

THE MEDIEVAL PORT OF GOSEFORD

by PETER WAIN

INTRODUCTION

GOSEFORD, AT THE MOUTH of the River Deben, is poorly documented. There are no records from the port itself. There are few records of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from the parishes that surrounded the port. It is mentioned occasionally and incidentally in the published records of central government. As a result Goseford is something of a footnote in books, if it is mentioned at all. Such as they are, references are often erroneous. ‘Goseford, co Suffolk (now submerged)’ or ‘Goseford, a now extinct town’.¹ It has even been asserted that Goseford did not actually exist as a port and that the name simply referred to a well-known collecting point of ships in the river estuary.² There are frequent references to it in this context. Any information about the port comes indirectly and in piecemeal form.

The purpose of this article is to bring together some pieces of the jigsaw and show that, far from being a footnote in history, Goseford was well known as a busy, thriving port engaged in coastal trade and trade with Europe. It was in addition a significant source of ships for others to engage in international trade and for kings to prosecute their wars. At its peak it ranked among the most important sources of shipping in England. Its subsequent obscurity is, in part, explained by its sudden and rapid decline at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

THE PORT

Against the landscape of the twenty-first century it can be difficult to imagine what the medieval port of Goseford may have looked like. Christopher Saxton’s map of 1575 shows the river in very much the form that it is in modern maps (Fig. 215). It stretches to the north between clearly defined banks, and what is now called ‘Kings Fleet’ and also Kirton Creek can be seen, although the latter is very much bigger than it is today. Perhaps the earliest map to show the River Deben is that of Richard Cavendish of 1539 (Fig. 216). Again, the river follows very much its modern form but on this earlier map ‘King’s Fleet’ and Kirton Creek are not shown and there is a small inlet from the river going up to Bawdsey. One hundred and fifty years earlier it was very different. A lidar map produced by the Environment Agency for flood defence purposes (Fig. 217) demonstrates in the clearest way the likely extent of Goseford before the building of the river walls.³ The map shows the full extent of the port area with the former deepwater channel to the Trimleys and Falkenham (the remains of which is today called ‘King’s Fleet’). It also shows part of a bygone waterway to Alderton and Bawdsey, the remnant of which is called ‘Queen’s Fleet’ on current maps. It is these early waterways that are key to the creation of this unusual coastal port.

Goseford was unlike more conventional ports. It was comprised not of a single town or settlement but of small constituent places. Thus, for example, an entry in the Calendar of the Patent Rolls refers to ‘men of the town of Baudreseye situated within Goseford’.⁴ An entry in the Parliament Rolls refers to the export of ale by the ‘people from the towns of Bawdsey, Falkenham and Alderton on Goseford’.⁵ Goseford thus represented an area on the lower river Deben and probably also included Trimley, Kirton, Hemley, Newbourne, the now lost Guston, Shottisham and Ramsholt.



FIG. 215 – Christopher Saxton's map of Suffolk, 1575.



FIG. 216 – Part of ‘A Coloured Chart of the Coast of Essex and Suffolk from the Naze to Bawdsey’, Richard Cavendish, 1539 (reproduced courtesy of The British Library Board, Cotton Augustus 1. 1, f.57).

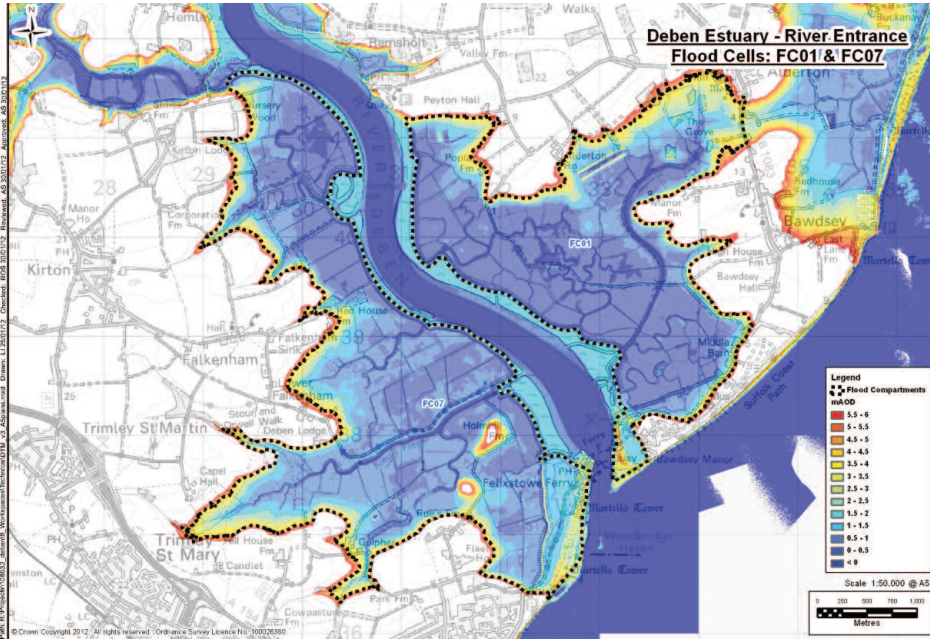


FIG. 217 – Lidar map of the Deben Estuary: River Entrance Flood cells FC01 & FC07 in Deben Estuary Partnership 2012 (contains Environment Agency information and is reproduced courtesy of The Environment Agency and database).

It has been suggested that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the port was centred on Woodbridge.⁶ The evidence suggests that it was otherwise. In the early fourteenth century (probably the heyday of Goseford) Woodbridge was neither large nor wealthy.⁷ In 1327, together with Hoo and Dallinghoo, it had just 42 recorded taxpayers raising £3 19s 9d, an average of 1.8 shillings each. Bawdsey had 53 taxpayers raising £5 1s 2d, an average of 1.9 shillings each. Trimley had 56 persons taxed, raising £6 0s 12½d, an average of 2.1 shillings per person. Kirton (which included other settlements) had 76 persons taxed, raising £5 15s 5d, an average of 1.5 shillings per person.⁸ Clearly Woodbridge did not at this time represent the commercial and wealthy part of the river. The 1334 Lay Subsidy shows a similar picture.⁹ Of the 387 parishes listed, Bawdsey was taxed £7 1s 0d. Only 21 villages (5.4 per cent) were taxed at a higher amount and two of those were Trimley (£7 6s 10d) and Kirton (£7 6s 0d). Woodbridge, taxed again with Hoo and Dallinghoo, was taxed at £4 15s 10d, with 67 parishes (17.5 per cent) being taxed a greater sum.

Bawdsey was the main centre on the lower river. On the basis that only 15–30 per cent of people were taxed in the Lay Subsidies the population in 1327 was perhaps no more than 350.¹⁰ However, if one looks at the other settlements on Goseford in 1327, the names of just under another 250 people are recorded. This would give an approximate total population in the port of Goseford of between 1000 and 1500 – the size of a small medieval town.

As a further confirmation of Bawdsey's position, when writs were issued to the port, if Goseford was not named it was Bawdsey that was. No writs on shipping or trade matters went to the bailiffs of, for example, Ramsholt or Shottisham, if there were any. If boats from the port were not described as 'of Goseford', they were described as 'of Bawdsey' not, for example, 'of Alderton' or 'Trimley'.¹¹ Further, in the 1327 Lay Subsidy there are a greater number of ship owners or shipmasters in Bawdsey, identified by their inclusion in the Registers of the Constable of Bordeaux as masters of Goseford ships, than in any of the other villages.¹² These families, such as Essoul, Fraunceys, Redberd, Corteler, Pynsweyn and Gardener, appear to dominate Goseford shipping during this period. Woodbridge certainly rose to prominence on the river but this was after the decline of Goseford in the fifteenth century.

Goseford and the Deben have long histories. There is substantial evidence of Roman settlement in Old Felixstowe and compelling indications of a Roman port at what is now called 'The Dip' close to the mouth of the Deben.¹³ The Romans gave way to the Anglo-Saxons and the Wuffing kings established a centre at Rendlesham, further up river from Goseford. Newton convincingly argues that the second element of the name '-ford' does not mean a crossing place on the river as suggested by Arnott, but is derived from the Old Norse '*-fjorthr*' meaning a flooded estuary or fjord.¹⁴ This provides a better description of the topography and some idea of the antiquity of the name as well as further suggesting its early use as a port.

Little is known of the early medieval history of Goseford, but at the beginning of the thirteenth century Gervase of Canterbury (1141–1210) identified Goseford as the landing place in 1148 of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, when he travelled from Gravelines to meet Hugh Bigod at Framlingham.¹⁵ This is a first indication that Goseford was recognised as a place with its own identity.

Goseford is also named on the map drawn in 1250 by the Benedictine monk of St Alban's Abbey, Mathew Paris. This map is innovative in that it departs from the usual medieval cartographic traditions by attempting to give an accurate geographical representation. It provides, for the first time, a picture of the 'reality' of the British Isles. The map shows geographical features, landmarks, major towns, castles, abbeys and ports. On the map the bottom right-hand corner represents the East Coast (Fig. 218). Yarmouth and Dunwich are named. Between Orford (Castellum Orford) and the river Orwell (Auwelle) 'Goseford' is unmistakably identified. It is perhaps remarkable that in one of the earliest maps of England



FIG. 218 – Part of Mathew Paris's map of England, c. 1250
(reproduced courtesy of The British Library Board,
Cotton MS. Julius D VII, fols 50v–53r).

Goseford should be so clearly marked along with ports such as Grimsby, Lynn, Yarmouth and Winchelsea. This is further evidence of the fact that it was, even then, well known and points to the significance of the port at this time.

That Goseford was acknowledged as a port is evidenced by the writs that were issued to its bailiffs as well as the many writs that refer to it. Between 1235 and 1402 31 writs are recorded in the Calendars of the Close and Patent Rolls addressed to the bailiffs in Goseford and/or Bawdsey. The greatest number were writs requiring the provision of ships (10) and to prevent people from leaving or entering the port (10). An extract from the Gascon Rolls for 1324–25 show a further nine writs issued to Goseford's bailiffs, four for the provision of ships. While the number of writs is not large and none were issued to Goseford alone, they demonstrate a selective awareness of Goseford as a port and the existence of an administrative structure sufficient to enable compliance.

To recognise the significance of these writs it is necessary to understand and appreciate the apparatus of central government, particularly in the reigns of Edward II and Edward III, that controlled the activity of shipping and ports.

Firstly, there was a great continuity in the administrative personnel that served under these two kings.¹⁶ In central government there was a group of officials with a long-standing collective expertise who were aware of the maritime assets of the country. Secondly, these knowledgeable principal officials were assisted by a body of experienced clerks.¹⁷ It was these clerks, usually assigned to specific areas of the coast, who would go to the selected port to serve and execute the writs. Their authority was enforced by the sergeants-at-arms who accompanied them. Thirdly, there were local officials such as the controllers and collectors of customs, searchers of ships, and the sheriffs who were also aware of the capabilities of ports in their area and relied upon their local knowledge for their credibility. Thus there was a skilled administrative staff with a detailed and extensive knowledge of the resources and abilities of ports throughout the country. The writs issued to Goseford were no accident. They were issued with the realistic belief in or expectation of compliance.

THE IMPORTANCE OF GOSEFORD

Common misunderstandings of the role, and even the very existence, of Goseford are primarily the result of ignorance of how often it appears and its status in official documents. The absence of any documents generated by the port itself obscures how it was organised, but from snippets of evidence it is possible to speculate about its outline.

The maritime jurisdiction of the period used a system of Head Ports with smaller ports subsidiary to them. Great Yarmouth and Ipswich were the Head Ports on this part of the coast and it is almost certain that Ipswich exercised control over Goseford. There is some documentary evidence for this proposition from the middle of the fourteenth century. Although he gives no source, Arnott records that in 1354 Richard of Martlesham, Controller of Custom of Wools in Ipswich, was appointed Controller of Customs of Wools at Goseford, 'provided that he writes his rolls with his own hand and be continually resident' and in 1362 Richard Haverland (a successful Ipswich wool merchant) was appointed to collect 'all the king's custom (except on wools, hides and woolfells) in all ports and places from the port of Goseford to the port of Tillebury'.¹⁸ Between 1375 and 1379 Richard de Martlesham was appointed again as the controller of the custom of wools, hides and woolfells in Ipswich, and in 1379 he was required to act from Ipswich to 'places on the sea coast thence to Yarmouth'.¹⁹

In February 1341 Edward III wrote to the 'magistrates' of the principal ports of England. He ordered them to send deputies to Westminster, 'chosen from amongst their most substantial and prudent inhabitants' to inform him of the state of shipping in their ports. The letter went to 28 ports, 17 of which were required to send one deputy. Eleven ports were required to send two deputies. Those ports were amongst the most important in the country (Bristol, Dartford, Great Yarmouth, Kingston upon Hull, Lynn, Newcastle upon Tyne, Plymouth, Sandwich, Southampton and Winchelsea,). The eleventh was Goseford.²⁰ Ipswich was required to send one deputy.

Whether there were reductions in shipping or changes at the port soon after this is not known, but three years later, in 1344, the king issued another order. This time it was to 44 ports requiring each of them to send representatives to London. The number each port sent was to be 'proportionate to their trade or population' and they had to be 'well acquainted with maritime affairs'. On that occasion Goseford was amongst the 28 ports required to send one representative, along with Dunwich, Orford and Harwich.²¹

The importance of these two writs is, again, that they demonstrate recognition of Goseford as a significant port that had a body of experienced mariners and a structure adequate to appoint representatives to go to London.

After the capture of Calais in 1347 by Edward III, the king granted Goseford 'liberties and immunities' to supply Calais with 'ale and other victuals'. This is very significant. The king had to ensure that his newly acquired and strategically important garrison on the Continent was fully supplied from England, and so he would have to turn to those established communities that had the ability to acquire the victuals and capacity to ship them over the Channel. The grant to Goseford clearly indicates that in the 1340s the port was important and well-established, and existed as an identifiable administrative entity. Indeed, in all probability it had petitioned for the right. It follows that Goseford comprised a community of mariners and merchants with their own organisational structure, capable of acting as a communal body in a manner similar to burgesses in a borough or guildsmen in a religious confraternity. It is likely that Goseford supplied Calais regularly for the remainder of the fourteenth century. In 1403 the king, Henry IV, took 'the good men of "Gosseforde"' to task because at that time they were failing to supply Calais 'as in times past'. They were ordered 'to supply the town of Calais with ale from time to time, as they, their ancestors and predecessors of Gosseforde used heretofore to do'.²²

THE ORGANISATION OF GOSEFORD

Goseford plainly did have an organisation, but intriguing questions remain of how it operated and who was involved. The port was based on several settlements which were, moreover, situated on either side of the river. To this extent it was similar to the port of medieval Exmouth, which comprised small settlements such as Lymptone, Kenton, Topsham, and Exmouth itself. The difference between what happened on the Exe and what happened on the Deben is that on the Exe it was Exeter that controlled the lower river. Exeter was the head port of a royal customs jurisdiction that encompassed most of Devon and Cornwall despite the fact that it was ten miles from the sea and ships could not travel beyond Topsham, four miles below the city.²³ While it has been hypothesised that at this time Woodbridge exercised control on the lower part of the river there is, as we have seen, no evidence to support this. Additionally Woodbridge, unlike Exeter, was not a head port and it was directly accessible from the sea.

The Deben settlements of Goseford were not only situated on either side of the river, they were located in different Hundreds and under the jurisdiction of different lords – the earl of Norfolk in Colneis and the earl of Suffolk in Wilford. Thus the jurisdiction of the port overlaid a variety of other parochial, manorial and civil jurisdictions which must have complicated the co-operation and co-ordination that might be required in organising, for example, the supply of Calais, the assembly of ships to go to war, or the building of a boat for the king. This co-operation and co-ordination might also be a particular problem when the people of Goseford were required to build a boat with, for example, the people of Covehithe, or Ipswich, Sudbury and Hadleigh, or Kirkley.²⁴

The port community of Goseford must have met regularly to transact its business, to respond to directives from the Crown, and to discuss arrangements for supplying Calais. They must also have elected officials to represent the community and to get things done. Mention has already been made of the bailiffs as the men who were addressed by the various writs. It is clear that central government thought there were bailiffs, as there were in ports such as Great Yarmouth and Ipswich. It is also clear that there was a body of men that carried out the instructions of the writs. They do not appear to be royal servants and there is no evidence that they were manorial or parochial appointees. They must have been elected by the port community itself.

The notion that a community and an administrative entity could exist independently of a single place or of a feudal lord is unusual, but credible. Bailey argues that Suffolk was a county where manorialism was weak and the average landlord exercised limited powers over his tenants. One of the results of this was more independence and enterprise and a greater economic freedom. This development was further encouraged by the availability of a range of commercial opportunities. He has shown that by the late thirteenth century some communities of merchants and traders had obtained considerable independence in the running of their own affairs.²⁵ Such informal practices might provide a reasonable explanation as to how the merchants, ‘victuallers’ and ship owners from the wealthiest settlements surrounding the port were able to manage their affairs and organise their commerce and shipping communally without the interference of any lord and, possibly, without the need to keep formal records.

There is some evidence that indicates that prominent local landlords did continue to exercise some authority over the activity of the port. In April 1322 the king ordered seven ports in East Anglia, including Bawdsey and Goseford, to supply ships.²⁶ The ‘bailiffs and men of Baudreseye and Gosford’ were required to supply one ship, but the king acknowledged that he had ‘ordered the prior of Buttele and Robert de Ufford to give their consent to the grant of this ship, as it is said that the bailiffs and men cannot grant such a subsidy without their

consent'. This could be interpreted as an indication that the bailiffs and men of Bawdsey and Goseford were reliant on either the prior or de Ufford for permission to perform any undertaking, but this is extremely unlikely for, since the reign of Henry III, the bailiffs and men of ports had been ordered to supply ships on the king's demand as a civil responsibility which did not require permission from local landlords. It also raises the question of who said that this was the case. It is suggested that 'it was said' by the men of 'Baudreseye and Gosford'. So why were they making this point? Was it because they were attempting to evade their obligations or was there some other reason? In 1378 a similar situation arose. In that year 'the men of Baudeseye' were again required to contribute to the building of a boat and they again objected.²⁷ This time they claimed that they were 'bondmen in blood, holding in bondage of William de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, and have no liberties or franchises of the king or any other person'. A claim that, if correct, made them so subservient to de Ufford that it trumped any claim of the king. Again, this is clearly nonsense, because not all the men of Bawdsey were bondmen. It looks like a ruse to evade an onerous imposition, perhaps at a time when the economic fortunes of the port were declining.

It is impossible to know from these two cases what exactly was the relationship between the port of Goseford and the most prominent manorial lords on the northern side of the river. These two writs indicate that some limited rights of veto or consultation over the king's demands for shipping from the port may have existed, whatever freedoms the men of Bawdsey/Goseford exercised.²⁸ If that is correct, then it would mean that the lord of the manor had established these rights not over the king but over the jurisdiction of the port. In turn this would appear to reinforce the view that there was some body running the port and that it had some specific limitations on its power imposed by the de Uffords (and the prior of Butley).

De Ufford may not have interfered a great deal in the running of Goseford, but that did not mean he did not take an interest in the boats and men from his port. In 1343, following the unauthorised departure from Brittany by eleven Bawdsey boats, Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, sought the release from arrest of the 'lords, masters and mariners' of the ships, a request that was granted.²⁹ In 1350, de Ufford intervened again on the matter of whether the men 'of Baudreseye' had paid the fines imposed for their unauthorised departure. Once again as a result of de Ufford's intervention the men were 'pardoned them all sums due for the fines aforesaid'. However the sting was in the tail of this pardon because it was 'on condition that they be ready with their ships to go on his service when summoned'.³⁰

During the reign of Richard II (1377–1399) the 'victuallers and inhabitants of Bawdsey' petitioned the king, stating that they had been charged by the officers of Edward III and the king himself to provide Calais with flour, ale, cheese and other victuals. They went on to complain that the soldiers of Calais owed them 300 marks [£200] and they asked the king to issue a 'special order' to the governor of the town to take money from the soldiers' wages to pay their debts. They went on to request that in future when their goods were delivered to Calais they should be received by an official of the governor only. That officer should keep a record of anyone who could not pay so that the governor could take the money owed from the next payment of soldiers' wages. This proposal is, perhaps, a very early form of an attachment of earnings order.³¹

This petition is of considerable importance and interest because it points to the fact that the 'victuallers and inhabitants of Bawdsey' were sufficiently well organised to have arranged the supply of Calais for many years and to subsequently petition the king. Further, it was they, and not the lord of the manor, de Ufford, who did so. This was certainly the communal body of the port of Goseford under another name. It also points to the substantial nature of the trade between Goseford and Calais. Three hundred marks was a considerable sum of money at a time when an unskilled labourer earned around £3 per annum. Furthermore the petition

gives an idea of the way in which trade was carried on, with suppliers taking the goods to Calais and selling directly to the soldiers of the garrison. It also points to the fact that collectively the people of Bawdsey devised and proposed an administrative solution to a serious problem that had arisen. It is also evidence of the variety of goods that came either from Goseford or on Goseford boats. There is additional evidence of the nature of other goods supplied to Calais. In 1401 an order was issued to release '*la Trinite of Baldeseye*', at that time arrested in Ipswich. This ship, whose master was John Staverle, was 'laded with wool, hides and woollfells for the staple of Calais'.³²

It is also likely that the 'victuallers and inhabitants of Bawdsey' were successful in their petition, because the Patent Rolls of 1402 refer to a letter patent of 1389 that directed the Captain and Treasurer of Calais to pay 'the victuallers of Bawdsey' from the wages of the soldiers of the town all money due for goods supplied, and ordered that in future no soldier should take goods on his own account.³³

These examples also underline the prominence of Bawdsey within Goseford which was a trading settlement of some significance. In 1154 a three-day fair was established here, which is early for such a franchise because at this time there were only a handful of recorded fairs established elsewhere in the county.³⁴ In 1283 a market was added and the fair was extended to eight days. Isolated at the end of a peninsula with a low density of population and no significant nearby settlements in the hinterland, these grants reflect the sea-going nature of the commercial development of the port, and its trade with the rest of the country and the Continent.

THE MEMBERS OF THE PORT COMMUNITY OF GOSEFORD

The identity of members of the port community who may have been involved in its organisation is difficult to ascertain in the absence of direct records. However, by reference to the Lay Subsidy of 1327, the names of the masters of Goseford ships recorded in the Registers of the Constable of Bordeaux, and other scattered records it is possible to identify some of the likely ship owners on the lower river.³⁵ This is important because these men ranked above hired shipmasters in terms of wealth and political status. They paid higher taxes and it is known they also served in municipal offices in a way that hired masters rarely did.³⁶ These men, almost all from Bawdsey, may have been responsible for the organisation of Goseford.

John Essoul was the master of *la Godale* when it sailed from Bordeaux in 1310 with 53 tuns of wine.³⁷ It is likely that he was the owner of the vessel because seventeen years later in 1327 he was recorded in the Lay Subsidy as the wealthiest man in Bawdsey, being taxed at 14s 1d. This sum was 9s more than any other person in the community paid. The lord of the manor, Robert de Ufford, paid only 4s. In a writ of 1326 it is recorded that John had a son, William, who was born in 1304.³⁸ In 1340 William Essoul owned *la Godhale*, *la Isabelle*, *la Laurence* and *la cogge Johan*.³⁹ Dulcie Essoul (perhaps William's wife) was a relatively rare example of a medieval woman ship owner, being described in the same record as 'lady of a ship called *le Seffrey*'. John had another son named Ranulph with whom, in 1322, he was accused of entering a ship in the port of Goseford and stealing its valuable cargo.⁴⁰ By 1327 Ranulph was living in Alderton and was taxed at 2s 6d, the third wealthiest person of the thirty-six taxed in that village.

Robert Gardiner was the master of *la Moleve* carrying wine from Bordeaux in 1304. In the 1327 Lay Subsidy there is a record of a Robert le Gardener of Bawdsey being taxed at 2s, and a person of the same name in Alderton being taxed at 3s. Another Gardener, William, was master of *La Malot* and made no fewer than eight voyages from Bordeaux between 1303 and 1309, an indication that he was no mere ship's master. In 1340 a Robert and a Ralph Gardiner were the joint owners of ship also called *la Molot*. Given the similarity in the ship's name, although it may not have been the same boat, it suggests a family connection with William in

the same way that John and William Essoul each owned *la Godale* and *la Godhale* respectively. At this time Robert was also described as 'lord' of both *la Alice* and *la Godyere*, and Ralph Gardiner lord of *le Seinte Mariecogge*.⁴¹

The Cortiller or Corteler family was also well known on the river. William was the master of *La Constansa* in 1308 and 1309, and Roger master of *La Present* on at least four occasions between 1303 and 1309. In 1317 Robert was master of *la Margaret*.⁴² By 1327 William and Roger were living in Bawdsey, William being taxed at 2s 4d and Roger at 2s.

These families were part of the establishment in Goseford. The point appears to be emphasised from the record of an Inquisition Post Mortem of 1326.⁴³ The inquisition was to determine the age of Robert de Colville as heir to his father, Edmund, third baron de Colville. Robert, whose mother was Margaret de Ufford, had been born in Bawdsey in 1304 and that was where the inquisition took place. John Essoul and Robert le Gardener gave evidence of the year of Robert's birth, along with Alexander de Oxeney, Ranulph Skot, William Haskes and William Nichole, undoubtedly other men of substance from the village. These names, along with those of Frances, Pynsweyn and Waller, appear repeatedly in shipping records up to the middle of the fourteenth century as masters of Goseford ships. This, coupled with other records, suggests that they were also men of standing in the community and therefore may well have played a role in organising the port. By the end of the century, with the exception of the name Waller, these names had disappeared. Family names die out naturally but the loss of men with their ships during the early and middle years of the Hundred Years War and the effect of the Black Death are other likely explanations.

THE SHIPS OF GOSEFORD

One of the remarkable features of the port of Goseford is the number of ships that it provided during this period, and indeed the number in relation to the provision of ships by other ports on the east coast. Also notable is the geographical extent of the trading.

Before the period of free trade in England ended in 1275, records of shipping are rare. Despite this there is an early reference to a boat from Goseford in 1253 when Henry III granted Radulfo the right to import eighty tuns of wine in a ship called *la Gadal of Goseford* of which Richard Aildreth was master.⁴⁴ In 1263 *la Poses of Goseford* was one of two boats to bring 120 tuns of wine from Bordeaux.⁴⁵ The carrying of wine from Gascony to northern Europe was important business for Goseford ships and, although there are no records, boats from Goseford were almost certainly heavily involved during the second half of the thirteenth century. At the start of the fourteenth century this was certainly the case. From 1303 the Registers of the Constable of Bordeaux record ships leaving Bordeaux with cargoes of wine. The registers are not complete and there are gaps; surviving registers are sometimes damaged. Thus figures quoted are minima. However, between 1303 and 1311 no fewer than 628 ships from the East Coast ports between Newcastle and London left Bordeaux carrying wine. Of those sailings 94 (14.9 per cent) were described as being in boats 'of Goseford'. Of all the ports on the East Coast only Great Yarmouth (234 or 37 per cent) provided more.⁴⁶ Some of the Goseford boats made more than one journey during this period, for example, *le Scot*, nine voyages, *la Malot*, eight, *la Rosa* five, *la Presente* five and *la Christmas* four.⁴⁷ From the Constables' records it is possible to identify 26 different boats from Goseford that set sail from Bordeaux in this period. This was probably the high point of Goseford's Gascony wine trade but even in September 1327 there is a record of nine Goseford wine boats arrested in Ipswich and a further six arrested at Goseford.⁴⁸ After the commencement of the Hundred Years War there was a significant fall in wine imports from Gascony generally and between 1355 and 1358 (when figures are available) of the 292 East Coast ships only five (1.7 per cent) are

recorded as coming from Goseford. After that date the only record of Goseford ships leaving Gascony are *la Maria* and *la Margareta* sometime during the period 1399–1413 and *la Trinite* between 1413 and 1422.⁴⁹

The commerce in wine was so important that the size of ships was measured in the number of wine tuns they could carry, and the size of the Goseford boats was significant at a time when 40 tuns would have been considered relatively large.⁵⁰ Of course tuns of wine is not a precise method of measurement of the size of a ship because the Constable's Registers only show goods carried that are taxable. They do not make allowance for mixed cargoes that included, for example, oil, wax, salt, pitch and dyestuffs. Nonetheless, average amounts give a reasonable minimum figure. *Le Rosa*, sailing between 1304 and 1310, carried up to 193 tuns with an average cargo of 187 tuns. In the same period *la Constansa* carried up to 157 tuns with an average of 155 tuns. However, *la Bartolmeu* never carried more than 55 and *la Margareta* never more than 42 tuns.

Between 1303 and 1307 the cargo of Goseford boats averaged 106 tuns, the largest cargo of 193 tuns being in *la Rosa*. By comparison in Great Yarmouth the average was 128 tuns with the largest shipment being 303 tuns. Ipswich boats averaged 112 tuns with a maximum of 201 tuns. Harwich boats averaged 142 tuns with the largest shipment being 238 tuns. What is interesting about these figures is the average size of Harwich boats. These may reflect the deepwater nature of that port and this appears to be confirmed by the boats leaving the port of Orwell. Although there were only three in this period their cargoes were 239, 243 and 126 tuns, giving an average of 202 tuns.⁵¹

Goseford boats were also engaged in other varieties of trade to ports in England and on the Continent. Ships sailed from the Deben for Flanders carrying ale. Boats left Ipswich and its haven port of Goseford carrying wool, woolfells and hides, the main items of English overseas export trade.⁵² In the years 1397–98 John Bernard's Counter Roll shows eleven sailings by Goseford boats from Ipswich with cargoes of wool.⁵³ In the same period Goseford boats left Harwich on eight occasions with wool and once with woolfells. There are records of ships travelling to Calais 'laded with wool, ale and other victuals'.⁵⁴ Goseford boats are found in Newcastle upon Tyne (with wool, woolfells and hides), in Exeter (with herring, lead and tents), in Hull (with wool, woolfells, hides, corn bound for Bordeaux, and wine), in Boston (with wine), in Sandwich (with ale), in La Baye, Brittany (with salt), in Bordeaux (with corn), in Great Yarmouth (with wine and herring) and were present at the Yarmouth Herring Fair in 1337, 1342 and 1343.⁵⁵ These examples demonstrate the variety and extent of Goseford's trade.

What goods came in through Goseford is more difficult to determine because of the absence of records. In 1302 a ship belonging to Fresius de Stavere (in modern Holland) was moored 'at Oxeneye by Baudereseye' when it was entered and its cargo worth £415 6s 9d was stolen.⁵⁶ It is entirely possible that de Stavere's boat was at Oxeneye by mischance. In 1322 Helunc Grove a merchant from 'Allmein' freighted a ship called *la Welyfare* in Hamburg with goods to take to Yarmouth for trade. The ship was 'driven by stress of weather' into the port of Goseford, where the goods on board were stolen by members of well-known Goseford families such as Essoul, Curtiller, Macke and Dwyt.⁵⁷

Undoubtedly, the majority of trade carried out by Goseford ships was coastal but goods other than wine may also have come directly from the Continent. There is a suggestion that at the end of the thirteenth century timber might have been imported through Goseford. Part of an account for the building of a galley in Ipswich reads 'Boards: For 487 boards bought 12 feet long £13 8d at 53s 4d per hundred. In carriage of the same boards from Baudreseye to Ipswich 17s 3d in total. For 190 boards 8 feet long 31s 6d at 18s per hundred. Also for 60 boards bought from Estland [the Baltic] 12s'.⁵⁸ The entry is a little ambiguous but raises the possibility a direct Baltic trade. If goods came to Goseford from elsewhere in Europe the

cargoes were likely, in addition to timber, to have included salt, grease, pitch, ash, flax, skins and pelts.⁵⁹

The ship owners of Goseford had vessels for trade, but such vessels could also be requisitioned by the king for carrying troops, and for other military roles. This was never a welcome duty. Although there were opportunities for profit through piracy, military service was an interruption to far more lucrative commerce. There was also the risk of loss or serious damage for which there was no compensation paid until the late fourteenth century. The consequences for the well-being of a port could be considerable, not only as a result of the loss of ships and the disruption in trade but also as a result of the loss of local men. For example, Saul concludes that Great Yarmouth was almost certainly badly hit by the Hundred Years War. He accepts that it is possible that a few merchants profited from victualling, piracy and royal service, but argues that for many ship owners this was a burden. Great Yarmouth provided finance for fleets as well as boats, and repayment by the Crown took many years. He concludes that the port was substantially poorer in 1400 than in 1300 and the Hundred Years War was in part to blame.⁶⁰ In 1348 the people of Great Yarmouth petitioned the king.⁶¹ They complained that in the time of Edward II they had 90 great ships. However ships were requisitioned in 1335, 1336, 1337, and ‘every year from the year 14 to the year 20 Edward III (1340–46), at least 20 great ships were arrested and remained in arrest for half of each year, and the men of the town lost the profits’. Fifty-six other ships were lost on the king’s service against France. They further complained that ‘There are now only 24 great ships at the town except old broken ships lying on the sand, which their owners cannot afford to repair’, and ‘Several of those who live in the town and were formerly well to do scarcely have a living’. So one can imagine the despair of some of the men of Bawdsey. Ralph Gardiner, master of the Goseford ship *la Seffray* had his ship requisitioned four times between 1338 and 1342 – twice in 1342.⁶² *La Seffray* was a ship of 140 tuns, and so capable of carrying large and valuable cargoes. William Rede, master of *le Bertelmeu*, William Scot, master of *le Godyer* and William Waller, master of *la Isabel*, each had their ships requisitioned no fewer than three times between 1338 and 1343.

An early example of the requisition of Goseford boats by the king is in 1235. On at least fifteen occasions between then and 1346 the port was asked for ships. Once again, what is significant about the figures in comparison to those of other ports is not the number of occasions but the number of boats that were requisitioned. In 1301, 50 ports were ordered to send ships to Berwick on Tweed to set out with the king against the Scots. On the East Coast between Newcastle and London 26 ports sent boats. Although Goseford only sent two ships, only two other ports (Lynn, three ships and Great Yarmouth, six ships) sent more, and only five other ports also sent two ships.

Kowaleski examined the larger naval expeditions for the period 1336 to 1346 that required country-wide impressments. She estimates that the Suffolk ports, excluding Ipswich and Orwell Haven, provided 4.7 per cent of all of the ships in the country. Only Great Yarmouth (9.6 per cent), and Kent (5.7 per cent) provided more on the East Coast. On the South and West Coasts only Hampshire (4.9 per cent), Devon (5.6 per cent) and Fowey (5.1 per cent) provided more.⁶³ Undoubtedly the majority of ships from the Suffolk ports came from Goseford.

In June 1338, 15 Goseford ships set sail from the Deben as part of Edward III’s expedition to Flanders.⁶⁴ The fleet also included 9 ships from Dunwich, 6 ships from Orford and 9 ships from Ipswich. In 1340, 69 ports had ships requisitioned. The number of East Coast ports was 30, of which Goseford again sent 15 ships. Only Great Yarmouth sent more, namely 60 ships. Of the total of 69 ports only Great Yarmouth and Winchelsea (16 ships) exceeded the total sent by Goseford.⁶⁵

In October 1342 an invasion fleet sailed with the king for Brittany. Goseford sent 15 ships and Ipswich 14.⁶⁶ The king required these ships to remain in harbour in Brest, an order that was ignored by the men of Bawdsey and 72 other ports. The reason was hardly surprising. October represented some of the best trading weather of the year and ship owners were about to miss the autumn wine fleet from Gascony. There were also complaints about lack of pay and concerns that boats in a poor state of repair would founder in the winter gales.⁶⁷ Eleven Bawdsey ships left port. Of all of the ports only Hull (15 ships), Great Yarmouth (24 ships) and London (15 ships) had more ships leave.⁶⁸ In June 1343 the king ordered that these boats, their masters and mariners should be arrested, and that they should be detained 'in Neugate prison until further order'. The order to 'The bailiffs of Baldeseye' named the ships and their masters.⁶⁹

This arrest was implemented and all were detained. However, in the following month Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk and lord of the manor, successfully petitioned the king for their release to enable them 'to freely pass where they will and make their profit until the earl's return to England, on condition that justice be then done on them'.⁷⁰ Justice was done and the men of Bawdsey were fined. That is known because in January 1350 'the men of the town of Baudreseye' petitioned the king because they said they had paid their fines but were concerned that the king had not been told. The king obviously believed them and, at the request of Robert de Ufford, pardoned them all sums due.⁷¹

The importance of these records is that they show the number of boats from Goseford. In the five-year period from 1338 to 1343 it is possible to identify 20 different ships of between 80 and 160 tuns. The records show that there was an organisation in Bawdsey able to arrest the boats, that the ship owners were capable of paying the fines, and that they were again sufficiently well organised to petition the king afterwards. What is also of interest is the role played, on two occasions, by Robert de Ufford. He is clearly exercising his influence as lord of the manor but the nature of the relationship with the mariners of Goseford remains unclear.

In 1347 it was recorded that 85 ports supplied ships for the siege of Calais in 1346. The North Fleet comprised ships from 33 ports. Goseford sent 13 ships and 303 mariners. Only six ports (18 per cent) sent more than 13 ships and only four (12 per cent) sent more men. Of the combined North and South Fleets (85 ports) only 18 (21 per cent) sent more than 13 ships and only 15 (17 per cent) sent more men.⁷²

Certainly, from the beginning of the fourteenth century until the arrival of the Black Death, Goseford seems to have been a significant supplier of ships and men. It may be that the reward for this service was a grant of the right to supply Calais with ale and other goods after 1347. The absence of Goseford ships from military records after this time may reflect the start of the decline of the port, but changing military practices should not be ignored. The capture of Calais meant that England had an adjacent launching pad for its troops going to France and there was no longer the need for the great fleets of the 1330s and 1340s. The Black Death may have played its part, as did the serious decline in the Bordeaux wine trade. Additionally, the loss of ships may, in itself, have partly accounted for decline. For example, Great Yarmouth supplied the largest number of ships on the East Coast, but ports such as Goseford that provided fewer vessels may nonetheless have contributed proportionally more of their maritime resources, and might therefore have suffered more than larger ports when ships and men were lost.⁷³

BOAT BUILDING ON THE RIVER

Despite this prodigious supply, the evidence that boats were built on Goseford is slender, although the fact that ships were described as '*of Goseford*' suggests that this is where they were built.⁷⁴ This lack of evidence is perhaps not surprising. At this time ships were built in

small ports and along rivers and estuaries all along the coast with very little in the way of permanent facilities. All that was required was a slipway cut out of the riverbank or foreshore near the water so that the completed hull could be launched.⁷⁵ There are however three definite examples of boat building from records. In 1354 the sheriff of Suffolk was required to take carpenters and other workmen for the king's service. An exception was specifically made for eleven named carpenters who were to complete the repair of a ship called 'Godale' 'begun by Robert, earl of Suffolk and his tenants of Baudeseye'.⁷⁶ This entry gives an idea as to where boat building may have taken place and, equally importantly, the number of carpenters available in the community. In 1378 'the men of Baudeseye' protested that they had been 'compelled to build a small barge called 'balynger' [a vessel equipped with sails and oars]. What they did not like was that they were required to build it with the 'good men of Ipswich, Sudbery and Haddeleye' because, as they said, they had never been required to do it with these towns in the past.⁷⁷ In 1401 Henry IV required Goseford to build 'one balinger'. What was curious about this was that the requirement was that it should be done together with 'the good men of Kirkeley'.⁷⁸ Quite how this was intended to work is not clear, although it may be that all one of the ports was required to do was provide money or labour.

The source of timber for ship building in Goseford is not clear. Timber was certainly imported into England from northern Europe by members of the Hanseatic League and there may be some evidence of such imports into Bawdsey.⁷⁹ What is often not appreciated is the distance timber was transported. There is evidence of the building of a vessel at Conway in North Wales in 1301. One of the main factors for choosing this site was the accessibility of timber in Lancashire and Cheshire.⁸⁰ In 1413 the rebuilding of the ship *Trinity de la Tour* took place at Greenwich. Records show that timber came from all over north Kent, some from as far away as Maidstone, with other supplies coming from Colchester and Hatfield Forest.⁸¹ For Goseford ships some timber may have come from pockets of woodland near the port, but some could have come from Staverton Park. Staverton is situated between Eyke and Butley, and its location near the coast and the navigable stretches of the Alde and the Deben make it a likely candidate for the supply of timber. Although the woodland appears to have contained elm, poplar and maple, oaks also made up part of it and, additionally, to the south, were the old oak woods at Butley. Although the purpose of parks at this time was to raise deer, woodland could also be an important source of cash and there is a record in the Staverton accounts of 1329 of the sale of an unspecified number of oaks.⁸²

THE DECLINE OF GOSEFORD

The prosperity of Goseford appears to have continued into the late fourteenth century, as is evidenced by 'loans' requested by Richard II in 1379. The 'lenders' totalled over 150 places and persons, and included the major towns and cities (London lent £5000, Salisbury, £1000 and Cambridge £66); noblemen (the earl of Northumberland, £100); bishops (Chichester, £100); abbots (Woburn £10); priors (Rochester, £20); and gentlemen (Richard Sibesey, 5 marks). Only four communities in Suffolk had to lend money. They were Ipswich (£40), Hadleigh (£50), St Edmundsbury (50 marks) and Alderton and Bawdsey (40 marks).⁸³ Neither Alderton nor Bawdsey was a town, and their presence on this list is a reflection of the importance of the port of Goseford, a community whose prosperity appeared to rank almost on a par with Bury St Edmunds.

In the last documented reference to Goseford in the published records of the Crown, on 21 April 1415, the towns of Sandwich, Dover, Deal and Mongeham [Kent], were granted the right to supply Calais for one year 'with ale and victuals'. The reason given was that although 'the town of Gosseford, co. Suffolk' had for many years 'supplied the town of Calais and the

marches there with ale and other victuals necessary for their safekeeping' it now could not supply 'sufficient ale'.⁸⁴ The grant does not disclose why Goseford was no longer able to fulfil this task nor when the problems occurred, but the problems may well have originated ten or so years earlier.

The first indication that Goseford was having problems supplying Calais is in 1403. Between 1397 and 1403 there are records of no fewer than sixteen Goseford ships trading.⁸⁵ However, in August that year the 'good men of Goseford' were ordered to 'put off every delay and ceasing every excuse to supply the town of Calais with ale'.⁸⁶ Once again there is no explanation for this 'strict order' nor what excuses had been given, but the cause is likely to have been piracy and the loss of its ships and men. Although piracy had always been a problem at sea in medieval times, from 1400 to a peak in the summer of 1403 there was a 'Pirate War' in the Channel despite the truce with France. The effect of this 'war' was that legitimate commerce between France and England and their allies all but ceased. It is unlikely that Goseford's misfortune was the result of a single event, and the losses it sustained were probably gradual. Before the end of 1401 no fewer than 35 English merchant vessels had been seized by the French. By the summer of 1402 at least another 33 vessels had been lost, and in the last three months of the year a further 20 vessels were lost. In January 1403, 12 ships were captured in a single incident and another 20 or 30 were reported to be held in the ports of Normandy. In July that year over 40 English ships were captured by the French off the coast of Brittany. That is a total of 170 ships out of an estimated ocean-going mercantile fleet of about 350.⁸⁷

Goseford ships were not always victims. In 1403 there was a complaint that William Flyn in 'a barget of Baldeseye' captured a Flemish vessel off Great Yarmouth, stole its cargo of herring and took the crew as prisoners.⁸⁸ Also in 1403, a balinger from Goseford was one of four ships that captured a Portuguese boat and took her to Orwell. At the same time 'four balingers full of English people of Goseford and Harwich' seized another Portuguese ship and took it to Harwich. In 1404 men from Goseford seized two ships of the Hanse laden with beer and a third ship from 'Lubyk'.⁸⁹ These are the success stories of piracy. What are not recorded are the occasions when the Goseford boats were unsuccessful and lost as a result of this dangerous business.

Following the order of August 1403 to 'put off every delay' Goseford boats did manage some further trade and in December 1403 eight ships were in Sandwich *en route* for Calais laden with wool, ale and 'other victuals',⁹⁰ but the trade was short lived. Perhaps as another sign of the decline of Goseford, from having ships of over 100 tuns these eight ships ranged in size from 15 tuns to 24 tuns.

In October 1405 a writ called upon any of the king's subjects who wanted to take provisions to Calais to do so. So great was the need that merchants were told that all goods would be 'quit of custom'. The urgency for this action was because John, earl of Somerset, the Captain of Calais, had informed the king 'that the people of Goseford and Bawdseye who have before victualled it with ale and other victuals have been captured by the King's enemies of France and Flanders and their shipping destroyed so they can no more go to the town with victuals'.⁹¹

This was a catastrophe from which the port never recovered. After 1402 no further writs were issued to the bailiffs of Goseford. Of course, Goseford had lost ships before in the service of the king, but by the beginning of the fifteenth century it could no longer afford to replace them. The English economy contracted in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and agricultural output began to fall markedly following the sustained reduction in the population through successive outbreaks of plague. The population density of the area around the Deben seems to have fallen even more than in other parts of Suffolk. It is probable that the population declined below the numbers needed to produce or transport goods and to replace,

service or man ships. Certainly, the size of local fishing fleets fell steeply around 1400.⁹²

Whatever the reason may have been, Goseford lost any importance it had. The 'port of Goseford' continues to be mentioned occasionally in the Walton court rolls to 1551, not as an administrative entity but only in relation to the location of fish weirs.⁹³ There was considerable restructuring of the economies of Suffolk's ports in the fifteenth century, characterised graphically by the decline of Dunwich, Orford and Covehithe, and the rise of Aldeburgh, Lowestoft and Southwold. Goseford can be added to the list of declining ports, and its decline may well have been accelerated by the dramatic rise of Woodbridge.⁹⁴ The curtain fell and Goseford became 'that old Suffolk sea port that died without violence, that just faded out softly into a memory'.⁹⁵

CONCLUSION

Was there a port at the mouth of the Deben, and what did it amount to? There are some tantalising omissions particularly about how it might have been organised, and the almost complete absence of local records does not help. The picture is further blurred because it is undoubtedly the case that the lower river was later regarded as a haven for the port of Woodbridge. This sheltered area then took the historic name of the former port. However the pieces of the jigsaw do make a picture that shows that Goseford was a port, probably based on Bawdsey, at a time when Woodbridge was an unimportant and undistinguished market town. It controlled maritime trade from the Deben and its boats traded with the rest of the country and the Continent for at least a hundred and fifty years. The number of ships involved in this trade is borne out by the frequent references to boats '*of Goseford*'. Further, although the number of ships sent on royal service is not an exact measure of relative size or importance, it is obvious from the source evidence that Goseford, at its peak, was one of the most important ports in East Anglia. It points to a well organised maritime and merchant class that had an identifiable administrative structure with its own officials that ran the port for the community of mariners, carpenters, pilots, ropers, anchor-smiths and the other occupations connected with a busy port. Goseford was one of the main suppliers to the garrison at Calais from 1347 to about 1400, had a serious boat building industry, and was of sufficient wealth that it lent money to the Crown. Its decline was rapid and coincided with the rise of Woodbridge which, by about 1500, dominated trade out of the river.

Clearly there is further research to be done. It may be that records from the port of Goseford will not be discovered and more of the story may only become apparent from the collection and interpretation of other pieces of the jigsaw. One untried area of investigation is archaeological. Where were the landing stages, jetties and staithes that the boats arrived at to load and unload? Perhaps scientific investigation at what once appeared to have been a creek behind Bawdsey church or in the low lying area to the side of the road between Alderton and Bawdsey would produce some evidence to bring alive the lost port of Goseford.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This article owes a great deal to the inspiration, enthusiasm and encouragement of Professor Mark Bailey and has benefited immensely from his comments on the draft. I am also grateful to Wendy Childs, Emeritus Professor of Late Medieval History, University of Leeds and to Dr Nicholas Amor for permission to use their research. I have also had the benefit of the thoughtful observations of the Revd Christopher Leffler.

My thanks go to the staff at the Felixstowe library who have been unfailingly helpful and efficient with interlibrary loans, to Dr Barbara Slater for reading the draft, and to my wife

Mary who for a number of years has listened to the ideas and theories with encouragement and patience. All opinions expressed and any errors are however entirely my own.

NOTES

- 1 CIM 1968, 403; Seymour 1974, 13.
- 2 Lambert 2011, 138.
- 3 Deben Estuary Partnership, 2012, 4.
- 4 CPR 1348–1350, 448.
- 5 BHO, ‘Henry IV: September 1402’, in Given-Wilson *et al.* 2005.
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- 7 Bailey 2007, 131.
- 8 Hervey 1906, 111, 125.
- 9 Laycock 1975, 284–96.
- 10 Bailey 2007, 62.
- 11 In CMR, 128, there is reference to *La Godale* of Guston being arrested in Goseford in September 1326.
- 12 Hervey 1906, 111.
- 13 Fairclough 2011, 253–76.
- 14 Arnott 1968, 54; Newton 2011, 296–97.
- 15 Stubbs 1880, 386.
- 16 Lambert 2011, 25.
- 17 Lambert 2011, 33.
- 18 Arnott 1973, 59–60; CFR, 239.
- 19 CPR 1377–1381, 332.
- 20 McPherson 1805, 528.
- 21 McPherson 1805, 531.
- 22 BHO, ‘Close Rolls, Henry IV: August 1403’, in CCRH4, 2, 101–7.
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- 24 BHO, ‘Close Rolls, Edward II: June 1322’, in CCRE2, 3, 456–66.
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- 27 CIM 1957, 38.
- 28 Mark Bailey, pers. comm.
- 29 CPR 1343–1345, 108–9.
- 30 CPR 1348–1350, 448.
- 31 TNA, SC8/215/10729.
- 32 BHO, ‘Close Rolls, Henry IV: May 1401’, in CCRH4, 1, 1399–1402, 341–47.
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- 34 BHO, ‘Suffolk’, in Letters 2005.
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- 35 Hervey 1906, 111; TNA, E101/158/2; 158/10; 160/3; 162/1; 163/1; 163/2; 163/4; 165/4.
- 36 Kowaleski, 2011, 167.
- 37 TNA, E101/163/4.
- 38 CIPM, 476.
- 39 CPR 1338–1340, 492.
- 40 CPR 1321–1324, 160.
- 41 CPR 1333–1340, 492.
- 42 CPR 1313–1317, 694.
- 43 CIPM, 476.
- 44 BHO ‘Close Rolls, October 1253’, in CCRH3, 8, 174–86.

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- 46 TNA, E101/158/10; 160/3; 161/3; 162/1,4,5; 163/1,4, and additional information supplied by Professor Wendy Childs who has kindly permitted me to cite her work.
- 47 TNA, E101/158/10; 160/3; 161/3; 162/1,4,5; 163/1; 163/4.
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- 49 TNA, E101/185/11; E101/188/12.
- 50 Cushway 2011, 23–24.
- 51 TNA, E101/158/10; 160/3; 161/3, and additional information supplied by Wendy Childs.
- 52 *CPR* 1364–1367, 50, 56; *CPR* 1340–1343, 296.
- 53 TNA, E122/193/33. I am grateful to Dr Nicholas Amor for permission to use his transcription of John Bernard's Counter Roll.
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- 55 Kowaleski 1999, 159; *CPR* 1330–1334, 414; TNA, E101/77/20; BHO, 'Close Rolls, Henry IV: December 1403', in *CCRH4*, 2, 206–15. www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-close-rolls/hen4/vol2/pp206-215; *CPR* 1361–1364, 507; *CPR* 1330–1334, 169; Saul 1975, 333.
- 56 *CPR* 1301–1307, 81.
- 57 *CPR* 1338–1340, 309.
- 58 TNA, E101/5/7. I am grateful to Bob Malster for supplying me with this reference and the translation made by John Fairclough.
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- 60 Saul 1975, 143–44.
- 61 *CIM (Chancery)*, 5.
- 62 Lambert 2011, 24.
- 63 Kowaleski 2000, 488.
- 64 Redstone 1908, 273.
- 65 Rodger 2004, 492–94.
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- 70 *CPR* 1343–1345, 108–9.
- 71 *CPR* 1348–1350, 448.
- 72 Rodger 2004, 492–94.
- 73 Lambert 2011, 174.
- 74 I am grateful to Dr Nicholas Amor for his guidance on this point.
- 75 Rose 2013, 80.
- 76 *CPR* 1354–1358, 17–18.
- 77 *CIM* 1957, 38.
- 78 BHO, 'Close Rolls, Henry IV: January 1401', in *CCRH4*, 1, 238–40.
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- 79 Rose 2013, 85; and see above, n.58.
- 80 Rose 2013, 81.
- 81 Rose 2013, 81.
- 82 Bailey 2007, 101; Hoppitt 1992, 1, 178, 182, 190; SROI, HD 175/1 3121.
- 83 *CPR* 1377–1381, 635–37.
- 84 *CPR* 1413–1416, 306.
- 85 See endnotes 54 and 55 above.
- 86 BHO, 'Close Rolls, Henry IV: August 1403', in *CCHR4*, 2, 101–7.
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- 87 Ford 1979, 63, 67, 71; Sumption 2015, 78, 94; Nicols 1847, 354.
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- 91 CPR 1405–1408, 89.
 92 Bailey 2007, 276–77, 284, map 17; Bailey 1990, 102–13.
 93 Redstone: SROI, HD11/1:4291/8.5.
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Abbreviations

BHO	British History Online
CCRE2	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward II</i>
CCRE3	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward III</i>
CCRH3	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry III</i>
CCRH4	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry IV</i>
CFR	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls</i>
CIM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous</i>
CIPM	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem</i>
CMR	<i>Calendar of Memoranda Rolls (Exchequer)</i>
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
SROI	Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich
TNA	The National Archives