to Calais. The possibility of confusion between this place and Cadiz in Spain, then known as Cales, should be borne in mind. In the 1619 Port Book Calais is entered as Calleis, whilst Cadiz appears as Calls. Consignments consisted mainly of cloth of which the most important kind was Southampton serge. Sarum plaines were significant. Tawed lamb skins were noteworthy. There were small quantities of beer, wax,

glue, and train oil.

ii. Normandy.

This province sent a wide variety of goods to Southampton. The chief import was Normandy canvas, the extent of which trade is shown in Table 22 below. Normandy canvas made a significant contribution to the huge import of linen and canvas from northern France. The extent of the import of Normandy canvas, however, fell far short of the level of import of Vitry canvas from Brittany.

Table 22. Importation of Normandy Canvas, 1600-49.

Year ending	Mich 1601	Mich 1602	Xmas 1613	Xmas 1614	Xmas 1616
Normandy canvas (all types)	103-050	94-100	164-047	178-094	413-056

Year ending	Xmas 1619	Xmas 1637	Xmas 1638	Xmas 1644	Xmas 1649
Normandy canvas (all types)	369-095	407-060	368-051	317-026	210-000

One hundred = 120 ells.

One hundred ells is expressed as 1-000 as explained above.

Normandy also supplied many kinds of manufactured articles for mainly middle-class consumption. Such imports included writing paper, glassware, and playing cards.

Materials and articles for use in industry were among the imports from Normandy in some years. Such items included teasels, rape oil and bottles. Lyons thread and French buckrams were significant, the latter being a regular part of the trade. Both these items were imported from Brittany also. The "burrs for millstones" and plaster of Paris, both of which were sent from Norman ports, have been discussed earlier in this chapter.

Many different kinds of materials comprised the export trade to Normandy. Cloth featured in the lists, but certainly did not dominate trade, and in some years was not very important. The types and extent of exports varied so widely that generalisations are not very useful. The export of gelding horses to the Cotentin peninsula in 1600-2 has already been noted.

Southampton traded with many of the Norman ports from time to time. The distribution of trade as between Norman ports was much more evenly divided than was the trade with north Brittany divided among ports in that region. The levels of trade conducted with each of the Norman ports varied greatly between the years in which records survive. Dieppe and Caen were perhaps the chief of Southampton's trading partners. Many other ports were also significant from time to time, including Le Havre, Omonville, and Rouen. Of more occasional significance were Etrétat, Fécamp, and St. Valéry-en-Caux. Sometimes there were contacts with Deauville, Honfleur, Barfleur, and elsewhere.

The surviving records of the first two decades of the century show that much of the import trade from Caen was on the account of David Mountenier, who was described in the Port Books as an alien merchant of Caen.

iii. Northern Brittany.

The dominance of St. Malo and Morlaix in Southampton's overseas trades (excluding the wine trade) has been brought out in Tables 7 and 8. Much of the import trade from those two ports consisted of linen and canvas cloth. Vitry canvas was by far the most important of that group. The importance of Vitry canvas in the import trade is illustrated in Table 14.

Table 23. Imports of Vitry Canvas, 1613-19, 1637-8, 1644, 1649.

ells

Year ending Xmas	1613	1614	1616	1619
Vitry canvas	2164-067	3269-101	3694-104	3607-070

Year ending Xmas	1637	1638	1644	1649
Vitry canvas	3448-030	1572-090	1053-085	2788-045

One hundred = 120 ells.
One hundred ells is expressed as 1-000 as explained previously.

In the year ending Michaemas 1601, 77 fardles of Vitry canvas (excluding "provisions") was imported, together with 1,704 bolts or 397-072 ells of "canvas".

During the year ending Michaelmas 1602, 35½ fardles of Vitry canvas were received with 2,372 bolts or 553-056 ells of "canvas".[1]

1 Mrs. Thomas has suggested that a fardle of canvas probably contained 300 ells [J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., p. 70]. If this was so, in 1600-1, 192-060 ells of vitry canvas was imported. The total canvas import (excluding Normandy canvas) in that year was thus 590-012. Using the same formula, 88-090 ells of Vitry canvas was imported in 1601-2. The total of canvas (excluding Norman) that year was 642-026 ells. These figures, being much less than the totals of Vitry canvas shown in Table 23 later in the period, illustrate the extent of the depression in seaborne trade at Southampton at the end of the sixteenth century.

Brittany cloth (called "British cloth" in the Port Books) was a significant item among imports, although far below Vitry canvas in extent.

Table 24. Imports of Brittany Cloth, 1613-19, 1637-8, 1644, 1649.

Ells

Year ending Xmas	1613	1614	1616	1619
	13,217	28,922½	34,494	34,015

Year ending Xmas	1637	1638	1644	1649
	54,070	35,165	18,925	22,810

N.B. Brittany cloth was measured at the rate of 100 ells to a hundred.

No imports of Brittany cloth were recorded in the two years ending Michaelmas 1602.

A comparison of Table 24 with Table 23 shows clearly that throughout the period the import of Vitry canvas was vastly greater than that of Brittany cloth.

The other main constituent of the linen and canvas group was the group of linen cloths called lockrams, composed of the materials dowlas, crest-cloth and treager, as mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Two items which formed only a very small part of the total linen import were oldrons and French buckrams. Buckrams were also imported from Normandy.

Compared with the great quantities of linen and canvas, other kinds of imports from northern Brittany were of considerably less significance. Commodities comprising the rest of trade were very

Table 25. Import of French Lockrams into Southampton, 1600-49.

Pieces

Year ending	Mich. 1601	Mich. 1602	Xmas 1613	Xmas 1614	Xmas 1616	Xmas 1619	Xmas 1637	Xmas 1638	Xmas 1644	Xmas 1649
Dowlas	-	-	834	776 1/5	1,233½	2,064	1,142	1,628		
Crest-cloth	-	-	214 1/4	230 3/4	481½	247	301	421½		
Treager	102	123	1,646 3/4	1,527½	2,828½	2,887 3/4	1,334½	940		
Total	102	123	2,695	2,534 9/20	4,543½	5,198 3/4	2,777½	2,989½	2,068	4,444½

Notes: The totals for the years ending Mich. 1601 and Mich. 1602 exclude the small amounts allowed as "provisions".

The Port Books for the years ending Christmas 1644 and Christmas 1649 give figures only for "lockrams".

miscellaneous. Products like Lyons thread and writing paper were received also from Normandy. Goods of more southerly origin such as prunes, raisins, vinegar, and Spanish oil, must either have been re-exports from north Breton ports or already on board ships which called at Brittany immediately before sailing to Southampton.

The complications in apportioning trade between the Channel Islands and St. Malo have already been referred to.

The Channel Islands and northern Brittany formed by far the most important regional grouping in Southampton's export trades. The basis of commerce was cloth, especially the "new draperies". Serge was easily the most important export with perpetuanas second, but of considerably less importance. Significant quantities of other types of cloth, including "old draperies", and a wide variety of miscellaneous goods was also sent.

St. Malo was outstandingly the most important port, not only in the Breton trades, but also in Southampton's seaborne trade as a whole. Morlaix occupied second place, although ranking far behind St. Malo.

The overwhelming predominance of St. Malo and Morlaix completely eclipsed the very small trades conducted with other ports in northern Brittany. There were occasional contacts with places such as Roscoff, St. Brieuc, Cancalle, and Treguier, but such traffic, compared with the high trades of the two major ports with Southampton, was almost insignificant.

It is noted above that the linen and canvas import was divided into two major sections. Vitry canvas and Brittany cloth comprised one type whilst lockrams constituted the other. There appeared to be, in some of the years when records survive, some degree of specialisation of ports as between these types. Thus, although St. Malo always sent both varieties, Morlaix did not. In 1613, 1614, 1619, 1637, and 1649,

Morlaix sent only lockrams and not vitry canvas or Brittany cloth. In the latter year, however, a small quantity of packing canvas was imported from Morlaix.

iv. Western and South-Western Brittany and Poitou.

This region was vital to Southampton because of its production of bay salt, on which the town mainly depended for supplying its Newfoundland fishing ships. The main area of salt pans lay along the French Atlantic coast between Audierne in Brittany and the river Gironde. From many very small ports and creeks of this coastline, and also from ports in western Brittany from Audierne to Ushant, large quantities of salt were brought to Southampton. Usually the salt ships were of the region of origin, carried but one cargo of salt, (at least as far as the discharges at Southampton were concerned), and received no return cargo.

In some years when there was need in southern England, ports in this region sent considerable quantities of grains, principally wheat, barley, and rye, to Southampton.

The export trade was much less important than the import trade. In most years some export consignments were sent. Serges, perpetuanas, and Sarum kersies, sometimes formed part of this trade. Coal was an occasional export, but in small amounts. A quantity of Newfoundland fish was sent to Nantes in 1649.

The number of ports receiving exports was smaller than the number sending imports.

v. Aunis, Saintonge, and Guienne.

The staple trade from this area was the considerable import of wines, mostly Gascon, into Southampton. The wine trade is discussed in Chapter 6.

Apart from wines, imports consisted of a miscellaneous variety of goods including bay salt, vinegar, prunes, grains, and rosen. The disappearance of the import trade in Toulouse woad early in the seventeenth century has been noted in Chapter 1.

The export trade was largely composed of "new draperies" of which serges occupied a prominent place. The remainder of the trade varied in composition and extent over the years.

La Rochelle and Bordeaux were the two most important ports of this region trading with Southampton. Commercial contacts were also made with other ports including St. Martin-de-Ré, Charente, Île d'Oléron, and Marenne.

vi. The Iberian Peninsula.

The wine import trade was the most important commerce with Spain and Portugal. It is considered in Chapter 6.

The main imports recorded in the overseas Port Books were the luxury and semi-luxury fruits including oranges, lemons, figs, and raisins. Salt was sometimes sent, but in very much smaller quantities than from France.

Consignments of Spanish wool were occasionally received, sometimes via France. The quantities involved were much too small to form a regular supply for the Southampton and Winchester serge weavers. This contrasts strongly with the situation in Devon where the fine, short, wool required for the manufacture of serges and perpetuanas was obtained

mainly from Spain.[1]

Oil from Malaga and Cadiz was sent, presumably primarily for soap boilers. Malaga oil was always, and Cadiz oil was sometimes, recorded as coming via France.

The basis of trade from Southampton to Spain and Portugal was composed of "new drapery" cloths. The constitution of the "new draperies" varied from year to year but it is interesting to note that Southampton serges did not take predominance in this trading region as they did in the export trade considered as a whole. The only significant export of serges was to San Sebastian in 1613. In that year and in 1649 perpetuanas were worthy of note. "Cottons" achieved some showing in the former year. The export of tanned calf-skins, small in other years (except possibly 1616), was notable in 1649. In 1616 consignments of Southampton serges and tanned calfskins were despatched to "La Rochelle and Cadiz". No direct exports were recorded in 1600-2, presumably because of the war between England and Spain, nor in 1619. In the latter year, however, exports for Spain may have been aboard ships calling first at French ports, the names of which would be the only ones recorded in the Port Books.

Andalusia was the most important region in the Iberian Peninsula in trade with Southampton. The most important port was Malaga, for this featured greatly in the wine trade. Cadiz was next in rank followed by Sanlucar de Barrameda. Lisbon and Oporto were the most important ports in Portugal. There was a small occasional trade with Bilbao and San Sebastian.

Some commerce was conducted with Galicia, chiefly with Vigo. Some of the imports said to come from this region, such as oranges and

1 C. Wilson, England's Apprenticeship, (1965), p. 77. W.T. MacCaffrey, Exeter 1540-1640, (1958), p. 166. W.B. Stephens, Seventeenth Century Exeter, op. cit., p. 36.

lemons were obviously products of Andalusia.

The rôle of the Iberian peninsula in the market for Newfoundland fish is discussed in Chapter 5.

3. The Atlantic Islands.

The Canaries were the islands having the largest trade with Southampton. Wine and sugar were the principal imports. There were occasional re-exports of West Indian produce such as hides and sweet-wood from the Canaries to Southampton.

Exports from Southampton to the Canary Islands probably did not start until the fourth decade. The first record occurs in 1637. In that year and in 1638 a large number of commodities was sent, most of them, however, in small individual amounts. Many varieties of cloth were included. A small part of the total consisted of linen cloth manufactured in Brittany and re-exported from Southampton. The export trade to the Canary Islands was not long maintained for in 1644 the total export consisted of only twenty dozen tanned calfskins. In 1649 there were no exports at all.

Madeira was much less important than the Canaries in the seaborne trade with Southampton. From Madeira came sugar and succades. No exports to Madeira from Southampton were recorded in any of the surviving Port Books.

No direct trade between Southampton and the Azores was recorded in years when records survive. Consignments of green woad imported from St. Malo and Guernsey in 1600-1 may have been derived from the Azores. The woad trade, however, as previously noted, ceased soon afte 1600. This situation contrasted strongly with the position at Exeter where woad from the Atlantic Islands was an important, if diminishing, import during the first half of the seventeenth century.[1]

1 W.B. Stephens, Seventeenth Century Exeter, op. cit., p. 173.

4. Low Countries.

It is quite easy to over-estimate the importance of this region in Southampton's import trade when reading the Port Books. Although a significant number of consignments were recorded, most refer to goods passing in only very small amounts.

From this region Southampton obtained a wide variety of necessary provisions which were of three main kinds: foodstuffs, industrial raw materials, and manufactured goods. A number of products were re-exports.

In the first category grains and hops were important. A variety of other foodstuffs was sent, among which featured cheese, onions, beans, peas, and several kinds of fish. Codfish, lings, and herrings, were the types recorded in the years when records are now available.

Raw materials included dyestuffs, principally madder, with occasional small quantities of brazil-wood and sumach. Starch and rape oil sometimes featured in the lists. "Naval stores", which were derived from northern Europe, were of great importance, not from the point of view of the extent of the trade, which was small, but because the supplies of deal boards, masts, spars, pitch, tar, and similar materials, were essential for the shipping industry.

There was some import of miscellaneous manufactured hardware such as glassware, stone pots, and domestic earthenware.

Archeological excavation in Southampton has revealed that from the fifteenth century until the late seventeenth century, a considerable amount of the expensive pottery called "Delftware", from Delft in the United Provinces, was being brought into Southampton.[1]

How it arrived

1 I am indebted to Mr. R. Thomson of the Southampton City Museums Dept. for this information.

is a mystery that the Port Books considered in this study seemingly cannot solve. Such a commodity is mentioned neither in the overseas books as being brought direct from Delft or anywhere else, nor in the coastal books as being brought round from London. If the Port Books are telling the whole story, the only other possibility is that the "Delftware" must have been brought to Southampton by the overland route.

The largest part of the imports received from the Low Countries came from Flushing. Other ports which entered trade from time to time were Ostend, Middelburg, Shiedam, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Enkhuizen, and Hoorn. A little trade was conducted with Dunkirk in the Spanish Netherlands. This place, however, occurs in the Southampton records far more often as the haven of privateers who were a considerable menace to Southampton's shipping.

Imports from the Low Countries were almost always brought to Southampton in ships of the United Provinces. In most instances the Dutch shipmaster was also the merchant responsible for the cargo.

Trade from Southampton to the United Provinces was very small during most of the years when records survive. Small nuts were important in many of the years covered by records. Southampton serges were often significant. A number of other types of cloth were sent as well as several other kinds of commodities. A quantity of hellier's stones for roofing purposes, sent in 1614, may have been obtained from Cornwall by the coastal trade, since such merchandise was so received at Southampton in 1608.

5. Northern Europe.

The Scandinavian and Baltic countries were, as already stated, suppliers of the various types of "naval stores" required by the shipping industry in the headport of Southampton. There were few direct sailings from the countries of origin to Southampton. Most of the materials were re-exported to Southampton via the Low Countries or Scotland.

Such direct trade as there was with Northern Europe was largely an import trade from Norway in "naval stores" in which deal boards occupied a prominent place.

Trade with Denmark, and with ports on the southern coastline of the Baltic as far east as Danzig, was so small and occasional as to be of little real significance. The main imports were of "naval stores". There were very occasional shipments of Polish goods (other than "naval stores"). The only sizeable import recorded in years when records survive occurred in 1649 when grains, sturgeon, linen, canvas, spruce, yarn, flax, hemp, pipe staves, pitch, and Swedish iron, were received from Danzig.

No direct trade was recorded in surviving Port Books with Sweden or any port on the eastern coastline of the Gulf of Bothnia, or on the Baltic coast east of Danzig, except for rye from Riga in 1613.

Exports to northern Europe scarcely registered. The only consignments in the surviving Port Books were of small nuts to Hamburg, and small quantities of serge, Vitry canvas, dowlas and aquavitae, to Norway in 1638.

6. Scotland.

Coal was the principal import from Scotland. The coal was shipped from ports on the north side of the Firth of Forth.

Other imports from Scotland consisted of tar, which may have been a native product, or, like the Mayborough and Norwegian deal boards, have been re-exported from northern Europe.

Sailings from Scotland to Southampton almost always began at ports in the south-east of the country between Berwick and Montrose. There can have been little trade with other parts of Scotland; none was recorded in surviving Port Books. The only reference to contact between Southampton and other parts of Scotland occurs in a deposition concerning a voyage to Lewis in the Hebrides in 1638. Unfortunately, the purpose of the voyage was not stated.[1]

No exports from Southampton to Scotland were recorded in any of the years in which records survive.

7. Ireland.

The records indicate the lack of any sizeable trade between Southampton and Ireland. The import trade was more significant than the export trade.

Southampton received mainly supplies of Irish agricultural produce. Beef, bacon, butter, tallow, hides, skins, wool, and yarn, were typical Irish imports. Some products of the Irish textiles industry were also sent, such as freizes, rugs, and manufactured clothing such as stockings. Small amounts of salmon, herrings, and pilchard train oil, also formed part of the trade.

It is interesting to note that whereas Devon obtained the coarse, long, wool required for its serge industry from Ireland,[2] Southampton

1 Examinations and Depositions, III, p. 90.

2 C. Wilson, op. cit., p. 77. W.B. Stephens, Seventeenth Century Exeter, op. cit., p. 123.

apparently did not do so to any significant extent. During the years when records survive in only one year was the import of Irish wool recorded. That was in 1619 when seventeen and a half hundredweight was received. In the same year one hundredweight of Irish yarn arrived, and eleven packs of that material came in 1637.

The extent of the export trade was very small. It is difficult to generalise about the goods, but various types of English cloth were prominent in most years. Beer featured in trade in 1600-2 and 1619. Sometimes there were various re-exports from Europe, of which wines were notable. Other goods were miscellaneous. No export trade was recorded in 1637. In 1644 and 1649 there was no trade in either direction, due probably to political factors.

Most of the trade was conducted with ports on the south-western coast of Ireland from Wexford to Baltimore. These two places were the chief Irish ports in the trades with Southampton. Of the ports between them, some commerce was conducted with Youghal, Cork and Kinsale, though to a lesser degree than with Wexford and Baltimore. There seems to have been very little trade with Waterford - perhaps because of its proximity to Wexford through which practically all the trade between Southampton and that part of south-east Ireland was channelled.

On the west coast, Dingle and Galway traded with Southampton in some years. Trade with Londonderry was recorded in 1616 and 1619. With places on the west coast between Galway and Londonderry, and on the east coast between Wexford and Londonderry, no trade was recorded in the years when records survive.

8. New England, Virginia, and the West Indies.

Trade between Southampton and the American and West Indian colonies remained on a small scale throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Colonial commerce was of very much less importance at Southampton than at some other West Country ports, notably Bristol.

By the outward trades Southampton supplied many kinds of provisions and emigrants to the colonies. The inward trades brought back the produce of the colonists. Sailings in each direction were few in number.

New England.

The story of the most famous of all the colonising voyages from Southampton, that of the Pilgrim Fathers who left Southampton in August 1620 has been fully told elsewhere,[1] and nothing more needs to be added here.

The following details have survived of some subsequent voyages.

About 6 April 1635 the "James", a London ship of 300 tons of which William Cooper was master, sailed from Southampton for New England carrying fifty-three male emigrants, their wives and children,[2] and presumably provisions.

In April 1638 the "Confidence" of London, a vessel of 200 tons of which John Jobson was master, sailed from Southampton to New England

1 Among the multitude of books and articles on the Pilgrim Fathers the following article may be found useful as a concise summary: E.S. Lyttel, "The Pilgrim Fathers and Southampton" (1920), Where Great Adventures Start, A. Jeffery (ed.) (1970), pp. 22-31.

2 C.S.P.C., 1574-1660, p. 209, no. 67.

with 110 passengers[1] and a cargo of cloth, shoes, stockings, jackets, and bullocks.

In May 1638 sixty-one emigrants left Southampton bound for New England in the "Bevis", a vessel belonging to the town of 150 tons burthen with Robert Batten as master.[2] The provisions consisted of bay salt, buhrstones, cloth, shoes, and iron pots.

There are no records of any voyages from New England bringing merchandise into Southampton.

Virginia. Details about the connections in the first decade or so of the seventeenth century between the town, the colony, the Earl of Southampton, and Lord de la Warr, have been given by Dr. Horrocks.[3]

Tobacco was the only import from Virginia.

Table 26. Tobacco Imports, 1613-19, 1644, 1649

lbs.

Year ending Xmas	1613		1616		1619	
	Pudding*	Leaf	Pudding	Leaf	Pudding	Leaf
Antigua						
Barbados						
St. Christopher's Island						
Virginia			224		12	
via Europe or Atlantic Islands		30	124	100	337	
Total		30	348	100	349	

Table 26 continued overleaf

1 C.S.P.C., 1574-1660, p. 272, no. 99.

2 Ibid., p. 275, no. 112.

3 Assembly Books, II, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

Table 26 (continued). Tobacco Imports, 1613-19, 1644, 1649.

lbs.

Year ending Xmas	1644 unspec.	1649 unspec.	1649 leaf	1649 wet
Antigua		5,760		
Barbados	11,950	15,072		
St. Christopher's Island	1,240			
Virginia	57,980	4,974	5,377	1,000
via Europe or Atlantic Islands	1,000 ∅			
Total	72,170	25,806	5,377	1,000

No tobacco imports are shown in 1637 and 1638 because a Proclamation dated 6 January 1631 reserved to the port of London the right of importing tobacco.[1] The prohibition of tobacco imports by provincial ports remained in force until the Civil War.

* Compressed or roll tobacco.

/ Imported in the "Treasurer" of Virginia by Sir Thomas Dale who was returning to England after five years as acting Governor of Virginia. Some details about the voyage and passengers have been given by Dr. Horrocks.[2]

∅ St. Christopher's tobacco.

Voyages from Southampton to Virginia carried general supplies for the colony, and sometimes emigrants were also recorded. In 1625 Nicholas Pescod, a prominent merchant-grocer of Southampton, was said to be preparing a ship for the relief of the colony.[3] It is possible that the corporation ———————————————

1 C.S.P.D., 1629-31, p. 475.

2 Assembly Books, II, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

3 C.S.P.C., 1574-1660, p. 76, no. 48.

of Southampton joined with Pescod in setting out a second ship, or the town authorities may have set out a ship of their own with that object.[1]

The only voyage recorded in the surviving Port Books did not occur until 1649. In that year a London vessel sailed from Southampton for Virginia carrying seven emigrants, small quantities of kersies, ironmongery, gunpowder, and pewter.

West Indies. As in the other colonial trades there was a small volume of traffic from Southampton in the supply of provisions and emigrants.

In 1627 Captain Thomas Combe, a prominent Southampton merchant connected also with privateering, petitioned the Lord Admiral for a warrant to free from the press a provision ship which he was preparing for a voyage to St. Christopher's Island.[2] In the petition Combe described himself as one of the chief for the maintenance of the plantation of St. Christopher's.[3] He stated that the proposed venture would be the third relief ship which he had freighted for that colony.[4] He had carried out that work of relief under the authority of a commission from the Earl of Carlisle, Governor of St. Christopher's.[5]

In March or April 1640 a number of emigrants were shipped to Barbados in the "Virgin" of Southampton, a vessel of 60 tons with John Weare as master.[6]

1 C.S.P.C., 1574-1660, p. 76, no. 48.

2 Ibid., p. 85, no. 26.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., p. 310, no. 63.

In 1649 four ships sailed from Southampton for Barbados. Two vessels were of Cowes, Isle of Wight, one was of London, and the other was a Southampton ship. Large quantities of provisions and at least ninety-two emigrants were sent, probably more, for the numbers of passengers on some ships was not recorded.

Tobacco was the principal import from the West Indies. The surviving record appears in Table 26 above.

Sugar was received from Barbados in 1649. It may have been exported to Southampton earlier via Europe, but if so, it is indistinguishable from the sugar crop of the Atlantic Islands in the Port Books.

In 1614 and 1638 consignments of West Indian raw hides and sweet wood were received at Southampton via the Canary Islands.

CHAPTER 5

The Newfoundland Fish Trade

Although no comprehensive study has previously been carried out of the position occupied by the Newfoundland fishing industry in the port of Southampton, several historians have come to varying conclusions after reading different evidence. One view is that the Newfoundland trade had been growing in importance since the beginning of the seventeenth century, and by the mid 1630's had grown to such proportions as to render the prosperity of the town dependent upon it.[1]

1 L.A. Burgess, op. cit., p. 71. Elinor R. Aubrey (ed.), Speed's History of Southampton (1770) (Southampton Record Society, 1909), p. 116. J.S. Davies, op. cit., p. 261.

The evidence[1] for this view is as follows. By a Privy Seal dated 2nd May 1636, all ports between Berwick and Southampton were required to place an imposition of 48s. 6d. per wey on imported bay or French salt, and 48s. per wey on all other types of imported salt. The western ports, however, were exempted from this additional duty, because of the large quantities of salt used in the Newfoundland fishing trade. The Corporation of Southampton protested against the burden of this additional salt duty, and maintained that the port of Southampton was customarily regarded as being in the western division of English ports (from Southampton to Bristol inclusive), and not in the eastern division (from Chichester to Berwick inclusive). To support their case for the exemption of Southampton from the additional salt tax, the town authorities also stated that 'the greatest part of the shipping belonging to this Town is yearly employed in a fishing trade to Newfoundland, by which occasion many young seamen are bred up, and many hundreds of poor mariners, their wives and families are maintained..... by the fishing trade the mariners do most of all subsist". The petition of the corporation went on to state that the fishing trade could not be maintained without the use of French and Spanish salt, and with the new imposition, such salt would become too dear. The town was successful in its plea: by warrant dated 10 October 1636, the Lord Treasurer exempted Southampton from the additional salt duty, in consequence of a certificate from the King's customers, that Southampton was in the western division of ports, which

1 The details in this paragraph are derived from an anonymous memorandum in the Southampton City Record Office in the collection of "various legal papers", 17th Century [unnumbered].

was to be excused.

The case put up by the corporation to the government no doubt contained the usual amount of special pleading and exaggerated evidence found in all petitions to the Stuart court. Because the town needed to be free of the additional salt tax so that their competitive position in the Newfoundland fish trade vis-a-vis other western ports would not be impaired, the petition had to lay so much emphasis on the importance to the town of the trade which the tax would impair, that it cannot really be accepted as indicating anything more than that in 1636 the Newfoundland trade was very important at Southampton. Whether or not the economy of the town was in fact largely dependent upon the fish trade must be determined upon other evidence.

However, the hypothesis that Southampton had become dependent upon the fish trade by 1636 has been repeated so often that it has come to be accepted by some historians.[1] However important this trade became, it was only one of many branches of seaborne commerce through the port, and certainly did not loom so large as to cause the town to be dependent upon it.

Another view was that the Newfoundland fish trade remained relatively unimportant at Southampton, and that the bulk of the port's seaborne traffic continued to be with nearby Europe as before.[2] This impression may easily be gained by reading surviving customs documents, especially the very incomplete records of petty customs collection at Southampton.

1 W.B. Stephens has accepted Speed's statement quoted by J.S. Davies [op. cit., p. 261], at its face value, in his analysis of cloth exports [W.B. Stephens, "The Cloth Exports of the Provincial Ports, 1600-40" Econ. Hist. Rvw., 2nd series, vol. XXII, no. 2, (August 1969), p. 235].

2 A.L. Merson, op. cit., p. 223.

One historian has simply stated that though the town's merchants continued to fit out some of the vessels that regularly plied their way to the fishing banks off Newfoundland, the activity of Southampton in this sphere tended to stagnate during the course of the years 1600-1700.[1] However, this view was admittedly based on nothing more than a comparison of the figure of c.2,900 tons of shipping owned by Southampton in 1582, with the figure of c.3,800 tons owned by the town in 1702.[2]

The two pessimistic views err in understating the contribution made by the Newfoundland trade to the development of the port. The optimistic view, however, errs in overstating that contribution.

The method of organisation of the Newfoundland fish trade at Southampton, and examples of the various hazards accompanying its operation may be deduced by reference to the Calendar of State Papers Domestic, and from various documents in the Southampton City Record Office. The most useful sources are the Books of Examinations and Depositions. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the reason why the illustrations derived from these books fall either during the period 1601-2 or in the years following 1622 is because of a gap in the record between 1602 and 1622. Other useful sources, mainly for accounts of the organisation of the trade, are the Assembly Books and the Book of Instruments, also in the Southampton Record Office. A description of these sources appears in Chapter 2.

The organisation of the trade at Southampton appears to have been similar to the pattern adopted in other western ports. There were two

1 J.H. Thomas, "Elias de Grouchy, Merchant of Southampton", Hampshire Archaeology and Local History Newsletter, vol. 1, no. 10, (Autumn 1969), p. 137.

2 R. Davis, Rise of the English Shipping Industry, (1962), p. 35.

types of ship engaged. Firstly, there were fishing ships which spent the season in Newfoundland waters occupied in catching fish. Fishing ships generally left Southampton in February or March of each year. There is no evidence of an official starting date ever being in force at Southampton, unlike Dartmouth, where 1st March was the starting date regulated by Dartmouth Corporation.[1] Probably the small number of ships involved at Southampton did not warrant such an edict. The fishing ships would be unable to leave England too early in the year if they were to sail direct to Newfoundland because of the dangers of ice in the Atlantic Ocean. To sail from England later than usual, however, would mean a shorter fishing season on arrival at Newfoundland.

It was important for fishing ships to reach Newfoundland as soon as possible, since the first fishing captain to reach each cove or bay would be "admiral" there for that season. Each "admiral" would reserve the best anchorages and landing stages for himself, and he had the power of regulation over subsequent arrivals. Fishing vessels not only carried sufficient sailors to man the ships, and sufficient fishermen to catch the fish, but also a considerable number of shore workers who would be responsible for processing the fish and pressing out the train oil at the landing stages in Newfoundland.[2] Very large numbers of fishermen and shore workers were needed. Much of the work was highly skilled. A large number of workers in the Southampton industry must have come from the town itself, and it was the interests of these people and their dependants that were stressed by the corporation petition of 1636 which has previously been discussed. Some of the labour must have come from the inland towns

1 P. Russell, Dartmouth (1950), p. 83.

2 Ibid., p. 84.

and villages of Hampshire. The hinterlands of the other western ports certainly provided such labour,[1] and settlers in Newfoundland from the inland towns of Hampshire are thought to have gone out on Poole ships.[2]

The fishing vessels of some West Country ports often also carried "bye-boatmen". They were fare-paying passengers, hiring boats and fishing independently off Newfoundland.[3] "Bye-boatmen" may have travelled on Southampton ships, but there is no evidence that they in fact did so.

The fishermen would arrive in Newfoundland in April or May, and fish until mid or late August.[4] At the end of the season, if the fishermen had not sold their catch in Newfoundland, they would bring it in their fishing vessels either back to England or to Europe or the Atlantic Islands for sale. The cash obtained for the fish in foreign ports was often used to purchase local produce which would then be brought back to England.

It has been alleged that Southampton fishing vessels sailed from Newfoundland to Virginia, where they exchanged their stockfish for tobacco, and then carried the tobacco back to Southampton.[5] However, no evidence can be found of any Southampton ship engaging in the triangular voyage: Southampton - Newfoundland - Virginia - Southampton, in the first half of the seventeenth century. The only voyage of this type

1 K. Matthews, A History of the West of England - Newfoundland Fishery (unpubl. D. Phil. thesis, Oxford Univ., 1968), p. 8.

2 Ibid.

3 W.B. Stephens, "The West Country Ports and the Struggle for the Newfoundland Fisheries", Trans.Devonshire Assoc., no. 88 (1956), p.94.

4 Ibid.

5 L.A. Burgess, op. cit., p. 71. A Temple Patterson, Southampton (1970), p. 52.

mentioned in the Southampton records involved a ship called the "Temperance" whose home port was not stated. The "Temperance" sailed from the Downs via Dover to Newfoundland in 1625. At Newfoundland the master purchased 80M.[1] fish, and another 8M. - 10M. fish "came in freely".[2] The "Temperance" thus appears to have been primarily a "sack" ship and not simply just a fishing vessel. The "Temperance" transported its fish from Newfoundland to Virginia where the cargo was sold in exchange for tobacco. Certain fraudulent actions by the master during the transaction in Virginia resulted in these details about the voyage appearing in the Southampton Deposition Books.[3] Why Southampton was chosen is unclear. It was probably merely a matter of convenience since there is nothing to connect the ship, its owner, or master, with the town from any other evidence now available. Moreover, from 1631 until the Civil War provincial ports were forbidden to import tobacco. Thus, even if tobacco had formed part of Southampton's fish trade in earlier years (and there is no evidence that it did), it could not legally have done so during the fourth decade when the Newfoundland fishing industry at Southampton was at its most flourishing. No evidence has been found of any illegal connection between fish and tobacco in that period which would be required to support Mr. Burgess's statement.

Thus, as far as the port of Southampton was concerned, the Newfoundland fish trade had no connection either with Virginia or with tobacco. The triangular trade, rightly described by Mr. Burgess as increasing in importance from the beginning of the century, was not as he thought between Southampton, Newfoundland, Virginia, and Southampton,[4] but one between Southampton, Newfoundland, the Atlantic Islands, ———————

1 See page 96, footnote 1.

2 This phrase probably referred to fishing.

3 Examinations and Depositions, I, p. 73.

4 L.A. Burgess, op. cit., p. 71.

or the Iberian peninsula, or France, and Southampton. The most frequent ports of call on the second leg of the triangular voyage were, for Southampton ships and those of other West Country ports, in southern Europe, especially Spain and Portugal. One instance is recorded of a Southampton vessel sailing from Newfoundland to north-west France. An example of each type of marketing voyage is given below.

Apart from the fishing vessel, the other type of boat used in the Newfoundland trade was the "sack" ship. This did no fishing, but sailed to Newfoundland when the season was already underway to buy the fish and train oil previously won by the crews of the fishing ships. After taking on their consignments of fish and oil in Newfoundland "sack" ships returned to England, or more frequently, sailed to markets in Europe, especially to ports in the Iberian Peninsula, or to the Atlantic Islands. There the fish was sold and the cash proceeds or local goods purchased in exchange were brought home to England. "Sack" ships probably derived that name from the return cargoes of the white Spanish and Canary wines termed "sack" which they brought to England after selling their Newfoundland fish on the second leg of the triangular voyage.[1]

Examples may be found in the Southampton records of both fishing vessels and "sack" ships. There is no surviving evidence of "bye-boatmen" (as stated above), but considering that they were common in other West Country ports, it is doubtful if they would be entirely unknown at Southampton. There are several examples of the varying rôles played by the fishing vessels.

1 H.A. Innis, The Cod Fisheries (1940), p. 54.

The "Hope" of Southampton provides an instance of direct trade between England and Newfoundland in both directions. This vessel, of 70 tons burthen, with John Mose of Corfe, Dorset, as master, left Southampton at the beginning of March 1630, arriving at Newfoundland on 12th May, and was there employed in fishing until 25th August when it sailed for England laden with fish and train oil.[1]

Three instances survive of Southampton ships calling at the Cape Verde Islands on the outward journey from England to Newfoundland. The purpose of the detour was probably to collect the salt needed for preserving the fish. The ships left Southampton in January, so that the considerably longer voyage did not shorten their fishing season at Newfoundland. On 10 January 1630 the "Amity", of which Edward Milbery was master, and the "Unity", of which William Ayles was master, both left Southampton for the Isle of Mayo in the Cape Verde group. The "Amity" arrived at Newfoundland at the end of April, and the "Unity" on 6th May, when they began their season of fishing.[2]

The "Unity" also visited the Isle of Mayo on the outward journey to Newfoundland in 1638. As there is no entry for the ship in the outwards sections of the Port Books for either 1637 or 1638, the vessel cannot have been taking dutiable goods for sale in the Cape Verde Islands. As the principal product of the Isle of Mayo was salt,[3] it is reasonable to conclude that the collection of salt was the object of the visit by the Southampton ships.

Occasionally, a ship intending to fish in Newfoundland waters would leave Southampton much later than usual. The "Speedwell" of ————————

1 Examinations and Depositions, II, p. 66.

2 Ibid., p. 72.

3 Encyclopaedia Britannica (9th edtn., 1876), vol. 5, p. 52.

30 or 40 tons did not leave Southampton until 10th May 1639, by which time most of the other English ships would already have arrived in Newfoundland. The "Speedwell" did not arrive until the end of June, so that only about two months fishing was left. However, by the time it left on 29th August 1639, the ship had caught 5M.[1] fish plus 539 quintals of fish. In this case, the late arrival in Newfoundland does not seem to have had a disproportionately adverse effect on productivity.

The triangular trade: Southampton - Newfoundland - southern Europe - Southampton, was one in which Southampton ships are found to be participating soon after the beginning of the seventeenth century. In April 1602 the "Eleanor" of Southampton or Jersey, with Henry Fleuriatt as master, arrived at Oporto from Newfoundland, selling 202 quintals of fish there, and paying another 60 quintals for customs dues.[2] In 1611 a triangular voyage was projected for the "Thomas" of Southampton, a vessel of 60 tons burthen, with William Wilkins as master, and a crew of twenty. The "Thomas" sailed in company with the "Evangelist" a Gosport ship of 38 tons with John Clerk as master and a crew of nine. The ships were to have discharged the produce of their Newfoundland fishing voyage in Spain.[3]

R.G. Lounsbury has stated that after 1610 there was a marked tendency among merchants to send ships directly from the fishing grounds to the markets of south-west Europe. Mr. Lounsbury goes on to say that for some time a considerable part of the annual catch made by Englishmen was sold in Newfoundland to foreigners and continued to be carried away in foreign ships. He makes the point that in England, the London, Bristol, Exeter, and Southampton merchants, were more keenly———————

1 1M. = one thousand (120 fish = one hundred [1C.]).

2 The Book of Examinations, 1601-2, pp. 45-7.

3 Assembly Books, III, p. 61.

alive to the advantages of direct trade with Spain in English ships than were most of the Western Adventurers, and that the merchants of those places took the lead in urging a more systematic organisation of the transatlantic fisheries.[1] Whatever the merchants of other ports may have done, however, there is no evidence that Southampton merchants ever urged the re-organisation of the fisheries in this period. Mr. Lounsbury certainly quotes no evidence to support his hypothesis.

The organisation of the system of "sack" ships is well illustrated from the Southampton records. The commercial arrangements concerning the quantity, quality, and price, of the fish and train oil to be collected by the "sack" ships from the fishermen at Newfoundland were usually made during the preceding winter in England. By making such arrangements beforehand, the fishing captains received a known price for their produce, and were relieved of the race across the Atlantic from Newfoundland to catch the European markets. Fish prices fell as vessels continued to arrive and discharge their ladings on to the markets. The merchants controlling "sack" ships gained also from prior commercial bargains by being able to collect a known amount of fish at a definite price in Newfoundland at a certain date. After they had collected the fish, "sack" ships were free to sail with all possible speed to the markets in southern Europe, hoping to arrive early so that fish prices would be high. "Sack" ships were often able to sail faster than fishing vessels. Since they could not leave Newfoundland before the end of the season, as their holds would not until then be full, fishing ships which carried their own produce to market were under a two-fold disadvantage as compared with "sack"

1 R.G. Lounsbury, "The British Fishery at Newfoundland, 1634-1763", Yale Historical Publications Miscellany, no. 27 (1934), p. 37.

ships. They were slower, and they generally left Newfoundland later. By the time the fishing vessels reached the markets, prices had usually fallen on account of the large supplies of fish that had already been brought in "sack" ships. It is not surprising, therefore, that as time progressed, the system of marketing by "sack" ships rapidly increased in importance, both absolutely and relatively to the system of direct marketing by the fishing vessels themselves.

At Southampton, besides local merchants, those of London were also active in the trade, their "sack" ships collecting fish at Newfoundland from Southampton fishing vessels. The Southampton fishing ships "Amity" and "Unity" noted above as proceeding to Newfoundland via the Cape Verde Islands in 1630, had caught 100M. fish by 12th July of that year. 80M. had been won by the "Amity" and 20M. by the "Unity". The fish were for delivery to a "sack" ship of London, the "Jewel". The arrangements had previously been negotiated by articles between Mathew Cradocke and Anthony Haviland, two London merchants, and Peter Seale and John Guillam, two Southampton merchants.[1]

In the same year the "Hope" of Southampton was fishing off Newfoundland both for the London owners of the "sack" ship "Jewel", and for some Southampton merchants who had sent out the "sack" ship "Margaret" of Newport, Isle of Wight, of which Elias Rickett was master. It may be an indication of the relative importance of the London merchants as compared with those of Southampton, that the master of the "Hope" refused to supply fish to the "Margaret" until deliveries to the "Jewel" had first been completed.[2]

1 Examinations and Depositions, II, p. 72.

2 Ibid.

Also in 1630 the "Exchange", a Southampton vessel of 120 tons, of which John Fletcher of Poole was master, was to have delivered fish to the "Frances and Thomas" of London, by previous contract. Owing to the non-appearance of the latter "sack" ship, however, Fletcher sold 100 M. fish to a Flemish boat, and returned to Southampton with 73 M. 3 C. fish.[1]

In 1601 there was an instance of a London merchant using a Southampton "sack" ship to collect fish caught by a Poole fishing vessel. In July of that year Christopher Maye, of Ringwood, Hampshire, merchant, delivered at Newfoundland, out of the ship "Bountiful Gift" of Poole, 34 M. fish, into the Southampton ship of William Tompson, mariner, for the account of Peter Benaimor, of London, merchant.[2]

The entrepreneurial function of organising both the activities of fishing and of "sack" ships required large amounts of capital. At Southampton the trade seems to have been directed by the most prominent merchants of the town. Partnerships of merchants, and other people having surplus capital, were formed to set out ships which were often owned jointly by several of the venturers. Merchants sometimes hired ships belonging to others for a particular Newfoundland voyage.

The following table gives examples of the capital expended on ventures to Newfoundland. It cannot be a complete list for the period, or even for any one year, since the records of investments shown in the table are the only ones to survive, and there were obviously many others, the records of which have not survived. However, the table does give an indication of the amount of capital required, and some details of the men involved.

1 Examinations and Depositions, II, p. 77.

2 The Book of Examinations, 1601-2, p. 38.

Table 27. Investment in Some Newfoundland Voyages, 1630-8.

All the ships listed below were fishing vessels.

(a) Year	(b) Names of those financing the voyage	(c) Name of ship	(d) Owner's name if not recorded at (b)	Monthly freight hire charge	Amount spent by (b) in financing voyage			Reference
				£	£.	s.	d.	
1630	John Guillam) Peter Seale,) of So'ton the elder)	"Hope" of So'ton of 60 tons	John Ballhach, senior, of Jersey, owner of a moiety bought from Elias Mountes, merchant	8	170.	8.	8.	Examinations and Depositions, II, p. 96.
1635	Nicholas Pescod of So'ton	"Plantation" of So'ton of 150* tons. "Virgin" of 70 tons			2,500.	0.	0.	C.S.P.D., 1634-5, p. 527, no. 95.
1637	Peter Seale) Peter Clungeon) of So'ton John Guillam)	"St. George" of So'ton of 70 tons			1,000.	0.	0.	C.S.P.D., 1637, p. 22, no. 77.
1638	Thomas Combe of So'ton and others	"Exchange" of So'ton			700.	0.	0.	C.S.P.D., 1637-8, p. 232, no. 32.

* The tonnage of 500 printed in C.S.P.D., 1634-5, p. 527, no. 95, is an error. The document itself (S.P.16/283/95) quotes the figure of 150 tons.

An example of a local merchant partnership directing the Newfoundland trade early in the period was that of John and Peter Priaulx. They owned a vessel[1] which in January 1607 was being built on the stocks near Hampton Quay (Southampton). They appointed Richard Strowe, a Poole mariner, as master of the ship, and gave him £18 to hire twenty able men. The ship was to go to Newfoundland to fish until it had obtained its full lading of fish and train oil, after which it was to return to Southampton to discharge its cargo.[2]

As the first half of the seventeenth century wore on, so the "sack" ship system based on Southampton developed. The organisation became more complex, often involving partnerships containing a larger number of merchants.

Thus, in May 1636 Alderman Peter Priaulx, his like-named son, and Paul Mercer, all Southampton merchants, fitted out at the town the "William and Thomas", a Poole "sack" ship of 35 tons burthen. This vessel arrived at Newfoundland in August 1636. There it received thirty-five tuns of train oil from certain masters of English ships fishing off Newfoundland. The train oil was received on the account of the three Southampton merchants, and was carried by the "William and Thomas" to Bilbao, where about October 1636 it was delivered to George Gifford, an English merchant there resident.[3]

The "Fellowship", a very unseaworthy Southampton vessel of which Henry Peach of Weymouth was master, acted as a "sack" ship in 1636. It sailed from Southampton in July of that year, collected fish at Newfoundland, and took it to Bordeaux for sale. On the voyage to

1 Unnamed in MSS.

2 Southampton City Record Office, Book of Instruments, SC2/6/6, f.201 r.

3 Examinations and Depositions, III, p. 44.

Bordeaux the ship encountered extraordinarily foul weather, and the passage as a result took two months, which was considered a very long voyage.[1] The usual economic advantage of the "sack" ships in their speedy arrival at markets did not in this case operate.

By the second half of the 1630's, sack ships had become profitable enough to draw in some surplus capital from the clothiers of Southampton. A consortium was composed of Mary Rigges, widow, Robert Rigges, gentleman, her brother,[2] William Hapgood, merchant, and Robert Toldervey, clothier. They were all Southampton residents. In 1638 they owned the "Charity", a Southampton ship of 100 tons of which Richard Gardner was master, and fitted out the vessel as a "sack" ship for Newfoundland. There the ship received 122M. dry fish worth £732 (i.e. £6 per thousand) together with eighteen serges.[3] The ship was valued at £400 and was carrying ammunition said to be worth £200. The values of the cargo, ship, and ammunition, were each divided into two. One moiety of all three values was owned by Robert Rigges. Of the other moieties, three-quarters of that of the ship (£150), and three-quarters of that of the cargo (£300), belonged to William Hapgood and Mary Rigges.[4] The deposition gives no further details of ownership, but if the foregoing particulars comprise the total interest of the trio Robert and Mary Rigges and William Hapgood, Robert Toldervey, the clothier, would have owned one-quarter of the moiety of the ship (£50),

1 Examinations and Depositions, III, p. 45.

2 This relationship is defined in C.S.P.D., 1636-7, p. 495, no. 94. Presumably "brother-in-law" was meant.

3 The serges had probably been manufactured in Southampton and been brought to Newfoundland by one of the town's fishing vessels. The "Charity" was probably to take them for sale to Malaga on the next stage of the voyage. The reason for this curious transhipment of serges at Newfoundland is not known.

4 Examinations and Depositions, III, p. 74.

one-quarter of the moiety of the cargo (£100), and the other moiety of the ammunition (£100). That is, Toldervey might have owned £250 worth of capital equipment and goods out of a total value of ship cargo and ammunition of £1400.

William Hapgood was the son of Henry Hapgood of Swaythling, tanner. In 1625 he had been apprenticed to John Rigges, grocer, to learn the trade of grocer and other merchant's affairs. Hapgood was to spend one year of the apprenticeship term in France.[1] He would thus be thoroughly acquainted with the enterprise of seaborne trade. At Christmas 1644 William Hapgood, then described as a grocer, was himself taking on an apprentice.[2]

Whilst the above-mentioned "Charity" was at Newfoundland during the same venture, it also took on board 40 M. dry fish worth £240 for the account of Thomas Combe, a Southampton merchant, part-owner of the "Exchange"[3]. John Hapgood travelled in the "Charity" as a factor, both for the owners of that ship, and also for Thomas Combe. Having received its lading of fish at Newfoundland, the "Charity" sailed towards Malaga. This enterprise was under youthful direction, for both Combe and Hapgood were only 21-22 years of age.[4]

Some of the Southampton men who invested in Newfoundland voyages were described as grocers. In the wide range of overseas trading activities in which some grocers engaged, they were indistinguishable from the more prominent merchant adventurers of the town. Of the families mentioned above, it has already been seen that those of Rigges

1 Apprenticeship Registers, p. 22, no. 226.

2 Ibid., p. 35, no. 370.

3 Examinations and Depositions, III, p. 80. The other part-owners of the "Exchange" were Nicholas Pescod and Humphrey Ryman. [Ibid., p. 17.]

4 Ibid., p. 80.

and Hapgood were strongly connected with the grocery trade. Two of the part-owners of the "Exchange", Humphry Ryman and Nicholas Pescod, were among the foremost grocers of Southampton, the latter having expanded his general merchanting activities so far that he was often described as a merchant rather than a grocer, especially in the later years of his career.

Nicholas Pescod joined with William Stanley and Robert Bold, grocers, and William Higgens, a linen draper, all of Southampton, in a fishing venture in 1639. Early in that year a consignment of wet fish owned by them was seized at Caen, where it was mistakenly thought to have been a French prize taken by the Dunkirkers.[1]

Edward Exton was one of the leading merchant adventurers of Southampton in the period. In 1613, being then in the early stages of his career, he was operating in the Newfoundland trade.[2]

As a growth industry in Southampton for the first four decades of the seventeenth century, the Newfoundland trade attracted capitalists from outside the town. It has been shown above how a Londoner became involved with a Southampton "sack" ship and a Poole fishing vessel in 1601.[3]

The extent of non-burgess participation in the trade was great enough by 1610 for the Assembly to decide on 28 September of that year, that such merchants ought to pay petty custom for fish carried from the town, and wharfage charges for fish brought into the town.[4]

1 Examinations and Depositions, III, p. 87.

2 Assembly Books, III, p. 61.

3 The Book of Examinations, 1601-2, p. 38.

4 Assembly Books, II, p. 97.

Thomas Elliott was a Salisbury merchant who had a warehouse in Southampton and carried on much business there. In 1611 he organised a triangular Newfoundland voyage with the ships "Thomas" of Southampton, and "Evangelist" of Gosport, which have already been mentioned. Elliott engaged the two ships by agreements with the masters. After fishing off Newfoundland the vessels sailed for Spain with their ladings of fish and train oil. On the way the "Thomas" was captured by pirates, but the "Evangelist" escaped and returned to England. A long legal dispute between Elliott and Southampton Corporation followed the voyage. The heavy expenses of the case was one reason for the corporation's indebtedness in the second decade of the seventeenth century.[1]

The three main hazards threatening Newfoundland mariners were the sea and weather, piracy, and impressment. All three adversely affected Southampton's Newfoundland fleet in the period.

The "Charity" mentioned above as being a "sack" ship sailing from Newfoundland to Malaga in 1638 laden with fish, never reached its market, for it sank in a storm on the passage, and the whole cargo was lost.[2]

The "Unity", a Southampton vessel of 80 tons with Samuel White as master, was sailing from Newfoundland to Southampton in 1638 ———————

1 Assembly Books, III, p. xi-xiv.

2 Examinations and Depositions, III, p. 74.

with a cargo of 48M. dry fish, 4M.5C. salt cod, and seven and a half tuns of train oil. However, a great storm wrecked the ship on the rocks at West Lulworth in Dorset. The cargo of fish was lost but most of the train oil was recovered.[1]

Piracy menaced Southampton ships throughout the period of this study. Many Newfoundland vessels were taken by pirates.

The "Fisher", a Southampton vessel of 80 tons burthen, suffered twice from pirates within five years and was finally taken as a French prize. On 16 March 1623 the "Fisher" was plundered by a Flemish vessel whilst sailing towards Newfoundland, and had to return to Southampton to re-equip for the journey.[2] In 1627 the vessel was intercepted by an English pirate, Captain Jones of Sandwich, whilst sailing towards Southampton from Newfoundland with the season's catch of 106M. dry fish, 5M.3C. wet fish, and nine tuns of train oil. After Jones had released the "Fisher", it was taken as prize by a French ship and carried off to Cherbourg. The "Fisher" was owned by the important Southampton merchant partnership of Peter Priaulx and Paul Mercer. These merchants also owned three-quarters of the cargo. The remainder belonged to the captain and crew.[3]

In 1630 two of the town's merchants, Peter Seale and John Guillam, set out the "Hope", a fishing vessel of Southampton. The ship was lying in Studland Bay with its lading of fish, having already returned from

1 Examinations and Depositions, III, p. 70.

2 Examinations and Depositions, II, p. 21.

3 Ibid., pp. 1 and 18.

Newfoundland. However, the ship and cargo were lost by being towed away at night by a vessel believed to be a Dunkirker.[1]

In 1639 the "Speedwell", a Southampton vessel owned jointly by the grocer Humphry Ryman and the merchant Peter Clungeon, was taken by the Dunkirkers on a voyage from Newfoundland to Nantes. The ship was taken to San Sebastian where some of the fish was removed. The remaining 539 quintals was assigned to Nicholas Barnes, a Plymouth merchant who was then at San Sebastian. Barnes was thought to have sold the fish.[2]

The Mohammedan pirates of North Africa were a very serious menace to Newfoundland shipping. The "Blessing", a Southampton vessel of 60 tons burthen, spent from 10 June until 15 September 1635 fishing off Newfoundland. It then sailed for the Madeira Islands. It arrived at Funchall on 25 October and discharged part of the lading. On 20 November the ship sailed for the Canary Islands, but on the way was captured by the "Turkish" rovers and sent to Sallee.[3]

It was possible to mitigate the effects of storm and piracy to some extent by insuring the ships. The policies were taken out by Southampton merchants usually at the "Office of Assurance, Royal Exchange, London". Some depositions in the corporation records concern insurances that were taken out by merchants not only after the ship had sailed, but when the vessel had already foundered or been captured. Of course, the assured always maintained their ignorance of the misfortune at the time of making the contract!

1 Examinations and Depositions, II, p. 96.

2 Examinations and Depositions, IV, p. 21.

3 Examinations and Depositions, III, pp.29-31.

In 1627 Peter Priaulx and Paul Mercer had their above-mentioned ship "Fisher" and three-quarters of the cargo[1] insured for £300 at the Royal Exchange, and for £25 "by the way of Re-encounter[2] at Southampton". The insurances covered only part of the merchants' losses, for the combined value of the ship and three-quarters of the cargo was said to be £635.[3]

The "Blessing" of Southampton, which, as already noted, was captured in 1635, had been the subject of insurance. William Stanley of Southampton, a part-owner, had insured the vessel for £270 by way of bargain and sale for the voyage from Newfoundland to Southampton via the Canary Islands.[4]

The "Charity", mentioned above as sinking in 1638 whilst sailing from Newfoundland towards Malaga, had been insured by its several owners. Robert Rigges had insured his moieties of the ship, cargo, and ammunition. The value of his insurance is unknown. Mary Rigges and William Hapgood had insured their interests for £300, which left £150 unsecured.[5] There is no record of any insurance being made by Robert Toldervey, the clothier. Thomas Combe, the merchant, had insured his 40M. dry fish aboard the "Charity" for £100. The value of this consignment was £240, however.[6]

1 As previously stated, the rest of the cargo belonged to the master and crew.

2 The exact meaning of this term is not known. It was probably some form of private insurance effected locally.

3 Examinations and Depositions, II, pp. 1 and 18.

4 Examinations and Depositions, III, pp. 29-31.

5 Ibid., p. 74.

6 Ibid., p. 80.

The "Speedwell" of Southampton had been captured, as already recounted, by the Dunkirkers in 1639. The ship and cargo of fish had been insured by the joint owners, Humphry Ryman and Peter Clungeon, for £200.[1]

Impressment was a recurring grievance to Southampton merchants and seafarers, and sometimes seriously interfered with the Newfoundland trade. At the beginning of the period of warfare with Spain in 1625, the government ordered the western fishing ports to make stay of the Newfoundland fleet, so that the sailors could be pressed for the King's ships. The government had learnt that the merchants and owners of Newfoundland ships were sailing a month sooner than usual to avoid impressment.[2] The mayor of Southampton informed the Privy Council on 5th March 1625 that he had forbidden all the ships bound for Newfoundland to set sail before 1st April, except those that had gone before the order arrived.[3] The merchants and owners of the ships in the port said that such an order would ruin their trade.[4] In order to alleviate hardship, the government arranged to press the required number of sailors quickly.[5] There was less trouble when France entered the war against England two years later. This was probably because the fishermen, realising that a further bout of impressment was likely to happen, slipped out of the harbours before the government issued the order to stay them.[6]

1 Examinations and Depositions, IV, p. 21.

2 A.P.C., 1623-5, pp. 486-7.

3 C.S.P.D., 1623-5, p. 491, no. 18.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., p. 503, no. 79.

6 C.B. Judah, op. cit., p. 72.

Impressment again became a problem for Newfoundland merchants in Southampton in the 1630's. In February and March 1635 Nicholas Pescod petitioned for the release of twenty men pressed out of his two vessels, the "Plantation" of about 150 tons, and the "Virgin" of 70 tons. The ships had been about to sail from Hurst Castle for Newfoundland. Pescod claimed that he had spent £2,000 in setting out the ships for the voyage, and reckoned that he would lose £300 by the loss of the fair wind, and consequent shortening of the fishing season, even if his men were released at once.[1]

The Admiralty gave an order for Pescod's men to be released, but they were being held by one Brooke of Portsmouth who declined to obey the warrant. Pescod then wrote to Edward Nicholas, Secretary to the Admiralty, for advice as to how to secure Brooke's compliance with the warrant for release.[2] Presumably Pescod's men were freed without further difficulty as no more is heard of the matter.

Two years later Pescod took the precaution of approaching the Admiralty before his men had been pressed. On 29 January 1637, well before the Newfoundland fleet was due to sail, Pescod petitioned for a warrant to free from liability for impressment his fifty men on the "Plantation" and thirty-two on the "Virgin".[3]

Southampton merchant John Guillam, mentioned above as one of the joint venturers in a Newfoundland voyage in 1630, had in 1636 the misfortune to lose by impressment thirty-four men, being the crew of the "Amity" of Southampton, bound for Newfoundland on a fishing voyage with Edward Milbery as master. On 15th March 1636 Guillam wrote to his

1 P.R.O., S.P.16/283/95.

2 C.S.P.D., 1634-5, pp. 582-3, no. 5.

3 C.S.P.D., 1636-7, pp. 401-2, no. 36.

cousin, Jasper Corneline, in London, begging him to procure a warrant from the Privy Council to free the men.[1]

Warrants guaranteeing freedom from the press to sailors in the merchant service, and to free those already impressed, could often be obtained by bribery. Such warrants were issued in favour of merchants who had or who could buy influence in government circles, despite the desperate problem of manning the King's ships with fit sailors, such as could be provided by the Newfoundland "nursery of seamen". Two of the part-owners of the above-mentioned ship "Charity", William Hapgood and Mary Rigges, on 12th March 1637 asked William Watkins of Twickenham to procure a warrant for the ship's crew of thirty-two. They promised that all charges and "gratulation" should be paid.[2] What success they had is not recorded, but they were probably lucky, since a year later, a warrant dated 1st April 1638 was issued freeing the "Charity" and its thirty men from the liability of impressment.[3]

A similar warrant was obtained in April or May 1637 by Southampton merchants Peter Seale, Peter Clungeon, and John Guillam, in respect of the "St. George" of Southampton.[4] They were naturally anxious that their venture should proceed as planned, since they had spent £1,000 preparing for the voyage.

Also successful was the petition, dated 4th February 1638, of Thomas Combes and the other owners of the "Exchange" mentioned above.

1 C.S.P.D., 1635-6, p. 298, no. 29.

2 C.S.P.D., 1636-7, p. 495, no. 94.

3 C.S.P.D., 1637-8, p. 341.

4 C.S.P.D., 1637, p. 22, no. 77.

They had spent £700 in preparations for the Newfoundland voyage, and successfully requested freedom from the press.[1]

There are few examples of contact between the Southampton fishermen and the settlers in Newfoundland. The catching of fish and its processing by the shore stations at Newfoundland was carried on by the crews and skilled workers brought out on the fishing vessels at the start of each season. These people did not stay in Newfoundland during the winter, but returned to England at the end of the summer. The migratory fishery was thus conducted independently of the permanent colonists settled in Newfoundland. Indeed, there was often hostility between the fishermen and the colonists. The western fishing interests feared that a strong colony would force the yearly fishermen from England out of the trade. To maintain their interests, the western adventurers opposed the establishment of a permanent colony on Newfoundland, and when settlements were established, conflict between the settlers and the fishermen soon arose. In the first skirmish which resulted in the promulgation of laws for the government of Newfoundland and its fisheries in 1633, the fishermen gained an overwhelming victory against the settlers.[2] The instrument for the government of Newfoundland reflected the compliance of the Stuart court with the demands of the powerful fishing interests of the four western counties.[3] Most of the provisions of the document aimed at safeguarding the property of the fishing captains and maintaining the efficiency of the men.[4] Under the terms of the ordinance,[5] the mayors of the western fishing

1 C.S.P.D., 1637-8, p. 232, no. 32.

2 C.B. Judah, op. cit., p. 79.

3 Ibid., p. 82.

4 Ibid.

5 A.P.C., Col., 1613-80, pp. 192-7.

ports: Southampton, Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, Lyme Regis, Plymouth, Dartmouth, East Looe, Fowey, and Barnstaple, were made judges, and thus rulers of Newfoundland and its waters.[1] The western interests were firmly entrenched in the Newfoundland fisheries.[2]

Southampton itself had some association with the colonists of Newfoundland. In 1623 George Calvert, later Baron Baltimore, was in Southampton with his son fitting out a voyage to further his colony in Newfoundland.[3] The only other occasion on which the town had any recorded connection with Lord Baltimore was in 1629. The ship "St. Claude" of London had carried provisions from Studland Bay in Dorset to Lord Baltimore in Newfoundland. The vessel had then fished for him in local waters. Subsequently, the ship sailed to Southampton. Some of the crew were examined there about two suspected Roman Catholic priests. One of these had made the return journey to England from Newfoundland on the "St. Claude".[4]

An instance of trade between a Newfoundland colonist and a Southampton merchant can be found in a record of 1642. Henry Bowne, a planter living at Old Perlican, Newfoundland, sold local products to English merchants, and employed George Tito, a Poole mariner, as his agent in England. In November 1642 Bowne received £180 from Paul Mercer, a Southampton merchant. The goods were not stated. From Peter Legay, another Southampton merchant, Bowne received £29. 7s. 6d. for two and a half tuns of train oil.[5]

1 C.B. Judah, op. cit., pp. 81-2.

2 Ibid., p. 82.

3 F.J.C. Hearnshaw, A Short History of Southampton, op. cit., pp. 85-6.

4 Examinations and Depositions, II, pp. 38-42.

5 Examinations and Depositions, IV, pp. 49-50.

Statistical evidence of the extent of the Newfoundland fish trade based at Southampton is extremely difficult to gather. This is because the Exchequer Port Books do not record the whole of that trade for the following reasons.

Ships leaving England in ballast for Newfoundland were not recorded in the Port Books unless they carried dutiable commodities, which was a rare occurrence as far as Southampton was concerned. In the surviving Port Books only three such ships are shewn.

Ships carrying only Newfoundland fish would not usually be recorded when returning directly from Newfoundland to England, for such fish was customs-free if caught by Englishmen. However, since most ships also carried dutiable train oil they would be recorded.

Many ships sold their fish in Europe, returning to England with cargoes solely of European produce. Where such ships were not recorded as leaving for Newfoundland on the outward voyage, it is difficult to know that they were Newfoundland ships, unless other evidence is available. Any ships that sold their Newfoundland fish in Europe and returned to England with only the cash proceed would not be entered in the Port Book either on the outward or the homeward voyage. They are, therefore, impossible to identify.

One example of money being brought into Southampton from the fish trade is given by a dispute about such money brought into the port by William Marrinell of Jersey in 1602. Marrinell was the owner of the ship "Eleanor", which was said to be of Jersey or Southampton. The ship had been employed in the Newfoundland trade in 1602, sailing from the fishing grounds to Oporto in Portugal, where the fish was sold for cash, part of which was used to buy a quantity of sumach. The money and sumach were then brought into Southampton.[1]

1 The Book of Examinations, 1601-2, pp. 45-9.

Table 28 indicates the numbers of ships engaged in the Newfoundland trade shown in the Port Books.

Table 28. Ships Engaged in the Newfoundland Trade, 1600-1650.

Year ending	So'ton ships leaving So'ton for Newfoundland	So'ton ships arriving at So'ton from Newfoundland		Non-So'ton ships arriving at So'ton direct from Newfoundland		
		Direct	via Europe or Atlantic Isles	No.	Home Port	
Mich 1601	-	-	-	-	-	
Mich 1602	-	-	1 ø	1	Roscoff	
Xmas 1613	-	5		4	(1 Gosport (1 Poole or London (1 London (1 Poole	
Xmas 1614	-	4	-	-	-	
Xmas 1616	-	3	-	1	Poole	
Xmas 1619	-	8	-	-	-	
Xmas 1637	2	3*	-	1	Cowes	*includes one voyage commenced in 1636
Xmas 1638	1	2/	2	2	(1 Cowes (1 Portsmouth	/One voyage of which terminated at Lulworth by wreck
Xmas 1644	-	1	-	1	London	
Xmas 1649	-	1	-	-	-	

ø This ship was the "Eleanor" which was often entered in the Port Books as "of Jersey". Her owner, William Marrinell, and a large part of her crew came from the Channel Islands.[1]

1 The Book of Examinations, 1601-2, p. 45.

The figures given in Table 28 indicate that the size of Southampton's Newfoundland fleet increased from the very small number at the beginning of the century to about eight or so ships at the end of the second decade. A lower figure of shipping is recorded in the Port Books of 1636-7, but by this time the triangular trade with Spain and Portugal was well developed, so that there are no doubt some ships omitted from the table because they are not obviously identifiable with the Newfoundland trade as explained above. The years of the second half of the 1630's probably saw the Newfoundland industry at its peak in Southampton because of the profitability of the triangular trade. By the time of the Civil War, however, the number of Southampton ships engaged in the Newfoundland trade had fallen to a very low level. There had been no obvious recovery by the end of the 1640's. Thus, by the end of the half century the Newfoundland trade of Southampton appears to have been little different in extent from the position at the beginning of the century. There had been a prosperous industry for many years during the period, however.

Since there are two consecutive Port Books for the years 1636-7, and 1637-8, and since many depositions concerning the Newfoundland trade appear in the Books of Examinations and Depositions for the second half of the 1630's, it is possible to make an analysis[1] of the Port Books in 1636-7 and 1637-8. The object is to identify not only ships recorded as being engaged in the Newfoundland trade by the Port Books, but also those that are known to have been engaged in the fishing industry within several years, because of evidence in the Books of Examinations and Depositions.

1 The analysis applies only to ships in the overseas trade, and not to ships in the imported wine and coastaltrades, since Port Books for those branches of commerce do not survive for the years in question.

The Port Book for 1636-7 shows that there were twenty-one Southampton ships engaged in overseas trade, both import and export. Thirteen of those ships were employed in the European trade and four in the Newfoundland trade. The remaining four ships, although engaged in the European branch of commerce in 1637, yet are known to have been engaged in the Newfoundland trade at some time during the period 1636-40.

The thirteen ships involved in the European trade in 1636-7 had an aggregate tonnage of 622. Individual tonnages ranged from 16 to 150, there being one ship of 150 tons and one of 100 tons. The average tonnage was therefore almost 48. The four Newfoundland ships were more evenly matched, two being of 80 tons and two at 60 tons burthen. Their average tonnage was thus 70.

Of the four ships which were that year engaged in the European trade, but which at other times travelled to Newfoundland, tonnages ranged from 30 to 100, with an average of 68. Even if the two latter aggregates are added together, the resultant total, which might be called the aggregate Newfoundland potential tonnage, at 550, is still somewhat less than the aggregate of European-bound shipping at 622 tons. Thus, both in absolute numbers of ships and in aggregate tonnage (which was the criterion of governing crew size), the shipping of Southampton engaged in the European trade outweighed shipping engaged in the Newfoundland fish trade.

From this deduction it appears that the petition of 1636, appealing for Southampton to be exempted from the increased salt duty detailed above, over-emphasised the degree to which the town's shipping was employed in the Newfoundland trade. However, since the preparations for a Newfoundland voyage were vastly more expensive than for one to Europe, it probably seemed to the leading citizens of the town that it was the Newfoundland rather than the European trade ——————————

that was employing the greater part of Southampton's maritime resources. The petition of 1636 is therefore a good example of the special pleading typically used by an interested party to emphasise its need of the favour asked of the Stuart government. As in most cases, the grounds of the petition, though providing some indication as to the general state of affairs, cannot be totally accepted at face value without further investigation.

The analysis given above puts the total of Southampton ships engaged in Newfoundland fishing at about eight per year in the period 1636-8, which is similar to the total deduced from the Port Book of 1618-19.

The figure of eight ships, recorded at probably the peak of prosperity of the fish trade at Southampton, places the town very far down the scale of western ports sending ships to Newfoundland. The headquarters of the trade in England was at Dartmouth and Plymouth.[1] By 1631 Plymouth was sending sixty, and Dartmouth eighty vessels annually.[2] Just before the war between England and Spain began in 1625, Poole sent twenty ships to Newfoundland.[3] In 1625 the twelve Newfoundland ships entered in the Port Book of Exeter may well approximate to the total of that port's fishing fleet at the time.[4]

The statistical evidence suggests, then, that Southampton played a minor rôle in the Newfoundland trade compared with some other ports further west.

1 W.B. Stephens, "The West Country Ports and the Struggle for the Newfoundland Fisheries in the Seventeenth Century", op. cit., p. 95.

2 R.G. Lounsbury, op. cit., p. 63.

3 C.S.P.D., 1628-9, p. 103, no. 43.

4 W.B. Stephens "The West Country Ports and the Struggle for the Newfoundland Fisheries in the Seventeenth Century", op. cit., p. 92.

Table 29 attempts to present figures concerning some aspects of the Newfoundland fishery at Southampton. Although it had other uses, much of the salt imported at Southampton must have been taken for the fishery. It is thought that the salt imports, used in conjunction with statistics of fish and train oil, might possibly show fluctuations in the level of activity in the Newfoundland trade at Southampton.[1]

From the depression at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Newfoundland trade at Southampton expanded to the buoyant levels enjoyed in the second decade. The peak was probably reached about 1619. During the third decade the evidence in the Books of Examinations and Depositions suggests that Southampton's Newfoundland trade was probably fairly well kept up, despite the economic depression of the first half of the decade, the wars against Spain and France in the second half of the decade, and the constant menace of piracy. Indeed, at the end of the 1627 fishing season the arrival of the Newfoundland fleet at the port of Southampton made unsaleable, except at very low prices, a quantity of bank fish in the possession of John Ellzey, the local receiver of the Lord Admiral's tenths.[2] The closing of many foreign ports because of the wars had caused a far greater concentration on the English market than was usual in peace time.

After peace was restored in 1630 the Newfoundland trade at Southampton probably increased, for by the mid-1630's it appears to have reached a peak for the whole half-century. There was likely a decline towards the end of the fourth decade. During the Civil War ——————————

1 Salt was produced at places within the headport. There were saltworks at Lymington and near Southampton. The local output would have constituted only a small part of the yearly salt supply required for the fishing trade.

2 C.S.P.D., 1627-8, p. 350, no. 60.

Table 29. Inputs and Outputs of the Newfoundland Fishing Trade.

Year ending	NET imports of Foreign Salt WEYS	Total Imports of Train Oil TUNS	Total Exports of Train Oil TUNS	Newfoundland Fish IMPORTS Small	IMPORTS Medium	IMPORTS Large	EXPORTS Small	EXPORTS Medium	EXPORTS Large
Mich 1601	457	15	$4\frac{3}{4}$	30 M.			36 M.	13 C.	
Mich 1602	280	$13\frac{1}{4}$	3	3 C. 1 M.*	13 C.		4 M.		
Xmas 1613	1,002	$49\frac{1}{6}$	$26\frac{3}{8}$		4 C.		23 C.	9 C.	
Xmas 1614	788	$17\frac{1}{4}$	$5\frac{1}{4}$			12 C.	12 M.	3 C.	
Xmas 1616	854	$22\frac{3}{4}$	29				25 C.	46 C.	
Xmas 1619	614	$74\frac{1}{2}$	$20\frac{5}{8}$				63 C.	27 C.	
Xmas 1637	1,545	43	13	275 M.*			84 M. 39 M. * ⁄	2 C.	
Xmas 1638	1,193	45	$8\frac{1}{4}$ 1 ø	74 M.	16 M.	14 M. ø	80 M.	3 M.	12 C. 10 M.*
Xmas 1644	433	87	4	28 C. 74 quintals			3,000 quintals		
Xmas 1649	1,322	16	$\frac{1}{2}$	2,400 quintals			80 M.	3 C.	

N.B. Exports of fish often exceed imports because the Port Books do not always record incoming Newfoundland fish on which no duty was paid if taken by Englishmen. Most of the salt intended to be used in the Newfoundland trade would be taken as employed in the year following that of import, since the Newfoundland fleet left England in March each year.

* Size unspecified.

ø By reprizal.

⁄ One illegible entry also.

C. = hundred
M. = thousand

see p. 205.

the industry appears to have been greatly depressed with no appreciable increase by 1649. That year witnessed a large import of foreign salt which may possibly indicate a revival of activity.

The developments in Southampton's Newfoundland trade during the first half of the seventeenth century accord well with fluctuations in that industry on a national level. In 1594 the Newfoundland fleet of England numbered about 100.[1] In the closing years of Elizabeth's reign the number of English ships in the fishing increased, and in the peace which followed they increased more rapidly.[2] In 1615 Captain Richard Whitbourne estimated the number of ships at 250.[3] Just before the war against Spain started in 1625, the Newfoundland fleet set out by ports from Southampton to Bristol was reckoned at 300 sail, employing at least 6,000 men.[4] The years 1634-7 were a peak period when there were estimated to be 500 English ships and over 18,000 men regularly engaged.[5] By 1640, however, numbers had fallen,[6] and in the Civil War they fell still more.[7]

In conclusion, it may be said that there was a well developed capitalistic enterprise of both fishing and "sack" ships based at Southampton and engaged in the Newfoundland trade. The activity was small in the early years of the century, but expanded to buoyancy in the second decade. Prosperity appears to have been at a peak about the years 1636-8, after which there was a falling away and depression in the 1640's.

1 H.M.C., Salisbury Mss., Hatfield House, part IV, p. 566.

2 J.A. Williamson, The English Channel, A History (1959), p. 228.

3 R. Whitbourne, A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland (1622), p. 638 (new nos.), 12 (old nos.).

4 C.S.P.D., 1628-9, p. 103, no. 43.

5 H.A. Innis, op. cit., p. 70.

6 J.A. Williamson, op. cit., p. 229.

7 Ibid.

Although the extent of the trade was larger than appears from customs records, it was never so great as to dominate Southampton's maritime trade to the extent suggested by the petition of 1636, referred to above. The trade did, however, find employment for a considerable amount of capital, especially in the fourth decade. Some of the capital was drawn from sources outside maritime trade. Large numbers of sailors and fish processing workers were required. They would come mainly from Southampton, but probably also from a wider area of the surrounding countryside. The industry would provide secondary employment in Southampton by way of ship-victualling, ship-building, fishing tackle manufacture, and other associated occupations. To contemporaries, it might well have appeared that the primary economic activity of conducting the Newfoundland trade, together with the secondary economic activities resulting from it, combined to produce such a degree of activity that it appeared that the economic health of the port was indeed dependent on the fish trade. However, during the first half of the seventeenth century, it appears that the trade with Europe, especially France, was always more important than the fishing trade to Newfoundland. Because of the amount of capital, labour and entrepreneurial ability required, however, the Newfoundland trade would have probably eclipsed the mundane European trade in the minds of contemporaries.

CHAPTER 6

The Wine Import Trade

The importation of many varieties of French and Spanish wines was a very important feature of Southampton's seaborne commerce throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Since more wine Port Books have survived than have Port Books recording other overseas and coastal traffic, it is possible to present figures of wine imports for a greater number and better spread of years than has been possible for other branches of maritime trade.

In preparing Tables 30 to 32, the following list of measures of wine capacity have been taken to apply to all the amounts given in the Port Books:

	1 tun	=	252 gallons
1 pipe or	1 butt	=	126 gallons
	1 hogshead	=	63 gallons
	1 tierce	=	42 gallons.

The capacity measures for sherry (1 hogshead = 54 gallons) and claret (1 hogshead = 46 gallons) were slightly different. However, since the Port Books identify neither sherry nor claret explicitly, it is impossible to allow for this difference in measurements. As will be shown below, records exist of trade in both sherry and claret, but in the Port Books, they must have been grouped under one of the more general headings, and so cannot be distinguished from the other wines of those groups.

Table 30. French Wine Imports.

Tuns

Year ending:	Mich 1602	Mich 1604	Xmas 1605	Xmas 1606	Xmas 1609	Xmas 1617	Xmas 1625	Xmas 1626	Xmas 1628	Xmas 1629	Xmas 1631	Xmas 1635	Xmas 1647
"French"		3*	$5\frac{3}{4}$		$5\frac{1}{3}$ø	15	$659\frac{1}{2}$	$389\frac{5}{6}$	$314\frac{7}{12}$	$310\frac{1}{4}$*	$826\frac{1}{2}$*	$737\frac{2}{3}$	316
Gascon	473	563*	$625\frac{1}{4}$*	520	$788\frac{1}{6}$*	$642\frac{1}{2}$		$35\frac{7}{12}$	14				
Rochelle	7	$53\frac{1}{2}$		$21\frac{1}{3}$									
Angevin	$20\frac{3}{4}$	2											
Charente		$36\frac{1}{2}$	$17\frac{1}{2}$	20	24								
Avignon				2									
Cognac wine					27								
Muscadell ≠							$\frac{1}{2}$						
Total French	$500\frac{3}{4}$	658*	$648\frac{1}{2}$*	$563\frac{1}{3}$*	$844\frac{1}{2}$*	$657\frac{1}{2}$	660	$425\frac{5}{12}$	$328\frac{7}{12}$	$310\frac{1}{4}$*	$826\frac{1}{2}$*	$737\frac{2}{3}$	316

ø Imported at Portsmouth. * Figures understate true total imports - imperfections in the Port Books prevent some entries from being read.

≠ The consignment of half a tun of Muscadell was imported via Cowes Roads and so no distant port of origin is recorded in the Port Books. It has been placed in the French section of the tables since it was recorded within the French wine section of the Port Book.

Table 31. Spanish Wine Imports.

Year ending	Mich 1602	Mich 1604	Xmas 1605	Xmas 1606	Xmas 1609	Xmas 1617	Xmas 1625	Xmas 1626	Xmas 1628	Xmas 1629	Xmas 1631	Xmas 1635	Xmas 1647
"Spanish"		49		2*	79 3/4		7 1/4	31		198	139	209 1/2	235 1/2
Sack	107 3/4	107	141 1/2*	76 3/4*	565 1/4*	111 1/4	197		25	32 1/2	99 1/2		1
Malaga		30	96*	67 1/2*	118 5/8	43	26 1/2	74 1/2	67 1/4	118 1/2	248 3/4	26 1/2	117 1/2
Canary	10	19 1/2		30 1/2*	18 1/2							4	41 1/2
Sweet									5 1/4				
Taint							2						1/2
Bastard	6 1/2	16	1/2										
Tenik (= Teneriffe?)					4								
Total	124 1/4	221 1/2	238*	176 3/4*	786 1/8*	154 1/4	232 3/4	105 1/2	97 1/2	349	487 1/4	240	396

* Figures understate true total imports - imperfections in the Port Books prevent some entries from being read.

Table 32. Total Wine Imports.

Year ending:	Mich 1602	Mich 1604	Xmas 1605	Xmas 1606	Xmas 1609	Xmas 1617	Xmas 1625	Xmas 1626	Xmas 1628	Xmas 1629	Xmas 1631	Xmas 1635	Xmas 1647
French	500 3/4	658*	648 1/2*	563 1/3*	844 1/2*	657 1/2	660	425 5/12	328 7/12	310 1/4*	826 1/2*	737 2/3	316
Spanish	124 1/4	221 1/2	238*	176 3/4*	786 1/8*	154 1/4	232 3/4	105 1/2	97 1/2	349	487 1/4	240	396
Total	625	879 1/2*	886 1/2*	740 1/12*	1630 5/8*	811 3/4	892 3/4/	530 11/12	426 1/12	659 1/4*	1313 3/4*	977 2/3	712

* Figures understate true total imports - imperfections in the Port Books prevent some entries from being read.

/ There was also an import of 11 tuns of "refuse" wine which was re-exported immediately.

It is obvious from Tables 30 and 31, that from about the middle of the period covered, the method of recording wine imports in the Port Books became less specific. In the earlier books the types of French and Spanish wines were generally entered under their own names, but later the practice was merely to record the generic name, i.e. "French" or "Spanish". Variations in the amounts of any individual kinds of wine imported over the half-century do not, therefore, necessarily indicate any real alterations in the quantities passing through the port. The differences can be ascribed to loss of detail in the Port Book entries. The long-term trends in wine imports can safely be deduced only from Table 32.

In 1635 an increased duty of 13s. 4d. per tun was laid on imported wines. Table 33 below provides details. The information has been obtained from the Exchequer Declared Customs Accounts in the Public Record Office.[1] This material is the more valuable because it refers to years when no Port Books survive.

Fluctuations in wine imports may readily be seen from the above tables. The first decade was obviously one of expansion. The greatest rise came between 1606 and 1609 when total wine imports more than doubled. During that period the level of French wine imports increased by half, but figures for Spanish wine, starting from a lower base, more than quadrupled. 1609 may have been an exceptional year, for by the time of the next Port Book in 1617, French, Spanish, and total wine imports, had fallen back roughly to the position of 1606. The Spanish trade had fallen more, and French and total imports probably slightly less. In 1625 French imports were almost equivalent to those ——————————

1 P.R.O., E.351/905-910.

Table 33. Accounts of the "Increased Duty" on Wines.

Period	Amount of Import £.	s.	d.	Tunnages of Wines French	Spanish	Total
1 Nov.1635 Mich.1636	672.	3.	6.	894	79 1/4 *	993 1/4
Year ending Mich.1637	905.	2.	10½.	1,132 1/4	225½	1,357 3/4
Year ending Mich.1638	978.	1.	1½.	1,087 1/6	380	1,467 1/6
Year ending Mich.1639	1,011.	9.	5.	1,076	441	1,517
Year ending Mich.1640	580.	-.	-.	748	122	870
Mich.1640 - May 1641	471.	13.	6½.	No details given		

* This seems an extraordinarily low figure in view of the total in the next year, and the tunnage of 240 recorded during the year ending Christmas 1635 (Table 31).

of 1617, whilst the Spanish total had significantly increased. The marked decline in both types of import over the period 1625-8 is explained by the wars fought by England against Spain from 1625 until 1630, and against France from 1627 until 1629, which disrupted normal trade. In 1629, however, there was a large increase in Spanish wine imports. This was due to privateering only to a small extent. During the years when England was at war with Spain but not with France, Spanish wines were imported via France. When England was at war with both countries simultaneously, French and Spanish wines were brought to Southampton in a variety of ways. These included neutral ships direct from the country of origin, English or neutral ships from the entrepôt at Flushing, and English or Channel Islands' vessels from the Channel

Islands.

The first full year of peace, 1631, was marked by a large rise in French and Spanish wine imports, especially the former, which increased about two and a half times. By 1635 French imports had fallen somewhat, and Spanish imports had been cut back by half.

During the second half of the fourth decade wine imports expanded. The total French import rose from 1635 until 1638, in the latter year reaching the peak of recorded imports during the half century. The much lower Spanish figures increased from 1635 until 1639.

In 1639 French wine imports were only slightly less than in 1638. 1640 was a bad year when French imports shrank to little more than the level of 1635. 1640 was also a poor year for Spanish wines. The total in that year was only just over a quarter of the total of the previous year in which records survive.

No details of wine imports in the Civil War have survived. In view of the exceedingly small commerce in general overseas trade, it would be surprising if similar low levels were not experienced in the wine trade.

The Port Book of 1647 records a French import of less than half the level of 1640. The figure for 1647 was the lowest recorded during the years when records survive. The Spanish wine import in 1647 was over three times as great as the last recorded level in 1640, thus providing a sharp contrast to the trend in French wine imports.

A comparison of the figures of Tables 30-32 with wine imports during the second half of the sixteenth century brings out how much more important the trade was after 1600 than before. During the period covered by this study the yearly total wine import ranged between about 700-900 tuns during average years, 1300-1700 tuns during exceptionally good years, whilst only 400-700 tuns were recorded in poor years.

The following summary of total wine imports from 1560-1600 clearly shows that the peak volumes achieved in that period equalled only the average levels of the next fifty years. The lowest levels of the former period were much less than the poorest recorded (though not necessarily actual, of course) extents in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Mrs. Thomas found that from an average annual total of 181 tuns in 1560-5, wine imports rose steadily to 315 tuns in 1565-70, 454 tuns in 1570-5, and 697 tuns in 1575-80.[1] This rate of increase was probably maintained until 1583-4, when 914 tuns were imported.[2] By 1585-90, however, the average annual total had fallen to 413 tuns.[3] In 1590-1, and 1599-1600, the Port Books recorded imports of 517 and 570 tuns respectively.[4] French wines provided about two-thirds of the total for most of the period 1560-1600.[5]

As shown by Table 32, the proportions of French and Spanish wines varied widely during the first half of the seventeenth century. The import of Spanish wines was usually less than the import of French wines. In 1617 Spanish wines comprised less than one-fifth of the total. In some years Spanish wines made up roughly a quarter of the whole. Possibly in 1629, but certainly in 1647, Spanish wines constituted over half of the total.

The main types of French and Spanish wines may easily be seen from Tables 30 and 31. Gascon was easily the most important French wine. The other French wines listed in Table 30 were not important. Of

1 J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., p. 65.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.

the various types of Spanish wines, sack and Malaga were the most notable. Canary wine was the only other variety of any significance, but this was much less important than Malaga or sack. There is no record of wine from Madeira being imported into Southampton during the period.

As has been mentioned in Chapter 3, although Southampton enjoyed the privileges of the Sweet Wines grant by which aliens were supposed to land sweet wines from the Levant only at Southampton, there were no such imports at the town during the years when records survive. Although the grant brought no economic benefit to the town, an income from the forfeitures arising from non-compliance with the grant continued to be received.

In 1609 a tax of 2s. per tun was imposed by Southampton Corporation on all wines imported by burgesses or bought by them from strangers within the town.[1] The tax had been levied in order to pay the costs of the Birchmeare suit, by which the corporation had obtained confirmation of their freedom from prisage. This matter has been discussed by Dr. Horrocks.[2]

Few accounts of the revenue produced by the tax have survived. Details for 1609-10 are to be found in the mayor's casualty accounts,[3] and for 1641-2 in the steward's accounts.[4] The Sweet Wine papers in the Southampton City Record Office[5] include accounts respecting 1610-11, 1615-16, and 1616-17. Details from all these sources have been brought together to form Table 34.

1 Assembly Books, II, p. 22.

2 Assembly Books, I, pp.xxvi-xxviii.

3 Southampton City Record Office, SC5/3/13.

4 Southampton City Record Office, SC5/1/50.

5 Unnumbered.

Table 34. Gross Amounts of Wine Imported by Burgesses or Bought by Burgesses from Strangers Within the Town.

Tuns *

Year ending:	Mich 1610	Mich 1611	Mich 1616	Mich 1617	Mich 1642
"French"	16	13		14½	
Gascon	465 ¼	502 ⅙	531 ¾	477	479 ⅝
Orleans				15	
Charente		23			
"Spanish"	56½	63 ¼	4	62½	270½
Sack	79	67 ⅝	141 ⅛	87 ⅝	
Malaga	23	14½	46 ⅝	44	
Taint		2	3		
Unspecified	134 ¼	243 ⅔	12	20	
Total	774	939	738½	720 ⅝	750 ⅛

* Before the tax of 2s. per tun was calculated, an allowance of 10% for leakage was granted.

The three accounts found in the Sweet Wine Papers which form part of the material used to compile Table 34 have been printed by André Simon.[1] M. Simon unfortunately made so many errors in the transcriptions of the details in the accounts that the versions he printed are most unreliable.

The account stated by M. Simon to refer to the year 1609-10[2] actually concerned only the half year ending Lady Day 1610. Figures

1 A.L. Simon, History of the Wine Trade, vol. III, (1905-6, reprinted 1964), pp.149-151.

2 Ibid., p. 149.

from such a document are thus not directly comparable with the other two accounts he gave, both of which were in respect of a full year of trading.

The account which M. Simon thought proper to 1625-6[1] referred to the year 1615-16. Since that account was thus consecutive with the document for 1616-17 which M. Simon set out[2] there was in reality no convenient spread of sixteen or seventeen years as M. Simon had supposed, and which had led him to postulate, on the basis of the very inaccurate figures that he published, that Southampton was a centre of gradually increasing importance in the wine trade.[3] That no such conclusion is justified from the figures of burgesses' wine dealings alone is shown by Table 34, where, apart from 1610-11, the yearly totals show a high degree of consistency.

Dr. Horrocks has shown that the freedom from prisage enjoyed by the Southampton burgesses gave them a very marked competitive advantage over other merchants, except those of London and the Cinque Ports.[4] In 1609 the merchants of Poole complained that Southampton burgesses, by reason of the freedom from prisage, could afford to sell wines "the better cheap" to the detriment of other merchants.[5] The Southampton burgesses were said not only to have supplied vintners in Dorset as well as in Hampshire with large quantities of wines, but also to have kept taverns at Blandford, Sherborne, and Shaftesbury, through their agents in Dorset.[6]

1 A.L. Simon, History of the Wine Trade, vol. III,(1905-6, reprinted 1964), p. 150.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 149.

4 Assembly Books, II, p. xxxi.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

It is obvious from the allegations of the Poole merchants that Southampton acted as a regional centre for the distribution of wines over a wide area of the countryside. M. Simon has stated that from Southampton wine was sent to all parts of Hampshire, Wiltshire, and even further,[1] but in the light of the foregoing evidence about Dorset, his qualifying note that the chief and only regular wine trades from Southampton were to Salisbury and Winchester[2] appears to be wrong.

According to the coastal Port Books there was very little redistribution of wines by coastal trade.

In 1639 six Southampton burgesses; Benjamin Gallop, Nicholas Pescod, Peter Legay, James Massons, Henry Barlow, and Thomas Combe, were among the thirty-one English merchants who refused to continue paying the 40s. per tun subsidy on imported wines.[3] The subsidy was widely regarded as illegal since it had not been sanctioned by Parliament. On 22nd March 1639 the Privy Council ordered the defaulters to appear before it.[4] Presumably the resistance of the Southampton merchants was quickly overcome for no further evidence about them has been found in connection with the matter.

Locally the affair resulted in the prohibition of credit in the payment of the 40s. per tun duty. Four Southampton merchants: Peter Seale, Thomas Mason, Edward Tatenell, and Thomas Cornelius, were unable to obtain such credit in the weeks from March until May 1639.[5] How long the credit restriction was continued has not been recorded.

1 A.L. Simon, op. cit., p. 156.

2 Ibid., pp. 156-7. Presumably Simon made this statement since Salisbury and Winchester were the only towns within the obvious geographical distribution area of Southampton for which he could find quotations of wine prices.

3 P.R.O., S.P.16/414/159.

4 P.R.O., P.C.2/50, p. 190.

5 Books of Examinations and Depositions, III, pp. 93-4.

This chapter has demonstrated not only that wine imports at Southampton constituted a trade of considerable importance, but also that the commerce was of greater significance in the period of this study than it had been in the previous fifty years. The wide hinterland for wine distribution meant that Southampton functioned as a regional port in that trade.

CHAPTER 7

The Coastal Trade

During the first half of the seventeenth century, the fact that the Southampton coastal Port Books survive for only a few years means that the study of that trade at Southampton has to be divided into three periods. These are: 1608, 1628-34, and 1646.

The arrangement of each section is as follows. London is always considered first since it was by far the most important coastal trading partner. The provinces are then discussed. Cornwall is taken first, followed in turn by the counties on the south coast of England working eastwards to Kent. The eastern seaboard is then discussed, working northwards from East Anglia to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. South Wales follows, since its exports were of coal, the main product derived from the north-east coast.

The Channel Islands provision trade, although recorded in the coastal Port Book, is not discussed here, but in Chapter 4.

1608. There is no reason to suppose that the fairly buoyant level of coastal trade appearing in the Port Book for 1608 was unrepresentative of the years about that time. Probably the pattern of trading

recorded in that year was typical of the period between the accession of James I and the beginning of the national economic depression in 1620.

London. This was Southampton's main coastal trading partner. A wide variety of goods was carried in both directions. The main commodity passing from Southampton to the capital was timber. This was used for house and ship-building and repairs. Large quantities of barrel boards and hoops for the London coopers were sent. The timber was probably derived from the Forest of Bere as well as from the New Forest, since amongst the merchants concerned were residents not only of Southampton, but also of Fareham, Portsmouth, Warblington, and Langstone.

Hellier's stones for roofing houses were part of the trade to London. The quantities sent may have been part of the much larger number received at Southampton from Cornwall in that year.

Certain products of the hinterland of Southampton were sent to London by sea. They included coarse English paper, and the cheap cloth called linings made at Salisbury.

Re-exports from Southampton also entered the trade. Train oil and a small amount of fish came from Newfoundland. Other items including vinegar, raisins, figs, and Spanish iron, had been previously imported into Southampton from Europe.

From London, Southampton received a large quantity of armaments ranging from cast iron ordnance to muskets, powder, shot, pikes, and swords. This material was probably destined for use either in local castles or on board ships as a defence against pirates.

Other goods received from London were of a very diverse character. They included grains, foodstuffs, both English and foreign, groceries in very large quantities, raw fibres, canvas, cloth, a considerable

amount of household goods, coal, sumach, grindstones, paper, alabaster, lead, steel, iron utensils, and naval stores.

Cornwall and Devon. The traffic from Southampton was considerably more important than that in the opposite direction. Two main categories comprised almost all of the consignments from Southampton. One included timber and plank for ship and house building and other purposes. This category also contained the boards, staves, and hoops, destined for the use of west country barrel-makers. The other main category comprised miscellaneous provisions, with barley, malt, and beer, being important. A small quantity of biscuits was sent to North Devon and some apparel to Cornwall.

The main item coming from the south-west was hellier's stones used for roofing purposes. Fowey and Plymouth were both concerned in this trade. The Cornish port sent nine and a half times the quantity despatched from Devon. Both counties sent some wheat as well as raisins. Small amounts of lager beer and pilchard train oil came from Cornwall. Tin, chiefly from Cornwall, was an important item of trade from the west country to Southampton in the 1570's,[1] but by 1600 seems to have ceased entirely.[2] The surviving coastal Port Books of the first half of the seventeenth century do not record any trade in tin from Devon and Cornwall to Southampton.

The most important Cornish ports of receipt in the trade from Southampton were St. Michael's Mount, Penzance, and Fowey, followed by Helford, Falmouth, and Mevagissey. St. Ives was of little importance.

1 J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., p. 131.

2 Ibid., pp.131-2.

Three Devon ports received goods from Southampton. They were Plymouth, Dartmouth, and Barnstaple, in order of importance.

In the much smaller inward trade from the South-West, two ports only in each county were involved. Fowey, the most significant, and Truro were the Cornish ports. Plymouth and Exeter, in order of rank, were the Devon ports.

Dorset. This county sent more freight to Southampton than it received in return, unlike Devon and Cornwall. There was little traffic from Southampton to Dorset. What little there was consisted of the timber, boards, pipe staves, and hoops, required for barrel-making and other purposes. There was also a small amount of English iron.

Consignments received at Southampton from Dorset were quite miscellaneous. There were several English products such as woad and copperas, but most of the material seems to have been derived from Europe. European goods included Normandy canvas, Seville oil, wine, sugar, figs, and rye. Fish and train oil had come from Newfoundland. It should be noted, however, that the quantities of all the goods received from Dorset were very small.

Wareham, Weymouth, and Poole, received goods from Southampton. Weymouth and Poole received only one consignment of one commodity each.

In the inward trade Weymouth sent most of the re-exports from Europe. Poole sent the Newfoundland products, some dyeing materials, and copperas. Lyme Regis sent wool, millstones, butter, and cheeses. The cheeses and perhaps also the butter were accounted as provisions by the customs.

Sussex. In 1608 this branch of the coastal trade was next in importance to that with London. The basis of the outward trade from Southampton was the re-distribution of commodities previously imported from Europe, including wines, foodstuffs, canvas, cloth, industrial

raw materials, and other goods. It is important to realise that the amounts of the individual goods involved were generally very small. The largest share of the trade was directed to Chichester. That port received some wines and all the other types of goods which were sent to Sussex. The other ports with which trade was conducted were Newhaven and Rye, both of which took wines only. Of the three ports, Newhaven received the largest amount of wines, though total shipments were very small.

A diverse assortment of goods was received from Sussex. Chichester sent mainly malt, fish, including herrings and pilchards, and a little wheat and sugar. English wool and wheat came from Arundel. Lewes sent barley, English hops, herrings, English iron, iron anvils, as mentioned below, and a little wool. The iron or some part of it may have been exported from Southampton by way of foreign trade, but in the absence of the overseas Port Book for 1608 it is impossible to be sure.

During the second half of the sixteenth century the basis of trade from Sussex to Southampton was iron from the Weald, and, during the later part of that period, some iron ordnance.[1] This did not obtain in the first half of the seventeenth century. The basis of trade changed from iron to agricultural products, especially wheat, barley, and malt. Some part of the two latter items were no doubt destined for use in the brewing industry of Southampton. The iron trade died. In 1608 only fourteen tons were received from Lewes. By 1628 the trade had almost gone; only half a ton of iron was brought from Arundel in that year. No further coastal shipments of iron from Sussex to Southampton appear in the subsequent surviving Port Books.

Iron artefacts were never important during the period. The only recorded traffic in such goods was in 1608 when three tons of iron anvils came from Lewes.

1 J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., p. 128.

No shipments of Wealden iron ordnance from Sussex to Southampton were recorded in the coastal Port Books analysed in this study. This is very surprising, especially in the period of warfare in the late 1620's when such armaments for privateers and merchant ships would have been required in Southampton. The only supplies seem to have come from London (apart from some foreign ordnance from Sussex in 1628 which is mentioned later).

The single reference to an intention of obtaining Sussex ordnance occurs in 1606. In that year, three ships, newly built at Southampton, the "Rose" of 40 tons, the "Speedwell" and the "John", both of 60 tons, were to be supplied with ten tons of cast iron ordnance from Lewes. The requirements were two sakers, seven minions, and nine falcons.[1]

Kent. From Sandwich and Dover malt was received. No goods were sent in return.

East Anglia. Consignments of English woad to Colchester and English wool to Ipswich constituted the total coastal trade between Southampton and East Anglia. It is reasonable to suppose that the woad was grown in Hampshire since, as stated in Chapter 4, the crop was produced in the county at that time. The woad and the wool were obviously destined for the East Anglian textiles industry.

North-East Coast and Yorkshire. The basis of this trade was the "sea-coal" that was brought in large quantities to Southampton mainly from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and, to a much lesser extent, from Sunderland also. Small quantities of grindstones came from both places. Small consignments of salmon and northern "cottons" were sent from Sunderland. The "cottons" were probably destined for export from Southampton. As has been seen from Chapter 4, there was a considerable export of "cottons"

1 Southampton City Record Office; Book of Instruments, SC.2/6/6, f. 188 v.

from the town port in the second decade. A small part of the total consisted of northern "cottons". How much of that merchandise was received at Southampton by coastal trade is not known, owing to the absence of coastal Port Books for that period.

South Wales. Coal was sent from Swansea and Burrey Port, but in much smaller quantities than from the north-east coast. The merchants engaged in the trade were all masters of ships. Nothing was sent in return.

Summary. By the coastal trade in 1608, Southampton received a wide variety of necessary provisions, much of which came from London. Certain products of Southampton and its hinterland were sent to other parts of England, including timber and cooper's materials, barley, malt, and beer.

As an adjunct to the overseas trade, the coastal trade functioned only to a very small extent. Some imports, including wines, in very small quantities, were re-distributed from Southampton, chiefly to Sussex. As a system of gathering up goods from other parts of England for export from Southampton, the coastal trade functioned hardly at all.

1628-34. The coastal trade of Southampton was very much depressed during the period of warfare up to 1630. Then followed an increase of trade in the years of peace.

London. As in 1608, London was the port with which Southampton maintained the greatest volume of regular coastal trade. The composition of the traffic, both inward and outward, was, as in the earlier analysis, very miscellaneous. As before, the basic cargo from Southampton to London was timber, plank, and boards, of which a considerable part was stated to be for ship construction. In 1633

some of the timber consigned was for the use of the navy. In that year also, a large quantity of boards was sent for barrel-making.

In 1628 there appears for the first time among the cargoes from Southampton the important new traffic in tobacco pipe clay. The nature and shipments of this commodity are discussed in Appendix K.

Other commodities sent to London varied greatly in composition and extent from year to year. Such goods were usually items that had previously been imported into Southampton, such as fish, train oil, raisins, wine, tobacco, and other exotic commodities. There were also some English products, including English iron and iron shot in 1631, and marble stone in 1629. It must be stressed that timber, plank, and tobacco pipe clay, dominated the coastal trade to London, and that other goods, as well as being of only subsidiary importance, were usually each represented in the commodity lists in one or two years only during the period 1628-33.

The trade from London consisted of various provisions among which groceries were prominent. Other goods included fish, aquavitae, beeregar, industrial raw materials, naval stores, metals, gunpowder, shot, ironmongery, glassware, haberdashery, and other commodities. In 1628 there was a supply of armaments of some significance, probably for use either in privateering or on merchantmen.

The coastal Port Books of 1628-30 record no upsurge in the traffic from Southampton to London, unlike the early 1590's when there was a considerable seaborne movement of prize goods to the capital for

sale.[1] The lists of commodities sent to London do not contain any likely prize goods. The level of traffic to the metropolis in the wartime years of 1628 and 1629 was less than in the peacetime years of 1631 and 1633. In 1630 the trade from Southampton had reached a low ebb indeed, being greatly reduced from even the poor performance of 1629, itself a decline from 1628. Thus, privateering does not seem to have affected coastal trade.

It must be borne in mind, however, that prize goods may have been sent to London overland. That was probably a far safer route as coastal waters were plagued by pirates and privateers. The coastal Port Book for 1629 records that one ship sailing from Southampton to London was captured by the Dunkirkers.

Cornwall and Devon. The basic cargo on voyages from Southampton was timber for the shipbuilding yards of the South-West. Some house timber was sent, including a consignment in 1628 to Plymouth in the name of Sir James Bagg, Vice-Admiral of Devon, for his own use. There were significant consignments of cooper's boards and hoops for barrel-making. Malt was important in 1628 and 1629. Potter's clay was notable in 1633.

There were no recorded consignments of charcoal to Cornwall for use in the tin smelting industry until 1631. In that year the total charcoal traffic to Cornwall was 550 sacks, all to Penzance. By 1633 the total had increased to 16,100 sacks and 1,440 quarters.

The coastal Port Books did not tell the whole story about the movement of charcoal. In 1634 it was alleged that the heavy export of charcoal from the New Forest had doubled its price in Southampton,

1 J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., p. 160.

leading to great distress of the poor.[1] The charcoal was said to have been shipped from prohibited places along the coastline.[2] The customs officials at Southampton were instructed by the Privy Council on 29th November 1634 to prevent the export of charcoal, except at authorised places.[3]

In his analysis of the coastal trade, T.S. Willan appears to assume that the charcoal exported from Southampton in 1628 was destined for use either in the Wealden iron industry of Sussex, or in the tin-smelting industry of Cornwall.[4] This was not so. The coastal Port Book clearly shows that the whole export of charcoal from Southampton in 1628 was consigned to the Channel Islands, and none was sent to Sussex or to Cornwall. The total export of charcoal from Southampton to the Channel Islands in 1628 amounted to 190 quarters and 100 hogsheads. Of this amount, 60 quarters were lost at sea. Mr. Willan stated that the total charcoal shipment from Southampton in 1628 was 130 quarters,[5] which was not correct.

Table 35 below sets out surviving figures for the export of charcoal from Southampton. The Channel Islands has been included in order to overcome the mistaken view of charcoal export in 1628.

Trade from south Devon and south Cornwall to Southampton in the period 1628-34 was of much lesser importance than the traffic from Southampton to those places. Wool in 1628, oats and Irish hides in 1629, and wheat and oats in 1631 were the only consignments of

1 P.R.O., P.C.2/44, pp. 63 and 253-4.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 254.

4 T.S. Willan, The English Coastal Trade, (1938), p. 70.

5 Ibid.

Table 35. Export of Charcoal from Southampton.

Year ending Xmas	1628		1629		1630	1631	1633		1646
	Qtrs.	Hogs-heads	Qtrs.	Hogs-heads		Sacks	Qtrs.	Sacks	Sacks
Exports to:									
Jersey	80								
Guernsey	110*	100	60	40/					
Penzance						550	680	1300	
Helford								3200	1550
Helston								8200	
Falmouth								3400	
Plymouth									1900
Total	190	100	60	40	NIL	550	680	16,100	3,450

* of which 60 quarters were lost at sea.

/ for provision of H.M. Castle.

significance. There was a small occasional trade in pilchard train oil, lager beer, raisins, and stones. Trade between Southampton and Barnstaple, the only port on the northern coastline of Devon and Cornwall to be represented, was sporadic and of little importance.

Dorset. There was surprisingly little trade with Dorset in the period 1629-31. In 1633, however, large quantities of timber were sent from Southampton to Lyme Regis. Further supplies of timber, including ship timber, with boards and hoops for coopers, were shipped to Weymouth and Poole. Poole also received small quantities of diverse provisions.

Trade from Dorset to Southampton was very small, especially in the years 1628-31, after which there was some recovery. Dorset

supplied small quantities of miscellaneous provisions. The only item of note was a consignment of five packs of woollen cloth, shipped from Poole to Southampton in 1634 for the account of Peter Ridge, Moses Reade, and company, who were shopkeepers of Newport, Isle of Wight. They had purchased the material at Woodbury Fair.

Sussex. During the years 1628-31 there was only one recorded voyage from Southampton to Sussex. This occurred in 1631 when a ship carried small quantities of French wine and Muscovy hides from Southampton to Chichester.

Incoming voyages to Southampton from Sussex appeared in all the years. However, the number of sailings was small. Grains and a little malt comprised most of the trade. Some foreign ordnance came from Shoreham in 1628.

Kent. Trade between Southampton and Kent was occasional and of little moment. Between 1628 and 1631 there was no recorded activity in either direction. A large quantity of firewood was despatched from Southampton to Dover in 1633. In that year Southampton received a consignment of codfish. In 1634 a quantity of herrings was sent.

East Anglia. This trade was very small. The only voyage from East Anglia in the period occurred in 1631. That sailing from Colchester brought to Southampton small amounts of coal (probably derived from the north-east coast), derinx, Norwich stuff, and hops. The only traffic from Southampton was recorded in 1633 when a large quantity of tobacco pipe clay, and small amounts of plank and firewood were sent to Great Yarmouth.

North-East Coast. This continued to be the principal area supplying coal to Southampton. By far the greatest part of the coal was shipped from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, though a little came also from Sunderland. In 1628 the coal trade was extraordinarily small, but the next year showed a very considerable increase. By 1631 the position had again substantially improved. The improvement continued until 1633, but a slight recession was recorded in 1634.

Summary. The years 1628-30 saw the coastal trade of Southampton at a low ebb. The coal trade from the north-east coast in 1629 and probably also 1630 was the only exception to the general depression in coastal traffic. The slackness of trade may have been partly due to the dangers of capture by privateers or pirates.

The years of peace following 1630 witnessed an expansion in Southampton's coastal trade. However, by 1634 the recovery had not approached the level of 1608.

Table 36. Coastal Receipts of Coal at Southampton, 1608, 1628-34, 1646.

Tons

Year ending Xmas	1608	1628	1629	1631	1633	1634	1646
Newcastle	959.4	36.4	608.4	1133.6	1656.2	1349.4	2095.6
Sunderland	41.6	-	15.6	114.4	117	122.2	135.2
Scarborough	5.2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gt.Yarmouth	-	-	-	-	-	-	20.8
Colchester	-	-	-	182	-		
London	80.6	91	-	46.8	97.5	63.7	42.9
Shoreham	-	13	-	-	-		
Bristol	-	-	13	-	-		
Swansea	158	-	44	-	-		
Burry Port	40	-	100	-	32	140	
Total*	1284.8	130.4	781	1476.8	1907.7	1675.3	2294.5

The figures appearing above have been converted into tons from the measures given in the Port Books by using some of the following ratios[1]:-

1 hundred = 8 tons

1 Newcastle chaldron = 52 cwt. (to 1660)

1 London chaldron (used from Swansea, Burry Port, Neath, and Llanelly) = 26 cwt. (to 1664)

1 chaldron of Milford Haven and Tenby = 2 tons

1 wey of Swansea, Burry Port, Neath, and Llanelly = 4 tons

1 The ratios appear in W.B. Stephens, Seventeenth Century Exeter, op. cit., p. 171.

1 wey of Milford Haven and Tenby = 16 cwt.

1 quarter (usually Plymouth) = 14 cwt.

* This table takes no account of the import of coal from Scotland which was recorded in the overseas Port Books. The latter are not extant for the years given in the table.

1646.

The coastal trade in 1646 was much more buoyant than during the depressed years of 1628-33. The outward trade was nearly double the 1608 level, but the inward trade had fallen somewhat below that level. In 1646 the number of voyages recorded in the outward trade was more than double that recorded inward. There were two principal reasons for this. Firstly, almost twice as many voyages were made to London as from the capital. Secondly, although sixty-six ships were recorded as sailing from Southampton to Devon and Cornwall, there were no sailings in the opposite direction.

London. The basis of the trade from Southampton was once again timber, plank, and boards, including quantities for the use of coopers. Tobacco pipe clay was also important. Many other goods were sent to London. English products included malt, metals, metal goods, household stuff, and ox horns. There were some exotic products previously received at Southampton by way of foreign trade. Oranges, lemons, wines, samphire, wine lees, brazil-wood, and elephants' teeth, were included in this category.

Grocery and saltery wares were the chief items in the trade from London to Southampton. Other goods were very miscellaneous. Tobacco, aquavitae, hops, soap, candles, pots, glasses, match, gunpowder, and tar, were among the commodities carried.

Cornwall and Devon. In 1646, due no doubt to the disorders resulting from the Civil War and its aftermath the traffic consisted only of voyages from Southampton. Nothing was received from the South-West.

Timber and cooper's boards again formed the major part of the outward trade. Many other kinds of goods were sent, including local products such as potter's clay, tobacco pipe clay, charcoal, dyeing materials, and foodstuffs. Wines, prunes, vinegar, and tobacco, all imported at Southampton from abroad, were also sent.

Mention has been made in Chapter 4 of the re-export of Baltic timber to Exeter for shipbuilding. It is not possible to positively identify this trade in the coastal Port Books of Southampton during the period of this study, since there are therein no specific references to Baltic timber. There are references in the Exeter coastal Port Books. The first surviving record in 1637 probably indicated that the trade started in the fourth decade. In 1637 there were six sailings from Portsmouth and Southampton to Exeter with Baltic timber.[1] The trade grew enormously. In 1683 twenty-six similar voyages were recorded.[2]

Dorset. Among the varied provisions sent from Southampton to Dorset, timber and plank were important, though less so than in 1633. Malt, tobacco pipe clay, and wool, were included in the many other English products listed. Lyme Regis received a quantity of tobacco pipes. It is reasonable to suppose that these had been manufactured in Southampton, as tobacco-pipe makers were working in the town at that time.[3] Among the foreign products were Normandy

1 W.B. Stephens, Seventeenth Century Exeter, op. cit., p. 122.

2 Ibid.

3 Apprenticeship Registers, p. 79, no. 834, and p. 80, no. 845.

canvas, paper, wines, tobacco, and sugar.

The trade from Dorset was very small compared with that in the opposite direction. The only items of note were woollen cloth, yarn, stockings, and tobacco, all from Lyme Regis, and cable yarn, Dorset and other kersies, and pitch, all from Poole. The other commodities in the trade were of little significance.

Sussex. A large number of local and foreign provisions were shipped from Southampton to Chichester, but mostly in small amounts. There was a significant carriage of tobacco pipe clay to Lewes.

Shipments from Sussex brought only agricultural products. The cargoes comprised wheat, malt, wool, hops, oats, barley, and a small amount of peas.

Kent. The only commodity shipped from Southampton was tobacco pipe clay to Sandwich. Nothing was received from Kent.

East Anglia. Quantities of tobacco pipe clay were sent to Ipswich and Great Yarmouth. The latter received the larger supply. Small amounts of coal and tar were received from Great Yarmouth.

North-East Coast. A quantity of tobacco pipe clay was sent to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Southampton received a large amount of coal, as well as small quantities of stones, glass, stockings, and tallow. Sunderland sent small supplies of coal and stones.

Merchants. As the Port Books very rarely note the towns of residence of merchants, it is not possible to make an analysis of merchant participation in the coastal trade. Southampton merchants who were prominent in the overseas commerce of the town do not seem to have been active in the coastal sphere. Since many merchants ——————

listed in the coastal Port Books cannot be identified as Southampton residents, it may have been that the merchants engaging in coastal trade were not usually Southampton men, but were connected with the distant port with which trade was being conducted, as had been the case during the second half of the sixteenth century.[1]

A large number of merchants were engaged in Southampton's coastal trade. There appears to have been little if any specialisation of function.

On the basis of his research on the coastal Port Book of 1628, T.S. Willan stated that at Southampton it was exceptional for a ship-master to be also a merchant.[2] Although that statement is true for 1628, there are sufficient numbers of shipmasters acting as merchants to be found in the other coastal Port Books, as to confine the validity of Professor Willan's hypothesis solely to the year 1628.

Summary. It has been seen that the coastal trade from Southampton was more important than that coming to the town. The chief product concerned in the outward trade was timber, derived from the forests around Southampton. As the period progressed, charcoal and tobacco pipe clay became significant. Many other goods were present in the outward trade. A small part of that merchandise had previously been imported at Southampton from abroad.

The inward trade consisted of many types of provisions, some of which were foreign produce. There is little evidence of the inward trade bringing material for export from Southampton.

London was the most important trading partner. The southern coast of England from Cornwall to Sussex provided the main provincial

1 J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., p. 134.

2 T.S. Willan, op. cit., p. 43.

area of bilateral trade. The North-East coast was the only other region of importance - but this was an inward only trade mostly in coal. With the coastline between Kent and Yorkshire very little trade was done. There were occasional dealings with Barnstaple, Bristol, and the coal ports of South Wales. With the whole of the rest of the west coast of Wales and England, however, no trade was recorded in the years when Port Books survive.

The main work of the coastal trade was as a mechanism of distribution of the products of Southampton's hinterland to other English ports. A lesser rôle was to bring the provisions required in Southampton from other coastal areas of England. These primary purposes contrast strongly with conditions prevailing during the second half of the sixteenth century. Then the chief function of the coastal trade had been the collection and re-distribution of goods concerned in the town's overseas trades, and its secondary function was the distribution of goods produced locally between the immediate hinterland of the port and other regions of southern England.[1] The analysis in this chapter has shown that in the first half of the seventeenth century the coastal trade was used very little as a method of collecting goods for export, whilst its rôle as a means of re-distributing imports was on a very small scale. These functions were eclipsed by the re-distribution of some of the products of the hinterland to other coastal areas and the collection of the supplies needed for consumption by the inhabitants and industries of that hinterland.

A full summary of the trade recorded in surviving coastal Port Books appears in Appendix B.

1 J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., p. 120.

CHAPTER 8

Privateering

During the first half of the seventeenth century there were two periods when the headport of Southampton functioned as a centre of privateering. The first four years of the century saw the continuation, to a much reduced extent, of the privateering against Spain which had flourished especially in the early 1590's. Since Mrs. Thomas has made a comprehensive analysis of the privateering of that whole era[1] nothing further needs to be added here.

This chapter concerns the privateering of the years from 1625 to 1630. In times of war, the High Court of Admiralty in London exercised jurisdiction in prize matters. For the purpose of conferring such jurisdiction, the Crown adopted the uniform practice of issuing, at the beginning of every war, a commission to the Lords of the Admiralty.[2]

The war between England and Spain began in 1625. On 7th April 1625 a commission was issued for granting letters of marque against the subjects of Spain residing in the Low Countries, and against those who lived under the obedience of the States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries.[3] On 2nd September 1625 the King instructed the Attorney-General to prepare a Bill containing a commission to the High Admiral of England for granting letters of marque or reprisal against the subjects of Spain.[4]

1 J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., pp. 136-165.

2 C.J. Colombos, The International Law of the Sea (5th rev. edtn., 1962), p. 762.

3 C.S.P.D., 1628-9, p. 282.

4 Ibid.

In 1627 England became involved in war against France also. On 30th April 1627 the King authorised the Lord Admiral to grant letters of reprisal to persons whose ships or goods had been seized in France.[1]

The French war was the first to be brought to an end. Peace between England and France was restored by the Treaty of Susa dated 14th April 1629.[2]

Peace with Spain was over eighteen months away. Anglo-Spanish amity was not restored until the Treaty of Madrid dated 5th November 1630.[3] Letters of marque against Spain were withdrawn on 3rd December 1630.[4]

Since both France and Spain, especially the former, were important trading partners of Southampton, the seaborne commerce of the town was seriously depressed by the closure of the ports of those countries to English shipping during the wars. However, there was some compensation by way of privateering: local ships were set out with letters of marque, and many captured prizes were brought to the headport.

To prevent evasion of customs duties, prizes had to be unloaded only at places where there were resident customs officers. During the wars there were three local ports where prize goods were discharged: Southampton, Portsmouth, and Cowes, Isle of Wight. References to prizes being unloaded at Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, seem to relate only to the devious practices of the privateers Captain Barnaby Burley and his mentor Sir John Hippesley. They were alleged to have used the castle at Yarmouth ———————————————————

1 C.S.P.D., 1627-8, p. 154, no. 66.

2 S.R. Gardiner, History of England, 1603-42, vol. 7, 1629-35 (1886), p. 100. Letters of marque ceased on the day peace was signed [C.S.P.D., 1629-31, p. 153].

3 S.R. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 175.

4 A.P.C., 1630-1, p. 205, no. 378.

to shield them from the eyes of the authorities. Burley and Hippesley were lax in following the standard procedure for prize condemnations, and irregular in payment of duties and tenths. Burley was said to have been the worst offender in that respect amongst the privateers frequenting the headport.[1]

In addition to customs duties, one tenth of every prize was claimed by the Lord Admiral of England. When the period of warfare began, the Duke of Buckingham was the Lord Admiral. He was assassinated in Portsmouth on 23rd August 1628,[2] and subsequently tenths were paid to the King.

To secure efficient gathering of his tenths, Buckingham appointed local collectors. For Hampshire he appointed John Ellzey, an alderman and prominent merchant of Southampton, on 10th October 1625.[3] Ellzey employed his own deputies to assist him in various parts of the headport.[4]

Ellzey's jurisdiction[5] over the whole headport of Southampton was temporarily diminished by the appointment of Matthew Brooke to the collectorship of tenths at Portsmouth on 28th August 1628.[6] Brooke was already clerk of the cheque and receiver of the customs and other dues at Portsmouth. Brooke died on 3rd December 1628, and Ellzey regained his former complete authority by securing his own appointment as Brooke's successor by warrant dated 9th December 1628.

1 P.R.O., S.P.16/101/60, and 105/35.

2 C.S.P.D., 1628-9, p. 268, no. 7.

3 C.S.P.D., 1628-9, p. 282.

4 P.R.O., S.P.16/92/42.

5 The details in this paragraph are with the exception of the date of Brooke's death, taken from P.R.O., S.P.16/132/48.

6 C.S.P.D., 1628-9, p. 404. no. 17.

The procedure to be pursued in the cause of the condemnation of a prize was as follows. A privateering captain had to bring his plunder as soon as possible after capture to a convenient English port. On arrival, he sought a commission from the High Court of Admiralty. The commission appointed local independent men to value the prize. The appraisors drew up an inventory. Their valuations were used to calculate the customs dues and the tenths accruing to the Lord Admiral. If there were no objections that the goods were anything other than lawful prize (eg. that they were really the property of Englishmen, neutrals, or allies), the spoils would be condemned by the Admiralty Court as the property of the privateer who made the capture. After settling customs dues and tenths, the prize was then his to dispose of as he pleased.

When the appraisors and customs officials had finished with the inventories, the latter were often, though by no means always, passed to the local collector of tenths.[1] He made a copy of each inventory so that he knew what tenths to demand. If he did not see the inventory, he had to make his own enquiries as to the nature and value of the prize.

When the local proceedings were complete, the commission and the official inventory were returned to the Admiralty Court. The inventories are now kept in the Public Record Office.[2]

The local collector of tenths sent the inventories which he had made to the Admiralty. The inventories which have survived are now located in the State Papers Domestic.

There are thus two series of inventories to be found at the Public Record Office: one is in the High Court of Admiralty records,

1 P.R.O., S.P.16/92/42.

2 P.R.O., H.C.A. 4.

and the other in the State Papers Domestic. Both series should contain details of all the prize cargoes which were brought into a particular port. It ought to be possible to formulate both a comprehensive list of prizes, and total valuations of such cargoes brought in not only yearly, but also for the whole war period. Unfortunately, for the headport of Southampton at least, this could not be done. Each series of inventories is so incomplete that it is not possible to use either series to supplement the other.

Some letters of John Ellzey, the local collector of tenths, to Edward Nicholas, Secretary to the Admiralty, refer to prizes for which inventories are found in neither series. Ellzey's letters often mention inventories as being enclosed, but even some of these have failed to survive. There is obviously no way of knowing the values of cargoes for which no inventories can be discovered.

Two tantalising references to a comprehensive account of tenths occur in the Calendar of State Papers. On 14th July 1628 Buckingham directed Ellzey to prepare a statement of all monies received and paid by him for tenths since the wars had begun.[1] On 29th July Ellzey reported that he was preparing such a reckoning.[2] Ellzey probably took the document, as he had suggested doing, to Buckingham on the latter's ill-fated visit to Portsmouth in August. If so, the paper was likely lost in the confusion following the Duke's death, since there is no further reference to it.

In order to provide some indication of the nature and extent of incoming prizes, however, such inventories and other references as do survive have been tabulated in Appendix F. The list shows that Southampton was a fairly important prize centre, at least in

1 C.S.P.D., 1628-9, p. 212.

2 Ibid., p. 227, no. 31.

the later years of hostilities.

There is little documentation about the market for prize goods. It seems probable that most prizes were sold locally. No doubt some commodities were taken to inland markets by overland trade. The extent of such traffic is unknown.

As has already been seen from Chapter 7, there was little movement of prize goods by coastal trade. In particular, there was little or no traffic in prizes to London recorded in the coastal Port Books, as there had been in the 1590's.[1]

Some letters written by Ellzey, the local collector of tenths, refer to particular transactions in the markets for prize goods, and the merchants concerned in those ventures. Both local men and Londoners were involved.

In February 1628 Nicholas Pescod, a Southampton merchant-grocer, purchased 143 chests of sugars from Captain Tibbault, a privateer from Middleburgh in the Low Countries. Pescod sold the sugars to London merchants who carried them to the metropolis by land.[2]

In another case the London merchants dealt directly with the privateers. In July or August 1627 forty-six chests of sugars were discharged out of a Portuguese Brazilman at Cowes, Isle of Wight, by Captain Youngjohn, a Dutchman, who commanded a Flemish man-of-war. A London warehouseman called Woodcock, nephew of Sir John Cooke, Secretary of State, bought twenty-five chests. Master Henry Knowles of the Spicery-at-Court bought five chests, supposedly for the King's use. Some local merchants were also buyers. Robert Newland of Newport, Isle of Wight, purchased three chests, whilst John Major and Humphry Ryman, both merchants of Southampton, bought six chests ———

1 J.L. Thomas (née Wiggs), op. cit., p. 133.

2 P.R.O., S.P.16/98/55.

each. Thomas Wulfris, one of the customers of Southampton, bought one chest.[1]

The tenths collected by John Ellzey were usually paid in kind. Ellzey generally sold the goods locally. He only sent goods to London if there was some exceptional reason for doing so. Coarse sugars were often consigned to the capital since there was no local refinery.[2] Ellzey's activities in the local markets sometimes met with setbacks.

In one instance the price he obtained was far below the London level. Thus, a quantity of Malaga wines which he had sold late in 1628 or early in 1629 for £10 per pipe, would have fetched £40 - £50 per tun in London.[3]

Saturated markets were sometimes a problem. In September 1627 Ellzey found himself unable to sell a quantity of fish which he had taken for tenths, since the arrival of the Newfoundland fleet at Southampton had made bank fish unsaleable, except at very low prices.[4] The fish was on Ellzey's hands so long that it went bad. In that condition it was suggested that some of it might be taken to victual the King's ships at Portsmouth![5] The final end of the fish is unclear.

Falling prices troubled Ellzey in about May 1626. He was unable to maintain the price of £6 per hundred which he was once offered for wool, since the clothing trade was so dead. Consequently, six bags of wool and other goods remained unsold.[6]

1 P.R.O., S.P.16/78/7.

2 C.S.P.D., 1628-9, p. 102, no. 38, and p. 104.

3 Ibid., p. 464.

4 C.S.P.D., 1627-8, p. 350, no. 60.

5 Ibid., p. 529, no. 49.

6 P.R.O., S.P.16/19/25.

Details of the ships set forth as privateers from places within the headport of Southampton are shown in Appendix E. Fourteen vessels, eight of which each had a pinnace, were from the town of Southampton. One further Southampton vessel, the "Flight" of 80 tons was said to be a pinnace to the "Golden Catt" a privateering ship of London set out by the Earl of Warwick.[1]

Nine vessels, only one of which had a pinnace, were from Portsmouth. The Isle of Wight set forth four vessels, each of which had a pinnace; three of the ships were from Newport, and one from Cowes.

As might be expected, privateering vessels were generally, though by no means always, a good deal larger than local merchant ships. Whereas the average tonnages of Southampton (and English) merchant shipping recorded in Appendix D as entering overseas trade before the Civil War varied from 27 to 59, that for the fourteen Southampton privateers of Appendix E was just over 122. Individual privateering burthens varied from 40 to 240. The average tonnage of the Portsmouth vessels of Appendix E was lower at almost 86, single tonnages ranging from 30 to 250. With burthens between 50 and 150, the average of the four Isle of Wight vessels was exactly 100 tons.

The financing of privateering ships was undertaken by a wide variety of capitalists. Some were masters of their own ships and not infrequently formed partnerships with other men. Some were people from outside the headport. Sir John Watts, Gabriel Marshe of Westminster, the Earl of Warwick, and Captain William Scras of Shoreham, were in this category. Scras brought many prizes into the headport in his ship the "Dolphin" of Shoreham which he commanded, as can be seen from Appendix F.

1 See bond dated 22nd May 1627 in P.R.O., H.C.A. 25/5.

The list of owners of Southampton ships in Appendix E contains the names of surprisingly few merchants of the town. Only three are mentioned: Peter Clungeon, Thomas Combe, and Francis Knowles. Perhaps others were included in the partnerships which they headed.

The collector of tenths, John Ellzey, made two investments in privateers. He joined with Captain William Towerson of Portsmouth, Henry Wentworth, merchant, and perhaps others, in setting out the "Diana" of Portsmouth, and her pinnace the "Mary" in November 1627. In March 1628, however, both these vessels were captured by the Dunkirkers when carrying Sir Philip Carteret, Governor of Jersey, back to that isle.[1]

Ellzey was also interested, with some London merchants, in the "Hopewell" of London. In 1629 this ship captured a Spanish Brazilman with a lading of 350 chests of sugar. The prize first put in at Plymouth, but was probably later brought round to London.[2]

Southampton merchant Thomas Combe, whose name appears in Appendix E as an owner or part-owner of three privateering vessels of the town: "Plantation", "Christopher", and "Dragon", also invested in a London privateering venture with Morris Tompson, who probably lived in the City. They set out the "Plough" of London of 200 tons, and her pinnace, the "Robert" of 40 tons.[3]

Besides investment in privateers and in the prize good markets, local merchants and manufacturers contributed to privateering by providing the equipment needed by the ships, and by victualling the vessels. No record of these activities survives beyond a note that in December 1627 one Holt was said to be able to brew weekly at Newport, Southampton, and Portsmouth, 80 tuns of beer and———————————

1 C.S.P.D., 1628-9, p. 41, no. 55.

2 Ibid., p. 575, no. 67.

3 Ibid., p. 305.

bake thirty thousand of biscuit.[1] It is obvious that the victualling trades would have received a considerable stimulus in the wars, for not only were there privateers in the headport, but there was also the naval presence.

This chapter, with its associated appendices, has attempted to indicate the activities in privateering and prize-marketing in the headport of Southampton from 1625 to 1630. Although details of prizes are too incomplete for a comprehensive valuation to be attempted, it is reasonably clear from the figures of New Impositions given in Chapter 3, that the extent of prize business was insufficient, in some years very much insufficient, to compensate the port for the loss of its main overseas markets in France and Spain. Far from causing a period of temporary prosperity, as was the case in the 1590's, the wars were responsible for depression, since the gains from privateering could not match the loss resulting from curtailment of normal overseas trade.

1 C.S.P.D., 1627-8, p. 467, no. 72.

CHAPTER 9

Shipping

A full analysis of shipping engaged in the overseas and coastal trades of the port of Southampton appears in Appendix D. The details given therein are wholly derived from the surviving Port Books. The information appearing in Appendix D is complete in the sense that it deals with only two branches of trade: overseas and coastal. Of these, only one can be chronicled for any particular year due to the fact that in no year do coastal and overseas books survive together. The shipping figures in the wine Port Books have not been used since (save for one year) those volumes do not survive in the years covered by books recording general overseas trade. In view of the small number of vessels concerned, and the probability that most of them carried also other items of general merchandise, it has not been thought worthwhile to construct a series of tables analysing the shipping statistics of the wine Port Books.

Since the Port Books include full details of names, masters, and tonnages only of ships which sailed up Southampton Water to anchor before the town, it has been necessary to exclude from consideration the ships which discharged or received cargoes in the Cowes Roads or other anchorages near the Isle of Wight. Such ships conducted their business with Southampton by means of local lighter craft. For the first two decades of the seventeenth century the volume of lighter trade appears to have been small, and entirely confined to imports. The four latest Port Books: 1637, 1638, 1644, and 1649, contain, however, a larger proportion of lighter trade, including some part in exports as well as in imports. The export trade passing

on lighters was particularly high in 1649.

The statistical tables of Appendix D are based on total voyages in a year, and not on the numbers of individual ships. As has been explained in Chapter 2, the chronological method of recording entries according to dates of payment of duties was adopted in writing up the Southampton Port Books. This means that all the entries of a particular voyage are often scattered over several pages. It is, therefore, often difficult to determine the precise number of voyages made by those ships frequenting the port, especially where, due to late payment of duties, several entries are found to be very far separated from the main clusters of entries that may be thought to constitute cargoes on the same voyage. Sometimes the difficulty can be overcome by consulting the other section of the Port Book, to see whether the same ship sailed in or out between the dates in question; if this source proves barren, the assessment of the total numbers of voyages is merely a matter of judgement.

A study of the tables shows clearly certain definite conclusions about shipping in the port of Southampton. The following analysis summarises the story.

Overseas Trade.

The numbers of ships increased from the depression at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and by the first half of the second decade, a peak was attained. Then there was a gradual decline until 1619. The next overseas Port Book in 1637 shows import sailings to be at their highest level for the whole half century. Export sailings, however, were depressed, having fallen below even the low levels prevailing at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

The Port Books of 1644 and 1649 show that the Civil War and its aftermath had a disastrous effect on the levels of shipping in the port of Southampton. As far as records show, the sailings of both importing and exporting vessels reached the lowest point in the half century in 1644. There had been but little recovery by 1649. In both years the figures of total voyages were very much lower than those recorded in the years 1600-2, when the depression of trade caused commercial shipping to be at a low ebb. However, the small number of sailings in 1644 and 1649 may be partly explained by a significant part of Southampton's seaborne trade passing by means of lighters to and from the ocean-going vessels lying off the Isle of Wight.

For the first two decades of the seventeenth century foreign ships played a considerable part in the overseas trade of Southampton. Many of those vessels were very small craft belonging to ports in Normandy and Brittany.

In 1636 the number of foreign ships recorded was very much lower than during the second decade of the century. There was no subsequent recovery up to 1650. The contraction in the extent of foreign shipping was largely due to the disappearance of many of the smaller French barques from the cross-Channel trades, and to a decrease in the number of Dutch ships bringing imports from the Low Countries.

The average size of vessel appears to have increased greatly throughout the period. This was true not only in respect of the shipping considered as a whole, but also in respect of almost all the separate regional origins of the different ships. The only important exception was the Channel Islands' boats which remained very small vessels of between eight and twenty tons average burthen throughout

the half century. The sharp decline in the volume of shipping passing between Southampton and the Channel Islands in the 1640's may be ascribed to political and military factors which interrupted normal commercial relations, and does not represent a secular change in the pattern of trade and shipping.

Coastal Trade.

Southampton's coastal trade was conducted throughout the period of this study in small ships. During the years when records survive the average tonnages of ships employed in the coastal trade varied between 26 and 61. Unlike the overseas trade, the coastal trade saw no considerable increase in the size of the ships during the period. The largest yearly average burthen of vessels employed in the coastal trade was, as far as records show, achieved during the years from 1627 until 1630, when England was at war, and during the immediate post-war years.

As might be expected, the coastal trade was conducted very largely, though not exclusively, in English ships. Ships belonging to the town of Southampton played a rôle which varied very greatly as to numbers and tonnages in different years. In 1629 and 1633 no Southampton ships were engaged in coastal trade. In 1628 ships of the town entered only the inward branch, and in 1631 only the outward branch. Ships of other places within the headport of Southampton played a significant part in coastal trade. Vessels of the Isle of Wight were quite prominent.

The conclusions reached from this analysis of the Port Books differ most markedly from the views of R.C. Anderson about the state of shipping in the port of Southampton during this period. Mr. Anderson has stated that from the beginning of the seventeenth century there was a rapid decline in the numbers of ships belonging to Southampton, from

forty-three in 1600 to thirty in 1605 and to fifteen or so in 1620.[1] Mr. Anderson went on to say that the reign of Charles I brought another artificial revival caused by hostilities against France and Spain, raising the number to about thirty in the early 1630's, after which, he wrote, that decline set in, so that a list for 1645 would probably contain fewer than twenty names.[2]

Mr. Anderson based his assertions on two alphabetical lists of Southampton ships which he compiled, one for the period 1570-1603,[3] and one for the period 1603-49.[4] However, when Mr. Anderson's lists covering the first half of the seventeenth century are re-arranged in chronological order so that yearly totals of ships may be obtained, it is found that the pattern revealed does not support his hypothesis. On the contrary, conclusions similar to those drawn by this study are suggested. It is not possible to draw a graph of shipping from the chronological table because the source material which Mr. Anderson used was not uniformly available over the period. Thus, the years when the chronological table shows a large number of Southampton ships are precisely those years when better documentation, such as overseas Port Books and evidence about privateering, exists. Conversely, the years when Southampton ships are few in the table may be explained by the absence of such documents rather than by depression in trade. For these reasons it would only be confusing to reproduce the chronological table, and so this has not been done.

1 Examinations and Depositions, IV, p. xxii.

2 Ibid.

3 The Book of Examinations, 1601-2, pp. 63-74.

4 Examinations and Depositions, IV, pp. 65 - 80.

Poundage of 4d. in £ was payable to the Corporation of Southampton on all vessels sold in the port. The mayors' casualty accounts[1] record the payments of poundage, and give some indication of the character of ownership. The surviving details are given below.

The account for the year 1616-17 records three transactions concerning ships. One noted a sale by William Knight of a ship (details unspecified) to Francis Knowles for £25.[2] Knowles was a resident merchant burgess of Southampton. He was sheriff in 1623-4, and mayor in 1626-7.[3]

The second case mentioned the purchase of a flyboat for £54 by Roger Morss, a Southampton clothier, from a Fleming.[4]

The third instance concerned the purchase of a barque for £30 by Thomas Barry.[5] He was probably not a Southampton resident, for he was not prominent in the town records, and by the extent of his purchase must have been a man of some substance.

The account for 1636-7 records that Peter Clungeon bought a part share for £30 in a ship called the "George".[6] Clungeon was one of the most prominent merchant aldermen of the town. He was sheriff in 1630-1, and mayor in 1633-4, and again in 1646-7.[7] The "George" may have been the same ship as the "St. George". This was a Southampton vessel of 80 tons burthen which docked at Southampton in February 1638 under the command of Abel Thomas, the master, with a cargo of sugars from the Canary Islands.

1 Southampton City Record Office, SC5/3/11-20.

2 Southampton City Record Office, SC5/3/13.

3 J.S. Davies, op. cit., p. 178.

4 Southampton City Record Office, SC5/3/13.

5 Ibid.

6 Southampton City Record Office, SC5/3/17.

7 J.S. Davies, op. cit., p. 178.

The account for 1638-9 records that a share valued at £115 in a ship was sold by one Beare to one Carter of London.[1] Carter also bought a share valued at £180 in the "Richard" (which may have been the same ship) from Richard Walker.[2] None of these men were otherwise mentioned in the records of Southampton's trade.

There is some other evidence besides the poundage accounts which indicates that Southampton merchants were very often owners or part-owners of ships. The bulk of the documentation refers to the Newfoundland fishing trade concerning especially the third and fourth decades of the century. Such details are given in Chapter 5. References to the ownership of merchant vessels in other branches of trade occur mainly in the books of Examinations and Depositions, and this evidence is given below. As explained in Chapter 2, the reason for the examples drawn from the Books of Examinations and Depositions being either in the period 1601-2 or during the years following 1622 is because of a gap in the record from 1602 until 1622.

In 1627 the barque "Margaret" of Southampton was owned by Burrish Daniel, a Southampton merchant, and Adrian Fry, a Bristol merchant. They despatched the ship on 10th March of that year to Nantes to take on a cargo. Peter Pacrowe was the master of the vessel. In the negotiations in France, Pacrowe was to act as the factor for the owners of the vessel.[3] Daniel was an important merchant burgess who became sheriff of the town in 1633-4.[4]

Southampton merchant John James was the owner of two-thirds of the "Stephen", a vessel of 30 tons burthen, which sailed about 25th October 1631

1 Southampton City Record Office, SC5/3/18.

2 Ibid.

3 Examinations and Depositions, I, p. 90.

4 J.S. Davies, op. cit., p. 178.

from Ireland towards Malaga, but on 16th November next was captured by a Spanish man-of-war and taken to Fuenterrabia. The estimated loss was at least £250. The barque had been victualled for seven months at Portsmouth by James. He reckoned himself "almost entirely undone" by the loss, in as much as he was the greatest adventurer on the voyage and he could get no redress from the Spanish authorities at Fuenterrabia or Seville.[1]

Two of the grocers of Southampton, William Stanley and John Dowce, apparently owned the "Amy" of 35 tons burthen in 1643. They were then described as merchants. The ship had been detained by the Governor of H.M. Castle at Pendennis. In June 1643 John Page, the employee of Stanley and Dowce, obtained letters to free the ship with her lading of wine and vinegar. However, on his arrival at Pendennis, Page found that the goods had been sold out of the vessel. Stanley and Dowce reckoned their loss at £450 on the cargo and £150 in respect of the ship.[2] Stanley was mayor of Southampton in 1645-6,[3] and in 1661-2.[4]

Nicholas Pescod, mentioned in Chapters 5 and 8 in connection with Newfoundland and privateering, was engaged also in other aspects of seaborne trade. The Port Book for 1644 records a ship called the "Pescod" of Southampton of 12 tons, of which William Tompkins was master, engaged in the trade with the Channel Islands. Presumably this vessel was owned by Nicholas Pescod since it bore his name, as was perhaps also the "Nicholas" of Southampton. The latter vessel of

1 Examinations and Depositions, II, pp. 120-1. C.S.P.D., 1631-3, p. 265, no. 10.

2 Examinations and Depositions, IV, p. 58.

3 J.S. Davies, op. cit., p. 178.

4 Ibid., p. 179.

60 tons burthen was in the same Port Book recorded as entering the port of Southampton from Barbados with John Weare as master, and sailing out for Bordeaux with Isaac Norfolke as master.

The "Intelligence" of Southampton, a vessel of 20 tons burthen, was in the ownership of John Pierce of Southampton, a clothworker, aged 40, William Wislade, Anthony Everist, George Webb, and John Carpenter. The ship was in November 1649 sailing from Cowes, Isle of Wight, towards Newhaven in Sussex laden with salt, sugar, soap, and cloth, when it was captured and taken to Boulogne where the goods were sold.[1]

Peter Clungeon and Peter Seale, junior, two prominent Southampton merchants, must have had some interest in the "Pearle" of Southampton, for they insured the ship and goods for £150 in December 1640, whilst the vessel was on a voyage to Spain.[2]

In April 1642 Peter Seale, junior, was recorded as owning one-twelfth of the "Southampton Merchant". At that time the ship was bound for the East Indies.

Some ships passed through many hands. The "Plantation", a Southampton vessel of 150 tons burthen, was said to be owned by Peter Clungeon and others in 1626,[4] by Peter Andrews, the master, in 1627,[5] by Thomas Combe and others in 1628,[6] and by Nicholas Pescod in 1635.[7] Clungeon, Combe, and Pescod, were among the leading merchants of Southampton.

1 Southampton City Record Office, Book of Examinations, 1648-1663, SC9/3/12, ff. 29-30.

2 Examinations and Depositions, IV, p. 19.

3 Ibid., p. 50.

4 C.S.P.D., 1628-9, p. 289.

5 Ibid., p. 298.

6 Ibid., p. 308.

7 C.S.P.D., 1634-5, p. 527, no. 95, where the ship's tonnage is wrongly shown as 500.

The "Plantation" is mentioned in Chapter 5 in connection with the Newfoundland fishery, and in Chapter 8 in regard to privateering.

These scattered references do not lead to a comprehensive assessment of the extent to which the merchants of Southampton were owners of ships. However, the evidence shows that some merchants found money to invest in ships, sometimes by way of partnership.

In 1619, as recounted in Chapter 3, the mayor of Southampton informed the government that only eight small ships and barques were then owned in the port.[1] However, the overseas Port Book of 1619 records fourteen vessels as "of Southampton".[2] If the mayor's statement was correct, it means that six ships described as belonging to the town were wholly owned by people living elsewhere. This was such an unlikely possibility as to throw considerable doubt on the mayor's figure. As explained in Chapter 3, the mayor's assertion was part of an excuse for a particularly poor response by the merchants and shipowners of Southampton to a government financial demand. In view of that, the more convincing explanation would appear to be that the mayor erred in his facts in the interests of special pleading, rather than that non-residents owned three-sevenths of the town's ships.

The Southampton records contain remarkably few charter parties of the period. This is principally because the Book of Instruments,[3] in which such documents had been habitually enrolled in Elizabethan times,

1 P.R.O., S.P.14/105/25.

2 Of the fourteen, eight were engaged in the Newfoundland fishing industry, and six were employed in the cross-Channel trades. Of the six, one ship, the "Fisher", was engaged in the Newfoundland trade in 1623. [Examinations and Depositions, I, p. 16].

3 Southampton City Record Office, SC2/6/6.

ceased to record them during the first decade of the seventeenth century. The latest enrolled charter party in the Book of Instruments is dated 2nd January 1607, and as it concerns the Newfoundland trade is given in Chapter 5.

During the very early years of the seventeenth century three charter parties, besides that quoted above, were enrolled in the Book of Instruments. Although they do not relate to Southampton ships, they are instructive as examples of some types of the mercantile commerce engaged in by Southampton men.

By a charter party dated 8th June 1602, John Royer of Mesches, Saintonge, France, a mariner, master of the barque "Royal" of La Rochelle, let the ship to freight to William Marrinell, a Southampton merchant, and John Bryart, a Guernsey merchant. The voyage was to be made from Southampton to Bordeaux, thence to Poole in Dorset, thence to the Isle of Base [?] in Brittany, thence to Cadiz or San Lucar in Andalusia, after which the vessel was to return to Southampton. The freight rate was £3. 12s. 0d. per ton. The barque's owners were Bartrum Gardes and John Marcadett (presumably Frenchmen), who had given Royer permission to make the arrangement with the English and Channel Island merchants.[1]

The terms of a charter party dated 1st February 1603 specified that Thomas Barker, a mariner of Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, who owned the barque "Blessing of God" of that town, was to let the vessel to freight to Sir John Jeffrey, a merchant of Southampton. The ship was to sail from Southampton to La Rochelle, thence Bordeaux, and then return to Southampton. In addition to the freight rate (illegible), Jeffrey had to pay 10s. 0d. for powder and shot.[2]

1 Southampton City Record Office, SC2/6/6, f.93v.

2 Ibid., f. 111v.

By a charter party dated 3rd February 1602 William Denye, a mariner of St. Nazaire, France, let the freight of the 35 ton barque called the "Rose" of St. Nazaire to John Jeffrey, Robert Chambers, Thomas Bedford, and Richard Dalbye, all Southampton merchants. Denye was the master and part-owner of the vessel. The agreement was for one voyage from Southampton to Bordeaux and back. At Bordeaux the ship was to take on such merchandise as was convenient.[1]

Apart from the foregoing instruments, many of the references in the Books of Examinations and Depositions include allusions to charter parties. Those concerned with the Newfoundland trade are given in Chapter 5. Examples of those dealing with other trades are set out below.

In August 1630 John le Roy, owner and master of an unnamed barque of 17 tons, agreed that Peter Phiott should have the freight of one moiety of the ship in a voyage from Southampton to Jersey. The charge of ten French crowns was to be paid at Jersey on delivery of Phiott's goods there.[2]

Three prominent Southampton merchants, Edward Tatenell, Peter Priaulx, and Thomas Cornelius, about December 1637 freighted the "John" of Portsmouth, of which George Yard was master, for voyages in accordance with a charter party dated 15th December 1637. The instrument was made out between the three Southampton merchants of the one part, and John Soubitte of Abbeville, France, of the other part. After the barque was laden with salt at La Rochelle, it was taken to Baltimore, Ireland.[3]

1 Southampton City Record Office, SC2/6/6, f.112v.

2 Examinations and Depositions, II, p. 70.

3 Examinations and Depositions, III, p. 66.

In April 1638 the same three Southampton merchants freighted the "Abigail" of Weymouth, of which Henry Peache was master, for voyages as specified in a charter party dated 3rd April 1638. The instrument was made out between the three Southampton merchants of the one part, and Henry Michelle of Weymouth of the other part. At La Rochelle the ship was laden with salt and vinegar, after which it sailed to Baltimore in Ireland where the goods were sold.[1]

The two preceding depositions illustrate not only the pattern of commerce organised by charter parties, but also the avenues of trade in which some Southampton merchants engaged which are entirely outside the scope of the Port Books.

By the terms of a charter party, dated probably early in the 1640's,[2] the owners of the "Mary" of London (who were probably all London merchants though their domiciles were not recorded) let the freight of their ship to William Stanley and Lawrence Wheeler. Stanley was a Southampton merchant.[3] The vessel was to sail from London to Bourgneuf in France, there to discharge its cargo, and to take on board salt and other goods. The "Mary" was then to sail to Southampton to unload this merchandise. Stanley and Wheeler were to pay the master four quarters of salt on every ton for the ship's lading at Southampton. They were to victual the ship to provide for the master, fourteen men, and one boy, and also to supply armaments, including ordnance and gunpowder.

1 Examinations and Depositions, III, pp. 67-9.

2 The charter party, which is incomplete, forms the cover of document SC5/3/19 in the Southampton City Record Office.

3 William Stanley was mayor in 1645-6 [J.S. Davies, op. cit., p. 178] and in 1661-2 [Ibid., p. 179].

From the evidence found in the Books of Examinations and Depositions, it is obvious that the practice of insuring ships and cargoes was at least fairly common among the more prominent merchants of the town. Most of the depositions concerning insurance relate to the two decades preceding the Civil War. Merchants insured with the Office of Assurance in the Royal Exchange, London. Those depositions concerning the insurance of ships and cargoes in the Newfoundland fish trade appear in Chapter 5. Depositions relating to other trades are recounted below.

Peter Priaulx and Paul Mercer, one of the foremost merchant partnerships in Southampton, in 1629 adventured £1,080 on a consignment of French canvas, linen cloth from Brittany, Spanish wines, almonds, raisins, figs, and money, which was loaded on to the "Unicorne" of Middleburgh at St. Malo to be brought to Southampton. On the way, however, the vessel was captured by the Dunkirkers.[1]

On the same ship, Daniel Hersent, another prominent Southampton merchant, adventured £680 in Spanish and Alicante wines, Breton canvas, raisins, and figs. Priaulx, Mercer, and Hersent, insured the cargo for £900 at the Office of Assurances. Of this sum, Priaulx and Mercer were interested in £600, and Hersent in £300.[2]

There is one instance of a merchant insuring a hypothetical cargo, presumably to provide cover should any goods for him be consigned to England from abroad by his agents before he heard of the details. William Stanley, who has been mentioned above, effected an insurance policy for £150 on fruit and any other goods transported from ports in the Malaga district of Spain to England in any ship.

1 Examinations and Depositions, II, p. 53.

2 Ibid.

However, from the date of the insurance, 7th November 1638, until 2nd April 1639, no goods had been so consigned for him, and therefore the insurers had borne no liability during that period.[1]

Sometimes insurance was arranged whilst the goods were already in transit. The above mentioned Peter Clungeon and Peter Seale, junior, insured the "Pearle" of Southampton and its lading for £150. This particular insurance was not made directly with the Office of Assurance as was the usual pattern, but with Abraham and Jacob Fortrees of London, merchants. The insurance was not effected until the voyage to Spain had already begun in December 1640. However, by the time the insurance contract had been made, the ship had been already captured by the Turks! Clungeon and Seale deposed that they knew nothing of the misfortune when they contracted the insurance.[2]

Peter Seale, junior, was involved in a similar situation when in April 1642 he ordered John Gore, a London merchant, to insure his ship "Southampton Merchant" for £250. Unfortunately, the vessel had already sunk![3]

There is little information about the crews of the ships. Masters' names survive in the Port Books, in depositions, and in other documents. The names of several crews in the Newfoundland fishery are listed in the State Papers Domestic.[4] Apart from these details little can be said about the merchant sailors. It is certain that a large number of them were domiciled in Southampton - in 1636 several hundreds were said to be employed in the Newfoundland trade alone.[5] There were also some

1 Examinations and Depositions, III, p. 89.

2 Examinations and Depositions, IV, p. 19.

3 Ibid., p. 50.

4 C.S.P.D., 1635-6. p. 298, no. 29 I.,
C.S.P.D., 1636-7, p. 402, nos. 36 I and II,
C.S.P.D., 1637, p. 22, no. 77 I,
C.S.P.D., 1637-8, p. 232, no. 32 I.

5 Southampton City Record Office, anonymous memorandum in a collection of various legal papers, 17th Century (unnumbered).

mariners and sailors from other south coast ports working on Southampton ships. The instances of this in the Newfoundland trade appear in Chapter 5. Some cases affecting other branches of seaborne commerce are given below.

A Dorset man, George Dennis of Poole, was master of the "Hopewell" of Southampton in January 1638.[1] In February 1640 William Wislade of Seaton in Devon was the master. Wislade was then only twenty-four years of age.[2] The ship, which carried a total complement of fifteen, was a former Dutch vessel which had been captured by the Dunkirkers in 1637, and subsequently purchased by Peter Legay,[3] one of the principal merchants of Southampton.

Another Poole mariner, Samuel White, was master of the Southampton ship "Barbara and Thomas" in 1640.[4] This was a vessel of 60 tons burthen, of which Thomas Cornelius and Thomas Combe were probably part-owners.[5] Both Cornelius and Combe were significant Southampton merchants.

In 1637 the three principal officers of the 26 ton "Speedwell" of Southampton all came from outside the town. Peter Oldwell of Poole was the master, Thomas Younger of Lymington was the mate, and James Wheeler of Hythe sailed as bo'sun.[6]

In 1636 Southampton mariner Richard Mansbridge, aged twenty-eight years, was master of the "Pearle" of Southampton, a vessel of 30 tons burthen. The master's mate came from Lyme Regis. He was John Stansbye, aged twenty-two years.[7]

In common with other shipping, that belonging to Southampton faced very great dangers from the three principal maritime hazards of prize, piracy, and ———————————————————

1 Examinations and Depositions, III, p. 52.
2 Examinations and Depositions, IV, p. 3.
3 Ibid.
4 Examinations and Depositions, IV, p. 20.
5 Ibid.
6 Examinations and Depositions, III, p. 47.
7 Ibid., p. 38.

tempest. Some indication of how they affected Newfoundland shipping is included in Chapter 5. Instances of ships succumbing to these perils have already been referred to in this chapter in connection with other facets of maritime commerce. Further illustrations are given below.

There are many examples in the Books of Examinations and Depositions of Southampton ships coming to grief through piracy and tempest. In some cases of piracy the cargo was the only object of plunder, and the ship was then allowed to proceed on its voyage. In November 1640 the above-mentioned "Barbara and Thomas" was sailing from Southampton towards Bilbao when it was intercepted by a French warship. The tackling and merchandise of a total value of £44. 15s. 0d. was forcibly removed.[1]

In many other cases the victims were not so fortunate, and the vessels and crews were abducted to the pirates' lair. The "Rose" of Southampton, whilst sailing from La Rochelle to Southampton in 1642, was taken by the North African pirates and carried off to Sallee. There it was rigged up as a pirate man-of-war.[2]

The Europeans captured by the rovers from North Africa were enslaved on arrival at the pirates' domain. Many lived out their lives there. However, slaves could be ransomed. Several Southampton men appear to have been wealthy enough to arrange this. At least two of the crew of the "Blessing" of Southampton, a ship engaged in the Newfoundland trade which had been captured by the rovers in 1635, were back in Southampton in the following year,[3] and the master, Robert Battin, was in command of another ship in 1637.[4]

1 Examinations and Depositions, IV, p. 20.

2 Ibid., p. 50.

3 Examinations and Depositions, III, p. v.

4 Ibid.

The Port Books and Books of Examinations and Depositions contain many references to shipwreck. For example, in December 1634 the "Jane" of Southampton, of which William Lambe was master, was laden in Bordeaux with wines and other goods for the accounts of several Southampton merchants. On the voyage towards Southampton, however, the vessel was wrecked on the French coast.[1]

Since most Southampton ships were fairly small, it might be expected that their crews would have had difficulties in keeping the vessels afloat in storms, even if the ship had been stoutly built and was in seaworthy condition. The "Pearle" of Southampton, of 30 tons burthen, must have been an exceptionally strong craft. In November 1636 the vessel was sailing from Morlaix to Southampton when a gale arose. During the storm the barque was cast over on its side in the sea, a position in which it remained for five hours. It was only by jettisoning £70 worth of equipment and by skilful handling that the crew got the vessel upright again. Had the ship not been sturdy it would have been broken up by the heavy seas.[2]

In conclusion, it may be said that during the first half of the seventeenth century Southampton was an important centre for shipping. During the period ships belonging to the town became larger. As time progressed, the town's vessels branched out from the cross-Channel routes and became more important in the more distant trades, especially that of the Newfoundland fishery.

1 Examinations and Depositions, III, p. 3.

2 Ibid., p. 38.

CHAPTER 10

The Merchants

This chapter will attempt to give a general picture of the Southampton merchant community. The topics discussed will include the specialisation of function of merchants in seaborne trade, the number of merchants who were burgesses, the distinction between the English and "French" communities, the rôle of the Channel Islanders within the "French" element, the machinery of succession, the rôles of apprenticeship and marriage, the extent of turnover, and the degree of oligarchy. The conclusions drawn, being necessarily based on partial evidence, must be regarded with caution. Firm conclusions would require comprehensive evidence, which, as mentioned in Chapter 2, is not available. There are no surviving business records of merchants who engaged in seaborne trade[1] which would form the basis of a definitive analysis. Details about the merchants and their enterprises are found in the corporation records and other sources, but, apart from the list of merchants in 1619 mentioned below, these instances generally provide examples of how certain factors affected particular members of the merchant community at various times. Although these relate to only part of the merchant community at a particular time, it is worth while to include them in order to give a general indication of the structure of the merchant class, and the factors bearing upon it.

1 The only business documents of a merchant of the period in the Southampton City Record Office are the muniments of John Parkinson, SC4/6. Unfortunately, he took no part in seaborne trade.

The problem is complicated by the difficulties involved in identifying Southampton merchants. As noted in Chapter 2, the Port Books rarely include the towns of domicile of merchants. Of course, the names of the principal merchants are easily obtained from the corporation records. When these names have been located in the Port Books, there remains a large number of English merchants recorded therein of unknown domicile. How many of them were resident in Southampton and how many lived outside the town is uncertain.

The only comprehensive list recording merchants and shipowners of Southampton during the first half of the seventeenth century occurs in 1619.[1] In that year the government demanded £300 from the town towards the cost of the fleet proposed to be set out against the North African pirates, as has been discussed in Chapter 3. The list is reproduced and analysed in Appendix L. Since the list is likely to contain the names of all, or almost all Southampton residents who participated in seaborne trade at that time, it is worthwhile analysing the overseas Port Book for 1619 in respect of merchants. The result of that analysis appears in Appendix M.

Appendix M shows that by far the greater number of the Southampton merchants who engaged in overseas trade in 1619 were burgesses. From a reading of the other overseas Port Books, and a comparison of known Southampton men therein with the book of admission of burgesses,[2] it appears that this state of affairs remained true throughout the period.

1 P.R.O., S.P. 14/105/125.

2 Southampton City Record Office, SC 3/1/1.

Southampton merchants entering overseas trade may be conveniently divided into three groups. These were merchant adventurers, cloth merchants, and general merchants.

The merchant adventurers[1] formed the most important mercantile group. They constituted also part of the governing oligarchy of the town. The analysis of 1619 shows that these merchants did little or no trade in cloth or in the trades with the Channel Islands or northern Brittany. Commerce with the more distant areas, especially the transatlantic trades, was the concern of these merchants.

The cloth merchants generally specialised in that material and did not engage in other branches of commerce. They traded between Southampton and the Channel Islands, St. Malo, and Morlaix, but rarely anywhere else.

The general merchants traded mainly in cloth, and also in other goods to a lesser extent. The bulk of the trade of these merchants was conducted with St. Malo and Morlaix. They also traded with other areas to a small extent. As a group their main trade was with France. There was some commerce with other European countries. Occasionally, some entered the Atlantic trades.

Southampton's merchant community was composed not only of Englishmen, but also of members of the "French" church of St. Julien at God's House in Winkle Street. The "French" congregation itself consisted of two main groups.

One group was formed by the Protestant refugees from the French-speaking Netherlands and France. They had been coming to Southampton

1 They were often so-called in contemporary documents.

since 1567.[1] The first generation arrivals in this group were aliens, and were thus debarred from becoming burgesses and participating in the government of the town. Children born to these immigrants in England would automatically be English subjects, and so would suffer none of the civil disabilities of their parents. The number of alien families decreased as time went on and succeeding generations of English born children grew up. In 1635 only six alien families were members of St. Julien's congregation.[2]

The other main group in the "French" community consisted of Channel Islanders. The numbers of the congregation in the seventeenth century were constantly being supplemented by such people.[3] The Channel Islanders were subjects of the English crown by birth. They consequently did not suffer from exclusion from the burgess-ship and town government as did the aliens. The Channel Islanders were thus

1 Assembly Books, I, p. xi. Dr. Horrocks has discussed the composition of the "French" church and its rôle in the life of the town. [Ibid., pp. xi-xv]. See also J.S. Davies, op. cit., pp. 403-422, J.W. de Grave, "Notes on the Register of the Walloon Church of Southampton and on the Churches of the Channel Islands", Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, vol. 3 (1889), pp. 67-69.

2 W.J.C. Moens, op. cit., p. 68. C.S.P.D., 1635, p. 149, no. 66.

3 W.J.C. Moens, op. cit., p. 69.

able to be assimilated far more readily into the governing merchant oligarchy. Many of them became prominent in corporation affairs, serving in the chief offices of the municipality. The lists of mayors and sheriffs during the period reveal several Channel Island names.

Marriage forged links between many merchant families. Several examples may be quoted.

Nicholas Pescod, whose activities in the Newfoundland fish trade have been noticed in Chapter 5, was an important figure in the English merchant community. He was sheriff in 1622-3,[1] and twice mayor, in 1625-6[2] and 1640-1.[3] His sister married[4] Danniel Hersent, a prominent merchant and clothier[5] and ancien of the "French" Church.[6] Pescod's wife was the sister of John Major,[7] one of the most prominent merchant

1 J.S. Davies, op. cit., p. 178.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 In a codicil to his will, Pescod mentions "my sister Hersent, wife of Daniel Hersent". [Copy of will of Nicholas Pescod, dated 9th September 1643, proved P.C.C. October 1645, now in P.R.O. in volume 110 Rivers.]

5 Apprenticeship Registers, p. 23, no. 234.

6 H.M. Godfray, (ed.), Registre de L'Eglise Wallonne de Southampton, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, vol. IV, (1890), p. 118.

7 It has been suggested that Nicholas Pescod's wife had previously been married to John Barton, and was the sister of Richard Major, and thus the daughter of John Major. [V.C.H. Hants., vol. 3, p. 287.] That would make Pescod John Major's son-in-law instead of his brother-in-law. However, in his will John Major names his three sons-in-law as Thomas Wulfris [one of the customers of Southampton], William Lavington and William Wolgar. He goes on to refer to "my sister Alice Fenell and her husband Nicholas Pescod". Thus, if Pescod's wife had previously been married to Barton she must have been married to one Fenell after Barton's death, which would make Pescod her third husband. [Copy of will of John Major of Southampton, merchant, dated 20th February, 4 Chas. (1628/9), proved P.C.C. 30th March 1629, now in P.R.O. in volume 22 Ridley. J.S. Davies has wrongly dated this will 1629-30 (op. cit., p. 297). Dr. Horrocks has followed this error, and wrongly placed Major's death in 1630 (Assembly Books, I, p. 7).]

adventurers in the town, of whom more is said below.

Peter Priaulx was a prominent merchant from the Channel Islands within the "French" congregation. He was related to two other merchant families of that community. He was the brother-in-law of Paul Mercer, and the father-in-law of Mary, daughter of Peter Seale.[1]

The training of future generations of merchants by means of apprenticeship was a most important function carried out by many of the merchants of Southampton. The Apprenticeship Register contains many entries of the training of young men not only as merchants, but also as clothiers and grocers, many of the members of which trades conducted a considerable amount of business by seaborne trade.

Merchant apprentices included the sons of existing merchants of the town. Thus, Richard Chambers, a merchant adventurer, took on his own son Richard as an apprentice in 1611.[2] In 1629 Peter Legay, also a merchant adventurer, received as apprentice his kinsman Jacob Legay, son of the late Isaac Legay, a former Southampton merchant.[3] In the same year John Major, son of the late Robert Major, described variously as a merchant or mercer, was apprenticed to John Guillam, a prominent merchant "to be instructed in the said arte [of a merchant] and the French tongue".[4]

Many of the apprentices taken on by the Southampton merchants were not local boys, but came from a wide area of southern England. Some of them stayed in Southampton to join the ranks of the local merchant community. Several examples may be quoted by way of illustration.

1 These relationships were mentioned in Priaulx's will. [Copy of will of Peter Priaulx of Southampton, merchant, dated 15th November 1643, proved P.C.C. 31st December 1644, now in P.R.O. in volume 12 Rivers].

2 Apprenticeship Registers, p. 3, no. 17.

3 Ibid., p. 27, no. 287.

4 Ibid., p. 17, no. 179.

The grocer and merchant-adventurer Nicholas Pescod has already been referred to. In his will he stated that he had been born in East Meon, Hampshire.[1] The young Nicholas must have come to Southampton as a young man, where he was probably apprenticed to John Longe, since Longe nominated Pescod as his mayoral burgess on 26th August 1614.[2] Longe also paid Pescod's banquet fee.[3]

Pescod's apprenticeship must have finished somewhat earlier for in 1613 he was himself taking apprentices. The two he had charge of in that year both came from outside Southampton. The father of one apprentice, John Rigges, had been the late Ralphe Rigges, of Fareham.[4] The other apprentice was Humphrey Ryman, from Chichester.[5] Both Rigges and Ryman were destined to become important grocer-merchants of Southampton.

1 A search of the parish register of East Meon [Hampshire Record Office, 46M68/1] between 1560 and 1600 has failed to locate the baptism of Nicholas Pescod. He would not have been the same Nicholas Pescod who was the son of his like-named father, then or lately lord of the manor of Oakhangar in Selborne parish. [V.C.H., Hants., vol. III, p. 12.] This is because the Selborne child, being baptised on 5th November 1599 [Hampshire Record Office, 21M65/P7/PR1, f.20r; the year of baptism is wrongly given as 1594 in V.C.H., Hants., vol. III, p. 12], would only have been about fourteen years old in 1613 when the Southampton Pescod was instructing apprentices [Apprenticeship Registers, p. 4, no. 33 and p. 11, no. 115].

2 Southampton City Record Office, SC3/1/1 f. 175v (new nos.).

3 Ibid.

4 Apprenticeship Registers, p. 4, no. 33.

5 Ibid., p. 11, no. 115.

Another young man from Chichester, William Stanley, became apprenticed to grocer Humphry Ryman at Michaelmas 1623.[1] Stanley became an important grocer and merchant of Southampton. He is further discussed below in connection with a country manor which he purchased.

Burrish Daniel, who became a Southampton merchant of some significance, was not a native of the town. He came from Selsey in Sussex, of yeoman stock. On 4th April 1604 he was apprenticed to Southampton merchant Edward Barlow.[2]

The enterprises of the leading merchants of Southampton were sufficiently profitable to have allowed them to invest in manorial estates. During the period the records show that five merchants of the town became owners of manors. They were Sir John Jeffrey, John Major, Nicholas Pescod, William Stanley, and William Higgens.

During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Sir John Jeffrey was one of the most prominent merchant-adventurers in Southampton. He purchased the manor of Catherston in Dorset,[3] which he held until his death in 1611. The manor and farm of Catherston remained in the Jeffrey family until 1647.[4]

For many years until his death in 1629 John Major was one of the most important men in Southampton's merchant and governing community. He was sheriff in 1613-14,[5] and mayor in 1615-16.[6]

1 Apprenticeship Registers, p. 19, no. 197.

2 Ibid., p. 3, no. 18.

3 J. Hutchins, History of Dorset, vol. II (3rd edtn., 1863), p. 213.

4 Ibid.

5 J.S. Davies, op. cit., p. 178.

6 Ibid.

Major purchased two manors: that of Candovers and Brians in the parish of Hartley Mauditt in 1617,[1] and that of Allington in the parish of South Stoneham in 1622 for which he paid £900.[2] Major held both manors until his death. By that date he had also acquired a farm called Hull Farm, and held another farm at Cosham near Newport, Isle of Wight, as lessee of Queen's College, Oxford.[3]

The important mercantile career of Nicholas Pescod has previously been mentioned in this chapter and in Chapters 5 and 8. In 1626 or 1627 Pescod purchased the manor of Cadlands in the parish of Fawley from Sir Walter Longe.[4] In 1641 Pescod granted a 99 year lease of the manor lands to Peter Cardonell, a Norman merchant from Caen, and also married his daughter and heir Mary to Adam Cardonell, probably a son of Peter.[5]

By the time of his death in 1643, Pescod owned not only the manor of Cadlands but also a messuage and sixty acres of land in Holbury, in the parish of Fawley, and a messuage called "Virginia", on the west side of the High Street near the Water Gate in the parish of Holy Rood, Southampton. This messuage had presumably formerly been a merchant's house, since it had three vaults beneath, but at the time of Pescod's death it was divided into several tenements. Pescod was the lessee of Queen's College, Oxford, of a malthouse and tenement near Biddlesgate, in St. Michael's parish, Southampton.[6]

1 V.C.H., Hants., vol. II, p. 510.

2 V.C.H., Hants., vol. III, p. 486.

3 Details in Major's will, cit. supra.

4 V.C.H., Hants., vol. III, p. 293.

5 Ibid.

6 Details in Pescod's will, cit. supra.

Like Pescod, William Stanley had begun his career as a grocer and expanded into general merchant adventuring. Stanley was important and wealthy enough to be twice mayor: 1645-6,[1] and 1661-2.[2] In 1646 Stanley purchased the manor of Paultons in the parish of Eling from William Paulet.[3] Stanley's descendants lived in the manor house for many years, and a branch of the family, the Sloane-Stanleys, occupied the property until the twentieth century.

William Higgens has been referred to previously as one of the merchant apprentices who came from outside Southampton and stayed to follow his career in the town. He became important in the later years of the period of this study. He was sheriff in 1650-1,[4] and mayor in 1654-5, but was deposed by order of Cromwell before his term had expired.[5] Higgens was the owner of the manor of Woolston in February 1645.[6] How and when he acquired it is not clear. He held the manor for many years.[7]

Generally speaking, the manor-owning merchants remained active in the commerce of the town. There are entries in the overseas Port Book of 1644 for the goods of Nicholas Pescod, who, as previously stated, died in that year, having then been the owner of Cadlands manor for about seventeen or eighteen years. Similar entries occur ————————

1 J.S. Davies, op. cit., p. 178.

2 Ibid., p. 179.

3 V.C.H., Hants., vol. IV, p. 552.

4 J.S. Davies, op. cit., p. 178.

5 Ibid., p. 179.

6 Apprenticeship Registers, p. lxxi.

7 Higgens was still the owner in 1671. See Apprenticeship Registers, p. lxxii.

in the overseas Port Book for 1649 in respect of Higgens and Stanley, both by then having owned their manors for several years.

No overseas Port Books survive for the years immediately preceding John Major's death in 1629, but he was resident in the town at that time, and almost certainly was carrying on his trade as a merchant. His merchant's mark was recorded in 1624.[1] His son, Richard Major, did not follow the commercial career of his father, preferring instead the pursuits of a country gentleman. Richard Major sold the property in Hartley Mauditt immediately after his father's death.[2] From 1637 until 1639 he was lord of the manor of Sylton in Dorset.[3] In 1638-9 he purchased the manor of Merdon in Hursley, where he resided.[4] In 1649 his daughter married Richard, the son of Oliver Cromwell.[5]

Whether Sir John Jeffrey continued to participate in Southampton's trade after he had purchased his Dorset manor is a matter of doubt. His name is recorded in the overseas Port Books of 1600-2. Unfortunately, there are no more volumes until after his death. However, it appears unlikely that he maintained his commercial activities, as his name does not appear in the Port Book recording the collection of the New Impositions, 1609-10.

The merchant community of Southampton appears to have been a fairly stable oligarchy. Family withdrawals from merchanting, like the Jeffreys and Majors who became country gentry, were few. The fact that the names of many of the merchants are found in the Port

1 Examinations and Depositions, I, p. 104.

2 V.C.H., Hants., vol. II, p. 510.

3 J. Hutchins, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 103.

4 V.C.H., Hants., vol. III, p. 419.
Assembly Books, I, p. 7.

5 V.C.H., Hants., vol. III, pp. 419-20.
Assembly Books, I, p. 7.

Books over a long span of years, then to be followed by their sons or other kinsmen, is a good indication that the extent of the turnover of merchant families was low. A number of new families appeared in the merchants' ranks during the period, their heads being very often ex-apprentices trained in Southampton who had remained in the town after serving their terms.

There was thus a certain degree of fluidity about the merchant community. Family continuity was a strong influence, however. The fact that a number of merchants were related by marriage tended towards a more stable social structure. The domination of the government of the town by the leading merchants, especially by the merchant adventurers, gave the community of merchants at Southampton a marked appearance of oligarchy.

CHAPTER 11

Conclusion

This study has presented the full evidence and drawn definitive conclusions about the nature and extent of the seaborne trade at Southampton during the first half of the seventeenth century. Opportunity has been taken to correct several published erroneous views on the trade of the port. These ideas had been based on only partial evidence, which had led to distorted or over-emphasised conclusions. Some factual mistakes which had found their way into print have also been rectified.

During the period Southampton functioned primarily as an importing port. Its trade was principally in cloth and wines, but a small proportion consisted of a wide variety of miscellaneous commodities including both foodstuffs and materials for industries. Much of the miscellaneous trade probably served only the local needs

of the Hampshire Basin. The wine trade served a wider regional area, as probably did that part of the cloth trade consisting of imported linen and canvas, and a small part of the export trade in cloth.

The evidence indicates that although seaborne commerce enjoyed periods of buoyancy, the town was not a particularly prosperous place at any time during the whole period. It appears that the extent of seaborne trade was never sufficient, even in the good periods, which were, in any case, not of long duration, to allow much surplus to accumulate. Between the more prosperous periods there were longer periods of depression when local resources must have been severely strained.

Of course, the leading merchants of the town enjoyed a surplus from their trading activities. The fact that several of them were able to purchase manorial estates is sufficient witness to the profitability of their commerce, and refutation of the view that seaborne trade at Southampton was a story of unvarying or increasing depression and decay.

That the leading merchants were wealthy does not mean, of course, that the corporation was not often in a condition of financial embarrassment. Such charges as the repair of the town walls and fortifications, which had been contracted in the period when Southampton had been a national port, must have borne very heavily on the town when it was reduced to a state of only local significance.

The failure of seaborne trade to yield a considerable surplus, giving rise both to the financial difficulties of the corporation, and the relative lack of prosperity in the town generally, is exemplified in the absence of domestic or civic buildings in Southampton dating from the first half of the seventeenth century.

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APPENDIX A

Summaries of Trade in the Surviving Overseas Port Books 1600-49.

Note: In the trade summaries of Appendices A - C, the metric hundred has been used only where it is certain that that was intended. Where a non-metric hundred was used, and in cases of doubt, the following symbols have been employed:

C. = hundred.

M. = thousand.

I. Year ending Michaelmas 1601.

(1) Picardy.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
		Calais	
		Hops	54 cwt.

(2) Normandy.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
		Dieppe	
Serges	18	Hops	61 cwt.
Sheep skins, tawed	6 doz.	Luxlorn*	6 cwt.
Calfskins, tanned	2 doz.	Prunes	25½ cwt.
Ox bones	4 M.	Vinegar	1 tun
Ox horns, rough	8 C.	Rape Oil	50 barrels
Engl. ashes	11 barrels	Seville oil	⅔ tun
Small nuts	5 "	Glass	3 cases
Broken glass	6 "	Earthen bottles	40 doz.

contd.

(2) Normandy (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Dieppe		
Beer	2 tuns	**Allowed by customs for provisions**	
Newfoundland fish small	20 C.	Rape oil	1 barrel
Train oil	$3\frac{1}{2}$ tuns		
Spanish salt	16 weys		
	Le Havre		
Bay salt	5 weys		
	Omonville-la-Rogue		
Serges	2	Normandy canvas brown	14-00 ells
"Cottons"	150 goads	Kelp	$3\frac{1}{2}$ tons
Coal	2 chaldrons	**Allowed by customs for provisions**	
Engl. iron	8 cwt.	Normandy canvas brown	1-00 ells
Jades ø	32		
Train oil	$\frac{1}{4}$ tun		
	Rouen		
		Normandy canvas brown	30-00 ells
		Writing paper	50 reams
		Wooden combs	5 gross
		Allowed by customs for provisions	
		Buhrstones for hewing into millstones /	2 C.
		Plaster of Paris	3 mounts
	Honfleur		
		Vinegar	6 tuns

contd.

(2) Normandy (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Caen		
Serges	21	Canvas (Normandy brown	2-00 ells
		Canvas (Vitry	1 fardle
		Prunes	47 cwt.
		Vinegar	9 tuns
		Caen woad	6 tons
	Cherbourg		
Jades ø	68	Normandy canvas brown	2-00 ells
		Kelp	7 tons

* meaning unknown.

/ burrs for millstones in MSS.

ø castrated horses.

(3) The Channel Islands.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton		
	Alderney			
Jades ø	3			
	Guernsey			
Serges	77½ pieces	Guernsey cloth		2-00 ells
"Cottons"	3650 goads	Canvas	unspec.	163 bolts
Says	12		Vitry	2 fardles
Welsh freize	1		Normandy brown	23-00 ells
Broadcloth	20 yds.	Treager		6 pieces
Sarum linings	281	Oldrons		22 "

contd.

(3) The Channel Islands (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Guernsey		
Hants kersies	3	Great raisins	250 pieces
Engl. iron	6 tons	Prunes	22 cwt.
Wax	7 cwt.	Green woad	20 cwt.
		Allowed by customs for provisions	
		Treager	3 pieces
		?	4 "
	Jersey		
Serges	250	Canvas (unspec.)	84 bolts
"Cottons"	4430 goads	Canvas (Vitry)	9½ fardles
Bays, single	9	Canvas (Normandy brown)	8-50 ells
Says, Norwich	36	Oldrons	13 bolts
Says, Hunscott	12	Seville oil	3¼ tuns
Durance	5 pieces	Malaga raisins	40 pieces
Black rash	2 pieces	Honey	9 barrels
Fustians, millian	4 "		
Lawnes	3 "		
Cambrick	4 "		
Holland	6 "		
Grograines	4 "		
" Dutch	5 "		
Buffins	15 "		
Hants kersies	24		
Sarum linings	379		
Northern kersies	18		
Northern dozens single	18		

contd.

(3) The Channel Islands (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Jersey		
Worsted hose	6 pair		
Silk and silk lace	18 lbs.		
Garters and girdles of silk	13 doz.		
Silk ribbons	30 doz.		
English iron	10 tons		
Allowed by customs for provisions			
Sarum linings	5		

ø castrated horses.

(4) Northern Brittany.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	St. Malo		
Serges	55	Canvas (unspec.)	1457 bolts
"Cottons"	3100 goads	Canvas (Vitry)	64½* fardles
Bays, single	4	Canvas (Normandy brown)	24-00 ells
"Shortcloths"	4 (remnants)	Seville oil	42½ tuns
Hants kersies	10	Raisins (sun-dried)	62 cwt.
Sarum linings	25	Raisins (Malaga)	190 pieces
Northern dozens single	10	Figs	43 cwt.
Unwrought lead	1 fother	Cumin seed	7 cwt.
Small nails	2 barrels	Green woad	132 cwt.

contd.

(4) Northern Brittany (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	St. Malo		
		Allowed by customs for provisions	
		Canvas (unspec.	60 bolts
		Canvas (Vitry	1½ fardles + 1 ballet of * above
		Treager	1 piece
		White cloth	80 ells
		White paper	25 reams
		Malaga raisins	30 pieces
		Napkins	5 doz.
	Morlaix		
Serges	29	Treager	66 pieces
		Allowed by customs for provisions	
		Bay salt	4 weys
	Roscoff		
Serges	3	Treager	30 pieces
Half serges	3		
Sugar	1½ cwt.		
Train oil	1 tun		
Wax candles	2 cwt.		

(5) West and South-West Brittany and Poitou.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
		Le Conquet	
		Bay salt	12 weys
		Le Croisic	
		Bay salt	52 weys

(6) Aunis, Saintonge, Guienne, and Bearn.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
		Île-d'Oléron	
Serges	3	Bay salt	30 weys
Hants kersies	3		
		La Rochelle	
Serges	247	Bay salt	159 weys
Half serges	2		
Coarse bed coverlets	15		
Calf skins	15 doz.		
Lamb skins tawed	1 C.		
Luxlorn*	6 cwt.		
English iron	1 ton		
Lead, unwrought	1½ fothers		
Glue	4 cwt.		
Newfoundland fish (small	80 C.		
Newfoundland fish (medium	3 C.		

contd.

(6) Aunis, Saintonge, Guienne, and Bearn (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Bordeaux		
Serges	14	Prunes	188 cwt.
"Cottons"	400 goads		
Hants kersies	3		
Newfoundland fish	small 20 C.		
	small, dry 240 C.		
	medium 10 C.		
	Bayonne		
		Black rosen	260 cwt.

* meaning unknown.

(7) Spain and Portugal.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Malaga		
		Sun-dried raisins	26 cwt.

(8) The Low Countries.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton
	Ramekins /	
Small nuts	300 barrels	

contd.

(8) The Low Countries (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Flushing		
Small nuts	176 barrels	Flemish hops	65 cwt.
		Onions	230 barrels
		Luxlorn*	22 cwt.
		Cheese	3 weys
		Malaga raisins	17 pieces
		Flanders bricks	30 C.
		Tar and pitch	$2\frac{1}{2}$ lasts
		Old ropes	2 cwt.
		Tarred ropes	3 cwt.
		Norway deals	$\frac{1}{2}$ C.
		Clapholts	1 C.
		Allowed by customs for provisions	
		Onions	10 barrels
		Cabbages	1 C.
	Middleburgh		
Small nuts	100 barrels		
	Amsterdam		
Spanish salt	40 weys		

* meaning unknown.

/ = Ramskapelle? See page 416.

(9) Scotland.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Leith		
		Coal	48 chaldrons

(10) Ireland.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Galway		
Barley	15 qtrs.	Irish beef	2 barrels, 8 hogsheads
Beer	15 tuns	Tallow	12 cwt.
Luxlorn*	14 cwt.	Salt heads	63
Hops	6½ cwt.	Salmon	2 barrels
Spanish wine, corrupt	5½ tuns		
"Cottons"	320 goads		
Welsh freizes	60 pieces		
Northern dozens single	6		
Derinx	30 yds.		
Coarse felt hats	7 doz.		
English iron	2 tons		
Wrought pewter	4 cwt.		
Old wool cards	40 doz.		

* meaning unknown.

(11) Unspecified Ports.

Outwards from Southampton	Inwards to Southampton	
	Train oil	15 tuns
	Bay salt	14 weys
	Cork	12 cwt.
	Rosin	19 cwt.
	Great raisins	40 pieces
	White herrings	5 lasts

(12) Imports of Prize Goods.

Outwards from Southampton	Inwards to Southampton	
	Sugars (Brazil	932 cwt.
	Sugars (Panele	268 cwt.
	Brazil-wood	730 cwt.
	Fernando buckwood	120 cwt.
	Beverage wines	15 tuns
	Newfoundland fish, small	300 C.
	Spanish salt	262 weys
	Candishes silles (?)	615 virgs (?)
	Allowed by customs for provisions	
	Sugars (Brazil	84 cwt. + 4 chests
	Sugars (Panele	12 cwt. + 2 chests
	Brazil-wood	37 cwt.
	Buckwood	14 cwt.
	Fish, wet and corrupt	100 C.

II. Year ending Michaelmas 1602.

(1) Normandy.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Dieppe		
Serges	13	Rape oil	25 barrels
Tanned calfskins	2 dickers	Luxlorn*	17 cwt.
Lead	½ fother	Teasels	24 M.
Engl. ashes	16 barrels	Vinegar	1½ tuns
Tan	120 bushels	Glass	16 cases
Old tan	100 bushels	Bottles	16 doz.
Ox horns	2 C.	Earthen bottles	30 doz.
Ox bones	9 M.	Bank fish	10 C.
Glovers' clippings	1 maund	Newfoundland fish,	
Train oil	1 tun	middle sort	10 C.
	St. Valéry-en-Caux		
		Newfoundland fish, medium	3 C.
	Etrétat		
		Barley	6 qtrs.
		Oats	4 qtrs.
		Newfoundland fish, small	3 C.
	Le Havre		
Beer	1½ tuns		
Train oil	1 tun		
	Omonville-la-Rogue		
Serges	4	Normandy canvas brown	23-50 ells
Engl. iron	17 cwt.	Kelp	4 tuns
Beer	1 tun		
Jades ø	104		

contd.

(1) Normandy (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Rouen		
		Millstones	4
		Buhrstones for hewing into millstones ≠	6 C.
		Plaster of Paris	3 mounts
	Caen		
Jades ø	6	Buckrams	3 doz.
Newfoundland fish, small	40 C.	Vinegar	16 tuns
Train oil	1 tun	Caen woad	9 tuns
	Cherbourg		
Jades ø	35		
	Cap de la Hague		
Jades ø	5		

* meaning unknown.

≠ Burrs for millstones in MSS.

ø castrated horses.

(2) The Channel Islands.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Alderney		
		Normandy canvas brown	2-00 ells
	Guernsey		
Serges	39	Canvas (unspec.	24 bolts
"Cottons"	1100 goads	Canvas (Normandy brown	6-50 ells

contd.

(2) The Channel Islands (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Guernsey		
Bays, single	12 pieces	Treager	46½ pieces
Sarum linings	140 pieces	Bay salt	6 weys
Lead	1 fother		
Engl. iron	4 tons		
	Jersey		
Serges	300½	Canvas (unspec.	12 bolts
"Cottons"	14,550 goads	Canvas (Vitry	3 fardles
Says	4	Canvas (Normandy brown	5-00 ells
Freizes	10	Black rosen	15 cwt.
" Welsh	4	Spanish iron	1 ton
Northern dozens	28		
Hants kersies	12		
Sarum linings	465		
Coarse knitted stockings	15 doz. pair		
Lead	6½? fothers		
Jades ø	3		

ø castrated horses.

(3) North Brittany.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	St. Malo		
Serges	87	Canvas (unspec.)	2,320 bolts
Half serges	6	Canvas (Vitry)	32½ fardles
"Cottons"	5,100 goads	Canvas (Normandy brown)	58-00 ells
Bays (single)	5	Treager	49 pieces
Bays (double)	10	Oldrons	26 "
Says	5	Seville oil	44⅜ tuns
Mockadoes	50	Raisins (Great)	216 pieces
"Shortcloths"	27	Raisins (Sun-dried)	10 cwt.
Sarum linings	948	Aniseeds	1,336 lbs.
Northern plaines	30	Almonds	2 cwt.
Northern dozens single	8	Prunes	19 cwt.
Devon dozens single	20	Figs	26 barrels
Coarse knitted stockings	45 doz. pair	Sumach	15 cwt.
Coarse minster canvas	10 C. ells	Alum	10 cwt.
Beer	4 tuns	Train oil	8¼ tuns
Wrought tin	2½ cwt.	Cake soap	1 cwt.
		Allowed by customs for provisions	
		Canvas, unspec.	13 bolts
		Seville oil	¼ tun
	Morlaix		
Serges	5	Treager	27½ pieces
	Roscoff		
Ginger	2,000 lbs.		
Brazil-wood	2 tons		
Indian hides (dry)	4 C.		
Indian hides (wet, corrupt)	3 C.		

(4) West and South-West Brittany and Poitou.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Le Conquet		
Serges	3		
	Belle-Île-en-Mer		
Kelp	10 tons		
	Le Croisic		
Serges	5	Bay salt	94 weys
Northern dozens single	5		
	Nantes		
Serges	5	Canvas	16 bolts
		Bay salt	9 weys

(5) Aunis, Saintonge, and Guienne.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	La Rochelle		
Serges	259	Bay salt	124 weys
	Bordeaux		
Serges	30		
Unwrought lead	4 fothers	Prunes	256 cwt.
	Bayonne		
Coarse worsted hose	700 pair		
Base hides	30		

(6) Spain and Portugal.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Oporto		
		Sumach	80 cwt.
	Setubal		
		Spanish salt	24 weys
	Sanlucar		
		Figs	7½ barrels
	Malaga		
		Raisins (Malaga	200 pieces
		Raisins (Sun-dried	10 cwt.
		Allowed by customs for provisions	
		Raisins	30 pieces

(7) The Low Countries.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Flushing		
Apples	80 barrels	Onions	130 barrels, 300 bunches
		Cabbages	16 C.
		Madder	36 cwt.
		Starch	12 cwt.
		Rape oil	12 barrels
		Luxlorn *	40 cwt.
		Pitch and tar	8½ lasts
		Bay salt	4 weys
		Sunginats *?	18 barrels

* meaning unknown.

(8) Northern Europe.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Copenhagen		
		Stockfish (sticklings)	12 C.
		Pitch	1 last
	Bergen		
		Mayborough deals	4 C.
		Liquid pitch	6 lasts
		Tallow	4 cwt.
		Hallicn' (?)	4 barrels
	Norway		
		Small masts	60

(9) Ireland.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton
	Galway	
Beer	46 tuns	
Barley malt	500 qtrs.	

(10) Barbary.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton
Unwrought lead	3 fothers	

(11) Newfoundland.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
		St. Johns	
		Whale fins	1 M.
		Train oil	1 tun

(12) Unspecified and Unidentified Ports.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
Vealls		via Cowes Roads etc.	
Old tan	200 bushels	Train oil	4 tuns
		Oranges	4 M.
Unspecified			
Serges	28		

(13) Imports of Prize Goods.

	Wheat	209 qtrs.
	Train oil	2 tuns
Sugar	(Brazil	834 cwt. + 96 cwt. in provisions
	(Panele	934 cwt.
	(unspecified	57 cwt.
Ginger	('unjarcorked'	49,000 lbs.
	(wet and corrupt	10,000 lbs.
	Brazil-wood	$2\frac{1}{2}$ tons
	Spanish salt	20 weys
[West]	Indian hides, wet and rotten	5 C.

III. Year ending Christmas 1613

(1) Normandy.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
Dieppe			
Cloth rash (Southampton	27 pieces	Wheat	137 qtrs.
Cloth rash (Winchester	26 pieces	French buckrams	11 doz.
Cloth rash (" ell broad	2 pieces	Rape oil	38 barrels
Perpetuanas, So'ton	58 pieces	Bottles, small, glass,	
Says, double	23 pieces	wicker-covered	12 doz.
Kersies, Winchester	9 pieces	Bottles, earthen	
Tan	100 bushels	wicker-covered	110 doz.
English ashes	$1\frac{1}{2}$ lasts, 1 barrel + 3 hogsheads	Teasels	60 M.
		Small maunds	12 doz.
Ox horns	3 C.	Pressing boards	$7\frac{1}{2}$ C.
Ox bones	5 C.	Pressing papers	$1\frac{1}{2}$ C.
Shank bones	18 M.	Buhrstones* for hewing	
Train oil	$20\frac{3}{8}$ tuns	into millstones	1 C.
St. Valéry-en-Caux			
Cloth rash, So'ton	6 pieces	Wheat	100 qtrs.
Perpetuanas "	16 pieces	Rape oil	6 barrels
English fustians	1 piece		
Derinx	60 yds.		
Sarum plaines	48 yds.		
English ashes	$1\frac{1}{2}$ lasts		
Iron, in bars, unwrought	5 tons		
Irish rugs	5		

contd.

(1) Normandy (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Rouen		
		Wheat	278 qtrs.
		Barley	122 qtrs.
		Normandy canvas	19-30 ells
		French buckrams	4 doz.
		Rape oil	5 barrels
		Teasels	70 M.
		Copy paper	50 reams
		Pressing papers	3 C.
		Pressing boards	36 C.
		Playing cards	13 gross, 9 doz.
		Buhrstones* for hewing into millstones	7 C.
		Plaster of Paris	4 mounts
	Caen		
Cloth rash, So'ton	120 3/4 pieces	Wheat	738 qtrs.
Perpetuanas "	10 pieces	Barley	110 qtrs.
Sarum plaines	4 doz.	Prunes	10 cwt.
Train oil	1/2 tun	Cider vinegar	15 tuns
		Normandy canvas	44-35 ells
		Buckrams	10 doz.
		Lyons thread	140 bolts
		Writing paper	117 reams
	Barfleur		
		Wheat	4 qtrs.
		Beans	21 qtrs.

contd.

(1) Normandy (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Cherbourg		
Cloth rash, So'ton	40 yds.	Normandy canvas	13-20 ells
Sarum plaines	24 yds.	Cider	16 tuns
Iron, English, unwrought	2 cwt.	Bacon, well salted	50 flitches
Fish, Newfoundland, (dry, small	23 C.		
(wet, medium	9 C.		

* Burrs for millstones in MSS.

(2) The Channel Islands.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Guernsey		
Cloth rash (Southampton	50 pieces	Guernsey linen cloth	17-80 ells
(Winchester	1½ pieces	Guernsey canvas	5-80 ells
"Cottons"	5008⅓ goads	Guernsey knitted stockings, long	530 pair
"Cottons" Welsh	60 pieces = 2663 goads	Guernsey knitted stockings, short	391 pair
" Northern	12 pieces	Guernsey knitted waistcoats	44
Says, English single	22½ pieces		
Fustians Osbrow	9 half "		
Broadcloth	16 yds.	Guernsey samphire	5¼ tons
Kersies (Hants	11 pieces	Barley	7 qtrs.
(in remnants	24 yds.	Wheat and rye	35 qtrs.
Sarum plaines	2,144 yds.	Figs ?	18 cwt.

contd.

(2) The Channel Islands (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Guernsey		
Penistone	1 piece	Vinegar	5 tuns
Haberdashery and mercery	£17.15s.0d.	Bay salt	8 weys
Train oil	½ tun		
Hops	4 cwt.	Vitry canvas	77-25 ells
Prunes	2 cwt.	Normandy canvas	24-54 ells
Nuts, small	4 barrels	Brittany cloth	707 ells
Wax, yellow	56 cwt.	Brazil-wood	2 cwt.
		Salt conger ?	3 pipes, 3 hogsheads
	Jersey		
Cloth rash, So'ton	49 pieces		
Perpetuanas, "	17 pieces		
"Cottons"	3711 goads	Wheat	2 tons
" Welsh	3038 "	Vitry canvas	32-30 ells
Says, English single	65 pieces	Brittany cloth	794 ells
" English, double	4 half pieces	Treager	9 pieces
Fustians, all types	6½ pieces	Normandy canvas	8-70 ells
Buffins, narrow single	5 pieces		
Broadcloth	101 yds.		
Kersies, Hants	18¼ pieces		
Sarum plaines	2090 yds.		
Dozens, Devon single	3 pieces		
Coverlets, derinx	10 pieces		

contd.

(2) The Channel Islands (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
		Jersey	
Haberdashery and mercery	£8.6s.0d.		
Girdles	3 doz.		
Hats (men's plain and unlined	2½ doz.		
Hats (children's unlined	3 doz.		

(3) St. Malo

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
Cloth rash (Southampton	669 pieces	Vitry canvas	208-959 ells
Cloth rash (Winchester	69¼ pieces	Brittany cloth	11,716 ells
Perpetuanas (So'ton	188 pieces	Dowlas	109½ pieces
Perpetuanas (Winchester	7 pieces	Crest cloth	14 pieces
"Cottons"	33,663 goads	Treager	272 pieces
" Welsh	1,500 goads	Oldrons	76 half bolts
Bays ? single	8 pieces	French buckrams	12 doz.
Says, English single	477¼ pieces	French lawnes	104 pieces
Says, English double	96 pieces	Normandy canvas	19-98 ells
Fustians, all types	6½ pieces	Lyons thread	90 bolts
Durance, English	40 half "	Knitting cloth	226 ells
Flannel	40 pieces = 1,100 yds.	Linen cloth	60 yds.
		Tiks, counterfeit bristle	7 pieces

contd.

(3) St. Malo (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
Freize	586 yds.	Wheat	45 qtrs.
Wadmol	800 yds.	Oatmeal grits	13 barrels
		Galls	12½ cwt.
		Raisins (sun-dried	116½ cwt.
Broadcloth	11 remnants + 601 yds.	Raisins (great	9 pieces
"Shortcloths"	1⅔ pieces	Figs	65¼ cwt.
Kersies, Hants	149 pieces, 28 yds.	Copy paper	28 C. reams
Plaines, Sarum	46 pieces, 13,657 yds.	Brazil-wood	6½ cwt.
Dozens single (Devon	14 pieces	Seville oil	4½ tuns
Dozens single (Northern	5 pieces	Majorca oil	½ tun
Bridgewater	24 yds.	Spanish wool	3½ cwt.
Pinwhite	1 piece	Sumach	1 ton
Haberdashery and mercery	£107	Irish rugs	8
Coverlets, Derinx	18 pieces	Guernsey linen cloth	1-57 ells
Hats (children's unlined	9½ doz.	" knitted waistcoats	6
Hats (lined	1 doz.	" short stockings	24 doz. pair
Hats (men's velvet-lined	1½ doz.	" long "	450 pair
Hats (taffeta-lined	6	" cony-skins, grey	35 doz.
Rug, Irish	1		
Hops	12½ cwt.		
Parchment shavings	10 cwt.		
Glovers' shreads	2 cwt.		
Horse hair	1½ cwt.		
Coarse knives	8 gross		
Train oil	6 tuns		

(4) Northern Brittany (except St. Malo).

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Morlaix		
Cloth rash (Southampton	95½ pieces	Treager	1,365¾ pieces
Cloth rash (Winchester	53⅓ pieces	Crest cloth	195 pieces
Southampton perpetuanas	5 pieces	Dowlas	724½ pieces
"Cottons"	365 goads	Knitting cloth	280 ells
Says, English single	151 pieces	Barley	20? qtrs.
" , English double	9 pieces	Oats	55 qtrs.
Hampshire kersies	7 pieces	Oatmeal	6 barrels, 15? bushels
		Oatmeal Grits	13? qtrs.
Sarum plaines	5232 yds.	Great raisins	10 pieces
Hops, English	3 cwt.	Brazil-wood	¾ cwt.
Glue	4 cwt.		
	Roscoff		
		Oats	53 qtrs.
Hops	1 cwt.	Crest cloth	5¼ pieces
Soap, English	2 firkins		
Ashes, English	4 barrels		
Coal	11 chaldrons		

(5) West and South-West Brittany and Poitou.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Audierne		
Coal	6 chaldrons	Barley	200 qtrs.
	Penerf		
		Bay salt	53 weys
	Le Croisic		
		Bay salt	33 weys
	Bourgneuf		
		Bay salt	46 weys
	St. Gilles		
		Bay salt	95 weys
		Wheat	10 qtrs.

(6) Aunis, Saintonge, and Guienne.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	La Rochelle		
Cloth rash (Southampton	802 pieces	Normandy canvas	42-42 ells
Cloth rash (Winchester	12½ pieces	French buckrams	8 doz.
Perpetuanas, So'ton	184 pieces	Bay salt	730 weys
"Cottons"	1800 goads	Vinegar	10¾ tuns
" Welsh	2106 "	Prunes	114 cwt.
Sarum plaines	240 yds.	Figs	49 tapnets
Lead, uncast	4½ tons	Rosen	10 cwt.
		Brazil-wood	1 cwt.
		Mayborough deals	½ C.
		Cable small, tarred	1 = 7 cwt.

(6) Aunis, Saintonge, and Guienne. (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Charente		
		Barley	10 qtrs.
		Bay salt	20 weys
	Marenne		
Cloth rash, So'ton	30 pieces	Bay salt	20 weys
	Meches-sur-Gironde		
		Bay salt	14 weys
	Lebron (= Libourne?)		
Cloth rash, So'ton	5 pieces		
	Bordeaux		
Cloth rash, So'ton	15 pieces	Prunes	296 cwt.

(7) Spain and Portugal.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton
	San Sebastian	
Cloth rash (Southampton	178 pieces	
Cloth rash (Winchester	5 pieces	
Perpetuanas (So'ton	3 pieces	
Perpetuanas (Winchester	7 pieces	
"Cottons"	4420 goads	
Freizes	740 yds.	
Kersies (Winchester	7 pieces	
Kersies (Northern	20 pieces	
Sarum plaines	1679 yds.	
Northern dozens single	18 pieces	

(8) The Low Countries.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Flushing		
Cloth rash (Southampton	189½ pieces		
Cloth rash (Winchester	16 pieces	Wheat	25 qtrs.
Perpetuanas So'ton	5 "	Wheat and Rye	50 "
Broadcloth, shreds	40 lbs	Oats	100 "
Short cloths	38 pieces	Cheese, Holland	9 cwt.
Long cloths	3 "	Olives	½ hogshead
Kersies	3 "	Pepper	598 lbs.
Plaines, Sarum	5 "	Onions	215 barrels
Codfish, North Sea	10½ C.	Beans	20 qtrs.
Train oil	5 tuns	Beans and peas	18 "
Nuts, small	1120 barrels	Hops	19 cwt.
		Lings, Holland	14½ C.
Glue	14 cwt.	Bay salt	17 weys
Hides, Irish raw	383	Rape oil	20 5/6 pipes
Pelts	1 C.	Oakum	15 cwt.
Tallow, Irish	8 cwt.	White starch	3 cwt.
Horse hair	¾ cwt.	Madder, fat	23 cwt.
Old wool cards	2 doz.	" crop	16 cwt.
		Soap, Flemish	8 firkins
Pewter, wrought	150 lbs.	Flanders stuff	40 pieces
		Coesfeld cloth	400 ells
		Mayborough deals	3½ C.
		Pitch, small bond	6½ lasts
		" great bond	1½ lasts
		Tar, small bond	4½ lasts
		Tar, great bond	2 37/50 lasts
		Brown paper	17 bundles

(8) The Low Countries (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton	Inwards to Southampton	
Amsterdam		
	Mayborough deals	4 C.

(9) The Baltic.

Outwards from Southampton	Inwards to Southampton	
Riga		
	Rye	100 qtrs.

(10) Scotland.

Outwards from Southampton	Inwards to Southampton	
Aysard		
	Coal	25 chaldrons
	Scottish white herrings	4 barrels
Levon		
	Coal	20 chaldrons
	Norway deals	80
Creil		
	Coal	20 chaldrons
"Scotland"		
	Mayborough deals	1½ C.

(11) Ireland.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
Wexford			
		Herrings (red	10 M.
		Herrings (Irish white	174 barrels
Waterford			
Cloth rash (Southampton	25 pieces		
Cloth rash (Winchester	9 "		
Perpetuanas, So'ton	1 "		
Sarum, plaines	1758 yds.		
Cork			
		Irish bacon	45 flitches
Baltimore			
		Irish beef	20 hogsheads
		Pork	4 hogsheads, 2 barrels
		Bacon	30 flitches
		Tallow	7 cwt.
		Irish cowhides	40
		Sheep and lamb skins	340
		Herrings, white	15? barrels
		Train oil	$2\frac{5}{12}$ tuns
Dingle			
		Irish beef	63 barrels, 5 hogsheads
		Bacon	12 flitches
		Pork	4 hogsheads
		Butter	$1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.
		Irish hides	150

contd.

(11) Ireland. (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Dingle		
		Irish rugs	16
		Newfoundland fish, middle sort	4 C.
		Train oil	3 tuns
	"Ireland"		
Hops	2 cwt.		
Prunes	4 cwt.		
Soap	½ barrel		
Muscadell	1 butt		

(12) Newfoundland.

Outwards from Southampton	Inwards to Southampton	
	Train oil	43¾ tuns

(13) Unspecified and Unidentified Ports.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
Cloth rash (Southampton	10½ pieces	Wheat	1 qtr.
(Winchester	9½ "	Peas?	10 qtrs.
Perpetuanas, So'ton	27 "	Aquavitae	2 small barrels
Plaines, Sarum	50 yds.	Normandy canvas	20 ells
		Irish cow hides raw	209
		Thawings	
		Coal	18 chaldrons

IV. Year ending Christmas 1614

(1) Picardy.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
		Abbeville	
Cloth rash: So'ton	9 pieces, 20 yds.	Wheat and rye	20 qtrs.
Perpetuanas "	3 pieces	Rye	45 qtrs.
Hants kersies	7 pieces	Barley	20 qtrs.
Honey	2 hogsheads	Peas	5 qtrs.
Vetches	45 bushels	Rope yarn	7 cwt.
English ashes	2 lasts		
Raw cow hides	44		
Shank bones	4 M.		
Ox horns	4 M.		
Bucks horns	6 C.		
Rams horns	2 C.		
		St. Valéry-sur-Somme	
		Wheat	80 qtrs.
		Wheat and rye	40 qtrs.

(2) Normandy.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
		Dieppe	
Cloth rash, So'ton	34 pieces	Wheat	684 qtrs.
Perpetuanas "	7 pieces	French buckrams	25 doz.
Train oil	2 hogsheads	Normandy glass, white	2 cases
		Rape oil	8 barrels

cont.

(2) Normandy (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Dieppe		
		Teasels	11 M.
		Earthen bottles, wicker-covered	45? doz.
		Newfoundland fish, greater sort	12 C.
		Scottish cloth	200 yds.
	St. Valéry-en-Caux		
		Wheat	52 qtrs.
		Wheat and rye, mixed	6 qtrs.
		Barley	20 qtrs.
		Beans	20 qtrs.
		Honey	2 hogsheads
	Fécamp		
		Wheat	40 qtrs.
		Wheat and rye, mixed	40 qtrs.
		Barley	40 qtrs.
	Le Havre		
		Wheat	50 qtrs.
		Goat skins	6 doz.
	Rouen		
Cloth rash, So'ton	21 pieces, 5 yds.	Wheat	193 qtrs.
Yellow wax	4 cwt.	Normandy canvas	15-95 ells.
		French buckrams	18 doz.
		Lyons thread	100 bolts
		Writing paper	46 reams
		Copy paper	40 reams

cont.

(2) Normandy (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Rouen		
		White paper	3 reams
		Pressing papers	5 C.
		Rape oil	12 barrels
		Millstones	304
		Buhrstones* for hewing into millstones	23 C.
		Plaster of Paris	13 mounts
		Teasels	20 M.
	Caen		
Cloth rash, So'ton	66 pieces	Wheat	200 qtrs.
Train oil	2 tuns	Normandy canvas	27-80 ells
(1 illegible entry)		Lyons thread	200 bolts
		Vitry canvas	4-92 ells
		Vinegar	27 tuns
		Writing paper	50 reams
	Cherbourg		
Cloth rash, So'ton	5 pieces	Normandy canvas	23-80 ells
"Cottons"	24 goads	Bacon	80 flitches
Newfoundland fish, wet, medium	3 C.		
Train oil	2 tuns		

* Burrs for millstones in MSS.

(3) The Channel Islands.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
Guernsey			
Cloth rash (Southampton)	25 pieces, 20 yds	Guernsey wheat	30 qtrs.
Cloth rash (Winchester)	11 pieces, 7 yds.		
"Cottons"	2459 goads	Guernsey oats	4 qtrs.
Bays	28 yds.	" rye	5 qtrs.
Says	1 piece	" cloth	20-115 ells
Frieze	72 yds.	" knitted worsted stockings (short	584 pairs
		(long	398 pairs
Fustians, all types	$2\frac{1}{2}$?		
Bridgewater	10 yds.	Guernsey knitted waistcoats	125
Broadcloth (incl. remnants)	80 yds.	Guernsey cider	1 tun
Short cloth, in remnants	$1\frac{1}{12}$	Jersey canvas	1-38 ells
		Brittany cloth	100 ells
Hants kersies	78 pieces, 23 yds.	Treager	$35\frac{1}{2}$ pieces
Sarum plaines	20 yds.	Normandy canvas	1-30 ells
Devon dozens single	8	Rosen	27 cwt.
Hats unlined (men's	16 doz.	Liquorice	13 cwt.
Hats unlined (children's	$6\frac{1}{2}$ doz.	Sun-dried raisins	128 lbs.
Loom work	18 yds.		
Linsey woolsey	1 piece		
Single thread points	8 gross		
Leather girdles	1 doz.		
Knives	14 doz.		
Jersey			
Cloth rash (Southampton)	86 pieces, 4 yds.	Jersey wheat	85 qtrs.
Cloth rash (Winchester)	12 pieces, 18 yds.	" oats	10 qtrs.

contd.

(3) The Channel Islands (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Jersey		
Perpetuanas (Southampton	12 + ? pieces	Guernsey cloth	3-116 ells
Perpetuanas (Winchester	5 pieces	" knitted stockings (short	16 pairs
"Cottons" (Winchester	128 goads	" knitted stockings (long	4 pairs
"Cottons" (unspec.	2138 "	Vitry canvas	2-90 ells
Says, English single	54 pieces	Treager	27½ pieces
Derinx	200 yds.	Normandy canvas	9-70 ells
Fustians, Hollins	3 half pieces		
Broadcloth (incl. remnants	126 yds.		
Hants kersies	60 pieces		
Sarum plaines	2206 yds.		
Devon dozens, single	4 pieces, 7 yds.		
Hats (men's unlined	3 doz.		
Hats (children's unlined	1½ doz.		
Stockings, shamoyes	12 doz. pair		
Coarse coverlets	4		
Uncast lead	1 ton, 17½ cwt.		

(4) St. Malo.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
Cloth rash (Southampton	478 pieces, 1 yd.	Vitry canvas	3259-109 ells
Cloth rash (Winchester	74 pieces, 8 +(?) yds.	Brittany cloth	29,872 ells
Perpetuanas (Southampton	122½ pieces	Dowlas	97½ pieces
Perpetuanas (unspec.	9 pieces, 12 yds.	Treager	455¾ pieces
"Cottons"	3,456 goads	Crest cloth	11½ pieces
Says, English single	600 pieces	Oldrons	22 half bolts
Bays, double	9 pieces	Normandy canvas	10-74 ells
Fustians, English	8 half pieces	Kid skins, in hair	46½ C.
" Hollins	1 piece	Writing paper	80 reams
Buffins, narrow single	3 pieces	Copy paper	14 reams
Friezes, Welsh	130 yds.	Playing cards	24½ gross
Linsey woolsey	30 yds.	Guernsey linen cloth	11-097 ells
Derinx	250 yds.	" knitted worsted stockings (short	14 doz. pair
Flannel	1185 yds.	stockings (long	140 pair
"Ovadualls"	400 yds.		
Broadcloth (incl. remnants)	187 yds.	" knitted waistcoats	4
"Shortcloth"	6¾ pieces	Sun-dried raisins	52 cwt.54lbs.
Hants kersies	95 pieces, 74 yds.	Seville oil	17 pipes
Sarum plaines	15,081 yds.	Majorca oil	37½ pipes
Devon dozens single	18 pieces	Castille soap	4 cwt.
Derinx coverlets	11		
Hats (men's unlined	3 doz.		
Hats (men's velvet-lined	14		
Hats (children's unlined	8 doz.		

contd.

(4) St. Malo (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
Mercery wares	(unspecified quantity)		
English wax	15 cwt.		
Lead, in sows	1 ton		

(5) Morlaix.

Outwards from Southampton			Inwards to Southampton	
Cloth	Southampton	120 pieces, 10? yds.	Dowlas	$678\frac{3}{4}$ pieces
rash	Winchester	$23\frac{1}{2}$ pieces, 35 yds.	Treager	$1031\frac{3}{4}$ pieces
Perpetuanas, So°ton		23 pieces	Crest cloth	$219\frac{1}{4}$ pieces
Says, English single		76 pieces		
Hants kersies		15 pieces		
Sarum plaines		3534 yds.		

(6) West and South-West Brittany and Poitou.

Outwards from Southampton	Inwards to Southampton	
	Le Conquet	
	Bay salt	8 weys
	Penerf	
	Bay salt	32 weys
	Rosen	20 cwt.

contd.

(6) West and South-West Brittany and Poitou (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
		Le Croisic	
		Bay salt	238 weys
		St. Nazaire	
Cloth rash, Southampton	6 pieces	Bay salt	61 weys
		Wheat and rye	5 qtrs.
		Bourgneuf	
		Bay salt	80 weys
		Prunes	140 cwt.
		Walnuts	30 barrels
		Whale train oil	$\frac{3}{4}$ tun
		St. Gilles	
		Bay salt	14 weys

(7) Aunis, Saintonge, and Guienne.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
		St. Martin-de-Ré	
		Bay salt	14 weys
		La Rochelle	
Cloth rash (Southampton	519 pieces, 2 yds.	Bay salt	111 weys
Cloth rash (Winchester	5 pieces	Lyons thread	54 bolts
Perpetuanas, So'ton	223		
Green copperas	11 tons 8 cwt.		
Yellow wax	7 cwt.	Normandy canvas	89-25 ells
		Spanish wool	3 cwt.

contd.

(7) Aunis, Saintonge, and Guienne (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Marenne		
		Bay salt	22 weys
	Meches-sur-Gironde		
		Bay salt	38 weys
	Bordeaux		
Cloth rash, So'ton	3 pieces	Prunes	354 cwt.
		Rosen	20 cwt.
		Common turpentine	2 cwt.

(8) Spain and Portugal

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Lisbon		
		Spanish salt	48 weys
	"Portugal"		
Cloth rash, So'ton	3 pieces		
Perpetuanas (So'ton	6 "		
(unspec.	27 "		
Devon dozens single	54 "		
Short worsted stockings	40 doz. pair		
Calfskins	33½ doz.		
Newfoundland fish, small	120 C.		
Yellow wax	9½ cwt.		

contd.

(8) Spain and Portugal (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
Aimounta			
		Spanish salt	120 weys
		Lemons	3 M.
Cadiz			
Bays, double	9	Tobacco (Pudding	280 lbs.
		(leaf	20 lbs.
Lead (cast	38 cwt.		
(uncast	2 tons		
Malaga			
Perpetuanas (So'ton	2 pieces	Raisins (Malaga	400 pieces
(Winchester	9 "	(sun-dried	119 cwt.
		(great	40 pieces
		Jordan almonds	11 cwt.

(9) Toulon.

Outwards from Southampton	Inwards to Southampton	
	Uncast lead	245½ cwt.
	Cotton yarn	6 cwt.
	Cotton wool	7½ cwt.
	Says	47 pieces
	Bolter ?	80 pieces
	Sugar (white	634½ cwt.
	(loaf	2 cwt.
	(white panele	69 cwt.
	(muscovado	119 cwt. 35lbs.
	Valentia almonds	50 cwt.
	Irish beef	3 tuns
	Irish rugs	24

(10) The Low Countries.

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Dunkirk		
Hellier's stones (for roofing etc.)	14 M.	Wheat	65 qtrs.
		Hops	½ cwt.
Small nuts	92 barrels	Brazil-wood	3½ cwt.
	Flushing		
Cloth (Southampton	320⅓ pieces	Wheat	224 qtrs.
rash (Winchester	26¾ "	Rye	524 qtrs.
Perpetuanas	4 "	Oats	160 qtrs.
"Shortcloths"	9 pieces, 40 yds.	Hops	36¾ cwt.
"Longcloths"	4 pieces	Cheese, Holland	19 cwt.
Sarum plaines	392 yds.	Onions	385 barrels
Glue	3 cwt.	Pepper	100 lbs.
		Cloves	20 lbs.
		Dressed flax	6½ cwt.
		Madder (crop	29 cwt.
		Madder (mull	19½ cwt.
		Madder (crop and kale	28½ cwt.
		Madder (sate ?	10 cwt.
		Flemish soap	2 barrels
		Cloth (Holland	1C. and 20 ells
		Cloth (Coesfeld	18 C. ells
		Cloth (Ghent	3 C. ells
		Rape oil	46½ pipes, 7 barrels
		Pins	5 doz. M.
		Unbound books	1 maund
		Mayborough deals	1½ C.
		Cable yarn	45 cwt.

contd.

(10) The Low Countries (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
	Flushing		
		Cordage	9 cwt.
		Tar (small bond)	3 lasts, 15 barrels
		Tar (great bond)	½ last.
		Pitch, small bond	3 lasts, 9 barrels
		Bay salt	2 weys
		?	2 pipes
		Lings	11 C.
		Codfish	6 barrels
		Red herrings	½ last
	Enkhuisen		
Sarum plaines	140 yds.	Wheat	50 qtrs.
		Rye	130 qtrs.
	Rotterdam		
		Wheat	2 qtrs.
		Rye	2 qtrs.
		Holland cheese	10 cwt.
		Cabbages	2 M.
	Hoorn		
		Mayborough deals	12 C.

(11) Scotland.

Outwards from Southampton	Inwards to Southampton	
Carron		
	Scottish coal	48 chaldrons
Dundee		
	Scottish coal	15 chaldrons
Montrose		
	Great bond tar	2 lasts

(12) Ireland.

Outwards from Southampton	Inwards to Southampton	
Wexford		
	Herrings (white	150 barrels
	(red	15 M.
Baltimore		
	Beef	(9 tuns, 6 hogsheads
		(24 barrels
	Irish hides, raw	68
	" wool	2 cwt.
	Pilchards	1½ tuns
	Pilchard train oil	7 tuns, 5 hogsheads
	White herrings	30 barrels
	Tallow	2 cwt.
	Prunes	10 cwt.
	Vinegar	1 hogshead
	Barrel boards	2 M.

contd.

(12) Ireland (contd.)

Outwards from Southampton		Inwards to Southampton	
		Galway	
		Irish beef	28 tuns, 8 butts
		Beef and pork	3 hogsheads
		Pork	1 butt
		Irish cheese	$2\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.
		Salmon	1 barrel, 1 hogshead
		Irish yarn	5 packs
	"Ireland"		
English hops	5 cwt.		
Mayborough deals	$1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.		
Wines (Charente	2 tuns		
Wines (Muscadell	$\frac{1}{2}$ tun		

(13) Newfoundland.

	Inwards to Southampton	
	Train oil	$17\frac{1}{4}$ tuns

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for John Major & his son Richard see N. Barker's dissertation on him Perth Poly ? 1979

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William Higgens - inherited his manor at Wollston through his wife Anne a niece of Nathanial Nill (papers re Nill's charity - SRO)

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