## THE LONDON PORT BOOKS

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The Port Books, preserved amongst the records of the Exchequer in the Public Record Office, are the chief source for the study of English commerce in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of the many thousands which have survived, those for London, the hub of the kingdom's trade, are naturally the most important and, because of the complexity of the customs administration there in comparison with the other ports, the least easy to use. This article describes the origins of these records, discusses them in relation to the administration which produced them and by means of extracts attempts to remove some of the difficulties which may confront those consulting them.

Customs accounts have survived from the reign of Edward I. but the entries in them do not always give the historian the detail for which he looks: even those for the earlier sixteenth century omit the names of the ports to and from which shipments were made. The central government was not blind to the defects of this ancient type of record and after an extensive inquiry into the customs system, the lord treasurer, the Marquess of Winchester, issued in November 1564 a Book of Orders requiring customs officials from the following Easter to make all their entries in special parchment books sent down to the ports from the Exchequer. These blank Port Books continued to be regularly issued -though as the years went by less regularly written up and returned to the Exchequer-until they were discontinued by a Treasury Order of 14 March, 1799. The commissioners appointed during Rockingham's ministry to examine the public accounts had reported unfavourably on them, while a select committee of the House of Commons on finance in 1797 considered it absurd that the several hundred pounds spent annually on parchment created a mass of documents which 'in the opinion of the Board of Customs and of the Exchequer are of no practical possible utility to the public.' The Port Books for London, however, survive only to Christmas 1697. At the end of the nineteenth century the London Books between 1697 and 1799 were destroyed under schedule, since it was concluded that the series was 'very incomplete', while the corresponding Ledgers of the Inspector-General of Imports and Exports among the records of the Board of Customs contained further information, 'indexes and abstracts or statements of totals which could be extracted from the Port Books only with the greatest difficulty if at all.'2

The Port Books have, indeed, met with many hazards. While they were still in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office dampness and vermin

began to attack many of them. A memorandum of 1604 pointed out that 33 Books were issued yearly to the various officials at London<sup>3</sup>—a figure suggesting that there should be over 4,000 books for the period 1565-1697: in fact only 700, or one in every six of these London books, have been preserved', and perhaps a third of these are incomplete or remain too imperfect even after highly-skilled repairing to be of much use to the historian. This is not as great a loss as might at first appear, for there was always a great deal of duplication in the records of officials, as is explained below. Two eighteenth century books survived the schedule for destruction: one a book for imports by aliens for 1716-17, the other for exports by aliens in 1769-70.5 In common with other ports London has few books for the Interregnum: only seven for the period 1642-60, and four of these relate to coastal shipments. Apart from this gap a sufficient number has survived to make the pattern of London's trade in most decades (if not most years) extremely clear; although there are fewer books for imports than for exports. Moreover, certain compilations in the Lansdowne MSS., the Cranfield Papers and elsewhere and also the Exchequer, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Enrolled Customs Accounts to 1604 go some way towards filling lacunae in the series. No other country can boast such comprehensive records for its commerce during these centuries; and in comparison with the Port Books, the Sound Toll Registers of the Danish kings seem slight and uninformative.

Since they became open to public inspection the London Port Books have attracted a number of scholars studying particular branches of trade—notably the cloth trade.\* The exceptional position of the city in the organization of England's trade, finance and industry in the Tudor and Stuart periods would suggest that the economic historian disregards the London Port Books at his own peril. The coasting books of the port have also been used for studies of the coastal trade between London and the outports;" and the series has also furnished valuable information on London's merchant fleet.10 Strangely enough no London book has yet appeared in print-even in calendar form, though extracts from certain Elizabethan books have been published in the official Dutch series of documents relating to Anglo-Dutch commerce." As a result of these detailed studies and of the provision of a long awaited definitive Descriptive List of those records in the Literary Search Room, a corpus of information has steadily grown, providing solutions to most difficulties in the way of unusual forms of abbreviation and awkward marginalia. and making the publication of a text of a Port Book a much more feasible venture than would have seemed possible thirty years ago.

A fundamental point worth emphasising at the risk of appearing pedantic is that the Port Books are financial records—the products of customs administration-not commercial records. First and foremost they are a source for the study of the customs revenue. Through defects in the customs administration, such as the corruption of officials by smugglers, these records do not present a comprehensive account of trade: the tale of Tudor commerce, for instance, could not be told exclusively from the Port Books any more than it could be told exclusively from the pages of Hakluyt. Since, however, the port of London was administered far more efficiently than the outports, the entries in the London books are probably not very wide of the mark compared with the records elsewhere.12 But although they were not compiled as commercial returns these customs records were often used by the government to discover the 'balance of trade' in the early days of political arithmetic. The port books give an extraordinary amount of detail about trade and shipping, merchants and shipmasters. From the varying volume of different commodities customed we can trace, for instance, the slump in the English clothing industry in the early seventeenth century or the growing dependence of England on the Baltic countries for naval stores. We can see the beginnings of new markets, like that for Yarmouth herrings in Italy in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and notice the impact of the new world upon the old in the growth of the tobacco trade. A few historians with exemplary patience have compiled from these documents figures showing trade fluctuations: for instance it has been established that London's tobacco imports were rated at £55,143 in 1620, when it was eighth in the list of imports of all commodities. By 1633 tobacco was fifth, and seven years later had become the most valuable import of all-£230,840 worth being brought in.<sup>13</sup> The entries provide much useful information about shipping: the burthen of a vessel is usually specified and also the name of the master. From these details we can trace the various voyages made by vessels and notice that while some were maids of all work others specialized perhaps in the wine trade with Bordeaux or the coastal run to Newcastle for coal. The changing popularity in the names of the ships is not without interest; and the way the Jesus and the Donus Dei give place to secular names like the William and the Dolphin during the reign of Elizabeth I is very noticeable. Much more important than the names of ships are those of merchants. London merchants are happily given the name of the city company of which they were freemen, and membership of the fellowship of merchants adventurers or staplers is also often specified. It is possible, too, to gain knowledge of partnerships by following the combinations of names in different shipments. Even the general historian out to paint the portrait of an age will find much information about everyday social life in these records which he will often seek in vain in other sources. Those who are patient enough will find nuggets of gold buried, like this entry in the cargo which the *Swan* of Antwerp brought to London in June 1565:—"

Item the Quynes Hyghnes, by warrant from my lord treasurer, j barrell of gynger and a pott of rose water [subsidy] iij li.

\* \* \* \* \*

In the London books, in contrast to the books for the outports, the entire cargo of a vessel is rarely set down in one comprehensive entry. Different merchants loaded or unloaded their goods on different days, and to piece together all the items carried often means searching through several pages of a number of books. As an example of this we may take the Gascon wine brought home from Bordeaux by the Roebuck of London at the end of March 1597.15 On 26 March, Easter Eve, Thomas Gayme, skinner, unloaded a single tun. Probably because it was Easter (the customs staff enjoyed an incredible number of public holidays) the next consignment was not landed until 31 March, when John Davenant, merchant taylor, customed  $2\frac{1}{2}$  tuns of wine, entered in the book under the heading 'In le Roebuck predicta'. Two entries later we read that Christopher Dodson, clothier, customed 30 tuns, Robert Bright 1 tun, Thomas Botheby, merchant taylor, 14 tuns and Humphrey Feild, grocer, 20 tuns and 2 hogsheads. After various entries for other vessels we find William Hoult, leather seller, unloading 3 tuns. and later still small amounts are recorded for John Hyrom, skinner, John Chatweight, clothier, and John Hall, draper. In all 85 tuns were unloaded from the Roebuck on this voyage by 11 merchants. It is simple enough following through a cargo of one commodity like wine, which was entered in separate books; but it can be quite complicated when dealing with a great variety of goods, as entered in the poundage books of the collector of tunnage and poundage, split amongst a number of merchants, aliens as well as Englishmen, many of them having interests in other ships being unloaded at the same time. Again, while the Roebuck is readily distinguishable, ships with common names can lead to great difficulties: the detail under the heading 'In le John predicta' may relate perhaps to any of a dozen different vessels, unless the scribe has added fuller details.

To get a comprehensive view of London's trade, which au fond means discovering the total cargo of every single ship, it is necessary to follow through parallel entries in the port books kept by a number of different officials. These officials were of two kinds: those concerned

with the collection of duties and those concerned with reporting arrivals and departures of vessels and checking their cargoes. The books for the first kind of official are entry books recording 'cockets' issued as receipts for the payment of duties, so called because sealed with the cocket seal.16 In 1565 there were four main sets of duties, collected by different officials who made their entries in separate books. These were 1. great custom, levied on exports of wool, wool-fells, hides and leather; 2. petty customs, payable on cloth exports by all merchants and also on all imports by foreigners; 3. the subsidy of tunnage and poundage, comprising a duty on each tun of imported wine and also an ad valorem duty of 1s. in the £ on all imports and on all exports not liable to great custom; there were in addition 4. certain impositions, at first levied on exports of cloth and beer and on imports of French wine, but later extended to other wares particularly by James I. For each of these duties, except impositions before 1608, there was more than one collector: for instance the collection of tunnage and poundage was subdivided into exports and imports or denizens and aliens respectively. Each collector entered in his own book the details of a cargo which concerned him. Moreover, since the reign of Edward I there had been a check on the collector in the person of the controller who, as his name implies kept the 'counter roll' or duplicate of the collector's account. As one Elizabethan official put it, it is not enough for the collector to be an honest man; he has the controller constantly at his side, performing an 'imaginary service' and in all things 'imitating his doings'. Before the end of the sixteenth century a further official, the surveyor, who also kept books, was added to each collector; and in the early seventeenth century surveyors-general were established

The principal officials keeping port books who were not concerned with the collection of duties were the searchers and the waiters. While the collectors were busy in the customs house, the searchers and waiters spent their time on the wharfs or visiting ships at anchor, checking their cargoes. The searcher would be informed by the collectors of the exact exports in the hold which had been customed. Before the ship sailed he would go abroad to ensure that everything was correct; and under the date and tide he would enter the ship's name with the merchants' names and the items of the cargo they were sending abroad. He also noted at the end of his book goods from overseas retained aboard as ship's stores (like cordage and canvas), provisions for the crew and wares laded on free bills: no other book gives us this information about duty-free wares. The earliest searcher's book is for 1604 and contains exports by all merchants. After the Restoration two books, one for denizens the other for aliens, take the place of the single book; and in 1679 there is a

further sub-division whereby entries for goods liable to petty customs are made in one book and entries for goods liable to tunnage and poundage in another. Three searchers' books for imports have survived, the first for 1680, but it is not clear exactly when the searchers became concerned with imports. Imports were, indeed, the responsibility of the waiters. They 'waited' for ships to come up the river and as soon as they came to anchor went aboard and briefly listed the contents of the cargo. The entries in their books provided the various collectors in the customs house with first-hand information before the merchants or their factors came to settle the duties. A division of the waiters' books into separate records for denizens and for aliens occurs after 1600. These books for waiters and searchers thus provide a concise statement of the total contents of a ship's cargo; for further details about the different items in a cargo, including their valuation and the duties paid, we must turn to the books of the various collectors, their controllers and surveyors.

It is worthwhile illustrating these points by following through parallel entries in different books for particular cargoes. When searchers' or waiters' books have not survived or where they provide inadequate details, discovering the complete cargo of a vessel can be a laborious business. A single, comprehensive entry for an important company is straightforward enough: for example, the shipment by the East India Company of a great many cloths in the Sceptre of London on 16 August 1695, which paid 1251. in petty customs, is recorded in a single line in the book of the surveyor-general of customs for exports by denizens. It was a company venture and no customs document tells us what individual members of the company sent18. On the other hand the cargo of the Baltic Merchant, bound for Dantzig in the same year, was loaded during 23 different days by as many different merchants between 4 April and 3 December. The entries for this cargo are scattered through many pages of the book of the collector of customs and the corresponding books of his controller and surveyor-general. In the Searcher's book for goods paying customs all these 23 entries are written together under 3 December, the day on which the ship sailed.20 As a further example for the same year we may take the Abraham's Offering, which left London for Hamburg on 11 September. From the searcher's book for goods paying customs we find entries for the export of a great variety of short and long cloths by 8 English merchants. But this was not all. In the corresponding book for goods paying tunnage and poundage under the same date are 9 further entries for this vessel for goods other than short and long cloths: these goods, which included serges, silk petticoats, embroidered waistcoats, gloves, hundreds of pairs of worsted hose and miscellaneous articles like inlaid sword-handles, accounted for over 161

in poundage.<sup>21</sup> There is in addition an entry for the payment of great custom on a small quantity of leather exported in this ship, which is not recorded in either of the searcher's books.<sup>22</sup>

The last collection of entries from parallel books which we may notice concerns imports. The ship in question arrived at London from Bordeaux on 19 March 1677. As foreigners as well as Englishmen had an interest in the cargo the entries relating to this shipment are scattered through six different port books (not including 'duplicates'). The waiters' entries in the books for denizens and for aliens provide together a concise list of the entire cargo, but without valuations or the amounts of duties paid. The waiters' record of imports by denizens lists a total of 30 tuns of wine for three merchants, 36 hogsheads of aquavita and 19 cwt. of cork.23 The poundage book of the collector of tunnage and poundage adds to this information the duties charged on the aquavita (61. 16s.  $9\frac{1}{2}d$ .) and the cork (15s. 10d.). The same collector's book for wine imports sets down the sums for tunnage and for the additional duty on French wine.25 The two foreigners' goods are briefly listed in the waiters' book for aliens' imports;26 and in the corresponding book of the surveyor-general of the customs we have the full entry for their wares:

Dominigo Rogers in Edmund Dowzen I's shipl a Bordeaux:

3 cwt. 1 qr. prunes, 20 gallons olives, 2 little barrels anchovies, 1 cwt. figs, 24 lb. oil of spike, 85 lb. dried grapes: petty custom ijs. iijd. ob.

Dominigo Rodriques in ditto: 1 cwt. potashes: petty custom ijd.<sup>27</sup> The book kept by the collector of tunnage and poundage on aliens' imports adds to this information the figures for poundage—8s. 9d. and 7d. respectively.<sup>28</sup>

Wool, wool-fells, hides and leather were only liable to great custom, and details of the trade in these materials are to be found in the books of the collector of that duty, or of his controller or surveyor. For most of our period, since the export of these materials was prohibited, shipments were only made under special licence, and the licence authorizing the export is usually noted in the margin of these books up to the Civil War. Here are parallel entries from the collector's and surveyor's books under 7 November 1673.

In le Nonesuch, William Martin, master, versus Burdeux: Samuel Bardfeild indigena: ij bales containing xiiij dosen calveskins containing vC di' weight . . . . vs. vid.

In Nonesuch, William Martin, pro Bourdeux:

Samuel Baudfeild, pro xiiij dozen calveskine containing vC dim' weight... vs. vjd.

We may notice one other type of port book, that kept by the packer, who was responsible for packing and checking goods exported by aliens—principally, but by no means exclusively, cloths. The packer's books, therefore, largely duplicate the records kept by the collector of petty customs for aliens' exports. The book for the year beginning Christmas 1618 begins thus:—31

In le Barbara de London, George Hatche master, versus Cales: Harman Lopus de Costa, alien, j truncke containing j large Turkeye carpett, j ordinarye carpett, xij peeces narrowe perpetuanoes, j case containing j paire ordinarye virginalles, iij barrells containing vijC weight pewter.

Considerations of space forbid further quotation, though in this year Germans and Danes were sending home large quantities of English beer, while Dutchmen had a marked appetite for pickled oysters.

From Michaelmas 1608 until the Civil War there is a further series of books recording the payment of the new impositions levied by James I. Such imposts had earlier been made (as we have noticed) on wine, tobacco and currants by virtue of the crown's prerogative in contrast to parliamentary grants; but with the strengthening of the position of the king through the decision in Bate's case the system of impositions was in 1608 extended to a number of other luxuries and various foreign manufactures.32 The payments for these duties were now recorded in separate books for imported wines, for imported silks, velvets, lawns and cambrics and for imported tobacco: the entries for other imported goods and for goods exported by aliens were made in a general book though currants were sometimes listed in it separately. Each book for the impositions covered six months only, beginning at Easter and at Michaelmas respectively, in contrast to all other port books which from 1605 always covered a complete year beginning at Christmas. Only 27 books for the collection of impositions at London have survived. One of these, quite unique, is a tobacco book, beginning Michaelmas 1627. The first few

## Primo die Octobris 1627

entries in it are as follows:-33

In le Peter and John of London, John Headland master, a Virginia: Thomas Pagington xxx. li. Virginia tobacco at vj d. [a lb] xv s. In le Victory of London, William Kempthorne master, a Bermudos: William Lecroft iij hogsheads containing vjC iiij<sup>xx</sup> x li. Bermudos tobacco at vj d.: xvij li. v s.

In le John of Flushing, Cornelius Rois master: a Flushing: Phillip Burlamathe ij barrels containing CC li. Spanish tobacco at xviij d.: xv li.

In le Victory predicta:

Thomas Stone iij hogsheads ij chests ij barrels containing xvijC iiij $^{xx}$  ix li. Virginia tobacco at vj d.: xliiij li. xiiij s. vj d.

Almost as interesting are the varied entries in the books for imported silks and fine materials. In this extract for goods customed on 25 May 1638<sup>34</sup> there is no hint of the places from which the ships had sailed or of the ships' names, though from the waiters' book for this period we may gather that all these goods had come from the Spanish Netherlands.<sup>35</sup>

In John Tompson ['s ship]: Daniel le Fever, j di' pieces lawnes [value] C li. [impost] v li.

In Thomas Graves: Richard Gardner,  $iiij^{xx}$  xiij elles sarcnettes [value] xxxj li. [impost] xxxj s.

In Richard Gilson: Don Francisco, ijC xl li. raw china silke [value] ijC li. [impost] x li.

In Abell Hearne: Richard Graves, lxv pieces plush [value]  $iiij^{xx}$  xvij li. xs. [impost] iiij li. xvij s. vj d.

\* \* \* \* \*

As far back as the thirteenth century the central government had claimed to supervise the coasting trade through officials in the ports, but this supervision did not begin to be effective until the middle of the sixteenth century. The Customs Orders of 1564 made thorough provision for the regulation of this important trade, requiring special books to be kept<sup>36</sup>, and at long last it was treated as complementary to foreign trade from the administrative point of view as it always had been from the point of view of national economics. These coasting books are entry books recording the issue and return of coastal certificates. A certificate stated that the merchant sending goods down the coast had duly entered into bonds as a guarantee that they would only be unloaded at another English port. 'Verie good suertie' was taken in the customs house, with the merchant and a fellow bondsman entering into substantial sums. When a ship arrived at its port of discharge the certificate was presented to the customs officers, who returned it to the issuing customs house to cancel the bonds. For instance Nicholas Adye, who sent 75 quarters of wheat from Faversham to London in April 1586, entered into bonds of 150l. as a safeguard that he would not secretly ship his cargo overseas without payment of export duties; the text of this bond is given below in a note<sup>37</sup>. On 20 April when the ship

arrived at London the master presented the certificate, and the cargo was unloaded. In his coasting book under that date the collector of tunnage and poundage at London wrote:<sup>38</sup>

In le Dono Dei of Faversham, xvj doliorum [tons], Georgio Bennet magistro, ab predicta:

Nycholas Adye indigena induxit lxxv quateras tritici [wheat] per certificationem ibidem datam xj Aprilis 1586.

He returned to the customer of Faversham the certificate with this clearing note annexed:

Faversham: Omnibus ballivis ac ministris domine nostre Regine Anglie ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, collector subsidii in portu London' salutem: sciatis quod Nicholaus Adye indigena induxit septuaginta quinque quateras tritici in le Dono Dei de Faversham . . . ab predicta, videlicet per certificationem ibidem datam xj die Aprilis . . . Teste sigillis nostris data xx Aprilis anno etc. xxviij.<sup>39</sup>

Twice a year customs officers returned these bonds into the Exchequer with the certificate which cleared them annexed. There they were inspected in the office of the clerk of the coast bonds. Bonds not cleared by a returned certificate were also sent into the Exchequer 'that execucion for the Quene may be had therupon'. If a vessel were forced out of its course by bad weather and discharged its bonded cargo abroad the bonds could only be cleared by the payment of the requisite export duties. Outright breaches of the law, such as shipping bonded goods direct to the continent, were matched by severe fines, when discovered: these proceedings on coast bonds before the barons of the Exchequer are to be found on the Queen's Remembrancer Memoranda Rolls. When foreign wares, on which duties had already been paid, were shipped from one English port to another, it mattered little if they were re-exported: since the crown had already taken its due, the merchant needed protection from being compelled to pay a second set of duties. In such cases, and also for cargoes of little value or on very short trips, the shipper could obtain a warrant of transire instead of a certificate. It is worth noting that by the Navigation Acts the coasting trade was reserved exclusively to Englishmen. Here are the last entries for coastal cargoes unshipped at London on New Year's Eve 1606: the page is signed by the collector of tunnage and poundage, his controller and surveyor40:

In le John de Margett, Symon Michell magistro, from Sandwich: William Levendall indigena. iiij<sup>xx</sup> quaters barlie. xl quarters malt. per certificate dated xvij December 1605.

In le Peter and John de Scarbro, Christopher Applebie magistro, a Newcastle:

Idem magister, xxv chalders coles per certificate dated x December 1605.

These entries, and the extracts from the same document for London's coastal exports which follow show, like all the illustrations from port books in this article, the strange mixture of Latin and English—the patois of the customs house, as Professor Gras felicitously termed it—which persisted to a late date. These brief extracts from the coasting books are representative in that corn and coal cargoes predominated in London's imports by coast, while her exports to other English ports were extremely varied.

Dartmouth: In le Comfort of Dartmoth, Robert Knight magistro, versus predictam:

James Emerson indigena et alii: ten tons beer, ij lastes tarr, v bagges hopps, ij onera pease, iiij barrels soape. vj maundes pottes, x bundles of hempe, v rowes cable yarne, C clapbordes, xxxC weight of cordage.

Hull. In le Suzand de Hull, Thomas Ferrins magistro, versus predictam:

Richard Hind indigena et alii: x tons iron, ix lastes soape, x butte sacke, vij pipes bastard, ij butts muscadle, vijC linges, iij tons vineger, ij panniers, ij baskettes, j hampers haberdashery wares. iiij hogsheads xij barrels ij bagges grocery wares, xxx barrels figges, ij blockes tyn, ij tons beere, j onus utensils, ijC weight tobaccoe.

There were special books for coastal shipments of wool and leather, kept by the collector and controller of great custom, just as there were for overseas exports of these materials. Lastly, the searcher kept a book of coastal exports, where the entries are often as detailed as in the certificate books of the collector of tunnage and poundage.

Essays on historical sources, like books about books, can do little more than whet the appetite. If this introduction proves a useful guide for those studying the London Port Books the writer will feel his task accomplished: if he succeeds in arousing sufficient general interest in these records that editions of some of them eventually become printed he will feel acquitted of the charge of treating a great topic inadequately. In a notable passage in *The Decline of the West* Spengler became rhapsodic about the system of 'double-entry' accounting, which to him was an embodiment of the Germanic genius. It would be much less far-fetched for us to claim that the London Port Books embody the rise of British commercial predominance in the

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modern world. At any rate it is appropriate that a discussion of these records should take place in the Society's Centenary Volume.

1. The Exchequer copy of the 1564 Book of Orders is enrolled on Queen's Remembrancer, Memoranda Roll 7 Elizabeth I, Hilary Communia rot. 319 (consisting of 20 membranes). This, and all succeeding references to original sources, are to Public Records. A reprint of these orders as sent out to the ports is in B. Y. The Modern practice of the Court of Exchequer (1730) pp. 406-46: the author was an official at the port of London. It is not always realized that the Port Books were designed from the start to supersede the older series of Customs Accounts in the Queen's Remembrancer's Department of the Exchequer: see for instance the remark of G. N. Clark in his 'Note on the Port Books' in A Guide to English Commercial Statistics (1938) p. 53. After 1565 this class of Customs Accounts [E. 122] contains only Totals and Views of Account, Tunnage Rolls, Gaugers' Accounts, a few Cockets, notes of seizures and other subsidiary

2. The Books from 1715 to 1799 were destroyed under the Schedule of July 1896 and those for 1697 to 1715 under the Schedule of June 1899, Statutes, Rules, & Schedules governing the disposal of Public Records, 1877-1913 (reprinted collection, 1914) pp. 152-3, 155-6; see also First Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records (1912) Appendix II pp. 45-51 and 75th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records (1913) p. 15.

3. See the miscellaneous papers relating to the customs in Customs Accounts [E. 122] 242/17.

4. Including one book which is now volume 467 of Exchequer, Augmentations Office Miscellaneous Books [E. 315]. There are also 14 books for 'divers ports' which include entries relating to London.

5. Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer Port Books [henceforward referred to by

the class no. E. 190] IIa and IIb.

6. These entries were, however, made on paper, not in the normal parchment books sent out from the Exchequer.

 e.g. Lansdowne MSS 8/17; Cranfield Papers 1343; Shaftesbury Papers 2/17.
 See A. Friis, Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade, 1603-1625 (Copenhagen & London, 1927) especially Appendix B; G. D. Ramsay, The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the XVI and XVII Centuries (1943) especially Appendix II; F. J. Fisher, 'London's Export Trade in the early XVII Century' in Economic History Review 2nd series vol. III (1950) pp. 151-61; and T. C. Mendenhall, The Shrewsbury Drapers and the Welsh Wool Trade in the XVI and XVII Centuries (1953) especially chapter III. This list is

necessarily selective.
9. T. S. Willan, The English Coasting Trade, 1600-1750 (1938) notably Appendix II. Important materials on London's place in the coasting trade for corn and coal is contained respectively in N. S. B. Gras, The Evolution of the English Corn Market (1915) and J. U. Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry (2 vols. 1932.) Professor Gras was the first scholar to use the Port Books and contributed valuable evidence on them before the Royal Com-

mission on the Public Records.

10. See L. R. Miller, 'New Evidence on the Shipping and Imports of London' in

Quarterly Journal of Economics vol. XLI (1927) pp. 740-60.

11. Bronnen Tot de Geschiedenis Van den Handel met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland, 1485-1585 ed. H. J. Smit. vol. II: e.g. no. 1140 contains the Anglo-Dutch entries for September and October 1567. An edition of two Elizabethan London Port Books by F. E. Leese was presented for the degree of B.Litt. at Oxford in 1950, but it remains unprinted.

12. See the valuable paper by G. D. Ramsay on The Smugglers' Trade: A Neglected Aspect of English Commercial Development in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 5th series vol. II (1952) pp. 131-57, which is very largely concerned with London; and see N. J. Williams, 'Francis Shaxton and the Elizabethan Port Books' in English Historical Review

vol. LXVI (1951) pp. 387-95.

13. I am grateful to Mrs. A. M. Millard for providing me with this example from her tables of London's imports 1600-1640, as yet unpublished.

14. E. 190/3/2 fo. II.

- 15. E. 190/10/4 fos. 9-10d.
- 16. For cockets see the article cited in English Historical Review vol. LXVI pp.
- 17. T. Milles, The Customers Apology (London, 1601), fo. 8d.

18. E. 190/150/5.

19. e.g. E. 190/151/5.

20. E. 190/150/1.

- 21. E. 190/153/1, the book of the controller of tunnage and poundage outward: the searcher's book for entries paying these duties is missing.

- 22. E. 190/151/2.
  23. E. 190/68/1.
  24. E. 190/66/4.
  25. E. 190/66/6.
  27. E. 190/66/2. In this extract the quantities have been altered from Roman
- 28. E. 190/66/1.
- These export licences, granted by the crown in the form of letters patent, will be found on the Patent Rolls of Chancery.
- 30. E. 190/57/5. 31. E. 190/22/3.
- See S. R. Gardiner, History of England, vol. II passim, and his Parliamentary Debates in 1610 (Camden Society vol. LXXXI, 1862) pp. 155-7. The rates on tobacco and currants which had aroused great outcry were in fact reductions.
- 33. E. 190/32/8. Entries for the collection of impositions on tobacco at the various outports were written up at the end of this London book: the document is consequently to be found in the List under 'divers ports'. In the left-hand margin by each entry is stated the rate per lb. of the impost (6d. or 18d.) and in the right-hand margin the word 'examinatur' written by the auditor.
- 34. E. 190/42/2. 35. E. 190/41/1.
- 36. Rolls or books for the coasting trade have survived for some of the outports for certain years of Henry VIII's reign (e.g. for King's Lynn in 1532—E. 122/99/20): but while a few files of coast bonds for London shipments before 1565 have been preserved no corresponding books have come down
- 37. Noverint universi per presentes nos Nicholaum Adye de Faversham in comitatu Kancie mercatorem et Georgem Bennett de eadem navigatorem teneri et firmiter obligari Domine nostre regine Elizabethe in C et quinquaginta libris bone et legalis monete Anglie solvendis eidem domine Regine aut successoribus suis ad quam quidem solucionem bene et fideliter faciendam obligamus nos et utrumque nostrorum per se pro toto et insolidum heredes executores et administratores nostros per presentes, sigillis nostris sigillatas data xj Aprilis anno regni dicte domine nostre Regine Elizabethe xxviii.
  - endorsed: The condicion of this obligacion is suche that if the within bounden Nicholas Adye and George Bennett do bring or cause to be broughte from the customer and controller of the porte of London and from the Lord Mayor there two good trew severall certificates under there seales of office there unto the customer of Faversham within one moneth next for to come after the date hereof testifying the delivery of threescore and fifteene quarters of wheat at the said porte of London out of the Gifte of God of Faversham aforesaid the said George Bennett beeing master that then this presente obligacion shalbe voyde and of none effecte or elles shall stand and abide in all its full power strength and vertue (E. 122/88/33 no. 1: a certificate was in this case required from the Lord Mayor as well owing to the City's regulation of the corn trade).

Many thousands of coast bonds with certificates annexed to them exist in bulk in the class Exchequer, Queen Remembrancer Coast Bonds (E. 209.)