

The Overseas Trade of Mid-Sixteenth Century Bridgwater.

Duncan Taylor

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in Medieval and Early Modern History in the Faculty of Arts, April 2006.

17,500 words.

Abstract

This thesis is based on a quantitative analysis of three particular customs accounts for the port of Bridgwater during the mid 16th Century.

Bridgwater has received little attention from economic historians concerned with this period. Chapter One reviews the work that has been undertaken and outlines the method employed in this thesis. Chapters Two to Four describe in depth the types of goods shipped, the origin and destination of these goods and the timing of their shipment. The profile of those engaged in this trade is examined in Chapter Five. Throughout, comparison is made with data available from the Bristol customs accounts for a comparable period.

This is the first detailed survey of Bridgwater's overseas trade and the findings have some implications for the study of Anglo-Irish trade in this period. The concluding chapter addresses these points and considers the possibilities for further research.

Acknowledgment

I am grateful to Dr. Evan Jones for introducing me to this subject and for his advice and guidance which have been invaluable.

Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original, except where indicated by special reference in the text, and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other academic award. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

Duncan Taylor

Date.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents	i
List of Graphs.....	iii
List of Tables	iv
Chapter 1 : Rationale and Method	1
Chapter 2 : The Types of Goods Shipped	8
<i>Exports</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>Imports</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>Comparison to Bristol Accounts.....</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>Summary.....</i>	<i>16</i>
Chapter 3 : The Timing of Shipments	17
<i>Analysis by Year</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>Analysis by Month</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>Analysis by Day.....</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>Summary.....</i>	<i>27</i>
Chapter 4 : The Geographical Origin and Destination of Trade	29
<i>Bridgwater and Minehead's Share of Trade</i>	<i>29</i>
<i>Value of Trade by Port of Registration</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>Continental and Irish Share of Trade.....</i>	<i>37</i>
<i>Comparison to the Bristol Accounts.....</i>	<i>40</i>
<i>Summary.....</i>	<i>40</i>

Chapter 5 : The Merchants	42
<i>Trade by Merchant</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>Trade by Merchants' Nationality</i>	<i>49</i>
<i>The Identity of the Merchants.....</i>	<i>49</i>
<i>Summary.....</i>	<i>50</i>
Chapter 6 : Conclusion	51
Appendix A : Facsimile.....	58
Appendix B : List of Ports.....	60
Appendix C : List of Goods	61
<i>Exports from Bridgwater.....</i>	<i>61</i>
<i>Imports to Bridgwater</i>	<i>63</i>
<i>Exports from Minehead.....</i>	<i>64</i>
<i>Imports to Minehead</i>	<i>64</i>
Appendix D : Trade by Ships' Home Port	65
<i>Exports from Bridgwater.....</i>	<i>65</i>
<i>Imports to Bridgwater</i>	<i>66</i>
<i>Exports from Minehead.....</i>	<i>67</i>
<i>Imports to Minehead</i>	<i>67</i>
Appendix E : Principal Merchants and their Trades.....	68
Bibliography	69
<i>Manuscript Sources.....</i>	<i>69</i>
<i>Printed Sources</i>	<i>69</i>
<i>Secondary Works.....</i>	<i>69</i>

LIST OF GRAPHS

Graph 1 Percentage Exports by Category	8
Graph 2 Percentage Imports by Category	11
Graph 3 Imports by Category and Month.....	22
Graph 4 Exports by Category and Month	23
Graph 5: Bridgwater and Minehead Share of Trade.....	30
Graph 6 Trade by Home Port and Category	34
Graph 7 Geographical Distribution of Imports.....	38
Graph 8 Geographical Distribution of Exports.....	40
Graph 9 : Percentage Share of Trade by Merchant.....	43

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 : Comparison of Exports between Bristol and Bridgwater 1540-42, 1544-45 / 1545-46	14
Table 2 : Comparison of Imports between Bristol and Bridgwater 1540-42, 1544-45 / 1545-46	15
Table 3 Exports by Year	17
Table 4 Cloth Exports by Year	19
Table 5 Imports by Year	20
Table 6 Fish Imports by Year	21
Table 7 Trade by Category : Comparison of Bridgwater and Minehead	30
Table 8 Imports of Fish : Comparison of Minehead and Bridgwater	32
Table 9 Percentage Share of Trade by Home Port.....	33
Table 10 Comparison of Irish and Continental Imports	38
Table 11 : Fish Trade % Share by Merchant	44
Table 12 : Foodstuff Trade % Share by Merchant	45
Table 13 : Wine Trade % Share by Merchant	45
Table 14 : Salt Trade % Share by Merchant.....	46
Table 15 : Cloth Trade % Share by Merchant.....	48

CHAPTER 1 : RATIONALE AND METHOD

Bridgwater lies on the southern side of the Bristol Channel in the county of Somerset, south west England. The port is reached along a narrow, winding waterway and lies ten miles inland from open water. Its situation on the river Parrett afforded access for transshipment of goods further inland to the south of the county to towns such as Langport, and as a consequence it was once the county's principal trading port.

The port of Bridgwater in the sense used by the Tudor administration in the 1540s however referred to a wider area than the physical harbour at Bridgwater itself, and included the whole coast of Somerset from the mouth of the river Axe in the east to Porlock Bay in the west. In effect, transactions for two physical ports were entered in the Bridgwater customs accounts: those for the head port of Bridgwater itself, and for the member port of Minehead located further to the west and situated more immediately on the coast. This study of Bridgwater's customs accounts is therefore in practice a study of two separate ports.

Historians have paid scant attention to Bridgwater's overseas trade and there is no one work dealing specifically with the subject. Robert Dunning has written a general history of the town which incorporates some isolated examples of overseas trade, and as editor of the *Victoria County History* treats the subject in a similar manner, albeit more extensively.¹ Dorothy Burwash tabulated totals of exports and imports for two separate years, and totalled ships' movements for four years as an appendix in her study of Tudor shipping; and Ada Longfield produced an appendix with similar information, but only in relation to trade with Ireland, and then only for a single year.² Maryanne Kowaleski considers the

¹ R.W. Dunning, ed., *A History of the County of Somerset*. Vol. 5, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (Oxford, 1985); ———, *Bridgwater: History and Guide* (Stroud, 1992).

² Dorothy Burwash, *English Merchant Shipping 1460-1540* (Newton Abbot, 1969). Ada Kathleen Longfield, *Anglo-Irish Trade in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1929).

trade of the sub-port of Minehead but in the context of a much wider study of the south western fish trade, and the information is again therefore partial at best.³ The most comprehensive survey is that which appears in Wendy Childs' article concerning Anglo-Irish trade in the late Middle Ages.⁴ Based on four complete and three incomplete customs accounts, Childs has calculated values of exports and imports carried in Irish ships, and according to destination and last port of call. However, much of her analysis is based on the number of ships which passed through the port, rather than on the value of the trade which they carried, and there is no detailed exploration of the particular types of goods carried, nor of the merchants who were trading; neither does her study extend to Bridgwater's continental trade. There has therefore been no thorough or systematic study of the historical data relating to trade through the port, and the work that has been done has tended to examine Bridgwater's trade in the light of other contexts, rather than as a trade in its own right.

Bridgwater is not alone amongst minor ports in having been overlooked by economic historians studying the late medieval and early modern periods. The focus has tended to be on the larger towns and ports with their more extensive sources and more substantial profiles.⁵ Only a minority of the lesser ports have benefited from dedicated study: Elizabethan Chester is the subject of a monograph by D.M Woodward, and the ports of East Anglia have received

³ Maryanne Kowaleski, 'The Expansion of the South-Western Fisheries in Late Medieval England', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 53 (2000), 429-454.

⁴ Wendy Childs, 'Ireland's Trade with England in the Later Middle Ages', *Irish Economic and Social History*, IX (1982), 5-33.

⁵ E.M. Carus-Wilson, 'The Overseas Trade of Bristol', in *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Eileen Power and M.M. Postan (London, 1933), pp. 183-246. David Harris Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy 1450-1700* (Berkeley, CA., 1991). Wendy Childs, *The Trade and Shipping of Hull 1300-1500* (Beverly, 1990).

similar treatment from N.J. Williams.⁶ Other studies are no more extensive than single journal articles or subsections of chapters in edited collections.⁷

The problems of using customs accounts as a source for economic history are well known.⁸ Provided their shortcomings are recognised however, they do have value as a guide to the trade passing through a port, and in the absence of any other more reliable data they cannot be completely discounted. Advances in information technology have recently allowed for more comprehensive and extensive analyses of the detailed information contained in the customs accounts, which list a minimum of vessel, merchant and goods carried. The electronic database of the Gloucester Port Books between 1575 and 1765 which has been compiled by the University of Wolverhampton to aid understanding of the internal trade of the Severn Valley is an example.⁹ Likewise Bristol University has a current project examining Ireland-Bristol trade in the Sixteenth Century

⁶ D.M. Woodward, *The Trade of Elizabethan Chester*. ed. by John Saville, *Occasional Papers in Economic and Social History No. 4* (Hull, 1970). N.J. Williams, *The Maritime Trade of the East Anglian Ports 1550-1590* (Oxford, 1988).

⁷ J.C.A. Whetter, 'Cornish Trade in the 17th Century: An Analysis of the Port Books', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, n.s 4 (1964), 388-413. Bryan Waites, 'The Medieval Ports and Trade of North-East Yorkshire', *Mariner's Mirror*, 63 (1977), 137-149. Robert Tittler, 'The Vitality of an Elizabethan Port: The Economy of Poole C.1550-1600', *Southern History*, 7 (1985), 95-118. W.B. Stephens, 'The Foreign Trade of Plymouth and the Cornish Ports in the Early 17th Century', *Devonshire Association Report and Transactions*, 101 (1969), 125-137; Stephen Hipkin, 'The Maritime Economy of Rye 1560-1640', *Southern History*, 20-21 (1998-99), 108-142. M.C.S. Evans, 'Carmarthen and the Welsh Port Books 1550-1603', *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, 3 (1960), 72-87. J.F. Wade, 'The Overseas Trade of Newcastle Upon Tyne in the Late Middle Ages', *Northern History*, 30 (1994), 31-48.

⁸ G.D Ramsey, 'The Smuggler's Trade: A Neglected Aspect of English Commercial Development', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 2 (1952), 131-157. J. Vanes, 'Documents Illustrating the Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Sixteenth Century', *Bristol Record Society Publications*, XXXI (1979).pp.86-122. Williams, *East Anglian Ports*.pp.41-49.

⁹ M.D.G. Wanklyn, 'Gloucester Port Books 1575-1765 [Computer File]', UK Data Archive, (1996).

based on quantitative data extracted from nine particular customs accounts.¹⁰ An examination of Bridgwater's customs accounts will therefore throw a side light on this research helping to establish whether the Bristol trade was typical of the wider trade in the Bristol Channel. It will also help to redress the lack of attention which minor ports in general have received.

This thesis is based on three particular accounts which are complete records of the years 1540-41, 1541-42 and 1544-45¹¹. In view of the relatively low volume of trade passing through the ports, one year was not considered to be a substantial enough basis on which to be able to reach any conclusions with confidence. These years have been chosen both because of their near proximity and because they provide a near exact match with those for which data is available for Bristol.¹²

The three customs accounts which form the basis of this study are housed in the Public Record Office at Kew. The manuscripts survive in good condition with only a small number of entries damaged to the extent that they are illegible. They are in paginated, bound volumes, and the earlier two accounts are clearly written in Latin using a Gothic-style script. The later account makes greater use of English words, 'brode cloth' appearing on one occasion for instance, and is harder to decipher being written in a more cursive and irregular hand.¹³ Appendix A is a facsimile of the opening page of the 1540-41 account, and the penultimate page of the 1544-45 account.

The accounts were photographed and then transcribed to a computerised database which comprises over twenty thousand fields relating to entries for one

¹⁰ University of Bristol Department of Historical Studies, 'Ireland-Bristol Trade in the Sixteenth Century', University of Bristol, (2006)

<<http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Ireland/research.htm>> [Accessed March 2006].

¹¹ P.R.O. E 122/27/15; E 122/27/18; E 122/27/21

¹² Evan T. Jones, 'The Bristol Shipping Industry in the Sixteenth Century' (Phd Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1998). This survey covers the years 1540-41, 1541-42 and 1545-46.

¹³ P.R.O. E122/27/21.p.3.

thousand, two hundred and fifty six individually listed goods. To aid analysis standardisation of certain names, people and places was necessary as the accounts were written in a period before spelling had been regularised. Philip Morow and Philip Morowe, or Stocub and Stokub for instance. Place names have been transliterated into modern language and a full listing of the nomenclature of ports encountered is in Appendix B. Where it has not been possible to identify a place the original is used in italics. One regularly occurring port in particular falls into this category, *Yelfercub* probably Ilfracombe on the north Devon coast.

Throughout this thesis values are expressed in decimals of a pound, rather than in pounds, shillings and pence. This is both because it is simply easier to comprehend for a modern reader, and also to be consistent with other recent work involving customs accounts. Values have been rounded to the nearest pound where appropriate, although all calculations were done using the unrounded figures. The decimal expression of pounds should not be confused with the metric monetary system introduced in 1971. £8.33 is not eight pounds and thirty-three pence (ie. 'd') for example, but eight pounds, six shillings and eight pence.

The accounts run from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, that is from the end of September to the end of September, and so each covers part of two calendar years. Each entry in the accounts lists the ship's name along with the date it entered or left harbour, the name of the master and whether he was native or foreign. The owners of the cargoes are then listed against details of their particular share of goods, again with an indication as to their domiciliary status.

A notional value based on a standardised nationally prescribed rate is entered against the majority of entries. These were liable to pay a tax known as 'poundage' calculated at five per cent of this notional value, and this amount is entered on the same line. Wine and cloth did not pay poundage and were taxed at a different rate, and no notional value is entered against these cargoes but simply the amount of tax due.

The poundage valuation is distinct from the market value of the goods and is estimated to have been about half of the 'true' value.¹⁴ It is not the absolute value that is of interest here however, which in any case would have fluctuated from port to port and across time, but the comparative value of the goods. The consistency of the ascribed notional value has the advantage over market rates in allowing comparisons to be made between ports, between goods and over time on a like for like basis. To this end wine and cloth have been allocated values of £4 per tun and £2 per cloth of assize in line with the method established by Wendy Childs and subsequently adopted by Dr. Evan Jones and Susan Flavin.¹⁵ Distinct regional varieties and types of cloth were taxed at amounts which varied from that for the standard cloth of assize or broadcloth, and the values for these have been derived by simply grossing up the tax paid on a pro rata basis against broadcloth. 'Dunsters' for instance which paid tax at 3.5d would appear to have been one quarter of the size of the standard broad cloth taxed at 14d, and have been valued accordingly at £0.50.

More problematic were the instances where the accounts clerk had clearly made an error in his entries. These took the form either of simple errors of omission, where a commodity was listed but no value or tax was allocated to it; or occasions where mathematical errors were apparent leading to over or undervaluations. Nicolas Hay bringing six pipes of salmon and twelve barrels of red herring aboard the Mary from Wexford in 1541 paid tax only on the salmon for instance; whilst Robert Qurke trading on the George from Minehead also in 1541 should have paid tax of £18 on his declared goods but was levied tax at only £12.50. This problem is particularly common in the 1541-42 accounts where the perhaps overambitious clerk has more often produced a total for all goods particular to any one merchant, rather than itemising values against each item or line of the account as is usual. By this method there can be up to eleven items listed but only one value. The discrepancies are not particular to any

¹⁴ Jones, 'Bristol Shipping'.p.34. Childs, 'Ireland's Trade with England'.p.18.

¹⁵ Ibid. Ibid. Susan Flavin, 'The Development of Anglo-Irish Trade in the Sixteenth Century' (MA, University of Bristol, 2005).p.18.

merchant or group of merchants so there is no indication that anything other than arithmetical incompetence has taken place. There were thirty two calculation errors in the original accounts which were amended in the transcribed database where the validity of the underlying data was deemed of greater worth than an absolute faithfulness to the text. The total of under-valuations was £24 and of over-valuations £3 so the end result has not been unduly affected.

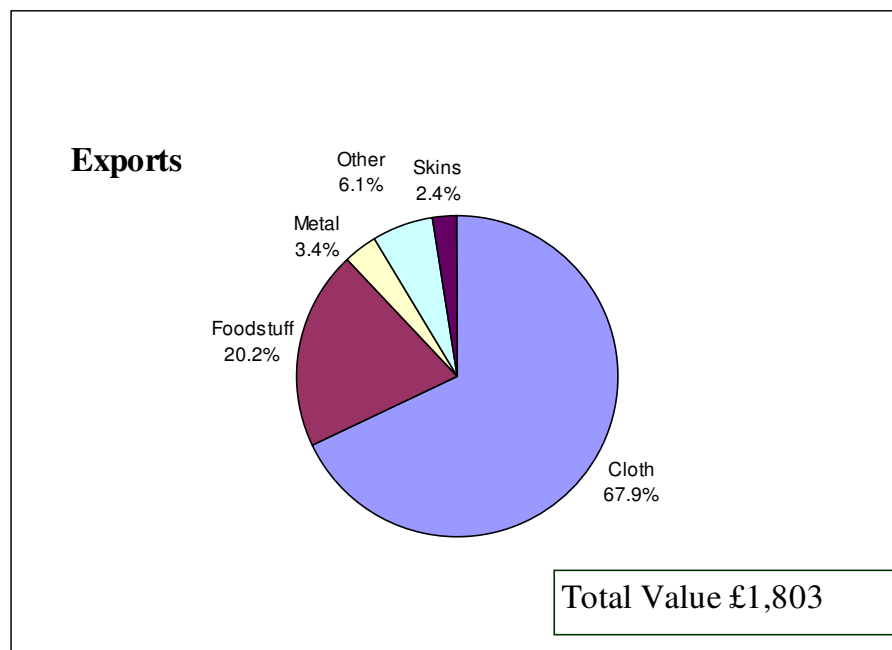
This thesis examines which goods were shipped, when they were shipped, where they were shipped and who was responsible for their shipment. Chapter 2 examines the types of goods listed in the accounts broken down by imports and exports, and considers their significance for the local economy. Chapter 3 analyses the timing of the flow of goods broken down by year, month and day. Chapter 4 examines the ports from which the ships came and sets out the principal geographical parameters of trade; differences between the goods traded through the ports of Minehead and Bridgwater are compared, and an attempt is made to separate Irish from continental trade. Using the principal commodity classes, Chapter 5 analyses the merchants who were engaged in trade and briefly considers the extent of foreign merchants' involvement. Chapter 6 concludes the thesis with a summary of the analysis and consideration of the significance of the findings for the existing historiography.

CHAPTER 2 : THE TYPES OF GOODS SHIPPED

This chapter examines the composition of the cargoes listed in the accounts by exports and by imports using the combined figures for Bridgwater and Minehead. Differences between the two ports will be more fully considered in Chapters 3 and 4. Brief explanations as to the significance of particular products to the local economy are made and areas of uncertainty are highlighted. A separate comparison is made with the range of goods traded at Bristol for the same period. There are ninety-nine different commodities listed in the accounts and in order to make analysis more comprehensible entries have been grouped into eight categories reflecting the main groups of imports and exports; these are expressed graphically in Graphs 1 and 2. A full list of commodities broken down by year between exports and imports for both Bridgwater and Minehead is attached in Appendix C.

Exports

Graph 1 Percentage Exports by Category



Cloth is by far the biggest category of exported goods totalling £1,224, but this itself contains significant subdivisions reflecting the regional and specialised nature of this aspect of trade. Broadcloth, itemised as ‘pan sg’ or just ‘pan’ accounts for 44% of this category. Kerseys represent 20% and Bridgwater cloth 18%. The remainder comprises: cloth from Dunster (5%); Taunton (2%); and a cloth from Molton, sometimes specifically referred to as being white, (6%); a small amount of frieze from Bristol as well as Russets and Northernns also feature. The regional cloths were smaller than broadcloth, with Bridgwaters valued at half, and Dunsters, Tauntons, Kerseys and Moltons at one quarter of the standard broadcloth rate. These regionally particular cloths were lighter than broadcloth and may have had other distinguishing characteristics perhaps of texture or weave; the presence of dyestuffs listed below would also suggest colour to have been a regional variable. Other items in this category are: ‘remlites’ of cloth, which are valued at different rates and are perhaps remnants or offcuts of some sort; lining; canvas; and caps or capes. Silk has also been included which accounts for 4% of total cloth exports but unlike other products in this category was re-exported rather than of home manufacture.

Foodstuff, which totals £364, comprises primary agricultural products and is dominated by beans which are the most frequently occurring entry in the accounts and comprise 65% of this category. The importance of beans for the region had been noted by John Leland in his journey through the south west made between 1535 and 1543.

There is a great plenty of benes in this quarter and inward to the landes. And of these benes there is yn a manner a staple at Bridgwater when corne is dere in the parties beyond the sea.¹⁶

Leland goes on to note that ‘whete and catelle’ are also plentiful. There are no exports of cattle or bovine by-products other than skins listed, but there are of

¹⁶ John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or About the Years 1535-1543*. ed. by Lucy Toulmin Smith. 5 vols. Vol. 3 (London, 1906-1910), p.168.

wheat which although it has only one seventh the number of shipments of beans had a higher value and is the next largest product in this category at 21% of the total. Hops (9%) and malt (4%) form the balance, both of which were used in the Irish brewing industry.

Nearly half the £62 of metal exported is iron, and two shipments of lead account for a further 20%. Manufactured products form the remainder including: 'cuttes' believed to be a type of blade or knife; 'batry' or ironware; and anchors.

There are twenty six items amounting to £109 which have been classified as miscellaneous of which two have significant value: hemp, also listed as white hemp, accounts for 42% of the category; and saffron for 30%. Hemp was grown in south and west Somerset and its export indicates a surplus to that required by the local rope industry. Saffron was used as a dyeing agent, rather than foodstuff, and yellow was the colour of fashion in Ireland whence it was bound. *Pilliorn*, either a pillow or a distinctive type of stirrup-free saddle favoured by the Irish, accounts for 11%.¹⁷ Wool by-products ('flokcs'), rope, dyestuffs and spices also feature, as do pitch and tar.

The small recorded quantities of skins exported (£44) are chiefly tanned hides and calf skins. Although this category is of a relatively small value, it is highly likely that the actual quantities shipped were considerably in excess of the declared cargoes. Dr. Evan Jones has demonstrated that the financial incentive to evade tax on this particular product was high, and by careful comparison of merchants' private accounts with those of the customs office for the same period at Bristol has revealed wide discrepancies between the two.¹⁸

His study has also shown that exports of wheat, peas and beans were similarly treated, with as little as one fifth of the loaded cargo being declared.¹⁹ Other

¹⁷ Longfield, *Anglo-Irish Trade*.pp.189-190.

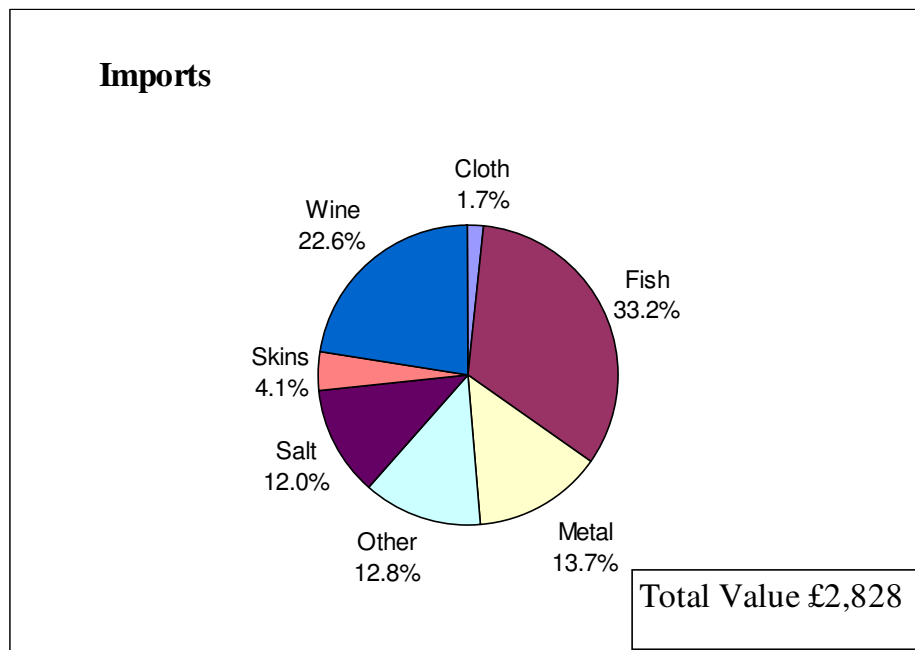
¹⁸ Evan T. Jones, 'Illicit Business: Accounting for Smuggling in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Bristol', *Economic History Review*, LIV (2001), 17-38.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*p.28.

studies for elsewhere have reached a similar conclusion regarding the extent of smuggling and the probability that it was endemic has significant implications for the interpretation of the Bridgwater customs accounts in which foodstuff was such an important export category, and this will be considered further below.²⁰

Imports

Graph 2 Percentage Imports by Category



Imports of cloth at only £43 are clearly far smaller than exports and comprise mainly Irish frieze (52% of the category) and canvas from Brittany (24%).

There are five principal types of preserved fish imported, all of which originated in Ireland, and together they form the largest import category valued at £940. Salted or 'white' herring account for 39% of this category and hake for 30%;

²⁰ Ramsey, 'The Smuggler's Trade'. N.J. Williams, *Contraband Cargoes: Seven Centuries of Smuggling* (London, 1959). Williams, *East Anglian Ports*.pp.30-33.

salmon comprise 18%, and 'red' herring, which were partially cured through smoking, form another 8%. *Clames* or *Clamades* are entered in conjunction with some of these shipments, particularly hake. Although there is no definitive explanation for what these are, it seems likely that they were porpoises because they are quantified individually rather than by weight or volume, and this accords with a comparison of their value with the Bristol customs accounts where they are listed as 'seal-pigs'. An alternative interpretation that they were 'some bi-valvular shellfish' seems unlikely given their valuation and the fact that they were imported only a few at a time.²¹

Imports of metal, which total £387, were less diverse than exports and apart from three anchors and a small quantity of 'olde brasse' were almost entirely of iron probably originating from the mountains of Cantabria. Childs explains that west country ports were the recipients of iron due to their geographical position and that this was then transported further eastwards; these imports are therefore not necessarily indicators of the size or importance of the local iron working industry.²²

This value of the miscellaneous category at £363 is distorted to an extent by the inclusion of a very valuable shipment of woad valued at £200 which arrived at Minehead aboard a Portuguese registered ship in November 1541. This is by far the most valuable shipment received in the three years studied and in view of its carriage on a Portuguese ship it may have originated in the Azores. Other smaller cargoes of woad were carried on ships from northern Spain and probably came from the area around Toulouse. Woad was used in dyeing and the strength of this industry is affirmed by the presence of *brazil*, a red dye derived from brazilwood, and alum which was used as a mordant to fix colours. A shipment of fruit arriving on the 3rd January 1542 represents a large 9% of this category and regular but small shipments of pitch and tar account for 8%. Soap (6%),

²¹ Longfield, *Anglo-Irish Trade*.p. 233.

²² Wendy Childs, 'Devon's Overseas Trade in the Late Middle Ages', in *The New Maritime History of Devon*, ed. by Michael Duffy, Stephen Fisher, Basil Greenhill, David J. Starkey and Joyce Youings (Exeter, 1992), pp. 79-89.(p.80).

rosin (4%) and oil (4%) are less substantial but not inconsequential cargoes. There is no indication of the type of soap but the likelihood is that it was 'black' or unrefined soap used as an industrial cleaning agent in the cloth industry, as was oil. Pitch and tar were used for marine purposes and also for doctoring and marking sheep.

Nine different types of animal skin imports are recorded, totalling £116. The largest group is simply listed as 'Irish'; deer and lamb skins are the only other significant groups at 12% and 8% of this category respectively. Unlike exports there was no incentive to smuggle these *into* the country and these figures are probably a truer representation of the underlying trade.

Apart from a small quantity of corrupt wine or vinegar on one occasion and sack on another, there is no differentiation within the categories for wine, which totalled £639, or for salt which totalled £340. Both of these originated from Iberia and France. Salt was used for preserving fish and meat, and was also used for curing skins and in the production of cheese and butter, and so would have found a ready use locally where these were prominent activities.

Comparison to Bristol Accounts

A comparison can be made between Bridgwater and Bristol for the same period by imposing a similar categorisation on the data recorded by Dr. Jones in his study of the Bristol customs accounts.

Exports

Table 1 : Comparison of Exports between Bristol and Bridgwater 1540-42, 1544-45 / 1545-46

	Bristol		Bridgwater & Minehead	
	£ Value	%	£ Value	%
Cloth	£ 16,748	62	1,224	68
Fish	£ 11	<1	-	-
Foodstuff	£ 552	2	364	20
Metal	£ 5,958	22	62	4
Miscellaneous	£ 1,783	6	109	6
Salt	£ 117	<1	-	-
Skins	£ 1,773	6	44	2
Wine	£ 249	1	-	-
Total	£ 27,191		£ 1,803	

Unsurprisingly Table 1 shows that Bristol's exports were vastly greater than those of Bridgwater. This was true not only in terms of overall value but also in the range of goods shipped. The Bristol accounts are filled with manufactured and exotic goods such as incense, madder, spectacles and dozens of other similar entries which are absent from the more mundane traffic at Bridgwater. These continental re-exports were bought to Bristol from London and Southampton, but Bridgwater was not a wealthy enough entreport to sustain its own trade in these goods.

The greatest proportion of exports for both ports was in cloth, and the percentages given over to this trade are similar. However, Bristol's next largest category is in metal and metalwork, whilst that of Bridgwater is in foodstuff. All of these observations have to be tempered by an awareness of the impact of smuggling but notwithstanding this it is clear that Bristol exported proportionately more iron and ironwork, whilst Bridgwater exported proportionately more foodstuff emphasising its more agricultural context and its importance for the food trade.

Imports

Table 2 : Comparison of Imports between Bristol and Bridgwater 1540-42, 1544-45 / 1545-46

	Bristol		Bridgwater & Minehead	
	£ Value	%	£ Value	%
Cloth	£ 5,520	13	43	2
Fish	£ 3,422	8	940	33
Foodstuff	£ 3,442	8	0	-
Metal	£ 5,243	12	387	14
Other	£ 4,345	10	363	13
Salt	£ 659	2	340	12
Skins	£ 1,735	4	116	4
Wine	£ 18,482	43	639	22
Total	£ 42,848		£ 2,828	

Table 2 shows that there are greater differences in the profile of imports between the two ports than was evident for exports. The Bristol accounts list two types of imported Irish cloth: a checked cloth which accounts for three quarters of Bristol's substantial cloth imports, and frieze which accounts for less than 2%. Checked cloth is not listed at all in the Bridgwater accounts but Irish frieze comprises over half of Bridgwater cloth imports. Given that different clerks were involved and that there was no standard description to which they were working, we cannot be sure that the frieze at Bridgwater was not a generic description for Irish cloth which perhaps included some of the checked variety, so this difference may not be as significant as it first appears. However, there is clearly a substantial difference in the overall amount of Irish cloth imported which amounts to just £43 in total at Bridgwater.

Although Bristol was a major market for fish, in proportionate terms the ports of Bridgwater landed far more. Minehead's leading position in the south western fish trade was long established, but notwithstanding this Bristol's relatively low share during this period may have been due to a fall in the supply of fish

reaching the city as a result of the authorities imposing restrictions on certain fairs as evidenced from a law suit of 1543.²³

The relatively large amounts of salt imported by Bridgwater and Minehead are no doubt accounted for by the greater importance of the fish, dairy and tanning industries outlined above.

Bridgwater imported almost half the proportion of wine compared to Bristol. This is a statistical consequence of the proportionally greater imports of fish, but also reflects the relative size of the hinterlands of the two ports with Bristol serving as a major distribution centre for the wider Bristol Channel and river Severn area.

Summary

Bridgwater's exports were dominated by local produce of cloth and foodstuffs; re-exports of items such as saffron and silk were limited. Its imports were similarly composed of primary products such as salt, woad, iron and fish. Whilst having a similar range of goods to Bristol, Bridgwater nevertheless maintained its own profile in terms of the relative proportions of these. Neither in exports nor in imports was it simply a mini-Bristol, its near and larger neighbour.

²³ Kowaleski, 'Expansion'.p.447. Longfield, *Anglo-Irish Trade*.p.52.

CHAPTER 3 : THE TIMING OF SHIPMENTS

This chapter examines the timing of the flow of trade through the ports of Bridgwater on a yearly, monthly and daily basis. Reasons for the temporal distribution of imports and exports are considered and some comparisons are made with Bristol's trade.

Analysis by Year

The accounts' financial year, (i.e. October to September inclusive), has been used for the following analysis, rather than the calendar year in order to be able to compare three twelve-month periods.

Chapter Two gave an indication of the provenance of Bridgwater's trade with Ireland and continental Europe. Such trade was likely to have been affected by considerations of external government policy and two events are relevant in this respect for the period under review. Firstly, from August 1543 until June 1546 England was at war with France, with hostilities having commenced as early as February 1543. Secondly, in 1542 a military campaign began in Ireland with the despatch of English troops. To what extent then was Bridgwater's trade affected by these events?

Exports

Table 3 Exports by Year

Category	1540-41	1541-42	1544-45
Cloth	£ 277	£ 527	£ 420
Foodstuff	£ 96	£ 227	£ 41
Metal	£ 25	£ 32	£ 5
Other	£ 45	£ 43	£ 21
Skins	-	£ 1	£ 43
Total	£ 444	£ 830	£ 530

As far as exports are concerned the impact of the military in Ireland can most readily be seen in the large increase in foodstuffs attributable to 1541-42 which are more than double the those of the preceding year as shown in Table 3. Beans are the major contributor to this and their value more than triples from £51 to £161. That the army was the customer for this produce is made clear by a number of entries which specifically refer to Sir Anthony St. Ledger, the Deputy Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and a margin note indicates that the item is exempt from tax. Although the first of these shipments was not until June and the total value of beans, malt and wheat accounted for in this way is only £24, they occur in conjunction with a great many similarly laden and often Irish registered vessels leaving at the same time but which did pay customs. For example the Sunday of Bristol departed on 22nd June 1542 with two weys of custom-exempt beans, to be followed by the John and the Mary Smyth, both of Wexford, on 28th June and 1st July with cargoes of beans, wheat and malt for which they did pay poundage. Shortly afterwards custom free goods are again recorded leaving the port on 1st, 3rd and 4th of July aboard Milford and Minehead ships. Given the frequency and volume of similar series of entries, it seems clear that a common factor was driving demand for both types of shipment. The low proportion of tax exempt shipments is notable in this respect when comparison is made to Bristol where half of the food exported for the same period was under license. Whilst this only amounted to £83 it is difficult to see why more was not shipped from Bridgwater in this way given that it was a more important port as far as foodstuffs were concerned. Turning to 1544-45 the low figure for food exports is partly explained by the absence of any wheat exports, demand for which had collapsed as a result of lower prices.

Exports of cloth nearly double in the period 1540-1542, an increase mainly attributable to the increased export of broadcloth which shows a sharp rise in value from £147 to £312. Table 4 shows a slight decline in the amount of Bridgwater cloth shipped, but Moltons, which do not appear at all in the 1540-41 accounts, are valued at £50 in 1541-42. Kerseys also show a marked increase between 1540 and 1542 from £59 to £101. Kerseys were mainly shipped to Ireland whilst broadcloth was chiefly destined for Spain and Portugal and the overall increase in cloth exports seems therefore to have applied to both markets.

Broadcloth falls to only £76 for the 1544-45 accounts and its place is taken up by smaller, regionally distinct cloth types. Bridgwaters have a substantial increase from an average of £30 in the two earlier years to £157 in the later account; and Dunsters likewise increase sharply from an average of £3.50 to £53. It may well be that such variations were not the result of fluctuations in supply or demand, and that they are more apparent than real with the recorded data not accurately reflecting the actual composition of cargoes. Customs clerks were not necessarily consistent in their recording and taxing of cloths which were all non standard to a greater or lesser extent. There are many entries which record a half of broadcloth for example, which may well have simply been another way of describing Bridgwaters. Whatever the variety however, there is undoubtedly an overall increase in demand for cloth, and this would appear to be a response to the substitution of Spanish for French imports following the advent of war, since Spain was the greater market for this exported product. That this is the case is supported by the figures for 1544-45 where 89% of cloth exports were aboard Spanish and Portuguese registered ships as against just 3% in 1540-41.

Table 4 Cloth Exports by Year

	1540-41	1541-42	1544-45
Canvas	£ 2	£ 1	£ -
Cappes	£ 1	£ -	£ -
Broadcloth	£ 150	£ 312	£ 76
Bridgwater	£ 32	£ 28	£ 157
Bristol frieze	£ -	£ -	£ 2
Dunster	£ 3	£ 4	£ 53
Moltens	£ -	£ 51	£ 20
Northerns	£ 2	£ -	£ -
Remilites	£ 8	£ 2	£ 1
Russet	£ 1	£ -	£ -
Tauntons	£ 10	£ 1	£ 15
Kerseys	£ 58	£ 100	£ 86
Lining	£ 1	£ 1	£ -
Silk	£ 9	£ 27	£ 10

Turning to other product categories, the absence of any exports of lead, iron and hemp in 1544-45 accounts for the fall in the metal and miscellaneous category figures. This seems unlikely to have been a consequence of the war as exports

were healthy in 1542-43, and in any case these commodities were shipped to Ireland.

Tanned hides and calf skins appear as exports for the first time in 1544-45. Both are single shipments, from which wider conclusions should perhaps not too readily be drawn, but given the high profits that were to be made on this trade it is surprising that such goods do not appear in earlier accounts. Given the presence of the local tanning industry it seems unlikely that such goods had not been previously illicitly exported as they have been shown to have been at Bristol.²⁴

Imports

Table 5 Imports by Year

Category	1540-41	1541-42	1544-45
Cloth	£ 20	£ 22	£ 2
Fish	£ 331	£ 286	£ 324
Metal	£ 115	£ 172	£ 101
Other	£ 37	£ 277	£ 49
Salt	£ 208	£ 82	£ 50
Skins	£ 11	£ 29	£ 76
Wine	£ 232	£ 278	£ 129
Total	£ 954	£ 1,146	£ 731

The impact of the French war is most apparent in the decline in salt imports over the period as is evident in Table 5. The 1540-41 imports included shipments aboard vessels from Quimperle, Morbihan, Le Croisic and other French ports which amounted to one quarter of salt shipments. There are no such imports in the following two accounts and surprisingly there is no increase in shipments aboard Iberian vessels to compensate for this.

Wine is similarly affected but this does not show up in the 1541-42 account as the majority of wine imports were received in the early part of the accounting

²⁴ Jones, 'Illicit Business'.

year before hostilities had started. The affect can be better seen by comparing the first and last accounts: in 1540-41 whilst there had only been one Breton registered vessel carrying wine, it had the largest cargo valued at £100 or 43% of that year's wine imports and there were no wine imports aboard Spanish registered ships; the 1544-45 accounts show a markedly different profile with three out of the four shipments received being on ships registered at Renteria and San Sebastian in northern Spain which account for 57% of that year's imports.

Imports of canvas from Poldavye in Brittany likewise only appear in the earlier account where they represent £11 of the £20 total of cloth imported for that year. The import figure for cloth remains at a similar level the following year due to the arrival of large amounts of Irish frieze reflecting the increased traffic with Ireland resulting from the demand for foodstuffs noted above. Cloth imports drop dramatically to just three small shipments in 1544-45 in line with the decline in foodstuff exports which they reciprocated.

Imports of fish are the most consistent of any commodity and the product mix within this category is also relatively consistent as Table 6 demonstrates. The exception to this is in the 1544-45 account which shows a large increase in the amount of salmon shipped with 60% of all salmon being shipped in this one year. This is perhaps explained by the variable nature of the salmon catch from year to year which is dependant on cyclical migration patterns.

Table 6 Fish Imports by Year

Item	1540-41	1541-42	1544-45
<i>Clames</i>	£ 8	£ 13	£ 12
Fish	£ 5	£ 2	-
Fish – salted	£ 4	£ 3	-
Hake	£ 91	£ 114	£ 76
Red herring	£ 32	£ 16	£ 27
Salmon	£ 52	£ 18	£ 100
White herring	£ 139	£ 121	£ 109

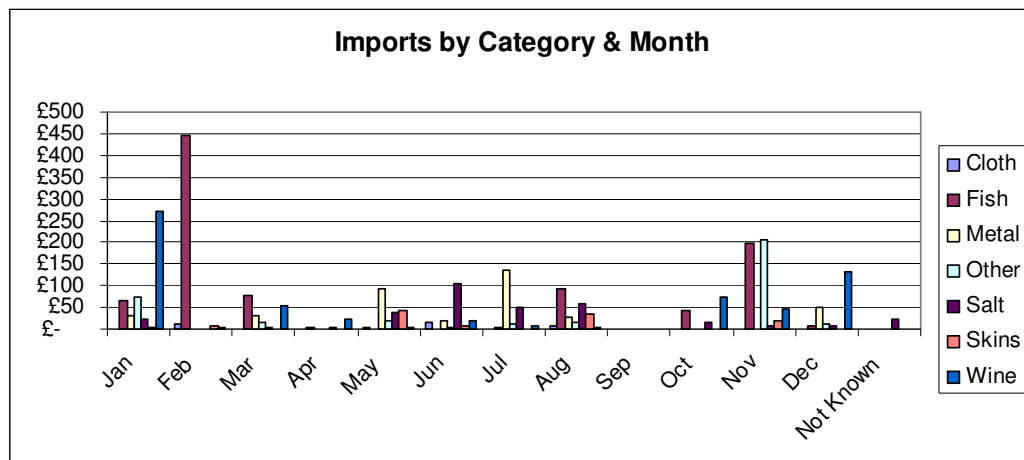
The fluctuations in metal imports are not statistically significant and that of the miscellaneous category is attributable to the imports of woad and fruit to which reference has already been made.

Imports of skins rise from being only 1% of the total of imports in 1540-41 to over 10% in 1544-45. A longer series would be needed to establish if this was a trend indicative of the development of the Irish tanning industry, which later in the century was sufficiently developed to attract government regulation. However shipments are no more numerous, nor the merchants engaged in the trade any more diverse than in earlier years; the difference in values are attributable to one large shipment by an established Minehead based trader, John Hyll. The available data does not therefore support any wider conclusion.

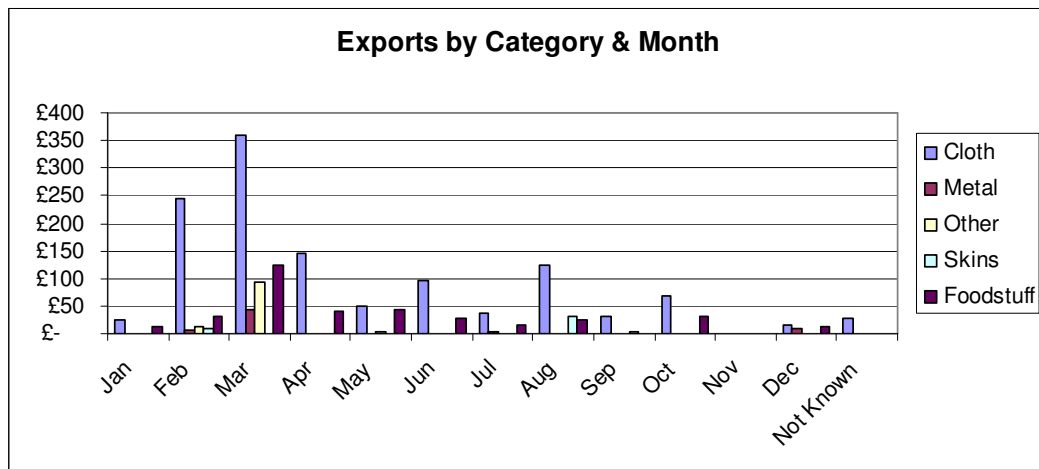
Analysis by Month

There is a distinct seasonal pattern to the flow of trade through the Bridgwater ports with 45% of all trade occurring in the first quarter, particularly in the two months of February and March which together account for one third of the total. November is the next highest month with a 10% share, and August has 9%. September however, accounts for less than 1%.

Graph 3 Imports by Category and Month



Graph 4 Exports by Category and Month



Graphs 3 and 4 show imports and exports broken down by month and it is immediately apparent that fish imports were highest in February whilst cloth exports were highest in March. This is partially explained by the many incoming fish laden ships which are recorded subsequently leaving with cloth. This linkage is confirmed by August also being a peak month for the importation of fish and the corresponding export of cloth, but is not supported by the figures for November which, whilst the second highest month for the importation of fish, had no recorded exports at all; exports remained low in December. February imports were carried on Irish registered vessels which reloaded with cloth for the return journey, but the November imports were aboard entirely Minehead registered vessels which are not listed as having carried export goods either before or after their arrival with fish in November.

The timing of fish imports was an important determinant of the timing of cloth exports in the early part of the year but it was not the only factor. A secondary reason is related to the importation of wine, 63% of which arrived in the months of December and January following the autumn grape harvest. The December imports were in Bridgwater and Minehead registered vessels, some of which are recorded leaving with small quantities of cloth in October, but the January shipments included vessels from Spain and Brittany which reloaded with more substantial quantities of cloth. For example, the Saint John from Renteria arrived on 28th January 1545 with £15 of wine and departed on 8th February with £60 of

cloth; and the Mary from Penmarch arrived with £100 of wine on 7th January 1541 and left with £8 cloth on 10th February.

A third reason for the high March exports of cloth relates to the shipping of iron since iron importing vessels are recorded exporting cloth in the early part of the year on their outward voyage. For example the Mary and John of Bridgwater which left in March 1541 carried a cargo of Bridgwaters, Kerseys, Tauntons, broadcloth and beans, and then returned in May laden with over twenty five tons of iron, as well as *serches* and pitch. The timing of iron imports accords with the view of Professor Carus-Wilson that such shipments were made during the summer months when the wine and fruit shipping seasons were over.²⁵

The timing of cloth exports during the summer months would appear to have been related to the importing of salt, 67% of which was imported in the three month period from June to August during the summer production months. The outbound reloading with cloth was not as pronounced on salt carrying vessels as it was on fish importing ships, but there is still a significant degree of linkage: for example, the Tres Remagnes from Aveiro landed with thirty ton of salt valued at £12.50 in June 1541 and left on the same day with £5 of cloth; and the Joseph from Quimperle in France arrived, again on the same day, with thirty six tons of salt valued at £14.50, and left on the 28th July with £12.50 worth of cloth.

The timing of foodstuff exports was also dependant to an extent on the timing of imports with one third occurring in March, virtually all of which were on Irish registered vessels which had arrived the preceding month with fish. Otherwise foodstuff exports were relatively regular and do not seem to have been dependant on the timing of their harvest in any way.

The heavy concentration of trade in the first quarter was therefore the result of ships importing fish and wine which reloaded with cloth and foodstuffs, and also ships taking cloth and foodstuff outbound to Spain to return during the summer

²⁵ Carus-Wilson, 'The Overseas Trade of Bristol'. p.215.

with iron. When consideration is also given to the trade reciprocal to the importation of salt, the data available from these three sets of accounts strongly suggests that the timing of Bridgwater's trade was determined neither by the production schedule of its exports, nor by demand for its produce in relation to particular events, such as beans or cloth for the winter for example. Rather the timing of Bridgwater's exports was predominantly import led; the timing of exports was subordinate to the seasonality of imports.

Table 6 demonstrated that herring were the main fish landed through Bridgwater's ports and the large quantities of fish imported during February would therefore appear to be consistent with the findings of Maryanne Kowaleski that the timing of the herring trade shifted over the course of the 15th Century from late autumn to the early part of the year as the south west fishing industry developed, and eventually superseded that of the east coast as a source of supply.²⁶ A closer examination of the data does not support this however with the bulk of the herring imports (60%) falling in October and November, a similar pattern to Bristol where 69% of herring imports were landed in these months.²⁷ This is the time associated with the autumnal herring catch of the east coast ports, and whilst the pattern of supply may have shifted as Kowaleksi argues, she does not seem to be correct to extend the corresponding pattern of demand which she identifies in Exeter to the whole of the south west. It is in fact the landing of hake which accounts for the high February imports of fish, with 87% arriving in the first quarter, a figure which is nearly identical to that at Bristol.²⁸

It is interesting to note a significant difference in the timing of white herring imports between Bridgwater and Minehead with the former receiving nearly all of its herring in February, and the latter mainly in November. As indicated above the February imports were aboard mainly Irish ships and the November imports were nearly all aboard Minehead craft. The trade of the two ports was therefore

²⁶ Kowaleski, 'Expansion'.p.447.

²⁷ Jones, 'Bristol Shipping'.p.76.

²⁸ Ibid.p.70.

distinct both in the seasonality of this product and in the carriers engaged in its trade.

Analysis by Day

Fairs

Given the large quantities of fish arriving at Bridgwater during February it might be thought that demand was determined by the festival of Lent. There is no evidence as to the existence or timing of fairs at Minehead in this period, but that there was a fair at Bridgwater is attested to in contemporary Water Bailiffs' accounts.²⁹ The Bridgwater fair ran for five days from the Monday after Ash Wednesday, but it is not immediately apparent from the accounts that this was significant for the flow of overseas trade, whether of fish or any other item. Imports peaked three weeks before the start of the Lenten fair in 1541, and a month before in 1542, and although the figures for 1545 are spoiled by an illegible February date in the original, they do nevertheless seem to follow the same pattern peaking a month before the fair. Likewise imports cannot be related to a St. Matthew's Day fair held around 21st September as this is the one month in which no imports at all are recorded for all three years examined.

A similar analysis of the timing of exports confirms the tenuous connection between trade through the port and the dates of the Bridgwater Lenten fair. Although the correlation seems strong for 1541 with £124 of exports during the fair and the following week, exports are nearly as high at £99 in the week which preceded it. Exports during and immediately after the fair are higher still in 1542 at £178, but in 1545 they amount to only £11 during the equivalent period, with the bulk of outbound trade having taken place in the fortnight before the fair.

²⁹ N.F. Hulbert, 'A Survey of the Somerset Fairs', *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 82 (1936), 83-159.

It is possible that shipments arrived well in advance of the event, and the existence of a 'comynge house' and the purchase of locks for this recorded in the Water Bailiff's accounts indicate that some goods did indeed arrive prior to the occasion. An alternative explanation might be that the goods were transiting the port in connection with an unidentified and more distant, inland fair but the pattern of imports and exports does not support this as they do not correlate in a consistent manner.

The accounts are primarily fiscal and administrative records and we cannot be sure that the dates recorded are the actual dates of the arrival and departure of the ships listed. The problem with trying to establish a link between the dates of regional fairs and the flow of goods through the port may therefore be one which arises from the data rather than the actual historical events which occurred. The difference in the timing of herring imports between Minehead and Bridgwater shows that the pattern of fish imports was not simply a phenomenon of supply as determined by the seasonality of the fish catch. Demand must also have played a part. Fairs were important factors in determining the flows of trade at Bristol and elsewhere and whilst there is no direct evidence that can be deduced from the accounts to support this being the case for Bridgwater or Minehead, it seems likely that the seasonal skewing of trade, and the differences between the two ports, were at least to some extent similarly determined.

Summary

This chapter has shown that Bridgwater's trade was sporadic and spread thinly throughout the year. International shipping movements were the exception not the norm. In the busiest year of 1542 for instance only forty six days witnessed such sailings. Imports were subject to the same seasonal factors as other ports with the arrival of iron, salt, wine and fish following a similar pattern, albeit with some local variation in the landing of different species of fish. The timing of exports was determined neither by the seasonality of production nor of consumer demand, but by the arrival of ships carrying imports. National foreign policy had a major impact on the flow of trade which quickly adapted to new conditions.

There was no clear correlation between the timings of imports or of exports with the known local fairs.

CHAPTER 4 : THE GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN AND DESTINATION OF TRADE

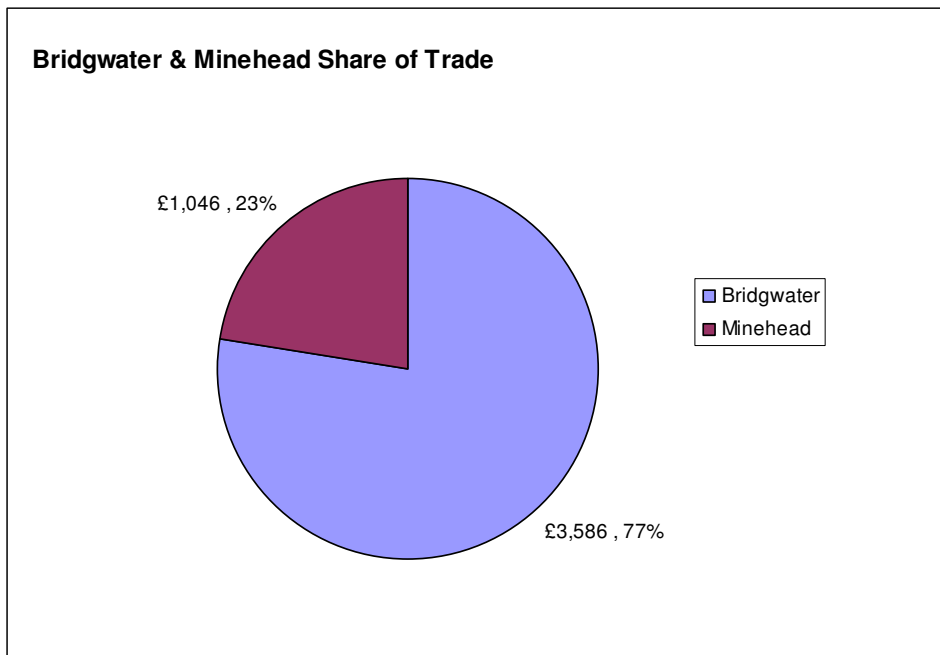
This chapter examines where goods came from and where they went. Firstly, consideration is given to the share and types of goods passing through the head port and its member. Secondly, an analysis is undertaken of the number of vessels engaged in trade according to their port of registration, and thirdly, an attempt is made to break down imports and exports between Irish and continental trade. Finally the implications of this are considered in relation to Bristol's trade.

Bridgwater and Minehead's Share of Trade

The trade of the head port of Bridgwater and the member port of Minehead are entered as separate sections in the accounts and their respective share of trade can be easily calculated.³⁰ As we would expect Minehead was the junior port.

³⁰ There are twenty six entries covering fifteen vessels in the 1540-41 account which are listed under Bridgwater but which clearly emanate from Minehead: they are not sequentially dated with the Bridgwater entries, and feature a high proportion of Minehead registered vessels in common with the other Minehead sections.

Graph 5: Bridgwater and Minehead Share of Trade



However, the relative position of Minehead has been boosted by the large, single shipment of woad valued at £200 to which reference has already been made. If this is excluded then the underlying share of trade through Minehead is 19% or nearly one fifth.

This is not spread evenly amongst all categories however, with Minehead claiming nearly half of all fish imported as is apparent from Table 7.

Table 7 Trade by Category : Comparison of Bridgwater and Minehead

	Bridgwater	Minehead
Cloth	£ 1,160	£ 108
Fish	£ 500	£ 440
Foodstuff	£ 356	£ 8
Metal	£ 450	-
Miscellaneous	£ 258	£ 214
Salt	£ 255	£ 85
Skins	£ 68	£ 92
Wine	£ 539	£ 100

Minehead's share of the fish trade was even higher at 76% in 1496-97 according to the study by Maryanne Kowaleski which also places Minehead's overall share of trade higher at 40%.³¹ This must be heavily qualified however in that she notes that six cargoes lack valuations. It is difficult to understand why Minehead, a smaller town and without a navigable river for onward transport, could have had an advantage over Bridgwater in this respect. Kowaleski identifies that 'Both the absolute and relative value of the fish trade were higher at Minehead than at any other south-western port in the 1490s', but then suggests that this was due to 'demand in Bristol and its heavily populated hinterland'.³² It seems unlikely that traders would land fish intended for either the Bristol or Bridgwater regional markets at Minehead in preference to the towns themselves as this would entail the need either for transshipment into coasting vessels, or for more expensive overland transport along the shores of the Bristol Channel. A more likely explanation is that fish were landed at Minehead for trans-isthmus carriage along the well established routes to inland towns such as Molton, Tavistock, Tiverton and Bampton, which were of course also centres of cloth production which were exporting through Minehead. Some of the fish could conceivably even have been destined for Exeter on the south coast as this would avoid the need for the small craft engaged in this trade to sail the greater distance around the Lizard peninsula and return in the face of westerly winds. Kowaleski provides evidence for this herself noting that 'a significant, if not a greater, amount of fish actually arrived at Exeter via overland routes'.³³

As was made clear in the previous chapter Minehead's fish catch was mainly landed in November, and Bridgwater's in February. Analysis of the type of fish landed at the two ports confirms these were distinct regional markets with Table 8 showing that Minehead's predominance in the fish trade was confined to a single commodity: white herring.

³¹ Kowaleski, 'Expansion'.p.437.

³² Ibid.p.438.

³³ Ibid.p.433.

Table 8 Imports of Fish : Comparison of Minehead and Bridgwater

	Bridgwater	Minehead
White Herring	£ 82	£ 287
Salmon	£ 90	£ 80
Hake	£ 212	£ 68
Red Herring	£ 71	£ 3
Fish / Salt Fish	£ 12	£ 1
Clames	£ 32	£ -

The distribution of the imports of hake, which favour Bridgwater, shows that there was no general presumption or factor in place that favoured Minehead over Bridgwater as a port for the landing of fish in general. Minehead's position was due to its merchants trading a particular product, white herring, at a particular time of year, Autumn.

Value of Trade by Port of Registration

The accounts list the ports at which ships entering or leaving harbour were registered, the 'home port' of the vessel. There are thirty nine different home ports recorded over the three years studied but many appear only once. Six are in England, five in Wales, nine in Ireland and fourteen in continental Europe; the location of the remainder is unclear.

Ships from Wexford, Milford, Minehead, Youghal and Bridgwater are the most numerous, but this representation does not necessarily bear any relationship to the value of goods carried from these ports, nor to the frequency with which journeys were made. Milford craft for instance whilst being numerous have an average cargo valued at just £3.86, and their total combined value is only £112. Whilst a total of four ships were registered at San Sebastian, compared to twenty four registered at Wexford, the value carried on Wexford craft was only slightly greater than that of San Sebastian. Analysis by the number of craft per port is

therefore of limited usefulness. It is not the number of ships which is germane, but the value of the goods which they were shipping.

Although Minehead was subordinate to Bridgwater in terms of overall trade entering and leaving the port, the situation is reversed when consideration is given to the amount of trade carried by vessels according to their port of registration. Minehead vessels not only carried more trade than those of Bridgwater, they carried more than any other port.

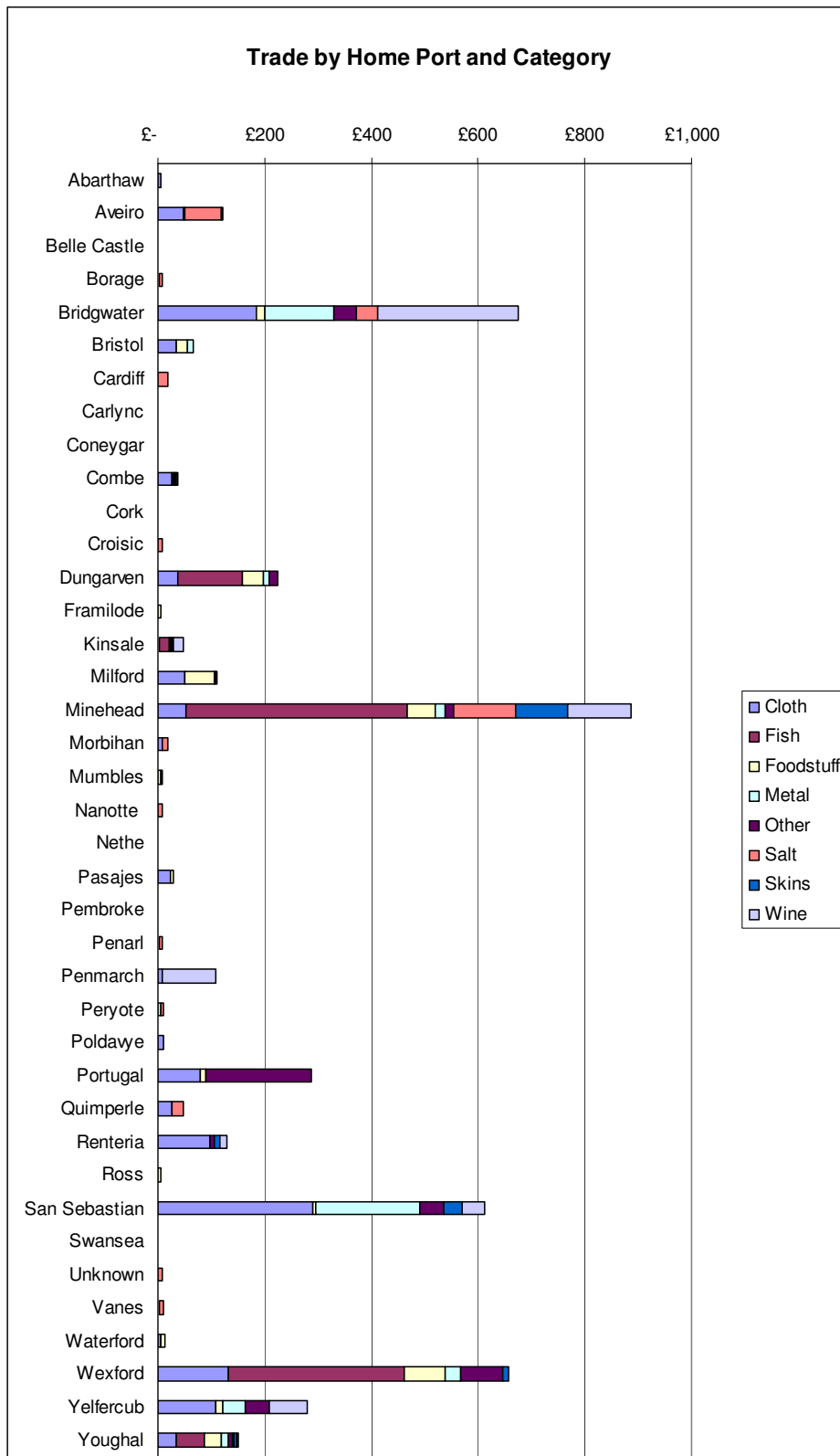
Table 9 Percentage Share of Trade by Home Port

Port	%
Minehead	19
Bridgwater	15
Wexford	14
Saint Sebastian	13
<i>Yelfercub</i>	6
Dungarven	5
36 Others	28

Minehead's more maritime geographical position would account for its ships being at the forefront of Bridgwater's shipping trade

Appendix D and Graph 6 broadens the analysis to show the share of each category of goods shipped by vessels according to their port of registration for both imports and exports combined. It will be seen that there is a degree of linkage between particular ports and particular products which extends beyond the association of Minehead with fish outlined above.

Graph 6 Trade by Home Port and Category



It can be seen that despite vessels from thirty nine ports being listed in the accounts the distribution of trade between them was highly concentrated. Those from Minehead and Wexford dominated the carriage of both fish and foodstuffs accounting for 79% of this market. Nearly three quarters of the metal shipped was aboard vessels from San Sebastian and Bridgwater; and Bridgwater, Minehead and Aveiro ships accounted for half of salt imports. Similarly 60% of wine imports were on Minehead and Bridgwater vessels. Even cloth, which was exported on ships of thirty three different registrations, was concentrated to the extent that 42% of exports were shared between ships of just two ports: Bridgwater and San Sebastian.

A high degree of segmentation is apparent with ships from particular ports tending to engage in particular trades which reflected the underlying specialisations of the ports which they served. For instance red herring were carried only on ships registered at Wexford, suggesting that smoking as a method of preservation was particularly associated with that area. Similarly the salting of hake appears to have been predominantly undertaken at Dungarven. Minehead ships carried over three quarters of white herring imports in line with the town's share of this trade, but interestingly Minehead's ships did not take any white herring to Bridgwater which was served in this respect exclusively by Wexford vessels.

The picture of ships from particular ports engaging in particular trades is reinforced when comparison is made with Bristol where the strongest Irish partner was Waterford whose ships handled 58% of Bristol's Irish trade, with Wexford accounting for just 3%.³⁴ In contrast Wexford ships feature strongly as the main Irish trading carrier in the Bridgwater accounts handling approximately a third of all Bridgwater-Irish trade, whilst Waterford accounted for less than 1%.

³⁴ Jones, 'Bristol Shipping'.p.39.

The following general conclusions can be drawn from the information underlying Graph 6. Fish were imported from the Irish ports of Wexford, Dungarven, and to a lesser extent Youghal aboard vessels registered in those ports, but 44% of this trade was undertaken by Minehead registered craft. A close relationship between Bridgwater and Wexford is particularly discernable. Reciprocal exports were in cloth, foodstuff, metal and a wide range of miscellaneous items including re-exported saffron and silk.

The majority of iron imported came from San Sebastian in Spain with cloth forming the main commodity reciprocally exported; this was supplemented by cargoes of wheat, beans, tanned hides and calf skins. These skins were also exported to a lesser extent to Renteria in northern Spain which was also in receipt of cloth. San Sebastian registered vessels accounted for 26% of all cloth exports and San Sebastian would therefore appear to have been the largest single destination for outbound cloth. The importance of the Spanish market more generally for the cloth industry is illustrated by the composition of Spanish registered ships' return cargoes, 88% of which was accounted for by cloth. There are a small number of occasions in the accounts when Spanish registered ships do not feature entering the ports but are recorded leaving with cloth and/or foodstuff; they have therefore presumably unloaded elsewhere, most likely at Bristol, and then sailed to Bridgwater to complete or commence their return loading with goods which were not available to them previously. An example is the John from Pasaje in August 1542 loading with beans, wheat and broadcloth. This ship had left Bristol earlier in the month having already taken on a quantity of cloth. This is consistent with the finding of Wendy Childs who noted an excess of entrances over exits for continental ships at Bristol and traced some subsequently loading at Bridgwater.³⁵

Salt was shipped from Aveiro in Portugal, and from Quimperle, Le Croisic, Penarl, Morbihan, Vanes and Peryote in France. Imports from France were

³⁵ Wendy Childs, 'Irish Merchants and Seamen in Late Medieval England', *Irish Historical Studies*, 32 (2000), 22-43.(p.28). Childs, 'Ireland's Trade with England'. p.23.

curtailed after 1540-41 as was evidenced in Chapter 3. This trade was undertaken in foreign vessels but Minehead craft had the largest share of the trade (34%), with Bridgwater ships also significantly represented (12%). Quimperle was also a source of canvas. The accounts show small quantities of cloth being loaded onto these vessels when they exit port.

Ireland was the principal destination for foodstuff exports, with Wexford vessels at the forefront of Irish denominated shipments. Minehead vessels however again had the largest share of this trade. As indicated in Chapter 3 some of these flows can be linked to the provisioning of military forces, the carriage of which was partially undertaken by vessels registered at Milford in Wales.

Wine was imported aboard ships from the Spanish ports of Renteria and San Sebastian, and also in the 1540-41 accounts from the Breton port of Penmarch. Bridgwater, Minehead and *Yelfercub* registered vessels together carry 71% of all wine imports.

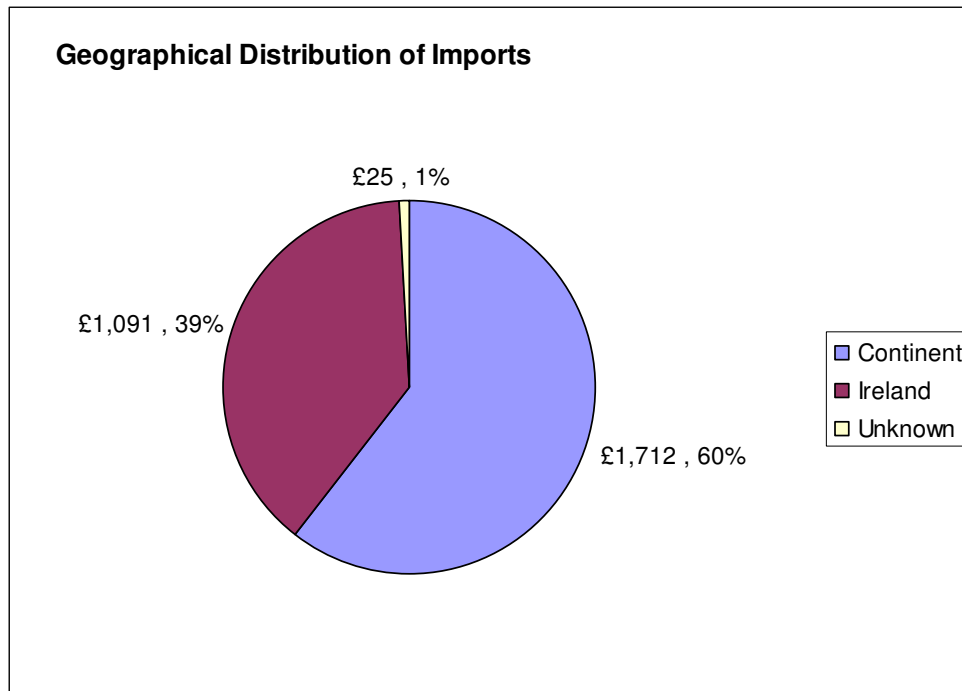
Two vessels are recorded from Portugal: one is shown as outbound only carrying cloth and wheat; the other is shown inbound with woad valued at £200, and outbound with cloth valued at £6.

Continental and Irish Share of Trade

There are limitations to the conclusions that can be drawn from relying on the relationship between the cargo carried and a ship's port of registration. It is not the origin of the ships that is the key to understanding the flow of trade but the origin or destination of the goods that they shipped. The accounts do not list the port of embarkation for inbound cargoes, nor the destination for outbound cargoes, and so it is not possible to establish the origin or destination of goods with absolute certainty. However, the home port of the vessel is recorded, and in many cases the cargo is such that the origin of the shipment can be easily deduced. For instance the Bartholomew from Wexford which arrived with a cargo of fish and mantels, a distinctive Irish cloak, in February 1541, can be assumed to have been carrying Irish goods. On this basis it is possible to separate

imports into those which originated from continental Europe and those originating from Ireland and this is represented in Graph 7.

Graph 7 Geographical Distribution of Imports



Although vessels arriving from Ireland were more numerous, their cargoes were both smaller and of lower value goods compared to those which arrived from continental Europe. This is illustrated in Table 10 which compares the seven most important commodities from each origin.

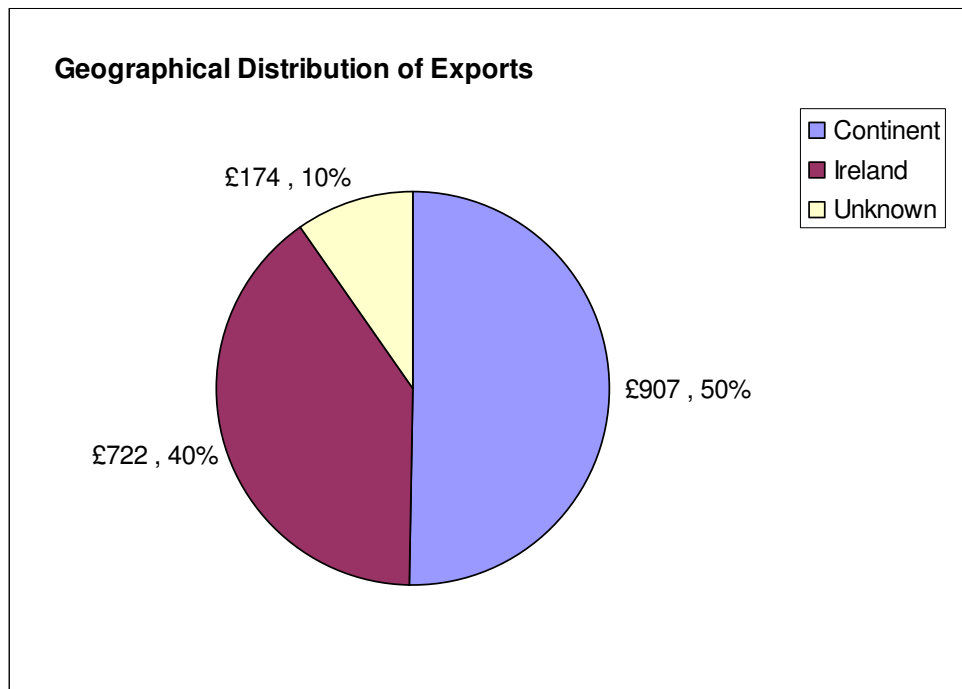
Table 10 Comparison of Irish and Continental Imports

Commodity	Ireland	Commodity	Continent
White Herring	£ 369	Wine	£ 677
Hake	£ 281	Iron	£ 386
Salmon	£ 170	Salt	£ 340
Hides	£ 116	Woad	£ 243
Red Herring	£ 74	Fruit	£ 32
Clames	£ 32	Soap	£ 20
Frieze	£ 25	Canvas	£ 11
Total	£ 1,067	Total	£ 1,709

Whilst it is fairly straightforward to identify the general, if not specific, origin of imports, the destination of exports cannot be so readily identified. Dr. Jones was able to distinguish Irish bound ships in the Bristol accounts 'by their heterogeneous cargoes of continental re-exports and English manufactured goods, such as iron, salt, wine, spices, silk, knives and lace-points'.³⁶ However, the goods exported from Bridgwater were more basic and confined to a much more limited range as shown in Chapter 2. Cloth, which formed the largest export category, was carried to nearly all the ports listed, and foodstuffs were exported to both Ireland and to the continent. The outbound but home registered Trinity of Bridgwater left with a cargo of beans, cloth and malt in January 1542 for instance, but does not reappear in the accounts until July with an inbound cargo of iron. Her imports were almost certainly from Spain but the export goods fit the profile of both the Irish and continental bound trade. It has not therefore been possible to gauge the overall balance of trade between mainland Britain, Ireland and continental Europe with absolute confidence and a significant percentage must remain unknown as is clear from Graph 8.

³⁶ Jones, 'Bristol Shipping'.p.167.

Graph 8 Geographical Distribution of Exports



Comparison to the Bristol Accounts

Using this information comparison can again be made with Bristol's accounts and it is apparent that a greater proportion of Bridgwater's trade was with Ireland than was the case for Bristol for the equivalent period: 39% of imports compared to 23%; and at least 40% of exports compared to 22%. It could be argued that these were exceptional years and that the Bridgwater figures have been boosted by the demand for food occasioned by the military campaign in Ireland, this being one of Bridgwater's chief export commodities. However, this demand applied to Bristol as well, and indeed Bristol exported proportionately more food under licence in the name of the Deputy Lord Lieutenant than did Bridgwater.

Summary

This chapter has established that trade was concentrated amongst a small number of ports. Minehead accounted for less trade through the port but its ships carried

more trade than those of the head port reflecting its more maritime situation. Segmentation was apparent with ships from particular ports being associated with the carriage of the particular products which were either produced by, or demanded by, their home ports. The profile of Bridgwater's trade in this respect was again shown to have been different from that of Bristol.

CHAPTER 5 : THE MERCHANTS

Chapter 4 established that trade was concentrated into a small number of ports. This chapter firstly examines the merchants listed in the accounts along with their associated trade in order to determine the extent to which this pattern was replicated for the people who were involved in trading. Secondly, the relationship between indigenous and foreign or alien merchants is examined, and the chapter concludes with a brief survey of sources which could reveal more about the merchants themselves.

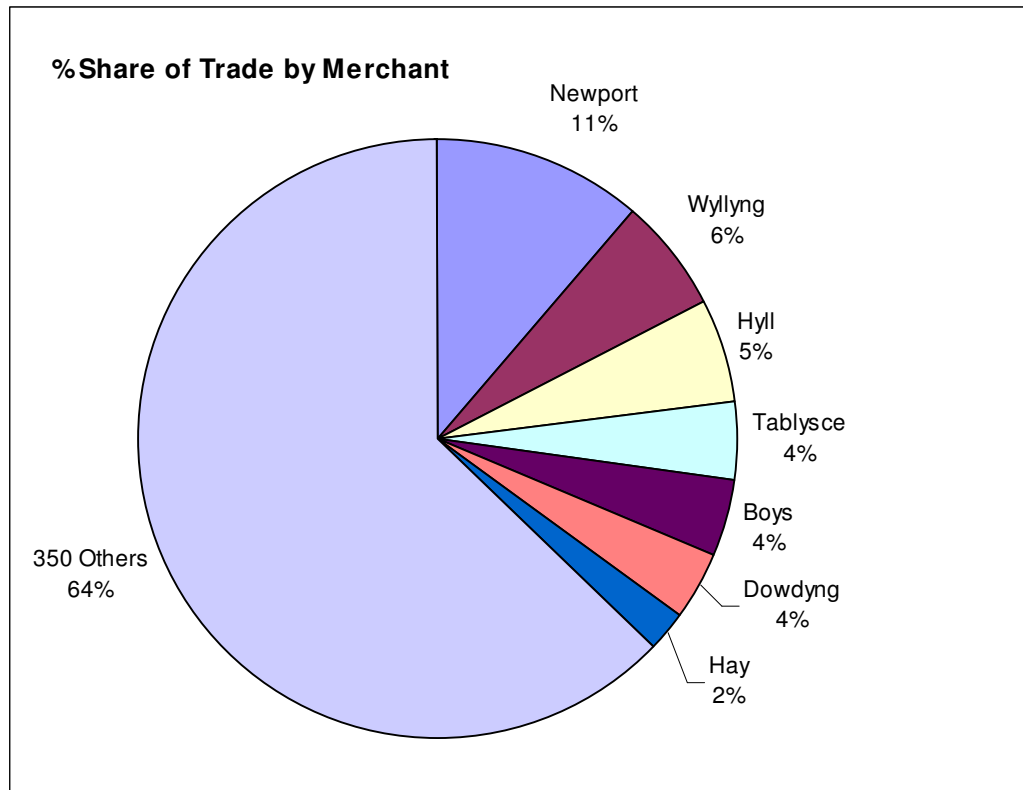
Trade by Merchant

There are three hundred and fifty seven merchants listed in the accounts and the value of their trade covers a wide range: Edward Stafford has the lowest valued cargo at one shilling and eight pence; whilst at the opposite end of the scale John Newport has trade valued at five hundred and twenty six pounds, sixteen shillings and nine pence. In view of the findings of the previous chapter it is surprising to note that trade is highly fragmented with only two individuals having more than a 5% share of the overall market. Allowance should perhaps be made for the frequency of common surnames occurring with different Christian names in relation to the same ship or port. This suggests a structure more akin to family businesses being in place and it therefore seems unlikely that all merchants operated entirely as independent individuals. If the analysis is extended to account for family ties by grouping common surnames together, (and also by untangling the non-standardised spellings of the account's clerk to consolidate for example Whyt – Whte – Whytty all of Wexford), then a slightly less extreme but nonetheless still highly fragmented picture emerges.

Graph 9 shows that John Newport had the highest percentage share of trade of any merchant at 11.4%. The next six ranked merchant-families accounted for 26%, but the remaining 63% of trade was shared amongst three hundred and fifty different merchants, none of whom held more than 2% market share. Moreover

the fourth ranked merchant, Franc Tablysce, was an exceptional case as he was the merchant responsible for the valuable, but singular, cargo of woad. Appendix E has a full breakdown of trade by category for the principal merchants.

Graph 9 : Percentage Share of Trade by Merchant



This fragmentation does not extend down evenly into the product categories with some showing greater consolidation than others. In particular the Irish trade was more fragmented than the continental trade. For example the concentration of the fish trade centred on Wexford and Minehead, which together had 79% market share, disguises a widespread base of fifty-two merchant-families engaged in the trade broken down as shown in Table 11.

Table 11 : Fish Trade % Share by Merchant

Merchant	Ship's Registration	% Fish
John & William Hyll	Minehead	14
Nicolas, Patrick & John Stafford	Wexford	5
John, James & Nicolas Hay	Wexford	5
William, Pawle & Patrick Turnor	Wexford	4
John, Michael & Edmonde Hore	Dungarven	4
William & Walter Thomas	Minehead & Youghal	3
Robert Quyrke	Minehead	3
45 Others		62

The highest share is 14% and then a large drop is evident to the next highest which is just 5%, but the majority of trade is in the hands of merchants with less than 2% market share.

Merchants do not necessarily load their cargoes on ships native to their home port as will be apparent below. However, sometimes the preponderance of ships of one port being associated with a particular surname gives a good indication of the merchants' residency, and this association is especially strong for the fish trade where, with one exception, all names link exclusively to one port. The exception is William Thomas who loads on a Minehead vessel whilst Arthur Thomas loads on a Youghal ship raising the possibility of an Anglo-Irish familial connection.

A similar picture in terms of the disparity of trade amongst merchants holds for foodstuff as is illustrated in Table 12.

Table 12 : Foodstuff Trade % Share by Merchant

Merchant	Ship's Registration	% Foodstuff
John Dowdyng	Minehead, <i>Yelfercub</i> , Portugal & Spain	7
Thomas & Arthur Smyth	Minehead & Aberthaw	7
John Taylor	Bristol	3
James, Pawle & William Turnor	Wexford	3
John, James & Nicolas Hay	Wexford	3
John Newport	Bridgwater	3
John & Edmonde Hore	Dungarven & Youghal	3
61 Others		71

John Dowdyng features as an importer of wine and salt and also as an exporter of cloth. His food exports were reciprocal to the continental import trade and this is reflected in his lading aboard Portuguese and Spanish vessels cargoes of wheat and beans. Turnor, Hore and Hay were all major importers of fish as we have seen and they were engaged in the return carriage of beans, hops and malt. Again the striking thing about the profile of this trade is how widely dispersed it is with nearly three quarters having been undertaken by sixty one separate merchants.

A more consolidated picture emerges in relation to continental trade as illustrated in the following two tables for wine and salt.

Table 13 : Wine Trade % Share by Merchant

Merchant	Ship's Registration	% Wine
Symon Wyllyng	Bridgwater, <i>Yelfercub</i> & Penmarch	28
John Newport	Bridgwater & San Sebastian	23
John Hyll and Pon	Minehead	11
Christian, James & John Dowdyng	Minehead, Bridgwater & Coneygar	10
Davye Garrytt	<i>Yelfercub</i> & Penmarch	8
Richard Teryll	Bridgwater	6
Richard & Jurdan Roche	Kinsale	3
John Hamond & Andrew Borman	Renteria	2
William Hyll	Minehead	2
5 Others	Minehead	7

In contrast to the Irish focussed fish and food trade, two merchants account for over half of the wine trade, and it is nearly all handled by only six merchant-families. The main importer of wine, Simon Wyllyng, appears as a major exporter of cloth on home registered vessels, as well as those of Penmarch and San Sebastian. John Newport's trade used a narrower range of ship registrations and was mainly aboard vessels from Bridgwater and San Sebastian suggesting these ports as the focus of his trade. The Mary, and the Mary and John carried 80% of his goods and he may therefore have been the owner, or part owner, of these ships. Richard Roche brought an unusually mixed cargo of fish and wine into Minehead in March 1541 aboard the Trinity, and then in April 1542 Jurdan Roche brought a similarly composed cargo, along with a quantity of skins, into Bridgwater aboard the Jesus. Both of these vessels were registered in Kinsale and it would therefore appear that either a triangular trade was in place, or continental goods were being re-exported from Ireland on these occasions. It is interesting to note the presence of a Jurding and Jurdanne Roche as masters of Kinsale vessels in the 1516-17 Bristol customs accounts.³⁷

Table 14 : Salt Trade % Share by Merchant

Merchant	Ship's Registration	% Salt
John Stokecub	Minehead	7
John Pyne	Minehead	7
John Newport	Bridgwater	7
Andrew Lewys	Aveiro	7
Diego Fornando	Aveiro	6
William & John Hyll	Minehead	6
George Mathew	Cardiff	4
Jano de Clawsay	Quimperle	4
Maris William	Aveiro	4
John Byll	Minehead	4
Andrew Tony	Aveiro	4
John Dowdyng	Minehead & Bridgwater	4
Denys Macrach	Minehead	3
Jolyan Dryan	Morbihan	3
17 Others		30

³⁷ Flavin, 'Anglo-Irish Trade'.p.91.

The salt trade was not quite as strongly consolidated but was nevertheless more characteristic of the wine trade than that of fish or foodstuffs. The high positions of John Stokecub and John Pyne are based on just one shipment each of sixty tons in June 1541 and August 1542. John Newport and Andrew Lewys freight a similar quantity but over three and two shipments respectively. Stokecub is listed as a minor exporter of cloth, and Pyne exported a small quantity of cloth and wheat; he is also entered as an importer of woad. William and John Hyll imported salt on two vessels in June 1542 presumably in relation to their engagement in the fish trade noted above. The presence of foreign registered vessels and merchants is consistent with the origin of this product.

Although John Newport's percentage share of the cloth trade might seem small compared to that which he enjoyed in the wine trade, the cloth trade was a far larger trade in terms of overall value and it is his pre-eminence in the cloth trade, shown in Table 15, which ensured his place as the dominant merchant in the accounts.

Table 15 : Cloth Trade % Share by Merchant

Merchant	Ship's Registration	% Cloth
John Newport	Bridgwater, San Sebastian & Poldavye	12
James Boys	Bridgwater, <i>Yelfercub</i> & San Sebastian	9
John & Symon Wyllyng	Bridgwater, <i>Yelfercub</i> , Penmarch, Milford, San Sebastian	8
Francisco de Taverro	Portugal	6
Michael Blankeslay	San Sebastian	5
Michael de Avaralo	Renteria	5
Diego Dolarna	San Sebastian	3
Fayan de Guseta	Renteria	3
James, Pawle & William Turnor	Wexford	3
Andrew Lewys	Aveiro	2
John Hamond	Ilfracombe, Bridgwater & San Sebastian	2
John Delaparta	San. Sebastian	2
Arnold Dekebe	Pasajes	2
Patrick Ronon	Youghal	2
James, John & Nicolas Hay	Wexford	2
Richard & Robert Sawyer	Milford & Waterford	2
John & Christian Dowdyng	<i>Yelfercub</i> , Coneygar & Portugal	2
93 Others		30

John Newport and James Boys were both engaged in the importation of iron from Spain, the two of them being responsible for half of all metal imports. Their financing of this trade through the export of cloth is reflected in Table 15. Both men also imported woad and pitch, and in addition John Newport traded in wine and salt as already described. The large proportion of Spanish names and vessels engaged in the outbound cloth trade probably reflects a similar trade in salt and wine conducted inbound elsewhere. The Wexford based Turnors enjoyed the majority of the cloth trade with Ireland from whence they shipped frieze, and to which they shipped broadcloth, kerseys and silk.

Trade by Merchants' Nationality

The residency of merchants listed in the accounts is detailed by indicating whether they were alien ('al') or indigent ('ind') after their name. It was apparent from Chapter 4 that Minehead and Bridgwater ships were responsible for transporting the majority of wine, salt and metal from the continent, and it is consistent with this that aliens account for only 17% of overall trade despite 60% of imports originating from continental Europe. There are twenty seven foreign merchants listed of whom eleven shared three quarters of the trade, and sixteen had less than 2% share each. The largest share was one quarter held by Franc Tablysce, the by now familiar shipper of woad. The range of goods imported by aliens was small amounting to just four products: woad (£200); salt (£130); canvas (£11); and a negligible amount of pitch. Their return exports were in a variety of types of cloth (£416), skins (£41) and lead (£4). Again the single shipment of woad can be seen to have a disproportionate affect on the overall level of imports and, if this is excluded, the underlying share held by aliens is a much reduced 12%.

The Identity of the Merchants

John Newport was mayor of Bridgwater in 1532, 1542, 1548 and 1556; John Hamonde held the post in 1541 and 1547, and Richard Terill in 1540 and 1549. The Chancery records at the Public Record Office list several cases involving various Dowdynges, including John who is listed in the customs accounts, and although not listed as merchants, Thomas and Robert who are recorded as mayor and bailiff respectively.³⁸ John Newport appears in several Chancery cases, one of which is against the executor of the controller of customs at Bridgwater in relation to a disputed seizure of butlerage wine.³⁹ He also is accused whilst mayor of Bridgwater of smuggling grain and likewise William Hyll from

³⁸ P.R.O. C 1/611/9; C 1/657/15; C 1/772/13-14.

³⁹ P.R.O. C 1/1457/20-21.

Minehead is accused of shipping unlicensed beans to Spain.⁴⁰ The implications of these accusations will be considered in the concluding chapter but it is clear that the dominant local merchants were also prominent members of the town's administration, and it is probable that they were engaged in corrupt practices as their counterparts have been shown to have been elsewhere.⁴¹

Summary

Although trade was concentrated between a small number of ports, such consolidation is much less apparent in the profile of the men who were engaged in it. The continental trade contrasted to the Irish trade with higher valued goods being carried by fewer merchants in fewer sailings. However, no merchant seems to have been able to attain a commanding or dominating position in any aspect of trade. Irish trade was shared amongst a greater number of merchants, many with small or very small cargoes.

So far as the men who were engaged in trading are concerned, the most striking feature of the accounts however is not so much the market share of particular individuals as the sheer number participating, who must have represented a wide cross section of society from crew members and petty merchants to wealthy and important local figures such as John Newport.

⁴⁰ P.R.O. E 111/38. G.R. Elton, 'Informing for Profit: A Sidelight on Tudor Methods of Law-Enforcement', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 2 (1954), 149-167.(p.157).

⁴¹ Jones, 'Illicit Business'.p.30. Williams, *East Anglian Ports*. pp.25-33.

CHAPTER 6 : CONCLUSION

This thesis has established that Bridgwater's trade had its own profile reflecting its agricultural and cloth producing hinterland. Whilst the range of goods traded were of a similar nature to those at Bristol, they differed substantially in proportionate terms. In particular the export and import of primary produce, foodstuffs and fish, were higher at Bridgwater, and the import of manufactured goods, especially cloth, was lower. This is significant as it is the converse of the situation at Bristol where it has been argued, based on customs data, that high levels of manufactured goods and low levels of primary goods exported from Ireland during this period are indicative of the advanced state of the Irish economy at the time.⁴²

The likelihood that smuggling was widespread at Bridgwater further impacts on this. Chapter 2 referred to studies which have established that smuggling was endemic at the ports of Bristol and East Anglia, and Chapter 5 highlighted suits against the leading merchants of Bridgwater and Minehead in this respect. The existence of cases against John Newport and William Hyll does not in itself prove that they were engaged in customs evasion, since such charges were often advanced by speculating informers for their own gain.⁴³ However, these accusations must have been made against a background that would give such a claim some credibility and were clearly not totally implausible. Dr. Jones' study of John Smythe's accounts shows that all his shipments of beans were illegitimate to some extent. Smythe was well known in Bridgwater having begun his trading career in the town before progressing to Bristol, and is listed in Chancery cases of the period as 'late of Bridgwater'.⁴⁴ Although not listed as a merchant in the particular accounts studied here, Smythe also shipped beans

⁴² Flavin, 'Anglo-Irish Trade'. University of Bristol, Department of Historical Studies, 'Ireland-Bristol Trade'.

⁴³ Elton, 'Informing for Profit'.

⁴⁴ P.R.O. C 1/673/15; C 1/694/35.

from Bridgwater whilst a merchant at Bristol and it is reasonable to assume that he was trading in a similarly illegal manner. Even if we cannot be certain about the particular cases of Hyll and Newport therefore, when considering the wider evidence we can be confident about the existence of smuggling along the Somerset coast. On this basis and using the factor of discrepancy uncovered by Dr. Jones' study of the Bristol trade, the real as opposed to declared value of food exports may have been as much as £1,800. This would substantially alter the composition of trade outlined in Chapter 2 making foodstuff the largest export category and a third higher in value than cloth. Although grossing up the declared figure in this manner is overly simplistic, the high proportion of the export trade given over to foodstuffs at Bridgwater contrasts to Bristol, where even if allowance is made for smuggling the proportion of trade given over to foodstuffs and leather is not sufficient to obviate the shortfall in the value of exports over imports.

Under this scenario the balance of Bridgwater's overseas trade, which Chapter 2 showed was nominally in deficit, would have actually been in surplus both overall and in relation to Ireland. This would then support Wendy Childs' contention in her study of Anglo-Irish trade in the 15th Century that Bristol's trade deficit with Ireland might have been ameliorated to some extent by shipments from other ports in the Bristol Channel.⁴⁵ Dr. Jones found that the number of shipping movements did not endorse this view, but consideration of the value of goods carried suggests that this may be correct, at least for the mid 1540s.⁴⁶ The low value of Bridgwater's trade compared to that of Bristol must be recognised but nevertheless this does counterbalance any interpretation based solely on the Bristol data.

The findings of this survey therefore have some implication for wider interpretations of Anglo-Irish trade, and for the interpretations of the state of the development of the Irish economy which flow from these. Bridgwater's total

⁴⁵ Childs, 'Ireland's Trade with England', p.21.

⁴⁶ Jones, 'Bristol Shipping', pp.711-712.

trade with Ireland amounted to approximately £1,800 in contrast to Bristol's £15,800 for the comparable period. Even the most generous uplift of the Bridgwater figures to make allowance for underreporting due to smuggling cannot close this substantial gap. This scale of difference does not make Bridgwater's trade irrelevant however for the simple reason that this was not the full extent of Ireland's non-Bristol trade. This study of the Bridgwater accounts suggests that the wider picture of Anglo-Irish export trade may not have mimicked that of the developed and sophisticated market for Irish goods found at Bristol. In particular the proportion of trade given to fish at Bristol during this period is unlikely to have been representative of that conducted elsewhere, and may have been the result of short-term supply problems caused by the disruption of fish imports to the city as a result of restrictions on fairs. Ireland's trade in fish was extensive extending well beyond Somerset to the ports of Devon and Cornwall as well as elsewhere in England. It may have been even greater still with continental Europe.⁴⁷ If the composition of trade for these regions followed that at Bridgwater then it may be necessary to reassess the claim based upon Bristol's customs accounts alone that 'By the 1540s the majority of Ireland's foreign trade consisted of manufactured goods, a state of affairs Ireland would not enjoy again until modern times'.⁴⁸ In short the Bristol accounts may give an impression of the composition of trade between primary and manufactured goods which was not reflected more widely in Ireland's external trade. Further work on the trade of other minor ports is needed to establish if it is the composition of Bridgwater's or Bristol's trade which is the more representative of Anglo-Irish trade in general.

A secondary argument put forward for the strength of the Irish economy is that Irish ships carried the majority of Irish trade and therefore Irish merchants retained the majority of profits on this trade.⁴⁹ Here again the Bridgwater figures do not tally with those of Bristol where 75% of Irish trade was on Irish ships. At

⁴⁷ Longfield, *Anglo-Irish Trade*.p.44.

⁴⁸ University of Bristol, Department of Historical Studies, 'Ireland-Bristol Trade'.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

Bridgwater the figure was 60%, but the underlying, 'real' values were probably in England and Wales' favour if allowance is made for smuggling, particularly given the large number of food laden Milford vessels recorded outbound only.

The analysis in Chapter 5 provides further reasons to question the apparent strength of the Irish merchant fleet and the prosperity of its merchants. There was a clear difference between those merchants who were engaged in continental trade and those engaged in Irish trade. The former were economically more substantial figures and had greater market share of particular product categories. This profile is characteristic of a developed market in which barriers to entry are high and supply is limited. The capital requirements necessary to engage in this type of trade are such that relatively few traders have access to the market and they are able to gain significant market share. In contrast those engaged in the Irish trade had much lower market share and the market had a very 'flat' profile with many small traders. Such a profile is characteristic of an undeveloped market in which barriers to entry are low and competitive advantage and profits are difficult to gain. This view is reinforced by a notable difference between the profile of merchants engaged in the continental and Irish trades. The English merchants John Newport, James Boys, Christian and James Dowdyng, and Symon and John Wyllyng, who dominated the product categories of wine, salt and cloth, do not appear as masters in the records, and they are not tied to any one vessel. Their commercial activities were a step removed from the physical shipments involved. In contrast, members of the Minehead and Wexford centred family groupings which controlled the Irish fish trade - Hyll, Stafford, Turnor, Hay and Hore – are listed as masters of vessels, and individual family merchants have a close association with particular ships. They would appear to have been more directly engaged in the physical aspects of their trade which in any case was of lower value. This accords with the 'flat' profile of this trade as being one with many small participants operating in an undeveloped market. A further difference between English and Irish merchants supports this view. The major English merchants such as John Newport and Symon Wyllyng were evidently well capitalised and were prepared to undertake the risk of being sole shippers of cargoes such as that of wine, salt and rosin valued at £60 which arrived in November 1540. The merchants engaged in the Irish trade by contrast operated

more often in joint or familial groupings, defraying costs and risks widely, rarely shipping cargoes under sole ownership and never of any significant value. The multiplicity of small craft serving this route and the small size of their cargoes further endorses the view. Faced with low value trade and low profits across the Irish Sea, the better capitalised English merchants would appear to have chosen to direct their commercial activities primarily towards the more lucrative continental trade. The large share of Irish trade carried on Irish ships was therefore perhaps not a sign of Ireland's economic strength, but a consequence of the economic backwardness of the region.

Bridgwater's customs accounts have not previously been subjected to a detailed quantitative analysis, and the present study has shown that the pattern of trade was more varied and particular to local conditions than has previously been understood. For instance a broad analysis of 'cloth' masks specialisations within the region between different towns. Likewise analysis of 'fish' hides a more complicated picture and one in which a marked degree of segmentation occurred. For example Minehead ships carried over three quarters of the white herring imports, whilst those from Dungarven had the largest share of hake, and Wexford craft alone shipped red herring. Differences of timing within the overall fish trade were also apparent with imports of white herring arriving in separate seasons at Minehead and Bridgwater; the timing was different again at Bristol and Exeter. Segmentation was also evident on certain trade routes. Wexford ships carried white herring to Bridgwater but not to Minehead, and this relationship was reciprocated by the latter's ships not supplying Bridgwater with white herring despite handling 77% of the trade. Similarly, Waterford ships traded with Bristol, whilst Wexford ships traded with Bridgwater. The picture that has emerged from this survey is of a more differentiated and complex pattern of trade than analysis conducted at a generic level can reveal.

The underlying causes of this were similarly diverse. Wendy Childs thought that the Waterford-Bristol and Wexford-Bridgwater bilateral associations could

perhaps have been due to ‘personal contact, immigration and family links’.⁵⁰ The close connection between Minehead and Ireland was certainly not lost on John Leland who observed that ‘the toune is exceding ful of Irisch menne’, and such contact would no doubt have been more important in an age with less immediate communication, and where financial standing was tied more closely to personal contact and recommendation.⁵¹ However, trade conducted in this manner would result in a closed and uncompetitive market with merchants able to achieve monopolistic or oligopolistic market share, but Chapter 5 demonstrated that the opposite was the case for the Irish trade. Nor would this explain why Bridgwater imported predominantly hake whilst Minehead imported predominantly white herring. Factors other than nepotism must have played an important role. The identity of ships from certain ports with individual products suggests that locally specific supply side factors were also present. The exclusive association of Wexford with red herring for instance suggests that red herring were a particular speciality of this region and that some communities held competitive advantage in the production of certain goods. This is more clearly apparent in the domestic cloth industry where individual towns produced cloth types which were sufficiently differentiated to be named after the place of production. Although no firm evidence for the effect of fairs was uncovered, this seemed the most likely explanation for the difference in the timing of the importation of the white herring catch between Minehead and Bridgwater which was outlined in Chapter 3. This would therefore indicate that demand side factors were also contributory as would be expected.

No one factor alone can therefore explain the fractured, regional sub-markets and segmented patterns of trade described above. Bridgwater’s overseas trade, whilst minor in national terms, covered an extensive network of multifarious commercial relationships, and a series of intriguing regional relationships that require more detailed study before they can be fully explained.

⁵⁰ Childs, 'Ireland's Trade with England', p.27.

⁵¹ Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or About the Years 1535-1543*, p.167.

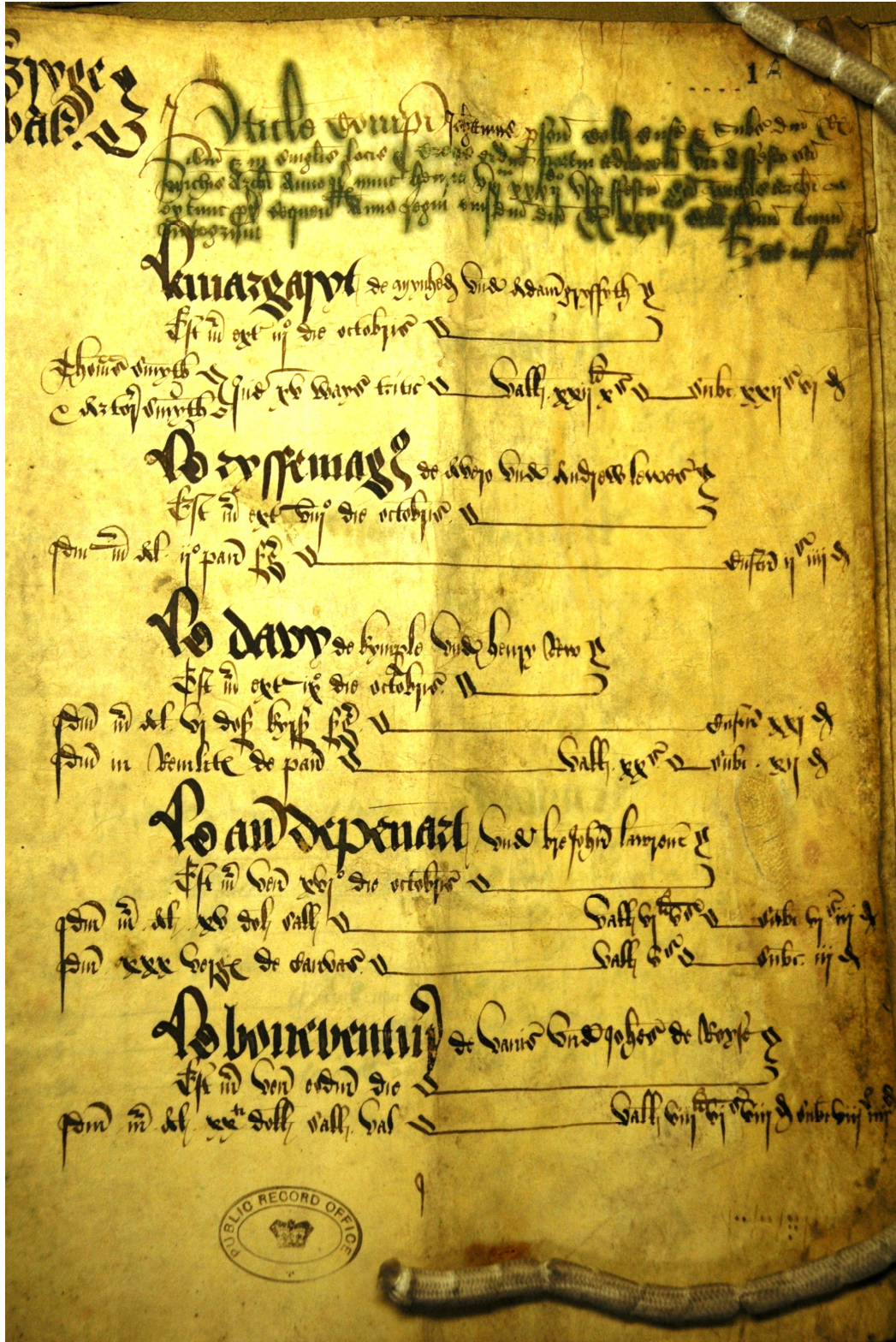
This study of the trading relations of two minor ports has shown that trade in the Bristol Channel was more complex than any study based on Bristol's trade alone can reveal. For example such analysis has been shown to greatly underestimate the importance of Wexford as a trading partner, or to a lesser extent to undervalue the wider trade in foodstuffs. If the segmented pattern of trading identified between Bridgwater, Minehead and certain Irish ports identified here is found to have been replicated at other ports in the Bristol Channel then the profile of other ports and other commodities may have to be similarly reassessed.

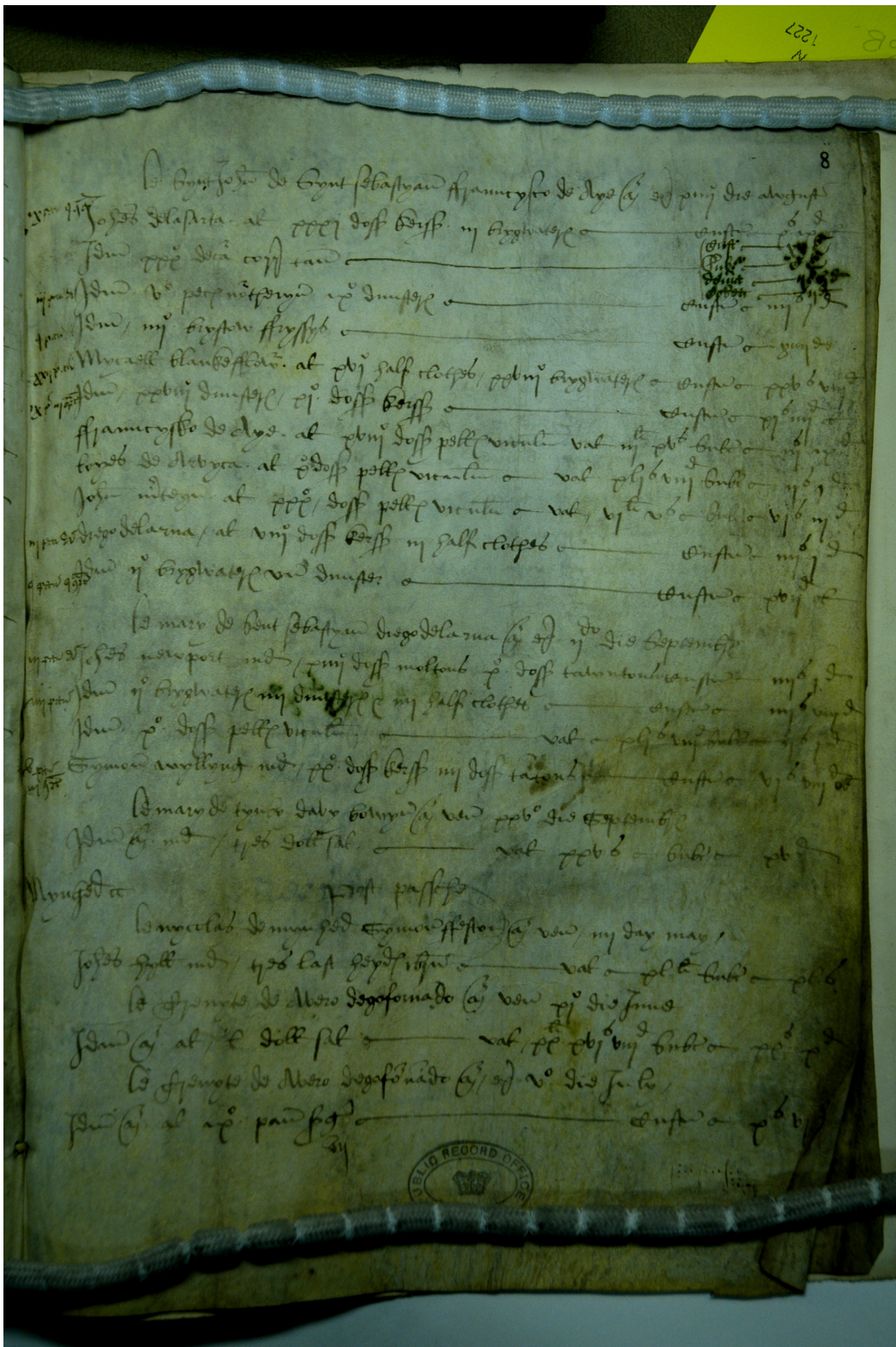
In considering the implications for trade beyond the Bristol Channel this study raises the wider question of the extent to which the trade of smaller ports reflected that of their larger counterparts. The implicit historiographical assumption has been that the minor ports were just that - smaller versions of the bigger ports; but this thesis raises the possibility that they enjoyed a unique profile and trading relationships which were not replicated at the larger ports. The use of information technology in this instance has allowed analysis at a detailed level which has shown that the two minor ports studied had particular trading alliances which merchants utilised to gain competitive advantage in particular products. Minehead and Bridgwater were surely not unique in this respect.

APPENDIX A : FACSIMILE

P.R.O. E 122/27/15 First

Page





APPENDIX B : LIST OF PORTS

Name in Accounts	Modern Name	Country
Aberthaw	Aberthaw	Wales
Adyerue	Aveiro	
Avero	Aveiro	Portugal
Belle Castle		Ireland ?
Borage		France ?
Brigewater	Bridgwater	England
Bristow	Bristol	England
Cardif	Cardiff	Wales
Carlync		
Cinneygar	Coneygar	Ireland
Combe	Combe Martin / Combwich/ La Combe ?	
Corke	Cork	Ireland
Croyseke	Le Croisic	France
Dungervyn	Dungarven	Ireland
Ffrainloind	Framilode	England
Kimperle / Kymperle	Quimperle	France
Kynsale / Kinsale / Kynsall	Kinsale	Ireland
Morby / Morbyan / Morbya	Morbihan	France
Mumbelles / Mumbylles / Mumylle	Mumbles	Wales
Mylford / Milford	Milford	Wales
Mynhed	Minehead	England
Nanotte	Nantes ?	France
Nethe		Wales
Passage	Pasajes	Spain
Penarl		France ?
Penbrocke	Pembroke	Wales
Penmarke	Penmarch	France
Peryote		France ?
Poldavye	Poldavye	France
Port	Portugal	Portugal
Rendry	Renteria	Spain - north
Ross / Rosse	Ross	Ireland
Saint Sebastian / San Sebastian	San Sebastian	Spain
Vanis	Vanes	France
Waterford	Waterford	Ireland
Waysford	Wexford	Ireland
Yelfercub / Yellerub / Yellefercub / Yerfercub	Ilfracombe ?	England
Yowhul / Yoghul	Youghal	Ireland

APPENDIX C : LIST OF GOODS

Exports from Bridgwater

Item	1540-41	1541-42	1544-45
alum	£ 1.75	£ 0.17	£ 0.67
aniseed	£ 0.67	£ 0.08	£ 1.12
batry	£ 2.00	£ 0.50	£ 0.33
beans	£ 49.33	£ 161.33	£ 24.67
bras		£ 1.17	
brasy		£ 2.00	
brazil			£ 5.33
cable	£ 2.00	£ 1.33	
cable & anchor	£ 3.00	£ 3.27	
canvas	£ 1.57	£ 0.90	
cappes	£ 1.33		
cinnamon		£ 0.28	
cloth - Bridgwater	£ 32.00	£ 28.01	£ 157.00
cloth - Bristol frieze			£ 2.00
cloth - broadcloth	£ 127.50	£ 282.00	£ 57.54
cloth - Dunster	£ 3.00	£ 4.00	£ 53.00
cloth - frieze	£ 1.00		
cloth - kerseys	£ 58.50	£ 100.00	£ 85.50
cloth - lining	£ 1.00	£ 1.00	
cloth - Moltons			£ 7.54
cloth - Northerns	£ 1.50		
cloth - remilites	£ 7.83	£ 1.67	£ 0.63
cloth - russet	£ 1.00		
cloth - Tauntons	£ 10.00	£ 1.50	£ 15.44
cloth - white Moltons		£ 21.60	£ 2.40
cloth - worsted			£ 0.33
cloves		£ 0.28	
cuttes	£ 5.83	£ 4.00	£ 1.75
flakes	£ 0.33		£ 0.10
flokes	£ 0.50		
grains		£ 0.14	
hemp	£ 20.50		
hides - tanned			£ 28.67
hops	£ 10.50	£ 7.50	£ 14.75
iron	£ 10.00	£ 15.13	£ 3.25
lead	£ 4.00	£ 8.00	
malt		£ 11.33	£ 1.33
malt (otte)		£ 2.67	
pepper		£ 0.14	
pilliorn	£ 2.67	£ 4.67	£ 3.67
pitch	£ 0.33		£ 0.83
pitch & tar			£ 1.67
playnginrde		£ 0.08	
poyntes	£ 0.03	£ 0.13	

red lash		£ 0.08	
red sg		£ 0.50	
rope	£ 5.75	£ 1.33	
saffron	£ 4.50	£ 18.83	£ 6.00
silk	£ 5.33	£ 5.34	£ 10.33
silk - processed	£ 2.67	£ 24.33	
skins - calf			£ 14.13
skins - gold		£ 1.08	
small wayntes	£ 0.20		
tar			£ 0.33
wheat	£ 34.50	£ 36.17	
white hems	£ 4.00	£ 14.33	£ 11.50
wool cards	£ 0.33		£ 0.08

Imports to Bridgwater

Item	1540-41	1541-42	1544-45
anchors	£ 0.50		
boards	£ 0.50	£ 1.83	
brasse (olde)	£ 1.33		
canvas	£ 11.25		
clames	£ 7.50	£ 12.83	£ 11.67
fish	£ 4.83	£ 1.42	
fish - salted	£ 3.13	£ 2.75	
flokes	£ 2.46	£ 0.38	£ 1.67
flox			£ 0.08
frieze	£ 3.83	£ 11.03	£ 1.73
frute		£ 32.00	
gurnerde		£ 0.15	
hake	£ 69.88	£ 99.25	£ 43.33
hides	£ 0.17	£ 0.67	
hides - deer	£ 1.17	£ 3.94	£ 4.00
iron	£ 113.00	£ 172.00	£ 100.50
Licquorice		£ 0.33	
lining		£ 2.00	
mantells	£ 2.67		
oil	£ 14.00		
pitch	£ 4.67	£ 22.00	£ 2.33
red herring	£ 31.75	£ 16.00	£ 23.63
rosin	£ 5.30		£ 10.67
sack		£ 2.00	
salmon	£ 51.75	£ 18.00	£ 20.63
salt	£ 195.88	£ 30.40	£ 28.75
serches	£ 2.17	£ 0.67	
skins - broke		£ 0.04	
skins - fox		£ 0.53	£ 0.08
skins - lamb	£ 5.00	£ 7.33	£ 0.13
skins - marten		£ 0.33	
skins - sheep		£ 0.84	
soap	£ 10.00	£ 10.00	
white herring	£ 23.88	£ 19.63	£ 38.49
wine	£ 226.25	£ 254.00	£ 57.00
woad			£ 32.67

Exports from Minehead

Item	1540-41	1541-42	1544-45
beans	£ 2.00		
cloth - broadcloth	£ 22.02	£ 30.00	£ 18.00
cloth - Moltons	£ -	£ 28.80	
saffron	£ 0.67		
silk - processed	£ 1.33		
wheat		£ 6.00	
white hems	£ 1.00		

Imports to Minehead

Item	1540-41	1541-42	1544-45
illegible			£ 1.00
fish		£ 0.33	
fish - salted	£ 1.00		
frieze		£ 8.00	
hake	£ 21.50	£ 14.50	£ 32.25
hides	£ 4.67	£ 13.33	£ 5.67
hides - Irish			£ 66.17
skins -lamb		£ 1.75	
red herring			£ 3.25
salmon			£ 79.50
salt	£ 12.50	£ 51.25	£ 20.83
tallow	£ 0.17		
white herring	£ 115.50	£ 101.00	£ 70.83
wine	£ 6.00	£ 22.00	£ 56.00
wine - corrupt			£ 16.00
woad		£ 210.00	
wool			£ 0.92

APPENDIX D : TRADE BY SHIPS' HOME PORT

Exports from Bridgwater

Home Port	Cloth	Foodstuff	Metal	Misc	Skins
	£	£	£	£	£
Aveiro	30.01				
Belle Castle		1.75			
Borage	2.00				
Bridgwater	178.20	17.50			
Bristol	32.50	22.67	8.00		
Combe	26.00	3.00		1.08	
Cork		1.67			
Dungarven	35.50	40.17	9.83	15.00	0.25
Framilode		4.00			
Kinsale		2.67			
Milford	47.00	56.00		3.33	
Minehead	7.00	47.50			
Morbihan	3.00				
Mumbles		6.08		2.00	
Passages	24.00	5.50			
Pembroke		2.00			
Penarl	2.50				
Penmmarch	8.00				
Peryote	0.50		4.00		
Poldavye	10.00				
Portugal	73.50	9.00			
Quimperle	19.50				
Renteria	98.50				8.67
Ross		4.67			
San Sebastian	289.38	4.17			34.13
Vanes	2.00				
Waterford	6.00	6.67			
Wexford	121.47	74.92	29.48	76.47	0.92
Yelfercub	78.90	13.00			
Youghal	28.83	32.83	10.92	9.61	

Imports to Bridgwater

Home Port	Cloth	Fish	Metal	Misc	Salt	Skins	Wine
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Aveiro		1.21		1.67	35.42	1.00	
Borage					6.25		
Bridgwater	1.50		127.50	43.30	40.32		263.00
Bristol	1.00	0.50					
Cardiff					19.58		
Carylnc					0.83		
Combe		0.50			2.92		2.25
Coneygar	0.33		1.33	0.83			1.00
Croisic					7.50		
Dungarven	1.20	106.71		0.25		0.29	
illegible					6.67		
Kinsale		2.13			2.50	0.50	14.00
Milford	2.00					3.42	
Minehead	0.50	12.88	20.00	3.46	65.00	4.50	26.00
Morbihan	4.00				10.42		
Nanotte					6.67		
Nethe					2.50		
Penarl	0.25				6.25		
Penmmarch							100.00
Peryote					6.67		
Quimperle	7.00				22.00		
Renteria				8.00			15.00
San Sebastian	0.67		196.00	46.67			42.00
Swansea					3.33		
Vanes					8.33		
Wexford	11.70	323.05		2.33		10.23	
Yelfercub	0.67		42.50	44.00			72.00
Youghal	4.53	53.50		0.38	1.88	4.29	4.00

Exports from Minehead

Home Port	Cloth	Foodstuff	Misc
	£	£	£
Abarthaw	4.00	2.00	
Aveiro	18.00		
Bridgwater	4.00		
Kinsale	3.33		1.67
Minehead	36.02	6.00	
Portugal	6.00		
Yelfercub	28.80		

Imports to Minehead

Home Port	Cloth	Fish	Misc	Salt	Skins	Wine
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Aveiro				33.33		
Cork		2.25				
Dungarven		14.33				
Kinsale		15.00				6.00
Minehead	8.00	401.58	12.08	51.25	91.58	94.00
Portugal			200.00			
Wexford		6.50				

APPENDIX E : PRINCIPAL MERCHANTS AND THEIR TRADES

Merchant second name	Cloth	Fish	Foodstuff	Metal	Misc	Salt	Skins	Wine
Borman				£56				
Byll				£20		£13		
de Avaralo	£60							
de Clawsay						£15		
de Guseta	£35							
Dekebe	£24							
Delaparta	£26						£20	
Dolarna	£36							
Dowdyng	£20	£16	£26	£21	£10	£12		£65
Dryan	£7					£10		
Fornando	£18					£21		
Garrytt					£2			£54
Hamond	£29			£48	£12			
Hay	£20	£47	£10	£5	£19		£<1	£2
Hore	£14	£33	£9	£3	£2		£<1	
Hyll	£8	£127			£1	£20	£82	£12
Hyll and Pon?								£72
Lewys	£30					£23		
Macrach		£2						
Mathew						£15		
Newport	£153		£9	£157	£35	£25	£2	£146
Pyne	£12		£6		£10	£25		
Quyrke	£2	£25	£4			£4		£2
Roche	£1	£18			£1	£2	£2	£20
Ronon	£21		£1		£<1			
Sawyer	£20		£9		£2			
Smyth			£25					£8
Stafford	£7	£50	£6	£5	£13		£1	
Stokecub	£6				£2	£25		£4
Taylor	£12		£11	£8				
Teryll			£8					£39
Thomas	£2	£27	£5	£3	£1		£1	£1
Tony						£13		
Turnor	£34	£36	£10	£5	£15		£4	
William	£4		£4	£3	£2	£13		

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript Sources

Public Record Office

E122 27/15

E122 27/18

E122 27/21

Printed Sources

Leland, John, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or About the Years 1535-1543*. ed. by Lucy Toulmin Smith. 5 vols. Vol. 3 (London: G.Bell and Sons, 1906-1910).

Secondary Works

Burwash, Dorothy, *English Merchant Shipping 1460-1540* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1969).

Carson, E., 'Customs Records as a Source of Historical Research', *Archives*, 13 (1977), 74-80.

Carus-Wilson, E.M., 'The Overseas Trade of Bristol', in *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Power, Eileen and M.M. Postan (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1933), pp. 183-246.

Carus-Wilson, E.M., and Olive Coleman, eds., *England's Export Trade, 1275-1547* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

Childs, Wendy, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978).

———, 'The Commercial Shipping of South West England in the Later Fifteenth Century', *Mariner's Mirror*, 83 (1997), 272-292.

———, 'Devon's Overseas Trade in the Late Middle Ages', in *The New Maritime History of Devon*, ed. by Duffy, Micheal, Stephen Fisher, Basil Greenhill, David

J. Starkey and Joyce Youngs (Exeter: Conway Maritime Press in association with The University of Exeter, 1992), pp. 74-79.

———, 'Ireland's Trade with England in the Later Middle Ages', *Irish Economic and Social History*, IX (1982), 5-33.

———, *The Trade and Shipping of Hull 1300-1500* (Beverley, 1990).

———, 'Irish Merchants and Seamen in Late Medieval England', *Irish Historical Studies*, 32 (2000), 22-43.

Coleman, D.C., *The Economy of England 1450-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

Connell-Smith, Gordon, *Forerunners of Drake: A Study of English Trade with Spain in the Early Tudor Period* (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1954).

de Courcy Ireland, John, 'County Wexford in Maritime History', in *Wexford: History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County*, ed. by Whelan, Kevin and William Nolan (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1987), pp. 490-506.

Department of Historical Studies, University of Bristol, 'Ireland-Bristol Trade in the Sixteenth Century', University of Bristol, (2006)
<<http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Ireland/research.htm>> [Accessed March 2006].

Dilks, T.B., R.W. Dunning, and T.D Tremlett, eds., *Bridgwater Borough Archives 1468-1485*. 5 vols. Vol. 5 (Frome: Butler & Tanner Ltd, 1933-1971).

Dunning, R.W., *Bridgwater: History and Guide* (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1992).

———, ed., *A History of the County of Somerset*. Vol. 5, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

Elton, G.R., 'Informing for Profit: A Sidelight on Tudor Methods of Law-Enforcement', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 2 (1954), 149-167.

Evans, M.C.S., 'Carmarthen and the Welsh Port Books 1550-1603', *The Carmanthenshire Antiquary*, 3 (1960), 72-87.

Fisher, F.J., 'Commercial Trends and Policy in Sixteenth Century England', *Economic History Review*, 10 (1940).

Flavin, Susan, 'The Development of Anglo-Irish Trade in the Sixteenth Century' (MA, Bristol, 2005)

Gras, N.S., *The Early English Customs System* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1918).

- Hipkin, Stephen, 'The Maritime Economy of Rye 1560-1640', *Southern History*, 20-21 (1998-99), 108-142.
- Hulbert, N.F., 'A Survey of the Somerset Fairs', *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 82 (1936), 83-159.
- Jones, Evan T., 'The Bristol Shipping Industry in the Sixteenth Century' (Phd Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1998).
- , 'Illicit Business: Accounting for Smuggling in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Bristol', *Economic History Review*, LIV (2001), 17-38.
- Kowaleski, Maryanne, 'The Expansion of the South-Western Fisheries in Late Medieval England', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 53 (2000), 429-454.
- Longfield, Ada Kathleen, *Anglo-Irish Trade in the Sixteenth Century* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1929).
- Lyons, Mary Anne, 'Maritime Relations between Ireland and France C.1480-C.1630', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 27 (2000), 1-24.
- Power, Eileen, and M.M. Postan, eds., *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1933).
- Ramsey, G.D, 'The Smuggler's Trade: A Neglected Aspect of English Commercial Development', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 2 (1952), 131-157.
- Sacks, David Harris, *Trade, Society and Politics in Bristol, 1500-1640*. 2 vols (New York, 1985).
- , *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy 1450-1700* (Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press, 1991).
- Scammell, G.V, 'Shipowning in the Economy and Politics of Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal*, XV (1972), 385-407.
- Stephens, W.B., 'The Foreign Trade of Plymouth and the Cornish Ports in the Early 17th Century', *Devonshire Association Report and Transactions*, 101 (1969), 125-137.
- Tittler, Robert, 'The Vitality of an Elizabethan Port: The Economy of Poole C.1550-1600', *Southern History*, 7 (1985), 95-118.
- Vanes, J., 'Documents Illustrating the Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Sixteenth Century', *Bristol Record Society Publications*, XXXI (1979).
- Verlinden, C., 'The Rise of Spanish Trade in the Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, 10 (1940).

Wade, J.F., 'The Overseas Trade of Newcastle Upon Tyne in the Late Middle Ages', *Northern History*, 30 (1994), 31-48.

Waite, Bryan, 'The Medieval Ports and Trade of North-East Yorkshire', *Mariner's Mirror*, 63 (1977), 137-149.

Wanklyn, M.D.G., 'Gloucester Port Books 1575-1765 [Computer File]', UK Data Archive, (1996).

Whetter, J.C.A., 'Cornish Trade in the 17th Century: An Analysis of the Port Books', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, n.s 4 (1964), 388-413.

Williams, N.J., *Contraband Cargoes: Seven Centuries of Smuggling* (London, 1959).

Willan, T.S. 'The River Navigation and Trade of the Severn Valley 1600-1750', *Economic History Review*, 8 (1937), 68-79.

Williams, N.J., *The Maritime Trade of the East Anglian Ports 1550-1590* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

Woodward, D.M., *The Trade of Elizabethan Chester*. ed. by Saville, John, *Occasional Papers in Economic and Social History No. 4* (Hull: The University of Hull, 1970).

———, 'Irish Sea Trades and Shipping from the Later Middle Ages to c. 1660', in *The Irish Sea: Aspects of Maritime History*, ed. by McCaughan, Michael and John Appleby (Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, 1989).pp. 35-46.

Youngs, Joyce, and Peter W. Cornford, 'Seafaring and Maritime Trade in Sixteenth-Century Devon', in *The New Maritime History of Devon*, ed. by Duffy, Micheal, Stephen Fisher, Basil Greenhill, David J. Starkey and Joyce Youngs (Exeter: Conway Maritime Press in association with The University of Exeter, 1992), pp. 91-98.