

The Port of Carlisle: Trade and Shipping in Cumberland, 1675-1735

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IT may come as a surprise to many people that Carlisle was listed as one of the principal ports of England from the late 16th century. However, taking 'port' in the technical sense, as a place where the King's Customs were collected, in conjunction with Carlisle's position on the Border, the idea seems less absurd. Over the years, *Transactions* has published a number of articles on the topic. P. H. Fox dealt with the appointment of Carlisle as a headport in 1564/5, R. C. Jarvis with the boundaries of Carlisle's authority in 1681 and 1769, whilst W. J. Prevost described the trade coming across the Border in the late 17th century.¹ Shipping to and from the port in the 17th and early 18th centuries has not been examined up till now, and forms the subject of this article.

Some preliminary words of explanation are necessary, defining those terms whose meaning has changed over the centuries. To the modern understanding, 'port' signifies a harbour complex in a particular town, but during the period in question 'port' had another, formal, meaning. In the 16th century the coastline of England and Wales was divided into sections, each with a principal town designated 'headport', where the chief Customs officers had their headquarters. Carlisle was the headport of the coastline between the Rivers Sark, on the Scots Border, and Duddon, which marked the boundary with Lancashire. Goods from overseas might only be landed in specified places, known as 'legal quays', on this stretch of coast, where further officers were stationed. Workington and Whitehaven are examples of these. By 1681, Whitehaven's trade had grown so much that the town was made a 'member', that is, a junior port, still subject to the headport but with its own set of principal Customs officers and oversight of its own stretch of coastline. In Whitehaven's case, this was from the River Ellen to the Duddon, leaving Carlisle with the day-to-day running of the stretch from the Ellen to the Sark. The importance of these boundaries lies in the fact that small landing places where coastwise or non-dutiable goods might be landed, were not distinguished in the records. To pile confusion on confusion, the place of origin of vessels is given accurately, thus we might find the *Mary Ann* of Allonby clearing Whitehaven, when she was actually coming from Ravenglass, in Whitehaven's Customs precinct. This is particularly confusing in the case of the Port of Carlisle, since that city had no port in the modern sense, but whose legal quay was at Ravenbank, near Bowness-on-Solway. After that haven silted up, Rockcliffe, Bowness and Sandsfield were allowed to receive foreign goods, while coastal goods could arrive wherever a boat could find an anchorage. Goods travelling within the port boundaries were not recorded. Thus, goods travelling from Allonby to Liverpool were listed, but the same goods travelling from Allonby to Rockcliffe were not.

Unfortunately, the above is not the only source of confusion. What constituted 'foreign',

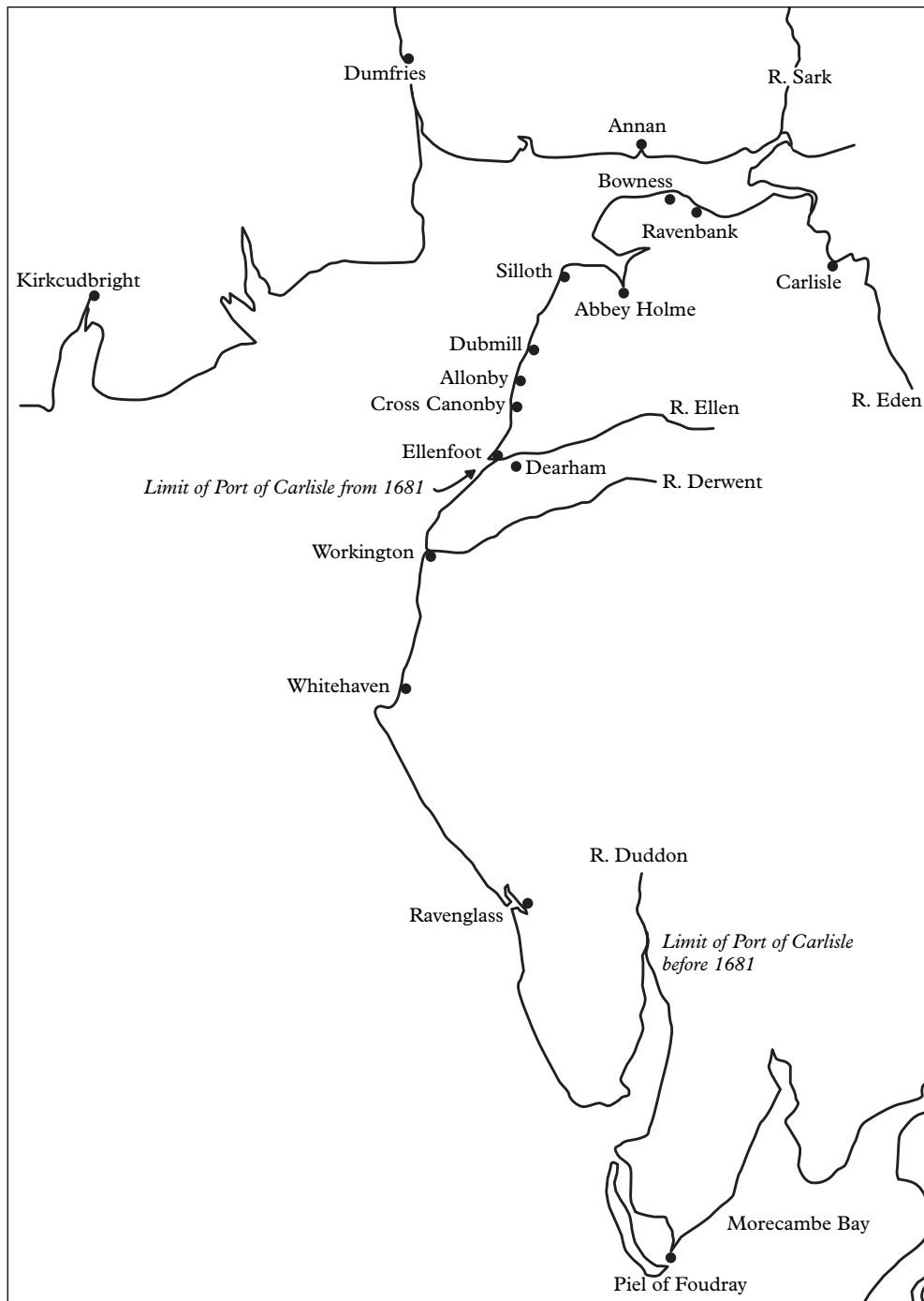


FIG. 1. Headports, legal quays and leading places in the vicinity of Carlisle.

or 'overseas', changed over the years. In the 17th century, Scotland, Ireland and the Isle of Man were all overseas, while Scotland changed her status in 1707. The principal sources used are the Exchequer Port Books, which come in two series, overseas and coastwise. They primarily record the payment of Customs duty, along with details of ship, merchant and cargo. This is simple enough in the case of overseas trade, but the purpose of the coastal books was more complicated, since duty was not normally payable on coastwise trade. These were basically a check designed to prevent smuggling, or exporting forbidden goods, such as corn, in a time of shortage. Furthermore, records in either series cover only those goods which travelled legally. These difficulties mean that any figures given must be understood to be approximations only.

The coast of Cumberland and Westmorland is not ideal for shipping. Piel of Foudray, the island between Rampside and Walney, had the best harbour on the coast, but came under the authority of the Port of Lancaster. Even here, Captain Greenville Collins found a depth of only three fathoms when surveying in 1689, and the approach was through a warren of sandbanks. Entry to the Solway ports was also through shifting sandbanks, 'which change frequently, almost daily in places'² while no one had thought it worthwhile to survey the estuary or take soundings until the Dumfries Town Council hired a chartmaker in 1742. Unfortunately for Cumberland sailors, this chart covered the south side of the Solway only as far north as Dubmill, near Allonby³ and was of no assistance to a ship approaching Rockliffe, for example. The Cumberland coast was surveyed in 1746, but charts were never published. In 1748, travellers were said to be 'extremely sensible of the want of correct maps', while 'no chart can be given with certainty of its [the River Eden] fresh water-course'.⁴ Part of the western coast was surveyed by Greenville Collins, but he took no soundings north of St. Bees. Sheltered natural harbours were few. Ravenglass was protected from the west winds by the surrounding dunes, but Collins found only two fathoms at low tide. Ships coming in to Workington or Ellenfoot (now Maryport) might shelter in the river mouths but were still affected by bad weather and the ubiquitous sandbanks. Ships along this coast had to be able to 'take the ground', that is, to lie on the shore at low tide, even at Whitehaven, which benefited from a rich and energetic landlord who improved the harbour. In 1689, the masters of Liverpool ships which had been hired as troop transports refused to sail to Whitehaven because 'all ships do every Tide fall a dry which some of our Ships are not capable to do'.⁵ Once in the inner Solway, shipping was not exposed to the full force of the weather; the problem here was bringing the goods close to the customer. Carlisle lies on the River Eden which is much impeded by shoals and sandbanks (See Fig. 2). A number of 18th century maps showing the fisheries belonging to the city make it clear that anything larger than a rowing boat would not get far upriver. 'Ships seldom come higher than this place' [Sandsfield] and although small sloops occasionally sailed up by Rockliffe Church, 'nothing but fishing Boats ever go higher'. It is surprising that anything ever got so far since a second map shows a ford between Holmes Mill and Rockliffe, indicating very shallow water, while the river was often blocked by fishing stells.⁶ In 1721 three Carlisle men applied for an Act to allow them to dredge the channel of the Eden, although only to Bankend, so ships would still be unable to unload in the city. Supported by the Cumberland M.P.s, the Act was passed;⁷ that it was thought necessary speaks volumes about the difficulties of access to the entire Port.

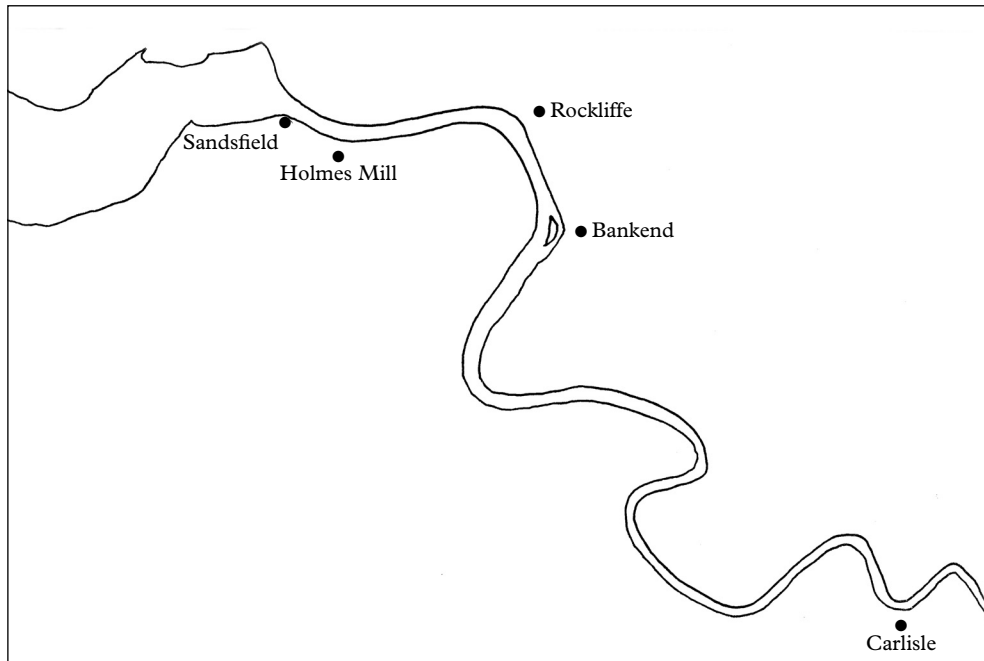


FIG. 2. Landing places of the River Eden

The feeling among some writers of the period seems to bear out these depressing facts. Daniel Defoe said, 'There is not a great deal of trade here either by sea or land'. Others simply remarked upon the castle and other historical sights, but had nothing to say on any economic activity. Thomas Denton, writing in 1687-1688, does not mention any harbours north of the Ellen, though Allonby is described as 'a little fishing town'. Matters do not appear to have improved by the 1750s, when the Swedish industrial spy, Angerstein, wrote about Carlisle, 'The trade of this place is feeble and of little importance, and there is no manufacture of anything except riding-whips and fish hooks'. On the other hand, half a century earlier, Sir John Percival wrote that 'No boat can come within 3 miles of the town, yet here is a custom house for Scotch cloth and flax which pays the King some years 6000 li.'. From these remarks it appears that Carlisle, as a transit point, benefited from the overland trade to and from Scotland. Regardless of the level of trade in general, no writer claimed that Carlisle was noted for her shipping.⁸

The appointment of Carlisle as a headport in 1564/5 was primarily to control trade coming by land from Scotland. Some trade did, however, arrive by water: in 1687 five ships entered from Scotland, and two cleared, while in 1690 one entered and 11 cleared.⁹ More details may be derived from the Scots Customs records: between 1672 and 1691, 63 ships sailed to Dumfries from Allonby.¹⁰ The bulk of these carried coal from the Dearham pits and salt from the pans at Cross Canonby, explaining why the other havens in the Port of Carlisle accounted for only three ships in that time, one each from Abbey Holme, Bowness and Ravenbank. Return cargos usually consisted

of linen yarn and cloth, small quantities of coarse woollens and occasionally a few sheep. Some ships also called at Kirkcudbright and Annan, but very few ever ventured further out across the Firth to Wigtown or Port Patrick.

As to ships to and from Whitehaven, during the period from 1678 to 1684 an average of nine ships a year visited the Port of Carlisle, while the average number returning laden was between two and three.¹¹ In 1680 and 1681, no ships at all found return cargoes. Nevertheless, some improvement was made on these woefully low figures from 1682, when the numbers began to creep up. By 1688 25 ships sailed to the Port of Carlisle from Whitehaven, while ten returned with cargo. A gap in the record follows, until 1691, when levels had sunk back to those of the 1670s, probably as a result of the uncertainty caused by political problems and William III's war in Ireland. Trade received a further blow in 1695, with the first of a series of disastrous harvests in the north, particularly in Scotland.¹²

Goods favoured by the consumers of the area were not, on the whole, metropolitan luxuries. The principal imports from Whitehaven were northern deals, used in ship-building and house construction. These started at a low level in 1678 but in the 1680s between 2,000 and 3,000 a year were entering the Port, rising in 1684 to over 7,000. Northern deals were substantial pieces of sawn timber, each further sawn into two or three useable planks once arrived in this country. Other imports for industrial use included tar, iron, copperas and components for barrel making. Domestic items included soap, pottery, salt and quantities of herrings, from Ireland or the Isle of Man, via Whitehaven. Apart from a single shipment of tobacco, luxuries first arrived in 1682, in the *Jane* of Lees, when Henry Osmotherley imported a ton of groceries from London, some brandy from Lancaster and 48 gallons of English spirits from Liverpool. This had to suffice the thirsty citizens until John Hodgson imported three tuns of wine, along with some corks and sugar, in the *Marrian* of Allonby in 1683.¹³

The list of exports bears out the evidence of contemporary writers. Aside from the coal, salt and the odd shipment of lime to Scotland, the Port of Carlisle occasionally provided agricultural goods to Whitehaven. From 1678 to 1685, a mere 17 ships sailed there with cargo, including barrels of salmon, some oatmeal, peas and beans. The main export was barley, though even this amounted to only 1,167 quarters over the seven years. This rose over the 1690s to 2,087, a fairly encouraging figure considering that the period covers three years of bad harvests, from 1695 to 1697. The sole manufactured goods were two pieces of coarse hemp cloth, some Scots linen and a piece of ticking from Manchester.¹⁴ The small part in the Port's fortunes played by overseas shipping may be best illustrated by the Customs accounts. In 1691 the Crown collected under £15 on imports from Scotland by ship, most of that on a single shipment of herring. Takings on overland imports were £2,417.¹⁵

After 1 May 1707, the Act of Union allowed Scots seamen and merchants to be treated on much the same terms as Englishmen. This removed the reason for Carlisle's position as headport, since the Border was now almost meaningless with regard to trade. It might be thought that trade across the Solway would increase now that goods were no longer liable for duty, but this was not so for some years. 'The trade at

Carlisle is so very inconsiderable since the Union', wrote the Collector of Whitehaven in 1718, while Allonby's coal trade moved south to Ellenfoot.¹⁶ From 1707 to 1709, the number of boats making the trip to Scotland stayed much the same. What did change were the cargoes. No salt went north, and coal only in reduced quantities, being replaced by agricultural goods and a little iron. Returns included wine and brandy. In the following decade, shipping to Scotland suffered a downturn, even from these low levels. That no ships crossed the water between 1715 and 1718 is not surprising, bearing in mind the Jacobite rising of 1715, but only one ship went in each of the years 1711 and 1712. Exports to Scotland began to look up a little in the 1720s, and in 1733 reached 16 ships, many of them carrying Carlisle-manufactured pantiles. Imports from Scotland, on the other hand, increased very little. Wines and spirits still featured, though there were new commodities on the list. Kelp and fern ashes were used in the manufacture of glass and soap. Crooked timber was in demand by shipbuilders and used for the 'knees', or brackets supporting the deck. Lamb and sheepskins were also on the list, and in 1727 nearly 14,000lbs of wool arrived from Wigtown and Kirkcudbright. Nevertheless, Scots trade formed a minor part of Carlisle's total maritime commerce.

The major place was occupied by the cuckoo in Carlisle's nest, the officially subordinate Port of Whitehaven. There was an imbalance in this trade also, Whitehaven regularly lading more ships to Carlisle than returned with goods, but by 1733, the position reversed. In that year 19 ships entered from, and 26 cleared for, Whitehaven. Raw materials formed some of the import: tar, northern deals, dyestuffs, copperas, tallow and tow, indicating some development of manufacturing. Much of the increase, on the other hand, was in consumer goods: sugar, wines, tobacco, glassware, pottery, books, fashionable furniture, and 'two boxes of puppets',¹⁷ evidence of growing prosperity. The range of exports to Whitehaven had changed very little. In 1733, 1,198 quarters of barley and a little oats travelled from Carlisle, along with some tar and wines. This last is not a sign of traffic between Carlisle and Bordeaux. Whitehaven merchants, led by the Lutwidge family, had discovered the advantages of the more benign Customs regime across the Solway and regularly imported wines and other foreign goods via Kirkcudbright and Annan.¹⁸

Carlisle had connections with other ports on the English coast. How great these may have been in the late 17th century is not known with any certainty, but in 1707 and 1708 contacts by sea were restricted to one or two a year with Liverpool. Thereafter, numbers picked up a little, only to fall again in 1715. The 1720s saw another revival and although contacts with the Mersey ports remained the staple, the Port of Carlisle now welcomed ships from Lancaster, North Wales and even from London. Imports from Liverpool followed a similar pattern every year, featuring pottery, cheese, tobacco pipes and glassware, but one or two interesting entries again indicate emerging industry in Carlisle. The import in 1728 of looking-glass frames suggests that someone was manufacturing mirror glass locally, while the Irish wool entering in 1725 and 1727 was presumably intended for the woollen factory run by the Gulicker brothers. Besides the mirrors and woollen goods, in 1733 one Thomas Tunstay exported earthenware and cheese 'manufactured here' to Dumfries. There is also mention of 'a truss of linen wrapper manufactured here',¹⁹ while the import of mahogany planks and several

consignments of cane suggests a cabinet maker working locally. Even so, these scraps of evidence show only small-scale developments. Throughout the 1720s, the staple exports remained grains and pulses, mostly destined for Liverpool, although quantities varied considerably, according to the success or otherwise of the harvest. The year 1721 was a bumper year, when 2,448 quarters of bigg and 887 quarters of oats were sent to Liverpool and a further 807 quarters of oats to London. In 1725, on the other hand, the Carlisle area could spare only half that amount.

There remains to examine Carlisle's overseas trade. It is clear that this was even more exiguous than her coastal traffic, being confined to the provision of salt to the fisheries and the import of salt herring. In 1713, however, two ships entered from Norway, carrying deals and tar. This infant trade was knocked back in 1715, though by how much is hard to say. Trade with Europe had come to stay, however. In most years thereafter one or two ships sailed for Norway, and in 1735, the last year for which details of overseas trade survive, five ships brought back timber, tar, masts and other ship-building requirements.²⁰ Ships from Ireland appeared less often, now carrying timber, rather than herring, while the Isle of Man was now acting as an entrepot for Spanish wines imported by Whitehaven's Thomas Lutwidge and his Carlisle colleagues. Exports, however, were suffering. In several years, no ships cleared overseas with cargo. The salt exported in earlier years does not appear, possibly chased out of the market by cheap rock salt from Cheshire. The Carlisle area produced very little of interest to Norwegian buyers. The sole export to Trondheim, in 1731, was of just over one ton of lead, possibly forming part of a larger shipment from Whitehaven. Carlisle's merchants would have paid for their imports with hard cash.

There are some features here which apply to both Ports. The majority of consumer goods were imported, rather than made locally. The timber trade with Norway supplied shipbuilders all along the Cumberland coast. More crucial to the future health, or otherwise, of both Ports was the exporters' reliance on a single product: coal in the case of Whitehaven and grain from Carlisle. Of these, Carlisle was in the more precarious position of relying on a weather-dependent product, while even in the best years, quantities exported were not enough to matter on the national scale. Salvation might have come through the re-export of tobacco, but Carlisle figured only as a staging post for inland distribution, while Whitehaven's great days were short-lived, as Continental traders moved north to an expanding Glasgow in the 1750s.

The main difference between the two Ports appears at first sight to be that of volume. A more thorough examination of the evidence, however, reveals a number of interesting variations in the organization of trade. It has already been pointed out that a port encompassed a stretch of coast and that the precise source or destination of a cargo was not always recorded. Even so, reasonable assumptions can often be made based on circumstantial evidence. Most of Whitehaven's trade appears to have come from the town or from Workington, with some from Ellenfoot. Little went to or from small rural havens.²¹ The Port of Carlisle, on the other hand, despite its name, included *only* small rural havens. The amount of business generated in the Port of Carlisle was small, certainly before the industrialization of the city and when shared out among the various havens did not amount to enough to employ professional, full-time mariners. This,

in its turn, dictated a different age structure in the workforce. In Whitehaven town, many of those employed were teenagers. Apprenticeship started at 14, and the fact that 29 per cent of seamen were aged between 14 and 19 indicates that most seamen there were trained professionals. In rural coastal parishes teenagers only represented 13 per cent of the maritime workforce. Apprenticeship was less popular and there were fewer professionals as a result.²²

There is a break point in the records in 1715. Before that date, any shipping belonging to the Port of Carlisle was small, at less than five tons. Their appearances in the Port Books were spasmodic, busy in some years, completely absent in others. These were part-time traders. In 1715 the 21-ton *Hopewell* began trading, working regularly up to 1730. She was followed by the *Morpeth*, of similar size, in the early 1720s, the *Betty* of Rockliffe at the end of the decade and the *Carlisle* in the early 1730s.²³ These ships sailed throughout the year, demonstrating the growing professionalism brought about by increasing trade. Nevertheless, this development was painfully slow. By the time of the 1786 Ship Registration Act, the Port of Carlisle still had relatively few ships, mostly sloops of less than 50 tons. Throughout the 18th century, shipping belonging to the Port was of smaller than average tonnage, and best suited to coastal and estuarine work.²⁴

The smaller the ship, the less efficient was the use of manpower. Manning levels in the country at large were improving in the 18th century, at around 9.5 tons per man. The 21-ton *Hopewell* carried a crew of three or four, that is between five and seven tons per man, while the smallest boats, of one to five tons, averaged 0.5 ton per man. It seems unlikely that such boats could ever turn a profit, but these were fishing boats whose crews did not usually rely on trading for a living. In 1709 the Port was credited with eight tons of fishing craft, dropping to four tons in 1716, rising to 12 tons in 1723 and dropping again to four tons in 1730.²⁵ This yo-yo effect was due to the unpredictability of the herring shoals; trading was a useful way to make use of capital assets when the fish were temporarily absent. None of this handful of boats looked much like the conventional picture of 18th century shipping: i.e., square-rigged on two or three masts. The Carlisle vessels were sloops and hoys, fore-and-aft rigged, usually on a single mast, while the smallest fishing boats were undecked and might not even have the luxury of a sail. Boats of similar size were still in use later in the century. The two-ton *Friendship* of Allonby operated regularly in the Solway in the 1750s, while many more examples could be cited.²⁶

Ownership and management of the vessels forms another difference between the two Ports. In the Port of Whitehaven, 82 per cent of mariners, mainly but not exclusively masters, owned shares in shipping, along with 63 per cent of merchants.²⁷ In a sample of wills and inventories for the Port of Carlisle, there were only two men who could be described as mariners, John Holiday of Silloth and his son Joseph, who owned part of the ship they skippered. Aside from the Holidays' *Hopewell*, none of the other Carlisle coasters have surfaced in the probate records. None of the 20 city testators actually described as merchants had any interest in ship-owning. Of the 20 part-time fishermen in the sample who bequeathed fishing gear, five owned a share in a fishing boat, just as larger ships were owned by groups.

Ownership of these small boats may have been on a familiar basis, but the management of the vessels was different. At Whitehaven and other large ports, masters were employed by the managing shareholders, though often shareholders themselves. Apart from enjoying a modest concession of space for their own trade goods, they acted as factors for the freighters. Changes of master were normally effected in the spring; some changed every year while others stayed with the same ship for many seasons. The fleet of small boats in the Port of Carlisle, on the other hand, appear to have run as co-operatives. In ten years between 1678 and 1688, for example, eight different men commanded the *Mary Ann* of Allonby, changing at least 18 times. In 1680 alone, the boat was skippered by John Haliday in March, followed by William Lister in April and William Simm in July.²⁸ Nicholas Beeby took over in August and Simm was back in September. Another *Mary Ann* of Silloth, the *Friendship* and the *Elizabeth* of Allonby and the *Jane* of Lees all show the same pattern. Most of these masters traded at times on their own account, while some freighted the boat even when a different man was in charge. This system of management was common across the country in earlier times, but was dying out as the increasing volume of trade demanded full-time, professional seamen sailing larger ships. In the Port of Carlisle, it was still the norm rather than the exception in the late 17th century, while there are signs that the system survived into the 18th century.²⁹

Apart from the seamen themselves, who was using the available shipping? In Whitehaven, the great majority of men freighting ships were merchants, or ship-masters in the case of colliers on the Dublin run. In the Port of Carlisle, of the 68 men and one woman who loaded or received goods in ten years in the late 17th century, just seven were members of Carlisle's Merchant Guild, while 22 ship-masters or yeomen came from the rural area. Whitehaven was home to ten merchants and five seamen, while the remainder are unidentified. Over half of the total, including five of the Carlisle merchants, were responsible for just one shipment apiece. Nicholas Beeby, part-time master of the *Mary Ann* of Allonby and carpenter the rest of the time, sent eight cargoes of salt herring and northern deals from Whitehaven to Carlisle and coal to Dumfries. Trade to and from the Port was initiated not by Carlisle merchants but by Whitehaven men or small-time traders from the rural area.

Other men from outside the city dominated the trade after 1707. Thomas Lutwidge of Whitehaven had a finger in every available commercial pie and his Carlisle business, supplying tobacco, tar and timber, was only a small part of his empire. Daniel Murphy of Liverpool shipped cheese, earthenware and sugar regularly. One or two Carlisle merchants appear to have woken up to the possibilities, however, Jeremiah Jackson being the most active. First appearing in the Customs records in 1708, he seems to have acted mainly as an agent, firstly for John Harrison of Whitehaven, then in 1711, for three Liverpool merchants, shipping grain for them and also for himself. Otherwise his cargoes were of modest quantities of fish, tar, lead and similar basic commodities. By 1721 he was buying large amounts of grain, still for Liverpool. In that year alone he dispatched 1,609 quarters, roughly 320 tons. He may have overextended himself since he is found being released from debtors' prison in 1725.³⁰ Most of the other Carlisle merchants had more tentative connections with shipping.

By the 1720s and 30s, above 20 Carlisle men, including nine named as merchants, were trading by sea. Even so, none of the merchants, apart from Jeremiah Jackson, could fairly be described as 'active', taking more than one or two shipments in that time. The most prominent traders were still from outside the city, including Bryan Blundell of Liverpool, who sent tar, fish oils and earthenware throughout the period. Walter Lutwidge of Whitehaven did much business in the Solway, but the busiest trader at this time was Joseph Watson of Newton Arlosh. From 1716 until the records end in 1733, Watson dispatched at least 47 cargoes to Whitehaven, Liverpool and Warrington, receiving just five, of deals, barrel staves and pottery. The core of his business was the steady export of grain. Over the years he exported a total of around 5,000 quarters, his best year being 1732, when 729 quarters went to Whitehaven and Warrington.³¹

The traffic run by the city merchants was not by sea, but overland, to Newcastle and other north-eastern towns. The lead mined in the Pennines was conveyed to Newcastle by road, locally made linens travelled to Newcastle or Liverpool overland. Scots or Cumberland cattle were driven down the east side of the country to fairs in East Anglia. This pattern did not change in the period under review. The City of Carlisle had very little to offer the west coast ports with their vibrant overseas trade and her Port at this time was there to serve the rural area first and foremost.

Even though there were few changes in the city's trade, by the 1730s there were changes within the Port. Men like Nicholas Beeby were fewer on the ground. Not only was the old style of co-operative management declining but fewer fishing boats were carrying goods and fewer masters were trading on their own account. The lack of locally made consumer goods was a problem for the small master who wished to trade. The future lay with larger coasters, sailing year-round, crewed by employed, professional sailors rather than independent part-timers, and freighted by men with access to those goods and deep enough pockets to pay for them. The Port of Carlisle lagged behind much of the rest of the country in its commercial organization, but change was very much in the air.

References

- ¹ P. H. Fox, 'Cumberland Ports and Shipping in the Reign of Elizabeth', *CW2*, xxi, 76-78; R. C. Jarvis, 'The Appointment of Ports in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire-North-of-the Sands', *CW2*, xlvii, 160-163; W. A. J. Prevost, 'The Turnpike and Custom Port at Alisonbank', *CW2*, lxxiii, 282-298.
- ² B. Blake, *The Solway Firth* (London, 1974), 37-38.
- ³ J. Moore, 'Thomas Winter's Chart of the Solway Firth', *Transactions of Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* (hereafter *D. & G. Trans.*), lix (1984), 57-63.
- ⁴ I am grateful to Denis Perriam for information on the 1746 survey; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1748), 3-4.
- ⁵ The National Archives, Kew (hereafter TNA), ADM 1/3558 f.807. Board of Admiralty Letters.
- ⁶ CRO(C), D LONS/L Box 811, nos. 312, 162. River Eden Fisheries plans.
- ⁷ 8 George I, cap. 14.
- ⁸ D. Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, P. Rogers (ed.) (London, 1971), 557; T. Denton, *A Perambulation of Cumberland 1687-1688*, A. J. L. Winchester and M. Wane (eds.) (Woodbridge, 2003), 266; T. and P. Berg (eds.), *R. R. Angerstein's Illustrated Travel Diary 1753-1755. Industry in England and Wales from a Swedish perspective* (London, 2001), 278; M. R. Wenger (ed.), *The English Travels of Sir John Percival and William Byrd II. The Percival Diary of 1701* (Columbia, 1989), 127.

- ⁹ TNA, E/190/1448/7; 1448/9; 1448/10. Exchequer Port Books overseas 1687, 1690, 1691.
- ¹⁰ A. E. Truckell, 'Some 17th century Custom and Excise Records for Dumfries & Kirkcudbright', *D. & G. Trans.* lxxv (2001), 173-176.
- ¹¹ CRO(C), D/Hud/6/1. This is not, strictly speaking, a Port Book. It contains the same range of information, however, and has been used in the absence of the genuine article, covering coastwise trade from October 1677 to September 1685.
- ¹² CRO(C), D/Hud/1/11. Similar to the above, covering August 1690 to March 1697/8.
- ¹³ CRO(C), D/Hud/6/1, 9 June 1682 inwards; 10 May 1683 inwards.
- ¹⁴ CRO(C), D/Hud/1/11, 8 February 1696/7 inwards; 15 January 1697/8 inwards.
- ¹⁵ TNA, E190/1448/10. Exchequer Port Book overseas 1691.
- ¹⁶ TNA, CUST 82/1, Customs Letter Book Whitehaven, Collector to Board 3 December 1718; 6 March 1719/20.
- ¹⁷ TNA, E 190/ 1459/11, Exchequer Port Book coastwise, inwards 11 August 1733. The series finishes in 1733 so it is not possible to say whether the increased activity is part of a trend, or a short-term improvement.
- ¹⁸ TNA, CUST 82/46, Customs Letter Book Whitehaven, Private Letters 15 November 1727.
- ¹⁹ TNA, E 190/1459/5, Exchequer Port Book coastwise, 1733 outwards, 16 June 1733; E 190/1459/11 Exchequer Port Book coastwise, outwards 17 November 1733,
- ²⁰ TNA, E 190/1460/3, Exchequer Port Book overseas 1735.
- ²¹ CRO(C), D LONS/W3/83, The Whitehaven Harbour Accounts of 1705-6 give precise locations.
- ²² CRO(C), D LONS/W1/ 33, 192-4. A list of the seamen in the county, dated 1690, gives ages, place of residence and type of employment.
- ²³ The *Carlisle* was occasionally allotted to Whitehaven and may have been confused with a larger *Carlisle* which sailed from Whitehaven to Virginia in 1719 and 1721.
- ²⁴ CRO(C), TSR/4/1, Carlisle Shipping Register.
- ²⁵ British Library, Add. Mss. 11255. The reliability of this source is open to question, but in this case the figures seem plausible and consistent with those craft in the Port Books.
- ²⁶ A. E. Truckell, 'Early Shipping References in Dumfries Burgh Records', *D. & G. Trans.*, xxxiii (1955), 173.
- ²⁷ Based on a sample of 297 Whitehaven and Workington wills and inventories, held in Lancashire Record Office (Preston). The sample for the Port of Carlisle numbered 132, held at CRO(C). The samples were selected by those family names also found in the Customs records.
- ²⁸ The John Haliday here may or may not be the same person as John Holiday mentioned earlier. Spellings of the same surname appear differently in different documents (also Holliday, Hollyday and Holyday).
- ²⁹ D. Woodward, 'Ships, Masters and Ship Owners of the Wirral, 1550-1650', *Mariner's Mirror*, 63 (1977), 243.
- ³⁰ TNA, E190/1456/11; /1457/2, Exchequer Port Books coastwise 1721; CRO, CQ 6/2, Cumberland Quarter Sessions Order book 12.1.1725/6.
- ³¹ CRO(C), Will of Joseph Watson, Newton Arlosh 1746; TNA, E190/1459/2, Exchequer Port book coastwise 1732.

