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Abstract

The customs accounts and the sheriffs accounts of the early fourteenth century provide an excellent opportunity for study of trade and transport in the customs ports, particularly in Hull, Boston, Yarmouth and Southampton. Both sets of documents mirror the Crown's attempts to raise the level of resources required to meet the increasing financial demands of war-time economy. Each stresses a different aspect of the commercial strengths of the four ports. This dissertation is concerned with an examination of the information which these documents provide. Previous work in this area is introduced as a background to the present study before proceeding to a history of customs administration in Chapter 1. The main body of the thesis deals with the actual accounts themselves. Information from the customs accounts concerning alien imports and exports in general merchandise and alien merchants is discussed and tabulated in Chapters 2 and 3. The sheriffs accounts are the subject of Chapter 4 in which their relevance to a study of transportation to the customs ports is brought to light. A brief conclusion points to the fact that any study of four towns provides much room for comparison and contrast. This one is no exception. Both the customs accounts and the sheriffs accounts are valuable and appropriate sources of reference.



ENGLISH CUSTOMS PORTS

1275 - 1343

with Special Reference to
Trade and Transport in
Hull, Boston, Yarmouth and Southampton

by

Sharron G. Uhler

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy.



University of St. Andrews

28 July, 1977

TL 8958

Declaration

I hereby testify that I myself composed this thesis:
that the work of which it is a record has been done by myself, and
that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a
higher degree.

Sharron G. Uhler, B.A.,
St. Andrews, 28 July, 1977.

I hereby testify that this thesis has been composed and
written in accordance with the conditions of the Resolution and
Regulations of the University of St. Andrews.

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Introduction

During the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, an expansion of the traditional sources of royal revenue gave rise to an entirely new range of financial expedients. Precipitated by escalating administrative and military expenditure, new forms of taxation and wider utilisation of established forms carried in their wake a host of broadening responsibilities. Jobs were created and posts were filled to meet the ever-increasing royal search to finance royal wars and households. Voluminous records of taxes, customs and prises were presented to the exchequer for auditing by an expanding group of local officials. The accounts which they drew up are an extremely valuable source of reference for this period. This dissertation is concerned with a study of two of them and their role in illuminating our knowledge of trade and transport in four English ports.

The present study evolved from a much broader examination of one of the monarchy's most valuable forms of taxation — the 1275 custom on wool and the 1310 custom on wool and general merchandise. Proposed research centred on the 15 customs ports designated as the sole places of import and export in England.¹ The unevenness of the surviving customs accounts and the magnitude of such an undertaking, involving a diversity of English ports, necessitated placing the study within narrower confines. Research was therefore restricted to four of the 15 customs ports — Hull, Boston, Yarmouth and Southampton. Their selection was based on several factors. All four possess customs accounts on general merchandise for the early and later years of Edward II's reign. Since the 1303 customs was suspended

1) The king did not pursue a policy of systematic control of customs in those areas of the country where returns would be minimal. These included Wales, Chester, Cornwall, ^{Duchy of} Lancaster and Durham. As such they do not figure among the ports to which most directives from the central government were issued. K.P. Wilson, Chester Customs Accounts 1301 - 1566, The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, cxi (1969), p.1.

in 1311 and subsequently re-instated in 1322 no figures on alien trade are available for the middle years of his reign. In addition, all have a close geographical and commercial relationship with important inland towns - York, Lincoln, Norwich and Winchester. While the customs accounts establish the economic importance of these four ports, another set of accounts testify to their geographical suitability for the trade of the locality - the sheriffs accounts. It is the purpose of this introduction to review previous work which has been done on these two sets of accounts and to draw attention to their strengths and weaknesses.

Until the present study, research utilising the customs accounts has concentrated upon a single commodity, port or nationality. Examples of all three cases are numerous. Individual studies have taken a longer time period than this dissertation, assessing trade fluctuations in one item over several hundred years. The 1275 and 1303 customs on wool have produced several monographs. E. M. Carus-Wilson and Olive Coleman used the particular and enrolled accounts to tabulate the number of wool sacks leaving each of the English customs ports from 1275 to 1547.² More recently, T. H. Lloyd has produced an account of the English wool trade, utilising the records to indicate the fluctuations in wool export and various nationalities of merchants in the ports.³ Monographs on other commodities have relied upon the 1303 custom on alien general merchandise. A. R. Bridbury utilised the accounts to show a growing demand for French salt in the later Middle Ages.⁴ N.S.B. Gras concentrated his energies upon the English grain market, using the customs accounts to indicate the level of grain export through the customs ports.⁵ Particular accounts also served the needs of Elspeth Veale

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- 2) E. M. Carus-Wilson and Olive Coleman, England's Export Trade 1275 - 1547 (1963).
 - 3) T. H. Lloyd, The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages (1977).
 - 4) A. R. Bridbury, England and the Salt Trade in the Later Middle Ages (1955).
 - 5) N. S. B. Gras, The Evolution of the English Corn Market (1926).

and Margery K. James, the former in her study of the English fur trade and the latter in her work on the medieval wine trade.⁶ The woad trade, presently a topic of a forthcoming dissertation,⁷ is yet another example of the contribution which the customs accounts have made to the study of individual items of import and export. They also appear in such general studies as L. F. Salzman's analyses of English trade and industry in the Middle Ages as well as his book on medieval building in England.⁸

The customs accounts have also been put to good use in the histories of individual ports. Charles Frost mentions them in his early history of Kingston-upon-Hull as does the Victoria County History for the same port.⁹ Colin Platt relied on the accounts to record the wide range of goods which passed through medieval Southampton.¹⁰ The Sussex accounts received the attention of R. A. Pelham who used them to assess and tabulate foreign trade in that county.¹¹ The actual accounts themselves have been transcribed for Bristol in E. M. Carus-Wilson's volume on the overseas trade of that port and transcriptions of accounts for several of the customs ports comprise a substantial proportion of N. S. B. Gras' book on the early English customs system.¹²

As a source of reference for the comings and goings of merchants in England during the Middle Ages, the customs accounts have again proved

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- 6) Elspeth Veale, The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages (1966); Margery K. James, Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade (1971).
 - 7) Forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation by Mrs. Helen Roper-Lowe under the supervision of A. R. Bridbury, London School of Economics.
 - 8) L. F. Salzman, English Industries of the Middle Ages (1923); Building in England to 1540 (1952).
 - 9) Charles Frost, Notices Relative to the Early History of the Town and Port of Hull (1827); Victoria County History of England East Riding i, pp.59-69.
 - 10) Colin Platt, Medieval Southampton The Port and Trading Community, A.D. 1000 - 1600 (1973).
 - 11) R. A. Pelham, 'The Foreign Trade of Sussex 1300 - 1350', Sussex Archaeological Collections, 70 (1929) pp.93-118.
 - 12) E. M. Carus-Wilson, 'The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages', Bristol Record Society Publications, vii, vii (1937); N. S. B. Gras, The Early English Customs System (1918).

themselves to be of importance. They are utilised by Alwyn Ruddock in her study of Italians in the port of Southampton from 1270 to 1600^{and} by Nelly Kerling in her treatment of the commercial relations of Holland and Zeeland with England.¹³ Dr. Smit's monograph on Dutch trade has included many transcriptions of the customs accounts relating to Dutch merchants.¹⁴

General histories of the customs administration have also relied heavily upon the surviving documents. Research up until N. S. B. Gras' study is best reviewed in his introduction to the sources.¹⁵ Since publication of his book in 1918 several important studies have appeared. These include Robert L. Baker's study of the management and mismanagement of customs revenue during the first half of the fourteenth century and Richard Kaeuper's research on the Riccardi of Lucca, Italian bankers to Edward I.¹⁶

Research utilising the sheriffs accounts for studies of a local nature centres around one man, R. A. Pelham. He utilises the accounts to bring out the importance of the geographical situation of the Sussex ports during the early fourteenth century. In a later work, the accounts are used to define some of the methods of transporting wool and grain to Hull and ^{nurdles} bundles to Plymouth.¹⁷

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- 13) Alwyn Ruddock, Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270 - 1600 (1951); N. J. M. Kerling, Commercial Relations of Holland and Zeeland with England from the Late Thirteenth Century to the Close of the Middle Ages (1954).
 - 14) H. J. Smit, Bronnen Tot de Geschiedenis van den Handel met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland 1150 - 1485, 65 and 66 Rijks Geochiedkundige Publicatien (1928).
 - 15) N. S. B. Gras, The Early English Customs System, pp.3-12.
 - 16) Robert Baker, 'The Early English Customs Service 1307 - 1343', Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 51 (1961); Richard Kaeuper, Bankers to the Crown The Riccardi of Lucca and Edward I (1973).
 - 17) R. A. Pelham, 'Studies in the Historical Geography of Medieval Susses', Sussex Archaeological Collections, 72 (1931) pp.157-184; 'Some Medieval Sources for the Study of Historical Geography', Geography, 17(1932), pp.32-37; 'Fourteenth Century England', An Historical Geography of England before A.D. 1800 ed. H. C. Darby (1963) pp.260-265.

Set against such a background, the present study focuses upon two areas - trade in Hull, Boston, Yarmouth and Southampton, as seen through the 1303 customs on alien general merchandise, and transportation to the four ports as seen through the sheriffs accounts. The former documents detail the goods which were carried to the customs ports before shipment overseas while the latter illustrate their actual carriage means to the ports, ^{no} Up until this time, ~~no~~ comparative study has ever been made on the customs ports utilising the available accounts in such a way. All customs accounts for the entire ¹⁵ ~~14~~ ports have been transcribed for the period from 1275 to 1343. Those for the four ports in this dissertation have been tabulated in full, and the accounts for King's Lynn have been included for comparative purposes. The sheriffs accounts for the same period have also been transcribed in full, with the most informative ones made available in tabular form. The value of this study rests in the fact that for the first time all commodities, other than wool and wine, passing through alien hands in the early fourteenth century are recorded and tabulated. Rather than dealing with the history of one, this dissertation attempts a shorter history of many. In conjunction with this, transportation to four customs ports is also evaluated and compared for the first time. Before moving on to a general history of the customs administration and the information which has been culled from the accounts, a brief discussion will be taken up on their strengths and weaknesses.

The importance of the customs accounts in an economic study of English ports after 1275 cannot be overestimated. For the first time in the history of trade a comprehensive picture of alien commerce in a set group of towns is feasible. The accounts provide a vast amount of information on merchants coming in and out of the country, the ships on which they sailed, and the goods in which they traded with corresponding measurements and values. They present a unique record of individual trade patterns in each of the customs ports — an interesting account of

the commercial life of four communities. This dissertation concentrates upon the 1303 custom on alien general merchandise since studies on the wool and wine trade have already been done.¹⁸ The surviving documents for the four ports of this study make possible a comparative assessment of their alien trade.

While the importance of the 1303 customs accounts has been stressed, their limitations must be realised. The tax on general merchandise did not pertain to English merchants and, therefore, it is not possible to gain any idea of the volume of their trade through the ports. This prevents formulation of a total picture of early fourteenth century trade and necessitates reliance upon alien trade figures.

A more serious drawback to an assessment of alien trade is that for the first few decades of the fourteenth century, one is left with the bare rudiments of what was once an annual record of the comings and goings of aliens in the ports. For each of the four ports under consideration, the number of extant accounts varies considerably. Hull possesses the fullest record for the period with both export and import accounts from mid 1304 until mid 1307, at which point import accounts survive continuously until Michaelmas, 1309. Export accounts carry on until Michaelmas, 1308, broken only for a two month period in mid 1307. Both import and export figures are available for the regnal year 1310 - 1311. With the reinstatement of the petty customs in 1322, after their cessation in 1311, import accounts survive for 1322 - 1323 and 1324 - 1325. Unfortunately the corresponding export accounts are not extant. Yarmouth possesses enough accounts to provide us with information on two regnal years: 1310-1311 and 1325 - 1326. While Boston and Southampton possess records for the early years of Edward III, unlike Hull, they are not full enough to allow more than a perfunctory statement on the nature of trade during this

18) Lloyd, op cit.; James, op. cit.

period. The early years of Edward II's reign for Southampton are covered by extant accounts for 1308 - 1309 and 1310 - 1311. In the latter part of the same reign, the only surviving account is that for imports in 1323. The accounts for Boston have not fared any better. Export accounts exist for 1303 and the first half of 1304, with the corresponding import accounts only for January to September, 1303. Almost an entire Exchequer year's accounts exist for both imports and exports in 1308 - 1309. This is also the case for exports in 1326 - 1327, while imports survive for half of the same year.¹⁹

Other difficulties arise in the accounts themselves. It is not always possible to ascertain the value of each commodity listed, under a merchant's name because the shipments of several different types are frequently combined. In several cases water-stains or holes in a membrane impede transcription, although complaint on this is minimal. For the four ports in this study, the documents were usually in excellent condition.²⁰ Difficulties with abbreviations and translation were seldom a problem.

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- 19) The accounts for these four ports have fared much better than those of other customs ports. King's Lynn only possesses accounts for the later years of this study, 1322-1325. E122/93/17; 93/18; 93/19; 93/22; 93/24; Ipswich's accounts are more complete, but several are badly damaged. Accounts are extant for 1305-1306 (E122/52/38), 1309-1310 (50/18), 1325-1326 (50/13), 1326-1327 (50/17) and 1331-1332 (50/19, 50/20); Exeter's only accounts are for 1324-1325 (E122/40/7B) and 1323-1325 (40/7A). Both record trade through Exmouth, Dartmouth, Teignmouth and Plymouth. One account is extant for London (E122/69/15) for the beginning of Edward III's reign and none have survived for Newcastle. Sandwich has been more fortunate with customs accounts for parts of 1303, 1305 and 1307-1308. One account survives for the later years of Edward II's reign. (E122/124/11, 124/13, 124/8, 124/9, 124/18, 124/29).
- 20) The Ipswich accounts have fared the worst for the early fourteenth century. Almost the entire first membrane of the account for 1305-1306 (E122/52/38) is illegible and on membrane 5 of the same document there is a huge hole in the centre of the membrane, thus making transcription and assessment impossible. The account for the same port, in 1309-1310 (50/8) is illegible in parts and merchants' names and commodities are frequently impossible to decipher.

The value of the sheriffs accounts in a study of transportation to the customs ports cannot be adequately stressed. Their importance in this dissertation partly rests upon the knowledge which they provide of transport facilities utilised in the carriage of grain through Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Hampshire to the leading ports of the counties. Destinations of carriage which more often than not involved intermediate collection centres, distances of the journeys, and means of carriage combine to give us a composite picture of the most frequented routes of travel. In the case of the above-mentioned counties, the sheriffs accounts graphically illustrate the wealth of rivers and roads at the disposal of the fourteenth century sheriffs. The real value of these accounts, however, lies in their proof of the paramount position which Hull, Boston, Yarmouth and Southampton occupied in their counties and of the close bond existing between the ports and their inland county capitals. Their drawbacks do not outweigh their advantages.

In providing an account of the expenses incurred in carrying grain for the King's wars to the ports, the sheriffs accounts can at the best of times be of a rather sketchy nature. Distances and costs of the journey are not always specified and even when they are, accuracy is questionable. The classic case is the distance of 50 leagues which is given for the carriage of grain between Dunholme and Lincoln in 1301. The actual measurement is five miles.²¹ More often than not, the means of transport is stated in such general terms that it is impossible to ascertain the most likely route of travel without relying upon subsidiary accounts. Conveyance is at various times couched in general terms such as cariag', cariand', ducend', portaag' and other like forms. Cariagium does not

21) E101/568/4.

~~does not~~ mean transport specifically by cart although one authority would counter otherwise,²² because numerous references exist coupling this term with per terram, per aquam and per batellum. A more serious drawback exists in the accounts for both Hampshire and Norfolk in which the sheriffs do not list the regional collection points within each county, but only provide us with a summary account of the hundreds and their contributions to purveyance. In the case of Hampshire, several hundreds are linked together, sharing a common grain assessment and a common distance for the journey to the port, thus pointing to a common collection centre for all of them. Finally, the amount of detail which is provided for each account varies greatly, reflecting the individual quirks of the sheriffs and in no way simplifying the tasks of comparison between the four counties. Despite all these drawbacks, however, interesting, and indeed exciting results emerge which portray the extensive nature of travel in the Middle Ages and the important role which the customs ports played as outports for the export trade of their hinterlands.

With these limitations in mind, there is still an impressive amount of material which both the sheriffs and customs accounts make available for an assessment of medieval trade and transport.

22) J. F. Willard, 'The Use of Carts in the Fourteenth Century', History 26 (1932) p.248.

C H A P T E R I

CUSTOMS ADMINISTRATION 1275 - 1343

England in the late thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century witnessed a profound alteration in the pattern of royal administration and finance. Prolonged wars and increasing governmental costs necessitated the creation of new sources of revenue as the traditional methods of finance proved inadequate under their burgeoning weight. Old war debts greeted each new accession to the throne and an ever-increasing threat of new wars made inevitable the maintenance of paid troops and an extensive alliance system with foreign magnates. Alongside the growth of military expenditure stood a similar increase in the central administration. Household expenses broadened and royal favours in the form of tax exemptions and grants were numerous. Tax evasions by the privileged and unprivileged alike pulled at the last remaining threads of the existing financial structure. The traditional sources of royal revenue could not be counted upon to cover court and household expenses in time of peace, let alone to relieve increased financial pressures in time of war. More and more, royal expenditure came to be on a hand-to-mouth basis.

The sources of revenue at the Crown's disposal were basically three types. The king in his capacity as landlord and feudal lord received the farms of shires, boroughs, and royal manors, as well as escheats, wardships and reliefs. As the head of state he was entitled to duties on exports and imports, lay subsidies and clerical tenths. Finally, revenues were available from the operations of government such as amercements, fines, and profits of the seals and mints. Unfortunately, annual returns from all these sources were not always possible. Direct taxes, while bringing considerable returns, were infrequent and their assessment and collection too slow to entirely keep pace with the King's financial obligations. Fines, forfeitures, vacant sees, wardships, amercements and the like

could not always be relied upon to fulfil the King's monetary needs. Feudal dues continued to dwindle as the period advanced.¹ The only solution lay in broadening existing resources available to the Crown and incorporating new types of taxation into the financial structure. The expansion of that most ancient of royal prerogatives, purveyance, and the creation of one of the most lucrative sources of revenue, customs, represent two of the Crown's attempts to meet its rising financial obligations. This chapter will deal with the latter, in terms of its history, personnel and local areas of administration before proceeding to an investigation of the customs accounts themselves. The sheriffs accounts will be discussed in Chapter 4.

1) Joseph Strayer, 'Introduction', The English Government at Work 1327-1336, ed. J. F. Willard, W. A. Morris, J. R. Strayer and W. H. Dunham, 2 (1947), p.4; James Ramsey, A History of the Revenues of the Kings of England, 1 (1925), p.81.

1. History

By the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the link had already been forged between the customs duties which were to become an integral part of English medieval finance and the Crown's growing reliance upon foreign merchants. This relationship had its roots in the association of the monarchy with large companies of Italian merchant-bankers. The penetration of this enterprising group into the north commenced in the late twelfth century when occasional loans were granted to English monarchs. Through a position as papal tax collectors and as speculative wool merchants their companies expanded throughout Europe and by the reign of Henry III groups of Italian merchant-bankers had gained a strong foothold and were beginning to prosper. Under Edward I they were to become the 'cornerstone' of his entire financial structure.² This cornerstone, one might add, ultimately fell under the weight of the edifice it had endeavoured to sustain.

Through an elaborate system of loans granted by the Italians, the Crown was able to maintain a continuous, if somewhat shaky, financial existence. This was augmented by the creation of a new source of revenue in 1275 with the establishment of the first permanent tax on exports. The commodity chosen for this tax was the most lucrative form of wealth in the country — wool.

By the thirteenth century England was the foremost supplier of raw wool to Flanders and Italy and in turn imported a considerable amount of foreign cloth. By the fourteenth century wool was easily the leading export. It was this commodity which allowed Edward I, his son, and grandson to finance their wars and to maintain their expanding households.

2) Kaeuper, op.cit., p.77.

When lay and clerical subsidies fell short and feudal dues began to wane, it was this commodity which enabled them to transact business with leading Italian entrepreneurs and English merchants. Furthermore, it was this commodity which formed the basis of the customs service, and as such, the history of the tax and the commodity upon which it was charged are one. As the most lucrative export in the country, the King's policies on the customs system are closely identified with the wool trade. For this reason, discussion of the customs administration is primarily concerned with the Crown's attempts to maintain firm control of wool export. The customs on alien imports and exports in general merchandise must be seen in this perspective.

Precedents set for the development of a customs tax date back to 1202 when King John imposed a fifteenth on all imports and exports of foreign merchants and possibly English as well. Several years later in 1210 a tax on woad and grain was charged. The real breakthrough in the establishment of the 1275 duty, however, came in 1266 with imposition of the new aid. In February of that year the Lord Edward was granted the right to control and supervise all stranger and overseas merchants coming into the realm and remaining there with their merchandise. The result was a comprehensive levy collected on all imports and exports of aliens and denizens alike on an ad valorem basis. Its genesis seems to have involved no consultation with either a parliament or great council although it is fairly likely that the merchants themselves were consulted before its imposition.

The next few years prior to 1275, the new aid of 1266 stood on rather shaky ground. Opposition to it was widespread both at home and abroad ranging from the fairly mild complaints of King Louis to the more assertive refusals to aid Edward's agents by the Bishop of Durham and the countess of Aumale. At one point for certain it was suspended in

May 1267, providing French merchants with the opportunity to present their objections at St. Giles Fair at Winchester. While evidence is slim, that which does exist suggests that the aid was still in effect right up until the inception of the new custom in Edward's first parliament in 1275. Shortly after it came into effect and until 1272, the 1266 new aid was farmed to the Florentines and once again on the eve of the 1275 tax we hear of a commission granted to the Riccardi to collect customs until Easter. It has been suggested that the latter move was made with the intent of continuing the government's financial relationship with the Italians until the 1275 customs could be approved in the parliament meeting in the spring of the same year.³ Their appointment as farmers of the aid at the incredibly low rate of £2000 substantiates the claim that the new aid at this time was an interim measure designed to give the King's chosen firm of bankers a profitable retaining fee for their future services while at the same time helping to pay the bill for past advances.

At the same time that the 1266 new aid was undergoing difficulties, conditions for the imposition of the 1275 custom were growing in its favour. By that time the Crown's monetary dependence upon Italian banking firms was clearly established and the Riccardi, Edward's chief bankers, during the first part of his reign, had already lent him £31,000. Traditional sources of revenue were slow in repaying this sum and it was evident that a new source of revenue must be tapped if large scale transactions between the Crown and the Italians were to continue. Wool was bringing high prices and could therefore bear the brunt of a duty, while the current economic war between England and Flanders with its wool embargo prepared the minds of wool growers and exporters alike for just such a duty.

3) Ibid., p.142.

Strict enforcement of the embargo after Edward took over the realm in 1272 must have impressed upon those most clearly involved that the imposition of a small duty would be better than the prohibition on wool export which they were presently undergoing. On 22 April, 1275 Edward I convened his first parliament and with it the history of the customs service was firmly established.⁴

The tax levied in May 1275 by parliament with the consent of the merchants provided for an elaborate system of customs collection and control. A duty was to be charged on the export of all wool, wool-fells and hides at the following rates: 6s.8d. on each sack of wool and on each bale of 300 woolfells and 13s.4d. on each last of leather. Unlike the new aid of 1266, this custom was limited to these commodities and both English and alien merchants were subjected to it. According to original plans, in each county the largest town where there was a port would be the location of the customs administration. Here two customs collectors were to be elected by the town and the Crown would appoint a third official to serve as an overseer or controller to ensure that work was carried out efficiently and that no customs evasion occurred. To further check evasion, customs ports were assigned on the southern and western coasts of the country, even though the majority of wool export took place on the east coast. Areas of negligible wool export such as Cornwall, Wales and Chester do not figure prominently, if at all, in the accounts, however. By the end of Edward I's reign the customs ports were fairly standardised -- Newcastle, Hartlepool, Hull, Boston, Lynn, Yarmouth, Ipswich, London, Sandwich, Southampton, Weymouth, Exeter and Bristol. Two more were added during the course of the next thirty years -- Chichester in 1307, and York in 1339.⁵ This brought the total up to 15

4) Ibid., pp.135-151 for a history of the customs prior to 1275.

5) The ports which comprised the centres of customs administration fluctuated throughout the period and it is difficult to arrive at a set list. Kaeuper rejects the idea of a customs port for Durham and yet the enrolled accounts list wool returns from Hartlepool after 1303. Ibid., p.151; Carus-Wilson and Coleman, op.cit., pp.40-46.

English ports by the middle of the fourteenth century. Each served as the principal place of shipment for the surrounding area and the accounts were normally listed under their names as head ports.

Although the customs provided the Crown with an additional source of revenue, it proved inadequate to meet the increasing financial demands of the period. By 1294, England was embroiled in wars on three fronts and royal revenue fell short of the heavy financial burdens which military expenditure incurred. At that time, the Riccardi were dismissed as the King's bankers on the supposed grounds that they owed more to the government than the Crown did to them. This left the King without any stable financial backing just prior to his declaration of war against France and forced the government to resort to extremely unpopular methods of finance. In June, 1294 an order for a prise of wool was altered to an imposition of the maltote, a heavy export duty of ³ marks per wool sack, with a higher rate for aliens. Although merchants no doubt adjusted their prices to the higher rate, resistance to the imposition along with the effects of the French war and Edward's prohibition on export by Italian merchants combined to halve the wool exports for the next few years.⁶

With the renewed threat of a seizure of wool and the realisation of that threat in April and July of 1297, resentment rose over the King's underhanded tactics in paying for his campaign. Not only were the prises of wool unpalatable in themselves, but the methods used in conjunction with the wool seizures were equally as distasteful. Owners were not always given receipts. Concealment evoked arrest and sequestration of goods, and native merchants, rich and poor alike, as well as foreigners had their wool confiscated although promised otherwise. The maltote and

6) Kaeuper, op.cit., p.213; G. Sayles, 'The Seizure of Usolat Easter 1297', English Historical Review, 47 (1952), p.545; E. B. Fryde, 'Financial Resources of Edward I in the Netherlands, 1294-1298', Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, 60 (1962), p.1180.

prise of wool combined with the other financial exactions elicited a deep animosity and resentment resulting in an ordinance known as the Confirmatio Cartarum. In this document the maltote was abolished and it was ordained that all future aids, mises and prises were to be taken only with the common consent of the realm.⁷ Thus the Crown was left with only the antiqua custuma of 1275, a not too formidable weapon in the face of rising debts. The old custom was not to stand alone for long however. It was soon joined by another.

In 1303, Edward entered into an agreement with foreign merchants resulting in the charter of liberties known as the Carta Mercatoria. This was an agreement which provided the Crown with a higher customs duty from the foreign merchants in exchange for certain liberties. The concessions which they were able to obtain placed them on virtually the same footing as the English. In return, the king received extra duties on goods imported and exported by foreign merchants. An additional 3s.4d. was levied on each sack of wool or 300 woolfells and 6s.8d. on a last of leather. Specific sums were also attached to wine, cloth and wax, plus an ad valorem duty on general merchandise at 3d. on every £1 of value.⁸

Similar negotiations with the English merchants were unfruitful. An assembly of merchants summoned to the Exchequer at York refused to consent to an exaction of the new customs upon themselves.⁹ Naturally, the increased privileges, new freedoms and exemptions from local tolls granted to the foreign merchants threatened the economic superiority of the English and the custom duty of 1303 which incorporated these privileges was looked upon with disfavour.

7) Bertie Wilkinson, Constitutional History of Medieval England 1216-1399 (1963), p.196.

8) Gras, Customs, pp.67, 259-64.

9) F. Palgrave, ed., Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons, 1 (1827), pp.134-5.

During most of Edward I's reign, the custom administration was in the hands of Italian merchant-bankers as security and repayment on the loans provided to the Crown. From 1275 until 1294, they were assigned to the Riccardi. During the next three years, the original organisational plan of 1275 was enacted and royal officials were stationed in the customs ports. From 1298 until the end of the reign, customs administration reverted to the hands of eleven Italian firms, most notably the Frescobaldi.¹⁰

The accession to the throne of Edward II in July 1307, brought the familiar problems of war and debt to a man far less capable of handling them. The early years of his reign began much like the closing years of his father's. The Frescobaldi received confirmation of their grant of the customs shortly after the Crown passed to the new monarch¹¹ and this grant remained in effect until 1311. At that time, however, latent resentment towards the favoured position of Italian merchants fostered during the reign of Edward I made itself manifest.

In 1311, a major clash between the barons and Edward II resulted in the expulsion of the Frescobaldi from control of customs administration and a call for reform in the handling of the customs receipts. The reforms were enumerated in the Ordinances of 1311,¹² the work of the Ordainers led by Thomas, earl of Lancaster, and voiced discontent over operation of the customs administration. From then on, only Englishmen were to administer the customs service and all customs receipts were to be brought to the Exchequer. Furthermore, the new custom of 1303 was abolished on the grounds that it had never received parliamentary

10) Calendar of Patent Rolls 1292-1301, pp.414, 416-7, 585; Ibid., 1301-1307, pp.57, 213, 262, 395-6, 485, 521-4.

11) Calendar of Fine Rolls, 2 : 11.

12) Statutes of the Realm, 1 (1810), pp.156-67.

sanction. Once again, the Crown was left with the old custom of 1275.

The restrictive nature of the Ordinances did not have the desired effect of inhibiting Edward II's bad habits, however, and he continued to assign cocket foils to Italian merchants in order that they might collect the customs duties directly from the ports.¹³ Financial expediency in the form of money for Edward's Scottish war eventually brought the Crown to heel. In the spring of 1316, the Ordinances were re-confirmed and all customs assignments to Italian merchants were revoked. The king's adamantness in his policy after this comes to light in the appointment of some of his creditors as surveyors and receivers to customs in seven ports.¹⁴

It was only with the emergence of a group in 1318 who sought to reconcile the king and the baronial opposition that Edward II's obstinacy began to wane. Although the king still remained hostile towards the Ordinances and continued to assign customs revenues to his creditors, they were not given the cocket foils. Even after Edward broke loose from the constrictions of the Ordinances, the king did not take up the policy of his predecessor by granting the customs and cocket seals to the Italians. The new customs of 1303 was re-enacted, but customs were rarely used as security for loans.¹⁵

A policy which coincided with the customs administration under Edward II was the staple which was initiated by English merchants for purposes of monopolising the regulation of overseas wool trade. In 1313 the merchants successfully convinced the Crown that the establishment of a foreign staple for the control of the sale and distribution of English wool would increase royal revenue. The staple system would cut short the

13) Calendar of Close Rolls 1307-1313, p.380; C.P.R. 1307-1313, pp.377, 386; C.F.R. 2 : 98-9.

14) Baker, Customs Service, p.13 citing C.F.R. 2 : 277, 281, 282, 288.

15) Baker, op.cit.

losses incurred through free trade by the selection of one port to which all merchants would have to ship their wool. This port, St. Omer, was chosen by the mayor and community of the ^{Staple}realm.¹⁶

While the staple was in effect, customable merchandise was still brought to the customs ports where the old custom of 1275 was collected. In August 1313, letters patent were issued directing all collectors in all customs ports to assist the mayor of the staple.¹⁷ Seven years later a further order was given holding the customs collectors responsible for strict enforcement of the staple regulations. When the foreign staple was replaced by a number of home staples in 1326, some of the customs ports served as staple towns as did various inland towns chosen for their importance as commercial centres in the country. The English staple towns were as follows: Newcastle-upon-Tyne, York, Lincoln, Norwich, London, Winchester, Exeter and Bristol.¹⁸ In some cases, those customs ports not involved acted as the shipping ports for inland staple towns, in which case the customs were collected at the port. Thus Southampton acted as the shipping port for Winchester while Boston followed suit for Lincoln and Great Yarmouth for Norwich. The wool outside these towns could only be bought by English merchants and was then carried to the staple towns where it could be sold. All unsold wool could be shipped after its owner had resided within the staple town for forty days.¹⁹

While the home staple proved advantageous to the English merchants who now had a monopoly on wool trade within the realm, it understandably frustrated the foreign merchants who were forced to purchase their wool at the staple town. Their displeasure led to the abandonment of the system in 1328 when the regents of Edward III offered to suspend the

16) Robert Baker, 'The Establishment of the English Wool Staple in 1313', *Speculum*, 31 (1956), p.446.

17) *C.P.R. 1313-1317*, pp.15, 56.

18) *Ibid.*, 1324-1327, p.269.

19) Thomas F. Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History*, (1936), p.189.

home staples until Christmas of that year in return for a loan of 6s.8d. on every sack of wool exported up until that time. The system was never revived after that date, however, and the July, 1328, suspension marked the end of the compulsory staple until 1333.²⁰

The reign of Edward III, like that of his father and grandfather, was characterised by heavy military expenditure and an increasing burden of debt, part of which had been inherited from Edward II. The policy of the new monarch towards the customs service closely resembled that of Edward I. Once again, wool was used as a diplomatic ploy, this time to win allies for the opening of the war with France. Once again, the customs were used as security for loans, this time often spread so thinly among so many creditors that assignments were not immediately redeemable and full payments were sometimes not received.²¹

Under the regency of Isabella and Mortimer, customs began to be utilised again as the major security on loans and one half of the cocket seal was given to the moneylenders. In May, 1328. the de la Pole brothers, prominent Hull merchants, entered into an agreement with the Crown whereby they would loan £20 a day to the Wardrobe in return for an assignment of all customs at London and in the ports north of London. This agreement lasted until February, 1329. It was transferred to the Bardi merchants also at £20 a day from August, 1329 until November, 1330, in return for the receipts from all the customs ports. During this period the Bardi, successors to the Frescobaldi as king's bankers, are known to have lent at least £39,576.3s.6d. for the maintenance of the Household, the king's diplomatic business, and for repayment of the Crown's debts.²²

20) Baker, Speculum, p.447.

21) E. B. Fryde, 'Loans to the English Crown, 1328-1331', English Historical Review, 70 (1955), p.199; Ephraim Russell, 'The Societies of the Bardi and Peruzzi and Their Dealings with Edward III 1327-1334', Finance and Trade under Edward III, ed. George Unwin, (1918), p.105.

22) Fryde, 'Loans to the English Crown', p.203.

By the time Edward III came to the throne, the customs administration had been in operation over fifty years. Save for occasional commissions of inquiry into alleged malpractices, very little had been done to a system in desperate need of reform. The person who realised this most clearly was William Airmyn, Bishop of Norwich and new treasurer of the Exchequer. It was he who was responsible for the Ordinance of 1331 which aimed at reform of the customs administration.

The Ordinance of 1331 worked within the general framework of the customs of 1275 by leaving the basic organisational plan intact while giving fuller scope to it. From now on, all controllers were to serve in the customs ports in person. In the past, permission had been granted on numerous occasions for deputies to be appointed, resulting in much fraudulent behaviour and loss of customs revenue. All commissions of controllers and tronagers, including life appointments, were revoked and new appointments were issued. Thenceforward, the controllership was to become an office of greater responsibility and appointments were to be issued from Westminster. Tronagers were to be selected by the residents of the customs ports and the controller and at least one of the collectors were to be present when the wool was being weighed. Closer scrutiny by the Exchequer was also mentioned. Now, accounts were to be rendered by the collectors at the Exchequer on a quarterly basis.²³

Although the Ordinances of 1331 provided a wide range of checks on the customs administration, one vital area was still vulnerable. After May, 1331, royal creditors were still allowed to hold the controller's half of the cocket seal when they were assigned customs. Thus, once again, controllers were deprived of their surest means of providing

23) Baker, Customs Service, p.23 citing C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.145.

proper service.

The years preceding the reform plan of 1331 saw greater financial demands placed upon the wool trade, as Edward III endeavoured to support Balliol in his claim to the Scottish throne. The additional funds needed for this venture took the form of a retroactive tax of one half mark on wool, woolfells and hides, encompassing the period 2 February, 1332 until exactly one year later.²⁴ In order to assuage the wool merchants, Edward re-established the system of home staples in nine English ports.²⁵ The staple policy was virtually the same as that of 1326 except that this time the old and new customs were to be collected in the staple towns as opposed to the customs ports.²⁶ Although the Crown sought the merchants' approval to the retroactive tax on two occasions, not even the establishment of the staple could persuade them to assent to it. Nevertheless, on 20 January, 1333, the king ordered that the subsidy be collected.²⁷

Difficulties arose almost immediately in the collection of the 1331 maltote when merchants refused to pay the tax, and when customs fell because they were not patronising the staple towns. On 18 May, 1333, the merchants offered to pay 10s. on each sack of wool or each bale of 300 woolfells and 20s. on each last of leather in lieu of the mandatory subsidy which was bringing in very little revenue.²⁸ This tax would take effect four days prior to the agreement and would remain in effect for one year.

The new agreement of 1333 proved just as disappointing to the Crown. Merchants still refused to pay the new subsidy or held back their wool and kept it in storage. Protests against the king's and

24) Strayer, 'Introduction', English Government at Work, 2 : 8.

25) C.P.R. 1330-1334, pp.362-4.

26) Mabel H. Mills, 'The Collectors of Customs', English Government at Work 2 : 189.

27) C.F.R. 4 : 342.

28) Ibid., p.365; C.C.R. 1333-1337, pp.60-1.

merchant's agreements culminated in the York Parliament of 1334 in which the staple and subsidy were abandoned.²⁹ Customs once again were to be collected in the customs ports.

With the decision of Edward III to lay claim to the French throne in 1336, the wool trade again gained importance as a source of royal revenue. The Crown's resolution to subdue the Scots and conquer the French simultaneously resulted in arbitrary measures of taxation and seizures of wool. Like his grandfather, Edward III realised that it was the wool of the nation which could provide him with payments for his troops, armaments, security on loans and the support of allies.

Edward III's ability to maintain a constant, if rather meagre, flow of finance into his continental ventures depended to a great deal upon his ability to exploit the wool trade effectively. This was accomplished not only through grants in wool and higher subsidy rates, but also through restrictions on the actual wool trade itself. It was to this expedient that Edward III turned in 1336 when the customs collectors were ordered to lock up the cocket seals and to prevent wool exportation. This was an attempt to bring the count of Flanders to an alliance with England. In March, 1337, Parliament supported the king by sanctioning this wool embargo.³⁰

During the same year, the Crown received a levy of a tenth and a fifteenth from the Parliament at Nottingham and a grant of a 40s. maltote on wool exports from an assembly of merchants meeting simultaneously with the Parliament.³¹

When the wool embargo was lifted in 1337 it was no other than the king himself who entered into the wool trade. On 26 July, 1337, Edward III negotiated a contract with a company of English merchants through

29) C.C.R. 1333-1337, p.302.

30) Baker, Customs Service, p.34 citing C.C.R. 1333-1337, p.70; Statutes of the Realm 1 : 280-281.

31) George Unwin, Finance and Trade under Edward III, (1918), p.184.

their representatives, William de la Pole and Reginald de Conduit of London. Through this agreement the merchants were to have the sole right to purchase and sell 30,000 sacks of wool in Dordrecht. The profits were to be divided equally between the merchants and the Crown, each receiving £200,000 to be paid in instalments as the shipments of wool were sold. Thus the country would lend its wool to the merchants who in turn would lend one half of the profits to the king.³²

The first consignment of 10,000 sacks of wool met with opposition throughout the country as wool was concealed and resistance to the merchant collectors rose.³³ Proceeds from this consignment had been promised to Edward's newly bought continental allies and payments to them were already in arrears. When the merchants refused to pay Edward's envoys at Dordrecht an amount in excess of that negotiated in their agreement, Edward had no recourse but to seize the 10,000 sacks of wool which had arrived at the port.³⁴ In return, the owners received promissory notes which were redeemable on future wool exportations, the majority of which were still not paid by July, 1343.³⁵ Hemmed in by foreign creditors and allies, Edward chose a course of action which not only dissolved the wool contract of 1337, but also forced him to return to Parliament for direct grants of wool.

During the next six years, 1338 to 1343, the Crown received three grants of wool from Parliament: 20,000 sacks as loans in both 1338 and 1340 and 30,000 sacks as a wool tax in 1341.³⁶ Collection of these grants proceeded on a slow basis and the sales on the continent of the wool collected brought in much smaller returns than the king had

32) Ibid, p.190; C.P.R. 1334-1338, pp.480-1.

33) C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.573; C.C.R. 1337-1339, p.184, 273.

34) E. B. Fryde, 'Financial Resources of Edward III in the Netherlands,' 1337-1340' Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Historie, 65 (1967), pp.1147-8.

35) G. O. Sayles, 'The English Company of 1343 and a Merchants 'Oath' ', Speculum, 6 (1931), pp.184-5.

36) Baker, Customs Service, p.34.

anticipated.

With the wool grant of 1338, the monopoly held by the English merchants in 1337 passed to the Bardi and Peruzzi. Proclamation was issued that no wool was to be bought or shipped until the 20,000 sacks had been exported by them.³⁷ This policy was never strictly enforced, however, and licences were granted to various merchants over the next two years. These licences combined with the wool grant itself greatly impeded the collection of the wool. Only 3,000 of the 20,000 was collected successfully.³⁸

By 1340 royal policy was completely reversed, and merchants were invited to share in the king's parliamentary grants. They would now contract for the king's wool and export it without special licences. Unlike wool shipped previously by the king's agents, this wool was subject to customs. This procedure remained in effect until 1343 and clearly denotes a change in Edward III's attitude about the most lucrative means of maintaining a war-time economy. Before 1340, the emphasis had been on profits from continental wool sales. After that date, customs and wool subsidies attained increasing prominence.

The early years of Edward III's conflict with France were a period of growing frustration. Campaigns were delayed and plans thwarted as the country balked at the increasingly onerous exactions imposed upon it by the Crown. Edward III was faced with rising military costs at a time when revenues were slipping through his fingers. Delays in wool shipments, outright refusals to pay subsidies, and evasions of wool grants were too much for the financial structure to bear. Commencing with the year 1336, various remedies were tried in order to alleviate the ills of the customs administration as it stood at that time.

37) C.C.R. 1337-1339, p.393.

38) F. C. Barnes, 'The Taxation of Wool 1327-1348', Finance and Trade under Edward III, ed. George Unwin (1918), p.148.

The first experiment in tighter customs control went hand in hand with the wool embargo of 1336. It was recognised almost immediately that smuggling would undoubtedly rise with the closure of the wool ports. Teams of searchers were appointed over the next few years whose sole responsibility was to patrol various sections of the English coast and examine all vessels for uncustomed merchandise. Compensation was offered in the way of specific allocations of the confiscated merchandise.³⁹

A close watch on wool exportation was facilitated during the same period by the reduction in the number of ports in which customs were collected. When the wool embargo was lifted in 1337, only four ports could be utilised by the contract merchants as ports for wool export to Dordrecht: London, Newcastle, Hull and Boston. During the next three years, fifteen ports were opened, but this number was reduced to eight in the early months of 1342. The total dropped to four by the end of the year and remained that way until July, 1343.⁴⁰

Further measures taken against evasions of the customs included the alteration of commissions to collectors of the old customs to include an entire area of the coast surrounding the customs ports and the opening of the staple in 1338. The Ordinance of the staple followed three years later.⁴¹ Cocket letters were now to be given in the form of indentures whereby the exporter was given one half of the indenture to be surrendered at the staple in Bruges and the collector retained the other half. Both halves would come to the Exchequer in due course where they might be compared.

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- 39) Baker, Customs Service, p.36 citing C.P.R. 1334-1338, pp.281, 282, 509, 577; C.P.R. 1338-1340, pp.187, 353, 357, 368, 381; C.P.R. 1340-1343, pp.208, 216, 317, 323.
- 40) Baker, Customs Service, p.36 citing C.C.R. 1341-1343, pp.396; 397-8, 593-4; Ibid., 1343-1346, pp.37, 136; C.P.R. 1340-1343, pp.521-2, 577-8.
- 41) Thomas Rymer, ed., Foedera Conventiones Literae et Cuiuscumque Genesis Acta Publica 2 (1830), pp.1172-3.

Edward III's exasperation at the laxity of customs collection and the general lack of efficiency and speed in the administration of the government can be very clearly seen in the Walton Ordinances issued in July of 1338.⁴² Collectors and controllers were now to be elected locally and were to be sent to the Chancery to receive their commissions and take oath. Although some of the elections were ratified by November, 1338 local elections had become virtually obsolete by the end of 1339.⁴³ Townsmen were hesitant about incorporating a policy into their municipal life which would hold them responsible for the conduct of the men they elected. More importantly, was the government's virtual blindness to the basic maladies of the system. By the spring of 1340 the policy of exemption from personal service had already been renewed.⁴⁴

When a distraught king impatiently awaiting supplies in Brabant demanded to be informed of the delays in his wool shipment of 1339, he was told that it was the 'fault of the collectors, receivers, and customers, whom the treasurer cannot bring to account nor the chancellor by his writs.'⁴⁵ Thereupon followed a series of investigations to check into customs operation in the ports and the conduct of collectors, tornagers and controllers.

Although in the beginning, some of the commissions were used merely as threats along with warnings of heavy penalties, their potential was realised with the unexpected return of Edward III to England in 1340. The king's ire had been aroused by the habitual tardiness in shipment of supplies, eventually forcing a suspension of

42) May McKisack, The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399 (1959), pp.157-9.

43) C.C.R. 1337-1339, p.501; Thomas F. Tout, Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England 3 (1928), pp.96-7.

44) Robert de Denton, Hull's controller, was exempted from personal service in March, 1340. Baker, Customs Service, p.41 citing C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.462.

45) Tout, Chapters, 3 : 97.

hostilities with France. The inquisitions which followed his return from France left scarcely any customs ports, great or small, unscathed. Their main result was the proclamation issued in January, 1341, that all local officials were to be ousted from office. They were to be replaced by royal appointees selected from the six to eight nominees supplied by each customs port. As in the past, however, it was not long before complete disregard of the system ensued and appointments reflected the pleasure of the king.⁴⁶

With the closure of customs ports in 1342 and their subsequent reopening two months later under strict surveillance, the Crown ended what had proved to be a very ineffective series of attempts at customs control. Edward III recognised his failure to maintain a tight rein on the customs administration when he negotiated with a company of English merchants to farm the customs in July, 1343. These denizens were to continue in the footsteps of William de la Pole and the Italians.

Although the customs provided Edward III with nearly one third to one half of his revenue, it is difficult to imagine that the full potential of the system was met. Evasions did occur and they occurred more often than the surviving evidence recounts. While wool was a bulky commodity to stow away in the holds of most ships, the temptation to do so must have been great. The realm was besieged with heavy subsidies, prises of wool, maltotes, wool embargoes, and compulsory staples and it is little wonder that attempts were made at smuggling.

The number of commissions of inquiry into the smuggling of customable merchandise and the appointment of searchers and surveyors seemed to run parallel to the Crown's growing concern over malpractice and its ever-increasing need of revenue. Fewer commissions were held

46) Baker, Customs Service, pp.41-5 citing C.C.R. 1339-1341, pp.450-1, 628, 663-4; C.F.R. 5 : 165-6.

during the reigns of Edward I and II when the country was not faced with the burdens of a fiscal policy quite as expansive as that of Edward III. Evidence of smuggling does survive, however. In 1296, the Boston customs official discovered eleven dickers of contraband leather which they promptly seized. The following year, Henry of Arderne was charged with multiple accounts of smuggling wool to Flanders.⁴⁷ Surveyors were appointed in 1303 to examine customs operation in the ports so that they 'can advisedly inform collectors touching the things that need correction, and to do and ordain all things expedient'.⁴⁸ In the same year, king's clerks and the mayor of Lincoln were commissioned to weigh again the wool in all the customs ports and verify that the proper customs duties had been paid.⁴⁹

Inquisitions during Edward II's reign provide little light on the extent of corruption and smuggling in the customs ports. Although numerous commissions of inquiry were established, results were disappointing. The inquisitions of 1317 and 1320 do not seem to provide the answer to the decline in wool shipments. This could possibly be due to the fact that the inquisitions depended upon the response of juries composed of townsmen of the wool ports.⁵⁰

Under Edward III, commissions ran pace with the growing anxiety over insufficient funds. Wool earmarked for the king's continental ventures was shipped without customs, good wool was shipped on grants issued for shipment of poor quality wool, and wool levies were disregarded. In Devon, where stannary men were quit of customs dues, a commission was established to investigate the allegations of men posing

47) Hubert Hall, A History of the Customs Revenue in England 2 (1885), p.40.

48) C.F.R. 2 : 469, 480.

49) Ibid., pp.471-2.

50) Baker, Customs Service, p.22.

as imposters. Newcastle suffered its own unique problems. Its proximity to the Scottish border and to Berwick which had a custom duty of only one half mark as opposed to that of two in Newcastle resulted in much travel northwards. In 1341, 1343 and 1345, commissions were issued to investigate various malpractices, including customs evasions.⁵¹

Effective operation of the customs service depended to a large extent upon the basic honesty of the collectors, tronagers and controllers in each of the wool ports. Whether officials were elected by fellow townsmen or appointed by the government, snags developed within the system. Loyalty to community and fellow merchants undoubtedly hindered effective customs collection or supervision, while royal appointments usually resulted in absenteeism and favouritism. Searchers' and surveyors' assignments often covered areas too large to be effectively controlled and bribery was an all too real possibility. Examples of collusion between customs officials and merchants are still extant.⁵² Malpractice and corruption were indeed present in the customs service during the reigns of the three Edwards, but this is less significant than the impressive economic figures which the Crown's new source of revenue contributed to the financial structure. Edward I and his successors truly utilised England's most precious commodity to their advantage.

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- 51) C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.105, 320; Ibid., 1343-1345, pp.174, 575; J. B. Blake, 'Medieval Smuggling in the North-East : Some Fourteenth Century Evidence', Archaeologia Aeliana, 43 (1965), p.243.
- 52) Baker, Customs Service, pp.19, 37; Blake, op.cit., p.257; C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.192; Ibid., 1340-1343, pp.242, 557.

2. Customs Officials

The customs administration was operated in the wool ports by a network of local officials who for the most part performed their services gratis. Two collectors, one controller, one tronager and various assistants were located in each customs port.

While the collectors were usually appointed through the Exchequer or Chancery, they were elected by the port communities during the greater part of Edward I's reign.⁵³ Their responsibilities seem to have increased as the Crown's fiscal policies became more diverse. Basically, the position entailed maintaining a daily record of all shipments, collecting customs on the appropriate merchandise and presenting both the records and the money to the Exchequer or to one of the Crown's many creditors to whom customs revenue had been assigned. They also collected two additional charges: two pence for each receipt of the cocket seal which was issued and a half penny charged for weighing each sack of wool. One part of the cocket seal was retained by them, unless recalled by the government. At various times the collectors performed special services for the king such as purchasing victuals for his use⁵⁴ or confiscating counterfeit coins and collecting fines on lightweight coinage.⁵⁵

Since the collectorship carried no pecuniary benefits in the form of salary, it was necessary to appoint substantial men of the community to the post who could afford the time and held enough property to be considered trustworthy. Those selected were usually men who held or were to hold important municipal offices, who were members of parliament, or who were leading wool merchants, although it is

53) Baker, Customs Service, pp.7, 68-9.

54) C.P.R. 1292-1301, pp.299-300, 490; Ibid., 1301-1307, p.33; Ibid. 1307-1313, p.77; Ibid. 1327-1330, p.131.

55) J. C. Davies, 'Wool Customs Accounts for Newcastle for the Reign of Edward I', Archaeologia Aeliana, 32 (1954), pp.223-224.

evident that the latter did not monopolise the position. They were usually residents of the port in which they served, although exceptions to this rule as well as the others oftentimes proved to be the case.⁵⁶

Heavy responsibilities and lack of any appreciable salary leave one to wonder about the advantages of the collectorship which was sought by men of the ports. Possibly they received favourable treatment of their merchandise or received gifts from various merchants.⁵⁷

When the customs were established in 1275, the job of weighing the wool brought to the ports was undertaken by the collectors, but gradually tronagers assumed this responsibility. It was their duty to weigh all wool and heavy goods upon a trone or woolbeam and report the results to the collectors. The actual weighing of the wool was oftentimes left to deputies. Unlike the collectors, tronagers received a salary paid out of the tronage fees or the customs receipts.⁵⁸

The tronagership was usually held by royal clerks and yeomen who sometimes held the position of controller simultaneously.⁵⁹ It was primarily thought of by Edward I and his successors in terms of its monetary value and was often granted for life in return for services to the Crown. Normally, tronagers were commissioned to serve in Newcastle, Hull, Boston, London and Southampton, the ports through which the majority of wool was exported. In the other customs ports townsmen selected men to occupy the post.

Besides two collectors of customs dues, the plans of 1275 also called for the allocation of a controller in every port who was to guard

56) Ibid., p.242; Strayer, 'Introduction', English Government at Work, 2 : 17. For details on individual merchants refer to table at the end of this chapter on pages 41-43.

57) Mills, op.cit., pp.175-6.

58) Baker, Customs Service, p.8.

59) The practice of assigning both the tronagership and controllership to the same person was abolished by the Ordinance of 1331.

against customs evasions. It was his task to keep a duplicate record or counter-roll of shipments passing through the ports which were also recorded by the collectors. He was a salaried, royal appointee and served as the King's representative in each port. Although the office was used only once during Edward I's reign from 1294 until 1298, fiscal policies and tighter control on customs collection necessitated greater reliance on the position. Increasingly the controller's role as keeper of one half of the cocket seal and as a check on the honesty of the collectors assumed vast importance.⁶⁰

Another official closely involved with customs evasions was the searcher who seems to have been primarily appointed to confiscate contraband money. While carrying out their searches on board ships, they would also have opportunity to investigate cases of wool smuggling.⁶¹ Returns could then be made to the Exchequer. As an incentive, portions of confiscated goods were allotted to him.⁶²

Besides the main customs officials, a subordinate staff of clerks aided in the operation of the customs administration. The number of assistants varied according to the importance of the individual port. Clerks were hired to write the collector's rolls and in many cases it was they who collected the customs dues from the merchants. Their salaries were taken from the customs receipts and were allowed as part of the necessary expense of customs operation. Packers, porters, and an occasional waterfront guard also swelled the ranks. The role they played, however, never superseded that of the actual collectors and tronagers who were responsible for the customs revenue.⁶³

The actual work at the ports was usually carried out at the

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- 60) Mills, op.cit., p.176; Carus-Wilson and Coleman, op.cit., p.24.
61) C.C.R. 1296-1302, pp.266-8.
62) Alice Beardwood, 'Royal Mints and Exchanges', English Government at Work, 3 (1950), pp.53-5.
63) Baker, Customs Service, p.9; Mills, op.cit., p.179.

customs house and quay located in most of the ports.⁶⁴ Although wool export occurred on a year-round basis, most wool shipments arrived at the ports in the late summer or early fall after the main summer clipping. Here, the wool was examined by packers who checked to ensure that the wool was all of the same quality and then repacked it in canvas bags or sarplers and weighed it upon the trone or weighing beam. The wool was placed on the ship after the custom had been paid. Sometimes, however, the customs were paid at a future date, such as after the wool had been sold on the continent.⁶⁵ A record was made by the collectors and the controller of each shipment indicating the quantity of merchandise involved, custom paid, merchants' names and towns of origin. These were compiled on the particular accounts which accompanied the collectors to the Exchequer whenever an audit of the accounts was deemed necessary. There, the accounts were checked and a more concise version of the customs records, the enrolled accounts, was drawn up.

As proof of payment, each merchant who exported customable merchandise was given a receipt or cocket letter. This was issued after the shipmaster had sworn that all customable goods had passed through the customs and that all duties had been paid. The cocket letter verified payment and was not considered valid unless both sides of a double-faced cocket or wool seal were attached to it. Each port had different, though somewhat similar, seals. The purpose of the two-sided seal was to ensure that both the collectors and the controller were present at the customs transactions since one half of the cocket was kept by the collectors and the other half by the controller. During most of Edward I's reign, however, this system was evidently not

64) Mills, *op.cit.*, p.180-1; 'The London Customs House during the Middle Ages', *Archaeologia*, 83 (1933), pp.307-25.
65) Fryde, 'Financial Resources of Edward I', p.1180.

in use since the Italian merchant-bankers collected the customs and were granted the controller's half of the cocket, thus depriving the controller of his most effective instrument of control of customs proceedings. Under Edward II and Edward III, the original organisational plan of 1275 was enacted.

3. Customs Ports

The emergence of the national customs service had widespread effects not only upon the nation as a whole but more intimately upon those fifteen ports which were chosen to serve as the very hub of customs administration. As such, it is interesting to examine possible motives behind their selection. While the original plan called for one customs port per county, this was not always the procedure which was followed. Sussex had two and sometimes three, Norfolk had two and by the mid-fourteenth century Yorkshire had the same number. While the criteria for selection seems to have been based upon the largest wool port in each county, other factors seem to have been taken into consideration. An examination of some of these follows.

Chichester was an early administrative and ecclesiastical centre for its region. An interesting feature of its development is the presence of a denizen trade monopoly in the port, while trade in Shoreham, its eastern neighbour, was based upon alien merchants. The latter's accessibility to the continent predisposed alien visits to its quays. On this basis Shoreham seems the more likely choice for the Sussex customs port. In actual fact, the county possessed several ports which served jointly — Chichester, Shoreham and Seaford. No doubt, the great length of the county and the different trade patterns in each

necessitated the appointment of the three ports.⁶⁶

While York was also the seat of secular and ecclesiastical administration, it attained importance with the Scottish campaigns of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Campaigns to the North brought the royal court and exchequer to York on numerous occasions. The stimulus presented by the arrival of government officials and troops created a powerful English merchant class which dominated trade in the city. At the very time when the administration was withdrawing from York in order to concentrate its efforts upon France, Edward III organised a company of English merchants and gave them a monopoly on the wool export. York merchants figured prominently in this group, which over the course of the next ten years financed royal attempts at defeating France.

During Edward III's first campaign to the Netherlands from July, 1338 to February, 1340, his expedition was kept afloat mainly by loans, about half of which were supplied by Englishmen. These were paid back through exemptions from customs payments and a subsidy, at a rate of £2, for every sack exported by them. By March 1340, direct receipts from the King in ready cash amounted to only approximately £1,450 which consisted of two items involving the York merchants. William de la Pole in 1339 was instructed by the King to pay John Goldbeter, William Acastre and Thomas Lindsey all of York £1,000 which was the interest on one of their loans to the king. More importantly, however, these 3 merchants along with William Shirburn and Thomas Gra received an assignment on the customs of York, where a new customs office was

66) VCH Sussex, 1 : 508, 2 : 5-13; 3 : 85, 101; A.M.M. Melville, 'The Pastoral Customs and Local Wool Trade of Medieval Sussex 1085-1485', M.A. thesis University of London (1931), p.116; R. A. Pelham, 'Sussex Wool Ports in the Thirteenth Century', Sussex Notes and Queries (1934), p.101; 'The Exportation of Wool from Sussex in the Late Thirteenth Century', Sussex Archaeological Collections, 74 (1933), p.136.

established for their benefit. Although the York merchants only secured about one fifth of the 2000 marks which they had loaned to the king before York's customs were assigned to Hanseatic merchants a year later, they way had been opened for the direction of customs revenue and with it increased trade in their city.⁶⁷

While the flourishing economy of Kingston-upon-Hull was sufficient in itself to draw the Crown's attention to its possibilities as a customs port, other considerations contributed as well. Situated on the river from whence it takes its name, Hull was in close proximity to the wapentake of Holderness. In 1293, the lordship of Holderness, including the ports of Hedon and Ravenser, escheated to the Crown and it is little wonder that Edward's interests were aroused by the financial prospects that Hull had to offer. As direct lord of Holderness in succession to the earl of Aumale, the king undoubtedly saw the advantages which Hull offered to his holdings. Ravenser was already being encroached upon by the sea and Hedon lay two miles inland along a winding creek. Thus Hull provided a good port for the Holderness estates which at that time were poorly served by Hedon and Ravenser. In 1292 Edward visited the area twice and on the second visit in September, negotiations for the acquisition of the port were well under way. In November, a valuation of the town was ordered and this was carried out the following January. By the end of that month, 1293, negotiations with Meaux Abbey for the exchange of Hull for lands elsewhere was completed. The King immediately set about providing Hull with ever possible advantage to facilitate trade — trade which would certainly benefit Holderness.⁶⁸

67) E.B. Fryde, 'Some Business Transactions of York Merchants — John Goldbeter, William Acastre and Partners 1336-1349', Borthwick Papers, 29 (1966), pp.6-8.

68) VCH East Riding 1:11-16, 54-5; Sir Maurice Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, p.634; Charles Frost, Notices Relative to the Early History of the Town and Port of Hull (1827); Calendar of Charter Rolls 1257-1299 pp. 455-475

Norfolk provides an interesting case in customs port selection. A glance at the paucity of customs returns for Yarmouth during the first twenty years after its selection lead one to wonder about its choice. While it was the largest port in the county, its commercial standing was clearly based upon its proximity to Norwich and the vast numbers of ships which came to its shores in pursuit of herring. Lynn although somewhat smaller was ^{very} ~~bery~~ clearly the leading wool port for the county. Dual selection was no doubt based upon geographical expediency, in a situation akin to Sussex. This could have also, however, reflected Edward I's desire to maintain peace between Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports, whose member, Sandwich, had been appointed the customs port for Kent.⁶⁹

The selection of the remaining customs ports was more straightforward. London, Boston and Southampton were three of the leading wool ports in the country as well as important centres of international trade. Exeter was the natural choice for Devon as the administrative and ecclesiastical capital of southwestern England. Ipswich, Suffolk's customs port, was the obvious choice for that area of the country. From the beginning, it was on favourable terms with alien merchants, providing them with speedy justice. Unlike its neighbours, Dunwich and Orford, the port did not suffer to such a marked extent from the ravages of the sea. Weymouth was a port of little consequence during this period. Its selection reflects the Crown's desire to ensure that control of customs was spaced at fairly even intervals along the coast. The same could be said for Newcastle whose early commercial importance lay in the coal trade and for Hartlepool, although selection of the

69) For a full account of the feud between Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports see F. W. Brooks, 'The Cinque Ports' Feud with Yarmouth in the Thirteenth Century', Mariners' Mirror 19 (1933).

latter was conceivably based upon an attempt to check mismanagement of the Palatinate of Durham by Antony Bek. Bristol's importance as the main English seaport on the west coast ensured its selection.

Whatever the circumstances behind selection of the customs ports, it is clear that they were a group of amazing diversity. What follows in an assessment of four whose similarities point to patterns characteristic of the period and whose difference reflect the uniqueness of the individual local community.

Customs Collectors

Southampton

Robert le Mercer

Collector 29 Jul 1294 - 5 May 1298

1 Apr 1304 - 29 Sep 1307

large scale wool merchant
joint supervisor with John
Holebury of galley
construction 1294-1295
bailiff, alderman
implicated in anti-Jewish
riot 1274-1275
benefactor of Southampton
friary¹

Hugh Sampson

Collector 14 May 1320 - 12 Sep 1328

16 Mar 1331 - 4 Jun 1331

3 Feb 1333 - 12 Mar 1336

large scale ship owner
summoned 1331 to advise
King on nautical matters
alderman, MP
active in trade
both a lender and borrower
of large sums
effects after death valued
at over £200²
1327 lay subsidy - goods
worth £40³
mayor of Southampton⁴

Lynn

Thomas de Melchebourn

Collector 10 Aug 1328 - 13 Dec 1328

12 May 1329 - 14 Jan 1330

large scale wool and corn
merchant

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- 1) Platt, op.cit., p.251.
 - 2) Ibid., pp.256-7.
 - 3) E179/173/4, m.17d.
 - 4) CPR 1327-1330, p.276.

29 Jan 1331 - 24 Feb 1340
1 Mar 1340 - 10 Mar 1341
11 Mar 1342 - 24 Jun 1343

also dealt in cloth, stock-
fish and ale

MP

1 of 4 merchants representing
Norfolk and Suffolk at
1338 Parliament

his brother William assigned
the Boston collectorship
in 1342

head of a prosperous
mercantile house⁵

Boston

John de Wesenham

Collector 6 Mar 1335 - 23 Aug 1336
9 Jan 1337 - 3 Dec 1337

Lynn merchant who

became a royal official
King's clerk, chief butler,
Farmer of alien benefices,
King's serjeant, changer
of King's moneys in
London, Farmer of temporal-
ities of the bishopric of
Ely in King's hands⁶

John de Tumbly

Collector 15 Apr 1315 - 8 Aug 1316
19 Aug 1317 - 13 Jan 1321
20 Jul 1322 - 24 Oct 1323
24 Oct 1323 - 20 Apr 1327
27 Aug 1328 - 10 Jun 1331
9 Dec 1338 - 16 Jul 1340

Wealthiest citizen of Boston
in 1334 lay subsidy
assessed at £70.11s.3d.⁷
wool merchant⁸
main pernor for wine⁹

5) Gras, Corn Market, p.173.
6) Ibid., p.173.
7) E179/135/14, m.19.
8) CCR 1318-1323, p.486.
9) CCR 1307-1313, p.313.

Newcastle

John de Denton

Collector 6 Jun 1328 - 30 Nov 1338
8 Mar 1340 - 30 May 1341

wool merchant
bailiff, mayor
collector of tolls for
maintenance of town walls
case brought against him
by Crown 1344
accused of supplying food
to Scottish army
and of leaving West Gate
of Newcastle open¹⁰

Yarmouth

John Perbrown

Collector 24 Mar 1326 - 26 Feb 1327
14 Mar 1328 - 25 Dec 1329
1 Oct 1330 - 20 Mar 1341

1334 lay subsidy - goods
valued at £30¹¹
admiral of King's navy
north of London
licensed to take red
herring and wheat to
Gascony¹²

Hull

Hugh le Taverner

Collector 29 Jan 1331 - 12 Jun 1331

his ship with cloth worth
£48 attacked off Sluys
1319¹³
protection while taking
victuals to King 1322¹⁴
mayor 1334¹⁵

10) Constance M. Fraser, 'The Life and Death of John of Denton',
Archaeologia Aeliana 37 (1959), pp.303-325.

11) E179/149/9, m.47

12) CPR 1324-1327, p.59

13) CCR 1318-1323, pp.169, 397.

14) CPR 1321-1324, p.109.

15) CCR 1333-1334, p.324.

THE CUSTOMS ACCOUNTS - TRADE

The 1275 customs on wool and the 1303 customs on aliens' general merchandise gave rise to the first sustained set of accounts on alien trade in England. While the former deal specifically with the trade in wool, wool-fells and hides, the latter list all other exports and imports which passed through alien hands. These listings of merchandise, their values, and in some cases their weights or measures are a valuable indicator of trade in the customs ports during the early decades of the fourteenth century. They provide an idea of the relative importance of certain commodities in the ports which in turn portray the industries of their hinterland. Imports reflect the needs of the locality as well as the amount of goods coming from individual countries. Their variety in itself enlightens our perception of the diversity of goods which were in demand in early fourteenth century England. Where possible, the values of both imports and exports, together with the total number of shipments, further illuminate our understanding of the degree of importance which various commodities had in each customs port. All in all, the customs accounts are a uniquely valuable barometer of early fourteenth century trade in general merchandise. In dealing with the accounts for the individual ports, each port will be discussed separately before a brief comparison of the four. Tables of the accounts follows this chapter.

Yarmouth

During the first half of the fourteenth century, the volume of Yarmouth's overseas trade reflects its position as a port of secondary importance. The inferior quality of Norfolk wool deprived it of the

pre-eminence in that trade held by London, Boston, Hull and Southampton. Export figures reveal that less than 5% of the raw wool leaving the country passed through Yarmouth at any given point during this period. Wine remained a steady import representing Gascon reliance upon the port's most valuable export — herring.¹ Other leading imports such as boards, iron, potash, pitch and woad point to links with northern and central Europe. Besides herring, salt and cloth were the main exports. They were those commodities which aptly portrayed Yarmouth's leading enterprise and Norfolk's most notable industry.

Yarmouth's customs accounts for exports in 1310 - 1311 and 1325 - 1327 immediately point to the paramount position which herring held in the economic livelihood of the port. Every autumn during the herring fair from Michaelmas to Martinmas, visitations to the port accelerated, coinciding with the annual herring migration off the Norfolk coast. Every November to January, exports in all other commodities came to a virtual standstill as white or salted herring were laded on to ships. In 1310, ships left Yarmouth during these three months — 7 carrying wool, 2 carrying salt, 1 carrying ale, and 15 carrying herring.² In the same period fifteen years later, not a single ship left the port with wool, while only 2 are recorded for the month of October. The gap in exports is filled, however, by the 21 ships carrying the herring of alien merchants.³ This undoubtedly reflects the close ties between Yarmouth and southern France since over 75% of the ships and a similar number of merchants can be identified with Gascon ports. Victualling of France in return for wine was an important part of the port's economic role at this point in time and it continued throughout the

1) Lloyd, op.cit., p.123; James, op.cit., pp.104-105.

2) E122/178/13; 148/14.

3) E122/148/30; 148/29.

next decade.⁴ The trade represented over half and sometimes as much as two-thirds of the total alien export shipments during the first half of the fourteenth century — an impressive figure clearly pointing to Yarmouth's main attraction to alien merchants.

Yarmouth's export accounts also indicate Norfolk's main lines of industry during the early fourteenth century — salt and cloth. Salines concentrated along the Norfolk coast generally provided Yarmouth with a sufficient amount for curing herring and for exportation. The main period of production was during the summer, coincidental with the greatest number of shipments. At this time, wool shipments continued at a steady rate, but export in general merchandise was superseded by that in salt. In 1310 - 1311, of the 50 shipments worth £190 which left Yarmouth, 37 took place between 1 June and 31 August. Cloth, timber (possibly a re-shipment), and one shipment of unspecified merchandise comprise the only other six alien shipments of the summer.⁵ The summers of both 1325 and 1326 witnessed a similar pattern.⁶ In both years, however, export was on a scale considerably less than what it had been in the early years of Edward II. Fewer shipments and decreasing value testify to Norfolk's decline as one of the major salt-producing centres in England, substantiated by an increase in salt imports during the same period — one shipment in 1310 and seven in 1325.⁷ This decline can be ascribed

4) In 1337, a Bayonne merchant was granted licence to export herring to Aquitaine on the condition that he return with wine. CPR 1334-1338, p.560. The industry was recognised as of such importance that at the height of the Anglo-French confrontations and the Yarmouth - Cinque Port feuds, letters of protection were issued to Dutch merchants continuing to fish off the Norfolk coast. These letters were issued periodically during the fourteenth century, Ibid. 1292-1301, p.149; Ibid. 1317-1320, pp.55-6. So as not to disturb merchants coming to fish, vagabonds were arrested and taken into custody in Yarmouth just prior to the commencement of the herring fair. Ibid. 1292-1301, p.308.

5) E122/148/13. 6) E122/148/30; 148/31.

7) E122/148/13; 148/30; Imports in large amounts were also occurring in the late thirteenth century. In 1298, Yarmouth was asked to provide 1000 quarters of salt of Poitou to be used as a preservative in barrels of flour on its way to Berwick. CPR 1292-1301, p.388.

to the expansion of east coast herring fisheries along with rising population and increasing prosperity. These factors combined to place considerable pressure upon the availability of land along Norfolk's coast causing a sudden shift in salt production to other areas of the country.⁸ A similar pattern can be seen in the customs accounts for King's Lynn. In 1322-1323, ten shipments of salt were exported, while only two were imported (Tables 39 and 40). The following year, there were three exports and three imports (Tables 41 and 42). In 1324 - 1325 no exports are recorded, but twelve shipments of salt were imported (Tables 43 and 44).

The prominence of cloth's position in the customs accounts has direct bearing upon the industry of Yarmouth's hinterland. The industry was based in the small towns of Norfolk, most notably Aylsham and Worsted,⁹ with cloth from the latter totalling 29 shipments in 1310 - 1311 worth more than £658 (Table 2). Their total value was second only to herring. Other types of cloth exported in the same year swell the total cloth shipments considerably and are evidence of the variety which was available — blanket, canvas, frisian, wadmal and three shipments of unspecified variety. Towards the end of Edward II's reign, cloth exports declined by over two-thirds even though the number of shipments remained steady (Table 4). Since quantities are not stated in the accounts, it is impossible to tell whether this reflects smaller shipments or a decline in the industry itself.¹⁰

8) Bridbury, op.cit., pp.20-21.

9) E. Lipson, The History of the English Woollen and Worsted Industries (1921), p.222.

10) The latter does not appear to be the case, however. Norwich during this period was becoming an important centre of worsted weaving. Weavers are mentioned as taking up the freedom of the city from 1327 and cloth did continue to leave Yarmouth in appreciable numbers. In 1330, two Norwich merchants took worsted to Antwerp worth £80 and three years later, four Yarmouth and Norwich merchants exported various types of cloth - two scarlet, 14 woollen cloth, 71 worsted, light coverlets and robes. M. Lobel, Historic Towns, 2 (1972), p.120; CCR 1330-1333, p.141; Ibid. 1333-1337, p.125.

Yarmouth's cloth exports pale noticeably when compared with King's Lynn, the leading cloth exporter of the two. In 1322 - 1323, it was responsible for 47 shipments of English and worsted cloths worth more than £960 (Table 40). The following two years, equally large cloth exports are registered in the customs accounts (Tables 42 and 44). Yarmouth was clearly a port of little consequence in Norfolk's cloth industry and King's Lynn's importance rests on its accessibility to the domestic cloth markets and fairs of its hinterland.

The customs accounts for Yarmouth's imports also reflect the importance of the cloth industry in the county. Dyestuffs rank very high on the lists. Woad and weld were prominent imports, reflecting the ports' trade links with Picardy, and their demand in Norfolk.¹¹ Nineteen shipments of woad worth £1,116 and six shipments of weld worth £22 were imported in 1310 - 1311 (Table 1). The majority of the shipments occurred in late summer and in September when Picardy merchants visited the port and left with wool. The drastic decline in the amount of dyestuffs entering Yarmouth in 1325 - 1326 is most likely related to the fall in cloth exports for the same period (Tables 3 and 4). At this time only eight alien shipments of woad and two of weld were received in the port. A common mordant in the fixing of dyes, potash was the Baltic's contribution to Norfolk's cloth industry. Litmus, used in dyeing, also appears in the 1325 customs account. Troughs, possibly for holding the cloth while it was fulled, could also represent another Baltic contribution. The appearance of teazles, the dried heads of the thistle used to draw up loose fibres from the cloth,

11) In 1286 woad merchants of Amiens and Corby made an agreement with Norwich about the size of the packages in which woad and weld were to be sold. William Hudson and J. C. Tingey, The Records of the City of Norwich, 2 (1910), p.209.

on the 1325 - 1326 exports is somewhat surprising. Since it is usually an import, its export most likely represents the alarm felt by foreign manufacturers who attempted to buy up all items pertaining to the cloth trade in retaliation to Edward II's attempts to foster cloth industry in England.¹²

All other exports passing through Yarmouth during the early fourteenth century are of little consequence. Coal exports, due to the localisation of the industry in north-eastern England, represent Yarmouth's coastal trade with Newcastle and the collection of it from the sea. Newcastle was the leading exporter of coal at this time. Difficulties arise over the abbreviation for lead or feathers in the export accounts of the period, but the Yarmouth accounts clearly differentiate between the two. The presence of such notable shipments of feathers is a clear indication of the quantity of bird life inhabiting the Norfolk Broads. They were normally shipped in sacks or bags, in one case in 1310 accompanying 33 lasts of herring during the height of the herring season. Vulpin John exported 13 sacks of feathers worth £19 aboard the Pater Noster of Yarmouth, while his six companions jointly shipped herring.¹³ In that year a total of 34 sacks worth £45.14s. left the port (Table 2). Feathers were also exported from King's Lynn, representing the wealth of bird life inhabiting the Wash (Table 42). Shoes and hides give faint reference to one of the most important manufacturers of Norwich during this period besides textiles — leather goods.¹⁴ The lack of any appreciable amount of grain or ale points to the fact that the yield

12) Lipson, *op.cit.*, pp.11-12.

13) E122/148/13, m.2.

14) Leather work was a craft of outstanding importance in Norwich and leather craftsmen and tanners were numerous in Norwich. Lobel, *op.cit.*, 2 : 14.

was mainly utilised for local consumption and for victualling the King's armies. It is to Lynn, one of the great medieval corn depots, that one must turn for sizeable exports in ale. In 1323 - 1324 over 533 tuns worth £610 left the port and like figures are available the following year (Tables 40, 42 and 44). Finally, such items as timber, pelts, whetstones, bowstaves, onions, garlic and wine are re-shipments of goods which had not found suitable markets in Yarmouth. All appear regularly on accounts of Yarmouth's imports.

Other than wine and woad, Yarmouth's customs accounts on imports reflect its associations with the Baltic. In return for the herring, cloth and salt which Yarmouth had to offer Hanseatic merchants, northern Europe traded mainly in raw materials — metals and wood. Boards held a fairly prominent position along with bowstaves, timber and barrelboard — the last used in making barrels.¹⁵ In the spring of 1311, boards coupled with oars, flax, millstones and iron were the primary imports. In mid-summer these were joined with troughs, potash and oats. In one case, definite reference is made to a shipment of orsmund or Swedish iron. Later in the year shipments included wax, sturgeon, tar, pitch and pelts.¹⁶ Similar items compiled the body of Baltic imports in the spring and summer of 1325 and 1326.¹⁷ This area of Europe was also responsible for the miscellaneous shipments of rye, barley, corn, malt and oats which were imported in the 1320's. One shipment of particular interest included a cargo of stockfish, litmus, potash, poles and sellessiner — seal smear or oil, possibly used in the local tanning industry. On the same day, another shipment

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- 15) This was an area in which Yarmouth and its hinterland were undoubtedly deficient. In contrast, the Chichester exports for the same period were almost entirely forest products, reflecting the wealth of Wealden timber. Pelham, 'Foreign Trade', pp.107-111.
- 16) E122/148/15, membranes 2 - 4.
- 17) E122/148/27, membranes 3 and 4; E122/149/9.

included sketfat or vats, part of the tanner's stock in trade.¹⁸

While eels generally came from the Netherlands, a shipment by a Lubeck merchant in 1310 points to the movements of Hanseatic merchants in the early fourteenth century.¹⁹ The Baltic merchants dealt in a variety of goods, specialising in none, although the only two shipments of steel made in 1325 worth £132 were imported by Henry Cumb.²⁰ The only other notable import during the period was a shipment of leopard skins in 1310.²¹

The customs accounts also record Yarmouth's trade with the Low Countries. The port's geographical position, its proximity to Flanders, Holland and Zeeland, ensured that fruit, onions, garlic, figs and raisins were regular imports. Ginger and nutmeg or coconuts also appear on the accounts. In 1311, from January until the beginning of March, 12 ships from various ports in the Low Countries imported seven shipments of onions as well as raisins, figs, ginger and saffron.²² These commodities, products of the east, reflect the international character of the Low Countries at this time.

Weights and measurements of Yarmouth exports and imports are seldom given in the early customs accounts. Where they are provided, the amount or measure is usually of only one type. Thus we find potash,

18) E122/148/27, m.2; L. F. Salzman, English Industries, p.173.

19) E122/148/15, m.2

20) E122/149/9.

21) E122/148/15, m.2

22) Ibid.; Further illustrations of Yarmouth's close ties with Holland and Zeeland is the 1309 agreement between the Count of these two countries and Robert Elys of Yarmouth. Elys loaned £1,325 to Count William as indemnity for injured English merchants and their goods. Kerling, op.cit., p.12. Robert Elys also figures in dealings with Zeeland merchants at an earlier date. In 1301, Maarland merchants owed him £20 for 40 lasts of herring. Ancient Correspondence S.C.1 21/90.

sturgeon, tar, litmus, eels and cheese conveyed in barrels. Oil was transported in jars, feathers and flock in sacks, and woad in casks. Further descriptions refer to measurements. Wax was assessed in quintals, herring in lasts or miliares and cloth in rolls or fardells (bundles).

In most cases, values of commodities are not difficult to ascertain since the clerk transcribing the accounts did not generally list all goods belonging to an individual merchant under one value. A comparison of the values of goods, however, is rarely feasible because the amounts or measures are infrequently registered. In 1310 - 1311, woad was always valued at £4 per tun or cask, but in the same year the value of salt varied widely -- from 7s. - 10s. per wey.²³

In like manner, customs accounts rarely distinguish between the types of a single commodity leaving Yarmouth. Herring was either packed in salt or smoked. When leaving the port, it would appear the former method was usually employed, for the accounts only refer to the smoked variety, allec soro, obviously distinguishing it from the standard type of preparation. In 1325 and 1326, however, when the availability of salt in Yarmouth necessitated import, most shipments of herring leaving the port were smoked. Descriptions of other commodities are rare. Herman Pape imported one old sailcloth worth 6s. in 1325.²⁴ His ship-master brought white salt, i.e. free from dirt or impurity. Leopard pelts, cattle hides and dried fish (probably stockfish) comprise the only other commodities in which description is given.

23) E122/148/15.

24) E122/148/30, m.1.

Southampton

Southampton's trade in the first half of the fourteenth century reflects its position as the leading port along the southern coast of England. It ranked fourth among ports in annual wool export — averaging 10% of the total number of sacks leaving England. The other three ports, Boston, Hull and London, were all situated on the east coast. Wine was the leading import, with Southampton ranking second to London in the annual tonnage of alien wine imports.²⁵ It comes as little surprise that Southampton burgesses were able to claim it as the economic livelihood of the town.²⁶ While wool and wine represented the main trends of trade and all other products pale beside them, the nature of imports and their origin testifies to Southampton's role as a mecca of southern European trade. The paucity of exports, other than wool, are vivid proof of the lack of any appreciable industries in the port and its hinterland.

The 1310 - 1311 export account ranks salt as the leading export and this can be easily explained by the presence of a small number of salines along the Hampshire and Sussex coasts (Table 8). Shipments occurred in February and March at which time great or rough salt, measured in quarters, was laded in alien ships. This type of salt was produced by the speed of evaporation — a slow boil using turf, a slow-burning fuel, which resulted in large-grained salt, pointing to the particular method utilised by Hampshire salters. Four shipments also occur in 1308 - 1309 (Table 6), but by the end of Edward II's reign salt exports have disappeared from Southampton's customs accounts. This is further

25) Lloyd, op.cit., p.123; James, op.cit., pp.113-114.

26) Platt, op.cit., p.69 citing Rotuli Paliamentorum; ut et petitiones, et placita in parlamento, 1 (1783), p.193.

evidence of the country's contraction in the salt industry.²⁷

A diversity of cloth, including worsted, blanket and tapestry, from the markets and fairs of Winchester and Salisbury, also made a small contribution to Southampton's export trade. Six remnants of woollen cloth were no doubt purchased at the height of St. Giles fair in Winchester. They were exported by Gerard Folker on the 21st of September in 1310.²⁸ Similarly, twelve of the sixteen shipments of various types of cloth leaving the port in 1323 left in the same month.²⁹ Low export figures reflect Hampshire's accord with the rest of the country — raw wool, not finished cloth, was the main form in which England's staple left the country.

Southampton's main connection with the early English cloth industry was through the importation of woad. The customs accounts testify to the port's role as the leading collection point and re-distribution centre for the woad of northern France.³⁰ In the winter months from December to March, Picardy merchants flocked to Southampton where they traded this dyestuff for the wool of Hampshire. It was transported in tun barrels after a process of fermentation culminating in the

27) Salt from La Rochelle and the Bay figured among the customable duties in Southampton's Oak Book. Paul Studer, ed., The Oak Book of Southampton of c. A.D. 1300, Southampton Record Society, 2 (1910), p.217. In 1317, Richard Bagge, a Southampton merchant, was on his way to the Bay to buy great salt when his ship was attacked off the coast in Brittany. CCR 1313-1318, p.209.

28) E122/136/17.

29) E122/136/27.

30) In 1326, a Bristol merchant purchased 34 quarters of woad from Amiens merchants in Southampton. This had been mistakenly arrested with the woad of French merchants which was being stored in a loft. Further arrests occurred the following year when 12 barrels worth £128.2s.8d. were taken along with 19 sarplers of wool worth £205.6s.8d. belonging to four merchants from Amiens. CCR 1323-1327, p.605; Ibid. 1327-1330, p.69.

formation of the dye into little balls.³¹ More than 500 barrels of dried woad which had been prepared in this fashion arrived in 1310 - 1311 (Table 7). Their total value was in excess of £2,750. A decline in imports occurred from December to March in 1331 - 1332 when only 11 shipments arrived in Southampton (Table 11). Further proof that shipments generally occurred during this four month period is provided by the absence of woad exports on the customs account for Michaelmas to 18 December, 1326 (Table 10). Harvest of the plant was in July followed by fermentation and a drying-out period after the dye had been made up into balls. The winter months provided the first opportunity for shipment of the previous summer's woad.

The customs accounts record one further contribution to Hampshire's small cloth industry -- imports of Spanish wool. While English raw wool left the port in prodigious amounts, its Spanish counterpart was imported in small quantities. That raw wool should figure as an import during the height of England's export market in the same commodity is puzzling. It no doubt reflects a demand in Southampton's hinterland for the fine quality Spanish wool which that country had to offer.

The only other exports of any particular value which come to light in Southampton's customs accounts are metals. Lead, iron and tin were shipped in small amounts and their presence in the accounts represents Southampton's associations with the mining industries of southern England. Tin was transhipped to the port from the stannaries of Cornwall and Devon, while iron was transported from the Sussex Weald. In 1308 - 1309, more than 11,300 pieces of the latter were exported (Table 6). Shipments were generally on a much smaller scale however. In 1310, 20 quarters were exported and in 1323 iron worth only 5s. left the port (Tables 8 and 9). Southampton's position as the base for Cornwall's tin trade was

31) Salzman, English Industries, pp.144-148.

obviously minimal (Table 9).³²

Other exports represent Southampton's contribution to victualling — peas, vetch and seeds as well as bacon, mutton and beef. Sea coal was also shipped in small quantities. Re-exports included ten bushels of nuts and 2 millstones.

Southampton's customs accounts for imports testify to its close commercial links with Spain and Italy. Besides wool, leather and iron³³ were the two major imports from Spain,³⁴ both occupying a prominent position in the import figures for 1309 and 1311 (Tables 5 and 7). Leather came in three forms — skins from Cordova, tawed leather and basan. Cordovan leather was of very high quality, much valued for the manufacture of a fine leather goods. Tawed leather was from the skins of deer, sheep and horses which had been processed with oil or alum. Basan was an inferior leather made from sheepskin. The presence of cummin and liquorice with Spanish merchandise represents part of the Italian imports to Southampton, along with anise and parchment. While these are the only items of Italian origin mentioned in the accounts, Italy's contribution to

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- 32) Tin export through Southampton during this period was nominal and the port was only occasionally a base for shipment to overseas markets. G. R. Lewis, The Stanneries (1924), p.63. The trade was so slight that in 1303 a Bayonne merchant left Southampton by ship to buy lead and tin in Devon and Cornwall. CCR 1302-1307, p.16.
- 33) In 1341, three great ships freighted with Spanish iron are mentioned off the coast of the Isle of Wight, most likely destined for Southampton. CPR 1340-1343, p.364.
- 34) In the 1330's, other references to Southampton's trade with Spain mention dates, tallow, budge, honey, soap, ox skins, pig ointment and gear. Spanish merchants were given protection while discharging their cargo in 1337 and ten years earlier the merchandise on two Spanish ships was stolen while they were anchored in Southampton harbour. Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous 2 : 413; CPR 1334-1338, p.508; Ibid. 1324-1327, p.386.

Southampton's trade were more varied.³⁵

France and Flanders were also frequently represented in Southampton by a wide range of merchandise. Eels, a characteristically Flemish import, came in vast quantities — 12,000 in 1308 - 1309 and 800 two years later (Tables 5 and 7). Garlic, onions, barley, pots, mackerel, cod and haddock were also brought in varying amounts as well as Flemish tiles or bricks. The barley, a Baltic product, was imported by Flemish merchants who had undoubtedly purchased them in Flanders from Hanseatic merchants. Canvas was France's other notable contribution to Southampton's imports, besides the leading import, other than wine — woad.

Weights and measures for the commodities leaving and entering Southampton are provided in most cases and exhibit a great deal of variety. Woad was transported in barrels and measured in pipes as were the occasional shipments of wine. Eels, parchment and bacon were counted while bows, tiles, goblets, oars and hose were shipped by the dozen. Garlic was measured in seams or heads and grain, salt and coal in quarters. Thread, almonds, sheepskin, pelts and Spanish wool arrived in sacks. By far, cloth was the commodity which came and went in the most varied number of ways — bales, ells, pieces, strips or pannels, remnants, bundles or fardells.

Southampton's customs clerks seldom combined commodities in their accounts and since the amounts of exports and imports are given it is difficult to gain a rough idea of values. These often varied to a remarkable degree. In 1310 alone, imports of tawed leather were generally worth between £2 to £6 per bale, with one notable shipment as high as £10. Two years earlier eels varied between £4 to £7 per thousand while canvas was

35) Other Italian commodities included alum shipped in Genoese carracks, sulphur, sugar and fine cloths, notably silk, velvets, gold and embroidered. Ruddock, op.cit., pp.71-93.

worth £10 to £12 per bundle, with one shipment valued at over £14. Woad, the leading import, was valued between £4 to £6 per tun, although variations were more marked by the beginning of Edward III's reign. In 1331, four tuns were valued from £16 to £24 when the ship of John le Gros arrived in port on 26 February.³⁶ Such variation in the prices of these commodities points to the flexibility in the quality of medieval merchandise.

The customs accounts for Southampton rarely distinguish between different types of one commodity. In 1308 - 1309 and 1310 - 1311, red and white herring were imported and exported, testifying to the coastal trade in fish (Tables 5 and 7). Great salt was mentioned in all of the accounts. In one instance squirrel pelts were recorded and in another grey pelts or miniver is listed. Unusual items included 624 taisch and 12 boniel — both of which are possibly types of cloth. Four bales of monk's cloth, panne momal, also appears among the imports (Table 10). In 1310, Martin Peres imported a rather unusual bit of merchandise — 4 bales of burned tallow, fundat cep, valued at £5.³⁷ The purpose of this commodity remains unknown. The imports in that year contain a number of puzzling items — one strip of ciph, no doubt some type of cloth, 4 bales of balder, which could be either an herb or belts, one bale of brussyni and forty foredurs of capucior, both of which have been taken to refer to types of skins. Tin'uc has been translated as tunics (Table 7).

Boston

The outstanding quality of Lincolnshire wool in the first half of the fourteenth century precluded Boston's pre-eminence as the English

36) E122/137/5.

37) E122/136/21, m.4.

wool port par excellence. Second only to London in the total number of wool sacks exported each year, the port continually held over 30% of the annual trade. Along with Hull, Boston played a leading role in Anglo-Gascon wine trade with annual alien shipments after 1322 in excess of 800 tuns.³⁸ Foodstuffs and cloth comprised the leading imports, pointing to the port's affiliations with northern and central Europe. Cloth, the main alien export, emphasises the importance of wool in the economic livelihood of Boston's hinterland.

The alien customs accounts for Boston during the reign of Edward II readily testify to the importance of the cloth industry for the port's economic livelihood. Its proximity to Lincoln, Stamford, Grantham and the leading cloth towns in this period ensured Boston's position as a prominent exporter of scarlet, worsted and says. The customs accounts record the shipment of £650 of English cloth in 1308 - 1309 (Table 16) and the following year in the six weeks before Michaelmas over £396 worth of the same left Boston (Table 17). In both cases, many other types of cloth left on alien ships — scarlet, ungrained, worsted, canvas and linen. Shipments left the port throughout the year with no noticeable increase in numbers during the port's internationally acclaimed fair which commenced in mid-June. In all twelve months cloth was the leading export. The famous scarlets of Lincoln ranked high on Boston's exports, with a total of 68 shipments leaving the port between February and September of 1303 (Table 13). Numbers decreased over the years, however, along with cloth export in general until by 1333 foodstuffs outranked cloth as Boston's leading export (Table 21).³⁹

38) Lloyd, op.cit., p.123; James, op.cit., pp.99-101.

39) Boston Fair by this time was becoming less profitable with profits estimated at £100 'only' and the Lords of the Fair were prosecuted for attempting to prolong it beyond its legal limits. M. R. Lambert and R. Walker, Boston, Tattershall and Croyland (1930), p.41.

Cloth also featured prominently among alien imports in the early years of Edward II's reign. A total of 47 shipments of ungrained cloth arrived in the port from February to September in 1303 (Table 13). Five years later 107 shipments of both ungrained and dyed cloth were imported (Table 15). In both cases the majority arrived during the summer months in time for Boston Fair. Cloth was thus one of the outstanding features of the market and at this time various types made their appearance in Boston's import accounts. Canvas, linen, felt, old cloth and wadmal were all shipped into Boston in small quantities.⁴⁰ Once again, by the end of Edward II's reign and the early years of Edward III's cloth imports had sunk to a bare minimum, testimony to the effect which tensions between England and France were causing.

Throughout the period small shipments in other commodities had a direct bearing upon Boston's cloth trade. Potash was imported in 1303, 1308 - 1309 and 1333. Madder, used in producing red and russet dyes, appeared on the account for 1333 (Tables 12, 13 and 20).

Lincolnshire was richly endowed with numerous salines and the 1303 salt exports are evidence of the role which these played in Boston's trade. Sixty-three shipments worth £630 were made by aliens in that year (Table 13). While the early fourteenth century witnessed a shift in the centre of salt production in Boston's favour, the later customs accounts do not reflect a greater output. Twenty-six shipments were exported in 1308 - 1309 for a nine month period and the figure had dropped to fourteen by 1326 - 1327 (Tables 16 and 19). That same year witnessed the import of 140 shipments of fish, however, and Lincolnshire's salines undoubtedly

40) In the late thirteenth century, linen, canvas and cloth had been imported in such amounts that there were substantial groups of mercers and mercers of canvas at Boston. E. M. Carus-Wilson, 'The Medieval Trade of the Ports of the Wash', Medieval Archaeology (1962-1963), p.193.

provided sufficient amounts not only to preserve the fish but to be exported as well.⁴¹

Foodstuffs in small quantities also left Lincolnshire through Boston. Throughout the period, honey ranked high as an export, followed by butter, cheese and various types of grain. Unlike King's Lynn, however, Boston was not a leading corn depot and only small shipments of malt, corn, rye, beans and peas left the port in Hanseatic ships. Mustard and myrtle seeds are also recorded in 1326 (Table 19).

Derbyshire lead was frequently shipped from Boston in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries — a precedent which undoubtedly continued in the fourteenth. Twelve shipments worth £124 figure among Boston's alien exports in 1310 (Table 17). Exports dropped considerably by the end of the period — in 1326 - 1327 four shipments were worth only £11⁴² (Table 19). Export of other metals was minimal. Since most copper was imported during this period, the copper worth £52 which Arnold Brussney exported in 1310 was no doubt a re-shipment.⁴³ The same could be stated

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- 41) While the shift in population by Norfolk salters to other areas of the county and country may represent a decline in Yarmouth's salt industry, a corresponding rise in exports did not occur through Boston. Fenland economy after 1300 began a gradual decline and the corresponding contraction in salt-making is evident by Boston's declining hold on the export trade. H. E. Hallam, 'Salt-making in the Lincolnshire Fenland during the Middle Ages', Reports and Papers, Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society (1959-60), pp.87-9; E. H. Rudkin and D. M. Owen, 'The Medieval Salt Industry in the Lindsey Marshland', ibid., pp.76-84.
- 42) Exports did continue throughout the period, however, in small amounts. In 1324, Boston merchants laded a ship with 82 sarplers of wool and 26 pieces of lead, destined for Flanders and shipwrecked en route. Ten cartloads accompanied shipments of hides, wheat and ale to Zeeland. CPR 1324-1327, p.75; CFR 5 : 41.
- 43) E122/6/8

for sulphur which also appears as an import in 1333 (Table 20).

Other than wool, cloth was the only other export in Boston which was of any real significance. Salt, lead and agricultural produce were of little account. Miscellaneous shipments of particular note included re-shipments of wine, almonds, flock, knives and pelts.

Without any doubt, Boston's imports reflect close ties with the Baltic. Fish, the foremost alien import on the customs accounts, was imported in vast numbers by merchants of the Hanse. In 1308 - 1309 alone, 118 shipments arrived in Boston (Table 15). Early summer and autumn were the heaviest periods of import, with merchandise arriving just in time for Boston's fair and the most active period of the wool trade.⁴⁴ Pelts and furs of all descriptions also filled Hanseatic ships. Cat, goat, deer and buck skins and pelts were joined by the numerous types of the Baltic squirrel. Greywork referred to the winter coat of the squirrel with a grey back, while both popel and roskin referred to its summer coat. Luskwerk and redwerk were good quality skins, both with white bellies, but the former had a grey back and the latter one of reddish-brown. Boards — beams, bowstaves and spars — represented yet another line of trade with the Baltic. Other imports were varied and included numerous shipments of oil, often in conjunction with fish, steel, falcons, sturgeon, stockfish and Rhenish wine. Steel was an extremely valuable commodity. In 1303, Herdmod Hellewyn divided his shipment between two ships — their total value amounting to £403.⁴⁵ Five years later, seven out of the nine shipments totalled £531 (Table 15). Anvil steel was also

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- 44) From early on, fish represented a sizeable portion of trade in Boston, most notably at Boston Fair. In the late thirteenth century, salted and dried fish, sturgeon and aberden were purchased for the King's use at Boston Fair. Calendar of Chancery Rolls Various, p.250. Fish figured among the goods of German merchants arrested in 1316. Calendar of Chancery Warrants, 1 : 401-2. In both 1324 and 1339, stockfish were purveyed at Boston Fair. CPR 1324-1327, p.25; Ibid.1338-1340, p.347.
- 45) E/122/5/9, m.2.

imported in this period. Weapons of war also appear among the Baltic imports — helmets, swords and sword pommels — from Cologne, all representing the high degree of proficiency which had been attained in finished products in northern Europe.⁴⁶ No doubt, they were utilised by Edward I for his numerous campaigns.

The customs accounts also emphasize Boston's trade relations with the Low Countries. In 1308 - 1309 Flemish cloth imports were second to Baltic fish among the port's imports (Table 15). The effect which Anglo-French disturbances had upon cloth imports is apparent. No cloth arrived in Boston in 1326 - 1327 and only three shipments are recorded in 1333 (Tables 18 and 20). Other imports included saffron, towels, garlic, onions, figs and madder. The main emphasis upon import trade with Flanders, however, at least for the early years of Edward II's reign, was cloth.

The customs accounts for Boston are disappointing in the total lack of information which they provide on the weights and measurements of imports and exports. The numbers of cloth imported along with the amount of hundreds of wax are the only two areas in which any information is provided. That, combined with the fact, that in two-thirds of the cases, commodities are listed together makes it impossible to arrive at the values of merchandise which passed through the port.

What one loses in an assessment of the value of imports and exports in Boston, is compensated for on the variety of unusual items which pass through the port. Some of these have already been mentioned in passing — swords, pommels, helmets and numerous types of hides and pelts. In addition exports included narrow English cloth, Irish cloth, bed covers

46) Hanseatic ties with Boston were strong by the mid-thirteenth century at which point their merchants had a house in the port. Pishey Thompson, The History and Antiquities of Boston (1856), p.326. A hundred years later, letters of protection were granted to fourteen German ships coming to Boston Fair. Ibid., p.335.

and flekes or wottled hurdles. Imports were more varied. Saddles and reins arrived from the Low Countries along with lampreys, felt cloth. Whale bone was imported from the Baltic along with fish, sulphur and falcons. Rybald, possibly a type of fur, also came from the north as well as cutting stones (petr acuend) and quern stones. Sweet bread, or potbred, also comprised one shipment as did head scarves or hoyduk. A curious shipment occurs in 1309 (Table 15). Goods sold by weight, aver pond, were imported worth a total of £3,359.41s. Unfortunately, no idea of the nature of these goods is provided.

Hull

As the third largest wool port in the country, Hull was responsible for over 15% of the annual number of wool sacks exported during the first three decades of the fourteenth century. Along with Boston, it absorbed the largest share of Gascon trade on the east coast, pointing to its importance in wine imports.⁴⁷ Foodstuffs comprised the leading imports with a wide range of commodities coming into the port annually. Exports are difficult to ascertain because customs administration in Yorkshire was at various times divided among Hull and three other ports — Ravenser, Whitby and Scarborough. Unlike Norfolk, in which the two customs ports accounted separately for the customs collected in each, Yorkshire's three subsidiary ports operated in conjunction with Hull. Accounts for all four were sewn together and taken to the Exchequer with the audit enrolled under the head port, Hull. A possible reason for this rests upon Edward I's desire to endow his port with the prestige and importance of being one of the leading commercial centres in the country. Whatever the reason,

47) Lloyd, op.cit., p.123; James, op.cit., pp.101-2.

however, this division necessitates scrutiny of the returns from all four ports. While the accounts for Hull are the only ones to be transcribed, the accounts for Yorkshire's other three ports have been surveyed in order to ascertain the main lines of their trade.

Hull's proximity to an agriculturally wealthy hinterland testifies to the large quantities of grain which appear in the export accounts in the early fourteenth century. During a four year period from 1304 - 1305 over 15,000 quarters of grain were exported, not to speak of additional shipments of rye, malt, oats, peas, barley and beans (Table 25). The port was by no means self-sufficient, however, and a small number of shipments, most notably in oats and rye, were received in Hull. Export usually occurred between November and March, with most shipments destined for the Low Countries. In 1307, John Spicenayl exported 306 quarters worth £72. In the same year John Clipping shipped 290 worth £72.5s. and two years later, Conrad Clipping exported 218 quarters worth £48.⁴⁸ Exports dropped to a bare minimum in the autumn at the height of the trade in raw wool. Low figures later in the decade represent grain export through Scarborough, situated in closer proximity to the most fertile part of the country. In 1310 - 1311, no grain shipments left Hull. In the same year, twelve shipments of barley, beans, oats, grain and peas were exported from Scarborough.⁴⁹

Hull was notable for the exportation of lead from Yorkshire mines during the fourteenth century -- a fact which is clearly substantiated by the customs accounts. The high-water mark occurred in 1305 - 1306 when 461 cartloads worth £1,236 left the port (Table 27). The following year, exports dropped by half and two years later they were only one-sixth of what they had been in 1305 - 1306 (Tables 29 and 34).⁵⁰ Coal was

48) E122/55/20, membranes 2 and 3; 56/2, m.2. 49) E122/56/14

50) Not all the lead which left Hull was from local mines. In 1335, 10 cartloads of Derbyshire lead were shipped to Berwick through the port. CCR 1333-1337, p.548. In the same year, 12 wagon loads from Nottingham were exported to Newcastle. Ibid., p.602.

also exported in small amounts, averaging three shipments per year.

The small contribution which Yorkshire made to England's infant cloth industry is most evident from the small numbers of cloths leaving Hull during this period. Ungrained cloth figured annually among the imports and exports. In most years, imports out-ranked exports. Lincolnshire scarlets and says from Louth exemplify Hull's trade links with Lincolnshire. The accounts are strangely silent on the export of local cloths, such as those from Beverley, and we must turn to Boston to find specific reference to shipment of Beverley cloths. The types of cloths leaving Hull, however, are not always mentioned and one can only assume that Yorkshire cloths were among them.⁵¹

The customs accounts on Hull's imports also reflect the Yorkshire cloth industry. Woad arrived in substantial quantities and reflects the port's trade links with northern France. The high water mark in importation occurred in 1307 - 1308 when 285 tuns worth £1,138 arrived (Table 31). Argol, a violet dye, and madder arrived in 1304 - 1305 along with teazles (Table 24). Litmus appears on the accounts for the early and later years of Edward II. All shipments in these items were negligible, however, amounting to no more than one or two shipments in any given year.

Other than grain, salt was the only other foodstuff which had any hold upon the alien market. Exports in both 1304 - 1305 and 1305 - 1306 were high — £235 of salt leaving the port in the former and £277 leaving in the latter (Tables 25 and 27). After this, they dropped substantially. Imports during the same period never rose above £33. These figures indicate the presence of salines along the Yorkshire coast and the

51) In 1319, burgesses of Beverley freighted three ships at Hull with cloth including a robe, 2 whole pieces of blue cloth of Beverley worth £18 and 4 whole Beverley cloths worth £28. CCR 1318-1323, p.397; Ancient Correspondence S.C. 1 34/100.

availability of this commodity for the fish of the Baltic merchant.

All other exports to Hull during the first decade of the fourteenth century do not require more than passing mention. Pelts were listed on both the import and export accounts in steady numbers and included those of fox, cats, leopards, lambs, martens, goats and two bears. Their appearance on both records points to the steady demand of this product in Hull and its continual flow in and out of the port. Salmon worth 5s. was an unusual export, pointing to the presence of this fish in the vicinity (Table 23). One horse worth £5.6s.8d. also appears among the exports (Table 25). With the exception of foodstuffs such as cheese, honey and seeds, all other exports are undoubtedly re-shipments for they appear frequently upon the port's list of imports.

Turning to Hull's customs accounts on alien imports, one is immediately struck by the variety of merchandise which arrived in the port and the small shipments of each commodity. Trade was broadly based with items seldom entering the port more than 10 - 15 times per year. Commercial associations with the Baltic were centred on forest products and raw materials in return for wool and wool products.⁵² A variety of timber arrived on Hanseatic ships — the main types including bowstaves, wainscot, fir beams, oars and boards. Masts from Norway, chistholts for making chests, bodikholts for use in dagger handles, saplings, strodes or tree trunks, and tunholt for making barrels arrived in the hundreds. They are only a partial listing of the numerous types of boards which appear on Hull's accounts. In 1305 - 1306 and again two years later, small boards, fowbord, were imported as well as 200 broken boards, bord fract (Tables 26 and 31). Pitch, tar and potash were also imported. Since it is frequently impossible to decide whether pic refers to fish or pitch, made all the more difficult by the fact that the last is a measurement

52) An indication of the extent of Hull's associations with the Baltic, specifically the Hanse is indicated in 1312 when a grant was published in Stralsund and other Hanse towns that aliens and denizens could not be prosecuted for someone else's debt. VCH East Riding, 1 : 01.

common to both, pic will refer to pitch in these accounts. It is most often shipped jointly with tar. Ravenser was the principal collection centre for Hanseatic fish and by the time their ships arrived in Hull, the fish had been sold in Ravenser. Potash was imported with regularity, most likely to be used in the local cloth industry. Copper appears throughout the entire first decade with the largest annual shipment in 1308 - 1309 worth a total of £161.2s. (Table 33).

Wax was a fairly substantial product from the Baltic. In one year, 1306 - 1307, the customs clerk listed the weights of six shipments of wax which provide an idea of the bulk of the trade in this commodity. Together the 58 pieces of wax weighed 6045 pounds and 401 quarters (Table 28).

Pelts, as previously mentioned, were frequent imports to Hull. The bulk of the Hanse's fur trade, however, rested with the various types of pelts from the Baltic squirrel. Greywork and white work appear with increasing regularity along with other types of squirrel skin — popel, miniver, rybald and ryband. In addition 2½ timbers of ermine and 20 seal skins were imported (Tables 22 and 26). In 1306 - 1307, two fur linings made from a number of squirrel skins (greywork) appear among the imports (Table 28).

Large shipments of swords and helmets, again most likely for Edward I's wars, enter into the Hanse's list of imports to Hull. In 1306 - 1307, 1400 swords worth £41 arrived in the port with 837 helmets (Table 28). Cap cannot always be taken to represent helmets, however, for in the same year 10 felt hats were also imported. These were most likely from Cologne, famous for its hat industry. The thread and linen cloth mentioned in the accounts could also have come from here. All goods coming from the Baltic arrived throughout the year in ships which were laded with small quantities of a number of different items, rather than larger amounts of only one or two.

Hull's trade relations with the Low Countries as evidenced by the customs accounts are most evident by the vast array of foodstuffs and cloth which were imported. As the entrepot for all countries, the goods which arrived reflected not only the local produce, but the commodities of other parts of Europe as well. Cloth of all different types arrived, often carried in the ships of Baltic merchants — ungrained, wadmal, clothing and unspecified typed as well as small shipments of tapestry, mattress, bedware, bandages, altar cloth, handkerchiefs, tablecloths, towels and acton. One shipment worth £10 imported by John Cort in 1305 included 6 bedware, 15 tapestry, handkerchiefs, scissors, polished parchment, garlands and silk belts.⁵³

Figs and raisins, onions and garlic combined with manufactured goods such as cooking pots, bowls, chairs and caldrons were also imported by merchants from the Low Countries. Flemish tiles or bricks, an industry taken up by Hull itself at a later date, appear with regularity as do the number of different spices such as zedoary, cumin, nutmeg and saffron. Salt and iron were further imports from here.

Hull's main commercial associations with France, other than wine, lay with its trade in woad, but a cargo of apples and possibly some of the shipments of salt also testify to that port's links with France.⁵⁴

Rice and almonds from Spain as well as black sugar, mercury and pomegranates represent Hull's connections with the Mediterranean. Basan, an inferior quality of leather, and the high quality cordovan leather swell the imports from Spain even further. For the most part these goods

53) E122/55/7, m.1.

54) Hull's trade links, par excellence, with France lay in the wine trade and numerous references are extant pointing to relations between French vintners and the port. Vintners of Aquitaine were authorised to visit Hull in 1310. CPR 1307-1313, p.235; In 1328, a Gascon merchant had merchandise stolen in Hull and in 1334, 400 of the 500 tuns of wine purveyed for the King were stored in Hull. Ibid. 1327-1330, p.284; CCR 1333-1337, p.287.

as well as the Italian spices, previously mentioned, and the Genoese alum, were sent over land or by sea to the Low Countries where their journey was completed to Hull. The commodities of the trade were broadly based, but the carrying trade itself was specialised.

Weights and measures are provided with amazing regularity in Hull's customs accounts and they demonstrate the variety of means in which commodities were assessed in the fourteenth century. While grain was measured in quarters and boards in hundreds, most other commodities were described in numerous ways. Garlic and onions arrived in Hull by the sheaf, basket, seam or quarter, raser, or miliare. Raisins and figs came by the copul or the basket. Flax was measured in stones or meases and transported in barrels or tuns (doles). Fur tended to come in bundles of 20, called timbers. Cordovan leather, chairs, shoes, handkerchiefs, helmets and swords in most cases came by the dozen although the last two were also measured in bales, barrels and bundles.

Since the measurements are provided for most commodities in Hull's customs accounts and items are listed separately, it is fairly easy to ascertain the values of goods passing through the port. Woad remained constant at £4 per tun with one or two exceptions throughout the entire period. On two separate occasions it was valued at a little over £2 per tun and once at £6 per tun. Joint shipments of figs and raisins exhibited a wide price range which points to a marked variation in their quality or the fullness of each basket in which they were shipped. In 1304 - 1305, they were valued at between 5s. to 6s. per basket. By 1310 - 1311, however, each basket was valued at 6s. to 7s. The highest prices occurred in 1308 - 1309 when 8s. to 9s. was the standard price.⁵⁵ Grain prices remained constant throughout the period, averaging 4s. per quarter in both

55) E122/55/17; 56/10; 56/7.

imports and exports.

Commodities passing through Hull included the unusual, some of which have already been mentioned. Other shipments included 100 pounds of ink worth 7s., reins and stirrups, purses, calamyn (calamine), and spade shafts. Cokayl would appear to be some type of vegetable, arriving on three separate occasions with garlic and/or onions. A counting board or chessboard, scaccaria, is mentioned among the 1304 - 1305 imports. Several items remain unknown — quir which may refer to a type of leather because it is coming in pieces, and butini.

Comparison

In drawing together the vast amount of material which the customs accounts provide on trade, several points can be raised. These point to common commercial features which are characteristic of all the ports and specialised industries or trades which are representative of one or another.

No more than a cursory glance at the tables for this chapter is needed to ascertain that the commodities which arrived and departed in Hull, Boston, Yarmouth and Southampton were similar if not the same. Pelts from the Baltic, canvas from France and tiles from the Low Countries figure in the import accounts for all four. Cloth, lead, salt and grain from the ports' hinterlands occur with regularity in all export accounts. At this point, however, similarities cease. While the commodities passing through the ports were frequently one and the same, the number of their total shipments and their values were sometimes strikingly different. This graphically illustrates the specialised industries and commodities which were characteristic of one or two particular ports. While dealing in a wide range, each had several items in which it specialised. A few

examples will suffice.

<u>Woad Imports</u>			
<u>First Decade</u>			
<u>Port</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Shipments</u>
Hull	1308 - 1309	£884	30
Boston	1308 - 1309	—	—
Yarmouth	1310 - 1311	£1116+	18/19
Southampton	1308 - 1309	£1113+	23/34

<u>Third and Fourth Decades</u>			
Hull	1324 - 1325	£56	3
Boston	1326 - 1327	—	—
Yarmouth	1325 - 1326	£137	8
Southampton	1331 (3 months)	£330	11

Southampton was the leading port for woad imports during the period, although Yarmouth's equally strong position in the first decade points to that port's trade orientation with northern France. The lack of any woad imports to Boston seems somewhat puzzling when its importance in the cloth industry is taken into account. The port, however, was dominated by Hanseatic trade and dyestuffs from France possibly came either by coastal trade or were not utilised by Lincolnshire cloth merchants. Hull's woad imports seem surprisingly high in the first decade when its location on the east coast is taken into consideration. By the third decade, they had dropped substantially as commercial alignments shifted more towards the Baltic.

<u>Grain</u>			
<u>First Decade</u>			
<u>Port</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Export</u>
Hull	1306 - 1307	—	£1071.11s.8d.+
Boston	1308 - 1309	—	£4
Yarmouth	1310 - 1311	£34 +	—
Southampton	1308 - 1309	£103.6s.8d.+	£51

Hull remained the leading grain exporter of the four ports, with

shipments fluctuating according to supply and demand and the yield of its hinterland. When Scarborough shared in customs responsibilities, grain was usually shipped from there instead and Hull's participation in export decreased accordingly. Boston and Yarmouth were clearly able to manage with the yield of their hinterland and this was also true of Southampton, although to a lesser extent.

Fish

First Decade

<u>Port</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Export</u>
Hull	1306 - 1307	£82.12s.	—
Boston	1308 - 1309	£1341.10s.+	—
Yarmouth	1310 - 1311	—	£1409.17s.12d.
Southampton	1308 - 1309	£193.13s.4d.	—

Trade associations with the Hanse were a notable feature of Boston's trade and its fish import figures are clearly indicative of their close commercial relationship. Hull's figures are not truly representative of Yorkshire's imports because the trade in Baltic stockfish was deflected to Ravenser. Yarmouth's supremacy in the herring trade is graphically illustrated by the table. This was a position which it continued to occupy throughout the period.

Cloth

First Decade

<u>Port</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Import Shipments</u>	<u>Export</u>
Hull	1306 - 1307	27	£92 +
Boston	1303	66	£1358.2s.6d.+
Yarmouth	1310 - 1311	13	£903.15s.+
Southampton	1308 - 1309	6	£13.13s.

Third Decade

Hull		2	no information available
Boston	1326 - 1327	—	£762.15s.11d+
Yarmouth	1325 - 1326	3	£250.12s.
Southampton		1 (1326) (3 months)	£45.13s.+(1323)

Boston's importance in the import and export of cloth throughout the period was paramount, and reflects the importance of its annual local fair. Yarmouth was also an important cloth exporter, particularly of worsted, the cloth characteristic of its hinterland. Southampton's total lack of involvement in the trade may possibly reflect a concentration in the hands of denizen merchants which would therefore not appear in the customs accounts for this period.

Comparisons in other commodities such as the leather trade through Southampton or the salt trade through all the ports could be given, but they would only substantiate what has already been stated and is so clearly illustrated in the customs accounts themselves. Trade was broadly based; specialisation was confined to one or two ports.

Commercial associations also bear mentioning. Boston, Hull and Yarmouth exhibited a marked polarisation of trade towards the Baltic and the Low Countries, while Southampton's trade affiliations were with France and the Mediterranean. In the first decade of the fourteenth century, however, Yarmouth was also dealing with northern France and it was not unusual to find an occasional Italian galley in Hull or a Hanseatic ship in Southampton.

The picture which emerges from the customs accounts has many different aspects. In terms of the imports and exports of the customs ports, its beauty lies in the wealth of material which is made available on alien trade. Instead of a general listing of commodities which arrived and departed in the ships of Hanseatic, French and Spanish merchants, the accounts provide us with a quantitative record of all goods passing through alien hands. This enables us to ascertain both the broad lines of trade and the specialised industries of each port and its hinterland. In a similar manner, it is possible to assess the movements of the ships and the merchants who carried and dealt in this wide range of commodities, a subject which will be taken up in the next chapter.

Explanatory Notes to Tables on Customs Accounts

Dating in the customs accounts is based upon the Exchequer year from Michaelmas to Michaelmas and to facilitate tabulation this system has been maintained in the tables. In several cases accounts have been combined to provide ^{ide} 1 table for a complete year rather than several smaller ones covering several months each. In most cases, however, the documents have been tabulated separately.

Commodities, where possible, have been listed singly in order to present an exact account of all goods passing through alien hands. In some documents continuous dual listing of certain commodities such as figs and raisins, onions and garlic, pitch and tar necessitated their combination in the charts. Difficulties arose in the translation of those words which may take one of two meanings, such as in the case of cepum or sepum which may refer to tallow or onions. Identification was based upon the units of measurement given in each case (stones, meases or weys for tallow and thousands or baskets for onions) and the other commodities which were imported or exported at the same time. Whenever the commodity was combined with garlic, it was translated as onions rather than tallow. Similar difficulties arose in the case of the abbreviation plum for ^{lead} ~~lead~~ or feathers. Translation was always in favour of the former unless low values and measurements in stones was recorded in which case it was translated as feathers. Fri could possibly refer to grain or iron, but has been taken to refer to the former. For the most part, the language of the accounts is Latin, but English words were transcribed, most notably in descriptions of squirrel skins and the various types of wood coming from the Baltic. These have been underlined as well as those words for which a translation has not been found. Unusual words are translated only the first time they

appear in the tables.

Total Shipments refers to the total number of times each commodity entered or left a port. It does not refer to the number of ships upon which each item was carried. It is felt this is a more accurate indicator of the demand for a particular item by individual merchants.

Merchants reflects the total number of different merchants active in the trade of each commodity. This includes shipmasters and sailors who occasionally dabbled in trade.

Value/Shipments indicates the assessed value of each commodity and the number of total shipments where it is possible to arrive at a value. In many cases joint shipment of several commodities prevents a complete total from being given.

Amounts/Shipments like values, provides some idea of the volume of trade in each commodity. Total measurements are often impossible because they are not always given in the accounts. Frequently, only the name of each item is recorded with no reference at all to its weights or measure. Wherever possible, however, these have been added with shipments referring to the number of times for which this was possible. These provide some idea of the amazing diversity of measurements and means of transport which were utilized. In order to demonstrate this variety the different measures have been kept separate. Conservative estimates have been given on those commodities where the long hundred may have been the actual measurement. All amounts in the tables refer to the standard hundred and a + has been added to indicate the possibility of a greater amount.

Comments and footnotes relate any additional material which was not possible to phase in tabular form.

Combined Commodities notes those items for which it was impossible to arrive at any value whatsoever, on account of their joint shipment with other commodities. The number in parenthesis is the total number of shipments. In the case of Boston, so many goods were listed under one value that it was thought best to place as many as possible in the main body of the tables. All documents which are printed in N. S. B. Gras' The Early English Customs System have been transcribed from the original and cross-checked with Gras. Page references for Gras are provided under the document number.

Yarmouth

Imports 1310 - 1311 2 August - 4 October¹

E122/148/15

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Boards ²	26	20	34 10 /8		
Wood	19	15	1166	299 tuns; 1 pipe	
Onions	11	10	65 10 /10		
Iron	11	10	53 10 /4		
Canvas ³	7	6	181 15 /6	12 bundles; 5 bards	1 shipment Osmund
Wax	7	6		40 quintals	
Weld	6	6	22		
Sturgeon	4	3	95 13	63 barrels	
Tel	3	3	56 18 /2	44 rolls	(a type of cloth (2 shipments for robes
Fruit	3	3	42 12 8	113 baskets	
Pelts	3	1	16 10 /1	in 1 barrel	(1 shipment wool-fells (1 shipment leopard
Caen Stone	3	3	2 1		
Ungrained dyed Cloth ⁴	3	3		654	/2
Potash ⁵	2	1	3	34 barrels	
Millstones	2	2	2 17		
Figs & Raisins	2	2	2 5 6	12 baskets	
Tul	2	2	2		Possibly 2 additional shipments of tel
Tar	2	1	2	6 barrels	/1
Bowstaves	1	1	50		
Corn	1	1	34		
Herring	1	1	18		
Spices	1	1	9		
Spars	1	1	8	1 barrel	

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments		Amounts/Shipments	Comments
			£.	s. d.		
<u>Lege</u>	1	1	6			
Garlic & Onions	1	1	6			
Handmill Stones	1	1	4	10		
Swans	1	1	4	6 8		
Salt	1	1	3	10		
Almonds	1	1	2			
Eels	1	1	1	10	8 barrels	
Olive Oil	1	1	1	5	30 jars	

Combined Commodities: Oars (8), Diverse Merchandise (5), Flax (4), Troughs (3), Oats (2), Pitch (2), Ginger (2);

(1 each) Wood, Saffron, Barley, Butter, Work horse, Budge, Wooden shoes or clogs.

1) Exchequer year 1310-1311, plus 2 August-Michaelmas 1310.

2) One shipment was not given a value.

3) One shipment worth £40 was unloaded from the ship of Alfred Anneys of Yarmouth and transferred to that of Martin le Monge.

4) This included 481 Cloths packed in 40 bundles imported by 12 merchants. Customs amounted to £24 12d. Ungrained cloth, panne sine grano, is the term recorded in all the customs accounts. This is taken to mean undyed or unfinished cloth. In this case, the term used is panne sine grano tinct.

5) One load was placed in the ship of Richard Silver of Yarmouth by the alien who had imported it, John Redstock. This could conceivably be a case of re-shipment, involving a denizen.

Yarmouth

Exports 1310 - 1311

21 August - Michaelmas¹

E122/148/13

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Herring ²	52	47	1409 17 12	480 lasts; 32,500	
Salt	50	48	190 3 4	165 weys /7	
Worsted ³	29	28	658 4 /28	40 bundles /28	6 shipments diverse
Coal	10	10	23 10		
Blanket	7	6	140	10 bundles; in 1 barrel	
Feathers	5	5	45 14	30 sacks; 4 pokes/4	
Ale	4	4	27 14	28 tuns	
Cloth	3	3	2 14	3 bundles	
Canvas	2	2	2 17 6/1	7 bundles	
Cheese	2	2	2 6 8	2 pounds; in 1 barrel	
Pelts ³	2	2	1 2 /1	in 1 barrel /1	
Timber	2	2	1 /1		
Frieze	1	1	100		
Potash	1	1	8	18 barrels	
Mercery	1	1	7	1 barrel	
Flock	1	1	4 13	2 sacks; 1 poke	
Tar	1	1	2	19 barrels	
Candles	1	1	15	2 pounds	

Combined Commodities: (1 each) Iron, Butter, Honey, Onions, Bowstaves, Garlic, Wadmal, Swans.

1) Exchequer year 1310-1311, plus 21 August-Michaelmas 1310.

2) Joint shipments by a group of merchants occur frequently, with one value and one amount provided. Total number of herring shipments reflects each individual merchant, not the collective group as a whole.

3) One shipment included worsted and pelts packed in a barrel.

Yarmouth Imports 1325 - 1326 July - July¹ E122/148/27
 148/30
 Comments 149/9

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Iron	28	22	100 4 /16		8 shipments diverse
Boards	25	18	52 9 /17		1 shipment <u>sulsis</u>
Potash	11	11	13 13 /5	15 barrels /1	<u>bordis</u>
Pitch	10	10	4 6 /2		
Barley	9	9	18 5 /6		
Woad	8	7	137		
Oars	8	8	9 15 /4		
Salt	7	6	15 2		
Oats	5	4	8 13		
Onions	5	5	6	/1	
Bowls	5	5	1	/1	
Wax	5	5		12 quintals	
Poles	4	4	1 9	4 cords	
Bowstaves	3	3	11	/2	
Herring	3	3	5 9		
Bacon	3	3	13	/1	
Tallow	3	3	13		
Steel	2	1	132		
Rye	2	2	11		
Weld	2	2	8		
Beans	2	1	5 6		
Sailcloth	2	1	5 6		
Malt	2	2	3		1 old sailcloth

All shipments were
white salt

Salted - 1 shipment
Red - 1 shipment

Yarmouth

Imports 1325 - 1326 (continued)

E122/148/27
148/30
Comments 149/9

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Litmus	2	2	18	6 barrels /1	
Quarrels	2	2	6	/1	
Millstones	1	1	10		
Budge	1	1	3 6		Membrane torn away so only one value possible for quarrels
Canvas	1	1	2 6		
Oranges	1	1	2		
Mixed Corn	1	1	2		
Sturgeon	1	1	2	2 barrels	
Handstones	1	1	1 10		
Nutmeg	1	1	1		
German wool	1	1	1		
Hides	1	1	13		Cattle hides
Falcons	1	1	10		

Combined Commodities: Tar(11), Garlic(4), Troughs(3), Flax(3); (1 each) Peas, Rope, Grease, Corcles, Timber, Greywork, Barrel board.

- 1) E122/148/28 1 August - Michaelmas
- E122/148/30 Michaelmas - 23 March
- E122/149/9 24 March - 31 July

Yarmouth	Exports 1325 - 1326		July - July ¹		E122/148/27	
	Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments /31
Herring	63	57	976 13	1 last	5 shipments salted	
English cloth	37	20	250 12		57 shipments red	
Salt	23	18	44 14		9 shipments specified as pieces	
Coal	10	10	14 16 /9		All shipments were sea coal	
Feathers	5	5	2 2 /2			
Shoes	2	2	2 13			
Teazles	2	2	2			
Pelts	2	2	1 6 /1		1 shipment cat	
Salted Fish	1	1	9			
Myrtle seeds	1	1	2			
Wine	1	1	2	1 tun		
Whetstone	1	1	10			

1 83 1

Combined Commodities: (1 each) Hides, Pitch, Lead, Corcles.

- 1) E122/148/27 1 August-Michaelmas
- E122/148/30 Michaelmas-23 March
- E122/148/31 24 March-31 July

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Woad	34	23	1113 /33	248 tuns; 1 cask	
Leather	26	25	122 /5	61 dozen; 103 bales	
Spanish Wool	22	20	229 /9	234 sacks; 298 bales	
Iron	19	18	134 1 8 /7	159,400; 281 quarters	
Thread	12	12	5 6 8 /1	62 bales	
Basan	10	10	2 3 /1	94 bales	
Cod & Haddock	8	5	76 /3	39,000	
Eels ¹	8	8	69 /7	12,100	
Herring	6	6	58 13 4	25 lasts	(5 shipments red (1 shipment white
Bows	6	6	16 /4	240 dozen	/5
Almonds	5	5	37 /3	45 bales	
Carvas	3	2	101	12 bundles	
Wax ²	3	2	4400½		
Grain & Barley	3	3	103 6 8	12 tuns full; 410 quarters	230 quarters to Portsmouth
Onions & Garlic	3	3	23 16 8		1 shipment small onions
Wool Cloth ³	2	2	392 /1	20 yards; 3 bundles containing 150 remnants	
Pots	2	2	59 13 4	40 pounds; 200	
Cattle	2	2	16 /1	21	
Tin	1	1	20		
Sailcloth	1	1	No value given	3 rolls	

Combined Commodities: Pelts(2), Cumin(2); (1 each) Liquorice, Rice, Cordovan Leather, Oil, Wool.

1) Two amounts given by Gras are incorrect. They should be 400 and 700, not 4000 and 7000.

2) One shipment '800 pro quibus solvit de quolibet 100.'

3) Roger le Rous imported one shipment worth £392 in the name of Collard Tornay.

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Iron	8	8	27 8 /6	12100; 13 quarters	
Salt	4	4	39 10	1050 quarters	Great salt
Coal	4	4	8 11 8	177 quarters	Sea coal
Blanket	3	3	11 13 4	8 pieces; 4 remnants	
Bacon	3	2	1	146	
Mutton	3	2	13 4 /1	55 carcasses	
Seeds ¹	2	2	7 16	32 barrels	
Tapestry	2	2	2	8	
Beef	2	2	13 4 /1	12 carcasses	
Vetch	1	1	30	160 quarters	
Peas	1	1	21	130 quarters	
Millstones	1	1	4	2	
Nuts	1	1	14 4	10 bushels	

Combined Commodities: (1 each) Wool Cloth, Mixed Cloth.

1) One amount given by Gras is incorrect. It should be 12 barrels and not 7.

Southampton
 Imports 1310 - 1311 2 August - 28 June
 E122/136/17
 136/21

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Woad	75	30	2781 18 4	517 tuns; 51 pipes	
Leather	50	42	773 15 8 /47	275½ bales; 205 dozen; 5 lasts	1 shipment white
Iron	29	25	189 12 9 /24	253,300; 209½ quarters	
Basan	21	15	59 /7	65 bales; 147 dozen	2 shipments red
Pelts	20	19	72 14 4 /8	24 bales; 376; 1 bundle; 1 sack	
Wool	15	14	145 6 8 /14	155 sacks; 81 bales	5 shipments Spanish
Canvas	14	12	564 16 8 /13	38 bards; 15 bundles	
Mackerel	11	10	21 11 8		
Sailcloth	10	10	50 8 10 /9	56 rolls; 3 bundles	
Goblets	10	10	31 /6	873 dozen; 8	
Thread	10	8	17 10 /4	32 bales	/9
Almonds	9	7	53 13 /8	84 bales; 6 sacks	/8
Tallow	8	7	20 13 4 /6	22 bales; 3 pipes	4 bales fundat
Cod & Haddock	7	7	96 10		
Fruit	5	5	46 10	309 baskets	
Grain & Rye	4	4	110 8	123 tuns	
Liquorice	4	3	6 /1	22 bales; 9 sacks	
Cumin	4	4	3 16 /2	13 bales	
Tiles or Bricks	3	3	50 13 4	10½ dozen	
Mercury	3	3	32 /2	28 casks	
Bows	3	3	19 13 4 /2	212 dozen; 700	
Eels	3	3	13 10	1100	

Southampton

Imports 1310 - 1311 (continued)

E122/136/17
136/21

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Barley	3	3	12 10 /2		
<u>Balder</u>	3	3	6 /1	4 bales; 1 bundle /2	Possibly belts
<u>Wax</u> ¹	3	3			
Pots	2	2	122	28 bales	
Wool Cloth	2	2	19 6 8	1 bundle; 6 remnants	
Cattle	2	2	9 10	16	
<u>Capucior & Brussyni</u>	2	2	2	40 <u>foredur</u> ; 1 bale	Possibly types of skins
Oars	2	2	1 10	39 dozen	
Cloth	2	2		9	Broad Cloth
Herring	1	1	16 6 8	32 barrels; 4 lasts	White
Millstones	1	1	16	24	
Peas	1	1	12	12 bushels	
Hose	1	1	12		
Mercery	1	1	8 10		
Garlic	1	1	8 6 8	26 seams	
Onions	1	1	5	26,000	
<u>Ciph</u>	1	1	4	1 strip	A type of cloth
Vinegar ²	1	1	2	3 tuns	
Parchment ²	1	1	2	100	
Tunics	1	1	13 4	2 <u>foredur</u>	
Fish	1	1	10		

Table 7

Combined Commodities: Rice(2); (1 each) Budge, Anise, Abrutonus³, Grease, Rope.

1) Shipments include 2 pieces containing 66 pounds worth £55 and 1 bale totalling 3 quintals.

2) The term used in this document, abortifs, refers to a type of parchment made from the skin of a stillborn animal.

3) This is possibly derived from abrotonum, meaning southern wood.

Southampton Exports 1310 - 1311 2 August - 28 June E/122/136/17
136/21

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Salt ¹	8	8	177 4 2 /7	3434 quarters	All shipments were great salt
Feathers	5	5	13 1	7 bags	
Herring	3	3	50	8000; 60 barrels; 2 tuns	1 shipment white
Blanket	3	3	26 17 4	90 ells; 4 pieces	
Wool Cloth	3	3	25 13 4	21 ells; 4 pieces; 6 remnants	
Coal	2	2	2 7 /1	60 quarters	Both shipments sea coal
Peas & seeds	1	1	22 16	130 quarters peas; 12 barrels seeds	
Seeds	1	1	18	40 barrels	
Vetch	1	1	6 13 4	40 quarters	
Iron	1	1	6	20 quintals or quarters	
Bacon	1	1	2 5	14	

Combined Commodities: (1 each) Fruit, Wine, Goblets, Pelts.

1) One shipment was 2000 quarters worth £100.

Southampton

Exports 1323

7 February - Michaelmas

E122/136/27

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Cloth	5	5	—	53	Broad cloth
Tin	4	3	176		
Cloth	4	4	5 13	23 remnants	All shipments wool cloth
Cloth	3	3	5 10	10 remnants	
Hides	2	2	8	20 diverse /1	1 shipment <u>dorsa</u>
English Cloth	2	2	8	3 pieces; 8 remnants	<u>cor tennat</u>
Lead ¹	2	2	2 13		
Herring	2	2	2 11 8		White
Blanket	1	1	17	12 pieces	
Worsted	1	1	7 10		
Cheese	1	1	5		
Hose	1	1	5	16 dozen	
Tapestry	1	1	2	3	
Horses	1	1	1 6 8	1	
Firewood	1	1	15		
Iron	1	1	5		

1) This could possibly be translated as feathers because the value is so small.

E122/136/29

Imports 1326 Michaelmas - 18 December

Southampton

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Eels	4	4	9 /2	1050	
Iron	3	3	52	52,000 /2	
Spanish wool	3	3	17	30 bales; 10 sacks	
<u>Taisch</u> ¹	2	2	50	624	
Cloth	1	1	28	4 bales	Monks cloth
Pelts	1	1	12 10	5 bales	Squirrel
Leather & Basan	1	1	16	1 bale leather; 2 bales basan	
<u>Boniell</u>	1	1	2	12	

Combined Commodities: Bacon(2); (1 each) Fish, Goods by weight.

Imports 1331 18 December - 15 March

E122/137/5
Gras pp.411-413

Woad	11	11	330 6 8	69 tuns	
Basan	2	2	4 10 /1	3 bales /1	
Grain	2	2	2 5 /1		
Fruit	1	1	30		
Weld	1	1	13 13 4		
Spanish wool	1	1	2	3 bales	
Herring	1	1	1		
Iron	1	1	16	600	

Combined Commodities: Cordovan leather(3), Barley(2); (1 each) Thread, Sailcloth, Tallow, Corn, Eels, Linen
Cloth, Peas, Garlic.

1) This could refer to goblets or tasse, a type of armour, or a type of cloth.

Boston
 Imports 1303 12 February - 28 September
 E122/5/9
 Gras pp.288-302

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Fish	92	89	1179 18 4 /67		
Wax	50	49	_____	326½ quintals; 12 quarters; 140 pounds	
Ungrained Cloth	47	42	_____	1262½	
Fish & Oil	38	35	1002		
<u>Greywork</u>	11	11	97		Winter squirrel skins with grey backs
Canvas	10	10	45 18 4 /3		
<u>Ruskyn</u>	10	10			Summer squirrel skins
Wadmal	9	9	107		
Mixed Cloth	9	8	_____	43	
Pelts	8	8			Goat
Swords & Helmets	7	7	134	/6	
Boards	6	6			
Potash	6	5			
Scarlet	5	5	_____	8	
Bowstaves	5	5			
Tar	4	3			
<u>Popel</u>	4	4			Early summer squirrel skins
Goods by Weight	3	3	483 19		
Steel ¹	3	2	403	/2	1 shipment anvil steel
<u>Redwerk</u>	3	3	10	/1	Possibly red squirrel skins
Linen Cloth	3	3			
Copper	2	2	30		

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Stockfish	2	2	28		
Millstones	2	2	23 6 8/1		
Lampreys	2	2	23		
Cloth	2	2			From Brittany
Garlic	2	2	7 5		
Towels	2	2			
Pitch	2	2			
Goshawks & Tercel	2	2	2 15	8 goshawks; 1 tercel	
Honey	1	1	26 6		
Budge	1	1	14		
Falcons	1	1	3	4	
Robes	1	1	—	1	Ungrained

Combined Commodities: Quernstone(2); (1 each) Cork, Luskwerk², Butter, Strandling³, Cutting Stone, Caldrons, Saffron, Felt Cloth, Saddles, Reins, Old Cloth, Sturgeon.

- 1) The value for one shipment not recorded here included a joint shipment of anvil steel, mill stones, and quernstones worth £409.
- 2) Good quality squirrel skins with grey backs and white bellies.
- 3) Autumn squirrel skins.

Boston	Exports 1303			10 February - 28 September			E122/5/7	
	Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments	Amounts/Shipments	Comments	Gras pp. 274-88	
				£. s. d.				
English Cloth	81	75	1162 17	/57	162	(1 shipment worth £250 (1 narrow English cloth		
Scarlet ¹	68	66			100½; 10 ells			
Salt	63	61	630					
Worsted	21	20	176 11	/12		2 says of worsted		
Lead	16	16	42 13	/5				
Butter	13	12	12 16	8/4				
Ungrained Cloth	11	11				3 brown ungrained cloths		
Goods by Weight	9	8	169					
Pelts	9	9	46 9	/1		(4 shipments lamb, (1 fox, 1 cat, 1 goat		93
Grain	8	8	79 16	8/4				
Honey	6	6	17 16	8/1				
Irish Cloth	6	6	10	/1				
Ale	5	5	19 10	/2				
Cheese	5	5	15	/1				
Mixed Cloth	5	5			22			
Potash	3	3	10?					
Millstones	3	3	30	/1				
Flock	3	3	2	/2				
Sulphur	2	2	7	/1				
Bed Clothes	2	2	2 6	/1	3	/1		
Alum	1	1	21					
Budge	1	1	4					
Cotton	1	1	3					

Table 13

E122/5/7

Exports 1303 (continued)

Boston

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Canvas	1	1	1 14 6		
Cloth (Beverley)	1	1	4		

Combined Commodities: Malt(12), Beans(11), Blanket(3), Corn (or Swords)(2); (1 each) Greywork, Linen Cloth, Feathers, Oil, Wadmal, Pitch (or Fish), Steel, Bacon, Fur for Linings, Flax, Pepper, Cloth (Unspecified), Unspecified goods paid for with £24 in counted money.

1) This includes one shipment by John 'Famulo Roberti', a merchant's servant trading on behalf of his master.

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E122/5/10

Exports 1303 - 1304 Michaelmas - 17 July

Grain	19	18	85 12 8 /7	
Salt	12	11	150 /9	
English Cloth	12	12	58 18 /5	
Honey	8	8	55 /4	
Malt	8	8	14 2 /4	
Butter	5	5	8 5 /3	
Scarlet	5	5	<u>5</u>	
Ale	4	4	1 /1	
Ungrained Cloth	2	2	<u>3</u>	
Peas	1	1	44	
Pelts	1	1	3	Cat pelts

Combined Commodities: Beans(2); (1 each) Corn, Cheese, Worsted.

E122/6/3
6/5

Imports 1308 - 1309 8 November - Michaelmas

Boston

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Fish	118	109	1341 10 /70		
Ungrained Cloth	104	85	—	2660½	/101
Oil	34	32	—		
Wax	19	14	—	167 quintals; 4 quarters; 24 pounds	
Pelts	15	15	124 10 /7		
Boards	15	15	57 9 /6		
<u>Greywork</u>	12	8	124 10 /7		
Goods by Weight ¹	9	9	3361 1		
Steel	9	8	531 14 10 /7		
Garlic	9	9	9 10 /5		
Pots	8	7	189 13		1 shipment brass pots
Hose	6	6	30 10		
Iron	5	5	3 10 /1		
Canvas	3	3	87		
Herring	3	3	—		
Spars	3	3	—		
Dyed Cloth	3	3	—		
Copper	2	2	18		
Wadmal	2	2	10		
Figs	2	2	9		
Flax	2	2	4		
Pommells	2	2	1		

Boston Imports 1308 - 1309 (continued) E122/6/3
6/5

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Bowstaves	1	1	10		
Mercery	1	1	4		

Combined Commodities: (2 each) Potash, Swords, Sail Cloth, Troughs, Onions, Helmets, Sulphur, Hides;
(1 each) Oars, Haddock, Tar, Quernstone, Tapestry, Empty Barrels, Sheepskin.

1) ALL came in on the same ship on 20 May. 1309 'in quibus navibus averis ponderis subscriptoribus applic' particularitur.'

E122/6/2

Exports 1308 - 1309 8 November - 28 August

Boston

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Cloth-English	65	60	650 15 /42		
Scarlet	33	33	_____	47	
Salt	26	26	399 /22		
Honey	18	17	21 /2		
Ungrained cloth	6	6	_____		
Coal	4	4	5 /2		
Worsted	3	3	20 /2		
Lead	3	3	12 /1		
Almonds	3	3	5 19 /1		
Goods by Weight	2	2	16 /1		
Sulphur	2	2			
Butter	1	1	7		
Beans	1	1	4		
Flock	1	1	3		
Feathers	1	1	1		
Pelts	1	1			Cat
Cheese	1	1			
Peas	1	1			

Boston Exports 1310 18 August - Michaelmas E122/6/8

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
English Cloth	26	25	215 8 /20		
Scarlet	12	11	—	21½	1 value illegible
Worsted	12	12	180 15 /7		
Lead	12	9	124 3 /8		1 value illegible
Pelts	11	11	58 14 /6		
Cheese	4	4	4 10		
Honey	3	3	8	/1	
Oil	3	3	4		
Ungrained Cloth	3	3	—		
Other Merchandise	3	3	—		
Beverley Cloth	2	2	—		
Cotton	2	2	—		
Almonds	2	2	—		
Copper	1	1	52 10		
Butter	1	1	7		
Oars	1	1	6		
Fur for Linings	1	1	2 5		
Feathers	1	1	1		
Salt	1	1	illegible		
Hurdles	1	1			
Goods by Weight	1	1			
Whale bone	1	1			

Commodity	Total Shipments	Imports 1326 - 1327	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments	E122/6/21 6/22	
							Imports 1326 - 1327	Michaelmas - 26 April ¹
Fish	140	108	814	/55				
Oil	45	40						
Hides	36	33			18 dickers(180)	/1		
Pelts	23	22						Cat
Boards	12	12	35	/8				
Cutting Stones	5	5						
Buckskin	2	2						
Herring	1	1	8					White
Falcons	1	1	8					
Steel	1	1						
Beams	1	1						
Onions	1	1						
Garlic	1	1						
Butter	1	1						

- 1) A hole in the membrane prevents calculation of a shipment of boards and cutting stones. This account is not possibly representative of trade through Boston during this period because one membrane is missing. Membrane 2 ends on 22 November and membrane 3 commences on the 25 April running for several days until 26 April.

Boston

Exports 1326 - 1327

E122/7/1
6/22
Comments 6/26

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
			£. s. d.		
English Cloth	67	59	688 19 8	3 1/2 bundles /4	
Scarlet	26	23		30 1/2	
Honey	22	19	38 10 8	51 tuns; 3 barrels; 1 pipe /11	
Salt	14	13	189 3 4		
Butter	11	11	8 16 /8		
Worsted	10	10	56 16 /6		
Malt	9	9	105 /4		
Feathers	7	7	8 14 4		
Cheese	7	7	1 /1		
Corn	4	4	7 /1		3 shipments early corn 100
Pelts	4	4	5 10 /3		3 shipments cat 1 shipment lamb
Grain	3	3	6 10		
Canvas	3	3	3 10 3		
Beverley Cloth	2	2	12 /1		
Lead	2	2	3 10 3		
Mustard Seeds	2	2	6 8 /1		
Ungrained Cloth	2	2		2 1/2	
Rye	1	1	11		
Myrtle Seeds	1	1	3		
Linen Cloth	1	1	1 10		
Rhenish Wine	1	1		2 pipes	
Almonds	1	1			
Fur for Linings	1	1			
Rice	1	1			
Cloth	1	1			White

Boston		Imports 1333		20 January - 28 June ¹		E122/7/4 7/5	
Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments		
Fish	38	38	61				
Hides	24	22		1 dicker(10)	1 shipment dakhides (1 dicker hides)		
Boards	13	13	7 13	/4			
Oil	12	12					
Canvas	10	10	71 1				
Tar	7	7	31 10	/2			
Wax	6	3		32 quintals; 2 quarters			
Herring	3	3	5 8	/2			
Ungrained Cloth	3	2		4			
Whetstone	3	3					
Buckskin	3	3					
Sulphur	3	3					
Wine	2	2	172		Rhenish wine		
<u>Ribald</u>	2	2	12	/1			
<u>Greywork</u>	2	2	12	/1			
Quernstone	2	2					
Madder	2	1					
Beams	2	2					
Mill stones	1	1	105				
Steel	1	1	79				
Pots	1	1	18				
Oars	1	1	1	7			

Combined Commodities: (1 each) Onions, Potbred (Sweet Bread), Potash, Garlic, Butter, Swords, Whale bone, Falcons, Heydoukes.

- 1) This is taken to mean a type of cloth for covering the head and occurs periodically in the customs accounts H. J. Smit, Bronnen Tot de Geschiedenis van den Handel Met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland, (1928) see glossary under 'hoofddoek'.

The controller's account (E122/7/5) is extant for the first and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the second membrane. When compared with the collector's accounts, several differences occur:
(7/4)

20 April	Empkyn de Kele	7/4 7/5	boards, fish, potbred, hides boards, fish, oil, potash	£10 £10
20 April	Bernard de Heythe	7/4 7/5	boards boards, fish	£5 £5
	Herman de NaLe	7/4 7/5	fish, hides, oil fish, hides	£18 £18

These differences provide us with proof on at least one account that both sets of officials were present when cargoes were unloaded in Boston. If not, presumably the two accounts would have been exactly alike. The differences in cargoes, however, point to the fact that the lists of commodities may not have always been a precise reflection of imports or exports. For purposes of tabulation, the collector's account has been used.

E122/7/4
7/5

Exports 1333 20 January - 28 June¹

Boston

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Malt	8	8	51 12 4/4		
Grain	7	7	31 13 4/4		
Oats	4	4	5		
Honey	4	4			
Lead	3	2	20	/2	
Feathers	2	2	2		
English Cloth	2	2			
Early Corn	1	1	2		
Canvas	1	1			
Knives	1	1			
Say	1	1			
<u>Cerotet</u> ¹	1	1			Possibly gloves or a medicinal ointment

1) Both collector's (E122/7/4) and controller's (7/5) accounts are extant, with only one minor difference:

4 May	Herman Glassay	7/4	knives, say, <u>cerotet</u>	£1 10s.
		7/5	knives, say	£1 10s.

See footnote 1 to imports for the same period.

E122/55/16

Imports 1304 4 July - Michaelmas

Hull

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Potash	16	13	80 13 4	395 tuns; 169 barrels	(5 shipments for barrels
Boards	14	11	47 6 4	25460	(1 shipment de Bethe
Bowstaves	8	7	17 17	9410	(3 shipments fir
Tar	8	8	2 16 /7	32 barrels	/6
Wainscot	7	7	59 2 4	13820	
Bowls	7	7	56 4 4 /6	1950	
Wadmal	7	7	15 19 10 /6	64. pieces	
Pitch	6	6	8 3 4 /5	23½ lasts; 17 barrels; 26 tuns	/5
Pelts	6	5	5 11 10	8 dickers; 12 pelts; 4½ timbers; 11	Coat, deer, leopard, sheep, bear
Wax	5	5	—	1900 +	
Fish	4	2	11 7 4	5900	4700 dried
Oars	4	4	2 12	2540	
Troughs	4	4	13 /3	312	
Woad	3	3	55 16	20 tuns	
Bacon	3	3	4 15	46	
Fir Beams	3	2	4 12	3690	
Butter	3	3	2 11	3 barrels, 1 tun	
Empty Barrels	3	2	2	200	
Popel	3	3	12 /1	160	
Ungrained Cloth	3	3	—	24	
Copper	2	2	34 2 6	4200	

Hull

Imports 1304 (continued)

E122/55/16

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
<u>Ruskyn</u>	2	2	10 /1	2000	
<u>White Work</u>	2	2	5 1	680	
Garlic	2	2	3 11	8 garbs; 1 basket	Winter squirrel skins
Oil	2	2	1 16	12 bowls	/1 1 shipment olive oil
Falcons	2	2	1 8	11	3 lammers
Rope	2	2	1 7		
Cork	2	2	8	8 barrels	
Resin	2	2	6 6		
Rye	1	1	16	155 quarters	
Wool	1	1	7	2 sacks	From Norway
Almonds	1	1	5	1000	
Iron	1	1	2 16	700	
Helmets	1	1	2	1 barrel	
Horses	1	1	1 10	1	
Ermine	1	1	1	100	
Bear	1	1	10	1	
Nuts	1	1	9	6 barrels	
Flour	1	1	5 6		
Goshawks	1	1	4	4	
Fat	1	1	3	1 barrel	
Scarlet	1	1	<hr/>	1½	
Skins	1	1	7	1 pound	

E122/55/16

Imports 1304 (continued)

Hull

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Cloth in Grain	1	1	—	2	

Combined Commodities: Ryband¹ (3); (1 each) Reins, Stirrups, Small Things.

1) Possibly pelts or skins, it was usually imported with ruskyn.

E122/55/11

Exports 1304 4 July - Michaelmas¹

Hull

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Lead	3	2	77 7	30½ cartloads	
Mustard Seeds	1	1	1 14	8 quarters	
Cheese	1	1	16	30 stones	
Salmon	1	1	5	5	
Ungrained Cloth	1	1	—	½	
Scarlet	1	1	—	½	

1) The last shipment recorded on this document is 30 August.

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Garlic	41	38	26 7 2 /27	514 garbs; 327 seams; 1/2 basket /37	
Ungrained Cloth	40	35	—	392 1/2	
Empty Barrels	32	25	6 15 6 /22	595	
Boards	28	19	71 11 1 /23	19938 + /26	3 shipments for making barrels
Woad	18	14	502	129 tuns	
Tar	18	18	11 1 /8	98 barrels; 1 last; 1 tun /10	
Tiles or Bricks	17	14	4 1 /16	55680	
Pitch	12	12	19 4 /4	46 barrels; 10 lasts /6	
Chests	11	10	3 6 8 /6	31	
Potash	10	10	54 6 6 /9	158 barrels; 248 tuns	
Figs & Raisins	9	9	38 6	147 baskets	
Iron	9	9	34 16 /7	1220 pieces; 16800	
Troughs	9	9	1 15 /3	2530 /5	
Wadmal	8	8	72 18	340 pieces; 100	
Herring	8	8	44 13 8	71 lasts; 4000; 2 baskets; 2 barrels; 14 cades	
Robes	8	8	26 6 /6	10 /3	ALL shipments old robes
Bowstaves	7	7	3 8 4 /4		
Onions	6	6	33 /2	2400; 11 baskets /3	
Ruskyn	6	6	10 19 /5	60 timbers(2400)	Summer squirrel skins
Oars	6	6	11 /1	680	

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Bowls	6	6	3 /1	180 /3	
Canvas	5	5	56 3	2550; 150 ells	
Salt	5	5	20 10	274 quarters; 3 barrels; 28 trays	
Madder	5	5	18 13	111 barrels; 6 tuns	
Unspecified Cloth	5	5	3 3	3 pieces; 15 ells	1 small piece
Mattresses	5	5	1 15	8 /4	32
Brass Pots	5	4	14	/4	14
Copper	5	5	3	/1	3600; 26 meases
Wax	5	4		2162 +	
Fish	4	4	14 15	1800	1 shipment dried
Falcons	4	4	13 10	14	
<u>Tirteyn</u>	4	3	1 12	/2	15 pieces
Oil	4	4	1 11	/3	4 barrels; 2 tuns; 3 bowls
Lances	4	4	12	660	
Almonds	3	3	26	17 bales; 2400	
Pelts	3	3	26	/2	9 lasts; 2 dickers(20)
Flax	3	3	2 4	/2	8 meases; 10 stones
Quilt	3	3	1 8	4 /2	25
Vinegar	3	3	1 8	/2	3 barrels /2
Tapestry	3	3	13	/2	34
Mixed Cloth	3	3			16
Nutmeg	2	2	15 5		801,500

Comments

Amounts/Shipments

Value/Shipments

Merchants

Total Shipments

Commodity

£. s. d.

Shoes	2	2	12	19	41	dozen	
Fir Beams	2	2	6		5000		
Small Goods	2	2	4	19			
Grease	2	2	4		10	barrels	
Helmets	2	2	2	3	4	dozen	
Greywork	2	2	2		39	timbers (1480)	
Teazles	2	2	1	12	77	bunches	/1
Cork	2	1	5		500;	1 barrel	
Towels	2	2	3	5	3		
Sturgeon	1	1	10		14	tuns	
Alum	1	1	4	2	3	bales	
Argoyl ¹	1	1	4		1	tun	
Budge	1	1	3	5	650		
Butter	1	1	2		4	tuns	
Wainscot	1	1	1	14	1400		
Swords	1	1	1	10	3	dozen	
Tablecloths	1	1	1	6			
Muslin	1	1	1	6	17	ells	
Saffron	1	1	1		5	pounds	
Skins	1	1	1		10		
Liquorice	1	1	10		2	bales	
Knives	1	1	9		4	dozen	
Serge	1	1	8		2		

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments		Amounts/Shipments	Comments
			£.	s. d.		
Hides	1	1	8		9	
Bandages	1	1	4	6	3	
Towels	1	1	3	5	3	
Chairs	1	1	2		2 dozen	

Combined Commodities: Handkerchiefs(3), Belts(3), Coffers(2), Cumin(2); (1 each) Bedware, Scissors, Parchment, Garlands, Glasses, Sailcloth, Counting Board, Linen Cloth, Millstone, Pepper, Pewter, Dishes, Zedoary, Cinamon, Cokayl,² Popel,³ Black Sugar, Mercury, Pitchers, Tablecloth.

- 1) This is possibly either a violet dye, arguella, or cream of tartar, argol.
- 2) Cokayl refers to some type of vegetable similar to a carrot. It occurs in the Ipswich Domesday in 1436 'eche chef or summe of garlic or cacayle', volume 2, p.195. It may also stem from the Greek Καυκαλις. I am grateful to Mr. R. E. Latham of the Public Record Office for this information.
- 3) Popel is the early summer skins of the squirrel.

Hull

Exports 1304 - 1305

E122/55/20

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Grain (Unspecified)	120	102	2100 9 2	7543 quarters	
Ungrained Cloth	16	16	—	57	
Salt	10	10	235 11 8	1992 quarters; 360 trays	
Lead	10	8	141 2 4	57½ cartloads; 8 weys	
Peas	8	8	15 18 8/6	93 quarters	/7
Potash	6	5	89 4	181 tuns; 112 barrels	
Pelts	5	5	4 4	1805	100 cat
Flax	4	4	3 /3	65 stones; 1 wey	
Scarlet	3	3	—	4	
Malt	2	2	25 12 6	150 quarters	
Coal	2	2	4 5	48 tuns	
Ungrained Cloth	2	2	12 2	10 pieces	
Rye	1	1	14 3 4	85 quarters	
Horses	1	1	5 6 8	1	
Skins	1	1	3	13 pounds	
Boards	1	1	3	400	
Honey	1	1	2 10	23 bowls	
Cloth	1	1	2 10	2 pieces	White
Mustard Seeds	1	1	1 15	8 quarters	
Cheese	1	1	15	336 pounds	
Tiles or Bricks	1	1	3	2000	
Garlic	1	1	3	30 bushels	
Cloth	1	1	—	4	Unspecified

Combined Commodities: Iron(2); (1 each) Beans, Butter, Barley.

Hull

Imports 1305 - 1306

E122/55/19

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Woad	23	14	484	123 tuns; 1 pipe	
Empty Barrels	19	14	15 13 10 /8	165	Including six small barrels
Pitch & Tar	17	15	67 7 1	70 lasts; 57 barrels	
Garlic	15	12	8 2	395 garbs; 1 seam /9	
Oats	14	11	264	2346 quarters; 380 trays	
Boards	12	11	54 6	28738	Including 1400 small boards and 200 broken boards
Wax	12	11	—	107 pounds; 9000½; 10 pieces; 57½ quintals+	One shipment for 80 pounds had the value of 40s. crossed out
Iron	10	10	28 13	1740 pieces; 7000; 5 barrels	
Herring	9	9	171 19	181 lasts; 5 frail	
Pots	9	8	155 7 8	10301; 430 pounds+	Including 1 small brass pot and 2 shipments of cooking pots & pans
Rye	8	8	149 5	1290 quarters	
Onions	8	5	40 17 /7	20 garbs; 21 frail; 12000	
Potash	8	6	24 6	178 tuns	
Wainscot	8	8	20 14	8800½ +	/7
Ungrained Cloth	7	7	—	45½	
Figs & Raisins	6	6	27 15 6	97 baskets	
Helmets & Hats	6	6	14 14	19½ dozen; 837	10 beaver hats

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Grain	5	5	96	640 quarters	
Oil	5	5	28 4	49 barrels; 4 tuns; 80 bowls	
Ginger	5	5	19	1 barrel; 3 pounds; 2 bales	/3 /4
Bowstaves	5	5	12 10	10400	
Copper	4	4	79 10	10800	
Pelts	4	4	8 4	87 dickers(870); 1600	(2 shipments deer; (1 each rabbit & goat
Bowls	4	3	1 7	300½	/3
Wool	3	2	16	3 sacks; 3 pokes	For making hats
Fish	3	2	7 11 6	4660	
Wadmal	3	3	5 4	19 pieces	
<u>Ruskyn</u>	3	3	2 8	84 timbers (3360)	/2
Oars	3	3	19	220	
Tiles or Bricks	3	3	14	2000; ½ last	/2
Millstones	2	2	7	46	
Handkerchiefs	2	2	4		/1
Barley	2	2	3 10	104 quarters	
Mattresses	2	2	2 6 3	31	
Buckskin	2	2	1 6	240	
Pepper	2	2	18	17 pounds	
Swords	1	1	11	300½ dozen	
Flax	1	1	4 15	4 barrels; 4 meases	

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Glasses	1	1	4	8 chests full	
<u>Greywork</u>	1	1	2 8	240	
Sturgeon	1	1	2 4	2 tuns	
<u>Steyne</u>	1	1	2	600	
Steel	1	1	1 5	1 tun	
Cumin	1	1	1	200 pounds	
Soap	1	1	1		
Scissors	1	1	1	7	For cutting hair
Sugar	1	1	16 6	2 pieces	
Altar Cloths	1	1	15	12	
<u>Timstaves</u>	1	1	14	2800	
<u>Spade shafts</u>	1	1	13 6	900	Wood used for spades
Malt	1	1	12	3 quarters	
Dates	1	1	12	1 bale	
Ink	1	1	7	100 pounds	
Robes	1	1	6	1	Old robe
Seal skins	1	1	5	20	
Grease	1	1	5	12 gallons	
Unspecified Cloth	1	1	5	1 piece	
Nuts	1	1	4	4 barrels	
Butter	1	1	4	6 barrels	
Croppling	1	1	3	200	Inferior tupe of stock fish

E122/55/19

Imports 1305 - 1306 (continued)

Hull

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Ling	1	1	3	44	

Combined Commodities: Saffron(2), Troughs(2);

(1 each) Seeds, Canvas, Small Goods, Zedoary, Skins, Belts, Ryband, Knives, Silk, Scoops, Spars.

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Lead ¹	52	27	1219 18 4	473 cartloads; 1 stone; 66 weys; 8 pieces	
Salt	14	14	281 13 4 /13	1495 trays; 1090 quarters	
Ungrained Cloth	11	11	—	89½	
Grain	8	5	57 1	288 quarters; 6 trays	
Flax	7	7	25 15 10	278 stones; 16½ weys; 2 barrels	
Pelts	7	5	7 2 10	1371	(4 shipments cat; 1 (each fox, leopard, (lamb and rabbit
Rye	4	4	30 7	107 trays; 12 quarters	
Coal	4	4	13 17	187 chalders	
Bacon	2	2	16 13 4	130	
Honey	2	2	3 5	1 barrel; 15 bowls	
Mustard Seeds	2	2	1 2	7 quarters	
Scarlet	2	2	—	6	
Say	1	1	10 10	300 ells	
Grease	1	1	7	1 tun	
Silk	1	1	6	3 pieces	
Cloth	1	1	4	4	Gold
Beef	1	1	4		
Cloth	1	1	(4) — value crossed out	3 pieces	Blue and russet
Cloth	1	1	2 8	6 pieces	Irish
Wadmal	1	1	2 5	100½ ells	
Malt	1	1	2	10 trays	

Hull

Exports 1305 - 1306 (continued)

E122/55/19

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments		Amounts/Shipments	Comments
			£.	s. d.		
Cheese	1	1	1	5	30 stones	
Stone	1	1	1			
Skins	1	1	1		10 pounds	For sharpening knives
Shearlings	1	1		18	130	
Handkerchiefs	1	1		13 4	4 pieces	
Nuts	1	1		10	4 quarters	
Wax	1	1		—	100	

Combined Commodities: (1 each) Sugar, Seeds, Canvas, Small Goods.

1) One shipment comprised 52 cartloads, 10 weys, 1 stone worth £133 exported by John Pounce of Florence.

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Pitch & Tar	18	15	136 19 6 /11	97 barrels; 16 tuns; 129½ lasts	
Ungrained Cloth	17	15	-----	134½	
Woad	16	12	536 8	125½ tuns; 1 pipe	
Garlic & Onions	12	11	70 12 8	268 garbs; 14½ baskets /13	
Oil	12	11	18 2	88 jars; 125 bowls	5 shipments olive oil
Wax	12	10	-----	77 pieces weighing 4402½ quarters, 2210 pounds, 2½ quintals /11	
Figs & Raisins	9	9	81 14	263 baskets	
Bowstaves	8	8	5 8 /7	7650	
Empty Barrels	7	7	2 1 4	34 tuns; 15 barrels; 3 lasts	
Canvas	6	6	74 4	5350½; 60 ells	
<u>Ruskyn & Ryband</u>	6	5	53 13 /5	11380	
Boards	6	5	8 1		1 shipment fir beams
Pots	5	5	171 9 8 /4	800; 2 cooking pots /2	1 shipment including basins & lavers
<u>Greywork & White work</u>	5	5	24 18	2880; 35 pelts	2 fur linings of greywork
Mattresses	5	5	4 2	39	
Bowls	5	5	2 18 /4	3523	
Copper	4	4	69 10	5800½; 3 baskets +	
Herring	4	4	58	53½ lasts; 11 barrels	
Ginger & Saffron	4	4	22 5	40 pounds; 1 bale	

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Fish	4	4	14 4	7600	
Cordovan Leather	3	3	18 8	25 dozen	
Wainscot	3	3	13	3600	
<u>Popel</u>	3	3	9 18	1200	
Fur for Linings	3	2	4 6	48	Budge
Mixed Cloth	3	3		5½	
Wadmal	2	2	50 9 6	280 pieces	
Swords	2	2	41	1400	
Potash	2	2	9 12	104 tuns	
Almonds	2	2	8 3	2 bales	
Shearlings	2	2	6 5	1200	
Bed Clothes	2	2	1 4	5	
Silk	2	1	1 1	/1	2 sheaves; 4 pieces; 4 pounds
Chests	2	1	1	/1	4
Cloth - Unspecified	2	1	10	/1	8 ells
Croppling	2	2	8	900	
Pelts	2	2	7 6	15	(1 shipment each (deer and cat
Honeycomb	1	1	6 13	19	Old robes
Robes	1	1	6 10	3000	
Flat fish	1	1	6	1700	
Saplings	1	1	4 5		
Helmetts	1	1	4		
<u>Scrayfish</u>	1	1	2	1000	Type of stock fish

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Sturgeon	1	1	2	2 barrels	
Iron	1	1	2	2000	
Sugar Loaf	1	1	1 16		
Shoes	1	1	1 10	3½ dozen	
Cloth	1	1	1	1 piece	Linen
Scissors	1	1	1		For cutting hair
<u>Calamyn</u> ²	1	1	1	1000	
Alum	1	1	1	1 bale	
Cumin	1	1	1	1 bale	
Flax	1	1	18	1 barrel	
Handkerchiefs	1	1	10		
Lances	1	1	10		
<u>Tasils</u>	1	1	8	1 tun	(Possibly a corruption of teazles)
Weld	1	1	6		
Tiles or Bricks	1	1	5	2000	
Salt	1	1	5	1 tun	
Cork	1	1	3	2 barrels	
Buckskins	1	1	3	80	
Tapestry	1	1	3	3	

Combined Commodities: (1 each) Troughs, Coffers, Miniver¹, Basan, Cotton, Thread, Spices, Mercery.

1) This was imported in a strong box.

2) Possibly calamine or a fragrant herb.

Hull

Exports 1306 - 1307

Michaelmas - 28 August

E122/56/2

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Grain	62	51	1071 11 8 /60	5274½ quarters	
Lead	36	22	606 19 4 /22	237½ cartloads	
Pelts	9	7	12 1 8 /8	6465½; 2 timbers(80)	(2 shipments lamb (1 shipment fox
Pitch	6	6	18	12 lasts; 2 tuns	
Flax	6	6	17 11	161 stones; 10½ weys; 2 barrels	
Coal	5	5	8 3	78 chalders	
Ungrained Cloth	5	5	<u>18½</u>		
Salt	4	4	49 18 8	40 weys; 540 quarters	
Shoes	4	4	4 10	20½ dozen	
Honey	3	3	10 5	1 barrel; 54 bowls	
Oil	2	2	9 16	3 barrels; 7½ tuns	
Oars	2	2	5 2 1	175	
Fur for Linings	2	2	4 19 /1	79	(1 shipment lamb for (an overtunic; 1 ship- (ment lamb & leopard
Malt	2	2	2	11 trays	
Say	1	1	92	59 pieces	
Bacon	1	1	4 10	32	
Myrtle Seeds	1	1	2 18 6	8 quarters	
Wine	1	1	2 10	2 pipes	
Feathers	1	1	1 10	34 stones	
Millstones	1	1	1 10	10	
Iron	1	1	1 6	27 stones	
Cheese	1	1	1	1 barrel	

E122/56/2

Exports 1306 - 1307 (continued)

Hull

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Fat	1	1	19	3 baskets	
Figs	1	1	10	1 quarter	
Mustard Seeds	1	1	3	3	
Scarlet	1	1	—		

Combined Commodities: Peas(3); (1 each) Beans, Cotton.

Hull

Imports 1307 7 July - Michaelmas

E122/56/3

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Boards	13	11	27 17 /12	7800	(2200 small (100 for chests
Wax	10	8	—	152 pieces	
Woad	7	6	180	45 tuns	
Tar	4	4	23 11	29½ lasts; ½ piece /3	
Garlic	4	4	1 6 8	200 bushels; 33 garbs /3	
Copper	3	3	23 1 /2	17 meases	
<u>Greywork</u>	3	3	21 2	2042	
Wadmal	3	2	6 16	222 pieces	
Almonds	2	2	27 19 8	12 bales; 10 <u>bulliones</u>	
Pots	2	2	22 /1	4600	
Pitch	2	2	17 3 4	21 lasts	
Wainscot	2	2	14 4	6200	
Flax	2	2	1 18	6 meases	
Oil	2	2	13 6	21 bowls	
Bowls	2	2	12 /1	100	
Cloth	2	2	—	4½	
<u>Ryband</u>	1	1	76	13000	
Alum	1	1	4 19	4 bales	
Bowstaves	1	1	1 1 6	250	
Canvas	1	1	12	½	
<u>Popel</u>	1	1	10	80	
Vinegar	1	1	7	2 barrels	
<u>Empty Barrels</u>	1	1	4	6	

Combined Commodities: (1 each) Chests, Oars.

Hull

Imports 1307 - 1308

E122/57/1

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Wood	31	18	1138	285 tuns; 4 pipes	
Onions & Garlic	30	28	89 17 11	459 garbs; 23½ baskets; 448 seams; 551,000	
Boards	25	21	52 6	15872	(Includes 12 table (boards
Ungrained Cloth	20	20	—	223	
Wax	16	14	—	179½ quintals; 6 quarters; 134 pounds	
Pitch & Tar	13	10	32 11	23½ lasts; 58 barrels; 13 tuns	
Empty Barrels	11	11	3 9 6 /10	31 tuns; 68 barrels; 4½ lasts	1 great tun barrel
Copper	10	10	104 3 8 /8	3600; 49 meases	/7
Herring	8	8	78 2	11 barrels; 150 lasts; 2 tuns; 20 meases	Meases from Norway
Flax	8	8	6 9	23 meases; 12 stones	
Pots	7	7	152 16 4 /5	6502	Including 2 metal pots
Olive Oil	7	7	10 15 2 /6	141 jars	
Fish	5	5	57 12	23100; 1 barrel	
Canvas	5	5	55 2 /4	2942 ells; 850	
Trowels	5	4	3 9 /3	700	
Bowls	5	5	1 9 /4	500½	
Fir Beams	4	4	20 17 6	10150	
Salt	4	4	11 4	23 weys; 26 trays; 16 quarters	
Troughs	4	4	1 /1	100½	/1
Mixed Cloth	4	4	—	25	

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
<u>Greywork</u>	3	3	48	1 tun; 2 barrels	
Wadmal	3	3	21 4 6	1500; 40 pieces; 30 ells	
Cordovan Leather	3	3	21	374; 5 pelts	
<u>Ruskyn</u>	3	3	18 10	7400	
Basan	3	2	16 15	2 bundles; 23 dozen	
Figs & Raisins	3	3	5 6	15 baskets	(1 shipment raisins (3 shipments figs
Almonds	3	3	3 12	1 bale; 300; 2 tuns	
Corn	2	2	38	1600 quarters	
Diverse Things	2	1	27 12		
Oats	2	2	25	256 quarters	
Potash	2	2	18	144 tuns	
Swords	2	2	18	440½	
Linen Cloth	2	2	16 10	2004 ells	
Wainscot	2	2	14 10	5550	
Saffron & Ginger	2	2	12		
Buckskins	2	2	10 4	40	/1
Bowstaves	2	2	2	2200	
Cloth	2	2	1	2	1 cloth crimson
Tiles or Bricks	2	2	6	6000	
Mattresses	2	2	6	4	
Pelts	1	1	10	700	Goat
<u>Popel</u>	1	1	8	60120	
Pepper	1	1	8	100½	
Beans	1	1	6 15	80 quarters	

E122/57/1

Imports 1307 - 1308 (continued)

Hull

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Cumin	1	1	5 18	53 tuns	
Clothing	1	1	5	1 bundle	
Hides	1	1	4 10		
Alum	1	1	4	4 bales	
Steel	1	1	2 13 4	1 barrel	
Ropes	1	1	2	2	
Saffron	1	1	2		
Felt Cloth	1	1	1 13	2 pieces	
Tirteyn	1	1	1 10	2 pieces	
Merkboard	1	1	1 8	700	
Sturgeon	1	1	1	1 tun	
Strodes ¹	1	1	13 4	150	
Oars	1	1	12	100½	
Scissors	1	1	12	4	For cutting hair
Quilt	1	1	10	7	
Weld	1	1	5	30 stones	
Shearlings	1	1	5	200	
Lances	1	1	3	100	
Goshawks	1	1	1	2	

Combined Commodities: (1 each) Rice, Ribald, Pails, Caldrons, Cokayl, Tunstaves, Mercery; Chests (3).

1) Possibly the forked branches of trees used in ship building. I am grateful to Mr. R. E. Latham for this information.

Hull

Exports 1307 - 1308

E122/6/1

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Grain	44	38	559 10 8 /43	2615½ quarters	
Ungrained Cloth	14	14		103	
Lead	11	7	187 2	67½ cartloads	
Peas	10	10	23 /8	174½ quarters	3 shipments white peas
Malt	5	5	146	676 quarters; 17 trays	
Pelts	5	4	24 1	69½ dickers; 64 /3	(2 shipments cat; 1 each deer & marten Red, white & other
Cloth	4	4	32 10	28	
Pitch	4	4	7 10	58 barrels; 1 last	
Grease	3	3	10 17	4 barrels; 1 tun	
Scarlet	3	3		5	
Herring	2	2	38	18 lasts	
Salt	2	2	4 18 6	16 weys	
Coal	2	2	3 4	24 chalders	
Bacon	2	2	3 4	19	
Worsted	2	1	2 4	6	
Feathers	1	1	3	2 sacks	
Butter	1	1	2 4	3 barrels	
Mustard Seeds	1	1	2	14 quarters	
Myrtle Seeds	1	1	2	14 quarters	
Rye	1	1	1 10	9 quarters	
Canvas	1	1	1 6	100	
Boards	1	1	1 2	100	

E122/6/1

Exports 1307 - 1308 (continued)

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Cheese	1	1	8	15 stones	
Nuts	1	1	8	1 tun	

Combined Commodities: (1 each) Gold Cloth, Beans.

Hull

Imports 1308 - 1309

E122/56/7

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Woad	30	19	884	223 tuns; 1 pipe	
Copper	12	12	88 13	9700; 51 meases	
Boards	12	11	14 11	4830	(2 shipments <u>fow</u> (few) (1 shipment long
Flax	11	9	26 18	9 barrels; 43 meases; 300; 6 tuns; 7 stones /10	
Ungrained Cloth	11	8	—	61½	
Garlic & Onions	10	8	54 17 6	19 baskets; 110 garbs; .24 seams /8	
Canvas	9	9	88 13	4600; 36 ells	
Rye	8	8	276	34 lasts; 1122 quarters	
Pots	8	6	215 3 4	10900	/7
Wax	8	8	—	47 quintals; 362 pounds	
Herring	7	6	174	204 lasts	
Potash	6	5	35 12	381 tuns	
<u>Ruskyn & Ryband</u>	5	5	92 2	59504 timbers	
<u>Greywork</u>	5	4	68 10	8460	
Almonds	5	5	31 15	21 bales; 1300	
Iron	5	5	25 2	9000	
Figs & Raisins	4	4	22 13	52 baskets	
Tar	4	4	8 16	8 lasts; 18 tuns	
Helmets	4	4	7 8	21½ dozen; 1 bale	
Oats	3	3	37	510 quarters	
Work	3	3	35 2	3530½	

Hull

Imports 1308 - 1309 (continued)

E122/56/7

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments			Amounts/Shipments	Comments
			£.	s.	d.		
Pitch	3	3	6	5	6	47 barrels; 10 tuns	
Troughs	3	3	1	13		264	
Empty Barrels	3	3	1	18	/2	24; 2 lasts	
Bowls	3	3	1	10		300	
Chests	3	3	7		/2	3	
Wadmal	2	2	19	14		50 ells	1 tunic of wadmal
Sugar	2	1	8			2 barrels	
Cordovan Leather	2	2	7	13		15 dozen; 7 pelts	
Handkerchiefs	2	2	6	10		9 dozen	/1
Bowstaves	2	2	6			2200	
Sturgeon	2	1	5	6		6 barrels	
Basan	2	2	4	2		16 dozen; 1 tun	
Armour	2	2	2	10		2 tuns	
Beans	2	2	2	5		12 quarters; $\frac{1}{2}$ last	
Hides	2	2	2	3		21	
Dates	2	2	18		/1	1 bale	/1
Grain	1	1	24			100 quarters	
Ginger	1	1	10	10		300	
Cloth	1	1	7	10		10 pieces	
Small Goods	1	1	7				
Merchandise	1	1	6				
Pepper	1	1	5	8		130 pounds	
Popel	1	1	2			320	

Hull

Imports 1308 - 1309 (continued)

E122/57/7

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Thread	1	1	2	1 tun	
Oil	1	1	1 15	4 tuns	
<u>Muteline</u>	1	1	1 13	14 dozen	Sheepskins?
Miniver	1	1	1 10	9 Fur linings	Best quality squirrel skins
Silk	1	1	1 4	2 sheaves	
Falcons	1	1	1 3	3	
Fish	1	1	1		
Scissors	1	1	1	6	
Buckskins	1	1	10	80	
Oars	1	1	10	72	
Soap	1	1	10	100½	
Cumin	1	1	8	200	
<u>Tunholt</u>	1	1	6	1000	
<u>Laumbre</u>	1	1	6	15 stones	
Tiles or Bricks	1	1	4	2000	
Mortars	1	1	3	24	
Linen Cloth	1	1	3		
Mixed Cloth	1	1	—	1	

Combined Commodities: (1 each) Rice, TableCloths, Knives, Swords, Cocali.

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Ungrained Cloth	15	14	---	99 $\frac{1}{4}$ pieces	
Lead	12	6	300 2	120 $\frac{1}{2}$ cartloads	
Peas & Beans	7	4	55 17 4/5	301 $\frac{1}{2}$ quarters	
Scarlet	5	5	---	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Grain	3	2	43 12 /2	177 quarters	
Coal	3	3	6 10 8	62 chalders	
Pelts	2	1	4 10 /1	30	Fox and cat
Wine	1	1	10 13 4	6 tuns; 1 pipe	
Barley	1	1	10	50 quarters	
Herring	1	1	1 10	$\frac{1}{2}$ last	
Myrtle Seeds	1	1	1 5	17 quarters	
Boards	1	1	1 5	100	
Salt	1	1	16	10 quarters	
Mustard Seeds	1	1	15	5 quarters	

Combined Commodities: (1 each) Cheese, Onions, Rye.

Hull

Imports 1310 - 1311

E122/56/10

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Garlic	22	19	23 4 6	467 sheaves	/17
Pitch & Tar	14	14	80 17 6	84 tuns; 38 lasts; 6 barrels	
Boards	14	12	34 17	6480 +	
Figs & Raisins	14	12	29 1	95½ baskets	
Pots	7	7	158 13 4	11400; 5 meases	/6
Copper	7	6	52	700; 3 barrels; 36 meases	/6
Onions	6	6	34 10 3	35000; 7 baskets	/4
Flax	6	5	14 8	50 meases; 1 tun; 2 barrels	
Herring	5	5	64 18	108 lasts; 18 meases; 2 barrels	
Empty Barrels	5	5	16	30	
Ungrained Cloth	5	5	—	5	/4
Potash	4	3	35 4	153 tuns	
Budge	4	4	18 4	50; 4 bales	/3
Clipping	4	3	16 10	1100; 5 bales	
Unspecified Cloth	4	4	7 1	6 pieces	
Oil	4	4	2 13 10	85 jars	Olive Oil
Bowls	4	4	1 16	550	
Woad	3	3	96	19 tuns	
Beans	3	3	42 4		
Mercery	3	2	18 4 4	50; 4 bales	/3 1 shipment for hats
Oars	3	3	9 8		
Troughs	3	3	2 19	196	
Ruskyn	2	2	14	231	

E122/56/10

Imports 1310 - 1311 (continued)

Hull

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Wadmal	2	2	21	6360	
<u>Ribald</u>	2	2	15 8	2000; 30 ells	Possibly a type of skin
Oats	2	2	13	50000	
Saplings	2	2	8 19	4550 +	
Tin	2	2	8 7	300; 4 pieces	
Fruit	2	2	5 16	18 casks	
Alum	2	2	4 10	2 sacks; 4 pockets	
Iron	2	1	3 6	2800	
Cordovan Leather	2	2	3		
Bowstaves	2	2	3	1900	
Buckskin	2	2	2 10	42	
Fish	2	2	2 9	800	/1 Dried
Basan	2	2	2 6	8 dozen	/1
Helmetts	2	2	2 4	1 bundle; 2 dozen	
Litmus	2	2	1 6	6 barrels	
Overcoats	2	2	1 5	3	1 old
Robes	2	2	1	2	2 old
<u>Chistholt</u>	2	2	7	84	Boards for making chests
Canvas	1	1	18	1600	
Clothing	1	1	15	6 baskets	
Swords	1	1	12	2 bundles	
<u>Lak</u>	1	1	7	1 bale	Wool or fine linen
<u>Tunholt</u>	1	1	5 12	800	Boards for making barrels

Hull

Imports 1310 - 1311 (continued)

E122/56/10

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
<u>Hoyduk</u>	1	1	5 7	20	
Ginger	1	1	4 18		
Masts	1	1	4 16	100	
Work	1	1	4	1000	
Soap	1	1	3 6	1000	
<u>Winstone</u>	1	1	3	2 barrels	
<u>Pelts</u>	1	1	3	1 bale	Rabbit
Haketons	1	1	2		
Sheepskin	1	1	2	2 dozen	
Butter	1	1	2	14 <u>cosinos</u>	
Croppling	1	1	1 15	1500	
<u>Hekeboard</u>	1	1	1 10	1000	Planks for a ship's deck
Wainscot	1	1	1 10	250	
<u>Tirteyn</u>	1	1	1 4	4 pieces	
Ling	1	1	16	100	
Coperose	1	1	15	5 barrels	
Hose	1	1	14 6	15 pair	
<u>Bodikholt</u>	1	1	12	600	Wood for making dagger handles
Hides	1	1	10	5	
Lances	1	1	4	6 sheaves	
Chest	1	1	3 6	1	
Pomegranates	1	1	1	12	

E/122/56/14

Exports 1310 - 1311

Hull

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Lead	6	6	88 14	38 cartloads	
Ungrained Cloth	4	3	11 13	7 pieces	
Ungrained Cloth	2	2	—	4	
Hides	2	2	3 15	19	/1 1 shipment each cat and rabbit
Coal	2	2	2 9	22	
Worsted	1	1	1		
Salt	1	1	2 13	14 trays	
Boards	1	1	1	200	
Feathers	1	1	6	7 stones	

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Rye	13	13	275 13	1140 quarters; 12 lasts /12	1 shipment rye flour
Oats	10	10	137 6	1314 quarters /9	
Garlic & Onions	10	10	56 10	2 baskets; 39½ garbs; 1000 /4	
Woad	8	6	186 10	46 tuns	
Barley	5	5	80	392 quarters /4	1 shipment bere
Salt	5	5	26 12	112 quarters	
Herring	4	4	142 8	130 lasts	3 shipments from Norway
Boards	4	4	36 2 6	6100	
Tar	3	3	1 14 6	12 barrels	
Budge	1	1	15	2 barrels	
Canvas	1	1	10	2 bundles	
<u>Quir</u>	1	1	6	10 pieces	Type of leather
Grease	1	1	5	6 tuns	
Beans	1	1	2 5	7 quarters	
Coal	1	1	1 3 4	40 chalders	
Pitch	1	1	1 2	6 barrels	
Iron	1	1	1	1000	
Apples	1	1	1	1 tun	
Peas	1	1	12	3 bushels	White From Norway
Butter	1	1	12		
Tin	1	1	10	1 piece	
Pelts	1	1	10	20	Goat

Hull	Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Imports 1322 - 1323 (continued)		Comments
				Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	
	Buckskins	1	1	5	800	
	Litmus	1	1	3	3 barrels	
	Wax	1	1	—	2 quintals	

Hull

Imports 1324 - 1325

E122/56/26

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Grain ¹	51	48	1304 14 /58		
Fish	6	6	68 3 4/3		2 shipments herring
Budge	4	2	74 17 7		
Pots	4	4	35 4		
Salt	4	4	33		
Coal	4	3	11		
Wax	4	4		14 quintals	
Woad	3	2	56	14 tuns	
Ribald	3	3	33 15	400 (or 10 timbers)/1	
Onions & Garlic	3	3	27		
Planks	3	3	6 5		
English Cloth	2	2	21		
Lead	2	2	19		
Wine	1	1	33	3 tuns; 18 pipes	Rhenish
<u>Greywork</u>	1	1	12	1 barrel	
Hides	1	1	7	70	
Wool	1	1	6		Wool for hats
Helmets	1	1	4		
Swords	1	1	2		
Litmus	1	1	1	14 barrels	
Purses	1	1	1		

Combined Commodities: Potash(2), Butini(2), Meat(1).

1) On this particular document, many shipments to Hull involved 2 or 3 different types of grain. For this reason all grain imports have been combined, with the actual breakdown as follows: Rye(46), Oats(7), Unspecified(7),

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Herring	52	48	826 10	392 lasts; 1000	(8 shipments red, 1 /34 shipment white, 1 (shipment salted
Stockfish	27	26	81 3 4	60½ lasts; 1100	/15
Boards	21	20	170 6 8 /15	15609	/10 (10 shipments Easter- ling, 2 shipments fir
Resin	12	12	18 10	7 lasts; 9 barrels	/2 9 shipments small
Salt	10	10	46 10	23 barrels; 46 ways	/5
Steel	8	5	302 6	270 barrels	/5
Hides	7	7	32 18 4 /6	2260	/5
Millstones & Handstones	6	5	132	152	/4
Iron	6	6	103 10	12300	/5
Potash	6	6	58 15	100 barrels	/3
Tar	6	6	46 5		/4
Wax	6	6		67 quintals	
Canvas	5	5	81 10	3 barrels	/2
<u>Greywork</u>	5	5	223	9 bards; 2 bales; 1 piece; 37 dickers	
Pelts	4	4	2		4 shipments goat
Woad	3	3	203		/2
<u>Hoyduk</u>	3	3	3 10	61 tuns	/2
Rye	2	2	69	6 barrels; 200 quarters	
Masts	2	2	27 10	136	
Frieze	2	2	26		
Fruit	2	2	12 5	34 baskets	
Flax	2	2	3	1 barrel	/1

King's Lynn

Imports 1322 - 1323 (continued)

E122/93/17

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Alum	1	1	205	14 bales	7 bales, 4 doles, 2 barrels were wrapped <u>cum sarp</u>
Beams	1	1	24	100	
Cotton	1	1	20	3 <u>bards</u>	
Sturgeon	1	1	15 10	10 barrels	
Fish	1	1	8		
Slabs	1	1	7 10		
<u>Rightholt</u>	1	1	7 10		Boards from Riga
Oats	1	1	5		
Barley	1	1	4	20 quarters	
Oil	1	1	2	1 tun	
<u>Whocingstone</u>	1	1	2	3 lasts	Whetstone?
Nuts	1	1	1 15	2 tuns	
Haddock	1	1	1		
Clipping	1	1	1		
Eels	1	1	15		
Swans	1	1	13		
Ungrained Cloth	1	1	—	4 pieces	
Mixed Cloth	1	1	—	1 piece	

Combined Commodities: Pitch(6), Onions(4), Garlic(2); (1 each) Other Merchandise, Taneholt, Bacon, Loitholt.¹

1) Probably a type of board.

King's Lynn

Exports 1322 - 1323

E122/93/17

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
English Cloth	57	54	1063	/52	
Lead	16	16	346 15	/11	40½ cartloads /7
Ale	16	16	210 14	122 tuns; 20 barsinus	/14
Coal	13	13	30 10	70 trays	/1 Sea coal
Worsted	12	12	204 10	2 bundles; 100 + says	/2
Boards	11	10	172		All shipments Easterling
Honey	6	6	21	5 tuns	/5
Myrtle Seeds	3	3	16		
Rope	3	3	7	1	1 large; 1 canvas
Dyed Cloth	3	3	—	3	
Salt	2	2	21		
<u>Slipstones</u>	2	2	2 10	16	/1
Diverse Merchandise	1	1	21	2 tuns	
Wine	1	1	6		
Pelts	1	1	3		Cat
Herring	1	1	2 10		
Cheese	1	1	1 5		
Millstones	1	1	10		
Scarlet	1	1	—	1	

Combined Commodities: Potash(2); (1 each) Oil, Hides, Says.

King's Lynn

Imports 1323 - 1324

E122/93/19

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Boards	44	40	652 10	32600+	/9 34 shipments Easterling
Herring	20	20	1026 6 8	350½ lasts; 24 barrels	/14
Fruit	17	17	90	269 baskets	/15
Oats	14	14	101 13	460 quarters	/12
Resin	12	12	36 16	59 barrels; 13½ lasts	/7
Barley	12	12	35 16	224 quarters	/8
Wax	11	7	—	108½ quintals; 3 quarters	
Hides	10	10	78 9	3½ lasts; 19 dickers;	/8 1 shipment cattle
Potash	6	6	61 7	203 barrels	
<u>Tunholt</u>	6	5	6 12		
Flax	5	5	11 6 8	6 barrels	/2
Litmus	5	5	4 10	20 barrels	/2
Stockfish	4	4	27 6	3700	/2
Slabs	4	4	23 13 4	10700	
Troughs	4	4	5	1200	/2
<u>Greywork</u>	3	2	102	1 barrel	/1
Sturgeon	3	2	24	12 barrels	/2
Pitch	3	3	12	13 lasts	/2
Salt	3	3	11 10	8 weys	/1 1 shipment small salt
Oil	3	3	10 10	1 tun; 16 bowls	/2
Various Barrels	3	3	1 10		

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Bacon	3	3	3 2 8	30	/2 Pig
Wine	3	3	1	3 tuns	/2 Rhenish
Scoops	3	2	10	300½	/1
Fir Beams	2	2	52	5000	/1
Iron	2	2	12 10	5000	/1
Nuts	2	2	5	2 tuns	/1
Onions & Garlic	2	2	3 6 8		
Fat	2	2	3 6		1 shipment herring fat
Wadmal	2	2	3	2 pieces	
Tar	2	2	1 5	6 barrels	/1
Peas	2	2	15	3 barrels	
Ungrained Cloth	2	2		7	
Woad	1	1	70	24 tuns	
Grain	1	1	30	2 barrels	
Millstones	1	1	20	1 last	
Wool	1	1	13 6 8	5 sarplers	For making hats
Rye	1	1	10		
Handstones	1	1	6	700	
Thread	1	1	5	4 barrels	
<u>Turonens</u>	1	1	4		
Pelts	1	1	3 10	15 dickers(150)	Coat
Croplling	1	1	3	3000	
Grease	1	1	2 5		

King's Lynn

Imports 1323 - 1324 (continued)

E122/93/19

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Sarpler	1	1	2		
<u>Strandling</u>	1	1	1	200	
<u>Tirteyn</u>	1	1	1		
Swans	1	1	16		
Cod	1	1	15	100	
<u>Hoyduk</u>	1	1	6	8	
<u>Code</u>	1	1	10		
Scarlet	1	1		3	

Combined Commodities: (1 each) Empty barrels, Towels, Clothing, Bags, Merchandise, Taseles, Madder, Beans.

King's Lynn

Exports 1323 - 1324 Michaelmas - 12 August

E122/93/18

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Ale	63	62	879	8	807 tuns; 16 barrels/45
English Cloth	33	33	497	15	1 bundle /1
Worsted	17	15	288		1 bundle; 7 sacks; 100 says
Feathers	8	7	14	3	
Lead	6	6	44	14	17 cartloads
Unspecified Cloth	4	4			5 bundles /2
Malt	4	4	29		60 quarters
Coal	4	4	6		30 chalders; 61 quarters; 80 trays/3
Salt	3	3	17		1 shipment sea coal 2 shipments small salt
Scarlet	3	3			6
Myrtle Seeds	2	2	19		
Merchandise	2	2	3		/1
Mustard Seeds	1	1	12		
Boards	1	1	5		Easterling
Saffron	1	1	4		
Cheese	1	1		10	
Wax	1	1			2 quintals

 Combined Commodities: Cyrocit(1).

King's Lynn

Imports 1324 - 1325

E122/93/22

Gras pp. 374-392

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Herring	40	40	1204 /39	583 lasts; 18,000	/30
Rye	32	32	784 5 /31	2268 quarters; 270 trays	/20
Boards	27	26	171 3 8 /26	28340 +	(3 shipments fir (14 shipments Easterling
Onions & Garlic	19	18	67 3 5	400; 15 garbs	/3
Hides	19	18	92 8 4	1860; 1 last; 10 cattle	
Barley	15	14	42 13 /12	252 quarters; 2 trays; 1 in barrels	
Potash	13	13	82 15	474 barrels; 47 tuns	
Resin	12	12	22 6 /11	95 barrels; 3½ lasts	/9
Salt	11	10	87 3 9 /10	30 weys; 6 tuns	/5 1 shipment small salt
Wax	9	9	—	127½ quintals; 6 quarters	148
Wine	9	7	—	33 tuns; 2 pipes	All Rhenish
Steel	8	7	459	204 barrels	
Oats	8	8	65 2 10	324 quarters	/6
Canvas	7	7	155 3 8	11 bundles; 5 bards; 50	/5
Grain	7	7	73 18	248½ quarters	/6
Pelts	7	6	27 3 8	156	(1 shipment goat, 1 (shipment lamb, 8 pelts (elish
Handstones	7	6	12 3 8	13 lasts	/3
Millstone	6	5	132	86	/2
Beams	6	5	117 10	21750 +	
Sturgeon	6	6	48	23 barrels	
Greywork	6	6	38 6	560	/2

King's Lynn

Imports 1324 - 1325 (continued)

E122/93/22

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Litmus	6	6	23 18 8 /5	135 barrels /3	
Slabs	5	5	60 10	17700	
Stockfish	5	5	9 10	2800	
<u>Begna</u>	5	5	—	12	Type of Cloth (Pannus in margin)
Wool Hats	4	4	52		
Oars	4	4	14 38 8	200 /1	
Pitch	4	4	6 6 /3	2 barrels; 1 last /2	
Boards	3	3	33		All shipments Easterling
Bacon	3	3	7 10	48	
Iron	3	3	7 7	5000 /1	1 shipment from Spain 1 shipment Osmund
Beans	3	3	6 16	61 quarters	
Cod	3	3	4 6 9 /2	2 barrels /1	2 shipments salted
Spars	3	3	1 3 8	71	
<u>Hoyduk</u>	2	2	21 11		
Woad	2	2	15 /1	15 tuns /1	1 shipment no value because merchant was English
<u>Rightholt</u>	2	2	13	800	Boards from Riga
Clipping	2	2	11 10	900	
<u>Ruskyn</u>	2	2	9 10		
Fruit	2	2	9 10	24 baskets	
Malt	2	2	6		
<u>Strandling</u>	2	2	4 10	880	Early autumn squirrel skins

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
<u>Mensis</u>	2	2	2 10	20	/1
Dishes & Bowls	2	2	1		
Work	1	1	25	2 barrels	Skins
Basins	1	1	20		
Sulphur	1	1	19 10	5 lasts	
Gold Florens	1	1	17		
<u>Bigg</u>	1	1	15	160	Possibly budge
Swords	1	1	9 10	2 bundles	
Oil	1	1	9	70 bowls	
Mixed Grain	1	1	4	34 quarters	
Falcons	1	1	4	8	
Whetstone	1	1	3	5 lasts	
Coperose	1	1	3	12 barrels	
Budge	1	1	3	1 bale	
Copper	1	1	2	200	
Honey	1	1	1 15	2½ lasts	
Troughs	1	1	1	400	
<u>Code</u>	1	1	1	5 barrels	
Ropes	1	1	15	100	Made with Flax
Peas	1	1	13 8		
Planks	1	1	13 8	4 dozen	
Scoops	1	1	13 8	150	
Old Cloth	1	1	13	1	
<u>Tunholt</u>	1	1	10	1200	

E122/93/22

Imports 1324 - 1325 (continued)

King's Lynn

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Ungrained Cloth	1	1	_____	1	

Combined Commodities: (1 each) Harpois¹, Swans, Butter, Croppling, Ling.

1) Possibly a kind of pitch or harps for carding wool.

King's Lynn

Exports 1324 - 1325

E122/93/24

Commodity	Total Shipments	Merchants	Value/Shipments £. s. d.	Amounts/Shipments	Comments
Ale	38	36	475 4	458½ tuns; 20 barrels	
English Cloth	23	23	296	/22	
Worsted	8	8	76	2 sacks	/2
Salt	7	7	37 16 8	36 weys	/3
Lead	6	6	47	19 cartloads	
Myrtle Seeds	6	6	47	24 trays	/2
Coal	6	6	12	102 trays; 20 quarters	/3 3 shipments sea coal
Mercery	3	3	26 10	/2	
Sterling	3	3	23		
Say	3	3	20	/2	
Felt Cloth	2	2	10		
Mead	2	2	7	/1	
Honey	1	1	8		
Cloth-Unspecified	1	1	4		
Herring	1	1	4	7000	Red
Falcons	1	1	2	4	
Fur for Linings	1	1	1 10		Cat
Scarlet	1	1		1	

CHAPTER 3

THE CUSTOMS ACCOUNTS - MERCHANTS

Besides providing a picture of those commodities which passed through the customs ports, the customs accounts also furnish a unique opportunity to study the merchants who traded these goods and the ships which carried them. To a varying degree each shipmaster, the name of his ship, and its origin were recorded by the customs clerk, followed by the name of each merchant and the commodities in which he dealt. While one would wish that more of the particular accounts had survived, those which are extant provide us with a wealth of material for a comparison of ship and merchant movements during the reign of Edward II. Each will be discussed separately and once again tables are included at the end of the chapter.

1. Ship Movements

Although the customs accounts for Hull, Boston, Yarmouth and Southampton do not list the names of ships and their ports of origin with the same degree of thoroughness as other customs ports,¹ the uniformity of their information facilitates comparative study. Shipmasters or owners are always recorded and they serve as the chief method of identification, providing an interesting record of ship

1) The nature of information on shipping particulars varies with each of the remaining customs ports. Three may serve as examples. The 1303-1309 account for Bristol, covering an unusually lengthy time period, lists each merchant, his origin and then the ship upon which he travelled. The shipmaster is given under the first merchant's name in the listing for each ship. E122/15/1; Gras, Customs, pp.346-60. No particulars of shipping are provided in the Sandwich account for 1304-1305, while an account of 1325-1326 lists the ship and its origin, but not the shipmaster. E122/124/13; Gras, Customs, pp.302-346; E122/124/29 Ipswich accounts for 1305-1306 and 1309-1310, damaged and illegible in parts, also give only the ship name and origin. E122/52/38; 50/8.

movements during the early fourteenth century. Information which comes to light includes the length of time ships docked in the ports, the frequency of recorded entries and departures, and the movements of ships from one customs port to another.

When the names of shipmasters are recorded on a chart indicating the dates of their arrival and departure, certain overall trends in the length of each ship's stay within the customs ports are apparent. Normally, the length of time which each shipmaster spent in the individual ports varied by as much as one to four weeks. Length of stay in Yarmouth was $1 - 1\frac{1}{2}$ weeks, with almost an equally high proportion of ships leaving within a few days. In 1310-1311, of the 22 ships which can be traced entering and leaving the port, 15 left within a week and another four in a week and a half.² A similar pattern emerges in 1325-1326.³ Ships harboured in Southampton and Boston tended to remain longer, averaging $2\frac{1}{2}$ weeks. In Hull, an equal number of ships remained for 2, 3 or 4 weeks. Economic attraction may be part of the explanation for these differences. Ship visitations to Yarmouth fluctuated seasonally to a greater extent than the other three customs ports, representing that port's links with the salt and herring trade. Its hinterland had little to offer. With little incentive to stay ships generally left within a week of their arrival. The longer length of stay in the other customs ports represents the wider appeal which all three held for aliens.

The extent to which one is able to plot the comings and goings of individual ships in Hull, Boston, Yarmouth and Southampton also varies. A high correlation between the same ships importing and exporting goods through Boston and Hull contrasts noticeably with the low

2) E122/148/13; 148/15; 148/14.

3) E122/148/27; 148/30; 148/31; 149/9; 148/29; 148/32.

correlation for ships through Southampton and Yarmouth.⁴ Since it is unlikely that ships were arriving or leaving empty, this reflects the degree to which English merchants' goods were carried in alien ships — a larger quantity, in terms of the whole, through Yarmouth and Southampton than through Boston and Hull. The same division in the ports occurs when one compares the number of ships leaving each port with both wool and general merchandise. Ships leaving Boston and Hull carried both types of commodities far more often than those leaving Yarmouth and Southampton. Wool was obviously the main attraction in Boston and Hull, but both ports also had other commodities to offer. While wool was the primary draw to Southampton, the absence of any correlation between ships exporting both wool and general merchandise and the greater number of ships exporting wool, represents that port's lack of any other draw to its quays. The poor quality of Yarmouth's wool and its importance as the leading herring port explains a similarly low correlation.

While sufficient number of the customs accounts are not extant to make a study of the movements of individual shipmasters to the ports possible, cases do arise which provide an idea of ship visitations. Customs accounts for the late years of Edward II's reign survive for ports on the east coast to give a rough idea of ship movements. Generally, they point to the fact that ships visited a particular customs port each year. Also unless they were solely involved in carrying non-customable merchandise belonging to English merchants, their visit involved only the one English customs port per year (Table 3). Visits to more than one port in a specific year are rare (Table 4). The same port was not necessarily visited during a consecutive period of time, however, as in the case of John Whithened of Calais who stopped in Hull in

4) See Tables 1 and 2 at the end of this chapter.

1322, Lynn in 1324 and Yarmouth in 1325.⁵ Shipmasters either appear on the accounts once a year or less frequently, a number of times. Arnald Stenbergh in Hull serves as a good example during the first decade of the fourteenth century (Table 5), as do his colleagues, Henry Weyland, John Westland and Hugo Sot for the same period. Unlike those who visited each port on an annual basis, the more frequent visitors sometimes docked in the harbour for shorter intervals. Thus, in 1306, Arnald Stenbergh visited Hull on five occasions, twice leaving within a week, and once after 12 days.⁶ Thus, the customs ports appear to have had a small group of "regulars", shipmasters who must have been well known for their frequent visits over a period of years. This core was surrounded by a much larger group who appear at infrequent intervals or only once.

When the overall numbers of ships carrying alien merchandise are studied, they generally coincide with fluctuations in the wool trade. The first decade of the fourteenth century witnessed a boom in the export of raw wool with the number of ships passing through the port of Hull corresponding nicely (Tables 6 and 7). With figures available for the first time in 1304-1305, alien wool export and the number of ships importing and exporting alien merchandise was higher than at any other time in the decade. A total of 92 ships importing merchandise and 97 exporting goods are recorded for that year. Figures dropped during the next three years and by 1310 to 1311 alien wool export and alien ship visitations had shrunk considerably. This partly reflects the diffusion of trade through Scarborough where 15 ships left its quay that year, but with a corresponding rise in the number of wool sacks exported by

5) Table 3; E122/57/10, m.4; 93/19; 93/18; 148/27, m.6.

6) E122/55/19; 55/23; 56/2.

denizens points to the utilisation of ships importing alien goods for the merchandise of the English. Figures for Southampton in 1308-1309 point to a substantial imbalance in the number of ships carrying alien merchandise in and out of the port, with 31 importing goods and 5 exporting (Tables 10 and 12). The low value of exports for the time period covered by this account plus the monopoly of denizens in the wool trade is the answer for such disproportionate figures. A similar situation as that in Hull occurred, but on a smaller level. Yarmouth's figures for the same period, 1310-1311, are different in that the number of ships exporting alien merchandise surpasses that for the ships importing alien goods (Tables 10 and 11). This is due to numerous small shipments of salt, usually worth no more than £2, which were exported by alien shipmasters. Since no merchants are recorded under their names, it is apparent that they were carrying merchandise belonging to English merchants while dabbling in the salt trade themselves. The only account which can be checked for the later years of Edward II's reign is for the nine months from January to September in 1325 in Yarmouth when alien shipments in and out of the port were virtually the same. The wool trade through the port at this time was minimal, with denizens retaining the upper hand. In this particular account, shipments by shipmasters of salt and some sea coal correspond to a similar situation in the early period of Edward II's reign.

When the total value of exports and imports is compared with the total number of shipments per year, it is apparent that the three ports on the east coast of England exhibited similar patterns (Tables 6, 8 and 10). Ship visits to Hull, Boston and Yarmouth were more numerous than those to Southampton. Coincidentally, cargoes in the three ports were not as dear. Commodities from the Baltic and Low Countries were numerous and of low value. By contrast, ships visiting Southampton

from Spain and France carried more valuable cargoes with leather goods and woad swelling import values substantially.

To summarize, several conclusions can be drawn. Ships usually visited all four customs ports annually, although a small group of shipmasters did visit more than once a year. Carrying trade appears to have involved a high degree of interaction between denizens and aliens and in connection with this, visitations in the early years of Edward II's reign were coincidental with the level of alien wool export. Lastly, the economic viability of the ports seems to have played a role in the average length of the shipmaster's stay.

2. Merchants

In a situation analogous to the shipmasters, merchant origins are seldom given, leaving one in doubt as to the nationality of no less than three quarters of the names recorded. Information gleaned from the accounts must therefore be of a different nature with results centring upon merchant visitations per year, specialisation in one commodity, agency or utilisation of factors, and a comparison of the merchants during the early and late years of Edward II's reign.

The movements of merchants exhibits the same characteristics in all four ports under investigation. To each port came a large number who are recorded only once in any one year or over a period of years. At the same time, a small core of 'regulars', akin to a similar group among the shipmasters, appear on the accounts for each year. The fullness of the early customs accounts for Hull provide the best opportunity for assessment of their movements. Of the over 700 merchants whose names appear, less than 8% are recorded more than once,

strong evidence for the transient nature of medieval trade. Included in this figure are the woad merchants who usually visited the port several times a year as well as shipmasters who periodically traded on both a large and small scale. The woad merchants included Thomas Alaveyn, John Russinol, Egidius Feronn and William Robertson, all of whom are recorded throughout this period as visiting Hull at frequent intervals. Arnald Stenbergh, one of the port's most frequent shipmasters, traded on a small scale in miscellaneous items which seldom amounted to more than £5 (Table 5). In 1304, he appears in the port four times, in July, August, October and November. By 1306 he is listed in the accounts on five occasions.⁷ With a sharp decline in wool trade through the port by the end of the decade, his visits had declined noticeably. Since his ships carried wool it is little wonder that the infrequency of his visits mirrors the port's slackening hold on that trade. Similar results can be found in the visitations of his contemporaries, William Peterson of Schiepdam, John Westland and Quintin Bet of Monikerode.

Of regular merchants who frequented Hull, many examples could be given, but a few will suffice. Conrad Clipping, one of the leading wool exporters through Hull, was listed on the customs accounts frequently, with no less than seven shipments into the port in 1307 (Table 13).⁸ A wool merchant of equal importance, Martin Raceberg, appears on the petty accounts for exports as well as imports at frequent intervals (Table 14). So frequent were his trips to the port, that by 1305 he had become a tenant of two pieces of land belonging to the King, one in Beverley Street and the other in Les

7) E122/55/16; 55/17; 55/19; 55/23.

8) T. H. Lloyd, p.142; E122/55/23; 56/3.

Hales.⁹ Philip Hund from Bruges who traded in a variety of goods indicative of Bruges' importance as an international market, maintained close ties with Hull throughout the entire decade. In 1308 he imported goods on six separate occasions, a pattern which repeated itself the following year (Table 15).¹⁰

While evidence of this nature cannot be as easily obtained from the customs accounts for Boston, Yarmouth and Southampton, the few examples which do arise point to similar patterns. In the Exchequer year 1310-1311 for Yarmouth, Wycard Grening, whose surname appears with regularity in Boston and Hull as well as Yarmouth, shipped goods in and out of the port in the spring and autumn.¹¹ John Gardyn from Dieppe appears twice in the spring importing canvas and exporting herring. Several other examples could also be given, including John and Gerard Manner who were woad merchants.¹² The port par excellence for woad merchants, however, was Southampton and the frequency of a set group of merchants to its quays is best illustrated by their periodic visits to the port (Table 4). In 1308-1309 of the 34 shipments of woad which entered the port between October and the following August, 23 merchants were involved. Two years later, only 30 merchants were responsible for more than twice that many shipments (Chapter 2, Tables 5 and 7). In 1309, Henry Beaupyne imported 1 shipment of woad during the month of March. His name reappears for a single shipment in June.¹³ Two years later, he imported 19 tuns worth £103 in December, January and February.¹⁴ Possible relations, John and

9) Charles Frost, *op.cit.*, p.114; Lloyd, *op.cit.*

10) E122/57/1; 56/7.

11) E122/148/15, membranes 3 and 4; 148/13, membranes 3 and 4.

12) E122/148/15, membranes 2 and 4.

13) E122/136/21, membranes 2 and 3.

14) E122/136/21. membranes 1 and 2.

Egifius, also appear on the accounts for both years as well as others who were equally frequent importers to Southampton — Peter Focambergh and Fermin Cokerel. Unlike the woad merchants in Yarmouth who imported the majority of their merchandise to that port in the summer and September, those who visited Southampton plied their trade throughout the year. Shipments were repeatedly made in January, March, May, June, October and December. The short distance in crossing the Channel seems the most obvious reason for this.

The lack of any continuous set of customs accounts for the later years of Edward II makes a study of merchant movements and their comparison with the early years of his reign rather difficult. Two surviving import accounts for this period shed light on trade through Hull. In 1322-1323, John Hansard and John Blankfosse are the only two merchants whose names appear more than once.¹⁵ Both were woad merchants and their visits are further proof of the regularity in trade patterns of this particular group of merchants. Two years later, traffic to the port had doubled but once again only several merchants are recorded more than once. Tideman de Hamburg imported budge on three separate occasions — twice on the same day in October in two different ships and once in December. At the end of January in 1324-1325, he once again appears, this time bringing wax and swords worth £2.¹⁶ Lambert Lucy imported pots in both June and August.¹⁷ Hull's three leading wool exporters, the Clipping^gs, Raceburg^gs and Spicenayl^s all of whom figured prominently among the port's imports during the early fourteenth century, are almost entirely absent from these two accounts. One of their number, Wynand Spicenayl, imported two small
18
shipments of woad in 1324. Combined with the absence of any appreciable

15) E122/57/10

16) E122/56/26, m.5.

17) Ibid., membranes 7 and 10.

18) This is interesting in itself because the Spicenayl^s were not woad merchants and it is unusual to find an outsider dealing in this commodity whose trade was monopolised by a small group of French merchants. E122/50/26, m.5.

numbers in recurrent visits to the port, their decline mirrors the end of German domination of trade in Hull and represents the Hanse's loosening grip upon the English wool trade in general.¹⁹ It is also coincidental with a rise in wool export through the port by local wool merchants.

While figures for the early years of Edward II's reign are in accord, those for the latter period in Boston and Yarmouth differ with Hull. Merchant visits to both ports exhibit a rise in the numbers of merchants recurring in the accounts. The Exchequer year, 1326-1327 was a particularly heavy period in wool export by aliens through Boston and this coincides with a rise in the number of merchants who imported fish and oil, exporting cloth and raw wool. The high number of recurrent merchant names also reflects the fact that during this half-year period, Michaelmas to 23 April, few ships carrying alien merchandise actually arrived in the port, but each one carried the goods of a large number of merchants. Ships arrived in groups, with the merchandise of one merchant often divided between several. On 20 October, two ships arrived carrying fish and other goods belonging to John Sharp and Christian Lesyng. Warkino Cousefeld also had goods on one of these two ships with more merchandise arriving six days earlier on 14 October. Five ships arrived on the twelfth of November when the pattern is even more apparent.²⁰ Exports for the same period exhibit a more normal flow, but the account for imports and exports for the first six months of 1333 is similar.²¹ While the fortunes of aliens in Hull, Yarmouth and Southampton were declining in the wool trade, during this period, they were holding their own in Boston. This rather peculiar arrangement in the carrying trade involving few ships and many merchants

19) Lloyd, *op.cit.*, p.143.

20) E122/6/21; 6/22.

21) E122/6/22; 6/26; 7/1; 7/4; 7/5.

could possibly reflect this upsurge in both years. Yarmouth's steady flow of regular merchants from 1325-1326 does not belie the fact that merchant numbers were down along with ship visitations. A high number of shipmasters acting as merchants and as the sole exporter on their ships, as well as the low figure for importing ships, points to the hold which denizens had upon trade through the port.²² Only snatches of accounts for the later period in Edward II's reign are extant for Southampton and they are not enough to warrant assessment. It can be observed, however, that ship visitations for parts of 1326-1327 and 1330-1331 coincide with the small number of aliens exporting wool through the port.²³

In conclusion, it is possible to show that in each of the four customs ports in this study, there was a small core of regular merchants who visited the ports at frequent intervals. Their presence points to the particular trade patterns of the various groups of merchants. The vast majority of merchants from the Baltic and from Spain and Italy visited Hull, Boston, Yarmouth and Southampton annually. Few Baltic merchants appear on the accounts for the east coast ports more than once, while the same can be said for the Spanish and Italians through Southampton. Distance from their ports of origin to England is the most likely answer. A small group of merchants from the Baltic and the woad merchants from northern France were frequent visitors to the ports. Those from the Baltic no doubt travelled back and forth from the Low Countries. The short distances involved in travelling across the Channel to England's south coast facilitated frequent shipments by merchants from France. In this connection, it is understandable that

22) E122/148/27; 148/30; 148/31; 149/9.

23) E122/136/29; 136/27; 137/5.

their names appear less often and in greater intervals on the east coast.

This same small core of merchants also allows us to study the various commodities in which they dealt. Those from the Baltic, France and Italy showed a marked difference in the types of goods, no doubt reflecting their origin, but more importantly in their diversity, value and quantity between the east coast ports and Southampton. We will deal with imports first.

Merchants from the Baltic and the Low Countries who concentrated their trade along England's east coast show greater diversity in the types of merchandise in which they traded than those merchants visiting Southampton. Among a list of importers to Hull it is very rare to find any one merchant trading in a single item. All carried a wide range of goods representative of their countries of origin. To a lesser degree, this holds true for Boston and Yarmouth, although the limitations in assessment may reflect the fact that not as many customs accounts for either are extant and examples do exist of trade through both in a narrower group of merchandise. John le Yonge, a frequent visitor to Yarmouth in 1325-1326 carried a number of different items including boards, tar, litmus, seal smear or oil, cables, lathes, potash and scoops. All are representative of items from the Baltic. The presence of onions, however, in several of his cargoes points to the fact that he no doubt made visits to the Low Countries before coming to England.²⁴ The same could be said for Wynand Spicenayl from Germany who imported to Hull figs and raisins as well as copper, pelts, alum, budge and tar along with Cordovan leather and garlic.²⁵ If anything, these examples

24) E122/148/27, membranes 2, 3 and 5.

25) E122/56/10, membranes 3 and 4.

and many like them point to the importance of the Low Countries as a market of international acclaim. The diversity of the goods which were carried by its own merchants points conclusively to its role as the leading entrepot of the period. John Consayl of Damme imported cloths, mattresses, chests, garlic, cumin and pepper to Hull in 1304.²⁶ To the same port came the goods of John Corte of Bruges including parchment, scissors, bedware, handkerchiefs, garlands, belts, chests and olive oil.²⁷ Philip Hund of Bruges, one of the most frequent alien visitors to Hull during the early fourteenth century, represents one of many merchants during this period who traded in numerous commodities of low value. He visited Hull as much as six times in one year (1308), on each occasion carrying a wide range of goods from his home port (Table 15). Items included cloth products from his own country such as quilts, linen, handkerchiefs and mattresses as well as mercery. They also covered goods from the Baltic and Mediterranean — fur linings, helmets, wax, copper pots and chests from the former with one shipment of miniver in a strong box and ginger, saffron, almonds, onions and garlic from the latter. These few examples suffice in pointing to the diversity of goods imported by merchants from the Baltic and Low Countries. Hull was their leading recipient, reflecting not only its close ties with this area of Europe but also its demand for many of the building and household wares which they had to offer. Its rise to importance as the king's own town and customs port created a demand for those goods which were readily available from northern merchants frequenting its quays. The fact that the range of items to Hull tended to be wider than those to Boston and Yarmouth may further substantiate this.

In assessing the diversity of goods passing through merchant hands in Boston and Yarmouth, accounts for the former show a greater

26) E122/55/17, m.3.

27) E122/55/19; 55/23; 57/1; 56/7; 56/10.

concentration in fewer items than in the later. Merchants to Boston apparently came one of two routes — either straight from the Baltic or from Bruges. Those from the far north arrived in vast numbers, carrying fish, oil, pelts and various types of boards. Like Hull, the merchants coming to Boston from the Baltic rarely dealt in one particular commodity, but chose to deal in a wide, if narrower, range of goods representative of northern Europe. Fish and oil comprised many of their individual items of trade and if more accounts survived it is felt that these two staples would figure prominently, if not solely, as the items in which many Hanseatic merchants dealt exclusively. Both John Lung and John de Lippe appear in the import accounts for 1303 and 1308-9, both involved in trade of fish and oil.²⁸ They arrive in ships which are laded entirely with these two types of merchandise. To a lesser extent, these same merchants also dealt in pelts and wax. This concentration of resources primarily in fish and a smaller range of northern goods occurs throughout the period under investigation and was still a prominent characteristic of Baltic trade in 1333. At this time, the number of merchants diversifying into trade in hides is notable.²⁹

Merchants arriving at Boston from or via the cloth markets of the Low Countries exhibit a marked concentration in trade in Flemish cloth. While again it is impossible to judge the extent to which any individual dealt exclusively in this item, the absence of any other commodity from their accounts of general merchandise suggest a concentration in one area akin to the woad merchants of Southampton. Entire ships filled with cloth arrived in Boston particularly in the late summer, timed to buy up the autumn clip of Lincolnshire wool.³⁰ The

28) E122/5/9, membranes 1 and 3; 6/3, m.1; 6/5, m.2.

29) E122/7/4; 7/5.

30) Ibid.

only divergence from this pattern involved shipments of hose, a cloth-related product, by six merchants along with their cloth on 13 August, 1309.³¹ The absence of these entire shiploads of cloth in the later years of Edward II's reign and in 1333³² are further proof of the concentration in one commodity by merchants passing through Flanders and their reliance upon the local political climate in the Low Countries.

Yarmouth's alien merchants appear to exhibit a pattern similar to Hull in the diversity of the goods in which they dealt. Woad merchants aside, those coming from the Low Countries and the Baltic carried a diversity of goods. Tideman Stoneberg in 1310-1311 imported goods reflecting his ties with the Flemish markets. In October he imported boards, oars and potash, returning in February after a trip to the Low Countries with fruit, ginger and saffron as well as sturgeon, oil and boards. In the same year, John Gotland dealt in pelts, budge and almonds while Conrad Tollere imported spices and wax.³³ The majority of merchants carried goods representative of one or the other areas of northern Europe — onions or canvas from Flemish markets and boards, oars and pelts from the Baltic. Henry Bekenthorp was an example of the latter. He appears regularly in 1325-1326, importing grain, iron, potash, troughs, tar and flax on five separate visits.³⁴ One concludes that, like Hull, alien merchants coming to Yarmouth did not specialise in any single commodity. The majority traded in a small range of goods, pointing to the lack of demand for a wider assortment. Trading interests in the port were confined to a small, narrow range of imports and an even narrower range of exports.

31) E122/6/5, m.1.

32) E122/6/21; 6/20; 7/4; 7/5.

33) E122/148/15, membranes 1 and 2.

34) E122/148/27, m.2; 149/9, membranes 1 and 2.

Two groups trading in Southampton during the early fourteenth century stand out — the French and the Spanish — both of whom exhibit different patterns in trade. In terms of the value of their cargoes, the French woad merchants were easily the most active group represented on the new customs. Above any other set of merchants, they alone dealt in one commodity. Travelling together on a small number of ships, they appear throughout the accounts, trading their ware for the wool of Southampton's hinterland. It is only the odd occasion in which we find them dealing in any other merchandise. John Chenal imported 12 tun barrels full of grain on 2 March, 1309 along with 2 tuns of woad, their combined value being £18.13s.4d. The same year, he exported four tapestry worth £2.³⁵ Two woad merchants are recorded exporting merchandise other than wool — Lawrence Polaynville in October 1308 and Guy Orundel two years later in January 1310. The former exported 10 bushels of nuts worth 13s.4d., while the latter left with a cargo of feathers worth £8.³⁶ Both were primarily wool exporters throughout the period.³⁷

In contrast to this small, tightly knit group of merchants, Spaniards in Southampton traded in a wide range of goods representative of the Mediterranean. Specialisation only occurred in so far as many of the products in which the individual merchants dealt were connected with the leather trade. Peter Bytorie imported 80 dozen sheepskins, 137 dozen pieces of tawed leather and numerous pelts worth £47 in 1310.³⁸ Usually, however, these were combined with other goods ranging from cloth, goblets (probably from Italy) and spices. Fernandes Martines in the same year imported tawed leather, pelts, red basan and abortifs, (a type of parchment made from the skin of a stillborn animal) along

35) E122/136/8, m.2.

36) E122/136/8, m.1; 136/21, m.1.

37) E122/136/6; 136/7; 136/9; 136/10. It is interesting to note that woad merchants through Hull in 1308 were engaged in a small import trade in canvas. Five were responsible for shipments worth £30. E122/57/1, m.4; 56/7, membranes 2 and 3.

38) E122/136/2, m.4.

with 2 rolls of cloth. Liquorice and goblets accompanied the cargoes of leather belonging to Bydande Perywe and fruit, almonds and rice arrived with similar cargoes of Martin Peter, as well as Spanish onions.³⁹ On occasion merchants did seem to deal specifically in one commodity as was the case of Peter Perys who imported Spanish iron in 1309 and 1310.⁴⁰ It was more likely, however, that one finds each merchant dealing in a wide assortment of items.

From this examination of the commodities in which merchants dealt throughout the early fourteenth century several points emerge. Trade through Hull involved many commodities passing through the hands of each merchant. Values in conjunction with this, were small matched by equally small quantities. Merchants dealt in many items worth small amounts. Some merchants tended to be involved in a particular type of merchandise such as various types of boards, but this was generally the exception rather than the rule. Yarmouth followed suit on a smaller scale reflecting the narrowness of its commercial demands on alien traffic through it. Boston followed a more specialised pattern than both, with shipments for individual merchants primarily in cloth, fish and oil. No doubt, a similar situation would have existed in Hull, if fish imports had not been diverted to Scarborough, Whitby and Ravenser. Thus Baltic merchants on the whole exhibited slightly different patterns in the three ports, as did those passing through the Low Countries. They carried a much wider range of goods to Hull than to either Boston or Yarmouth. Their trade was essentially non-specialised, suiting the requirements of the individual ports. Merchants through Southampton on the whole, dealt individually in fewer, higher-priced goods. They tended to deal in several commodities, specialising in

39) Ibid.

40) E122/136/8; 136/21.

those related to skins. Throughout all four customs ports, only one group of merchants reigned supreme in terms of specialisation — those focusing on trade in woad.

With reference to specialisation in exports, several points can be raised concerning alien shipment. England in the early fourteenth century was primarily an exporter of food stuffs and raw materials. Within these areas, there existed a limited variety, which it made available to the alien merchant. It is therefore hardly surprising that we find greater specialisation in those goods which individual merchants could take out of the country. It is with that greatest of all English exports, wool, however that this statement must be kept in mind. Two of Hull's leading wool merchants, Conrad Clipping and Martin Raceburg, both appear on Hull's list of exports for general merchandise, both shipping grain and lead in the first decade of the fourteenth century (Tables 13 and 14) Both were primarily wool merchants, but both also engaged in trade in general merchandise. In 1305 alone, Conrad Clipping exported three shipments of grain worth over £162.⁴¹ The following year, six shipments of grain worth £111 were shipped by Martin Raceburg.⁴² The wool customs accounts by no means present a full picture of the trading activities of some of the period's leading wool merchants and their pre-eminence can only be fully realised by taking into account all the commodities in which they dealt. This is proved further by the numerous references in Hull's exports to shipments of lead by Walter Revel, Boston's leading wool merchant. Though of minimal importance when compared with the volume of trade in wool, these shipments averaging 3 per year worth £30-£40⁴³ point

41) E122/55/20, membranes 2, 3 and 4.

42) E122/56/2, m.1.

43) E122/55/19; 56/2.

conclusively to the fact that the wool merchants also dealt in general merchandise and that one cannot obtain a complete picture of their trading activities without consulting the 1303 customs accounts on general merchandise (Table 16).⁴⁴

In reviewing the customs accounts for Hull during the early fourteenth century, another point emerges concerning exports. Lead, a bulky, expensive commodity was on numerous occasions purchased by one merchant and shipped in a number of ships over a period of days. This explains the high number of lead shipments leaving the port during this period. John Rustekyn is the best example of this kind of activity. Nine shipments can be ascribed to him in 1305-1306 with 8 in August and one in late July. The first shipment left on 29 July, followed by three shipments totalling 18 cartloads and 22 weys on the 8th of August. Their value was £59 collectively. Two more shipments took place, one each on the 10th and 16th totalling £25.14s.6d. and a further three shipments left on the 18th — 20 cartloads, 10 weys worth £52.4s.2d. So within a space of three weeks, one merchant had exported £142.4s.4d. worth of lead, a sizeable proportion of the amount leaving the port. In the same year a similar situation occurs with Tideman Coupman, Hildebrand Nova Cur and Henry de la Voye. Between these four merchants over $\frac{1}{3}$ of the lead for that year was divided — totalling £413.17s.6d.⁴⁵ A similar monopoly of the trade is evident the following year, although, this time in the hands of Walter Revel, Henry Breme and Herman Cayser.⁴⁶

44) This is one of the weaknesses of a study on the wool trade and its merchants such as Lloyd's recently published monograph: Lloyd, op.cit.

45) E122/55/19.

46) E122/56/2.

Since the lead trade throughout this decade changed hands every year, one can conclude that unlike those merchants who imported the same items every year; lead export was more of an opportunistic venture.

The same pattern does not emerge in grain shipments from Hull during this period. Most shipments involving the same merchant several times a year were made by shipmasters or shipowners periodically dabbling in the trade. Again the early fourteenth century accounts are a good example. William Peterson of Schipendam appears on the accounts for 1304-1305 on six separate occasions, exporting grain four of those times. Values varies from £4 to £23. It may be, however, that he did not generally deal in exports and was just taking advantage of a particularly good year in Yorkshire, for the following years, no grain export in his name is recorded.⁴⁷ Other shipmasters also took advantage of grain exports in this year, including Arnald Nokerbone and Henry son of Andrew from Sluys. Other shipments were made by merchants who appeared in the port two to three times per year. No other exports are ascribed to them with the exception of several instances of wool.

A similar pattern does not seem to have developed in the other three ports. Other than wool, the lack of any significant export through Southampton prevents any type of meaningful assessment, while insufficient numbers of consecutive accounts in Boston and Yarmouth impair any comparison with Hull. In conclusion, one can state that wool exporters were periodically involved in trade in general merchandise, although the incidence of this phenomenon is naturally higher in the more prominent wool merchants in Hull and Boston. Also, the trade in lead in the hands of a few merchants was not representative

47) E122/55/20; 55/19; 56/2; 57/2; 6/1.

of the export trade in other commodities and more likely represents an opportunistic venture by several individuals each year.

In dealing with the customs accounts for this period, one is immediately made aware of the lack of references to partnerships or utilisation of factors or agents. If they existed in any appreciable numbers during this period they are not recorded by the customs clerks on the new customs accounts. The most notable example of what may have been a group of partnerships occurs in the herring trade through Yarmouth in November and December of 1310. At this time, six ships left the port with the herring of alien merchants. In each case only one amount and one value is listed for each ship. The individual merchants are recorded, but not the separate amounts of herring, if any, which they exported. John St. Crik, Arnald de Gysen, Peter Arnant, John de Setaw, and Peter Bertram set sail in the St. Martin from Bayonne with 69 lasts of herring worth £206.12s. Other shipments are similar. Both Peter Bertram's and Peter Arnant's names appear on the next shipment leaving Yarmouth on 7 December, as does John St. Crik's on 8 December.⁴⁸ This type of system does not appear in the accounts for the later years of Edward II. It is more likely that these shipments were totalled by the customs clerk responsible in order to facilitate reckoning of the customs. Whether or not the tax was paid jointly cannot be established. This is further substantiated by the fact that the same account records almost the only other surviving references to joint shipment during the entire period. On five occasions, woad merchants are listed separately but the amounts and values of the woad which they imported are given jointly. Gerard and John le Froyter appear on several occasions with Gerard le Manner as well as once each with four other

48) E122/48/13, m.2.

merchants. This account also records the shipment of 481 clothes in 41 bundles by 12 merchants and lists dual partnerships in shipments of herring and ungrained cloth at various intervals.⁴⁹ That so many examples are extant on one account for only one year seems unusual and either facilitated reckoning of customs dues or acknowledged a system which was so widespread that it was an accepted fact. Few examples survive in such numbers in the other ports, certainly not so many in one year. In Boston, two references exist in August of 1303 for joint shipments of steel, both worth substantial amounts. Gerwino le Wyce, Hildebrand Sconeweder and Richard de Lithesketh imported anvil steel, quernstones and hand stones worth £409. Other merchants in the same ship are listed singly with their merchandise. Two days after this shipment came in to Boston, another arrived. This time four merchants were jointly responsible for a cargo of steel worth £292.⁵⁰ Steel, no doubt because of its value, was usually imported in several ships on the same day by one merchant and these shipments may reflect a coming together of merchants due to the high value of the commodity, lessening the risk of failure. In 1309, in the same port, 2 merchants were responsible for a shipment of unspecified goods by weight worth £302.9s.⁵¹ All these cargoes were of extremely high values and no doubt represent partnerships, though it is impossible to establish whether or not they were long term. No examples of this type survive for Hull or Southampton. While the small number of surviving accounts for Southampton may be part of the reason for this, the fullness of Hull's accounts and the lack of references of this sort is worth noting. Specific references to agency are even more uncommon, with only one extant example in Boston.

49) Ibid., membranes 3 and 4.

50) E122/5/9, m.2.

51) E122/6/3, m.2.

John of the family of Robert, possibly a servant trading on behalf of his master, exported £113.15s. worth of English cloth and pelts in 1303.⁵² One can conclude that there is no doubt that partnerships existed during this particular period, but it is impossible to estimate their number or importance from the contemporary customs accounts on alien general merchandise. One is, however, provided with numerous references to families or groups of merchants with the same surname frequenting one or two ports.

In a similar situation to the wool trade, indeed often related to it, there existed in each port several families of merchants who made frequent visitations to each port or several. The Staners appear in the accounts for Hull and Yarmouth importing boards, grain and pitch and exporting cloth and salt,⁵³ as do the Harderwik's in the same two ports during the early fourteenth century.⁵⁴ In all cases, however, it is difficult to judge what the connection was between these merchants, if any. The same surname does not necessarily imply family connections, but may only point to the possibility. Both the Clipping's and the Raceburg's in Hull, however, leading wool families, often appear on the accounts for that port. The Lippe family, including John, Bertold, Tideman and Geoffrey, were visiting Boston during the same period as were the Brandenburg's with Henry importing 4 shipments of greywork along with wax, sailcloth and copper.⁵⁵ In 1303, one entire shipment of swords and helmets arrived in the port from 6 merchants with the surname Colonia, No doubt the merchandise itself was from Cologne, but the merchants themselves were probably related. Two of the six

52) E122/5/7.

53) See for example E122/148/13; 148/15; 55/20; 55/19.

54) Ibid.

55) E122/6/2; 6/5; 6/3.

definitely were. Rickewyno is described as the brother of Godefrid.⁵⁶ Surnames through Southampton exhibit a great deal of continuity. Martinez was a common name in both the early and later years of Edward II's reign. Ferrand and Martin were shipmasters and merchants in 1310 as were Michael and Sancho in 1326. John Martinez was a merchant in both years, importing pelts, Spanish wool, leather, thread and iron.⁵⁷ Egidius and Henry Beaupyne imported woad in 1308-1309 and 1310-1311 and another family, the Bytorie's imported pelts and Spanish wool in the latter.⁵⁸ Many more examples could be provided, all coming to the same conclusion -- that small groups of merchants who were possibly related contributed significantly to trade in the customs ports.

Another group of merchants to appear in the customs accounts were the shipmasters or shipowners and sailors. The latter group only appear occasionally and these are usually through Boston, possibly pointing to the fact that sailors from Baltic ships dealt in trade on a small scale while those from the Mediterranean did not. Shipments were varied including such items as mustard seeds, grain, feathers and fish, all of which were generally valued at around £2.⁵⁹ Shipmasters or owners feature far more prominently as merchants, particularly through Hull and Boston where they contributed a substantial proportion of the goods entering and leaving the ports. In the three month period from July to Michaelmas 1304, alone, £235.14s. of all merchandise entering Hull totalling £452.5s.6d. was in the hands of shipmasters.⁶⁰ It is impossible to tell, however, whether these merchants were actually the shipmasters or merchants who owned their own ships. Similar figures

56) E122/5/9, m.3.

57) E122/136/21; 136/29.

58) E122/136/21; 136/8.

59) See for example E122/6/22; 7/1; 7/4.

60) E122/55/16.

figures come to light over the entire period, although by the end of Edward II's reign they have greatly ^{declined} reduced. In 1324-1325, only £87.10s. of the total goods imported for that year worth £1966.8d. were in the hands of shipmasters.⁶¹ No explanation seems readily apparent other than the fact that this group of men were far more active in the early fourteenth century, their importance declining towards the middle decades of the fourteenth century. Yarmouth shipmasters were all very active as were those in Boston. The former are virtually the only merchants exporting salt in 1310-1311 and a similar pattern emerges in 1325-1326.⁶² As an example, 37 shipments of salt left Yarmouth during the summer of 1310, all of which were exported by shipmasters. They are the only merchants listed during this period, the account recording ship after ship with no merchant names underneath. Values were low, generally averaging several pounds, but Bernard de Stane shipped salt worth £17 in mid-August.⁶³ Obviously, this was a case of ships transporting denizen merchandise which would not appear in the records, with shipmasters dabbling in the salt trade. Unfortunately, we have no idea what the denizens were exporting and one wonders at the reliability of ascribing so much importance to salt trade through this port. Shipmasters tended to trade in the same merchandise as that being carried on their ships, but there is no way of proving this point definitely. If anything, this type of information leads one to handle the customs accounts with a great deal of caution.

A high incidence of shipmaster's participation in trade seems to have been a phenomenon peculiar to northern Europe, because a similar situation does not arise in Southampton. The Martinez family are the only Spanish shipmasters ^{involved} involved in trade during 1310-1311, two accounts

61) E122/56/26

62) E122/148/13; 148/27.

63) E122/148/13, m.4.

involving almonds and iron.⁶⁴ Where cases do arise, they involve merchants most likely from the Low Countries. In June 1309, Gerard Creyme imported cod and haddock worth £6, as did Peter de Gayne in 1310. In the same year, the only shipmasters involved in trade, other than the Martinez', all carried goods from the north. Eleven shipmasters brought mackerel worth £1 to £2 into the port in the beginning of March, Henry de Lubek imported herring and Gerard and Powe de Harderwik dealt in cod and haddock. In the spring and summer when the large Spanish ships arrived, Fortuno Martinez is the lone shipmaster involved in trade.⁶⁵ A similar situation occurs in both 1323 and 1326.⁶⁶ It is clear that the shipmasters and occasional sailor who figure on the customs accounts during this period were from northern Europe. Spanish shipmasters were a distinct group from the Spanish merchants.

Merchant visits to more than one port during the early fourteenth century were made by a small group of around 30 merchants. Trade links between Southampton and the three ports on the east coast were minimal with only two merchants of the same name trading between the east coast and the channel. One has already been mentioned — Gerard Harderwik, a shipmaster, who imported cod and haddock to Southampton in February, 1311 and exported salt from Yarmouth in July of the same year.⁶⁷ John Pape appears on the accounts for Hull importing millstones and wax; exporting wool and cloth.⁶⁸ Several years later in February, 1311, he is recorded for a shipment of white herring exported from Southampton.⁶⁹ Merchants trading on the east coast show stronger trade links between Boston and Hull (14) than between any two other ports. Hull also possessed a

64) E122/136/21, membranes 1 and 4.

65) E122/136/21.

66) E122/136/27; 136/29

67) E122/136/21, m.2.; 148/13, m.4.

68) E122/55/19, m.8; 55/20, m.1; 55/15.

69) E122/136/21, m.2.

surprisingly large number of merchants in common with Yarmouth (10) while Boston and Yarmouth shared only 2. In comparison with the total number of merchants travelling to the various ports during this period, these numbers are scant proof of any substantial alien commercial activity throughout a number of customs ports. Like the ships which carried them, merchants tended to maintain ties with only one English port.

The last point to be made concerning alien merchants deals with an assessment of their movements to the ports in terms of volume in trade. On the whole it would appear that alien ship visits throughout the period mirror the total value of imports and exports as well as alien shipments in wool. The year 1304-1305 was an important year in alien activity, through Hull (Table 6). Ninety-seven ships left the harbour with general merchandise and alien wool shipments were at their highest point for the entire first half of the fourteenth century. The total value on exports also reached a peak during this time. Declining numbers of alien shipments to the port coincide throughout the decade with a fall in wool exports by aliens. Imports by aliens, however, shows a marked increase from £1882.18d. in 1305-1306 to £2435.4s.4d. in 1308-1309. An increase in the number of wool shipments to the port is partly responsible as a new re-alignment in trade occurred. Germans were frequenting the port less often as the decade progressed. The two following years, 1308-1309 and 1310-1311, exports die down drastically as well as ship visitations. Part of the slack in trade can be accounted for by trade through Scarborough, Ravenser and Whitby, but this certainly does not provide sufficient explanation. Lead shipments and the high grain exports for the early years had dried up and one can only conclude that both were being utilised for the home market. Imports were still high, however, and this possibly points to a greater concentration by

the alien merchant in the wool trade alone to the neglect of Hull's other exports. No export totals for the second part of Edward II's reign are available, but import figures and ship visitations are not commensurate with declining wool exports.

Export and import figures through Boston, sketchy as they are, point to the much higher volume of trade which passed through it (Table 8). Ship and merchant movements coincide during the early period, although it is apparent by comparison with Hull that fewer alien ships left the harbour with general merchandise. Figures for 1308-1309 must take into account the 1 ship which arrived carrying £3361.1s. worth of goods measured by weight. Even so, they still show a disproportionate amount of imports compared with the total value of exports and general merchandise, a figure made all the greater by the fact that the new customs do not cover the trade in goods during the busy autumn wool season, when a substantial volume of trade occurred as evidenced by the short accounts available during this period for imports in 1309 and exports in 1310. Trade through the port in the 1320's had declined in proportion to the rise in London's wool trade and figures for exports and imports reflect this shift of commercial activity as well as the concurrent rise in denizen wool exports. Proportionally, ship numbers remained virtually the same, with less volume of trade by a similar number of merchants.

Yarmouth's high number of ship visitations points primarily to a high level of involvement by alien shipmasters (Table 10). The fact that figures for exports and imports are more equally matched than in any other ports points to its lack of involvement in the wool trade. What little wool did leave the port was in the hands of denizens travelling in alien ships. The decline in figures for the period from 1325-1326 obviously points to the ports' important trade links with France and the Low Countries.

Southampton's figures during this period point to that port's almost total reliance upon the wool trade (Table 10). Exports are significantly below import figures, as are ship visitations for the two. Import figures increasing in 1310-1311 are rising proportionally with alien wool exports for the same year. These figures are very significant for they stress Southampton's lack of exportable items and the importance of the denizen in the trade of those few goods which did leave. During the latter period, alien wool exports were on the increase, but imports and ship visitations are still fairly low. This may, however, be due to the absence of a full year's account for this period.

The picture which emerges on alien merchants visiting the four customs ports is a varied one. Basically, it illustrates an alignment of merchants from the Baltic and the Low Countries trading in the three east coast ports, who dealt in a wide range of fairly cheap items. Southampton's trade associations focused south towards France and the Mediterranean, with its merchants dealing in a smaller variety of high-priced goods. How these items which arrived or departed in alien hands came to the customs ports is the subject of chapter 4.

Explanatory Notes to Tables on Chapter 3

Tables 1 and 2 are a compilation of the ships arriving and departing in Hull and Yarmouth during the early fourteenth century. Underlined names refer to those shipmasters who appear on both the import and export accounts. Names which appear in the middle of the export column refer to those ships which carried both alien wool and general merchandise.

Tables 6, 8 and 10 give total valuations of the general merchandise which was imported and exported. The number of ships refers to the total which passed through the ports during the time period covered in the corresponding customs accounts.

The tables on shipmasters and merchants are provided as examples of patterns which occurred in the ports during the early fourteenth century. They are by no means exhaustive of all the information which the accounts record.

<u>Hull</u>	<u>Ship Visitations 1304 - 1305</u>	E122/55/17 55/20 55/21
<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Exports</u>
		<u>General Merchandise</u>
		<u>Wool</u>
2 October		Oseburgh, J. Stralsund
2		Stralsund, R.
2		Dolman, J. Stralsund
3	<u>Wm son Peter</u>	
3	<u>Stensbergh, A.</u>	
7		Hobt, J. Orwell
8	<u>Boydin son Walter</u>	
10	Baret, G.	
10	<u>Henry son Andrew</u>	
11		Rokesberwe, P.
12		
12		<u>Stensbergh, A.</u>
12		<u>Boydin son Walter</u>
12		Hamburgh, F.
13		Dyk, A.
14		Friselond, F.
16	Reynold, W.	
16	Copyn, J.	
18	<u>Osbert, F.</u> Norway	<u>Osbert, F.</u>
18	<u>Heth, D.</u>	
20		Faber, H.
22		Flosse, C. Stralsund
22		Albertson, W. Stralsund
22		Roustok, J.
23		<u>Heth, D. Hull</u>
23		Brene, J.
25	<u>Bet, Q.</u>	
4 November	<u>Gaunt, Wm.</u>	Clipping, J.
4		Flaxflet, J.
7	<u>Nokerbone, A.</u>	
7	<u>Wm. son Peter</u>	
10		Bret, G.
10		Boloyn, J.
10		<u>Bet, Q. Monikerode</u>
10		<u>Gaunt, Wm.</u>
10		<u>Nokerbone, A.</u> <u>Brabant</u>
10		<u>Henry son Andrew</u>
10		Scot, Wm.

Hull Ship Visitations 1304 - 1305 (continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Exports</u>	
		<u>General Merchandise</u>	<u>Wool</u>
November			
10		——Wm. son Peter——	
10			Bernard, J. Kingston
15	<u>Stenbergh, A.</u>		
15	<u>Boydin son Walter</u>		
15	Heth, D.		
15	Frost, D.		
23	<u>Gode, W.</u>		
23	<u>Wybesone, H. Hamburg</u>		
1 December	Muth, B.		
11		——Mulard, H.——	
11		—— <u>Boydin son Walter</u> ——	
11		—— <u>Stenebergh, A.</u> ——	
12		Bramwhid, T.	
15	Usteland, J.		
15	Hamburg, P.		
16		Herflet, H.	
17			Scot, W.
18	Pole, E.		
18	Flaxflet, J.		
21		<u>Gode, W. Arneburg</u>	
23		——Nokerbone, A.——	
24	Lilystone, R.	Atherlard, J.	
24		Rose, B.	
24		——Peter son William——	
24		——Godendere, J.——	
26			Henry son Andrew Sluys
28			Swan, T. Yarmouth
4 January		—— <u>Wybestone, H. Hamburg</u> ——	
6	<u>Sinbel, W.</u>		
6	Knot, J. Rouens		
9			York, W.
9		——Spone, L.——	

<u>Hull</u>	<u>Ship Visitations 1304 - 1305 (continued)</u>	
<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Exports</u>
January		<u>General Merchandise</u> <u>Wool</u>
13		Camb, J.
13		Usteland, J.
13		———John son Reyner Sluys———
13		John son Agnes Ravenser
15		Burge, J.
18	<u>Henry son Andrew</u>	
20		———Orre, C. Newport———
20		———Scuteler, M. Newport———
24	<u>Nokerbone, A.</u>	———Newport, T.———
27		———Pole, E.———
28		Mulard, C.
1 February		Clipping, J.
2		Hamburg, P.
5		———Benedict, W. Yarmouth———
8	<u>Wm. son Wm.</u>	
8	<u>Peterson, W.</u>	
10		<u>Sinbel, W.</u> Skirelok, J.
11		———Kete, C.———
18		Clipping, J.
18		Flaxflet, J.
20	<u>Long, A. Stralsund</u>	———Caligar, S. Lombardy———
23		———Godard, J.———
25	Taymill, Wm. Ostend	Lot, J. Dunkirk
25	<u>Hugh, C.</u>	
25	<u>Ramelet, W. Ostend</u>	
26		———Peterson, W.———
28	<u>Howe, C.</u>	———Henry son Andrew Sluys———
28	<u>Mulard, C.</u>	Weylond, H.
28		———Scot, H.———
28		<u>Howe, C.</u>
28		———Nokerbone, A. Brabant———
	York, W.	

Hull Ship Visitations 1304 - 1305 (continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Exports</u>	
March		<u>General Merchandise</u>	<u>Wool</u>
4		-----Bernard, J. Kingston-----	
4			Berland, P. Monikerode
4		-----Gaunt, W.-----	
8	Dunwich, W.	Yarmouth, J.	
8	Bramwhit, T.	-----Wm. son William-----	
8	<u>Derver, C.</u>	<u>Ramelet, W.</u>	
11			Hull, S.
12	<u>John son Reyner</u> <u>Sluys</u>		
12	Sandwich, R.		
19		-----Mulard, C.-----	
19		-----Popesone, A. Sluys-----	
22		Robyn, R.	
25		-----John son Reyner Sluys-----	
30		Boyt, J.	
30		-----Derver, C. Newport-----	
30		<u>Long, A. Stralsund</u>	
1 April		-----Somer, C. Isere-----	
1		-----Dere, H. Gravelines-----	
2			Paris, A.
2			Robyn, R.
2			Somer, C. Isere
4		-----Kete, C.-----	
4		Hering, C. Isere	
7			<u>Hugh, C. Isere</u>
1 May		-----Henry son Andrew Sluys-----	
4		-----Benedict, W. Yarmouth-----	
6		-----Peterson, W.-----	
16		Manyn, J. Gravelines	
17			Weylond, H.
25			Whitlok, W. Portsmouth
29	King, J.		

Hull Ship Visitations 1304 - 1305 (continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Exports</u>
May		<u>General Merchandise</u>
30		Span, G.
		<u>Wool</u>
		Cote, T.
7 June	<u>Henry son Andrew</u>	
7	<u>Westland, J.</u>	
8	Reynald, R. Orwell	
8	Peter son Reginald	
11		Buntyng, W.
11		Wyte, J. Flanders
11		Bernard, J.
12	Clewe, J. Dover	
12	Feryn, J.	
14	Harderwik, H.	
14	<u>Hard, H.</u>	
15		Stenebergh, A.
16		<u>Henry son Andrew</u> <u>Sluys</u>
17	<u>Walter son Arnald</u> <u>Sluys</u>	Mulard, C.
17	Gousehill, J.	
18	Flotes, J. Stralsund	Wynand, M. Newport
20	<u>Walthorp, J.</u>	
20	<u>Haren, L.</u>	
22		Dyonis son Reyner Sluys
22		<u>Westland, J.</u>
24	<u>Foyt, J.</u>	
24	Wynand, M. Newport	
26	<u>Benedict, W.</u>	<u>Hert, H.</u>
26	<u>Lowryn, E.</u>	<u>Walter son Arnald</u>
29		Poyte, J.
1 July	<u>John son Nigel</u> <u>Antwerp</u>	
2	<u>Kete, C.</u>	
2	<u>Mulard, C.</u>	
2	<u>Sampson, T.</u>	
4		<u>Bovdin son Henry</u>

Hull Ship Visitations 1304 - 1305 (continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Exports</u>	
		<u>General Merchandise</u>	<u>Wool</u>
July			
7		-----Sinbel, W.-----	
7		-----Frischold, J. Aylesford-----	
12		-----Louryn, E.-----	
12		-----Walthorp, J.-----	
12		-----Haren, L.-----	
12		Collay, E.	
13		-----King, J.-----	
13			Monyn, J.
15	<u>Con, T.</u>		<u>Kete, C.</u>
16	Crabe, B.	-----Henry son Andrew-----	Sluys-----
16	<u>Wastbene, R.</u>	-----John son Nigel-----	Antwerp-----
22			<u>Benedict, W.</u> <u>Yarmouth</u>
22		Jobbe, H. Witsand	
24	<u>Dyonis son Reynor</u>		
24	Sluys, F.	Rydder, C. Isere	
26		Kerver, S.	
25	Cnout, H.		
25	<u>Peterson, W.</u>		
25	<u>Weestland, J.</u>		
28	<u>Bet, Q.</u>		<u>Mulard, C.</u>
28	Hert, H.		Libbesone, C.
28	<u>Stenebergh, A.</u>		Stene, W. Southampton
29	Foot, M.		
2 August	Boydin son Henry Axel		Fische, W.
2	Walter son Arnald Sluys		Peterson, W.
2	Bolteheued, W.		
3		-----Sampson, T.-----	
3		<u>Coene, T.</u>	
6	<u>Stenebergh, J.</u>		
8			<u>Westland, J.</u>
8		-----Dyonis son Reyner-----	Sluys-----

Hull Ship Visitations 1304 - 1305 (continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>General Merchandise</u>	<u>Export</u>
August			<u>Wool</u>
9	<u>Staner, A.</u>		
10	Strallesond, T.		
13			<u>Waceban, R. Newport</u>
14	<u>Louryn, E.</u>		Daniel, H. Kingston
14			Boydin son Walter
14			<u>Poyte, J.</u>
14			Landiner, S.
17			Bernard, J. Kingston
18			<u>Bet, Q. Monikerode</u>
20	<u>Mulard, C.</u>	<u>Staner, A.</u>	
20		Walderik, R.	
25			<u>Stenebergh, A.</u>
25			Weylond, H.
25			Walter son Arnald
27		<u>Stenebergh, J.</u>	Bouchas, W.
3 September			Ket, C.
3			Axehill, B.
6			Wilflet, J.
10			Bert, E. Lombardy
12	Fische, W. Kingston		
14			Cherton, W.
14			<u>Louryn, E.</u>
16	Collay, E.		
18	Weyland, H.		Daniel, H.
22		—————Henry son Andrew Sluys—————	
22		————— <u>Mulard, C.</u> —————	
26		Strallesond, R.	Scot, W.
26			Peterson, W.

<u>Yarmouth</u>		<u>Ship Visitations 1310 - 1311</u>		<u>E122/148/13</u>	
<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Exports</u>		<u>148/15</u>	<u>148/14</u>
		<u>General Merchandise</u>	<u>Wool</u>		
2 October		Fitz Dieu, R.			
		Breme, G.			
6		Ramene, A.			
		Plateye, A.			
		Werry, R. Abbeville			
8	<u>Oyere, A. Bayonne</u>				
12	<u>Banasse, J. Bayonne</u>	Sturion, A.			
14	Walram, W.				
20		Breme, G.			
		Breyn, W.			
4 November		<u>Banasse, J. Bayonne</u>			
5		-----Walram, W.-----			
		Hamiburgh, R.			
6	Bayona, R.				
14		-----Peter son of William-----			
24		Luyth, J. Gosford			
25		Forlorn, H. Dordrecht			
26		Harges, P.			
28		<u>Oyere, A. Bayonne</u>			
7 December		Gerneys, N. Yarmouth			
8		Here, J. Yarmouth			
8		Kirkele, W. Yarmouth			
10	<u>Aycheman, T. Yarmouth</u>				
12		<u>Aycherman, T. Yarmouth</u>			
16		Eyelf, . E.			
18	<u>Plateye, A.</u>				
19	Berken, A. Calais				
20	Crul, E. Witsand				
20	<u>Breyn, W.</u>				
20	Walter son Arnald Sluys				
		Haneworth, R. Yarmouth			
		Lifele, J.			
		Curteys, J. Hulst			
24		-----Palling, J.-----			

Yarmouth Ship Visitations 1310 - 1311 (continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Exports</u>
December		<u>General Merchandise</u>
24		
26		Normant, T.
28		
		<u>Plateve, A.</u>
30		<u>Breyn, W.</u>
31		Goldwyne, J.
10 January	Placelere, J. Hamburg	
12	<u>Pier, T.</u>	
	Withened, J. Calais	
	Sturion, A. Abbeville	
20		<u>Pier, T.</u>
February	<u>Withened, J. Calais</u>	
7		Withened, J.
	Sturion, A. Abbeville	
		Begant, S.
		Wilefeld, A.
22	<u>Walter son Arnald</u> <u>Sluys</u>	
23	<u>Peter son William</u>	
26	Anlye, W.	
	Bofon, L.	
	Gybelyn, J.	
	Gotelyn, J.	
	Tassiot, J.	
1 March	<u>Rinet, J.</u>	<u>Rinet, J.</u>
	<u>Capel, W.</u>	
4		Walter son Arnald Sluys
		Begant, S. Abbeville
		<u>Capel, W.</u>
14		<u>Peter son William</u>
20	<u>Carpenter, R. Rouen</u>	Blound, J. Aylesford
		<u>Carpenter, R. Rouen</u>
	Cognare, T. Witsand	
	<u>Goyere, Wm. Kampen</u>	

<u>Yarmouth</u>		<u>Ship Visitations 1310 - 1311 (continued)</u>		
<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Exports</u>		
March		<u>General Merchandise</u>		<u>Wool</u>
28		<u>Goyere, Wm.</u>	<u>Kampen</u>	
2 April	Scot, H. Sluys			
	Belte, E. Calais			
	Walter son Arnald Sluys			
	<u>Gardyn, J.</u>			
	Goming, J. Calais			
5		Adstan, H.		
		Barse, E.		
		Colyn, J. Witsand		
		Wrangnayl, B.		
8	<u>Heneriche, T.</u>			
	Taleman, H.			
	Kepin, C.			
	Leye, J.			
10		<u>Gardyn, J.</u>		
		<u>Heneriche, T.</u>		
20	Ausf, J.			
21	Oelhard, W. Hamburg	———— Picard, A.	Axel	————
22	Allard son Jacob Sluys			
	<u>Steveman, S.</u>			
	Hamburg, I.			
		Tolle, S.		
24	<u>Berfleth, R.</u>			
24	Flethorp, H.			
28		———— Walter son John	Sluys	————
28		Engleys, P.		
28		<u>Berfleth, R.</u>		
	<u>Peter son William</u>			
	<u>Sluys</u>			
	Lorcken, S.			
1 May	Harderwik, T.	<u>Steveman, S.</u>		
1		Kolbard, N.		
	Grype, B. Caen			

Yarmouth Ship Visitations 1310 - 1311 (continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Exports</u>	
		<u>General Merchandise</u>	<u>Wool</u>
May			
3		Calnessone, B.	
5		Colyn, J.	Witsand
5		Gardyn, J.	Dieppe
6			<u>Peter son William</u> <u>Sluys</u>
10	Taleman, P.	Sluys	
12			Foux, B. St. Omer
15			Coberd, R. Little Yarmouth
15			—————Puder, M.—————
		Maliot, I.	
		Wrangnayl, B.	Witsand
		John son Allard	Blankenberg
	<u>St. Pierce, J.</u>	Bayonne	
	Veseger, I.		
	Camme, G.		
	<u>Doncaster, W.</u>		
	Staner, J.		
	Carlethon, R.	Caen	
	Baron, R.	Caen	
	Waldercome, A.		
	Leneland, J.	Boulogne	
	Orl, A.	Orwell	
1 June			
		Caggard, J.	Ostend
		Westenawe, R.	
		Cobblere, W.	
		Dernere, J.	
		Camelyn, P.	Ostend
		Athelard, W.	
		Cantesey, B.	
		Colyn, W.	
		Outteskore, J.	Blankenburg
		Copyn, J.	
		Kellere, N.	Blankenburg
		Bertessone, J.	Ostend

Yarmouth Ship Visitations 1310 - 1311 (continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Exports</u>
1 June		General Merchandise Wool
		Ape, B. Ostend
		Wykere, J.
		Hethyne, W.
25		<u>Doncaster, W.</u>
27		Blound, P.
7 July	<u>Staner, B.</u>	Waldercome, A.
	Swaneman, T. Harderwik	Snore, W.
		John son Peter
		Welcome, N. Blankenberg
		Calnessone, B.
		Hamme, N.
		Isere, J.
		Dykecessone, M.
		Copman, W.
		Post, W. Blankenberg
		Rothland, B.
		Copyn, T.
		Johnson Nicholas
		Skorecloth, E.
		<u>Staner, B.</u>
9	<u>Harderwik, G.</u>	
	<u>Staner, B.</u>	
	<u>Harderwik, N.</u>	
13		Herling, S.
		<u>Harderwik, N.</u>
		<u>Harderwik, G.</u>
		<u>St. Pierce, J.</u> Bayonne
		Heyrebak, J. Newport
17		Peter son William
20	Staples, F.	
	Baron, R. Caen	
1 August	Coket, R. Ipswich	
	Lysem, B.	

Yarmouth Ship Visitations 1310 - 1311 (continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Exports</u>	
		<u>General Merchandise</u>	<u>Wool</u>
August			
4	Lebyn, J. Axel		
9			Blound, J. Aylesford
10		Outteskore, P. Montel, J. <u>Stane, B.</u> Peter son Lambert Calnessone, B.	
15			Faght, Wm. Sluys
28			Reppes, J. Yarmouth
15 September	<u>Hamburgh, N.</u>		
20	Staner, H.		
25	Fayrweder, P. Ipswich	<u>Hamburgh, N.</u>	
26		Stanner, E.	
27		Weylan, J. Crane, J. Hamburg Florence son John Hardenvik	
	Habbe, R. Ipswich Brantingham, G.		
4 October	Massesone, J. Sluys		

Shipmasters Visiting More than One Port

<u>Name</u>	<u>Port</u>		<u>Date</u>	E122/
John Whithened Calais	Hull	import	5 March 1322	57/10
	Lynn	import	20 March 1324	93/19
		export	10 May 1324	93/18
	Yarmouth	export	8 August 1325	148/27
John Thousand pound ¹	Lynn	export	12 August 1322	93/17
	Boston	import	25 April 1327	6/21
		export	13 May 1327	7/1
Peter Sot Sluys	Lynn	import	1 March 1324	93/19
		import	31 March	93/19
	Yarmouth	export	18 February 1325	148/28
		export	10 May	148/28
Jordan Godard	Lynn	import	23 August 1323	93/17
		import	3 January 1324	93/19
		export	20 January	93/18
		import	15 March	93/19
		export	24 March	93/18
	Yarmouth	import	13 May 1326	149/9
Nanne Breme	Lynn	export	30 June 1324	93/18
	Yarmouth	export	28 August 1325	148/27
		import	26 May 1326	149/9
Oliver Breme	Yarmouth	import	19 April 1325	148/27
		export	7 May	148/27
	Ipswich	import	10 March 1326	50/13
		export	28 April	50/13
		import	20 October	50/17
		import	3 June 1333	50/19
		export	17 June	50/19

1) He appears on the early customs accounts for Boston E122/6/2, 6/5.

Shipmasters Visiting More than One Port

<u>Name</u>	<u>Port</u>		<u>Date</u>	<u>E122/</u>
Frederick Staner	Hull	import	25 June 1325	56/26
	Yarmouth	import	21 July 1326	149/9
Stephen Busk	Hull	import	19 March 1325	56/26
	Yarmouth	import	19 March 1326	148/30
		export	5 April	148/31
Herman Parlement	Lynn	export	10 August 1325	93/24
	Boston	import	12 November 1326	6/21
		export	16 June 1327	7/1
		export	20 August 1327	7/1
John Fenkelfele	Lynn	import	21 May 1325	93/22
	Boston	import	8 June 1333	7/4
John Bancard	Lynn	import	13 May 1325	93/22
	Boston	export	13 August 1327	7/1
		import	27 January 1333	7/4
		import	8 March	7/4
		import	10 May	7/4
John Sott	Hull	import	26 August 1322	57/10
	Lynn	import	4 January 1324	93/19
		export	7 February	93/18
		export	23 October	93/24
John Busk	Lynn	export	17 March 1324	93/18
	Hull	import	9 August 1325	56/26
Copini Mulard ¹	Lynn	import	17 December 1322	93/17
		export	22 December	93/17
	Hull	import	20 September 1323	57/10

1) Possibly the same shipmaster was visiting Hull 18 years earlier.
E122/55/17, 55/20.

Shipmasters Visiting More than One Port

<u>Name</u>	<u>Port</u>		<u>Date</u>	<u>E122/</u>
Boidini Denell	Lynn	import	2 November 1324	93/22
	Hull	import	10 September 1325	56/26
Henry Breme	Hull	import	26 May 1325	56/26
	Ipswich	import	9 April 1326	50/13
		export	18 April	
Folcaldi Frese ¹	Hull	import	1 September 1323	57/10
	Lynn	import	12 October 1324	93/22
	Hull	import	14 June 1325	56/26

1) This shipmaster also appears in the Boston customs accounts for 1303 E122/5/7, 5/9.

Shipmasters Visiting More than One Port in One Year

<u>Name</u>	<u>Port</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>E122/</u>	
Nicholas Sandon	Hull	20 June 1325	56/26	import
	Yarmouth	20 August	148/27	import
Hugo Sot	Lynn	3 January 1324	93/19	import
		7 February	93/18	export
	Hull	8 October	56/26	import
John Godber Sluys	Hull	18 July 1325	56/26	import
	Ipswich	3 August	50/13	import
	Yarmouth	6 December 1326	148/31	export
	Ipswich	13 December	50/13	export
John Corper	Lynn	12 June 1325	93/22	import
	Yarmouth	2 July	148/27	import
Lambert Babbard	Ipswich	9 June 1326	50/13	export
	Yarmouth	19 December	148/31	export

Arnald Stenbergh Ship Owner and Merchant¹

<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Value</u> £. s. d.	<u>Export</u>	<u>Value</u> £. s. d.
15 Jul	empty barrels	1		
Aug	tar, pitch, bowls, empty barrels	3 11 4		
1304	3 Oct cloth, oars, garlic, empty barrels	26	12 Oct wool	
	15 Nov glasses, tar, salt, empty barrels	14	10 Nov ² lead	2 17
1305	28 Jul _____		15 Jun wool	
	1 Oct _____		25 Aug wool	
1306	4 Jun _____		21 Jun _____	
	11 Jul tar, empty barrels	5 10	15 Jul _____	
	4 Aug pitch, tar	2 2 6	10 Aug _____	
	12 Oct cloth, cordovan leather	5 8	25 Oct grain	4 10
	27 Nov herring, garlic, empty barrels	3 13	21 Dec _____	
1307	10 Mar _____		5 Apr _____	
	24 May _____		12 Jun _____	
	15 Aug _____		29 Jul _____	
	12 Oct boards, salt, garlic	6 6		

1) Wool accounts for two years have been checked (E122/55/21 1304-1305 and 56/12 1310-1311) and it is clear that Stenbergh dabbled in the wool trade as well as in other commodities.

2) The wool customs account for this year gives different dates for the same ships leaving the port in November and December. The alternative date for Arnald Stenbergh's ship is 11 December. E122/55/21, m.5.

Arnald Stenbergh Ship Owner and Merchant (continued)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>	<u>Value</u> £. s. d.	<u>Export</u>	<u>Value</u> £. s. d.
1308	1 Mar herring, tar	2 11	11 Mar iron	9 10
	14 Oct _____			
1309	12 Mar figs, raisins, garlic	3 7 6		
	9 Jul boards, bowstaves	3		
	19 Aug iron, flax, tiles, chests	2		

Hull

		<u>Value of General Merchandise</u>			<u>Number of ships</u>	
			£.	s.	d.	<u>Per Year</u>
1304	Export	4 July-Michaelmas	79	12		5
	Import	4 July-Michaelmas	452	5	6	19
1304-5	Export	Michaelmas-Michaelmas	2786	13	5	97
	Import	Michaelmas-Michaelmas	1470	5	11	92
1305-6	Export	Michaelmas-Michaelmas	1718	6	8	75
	Import	Michaelmas-Michaelmas	1882	1	6	73
1306-7	Export	Michaelmas-Michaelmas	1965	8	1	75
	Import	Michaelmas-7 July	1691	5	8	55
	Import	7 July-Michaelmas	530	15	6	24
1307-8	Export	Michaelmas-Michaelmas	1119	2	8	48
	Import	Michaelmas-Michaelmas	2434	16	5	77
1308-9	Export	13 November-27 June	450	6	4	28
	Import	Michaelmas-20 August	2435	4	4	57
1310-11	Export	Michaelmas-Michaelmas	114	4		10
	Import	Michaelmas-9 October	1018	14	5	44
1322-23	Import	20 July-Mich-Mich	49	7	7	37
			933	12	11	
1324-25	Import	Michaelmas-Michaelmas	1966		8	73

Alien Participation in Wool Export through Hull¹

<u>Date</u>	<u>Denizen</u>	<u>Alien</u>
1303 - 1304		not available
1304 - 1305	2201	6611
1305 - 1306	2648	4640
1306 - 1307	2762	4293
1307 - 1308	2464	3554
1308 - 1309	2573	3255
1309 - 1310	3107	3674
1310 - 1311	2497	2638
1322 - 1323		3046
1323 - 1324	1598	1085
1324 - 1325	1544	905
1325 - 1326	1950	1144
1326 - 1327	1824	1352
1327 - 1328	1940	638
1328 - 1329	3067	649
1329 - 1330	4793	632
1330 - 1331	6673	1060
1331 - 1332	7085	947
1332 - 1333	4112	540
1333 - 1334	5313	486
1334 - 1335	4653	889
1335 - 1336		no account
1336 - 1337		closed
1337 - 1338	4789	1112
1338 - 1339	7009	1277
1339 - 1340	4731	1211
1340 - 1341	3204	1159
1341 - 1342	4381	8
1342 - 1343	2615	240

1) These figures are taken from E. M. Carus-Wilson and Olive Coleman, England's Export Trade 1275 - 1547, (1963), pp.40-46.

Boston

			<u>Value of General Merchandise</u>			<u>Number of ships</u>
			£.	s.	d.	<u>Per Year</u>
1303	Export	10 February-28 Sept.	4045	15	9	54
	Import	10 February-28 Sept.	5329	8	4	40
1303-4	Export	Michaelmas-24 June	60	13	8	25
1308-9	Export	8 November-28 August	1158	16	8	44
	Import	8 November-28 August	9463	8	5 ¹	35
1309	Import	2 August-Michaelmas	2555	9	4ob	31
1310	Export	18 August-Michaelmas	1118	8	10	19
1326-7	Export	Michaelmas-23 April	646	14		16
	Import	Michaelmas-26 April	2205	10	²	17
1327	Export	23 April-Michaelmas	1038	10		31
1333	Export	20 January-28 June	275	16		11
	Import	20 January-28 June	1055	14	6	22

1) This includes goods by weight worth £3361.1s.

2) This figure does not cover the entire period. The account has 3 membranes — number 2 ending on 22 November and number 3 commencing on 25 April for 1 day.

Alien Participation in Wool Export through Boston¹

<u>Date</u>	<u>Denizen</u>	<u>Alien</u>
1303 - 1304	2508	2703
1304 - 1305	3561	7477
1305 - 1306	3735	5370
1306 - 1307	3817	6393
1307 - 1308	4254	5344
1308 - 1309	5209	5883
1309 - 1310	4682	5045
1310 - 1311	4678	5125
1322 - 1323	1842	5138
1323 - 1324	1748	3267
1324 - 1325	1404	3415
1325 - 1326	690	1967
1326 - 1327	2140	3032
1327 - 1328	2691	2045
1328 - 1329	3615	4045
1329 - 1330	3561	2306
1330 - 1331	2504	3356
1331 - 1332	2397	2397
1332 - 1333	2395	4043
1333 - 1334	4375	3290
1334 - 1335	3431	3487
1335 - 1336	2662	2552
1336 - 1337		
1337 - 1338	2596	2377
1338 - 1339	5799	5327
1339 - 1340		2491
1340 - 1341	1165	1528
1341 - 1342		4054
1342 - 1343		3479

1) E. M. Carus-Wilson and Olive Coleman, op.cit., pp.40-46.

Yarmouth

		<u>Value of General Merchandise</u>			<u>Number of Ships</u>	
					<u>Per Year</u>	
		£.	s.	d.		
1310-11	Export	21 August-Michaelmas	2640	16	8	116
	Import	2 August-4 October	2201	7	10	85
1325	Export	January-Michaelmas	186	2		31
	Import	January-Michaelmas	281	16		34
1325-26	Export	Michaelmas-23 March	1051	3		28
	Import	Michaelmas-23 March	333	10		18
			330	10		
1326	Export	25 March-Michaelmas	820	5		52
	Import	25 March-21 July	289	12	+	28

Southampton

		£.	s.	d.		
1308-9	Export	28 October-17 August	192	19		5
	Import	28 October-17 August	3779	1	4	31
1310-11	Export	Michaelmas-28 June	159	18	5	11
	Import	Michaelmas-28 June	4774	14	5	63
1310	Export	2 August-Michaelmas	190	9	4	3
	Import	2 August-Michaelmas	804	16	8	9
1323	Export	7 Feb.-Michaelmas	250	14	8	16
1326	Import	Michaelmas-18 December	206			8
1330-31	Import	18 December-15 March	568	16		5

Alien Participation in Wool Export through Yarmouth¹

<u>Date</u>	<u>Denizen</u>	<u>Alien</u>
1303 - 13-4	755	93
1304 - 1305	1010	166
1305 - 1306	743	113
1306 - 1307	815	101
1307 - 1308	522	28
1308 - 1309	2706	30
1309 - 1310	634	62
1310 - 1311	606	86
1322 - 1323		524
1323 - 1324	361	72
1324 - 1325	394	1
1325 - 1326	223	23
1326 - 1327	410	24
1327 - 1328	517	8
1328 - 1329	684	—
1329 - 1330	580	5
1330 - 1331	482	12
1331 - 1332	932	14
1332 - 1333	695	69
1333 - 1334	882	54
1334 - 1335	529	1
1335 - 1336	149	—
1336 - 1337		closed
1337 - 1338		closed
1338 - 1339	1104	—
1339 - 1340	262	—
1340 - 1341	124	—
1341 - 1342	293	589
1342 - 1343	188	628

1) E. M. Carus-Wilson and Olive Coleman, op.cit., pp.40-46.

Alien Participation in Wool Export through Southampton¹

<u>Date</u>	<u>Denizen</u>	<u>Alien</u>
1303 - 1304		3769
1304 - 1305	2381	2346
1305 - 1306	2201	861
1306 - 1307	2275	1517
1307 - 1308	1837	659
1308 - 1309	2139	450
1309 - 1310	2474	375
1310 - 1311	2326	560
1322 - 1323	2997	755
1323 - 1324	1371	714
1324 - 1325	1454	423
1325 - 1326	631	88
1326 - 1327	1003	393
1327 - 1328	1387	1241
1328 - 1329	1980	1078
1329 - 1330	2175	400
1330 - 1331	2778	941
1331 - 1332	3022	938
1332 - 1333	2024	698
1333 - 1334	3153	904
1334 - 1335	2602	484
1335 - 1336	1485	358
1336 - 1337		—
1337 - 1338	44	2920
1338 - 1339		sacked by French
1339 - 1340	108	600
1340 - 1341	128	430
1341 - 1342	1817	183
1342 - 1343	364	4

1) E. M. Carus-Wilson and Olive Coleman, op.cit., pp.40-46.

Conrad Clipping

Trade in General Merchandise through Hull

<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>		<u>Export</u>	
	<u>Commodities</u>	<u>Value</u> £. s. d.	<u>Commodities</u>	<u>Value</u> £. s. d.
1304	4 Jul	potash, copper		
				22 17 6
1305	28 Jul	copper		
			13 Jan	59 grain
			8 Mar	50 13 grain
			8 Mar	42 19 9 grain
1306	23 Jul	wax	28 Jul	17 10 lead
	12 Sep	cloth	10 Dec	48 11 2 grain
	12 Oct	cloth		
1307	7 Jan	figs, wax		
	18 May	copper		
	14 Jul	wax		
	8 Aug	wax		
	18 Aug	wax		
	6 Sep	wax		
	28 Dec	wax		
1308	15 Jul	copper, wax		
	14 Nov	copper, wax		
1310	13 May	tar, pitch		

Martin Raceburg

Trade in General Merchandise through Hull

<u>Date</u>	<u>Import Commodities</u>	<u>Value £. s. d.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Export Commodities</u>	<u>Value £. s. d.</u>
1304	7 Nov cloth	_____			
	15 Nov wax	_____			
	15 Nov wax	_____	1305	2 Jul Lead	3 6 8
1306	13 Feb herring, oil	12 6	1306	29 Oct grain	16
	20 Aug wax	_____		8 Nov grain	31 12 8
				8 Nov grain	19 10
				12 Nov salt	14
				15 Nov grain	21 3 4
				21 Dec grain	4
1307	27 Jan wax	_____			
	10 Mar cloth	_____			
	24 May cloth	_____			
	18 Aug wax	_____			
	28 Dec cloth, wax	_____			
1308	11 Jan wax	_____			

Phillip Hund

Trade in General Merchandise through Hull

<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>		<u>Date</u>	<u>Export</u>		
	<u>Commodities</u>	<u>Value</u> £. s. d.		<u>Commodities</u>	<u>Value</u> £. s. d.	
1306	16 May	handkerchiefs, belts, saffron, ginger, dates	5 2	1304 24 Dec	grain	7 17 6
	16 Oct	cloth, fur for linings, mattresses, mercery, spices	3 18	1305 29 Oct	flax, cheese, nuts	2 10
	27 Oct	garlic	5			
1307	14 Feb	ginger, saffron, wax, handkerchiefs, miniver in a strong box, cloth	3 5	1307 21 Oct	grain, peas, mustard seed, cat pelts, cheese	12
1308	11 Jan	garlic, diverse mercery, cloth, quilts	11 2	1308		
	5 Apr	mattresses, saffron, ginger, garlic, diverse mercery, copper pots, chests	30 11	28 Apr	grain	2
	10 Jun	cordovan leather, basan, linen cloth, almonds, mattresses, cloth, chests, mercery	15 11	30 Apr	grain	8

Phillip Hund (continued)

Trade in General Merchandise through Hull

<u>Date</u>	<u>Import</u>		<u>Export</u>	
	<u>Commodities</u>	<u>Value</u> £. s. d.	<u>Date</u>	<u>Commodities</u> <u>Value</u> £. s. d.
1308	14 Oct cloth, wax, almonds			
	13 Nov garlic, onions, handkerchiefs	10		
	12 Dec garlic	2 10		
1309	29 May cloth, mercery, canvas	7 4	1309 19 Jan	cheese, onions, pelts
	3 Jun cloth			
	2 Aug soap, wax, cordovan leather, chests, tablecloths, knives	3 11		
	20 Nov fruit, iron, hose, mercery	10 6 6		
	20 Nov soap, iron	4 14		
1310	22 Feb figs, raisins, garlic, onions, mercery, helmets (or caps), chests, olive oil, cloth	13 5 9		
	9 Mar garlic	3 10		

Woad Merchants through Southampton

	<u>1308-1309</u>	<u>1310-1311</u>
<u>Henry Beaupyne</u>	1309	2 March 8 June
	1310	8 December
	1311	8 January 26 February 17 March
<u>Peter Focambergh</u>	1309	2 March 20 March 8 June
	1311	24 January 26 February 4 March 17 March
<u>Fermin Cokerel</u>	1309	2 March 5 June 18 August
	1311	26 February 4 March
<u>Reyner Berefroy</u>	1309	2 March 20 March 8 June
	1311	26 February

Alien Wool Merchants

Export Trade in General Merchandise through Hull 1304 - 1305

Grain

Godescalk Alm
Peter Anrisab
Walter Bafot
Temme Bogh
Tideman Breme
Andrew Brotherlamb
Tideman Clipping
Henry Colonia
Cristian Derver
Lothewyk Doryng
Ludekin Ferner
Walter Hovelyng
Phillip Hund
John Keteware
Thomas Langar
Copini Orre
Boydini Rose
Clays Somer
Godfrey Spicenayl
Egidius Ulbright
Gerard Warnethorp
Henry Weyland

Potash

Thomas Alaveyn

Lead

Ralph Durren
Walter Revel
Tiderici Sampson

Cloth

John Monte
John Pape

Peas

Egidius Popering

<u>Yarmouth</u>	<u>Movements of Merchants 1310 - 1311</u>	E122/148/15 E122/148/13
<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Import/Export</u>	<u>Commodities</u>
Robert Baron Caen	July 24 December	canvas herring
John Gutlond	April 28 April	pelts, budge, almonds worsted, pelts
Arnald Gysen	8 October 28 November	iron herring
Peter Tebald	12 January 20 January	onions, iron, weld herring
Brun' Stanere	7 July July	boards salt
Gerard Breme	21 September 20 October	boards salt
Walter Breyn	20 December 30 December	onions coal
William Goyere Kampen	March 28 March	herring salt
Nicholas Harderwik	July July	boards oats, salt
Folcard Medmelik	18 August 4 September	boards, tar coal
John St. Piere Bayonne	May July	pelts, bowstaves timber, bowstaves
Peter St. Piere merchant	12 October 4 November	cloth, iron herring

<u>Yarmouth</u>	<u>Movements of Merchants 1310 - 1311</u>	<u>E122/148/15</u> <u>E122/148/13</u>
<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Import/Export</u>	<u>Commodities</u>
Gerard Stanere	18 August	boards
	August	salt
Jars Stanere	21 August	boards
	7 September	salt, cloth
Conrod Tollere	10 January	spices, wax
	30 February	worsted, refuse wool
John Hitfield	28 April	pitch, oars, flax, worsted
Wycard Grening	24 April	boards, flax, wax, diverse
	28 April	cloth, blanket, worsted, pelts
	15 September	boards, iron, troughs
	25 September	worsted
John Rokesworth	April	boards, oars
	1 May	worsted
	June	boards, oars, iron
	7 July	cloth
John St. Crik	8 October	alloy
	28 November	herring
	10 May	cloth
	8 December	herring
Arnald Plateye	—	—
	October	herring
	18 December	onions
	26 December	herring

Yarmouth

Movements of Merchants 1310 - 1311

E122/148/13
E122/148/13

<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Import/Export</u>	<u>Commodities</u>
John Gardyn Dieppe	April	canvas
	10 April	herring
	_____	_____
	5 May	herring, timber
Bondin Reule	8 April	ashes, boards
	7 July	cloth
	20 September	boards, wax, diverse
	_____	_____
Richard Hupy	1 March	onions
	March	herring
	_____	_____
	30 December	herring, coal

CHAPTER 4

THE SHERIFFS ACCOUNTS - TRANSPORT

While the customs accounts provide a wealth of material on the imports and exports of alien merchants, the sheriffs accounts complete our picture of medieval trade by illustrating possible routes of dispersal of their merchandise. Goods coming to the ports for export overseas and merchandise arriving for inland distribution travelled via numerous rivers and roads. Their journey commenced or finished in the customs ports and for this reason it is interesting to examine the various routes available to the medieval merchant. The sheriffs accounts, expense statements of purveyance, provide the perfect opportunity.

Unlike the 1275 and 1303 customs accounts, the sheriffs accounts are grounded in an ancient prerogative of the Crown — purveyance. Initiated as a means of victualling the King's household, it was expanded during the fourteenth century to meet the needs of the royal armies. Victualling of the armies was not a new phenomenon during the reigns of Edward I and his successors, however, since it had its origins in Henry II's purveyance of supplies for his Irish expedition and in Henry III's prizes for the Barons' Wars.¹ Its novelty lay in more frequent utilisation and the numerous extant sheriffs accounts for Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Hampshire testify to the Crown's increasing reliance upon the local communities to feed his troops.

The actual work of assessing the victuals which various communities provided and supervising their transport to the ports was the

1) J. R. Maddicott, 'The English Peasantry and the Demands of the Crown 1294-1341', Past and Present Supplement 1 (1975), p.15; M.C.Prestwich, War, Politics and Finance under Edward I (1972), p.119.

responsibility of the sheriffs, royal clerks and hundred bailiffs. The expense accounts which were drawn up are valuable records of not only the amounts of grain or other commodities which were purveyed in each community, but of their means of carriage to the coast before shipment. The value of this information is that it provides abundant material on medieval transport through an analysis of routes taken, but, more importantly it proves conclusively the important position which Hull, Boston, Yarmouth and Southampton occupied in their respective counties. Each was a mecca for the commodities of alien and denizen alike.

1. Boston

Boston's importance as the chief collection centre for the produce of its hinterland owes much to the extensive inland waterways of Lincolnshire. The county is bounded on the west by the River Trent with access to the Humber and in close proximity to the River Ouse — thus facilitating and promoting commercial interaction between Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. The Trent's real importance to Lincolnshire's transport system was considerably augmented by an artificial canal, the Foss Dyke. This early twelfth century canal ran from the Trent to the city of Lincoln where it joined the Witham in its outward flow to the Wash. The Witham was the principal means of communication between the customs port and her inland capital and its link with the Foss Dyke provided Lincoln and Boston with dual access to the sea. Further proof of Lincolnshire's geographical wealth lies in the abundant references to transport up and down the Rivers Welland and Glen.

The Gough Map, the earliest cartographic source of reference which we possess, illustrates a number of local roads which joined various sections of the county.² Boston is linked overland with Lincoln, Wainfleet,

2) E.J.S.Parsons, The Map of Great Britain, c.A.D.1360, known as the Gough Map Memoir and Facsimile. Bodleian Library and Royal Geographical Society (1958).

Spalding and Barton, while two further roads exist uniting Lincoln with Sleaford and Barton. Travel by land across the fenland in Holland necessitated elaborate causeways and bridges over marshy, low-lying land. The fens proved a formidable impediment to travellers and merchants alike and these raised cartways played a vital role in transport to and from Boston.

An examination of medieval transport in Lincolnshire as revealed by the sheriffs accounts graphically illustrates the wealth of roads, rivers, canals and causeways which linked Lincolnshire's interior with the coast. While Boston was the most frequented port for victuals leaving the county, ports of secondary importance served the north. These were Barton, Burton upon Stather and North-Coates. In both 1311 and 1336, when writs of purveyance were issued in Lincolnshire, the main port of shipment in the northern half of the county was Barton-upon-Humber.³ Indeed, in 1336, it was the only port to which grain was brought and shipped. While the scale of prise in the north was of a much smaller proportion than in the southern half of the county, it is still possible to detect main routes of carriage and other ports of secondary importance. In both instances, carriage was overland and by water. By combining the information from both accounts, it is clearly evident that those religious houses and towns from which grain was purveyed lay on the same routes. In 1311 when the priors of Sixhills,⁴

3) E101/568/30; 569/3; 569/2. (Tables 2 and 3)

4) Sixhills was on the itinerary of Edward I in 1276. Itinerary of Edward I, Lists and Index Society Part 1 103 (1974), p.50.

Newstead,⁵ and Thornholme were called upon to provide grain for Edward II's troops in Scotland, carriage was made via the route indicated on the contemporary Gough Map — a road along the western edge of the Lincolnshire Wolds linking Barton and Boston (Figure 1).⁶ Twenty-five years later the hundred quarters coming from the prior of Elsham and from William de Waterton⁷ at Horkstow travelled the same route as the grain of 1311 (Figure 2). Evidence for the existence of a medieval road along the eastern edge of the Lincolnshire Wolds is also provided in both sheriffs accounts. Although the Gough Map fails to designate a road in this area of Lincolnshire, grain travelling from the abbeys of Thornton, Riby and Ravendale proceeded along a route linking all three (Figure 2).⁸

Barton was also served by water transport involving both the Humber and the Trent. In 1311, Grimsby shipped 20 quarters of grain and 90 quarters of malt up the Humber to join the consignment there and twenty five years later the prior of Spalding at Alkborough shipped

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- 5) The original account designates the priory of 'Novo Loco' as the place of purveyance. This is taken to refer to the Gilbertine priory of the Holy Trinity at Newstead on the River Ancholme. Since Newstead and the abbey of Sixhills bore common carriage costs it seems justifiable to assume that this is the priory referred to in the account. Although it is situated on the Ancholme, common cost also precludes carriage by land. Accounts of carriage by both land and water tend to specify two separate charges. The Priory could have used the Ancholme, however, for the transport of its wool during this period. VCH Lincolnshire 2:197. W.Cunningham, Growth of English Industry and Commerce 1 (1927), p.635. The abbey at Thornholme could also have used the River Ancholme, but in this particular account the specific means of carriage is not mentioned. This may be due to silting and a reference of such survives for the following year, 1312. This occurred between Brigg and Ferriby Bridge near the Humber. CPR 1307-1313, p.536. Taking this into account carriage of grain from Thornholme was most likely by land in 1311.
 - 6) Maps for this chapter will be found in the back pocket.
 - 7) He was possibly from Waterton Hall on the western shore of the Trent.
 - 8) In 1276 and several other times in the reign of Edward I, the King and his retinue passed the night in Thornton before travelling to and from Barton. Towards the end of the fourteenth century mention is made of the King's road called Barton Street by Thornton Cross. Itinerary Part 1, p.58; Part 2, pp.236-7; C.T.Flower, Public Works in Medieval Law Seldon Society 1 (1916), p.290.

30 quarters of grain to Barton via the same river. In this case, Grimsby acted as a secondary port rather than shipping directly to Berwick (Figures 1 and 2).⁹

The rather narrow hinterland from which Barton drew grain in the North Riding of Lincolnshire is considerably enlarged in 1311 (Figure 1). In the sheriffs account for this year three other ports in this area of the county also shipped grain to Berwick. Three hundred and twenty-six quarters of grain, peas, beans and barley were carried by land from Ludbergh to North Coates. From here, 117 quarters were laded upon the ship of Robert, son of Hugo de Saltfleet, along with 43 quarters of barley. The remaining 166 quarters were either stored in the granary in North Coates or they were shipped to Saltfleet, eight miles down the coast. A rather unusual situation occurs here. While the account lists the hire of the 'Goyder' belonging to Hugo Lumbard in Saltfleet for carriage of thirty-five quarters grain, twenty quarters oats, and a hundred and nineteen quarters malt, it does not designate its origin. The absence of expenses for granary hire or a clerk in Saltfleet precludes that the 'Goyder' belonging to Lumbard was from Saltfleet and shipped its 174 quarters from North Coates.

Burton upon Stather was another subsidiary port during the fourteenth century and was responsible for shipment of small quantities of

9) Numerous references do exist which attest to Grimsby's rank as a port. In 1298, Grimsby was a port of shipment for grain travelling to Scotland, along with Boston and Wainfleet. E101/568/1; Walter S. Thomson Lincolnshire Assize Roll (1944), pp.84-190. In 1324, it was the only other port besides Boston to ship grain to Gascony. Sir Francis Hill, Medieval Lincoln, (1965), p.305. A similar situation as the one portrayed in the above account occurs during the same period in Sussex. Sidlesham, a port in its own right, shipped grain which had been milled into flour to Shoreham where it was collected with that from other areas of the county before shipment overseas. R.A. Pelham, 'Studies in the Historical Geography', p.174, figure 5.

grain. In 1311, 131 quarters of dredge and barley were purveyed in Bishop Norton and travelled overland to that port (Figure 1).¹⁰ Here they were received and placed upon the ship of Galfrid Brantyngham before sailing via the Humber to Berwick. This same road was part of the shortest route from Lincoln to York and was also used by the bailiffs of Garthorp in 1301. The nine sheep and ox carcasses which they were commissioned to provide for the King's Parliament in Lincoln travelled by ferry across the Trent and then proceeded by land to Lincoln.¹¹

The picture which emerges of fourteenth century grain transport in the North and West Ridings of Lindsey is one of interesting contrasts. Barton clearly emerges as the chief northern outpost with subsidiary ports at Burton Stather, North Coates and possibly Saltfleet. While Grimsby was certainly a major port in its own right at this time, it was only a collection point for grain which subsequently travelled to Barton via the Humber. Transport, while unspecified in some cases, was by both water and land with heavier reliance upon the latter. A totally different picture emerges in the southern half of the county where Boston was the only collection centre for grain.

The complex arrangement of grain carriage to Boston reflects the peculiar transport problems of the Fenland and is exhibited in

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- 10) The route traversed by the carts going to Burton^{upon}/Stather was undoubtedly part of the same route travelled by Robert of Nottingham in the winter of 1324-5 when he was sent to superintend wheat purveyance in Gascony for Lincolnshire. F.M. Stenton 'The Road System of Medieval England', Economic History Review 3 (1936), p.13; M.W. Barley, 'Lincolnshire Rivers in the Middle Ages' Lincolnshire Archaeological and Architectural Society Reports and Papers 1 (1938), p.9. Bishop Norton was also listed in the itinerary of Edward I on his way to Lincoln in 1301. Itinerary Part 2, p.156.
- 11) E101/568/4; A ferry existed at Burton Stather at least as early as this period. Barley, 'Lincolnshire Rivers', p.7 citing Calendar of Inquisitions 7:466.

all areas of the port's hinterland. Devoid of access to Boston by river, the northern Fen-edge's main approach lay along a series of causeways or dykes which linked the Lincolnshire Wolds with the south. This chain of causeways and others in Holland were a familiar part of the Fenland transport system. The basis of this road was a twenty foot high gravel ridge which served as the divide between the East and West Fens. It consisted of three sections -- Long Causeway, Hilldyke Causeway and Northdyke Causeway -- which were joined at occasional drops in the ridge by two islands and a southward pointing spine. The southernmost island was Sibsey with Northdyke Bridge to its north. This is followed by the isle of Stickney with Bar Green Bridge. The final link is Stickford which connects the road to the high land of the Lincolnshire Wolds and East and West Keal.¹² When Ralph de Ry oversaw grain purveyance in South Lindsey in 1336, the 60 quarters purchased from John Pelleston of Boston in Ashby, Toynton and Horncastle travelled this same route along with the 17 quarters of grain from the prior of Bridlington at Baumber and the 23 quarters from William Odeson at Belchford (Figure 2). Joint carriage costs for the grain purveyed from the abbeys of Revesby and Kirkstead in 1311 precludes carriage along the same route (Figure 1). When this vital link is taken into consideration, it is little wonder that the grain from South Riding came from a cluster of towns in close proximity to it.

The journey of Kesteven grain to Boston provides the most interest-

12) H.E. Hallam, Settlement and Society (1965), p.93; This important roadway no doubt formed part of the road between Boston and Barton which is illustrated on the Gough Map and was also part of the causeway which branched off towards Wainfleet. H.C. Darby, The Medieval Fenland (1940), p.115. It also formed part of the journey for wool belonging to the Cistercian house at Louth which travelled by road from Louth Park to Boston in 1275. CPR 1272-79, p.321. The perils of journeying ^{via} ~~via~~ this causeway which appears to have been in a serious state of disrepair are evidenced by reference in 1271 to two men carrying a corpse from Stickney to Sibsey for burial in the churchyard there. The body was drowned en route. Hallam, Settlement 93; Sir William Dugdale, Imbanking and Drayning William Cole's edition (London, 1772), p.20; Pishey Thompson, op.cit., (1856), p.40. In 1292, Edward I would have travelled via this road from Bolinbroke to Boston. Itinerary Part 2, p.23.

ing example of travel across the fens. Unlike Lindsey, grain shipment in Kesteven involved intermediary collection points which were situated in the fenland area with access to a river or body of water. Here one is immediately aware of the unique geographical situation of the fens and the effect which this had upon transport in the area to Boston. When the bailiffs assigned to purvey grain in the riding of Kesteven in both 1311 and 1336 transported it to Boston, three specific collection points emerge to which it was taken by cart and from whence it was shipped -- Holmylme, St. Saviour's Bridge and Catebridge. Holmylme is taken to refer to the Kyme Eau, a waterway running through the manor of Kyme, represented by South Kyme on the map, between Dog Dyke and Brent Fen and connecting with the Witham.¹³ It served as the collection point for grain coming from the Gilbertine priories of Sempringham and Haverholme in 1311 (Figure 1) and from the towns of Navenby, Kirkby, and Grantham in the reign of Edward III (Figure 2). In 1311, Sleaford was the common collection point for the grain coming from Haverholme and Sempringham and a further 60 quarters was purveyed in the town itself before it proceeded to Boston (Figure 1). In this account and the one for 1336, however, even though the actual collection points differ, it is certain that the routes taken

13) In a presentment of 1375, Holmylme is described as 'very suitable for ships and boats' over which travelled 'merchandise coming in boats from Boston to Kesteven'. Tolls had been illegally levied on this merchandise from 1363 to the time of the complaint. Flower, Medieval Law 2:295-7. The prior of Haverholme is held responsible for the maintenance of its banks by neglecting to repair the south side of the water between Happeltrenesse and Kyme. The River Slea which formed part of the link with Kyme Eau is also mentioned in a presentment against the prior of Haverholme who is charged with providing a boat to carry 'footfolk' across it. The river is described as 'the public passage for all the King's liege people from Kesteven to the River Witham'. Dugdale, Imbanking, pp.200-1.

by both would have proceeded along the same waterways — thus pointing to Kyme Eau as the most northerly of the three important fenland approaches to Boston.

The second approach for grain travelling from Kesteven was used by the 100 quarters of grain from Lenton, Osgotby and Irnham which arrived at St. Saviour's Bridge or Bridge End.¹⁴ This was undoubtedly the best known of the Lincolnshire causeways and numerous references concerning its maintenance are extant.¹⁵ The fact that so many have survived seems more than chance and can only prove the point that this road played a primary role in medieval transport in Lincolnshire. The importance

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- 14) The causeway is first mentioned in circa 1199 when Godwin the rich bound the canons of St. Saviour's Priory at Bridge End in Horbling to repair the fens called Holland Bridge and the bridges over it. Responsibility for maintenance extended to the newdyke called 'le Innome' at Donington. From here another causeway swerved north to Bicker and continued to Sutterton and Skirbeck on the outskirts of Boston. Hill, Medieval Lincoln, p.393; Dugdale, Imbanking, p.224; VCH Lincolnshire 2:198; Darby, Medieval Fenland, p.116. That Holland Bridge was an impressive structure there can be little doubt. In one of its two sections it contained no less than 30 bridges, eight feet high and 10 feet wide. Flower, Medieval Law 1:308; Thompson, op.cit., p.40.
- 15) In 1295 an inquisition was held at Gosberton to determine who ought to repair and maintain the causeway and bridges at Bridge End. It was noted that there were many defects in the causeway involving the destruction of bridges which had been carried away on either side of it. Both the landholders in Donington and the prior of St. Saviour's were held responsible. Darby, Medieval Fenland, p.116; Dugdale Imbanking, p.224. Pontage was granted in 1301 for 5 years and in 1307 for a further 7. In 1320 a further grant was made for 3 years to cover the cost of repairs and 5 years later mention is made of 10 bridges which were in a state of disrepair 'to the damage of the whole country'. Dugdale, Imbanking, p.202; VCH Lincolnshire 2:198. A grant to St. Saviour's Priory in 1329 for 2 years specifies that tolls may be charged on wool, lead, swine, wethers and men, horses, and carts carrying merchandise to Boston and elsewhere. CPR 1292-1301, p.576, Ibid., 1301-1307, p.493; Ibid 1317-21, p.514; Ibid. 1327-30, p.460. In 1331, 13 of the bridges in the causeway were presented to be out of repair and 4 years later it was described as being in a dangerous state. The following year the prior of St. Saviour's was accused of misappropriating pontage designated for its maintenance and repair. Darby Medieval Fenland, p.116 citing Dugdale Imbanking, p.224; CPR 1334-38, pp.208, 285.

which Holland Bridge played in the carriage of grain is graphically illustrated in the sheriffs accounts of the period. Besides the previous reference to transport in 1336, 104 quarters of malt and oats travelled from Grantham to Bridge End in 1311 before travelling by water to Boston (Figure 1).¹⁶ In 1301, 24 quarters of grain travelled from Rippingale to Bridge End before proceeding by water to Lincoln (Figure 3).¹⁷ What is difficult to ascertain is the carriage route by water from Holland Bridge to which the sheriffs accounts of 1301 and 1336 refer. It seems most likely that carriage by land along the causeway proceeded past Holland Bridge to Donington and Bicker from whence the journey was completed via the Wash and the Witham to Boston. Bicker Haven was also the port of shipment for the 100 quarters of grain purchased at Gosberton (Figure 1).¹⁸ The only other alternative is that the merchandise travelled on the new Fendyke or Old Hammond Beck in a north easterly course to the port. While the route of Holland Bridge to Boston is not clear, carriage along Kesteven's third link with the coast involved river transport the entire journey.

In the southern part of Kesteven ^{access} ~~across~~ to Boston and the Wash were considerably facilitated by the extensive waterway system of the Lincolnshire Fenland. One of the rivers serving this area, the Glen, provided a convenient collection point for Kesteven grain —

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- 16) Since the means of grain transport from Grantham to Boston is not stated, the most likely route has been chosen. The account for 1311 specifically mentions Sleaford as the collection point of grain from Haverholme and Sleaford, but fails to include Grantham. For this reason, the route along the saltway leading to Holland Bridge and the Wash has been designated on the map.
- 17) That the causeway was a such frequented collection point for grain is more clearly shown by a 1298 reference to a receiver of corn in the nearby vil of Horbling. Thompson, Lincolnshire Assize Roll, p.1x.
- 18) In 1316, the channel between Quadring and Gosberton and then to the sea was to be cleared and made 24 feet wide. Dugdale, Imbanking, pp.199-200.

Catebridge. In both 1311 and 1336, the route utilised by grain coming from the wapentake of Ness was overland to Catebridge at which point the journey was continued by water — via the River Glen, the Wash and the Witham (Figures 1 and 2). Like Holland Bridge, this was also the site of a monastery charged with the maintenance of the dyke or causeway situated there. Grain travelling from Stamford in both years and from Wilsthorp and Baston in 1311 and Carlby in 1336 were using the Glen at Catebridge (Figures 1 and 2). In a presentment of 1349, reference is made to a marsh dyke from Catebridge to Baston and this would be the short overland route which the 50 quarters of grain from both Wilsthorp and Baston would have travelled (Figure 1).¹⁹ Thus, through one of the numerous rivers which flow through the Fens and into the Wash, southern Kesteven was provided with a valuable waterway link to the sea and to Boston. Other rivers of the same system were to make their own contributions.

Transport of grain purveyed in Holland involved carriage on one of the most frequently travelled waterways in the Fenland — the River Welland which was the main, if not the only, means of transport for the abbeys of Spalding and Crowland in the fourteenth century. Animal carcasses and grain travelling from the two monasteries to the 1301 Parliament in Lincoln made their way to the Lincolnshire inland capital along its waters (Figures 3 and 5). In 1311, 290 quarters of mixed grain, oats, beans, peas and malt from the two abbeys and the town of Spalding travelled the same route (Figure 1), as did the 500 quarters from Crowland

19) The Glen also carried 700 quarters of grain purchased from John Gobande in Cheal and other references exist for carriage via this important Fenland river. In 1275, the Cistercian house of Vaudey sent wool by cart and by water to Boston.
R.A. Donkin, 'The Disposal of Cistercian Wool in England and Wales during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' Citeaux in de Nederlanden viii (1957), p.129.

in 1336 (Figure 2). In the same year, the prior of Spalding provided 500 quarters of grain from his grange at Sutton besides that which he had sent from Alkborough to Barton-upon-Humber. Its carriage is specified as coming by land and by water to Boston. The route involved overland transport along the Hergate to Spalding to await shipment from the prior's own pier on the Welland.²⁰ The 300 quarters purchased from Nicholas Denecrose at Fleet in the same year would most likely have taken the same route.²¹

Waterways were not the only means of carriage to Boston, however. Entire journeys were made along the many causeways which criss-crossed the marshland, providing dry, if somewhat perilous approaches to the port. In 1336, 660 quarters of grain including barley, dredge, beans and peas purveyed from the manor at Algarkirk travelled the five miles to Boston via the causeway which links up with Holland Bridge. In the same year, 10 quarters of grain from Swineshead abbey travelled via the New Dyke of Old Hammond Beck causeway (Figure 2).²²

The 1311 sheriffs account for Lincolnshire provides another link in the traffic network of Boston — its close association with Lincoln and the role which was played by the River Witham in providing a vital means of communication between the two. Like Sleaford, Bridge End and

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- 20) In 1312 reference is made to the purchase of 200 quarters of peas and beans at Sutton and carriage of the same in 30 carts with 3 horses each to the water of Spalding. The journey took one day and the distance is given as 12 leagues. From there the journey was continued with 100 quarters of grain purchased in the Spalding market by ship to Boston. E101/568/31.
- 21) In 1337, the abbot of Crowland was asked to make a causeway between Crowland and Brotherhouse on the way to Spalding. He was later to reply that there was no King's road between the 2 towns except by the River Welland. CPR 1334-38 449; Flower, Medieval Law 1:130-11; VCH Lincolnshire 2:111. As M.W. Barley has stated, 'It is seldom that the priority of the river is so clearly shown.' Barley, 'Lincolnshire Rivers', p.21.
- 22) In 1312, 20 quarters of salt bought at Bicker were transported in a cart with four horses to Boston. The journey was 5 leagues and took one day. E101/568/31. This substantiates the view that grain travelled overland from Algarkirk and Swinshead.

Catebridge, Lincoln also served as a secondary collection point for grain in its immediate vicinity, when provisions were going to Berwick. A total of 38 quarters of grain and 41 quarters of malt from the religious house at Barlinges, Tupholme and Bullington travelled to Lincoln where they joined the grain and salt of St. Catherine's before proceeding down the Witham to Boston (Figure 1). The following year reference is made to the carriage of 100 quarters of grain, 300 quarters of malt, and 20 quarters of beans and peas with 20 quarters of salt coming from Lincoln, Spalding and other diverse places to Boston.²³ Transport was down the Witham in a small boat. Numerous references abound giving evidence of communication up and down its banks between the port and inland capital.²⁴

Communication was not always by water between Lincoln and Boston, however, for in 1303-1304 we have a reference to the carriage of quarrels, crossbows and arrows for Stirling travelling between the two towns by cart. The goods were bundled by two men and placed in three baskets covered with strewing straw and secured with canvas and ropes. Their journey was made in a cart with iron tires, caretta ferrata, drawn by two horses and in the custody of two men. From Boston they were shipped to Berwick where they completed the journey to Stirling by cart.²⁵ It is difficult to ascertain

23) E101/568/31.

24) In 1312, 300 quarters of malt travelled via the Witham from Lincoln to Boston. E101/568/31. In 1319, the younger scholars of King's Hall, Cambridge, on their journey to spend Christmas with the King in York travelled in a great boat up the Witham from Boston to Lincoln -- a journey which took two days. Stenton, 'Road System', p.20. Several years later the King and his court travelled between the two in 37 barges and boats and about the same time wine for the Bishop's palace was carried by boat up its streams. J.F. Willard, 'Inland Transport in England during the Fourteenth Century' Speculum (1933) 1:372; CPR 1327-30 349; Eleanor Carus-Wilson, 'The Medieval Trade of the Ports of the Wash', p.190. In 1301, when Parliament convened in Lincoln, 20 pigs were driven through the street of Boston to its quays, tied together and placed upon a barge travelling to Lincoln. E101/568/4.

25) E101/568/19.

the overland route by which they would have travelled. Semingly an upland route through Wragby, proceeding south-east to Horncastle and the chain of causeways linking the Wolds with Boston would have been used. While the Gough Map indicates a road between Lincoln and Boston, its exact location is not given. The fact that Lincoln and Stanbow Lanes, reminiscent of their counterparts in Lincoln, were situated on the western side of the Witham, directly opposite to the main commercial region of the town on the eastern side, precludes a route up the western side of the Witham. It could possibly have veered as far to the west as Sleaford, thus joining with that town's road to Lincoln. But whatever the exact route, via the Witham or a series of causeways, and whatever the precise means of transport, be it pack-horse, cart or barge, communication between Lincoln and Boston was of vital importance to the commercial well-being of both towns.

Perhaps the document which provides us with the fullest account of medieval transport in Lincolnshire is the sheriffs account of 1301.²⁶ This valuable account sets out in full a listing of various places in the county which provided victuals for the King's Parliament summoned to meet in Lincoln for January of that year. The information which it provides enables us to draw a fairly complete picture of carriage to Lincoln and to compare our findings with those for Boston in the sheriffs accounts for 1311.

When Hugo de Bussey was commissioned to purvey grain and animals for the King's Parliament in 1301, no part of the county was left untouched in an effort to meet the victual allocation which had been designated. The very comprehensiveness of this prise enables us to chart those routes in each historic division of the county which led to its inland capital.

26) E101/568/1; Table 1.

While the exact means of transport are not always specified and the towns from which grain was purveyed in the North Riding of Lindsey are not given, one is still left with an overall impression of numerous routes to Lincoln from all areas of the county.

Means of carriage in the West Riding of Lindsey, although not designated in the sheriffs account, are fairly straightforward and present few problems. The bailiff of the area purveyed victuals from towns situated on three roads proceeding to Lincoln in a north-south direction, all roughly parallel to the Roman road — Ermine Street. The extreme western route linking a series of small towns in the lowlands was taken by Gainsborough with $2\frac{1}{2}$ carcasses and 16 quarters of grain, by Ingleby with 20 quarters, and by Laughton with 3 live oxen and 20 live sheep (Figures 3, 4 and 5).²⁷ Grain from Winterton, Coates and Scampton grange proceeded along a winding road running on the western edge of the limestone escarpment north of Lincoln (Figure 3). This was part of the road linking Barton and Lincoln before it veered west towards Brigg and then north to the Humber. Part of the same route was followed by the 9 sheep and oxen carcasses from Garthorp (Figure 5). On the eastern side of Ermine Street, the third north-south route to Lincoln was taken by Dunholme and Glentham, providing 13 quarters of grain and 31 carcasses respectively (Figures 3 and 5). The route taken by grain purveyed in the wapentakes of Aslaoe and Corringham is more difficult to ascertain because its origin is not designated in the account. A distance of 10 miles or leagues is given between the town and Lincoln, however, which narrows the choice to

27) Transport of all live animals to Lincoln is indicated by the term fugat or fugacone with the exception of 20 pigs from Boston, which came per nave. This is taken to imply overland transport and in many cases, the account states the number of men who drove the animals to Lincoln.

either Glentworth or Normanby, both situated on either side of the limestone escarpment. Evidence of a road between Torksey and Lincoln is substantiated by reference to expenses for 1 man driving 6 pigs to Lincoln (Figure 4). While the Foss Dyke was still navigable at this time, references do exist for carriage by land as well as by water.²⁸

The problems which one encounters in carriage routes from the West Riding of Lindsey are unfortunately magnified in the North Riding. When the bailiff presented his writs of expenditure for grain carriage in this area of the county, he did not specify the means of transport or the towns from which the grain was purveyed. While this makes the task of assessing carriage facilities to Lincoln difficult, it is not impossible if one takes into account the distances which are provided in conjunction with the routes taken for driving cattle and sheep to the capital. By selecting towns within each wapentake which are the exact mileage to Lincoln given in the sheriffs account, one can obtain a fair estimate of the available medieval routes in North Riding, if not the identities of the towns themselves. The towns which have been

28) From 1299 onwards the prior of Durham transported cloth from Boston via the Witham to Lincoln where the journey to Torksey continued by cart. Hill, Medieval Lincoln, p.311 citing Durham Account Rolls (Surtees Society) 2:495-6, 512, 532. In 1319, however, the Cambridge scholars journeying to York travelled between the two towns in two boats. Stenton, 'Road System', p.20. The Hundred Rolls refer to illegal tolls collected by Robert of Donham on ships passing from Lincoln to Dunham via the Foss Dyke. Hil, Medieval Lincoln, p.311; Rotuli Hundredorum 1:320a. In one year receipts totalled enough for 160 ships which suggests a fairly substantial amount of traffic on this waterway, especially in light of complaints of obstructions along its banks. CPR 1334-38, pp.48, 203. Exchequer migrations to York included overland passage through Lincolnshire via the road from Stamford to Grantham where the journey continued to Lincoln and Torksey by land before it was completed via the Trent. Dorothy Broome, 'Exchequer Migrations to York in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', Essays in Medieval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout (1925), p.295.

selected are underlined in Table 1.

Carriage routes in north Lindsey involved utilisation of the roadway connecting Lincoln and Barton and a series of roads across the Lincolnshire Wolds. The road pictured on the contemporary Gough Map between Lincoln and Barton was taken by two men driving 8 pigs to Lincoln (Figure 4). Barton is also designated as the origin of 20 quarters of grain which were sent from the wapentake of Yardborough (Figure 3). To the east, another medieval trackway served as the route bringing 6 pigs to Lincoln from Owersby (Figure 4). The Lincolnshire Wolds were traversed at various points — by carts laden with $14\frac{1}{2}$ oxen and sheep carcasses and by 2 men driving 8 pigs from Grimsby heading through Caistor where $60\frac{1}{2}$ carcasses from that town and Limbergh followed the same route southward (Figures 4 and 5). One hundred and 11 quarters of grain from Middle Rasen, representing the major part of Walshcroft's contribution, also travelled to Lincoln via this route (Figure 3). Another route across the Lincolnshire Wolds is designated by grain carriage from East Ravendale and Binbrook, representing Haverstoe and Walshcroft respectively, and grain from Ludborough in the wapentake of the same name could also have crossed the Wolds along this way (Figure 3). While the routes can never be more than hypothetical, an overall idea of transport facilities emerges from the small amount of evidence which we do possess.

The South Riding provides further examples of transport over the Lincolnshire Wolds and in this case the origin of the grain and means of transport are stated. Louth, an important centre of purveyance, provided 38 carcasses, 29 quarters of grain, and 9 live pigs which made their way to Lincoln on the same route as 40 carcasses from Barkwith and $34\frac{1}{2}$ quarters of grain from Hainston (Figures 3, 4 and 5). A heavily travelled route at the base of the Wolds conveyed grain from Bolingbroke in 7 carts, from Hatton, and from the wapentake of Hill, represented by Ashby (Figure 3). On this same road cattle and sheep were driven from Edlington,

Horncastle, Sloothby and Wainfleet (Figure 4). For the first time in Lindsey, reference is made to transport by water — via the Witham. Twenty quarters of grain came from Ulceby and Braytoft to Wainfleet where it was shipped with grain from the wapentakes of Calcewath, Gartree and Candleshoe (Figure 3). Unfortunately, the towns in which the prise was taken are not specified and it is impossible to judge their identity because the distances given in the account only refer to the journey from Wainfleet via the Wash and the Witham to Lincoln. It would appear from this account, however, that Wainfleet was a valuable collection point for grain on the eastern side of the Wolds from both Candleshoe and Calcewath and even from as far afield as Gartree. Grain and carcasses from this last named wapentake were also shipped via the Witham from Stixwold situated on one of its tributaries (Figures 3 and 5). In both cases the victuals came overland from Edlington situated at the very base of the Wolds.

The wapentake which provides the fullest account of transport is Kesteven in which carriage was almost entirely by road, despite the proximity of some towns to the Witham. In a case similar to the West Riding of Lindsey, the roads available were roughly parallel to Ermine Street. One located between the Foss Way and Ermine Street carried the 41 quarters of grain from Claypole, Fenton, and Basingham (Figure 3).²⁹ A much travelled route was the road between Grantham and Lincoln situated on the edge of the southern Lincolnshire escarpment. Along this, grain from Welbourn and Grantham as well as carcasses and live animals from the latter journeyed to Lincoln (Figure 3).³⁰ Further south, grain came

29) To the east of this a road existed between Brant Broughton and Lincoln which could have been another possible route. Flower, Medieval Law 1:262.

30) In 1292, Edward I spent the last few days of August at Grantham after journeying from Lincoln and in 1299 reference is made to his travels from Lincoln to Navenby to Grantham. Itinerary Part 2, pp.12, 132.

from Colsterworth and Witham, here designated at North Witham, travelled through Grantham and on to Lincoln (Figure 3). To the east of Ermine Street, a road linking Sleaford and Lincoln on the Gough Map was the route of grain and animals from the eastern wapentakes of Kesteven (Figures 3 and 4).³¹ That a road existed south of Sleaford to Stamford thus joining the far reaches of Kesteven with the inland capital is evident by the towns in which purveyance was made — grain, carcasses and live animals from Stamford, Bourne, Screddington, Hale, Sleaford, Rauceby and Brauncewell all came along the road indicated on the Gough Map, which now appears to have continued south to Stamford (Figures 3, 4 and 5).³² While Bridge End and Rippingale are located on a road to the east of this, it is interesting to note that 24 quarters of grain from Rippingale did not journey overland directly to Lincoln, but proceeded first to Bridge End where the journey was completed by water (Figure 3). Once again this testifies to this town's importance as a grain collection centre.

Unlike Kesteven, transport in Holland, the last of the Lincolnshire historic divisions to be discussed, relied entirely on water. Twenty pigs from Boston were conveyed via the Witham, while 200 carcasses from Spalding and Crowland and 343 quarters of grain from the former travelled via the River Welland (Figures 3 and 5). Since grain carriage from Sutton is designated solely by water, the route chosen is via the River Nene, pointing to another possibility of river transport in Holland for the extreme

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- 31) Reference to a common road between Lincoln and Canwick in 1375 and Lincoln and Branston is further evidence of the existence of this medieval route between Lincoln and Sleaford. Flower, Medieval Law 1:276.
- 32) Southwest of Stamford by several miles is Easton. In 1299, Edward I travelled from here to Grantham, most likely through Stamford. Itinerary Part 2 1976. Robert Grossteste, bishop of Lincoln in the first half of the thirteenth century, preferred to travel by way of Sleaford rather than travelling on the old Roman ridge route to the west when journeying between Lincoln and Stamford. B.P.Hindle, A Geographical Synthesis of the Road Network of Medieval England and Wales (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Salford 1973), p.96. This latter piece of evidence supports the route which is indicated on Figure 2.

southern part of Ellos.

During the first month when Parliament met in Lincoln, Edward I was the guest of Bishop John Dalderby at his manor house at Nettleham north-east of the capital.³² Grain diverted here from various granges in the county in order to feed the King provide further evidence of carriage routes in Lincolnshire. In the West Riding of Lindsey, four granges in Corringham sent grain to Lincoln via the road on the western edge of the north Lincolnshire limestone escarpment — Loughton, Scotton, Northorp and Whaytebergh.³³ The same route was taken by that coming from the grange at Roxby in the north. In Kesteven, Swinderby provided 2 quarters of grain travelling on the Foss Way³⁴ and Caythorp sent 14 quarters via the Lincoln to Grantham road (Figure 6).³⁵

One glance at the evidence which has been provided in the 1301 sheriffs account testifies to the immense importance of Lincoln's geographical position in the county and the advantages which accrued to it. By comparing this account with the evidence from the two later accounts of grain purveyance for Scotland, one is immediately aware of the differences in transport to Lincoln and to Boston. The sheriffs accounts of 1311 and 1336 have provided us with an idea of what grain carriage to Boston

32) Hill, Medieval Lincoln, p.239; VCH Lincolnshire 2:263.

33) I have been unable to locate Whaytebergh or any reference to it. Mention is made in 1323 of the manor of Waithe 6 miles north of Horncastle which was the stopping point for the cattle of William de Percehay travelling from Sutton (Holland) to Tadcaster (Yorkshire), but this is too distant from the other 3 granges to warrant serious consideration. Stenton 'Road System', p.18 citing E101/374/2.

34) Swinderby is mentioned in 1345 when the prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England was allowed to found anew a chapel and build a town in a place called Swinderby Moor at his manor of Eagle. This was to stop felonies and robberies on the Foss Way between Newark and Lincoln. Hill, Medieval Lincoln, p.306.

35) In 1301, Edward I journeyed from Lincoln via Waddington to Caythorpe and Grantham after the conclusion of Parliament in Lincoln. Travel most likely would have been along the route illustrated.

entailed — overland carriage to a few, well-known collection points and reliance upon a wealth of rivers to traverse the Fenland marsh. Difficulty in travelling to the port obviously affected the selection of towns from which purveyance was made. Supplies were drawn from those areas which were closest at hand in order to avoid delay in grain shipment to the north. Carriage to Lincoln, on the other hand, involved heavier reliance upon a network of local roads linking it with all parts of the county. Lincoln's central position in the county and its greater accessibility enabled the sheriff to draw upon the supplies of a wider hinterland. The sheriff's accounts are testimony to Lincoln's geographical suitability as the mecca for Lincolnshire trade. All roads truly did lead to Lincoln and all rivers to Boston.

2. Hull

The paramount position which Kingston-upon-Hull occupied as the main collection centre for victuals purveyed in Yorkshire rested upon a vast network of rivers which ran through the county. Into the Humber drain numerous rivers linking the port with its hinterland as well as a considerable section of the county. The Rivers Don and Idle serve the southernmost part of Yorkshire, providing access to the Humber and the Trent respectively. The Hull serves East Riding, conveying goods to its namesake situated at its mouth. By far the most important commercial link between Hull and its hinterland is the Ouse with its many navigable tributaries. In the extreme north of the county, merchandise from Yorkshire's North Riding is carried to the sea and beyond by the River Tees.

That Yorkshire also possessed an abundance of roads is evident from the Gough Map which illustrated six roads in the county which linked

various areas with one another.³⁶ Five connect York with towns of lesser importance in the environs — Leeming and Helperby, Malton and Pickering, Pocklington and Market Weighton, Howden and Beverley. The sixth runs from Beverley along the coast to Bridlington, Scarborough and Whitby before turning westward to Guisborough. While Kingston-upon-Hull is not linked by road to any Yorkshire towns on the Gough Map, their existence is evident from references to repair and maintenance.³⁷ More importantly, however, in the embryonic stages of Hull's development under the aegis of Edward I, a commission was established to set out roads leading to the port. The building of three separate roads was the result — one leading directly to Beverley, a second with the same destination taking a circuitous route through Anlaby and Hessle, and a third into Holderness.³⁸ Besides references to other local thoroughfares throughout the county, important roads were present linking Yorkshire with the rest of the country. Doncaster lay on the main road to the north running through Pontefract, Sherburn and Tadcaster to York, as well as on the main road to the north-east via Kirkby Londale.³⁹ The presence of so many overland routes in a county blessed with such a wealth of rivers is indeed striking.

The picture which emerges from an investigation of the sheriffs accounts for Yorkshire during the first half of the fourteenth century points to wide use of the county's natural and man-made resources in conveying grain to the ports. Three separate accounts during the reigns of Edward I and II provide evidence of the medieval traffic

36) Parsons, op.cit.

37) Flower, Medieval Law 2:xxii, 314; VCH Yorkshire East Riding 2:55.

38) Charles Frost, op.cit., pp.62-67.

39) William de Percehay's cattle drive to Tadcaster in Yorkshire involved travel along roads linking it with Littleborough, Bawtry, Doncaster and Ferrybridge. Stenton, 'Road System', p.17 citing E101/379/2.

patterns in Yorkshire during this period. The first involves purveyance of various types of grain within the county by John de Byron in 1298 and its carriage to Hull before shipment overseas to Scotland (Table 4).⁴⁰ In 1301, Yorkshire was again called upon to provide victuals for the King's troops in Scotland with shipment from various ports (Table 5),⁴¹ and eight years later a third account records the movement of grain to Hull for shipment to Berwick (Table 6).⁴² Without fail, all point to the importance of Hull as the port of shipment for its hinterland.

The sheriffs accounts for the period illustrate the valuable water links which Hull and its inland capital possessed with the West Riding of Yorkshire, a vast area including the marshy land of the isle of Axholme and the high ground along its entire western border. These included the Rivers Don and Idle, both of which were utilised for grain and wool carriage. In 1298, 28 quarters of malt and 86 quarters of grain from Doncaster and Bawtry, situated on the Idle, were transported to Hull for shipment to Berwick (Figure 7). A single charge for carriage and the fact that the grain was in the custody of one man implies overland carriage to one of the two towns and joint transport along one of the two above-named rivers.⁴³ Examples of carriage along both waterways in later sheriffs accounts point to a reliance upon both. The sheriffs account for 1345-6 specifies conveyance of grain from Doncaster to Hull via the River Don and in 1340, wool from Bawtry was transported along the Idle and the Trent to the same port via the Humber.⁴⁴ Further references to travel along the Don in other documents are also available, illustrating heavy reliance upon these waterways in the southern portion of the West Riding of the country.⁴⁵

40) E101/597/3.

41) E101/597/5.

42) E101/597/17.

43) Since evidence exists for carriage on both the Don and the Idle during this period, it is impossible to judge which route would have been taken.

Figure 1 represents carriage along the Don.

44) R.A. Pelham, 'Fourteenth Century England', p.264, figure 47.

45) The fabric rolls for York minster mention carriage by ship from Doncaster to York of 40 fother of stone purchased from John Wyrsope. The Fabric Rolls of York Minster Surtees Society 35 (1858), p.34.

to the immense importance of the River Ouse and its tributaries in linking the West Riding of Yorkshire with Hull and the Humber. Various towns acting as centres of grain collection used its waters to supply victuals for the King's troops. Pre-eminent among all of these was the county's inland capital and a port in its own right.

While periodically suffering from obstructions on the Ouse⁴⁹ York still continued to act as a valuable collection centre and entrepot for victuals travelling to Kingston-upon-Hull. In 1298, 55 quarters of malt travelled by water to Hull — a journey of 3 days (Figure 7) and in 1305 grain from the wapentake of Ainsty travelled there by cart and horse. In 1309, 40 quarters of grain from Sherburn in Elmet travelled overland to York along the main north road⁵⁰ as did the 30 quarters from Lilling (Figure 9). At York, the grain was ground into flour and placed in barrels lined with canvas and salt. The final 7 tuns and 20 pipes were then transported in a great ship to Hull where they were transferred to a vessel belonging to Matthew de Wyneton for carriage to Berwick. All these examples point to the valuable role played by Yorkshire's capital and the extent to which its sheriffs relied upon it for the storage and conveyance of victuals to Scotland.

49) In the reign of Edward I and later, weirs had been set up at various intervals along the river. At the end of the century, Drax Abbey had positioned a fishgarth across the Ouse to the damage of all travelling from Hull to York. In 1348, nets were set across the Ouse near Selby to the danger of passing ships and in the same year it is stated that the course of the Ouse is to be 40 feet wide so that all ships passing between York and the Humber shall have a direct course. At that time, their movement was impeded by piles, nets, and other engines. Flower, Medieval Law 1:252-3, 267, 283-4. In 1339, it was intimated that great ships could not reach York if the water in the Ouse was low and were forced to unload their merchandise at Selby. Willard, 'Inland Transport', p.373; CPR 1338-40, p.393.

50) This road is illustrated in the figure showing the route taken by the Exchequer in its relocation to York in 1322. D. Broome, 'Exchequer Migrations', p.295.

Hull's advantageous water links also extended to the East Riding of ^{Yorkshire} Hull, comprising the high land of the Yorkshire Wolds and a long coastal flatland. The River Hull was one of the most frequented waterways and numerous references to the conveyance of grain via its waters are extant in the sheriffs accounts. It was tidal as far as Beverley and navigable at least as far as Wansford. When John de Byron, sheriff for Yorkshire, was commissioned to purvey grain (Figure 7) no less than nine of the fourteen entries which appear in his expense account refer to collection points situated on the Hull. Five of these none involved Beverley. Two hundred quarters of grain was milled into flour and placed in 24 barrels for shipment to the mouth of the Humber as was 188 quarters of malt. In the same account, 30 quarters of peas and 14 tuns of ale also made the journey in small boats to Hull. That Beverley was also an important collection centre for grain coming from various parts of the riding is shown by numerous examples.⁵¹ The malt which was ground into flour in 1298 came from diverse places in Yorkshire and in the same account 35 quarters from the nearby towns of Burton⁵² and Walkington travelled overland before shipment on the River Hull. Three years later, grain from Burton and Skitby⁵³ travelled the short distance to Beverley where it was stored in the King's granary before shipment in small boats (Figure 8). Towards the end of Edward I's reign a total of 236 quarters of grain came by cart from the wapentakes of Dickering, Buckrose and Harthill before proceeding south to Kingston-upon-Hull. It was also an intermediate collection point for grain in 1345-6, as was also Wansford. Wansford

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- 51) It was also the recipient of frequent visitations from Edward I during his reign while travelling through Yorkshire on his way to York and Hull. Itinerary, Part 2:35, 85, 96, 156, 174, 188, 208.
- 52) Bishop's Burton is situated on the road linking Market Weighton with Beverley and was visited by Edward I in 1299. Itinerary, Part 1:146.
- 53) Skitby lay on the road between Hull and Beverley which passed through Anlaby and Hessele.

itself is further proof of the string of secondary collection centres in the county. When grain was purveyed in 1298, two separate references list grain carriage from Kilham⁵⁴ to Wansford - one involving 195 quarters of grain and 93 quarters of oats (Figure 7). The same account also lists a separate shipment of 430 quarters of grain from there to Hull by water. Overland carriage was not always from the immediate hinterland, however, for in 1309 Malton and Pocklington provided 30 quarters and 17 quarters of grain, respectively, transporting it overland to Wansford before shipment south (Figure 9). In both cases, York was the nearer collection point and the Gough Map illustrates roads linking both towns with the city.⁵⁵ Once again, in 1339, 5 ketches transported 146 quarters of grain, beans and peas from Wansford to Kingston-upon-Hull. Leven, the last collection point along the Hull, sent 50 quarters of oats south in 1298. All of these examples demonstrate the dependence of the medieval sheriff upon inland towns as grain collection centres and the vital link which the River Hull played in uniting Hull with its immediate hinterland. Well-situated on a navigable river within close proximity to the major port in Yorkshire, Beverley, Wansford and Leven played an important role in fourteenth century grain purveyance for the King's wars in Scotland.

Hull's only link with East Riding was not the River Hull, however. Holderness, to the east of the port, possessed direct access to the Humber and utilised its extensive coastline on the Humber to transport grain to

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- 54) Situated between the Yorkshire Wolds to the north and west and the southern lowlands, Kilham lies at the junction of two streams which flow into the River Hull. This was the basis of its importance as a medieval market and administrative centre. VCH Yorkshire E.R. 2:147-9.
- 55) The road from York to Malton and Pickering continued north over the Yorkshire moors to Whitby. This road was an ancient salt-way by which salt obtained from evaporation of sea-water was conveyed inland. F.T. Houghton, 'Salt-Ways' Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society 54 (1929-30), p.1. While situated on the River Derwent, it was unable to convey merchandise by water because the river was only navigable as far as Stamford Bridge.

that port. In 1298, 44 quarters of grain and 8 quarters of malt and barley from Patrington and Burstall⁵⁶ were carried by water to Hull (Figure 7). A single amount is listed for carriage from the two towns, precluding overland carriage from Patrington to the lost town where the journey to Hull was completed via the Humber. Another small port also acted as a secondary collection point when in 1339, 40 quarters of grain and malt from diverse parts of Holderness were shipped from Potterfleet which was the name of a stream and possibly a small town on the Humber, now lost.⁵⁷ In 1305, a final port for grain purveyed in Holderness is given. One hundred and 80 quarters travelled from various places to Hedon where carriage to Hull proceeded along the Humber.⁵⁸ This was most likely the means of carriage from the same port to Hull in 1345-6.⁵⁹

Up until this point discussion of transport within Yorkshire has centred almost exclusively upon the vast system of waterways which link the county with Hull. This is for the simple reason that their inherent importance in providing access to the Humber and Hull is so graphically illustrated in the sheriffs accounts. Transport was almost entirely by water, with overland carriage accounting for a fraction of the total. While an extensive road network did exist, in some cases alongside

56) Few references for Burstall survive. A Benedictine priory was situated there which had been founded in 1115 and this same priory owned property in Ravenser. J.R. Boyle, Lost Towns of the Humber (1889), p.56.

57) Very little is known about this site. Boyle mentions it twice, in the first instance referring to the Chronicle of Meaux: 'presentation was made that the villagers of Ottringham, Tharlesthorp, and Frysmersh are bound to repair a certain bridge called Potterbridge, near Potterfleet, between Ottringham and Tharlesthorp, which was defective'. It is again mentioned in 1367: 'Also there is a certain wall of Humber in the village of Ottringham called Menasedike and lies in length from Potterfleet Haven even to Merksnendike...' Boyle, Lost Towns, pp.72-3.

58) E101/597/12.

59) Pelham, 'Fourteenth Century' Historical Geography, p.264, figure 47. Hedon is included as a port with Grimsby and Scarborough in the Hundred Rolls, suffering from illegal tolls taken at Od by the Countess of Albemarle. Rotuli Hundredorum 1:107.

alternative water routes,⁶⁰ it was at best a poor second to carriage via Yorkshire's numerous rivers and streams. In the East and West Ridings of the county overland journeys were fairly short and involved carriage to intermediate collection points. The only journey of any appreciable distance was that travelled by grain coming from Malton and Pocklington to Wansford in 1309 (Table 6). The extensive use of Yorkshire waterways in conveying grain to Hull attests to their prime importance in the commercial life of the county and to the key geographical position which Yorkshire's customs port occupied in the country.

The most important point which clearly emerges from grain transport in Yorkshire at this time is the primacy of Kingston-upon-Hull as the port of shipment to Scotland. In all the accounts with which we have been dealing, Hull was been the mecca of Yorkshire grain destined for the King's Scottish campaigns. It was the natural outlet, main port and trading centre of its region and drew upon a substantial hinterland located along a vast system of waterways flowing into the Humber. No other port in this area drew upon the produce of so much of the country and those which did ship grain at all directly to Scotland, did so on a much smaller scale and from a much more restricted area of the county.

60) For example: transport between Howden and York not only proceeded along the River Ouse, but also upon the King's street which lay between the two towns. Flower, Medieval Law 240. This 18 mile stretch was part of the shortest route between Lincoln and York and was followed by Robert of Nottingham in 1324. Stenton 'Road System' 20. A further example concerns the route taken by William de Percehay's cattle in 1375. They proceeded along the road from Knottingley to Cowick which is roughly parallel to the River Aire, a tributary of the Ouse. Stenton, op.cit., p.17.

Fifteen tuns of flour is Selby's sole contribution to Berwick in these accounts⁶¹ and, surprisingly, there remains no reference to direct shipment from York. This in itself provides us with further evidence of Hull's advantageous location for the collection and transport of goods leaving the country. Yorkshire's customs port was not the only outpost for Yorkshire grain, however. The North Riding of the county possessed its own.

When grain was purveyed in Northern Yorkshire for the King's troops in Scotland two ports of embarkation were assigned -- Scarborough on the coast and Yarm on the River Tees.⁶² In 1301, transport to Scarborough involved collection of 32 quarters and 6 bushels of grain from the wapentakes of Ryedale, Buckrose and Dickering in Malton where the grain journeyed the 16 leagues overland to the coast (Figure 8). A further 31 quarters of grain and 18 quarters of oats from divers places in Buckrose was carried directly to Scarborough as was 36 quarters of grain and 31 quarters of oats from Pickering. Shipment to Berwick was in at least 2 ships -- one belonging to John de Weremew of Newcastle and the other to John Schyrlok of Hull. From this account one comes away with the impression that Malton served as a pivotal collection point for both the northern and southern regions of Yorkshire. Grain was transported from here for direct shipment to Scarborough in the North Riding and in 1298 to Wansford in East Riding, before shipment to Hull. In the same year, Scarborough is again mentioned as the port of embarkation for 404

61) Selby's importance as a collection centre should not be dismissed, however. In 1339 a complaint was raised that great ships could not reach York if the water was low and had to unload at Selby. CPR1338-40, p.393. In 1300-1301, along with Beverley and York, it is mentioned as the collection centre for grain coming from divers parts of the county by land and by water. Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris de Garderobe Society of Antiquaries (1787), p.135.

62) Yarm was the bridging point across the Tees and was a port of some consequence in the late Middle Ages, trading in wine, wool, hides, salt, and corn with Scotland, France and Flander. VCH N.R. 2:320-1. It is also mentioned in 1301 as the only other port of shipment besides Hull shipping grain to Newcastle and Berwick. Liber Contrarotulatoris 135.

quarters of corn travelling overland from the wapentake of Pickering. All of these references to shipment through Scarborough establish it as an important outpost for grain in the North Riding.⁶³

In the extreme north of the Riding, grain had another outlet to Scotland via the River Tees. Here, in 1301, grain from the wapentakes of Gilling, Allerton and Langbargh was received and shipped to the north (Figure 8). Numerous small towns are listed which provided quantities of grain commensurate with their size. Unfortunately, the particular membrane dealing with their contributions is badly water-stained so that a complete list of the towns which provided grain for Scotland and their amounts cannot be given. Still, a fairly substantial list is available. The number of ships carrying grain from these towns once it had arrived in Yarm appears to have been quite considerable, certainly more than any other port in the county at this time. While this part of the account is also damaged, it is still possible to note the freighting of at least 4 ships in Yarm and one in Coatham at the mouth of the Tees. They belonged to merchants in Scarborough and even Birmingham. While carriage of this grain to Yarm is not specified, the small amounts involved predicate carriage by cart or pack-horse. This account of grain carriage in the most northerly part of the county provides us with our only example of the type of purveyance which was initiated in the individual counties at this time. Past accounts by other hundred bailiffs list collection centres throughout the county to which grain was carried from the various wapentakes, but this is the only account so far which lists the individual towns from within each

63) During the fourteenth century, Scarborough was designated as one of the ports in Yorkshire sharing responsibility in the collection of the customs on foreigners' imports and exports. E122/55/16, 55/19, 55/23, 56/3, 57/1, 56/7, 56/10.

wapentake from which minute quantities of grain were purveyed. Thus it allows us to take note of the large amount of small towns which were called upon to supply what in most cases were very small, but valuable, portions of grain for the King's wars in Scotland.

The picture which emerges of grain carriage in Yorkshire during the first half of the fourteenth century clearly demonstrates the superiority of river transport in the county. The Ouse with its many tributaries, the Don, and the Hull all emptying into the Humber linked all parts of the East and West Ridings of the county with its most important port — Hull. In the north, the Tees provided the similar service, linking its hinterland with Yarm. Another point which clearly comes to light is the leading position which was played by Kingston-upon-Hull in the transport of grain to the King. Its advantageous position in a country so richly blessed with waterways and roads was one of the primary factors responsible for its position as a source of commercial activity in Yorkshire.

3. Southampton

Less well endowed than both Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the number of rivers which provide transport to its customs ports, Southampton's hinterland is almost entirely composed of high ground well above sea level. Into Southampton Water drain the Rivers Test and Itchen along which the goods of the central region of the county could progress to Southampton. The Itchen was the port's main means of communication with Hampshire's inland capital — Winchester. Draining into the English Channel at Christchurch, the River Avon provided access to Southampton for produce from the southwestern area of the county as well as the county of Wiltshire. The situation of the port itself was extremely favourable to the river traffic which emptied into its surrounding waters.

It served as the main outlet for the Hampshire basin, possessing important natural advantages in its sheltered harbour and prolonged high tides. A great deal of transport within Hampshire, however, must have been by road due to the absence of navigable streams throughout the majority of the upland region.

Our main source of cartographic evidence for the fourteenth century, the Gough Map, is not as generous in detailing the local road systems of Hampshire to Southampton as it had been for both Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.⁶⁴ It alludes to only one road in the country which runs in an easterly direction, connecting Southampton with Havant and Chichester, Sussex's customs port, before proceeding along the coast to Canterbury. Other surviving accounts of roads in Hampshire are few and most reflect the routes of a later period than this study. Fifteenth century cartways between Southampton and its hinterland included one to Alresford and Alton and another to Andover on its way to Newbury and Oxford. To the west, the port's links with Wiltshire were facilitated by a road to Salisbury which continued to Bristol.⁶⁵ A Roman road existed between Winchester and Southampton, a forerunner of the medieval trackway which followed. At the end of the fourteenth century, a presentment mentions the King's road running between West Meon and Warnford which joined the road called Loderesweye in the town of Meonstoke.⁶⁶ Contemporary accounts fare about the same. In 1262, a road through Alton is described as the pass of Alton which was subject to attacks by armed men. In order to provide safe passage to St. Giles Fair, the wardens of Winchester paid five armed, mounted serjeants-at-arms to keep

64) Parsons, op.cit.

65) Platt, op.cit., p.159.

66) Flower, Medieval Law 2:187.

the pass clear.⁶⁷ New Alresford, an important wool market, was linked more definitely to Alton during the same period by a royal highway which replaced the narrow road through a forest which had been there.⁶⁸ All in all, references to actual roads in the county are few and far between. Unfortunately, the evidence which can be culled from the sheriffs accounts of the same period is equally disparaging.

In light of the wealth of material which has been provided in the sheriffs accounts of the previous two counties, the results for Hampshire are disappointing. The most which one is able to gather is a very broad outline of carriage patterns within the county. The actual means of transport are not listed in any of the accounts for the period, let alone in the ones mentioned in this study. A more serious drawback, however, is that the sheriff of Hampshire does not state the origins of grain purveyed in his accounts. In two separate accounts for 1339, grain along with cider, salt, bacon, wood and coal are transported to Southampton. Neither account, however, lists the towns from whence it came. Only the hundreds are given and these are combined into groups with a common carriage cost and distance.⁶⁹ This implies a very strong system of regional collection centres. A third sheriffs account of an earlier date exhibits its own peculiarities. Grain purveyed from the manors of the Bishop of Winchester and various magnates in 1319 was shipped from Southampton to Portsmouth where the King's fleet was stationed. It had been ground into flour at two centres — Downton in Wiltshire and Winchester in Hampshire.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, the account fails to list which manors sent grain to each of the two collection

67) VCH Hampshire 2:473.

68) Ibid., 2:350.

69) E101/561/13, 561/16, Tables 7 and 8.

70) E101/561/6.

centres. For this reason, the account can only be used to suggest possible collection points for the accounts of 1339. Drawbacks aside though, various patterns do emerge which are in many ways synonymous with the results in both Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

When John de Senres, sheriff of Hampshire, was ordered to purvey victuals in his county for the King on his passage to Gascony 220 quarters of grain and 1188 quarters of oats were duly conveyed to Southampton.⁷¹ They arrived from regional collection centres in all areas of the county, plus additional amounts which were purveyed in Winchester and the towns of Andover and Romsey. Romsey which is located on the River Test, seven miles from Southampton, served as the collection centre for grain for the hundreds of Thorngate, King's Somborne, and the town of Baddesley in Mainsbridge as well as providing its own contribution. The same four places also provided a total of 37 quarters and 4 bushels of oats. The River Avon carried western Hampshire's grain and oats which were collected in Christchurch, situated at its mouth, before shipment by sea to Southampton. It was purveyed in the hundreds of Christchurch and Fordingbridge as well as in the town of Avon (Figure 11). The grouping of these hundreds indicates that carriage was most likely by water along those rivers which they bordered. Farther afield, in the upland area of the county, carriage was by cart due to the lack of navigable rivers (Figure 10). In both accounts, towns as well as hundreds are listed, but no single one in each group is designated as the collection point. Oldham and King's Clere appear to be the most obvious collection centres for northern Hampshire, their modern day mileage corresponding closely with that given in the accounts. The two shared responsibility for grain from Dogmersfield and Long Sutton. The middle of the county transported its grain to

71) E101/561/13.

Micheldever, central to the $58\frac{1}{2}$ quarters coming from the hundreds of Alton and Selbourn in the east and Andover, Barton Stacy and Micheldever itself in the west. When grain was purveyed for carriage to Winchester in 1339 where it was ground into flour two examples of regional grouping of the Hampshire hundreds seem beyond explanation (Figure 12). Alton and Selbourn hundreds in the extreme eastern half of the county are grouped with Thorngate in the west for providing 20 quarters of victuals for the King. A similar situation occurs with Barton Stacy in the north and Mainsbridge and Waltham in the south. The distances given are too small to warrant travel to all before eventual carriage to Winchester.

While the sheriffs accounts for Hampshire are not as informative as those for the two preceding counties, they still provide us with some basic facts about Southampton and its hinterland. The importance of the trade links between the customs port and its inland capital are brought to our attention. When victuals were demanded in the county for the King on his trip to Guernsey and Jersey, all areas of Hampshire sent grain to Winchester where it was ground into flour before carriage to Southampton. Interestingly enough, it was transported in carts between the two towns and not via the River Itchen. This was also the case in 1319. Also, one is very much aware of the prime position which the port played as the outport of grain in the county. Thus even though specific details about transport in Hampshire are unobtainable in the Hampshire accounts, the information which we do possess gives a clear indication of the importance of yet another of the customs ports and its inland entrepot.

4. Norfolk

In dealing with transport in Norfolk, Yarmouth's position at the eastern edge of the county necessitates that the discussion concentrate

on both the county's customs ports. Unlike Boston, Hull and Southampton, Yarmouth was not the major outport for Norfolk, but shared this responsibility with King's Lynn. Together they drew upon the produce of the county, roughly dividing it in half. This is clearly evident from the existing sheriffs accounts for the period. Like Southampton, unfortunately, the material available to us is of a rather sketchy nature. This does not prevent us from noting the marked polarisation of traffic and the prime position which both ports played as outports for victuals to Gascony and Flanders.

Water transport in Norfolk is facilitated by an abundance of rivers linking King's Lynn with the Wash and Yarmouth with the North Sea. The Great Ouse with its numerous tributaries and the Nene served as a means of carriage to King's Lynn. Smaller waterways pierced the Boulder Clay area of the county providing means of carriage over high ground. The lowlands surrounding Norwich and Yarmouth were crossed by the Rivers Yare, Bure and Waveney. The Yare formed the chief means of access between the port and its inland capital, broadening the rather circumscribed hinterland of the port.

Overland transport routes in Norfolk during the fourteenth century are rather difficult to gauge. The Gough Map does not illustrate the local network of roads which surely linked the various regions of the county at this time.⁷² The sole route which is shown runs between Thetford and Norwich, an offshoot of the main road between London and York. The existence of other roads, however, is apparent from references to their state of disrepair and efforts to maintain them.⁷³ In addition, the Ickniel Way, traversed that part of the county.

72) Parsons, op.cit.

73) In 1291, the will of William de Welles mentions the King's highway, of Conesford and Gosehill. W.Hudson & J.Tingey, op.cit., 2:14. In 1364, the causeway called Brigmiledame to Walsingham was broken 'so that neither the people of the country or pilgrims going towards Walsingham can pass there' In the same year, a short stretch of road between South Wootton and Gaywood just outside of King's Lynn was flooded 'so that men and carts for all the country cannot pass on it'. Flower, Medieval Law 2:91,95.

The sheriffs accounts for Norfolk in 1325 and 1340 complement each other in the information which they provide for Norfolk's traffic patterns.⁷⁴ In 1340, when the sheriff was requested to purvey victuals for the King's ~~troops~~ ^{troops} in Flanders, a detailed account survives of the grain, carcasses, bacon, herring and salt which each hundred contributed. Unfortunately, the exact collection points and distances are not specified so it is impossible to establish means of transport. Both Lynn and Yarmouth are designated as points of embarkation, however, and the hundreds which sent their victuals to each are listed. Figure 15 graphically illustrates the division of the county into two halves — the western hundreds carrying grain to Lynn and the eastern hundreds transporting grain to Yarmouth.⁷⁵ An interesting point to emerge is the vital role which Norwich played as a collection centre for victuals proceeding to Yarmouth. While carriage to King's Lynn from the eastern half of the county was direct, involving no intermediate collection points, transport to Yarmouth from those hundreds in the middle of Norfolk involved carriage to Norwich before the journey was completed to the port. This account testifies to the importance of Norwich as an inland entrepot and the link between that city and the port which it served. The twelve inland hundreds circling Norwich transported their goods to that city where they were stored in two granaries before final transport by small boat to Yarmouth. Here, they were transferred to one granary. The River Yare was the connecting link between the two towns and its importance to the commercial vitality of the port and its inland collection centre is substantiated by the

74) E101/574/53; 575/5, Tables 9 and 10.

75) The only contradiction to this is the carriage of victuals from the hundreds of North and South Erpingham in the eastern half of Norfolk to King's Lynn. Carriage to Yarmouth would seem to have been the more likely choice. Yarmouth and Lynn are both listed in 1301 as ports of shipment for grain coming from divers places in the county which is travelling to Berwick in 9 ships. Liber Contrarotulatoris, p.107.

numerous references to transport via its waters.⁷⁶ Means of conveyance throughout the rest of the county can at best only be surmised, taking into account contemporary evidence of utilisation of roads and rivers in other documents.⁷⁷ Transport of grain from the six hundreds in the immediate hinterland of Yarmouth was made directly to the port where it was stored in three granaries. This was also the case for grain travelling from the 14 hundreds in the western half of Norfolk. They were carried directly to Lynn and stored in a granary rented from William de Snoryng, a customs collector in the port for the previous six years.

While it is impossible to translate carriage to Norwich, Yarmouth and King's Lynn into the actual routes taken and in the cases of the two ports to even decide whether transport was by land or by water, other less detailed sheriffs accounts enlighten us about carriage from a small number of local collection points in the county. The main account deals

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- 76) In 1287, Caen stone for Norwich Cathedral was carried from Yarmouth in 6 barges and grain was continually transported from Norwich to London via the River Yare during the fourteenth century. Salzman, Building, p.119; Willard, 'Inland Transport', p.374. In 1332, a plea before Edward III concerned the purchase of herrings by Norwich men at Little Yarmouth. Carriage to Norwich was hindered by the men of Great Yarmouth. Hudson & Tingey, op.cit., 1:62-4. Eleven years later a large boat travelling between Yarmouth and Norwich laded with sea coal, salt, iron, wood, onions and herring, and carrying 40 people capsized, resulting in the loss of all lives and all merchandise. Ibid. 1:222-4. In the winter of 1294, 21 carts with treasure made the difficult overland passage from Westminster to Norwich, where the treasure was immediately loaded on to boats for Yarmouth. Stenton 'Roads', p.19.
- 77) In 1378, mention is made of a common road between Winterton in the hundred of West Flegg and Yarmouth which was from time immemorial a common passage for carts, horses and men. Flower Medieval Law, p.98. This would have linked both East and West Flegg and possibly Happing and Tunstead with Yarmouth by road. The itinerary of Edward I provides numerous examples of the King's travels within the county most of which involved towns in the western half of Norfolk -- notably Walsingham, Swaffham, Thetford, Great Massingham, Castle Acre and Fakenham. A further example of carriage by road in Norfolk which substantiates overland carriage to Yarmouth from its surrounding hundreds is the conveyance of 116 quarters of malt in 1338 from Flegg by cart. E101/575/4.

with purveyance of various types of grain in 1325 for shipment to Gascony and strikingly illustrates the same pattern of transport as that which emerges 15 years later (Figure 14). Here, one notes the same reliance upon Norwich as a collection centre for grain travelling to Yarmouth and the same division of the county into 2 sections, serviced by the two Norfolk customs ports. This account specifies means of transport to the ports and Norwich, illustrating the means of conveyance available in the county. Carriage from towns surrounding Norwich was made by land with the exception of Postwick which sent oats, grain and peas to Norwich by boat via the River Yare and also conveyed a separate shipment of oats to Yarmouth by the same means. The journey of the grain had been collected in Norwich continued to Yarmouth by small boats, as did the herring, bacon, and other types of grain purchased in the inland capital. In several instances carts are mentioned as the exact means of transport to Norwich. Horses and carts carried grain from the manor of Foxley and the manor of Winfarthing. In the latter case, the accompanying phrase in profunda via testifies to the condition of the roads in the flat, sometimes marshy region of the county surrounding Norwich. It was an area with few navigable rivers necessitating heavy reliance upon roads. The 1325 sheriffs account also specifies purveyance of pigs from the various hundreds in the county. Ten quarters and 4 bushels of salt were shipped from Yarmouth to Norwich for salting the carcasses before they were placed in 11 tuns and 1 pipe and shipped to Yarmouth along with 11 live pigs. Here they were stored in a larder before shipment overseas.

Other than references concerning the transport of victuals from Norwich to Yarmouth in 1325, the account does not provide us with a very full picture of carriage to the port. The manor of Sutton sent grain, peas and oats to Ludham at which point no further mention is made of its final destination. Proximity to Yarmouth, however, precludes carriage to that port, either by land or via the River Thurne, a tributary of the

Bure which passes through Yarmouth. The account also mentions transport of 200 hurdles purchased from John de Ireland and Huntinfield in the county of Suffolk. Shipment to the port was via the River Waveney from Beccles. The port's proximity to the Suffolk border enabled the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk to use Yarmouth as a port of embarkation for grain from both counties. In 1338, the same collection point was used in Suffolk for 60 hurdles made at Badingham and conveyed 11 leagues to Beccles in carts.⁷⁸

The same sheriffs account for 1325, along with the evidence from other fourteenth century accounts, also provides us with a picture of conveyance of victuals to King's Lynn (Figure 14). Here, one is aware of the greater reliance upon the vast river system emptying into the Wash which opened an immense hinterland to the port. Carriage within the western half of Norfolk was almost entirely by water. The manor of Gooderston carried 136 quarters and 2 bushels of divers grains to Oxborough where the journey to King's Lynn was completed by boat via the Rivers Wissey and Ouse. Similarly, water transport was also used for the grain coming from Burwell in Suffolk provided by Ixning manor and for oats from Wisbech in Cambridge. In the case of the former, the River Ouse was utilised and in the case of the latter, transport was via the Nene. In the northern part of the county, grain from Stiffkey manor travelled to Holkham where it joined a further 57 quarters for shipment on the sea to King's Lynn via the Wash. The only overland carriage specified in the document was from Summerfield in the hundred of Smethden. The River Nar also played an important role in transport to King's Lynn, evidenced by the carriage by boat of 4 tuns of wine in 1304 from Castle-acre to Lynn. Walsingham is mentioned on the same membrane — transport

78) E101/575/4. The account specified Aklos as the actual collection point, but the distance between this point and Badingham is given as 11 leagues which implies that the collection had to be Beccles.

of 4 tuns from there to Lynn was by cart traversing the chalk and boulder clay upland before reaching the port. In the same year, a different membrane to the account includes the carriage of 102 quarters of oats from Walsingham to King's Lynn in 17 carts and the transport of 42 quarters of grain in 8 carts.⁷⁹

Basically the picture which emerges of grain transport in Norfolk is along somewhat the same lines of the other three counties with one major difference -- the division of the county into two halves to facilitate transport. Actual conveyance of grain reflected utilisation of the many rivers leading to King's Lynn in the western half of the county and the Rivers Yare and Waveney leading to Yarmouth in the eastern half. Inadequate waterways in the immediate hinterland surrounding Norwich necessitated reliance for the most part upon roads. The county's extreme length had a direct bearing upon Yarmouth's shared responsibilities as an outport for Norfolk. This factor combined with the mushrooming growth and commercial importance of King's Lynn drew a considerable amount of traffic away from its shores. The position of both ports further enables them to serve the needs of those counties along Norfolk's borders as well as the needs of their own.

Conclusion

The fourteenth century sheriffs accounts clearly provide us with a wealth of information about medieval transport in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Hampshire and Norfolk. Despite the lack of material in several of the accounts, notably those for Hampshire and Norfolk, striking similarities are very much apparent. In all four counties the customs ports

79) E101/574/17, membranes 18 and 37.

played a primary role in grain shipment to Scotland and Gascony. They were the major and in some cases the only ports to which victuals arrived from all over the county. The conveyance of these goods itself exhibits similar patterns. Carriage involved the utilisation of rivers and roads at hand, with heavy reliance upon the former. The first leg of the journey was made by cart from a small inland centre to a larger one. From here the journey continued to the leading collection centres in the county. These established collection points were also the most important inland commercial centres in the county, closely linked by river with the customs ports. All in all, a definite pattern of transport in the four counties can be seen time and time again. This not only illustrates the routes most frequented by produce on its way for shipment overseas, but more importantly points to the paramount position which Hull, Boston, Yarmouth and Southampton played in the life of their counties. Well served by rivers and roads, in proximity to their county capitals, all four had much to offer the alien merchant.

Explanatory Notes to Tables on Chapter 4

Hundreds for which the sheriff did not indicate the place of victual purveyance have proposed sites underlined.

Distances, where provided, are given in leagues.

Cost refers to cost of transport and amounts have been left the way they were given in the sheriffs accounts, i.e. 14d. and not 1s. 2d.

Transport refers to whether the journey was made by land or water. They are only given where definitely specified in the accounts. The abbreviation 'f' used in conjunction with live animals refers to fugat or fugacone.

Grain measurements are given in quarters or occasionally in bushels (b).

To facilitate tabulation the following abbreviations have been utilised:

G	Grain
M	Malt
O	Oats
B+P	Beans and Peas
D	Dredge
B	Barley
Mi	Mixed
C	Corn
Pe	Peas
M+B	Malt and Barley

Live Animals abbreviations are as follows:

P	Pig
S	Sheep
C	Cattle

Carcasses abbreviations are as follows:

B	Beef
M	Mutton

Boston Provisions for Parliament 1301

<u>Bailiffs of</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Distance</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Transport</u>	<u>Grain</u>	<u>Live Animals</u>	<u>Carcasses</u>
<u>Lindsey - North Riding</u>								
Haverstoe	<u>Binbrook</u>	Lincoln	24 leuca	4 6		111G		
Yarborough	<u>Barton</u>	"	30	17 9		28½G		
"	"	"	30	3		9M		
Walshcroft	<u>Middlerasen</u>	"	20	4 1		10½G		
"	<u>Normanby</u>	"	12	3		111G		
Ludborough	<u>Ludborough</u>	"	20	12		2G		
North Riding	<u>Grimsby</u>	"	24	14				12M/2½B
"	"	"	24	18	f		8P	
"	<u>Caistor</u>	"	16	2 4				52M/8B
"	<u>Limbergh</u>	"						½B
"	<u>Barton</u>	"	30	2 1	f		8P	
"	<u>Owersby</u>	"	14	6	f		6P	
Bradley	<u>Bradley</u>	"	24	2 4		5½G		
<u>Lindsey - West Riding</u>								
Aslaoce	<u>Gainsborough</u>	Lincoln	13	4		16M		
"	<u>Coates</u>	"	8	2 4		15-0		
" &						37½G		
Corringham		"	10	7				
Lawress	<u>Dunholm</u>	"	50	2 2		13G		
Manley	<u>Ingleby</u>	"	4	3		20G		
Manley	<u>Winterton</u>	"	29	6 8		12G		

<u>Bailiffs of</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Distance</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Transport</u>	<u>Grain</u>	<u>Live Animals</u>	<u>Carcasses</u>
<u>Lindsey - West Riding (cont'd)</u>								
Manley	Scampton gr	Lincoln	4 leuca	15		12.0		
West Riding	Gainsborough	"	12	10				2½B
"	Garthorp	"	24	10				8M/1B
"	Glentham	"	12	6				25M
"	"	"	12	4			6P	
"	Laughton	"	12	6	f		20S/3C	
"	Torksey	"	8	3	f		.6P	
<u>Lindsey - South Riding</u>								
Louthesk	Louth	Lincoln	20	11 8		29G		
"	"	"	20	3 6			30S/8C	
"	"	"	20	3 6		11-0		
"	"	"	20	8	f		2C	
"	Dambecroft	"	20	3 6			9P	
"	Louth	"	20	12	f	9½G		
Wraggøe	Hainton	"	12	11		34½G		
"	Hatton	"	12	2		9-0		
"	Barkwith	"	20	14				40M
Horncastle lib		"	16	6			9P	
Bolingbroke lib		"	21	8 2	7 carts	30-0		
* Calcewath	Ulseby	Mainfleet	10	21	land	10G		
"	Sloothby	Lincoln	28	8				2B
"	"	"	20	2	f			

*

<u>Bailiffs of</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Distance</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Transport</u>	<u>Grain</u>	<u>Live Animals</u>	<u>Carcasses</u>
<u>Lindsey - South Riding (cont'd)</u>								
*	Calcewath	Sloothby				25-0		
*	Candleshoe	Braytoft	5 leuca	10	land	10G		
*	"	divers		22		22M		
*	"	"					30C	4M/18B
**	Cartree	Edlington	6	2 10	q	24G		
**	"	"	6	13		13M		
**	"	"						
"	"	Lincoln	16	2	f		2P	
"	"	Stixwold	16	6	ship			26M
*	"	Edlington				60-0		
	Hill	Ashby	20	3 10		10½G		
	"	Ashby	20	5 10		23½-0		
<u>* South Riding - Carriage from Wainfleet to Lincoln</u>								
	(Ulseby)	Wainfleet	Lincoln	70	3	ship		
	(Calcewath 100)	"	"	70	4 4	ship		
	(Braytoft)	"	"	70	3	water		
	(Candleshoe-divers)"	"	"	70	4			
	(Candleshoe 100)	"	"	70	5	ship		
	"	"	"	70	6 8	ship		
	(Cartree 100)	"	"	70	10	ship		

<u>Bailiffs of</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Distance</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Transport</u>	<u>Grain</u>	<u>Live Animals</u>	<u>Carcasses</u>
				<u>s.d.</u>				
<u>** South Riding - Carriage from Stixwould to Lincoln</u>								
(Edlington)	Stixwould	Lincoln	16 leuca	6	ship			
"	"	"	16	2 2	ship			
"	"	"	16	6	ship			
<u>Kesteven</u>								
*** Aveland	Rippingale	Bridge End	4	2	land	24G		
"	Bourne	Lincoln	30	2 8	land			10M/4B
Aswardhurn	Scredington	"	25	5 11	land	15G		
"	Sleaford	"	16	6	land			6M
Boothby & Graffoe	Welbourn	"	8	13	land	4G		
"	Basingham	"	6	14	land	14-0		
"	Colby	"	5	3	f		3P	
"	Navenby	"	7	8	f		12P	
"	Boothby	"	6	3	f		2P	
Aswardhurn	Hale	"	16	6	f		3P	
Beltisloe	Colsterworth	"						
	Witham	"	30	6 1 ob	land	11G		
Flaxwell	Rauceby	"						
	Brauncewell	"	15	3 6	land	18½G		
Lovedon	Claypole	"						
	Fenton	"	12	5 10	land	27G		

<u>Bailiffs of</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Distance</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Transport</u>	<u>Grain</u>	<u>Live Animals</u>	<u>Carcasses</u>
<u>Kesteven (cont'd.)</u>				<u>s.d.</u>				
Winnibriggs								
Threo	Grantham	Lincoln	20 leuca	11 8	land	29½G		
	"	"	20	21	land			11M/4B
	"	"	14					2B
	"	"	20	8	f		5P	
	Stamford	"	36	4 8	land			8B
<u>*** Kesteven - Carriage from Bridge End to Lincoln</u>								
(Rippingale)	Bridge End	Lincoln		8	ship			
<u>Holland</u>								
Holland	Spalding	Lincoln		59	1 ob ship	336-0		
"	"	Spalding		3		7G		
"	"	"						
"	Crowland	Lincoln		13	ship			160M/40B
"	Sutton	"		27	water	108-0		
"	Boston	"		4 6	ship			20P
<u>Holland - Carriage from Spalding to Lincoln</u>								
(Holland)	Spalding	Lincoln		21	ship			

Nettleham Provisions for Parliament 1303

<u>Bailiffs of</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Distance</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Transport</u>	<u>Grain</u>	<u>Live Animals</u>	<u>Carcasses</u>
<u>Lindsey - North Riding</u>								
	North Riding	Ulseby	24 leuca	13 4	s.d.	50-0		
<u>Lindsey - West Riding</u>								
	Aslaoe	Laughton gr	12	4 1		30-0		
		Whaytebergh gr						
		Northorp gr						
		Scotton gr						
Manley		Roxby gr	24	9 4		40-0		
<u>Kesteven</u>								
	Boothby	Swinderby	8	4	land	2-0		
	"	Caythorp	"	2 6		14-0		

Boston Provisions to Berwick 1311

<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Distance</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Cost per Quarter</u>	<u>Transport</u>	<u>Victuals</u>
<u>Lindsey</u>			s.d.			
Thornton	Barton	4 leuca	6 11	ob/qtr		30G/40M
Grimsby	"	12	18 4	2d/qtr	ship	20G/30M
"	"					60M
Sixhills	"	20 & more	6 9	3d/qtr		7G/10M
Newstead	"					5G/5M
Thornholm						6G/10M/6Pe/10-0
Norton	Burton					91B/40D
	Stather	24 & more	32 9	3d/qtr		
	North Coates	8	27 2	1d/qtr		117G/100B+P/109B
	Boston	12	3 4	2d/qtr		20M
Revesby	"	10	7 4	1d/qtr		20G/20M
Kirksted	"	10				20G/20M
	Sausthorp					50G
Barlinges	Lincoln					20G/20M
* Tupholm	"					6G/6M
* Bullington	"					12G/15M
* St.Catherine	Lincoln					10G/20M
"	"					49G/200M
<u>Kesteven</u>						
* Sempringham	Sempringham					20G/20M/10B+P
	Sleaford					

Table 2

	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Distance</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Cost per Quarter</u>	<u>Transport</u>	<u>Victuals</u>
<u>Kesteven (cont'd.)</u>							
*	Haverholm	Sleaford		s.d.			2G/3M
*	Sleaford						60B+P
*	Wilsthorp	Catebridge	3 leuca	2 1	ob/qtr		50G
*	Boston	"					
*	Stamford	"					50G
<u>Holland</u>							
*	Crowland	Spalding					20G/20M/20B+P/20-0
*	Spalding						20G/20B+P/30-0
*	Spalding						40Mi/100-0
	Gosberton	Boston	8	8 4	1d/qtr		100P
	Algarkirk	"	5	42 7	1d ob/qtr		48G/226B+P/276Mi/80B/30D
	Swineshead	"					10G/10-0
<u>* Kesteven and Holland - carriage</u>							
	Lincoln	Boston	50			ship	
	Sleaford	"	15 & more	19 2	2d/qtr	land & ship	
	Catebridge	"	30	16 8	2d/qtr	ship	
	Spalding	"	24	48 4	2d/qtr	ship	

* Kesteven and Holland - carriage

Boston Provisions to Berwick 1336

E101/569/3

	<u>Grain</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Distance</u>	<u>Transport</u>
<u>Lindsey - North and West Riding</u>					
Prior of Ravendale	30	Ravendale	Barton	9 leuca	land
Prior of Elsham	60	Elsham	"		
William de Waterton	40	Horkstow	"		
Abbot of Grimsby	40	Riby	"		
Prior of Spalding	30	Alkborough	"		land & water
<u>Lindsey - South Riding</u>					
Prior of Bridlington	17	Baumber	Boston	13	
John Pelleson of Boston	60	Horncastle	"	12	
		Toynton			
		Ashby			
William Odeson	23	Belchford	"	11	
<u>Kesteven</u>					
John Scot	10	Grantham	Holmylme	10	land
* Thomas Ally	40	Navenby	"	9	land
Thomas Godewyn	50	Kirkby	"	9	land
Walter de Scothorp	50	Lenton	Bridge End	8	land
* Thomas Merle	38	Osgotby	"	7	land
Simon Broun	12	Irnham	"	8	land
Walter atte Nonnes	60	Stamford	Catebridge	7	land
* John Ingeson	40	Carlby	"	9	land
<u>Holland</u>					
Prior of Spalding	500	Sutton	Boston		land & water
Abbot of Crowland	500	Crowland	"		water
John Gobande	700	Cheal	"		land & water
Nicholas Denecrose	300	Fleet	"		land & water
<u>*Kesteven - carriage</u>					
		Holmylme	Boston	40	water
		Bridge End	"	36	water
		Catebridge	"	60	water

Hull Provisions to Berwick 1298

E101/597/3

	<u>Flour</u>	<u>Victuals</u>	<u>Cost</u> <u>s.d.</u>	<u>Transport</u>
<u>Carriage to Hull</u>				
Cawood		68G/4bG/60-0	18	water
Burstal				
Patrington		44G/8M	4 8	water
York		55M	6	water
Doncaster				
Bawtry		86G/29M	16 11	water
Selby				
Howden		43G/74M	14	water
Kilham to			10 3	ld/q land
Wansford		93-0	5 1	ob/q water
Kilham to				
Wansford		194G/4G/93P	47 6	2d/q land
(unpspecified port)				
Leven		50-0	2 1	water
Beverley	24 d		6	water
		30P	2	water
		188M	8 8	water
Burton & Walkington to Beverley & then to Hull	35			land water
<u>Carriage to Scarborough</u>				
Parts of Pickering		404C	26 4	land

Hull Provisions to Scotland 1301

E101/597/5

<u>Carriage to Yarmouth</u>	<u>Victuals</u>	<u>Distance</u>	<u>Cost</u> <u>s.d.</u>
Forcett	1G	12 1	4
Eryholme	$\frac{1}{2}$ G	61	1 ob
Moulton	3G	8 1	14
Brompton on Swale	1G		
	1G	10 1	4
Manfield	$1\frac{1}{2}$ G	10 1	6
Caldwell	2G	2 1	8
* Atteloucouton	2G	8 1	4
* Berforthorp	11G	10 1	3 8
Allerton	45G/7bG	10 1	11 6
	$19\frac{1}{2}$ G		4 10 ob
	21G		
	$27\frac{1}{2}$ G		6 10 ob
	$15\frac{1}{2}$ Pe		3 2
	18G		3
	27-0		3 5
* Churkelby	3G	18 1	12
Low Worsall	$\frac{1}{2}$ G		1
Rounton	3G		6
	2G		6
* Middelton	1G		2
* Aresom	15G		3 9
Battersby	1G		3
	2M		5
Faceby	1G		3
Lazenby	1G		3
Potto	3G		
	1G		3
* Soxhowe	2G		6
North Coulton	3G		9
Busby	6G		9
	3G		9

* I have not been able to locate these towns and consequently, they are not shown on the diagram.

Hull Provisions to Scotland 1301 (cont'd.)

E101/597/5

	<u>Victuals</u>	<u>Distance</u>	<u>Cost</u> <u>s.d.</u>
<u>Carriage to Yarmouth (cont'd.)</u>			
Acklam	7G		16
Thornton	6G		18
Neuby	7G		22 ob
Normanby	1G		3
Eston	10G		2 7 ob
Marske by the sea			2
* Insula	60G		
Hutton	3G		
* Braythwait	2G		3
* Kingston	4G		6
	2G		3
Great Broughton	1G		6
Homby	2G		3
* Clifton	1G		1 ob
Skelton	6G		
Appleton			3
* Gyrlington	10G		

* I have not been able to locate these towns and consequently, they are not shown on the diagram.

Hull Provisions to Scotland 1301 (cont'd)

E101/597/5

	<u>Victuals</u>	<u>Distance</u>	<u>Cost</u> <u>s.d.</u>	<u>Cost per</u> <u>Quarter</u>
<u>Carriage to Scarborough</u>				
Ridale				
Buckrose to Malton	32G/6bG	16 1	10 9	4d/qtr
Dickering				
Malton	32-0/6b-0		6 9	2d ob/qtr
Buckrose	31G		8	
	18-0		2 6	
Pickering	36G		6	
	31-0		2 7	
<u>Carriage to Hull</u>				
Ripon to Boroughbridge	54G/26-0/ 29M	4 1	14 7	
Ripon to York			8 6	
Ripon to Hull (flour)			7	
Skitby				
Burton to Beverley	43G	4 1	6 8	
Burton to Hull			15	
Beverley	132M		3 11	
	68P		2 11	
<u>Carriage to Selby</u>				
Boroughbridge to Selby	161-0/6b-0		14 8	

Hull Provisions to Berwick 1309

E101/597/17

Carriage to Wansford and then to Hull

Malton	30G	<u>Flour</u> 14 1	10	4d/qtr
Pocklington	17 7/G	14 1	6	4d/qtr
Wansford to Hull			4	1d/qtr

Carriage to York and then to Hull

Lilling	30G	7 1	5	2d/qtr
Sherburn	40G	12 1	10	3d/qtr
York to Hull (grain above)		20 pipes 7 doles	10	

Southampton Provisions to King Overseas 1339

E101/561/13

	<u>Grain</u>	<u>Bacon</u>	<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Distance</u>	<u>Cost</u> <u>s.d.</u>
<u>Carriage to Southampton</u>					
Holdshot					
Chutley					
Pastrow	61½G			40 1	8/q
Kingsclere					
Basingstoke					
Dogmersfield					
Odiham	58½G			30 1	6/q
Long Sutton					
Alton					
Selborne					
Andover	60G			18 1	4/q
Micheldever					
Barton Stacy					
Romseye					
Thorngate					
King's Somborne	51G			6 1	2/q
Baddesley					
Basingstoke					
Dogmersfield	90-0			30 1	4/q
Odiham					
(Romseye)?					
Fordingbridge					
Christchurch	70-0			20 1	3/q
Avon					
Romseye					
Thorngate	37 4b-0			6 1	1/q
King's Somborne					
Baddesley					
City of Winchester	40G			10 1	3/q
Vlg of Andover	20G			20 1	4/q
Vlg of Romseye	10 7bG			7 1	2/q
City of Winchester		117½		10 1	9 9 ob
"			6 c		22

Southampton Provisions for King to Jersey 1339

E101/561/16

	<u>Grain</u>	<u>Flour</u>	<u>Distance</u>	<u>Cost</u> <u>s.d.</u>
<u>Carriage to Winchester</u>				
Odiham				
Long Sutton				
Havant	35		20 1	4/q
Cronchal				
Basingstoke				
Dogmersfield				
Holdshot	35		15 1	3/q
Chuteley				
Pastrow				
Kingsclere				
Thorngate				
Alton	20		14 1	2 ob/q
Selborne				
Barton Stacey				
King's Somborne	10		7 1	1 ob/q
Mainsbridge				
Bishop's Waltham				
Winchester (grain above)		15 doles		15

	<u>Cider</u>	<u>Salt</u>	<u>Bacon</u>	<u>Wood</u>	<u>Coal</u>	<u>Distance</u>	<u>Cost</u> <u>s.d.</u>
<u>Carriage to Southampton</u>							
Lymington		3 doles				12 1	12d/dole
Winchester							
Romsey							
Mottisfont							
Micheldever			100			12 1	4 9
Wherwell							
Lymington							
Hayling							
Lymbourn				2000		15 1	30 18d/1000
Ropley					100qtr	18 1	16 8 2d/qtr
Hayling							
Havant	10 doles					20 1	15 18d/dole
Portsdown							
Westbury							

Yarmouth Provisions to Gascony 1325

E101/574/33

<u>Carriage to Norwich and then to Yarmouth</u>	<u>Victuals</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Cost Per</u>	<u>Transport</u>
		<u>s.d.</u>	<u>Quarter</u>	
Postwick manor	622b-0	6		boat
Bergh Apton manor	67 3bC	11 2	2d/qtr	land
Winfarthing manor	67 6bC	28 2	5d/q	cart
Foxley Manor	126 6bC	42 3	4d/q	cart
Saxthorp manor		31	4d/q	land
Norwich	159-0/10B/81Pe	41 8		boat
<u>Carriage to Yarmouth</u>				
Postwick manor	26-0/22. 5bPe	8 1	2d/q	boat
<u>Carriage to King's Lynn</u>				
Gooderston manor				
to Oxborough	136 2bC	33	3d/q	boat
Stiffkeye Manor	46 7bC	3 10 ob	1d/q	
to Holkham	57C	17 5	2d/q	boat
Summerfield manor	41 1bC	7 9	3d/q	cart
Wisbech	30-0	2 6		water
Exning manor		15	2d/q	
to Burwell	92 4bC	23	1d ob/q	boat
<u>Carriage unspecified to port</u>				
Sutton manor				
to Ludham	21 1bG/39 6b-0/	14 8	2d/q	
	29 4bP			
<u>Salt to Norwich from Yarmouth for salting pigs</u>				
10 q 4 b		20		boat
<u>Pig carcasses to Yarmouth</u>				
11 doles 1 pipe (carcasses of 235 pigs)		4		boat
with 11 live pigs				
<u>Hurdles to Yarmouth from Beccles</u>				
400 from Ralph de Apelton		14 8	3s.8d/100	boat
200 from John de Ireland at Melles & Huntingfield				
to Beccles		30	15s./100	land
	Beccles to			
	Yarmouth	7 4		boat

Yarmouth Provisions to Flanders 1340

E101/575/5

<u>Hundreds</u>	<u>Victuals</u>	<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Bacon</u>	<u>Herring</u>
* <u>Carriage to Norwich and then to Yarmouth</u>				
Depwade	20G/40M+B/1B+P	6 c	12	3000
Henstead	20G/40M+B/1B+P	4 c	8	2000
Diss	15G/30M+B/1B+P	3 c	6	1000
Earsham	15G/30M+B/1B+P	4 c	6	1000
Guiltcross	10G/20M+B/1B+P	4 c	8	1000
Shropham	30G/60M+B/1B+P	6 c	12	2000
Eynesford	20G/40M+B/1B+P	4 c	12	2000
Forehoe	16G/32M+B/1B+P	4 c	10	2000
Humbleyard	15G/30M+B/1B+P	4 c	10	3000
Taverham	15G/30M+B/	4 c	8	1000
Blofield	20G/40M+B/1B+P	4 c	8	1000
Walsham	20G/40M+B/1B+P	4 c	8	1000
<u>Carriage direct to Yarmouth</u>				
Tunstead	40G/80M+B/1B+P	10 c	20	3000
Happing	20G/40M+B/1B+P	6 c	14	2000
East Flegg	25G/50M+B/1B+P	6 c	14	2000
West Flegg	15G/30M+B/1B+P	7 c	9	2000
Loddon	30G/60M+B/1B+P	7 c	9	3000
Clavering	40G/80M+B/1B+P	6 c	13	3000
<u>Carriage to King's Lynn</u>				
** Freebridge	65G/130M+B/4B+P	20 c	46	5000
Clackclose	22G/43M+B/2½B+P	8 c	12	1680
Smethden	22G/40M+B/2B+P	7 c	12	1680
Mitford	20G/40M+B/1B+P	7 c	12	½ last
Wayland	20G/40M+B/1B+P	10 c	20	3000
Grimshoe	10G/20M+B/1B+P	6 c	14	2000
Launditch	20G/40M+B/1B+P	10 c	24	3000
South Erpingham	50G/100M+B/1B+P	14 c	20	½ last
North Erpingham	20G/40M+B/1B+P	6 c	12	2000
Gallow	40G/80M+B/3B+P	10 c	20	2000
Brothercross	10G/20M+B/1B+P	4 c	14	2000
North Greenhoe	30G/60M+B/1B+P	7 c	9	2000
Holt	30G/60M+B/1B+P	6 c	13	2000
South Greenhoe	20G/20M+B/1B+P	6 c	14	2000

Yarmouth Provisions to Flanders 1340(cont'd.)

E101/575/5

*Carriage of grain from Norwich to Yarmouth	30 Leagues	18s.ob	11 boats
malt		27s.	21 "
beans and peas		12d.	1 boat
bacon		2s.	2 boats
herring		2s. 6d.	2 "

** Freebridge hundred also provided 3 quarters of salt.

Conclusion

Medieval towns show no uniformity. It is their variety that makes their history so interesting and at the same time so difficult. Only by looking for similarities, by distinguishing types of towns, can we discover the real nature of the many disconcerting differences between the history of one town and another. Only in this way can we make any headway in understanding the supremely important role that towns have played in the history of the West.¹

This study of Hull, Boston, Yarmouth and Southampton has brought together many areas for comparison and contrast. As units of fiscal administration for the Crown's tax on wool and general merchandise, the customs ports were the entrepots for the imports and exports of alien merchants. As collection centres for purveyance, they were the main points of departure for victuals to the King's armies. The customs accounts and the sheriffs accounts show the common basic types of commercial activities in which these towns engaged; yet within this basic pattern distinctions emerge. While each received similar merchandise at their quays, each specialised in the shipment of one or two commodities. While all were commercial centres for the Baltic and the Mediterranean, each was visited primarily by merchants from either one or the other. While all were situated in counties possessing a wealth of rivers and roads, transport to each suited its particular needs.

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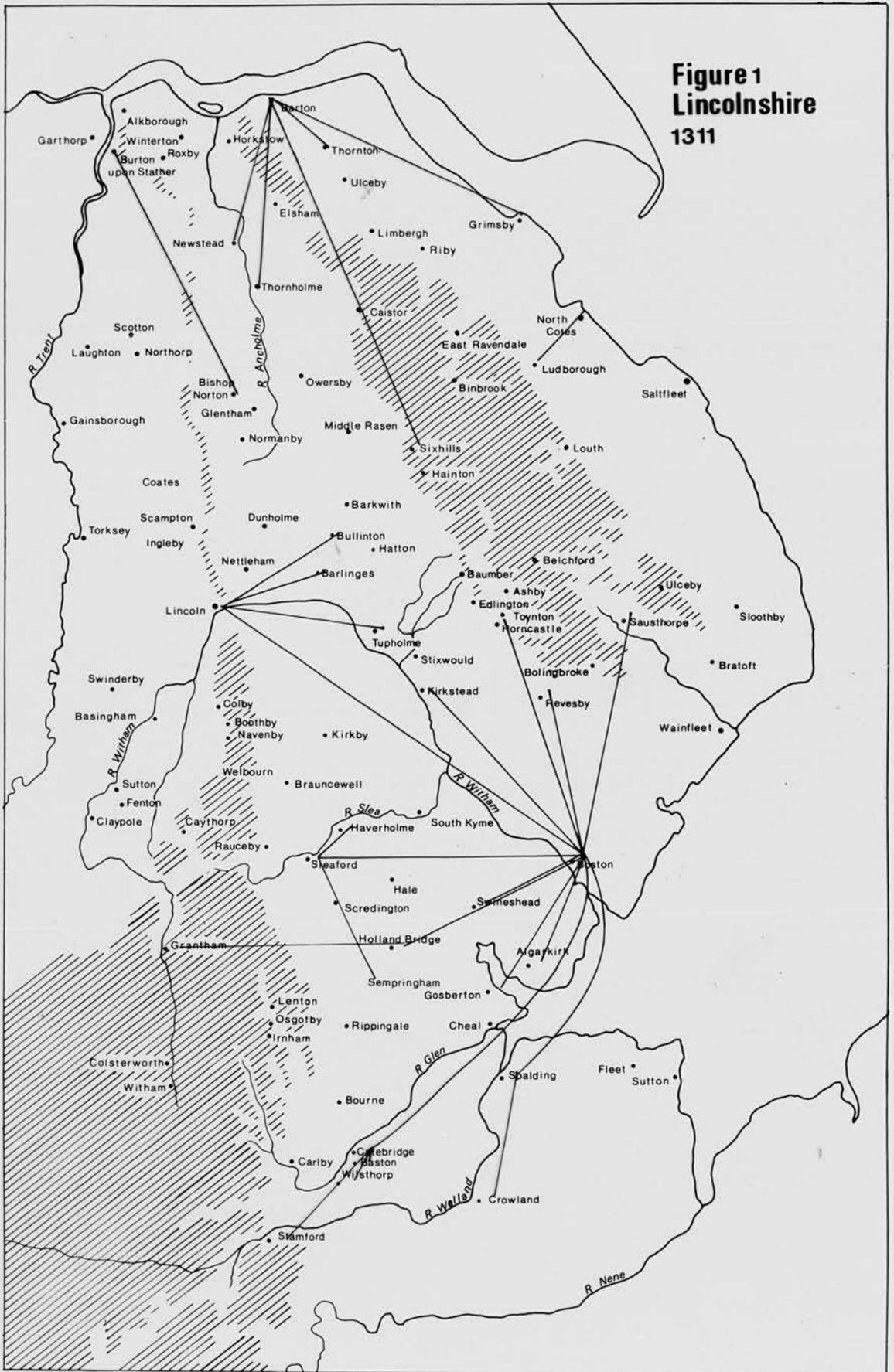
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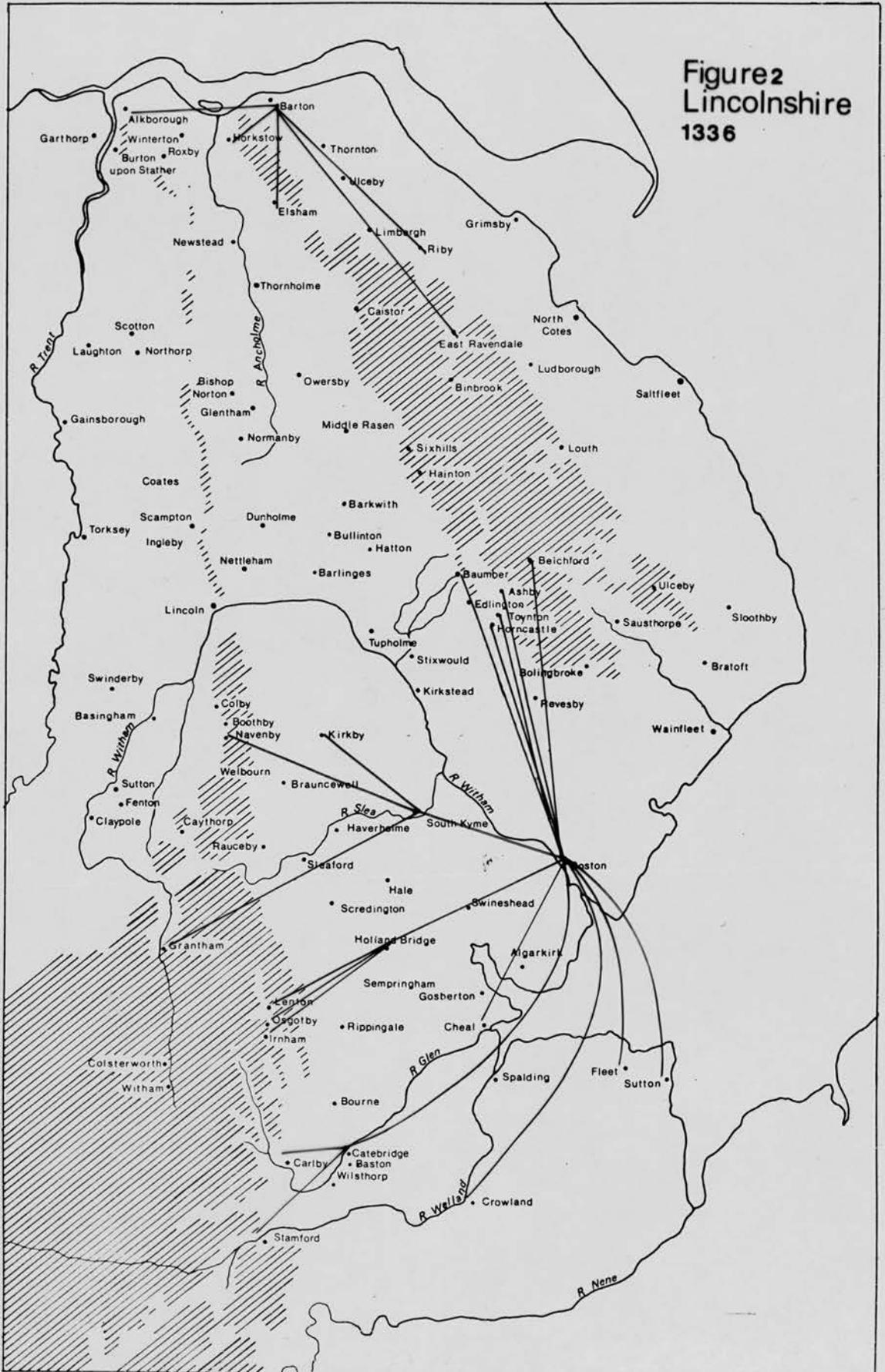
Figure 1
Lincolnshire
1311



¹¹⁰ HC 254-245



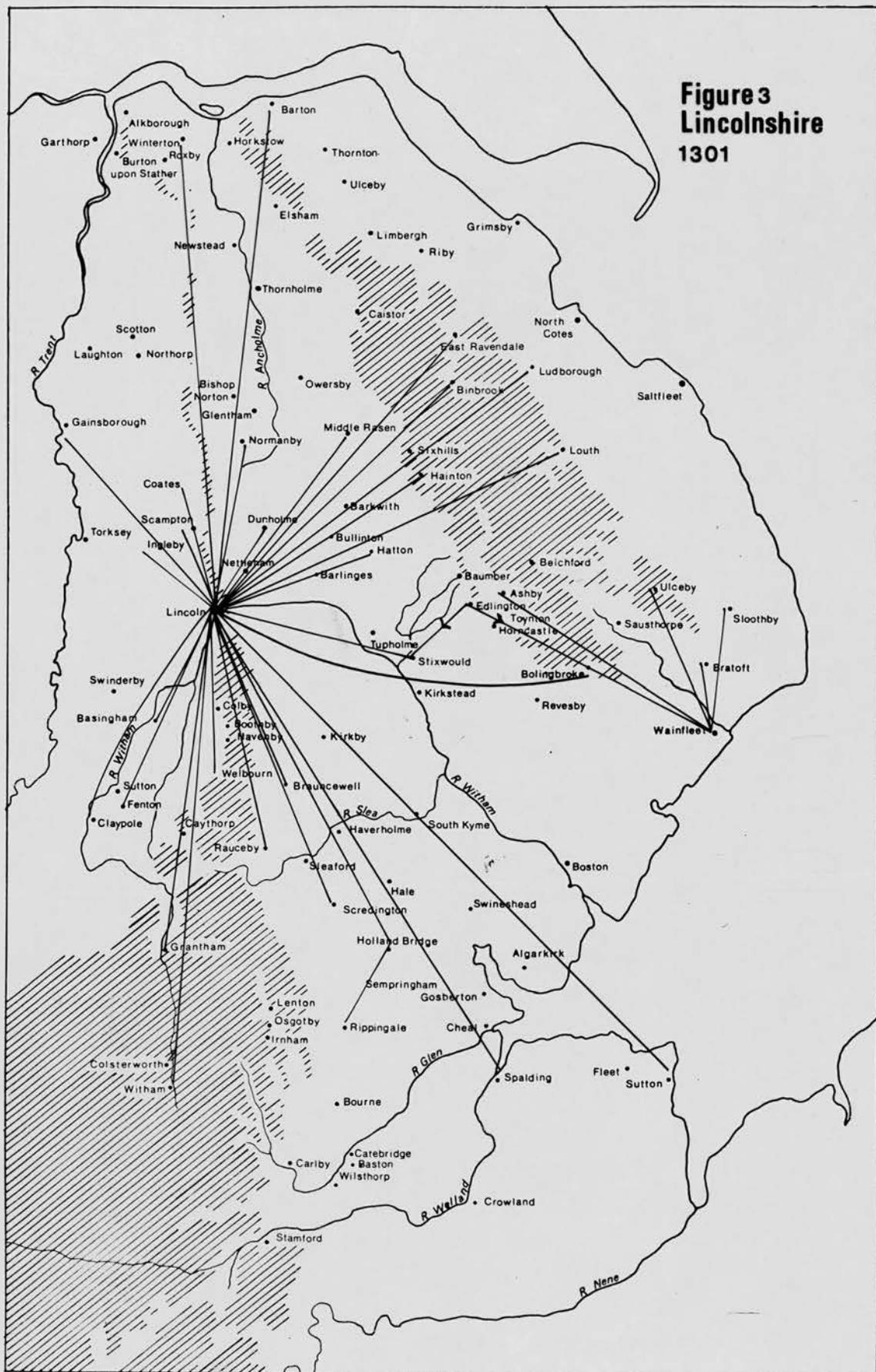
Figure 2
Lincolnshire
1336



Th
H254.245



Figure 3
Lincolnshire
1301



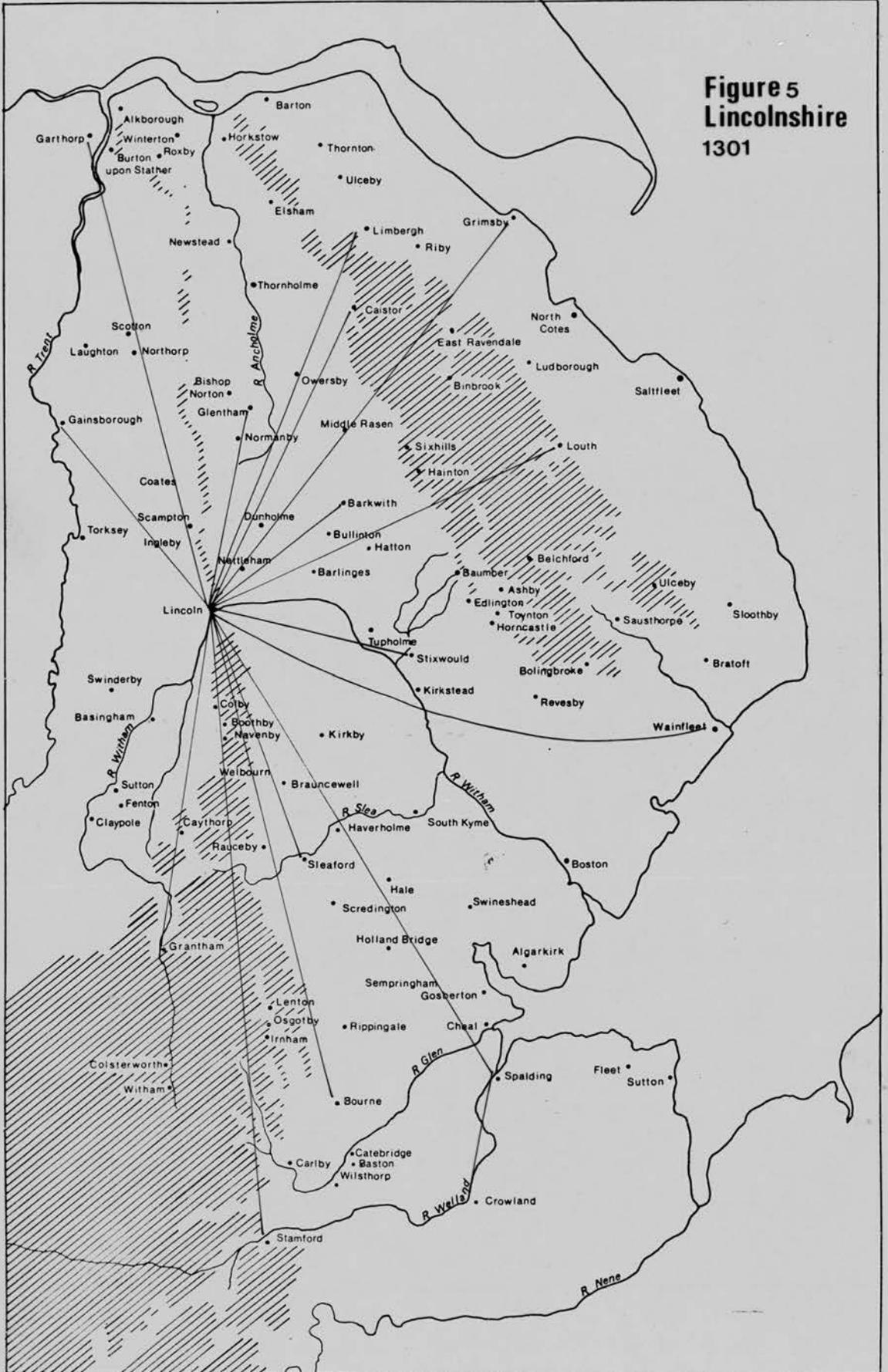
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H C 254.245



Figure 5
Lincolnshire
1301



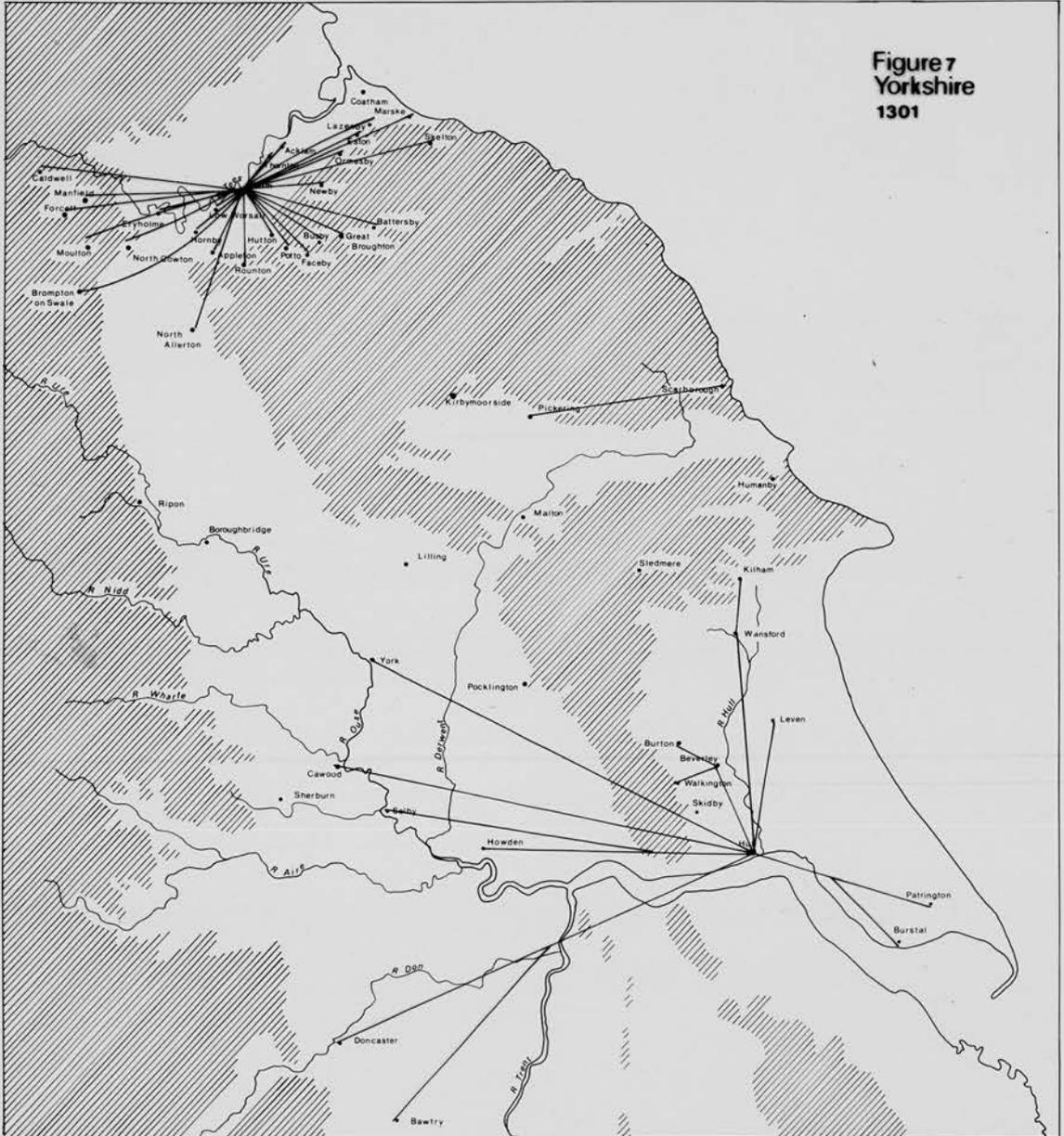
1^h Hc 254.245



1ⁿ He 254.215



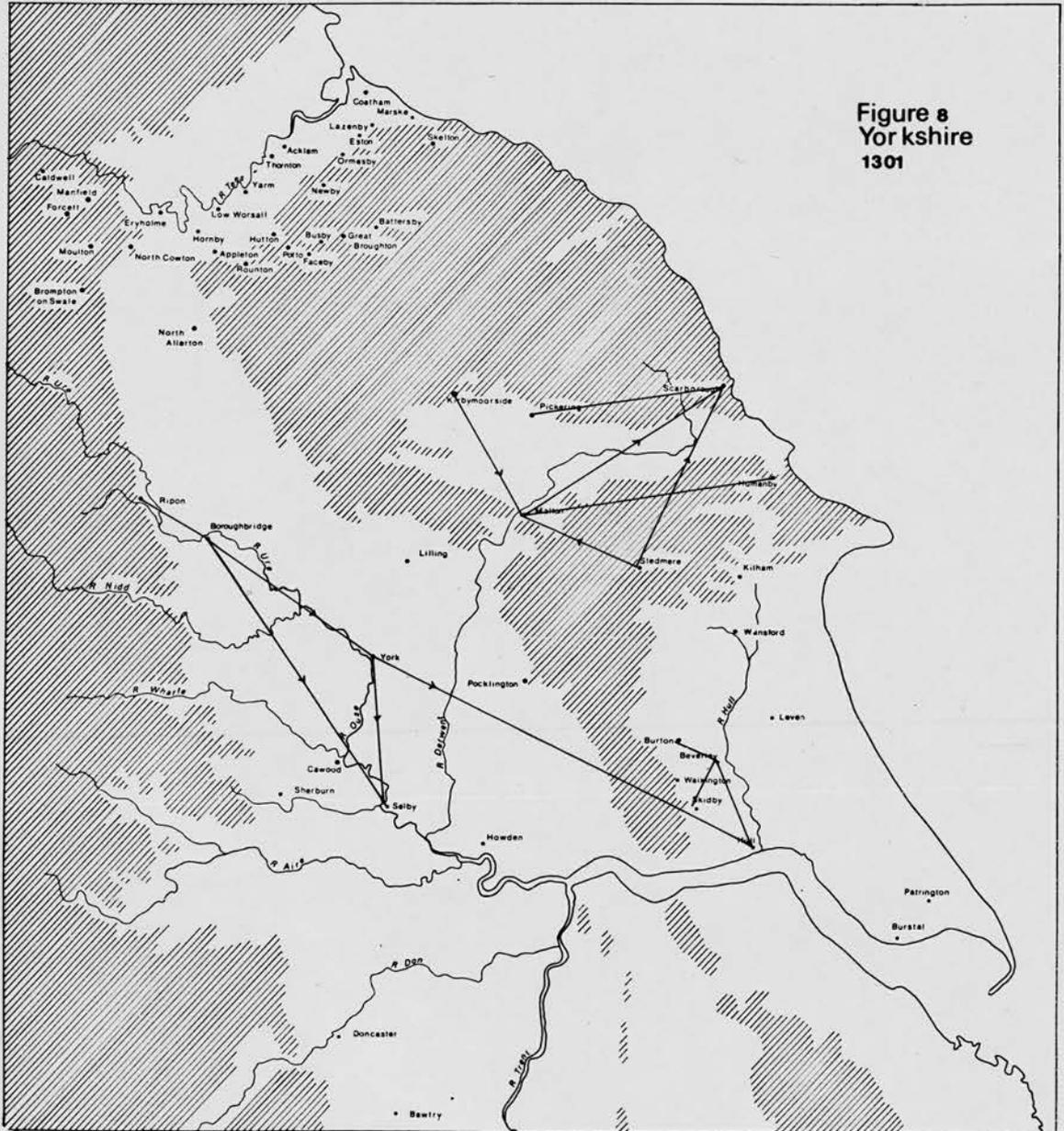
Figure 7
Yorkshire
1301



Th
Hc 254.245



Figure 8
Yorkshire
1301

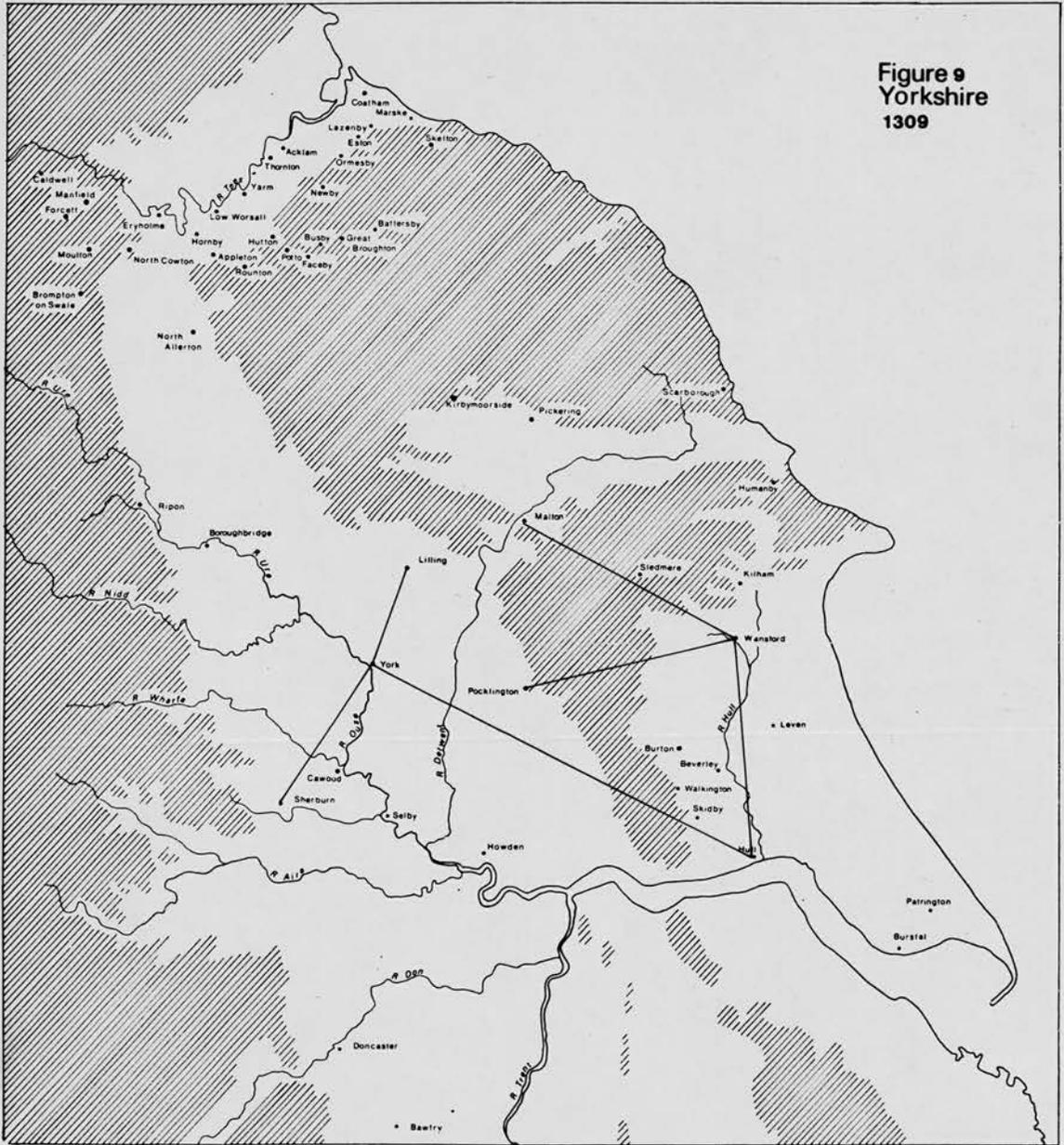


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HC 254.205



Figure 9
Yorkshire
1309



Th HC 254. 245



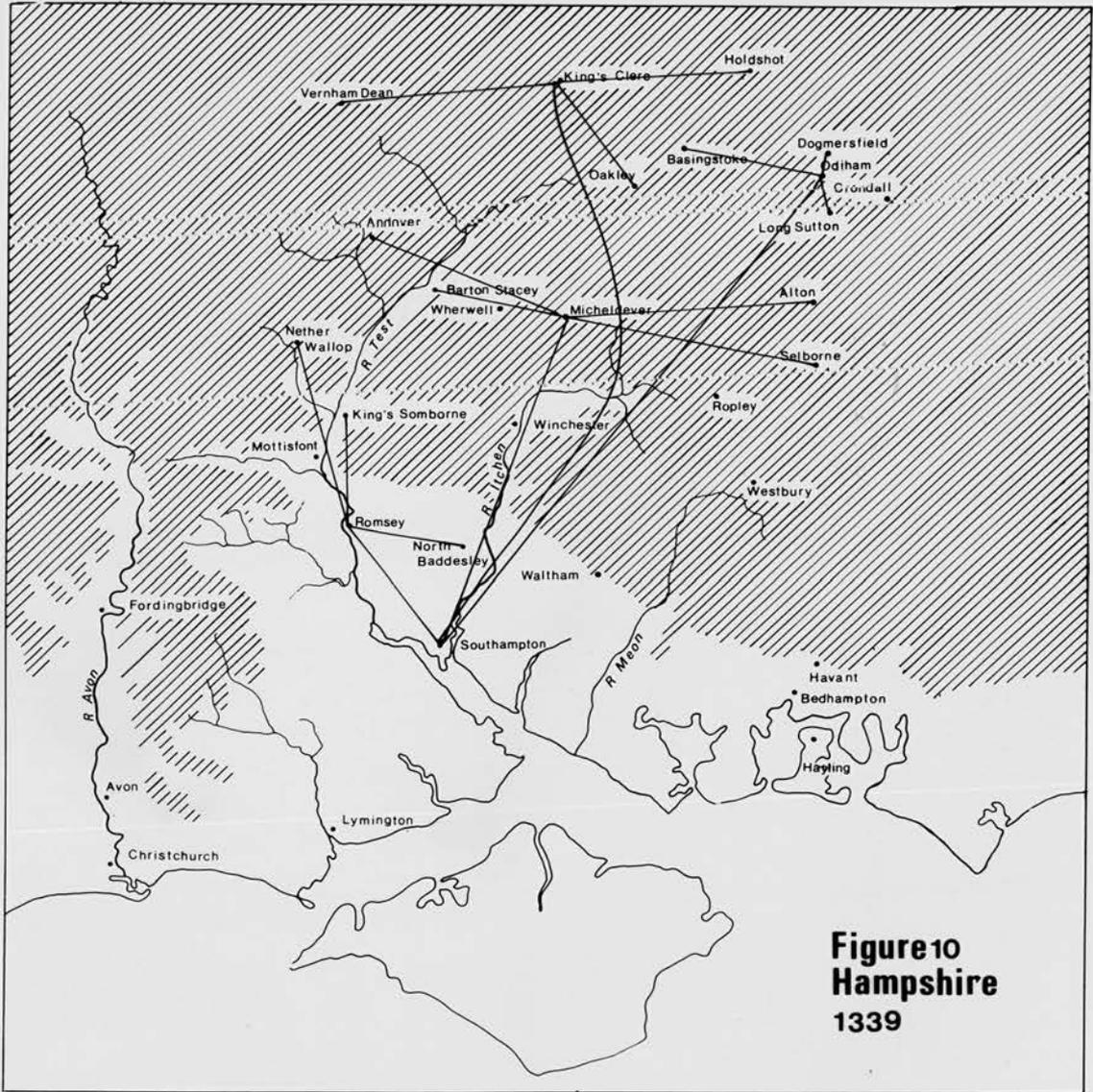


Figure 10
Hampshire
1339

^{7h}
He 264.245



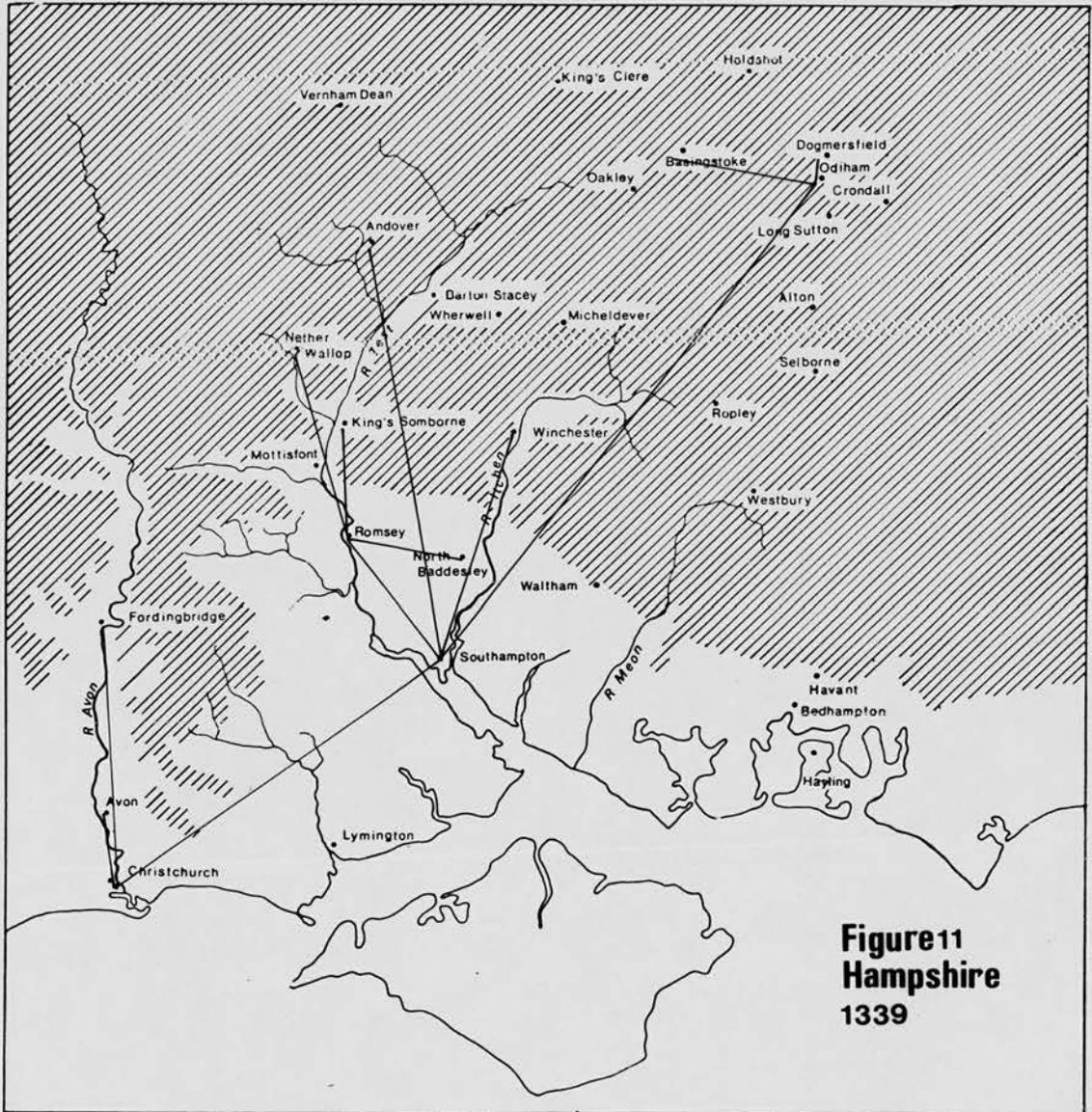


Figure 11
Hampshire
1339

1h Hc 254.245



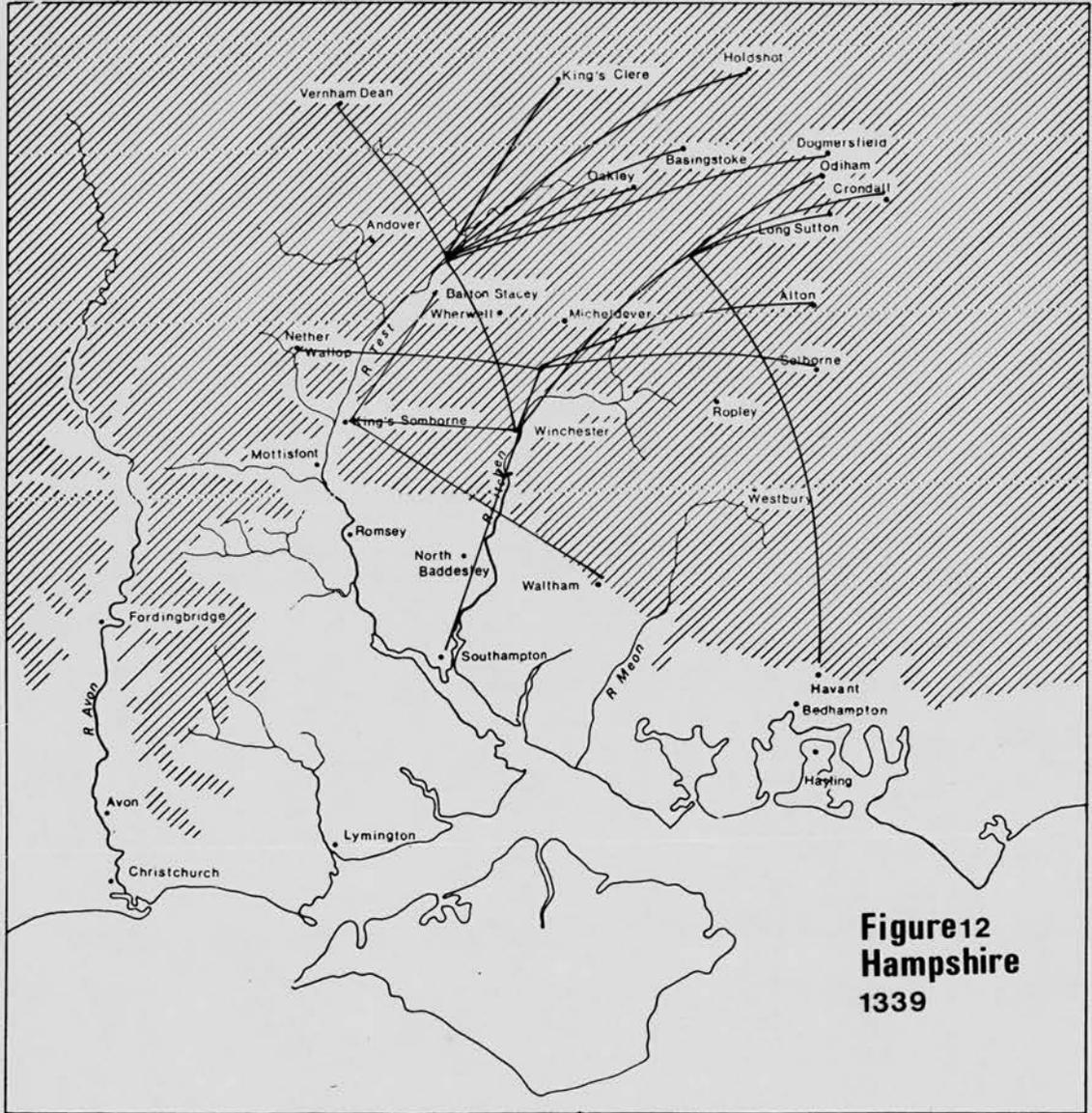
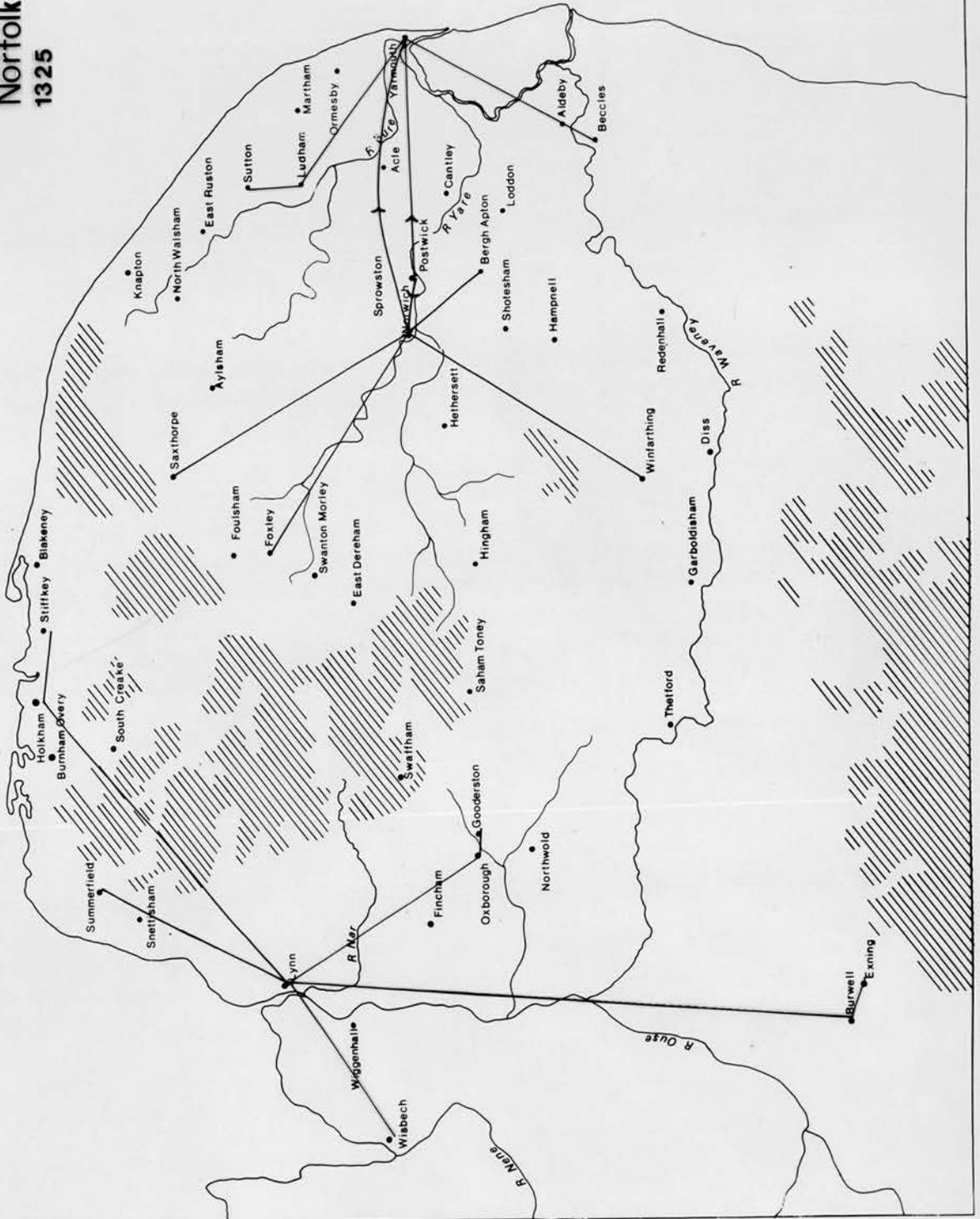


Figure 12
Hampshire
1339

Th He 254-245



Figure 13
Norfolk
1325



111 HC 254.245



7h
HC 254.245

