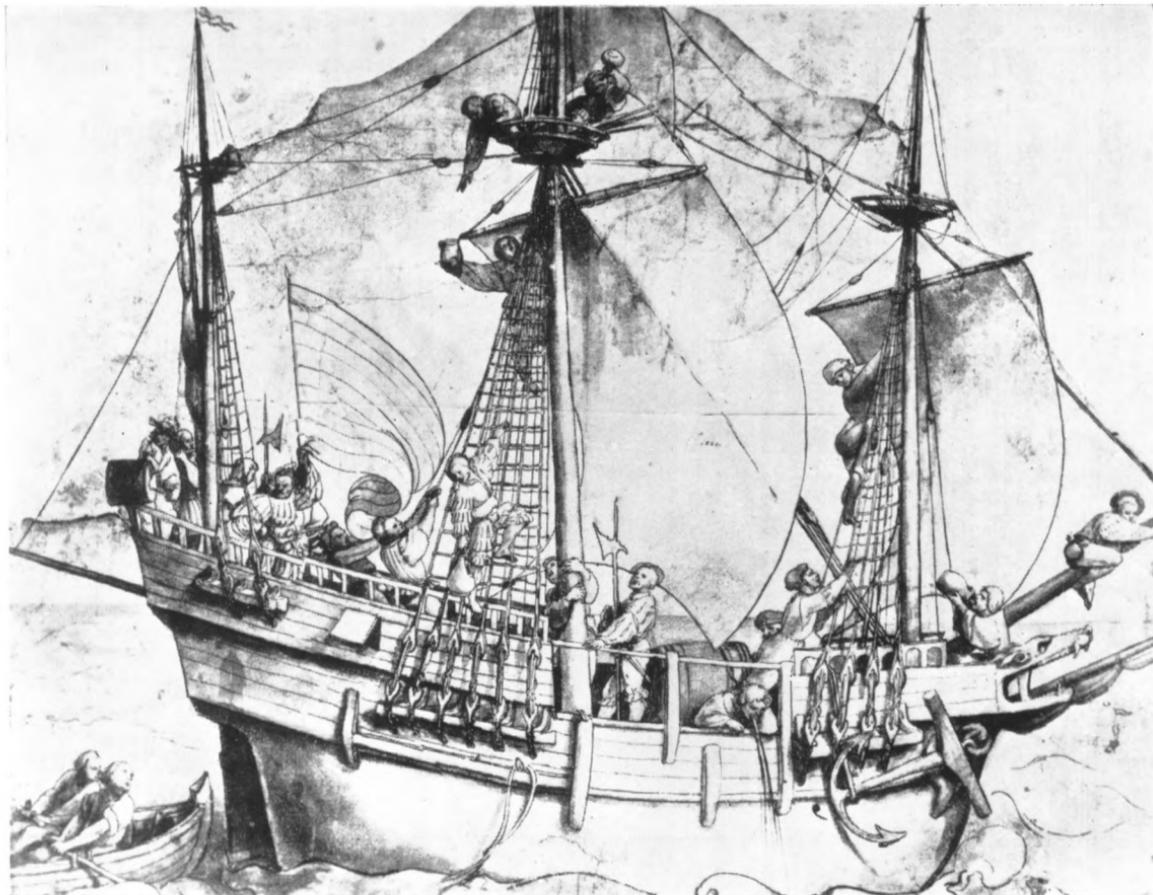


A ROYAL SHIP, 1545.



A SMALL MERCHANT SHIP, c. 1532.

IX.—WAR AT SEA UNDER THE EARLY TUDORS—PART II.

BY G. V. SCAMMELL.

The following abbreviations have been used in the notes:

Fisher—H. A. L. Fisher, *The History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of Henry VIII* (London, 1906).

HCA—High Court of Admiralty.

LP—*Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, ed. Brewer, Gairdner and Brodie (London, 1864-1932).

Oppenheim—M. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy etc., 1509-1660* (London, 1896).

PRO—Public Record Office.

Spont—*Letters and Papers relating to the War with France, 1512-13* ed. A. Spont (Navy Records Society, X, 1897).

On a previous occasion the activities of squadrons raised on the East and North-East coasts under the first two Tudors, and more especially during the reign of Henry VIII, were discussed.¹ In this sequel it is proposed to deal with the vessels themselves, and the organization which got, or at least endeavoured to get, them to sea.

Newcastle merchantmen taken up by the crown for fighting service after 1509 were usually those said to be the "prettiest" or "tallest" the port could provide. These were not terms of poetic rapture, but described qualities considered desirable in potential men-of-war. A vessel was "pretty" in the sense that she was well-found and lively, and

¹ A44, xxxviii, 73-97.

“tall” in that, like a warship, she was high-charged, with built-up fore and after castles²—vantage points controlling the low-lying waist, and from which, in the prevailing conditions of close fighting, an enemy could be raked with anything from arrows to Greek fire.³

In detail we know remarkably little of the appearance of such craft, despite an apparent plethora of sources, but fortunately there has survived, in the *Oyer and Terminer* records of the High Court of Admiralty, a graphic and professional description of an East Anglian pirate or privateer of the late 1540's which had once belonged to Cuthbert Blunt of New-castle.⁴ She was, says a seaman under examination before the court, “a prety black boate of a bowte xxx tonnes or more by his estimacyon, hauyng a Toppe,⁵ a Gallyon noose very letyll,⁶ a rownde Sterne with letyll Bayles⁷ coveryd Withe tarryd Canvas, and a new foremast and nettid before and afte all coveryd over with new tarryd Canvas⁸ beynge a very proper snugg boate, With vi peces ordynaunce uppon a syde Unfortunately there is nothing more in the same vein, and other features of local craft remain obscure, though doubtless East-Coast sea-going ships had the customary three masts carrying four or five sails—a square foresail, foretop-

² See Plate XX.

³ Many contemporary representations of Early Tudor warships make them look even more unseaworthy than they undoubtedly were, by exaggerating the height of their castles. This may be the result of poor draughtsmanship, or perhaps it is something more subtle—an attempt to impress the spectator with the might and majesty of Henrician sea-power. But Thomas Pettyt's drawings of Calais Harbour (1545), from which Plate XX is reproduced, show much more realistic vessels, which sit well down in the water and look thoroughly practical. The castles in merchantmen were less prominent: an aftercastle perhaps one or two decks high, but a comparatively insignificant forecastle.

⁴ PRO, HCA I/34, fol. 201v.

⁵ A platform round the head of the lower mast. It was used by look-outs, and in action by archers or bowmen. It also mounted some light guns. A top is clearly shown on the mainmast of the ship in Plate XXI.

⁶ *I.e.* with a small beak-head low down like a galleon's at the bow.

⁷ Bulwarks.

⁸ Netting made of small ropes, and stretched where a modern vessel would have stanchions, was used to prevent boarding. In this case it was also apparently supporting a canvas screen which would act as a spray-dodger and, more important, keep the crew out of sight as the ship closed for action, so enabling her to surprise her prey—she was after all a privateer.

sail (the latter omitted in the smallest vessels), mainsail and maintopsail, and a lateen mizzen—together with a bowsprit, below which there was set a square spritsail. Thus we hear, for instance, that in 1523 the *William* of York lost her bowsprit, foresail and spritsail in an action with the French ship, *Griffin*.⁹ The remarkable thing is that this rig was a comparatively recent innovation. Until about 1400 all merchantmen in northern European waters—which included some sizeable vessels—were single-masted, and even as late as 1451 the *Marie* of Newcastle had still apparently just the one mast—it got broken, either by design or accident, and so she escaped impressment.¹⁰ Yet by the 1530's the new, and for the time fairly complex, sail-plan, only introduced *circa* 1450, had spread to quite minute craft—indicating a far higher state of development in the pre-Elizabethan merchantman than is often assumed. Details of this rig, which was much simpler than the technicalities of nautical jargon might suggest, can be seen in Plate XXI, where a small merchant-ship,¹¹ manned by a convivial crew, is shown running before the wind with her mizzen and spritsail furled, and with canvas set only on her fore and main masts.

Size is more difficult. By their owners' estimation, and by official reckoning, most of the Tyneside craft that saw active service during the reign of Henry VIII were between 70 and 160 tons.¹² But these figures need to be treated with a certain amount of caution. Exact measurement was not one of the strong points of an age still happily familiar with giants and fairies, and a vessel's tonnage—which meant her carrying capacity—was held to be simply something to be settled by observation during the early years of her career: "no owner nor master of a ship . . . being newly made . . .", it was deposed in an Admiralty case, "can warrant the same for her burden".¹³ Hence, in the absence of any accepted

⁹ AA4, xxxviii, 84.

¹⁰ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1446-52*, 411.

¹¹ Not, unfortunately, from Newcastle.

¹² See below, Appendix.

¹³ PRO, HCA 13/4, fol. 284v.

formulae, such as we now have, for calculating tonnage, there were frequently discrepancies—often 20 tons or more—between a vessel's actual and alleged lifting power. Furthermore the size of a ship was peculiarly prone to rise or fall according to whether her owner was being threatened with tonnage dues, or whether he was hoping to extract from the crown some allowance based on capacity. Thus Lewis Sotheran's celebrated *Elizabeth*, which can be traced between 1512 and 1514, is variously described as 120 or 130 ton, and her later namesake, that served with Bryan's squadron, as 140 or 160 ton.¹⁴ Nevertheless it is safe to assume that most of the local vessels with which we are concerned were of approximately 100 tons burthen. By modern standards they were, of course, minute¹⁵—perhaps roughly equivalent to North Sea drifters. But for the period, though small in comparison with Henry's ostentatious and expensive warships, they were of a good average for merchantmen—indeed the *Elizabeth* at 160 ton was said (1544) to be “over chargeable for Calice (Calais) haven by reason of her great burden”.¹⁶

Another obscure matter is the origin of many of these vessels, since notwithstanding the periodic efforts of publicists and statesmen to discover the volume and distribution of the country's tonnage, there was nothing comparable to a register of shipping until 1572. Some Newcastle craft were doubtless locally built, for Tyne shipbuilding has a history reaching back to at least the reign of Edward I. So in 1544 we hear of a vessel “now in making” on the river, together with three more “in making and reparation”.¹⁷ Others were purchased, or acquired by less reputable means, either elsewhere on the Coast, or further afield—the *Mary Grace*, for instance, was formerly the *Bark of Sandwich*, whilst in the

¹⁴ LP, I (i), no. 1661 (iv); I (ii), no. 2686; XVIII (i), no. 59; XIX (i), no. 140 (vi); *The Hamilton Papers*, ed. J. Bain (2 vols. Edinburgh, 1890-2), I, no. 206.

¹⁵ The argument is not affected by radical changes in methods of measurement since the sixteenth century. We should still credit most Early-Tudor craft with roughly the same tonnage as their owners did.

¹⁶ LP, XIX (i), no. 107.

¹⁷ LP, XIX, *loc. cit.*

1520's a local merchant, William Brigham, bought a ship in Scotland, for which he then apparently failed to pay, and a decade later another Tynesider, William Carr, was said to have in his possession the *Mary* of Yarmouth, which her owner, William Woodhouse, had previously lost to "wild Scots" off the Shetlands.¹⁸ In passing it should be noticed that such frequent migrations of tonnage, either through the hazards of war, or by normal commercial processes—and the examples cited could easily be multiplied—explain how knowledge of technical developments in, for example, rig and construction, spread more rapidly than is commonly assumed by historians. But this is a matter which cannot be pursued here, and for the moment it must suffice to note that whatever their origin the majority of Newcastle merchantmen were clearly well-built and well-found; the *Elizabeth* was able to survive heavy punishment in 1513,¹⁹ and working lives of 20 years or more were by no mean uncommon.²⁰

With ownership we are on firmer ground. As elsewhere this was generally limited to the whole or partial control of one or two vessels, since the risks of heavier investment were, as a rule, too great in an age when the perils of the deep were so plain and legion, and marine insurance comparatively undeveloped. Hence, in 1544, we find some 39 local ships in the hands of almost as many (28) owners.²¹ And so too, as in most of maritime Europe, shareholding rather than outright possession was fairly common: in the 1520's Ralph Duxford and his wife were partners in the *Matthew*;²² 20 years later Sir Francis Leek (or Leake) and Alexander Holmes of Ipswich were joint owners of a Tynemouth privateer;²³ and

¹⁸ LP, XVIII (i), no. 75; *Hamilton Papers*, I, no. 287; LP, IV (ii), no. 3613; AA4, xxxviii, 95n.

¹⁹ AA4, xxxviii, 79, 81.

²⁰ This was not peculiar to Newcastle, cf. Oppenheim, 110; R. Davis, "Earnings of Capital in the English Shipping Industry, 1670-1730", *Journal of Economic History*, XVII (1957), 411.

²¹ See below, Appendix.

²² PRO, HCA, 13/2, fols. 251v-2. The exact date is uncertain.

²³ HCA 13/5, Examination 19 July 1547.

in 1559 a valuation of the goods and chattels of that great and powerful oligarch, Henry Anderson, showed that at his death he held three quarters of the *Michael*, three quarters of the *Anthony*, half the *John*, "two parts" of the *Andrew*, one third of the *Barbara*, half the *Christopher*, and half a lighter, besides some smaller craft.²⁴ But in Early-Tudor Newcastle the shareholder was perhaps a less familiar figure than in most English seaports—or at least according to a return of 1544 which allocates each vessel to a single owner.²⁵ We cannot, of course, accept this schedule at its face value, and it is possible that it reflects nothing more significant than a clerk's desire to shorten the day's labours by recording only principal partners. On the other hand, however, there can be little doubt that sole ownership,²⁶ or something approaching it, was widespread in a port, which, as we know from other sources, was at this date the most important and flourishing shipowning centre on the East Coast.²⁷

As in other industries the nature of ownership was an agglomeration of anticipations and survivals, ranging from capitalism, in the Marxian sense of the word, as exemplified by the fleets of merchants like Henry Anderson, to truly feudal expressions of aristocratic power, such as the private navies of the Howards and other magnates. In Newcastle, as elsewhere in Europe—and particularly in the coastal trades, where the practice was to last for centuries²⁸—one of the commonest forms was for a master to own either the whole, or some part, of his command. Thus the *Elizabeth*, which

²⁴ *Wills and Inventories Illustrative of the History etc. of the Northern Counties of England*, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Soc. 1835), I, 167-8.

²⁵ Summarized below, Appendix.

²⁶ It will be noticed that Henry Anderson was a sole owner in 1544 and a part owner in 1559—though most of his ships had changed since 1544. This does not invalidate the conclusion reached above. It seems very likely that the disorders on the Coast at the end of the reign of Henry VIII had induced even so wealthy a man as Anderson to lessen the risks to his capital by spreading his investment.

²⁷ London excluded. See my paper "English Merchant Shipping at the End of the Middle Ages", *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., Vol. XIII (1961), 327-41, especially 338.

²⁸ See, for instance, any of the autobiographical writings of the late Lord Runciman.

so distinguished herself at Brest in 1513, was owned and commanded by her former master, Lewis Sotheran,²⁹ and in 1544 perhaps something like a third of the city's ship-owners were either seamen or ex-seamen.³⁰ But the most important figure, as was almost universally the case, was the merchant who had an interest in shipping—the convenience is obvious—and who, with traditional acquisitive zeal often came to dispose of a substantial portion of the tonnage belonging to a port. So of Sherburn and Coo's squadron in 1523 the *Jesus* (160t) and the *Matthew* (100t) both belonged to Edward Baxter, and the *Mary Katherine* (70t) to Thomas Harbottle.³¹ Again, of the ships at sea in the 1540's the *Elizabeth* (140/160t) and the *Robert* (80t) were owned by the ubiquitous James Lawson, the *Anthony* (90/100t) and *Michael* (80t) by the equally wealthy and powerful Henry Anderson; the *James* (100t)—presumably identical with the *John* of the same size—by Robert Brandling, and the *Trinity* (120t) by yet another civic grandee, John Sanderson,³² whilst in 1544 nearly half Newcastle's tonnage (43 per cent at least) was in the hands of six men—Lawsons, Brandlings, Andersons and Bewicks—who dominated the city and much of its growing coal trade.³³

II.

The hiring or impressment of a vessel for fighting service generally brought alterations in her manning and armament, and perhaps also in her structure. Changes in the latter, it is true, rarely seem to have been of a radical nature, since there were no fundamental differences between merchantmen and

²⁹ See below, 193-4.

³⁰ See below, Appendix.

³¹ *LP*, III (ii), no. 3493; IV (i), no. 281; *A44*, xxxviii, 83.

³² *LP*, XVIII (i), nos. 59, 434, 765; XX (i), no. 321; XX (ii), no. 27 (2). Some details of the careers of these merchants can be found in vol. II of Welford's *History of Newcastle and Gateshead*.

³³ See below, Appendix, Figures for Newcastle's total tonnage in 1544 are in my paper "English Merchant Shipping".

warships, but occasionally there was need for some minor modification to facilitate the carriage of larger complements and greater quantities of stores and equipment. Thus shortly before the *Elizabeth* left the Thames with Howard's squadron in March 1513,³⁴ her master was allowed 12/8d. for "bords and naylls for the making of byskett Romys and bolke heds within the same schipp".³⁵ The work, to judge from the materials and charges, was nothing elaborate, and probably of only a temporary nature, but there is an interesting implication—if it be assumed that some of the "bolke heds" were to be used to partition off cabins—that hold and 'tweendeck space was for the most part normally undivided. It would also appear that ship's biscuit, destined to ruin the teeth and digestions of generations of long-suffering seamen, was already sufficiently well-established as a staple item of nautical diet as to merit a special, and presumably official, form of stowage.

But more important, there was usually some increase in the armament of craft destined to relieve or reinforce the Fleet.³⁶ It should, however, be noticed that even in times of comparative peace, and when not in royal pay, trading vessels were frequently well armed, and that like so much else the merchantman powerful enough to fight off a man-of-war was not an invention of the Elizabethans.³⁷ A letter from Ralph Sadler to Thomas Cromwell, written in 1537, describing conditions in the North in the closing phases of the Pilgrimage of Grace, relates how he found the gate towers of Newcastle defended by "gret peces of ordenaunces, which wold scowre every way a myle, or 2, and more. All which ordenaunce they told me, that every merchaunte, for his parte, brought out of their shippes".³⁸ Doubtless

³⁴ AA4, xxxviii, 77.

³⁵ PRO, E 36/vol. 12, 25.

³⁶ Most merchantmen were usually armed, if only with a few bows and arrows, even in peacetime.

³⁷ But cf. G. S. Laird Clowes, *Sailing Ships* (Science Museum Collection, HMSO, 1932), Part I, 60.

³⁸ *State Papers During the Reign of Henry VIII* (Record Commission), I, 532.

the excellence of these weapons, like the sterling qualities of their owners, lost nothing in the telling, but Sadler was a knowledgeable man, and in the technical jargon of the time "great" was only applied to the heaviest pieces of artillery.³⁹ With such an arsenal under their control—like the classic bourgeois of Marxist orthodoxy—little wonder the city fathers could guard their heritage, subdue the lower orders when "disposed to sedicion and rebellyon", and if need be send out fighting ships which must often have been more heavily armed than many Elizabethan privateers.⁴⁰ Indeed the results were at times impressive. When ready to join Sir Francis Bryan's squadron in January 1543 Lawson's *Elizabeth* was said to mount "xxxvi shott in a syde, whereof vi brasen peces, two at poupe and two uppon every borde".⁴¹ From this it would seem that she had been converted to a fairly formidable vessel, mounting the remarkably high total of 72 guns. From their numbers alone it is evident that many of these must have been quite small, probably serpentines—light quick-firers⁴² apparently intended to pepper an enemy's topsides and prevent her working her big guns—which earlier in the century had figured so largely in the royal ships. But the "brasen peces" and some others were presumably something heavier, and in professional eyes she was "well orde-naunced". The evidence for the *James* on the same occasion is more specific. She was said to have "foure good port peces and a fawcon of brasse, vi dowble serpentynes uppon wheles, iii single serpentynes and one dozen hake-bushes". Her armament—sizeable though not particularly heavy—thus falls into the normal contemporary pattern of "short" guns (heavy-shotted weapons like the port-piece), which, in the expressive phrase, "shook" an opponent, and

³⁹ L. G. Carr Laughton, "Early Tudor Ship-Guns", *Mariner's Mirror*, XLVI (1960), 242-285, especially 259.

⁴⁰ *English Privateering Voyages to the West Indies, 1588-95*, ed. K. R. Andrews, Hakluyt Soc. 2nd ser. CXI (1959), 17, gives some comparative material.

⁴¹ *Hamilton Papers*, I, no. 287.

⁴² Relatively speaking.

“long” guns (falcons, serpentines, etc.) whose shot, even if light, “pierced” him. Early naval ordnance is a difficult and obscure subject, but it is known that the port-piece,⁴³ which first appears towards the beginning of Henry’s reign, was a breech-loader of anything from 5½ to 12 inches in calibre—at the latter size it ranked amongst the “greatest” of guns—firing a stone ball which in the less ambitious weapons may have weighed roughly 15 lb. The wheeled serpentine,⁴⁴ likewise a breech-loader, could also be a piece of some size, weighing at least 10 cwt. and throwing a 6 lb. lead or 4 lb. iron shot, but the serpentine itself was much smaller, perhaps, like the falcon, only about 2½ cwt. in weight, and firing a 1½ lb. lead shot. The arquebus,⁴⁵ an old weapon modified in the early years of Henry’s reign, was smaller again, with even the larger pieces merely using lead “pellets” of something like ½ lb. each.

It must not, of course, be assumed that either the *Elizabeth* or the *James* mustered the fire-power of a large man-of-war in full commission.⁴⁶ Nevertheless it is particularly worthy of note that at a time of great experiment and development in naval ordnance an area usually regarded as one of the remotest in the kingdom could provide some of its ships with substantial and balanced armaments,⁴⁷ including weapons which, if not perhaps of the very latest, were at least of comparatively recent design. Thus the *Elizabeth* was carrying six brass guns. These, we may take it, were

⁴³ Probably so called since they were mounted in ports on the orlop (*i.e.* the lower deck according to contemporaries).

⁴⁴ If this is what we really have here. The double serpentine of *c.* 1515 was perhaps more usually an iron gun weighing at least 5 cwt. and firing a 3 lb. shot, but it was never apparently fitted with wheels. The wheeled serpentine, however, should be a brass gun.

⁴⁵ Also a breech-loader, and known in some form as early as 1485.

⁴⁶ For details of the size and weight of the armaments of contemporary English warships, and for a discussion of the weapons mentioned above, see Carr Laughton, “Early Tudor Ship-Guns”, and Laird Clowes, *Sailing Ships*. The weights of the pieces given above are those known for the early part of Henry’s reign from the researches of Carr Laughton. It is possible that some guns had increased in weight and size by the 1540’s.

⁴⁷ *I.e.* having, as was the tendency of the period, a good percentage of heavy pieces.

muzzle-loaders, cast in one piece and then bored—a type which, during the latter part of Henry's reign, was replacing the much feebler "built-up" breech-loading weapons made from wrought-iron bars.⁴⁸ True we have no mention of the "very perfect" artillery of the 1540's—cannons, sakers etc.—but these may merely be lost in the generic "brassen peces". Again, though the *James*, like many royal ships of this transitional period, mounted some old-fashioned ordnance—serpentes for instance—the rest of her complement was quite respectable. The port-piece was a cast weapon,⁴⁹ introduced about 1515 and developed, it would seem, to replace the old "built-up" stone gun, whilst the smaller arquebus may also have been "new devised" at roughly the same date.

But not all the armament for hired or impressed merchantmen was raised privately. Some came from either the arsenals of Newcastle and Berwick, or even from London—in which case, in view of other and more powerful claims, it was, like Petruchio's sword, not always the best available. Thus in 1543 the *Trinity Sanderson* and *Mary Grace* were to be furnished with guns from Berwick, whilst others of Bryan's squadron were to have bows, arrows, bills and pikes from the keepers of the "kinges ordenaunce" in Newcastle.⁵⁰

The mention of these venerable weapons is indeed a reminder that with guns for the most part severely limited in range and power—effective range at sea in the early sixteenth century was perhaps something like 100 yards—naval war was still, as in the Middle Ages, essentially a matter of close fighting and boarding, with archers sweeping an enemy's decks from the tops and rigging,⁵¹ and boarders repelled at

⁴⁸ The bars were welded together longitudinally so as to form a tube, which was further strengthened by having a large number of thick iron hoops shrunk over it.

⁴⁹ Apparently of iron. The older falcon and wheeled serpentine were also cast guns, though of brass.

⁵⁰ *LP*, XVII, no. 946; *Hamilton Papers*, I, no. 287; *LP*, XVIII (i), no. 88.

⁵¹ Archers were still used at sea in Drake's time.

the push of the pike by infantrymen.⁵² Hence in 1512, when three Newcastle ships were fitting out, the "Maire and the Comonialte" spent the considerable sum of £35 on 200 sheaves of arrows and 150 bows, and a further £15 on 200 spears and morris pikes, and in 1543 four of Bryan's vessels were issued with 100 bows, 100 sheaves of arrows, 80 bills and 60 morris pikes between them.⁵³

III.

Ships commissioned for royal service, particularly during the early years of Henry's reign, were usually, though not invariably, taken out of the hands of their owners and put under the command of captains⁵⁴ appointed by the crown. These were frequently gentlemen from the royal entourage with varying degrees of military, diplomatic and administrative experience, many of whom became in effect professional naval officers, almost continually employed in the Service either ashore or afloat. A number, perhaps the ablest—or simply the best connected—rose to command flotillas and fleets, and all moved indiscriminately, and without any apparent loss of status, between royal and hired vessels.⁵⁵

Thus of those who served in, or with, craft from Newcastle William Cook, who commanded the *Jesus* in Sir Henry Sherburn's squadron in 1523, was probably from the household of Katherine of Aragon, and had been in the royal ships *Sweepstake* and *Swallow* in 1512-14.⁵⁶ Sherburn himself was

⁵² Cf. *AA4*, xxxviii, 79. Complements, or perhaps fighting men alone, were also issued with protective "jackets". 200 of these cost £20 in 1512 (*PRO E 101/62/23*).

⁵³ *E 101/62/23*; *Hamilton Papers*, I, no. 287.

⁵⁴ At this date a captain was not necessarily a seaman. He had a general control over his ship, but she was sailed by a professional master. But captains—even aristocratic ones—who were seamen were not unknown.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Oppenheim*, 64, 77-8.

⁵⁶ *LP*, I (ii), nos. 1852, 2686; *LP*, I, nos. 3591, 4377; see also *AA4*; xxxviii, 83.

of the king's household—a "spear of honour" well endowed with sinecures, and of sufficient standing to be found playing "shoffulborde" in the Queen's chamber in 1519.⁵⁷ He was at sea in the *Great Bark* in 1512, held a number of naval commands in 1513-14, and was eventually killed in action in 1523.⁵⁸ John Cary, Vice-Admiral in the North in 1542, was another gentleman of the household with nautical experience, commanding the *Katherine Galley* as early as 1522, and later appearing as a captain under Vice-Admiral Sir Rice Maunsell.⁵⁹ His successor, Sir Francis Bryan—of somewhat unsavoury reputation—was a major figure of Henrician politics, and a man whose many talents and widely varied employments foreshadow in detail the familiar accomplishments of the Elizabethan courtier. Poet, scholar, soldier and diplomat, he was a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, Master of the Toils, and Chief Butler of England. He was in the *Margaret Bonaventure* in 1513, and again at sea ten years later, whilst in 1543, "experienced in sea matters", he was one of Henry's ambassadors to the emperor Charles V at a time when a "great enterprise" against the French herring fishery was under discussion.⁶⁰

But not all commanders were courtiers, even before the later years of Henry's reign when demand exceeded supply to the extent that "serving men" (*i.e.* household retainers) and "yeomen" were given ships, and some of the ablest captains and admirals—the real forerunners of Drake, usually forgotten in discussions of the evolution of the sea-officer—were merchants or shipowners (or both) who spent much of their lives in arduous and often distinguished naval service. The energetic and successful Christopher Coe, for instance,

⁵⁷ *LP*, II (ii), p. 1460; *LP*, III (i), p. 51; III (ii), no. 2297 (16).

⁵⁸ At which time it should be noticed his son was commanding the *Katherine* of Newcastle. For the career of Sherburn himself see *LP*, I, no. 3591; I (ii), nos. 2686, 2842, 2946; Spont, 203-4; *AA4*, xxxviii, 83-4.

⁵⁹ *LP*, III (ii), no. 2296; XVII, no. 895; XVIII (i), no. 701; *AA4*, xxxviii, 85.

⁶⁰ *LP*, I, no. 3980; II (ii), p. 1480; III (ii), nos. 3237, 3281; XVIII (i), no. 19; XVIII (ii), nos. 253, 305; *Dictionary of National Biography*, *sub nomine*.

who succeeded Sherburn in 1523, was apparently an East Anglian owner and merchant with court and city connections, who had served previous commissions (1513-22) in the *John Baptist*, the *Charity*, the *Lizard* and the *Margaret Bonaventure*. In later life, when clearly a man of wealth and standing, he was employed by Wolsey in some commercial matter, and in 1526 "Cristofer Coo esquier and oon of the Kynges Capteynes late of the narrow see" was regarded by the Company of the Merchant Adventurers of England as one whose goodwill was well worth having.⁶¹

Another East Anglian of similar character was William Woodhouse,⁶² who replaced Bryan in 1543 with his flag in the *Trinity* of Newcastle. His initial interests appear to have been in shipowning, if he may be identified, as seems highly probable, with that William Woodhouse who, together with his ship, was captured by "wild Scots" in the early 1530's.⁶³ How and why he transferred to the royal service are unknown, but as a sailor he displayed a dash and zest for hard fighting worthy of the great days of the Elizabethan Navy. When in *Sweepstake* on the East Coast in 1543 he cut away his boat—with seven men in her—for the "more spedye folowing in the chace", and we hear of him in "earnest suit" of his prey. He was commander of the projected attack on the French herring fisheries in the same year, and in 1544 again had charge of a flotilla operating against the Scots. Greater distinctions were to come: he was Clinton's Vice-Admiral in the northern war of 1547, and in 1552 he succeeded another old Henrician sailor, Sir Thomas Clere, as Lieutenant of the Admiralty.⁶⁴

⁶¹ *LP*, I, no. 3980; I (ii), no. 2686; II (i), nos. 68, 287; III (i), no. 575; III (ii), nos. 2480, 2486; IV (ii), nos. 3543, 3744; *HCA* 13/3, fols. 107v-110v; *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company, 1453-1527*, ed. L. Lyell and F. D. Watney (Cambridge, 1936), 721-2.

⁶² Described in 1543 as "gentleman".

⁶³ Above, 183. At the time of her capture Woodhouse was owner of half the ship. His partner subsequently gave him the other half and left him to try to recover her.

⁶⁴ *Hamilton Papers*, I, no. 456; *LP*, XVIII (ii), nos. 63, 70, 348; XIX (i), no. 432; Oppenheim, 85, 104.

On occasions a shipowner with seagoing experience might sail as captain of one of his own vessels. The point is worth emphasizing since it has recently been argued that under the Early Tudors, as in the Middle Ages, it was particularly difficult for professional seamen to "acquire experience in war-leadership".⁶⁵ Yet from Newcastle we have Lewis Sotheran—"good Lewes"—who commanded the *Elizabeth* (his own ship) from 1512-14, and greatly distinguished himself at Brest.⁶⁶ The details of his biography are worth examining at some length since they throw a valuable light in that relatively obscure class which owned and controlled merchantmen at the end of the Middle Ages. Apparently of Tyneside yeoman stock—the name was common locally—he was probably apprenticed as a mariner in Newcastle, and in 1489, when perhaps in his mid-thirties, appears in command of the *Mary Harden*.⁶⁷ Between 1489 and 1507 he made a number of trips to the Low Countries and Northern France as master of various local ships—the *Mary Harden*, the *James*, the *Trinity* and the *Elizabeth*—whilst at the same time, as was quite common, he was himself trading in wool, hides and wine, both in his own commands and in other vessels. He became a freeman of the Newcastle Boothmen in the 1490's—agreeing with them, as he put it in 1515, "for occupying the craft of selling corn"—and by 1510 he was of sufficient standing to join the select company that supplied the monastery of Durham with wine.⁶⁸ His period of naval service coincided with, and was perhaps financially conducive to, the climax of his fortunes. He had probably

⁶⁵ Michael Lewis, *The History of the British Navy* (London, 1957), 48-9.

⁶⁶ *AA4*, xxxviii, 77-82.

⁶⁷ Such details of his career as we have come from depositions in a *cause célèbre* of 1515 published in F. W. Dendy, "The Struggle between the Merchant and Craft Guilds in Newcastle in 1515" (*AA3*, vii (1911), 77-101). In these Sotheran's age is given on one occasion as 62 and in another as 50 in 1515. He describes himself as a freeman of the Mariners Company, and tells how he fined with the Boothmen (98-9). He can be found in command of various local ships in Exch. K. R. Customs Accounts for Newcastle, *passim*.

⁶⁸ *Et in ii dolis et i pipa vini Rubei emptis de Lodowico Sotheron* (Dean and Chapter of Durham muniments, Bursar's Account 1510-11), and in the account for 1514-15 we find him supplying Spanish iron.

acquired the *Elizabeth* by 1512, and the *Trinity* by 1513—both former commands in which he may have already had shares. He took an apprentice—Thomas Boland—in 1513, and by this time he was clearly able to leave his affairs in competent hands, for the value of his foreign trade made an impressive leap whilst he was with the Fleet, reaching something like £60 in 1512-13, as compared with a mere £15 in 1499-1500.⁶⁹

Some further details of officering may be briefly mentioned. Complements were in general greatly increased for a royal commission. Thus a surgeon was carried in the *Elizabeth* in 1514—perhaps a doubtful asset given the methods of sixteenth-century medicine—and another in the *Matthew* in 1523, in both cases, it may be noticed, some months after the ships had been involved in heavy fighting.⁷⁰ And again payments to the *Elizabeth* in 1513 show that she had on board a remarkable weight of what might loosely be termed officers and petty officers; a captain, a master, a master's mate, four quarter masters, two quarter master's mates, a bosun, a bosun's mate, a steward, a cook, a purser, a carpenter, a master gunner and a gunner's mate. Only a cooper, a steward's mate and a chaplain—a suggestive combination—are in fact lacking to bring her up to the strength soon to be found in large English merchantmen sailing on extended voyages of trade or discovery.⁷¹

Similarly, on a normal commercial run an East-Coast ship of between 80 and 100 ton might employ, as was indeed

⁶⁹ Sotheran was associated with the *Trinity* from about 1500, and she appears to have come into his hands early in 1513 when her name changes to *Trinity Lewes*, and Sotheran becomes her principal freighter (PRO, E 122/109/1). He is first described as owner of the *Elizabeth* in naval accounts for 1514 (LP, I (ii), no. 2923), but it is very likely that he was already in possession of her when she entered service in 1512. The progression from master to owner was common at the time. For Sotheran's apprentice see *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, ed. F. W. Dendy (Surtees Soc. 1899), II, 186. For his commercial activity see PRO, E 122/108/4 and 109/1 *passim*.

⁷⁰ LP, I (ii), no. 3501; IV (i), no. 281.

⁷¹ PRO, E 101/61/12, fols. 4v-5; E 315/315, fol. 9, and cf. J. A. Williamson, *Maritime Enterprise, 1485-1558* (Oxford, 1913), 363-4. Quarter master's mates are not mentioned as usual in Williamson, *loc. cit.*

quite general, as few as 10 or 12 hands.⁷² But with naval service there came the liberal manning standards of privateers and men-of-war. Thus in 1512, whilst working as a victualler, the *Elizabeth* (120/130t) carried only 40 seamen—including, presumably, officers—but when she was rated a fighting ship her total complement was never less than 100, and on one occasion it rose to 74 mariners, six gunners, a “captain’s retinue” of 50 (*i.e.* soldiers), a master and a captain.⁷³ If we assume that the number of her officers and petty officers remained constant at 17 during this commission, this means that she had on board the astonishing figure of anything from 83 to 115 ratings (*i.e.* seamen and soldiers). Other evidence is less rewarding, but we know that in 1512 the *Trinity* (90t) was carrying 84 men, eight boys and four gunners, whilst in January 1543 the *Elizabeth* (140/160t) was to be manned by 50 seamen and carpenters, 40 soldiers and 20 gunners, and the *James* (100t), *Anthony* (90/100t) and *John Evangelist* (90/100t), by 30 seamen and carpenters, 20 soldiers and 10 gunners each⁷⁴—little wonder that with such complements and their paraphernalia and stores crowded into such ships, cruises were so limited in range and duration, and the rate of sickness so appallingly high. It would be tedious to extend this list further, but at least it may be observed that in armed merchantmen, as in warships, gunners came to occupy a more prominent position during the course of Henry’s reign, reflecting something of the changing character of war at sea—thus the difference between the *Elizabeth* of 1513 with six, and her namesake of 1543 with 20, and between the *James*, *Anthony* and *John Evangelist* with 10 each in 1543, and the *Trinity* with only four in 1512.⁷⁵

Crews were usually provided from such seamen as were locally available at the place of hiring or impressment, and

⁷² PRO, HCA 13/3 fols. 107v-110v.

⁷³ PRO, E 101/62/15; E 315/315, fol. 9; LP, I (ii), no. 3148 (ii).

⁷⁴ E 101/62/23; LP, XVIII (i), no. 59.

⁷⁵ Cf. Oppenheim, 54-5.

there is some evidence that, as might be expected, men were not invariably willing to serve. A curious entry in the Newcastle Trinity House accounts of "expenses in the chamber when the mariner was prest to go in the *Elizabeth*" seems to indicate some difficulties of an intriguing nature.⁷⁶ But there were alternative sources; Woodhouse's instructions of 1543, for instance, empowered him to take hands from enemy ships to be used "as drudges" in his own;⁷⁷ and when there was a shortage of mariners landsmen appear to have been pressed to supply the deficiency. This must, indeed, have been a fairly frequent occurrence in times of heavy demand, when not only were there local craft to be manned, but the needs of the Fleet to be met as well—we know, for example, that in 1514 the complement of the royal ship, *Lizard*, was made up of an assortment of contingents from (amongst other places) Beaumaris, Plymouth, Hull and Tynemouth.⁷⁸ The use of what might be described as unskilled labour was not perhaps so disadvantageous as might at first appear, since in general crews were apparently required not only to work their ships, but also to assist in fighting them.⁷⁹ This at least would seem to be the inference to be drawn from the ratio of armaments to men carried—so from Newcastle in 1543 the *Elizabeth* had only 20 gunners for 72 pieces of ordnance, and the *James* 10 for 26.⁸⁰ An able-bodied man, therefore, would clearly be something of an asset to a commander quite irrespective of whether or not he had ever been to sea before.

But the main brunt of any fighting was—or, more accurately, should have been—borne, as had been the case for centuries, by the body of troops embarked in each armed ship.⁸¹ The recruitment of these, variously described in

⁷⁶ Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, II, 212. For evidence of local manning see *LP*, XIX (i), no. 107; XX (i), no. 321.

⁷⁷ *LP*, XVIII (i), no. 225; *AA4*, xxxviii, 89-90.

⁷⁸ *LP*, I (ii), no. 3137 (16).

⁷⁹ *Cf. LP*, XX (i), no. 321; Oppenheim, 56-7.

⁸⁰ Above, 187, 195.

⁸¹ *Cf. above*, 195. Soldiers were also carried at times in vessels not in royal service.

musters as "soldiers" or "the captain's retinue" is, like so much else, somewhat obscure. Some, possibly even the majority⁸²—though this would need further investigation—were raised as bands of indentured retainers, just as for military service, under a system of great antiquity. The captain would enter into a formal agreement (the indenture) with those willing or—a different matter—persuaded to serve, and then petition the Lord Chancellor or Keeper of the Privy Seal for letters of protection in their favour.⁸³ Thus when a commander joined his ship he was accompanied by a ready-formed fighting force which frequently had no territorial connection with the vessel in which it was to serve. This was equally true of other ways of supplying troops. The retinues of great magnates, such as the Howards for example, would spread into ships with which the family had otherwise no association, whilst vessels in commission might be brought up to strength by drafting into them such companies as were available in the area in which they were operating. Thus it seems that in 1513 the *Elizabeth* of Newcastle was to have been reinforced by a contingent of Devon men, and in 1543 the Warden of the Marches proposed to furnish the royal ships in the North with archers drawn from the garrison of Holy Island.⁸⁴

IV.

Finally some points of naval administration are worth brief notice. At the opening of Henry's reign the methods and machinery for the hiring or impressment of vessels were essentially—in as far as it is safe to generalize on the limited evidence under review—those of the Middle Ages. Letters "plackardes" (*i.e.* documents under seal) would be issued to

⁸² This is probably truer of the earlier part of Henry's reign than the 1540's.

⁸³ *LP* IV (i), no. 293, and *cf.* *LP* III (ii), no. 2807 (21).

⁸⁴ *AA4*, xxxviii, 81; *LP*, XVIII (i), no. 88.

individuals empowering them to take ships—presumably of a specified tonnage and within a given area. These commissioners would then negotiate with, for instance, local authorities, and their labours might result, as at Newcastle in 1513, in indentures between the royal and civic officials on the one hand, and shipowners and shipmasters on the other, stating the financial arrangements for fitting out, and giving a rendezvous for the craft taken up.⁸⁵ But it is an interesting reflection on the nature of Tudor government—and hence perhaps some of the persistent popular legends of the *bonhomie* of bluff king Hal—that by the 1540's the whole procedure had in general become much more flexible and informal, with orders frequently given in personal letters—in “state papers” that is—addressed to either the communities concerned, or to important royal officers serving in the area.⁸⁶ So, for example, in February 1545, the Privy Council wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury, the king's Lieutenant in the North, informing him that the citizens of Hull had “set forth” six ships at their own cost, and directing him “to travail earnestly that those of Newcastle may do the semblable”.⁸⁷ But as difficulties and demands increased in the latter part of Henry's reign, and notwithstanding the presence on the Border of men of the calibre of Hertford or Shrewsbury, there was often much “earnest writing” and “furnishing” before anything was accomplished, and the Newcastle city fathers, after consultations with “owners and masters” and “the most honest inhabitants” were at times quite capable of refusing even the most pressing royal demands.⁸⁸

The supreme government of the Navy was, of course, in the hands of the King and his Council, and where, as with Henry VIII, the sovereign had a real interest in the sea, and his administrators—if this is an adequate word—were as

⁸⁵ *LP*, I (ii), no. 1982, i, ii. (This refers to transports.)

⁸⁶ Or their deputies. For the change from the formal document under seal to the personal letter, see G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (Cambridge, 1953), 276, 298.

⁸⁷ *LP*, XX (i), no. 243.

⁸⁸ *Cf. AAA*, xxxviii, 95-7.

indefatigable as Wolsey, their concern could extend to minute detail. A list of royal and hired shipping, for instance, of 1512, in which the *Elizabeth* of Newcastle appears as a victualler to the *Less Carrick*, shows correction in the king's own hand, and a similar document of the following year, in which the *Elizabeth* is attached to the *Katherine Fortalezza*, has been closely checked by Wolsey, who has altered the names of the captains and allocated all the gunners.⁸⁹

Operations at sea were handled in similar fashion, and were indeed conducted in an atmosphere of stifling supervision—a situation commonly (and wrongly) assumed to be peculiar to an age in which wireless has put shore-based Admiralties in easy contact with their fleets. As already noticed Vice-Admirals were appointed to squadrons in the North Sea on a number of occasions.⁹⁰ The powers enjoyed by these officers are not always easy to define, though they were clearly limited. True they exercised a general, and not always popular, authority over their ships—in October 1542 Cary was obliged to order “all his men to eat and drink but only two times in the day, which hath not been accustomed to mariners”⁹¹—and they had some responsibility for, and control over, the payment and victualling of their flotillas. They were also apparently answerable for the proper handling of prizes, and there is some evidence that after consultation with their captains they might advise the crown on suitable courses of action within their theatres. But—and as with every other aspect of Henry's reign—there was never any doubt as to the fullness and supremacy of the royal authority, and a commander at sea was left with remarkably little scope for initiative. Thus his fighting instructions, which were fairly comprehensive—indicating his duties and his station, and including perhaps some strategic and tactical directions—were supplemented at frequent intervals by a

⁸⁹ *LP*, I, nos. 3591, 3977.

⁹⁰ *AA4*, xxxviii, 83, 85, 87, 89.

⁹¹ *LP*, XVII, no. 946.

deluge of detailed orders despatched through a variety of channels ranging from the captains of individual vessels to such magnates as the Warden of the Marches or the King's Lieutenant in the North.⁹² And to ensure compliance Admirals were required to report continually—or, in the more pleasing language of the time, to “advertisye the kinges majestie”⁹³—and fleets were kept under the closest observation, even to the extent of the Privy Council ordering a search to be made “along the coast” on one occasion to see where a squadron had got to⁹⁴—all of which was quite practicable, of course, in the days before blue-water navies, when almost all operations took place within a few miles of the shore.

V.

In a port which owned at the most something like 50 sea-going ships the hiring or impressment for war service of as few as six or so in a year—as was commonly the case in Newcastle between 1509 and 1547—entailed a disruption of commerce far more serious than these quite modest figures alone would suggest.⁹⁵ Vessels taken up were usually, and naturally, the largest and the most powerful available. For these shippers might well have difficulty in finding adequate substitutes. Not all other locally registered craft—if such a term may be used in this loose anachronistic way—worked consistently from their home port, and of those that did some would be away, or refitting, or under repair,⁹⁶ whilst foreign bottoms were debarred from certain trades by navigation

⁹² *LP*, I, no. 4682 (i); XVII, nos. 851, 1083; XVIII (i), nos. 19, 108, 127; *Hamilton Papers*, I, no. 288.

⁹³ *Cf. Hamilton Papers*, I, no. 287.

⁹⁴ *LP*, XVII, no. 899.

⁹⁵ The total number of ships owned in Newcastle seems to have moved from about 30 in 1500 to about 60 in 1550. Details are in my paper “English Merchant Shipping”, and see also below, Appendix.

⁹⁶ In February 1544 of 11 ships in Newcastle one was building and three others “in making and reparation” (*LP*, XIX (i), no. 107).

laws. Then again, to satisfy the demands of men-of-war and armed merchantmen crews were taken in such numbers, and detained in remote places for such unpredictable periods, as to leave sufficient labour to man only a few of the remaining ships.

But despite these and other hazards—delays, arrests, losses—war was never unmitigated disaster. Many ship-owners were merchants, and as such found lucrative opportunities to victual armies and fleets—and like as not the enemy as well at times⁹⁷—or to supply equipment or timely assistance to hard-pressed commanders. So in 1513 William Brigham was amongst those who furnished Surrey's troops in the North with grain. Almost twenty years later we find "Branlyng of Newcastle"⁹⁸ providing large quantities of coal for Calais and Guisnes—with allegations of non-delivery on one occasion when there is reference to an advance of £200, whilst in 1544 Henry Anderson was paid some £28 odd "for money laid out in helping the King's ship *Sweepstake*, and in making bridges and slings for the King's horses".⁹⁹ And then again if the rates of ship hire were not particularly attractive¹⁰⁰ there was always the chance of prize, or at least of some pleasing bargain in that brisk Tyneside market in the hauls of pirates and privateers. Thus there is mention in 1548 of an East Anglian "adventurer" who knew the North-East well from his more reputable days as a skipper in the coal trade, who "hathe cummen many tymes to New Castell with dyvers pryyses", and there disposed of some of their cargoes—grain, meal, saltfish and salmon,¹⁰¹ whilst on a grander scale it is known that Christopher Coo, for example,

⁹⁷ Cf. *LP*, III (ii), no. 3173.

⁹⁸ Robert Brandling, surely, and not Henry, as indexed in *LP*.

⁹⁹ *LP*, XVI, nos. 286, 918; XVII, no. 1188; XIX (i), no. 476 (2). For the grounding of the *Sweepstake* see *AA4*, xxxviii, 92.

¹⁰⁰ Between 1513 and 1524 the rate was one shilling per ton per month.

¹⁰¹ PRO, HCA I/34, fols. 164v-6. It was apparently common for seamen who turned to piracy or privateering to dispose of their prizes in areas where they were already known through ordinary commercial contacts—South-coast fishermen, for instance, who in the ordinary course of events often worked in the North Sea, used the Yorkshire coast to sell off the spoils of "venturing" when war brought wider opportunities.

took goods and shipping valued at over £1,200 in two years, and according to the King himself even greater sums were easy to come by.¹⁰² But quite apart from this impressive array of windfalls it might be suggested that till at least the late 1540's shipowning, despite the attendant risks, was a more attractive field of investment for Newcastle capital than the coal of Durham and Northumberland.

Some wider implications remain. Against the background of European naval and maritime activity in the greatest age of discovery the campaigns of the Early Tudors, and especially those in northern waters in which Newcastle shipping so largely figured, can easily be overlooked. True the operations with which we have been concerned were a far cry from war at sea as it was to be understood in the next three centuries, but they were by no means without significance. It cannot, of course, be claimed that they were in any sense decisive, though in the general context of Henry VIII's Scottish policy this was scarcely to be expected. It is, moreover, impossible to assess, in the absence of adequate evidence, the effects on Scotland of a blockade which through stress of weather and indifferent intelligence was never more than intermittent. It can scarcely have imposed any widespread hardship on a primitive and largely self-supporting society, but on the other hand, and for the same reasons, even isolated captures of arms and shipping must have affected the prosperity of Scottish merchants and the effectiveness of Stuart armies. Nor should other indications of the value of sea-power be forgotten; that on two occasions at least important reinforcements were deflected from the East Coast, and that in 1544 Hertford's troops were able to land at will in the Forth.¹⁰³

Furthermore there are clear indications that from roughly the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII some English commanders had a broader view of strategy than that pre-occupation with the transport and supply of armies, or the

¹⁰² *LP*, IV (i), no. 83; XIX (ii), no. 560.

¹⁰³ *AA4*, xxxviii, 84, 92.

interception of enemies already at sea with which the period is usually credited, and that there was a growing appreciation that the Navy had a more continuous purpose than mere attack or defence in fleets.¹⁰⁴ Squadrons—on many occasions formed largely or wholly from hired or impressed merchantmen—were employed in duties ranging from the bombardment of hostile ports to commerce raiding and blockade, and contrary to common assumption, were quite capable of keeping the seas throughout the winter.¹⁰⁵ Insufficient vessels and inadequate communications often destroyed comparatively unambitious plans, and commanders afloat were harassed by minute supervision and crippled by primitive arrangements for supply. Yet even so men such as Coe and Woodhouse were surprisingly successful,¹⁰⁶ and their actions, like those of Sir Edward Howard at Brest, were marked by a boldness and zest for hard fighting which anticipate the great days of the Elizabethan Navy.¹⁰⁷ This was not peculiar to the East Coast, or indeed to any of the other regions which in medieval fashion provided contingents for the Fleet, nor were these the acts of inexperienced amateurs. Rather they were the outcome of a long tradition of war and trade by sea which cannot be omitted from any proper assessment of subsequent maritime achievement.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Thus C. S. Goldingham, "The Development of Tactics in the Tudor Navy" (*United Services Magazine*, LVII (1918)), writes that "in the time of Henry VIII ships were simply a means of bringing two opposing bodies of soldiers into contact" (211), and see also Fisher, 176-7 and Sir Herbert Richmond, *Statesmen and Sea Power* (Oxford, 1946), 2-3, but cf. Oppenheim, 68.

¹⁰⁵ John Cary was at sea in October-November 1542 (*AA4*, xxxviii, 85-6); Sir Francis Bryan in February 1543 (*ib.*, 88-9); William Woodhouse in February or early March-June 1543 (*ib.* 89, 91). In April 1544 we hear that Woodhouse kept the seas in the North notwithstanding "the stormes here" (*Hamilton Papers*, II, no. 228). It was the expensive and unseaworthy "great" ships of Henry's Navy that were laid up once the short summer campaigning season was over.

¹⁰⁶ Some contemporaries took a lower view of Coe (*LP*, III (ii), no. 2374) though with little justification it would seem, and cf. above, 191-2.

¹⁰⁷ For Howard see *AA4*, xxxviii, 78-9.

¹⁰⁸ The early evidence is overlooked by Professor G. S. Graham in his *Empire of the North Atlantic* (Toronto, 1950), ix, 15.

APPENDIX.

NEWCASTLE SHIPS IN 1544.¹

	Tonnage	Owner
<i>John</i>	100	The Mayor (Robert Brandling) ²
<i>Elizabeth</i>	160	James Lawson ²
<i>Robert</i>	80	" "
<i>James</i>	100	Henry Anderson ²
<i>Anthony</i>	90	" "
<i>John</i>	80	" "
<i>Mary Anne</i>	72	" "
<i>Mary Katherine</i>	60	" "
A new ship on the stocks		" "
<i>Trinity</i>	120	John Sanderson ²
<i>George</i>	100	Andrew Bewick ²
<i>Jesus</i>	64	" "
<i>John</i>	52	" "
<i>Martin</i>	80	John Hylton ²
<i>John</i>	52	" "
<i>Bark</i>	100	" "
<i>Mary</i>	48	Bertram Anderson ²
<i>Mary Fortune</i>	56	George Davell ²
<i>Mary Grace</i>	80	William Carr (?) ³
<i>Jesus</i>	96	Roger Mitford ²
<i>Martin</i>	72	Bartholomew Bee ²
<i>Mary Katherine</i>	80	Cuthbert Ellison ²
<i>John Evangelist</i>	100	Robert Thomson ³
<i>James</i>	90	Edward Penreth (?) ²
<i>Anne</i>	80	" "
<i>Cuthbert</i>	72	Thomas Scott (?) ²
<i>James</i>	88	John Todd ²
<i>George</i>	72	Robert Hoppen ²
<i>Christopher</i>	68	James Anderson ³
<i>Mary Gallant</i>	60	Roger Haton (?) ³
<i>Christopher</i>	56	Thomas Bell (?) ³
<i>George</i>	72	William Temple ³
<i>Little Katherine</i>	48	Thomas Shaldforth (?) ³
<i>Trinity</i>	48	Richard Harrison (?) ³
<i>James</i>	44	James Arnold ³
<i>Nicholas</i>	44	Robert Binks (?) ³
<i>Hoy Bark</i>	80	Francis Anderson ²
A ship	60	Robert Lisle ³

	Tonnage	Owner
<i>Trinity</i>	56	Bertram Orde ²
<i>Martin</i> *	65	(?)
<i>Peter</i> *	30	(?)
<i>Anne</i> *	40	(?)
<i>Michael</i> *	70	(?) Henry Anderson ⁴
<i>James</i> *	10	(?)

¹ Names of ships and owners have been modernized. There are two good and fairly complete lists of Newcastle shipping in 1544, only one of which, however, gives owners' names. This is used here, with the original order retained, from PRO SP I/183, fol. 114, with additions (marked *) from the other list which can be found in *LP*, XIX (i), no. 140 (6). This conflation gives 43 ships afloat with a total tonnage of 3,095t. If *LP*, XIX (i), no. 140 (6) is used as a basis and amplified from SP I/183 slight variations in the size of individual craft give us a total of 43 ships of 3,020t. This latter figure I have used in my "English Merchant Shipping". There are also some figures, with slight variants, in *Hamilton Papers*, II, no. 185. None of these statistics are impeccable.

² Merchant.

³ Seaman or ex-seaman.

⁴ Probably the *Michael* of Henry Anderson, given elsewhere as 80t, see above, 185. She is also very likely his "new ship" previously said to be "on the stocks".

