

THE FOREIGN TRADE OF SUSSEX 1300—1350.

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DESPITE the modifications which have been brought about by the development of settlement and agriculture within the county, Wealden Sussex and Downland Sussex still preserve many of their contrasting natural features. During the Middle Ages, however, the clay vales and the Forest Ridges on the one hand, and the chalk hills on the other, provided an even more marked contrast which was clearly reflected in the trading activities of the Sussex ports during that period.

In the fourteenth century the comparative absence of through communication between the coast and the Thames Valley¹ meant that the hinterland of these ports was somewhat circumscribed, exports being largely confined to local produce, although many examples from contemporary accounts could be cited to illustrate the importance of road transport.² The fact that all the leading Sussex ports during that century were at the mouths of rivers leading into the Weald is not necessarily due entirely to the possibility of water transport into the interior. It was only at the mouth of a river that a reasonably safe anchorage could be assured. Hastings and Brighton, both of which lacked this advantage, are not mentioned in the

¹ The loss of Normandy considerably lessened the importance of the roads which L. F. Salzman suggests (*Sussex Notes and Queries*, Vol. I., p. 33) were established through the Weald by William the Conqueror to bring London into direct communication with Normandy. The space relationships of much of the northern part of the Weald were with the Thames (*via* the Wey and the Mole) and the Medway, rather than with the Channel.

² There are numerous examples in the Sheriff's Accounts for Edward II.'s reign of goods being carried by horseback and in waggons along roads which ran along the river valleys. In this respect one can support Salzman's contention (*loc. cit.*) that in the Middle Ages, Sussex was covered with a network of passable roads, at all events in dry weather.

surviving detailed customs accounts throughout the century. They certainly did not attract alien merchants. As Burrows has pointed out,³ the Cinque Ports began to decline at this period, the loss of Normandy during the preceding century having been a serious blow especially to such of the ports as had no important natural advantage of position on which to rely when a reorientation of trade routes took place.

The economic activities of the chalk region during the fourteenth century may be summarised under the term "wool production," the Wealden area having at that period what was essentially a wood economy. Sheep rearing, however, was carried on to a certain extent within the Weald, for the Cistercian Abbey of Robertsbridge, as we know from an interesting contemporary document, supplied wool to Italian and Flemish merchants.⁴ Iron was worked to a certain extent, but the industry did not develop on an appreciable scale until much later.⁵ Along the coast, salt was obtained from the sea, and at Winchelsea charcoal appears to have been made on a fairly large scale,⁶ but on the whole it is true to say that Sussex was primarily a producer of raw materials, which would find a ready market in the industrial regions of Flanders and North France. Manufactured goods from the latter areas were in demand in Sussex, and so there was every reason for the establishment of considerable cross-Channel traffic.

Except in the case of wool, wool fells, hides and, later on, cloth, the customs returns with which we shall deal take no account of goods exported or imported by English merchants.⁷ But although we

³ *The Cinque Ports*, p. 134.

⁴ Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, p. 628.

⁵ M. C. Delany, *The Historical Geography of the Wealden Iron Industry*, p. 19.

⁶ *V.C.H. Sussex*, Vol. II., p. 237.

⁷ The Ancient Custom was first levied in 1275, denizens and aliens paying the same rates as follows:

Sack of wool or 300 wool fells exported	6s. 8d.
Last of hides (= 200 hides) ,,	13s. 4d.

The New Custom of 1303 was an additional tax, but only levied on aliens. The rates were as follows:

Sack of wool or 300 wool fells exported	3s. 4d.
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cannot obtain a complete picture of Sussex trade as a whole, there is sufficient evidence to show the main trend of that trade and enough detail regarding the commodities mentioned to throw a certain amount of light on the activities of Sussex merchants during the period under discussion.

Let us consider first the wool exports as far as the surviving evidence will permit. The Ancient Custom returns present a number of difficulties when one attempts a detailed analysis, as, for example, in the length of coastline included in an account. Sometimes the West Sussex accounts include all ports between Seaford and Portsmouth, at others the limits are given as Shoreham and Southampton, and again one may find merely the vague term "port of Chichester."⁸ In the first two cases it would seem that the limiting ports are not to be included, for Seaford usually came within the region of which Winchelsea was head port, while Southampton was the head port of the Hampshire coast. This, however, was apparently only a matter of convenience, for county boundaries were often ignored. We may assume, I think, with reasonable certainty, that the ports concerned in these West Sussex accounts were those serving as outlets for

Last of hides exported	6s. 8d.
Tun of wine imported	2s. 0d.
Cloth: Scarlet imported or exported	2s. 0d.
Part grained imported or exported	1s. 6d.
Ungrained imported or exported	1s. 0d.
Wax imported or exported (per quintal)	1s. 0d.
All other goods imported or exported (per £ value)	3d.

The cloth Custom of 1347 levied additional duties on cloth exported by aliens and imposed duties on cloth exported by denizens, the total amounts paid after 1347 being:

Cloth.	Denizens.	Aliens.
Scarlet	2s. 4d.	3s. 6d.
Part grained	1s. 9d.	2s. 7d.
Ungrained	1s. 2d.	1s. 9d.

Gras, *Early English Customs System*, pp. 66 and 72.

⁸ The word "port" as used in the accounts often covers a number of harbours.

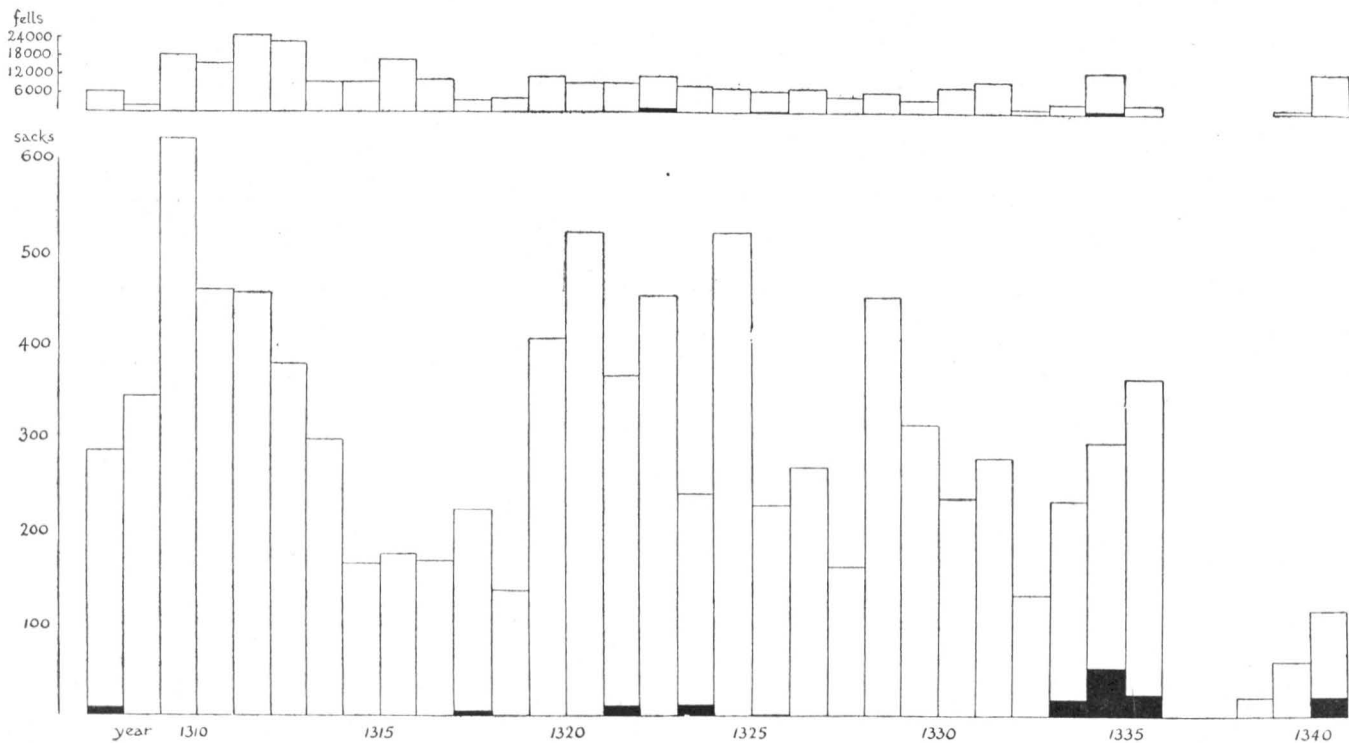


FIG. 1.—EXPORTS OF WOOL AND WOOLFELLS FROM WEST SUSSEX PORTS, 1337-1341.
 Alien shipments shown in solid black. Woolfells drawn to scale of 300 fells=1 sack.

Downland Sussex. East Sussex ports are included in the Sandwich accounts, and it is impossible to give even an estimate of the amount of wool shipped from the Rother estuary. The only reference to Wealden wool in the few Particular Accounts⁹ for the period that remain, concerns Henry Bastard of Calais, who shipped $\frac{1}{2}$ sack from Winchelsea on May 10th, 1324.¹⁰ Since these Particular Accounts only deal with the New Custom (aliens' exports) we have no means of computing the amount shipped by English merchants.

From the Particular Accounts summaries were drawn up and entered in the Enrolled Accounts kept at Westminster. These have survived, and although they contain numerous discrepancies, one has been able to draw up a graph of the wool exports from West Sussex, which are shown in Figure 1. It will be noticed that the annual total fluctuated a good deal. The 620 sacks 10 cloves¹¹ for Mich. 1309-Mich. 1310, represent the highest amount for any one year, but it is unwise to attempt a definite explanation for each rise and fall in the total since we have no means of examining all the factors involved. However, one may perhaps mention that the period 1314-18 was marked by severe weather, pestilence and famine, to which should be added the Scottish invasion and the general weakness of the Government—factors which would naturally have a deterrent effect upon trade. Strained relations with France were no doubt partly responsible for the lower totals between 1325 and 1328, and it is significant that in the accounts the absence of alien wool merchants at East Sussex ports during those years was attributed to the "war," although of course the Hundred Years' War did not break out until a decade later. The New Custom was in abeyance from 1311 to 1322, and so there are no records of alien

⁹ These were drawn up at the ports, separate accounts being kept for the Ancient Custom and the New Custom.

¹⁰ Customs Accts. 32/6.

¹¹ A sack of wool in Sussex consisted of 52 cloves, each of which weighed 7 lbs., giving a total weight of 364 lbs. (Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, Vol. II., p. 337.)

TABLE I. WEST SUSSEX: ALIEN IMPORTS AND EXPORTS 1308-1343.

Year.	Wool exported.	Hides exported.	Ungrained cloth.		Part- grained cloth imported.	Scarlet cloth imported.	Wax imported (quintals).	Goods paying poundage.	
			imported.	exported.				imported.	exported.
3 Feb. 1308-Mich. 1308	6 sacks	—	3	—	—	—	—	£104 3 0	£63 6 8
Mich. 1308-Mich. 1309	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£139 14 0	—
Mich. 1309-9 Oct. 1310	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£71 18 4	—
27 Aug. 1317-Mich. 1318	5½ sacks	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20 July, 1322-Mich. 1322	10 sacks	—	—	—	—	—	—	£10 0 0	—
Mich. 1322-28 Nov. 1323	1200 wool fells	—	—	—	—	—	—	£238	16 8
28 Oct. 1323-Mich. 1324	12 sacks	—	—	—	—	—	10½	£181 10 0	—
Mich. 1324-4 Jan. 1326	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£36 0 0 ¹¹
4 Jan. 1326-18 May, 1326	1 sack 325 wool fells	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£81 15 0
Mich. 1326-Mich. 1327	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£44 10 0 ⁴	—
Mich. 1327-26 Feb. 1328	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£56 5 0	—
1 Aug. 1330-Mich. 1330	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£54 2 4	—
Mich. 1330-Mich. 1331 ¹	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£100	10 0
Mich. 1331-Mich. 1332	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£197 0 0	—
Mich. 1332-Mich. 1333 ²	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£87 0 0	—
Mich. 1333-Mich. 1334 ³	18½ sacks	—	—	—	—	—	—	£195	15 0 ²
Mich. 1334-Mich. 1335	50½ sacks 600 wool fells	—	1½	—	—	—	—	£144	5 0
Mich. 1335-Mich. 1336	22½ sacks	—	—	—	—	—	—	£239 16 0 ⁵	—
Mich. 1336-8 Nov. 1338	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£28 0 0 ⁶	—
8 Nov. 1338-19 Jan. 1340	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£75 0 0 ⁷	—
19 Jan. 1340-Mich. 1340	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£57 10 0 ⁸	—
Mich. 1340-2 July, 1342	20 sacks	—	—	—	—	—	—	£208 0 0 ⁹	—
2 July, 1342-1 Dec. 1343	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£8 10 0 ¹⁰	—

¹ Nothing imported or exported from 3 July-Mich. 1331.² Nothing imported or exported from 28 March-Mich. 1333.³ Nothing imported or exported from 28 March-24 May, 1334.⁴ Nothing imported or exported Mich. 1326-10 Feb. 1327.⁵ Including goods imported into Shoreham Mich.-5 Nov. 1335, valued at £30.⁶ This was a cargo of onions and garlic imported by Willelmus Benet on 12 March, 1338.⁷ Consisting of goods imported at Emsworth, valued at £55. Ditto at Pagharn, valued at £20.

[1341.

⁸ Goods imported at Wittering and Emsworth, but examined at Chichester. ⁹ Nothing imported or exported Mich. 1340-23 Feb.¹⁰ Nothing imported or exported 20 May-1 Dec. 1343.¹¹ This is value of goods exported from Wittering and Shoreham.

Year.	Wool exported.	Hides exported.	Ungrained cloths.		Part- grained cloths imported.	Scarlet cloths imported.	Wax imported (quintals.)	Goods paying poundage.	
			imported.	exported.				imported.	exported.
12 Aug. 1322-7 Apr. 1323	—	—	—	83½	—	—	—	£523	18 8 ²
7 Apr. 1323-Mich. 1323	—	—	267½ ³	—	14	—	50	£109 14 11 ⁴	£146 12 0
Mich. 1323-Mich. 1324	½ sack	—	30	—	—	1	—	£153 8 4	£110 14 4
Mich. 1324-Mich. 1325	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£43 10 0	£154 1 8
Mich. 1325-Mich. 1326	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£189 15 0	£358 16 4
Mich. 1326-Mich. 1327 ⁵	—	—	21½ ⁶	30	—	—	—	£96 5 0	£166 5 0
Mich. 1327-Mich. 1328	—	—	24½ ⁷	—	—	½	10½	£435 0 0	£491 7 8
Mich. 1328-Mich. 1329	—	75	155 ⁸	20	—	—	—	£456 16 0	£429 17 0
Mich. 1329-14 Nov. 1329	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£34 6 8
Part of year 5 Edward III ⁹	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	£433 1 8	£174 13 4
Mich. 1331-Mich. 1332	—	—	164	—	—	—	120	£416 4 6	£359 3 4
Mich. 1332-Mich. 1333	—	600 ¹⁰	36	—	4	—	10	£78 6 8	£378 0 0
Mich. 1333-Mich. 1334	60 wool fells ¹¹	415	12½	—	—	—	—	£131 13 4	£338 0 0
Mich. 1334-Mich. 1335	—	—	51½	—	—	—	—	£188 0 0	£94 0 0
Mich. 1335-Mich. 1336	—	—	29	—	—	—	—	£68 3 4	£27 6 0
Mich. 1336-Mich. 1339	no alien s	hipments	recorded.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mich. 1339-Mich. 1340	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	£194 16 8	£72 5 0
Mich. 1340-Mich. 1341	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£141	10 0
Mich. 1341-Mich. 1342	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£339 5 0	—
Mich. 1342-Mich. 1343	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£150	15 0
Mich. 1343-Mich. 1344	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£216 6 8	—
Mich. 1344-Mich. 1345	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	£160 19 4	—

¹ For the few years immediately preceding the withdrawal of the New Custom in 1311 the East Sussex particulars were grouped with those of Sandwich and cannot be given separately.

² Including goods valued at £6 6s. 8d. exported from Bulwarhythe. ³ 257½ in Enrolled Accounts, but this is an error.

⁴ This should probably be £103 16s. 7d. for 3 shipments of goods exported appear to have been placed on both the imports and exports lists.

⁵ No shipments are entered in the accounts after 20 Nov. 1327, so it looks as if the accounts were not brought up to date. There is a similar gap in the exports accounts from 10 Jan.-4 July, 1328.

⁶ 12½ in the Enrolled Accounts, which appears to be a mistake.

⁷ Only 14 in Enrolled Accounts, where figures for Seaford have been omitted. ⁸ 166½ in Enrolled Accounts.

⁹ There is some confusion in the Enrolled Accounts here.

¹⁰ Stated in Enrolled Accounts to have been imported,

¹¹ Stated in Enrolled Accounts to have been imported, but probably an error.

[but probably an error.]

wool shipments during that period, except the 5 sacks 10 cloves exported by aliens in 1317-18 which were entered because of the special wool tax or "loan" made to the King by both denizen and alien merchants in that year, details of which appear in the returns. Towards the end of the period covered in Fig. 1 the Hundred Years' War began, and the wool trade was seriously affected by prohibitions of export, wool only being allowed to leave the country by licence.

From 23 August, 1336, to 8 November, 1338, no shipments are recorded "*quia sigillum erat clausum.*"

It will be seen from Fig. 1 that the average annual wool exports between 1307 and 1336 were approximately 300 sacks and 9000 wool fells. As 300 fells were supposed to be equivalent to one sack of wool, this gives us a grand total of about 330 sacks per annum. By adding the wool fells to the total given above for Mich. 1309-Mich. 1310, we get a grand total for that year of 678 sacks, the merchants concerned numbering 87.¹² The largest number of merchants concerned in any one year were the 120 who exported 448 sacks 42 cloves and 6450 wool fells between Mich. 1328 and Mich. 1329.

Turning to the Particular Accounts we can now examine some of the yearly returns in more detail. The first, covering the period 24 June-28 October, 1323,¹³ concerns "the port of Chichester," John Durant and William of Watergate being the collectors of custom. Although all the merchants' names are given, only in a few cases is the town whence they came indicated. We can, however, recognise Thomas of Stanmer, Warren of Steyning, John of Pyecombe, William of Nyetimber, William of Boxgrove, Roger of Nyetimber, and Henry of Blatchington.¹⁴ With the exception of Nyetimber, which is close to Pagham Harbour, all these places are in Downland Sussex, as one would expect.

¹² In the Enrolled Accounts a merchant making 2 separate shipments was counted as 2 merchants.

¹³ Customs Accts. 32/4.

¹⁴ All place names are given in their present form.

Some idea of the speed with which the trade was carried on may be gathered from the following details. On 3rd August, 1323, a ship belonging to William the Hen¹⁵ sailed with 10 sacks of wool belonging to Simon Cambray,¹⁶ and 2 sacks 7 cloves of wool, together with 100 wool fells belonging to Warinus de Steyning. Six days later the same ship took away 3 sacks 26 cloves of wool for John of Pyecombe, and on 17th August Henry of Gate exported 4 sacks of wool in it. The same ship appeared again on 6th September carrying 4 sacks 6 cloves of wool for William Lomb', on 22nd September, when Roger of Nyetimber shipped 1 sack 26 cloves, and finally on 4th October, when it carried 6 sacks of wool for Henry of Blatchington. It will be seen that the cargoes are quite small, the largest ship-load in this particular account being the 21 sacks 10 cloves of wool exported by John the Taverner and William the Taverner in a vessel belonging to Richard Godhale on 6th September.

The totals for the four months included in the account are:

Wool.	Wool fells.	No. of sailings. ¹⁷	Merchants.
176 sacks 4 cloves	2275	24	29

All the merchants were apparently denizens for they did not pay the aliens' duty, although some of the ships employed belonged to aliens, e.g. those of Baldewyn of Ostend and William of Barfleur. One of the English ships engaged in the trade belonged to Richard of Norwich and another to Martin of Kingston.¹⁸

¹⁵ He was master of the ship "Notre Dame" of Shoreham, which was importing wine into London in 1328.

¹⁶ Apparently not an alien, although his name suggests Cambrai in Flanders, for he did not pay the New Custom. [His name occurs frequently as witness to charters in the *Chartulary of Sele Priory*.—ED.].

¹⁷ The Particular Accts. dealing with wool give the amount of cargo in each boat that sailed.

¹⁸ Probably Kingston-upon-Hull, which was an important wool port at this time.

Our next account gives details for the eleven months, 28th October, 1323-Mich. 1324,¹⁹ during which period the customs collectors were Geoffrey of Ledes and William of Watergate. Sussex merchants were still responsible for a good many of the shipments, denizens from Lewes, Nyetimber, Bosham, Blatchington, Boxgrove, Stanmer, and Chichester being mentioned. During the eleven months only one alien merchant participated in the trade, viz. Godemar Ypping, who exported 12 sacks in a Spanish ship on 7th August. As in the previous account, we cannot infer much as to the ports whence came the vessels employed, although several of the ships appear to have been English.

The totals for these 11 months are as follows:

Wool.	Wool fells.	No. of sailings.	Merchants.
237 sacks 12 cl.	8290	28	56

The Particular Accounts dealing with wool for the period Michaelmas,²⁰ 1324, to 29th May, 1326,²¹ resemble the foregoing, the only alien engaged being Michael the Flemyng, who exported 1 sack of wool and 325 wool fells in a ship called "le James," of which John Petitalun was the master, on 4th January, 1326.

The totals for these may be set out as follows:

Year.	Wool.	Wool fells.	No. of sailings.	Merchants.
Mich. 1324-Mich. 1325	517 sacks 47 cl.	6986	48	93
Mich. 1325-29 May, 1326	226 sacks 30 cl.	6375	26	39

Hides were included in the wool accounts, and the

¹⁹ Customs Accts. 32/8.

²⁰ 18th September in the heading of the account but no entries were made before Michaelmas, on which day the previous account ended.

²¹ Customs Accts. 135/5, 135/6 and 135/8 for Old Custom. Michael the Fleming appears in the New Custom account ending Mich. 1326 (135/8A). Robert Lewelyn and "Willelmus le Walsh," apparently Welshmen, are listed in the account for 1324-5 (135/6).

total recorded quantities exported by denizens from West Sussex between 1308 and 1342 are shown below:

TABLE III.

Year.	Hides.
Mich. 1319-Mich. 1320	190
Mich. 1320-Mich. 1321	60
Mich. 1321-Mich. 1322	50
Mich. 1325-29 May, 1326	150
10 Feb. -Mich. 1327	900
Mich. 1327-Mich. 1328	200
Mich. 1328-Mich. 1329	310
Mich. 1331-Mich. 1332	100
Mich. 1334-Mich. 1335	50
Mich. 1340-8 Feb. 1342	200
Total	2210

These figures appear rather small, but no doubt with the large quantity of oak bark available for tanning most of the Sussex hides were used up to supply local needs. No hides were exported by aliens from West Sussex.

The only other commodity for which we have details relating both to English and alien merchants during the first half of the century is cloth, but until 1347 only aliens were liable to payment of duty on cloth. However, no merchants exported cloth from Sussex between Mich. 1348 and Mich. 1350.²²

Having surveyed briefly the commodities on which both denizens and aliens paid duty, let us turn to the goods on which duty was only paid by aliens.

Tables 1 and 2 have been drawn up from the Enrolled Accounts and checked as far as possible from the existing Particular Accounts. It will be seen at once that there was a far greater amount of alien trade with East Sussex, mainly of course at Winchelsea, than with the ports further West, except in the case of wool. Even so, the quantity of wool exported by aliens in Table I. is very small. The West Sussex ports appear to have been too far west to attract the Flemish wool merchants on a big scale, while the Spanish and

²² Customs Accts. 457/19 and 158/15.

Portuguese merchants preferred Southampton and Sandwich, although a few occasionally called at Chichester and Winchelsea, as we shall see later.

One will notice that East Sussex imported considerable quantities of cloth, mostly ungrained,²³ and nearly 10 tons of wax. This same region had an extensive export trade in goods paying poundage which, as will be shown, consisted mainly of timber and wood for fuel. West Sussex, on the other hand, appears to have had very little to offer the alien merchants besides wool.

Another fact of some importance which emerges from the tables is that in West Sussex the trade, although small, was shared amongst a number of ports, as the footnotes to Table I. will show, whereas we know from the Particular Accounts that the trade of East Sussex was concentrated at Winchelsea. The reason for this contrast is essentially geographical, for Winchelsea, in addition to being the nearest Sussex port to Flanders, had excellent harbour accommodation, and was situated at the point where the rivers Rother and Brede entered the sea. The Rother in particular was of some importance as a thoroughfare,²⁴ and so with the vast natural resources of the Weald behind it, and the leading industrial region of Europe but a few miles to the East, it was obviously destined to eclipse the other Sussex ports at a time when environmental factors exercised a much more powerful influence than they do to-day.

It is not surprising to find that the annual totals fluctuated to a marked extent, for we are here dealing with a period that included acute civil disturbances in this country, the struggle of the Flemings against the

²³ *I.e.* not dyed with a scarlet dye obtained from an insect resembling cochineal (Salzman, *English Industries of the Middle Ages*, p. 212).

²⁴ A Commission of 6 Edward III. dealing with damages by the sea tides in the lower reaches of the Rother, reported that "Ships and Boats which had used to pass with victual and other things, from divers places in these Counties of Kent and Sussex unto his (King's) manour of Echingham, through this Channel, were then hindred; as also to the destruction of his Market Town of Salehurst, situate upon the said River, and of his market there, which by the course of that water had been supported." (Dugdale, *History of Embanking*, p. 83.)

French King and the early years of the Hundred Years' War. In addition, severe weather conditions often hampered trade in those days of frail craft.

The only detailed account we have of aliens trading at West Sussex ports concerns the period 28th October, 1323-Mich. 1324, Geoffrey of Ledes and William of Watergate being the collectors of the New Custom for that year.²⁵ Only 9 merchants are listed for the period, 5 of them being Spaniards. Unfortunately the account does not specify whether the goods were imported or exported, although one can tell that with the exception of 12 sacks of wool belonging to Godemar Ypping, they were most probably all imported. Two of the Spaniards brought iron having a total value of £23,²⁶ two others brought fruits valued at £68, the other is credited with salt fish worth £37 10s. 0d. Another merchant, possibly also a Spaniard, imported 10½ quintals of wax, while Henry of Nantes brought in lampreys worth £36, and Michael of Viena²⁷ imported a horse which he sold for £8 and a number of oxen which fetched £9.

Another account²⁸ which, however, contains no details regarding the merchants or whence they came, gives the alien trade in the "port" of Chichester between 20th July, 1322, and 28th October, 1323. The figures may be summarised as follows:

Period.	IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
	No. of shipts.	Goods.	Value.	No. of shipts.	Goods.	Value.
20 July- Mich. 1322	1	oxen(12)	£10 0 0	1	wool (10 sacks)	—
	5	herrings	£128 3 4	1	wool fells (1200)	—
Mich. 1322	2	lampreys	£45 10 0			
-28 Nov.	1	hides	£4 0 0			
1323	5	?	£61 3 4			

²⁵ Customs Accts. 32/7.

²⁶ All the values given should be multiplied about 20 times for comparison with present day values.

²⁷ Probably Viena in N. Spain. Spanish horses were noted throughout the middle ages, and we find for example that in a document of 6-7 Edward III (Exchequer K.R. Accts., bundle 101, No. 10) Arnold of Garcie was sent to Spain to buy horses for Edward III.

²⁸ Customs Accts. 32/5.

Turning to the East Sussex ports our first document covers the fiscal year Mich. 1307-Mich. 1308.²⁹ Twelve merchants are entered as importers, but since there are no recorded entries after April 7th, 1308, one suspects that the account is incomplete. However, these 12 brought into Winchelsea between them the following products, most of which are of South European origin:

TABLE IV.

No. of shipts.	Goods.	Total value.
3	figs	£19 6 8
1	raisins	£2 6 8
1	almonds	£24 0 0
3	leather	£107 0 0
2	woad	£45 0 0
2	cloth	—
<u>12</u>		<u>£197 13 4</u>

Arnold of Oléron, who was responsible for one of the cargoes of leather, also imported 22 quintals of wax.

The names of the woad merchants, John Corbiet and Reyner Pycard suggest that they both came from North France, for Corbie is on the Somme. Woad was grown in large quantities in Picardy.³⁰

In the last volume of the *Collections*³¹ the writer worked out the Winchelsea exports for this particular year when discussing the exports of timber from the Weald during the fourteenth century. These exports may be summarised in this way:

TABLE V.

No. of shipts.	Goods.
102	wood (<i>lignum</i>)
31	timber (<i>meremium</i>)
6	oak bark (<i>tannum</i>)
4	bark (<i>cortex</i>)
2	wood and oak bark
2	salt
1	salt herrings
1	wheat
1	horses
1	unspecified
<u>151</u>	

In addition to the above there was another shipment whose nature was not specified, giving a total value of

²⁹ Customs Accts. 124/18.

³⁰ Salzman, *English Industries of the Middle Ages*, p. 209.

³¹ Vol. LXIX., pp. 170-182.

£307 7s. 8d. The values for each commodity cannot be given because only a combined total was given for each day's shipments and not a valuation for each individual shipment. The influence of the forest is very noticeable, 96 per cent. of the shipments being definitely concerned with Wealden produce.

One hundred and twenty-nine different merchants were engaged during this year in the Winchelsea export trade.

The returns for the period 1323-9³² have enabled me to tabulate the details in a manner which renders it easy to recognise the main features of the import and export trade for each year. These returns are set out in Tables VI.-XII., but values are only given for goods paying poundage.

TABLE VI. ALIEN TRADE 7 APRIL-MICH. 1323.

IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
No. of shipts.	Goods.	Value.	No. of shipts.	Goods.	Value.
26 ³³	fish	£25 3 2	83	wood (<i>boscus</i>) ³⁴	£99 11 8
12	cloth (267½ ungrained, 14 part grained)	—	15	timber	£19 3 4
4	hose	£8 0 0	8	wood and timber	£15 0 0
2	masts	£2 0 0	2	oak bark	£1 15 0
2	pitch	£1 6 8	2	wood and oak bark	£3 10 0
1	wax (38 pieces estimated at 50 quintals)	—	4	cheese	£3 17 0
1	Caen stone	£5 8 9	2	canvas	£1 10 0
1	sea coal	£4 10 0	1	salt fish	£1 0 0
1	earthenware	8 0	1	1 horse	£1 5 0
1	bricks	£1 0 0	118		£146 12 0
1	wooden cups	£1 0 0			
1	9 copper cups	£10 0 0			
1	112 ells of canvas	£1 0 0			
1	mirrors	£1 0 0			
1	1 pipe of "menneueyr"	£40 0 0			
1	masts and oil	£1 0 0			
2	small goods unspecified	£2 0 0			
59		£103 16 7			

50 merchants.³⁵

111 merchants.

³² Customs Accts. 32/6, 147/13 and 147/14.

³³ Twenty-five of these were of fresh fish and one of salt fish.

³⁴ Except where otherwise stated, the word "wood" in these accounts may be assumed to refer to fuel.

³⁵ In all the tables these are the numbers of *different* merchants engaged during the year. Some of course made more than one shipment.

TABLE VII. ALIEN TRADE MICH. 1323-MICH. 1324.

IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
No. of shipts.	Goods.	Value.	No. of shipts.	Goods.	Value.
26 ³⁶	fish	£36 13 4	27	wood	£40 7 8
4	cloth (30 un-grained, 1 scarlet)	—	21	timber	£49 11 8
3	Caen stone	£7 0 0	3	oak bark	£8 10 0
1	canvas	£2 0 0	1	wood and timber	£3 0 0
1	boards	15 0	6	canvas	£4 15 0
1	wheat	£100 0 0 ³⁷	2	sea coal	£2 0 0
1	Irish hose, mirrors, etc.	£1 0 0	1	salt	£2 0 0
1	“hamis”	£6 0 0	1	wool ($\frac{1}{2}$ sack)	
				cheese	10 0
<u>38</u>		<u>£153 8 4</u>	<u>63</u>		<u>£110 14 4</u>

36 merchants.

62 merchants.

TABLE VIII. ALIEN TRADE MICH. 1324-MICH. 1325.

IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
No. of shipts.	Goods.	Value.	No. of shipts.	Goods.	Value.
5 ³⁸	fish	£2 5 0	60	wood	£107 11 8
4 ³⁹	corn	£34 16 8	21	timber	£37 10 0
1	canvas	£4 0 0	1	wood and oak bark	£3 0 0
1	iron (2 quintals) ⁴⁰	6 8	1	oak bark	£1 0 0
1	tallow ⁴¹	£1 5 0	1	cheese	£2 0 0
1	garlic	16 8	1	salt	£2 0 0
			1	unspecified	£1 0 0
<u>13</u>		<u>£43 10 0</u>	<u>86</u>		<u>£154 1 8</u>

13 merchants.

71 merchants.

³⁶ All fresh fish.³⁷ This was an exceptionally valuable cargo brought in by a merchant from Wissant (near Calais).³⁸ All fresh fish.³⁹ These include cargoes of oats (£27), barley (£4) and wheat (£1 6s. 8d.).⁴⁰ Imported from N. Spain by a merchant of St. Juan in a ship from Castro.⁴¹ Possibly this should be onions. The abbreviated forms of the medieval Latin for the two commodities are identical.

TABLE IX. ALIEN TRADE MICH. 1325-MICH. 1326.

IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
No. of shipts.	Goods.	Value.	No. of shipts.	Goods.	Value.
12 ⁴²	fish	£47 0 0	22 ⁴⁴	timber	£88 11 0
8	fruit	£105 10 0	15 ⁴⁵	wood	£31 12 0
4 ⁴³	corn	£23 0 0	9	wood and timber	£58 5 0
1	pitch	£2 0 0	1	timber & oak bark	£4 0 0
1	boards	£8 0 0	1	oak bark	£2 6 8
1	millstones	£4 0 0	1	wood, timber & oak bark	£4 0 0
1	garlic	5 0	1	wood and salt	£3 0 0
			3	charcoal	£6 15 0
			3	"frett"	£6 10 0
			15	salt	£108 16 8
			1 ⁴⁶	fruit	£40 0 0
			1	canvas	£1 0 0
			1	feathers	£1 0 0
			1	fish	£3 0 0
<u>28</u>		<u>£189 15 0</u>	<u>75</u>		<u>£358 16 4</u>

27 merchants.

67 merchants.

TABLE X. ALIEN TRADE MICH. 1326-MICH. 1327.

IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
No. of shipts.	Goods.	Value.	No. of shipts.	Goods.	Value.
4 ⁴⁷	fish	£33 0 0	13	wood	£37 11 8
4	cloths (21½ un-grained)	—	3	timber	£8 13 4
1	5 pieces of cloth	£8 0 0	3	wood & oak bark	£13 0 0
4 ⁴⁸	pitch	£13 10 0	2	timber & oak bark	£14 0 0
2	bricks	15 0		bark	£14 0 0
1	plaster	£8 0 0	1	oak bark and vetches	£8 0 0
1	oats	£2 0 0	6	salt	£71 0 0
1	hose	£5 0 0	3	cloths (20 English cloths and 10 others)	
1	boards pitch and salmon	£9 0 0			
1	small goods	£26 0 0			
<u>23</u>		<u>£96 5 0</u>	<u>31</u>		<u>£166 5 0</u>

16 merchants.

29 merchants.

⁴² Two of salt fish, the rest herrings.

⁴³ Including a cargo of wheat (£8) and a mixed cargo of barley and oats (£9).

⁴⁴ These include one cargo exported from Pevensy and valued at £3 6s. 8d.

⁴⁵ Four of these with a total value of £12 were shipped from Pevensy.

⁴⁶ This was re-exported to Flanders.

⁴⁷ Salmon appears once.

⁴⁸ One suspects that these may be 4 cargoes of fish and that the word "pice" is a misspelling in each case of "pisce" meaning fish. This suspicion is strengthened by the fact that there is also an entry of "pice sals" which must mean salt fish and not salt pitch!

TABLE XI. ALIEN TRADE MICH. 1327-MICH. 1328 (EXCLUDING 10 JAN.-4 JULY, 1328, FOR EXPORTS AND 20 NOV. 1327-13 JUNE, 1328, FOR IMPORTS).

IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
No. of shipts.	Goods.	Value.	No. of shipts.	Goods.	Value.
19 ⁴⁹	fish	£37 6 8	15 ⁵⁴	wood and timber	£77 15 0
18	various (unspecified)	£154 0 8	13 ⁵⁵	timber	£76 1 0
9	goblets	£16 0 4	12 ⁵⁶	wood	£46 15 0
6	canvas	£10 12 0	2	wood & oak bark	£8 0 0
6 ⁵⁰	wax (10½ quintals)	—	3 ⁵⁷	timber and oak bark	£47 0 0
6	cloths (24½ ungrained, ⁵¹ ½ scarlet)	—	1	oak bark	£6 0 0
5 ⁵²	fruit	£55 0 4	1	timber and boards	£20 0 0
3	budge ⁵³	£8 10 0	16	salt	£144 13 4
2	millstones	£32 0 0	3	fruit	£29 0 0
2	Caen stone	£5 0 0	3	cheese	£20 10 0
2	wheat	£34 0 0	2	iron ⁵⁸	£12 0 0
2	iron	£8 0 0	1	fish	£2 13 4
2	oil (6 pipes)	£22 0 0	1	horse	£1 0 0
2	"frett"	£5 10 0	1 ⁵⁹	cloths (20 Eng-cloths)	—
1	tallow	£6 0 0			
1	leather	£30 0 0			
1	plaster	£1 0 0			
1	linen cloth	£8 0 0			
1	pitch	£10 0 0			
1	?	£2 0 0			
89		£435 0 0	73		£491 7 8

78 merchants.

65 merchants.

⁴⁹ All fresh fish.⁵⁰ Wax was imported by merchants from Barcelona, Lisbon, San Sebastian, and Guetaria (near Bayonne).⁵¹ Including 10½ cloths imported into Seaford by a Dieppe merchant.⁵² Including 1 shipt. of almonds valued at £16, and 1 shipt. of almonds and priced £8.⁵³ Lamb's fur.⁵⁴ These include one cargo valued at £20 shipped from Seaford.⁵⁵ Including one cargo valued at £16 shipped from Pevensey and two valued at £24 from Seaford.⁵⁶ Including a cargo valued at £12 exported from Pevensey.⁵⁷ One of these valued at £40 was made from Seaford.⁵⁸ Shipped by merchants from Etaples and Wissant.⁵⁹ Shipped from Seaford by a merchant from Lisbon.

TABLE XII. ALIEN TRADE MICH. 1328-MICH. 1329.

IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
No. of shipts.	Goods.	Value.	No. of shipts.	Goods.	Value.
28 ⁶⁰	fish	£158 15 8	52	wood and timber	£264 3 8
15	cloth (156 un-grained) ⁶¹		8	wood	£30 3 4
			2	timber	£14 0 0
11	various (unspecified)		2	oak bark	£10 0 0
		£64 10 4	1	boards	£9 0 0
10 ⁶²	corn	£181 0 0	1	boards & oak bark	£4 0 0
6	"frett"	£13 9 4	16	salt	£94 10 0
4	canvas	£11 10 0	1	cheese	£4 0 0
2	chalk	£3 4 0			
2	linen cloth	£9 0 0			
2	onions and garlic	£10 0 0			
1	75 hides	—			
1	almonds	£1 0 0			
1	tallow	£3 0 0			
1	"hamis"	£1 6 8			
84		£456 16 0	83		£429 17 0

77 merchants.

73 merchants.

In addition to the above, there were 4 shipments of timber valued at £21 6s. 8d., and 2 shipments of salt valued at £13 0s. 0d., all exported between Michaelmas and 14th November, 1329. Six merchants were concerned.

Let us now examine these tables. A first glance over them will suggest that the trade of the time was rather irregular, especially on the imports side, where the numbers of merchants engaged varies from 13 in 1324-5 to 78 in five months of the year 1327-8. With the exception of the year 1326-7 the exports remained fairly even owing to what must have been a steady demand for wood on the continent. In each table all the forest products have been grouped together, and in every case they have a value greater than that of all the other goods exported.

⁶⁰ One of these consisted of salt eels. Two lots of fish were brought into Shoreham during that year and one into Seaford.

⁶¹ Most of these were imported by a group of merchants from Guines (near Calais) on April 18th, 1329.

⁶² One of these shipments consisted of wheat worth £30 imported at Seaford by a merchant of Audresselles (Table XV). The latter port is near Boulogne.

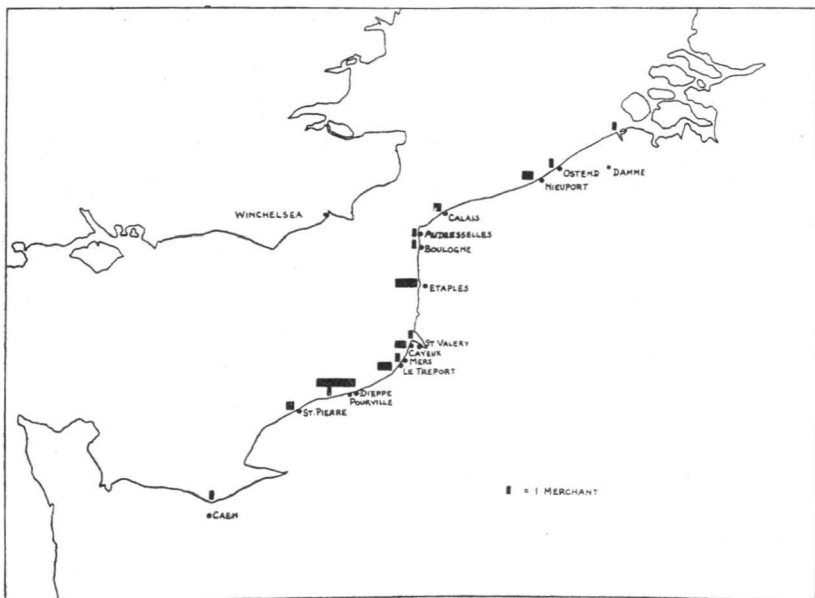


FIG. 2.—ALIEN MERCHANTS LANDING FISH AT WINCHELSEA, 1323-4.

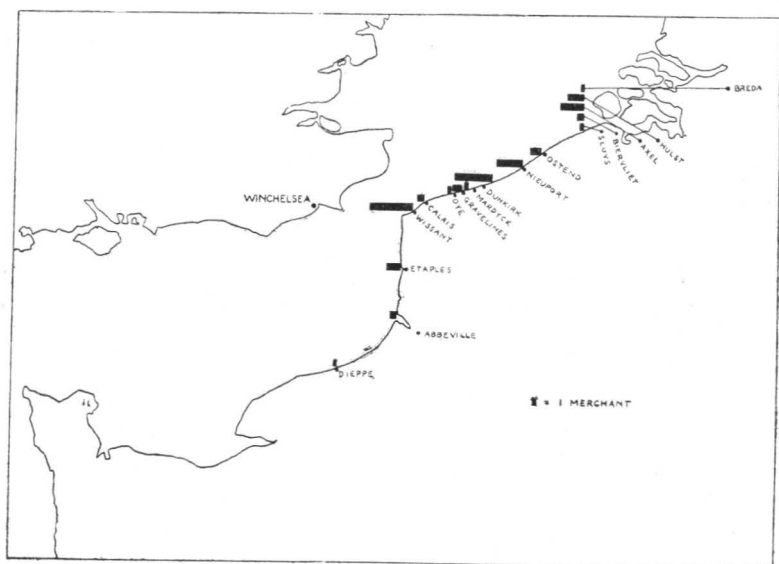


FIG. 3.—ALIEN MERCHANTS EXPORTING WOOD FROM WINCHELSEA 1324-5.

A considerable number of aliens imported fish into Winchelsea, and the ports from which they came are shown in Figure II. Fishing does not, however, appear to have been an exclusive industry, for we notice in Tables XIII. and XV. that small quantities of fish were brought in by merchants who were primarily concerned with other classes of goods. It will be noticed that in Figure II. most of the fish importers came from ports South of Cape Gris Nez, whereas the alien wood exporters in the same year were mainly from ports to the east of that Cape. (Figure III.)

The few shipments of Caen stone are interesting because, as Mr. P. M. Johnston has informed me, they were very likely used for the tombs of the Alards in the Church of St. Thomas à Becket, which were erected about this time.

Quantities of corn, mostly small, were imported, which suggests that the Winchelsea region was not self-supporting in that commodity. The appearance of cheese among the exports would help to emphasise the suitability of the marshy lowlands around the Rother estuary for cattle raising rather than corn growing.

The export of 2 cargoes of sea coal in Table VII by merchants from Barfleur is a little puzzling, as there was no local supply in Sussex. One can only infer that quantities were previously imported, as is shown in Table VI., but that the available charcoal supplies, being adequate for local needs, allowed the sea coal to be re-exported.

The arrival of a group of merchants from Malines and Louvain on August 28th and 30th, 1323, was responsible for the large cloth total in Table I. Cloth was usually brought in by merchants direct from the manufacturing towns. Whereas the woollen cloth came from Flanders and North France, linen cloth and canvas were imported from Normandy.

The appearance of fruit in the tables coincides with the arrival of merchants from the South, usually Spain

and Portugal. In 1325-6 (Table IX.) five of the 27 importers came from Lisbon, one from Bermeo (N. Spain), one from Portugalete (near Bermeo), and another from Bordeaux. All of them brought fruit. This trade from the South resulted in Winchelsea becoming an entrepôt, and, as will be seen more clearly from Table XI. (1327-8) there was a certain amount of re-exportation of Spanish produce across the Channel. The 3 shipments of fruit in 1327-8 were made by 2 merchants from Calais (one of them was Henry Bastard, Table XIII.) and another from Newport. The latter's cargo of raisins, figs and dates was valued at £11. The two lots of iron exported in that year may have come from the Weald, but in all likelihood they were re-exported Spanish iron.

Returning to the year 1325-6, there is an illuminating reference to the re-export trade in a passage in the accounts which reads when translated: Alfonso Martyn of Lisbon for fruit valued at £40 discharged from the vessel (*navis*) in which it was brought from Spain into a boat (*navicula*) of Sluys to be taken to Flanders.

We know that woollen cloth was made in Sussex, but it is interesting to find it being exported by aliens at a time when Flemish cloth was being imported (Tables X. and XI.). The two regions, however, produced different types, Sussex providing kerseys, whereas Flanders specialised in finer counts.

The increased activity in 1327-8 is largely due, though not entirely, to the arrival of numbers of Spanish merchants who had been absent during 1326-7. The types of commodities available for export at Winchelsea do not appear to have attracted these Spaniards, for not one of the 26 who imported goods in 1327-8 is found in the list of exporters.

We can trace the movements of the merchants throughout the period 1323-9, but we shall only give details to illustrate the activities of merchants from Calais, Dieppe and Audresselles, who were 3 of the most regular traders.

TABLE XIII. HENRY BASTARD OF CALAIS.

Date.	Expt. or impt.	Goods.	Value.
10 May, 1324	exported	$\frac{1}{2}$ sack of wool	
14 May, 1324	imported	1 scarlet cloth	
		5 other cloths	
2 Sept. 1325	exported	{ cheese	£2 0 0
		{ salt	£2 0 0
15 Sept. 1325	imported	fish	10 0
4 July, 1328	exported	{ figs and raisins	£6 0 0
		{ salt	£9 0 0
20 July, 1328	imported	{ $\frac{1}{2}$ scarlet cloth	
		{ 7 other cloths	
		{ goblets	£2 0 0
2 Aug. 1328	exported	timber & oak bark	£40 0 0 (from Seaford)
8 Aug. 1329	imported	60 cloths	

TABLE XIV. LAURENCE BERNARD OF DIEPPE.

Date.	Expt. or impt.	Goods.	Value.
10 May, 1323	imported	hose, etc.	£2 0 0
22 July, 1323	"	mirrors	£1 0 0
25 July, 1323	exported	wood	£1 0 0
17 May, 1324	imported	{ Irish "calut,"	
		{ mirrors, etc.	£1 0 0
15 July, 1328	"	canvas	£1 0 0
6 Aug. 1328	"	small goods	£2 0 0
6 Feb. 1329	"	"	£1 6 8
7 Aug. 1329	"	"	£2 10 0

TABLE XV. JOHN NIKERE OF AUDRESSELLES.

Date.	Expt. or impt.	Goods.	Value.
15 Apr. 1323	imported	fish	10 0
16 Apr. 1323	exported	wood	£1 10 0
4 May, 1323	"	oak bark	10 0
2 June, 1328	"	wood	£12 0 0 (from Pevensay)
17 July, 1328	"	salt	£9 0 0
4 Feb. 1329	imported	corn	£30 0 0
26 Feb. 1329	"	frails	£3 13 0
2 July, 1329	"	wheat	£30 0 0 (into Shoreham)

It is clear from these tables that alien trade with Sussex was not particularly specialised, even Henry Bastard of Calais, who appears to have been primarily

interested in cloth, being credited with a cargo of fish on one occasion. If more of the Particular Accounts were available for examination we should probably find that this absence of specialisation characterised alien trade with Sussex throughout the first half of the century.

The wine returns are somewhat confusing, and I have not attempted to include them in the tables. From Whitsun to 6th December, 1325, seven casks of wine were imported at East Sussex ports by merchants from Dieppe, Touques and Nieuport. This seems to be the only period for which Particular Accounts exist,⁶³ but according to the Enrolled Accounts wine merchants from Aquitaine imported 111 casks into the Winchelsea region between 12th August, 1322, and 9th March, 1323, and 54 casks between 6th December, 1325, and Mich. 1326.

The Bordeaux Customs Accounts for 1308⁶⁴ contain the name of a Sussex ship (Lebonan of Winchelsea), which exported 135 casks of wine from Bordeaux on 17th May, but I have been unable to trace its arrival at a Sussex port. Winchelsea ships did not necessarily trade exclusively with Winchelsea nor any other port in Sussex,⁶⁵ although there was a certain amount of direct contact between Sussex and Southern France, as a group of documents relating to the end of our period will show. Table XVI. has been drawn up from the information given in these documents which concern shipments of corn and beans from Sussex while a prohibition of the export of corn was still in force. The goods were shipped between 30th October,

⁶³ At least the only ones referring solely to Sussex. Other accounts, e.g. 78/3A, give details for all England, and in this latter we note that in 1327-8 only one ship, from Lisbon, imported wine into Sussex (Winchelsea). The three merchants concerned brought 7 dolia.

⁶⁴ Exch. K.R. Accts., bundle 162, No. 5.

⁶⁵ e.g., in 1327-8 four Winchelsea ships were engaged in importing wine into English ports outside Sussex as follows (cust. accts. 78/3A.)

London: Seint Andreu, 34 dolia (a dolium is a cask of 2 pipes) and 35 pipes.

Sandwich: Seynte Maria, 41 dolia.

Seint Bertholomeu, 33 dolia.

Southampton: Ship of John Passele, 156 dolia and 4 pipes.

1347, and Mich. 1348, on condition that they were taken to Gascony and not elsewhere. This condition was kept, and it is recorded that the corn and beans were "ben & loialmet deschargez a Bordeaux p^r avitailler la cite & le pais a la hon^r de nostr seign^r le Roy & de ses gentz."

Date.	Ship.	Master.	Merchants.	Goods.
18 Dec. 1327	La Walifare de Hoke	W. Gamelyn	P. Cole	24 tuns of corn and beans
			J. Portland	16 " "
			H. Clanefelde	6 " "
			H. Wareham	4 " "
			Total	50 "
23 May, 1328	La Leonard de Hamele	G. Andreu	Richard, Count of Arundel	63 quarters of corn and beans
			R. Totemond	120 " "
			J. Portland	
			R. Elmele	
			H. Clanefelde	95 " "
			P. Cole	60 " "
			T. Kyng	
			R. Berewyk	
			R. Wrangy	
			R. Cuteller	
W. Fay	50 " "			
Total	461 " "			
28 May	La Mariote de Bristol	J. Lambert	A. Comyn	100 quarters of corn and beans
			N. Hockelegh	100 " "
			N. Taillour ⁶⁶	100 " "
			R. Bromore	40 " "
			Total	340 " "

If these amounts were exported under abnormal conditions of restraint we may, I think, assume that the normal export of corn from West Sussex by denizens was on a considerable scale. It is a misfortune for us that the New Custom was not levied on denizens as well as aliens, for had it been we should not have had

⁶⁶ Taillour was a merchant of Southampton, whence he was exporting cloth in 1349 (Customs Accts. 457 (19)).

to rely on these odd scraps of information regarding the activities of English merchants during the first half of the century. However, in spite of its deficiencies one hopes that this somewhat brief survey may help to shed a little light upon the question of the country's trade relations with regions overseas during an interesting though troubled period in English history.

⁶⁷ The yearly totals are reckoned from Michaelmas to Michaelmas except in the following cases:—3 Feb.—Mich. 1308; Mich. 1322—28 Oct. 1323; 28 Oct. 1323—Mich. 1324; Mich. 1325—29 May, 1326; 10 Feb.—Mich. 1327; Mich. 1332—2 Feb. 1333; 10 July, Mich. 1334; Mich. 1335—24 Aug. 1336; 23 Aug. 1336—8 Nov. 1338; 8 Nov. 1338—Mich. 1339; Mich. 1340—8 Feb. 1342.