The Historical Development of the Port of Faversham, Kent 1580-1780

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Introduction

"Faversham; a fair and flourishing sea-port town, giving title to an extensive hundred in the Lathe of Scray, in the county of Kent, is situated on a navigable arm of the Swale, in a fruitfull part of the county, nine miles from Canterbury, and forty-seven from London" (Edward Jacob, 1774, A History of Faversham).

Faversham, whose maritime development is the subject of this study, was extremely fortunate in having an 18th-century historian of Jacob's stature to write comprehensively on the town.

One theme which emerges from his work is the economic prosperity to which Faversham had long been accustomed. This prosperity had developed before the building of the Abbey in 1174, and it only remained for the commercial stimulus of the London agricultural food market, the making of gunpowder, the development of brewing, and the oyster fishery to enable Faversham to expand even further in importance from the 16th to the 18th centuries.

And yet, apart from glimpses by Jacob, the extent of that prosperity, and whether just based on Faversham's mercantile activity, was unknown The flesh to cover the known bare bones of Faversham's maritime history had as yet to be ascertained. There is no comprehensive study of Faversham's port development after Jacob.

For the period under study (1580-1780) England was relatively empty; its population in 1700 was barely 5 million; millions of acres were waste heath, bog or fen (Pennington, 1970: 61). Roads were worse than the Romans had left them. The harvest was still the heartbeat of the economy and industry fed off the soil: timber, hides, hops, flax, madder, horn, bone, were among the essential raw materials (Clark, 1947: 5). And most industry was cottage industry: spinning, knitting, weaving, tanning, smithying.

Family life and work danced in step with the phases of the agricultural year (Chambers and Mingay, 1966: 54). Harvesting, fruit-picking, or fishing - work was seasonal. And yet the critical watershed had been passed; people did not starve en masse in England any more, grain was increasingly being exported, shortages were brief, local and usually of a particular crop, and the effect was cushioned by the better transport by sea of supplies (Porter, 1982: 30-45).

Throughout the 18th century the principle highway of England was the sea. Before canals or railways, and while roads remained impassable, coastal shipping remained the cheapest, safest and speediest means of conveying freight. Hence ports were vital, not just for trade, but also as nurseries of the Royal Navy, the fisheries, and the whaling fleets. All of the front-rank towns of the kingdom were either ports or had easy river access to the sea (Selley 1962: 199).

Besides the ships of the Royal Navy and merchantmen trading overseas, there were large numbers of small craft trafficking in the waters about Britain. "There are supposed to be about eighteen hundred ships and vessels in the coal trade and about nine hundred more in what they call the Northern trade", wrote a naval officer in 1774 (Ashton, 1924: 200).

North Kent was endowed with one passable road (Watling Street) and numerous waterways. It possessed an extensive coastline along the Thames south shore and to the east, a navigable river from Sandwich to Fordwich (and thence to Canterbury), and to the west the Medway River from Rochester to Maidstone.

Fortuitously "the water transport was available where it was most needed" (Thirsk 1967: 199). Contemporaries were aware of this favourable circumstance, and noted particularly "the benefits of water carriage (from Kent) to and from the Metropolitical City, or Chief Mart" (Harris, 1719: 357).

Throughout the year coastal hoys operated a weekly schedule from these North Kent ports, and Edward Jacob described Faversham's maritime activity in 1774:

> "The principal trade now carried on from this port is by six hoys, who go alternately every week to London, with corn of all sorts, amounting, in very plentiful years, to forty thousand quarters per annum. Colliers also, (which supply the town, and the county round it with coals) of upwards of a hundred tons burthen, and larger vessels, which import fir timber of all kinds, and iron, from Polish Prussia, Norway, and Sweden, frequently resort hither; the principal proprietors or merchants being chiefly inhabitants of this town. Here are also some other vessels employed in carrying wool, apples, pears, and cherries, to London and other parts, in the season" (Jacob, 1774: 66).

Jacob's excellent history provides a sound spring-board from which to study the previous and subsequent history of the port and town. Edward Jacob wrote impressively from first-hand experience about a prosperous and improving provincial port and town, and the publication in 1774 (when he was 64) of his History brought Faversham well to the forefront of towns in north Kent.

Faversham was well-placed to take advantage of England's coastal maritime trade, and England, out of all Europe, was well suited geographically for such coasting

trade, for it had more usable coastline than any other country. The twenty-one Head Ports of England, with their Member Ports and creeks, formed a maritime spider's web with London at its centre. In 1768 Baldwin's London Directory, in its 11th edition, itemised some 580 places in England and Wales to which goods could be sent by water. Earlier, Griffiths in 1746 gave a list of London quays from which goods could be shipped for the English counties, and more than a century earlier, in 1637, Taylor gave similar directions in his Carriers Cosmographie.

All these guides emphasise the importance of London as a centre of the coasting trade, but the extent of that influence can only be gauged by the study of commodities shipped to and from London and the outports. East coast ports felt the influence of the metropolis market more than those on the south and west coasts. Southampton and Bristol received goods and trade from a large area and were local centres of distribution, almost playing the role of London in miniature.

Coal and agricultural produce provided the largest inward shipments to London, but comprehensive figures of shipments to London in the 18th century are not available, and again it is only by studying the outport Port Books that an estimate of shipments to London can be made. And estimate it must be; before the 19th century record-keeping was erratic and its reliability was not easy to test, and although statistics may give shadow and depth to the picture, they cannot paint it.

The economy of the period under study was truly agrarian: it is widely accepted that "before the onset of modern industrial growth agriculture provided everywhere the major source of subsistence and employment" (Moffit 1925: 22). But, despite its agrarian base, early modern society was changing from subsistence to commercial enterprises in a way that "if gradual, was revolutionary" (Everitt 1965: 60-1). Some of the reasons were the increase in population in London and the provinces, the expansion of agricultural specialisation, and the improvement of all forms of transport and communication.

Faversham was well placed on the "inner-ring road" of the national maritime routes, which enabled it to take advantage of its proximity to London and the continent. However, its trading patterns, its size of maritime fleet, its cargoes, seasonal or otherwise, were relatively unknown and form a major part of this study.

Water transport was the most cost-effective method of moving goods over any distance. Sir Robert Southwell calculated that sea carriage was 20 times cheaper than wheeled carriage (Birch, Royal Society, iii: 208).

This circulation of trade by sea was vital to the economic life of the country, and to ignore "a principal source of Britain's wealth" is to ignore the development of that economic life (Defoe, 1726: 54).

The carriage of coal by sea enabled the coal industry to develop, and carriage by sea of corn and other commodities allowed London to develop into the metropolis it became. The influence of London's food market on the economy of south-east England is a debatable point, and only through the study of outports, such as Faversham, will the issue be resolved. N.J. Williams said in 1988, "the trade of the outports is one of the most neglected aspects of England's commercial development" (Williams, 1988: 1).

London drew its commodities from a wide area, and as London expanded a corresponding expansion of and improvement in water transport was essential.

Agriculture relied almost exclusively on the coasting trade for the disposal of its produce. In Kent some 30 ports or landing places served this market, and including the tidal reaches of the Medway and Swale, very few places were further than 15 miles from the sea.

Whilst land communications remained defective, this large number of ports widely scattered around the Kent coast was essential for dealing with the problems of internal transport. It is only when the railways in the mid-19th century opened up the hinterland of these ports and brought goods, as it were, to their back doors that their coasting trade declined.

Faversham, second largest town of the region, and its chief coastal port, showed a steady increase in population and prosperity throughout the period under study. In the early years of Elizabeth's reign Faversham was already "well peopled and flourished in wealth" (Lambarde, 1576: 231). Celia Fiennes found "a very large town and good buildings of bricks" when she visited Faversham in 1695 (Fiennes, 1696: 100).

In 1560 a Market Hall was built and in 1574 the hall became the Guildhall. In 1635 a leaden pump was installed in the Market Place at the north end of the Guildhall where, throughout the period under study, a fish market was located; the fish sellers were thereby afforded shelter and there was "plenty of water near at hand, so necessary to such a market."

Fish was an important part of the post-medieval diet and freshwater fish, caught from the rivers, brooks, ditches, and ponds, the preferred fare. In Elizabethan literature, reference to freshwater fish occurs more often than sea fish, which when mentioned is usually either salted or dried, and often regarded as rather poor food.

Fresh fish was for local consumption. Daniel Defoe particularly noted in 1724 what a hindrance the bad state of the roads was to the transport and consumption of fish. He enlarged upon the convenience that would follow such a restoring of the ways for the carrying of fish from the sea coasts to the inner parts of the kingdom, "where by reason of the badness of the ways, they cannot now carry them sweet."

The oyster fishery of Faversham, "the only staple commodity of this town", was controlled by the Company of Dredgers and provided employment for more than a hundred families. It was said that "a prodigious number of men and boats are employed in winter dredging the largest and best oysters for stewing". Oysters in the 16th century were being kept alive in brackish water for as long as twelve days, and numerous country estates, although 80 miles from the sea, can attest to a frequent and continuous supply of Faversham and Whitstable oysters. In 1783, oysters were so cheap in London that for Hodge, the cat belonging to Samuel Johnson, who was by no means affluent, Johnson "himself used to go out and buy oysters for it", implying that these in fact were the cheapest variety of fish obtainable.

By the beginning of the 18th century the Dutch purchased Faversham oysters each year valued at between £4,000 and £6,500. A quarter of a century later when Lord Harley visited Faversham, lodging at the Ship Inn, he estimated an annual turnover in the oyster trade of more than £7,000. Exact figures are now available through the study of Faversham's Port Books, and paint a more comprehensive picture.

Gunpowder, "that dreadful composition, hath continued to be made upon our stream, ever since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, if not before her time" (Jacob, 1774: 94). The mills were purchased by the government in c.1759. Weekly output in 1774, on the eve of another war, and after considerable improvements, reached about 80 barrels a week, each weighing 100lb (Jacob, 1774: 95). Jacob observed that "there is never a want of hands, light labour and constant pay makes it very beneficial to the trading part of the town" (Jacob, 1774: 96). Apart from the royal powder mills there were other works in private hands making considerable quantities of gunpowder "for the use of the East India Company, and other merchants" (Jacob, 1774: 96-7). Through the study of the Port Books and government letter books it has been possible to build up a comprehensive study of this trade and, more to the point, how the royal powder mills' maritime activity fitted in with the port of Faversham's already established rules and routines.

Grain crops played a prominent part in Faversham's economy, a feature that owed a lot to the development of the London food market. As early as the 16th century north Kent shipped most of its wheat and oats through Faversham. By the 18th century, wheat beans and barley were the region's leading crops (Baker, 1970b: 128). The bulk of the barley was concentrated to the east of Canterbury. Fields of wheat and beans dominated the landscape around Faversham. In the 16th century the Faversham district was recognised as "one of the most fruitfull partes of this shyre" (Lambarde, 1576: 231). Arthur Young described the "common husbandry about Faversham" noting that the local farmers followed "the round tilth ... barley ... beans ... wheat ... which is the famous rotation of East Kent." John Banister, the Horton Kirby farmer, was likewise full of approbation for the Kentish method of bean cultivation on the rich loams around Faversham.

In 1559 the first sluice was built to scour the mud from Faversham Creek, and Tudor Faversham became a major corn exporting port sending grain to London, as well as an important venue for the importation of London goods. It built the second largest parish church in Kent, granaries, warehouses, inns and market houses, a Guildhall, a paved town centre by 1549, a grammar school, and a gunpowder manufactory. By 1580, the start date for this study, Faversham's population had reached about 1,500, with 73 officials administering the port.

Every shipmaster's house had its own store and cellar (Pearson, pers. corres. 1998). There was an efficient Town Porter system with a standardised list of charges for every commodity. The earliest list dates from 1448.1 As Faversham developed, so did its hinterland transport system: Ferries at Elmley, Ryde, Harty, and Nagden shipped materials and livestock across the estuarine world that was Faversham in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Canals, some 10 miles in length, were built for transporting gunpowder by punt; tramways for brick and tile, drove roads for sheep, and lighters to tranship cargoes from passing ships all added to the smooth running of the port.

In 1779 a general meeting of the merchants, in discussing improvements to the creek said:

> "We need not enlarge upon the general benefit of this measure to all the owners and occupiers of the fertile lands by which Faversham is surrounded. The creek is in fact the high road for their produce, and corn, hops, wool, fruit, and flour and for all the valuable exports required for the consumption of the town, and neighbourhood."2

This "high road" led straight to London. In 1683 London imported 316 cargoes from Faversham, more than were imported from any other English port except Newcastle (Willan, 1938: App 2). In 1728, only Newcastle, Sunderland, and Ipswich sent more ships to London than Faver-

sham. During the period from 1656 to 1688, Faversham imported an annual average of 68 cargoes from London, more than any other Kentish port.

The Customs Port of Faversham, as delimited by an Exchequer Commission of 16763 included a large part of the north Kent coast, stretching from the North Foreland in the east to Faversham in the west. Three creeks or landing places were within these limits, and under the customs jurisdiction of the port of Faversham: Reculver Herne, and Whitstable. Faversham itself was a fully-fledged Customs Port, with two legal quays for the unloading of foreign merchandise, the Town Quay and Standard Quay.

Foreign trade almost disappeared in the period under study. This lack of overseas commerce was probably due to Faversham's close proximity to London. Whatever corn or other agricultural produce found its way abroad did so only after being shipped first to London. Corn shipments from Faversham to London rose from 15,905 quarters in 1598-99 to 31,213 quarters in 1699-1700.4

Another feature of the port was the considerable amount of return trade with the capital. All the Kentish ports depended on London to a certain extent for their trade, and it is not surprising that nearly all their produce was sent by hoy to and from London.

And yet, "the extent and nature of London's coasting trade in the 18th century must remain a matter largely of conjecture" (Willan 1938: 145). The London Port Books from 1697 to 1799 were destroyed, and the single one5 that has survived has no record of coastwise shipments. It is only possible to reconstruct this trade by the detailed study of the outports, and it is hoped that this study of the outport of Faversham goes some way to redress the balance.

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1 CKS: Fa/LB1.
2 CCA: BB 54/5.
3 PRO: Exch. Special Commission 6266.
4 PRO: E190 series.
5 PRO: E190: 160/11A.

PART ONE:

FAVERSHAM, THE HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

Chapter 1 Faversham, the historical background

Although the period under study is 1580-1780, it will be of prime importance to comment on the development of the port in prehistoric times. This will serve to highlight key topographic and historical elements that affected the later development of the port.

Faversham straddled the most important maritime corridor from London to the continent, and backed by the premier road in the kingdom, Watling Street, which helped make this peninsula of south-east England one of the world's most important regions (Brandon & Short, 1990: 1).

The Gough map of 1360 indicates the importance of estuarine waterways in Kent and emphasises the importance of the Wantsum/Swale waterway as a direct route1 from the continent to London (Fig.1).

A ship, contemporary to the Gough map, and travelling to London from the continent, would make landfall at Sandwich Bay, and keeping Thanet to the north-east, and passing the waterway leading south-west to Canterbury, could coast along the Wantsum,2 and then turn west to the entrance of the Swale, dominated then, as now, by the island of Harty. Beyond Harty and to the north-east is the island of Sheppey. To the south, an estuary led to the town of Faversham. Continuing westwards, the ship would pass the islands of Elmley and Hoo to the south before entering the estuary of the Thames leading directly to London (Fig.2).

Faversham's prehistoric topography

One of the factors in the evolution of the Kent coast has been the fluctuating level of the land in relation to sea. Sea level changes in the last 12,000 years are especially eventful. 12,000 years ago, at the end of the glaciation period, sea level was about 60m below present levels and the North Sea basin was dry land out to the Dogger Bank (Devoy, 1980: 134-48).

Sea levels rose rapidly, and around 7,600 BC the sea advanced through the Dover Straits to flood the Thames Estuary at about 23m below present sea level. Just before 6,600 BC, further rapid rise flooded the Dogger Bank, and Britain became an island. The lower parts of the river valleys were drowned, creating the tidal inlets which were an important feature of the Roman period (Tooley, 1990: 1-16). The Romano-Saxon land surface in the North Sea/ English Channel is estimated to have been about 5.06 ft above the then High Spring Tides (Devoy, 1980: 17-20).

From the Roman to Saxon periods, there was a gradual subsidence of the land,and between AD 900 and 1000 the High Spring Tides started to overflow the lower levels (Tooley, 1990: 10). This subsidence continued to the 13th century, when landowners in the Swale started a major programme of reclamation. This reclamation, which continued up to the 16th century, reduced the tidal area of the Swale estuary and therefore reduced the power of the receding tide to remove particles of alluvium from the creeks and estuaries. Faversham Creek and its tributaries once covered an area of 1,378 acres; it now covers 43 acres (Fig.3).

The appearance of Faversham Creek before reclamation or "inning" at High Spring Tides, would have been of a large estuary filling an area from Norman Hill to the west and Goodnestone to the east, some 41/2 km in width and 3 km in depth. Jutting out into this estuary would have been the peninsulas of Oare, Thorne, Davington, Clapgate, Ewell, Nagden and Graveney. The main channel led to Thorne and at high tide Thorne was most likely similar to Richborough, an island. It would have been difficult, if not impossible to berth ships elsewhere than the Thorne in the Faversham Estuary, without the facility of a local pilot. Even Medway pilots who brought in coasters to Faversham Quay in the 1960s, would refuse to operate at High Spring Tides.3

The inner and southern edge of this great estuary rested against the solid mass of the elevated land, comprising brick-earth, gravel and chalk with flints.4 The sand and loam coast stretches from Lower Gillingham to Faversham on the west, while the north-east side is bounded by the clay hills of Sheppey and the north-west side by the line of the sand and clay hills of the Hoo peninsula. This terminates in the north with the isolated clay mass that forms the core of the Isle of Grain. North, but still within the Lathe, Hundred and Parish of Faversham, Harty would have dominated the Swale estuary. Strip away the modern alluvial deposits around Harty and Faversham, and you have a coastline remarkably like the Gough map of 1360 (Fig.1).

Faversham port and landing places

Thorne, a peninsula which at high tide was almost an island, was the maritime pivotal point of Faversham. The first perambulation recorded, that of 1276, says: "Sir, as you desire to be informed of the lists and bounds belonging to this franchaise of our town aforesaid, for which the service of one ship is due to our Lord the King of England; we, willing to satisfy you, give you to understand that they begin at a place called Thorne" (Jacob, 1774: 25-28).

The name Thorne5 is open to interpretation. The Vikings established a "Thorne" on the River Vistula in the 9th century; it is now called Torún6 and it was a Viking port of trade. Gelling considers the interpretation too esoteric

and suggests "thorn trees or bushes". Hedges of thorn are a well known medieval device to protect an area of commercial importance (Friel, 1983b: 5 & Gelling, pers. corres. 1995). Either way, a trading place of importance was contained on a lofty island7 so that traders and shipping could be regulated and controlled by the incumbent administration (Fig.4).

Communication to Watling Street, some 2 km away, was by a direct straight road, now not apparent for most of its length, but still existing on its southern stretch as "Love Lane". The not-apparent section ran on a natural causeway of clay which was removed in the 1840s to make bricks (Fig.5). The line of the road - possibly Roman - is also the Anglo-Saxon boundary of the town of Faversham (Fig.6).

Located to the south, on the Thorne peninsula, are the archaeological remains of an Iron-Age and Belgic farmstead, a Roman villa and the royal Abbey of St. Saviour founded by King Stephen and his Queen Matilda in 1147 (Philp, 1968 and pers. corres. 1997).

Ditches and further buildings (located by field-walking) associated with the Roman villa, indicate a large agricultural estate probably stretching back to Watling Street, and possibly beyond. To the north-east of the villa, aerial photography indicates further Roman buildings nearer to Thorne. In the vicinity of Faversham more Roman agricultural estates, all with villas, and all situated on a spring or river, have now been found through field-work at Lees Court, Blacklands, Luddenham, Deerton Street, Teynham, Bax Farm and Mere Court.8 The pattern emerging is of estate-managed areas of production based on the villa, with goods possibly being shipped by estuary barge9 to Thorne, where larger coastal shipping would tranship either to London, Reculver or Richborough, and even directly to the Rhine or Boulogne (Milne, 1988: 82). Aerial photography at Thorne has indicated a complex of possible buried buildings,10 whilst field-walking has recovered pottery giving a time-span of 100 BC to the late 15th century AD.

Early medieval port facilities at Faversham

The first written reference11 to the port of Faversham was in 699 when King Wihtred called his Council together at a place called Cilling, possibly downstream (at Clapgate) and to the east of Faversham town. Cilling was a Saxon port of some importance. Another charter of 812 says: "Strata antiqua quae jacet ad portum quae dicitur Cillincg" ("The ancient street which leads to the port named Cilling"). This street may still survive as a feature in the landscape.

In the 7th to 9th century charters, Cilling is placed on an expansion of the Faversham Estuary called Alhfleot or Ealhfleot. This could mean a sanctuary, which fits in well with the maritime topography, or it could mean "The Temple fleot" and tells us that there was formerly, probably in pagan times, a place of worship here (Ward, 1934: 123-136). Archaeological evaluation of Blacklands Roman complex may confirm this hypothesis.

Cilling was probably a Royal port belonging to the King. The grass pastures to the east are called "Cynincges Cua Lond" ("The King's cattle pastures"). The cattle pastures and the port were given to the Archbishop in 814. Although the pastures would have been of use to the church, it is possible maritime trade would have been better served from Harwic (Whitstable) and Fordwic (Fordwich).

Cilling, which possibly means "gully stream" (Gelling, pers. corres. 1995), would possibly have been a muddy foreshore, laid with a bed of branches to serve as a hard. Vessels would have been moored to hitching posts at high tide and then unloaded at low water (Schofield, 1981: 14).

The Anglo-Saxon town and port of Faversham probably grew up around four roads meeting at St. Ann's Cross.12 Now Tanner Street, it was also the site of the medieval Guildhall,13 superseded by a new building erected in 1547 at the north end of Middle Row. Opposite, and to the west of the original Guildhall, stood the Abbot's prison and downstream, at the headwaters of Faversham Creek, stood Flood Mill, itemised in the Domesday Book of 1087. The Anglo-Saxon landing place in the town of Faversham is unknown but the site of Flood Mill is located on two tributaries and an artificial island,14 which is shown in the 1520 pictorial map of Faversham (Fig.7).

King Stephen's Abbey

Faversham received a huge economic injection when in 1147 King Stephen decided to build an Abbey at Faversham. The site chosen was probably the place where Stephen had landed after sailing from Boulogne to take possession of the Crown, and had found Dover and Canterbury held against him. The Flemish ships and men of William of Ypres probably landed him at the Thorne, near Faversham, and Stephen marched on London with the fleet keeping pace along the coast, as countless others had done before him15 (Pers. corres. M. Frohnsdorff, Dec. 1995).

With the building of the Abbey, the quay at Thorne was revitalised and over 500 shiploads of material were landed from as far away as Normandy and Devon.16

Building material	Quantity	From
Ragstone, accounted for 80% of the total building material used.	8,000 tons	South-east Kent, probably from the foreshore in the Hythe area, 50-60 miles.
Caen stone, accounted for 15% of the total building material used.	1,500 tons	Calvados, Normandy, 200 miles.
Reigate stone from the Upper Greensand, accounted for 5% of the total building material used.	500 tons	North Downs near Reigate, 50-60 miles.
Slate, the entire roof area	500 tons	Slapton Sands, Devon, 150 miles.

Source: Philp, B. 1968 and Tatton-Brown, pers. corres. 1997.

Medieval waterfront development

With the Thorne Quay rebuilt, the Abbey established, a ribbon development of merchant's houses was built along the spine of the Thorne peninsula and called the "new town". Storage of goods was either in the cellars17 of the houses or in newly built warehouses on the medieval waterfront.

One of the earliest shipping records is of the transport of candle wax from London to Faversham in 1428: "Item the secristers every year are obliged ..... as need is, to buy and provide wax for their office ... whereof the ship hired for the conveyance takes from London to Faversham for each cwt of wax 1d. For 1000 weight 20d ... And for carriage from Faversham to the cemetery of the church (at Canterbury for each cwt 2d, for 1000 weight 3s 4d."18 The cost of transporting wax by road from Faversham to Canterbury - a journey of 7 miles - cost twice as much as the 68 miles sea voyage from London.

1 The only probable change of direction would be the pivot to the west at Pudding Pan Sands. Numerous classical and medieval shipwrecks are known to exist from artifacts dredged from the sea bed at Pudding Pan Sands (Watson, K. BA dissertation).
2 In the 7th century the width of the short passage through the Wantsum was three stadia (an ancient Greek measure of length equivalent to about 607ft or 184m) and fordable in two places (Bede 113).
3 "Because once the marsh grass is under water you don't know where to go" (Pers. corres. Martin Lee, Medway pilot, 1995) (Fig.3).
4 Sheet 273, Geological Map of England and Wales, London 1974.
5 The name Thor was taken abroad by the Vikings to be honoured in the place-names of their new settlements. Iceland has a range of Thor's harbours and headlands (Thorshofn and Thorsness). The legend of Thor and his encounter with the serpent Midgardsorm is commemorated on carved stones as far apart as Altuna, Sweden, and Gosforth, England (Graham-Campbell, 1980: 62).
6 Collins English Dictionary p.1583.
7 Thorne had cliffs to the north and west; these were scarped in 1822 (F.I.J.M.)
8 Swale Archaeological Survey, 1996.
9 Excavation at Blacklands Roman site has revealed a large area of flint and Roman bricks utilised to make a permanent hard or landing place along the ancient waters edge (Swale Archaeological Survey, Interim Report, Blacklands 1996).
10 Ruined buildings of brick, possibly Roman, are also shown on the 1520 map of Faversham Creek. (Fig.19).
11 Ward, 1947: Arch. Cant. 60, 1-14).
12 This spot was also the burial place for suicides, the last to be buried was Ann Watson, December 2nd 1815 "with an Ashen stake drove through her body." (F.I.J.M., June 1899: 189).
13 The Guildhall formerly stood on Tanners Green near the site of the present Gospel Hall and the Gaol was opposite on the west side of the stream. (F.I.M.J., January 1899: 132).
14 Known as Gunpowder dock or now as Gasworks Key.
15 See the Arras medallion, the obverse showing Constantius I bringing relief to London in AD296. (Fig.13).
16 Working on the scenario that a 12th century ship could carry on average 20 tons of cargo. (Hutchinson, 1994b: 22).
17 Pearson, S., Cellar Survey of Faversham, 1996 in preparation.
18 The Becket Customary f.II (1428) B.L. manu coll add. MS 59616.

Chapter 2 The maritime topography of Faversham

The first surviving map to define the maritime topography of Faversham is a unique document, painted around 1520 for King Henry VIII by his military engineers.1 A number of these were painted, most of English Channel ports and presumably for use in the forthcoming French wars. The Faversham example shows a barrier of boats across the Swale, no doubt to stop any enemy excursions to the Medway and the English fleet moored at Chatham. The document, part picture, part map, marks the beginning of real maritime surveys in this country, involving as it does some knowledge of geometry and perspective. It is some 30 ft long by 18 ins high.2 The map runs from the North Foreland along the north Kent coast, up the Swale, finishing at the headwaters of Faversham Creek and shows the extent of the port of Faversham.3 North Foreland4 is shown with St. Peter's Church in the background, and both Margate and "Gorende rode" are shown; presumably "a sandy bay" is Westgate Bay. The sand shown at the bottom of the map is not annotated but is Margate Sands. Reculver Church is shown next, obviously drawn from life; the twin spires and pointed nave end-wall are exactly right, as are the stone stringer bands on the two towers. Herne is shown next, with Hampton Hill and Hampton Hole (Fig.12). Swalecliffe Church is shown, followed by Blackearth, the site of a medieval beacon, now called Beaconsfield. Whitstable is shown with the "Old Haven" protected by a bank, and outside that, the Pollard Sand (Fig.13). Opposite the Pollard are the Colombine Sands, separated from Harty by the Herne Channel. Note the green land behind the Colombine Sands, denoting that the Snowt farm and weirs still existed in 1520 and had not as yet been swallowed by the sea. Seasalter Church is shown with the clay earth cliffs which were a feature of this part of the coast. On Harty, Land's End is shown, as is a huge mound of discarded sea shells called Shellness (Fig.14). This mound of shells has been used to ballast ships from time immemorial.5

Alongside the huge mound of shells was the traditional anchorage of the Swale:- "A good rode for a great sail of good ships and at the least four and a half fathom deep at the lowest of the water." Muswell Creek is shown next to Harty6 and Faversham Beacon appears on the north-west shore of Faversham Creek (Fig.15). On the same shore the entrance to Oare Creek is shown. Opposite is the artificial mound of Nagden, its top carved with earthworks.7 Nagden cottages are next to the mound; these survived to 1960 (Fig.17), when they were burnt to the ground. Beyond Nagden is the entrance to Ewell-fleet or Earle-fleot, with a huge quay and circular watchtower to the right. This is called the Thorne Quay.8 (Fig.18). Shown at Thorne are warehouses with orchards leading south-west to Standard Key. In the woods there seem to be massive brick built ruins (Fig.19). Field-walking has indicated that the Thorne peninsula was possibly the site of an Iron-Age and Roman port. Before Standard Quay is the waterway entrance to Cooksditch, which flowed into the creek at Standard Quay. Alongside stood the town crane, a massive construction swivelling on a base firmly positioned on the quay by three massive struts (Fig.20). The crane possibly had a winding wheel inside the structure, which would have been worked by manpower. Note the doorway leading inside the crane which gives some indication of its size. The rope and double hook are massive, and the whole assemblage is topped by a huge clinker-built wooden roof. Faversham town is annotated and the position of Abbey Street is shown.

Moving upstream to the Town Quay with the Town Storehouse, the stream to the left of the Town Storehouse is possibly the conduit, much mentioned in 16th-century Wardmote Books. The name survives as Conduit Street, and the warehouse still stands as T.S. Hazard, a Sea Cadet training hall (Figs.21, 22). The tidal limit in 1520 was at the Flood Mill, shown with a huge waterwheel on a dressed stone base and "shoot" (Fig.7). The overflow from Stonebridge pond can be seen immediately above the mill, and the triangular piece of ground thus formed came to be known in the 18th century as Gunpowder Dock. The tall wooden palisading seen protecting the area beyond Flood Mill9 could be the remnant of a medieval defence or could be a new development to protect the embryonic gunpowder works just established in Faversham.

The first sluice at Faversham

One of the problems faced by the town of Faversham, was the continual "swarving up with oaze". Alluvial mud was deposited in the waterway at an alarming rate. The simplest artificial method of making shallow water navigable is by means of constructing a reservoir up-stream which would be filled with water when the tide was high, and could then be released as required. In 1559 the first sluice was built to help scour Faversham Creek. It was located to the west of the present sluice (Fig.23). Construction details and cost can be followed in the contemporary Wardmote Book.10

Total cost to the town was £140 5s 4d. The sluice seems to have been made entirely of timber, held together by iron bolts and nails. Metal-shod alder piles were driven into the mud to retain the walls, which were strengthened by cross-walls on the east and west sides. The sluice gate was caulked between seams, and the grooves it was raised in were tallowed for ease of movement. The gate was lifted by means of a winch; we know this because less than a year later a further entry in the Wardmote Book says: "Item payd for mendynge of the sluse wynche for timber and spyckes". The whole assemblage was painted with

tar and pitch and the opportunity was taken to clean and "skoorynge" around the sluice.

Other items of interest found in the 1555 Wardmote Book are, a covered slip or shed for the building or weather protection of a ship; that Lady-well was an open well which was covered in and is now part of "Conduit Street" and the wharf at Lady Amcotts, possibly belonging to the town, was repaired for £9 13s 10d.

There was still a "ducking stool" in operation, which was repaired for 6d. The pillory incidentally still enjoyed an unhealthy trade. In 1555 ears were still being cut off individuals "for etynge of fleshe in Lent". In the contemporary Wardmote documents11 more information is available to complete the picture of port facilities in 16th-century Faversham: in 1570 "two repositories12 called the storehouses, two [the] wharfes and one crane13 called The Crane. With all their appurtenances being in a certain street14 called Abbey Strete, to the common way leading to the Keye."15 And also of one repository called a storehouse, called Archershwells and also a certain Nicholas Surrey saylour now inhabits called the Thornhouse and lying next to the fishmarket in Faversham."

Archer Wells was next to the Town Quay of Faversham and the "two repositories called the storehouses, two wharves and one crane" were just downstream from the town quay on the east bank (Fig.26). The warehouse called Thornhouse, next to the fishmarket, was probably the collection point for goods destined for Thorne Quay, some 2 km away. In 1547 a John Culndey was paid 3s 8d for carrying 43 barrels of herring and one barrel of salt from Thornhouse to Thorne Quay and "for a man to help in lode and unlode 12d" (Crow, 1855: 184).

In 1581 Richard Tillman bought "three messuages two gardens, two storerooms,16 one granary, two wharfs and one capstan17 with appurtenances... at a certain place there commonly called the Keye ... for one hundred and twenty and four pounds of silver".18 Another crane was mentioned by Henry Hatch two years before his death in 1583. John Elsten was "repairing a wharf where the new crane now standeth" when Hatch came up and told him that he "did the repairs of his own proper charge and said it had cost him already £40 and what it would stand him in more he knew not". Elsten, "much commended him for the same, and said the town was much beholding to him for it". Hatch said that he meant to bestow more than that for the use and commodity of the town, and thereupon said that he meant to bestow such cost upon the haven and creek that a ship with two tops19 might come up to the crane. Hatch's legacy was worth £66 13s 4d per annum in 1574 and £10,860 in 1983, and has been used continually to improve the creek and navigation.20

Abbey and Court Streets housed a maritime community in the 16th century. A muster list of 159921 shows both streets contained more than a third of the town's male householders and over a third of these are described in the list as sailors.

Other names directly involved with maritime affairs were John Poyell, the searcher, and Richard Tusten, the customs controller. The houses of Abbey and Court Streets did not extend the full 200 ft down to the quays (Fig.28). This should have allowed warehouses to be built immediately behind the houses, as was done in other maritime towns.22 The reason warehouses were not built could be because of the danger of flooding23 and also a legal legacy from when the Abbey owned most of Abbey Street24 and the town controlled the quays.

Ship-master's houses

A typical ship-master's house of the period is No.25 Court Street owned by George Bennett, mariner (1586), John Trowtes, mariner (1608), Abraham Rye, mariner (1633) and Richard Price, mariner (1650). The house has a narrow 28 ft frontage and a depth of about 110 ft. It is a timber-framed building of two storeys with a cellar and small shop. In the yard at the back is a brewhouse and washhouse (Fig.29). The respective owners of the house had their main business premises on the quay itself and in fact behind No.25 Court Street is a timber-framed warehouse still standing on the quay (Fig.30). This storehouse, now a Sea Cadet hall called T.S. Hazard, dates from the early 15th century.

Faversham Creek in the 16th century was a constricted waterway25 and conflict was erupting on procedures for using the quays. A list from 1560 indicates that ships were only allowed to leave on a strict rotation.

17th-century waterfront development

By a Special Commission of the Exchequer in 1676, two legal quays were assigned to the port of Faversham. Standard Quay or Key, owned by the Earl of Faversham but occupied by Gilbert Wheeler, was one and the other was the Town Quay, owned by the town of Faversham but occupied by Marke Trowts, gentleman Standard Quay, "being in length two hundred and eighty foot or thereabouts, beginning that length at a post placed or fixed opposite to the East and by North end of the warehouse.... And directly along the said place Key or wharf West and by South to the end of the Key where one other post is also placed or fixed as the extent and limits of the said Key", abutted and bounded with several warehouses belonging to the right honourable the Earle of Faversham (Fig.31)." Standard Quay was downstream from the Town Quay which, "being in length seventy-nine foot or thereabouts beginning that

length at a post placed or fixed at the North East End of the said Key. And so directly along the Key to the South West end of the Key where one other post is fixed. The extent and limits of the said Key abut and are bounded by the town warehouses towards the South East and the River or haven toward the North West."26 Faversham was considered a fully-fledged Customs Port, with two legal quays for the unloading of foreign merchandise. Standard Quay wharf had by now superseded that at Thorne.27

In 1695 rack rents28 for the Town Quay were £7, for the Kings Head Quay £16, and £2 for the White Hart Quay. By the middle of the 17th century at least five quays were in operation (Fig.32). All were situated on the town side of the creek,29 and starting from upstream the Ordnance Wharf at the foot of Davington Hill was constructed by the gunpowder makers of Stonebridge Pond. The next is the "Great or Town Key", and this may be considered the original one. The old warehouse standing on it was the "Kings Warehouse" where the common beam30 was kept. The next quay below is the "Wool Key" where wool used to be shipped. Adjoining the Wool Key was the "Kings Head Key", which was named from the public house which stood near the quay. The lowest wharf downstream is called the "Standard Key"; this was separated from the last by the old mill meadow and derived its name from the site having previously been called the "Standarde Greene"31 (Fig.33).

The description of the quays in 1703

Legal documents of 1703 indicate that as the tonnage of shipping increased, quays upstream were no longer accessible: "There are large vessels that used to come to Kings Head Key that are now at the Standard, but it is difficult getting through what is called the Narrows to the Kings Head Key but the hoymen went to the Standard Key not only as being more commodious but to be all together. The Standard Key has been used for many years, formally for the weighing of wool. The storehouses there were raised from the ruins of the Abbey."32 The same deposition goes on to say:

> "That the Corporation have no wharf or Key of their own within the said town, nor ever had one neither are they entitled to any wharfage for any goods shipped or unshipped within the town and port of Faversham other than the said droits. There is a small Key or port on the estate of the said Hatch, (Lady Amcottes wharf); but it lies so high up and in so narrow a part of the creek, that no vessels except now and then a small lighter, ever came up so high so that no corn or wood is ever shipped or unshipped.
>
> There was formally a wharf at a place called Thorne within the Liberty of the Town: but it lied down the said creek near a mile below the said town. It was formally part of the lands belonging to the Abbey of Faversham; but hath for many years been washed away by the tide and never rebuilt. There is another wharf higher up the said creek at the North east and of the said town belonging to Lord Sondes also formerly part of the said Abbey Lands called the Standard from which all or near all the corn or goods are shipped and unshipped. The carriages to go to this wharf pass over the whole length of the pavement of the town. And there are several other wharfs higher up the creek: the first above the Standard is called the Kings Head Key, which is used for the coal trade, the next is the Wool Key and used for shipping of wool; the White Hart is the next, which is used in the coal trade, and the next is that of Hatch also used in the coal trade. It is very rare that any other goods or merchandise are shipped or unshipped at those Keys: and the coal goods fruit or other merchandise are laden or unladen above the Kings Head Key and are brought up or down the creek in lighters, no other boat or vessel being to be got up there on account of the want of water, the creek being very shallow and narrow there except in the time of Spring tides" (Fig.34).

Standard Key (or Quay)

Lord Sondes, the Earl of Faversham, acquired Standard Quay in 1677, at a time when the port-trade was expanding. At the same time additional warehousing was built from timber and stones taken out of the Abbey ruins. Gillets Warehouse, formally known as Provender Mill, is a timber-framed building of considerable length (49m by 6.5m). It can be divided into three distinct building phases: the main range, the chamber block and the Victorian bay. The main range is 12 bays long and divided into 2 lofts of 6 bays each; the form of construction indicates a 17th-century date. The chamber block is a 3-bay building with a steeper pitched roof. The wall timbers are in staggered panels and the brick infill is used decoratively. The timbers used in the chamber block are of a size and quality that indicate they would have originated in the Frater building of the Abbey (Wade, 1986: 15).

In the Watson Collection of Sondes papers at Rockingham Castle is the original estimate and plan for rebuilding the warehouses on Standard Quay, dating from the late 17th century.33 The builder had annotated the plan and section of the new warehouse as follows: "Sir, this is a plan and section of the store houses at the Standard Key if they be all joined together as you purposed: with the same length each tenant has now as I have mentioned on the plan." The three tenants named on the plan are Stephen Jones, who has four bays, John Gould and Thomas Raynor, who both have two bays (Fig.35). Stephen Jones was Mayor of Faversham in 1698 and his grandson, Stephen Jones, held the same office in 1773. On Edward Jacobs' 1745 map of the town the warehouses are shown "joined up". It is likely that a pivotal point for construction - from separate warehouses to one complete unit - would be late 17th or

early 18th century. The estimate by William Thurston, carpenter, for taking down and rebuilding the old store-houses at the Standard Quay came to £211 4s 9d.

Immediately west and upstream but attached to Standard Quay a miller called John Downe of Wye, Kent, leased some land from Lord Sondes, and in 1761 built a watercorn mill.34 The previous building is shown on the contemporary plan of Abbey Farm35 drawn by Elias Allen.36 The stream which drove the mill rose in the shooting meadow and, in flowing north, passed the town "rope walk" where no doubt rope and cordage were made for Faversham's maritime and agricultural needs. (Fig.34).37

William Thurston, in planning the rebuilding of the Standard Quay warehouse, suggests: "I am of the opinion twould be best way to sett the back wall of the house over the river it would make a Great deal of room more on the Key and save some charge of keeping that vault up. There is a defination of it in this section." The section shows an underground "vault" with a coffered ceiling built of stone and located at the back of the warehouse (Fig.35).

The mill at Standard Quay was one of two such mills on Faversham Creek. Flood Mill, established by the 11th century, was dismantled in 1617 and "the chamberlaynes of this towne shall for the withe sell awaye (for the best price that they can) the millstones and all the ymplementes of the mill at the sluce and the monye thereof arisinge to be presentle ynmployed and bestowed aboute the channel and sluice, as most nede shalbe, accordinge to the discretion of the governors of the sluce and channell".38 The reason for dismantling and selling off the equipment from the Flood Mill was that in 1613, four years previously, a new mill and mill house had been built at the new sluice by the corporation and leased to William Giles for 21 years at £16 a year.

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1 B.M. Cotton Charter XIII. 12 and Figs.9, 10, 11.
2 It took the British Library, when requested, a lot of trouble to put all 30ft on a series of transparencies.
3 The Customs Port of London "only shall extend up to and include both sides of the Medway to the Eastern side of Stangate Creek, or in other words the North-Western point of Fleet Marsh."
4 The map starts at the North Foreland and runs westwards along the coast and up Faversham Creek to Stonebridge Pond for the very reason that this is the legal definition and extent of the Port of Faversham as confirmed by an Exchequer Commission in 1676 (PRO Special Commissions and the Returns in the Exchequer E178/6266).
5 "The wind was strong but the hoy had no ballast, they sailed down the Swale, which was sheltered enough, but the master insisted on beaching the hoy at Shellness, on the extreme easterly tip of the Isle of Sheppey, to take on ballast before braving the open sea. This took time ... and just as they were able to refloat Faversham sailors with three smacks and forty men arrested the King" (Captain Marsh, eyewitness account of the capture of King James II in December 1688, Cantium Vol.6 No.2 1974).
6 There was in the 16th century a substantial quay at Harty for ships destined to unload at Faversham (CKS: U/2278 and PC/117).
7 In 1860 George Bedo, a local historian, on seeing these earthworks wondered if the Danes had fortified Nagden (Fig.16).
8 Leland in 1549 said: "Ther commeth a creke to the towne that bereth vessels of XX tunnes, and a myle fro thens north est is a great key cawled Thorn to disscharge bygge vessels, ... Herteye joyning to Shepeye liyth agaynt Faversham and the Thorn" (Leland, 1549: 144).
9 Flood Mill was owned by Thomas Arden in 1550 who was murdered by his wife, Alice, and is the subject of an Elizabethan play of the same name.
10 CKS: Wardmote Book, Vol.1, Fa/AC1. Various sluices were built during the period under study, and can be followed in Fig.24 and Fig.25.
11 CKS: Fa/JBF10.
12 Latin repositoriis.
13 Latin grue.
14 Latin platea.
15 Marked on Jacob's map but not named, now called "Smack Alley" (Fig.27).
16 Latin cellar(lum) store-room (especially subterranean) cellar.
17 Latin ergato; ergata means a capstan or a windlass.
18 CKS: Fa/JBF 10.
19 A two-masted ship with topmasts on both.
20 C.F.S.: Fa LB9 & pers. corres. P. Hyde, Nov. 1996.
21 CKS: Fa/ZB 62/2.
22 For example Kings Lynn (Pantin, 1962: 173-81).
23 Even now the area of the town quay floods periodically on high tides.
24 In the survey of Henry III 1248, the number of houses owned by the Abbey were 28. Those not owned amounted to 4. These 4 were owned by Peveral, St Augustine's Abbey, Robert le Heorot (Harty) and the Lord of Chilham (Crow, 1855 Vol.1: 46)
25 The main bottleneck was a stretch of water called "the Narrows" which only one ship could use at a time. Larger ships would "ground" and close the waterway for days on end, especially on ebbing springs (Fa/AC1. F98).
26 PRO Special Commissions and the Returns in the Exchequer E178/6266 mem. 4.
27 Thorne Quay had been out of use since the early 1600s and the timber work had been washed away and never rebuilt. The channel was crossed by a bridge on which in 1738 the corporation spent 42s on repair.
28 Rack rents, a rent stretched to the uppermost annual value of the property rented.
29 Christchurch Abbey owned most of the west bank and development did not start until the early 19th century.
30 Common beam, the one and only legal measure in Faversham for goods shipped in the port.
31 Crow, MS notes, F.I.J.M. September 1898 p.93.
32 CKS: Fa/ZB 49/-51.
33 N.A.O. Watson Collection. 15.
34 N.A.O.; Watson Collection. Draft lease no.673.
35 The map shows the position of all the Abbey Farm buildings, Abbey Street, Court Street, the Guildhall and part of West Street. The Abbey Farm was measured at 85 acres 1 rood including 8 acres of freehold (Fig.36). N.A.O.; (Rockingham Coll. Z1/7).
36 Watson Collection no.706 and Fig.36.
37 A map of Faversham designed to illustrate the distribution of its flora 1838 (Private collection).
38 CKS: Faversham Wardmote Book Fa/AC3 folio 101v.

Chapter 3 Operation of the creek

Jacob in 1774 mentioned that the sluice "has several times been rebuilt when decayed, at this present, the owners do very little, the corporation taking the whole expense upon itself, and it is now in experiment, whether the frequent working of men in the channel will not be more beneficial than the supposed benefit from a sluice; that now being out of repair, and of late seldom used for the end intended, was the cause of making this trial for a time sufficient to determine it has generally been imagined to be or not." Jacob goes on to say: "in the earliest accounts, I find, that according to ancient usage and custom, every owner of a vessel to ten tons and upwards, found a man with an iron rake and shovel, to work therein for six days in a year, and the owner of smaller vessels found a man with the same implements, to work three days, under the direction of the overseers of the creek or channel, appointed by the corporation" (Jacob, 1774: 64-5).

A letter to the corporation from grateful shipowners indicates that cleaning the creek by men was more effective than just using the sluice: "Gentlemen, we beg to inform you of the very great benifits that have arisen from the late improvements in the creek by an increase in depth of water and in the width from the head of the Narrows upwards."1 The shipowners also suggested "the necessity of a painted post, with feet and inches to show the depth of water, and painted notices specifying a small fine for attempting to enter the Narrows, until there afforded water sufficient to do so."

Hasted, writing in 1798, says the navigation had greatly improved, and vessels of 80 tons burden and upwards could now come up to the quays close to the town on "common tides" and vessels drawing 8 feet could come up on Spring Tides (Hasted, 1798: 446).

Ships would be towed the three miles from Hollow Shore to the town quays by men called "hovellers". Hovellers would pick up a track line and, working from the south-west bank, tow the vessels upstream, usually with the making tide. The effort necessary is minimal, the skill is in keeping the vessel to the channel and in deep water. Once a vessel touches the mud, its 100-ton deadweight will keep it fast on the mud till the making tide lifts it clear. Another potential disaster was to allow the stern then to swing into the opposite bank, blocking the channel and allowing the making tide to push the vessel further on to the mud banks. Remains of bridges over the reelways and backwaters used by hovellers were still extant on the 1909 O.S. map (Fig.39). Another method to save the cost of hovelling would be to row up on a making tide, usually with sweeps from the bow (Figs.40, 41). The stern of the vessel would be kept in line with the tide by the simple expedient of towing a collapsed2 anchor from the stern.

On common tides and with large ships, shipowners had to resort to transhipping into lighters.3 In 1761 lighterage for a cargo of slates for St Mary's Church cost an extra £7 10s. Little docks for lighters can be seen downstream from the Town Quay on Edward Jacob's map of 1745 (Fig.42).

The fourteen lighters owned and operated in the Port of Faversham in 1785 were:

Type of Vessel	Tonnage	Owner	Men employed	Task
Lighter	25 tons	Edward Jones	2 men	Unloading hoys
Lighter	24 tons	Edward Jones	2 men	Unloading hoys
Lighter	38 tons	Daniel Jemmett	2 men	Unloading colliers
Lighter	23 tons	Daniel Jemmett	2 men	Unloading colliers
Lighter	38 tons	John Pratt	2 men	Unloading colliers
Lighter	27 tons	John Pratt	2 men	Unloading colliers
Lighter	23 tons	John and Mary Pratt	2 men	Unloading colliers
Barge	55 tons	John Horton	4 men	Unloading colliers
Lighter	25 tons	John Hall	2 men	Unloading colliers
Lighter	36 tons	John Hall	2 men	Unloading colliers
Lighter	32 tons	John Hall	2 men	Unloading colliers
Lighter	23 tons	John Hall	2 men	Unloading colliers
Lighter	23 tons	James Jones	2 men	Unloading hoys
Lighter	22 tons	James Jones	2 men	Unloading colliers
	414 tons	7 owners	30 men employed	

Other, later receipts show greater detail: "One lighter measuring 25 tons used occasionally to load and unload the Phoenix Hoy in Neap tides in Feversham Creek only, has no men that belong particularly to her, but is managed by two of the Phoenix Men, and extra hands to the number of eight when used for Corn, and by four when for other goods. One ditto measuring 24 tons used as above."4

Most of the lighters were used to tranship coal from colliers, either part cargoes or from colliers of a size which excluded them from the coal wharves of Faversham, except on High Spring Tides. The corn hoy Phoenix of 1785 could not approach the wharfs on neap tides and ten men would be necessary to tranship the 25 tons of corn from hoy to lighter. Possibly corn bags had to be filled, emptied and refilled. The coal cargoes would be transhipped by the use of a chute, an easy enough task if the collier was higher (as they were) than the lighters.

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1 CKS: Fa/294.
2 Drudging with a collapsed anchor, one with the arm tied parallel to the shank, enables a craft to maintain steerage way whilst moving with the tide.
3 The first lighters documented in Faversham date from 1572: "item a lighter - iij£" (CKS: PRC 10/6 fol.162 (p.323).
4 CKS: Fa/AZ88 and Fig 43).

Chapter 4 The maritime topography of the Swale

Before the mapping of boundaries, the parameters of the local community would pass by word of mouth from the "oldest inhabitant". This age-old ritual took place in Rogation Week, the time between the fifth Sunday after Easter and Ascension Day. This communal occasion was often accompanied by liberal quantities of food and drink, but it served a serious purpose, namely to keep fresh in the local memory boundaries which may never have been written down or plotted on to a map (Jacob, 1774: 25).

The boundaries of importance to the earliest port of Faversham were the town boundaries, the port boundaries and the oyster fishing boundaries. The town boundaries were mentioned in an Anglo-Saxon charter of AD 699 but are possibly of Roman origin.1 First written down in AD 1276, the document emphasises the port facilities of Faversham. In the very first sentence, addressed to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, it reiterates its obligation of the service of one ship "due to our Lord the King of England". It then starts the perambulation at the most important point of Faversham - Thorne Quay: "we willing to satisfy you, give you to understand that they begin at a place called Thorne at Ewell-fleet."2 The same boundaries appear in a series of "purlieu or perambulations" dated 1611, 1700 and 1745.3

The oyster boundaries were first written down in 15994 but record oral tradition from at least the 11th century, certainly from the period when the dredging of oysters stopped being uncontrolled and a codified system of procedure and rule gradually came into being, in many ways based on the medieval guild system with appointed officials and regulated procedures.5 Entry was only by apprenticeship and eventually such fraternities of free oyster dredgers became companies under Acts of Parliament.6

The Faversham Oyster Company on "the sixth day of August in the sixth year of James the First" (1608), undertook a survey of the said manor and of the fishing grounds.7 "Thereto belonging by a special jury and a map made thereof entitled "A map of the extent of the Kings manor of Faversham by water according to a perambulation taken by a jury and digested into this form, one copy whereof was returned to the King Exchequer, another left with the steward of the water court and a third with the jury who are tenants to the manor and thereby ought to have common."8 All three copies exist; one is to be found hanging in a back room of the Town Hall in Faversham.9

The other two original oyster maps were located at Tassell and Son,10 formerly solicitors to the Faversham Oyster Fishing Company. All three maps are drawn in coloured inks on vellum and enable one to plot with certainty the location of all the boundaries quoted earlier in this paper of the first "trewe survey made of all the boundes and lymyttes of the fisheing groundes on 15 March 1599". There is a poor black and white copy, now obviously of the Town Hall map, in the Kent Archive Office.11 (Fig.44).

Charts in the 18th century

The problem of "finding the way" is an ancient one and at sea the coastal topography - churches, windmills, clumps of trees - would all be used as marks of recognition and also as back markers on some foreground object to indicate either hidden dangers or the line of a safe, deep-water channel.

The Act of VIII of Queen Elizabeth in 1566 shows clearly how the sailor relied upon his landmarks for coastal pilotage. At night the task was almost impossible.12

> "For as much as by the taking away of certain steeples, woods and other marks standing upon the main shores adjoining to the sea coasts of the Realm of England, being as beacons and marks of ancient time accustomed for seafaring men, to save and keep them and the ships in their charge from sundry dangers thereto incident, divers ships with their goods and merchandise, in sailing from foreign parts to this Realm of England, and specially to the port and river of Thames, have by the lack of such marks of late years been miscarried, perished and lost in the sea, to the great detriment and hurt of the common wealth and the perishing of no small number of people."

So important were these coastal landmarks that maritime communities often paid for lights or repairs to landmarks themselves. Occasionally Trinity House bought the landmark, as in the case of Reculver Towers. Landmarks feature prominently in the 1774 Trinity House chart of "The coast of Kent from the North Foreland to Sheppy Island"13 (Fig.47).

By 1786 charts and chart makers had come of age, and the "survey of the East Swale by John Stephenson" was a professional piece of work (Fig.48). The sailing instructions would enable any vessel approaching Faversham to make its way safely through what is, even now, a difficult stretch of water. On the 1786 chart, buoys in the approaches to the Swale and Faversham were numbered by Trinity House, running from No.22 to No.35. Other buoys marked are fishermen's beacons and buoys denoting the Seasalter and Faversham Oyster fishery beds in the entrance to the Swale.

Interestingly, the 1786 chart confirms the antique age of Faversham as a port. Judds Folly House or Hill14 is now called Syndale (Fig.49) and is the site of a Roman settle-

ment, possibly the town of Duroleveum. Nagden was an artificial boat-shaped hill (the second largest in Britain). Nagden means "small figure or stone on a hill"; the stone or statue was possibly utilised as a navigational marker.15 (Fig.50). The third mound in the leading mark sequence is the mound the "new" Oare Windmill sits on.

The last leading mark leads from Stone, the beacon site next to Watling Street, through Harty beacon and along the north edge of the Swale waterway eventually ending at Reculver Towers. All three marks are possibly Roman and although Stone Beacon was no longer there in 1786, "a remarkable clump of Trees" denoted the spot (Fig.51).

Beacons

Lambarde in 1576 published a "Perambulation of Kent" which included a chapter and map on beacons in Kent (Fig.52). He was accused of giving away information to the enemy but rebutted the charge: "the increased speed in mustering forces far outweighed any advantage an enemy might gain from knowledge of the beacon sites."16

Fifty-two beacon sites are shown on Lambarde's "carte" or map and in clear weather any warning of approaching danger by sea would be very rapidly flashed from one end of the country to the other; and London would soon be aware of any threat of landing on any part of the Kent coast. North and south Kent seem to be divided into two areas, with a crossover at Rochester. On the Isle of Thanet five beacons are shown connecting to beacons at Chislet and Wye; these in turn connect to Whitstable and Herne on the coast and Boughton inland. Boughton Hill connects to all seven beacons on the Isle of Sheppey, including the important beacon on Harty. This beacon is of possible Roman date; the pre-1976 O.S. map annotates "Roman Remains found" on the site of Harty beacon. This has been removed on the latest O.S. maps to deter "treasure hunters". Apart from a line of sight to the Roman shore fort at Reculver, Harty Beacon connects to the beacon at Stone just west of Faversham, adjacent to Watling Street and close to the possible site of the lost Roman town of Duroleveum. Field-walking at Stone indicates possible Roman occupation of the site, with ragstone, Roman tile, and brick fragments. The very name itself is indicative of ancient structures (Fig.53). Stone Beacon connects to all of the Sheppey beacons and also the beacon on Grain. Allhallows, Hoo and Chatham beacons draw together all the north Kent beacons and send them up a single line of beacons - Findsbury, Gravesend, Barrowehill, Stone, Purfleet, Shooters Hill to London.

The first real test of the Kent beacon system came in July 1588 when the Spanish Armada came up Channel. No record appears to exist of the lighting of the Kentish beacons apart from Macaulay's poem of the event -

> "Far on the deep the Spaniard saw,
> Along each southern shire,
> Cape beyond cape in endless range,
> Those twinkling points of fire."

The East and West Swale, although used as a waterway to London, led also to the great naval dockyard at Chatham and, in 1596, steps were taken to protect Chatham from enemy ships passing through the Swale.17

Up to 1640 the beacon system was kept in good repair but after that was allowed to decay, although reinstatement occurred in 1745 and 1804. Some sites are now known only from their place names: "In the west hedge of a field (called Beacon field) near the highway (called Beacon Lane) ... lately stood a Beacon and Watch House both since down."18

One of the problems of a beacon, apart from the expense of building it, is the collection of fuel and the maintenance of a good light in all winds and weathers. The only navigational beacon shown on the 1520 pictorial map of the North Kent coast (Fig.15), is the beacon situated on the west spit of the entrance to Faversham Creek.19 Faversham beacon is shown as an upright post, let into the seabed and supported on three sides by struts. On its top it has a circular iron brazier, which is reached for lighting and refuelling by a ladder, formed of a single pole, sloping against the main upright with rungs nailed to it.20 The Faversham beacon indicates the importance of Faversham as a port. Similar beacons were not established until the 17th century and the only other lit navigational beacon shown in the Thames Estuary is one at the North Foreland in 1681.21

During the Spanish Armada emergency, a suggestion was sent from, Faversham to the Privy Council that the Faversham light, which they called a "showebeacon" should be removed. Their advice was taken, for ten days later Lord Russell reported to the Council that "the beacon and other marks which may lead into the Temmys are plucked down, which advise is surely right good."22

The other beacon of interest in the Faversham area is a huge oak structure built inside the late Saxon church of St. Thomas on Harty. The church guide book wonders if the church was built round the beacon or whether the beacon was dismantled and re-used internally as a bell tower.

Buoys and buoyage

In 1541 the Deptford Trinity House Corporation was empowered to erect seamarks and beacons in the Thames Estuary at its own cost and to take over the maintenance of any existing ones. Trinity House were able to licence Thames pilots from the middle of the 16th century, and their duty to supply pilots for the Queen's ships dates from

this time. Features in the Thames Estuary and the Swale can be itemised from contemporary documentation. The Red Sand, Lond Sand and Snowts are named in 1345,23 the Girdler in 136124 and the Black Deeps in 1387. "The Black Deep was the oldest channel through the Sands but John Bartelott in 1540, was given an annuity of £20 a year for piloting the King's ships through the Black Deep and his newly discovered channel, the New Channel or Queens Channel." Possibly the first chart of the Swale and the Thames Estuary to show sounding, beacons and buoys dates from 158425 (Fig.56)

Drying sands are shown with red dots, sounding in fathoms, and the nature of the sea bed, no doubt for use with a tallow-rmed sounding lead26 - "small shells" "shells of sand", etc. Margate, Broadstairs and Ramsgate are all shown with substantial curved timber piers protecting the harbours. This is one of the earliest illustrations of these ports. Compass lines radiate from the Spell buoy giving leading lines to the Medway, Swale and North Foreland. The Wantsum Channel is shown open and the havens of Faversham and Milton are also shown.

Beacons are shown on	**Buoys are shown on -**
Spanyard	Woolpack (by the New Channel)
Nore bed	Spell or Spile (three buoys)
Laste sand	Laste
	Spell
Posts are shown on -	Rede Sand
Rede Sands, Gilman Sands	Spanyard
	Lod sande

1 Swale Archaeological Survey, Interim Report 1996.

2 Ewell was originally called "Ealh" and means a temple or in more general terms a "sanctuary". "Fleet" or "Fleot" means a sheet of water communicating with the sea (Ward G. 1934. The Topography of Some Charters relating to Faversham. Arch. Cant. 46, 123-36).

3 CKS U390 M36/1.

4 E. Jacob, History of Faversham 1774, 75: CCA U33 Wilson MSS Depositions taken regarding bounds, 15 March 1599, PRO E134/42 Eliz Easter 10: CKS Faversham Official Papers 03; CCA U33, Boa2; PRO LR2/218 ff. 209-256.

5 R.H. Goodsall "Oyster fisheries on the North Kent Coast" Arch. Cant., 1955, 1xxx, 118-151 and G. Pike, J. Cann and R. Lambert, Oysters and Dredgermen, 1992, passim.

6 PRO E234/42 Eliz. Easter 10.

7 Careful surveys were made on three occasions under Elizabeth and James, the first in 1591, the second in 1599 and the most detailed and thorough was drawn up in 1608.

8 CKS: U390 L21.

9 Relocated whilst researching this thesis in 1995, with the original Edward Jacob map of Faversham in colour from 1745. There were thought to be only two surviving Edward Jacob maps, one in the British Library and the other in Kent Archive Office, both black and white engraved copies (Figs.45, 46).

10 West Street, Faversham.

11 CKS: U390 Z11-12.

12 I remember as a young Captain of a 100ft topsail schooner how difficult it was to find the entrance to the Swale at night and on one memorable occasion on a foggy November night I relied on the Thames coastguard to talk me in by radar. 50 years ago it would have been necessary to anchor and wait for dawn.

13 Private collection.

14 There was an earth mound at Syndale called "King Johns Castle" (Hasted).

15 Nagden Hill or "bump" was removed by Southern Water Company in 1953 to repair breached sea defences. The engineer involved said the hill was artificial (Fig.17). Nagden means in Icelandic or Nordic, "Small post marker on the hill" (Wallenberg, 1934).

16 Lambarde, 1576: 22.

17 Three guard-ships were stationed in the West Swale, the Ayde, the pinnace Sonne and a ketch. Orders were issued that "six musketts wch she hath in her to shoot of as fast as they can" (B.M.; S.P. Dom. Nov. 10 1596).

18 Kilburne, 1659, Survey of the County of Kent.

19 The beacon at Harty is "off the map" but is shown on the 1608 Faversham Oyster fishery map (Fig.54). The other beacon shown on the 1608 map is a beacon called "Beacon of the Wreck". This beacon is attached to a huge rectangular object and is situated where now Horse Sands are on the Swale (Fig.55). It is possible Horse Sands was formed by accretion of sand over the possible wreck. Outside Poole in the 18th century a shoal formed a mile in length in less than a century after the sinking of a ship (Ward E.M. 1932 English Coastal Evolution. London, p.245).

20 Harty Beacon is of the same construction, although the basket is cantilevered out, possibly to enable the basket to be lowered to the ground for tending and refuelling. Field-walking at the site of the beacon on Harty has indicated that coal was the fuel used (Site notes, 1995, Harty) and if so the light could have been seen for about 7 miles (Naish J. 1985 Seamarks, Their History and Development. London, pp.87-90).

21 Grenville Collins 1681, Maps of the English Channel.

22 B.M. P.C. Gardiner July 23 1588.

23 B.M. Pat 19 Edw. III pt ii m. 20d.

24 B.M. For. Accts No 24, m.15: Close 34 Edw. III m.4.

25 B.M. Cott Aug I i 44.

26 A small depression on the base of a sounding lead was "armed" with tallow, the material brought up from impact with the sea-bed could be identified (sometimes by tasting) by an experienced pilot as from a particular locality.

Chapter 5 Faversham and its outports, Whitstable, Herne and Reculver

"The Customs port of Faversham, as delimited by an Exchequer Commission of 1676, included a considerable portion of the Kentish coast, stretching from Milton in the west to the North Foreland in the east" (Andrews, 1956: 125).

The coastal area designated by the commissioners in 1676 reflected the importance and influence of Faversham.

> "We did personally repaire unto the towne and porte of Feversham and did search view and survey the open places there and thereabouts, and by virtuie of the said commission wee doe hereby sett downe appoint and settle the extents bounds and limitts of the said porte of Feversham a member of the said port of Sandwich as followeth -1
>
> "The said portis by us declared to extend and be accounted from the North Foreland bearing North East to nine fathoms of water at a low water marke being about three miles from the shore. And soe from thence in a supposed direct line West till it fall opposite to the promontory or point commonly called by the name of the lands end point to the Eastward of Shippie Ileland2 to the same depth of water or thereabouts at a low water marke and the like distance from the shore. And from the said bounds and limitts up to the East Swaile3 South South West to Feversham creeke. And soe South up the river or haven of Feversham to the bridge commonly called or knowne by the name of the Shire Bridge."4

The Port of Faversham was a member of the Cinque Ports and the boundaries of the Cinque Ports were suitably longer -

> "From a point to the westward of Seaford in the county of Essex, called Red Cliffs, passing outside the shoal called 'The Horse of Willingdon' to within five miles of Cape Grizvies on the coast of France, along the east of the Galloper Sand to Saint Osyth in Essex, from Brightlingsea to Shoe Beacon and then to Shellness on the Isle of Shippey and then across to Faversham."5

These limits of jurisdiction gave invaluable rights of toll, droits, salvage to the Cinque Ports, and were jealously guarded and protected. The port of Faversham's limits and bounds included the ports and landing places of Reculver, Herne and Whitstable. By 1820 the area of jurisdiction had shrunk but still included Reculver, Herne and Whitstable (Fig.57).

Faversham outports

Reculver, Herne and Whitstable are historic landing places. Reculver, as one of the Forts of the Saxon Shore (the "Litus Saxonicum"), was one of the possible focus points for the Roman grain trade from Britain to the Rhine and the northern frontiers. This route of supply ran from the Thames, Medway, along the Swale to Reculver and then through the Wantsum Channel to Richborough. Grain was possibly trans-shipped from these ports to the north or the Rhine (Milne, 1988: 82).

Reculver lost its importance when the Wantsum silted up and erosion of the cliffs destroyed at least a third of the site. No cargoes to Reculver are listed in the Faversham Port Books from 1580 to 1780, but Reculver was described in 1702 as a "seatown, well frequented by hoymen and fishermen".6

Herne is described by Hasted as a centre7 of a flourishing coastwise trade and in 1702, its farmers, hoymen and fishermen considered their bay important enough to need guns for protection against the French8 (Fig.58). In 1722 Herne is listed as having one ship and in 1741, the only other year for a full listing, Herne had three ships.

Whitstable's beginning as a port dates back to at least the 8th century. The port's name, Harwic, is attested by Lambarde in 1576 and Kilburne in 1659.9 It is likely the 8th-century Graveney boat found in the marshes just east of Faversham in 1970, would have used Harwic as a home port. Both Harwic and the land the Graveney boat was found on belong to Christ Church at Canterbury. Stone destined for Canterbury Cathedral was landed at Harwic in 1424.10 The port, then called Greystone, has confused academics for years. The "Har" in Harwic is Old English for "grey" or "hoary" stone - hence Greystone (Winchester, 1990: 87). The earliest maps of the Swale indicate a sheltered harbour at Whitstable and on the earliest oyster maps the "Old Haven" is drawn and annotated. Lambarde also records the "Borowe of Harwic", as does an Oyster fishery map which clearly shows the boundaries of Harwic in Seasalter (Fig.59).

The next series of oyster maps at the Centre of Kentish Studies and Canterbdury Cathedral,11 shows the "Old Haven" at the top of "Little Joy Lane" in 1725 and 1770 (Fig.60). This is situated in a small valley, with its western and eastern ends on higher ground shown quite clearly on the 1520 pictorial coastline map (Fig.13).

The eastern end, which is now Tankerton, was formally known as Beaconsfield and at least one beacon, part of a Kentish signalling system, is known to have been established here since 1350 (Lightfoot, 1872: 299-310 & Hasted, 1798: 51). On the western end, at Greystone, was another beacon which was manned by men of Whitstable in the 14th century (Lightfoot, 1872: 299-310). The Ordnance Survey geological map12 shows a spread of allu-

vium across the mouth of this bay which was protected by the earliest sea wall at Whitstable. If breached, as it was in the floods of 1953, the area of the "Old Haven" would be awash to a depth of 3m. With the silting of the landing place, Harwic may have been abandoned, and most of Canterbury's ecclesiastical trade went to Sandwich, with Fordwich as an outport. Faversham took over the secular trade of Canterbury until the late 18th century, but with the building of one of the first railways in the world from Canterbury to Whitstable, the trade shifted again, and for the last time, to Whitstable.

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1 PRO. Special Commissions and the Returns in the Exchequer E178/6266.
2 Island of Sheppey, 'Sceapige', Saxon for 'sheep'.
3 Swaile is the modern Swale, called Sualuae in Saxon times, meaning waterway:- "This channel (Swale) would appear to have been an important part of the sheltered waterway system that ran from Ribe in Denmark to Quentovic in Northern Gaul, and from the Alps through the Wantsum to the Thames" (Hill, 1981: 14).
4 In 1676 the only bridge in Faversham was "Stonebridge" which led via St. Annes Cross by a shireway to Beacon Hill, Stone.
5 B.M. George III CAP CXXX 30th June 1808.
6 Miège, 1702: 117.
7 Herne ships anchored in a protected bay for unlading, now called Herne Bay (Fig.58).
8 State Papers, Domestic, Anne 1/35.
9 Lambarde, 1576: 30, and Kilburne, 1659: 286.
10 Arch.Cant. 1933, 38-45.
11 CKS: TR781/1.
12 O.S. sheet 273, 1974.

PART TWO:

FAVERSHAM—THE SHIPS AND THE SEAMEN

Chapter 6 Development of the rig 1580-1780

The earliest pictorial representation of a Faversham ship is from the Faversham Town Seal of 1200.1 It indicates the type of ship, a hulk, in use at Faversham in the 13th century. Marine archaeologists have defined the term "hulk" to identify ships which share certain characteristics (Hutchinson, 1994: 12). The hulk is shown carrying a cargo of corn which indicates even at this early stage of port development, trading and commerce were among the functions of the port of Faversham (Fig.62).

The other surviving ship seal of Faversham is from the 13th or early 14th century.2 The ship portrayed is a more advanced hulk loaded with men-at-arms and trumpeters, and is pennoned with the chevron standard of the King's Admiral, Gilbert the Earl of Clare. This seal could represent the scene in 1293 when Gilbert, with the aid of the barons of Faversham, had defeated the French fleet in the Channel, (Fig.63).

One of the most profitable activities of the Cinque Portsmen up to the 15th century was piracy. They marauded as far as Hull and Bayonne, fighting without scruple against Jew and Gentile alike for their money and goods, and slaughtering French crews "quicker than it takes to eat a biscuit" (Brandon & Short, 1990: 84). This "derring-do" made them invaluable defenders of the Channel from the 13th to 15th centuries and ideal recruitment for the Crown's adventures against the Welsh, Scottish and French.

On the 7th October 1573 a pirate ship was seized by the port authorities, the Lucy of Faversham owned by Gilbert Horsely.3 The 40-ton vessel was a three-masted ship4 with two top masts and bowsprit "all of spruce".5

Although the single-masted rig is the most effective for sail-propulsive power, the addition of extra masts allow the sail area to be divided up into more easily handled sizes. Also a single mast puts a great strain on just one point of the keelson, and the associated standing rigging has to be of such a great thickness that the effort of keeping it taut is usually beyond the capabilities of an on-board crew. The most important advantage of having more than one mast is in tacking and steering. When a ship turns, it pivots about its centre of lateral resistance (C.L.R.) a point almost always half way along the keel. Any sails set on masts either end of the vessel will enable the ship to pivot that much quicker on its C.L.R. The foresail, if backed,6 will enable the head of the ship to be turned that much quicker when tacking and not be caught "in-stays".7 The foresail will maintain the tack or turn whilst the mainsail and main top sail can be swung around. This is a fairly complex manoeuvre but so fundamental to the operation of square-rigged ships it is worth quoting from Captain J.H. Waters of Faversham (1898-1961) the niceties of such an operation:

> "At a pinch two men could put a topsail schooner or a ketch about, whether she was a two- or three-master did not matter, the limit being whether they could start the yards swinging, together. One man went forward, while the mate or skip put the helm down8 and shouted 'lee-oh', to indicate that it had actually been done - not so obvious right away on a black windy night. As soon as she was up in the wind, the bloke forward had to let go his jib sheets,9 nip across and haul the jibs over the stays, taking care to swig them in as tight as possible, as once off on the new tack in any sort of breeze it would take a handy-billy10 to flatten them. By this time the ship would have the way off her,11 the topsails would be aback12 and the fore and afters thumping about from side to side. As the bloke forward cast off the staysail bowline,13 the man at the wheel ran forward to the braces14 and let them go, both reached the lee braces15 at the same time, and grabbing all three gave one tremendous heave to get the yards started. Once the yards were on the move it was hard to get the slack of the braces in fast enough, as they came round with a rattle all three were swigged16 up on two pins17 (Greenhill, 1951: 329).

The lateen mizzen was introduced to ships of Northern Europe in the late 15th century and by the early 16th century the common rig consisted of spritsail, foresail and foretopsail, mainsail and maintopsail and lateen mizzen. All of these sails are to be found on the Lucy of Faversham in 1573. The foresail does little to increase the speed of the ship but helps enormously in tacking; likewise adding a lateen mizzen to the square mainsail improves the windward performance of a ship and allows it to sail a little closer to the wind. On the approach to a tack, the turning force of the mizzen can thrust the head of the ship through the wind, but doesn't help during the critical operating of swinging the mainsail yards round. Rigging a ship with all three masts optimises windward ability and provides the sail power for efficient tacking.

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1 B.L. Cast LXV 55, see also Fig.61.
2 National Maritime Museum. Cast K17, see also Fig.63).
3 Gilbert Horsley "is a man of very small stature with a red beard"; he was tried by the High Court of Admiralty and hanged on 16th December 1579, the construction of the gallows costing 18s (PRO: HCA 1/40 f.98, 1/101).
4 The earliest known depiction of a three-masted ship is from a Catalan manuscript dated 1406 (Mott, 1994).
5 CKS Fa/JQZ1 and Fa/JQZ3.
6 Backed: to have the wind filling the forward side.
7 In-stays: a situation when a ship loses way and all the sails are flapping in the wind.
8 To turn the ship into the wind.
9 Jib sheets: ropes attached to the clew of the jib-sail (the lower aft corner).

10 Handy-billy: two single blocks rove to give additional purchase.
11 Almost stationary in the water.
12 Aback: the wind blowing on the forward (wrong) side of the sail.
13 Staysail bowline: the sheet of the staysail was attached to the rail by a bowline.
14 Ropes which controlled the side-to-side swing of the yards.
15 Lee braces: ropes which were on the opposite side to where the wind was blowing.
16 Swigged: figure of eight turns round a belaying pin, pulled taut by "swigging".
17 Pins (belaying pins): usually of ash and about 1 ft long and located in circular holes in the top rail of the bulwarks.

Chapter 7 Ship inventories, 1573-1742

The sail wardrobe of the Lucy included "a main sail, a main-topsail, a foresail, fore-topsail, a spritsail and a mizzen sail". The spritsail was a square sail set from a yard supported by the bowsprit, although small it added leverage and balanced the mizzen sail. The main topsail was set on a yard at the top of the mainmast. It provided lifting and driving power in the undisturbed wind near the top of the mast. Inventories of Henry VII show these sails were in use by 1485 (Oppenheim, 1896a: 212).

Other sails of interest on Lucy are two bonnets and a drabler. Both a bonnet and drabler were additional pieces of canvas, laced to the bottom of the sail in the bonnet's case, and laced to the bottom of the bonnet in the drabler's case. Both sails were used either to enlarge the sail area or in reefing, which is to reduce the sail area as the force of the wind increases. For flat calm or tidal work Lucy was also equipped with ten ship's oars. The inventory also itemises the running rigging of the ship: "topsail parral beads with four pulleys or blocks, two topsail bowlines, main top sail braces, mizzen lifts, main tackle, main sheets." The care and upkeep of the ship was entrusted to the Bosun, and in the inventory are itemised the tools of his trade - "j cawkyng yeron" (one caulking iron), also half a pound of sail thread and two needles, and an empty barrel full of pulleys, tackle and ends of ropes.

The crew's effects are itemised: "the captain's bed, 2 beds (hammocks) an old pillow, an old pillow of canvas, one pillow of feathers." To get ashore, a skiff and two oars are itemised along with "fyshe hooke wythe hys roope" to lift the skiff over the side. The crew ate on pewter platters, and drank out of pewter pots; their food, prepared in a frying pan, was undoubtedly the 33 pieces of beef, 26 fish, eaten with the 3 loafs of bread, possibly seasoned from the barrel of salt kept on board. For "self-denfense" the ship was armed with one cannon, a falconet,1 on a carriage with four breech chambers. For close-quarter fighting there were a harquebus, musket, two bows, a sheaf and bundle of arrows, two daggers, a sword and dagger, two axes, one hatchet, two old swords, and a drum to bang to keep the spirits up. Also itemised are two black bills, an old spear and halbard. For navigation a sounding lead and line are itemised along with five compasses and two running glasses.

By 1600 the standard rig of spritsail, foresail and foretopsail, mainsail and maintopsail, lateen mizzen was already being modified and as the PRO HCA-4 series2 indicates the larger merchant ships started to carry a third topgallant sail on the mainmast; fore-topgallant sails were coming into use by 1650 and by the early 18th century most three-masted ships carried one if not both sails.

The inventory of the Lawrel3 of Faversham (60 tons) dated 1628 has a sail wardrobe which included a topgallant sail: "One main sail, foresail, spritsail, mizzen and main topsails, main sail, foresail, foretopsail, mizzen topsail, spritsail topsail, main topgallant and one bonnet."

Staysails came into use early in the 17th century and by 1750 a typical small Faversham merchant ship would carry two, possibly maintop and fore-staysail, and many carried three. The mizzen-topsail was well-known by 1650 and by 1700 most ships had one. The spritsail was often supplemented by the spritsail-topsail and after the introduction of the jib in the early 18th century the spritsail and spritsail-topsail lapsed out of use. The growing practice of reefing sails is reflected in the demise of bonnets, carried on most ships up to the mid-17th century but unknown in the 18th.

The inventory of the Queenborough of Faversham (84 tons) dated 1734 had a sail wardrobe which consisted of one mainsail, two forestay sails, one foretop sail, two top gallant sails, one main staysail, one fore staysail, two main top sails and a flying jib. In other words, unlike the Lawrel which was a three-masted ship (the Queenborough wasn't), it was a two-masted ship, a brig or snow. In 1690 the dividing line between the two-masted and the three-masted ship came at 50-60 tons burden, but by the 1730s the dividing line was at 80-90 tons and by the 1740s and 50s the dividing line had climbed to well above 100 tons.4

In the 18th century the word "snow" begins to appear in naval histories or in the accounts of ports or of voyages.5 The brig and the snow are typical ships of the 18th century, almost identical and both used for all purposes but brigs particularly were used by the north-east ports as colliers.

By 1775, as ships were built larger and larger, a distinction began to emerge between the ship-rigged vessel and the bark or barque. The bark of course set no square sail on the mizzen mast. This also was the point of divide on Faversham registered ships. In the 16th and 17th centuries, as rig was formulated and fashioned, even ships of 40 tons would carry a three-masted ship's rig. But by 1742 the hoy Margaret of Faversham, 35 tons burden, was a single-masted cutter - "with her mast, bowsprit, boom and gaff, two yards, and a flying jib boom." The Margaret's sail wardrobe consisted of "one mainsail, one foresail, one gib, one flying gib, and one topsail, half worn." The Margaret by Faversham port standards was a small vessel, the average tonnage in 1744 being 52 tons.

In the Kentish Post, or Canterbury News Letter6 of 1729 the ship Friends Goodwill, John Adrien, master, burden

about 140 tons, was to be sold to the highest bidder. Friends Goodwill was rigged as a brig, and the only reason for knowing this is that in 1794.

> "The brigs Friends Goodwill, James Carr, Master and the Good Intent, Robert Hutchinson, Master, coal laden, from Sunderland to Amsterdam, were a few days ago taken off the Island of Goree by a French brig privateer of 18 guns, and re-taken yesterday at the back of the Goodwin Sands by His Majesty's frigate Brilliant, Captain Robinson, and sent in here."7

The same year "The Ruffler Sloop, James Pearce, Master, burden between 60 and 70 tons; with all utensils necessary for the same, being all in very good repair was also offered for sale at Faversham" (Fig.64).

In Edward Jacob's map of Faversham (1745), there is a pictorial representation of seven hoys (Fig.65). All are single masted, with a bowsprit, setting a mainsail, staysail and jib. None of the hoys is setting a topsail or even has one furled. All have a raised quarter-deck with stern cabins and double squared windows or ports. The mainsail is gaffed and loose-footed and the ensign is carried on its own staff attached to the rail at the stern. Four of the hoys are shown leaving on the tide and a six-oared cutter is illustrated seaward of Powder Monkey Bay. Possibly its function was to aid the hoys by towing them round the curves of the creek. The set of the sails indicate the prevailing south-westerly wind was blowing, which would enable them to sail almost unheeded out to the Swale.

The other three hoys are shown moored just off Standard Quay. A masthead ensign is being flown by one, but all three hoys have bare spars undoubtedly because the sails are stored below decks or ashore. Further up the creek at the Town Quay are shown four docks for lighters and a small fishing boat, possibly unloading its catch for the fish market held under the Guildhall every Wednesday and Saturday (Jacob, 1774: 62 and Fig.66). The Edward Jacob map is undated but unusually for a town map has a compass rose showing the magnetic variation (Fig.67).

In John Purdy's Sailing Directory for the English Channel published in 1842 are tables showing magnetic variation from 1580 to 1841. In 1657 there was no magnetic variation in London, and the compass needle pointed to true north. After that time the variation increased westward yearly, and in the middle of the 18th century the observations in London were as follows:

1740 (15 40 West)
1745 (16 53 West)
1748 (17 40 West)
1750 (17 54 West)
1760 (19 12 West)
1765 (20 00 West)

The magnetic variation of 17 00 West shown on Jacob's Faversham map can be compared with the reading observed in London between the years 1740 and 1765. Allowing for the distance between Faversham and London and a slight difference in variation, the Jacob map can be dated around the year 1745. R.V. Tooley in his publication Tooley's Dictionary of Mapmakers places Jacob's map around 1770. On the evidence of map variation this date would seem to be too late.8 On other estate maps further pictorial 18th-century shipping in the port of Faversham can be described. On the Ham Farm estate map dated 17609 shipping is anchored at Hollow Shore: a three-masted ship, with painted gunports is making sail; it has a raised quarter deck with stern cabins and double squared windows or ports. It is flying a red pennant from its mainmast truck, which may indicate it is one of the powder hoys, possibly the Edward and Mary, employed by the Gunpowder Works (Fig.68).

Another estate map, dated 1708 and of Minster in Sheppey,10 has painted in the top left corner one of the early representations of the Dutch-influenced hoy. Its well-rounded lines and "apple bow" with the use of leeboards all accumulate to shout its Dutch heritage. The mainsail itself is held out with a sprit-yard, the sail being loose-footed and the rig points the way to the development of this type into the ubiquitous Thames sailing barge of the 19th and 20th centuries (Fig.69).

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1 OED Falconet: A light piece of ordnance of various calibres, used in the 16th and 17th centuries.

2 If a ship was arrested by order of the High Court of Admiralty an appraisal was made and a complete inventory of everything removable taken. The many hundreds of appraisements and inventories which are in the court records (PRO HCA-4) make it possible to trace in great detail the development of ships and their equipment - including sails - for ships of every size, from the 16th to 19th centuries. Five Faversham ships' inventories from 1570 to 1742 have been transcribed.

3 Laurel: Amongst the many meanings of the word is that for one of the English gold pieces (especially those of 20s.) first coined in 1619, on which the monarch's head was figured with a wreath of laurel.

4 PRO HCA - 4/24.

5 The first reference in the OED to the use of the term for a British vessel is 1721 (see Davis, 1972: 77).

6 Kent is fortunate in possessing some of the oldest provincial newspapers in the country. The Kentish Post, or Canterbury News Letter goes back to 1717. The Kentish Gazette first appeared in 1768, being published in Canterbury by Simmons and Kirkby every Wednesday and Saturday.

7 Kentish Register Feb. 19, 1794, Dover.

8 Pers. corres. Brian Duncan Thynne, Hydrography Section, National Maritime Museum, Dec. 1993.

9 CKS, U36: 31.

10 CKS, U36: 15.

Chapter 8 Operation of the ships

On most occasions hoys would load at Faversham, and be towed or sailed out on the making tide and use the same tide to propel them westwards through the Swale and into the Thames. It would have been standard practice to anchor off the Medway and wait for the tide to make some hours later and again use the tide to make their way up-river against the prevailing south westerly winds. The ideal rig for this sort of voyage would be a large simple rig, easily tacked and with the ability to go to windward. As we saw from the 1573 inventory of the Lucy, oars were an important element, as were the "kedge and bower" anchors. On windless departures from Faversham creek, hoys could be either towed from the shore or by a pulling boat, or use their own oars or sweeps. If the tide was too strong on the ebb, ships would drop the anchor and dredge. This meant 30 fathoms of rope or chain and a folded anchor would be dragged along the sea bed to slow the hoy down and give steerage way. Hoys would also work their way up a creek by running the kedge away, heaving up to it, dropping the main anchor, and running the kedge away again, perhaps for 20 times before their destination was reached. Another trick peculiar to the Swale was that in calm weather, as soon as the hoys entered the creek, one fully loaded hoy would tie alongside another, more lightly loaded, and the flood tide would roll them up the creek in the channel, and if they touched, it would always be the fully loaded hoy first. The lightly loaded hoy would then pull the other one off.1

It was essential to use the tides to reach London quickly (Fig.70). The outgoing or ebbing tide was known in the Swale as the "west tide". Between Milton Creek and Queenborough, the tide runs from west to east for the first hour of the ebb. This was called the west tide. After that it reverses and runs from east to west (Fig.71). Between Milton Creek and Shellness, the ebb tide runs from west to east all the time. The term "west tide" is really a misnomer, because tides are usually described in terms of the direction towards which they are going, rather than from which they are coming (Cordell & Williams, 1985: 49).

The trick was to leave Faversham Creek on a making tide, arrive at the entrance to Milton Creek two hours after High Water and use the ebbing tide in the West Swale to take you to the mouth of the Medway, then anchor and wait for the next making tide which would take you up the Thames to London. These anchorages, Faversham "bay" and Stangate Creek are historic anchorages used by sailing ships en route to London from time immemorial. Faversham hoys were complex in their rig, and although able to voyage world-wide, were somewhat over-sparred for Thames Estuary work. Faversham hoys could and did voyage rather than coast. Spain, Ireland, Norway, Wales, Scotland, Newfoundland are some of the destinations to be found in the Port Books and from other sources.2

The operation of the Faversham fishing boats

The first pictures we have of boats dredging and fishing in the Swale is from an estate map of the Isle of Harty dated 17183 (Fig.72). Of the sixteen boats shown six are double-ended rowing boats with two people, one of the six is annotated "Ferry Boat" and is obviously the boat used as a ferry from Oare to Harty, the other five are engaged in dredging or trawling; all six craft are of a type called "peter-boats" or dobles. The peter-boat is a beamy double-ended clinker hull originating at the very least in the 14th century. The name peter-boat could be derived from associations with St. Peter, the patron saint of fishermen, or could possibly be derived from the peter-nets used in seine fishing in the Thames Estuary. Dobles incidentally could be a corrupted form of Kentish dialect for "double"-ender. Peter-boats are consistent in size, and typical measurements would be about 18 ft to 19 ft in length, and a beam of about 6 ft 6 ins, they were heavily built, clinker fashion, of oak with grown frames, the strakes being up to 3/4in thick. They were half-decked with waterways and scuppers through the low bulwarks, and a unique feature was a wet well built in amidships; this wet well for keeping the catch fresh seems to have been invented by the Dutch and introduced into the Thames around 1700 (Coombe, 1989: 15). As in later fishing craft the wet well was tapered in from the boat's bottom to keep the centre of gravity lower. In a model of a peter-boat in the Science Museum there are over 200 holes bored to provide the appropriate water circulation.

On at least three of the peter-boats illustrated on the Isle of Harty map can be seen "thole-pins"; this fits in well with what is known about peter-boats. The ash oars were usually 15 ft long with squared looms (hence the "thole-pins") and spoon blades about 3 ft x 6 ins wide. A rowing box rather than thwarts was positioned athwart the peter-boat in the working area forward of the wet well. Two men could sit side by side on the box and row (Fig.73).

The sailing rig

Out of the sixteen boats there are five with sailing rig. These five are of the same size and type as the five rowing peter-boats, three have a spritsail rig and the other two have a standing lugsail rig; two of the boats have their spritsails furled against the mast with the sprit unshipped. The mainsails aren't laced to the mast; obviously the tackline would have kept it taut enough whilst sailing (Fig.74). The other five craft shown are spritsail-rigged hoys 4 and will be discussed in detail in the appropriate section of this study.

Interestingly, the artist of the Isle of Harty map was aware of local conditions; all five peter-boats are shown dredging on well known oyster beds, and by looking at the pennants of the peter-boats we see the wind was blowing from the south-west, the prevailing wind on this part of the coast. In 1720 the first use of the words "oyster smack"5 appears. The earliest craft on the Faversham register were called "borleys"; later oyster smacks were known also as "yawls".

Oyster bawleys

The "borley" or bawley was clinker-built typically 30 ft in length with a beam of 9 ft 6 ins and a tonnage of about 71/2 tons. The stern of the bawley is "straight-cut" like a rowing boat and her boomless upright mainsail, though enabling her to sail nearer, offers less canvas area to the wind (Collard, 1902: 27). The oyster boats of the Swale are renowned for their longevity. Some were clinker-built, then doubled, then trebled so that they ended up carvel-built; some were stripped down and rebuilt so often their lifespans can be measured in centuries rather than decades.6 The Faversham bawleymen's style was for the mainsail to be set loose-footed to a boom, the jib-headed topsail was held to the topmast by a jackline through the luff.

The consensus of informed opinion was that the Faversham men were the best dredgermen, followed by Whitstable smacksmen with Essexmen trailing behind (Collard, 1902: 29). At Faversham the dredgermen had mastered the difficult art of "rucking" their mainsail peak to give a very slow dredging speed. "They could pick up a hairpin" (Coombe, 1989: 27).

The largest bawleys used on the Faversham grounds were about 40 ft x 12 ft. The earlier bawleys had a straight keel but later on the boats drew more water aft than forward. The shallow draft of these boats is to cope with the local shoal waters; the keel has a slope which turns up again towards the rudder; thus the helmsman can turn the boat into deeper water the moment the keel touches bottom. This is a unique feature and allowed the largest craft to sail up the twisting Faversham Creek with impunity.

The hull of the bawley was black due to the annual tarring or "blacking" as it was called. This took place on "Hills Hard",7 a shingle bank near the mouth of the creek. The method used was to scrub off as the tide receded, burn off the tar with paraffin soaked rags, repaint with new tar before the tide came back in - a period of no more than four to six hours. The sails when new were creamy white flax, but after a season or two they acquired a tan colour as fish oil and red-ochre were applied to the stretched canvas to maintain an effective wind resistance. To maintain this wind resistance it wasn't unknown for a crew hoping to be first back to the oyster boat anchorage at Nagden "sump" to throw water over their sails. The flax in the sails soaked up the water and made the material more wind resistant.

An area of grass opposite the town sluice was allocated to the oystermen to "dress" their sails. The larger boats had a long shallow counter and weren't "straight cut" as were the smaller bawleys. This gave additional deck space and allowed the boatmen to work up to six oyster dredges at once. It also gave "lift" and would have kept spray and the possibility of being "pooped" at bay. The one remaining craft of this size at Faversham8 has a well rounded midsection, and a sloping rudder post which gives a low wetted surface area and therefore a low hull drag, all of which gives a fast boat; the low free board, essential for working the oyster dredges, gives little protection from the weather and as most dredging was done in the winter months these men would have been extremely tough. It is worth quoting at length from an oysterman - Skipper Albert Stroud born in 1845 but able to relate experiences of his father and grandfather, both of whom were "oystermen" in the Swale as far back as 1750:

> "It was always damp down below, even with the fire going because of the saltpetre pickling in the bawleys timbers.9
>
> "No mattresses or bedding was kept on board, each of us brought our own gear on board, each man catered for himself, bringing his own wicker grub10 basket, the cabin had four cupboard bunks with sliding doors, as the cabin was aft it had little more than sitting headroom, all woodwork, including the interior of the bunks was painted a very pale green, giving the illusion of space - although there was little enough of it down below: there was no room for a table for instance, or for cupboards.
>
> "At the fore end of the cabin was a fair-sized coal range, with an oven to one side, it stood in front of a bulkhead in which there was a gap leading to our coal supply and the 50 gallon water tank, which were in the after end of the hold. Although the locker seats had storage space underneath, we kept tools, shackles and other gear in them rather than the usual coal and firewood.
>
> "There was plenty of light from a two-foot square skylight, but it did not open as the companionway gave adequate ventilation. In the top of the skylight was the compass, in view of the helmsman but protected from the weather, by night we had an oil lamp with a tin reflector at the back, which hung on a nail in the for'ard bulkhead."11

It is unusual to find an oysterman so lucid about his experiences - usually such men were illiterate. In a signed deposition of 1749 by the Society of Dredgers we find that out of a membership of 140 names some 70 have put "their mark".12

Operating the oyster boats

Life on board Faversham oyster boats was hard. An apprentice (and only sons of existing freemen had the right to be apprenticed)13 would be put to work "on the bow". This meant that whatever he caught dredging was kept separate and the boat took one quarter share of what it was sold for. The share system on Faversham boats was organised so that with the normal three crewmen the proceeds of the catches were divided into four shares, one for each of the men and one for the boat and gear. Therefore if there was a fourth hand working on the bow he paid over a quarter of his proceeds (Collard, 1902: 22).

The bow dredge was the heaviest - about 24lb for Swale Estuary work - but had the shortest warp; this was to prevent the "fleet" of five or six dredges, which would have been overboard at any one time, from fouling each other. The "midships" dredges would weigh about 22 lbs with a rather longer warp, and at the stern would be the lightest dredge at 20 lbs with the longest warp - light dredges need a longer warp to bite. Working on the bow was much harder than working aft. The bow of course was much higher out of the water and it was much harder to get the heel of the dredge over the bulwarks (Collard, 1902: 74).

The dredge had a triangular iron framework which supported a 11/2in net bag. The underneath of the frame was angled so that the bag would scrape across the sea bed without tearing. At each side were "side-sticks", and a "catch stick" was secured along the bottom with strips of hide; both helped to empty the contents of the dredge on deck for "culling". Faversham smacks and borleys usually worked six dredges in pairs, the bowman having the two largest, the "midshipsman two smaller and the skipper handling the two lightest ones as well as steering the boat" (Pike & Cann, 1992: 24).

Dredging would not start until two hours after high water,14 and the boats always worked square with the tide, for to work against the tide would "swim the dredges" right off the ground (Collard, 1902: 78). The warps were attached to the dredge with a fishermen's bend, a four-strand bass rope 15 fathoms long, and after the dredges had been "shot" over the side and allowed to run out to the required length, the warp was hitched to the boat's rail by a breakable "stopper" - usually 4 ft lengths of bass rope unlayed into just a couple of yarns. The "stopper" would be taken through a hole in the scuppers, round a stanchion and secured with a rolling hitch. If the dredge caught up on an obstruction the stopper would break, allowing the rest of the warp to run out with a small wooden buoy at the end; this way the gear could be recovered later. The dredge buoy was a tapered piece of wood with the warp led through a drilled hole and stoppered with a figure-of-eight knot (Pike & Cann, 1992: 31).

When worked in pairs the procedure was to haul one of the pair of dredges on board, empty the net bag, and "shoot" the dredge out again (Stroud, 1905). The sorting of the haul was called "culling"; the oystermen chipped the "cultch"15 away from the oysters with a large knife known as a "cultick", the small oysters and the "cultch" would be "shaded out" through the ports in the bulwarks back into the sea and the rubbish or "gash", usually seaweed and starfish, would be piled into baskets and sold later to farmers for manure. The "culled" oysters were measured into net bags called "dockers" which held a bushel, and at the end of the day would be rowed ashore to the company's sheds at Hollowshore - the men rowing "London-fashion", a man on the middle thwart pulling a pair of oars and two men with an oar each on the other two thwarts pulling on opposite sides; the forward oarsman steered the boat. Incidentally, of course, it would have been necessary to row with one dredge working if there was insufficient wind on the Swale to allow the oyster boats to make way.16

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1 CKS Fa Az 4: 23. (June, 1605).
2 PRO E190/642.
3 CKS U178 P1.
4 The word hoy originates from the Dutch - heu - haude, a large one-decked boat, commonly rigged as a sloop..
5 CKS Fa/AZ 83/1.
6 Pers. corres. H. Perks, Dec. 1994.
7 No doubt named after William Hill, the doyen of the Faversham Oyster Fishery.
8 Survey of the Secret, hulked at the entrance to Faversham Creek (Swale Archaeological Survey, 1996).
9 Saltpetre as well as coal tar were bought from the local gunpowder works.
10 Food.
11 Stroud autobiography, unpublished manuscript 1905, private collection.
12 CKS Fa214.
13 CCA.BB 5/1-18 1679-1764.
14 And had to wait for the starting gun, a cannon, to be fired from the shore near the Shipwrights Arms, Hollow Shore.
15 OED: Rubbish: the flooring of an oyster bed (Origin doubtful).
16 Information for this section has been supplied by the Jemmett family and dates from about 1895-1925 but recounts practices unchanged for centuries, as indeed is the Jemmett involvement in the maritime history of Faversham. In the 18th-century Wardmote Book we find on 7th May 1754 an order "that Daniel Jemmett do go to Guernsey to buy as many tons of stones as his vessel will bring for paving the town at the same price the stones bought by him last year" (CKS Fa AC4).

Chapter 9 Comparison of the Kentish coasting fleets

In 1566 the Privy Council wrote to William Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, asking that deputies1 be appointed to survey "all portes, crekes and landing places within that shire." The survey2 is now valuable as an indication of the measure of Kent's maritime activity in the eighth year of Elizabeth's reign.

Out of the 293 ships listed the tonnage is given for 268. Two of these exceeded 100 tons, 17 ships were recorded at 40 tons but 233 were listed as being of 20 tons or less, 176 at 10 tons or less and 47 at just 1 ton. Five ports - Dover, Sandwich, Faversham, Rochester and Maidstone - indicated that trading in merchandise occupied most of their ships, whilst the other 15 ports gave fishing as their main occupation.

Apart from four sea fishing crayers at Hythe, all the largest Kent ships came from the five Cinque Ports. Faversham and Rochester had one each, Maidstone had two, Sandwich had only one 40-ton ship due to the continual and persistent silting up of the Haven. The rest of the large ships were anchored at Dover, two ships of 101 and 120 tons, one at 41, one at 43 and four fishing crayers of 40 tons each.

Apart from the fishing town of Hythe, the ports of Kent indicate a surprisingly low ratio of mariners to households: Maidstone and Dartford 1 in 13, Faversham 1 in 8, Sandwich 1 in 7, Rochester 1 in 5. The highest ratio of mariners to households occurred in the fishing villages along the north Kent coasts - Ramsgate, Broadstairs, Margate, Whitstable, Queenborough, Halstow and Upchurch. Ramsgate for instance had three fishermen per household, Queenborough almost two. The indications are that in 1566 the maritime trade of Kent, apart from the five ports, wasn't geared up to providing the expanding population of London with corn and other commodities. As yet, fish, a staple ingredient in the late medieval diet, was still holding its own. But four years later, in the Faversham Port Book of 1570, can be seen the first stirrings of mercantile activity which in the next two hundred years were to transform the trading patterns of north Kent. London's population would leap from 40,000 persons in 1500 to 530,000 persons in 1696. Shipment of corn from Kent would rise from 202 shipments in 1579-80 to 527 shipments in 1649-50 (Gras, 1918: 107).

Kent shipping, 1566

Port	Ships	Total Burden	Seamen	Houses
Folkestone	25	–	70	120
Dover	20	684	130	358
Sandwich	17	308	62	420
Ramsgate	14	118	70	25
Broadstairs	8	56	40	98
Margate	15	105	60	108
Milton	26	198	24	130
Sittingbourne	3	58	–	88
Birchington	–	–	–	42
Whitstable, Swalecliffe & Herne	19	157	60	93
Faversham	28	275	50	380
Queenborough	11	58	45	23
Upchurch	12	59	14	40
Halstow	14	39	21	24
Rainham	13	83	12	80
Gillingham	27	85	43	–
Rochester	6	150	27	144
Maidstone	5	152	22	294
Dartford	7	50	14	182

Source:[1] B.L. Stowe MS 570 ff 216-19, B.L. Cott M.S. Julian Biv ff95.

The 1628 Survey

On 14 January 1628 another survey was ordered at the request of the Privy Council. This again was a nationwide survey but inexplicably it leaves out some of the Cinque Ports. Luckily at the Public Record Office the very next survey recorded, dated 1629, is of the Cinque Ports and includes Faversham.

Kent shipping 1628

Port	No. of Ships	Total Burden	Seamen	Fishermen	Masters
Northfleet and Gravesend	2	48	8	0	3
Stood	6	158	17	44	5
Chatham	2	60	3	0	2
Gillingham	3	60	9	30	3
Halstow	8	109	21	13	8
Rainham	4	68	10	6	4
Upchurch	3	36	8	30	3
Queenborough	7	126	18	14	5
Sittingbourne	3	58	6	9	2
Milton	20	318	53	48	19
Oore (Nr Faversham)	1	24	1	19	1
Tenham	–	–	–	2	–
High Halstow	–	–	–	4	–
All Hallows	–	–	–	4	–
Whitstable and Seasalter	9	107	27	17	9

Source: PRO SP/16/155 (I-E) p.108.

Cinque port shipping 1629

Port	No. of Ships	Total Burden	Seamen	Fishermen	Masters	Pilots
Hastings	18	443	88	88	–	–
Dover	36	2063	146	33	7	12
Sandwich	26	1684	78	–	18	–
Hythe	4	64	–	43	–	–
Rye	4	180	–	52	6	–
Faversham	30	331	72	–	12	–
Folkestone	3	54	6	30	3	–
Lydd	5	10	–	7	5	–
Walmer	2	2	4	2	–	–
Deal	5	16	42	–	5	20
Ramsgate	16	356	52	–	16	–
Margate	14	418	58	–	14	9
Broadstairs	9	100	–	69	9	–

Source: PRO SP/16/155 (l-t) pp.108-138.

In 1566 Faversham (even discounting Whitstable and Swalecliffe which legally were part of the port of Faversham) had the greatest number of trading ships in Kent, 28 ships of an average tonnage of 9 tons. In 1629 Faversham was still pre-eminent in the coasting trade to London. Faversham had 30 ships3 with an average tonnage of 11 tons. All were called ketches or hoys or just "boates". Dover, Sandwich, Margate and Ramsgate were involved in the international and collier trade. Dover, with its 36 ships and "Barques", had an average of 57, tons although it had ships of 260, 240 and 160 tons. Sandwich had 26 ships and an average of 64 tons; its largest ships were one of 200 tons, one of 80 tons and four of 14 tons. The hoys of Sandwich are itemised separately, 10 vessels ranging from 40 tons to 8 tons, with an average of 29 tons.

Margate had 14 barques, two of 60 tons and an average tonnage of 12 tons. Ramsgate had 16 barques, ranging from 46 tons to 16 tons. Fishing boats and crews are itemised separately in the 1629 Cinque Ports survey and enable us to obtain a concise picture of the fishing industry in 17th-century Kent. Hastings had 176 fishermen, although no fishing boats are separately recorded, Dover 33 fishermen, Hythe 43 fishermen and 12 "small fisherboats" of 3 tons. Rye had 52 fishermen and "small fisherboats, nine of fowerteen tons". Thirty fishermen are recorded for Folkestone, and Lydd had "five fisherboats of two tons". Only two boats, each of 1 ton, and two fishermen, are recorded for Walmer. But at Broadstairs there were nine fishing boats and sixty-nine fishermen. Out of a total of 870 mariners in the 17th century Cinque Ports 324 were fishermen. The 1629 survey also indicates the presence of pilots at Dover (4), Sandwich (12), Margate (9) and Deal, which had 20, a total of 45 pilots stationed along the coast of Kent.

The 1701 survey

The survey by the Commissioners of Customs on 24 January 1701 enables a statistical table to be compiled of ships, men and tonnage in Kent -

Faversham in 1701 was still prominent in the coasting trade to London. If the totals of Faversham, Whitstable and Herne are added together, Faversham, the legal port, was the largest in Kent, with some 65 ships. Ramsgate, Margate and Sandwich ships were still involved in international and collier trade with ships of a larger tonnage. Ramsgate had an enormous number of seamen, 388 for 45 ships, an average of 8 seamen per ship, certainly an indication of the size of ships. In the early 18th century 8 seamen would be about the number needed to man a 100-ton ship. An indication of manning levels can be assessed from the "Sixpenny Tax Books" operated in the Port of London to provide funds for Greenwich Hospital.

Faversham on the other hand had an average of two to five seamen to each ship. Obviously another system was in

Port	No. of Ships	Tonnage	Men	Boys
Ramsgate	45	4100	388	–
Margate	37	2909	138	–
Sandwich	21	1146	104	–
Faversham	32	888	22	25
Milton	34	807	53	–
Broadstairs	17	731	90	–
Whitstable/Herne	33	701	11	35
Dover	7	415	44	–
Rye	7	233	8	10
Rochester	3	205	15	–
Deal	1	50	3	–

Source: PRO CO 388/9 part 1 to 73.

Ship's name	No. of men	What place	Burden	Master	Where loaded
Wheatsheaf	9	Ramsgate	100 tons	Thomas Pierce	Carolina
Friendship	8	Ramsgate	100 tons	John Martin	Riga
Endeavour	7	Margate	100 tons	Chris Bayley	Milford
Success	9	Sandwich	80 tons	John Raynor	Dunkirk

Source: PRO Adm 68 - 194 January 1725.

use, and it was a system of "shift work". From the early 16th century Faversham seamen had been manning and sailing in whatever ships were ready.

Throughout the Port Books of Faversham it is apparent that no ship had a permanent master or crew. It is obvious that crews were on standby and took out whatever ship was ready. This was a system to minimise costs to owners and is remarkably modern in its concept. The other great saving both at Whitstable and Faversham was the use of apprentice boys to man the ships. Some 60 boys were employed out of a total crew number of 93 sailors. No other port in Kent is recorded as employing so many apprentices,4 apart from ten at Rye. The financial saving would be enormous; two-thirds of the maritime work force was for all intents and purposes unpaid at any time.

Coastwise shipping 1709-1751

The following table gives the total tonnage of coasting vessels belonging to Kent (although the survey covers all of England, London excepted). It shows not the volume of coastwise trade, but the actual ships, "accounting each vessel but once".

In 1709 Faversham was the 12th port in England for total tonnage in the coasting trade. Sandwich, Dover and Deal's percentage of trade declined from 1709 to 1751. Milton's trade peaked from 1730 to 1744 and then went into decline, but Faversham's and Rochester's trade crept up and up. In 1741 Faversham had 21 ships on the register and in 1756 it had 23 ships.

By referring to the coastwise shipping list of 1709-1751 and the Port Book list it is possible to compute an average tonnage of hoys on the Faversham register. Unfortunately the Port Books stopped recording the "burthen" of individual ships in 1628.

Average tonnage of Faversham hoys in 1580 was 15 tons, the largest hoys being Grace of God at 30 tons and Anne Fraunches about 30 tons. The smallest were Rode Goose and Margett, both at 6 tons. By 1598 the average tonnage was only 11 tons, with the Hynde at 20 tons and Elizabeth at 4 tons. In 1598 the six ships of Whitstable had a greater average tonnage, some 18 tons with the Dolphin at 30 tons. The most likely explanation is that ships trading to Whitstable didn't have to negotiate the shallow narrows of Faversham Creek and consequently could be built or purchased that much larger. In 1599 17 hoys averaged 12 tons at Faversham, apart from the Prymrose, which was 50 tons.

Again all three hoys of Whitstable were 25 to 30 tons. In 1628 the recording of tonnage in the Port Books stops and it is necessary to find other sources to confirm average tonnages of Faversham hoys. The "Sixpenny Tax Books" show some of the Faversham ships which traded to foreign ports. Usually a collective tax was paid by the port to the Commissioners to avoid individual charges on ships. In 1728 Faversham paid £3 19s 9d.

Typical list of different masters to Faversham hoys (in any one year)

Year	Vessel	Burden	Masters
1580	Primrose	16 tons	Simon Wyer, John Crowner, Barwick Stevenson
1580	Peter	16 tons	Thomas Quycke, John Dandye, Clement Trowtes
1599	Katherine	12 tons	Richard Dryland, Hugh Nethersole, John Frende
1679	Rainbow	30 tons	William Gyles, James Joakin, William Amery
1723	Ruffler	40 tons	James Pierce, John Sherwood, John Adrian
1741	Success	80 tons	Henry Wood, John Iden, Henry Martin
1756	Providence	70 tons	John Pike, Anthony Skinner, John Hunt
1765	Restoration	70 tons	Henry Chapman, William Skinner, Isaac Dane

Source: PRO E190 series port books.

Port	1709	1716	1723	1730	1737	1744	1751
Rochester	1363	1336	1300	1495	1611	1505	2320
Faversham	1030	1190	1510	1060	910	940	1238
Sandwich	900	930	690	990	1320	1320	780
Dover	721	984	482	369	424	254	215
Milton	275	275	355	510	490	490	310
Deal	90	180	120	120	90	90	60

Source: B.L. Add MSS 11,255.

Number of ships recorded in the Faversham Port Books

Year	Faversham	Whitstable	Herne	Ships form other ports
1569-70	11 (incomplete)	1 (incomplete)	–	1
1580-81	22	2	–	27
1598-99	17	6	–	12
1628	16	3	–	23
1640-41	19	4	1	26
1660-61	24	5	1	19
1679-80	28	None recorded	None recorded	29
1699-1700	15	5	3	18
1722-23	7 (incomplete)	1 (incomplete)	1	12
1740-41	15	3	3	13
1756-57	17	3	3	41
1765-66	15	4	3	16

Source: PRO E190 series.

Average tonnage of Faversham hoys7

Year	Total Tonnage	Number of ships and hoys	Average tonnage
1580	337	22	15
1598	198	18	11
1599	180	17	12
1628	384	16	24
1709	1030	23	44
1716	1190	9 (incomplete)	–
1723	1510	21	71
1730	1060	20	53
1737	910	21	43
1744	940	18	52
1751	1238	23	53
1774	–	29	40 to 150

Source: B.L. Add MSS 11,255 and PRO: E190 series, and Jacob, 1774.

Ship's name	No. of men	Of what place	Burden	Master	Date
Norton Court	7	Faversham	110	Thomas Watson	Jan 1725
Kent	5	Faversham	40	Henry Martin	Jan 1725
Thomas & Elizabeth	3	Faversham	10	William Baldwin	Feb 1725
Ruffler	5	Faversham	40	James Pierce	Feb 1725
Friends Goodwill	4	Faversham	30	John Adrian	Feb 1725
John	5	Faversham	60	John Hall	June 1725
Mary	4	Faversham	30	Chris Pratt	Sept 1728
Success	6	Faversham	40	George Knight	May 1731
Laurel	4	Faversham	50	Thomas Smith	Aug 1731

Source: PRO Adm 68-194.

Edward Jacob in 1774 said, "vessels of eighty tons and upwards, (of which size are our present corn hoys) can come up to the Keys at common tides, at all times; and even those that do not draw above eight feet water, at common spring tides" (Jacob, 1774: 64). Hasted in 1778 confirms Jacob's size of hoys but goes on to say, "the state of the shipping in 1778 ... coasting vessels exclusive of fishing smacks belonging to this port twenty-nine, from forty to one hundred and fifty tons" (Hasted, 1798: 347). In 1789 William Sumpter, storekeeper to the Faversham Gunpowder Works, measured a typical Faversham hoy -

The average tonnage of Faversham hoys had progressed from the 16th-century average of 12 tons up to the 18th-century average of 80 tons. The size of ships from Faversham was held down not by technical obstacles, but by market possibilities; the larger the ship, the greater the risks both of loss and under-utilisation.

Faversham ships were almost exclusively part of the coasting trade, and the coastwise trade was an important part of English maritime activity.

Faversham seamen

There were 28 masters itemised in the Port Book of 1580,6 which fits well with the 28 masters listed in a certificate of 2nd November 1580.

There is also from 1580 a list7 which itemises 30 owners, 28 masters, 63 servants and 14 apprentices, a grand total of 135 maritime people. In 1591 there were 45 mariners, 4 shipwrights and 1 surgeon out of 410 mustered men.8

Faversham Hoy (1789)

Length: 56ft 0ins
Breadth: 20ft 9 ins
Depth: 10ft 0ins

Burden: 90 tons
Draws: 5ft empty and 8 ft loaded

Source: PRO Supp 5-114 p.235.

Distribution of English tonnage

Year	Total tonnage	Collier trade	Coastwise trade	Newfoundland fisheries	Other fisheries	Foreign trade
1582	68433	7618	10607	6000	11316	32892
1609-15	101566	28223	15743	13312	14409	29879
1660	161619	70899	25051	20330	3159	42180
1702	267444	78212	41454	16157	8763	122858
1773	581000	125346	89631	38585	23646	303792

Source: Harper, 1939: 339.

Name of hoys	Burden (in tons)	Owner	Masters
Michael	20	John Rokens	The same
Ellen	30	Abraham Snoode	The same
Mary	30	Richard Padnoll	The same
Mary	35	Harry Edwards	The same
Prymeroose	35	John Berrye	Barwycke Stephens
Dorothye	16	Robert Rye	The same
Margarett	8	John Dyxeson	The same
John	16	John Trowtes	Andrew Clercke
Thomas	22	John Trowtes	William Trowtes
Grace of God	30	Thomas Chartham	The same
Johanne	25	John Trowtes Jr.	The same
Peter	16	Clement Trowtes	The same
Black Leache	16	George Bennett	The same
Wylliam	8	John Burges	The same
Johanne	16	Stephen Ingelsbye	The same
Olyfaunte	12	Thomas Bennett	The same

Name of ketches and fishing boats	Burden (in tons)	Owner	Masters
Newe Yere	4	William Trowtes	–
Harte	6	Stephen Ingelsbye	John Keele
Barbarge	16	John Skoone	The same
Anne	4	John Skoone	Henry Mychell
Anne	4	George Michell	The same
Anne	12	John Deacon	The same
Susanne	16	John Deacon	John Wilson
Peter	16	Thomas Quicke	The same
Edwarde	8	Thomas Quicke	Richard Keele
Cow Tourde	2	Thomas Quicke	–
Bobetayele	8	John Michell	The same
The Grene Dragon	40	Richard Scottyelde	–

Source: CKS CPM 24 ff.5-7 Pat Hyde

In 1627 and 1629 a list was prepared of names of sailors "prest to the ships at Chetham". The list no longer exists, but part of it, a list of "the names of the masters of the hoyes and crayers" does.

Masters and their ships, Faversham (poss. 1629)	
John Trowtes master of the	John
Allexsander Rye master of the	Marie
William Trowtes master of the	Gift
John Stuppell master of the	Elsebeth
~~Daniell Lawrence master of the~~	John
Robert Rye master of the	Feebie
Abraham Rye master of the	Ann
Markes Pearce master of the	Mariemarke
Edward Watson master of the	Contentt
Thomas Michell master of the	Ann
Rogger Barthton master of the	Proshorus
John Meese master of the	Cornasion
Idley Hardiman master of the	Edward
Thomas Sandares master of the	Watt
Markes Ballden master of the	Edward
Thomas Askew master of the	Grase
Thomas Ballden master of the	Jonas
Thomas Purnier master of the	William
John Rockines master of the	William
~~Robert Bayley master of the~~	

Source: CKS Fa/CPW/68.

Masters, Faversham ships 1627
Thomas Askewe
Marke Balden
Roger Barton
Robert Baylie
Idley Hardyman
William Hilton
Thomas Michell
Thomas Payne
Marke Pierce
John Rockins
Abraham Rye
Robert Rye
Thomas Saunders
John Stupple
Mark Trowtes
William Trowtes
John Watson

Source: CKS Fa/CP23

It compares well with a list of 16 masters compiled from the 1628 Port Book; only 9 names are different but in most cases the family name is the same.

Two surveys of "Ketches and Hoys"9 and Cinque Port shipping in Kent was ordered in 1628 and 1629. It enables us to define the numbers of masters, fishermen, seamen, pilots and ships.

The two surveys of 1628/29 are important in a number of ways. They give the numbers and tonnage of all ships recorded:

A Survey of Ketches and hoys taken 14 January 1628

Port	Masters	Seamen	Fishermen	Ketches and hoys
Gravesend	3	8	0	2
Strood	5	17	44	6
Chatham	2	3	0	2
Halstow	8	21	13	8
Rainham	4	10	6	4
Upchurch	3	8	30	3
Queenborough	5	18	14	7
Sittingbourne	2	6	9	3
Milton	19	53	58	20
Oore	1	1	19	1
Tenham	–	–	2	–
High Halstow	–	–	4	–
All Hallows	–	–	4	–
Whitstable and Seasalter	9	27	17	9

Source: PRO SP/16/155 (I-E) p.108.

A Survey of Cinque Port shipping taken 14 January 1629

Port	Masters	Seamen	Fishermen	Pilots	Ships and barques
Hastings	–	88	88	–	18 barques
Dover	7	146	33	4	36 ships & barques
Sandwich	18	78	–	12	16 ships & 10 hoys
Hythe	–	43	??	–	4 boats & 12 fishing boats
Rye	6	–	52	–	4 barques & 9 fishing boats
Faversham	12	72	–	–	30 boats
Folkestone	3	6	30	–	3 boats
Lydd	5	–	7	–	5 fishing boats
Walmer	–	4	2	–	2 fishing boats
Deal	5	42	–	20	5 boats
Ramsgate	16	52	–	–	16 barques
Margate	14	58	–	9	14 barques
Broadstairs	9	–	69		9 fishing boats

Source: PRO SP/16/155(l-t) pp.108-138.

Faversham survey of 1628/29

Boats – 3012		
Four of 20 tons	One of 18 tons	**Seamen** – 60
Five of 16 tons	Three of 12 tons	**Masters** – 12
Three of 25 tons	Two of 4 tons	
One of 30 tons	Two of 2 tons	

The survey also breaks down the maritime workforce into masters, sailors, mariners, gunners, fishermen, pilots. For Faversham we have 12 masters, but add Whitstable and the total rises to 21, a number which reflects the trend from 1580 onwards and confirms Edward Crow's survey which indicates a drop in population and no doubt maritime activity in Faversham during the 17th century.

Up to now all surveys have only considered the ships and masters. With the 1629 surveys an indication of the ratio of seamen to masters and ships can be formulated.

This makes a total maritime workforce of 128 (including 17 fishermen). Edward Crow indicates a total population in 1695 of 1085 inhabitants. Clark suggests a ratio of 5.75 people per family (Clark, 1993: 771). If this is the case, there would be 188 families to compare with 128 seamen. Over 60% of families would include a seaman, given of course there was only one seaman per family. To reinforce the hypothesis that Faversham had many more mariners than has been suggested before, it is necessary to refer to the marriage licences issued from 1619 to 1700. About 171 Faversham people married between 1619-60, about 126 between 1661-76 and 138 between 1677-1700.

By far the largest number of marriage licences were issued to mariners, reflecting the importance of ships and shipping to Faversham. Edward Jacob in 1774 said, when talking about the oyster fishery, "by which not less than one hundred and ten families are principally supported and the whole town much benefited" (Jacob, 1774: 75).

Faversham	12 masters, 72 seamen, 30 boats
Whitstable and Swalecliffe	9 masters, 18 seamen, 17 fishermen, 9 hoys
The port of Faversham	21 masters, 90 seamen, 39 boats and hoys

Occupations	**1619-60**	**1661-76**	**1677-1700**
Mariners	35	33	49
Malsters	10	8	3
Vintners	8	1	1
Blacksmiths	7	1	4
Carpenters	4	5	9
Brewers	4	2	2
Maltmen	3	1	3
Shipwrights	3	2	5
Sawyers	2	1	2
Coopers	2	1	2
Innholders	2	4	4
Others	91	67	54

Source: Cowper, 1895; FIJM December 1898 p.117, Oct 1896, p.402, April 1895 p.322.

1 The seven commissioners for Kent were Sir William Brooke; Lord Cobham; Sir Thomas Cotton; Thomas Wotton, Sheriff of Kent in 1558 and 1578; Sir Thomas Scott; Humfrey Hales of Canterbury; William Cromer, MP for Hythe, and John Tufton.
2 This survey was utilised and itemised by Hasted in introducing ports and landing places in his Topographical Survey of Kent, 1797-1801.
3 Although in 1628 only 16 ships are itemised in the Port Books as actually trading (PRO E190/656/6).
4 In 1704 an Act was passed binding poor boys of Faversham parish to become apprentices to seamen. The law required the boys to be registered at the Custom House, by which they were free from the tax paid by seamen to the merchant seaman's fund of Greenwich Hospital (Crow E., 1855: 53).
5 P120 E190 series.
6 PRO E190/641/13.
7 CKS Fa/CPM 33.
8 CKS Fa/CPM 16A.
9 This survey was ordered by Lord Walsingham and covers all of England including all the ships in London on 14th January 1628.

Chapter 10 The oyster and fishing fleets

Two surveys, one in 1566 and the other in 1628, give a good indication of the development of fishing in Kent. In 1566 of the 20 ports and landing places, 17 list fishing as the main employment of their fleet: Hythe: Folkestone: Dover: Sandwich: Ramsgate: Broadstairs: Margate: Whitstable: Swalecliffe and Herne: Faversham: Queenborough: Milton: Upchurch: Halstow: Gillingham: and Rochester. Hythe had four crayers1 of 60 tons, three crayers of 30 tons, eight shotters2 of 15 tons, and 18 tramelers3 of 5 tons. Hythe fishermen were "persons belonginge to these Crayers and other boates for the most parte occupied in fishinge - 160". Folkestone had 25 ships or boats with 25 fishermen, Broadstairs had 40 fishermen, Milton 24.4

Although it is impossible to itemise the exact numbers of fishermen in Kent, the survey of 1566 certainly indicates that fishing was one of the most important activities of the maritime community. However, the Privy Council survey of 14 January 1628 itemises exactly the number of mariners involved in fishing.

Milton	fishermen - 48
Strood	fishermen - 44
Gillingham	fishermen - 30
Upchurch	fishermen - 30
Oore (Nr Faversham)	fishermen - 19
Whitstable and Seasalter	fishermen - 17
Queenborough	fishermen - 14
Halstow	fishermen - 13
Sittingbourne	fishermen - 9
Rainham	fishermen - 6
High Halstow	fishermen - 4
All Hallows	fishermen - 4
Tenham	fishermen - 2
Chatham	fishermen - 0
Northfleet and Gravesend	fishermen - 0

(PRO SP/16/155 (I-E p.108).

Hastings	fishermen - 176
Broadstairs	fishermen - 69
Rye	fishermen - 52
Hythe	fishermen - 43
Dover	fishermen - 33
Folkestone	fishermen - 30
Lydd	fishermen - 7
Sandwich	fishermen - 0
Faversham	fishermen - 0

(PRO SP/16/155 (l-t) pp.108-38).

It also itemises the number of fishing boats for some of the main fishing ports:

> Hythe, small fisherboats, twelve of 3 tons.
> Rye, small fisherboats, nine of 14 tons.
> Lydd, fisherboats, five of 2 tons.
> Walmer, boats, two of 1 ton.
> Broadstairs, fisherboats, two of 18 tons,
> one of 20 tons, one of 14 tons, one of 12 tons,
> one of 10 tons, one of 8 tons.

It is probable that some fishermen are not listed, Faversham, for instance in 1628 is listed as having no fishermen, yet Oare and Whitstable, both part of the port of Faversham have 19 and 17 fishermen respectively. Yet in 1631, when there was a great scarcity of fish, Faversham fishermen, amongst others, were accused of using the wrong size nets. On 17th June 1635 Sir Dudley Digges wrote to the Lords of the Admiralty on the behalf of the fishermen of Faversham,5 and three days later Edward Nicholas, the secretary to the Lords of the Admiralty, made a note that all the nets which the Faversham fishermen used were within the law and could be returned to the fishermen.

In the 16th century, with the flurry of excitement over the possibility of war with Spain, numerous shipping lists were drawn up for Faversham, and out of those it is possible to itemise the type of fishing craft in use:

> "Henrye Atkyns hath one Crayer, the Mychell of Faversham, xvj6 Toones, kept in the Cryke of Faversham, Henry Atkyns, Master and Willyam Freman an Apprentysse, also Thomas Quycke hathe one Munger called The Edwarde of Faversham, viij7 Toones, in the same Cryke, John Sooyle Master, with An Apprentysse"8 18 Feb 1586.

> "One little dredginge boat callyd ye Anne of the Burden of iiij Tonnes, John Skoone (owner) Harrie Michell master. One little fisher boate callyd ye Anne of the Burden of fower tonnes, Gregorie Michell master and owner. One little dredginge Cocke9 callyd the Cow Tourde10 of ye burden of ij tonnes, Thomas Quycke owner. One dredginge boate callyd the Newe Yere of the Burden of iiij Tonnes, William Trowtes owner."11 1580.

Several types of vessels are enumerated. The largest were crayers of 16 tons, followed by mungers of 8 tons and dredging cocks of 2 tons. The distinction between them, apart from size, was primarily one of function. The crayers were used for trade and deep-sea fishing, the other vessels for various methods of fishing. To what extent they differed in appearance as well is uncertain. A good reference for the rig of 16th-century fishing vessels along the Kent coast can be found on a map of Rye Harbour made

by John Prouse in 1572. It illustrates at least four different types of vessel from fully rigged ships to small rowed fishing boats. Lovegrove suggests the ships shown off Winchelsea, clinker built with a raised poop deck and aft cabin, sprit mainsail and a small mizzen, are crayers and the smaller, undecked vessels, square-rigged on a single mast can be identified as mungers, hookers and tramellers (Lovegrove,1947: 187-98).

Faversham wills

The bequests made by Faversham fishermen often go into quite considerable detail and, taken in conjunction with other evidence, they make it possible to reconstruct the working of the fishing industry at Faversham in some detail.

"An inventory of sartayn goodes of Father Moreis" (1572)12			
Item iiij heringe neets with the corkes and all at ij8 the pece		viijs	
Item more another rope		6s	
Item vij mackerrell nettes at ijs and vjd the pece		xvijs	6d
Item more on other roope		ijs	vjd
Item a herringe nett with a new deppinge		vs	
Item more the ebinge boate with her gere		xxxs	
Item ij new dippinges of heringe nett		vjs	
Item a third parte of a boate	viij£		
Item a ringe		viijs	
Summa totalis	xij£	iiijs	

"An inventory of William Borset"			
Item viii lynnes		xiiis	ivd
Item v fare14 of flewe15 netts	iii£	vis	viiid
Item iiij Feare of shott16 netts		xLs	
Item iij roppe		xiis	
Item ij barrells of salte iv drove barres		vis	ivd
Item a dredge		iijs	viijd
Item vij barrells of herrynge	iij£	vis	
Item halfe a botte called the Peter with her apparrell	xviij£		

"An inventory of Humphrey Tylman, sayler"			
Item half a cockbote with hyr apparell	v£	xs	
Item iv fare of fluse netts	viij£	iijs	
Item v fare of shot netts	v£		
Item a maunde18 of harbees19, v lynes of small hookes		xivs	ivd
Item vi roopes		xxs	

"An inventory of John Bennet, sayler"20			
Item the coake boat with ssaylers and ropes			
2 ankers, 1 dreg, 1 trall, 2 owres	vj£		

The most valuable single item of equipment bequeathed was normally the boat, the ebbing boat of Father Moreis worth 30 shillings, the cockboat of John Bennett worth 6 pounds. It was quite usual to own half a boat; shared ownership was a form of insurance and to share the cost of a new boat was the usual procedure amongst the fishing fraternity.

Six different types of net and two types of line were in use. Flews and shot-nets were bequeathed by a majority of fisherman; sprat and tramell-nets were also in common use; and deeping and seine-nets occur occasionally as do "creke" hooks and smaller hooks.

The use of this equipment and the routine of the fishing year can be ascertained by comparison with other fishing ports along the Channel. In Brighton the fishing year was divided into fishing seasons called "fares", some for local inshore fishing and some for deep water (Webb & Wilson, 1952). Some eight "fares" or seasons were also followed by Hythe, Rye, St Peters in Thanet and most, if not all, were followed by Whitstable and Faversham.12

Plaice were caught with trammel-nets and draw nets. The boats used were small, 4 to 5 tons, and would have a crew of up to seven men (Baines, 1955: 227). The nets were some 2 miles in length and consisted of a triple wall of mesh, resting on the bottom and catching bottom-feeding fish such as plaice and soles. It was a complex, vulnerable and expensive adoption of the drift nets used to catch herring and mackerel and shows the conservation attitudes of Kentish fishing communities who persisted in using it long after the introduction of the more economical and effective trawl.13 The larger Faversham fishing boats, the crayer Michael (16 tons), would drift for mackerel until early summer and then head north to catch herring. In the 16th century Father Moreis's "iij heringe nettes with corkes and all at ij the pece"14 would probably have been used to catch bait for the lines with which they fished for cod.

Faversham fishermen would join the other Cinque Ports fishermen for the six-week season at Yarmouth Fair.15 The type and variety of fish caught by Faversham fishermen can be ascertained from the early rules of the Oyster Fishery Company's, inventories and wills.

Father Moreis's inventory of 1572-74 itemises herring, mackerel, William Borset's itemises lynne and herring and Humphrey Tylman itemises "harbees" and "lynes". The 1599 oyster fishery rules state: "trout and salmon not to be fished out of season, trammel nets must have a mesh of 21/2in and no tramelling for sole or plaice out of season." The seasons were "from the 15 March till the feast of All Saints (1st November) between the sun rising and the sun setting."16

Barrels of herring and salmon are itemised in the Town Porter's charges from the 15th century and are a major item of import and export. Herring fishing evolved into a purely Kentish industry and apart from the North Sea catches herrings would be fished between the Galloper and Kentish Knock sands. It was possible to catch 500 to 600 herring on a tide. These usually were full sized and clearly or in the majority of cases, shotten17 fish.18

Defoe noted salmon was carried to London in "fresh" condition by land carriage from Kent and Essex, "so that the fish came very sweet and good to London", but this careful handling came, not unnaturally very expensive, "being often sold at two shilling and six pence to four shilling per pound" (Defoe D. 1726). Salmon would make their way up the Thames Estuary to spawn in the Rivers Thames, Medway and Stour. The last salmon caught commercially before rising pollution levels extinguished the fishing, was on June 18th, 1833 (Murie, 1903: 75).

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1 Crayers: used for trade and deep sea fishing.
2 Shotters: fishing boats which used shoot-nets.
3 Tramelers: fishing boats which used trammel-nets.
4 B.L. Stowe MS 570 (H216-19).
5 PRO SP16/290 fol.230.
6 16 tons.
7 8 tons.
8 PRO P/SP 12/198 no.47.
9 Cockboat, any small boat. Ciscokbote, perhaps ultimately from Late Latin caudica, dug-out canoe, from Latin caudex, tree trunk.
10 Cow Tourde or Cow Turd, no doubt a reflection on the vessel's sailing abilities.
11 CKS Fa/CPM 24.
12 CKS Ac/1/22.
13 PRO, S.P.D., lJas I, XCI, No.12.
14 PRO 10/7 folio 58 p.115.
15 H.M.C. Fourth Report (1874) App. 435.
16 Old M.S. Records held amongst the Faversham Borough Archives at the Alexander Centre, Preston Street, Faversham.
17 Herring. Having ejected the spawn and of little food value.
18 Murie J. 1903, unpublished document, Report on the Sea Fisheries and Fishing Industries of the Thames Estuary pp.73-5

Chapter 11, Maritime aspects of Faversham's gunpowder industry

Ports to which they belong	Commanders names	Names of the sloop or vessel	Burden of the vessel in tons	Times of their appointment
Faversham	Robert Pizing	Edward and Sarah	40	27 may 1762
Ditto.	Robert Pizing	Townshend	40	1 October 1776

To whom they belong	Station	No. of mariners	Observations
Messer Brown and Bassett	Between Faversham and the Tower	Two Two	The Edward and Sarah were discharged the service 30 September 1776 and the Townshend in her stead

Royal Powder Mills Faversham 4 January 17772

Faversham had a substantial gunpowder manufactory from 1554 (Percival, A. 1967). Gunpowder relied on three ingredients in varied measures of mix for its combustion. Charcoal provided carbon, saltpetre the oxygen and sulphur or brimstone, ignition and combustion. Saltpetre could be mined as a natural product and was imported as grough petre by the East India Company and stored in London. The Ordnance Office bought a supply on an annual basis after sampling and collected it from the East India Company's warehouses at Rotherhithe, or if urgently required direct from the company ships as they arrived in London.

Sulphur was imported from Italy and stored at the Tower and subsequently shipped down to the mills at Faversham.1

Ships were leased to transport gunpowder from Faversham to the magazines at Upnor, Greenwich, Purfleet, Woolwich, the Tower and occasionally Hythe. On average two ships were leased but in times of national emergency extra ships would be hired. On return from London ships would carry ordinance stores, sulphur and saltpetre and also gunpowder for drying and reprocessing. In January 1775, the records show that two ships were "on the books":

"An account of the sloops and vessels employed in Faversham between the 1st January 1775 and January 1777

Edward and Sarah in her last year (1776) shipped to Purfleet some 3,897 barrels of gunpowder. Her largest cargo was 243 barrels on 29 May 1775 and her smallest 80 barrels on 15 October 1774, the average cargo being 194 barrels. On most trips the Edward and Sarah returned with about 10 tons of saltpetre. On 15 September 1776 the contract "for the powder boat with Thomas Rigden and Martha Bassett sent to the Ordnance Board, the old powder vessel called the Edward and Sarah discharged and a new one (The Lord Townshend) taken into service."2 The hire of the Edward and Sarah was £190 per annum and of the new Townshend £292.

Edward and Sarah towards the end of her life became "leaky and much out of repair, the owners sent her to Margate to be refitted." As well as the Townshend the Ordnance Board on 11 August 1777 took on the Marlborough hoy and sent it to Faversham. Unfortunately the vessel didn't have a "platform", presumably to keep the powder dry, and was detained whilst one was built. Draft was a constant problem at Faversham quays, and the Ordnance Board were reminded: "I beg leave to inform you that no vessel drawing more than 5 feet when loaded can lie alongside of the lower bridges to discharge a cargo, except four days in a fortnight and that those days are when high water happens between the hours of twelve and half past three."3

Dangers of transporting gunpowder

The other problem was the proximity of the gunpowder hoy to the town. Up to 1786 the powder hoys used Faversham Creek, anchored below the Narrows and waited for the barge carrying over 100 barrels of gunpowder to leave Gunpowder Dock or Ordnance Wharf (at the rear of the present Co-op superstore) and come downstream to load on to the powder hoy (Fig. 75).

In 1776 Faversham Corporation presented a petition to the Ordnance Board:

> "That his Majestys Powder Barge generally laden with more than one hundred barrals of gunpowder, in its way from the works to the Powder vessel, passes by several houses, wharfs, and storehouses in the town of Faversham and in consequence of the narrowness of the channel, the largeness of the barge and the difficulty it very often meets with on that account to pass by other vessels is often obliged to lie in the creek of Faversham adjoining to the said town a tide or two, exposed to the attempts of strangers, and consequently liable to be set on fire in the night time by malicious or disaffected people passing that way .... That in the late severe weather the barge being unable to proceed, remained in the said creek during the whole time of the frost, loaded with its

> usual quantity of gunpowder, to the great terror of the owners of hoys and other vessels then laying in the said creek, and of the occupiers of the adjacent houses, storehouses and other building in the said town.... That the gunpowder vessel commonly lies in the Creek of Faversham at a small distance from the said town, in a narrow part of the channel and the corn hoys and other vessels going to and from Faversham, which have fireplaces therein and on board of which tobacco is smoked, pass by very close to the same gunpowder vessel should take fire and be blown up not only the craft and the said creek, but the lower part of the town would receive very great damage."

The petition continues: "that the gunpowder magazine may not be placed so close to the town and that the size of the gunpowder barge to be so reduced as to enable it to proceed immediately from the works to the vessel without interruption or delay."

The petition ends by suggesting that the gunpowder vessel should anchor lower down at Hollow Shore, "where there is a safe and commodious Bay proper for the same near to a place there called Holly Shore."4

The Ordnance Board responded by saying they had contracted with a Mr Jefferys to build a canal to convey the powder to an island in the upper works where they would have built a safe and secure magazine but apparently Jefferys had been persuaded by the townspeople not to give his consent. Regarding the powder barge it was deemed essential to convey powder from the magazine to the waiting powder vessel by barge, but the master had positive orders to anchor as far away from the town as possible but in the "late severe weather and when the wind is high he is obliged to come nearer the town than we could wish he did, as our barge is built so narrow for the purpose of passing through the town sluice that in windy weather when she gets much below the town she is totally ungovernable which obliges the master of the vessel to approach nearer the town then otherwise would."5

Gunpowder barge design

In 1788 designs for two barges were drawn up. The dimensions for the powder barge6 were 62 ft long, 12 ft 6 ins wide and 3 ft 6 ins deep. The other was a coal barge and was 70 ft long, 12 ft 6 ins wide and 3 ft 6 ins deep. It was noted whether "the sterns of the barges had better be made nearly like the head, or the common square sterns and if the sides should be flush planking or shingled. P.S. The rudder of the coal barge must be contrived to take off."7

The search for a new site for the magazine continued, and in 1776 Bartholmew Bennett reported to the Ordnance Board:

> "I have carefully examined every part of the premises at present belonging to your Honours as well as the creek leading from the mills by the town of Faversham, and there is a great traffic from the mouth of the creek to the town and men daily employed in hauling of vessels up and down the creek... but there is another creek that leads up to the village of Oare where there is no other traffic, then to the merchants powder mills who ship their powder off there... and found a very proper place to build the magazine and where the powder may be shipped at the wharf of the magazine, and have but a little way to be conveyed to the sea, where as in Faversham creek the vessel being obliged to come so far to take powder in and the distance being near three miles from the entrance the vessel is often detained three or four days before she can get out, and at neap tides, there is not water enough to carry the powder down to the vessel, but in the place I have mentioned she can in spring tides load at the magazine wharf and at the lowest neap tides the barge may come to the magazine and convey it to the vessel, which has nothing to obstruct her sailing immediatly with it."8

By 1786 at the new Marsh Works there would be built a network of canals, gunpowder mills, stores and magazine. The gunpowder punts would approach the creek on an elevated canal9 built over the creek on a dressed stone platform, a crane with a pallet would unload directly onto the waiting gunpowder vessel below which, as it rose and fell with the tide, would be connected to the dock by a hinged platform.

With the choosing of a new site for a wharf the question arose whether a barge or carvel round-bottomed vessel should be used. Richard Webb of the Ordnance Office was

> "of the opinion there was little difference whether built, purchased or hired between a round or flat bottomed vessel, a barge is a flat bottomed vessel, the same as a floor of a room, timbers is like joysts under the floor and about the same distance, those are not above 5 inches thick, which lying straight and being fastened to the external planks in the bottom and the inside lining forms a thickness of about 9 inches which, if more water gets into the vessel than the whole ground tier; must be damaged by water exclusive of the vessel heeling under sail; and though a barge may mostly go through what we call the Grounds, that is with (inside) the island (Sheppey), yet she must go round the Nore or over the Spit up and down Sea-Reach either to Gravesend or any other place of delivery in the River Thames a part of Navigation which in my opinion they are by no means with safety calculated for insomuch that I never thought it safe to send a barge round the Medway in the winter season much less to employ such craft in that navigation the whole year.
>
> "A round botched vessel can carry on the duty, when a flat one must be still, and with greater safety, for should a barge

miss stays or otherwise get on a steep shore, she must heel to the ground and if a hard shore, large stones may go through her bottom or grounding on anchors which lie very thick in Faversham creek may sink her; all of which is liable to be avoided in a round bodied vessel, which lies all her weight on her keel, floor; and futtock timbers, which almost forms one body of wood moulded 8 or 9 inches."10

William Sumpter, storekeeper at Faversham in October 1789, actually measured a Faversham sailing hoy and decked barge:

"Agreeably to your desire I have made enquiry respecting a new construction for powder hoys at this place, and have procured the dimensions and tonnage of one of the Faversham hoys and also a decked sailing barge, both employed in carrying corn to London which are as follows:

Faversham hoy (1789)11

Length 56 feet 0 inches
Burden 90 tons
Breadth 20 feet 9 inches
Draws 5 feet of water empty and 8 feet loaded
Depth 10 feet 0 inches

Decked sailing barge (1789)

Length 65 feet
Burden 83 tons
Breadth 19 feet
Draws 21/2 feet water empty and 5 feet loaded

"Our present powder vessel [Townshend]12 is about forty tons burden, draws five feet water in ballast and six feet when loaded with 300 barrels of powder."

Interestingly the Townshend needed to sail in ballast when empty, indicating certainly a fully sparred ship with plenty of canvas. William Sumpter goes on to describe an eye-witness account of Faversham Creek in the 18th century:

"I have consulted several persons acquainted with the Navigation of Faversham and Ore creeks who are of the opinion that the vessels to be employed at these mills should not be more than 60 tons burden with roomy hold, and the draught of water not to exceed 6 feet, as it would be found very difficult to get larger vessels between the great number of fishing boats that usually lie at the mouth of Ore creek and also up the narrow parts thereof.

"As the Service of this place will require two vessels to be stationed here when the extracting and refining buisness opens up, I am of the opinion that only one of them should be of the above description, as we should find great convenience in having the other a decked sailing barge of about 60 tons burden, which at Spring tides would bring freights of Brimstone and such other articles as much come up Faversham Creek so as to deliver them close to the Works and therefore save the trouble of lighterage. It is however necessary to point out that the present bridge over the creek into the town at Faversham is so low as to occasion some difficulty for a barge of the above size to pass under it, but as the Corporation have it in contemplation to make some alteration to the bridge, I conceive it would be greatly to the advantage of the Board if they were to contribute such a sum towards the intended repairs as would enable them not only to make them more convenient for a barge of 60 tons to pass through, but to give it such a height and width as would admit barges of 80 tons burden; and should such craft be employed to fetch charcoal wood from the coast of Essex they would deliver their cargo at the wood yard which would be a very considerable saving to Government".13

Not long after the report by William Sumpter the Faversham Corporation wrote to the Ordnance Board pointing out that a small sluice had been erected at the time of Queen Elizabeth, another sluice built in 1736 and "that the frequent penning of the water at the sluice was found to be highly detrimental to the working of the mills which during certain hours of the day were necessarily stopped; the passage through the said sluice being too narrow to admit barges of a proper size, delays and additional expense were incurred." By now the sluice and channel were choked up with mud and Faversham Corporation suggested the use of convicts to clear it. Eventually the Corporation and the Ordnance Board paid half each of the £800 incurred in rebuilding the sluice, (without convict labour) although the Ordnance Board were still sending letters about Faversham's outstanding amount in 1801.14

Typical costs

A typical voyage is itemised below, freight at 32 shillings per ton, the hire of the two hoys per annum and also the cost of lighters at Faversham Creek.

"Office of Ordnance, Tower 2 Dec 1790

In answer to your letter of yesterdays date, I have sent you the undermentioned account of the expenses of the Sicily Brimstone as also the hire of the Respected Friends and Venus, the former of which appears by the books of this office to be employed at Faversham and the latter at Purfleet.

Viz - 125 tons of Brimstone	£368	3s	6d
Freight -			
125 tons at 32 s. per ton	£200		
10 per cent charges	£20		
Expenses of unloading	£28		
Expense of three Lighters carrying the Brimstone to Faversham by estimation, the bills for their hire not being received in this office	£30		
	£278	**0**	**0**

Hire of two hoys	£646	3	6
Respected Friends at 16s. per day per Annum	£292	0	0
Venus at 11 s. per day	£200	15	0
	£492	**15**	**0**

It will be noted that both the *Respected Friends* and *Venus* were retained on an annual hire of 16s. and 11s. per day but freight for each and every cargo was charged over and above this amount, for brimstone some 32s. per ton. The lighters would have met the two hoys at the mouth of the Faversham Creek and transhipped the cargoes to their destination at the head of the creek. Either it was a time of Neap Tides or the draught of the vessels denied them access to the quays, apart from on the highest Spring Tides.

Gunpowder mill punts

In the mid-18th century there were two sizes of punts and one size of gunpowder barge at the gunpowder works at Faversham; the punts were "large punts" and "middling punts". They are recorded in a stores document, which itemises and sizes the boats' tarpaulins: "Powder barge, 12 feet 7 inches by 5 feet 8 inches, large punts 18 feet by 9 feet and middling punts 15 feet and 8 feet."15 The tarpaulins would have covered the entire punt, overlapping slightly at the edges. The store document also indicates that there were more than one of each type of punt. The powder barge is mentioned in a letter of 3rd April 1781: "Having laid before the Board your letter [now lost]16 of 20th August last enclosing an estimate of the expense of building a decked barge to carry 150 barrels of powder and of a shed to keep the same from the weather, I received their commands to acquaint you that they approve thereof and direct that it be carried and executed".17

To carry 150 barrels of gunpowder the barge must have been in the region of 60 ft by 15 ft; the tarpaulins ordered for it were intended probably just to cover the hatch or hatches. In 1770 a small barge was ordered from Mr Thomas Bennett, "shipwright at this place," in the following dimensions: length 20 ft, width 6 ft, and depth 2 ft. Thomas Bennett's estimate was for £21, "with good materials and finished in a workmanlike manner"; the small barge was to be used in "conveying gunpowder from the Dusting house to the Magazine and from the Magazine to the wharf." The old barge had "become so leaky as to be unfit for service, though she had undergone several repairs."18 Just previous to this Thomas Bennett had built a "small punt or barge used to clean out the rivers at this place." The dimensions were 17 ft in length, width of 5 ft and a depth of 1 ft 2 ins. The estimate for this punt was only £8 10s.

Thomas Bennett was the shipwright at Faversham with a yard downstream from the Standard Quay. Jacob says, "here is a very convenient yard, where vessels from upwards of one hundred tons burthen down to the oyster smack, are continually building, by that skilful and sound shipwright Mr Thomas Bennett" (Jacob, 1774: 69-70).

By 1796 the 17 ft punt needed replacing but the cost had risen to £22. The Ordnance Office wanted to know "prior to starting what this punt is built off and in what form, as we think a common punt built of yellow deal could not come to any such money."19

With the start-up of a government gunpowder works at Waltham Abbey, material, personnel and ideas were exchanged. In 1788 William Congreave, the Deputy Comptroller, wrote to the Duke of Richmond: "In obedience to your Graces orders I desired Mr Crew to inform me who the Board chose to employ to build the barges for Waltham Abbey, that I might get a design from the said builders for barges upon as large a scale as the navigation would admit of but I am not yet furnished with the information". Later Congreave reported back to the Duke that Mr Crew had "made his observations on a barge (he has not shown it to me) he says that he cannot make the drawing of it here, but will do it at Woolwich, I wish I could have given you a more satisfactory account, but he will not be communicative, or do anything if he is looked at.... P.S. I took the draught of water of a Ware barge lying at Kings Arms Bridge, she was loaded with 20 chaldron of coals she draw 1 foot 10 inches."20

Two examples of punts have now been excavated and recorded from Waltham Abbey and the Faversham Gunpowder Works (Figs. 76, 77). In September 1994 the N.A.S. (Nautical Archaeology Society) was invited to visit Waltham Abbey Gunpowder Works to comment upon the significance and possible fate of the remains of 12 wooden vessels. The team, directed by Gus Milne and Colin McKewan, along with Paul Wilkinson, were then granted permission to record five of the vessels which needed to be moved from a silted-up canal. The recording work was concentrated on the one swim-headed barge (R.C.H.M. 157) that had sunk cheek by jowl with three double-ended vessels (R.C.H.M. 158-160). Its size and dimensions were uncannily like its 18th-century Faversham counterparts. The vessels had been left in a waterlogged condition for at least 50 years and below the "wind and water" boundary the timber was very sound and solid. Indeed, the leather lining to the floor has survived complete and undamaged. Its overall dimensions are length 8.5 m (27 ft 6 ins) width 2.1 m (7 ft) and depth 0.8 m (2 ft 7 ins). The bottom is constructed with longitudinal boards, edge-positioned by ten transverse members which should be called "rungs" to differentiate them from floors. Floors are usually associated with keels and composite frame structures (Wilson, 1987: 13). The chine on this form of construction is where the lowest strake of the side is fastened to the bottom plank,

on this particular punt by bronze screws of 100 mm (4 ins) length. The planks of the punt's flat bottom will be much thicker than the 38 mm (11/2 ins) of the sides. In this case a tentative measurement is 76 mm (3 ins). The planks of flat bottoms need to be thicker than in a similar round-bottom craft. This is because they provide all the strength in one direction and take the chine fastening on the edge. The next most important longitudinal member is the keelson, 228 mm x 76 mm (9 ins x 3 ins) which rests directly on the runs above the longitudinal bottom planks. The bottom is longitudinally and transversely curved or "sprung"; a flat bottom with straight sides and ends can be loaded much deeper, but one without a curve is very hard to move. A curved or sprung flat bottom is easier to propel and turn than a completely flat bottom. This curved flat bottom construction technique can be seen in the drawing of a small boat or punt found alongside the ancient barge found under the River Rother in 1822 (Rice,, 1824: et passim). A curve or camber can be obtained by shaping the rungs, placing the longitudinally run planks so that their annual rings follow the curve or by steaming or warping the planks. Once in place the locked-in stresses of both planks and rungs combine to form a rigid structure (McKee, 1983: 55).

Both ends of the punt are raked at 32° to enable the craft to pass over waves and debris. This L-shaped chine is in effect a transverse ile (Lehmann, 1978: 259). The ile, possibly derived from dugouts, is extravagant both in time to build and materials (Sorokin, 1994: 129 and Arnold, 1990: 167). Reinforcing both the edge chines of the punt is the lowest of two elm bilge strakes. This important member protects the vulnerable edge fastening and is akin to the meginhufr strakes found on some Scandinavian boats (Cluness 1967: 27). Elm of course is an ideal timber for rubbing strakes; it doesn't splinter (a feature utilised on Nelson's fighting ships) and if rubber or worn is reduced to a dusty powder. The longitudinal side strakes of the punt are in one piece, machine-sawn of radially cut oak, 38 mm (11/2 ins) thick by varying widths. Tranverse oak stiffeners are joined by a natural curved oak knee which acts like a bracket where the bottom and sides meet at an angle. This form of construction will allow curvature in two planes.

The horizontal surface of the knee lies on top of the rung fastened with copper clenched nails. The sides are carvel-built, caulked with twisted strands of Stockholm tar,21 impregnated oakum,22 luted and payed with coal tar putty,23 coal tar being a by-product from cylinder-produced charcoal and coke and sold as such by both Faversham and Waltham Abbey Gunpowder Works. The side strakes are fastened to the transverse stiffeners by through fastened oak treenails, 25 mm (1 in) thick, end-wedged outboard on the strakes. Longitudinal members such as gunwales, rising and rubbing strakes are built in to distribute the shocks of normal day-to-day wear. Bottom boards of 25 mm (1 in) pine are fitted with two hatches fore and aft to allow access to the bilges. Amidships between the two for and aft doored bulkheads the floor is covered with complete skins of tanned leather held in position by copper tacks. The use of a leather floor in areas where gunpowder is kept isn't unusual; some magazines at Faversham were covered with tanned leather, as were some magazines on His Majesty's ships:

> "whereby the space between the powder at the ends of the barrels will be sufficient to allow the grains to be separated from each other when a barrel is rolled upon Tanned Hides, which may be a good temporary expedient for preserving the gunpowder on board His Majesty Ships of War, when it may be inconvenient to open the barrels and shift the powder, Office of Ordnance February 1790."24

The cargo area of the punt was covered by a rounded canopy, constructed of streamed ash stringers and fastened inboard to the side planking by copper clenched nails. It is obvious from the haphazard siting of these stringers that the canopy was a later addition to the main building phase of the punt. The ash stringers were covered in light 12 mm (1/2 in) tongued and grooved pine boarding covered with flax canvas and painted with at least 11 coats of red oil paint. The four corners of the canopy were protected by angled "rubbers" of elephant hide (Per. corres., G. Milne).

Amidships, port and starboard, is an oak loading cill some 1.5 m (4 ft 11 ins) long, which allowed up to 40 barrels of 100 lb (44 kg) gunpowder to be loaded. The gunpowder barrels were transported upright with the one open end covered by a fitted leather cap to prevent spillage and water ingress (Crocker, 1986: 25). Towing posts, kevel-shaped, were fitted for and aft, port and starboard, and immediately fore and aft are two seating thwarts butting up to a raised boarded punting platform situated at both ends of the vessel. All of the boat furniture, corner rubbing strakes, handles, latches, mooring rings were manufactured in bronze. This was a safety precaution to alleviate any danger from "sparking" and as shown in the 1785 works regulations:

> "3. The hinges of all doors are to be copper or bronze and kept well oiled, the cogs, axles and other parts to be kept well soaped and oiled as has hitherto been the custom.
> 4. Sheaves of pulley if made of wood must be altered, so that the ropes may rub against copper, and the sheaves be made of the same material.
> 7. When barrels of gunpowder are lifted out of boats to be stored in the magazines or powder vessels, the strictest attention must be paid to have them brushed all over with a soft brush to prevent any grit hanging to them. The wheelbarrows on which they are to be carried, the hold of the vessel in which it is to be laid to be cleaned in the same manner" (Percival, 1967:L 13 and Smith, 1871: et passim).

The four towing posts and tracking rings indicate this particular craft was towed, although later photographs show punting or quanting25 was the preferred method of propulsion. Certainly at Faversham in 1776 tow paths were already in use: "gravel from the canals to be employed in raising the towing paths, and are of opinion that the said 10 men and the 4 horses will be able to complete the towing tracks before the winter sets in."26

If the tow is taken forward, a partly sideways pull is exerted on the punt, tending to bring the punt towards the towpath, the actual impact however is forestalled by a build-up of a cushion of water between the punt and the bank. Lengthening the tow will reduce the sideways pull but may be inappropriate round bends. In a punt, with its double ends, the tow can also be from either end, as it is often impossible and unnecessary to turn the boat end-for-end in a narrow canal or waterway. The optimum point for towing is quickly found by experience and is called the Centre of Lateral Resistance (CLR).

On the Waltham Abbey punt the method of construction indicates the four towing posts were fitted after "sea-trials" and when the correct CLR had been found. Sooner or later a towed punt will run out of tow path, usually because the canal has widened into a lake, estuary or marsh. She must then have some method of propelling herself and the most convenient in a working boat is a pole. A pole can be used to punt: the user needs to stand still facing forward with his feet apart. He then lowers one end of the pole, normally on the port side, down to the bottom, rather astern of where his hands are grasping the pole, at a height where a pull can be exerted. This forces the foot of the pole aft and the boat forward, so he take up the slack, hand over hand to the top of the pole, which is then recovered for the next cycle (McKee, 1983: 133). When too deep for punting the pole can still be used as a rudimentary form of paddle. If a punter is unlucky enough to lose his pole, a rope and weight can be used to propel the craft along by the simple method of throwing the weight forward into the water and hauling it on the rope, and repeating the cycle till the shore or safety is reached.

The punt excavated from the site of the Faversham Gunpowder Works was found by probing in the mill pond of Bonnett's Mills, the most north-easterly pond before the water enters the sluice into Faversham Creek (Fig. 78). There are at least two other punts sunk and covered by mud in this area of the Gunpowder Works. A team from the Nautical Archaeology Society (N.A.S.), directed by Colin McKewan and Paul Wilkinson and including other N.A.S. members and local archaeologists, located, raised and measured the punt which is a much simpler form of construction than the R.C.H.M. 157 punt measured at Waltham Abbey. A punt had been moored at this spot in the late 19th century to clear the weed from the mill ponds.

The punt is 3 m 70 cm (12 ft) long, with a width of 1 m 33 cm (4 ft 41/2 ins) and a depth of 33 cm (13 ins). Essentially of flat and square construction, the lack of shipwright skills indicates the craft was built by a works carpenter, but using the very best materials. The addition of four men reduced the freeboard by only 5 cm (2 ins). The bottom boards, 76 mm by 203 mm (3 ins x 8 ins), are straight cross-planked members of pitch-pine27 through bolted by two longitudinal rods of wrought iron threaded, washered and square bolted at both the fore and aft ends. The side longitudinal strakes comprise one piece of radially sawn oak 3 m 70 cm (12 ft) long by 25 cm (10 ins) high and 6.5 cm (21/2 ins) thick. Both ends inboard are mortised to receive the single transverse strakes, again of radially sawn oak of similar specifications as the longitudinal strakes. Large iron boat nails hold the assemblage together. The bottom boards comprise 12 full length pitch-pine P.A.R. (planed all round) boards of different widths, 110 mm (41/4 ins), 137 mm (53/8 ins) and 100 mm (4 ins). There is a gap of 50 mm (2 ins) running the full length of one side, which is filled with bitumen; under the bitumen a piece of flax canvas was noted, giving a bottom construction of timber, bitumen, canvas, bitumen and then the bottom boards. Both longitudinal strakes had a chamfered rubbing strake, again of elm, and this had been fitted using bronze 100 mm (4 ins) countersunk head screws. The longitudinal strakes extended 76 mm (3 ins) further fore and aft than the transverse strakes, obviously to give more strength to the mortise joint but also to act as "horns" or fenders to take any day-to-day shocks to the punt. Four bronze hooped "rowlocks" were fitted fore and aft, port and starboard, and wear to the outboard top of the longitudinal strakes indicated many years' use. With poles in all four corners it would have been possible to "anchor" the punt quite firmly to the mud whilst weed-clearing or repairs were carried out.28 The only other furniture was one wrought iron blacksmith-made mooring chain (Fig. 79).

Part of the pitch-pine decking or bottom boards was covered with a piece of "modern" ply; once it was removed, a remnant of tanned leather, covering one corner of the bottom board and fixed firmly with copper tacks was noted. This indicates that at some time in its life the punt had been used to transport gunpowder around the many waterways of the Faversham Gunpowder Mills. After recording, the punt was replaced in its original find position and sunk under the mud (Fig. 80).

Extent of the waterways

By the late 18th century keeping the waterways clear of weed was a constant battle and in February 1777 the Ordnance Board offered George Strudham 30 guineas a year to keep ten acres of the waterways clear29 (Fig. 81). Also

in 1777 a programme of improvements to the waterways was initiated, a new "foot wharfe" at Ospringe Gunpowder Mill was built, using iron tipped oak piling and planks; the total cost was £22 9s 0d. Another "foot wharfe to secure the towpath from the Upper to the Lower Mills" was built at a cost of £19 15s 0d, and a "foot wharfe leading to Horsing Chart Mills" at a cost of £64 10s 0d.30

A memo sent to the respective officers indicates that the punts were under cover when they loaded or unloaded their gunpowder cargo: "A boarded gangway to be made from the Glazing house to the East Canal, to embark powder on board the punts, similar to the gangway made towards the North West Canal and the space between the houses are to be covered with bricks rubbish firmly pounded and very carefully examined that no pieces of flint may remain therein."31

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1 PRO: Supp 5/68.
2 PRO: Supp. 5/70
3 PRO: Supp. 5/111.
4 PRO: Supp. 5/877.
5 PRO: Supp. 5/877.
6 A typical 19th-century powder barge is the Waltham Abbey's Lady of Lorne, 69 ft long, 13 ft wide and 4 ft 6 ins deep. She had a single main hatch 43 ft 4 ins long and 8 ft wide. She was rigged with a single mast 26 ft high and a sprit 45 ft long. She had a capacity of 371/4 tons or 540 barrels of gunpowder (CKS: Fa/K386).
7 PRO: Supp. 5/67 p.185.
8 PRO: Supp. 5/877.
9 PRO: MPGH 189/3, 4, 6.
10 PRO: Supp. 5/111.
11 PRO: Supp.5-114 p.235.
12 My brackets.
13 PRO: Supp. 5-114 p.235.
14 CKS: Fa/AZ71-89.
15 PRO: Supp. 5/111.
16 My brackets and text.
17 PRO: Supp. 5/65.
18 PRO: Supp. 5/111.
19 PRO: Supp. 5/112.
20 PRO: Supp. 5/67 p.138.
21 Stockholm tar: a natural wood tar, distilled from the pine tree of the family Pinaceae.
22 OED: Oakum: loose fibre obtained by unravelling old rope especially hemp. OED: Hemp, an annual strong-smelling Asian moraceous plant Cannabis Sativa (Old English haenep related to Old Norse hampr and Old German banaf.)
23 Coal tar putty: "A stopping made of whiting and warm coal-tar, worked up into the consistency of butter, too much whiting would make it crumbly, but without whiting it sets like stone" (Calude Worth, Yacht Cruising 1934 London p.487).
24 PRO: Supp. 5/111 no.48.
25 Quanting: the bargee starts at the bows, and after finding the bottom with his pole walks steadily aft and on reaching the bottom with his pole again walks steadily aft and on reaching the stern he recovers the pole and takes it forward again. This method of propulsion would have been used on the powder barge at Faversham.
26 PRO: Supp.5/115.
27 OED Any of various coniferous trees of the genus Pinus esp. Pinus rigida of North America.
28 When found in 1970 less than 4 miles away, the Graveney boat (late 10th century) was secured by a series of stakes pushed into the mud.
29 PRO: Supp 5/70 p.99. "The extent of the ponds is no less than ten acres, and the distance from the town sluice to Mr Wards brook about four miles in length" (Fig. 81).
30 PRO: Supp. 5/877.
31 PRO: Supp. 5/114. The pieces of flint were removed to prevent sparking if knocked with iron.

PART THREE:

ADMINISTRATION OF THE PORT

Administration of the Port

Shipping was the most important element in the economy of the port towns of Kent. Faversham in 1683 exported 316 cargoes to London, more than any other English port, except Newcastle (Willan, 1938: App.2). The corporation controlled the smooth running of the port and collected dues through its principal officers - the Town Porter, toll collectors and warders of markets and fairs. The state regulated and collected taxes through the Customs Service, and the lord of the manor controlled and regulated the oyster and fishing industries.

All branches of fiscal control were long established, certainly before 1252, "when the memory of man runneth not to the contary".1 The market was established certainly in Saxon times and by the time of the Domesday Book was worth some £4 in rent.

The oyster and fishing industry was probably established in the Roman period; the Oyster Fishery Company is reputed to be the oldest company in the world.2 The gunpowder works were the first state-run gunpowder factory enterprise to be established in England. All these various industries overlapped in their use of Faversham's resources, and it is remarkable how so many disparate enterprises could be managed so successfully by the Mayor and Jurats of Faversham. The key to the smooth running of the port dwelt in the office of the Town Porter.

Chapter 12 The Office of Town Porter

"There has been time out of mind an office enjoyed by the mayor jurats and commonalty of the town of Faversham in the county of Kent which is a member or limb of Dover one of the Cinque Ports called the Town Porter or comon carrier of the said town whose office is to lade and unlade all merchandizes and to weigh all goods at the comon beam of the said town."

In the legal jargon of the 18th century James Wallace of the Middle Temple on 4th January 1766 gave his opinion, after referring to the appropriate papers, of the office of Town Porter of Faversham.3 The origins of the office of Town Porter are wrapped up in the origins of the Cinque Ports and certainly date before the first charter of 1252 (Jacob, 1774: 9). Faversham even then claimed that the office, amongst other privileges, existed "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary."4 The Town Porter or common carrier's job was to lade and unlade all merchandise and to weigh all goods at the common beam and to fetch and carry all goods and merchandise from the waterside or elsewhere within the town limits for the inhabitants of the town. The task was originally executed by men, but by the early 17th century horses and carriages were used.5

The earliest full reference dates back to 1443, although disputes are mentioned first in 1404:

> "A common Wordmoth holden at Faversham the Xth day of Jule the 22nd yere of King Harry the sixt before John Seyncler6 Mayor of the Town and Port of Faversham and the jurats and commoners of the same town Hyt was complained upon diverse controveries and debates late growying between the marchants brewers and victuallers of the said town on that oon partie and the common porters of no certaine rules except a lyttyll remembraunce in the old quayer7 that was Seman of Tonge."8

The dispute goes on to mention that six of the strongest men "of good name and fame" should be chosen by the Mayor and should swear an oath to "King Harry sixt King of Yngland and do all manner of lawful commands, especially execution of the pillory,9 cucking stool,10 breaking of bakers' ovens, scolds, cut purses and bawdies".11 The porter's oath goes on to say, "that true attendance give unto the office of portership for all manner of merchandise to lade and unlade and be indifferent in weighing in the common beam; and true certificate made to the Chamberlins of this town, and all things belonging to our office we shall truly and indifferently do on our behalf; so help us God."12

Table of fees

The earliest table of fees "time out of mind received and taken by the common porters" dates from 1443:

"For the which service only to be done they shall for every tonne of wine that they wind up at the key and to celler	7d
And for cellering only	1s ob[1]
For every barrel of herring	1d ob
Every cade[2] of herring	ob
Every (blank) samon of straunger	2d
Every quarter of wheat, malt, barley or other corns to be borne from the wharehousing off the Keyside to the ship	1d ob
And for every quarter of the foresaid grains borne from any other street within the franchaise to the ship	1d ob
Every quarter of salt	1d ob
Item for every chalder[3] colys[4]	3d

And for the portage of all other merchandise they take after the rate of the weight thereof."5

Additional guidance lines were established to solve the 1443 dispute: "Also they furthermore shall swere" to carry all ale and beer that is "browen to sale" from the brewers to the tappysters for a 1d and to return when empty the same barrels for another 1d.

The dispute still rumbled on. In 1555 porters were instructed not to interfere with brewers' men carrying barrels, and the brewers' men were told not to interfere with the Town Porters carrying other goods - obviously to preserve the Town Porters' monopoly. The two functions of the Town Porters were to carry goods from ship to quay but also to weigh on the common beam all goods which passed through their hands.

Weights and measures

Unit standardisation was the aim of the medieval kings and with King John (1199-1216) a formal programme was started. It was stated in the Magna Carta of 1215 that throughout the Kingdom "One weight and one measure" should be used (Zupko, 1977: 22). Initially one measure was to be used for wine, one for ale, and another for corn. In the case of wine and ale no actual capacity measure was stated, but for corn the London quarter (the Saxon seam or pack load) was established. Also established was a uniform breadth for fabrics, two "ulne" between the woven borders. Ulne was the Latin equivalent of the Saxon elne or "elbow" (Zupko, 1977: 44). Bread and ale weight and measure were established at the Assize of Bread and Ale in 1266.

The common beam at Faversham was a balance and the only legal scale for trade. It consisted of a wooden beam supported by a fulcrum at the midpoint to form two equal arms. A container or flat pan was suspended by chains from each arm, one to hold the goods to be weighed and the other to hold a known weight.18 The use of the "Kings beam" was compulsory for all goods sold in bulk, whether imported into the port or exported (Zupko, 1977: 28).

The Town Porters' duties

The Town Porters would have unloaded from the quays in Faversham Creek, no doubt using the great crane shown on the early 16th-century pictorial map of the port (Fig. 20), but they would also have unloaded at Thorne, a quay to the north-east of the town. Leland in 1536 states: "their cummeth a creke to the towne that bereth vessels of XX tunnes, and a myle fro thens north est is a great key cawled Thorne to disscharge bygge vessels" (Jacob, 1774: 64 and Fig. 46).

Along the hedge in Thorne field was "anciently19 a path 16 ft wide leading from the Nether court of the Abbey to Thorne wharf and bridge, used by the town to ride and recarry by" (Fig. 34). Edward Jacob states: "let it be remembered however that these all powerful priests never obstructed the town in receiving the tolls of their harbour or creek, nor the passage of carriages through their demeans, to the great key at Thorne, where the great vessels used to unlade, or take on board their cargoes" (Jacob, 1774: 14).

Fees charged by the Town Porter

There are numerous lists of fees from the 18th century but all contain the same information. The list transcribed dates from the early 18th century:20

"The town of Faversham

A table of the fees time out of mind received and taken by the common porters of the said town for goods and wares and mechandizes collected or housed at the Key or by them conveyed or carryed from on board any ship or vessell lying in the port or creek of the said town or from any wharf or Key within the said town or the liberties thereof to any place within the town or liberties thereof.

Imprimis the porters shall have and take for every ton of wine that shall be wound up[1] or housed at the Key	viij^{d}
And for every ton of wine carryed into the town from the key or other landing place and there cellered[2] or used the porters shall have and take	xvj^{d}
Oyle[3]	
Item for every ton of oyle wound up or cellered or housed at the key the said porters shall have and take	viij^{d}
And for every ton of oyle carryed into the town from the key there cellered or used the said porters shall have and take	xvj^{d}
And for every barrell of oyle cellered or housed at the key	xij^{d}
And for every barrell of oyle carryed into the town and there cellered	ij^{d}
Herrings[4]	
Item for every barrell of herrings cellered or housed at the said key the said porters shall have and take	iij quarters[5]
And for every barrell of herrings carryed into the town and there cellered or housed the said porters shall have and take	j^{d} quarter
And for every cade of herrings cellered or housed at the key the said porters shall have and take	quarter
And for every cade of herrings carryed into the town and there sold	ob.[6]
Salmon[7]	
Item for every barrell of salmon cellered or housed at the key the said porterrs shall have and take	j^{d}
And for every barrell of salmon carryed into the town and there cellered	ij^{d}
Soap[8]	
Item for every barrell of soap cellered or housed at the key or other landing place the said porters shall have and take	j^{d}
And for every barrell of soap carryed into the town and there cellered or housed they shall have	ij^{d}
Raisons[9]	
Item for every piece of raisons cellered or housed at the keys the said porters	

shall have and take	quarter
And for every piece carryed into the town and there cellered or housed	ob.
Cheese[10]	
Item for every weigh of cheese sold or housed at the key they shall have	j^{d}
And for every weigh carryed into the town and there cellered or housed	ij^{d}
Salt[11]	
Item for every weigh of salt sold or housed at the key they shall have	viij^{d}
And for every weigh carryed into the town and there cellered	xvj^{d}
Coals[12]	
Item for every chaldron of coals measured at the key or houssed they shall have	viij^{d}
And for every chaldron carryed into the town and there cellered	xvj^{d}
Fish	
Item for every hundred of fish cellered and layd at the Key they shall have	iij^{d}
And for every hundred carryed into the town and there cellered	vjd
Iron	
Item for every ton of iron cellered at the key they shall have	iiij^{d}
And for every ton carryed into the town thay shall have	viij^{d}
Dryfatts[13]	
Item for every dryfatt cellered at the key they shall have	iiij^{d}
And for every dryfatt carryed into the town thay shall have	viij^{d}
Pitch and Tarr[14]	
Item for every last of pitch and tarr cellered at the key they shall have	vj^{d}
And for every last carryed into the town they shall have	vij^{d}
Wainscotts[15]	
Item for every hundred of wainscotts cellered at the key they shall have	xij^{d}
And for every hundred carryed into the town they shall have	xx^{d}
Wood[16]	
Item for every load of wood cellered at the key they shall have	iij^{d}
And for every load carryed into the town they shall have	j^{d}
Beer and Ale[17]	
Item for every barrel of beer or ale cellered at the key thay shall have	ob.
And for every barrell carryed from the Key to the town they shall have	j^{d} ob.
And so for every other vessell after the same rate.	

Every and any multiplicity of goods were catered for, and no doubt the list of fees was fine-tuned over many centuries to enable the Town Porters' office to extract the legal and proper fees from all merchants using the port of Faversham.

The town droits

The word "droit" comes from the French, but its origin was from the Latin directum, signifying rights. The earliest rights were itemised in the Ordnance of 14 Henry III in 1229. It names Faversham among the Ports of the King of England having liberties which other ports had not. The town droits were in the nature of a toll for all goods shipped or landed at the port. The toll wasn't taken in respect of shipping or landing (these were the domain of the Town Porter's fees), but on their passing through the town. Persons resident within the town weren't liable, nor were non-resident freemen of any of the Cinque Ports, except in the case of import of coals, timber or deals. If any of these goods were imported by an inhabitant or freeman and afterwards moved out of the town the toll would be charged even if sent to a non-resident freeman. If goods were sent to an inhabitant of Faversham to ship, the toll was not liable until shipping (Maude, 1835: 22).

The Town Records show that the toll can be traced back to at least 1539. Before then earlier records would be held by the Abbot of Faversham and are now presumed lost. In the 18th century the rate of toll was 4d for 20 qtrs of grain, 2d for every qtr of grain, 4d for every cartload, 4d for weighing at the common beam, and 4d for every chaldron of coals and salt.38

There was a collector to take the tolls, who kept 25 per cent of the amount he collected. It was usual, however, for

the hoy-men and coal merchants to take the toll upon corn and coal which they had to ship for strangers, and they received 2d in the shilling for doing so (Maude, 1835: 27).

In the Faversham town minutes39 there is recorded legal opinion of 1751 on how the town stood in relation to collecting the droits: "That the said Mayor Jurats and Commonalty have at their own expense constantly time out of mind cleansed the Haven or Creek with droit money".

Edward Jacob, the 18th-century historian of Faversham, says: "a constant attention has allways been paid to its preservation and improvement by the corporation; in the earliest accounts I find, that according to common usage and custom, every owner of a vessel of ten tons and upwards, found a man with a iron rake and shovel, to work therin for six days in a year and the owners of smaller vessels found a man with the same implements to work three days" (Jacob, 1774: 64-5). Legal opinion in 1751 reiterates that "time out of mind" the town had received 2d a quarter for most articles. Other charges itemised were:40

2d per quarter of wheat	4d per wagon load of lathes
2d per quarter of barley	4d per wagon load of tiles
2d per quarter of malt	4d per wagon load of boards
2d per quarter of meal	4d per wagon load of bricks
2d per quarter of beans	4d per wagon load of wood
2d per quarter of tares41	4d per wagon load of coals
2d per quarter of peas	4d per wagon load of apples
2nd per quarter of rye	4d per wagon load of pears
2d per quarter of oats	4d per wagon load of wardens

4d per wagon load of Timber42
4d per wagon load of quinces and other fruits

Another document defines in even more detail the droits on smaller quantities than a quarter:

> "2d per quarter on all corn and grain, seeds, imported and exported and passing through the town, 4d per chaldron of coals and 4d per ton or load on all goods by weight. One penny per sack on flour and malt which is 2d per quarter and one halfpenny per bag for wool and hops. Eight bags making a load and one farthing per pocket for hops, a bag being considered equal to two pockets."43

Disputes over town droits

The hoymen and other masters of vessels collected the droit on behalf of the town and for their trouble had always been allowed halfpenny a quarter.

But in 1751 Robert Hilton, Stephen Cock, and Edward Wilks, the three main farmers who shipped corn from Faversham to the London market, instructed "their hoymen" not to collect the 2d per quarter droits. It was also said that Stephen Cock also refused to pay the 1/2d per load for his coals brought through Faversham.

Hilton, Cock and others argued that Henry Hatche's legacy of £200 a year more than paid for the upkeep of the creek and town streets. The town insisted they "laid out more than double the rents of that estate there upon the creek being so narrow and subject to swarve up with ooze or mud, they not many years ago spent £600 in rebuilding a sluice to scour the creek, and seldom lay out less than thirty or forty pounds a year in getting the mud out of it."44

Hilton, Cock and Wilks responded by saying they were either freemen of the Cinque Ports, and therefore exempt from tolls, or in the case of Robert Hilton, he said he was tenant of Abbey Farm and never carried his corn over the pavements of the town.45

Hilton and the others went on to say the hoymen who carried the corn and grain from Faversham to the London market and there sold it, took only 1s 4d per quarter for every quarter of wheat, beans, peas, tares, rye and other heavy corn for freight and factorage, "and two new hoymen of late set up in that business only took 10d per qtr for such corn". For the lighter sort of corn and grain such as barley, oats, malts, freight and factorage were only 10d per quarter. From all freemen and from all foreigners being non-freemen they had always charged 1s 6d per quarter for heavy grain and 12d for such light corn or grain, i.e. 2d a quarter more for the droits.46

The droits of timber, wood, coal were paid by the waggoners as they brought the loads through the town, and from "the time of Elizabeth a chain had been put across the streets to stop the carriages the better to collect the droits". The Mayor had always employed two or three collectors, and they were allowed to retain a quarter of the cart money. The earliest "cart money" recorded is from 1536 - some £2 15s47 - and a full record can be found in the appendices.

The following table appears in the town's archives:48

(1622)	John Lawrence	£18 a year for 7 years
(1636)	Francis Windsor	£23 a year for 8 years
(1680)	Nicholas Bennett	£50 a year for 7 years
(1687)	Nicholas Bennett	£40 a year for 7 years
(1707)	William Cleave	£60 a year for 14 years
(1735)	William Cleave (son)	£60 a year for

Sam Shepherd bid for lease of the droits at £60 a year (1735) and a payment of £600.

Dispute immediately arose in 1735 over overcharging by Shepherd, The town returned £150 and Shepherd agreed only to charge the ancient droit of 2d per load for timber, fruit and other things which he collected during the term of his lease. At the expiration of Shepherd's lease the town

didn't renew it but took it back into its own hands.

To evade payment of the town droits some farmers who lived and farmed outside the limits of the town came to reside in the town and put a head servant on the farm to carry on the business, thus evading the dues.49

Apart from Hilton, Cock and Wilks, who were refusing to pay their droits, a John Maschall who was a freeman of New Romney, one of the Cinque Ports, had moved to Ashford about 12 miles from Faversham and set up as a corn factor. He bought great quantities of corn which he conveyed in his own wagon from Ashford to Faversham wharves and shipped it off to London to be sold at the corn market there. Being a freeman of New Romney he claimed exemption from payment of the droits under the general charter of the Cinque Ports (Giraud, 1900: 24).

The charter states that members may be exempt of all

> "tolls50 and of all customs, of all tallage51, cayage52, rivage53, from passage and all wreck and all their selling, buying and rebuying throughout all our land and dominion with soc54 and sac55 and thel56 and theam57 and they may have infangthef58 and that they may be wrecfry59 and wyttfry60, lestagefry61 and locofry62 and they may have den and strand63 of Yarmouth according to that which is made in the ordnance thereof by us made and perpetually to be observed and also that they may be quit of shires and hundreds."64

Quittance of shires and hundreds - their liberty not to plead or be impleaded in any Hundred or Court of the Shire. (Arch. Cant., Vol.ix p.lxix).

Specimen charges were brought against Stephen Cock as ringleader but also named in writs were John Mascall of Ashford, William Chapman of Badlesmere, Robert Hilton of Selling, Stephen Wastell of Sheldwich, William Gilman of Crundell, John Cobb of Sheldwich, William Hentley of Ospringe Street in Faversham, Edward Wilks Esq. of the Royal Powder Mills in Ospringe and William Dodd of Throwley.65 In 1763 the Letter of Attorney stated the specimen charges:

> "the sum of seven shilling and ten pence for the droits and duties due to the said Mayor for forty six quarters of corn and grain the said Stephen Cock brought into and carryed through the said town and shipped on board the ships, boats or vessels lying in the port or creek of the said town of Faversham. And also the sum of four pence for one waggon load being in quantity two cart load of coals. And the sum of two pence for one cart load of coals by him the said Stephen Cock.
>
> And also all and every sum of droits owing of all timber laths,66 tiles, boards, brick, wood, coals, apples, pears, wardens,67 quinces68 and other fruit at the rate of four pence for every waggon load and two pence for every cart load."

The town won the case apart from the droit on coals, which necessitated further court action; the verdict was "from thence to be deposited and kept in the chest amongst the records of the town".69

All there was now to do was to add up the cost The Town Clerk delivered the bill of costs and expenses, which amounted to £395 5s 3d. The Town Clerk had received £50 from the Chamberlain's office at Faversham and also £90 from Stephen Cock for costs, leaving the sum of £255 5s 3d. It was agreed that the Chamberlain "borrow at interest" £250. A letter of attorney demanding droits was sent to Stephen Cock and associates demanding the following monies. The amounts were worked out by referring to the hoymen's books.70

Stephen Cock	£6	2s	11d
John Mascall	£33	16s	7d
William Chapman	£6	3s	11d
Robert Hilton	£12	17s	10d
Stephen Wastell	£1	17s	6d
William Gilman	£2	8s	9d
John Cobb	£2	1s	10d
William Henfrey		1s	6d
Edward Wilkes	£1	1s	2d
William Dodd		9s	2d

For only the second time in the history of the town the tax or droits were tested in court; the first time was in 1578 when an action was brought by a Mr Malle against the town for the droits of timber, which was determined in favour of the town and confirmed by Lord Chief Justice Mansfield in 1764.

All there was left to do was to propose a vote of thanks and a "piece of plate of the value of twenty one pounds with a proper inscription thereupon" to be presented to Edward Jacob Esq.71 as an acknowledgement for the pains he took in assisting the town clerk in searching the ancient books and records of the said town". For his help in assisting the town clerk Master James Tappenden (a future mayor) was presented with a piece of plate valued at £10 10s "with a proper inscription".

On 19 September 1740 it had been agreed that an official, the common water meeter be employed "to measure all such coals, salt, onions and roots as should be sold or delivered out of any ship, hoy or other boat." He was to impose the tax of 3d for "every chaldron of coals measured and poured out, and for every wey of salt measured and poured out 3d, and for every four bushels of onions and roots so measured and poured out 3d."72 Even in Septem-

ber 1740 it was noted that "lately Mr Pratt one of the coal merchants in order to evade such duty has taken his coals out of his vessel and carried them into his storehouses without the town meeters inspecting the measure."

With the decision of the courts upholding the droits apart from coal, the town council on 12th October 1768 decided to accede to a request from Daniel Dane, John Pratt, John Hall, William Skinner and Daniel Hedge, coal merchants of Faversham, that they collect the droits on coal instead of Mr John Ayres, the present collector, and that they should be allowed the usual salary of 2d in the shilling for doing so.

Because of the possible trouble over coal droits, this was a shrewd move by the town council. Already Richard Horton was refusing to pay the coal droits, so the town council authorised Daniel Dane et al to collect the droits from Richard Horton and any other importer of coal "by whatever means".

The only outstanding litigation left in the 18th century on droits was the problem of Thomas Terry, town porter, who in 1749 had signed a secret agreement with John Walker, Lord Sondes' steward, over porterage on Standard Quay. The town clerk had written a letter73 to the Hon. Lewis Watson Esq., Lord of the Manor of Faversham, concerning his infringing the rights of the corporation by "backing" corn by his own porters to and from the hoys lying at his quays and the Standard. The Town Clerk pointed out that the town, had "time out of mind enjoyed and exercised the office of town porter and the porteridge of all corn, grain, wares, merchandise to and from all vessels lying at all the keys or wharfs and other places within the limits of this corporation." It was decided in 1765 not to demand droits of Lord Sondes until further order, No doubt the town council had had sufficient problems already with Stephen Cock and the nine others.

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1 Arch. Cant., 1895: 273.
2 Guinness Book of Records.
3 CKS: Fa/LB1 79.
4 Arch. Cant., 1895: 273.
5 CKS: Fa/LB1, 81.
6 John Seyncler was Mayor of Faversham in 1443 and 1448 was and probably related to the family of St. Clere, which held estates at Ightham. John Seyncler with others was implicated in John Mortymer's (Cade's) rebellion but pardoned four days before Cade's death.
7 Obsolete form of quire.
8 Seman of Tonge was Mayor of Faversham in 1404.
9 A pillory was a device of wood used for exposing offenders to public view and ridicule and was only abolished in Queen Victoria's reign.
10 A seat on the end of a beam used for ducking "common scolds" also used as a punishment on brewers and bakers who were ducked in stinking waters.
11 CKS: Fa/LB1 81.
12 CKS: Fa/LB1 82.
13 Latin obolus, halfpenny.
14 20 cades equals 1 last, 2 tons, 48 firkins or 12 barrels.
15 Measure of coal established in a statute of 1421.
16 Coals.
17 CKS: Fa/LB192.
18 CKS: Fa/A/1.
19 CKS: Fa LV1.
20 CKS: Fa AZ 61/2, 63/3, and Fa/AC3 (1617) Folio 101v.
21 By crane.
22 OED: cellar: A store-house or store-room, whether above or below ground, for provisions.
23 Oyle: Oil, gallon (3.7851); barrel of 311/2 gallons (c. 1.19 hl); tun of 252 gallons (c. 9.54 hl).
24 Herring - 1 last of herring was equal to 2 tons, 20 cades, 48 firkins, or 12 barrels, a cade contained 500 to 1,000 herring, a last about 12,000 herring and a barrel about 1,000 herring.
25 Latin: quadrons, farthing.
26 Latin: obolus, halfpenny.
27 Salmon - packed in barrels of 42 gallons (c. 1.59 hl) last of 6 pipes or 504 gallons (c. 19.08 hl).
28 Soap - hundredweight of 112 avoirdupois pounds (50.802 Kg), barrel of 32 gallons (c. 1.48 hl), last of 12 barrels (c. 17.76 hl).
29 From a typescript listing at the PRO in the Round Room. 1 piece of raisins is given as 84 lbs (as opposed to 60 lbs for figs). Zupko says for fruit it was equal to 4 quarterns. A quartern is given as a weight of 28 lbs for fruit equal to 1/4 of a piece.
30 Wey - its size varied with the product and region. Cheese--336 lbs.
31 Salt - wey of 42 bushels (c. 14.80 hl).
32 Coal - a port importing coal coastwise normally weighed the coal in the measure of the port from which the coal came. Faversham's coal almost exclusively came from Newcastle and a Newcastle chaldron weighed almost double a London chaldron. The London chaldron measure was 26 cwt. From 1661 to 1710 the Newcastle chaldron measure varied from 521/2 to 53 cwt. The wey or "weigh" was equal to 4 tons, the hundred to 8 tons.
33 Dry-fat - a large vessel (cask, barrel, tub, box etc.) used to hold dry things.
34 Pitch or tar - a last of 12 barrels (c. 17.76 hl), a barrel of 311/2 gallons (c. 1.19 hl).
35 Wainscot - wood panelling applied to the walls of a room, hundred of 120 in number.
36 A load of timber was 50 cubic ft; the equivalent of 600 American board ft, it weighed about 1 tons.
37 Ale and beer, a barrel of 36 gallons, sold by the quart in taverns.
38 CKS: Fa LB1.
39 CKS: Fa LV1 Cases and Opinions p.62.
40 CKS: Fa LB1.
41 tare, various vetch plants i.e beans from old French 'veche'.
42 The unit of timber measurement was the "load" of 50 cubic ft which weighed about a ton and a quarter.
43 CKS: Fa/LB1, 68-70.
44 CKS: Fa/LB1, 68-70.
45 It was in fact William Hilton, his brother who was the tenant of Abbey Farm. Robert farmed some distance from Faversham and did bring his corn over the town's pavements.
46 CKS: Fa/LB1, 39-40.
47 CKS: Fa/LB1, 40-41.
48 CKS: Fa/ZB1 and Fa/LB 39.
49 CKS: Fa/LB1 21 June 1765.
50 Toll - payment for goods bought and sold which had been landed or set on wharves or common ground.
51 Tallage - payment of taxes, tenths, fifteenths, or subsidies granted in Parliament.
52 Cayage - tolls of common quays.
53 Rivage - payment for arriving and unlading at harbours.
54 Soc - the power of compelling all persons living within their liberties, to plead in their courts.
55 Sac - the cognisance of causes criminal and civil in their courts.
56 Thel - liberty to buy and sell within their jurisdiction, and to receive toll on commodities sold there.

57 Theam - liberty to have their villeins witth their offspring and goods.
58 Infangthef - the power to try and convict felons taken within their liberty.
59 Wrecfry - the privilege that their goods should not be taken as wreck.
60 Wyttfry - the freedom from being amerced or fined.
61 Lestagefry - freedom from exactions in fairs and markets for goods carried.
62 Locofry- freedom of trade.
63 Den and Strand at Yarmouth - their liberty to beat, mend and dry their nets upon marsh land called the Den at Yarmouth during the herring season, and to come to the quay or strand and deliver their herring freely.
64 CKS: La/LB1 & Giraud, Arch. Cant. 1900: 26.
65 CKS: Fa/AC5, extracts.
66 Laths - a thin strip of wood used in slating and plastering, usually hewn from ash.
67 Warden - a kind of pear used in cooking.
68 Quince - a golden round fragrant acid fruit used for jellies and marmalade.
69 CKS: Fa/AC5 - extracts.
70 CKS: Fa/LB1 and CKS: Fa/AC5 extracts.
71 Edward Jacob, the author of History of Faversham 1774.
72 CKS: Fa/ZB1.
73 CKS: Fa/ZB1.

Chapter 13 Markets and Fairs

Markets and Fairs could only be set up by Charter, although sometimes Charters merely confirmed prescriptive rights while turning the potential profits of the fair into a source of income. Only two Saxon towns in Kent possessed a Market, Faversham in the north and Newenden to the south (Nielson, 1932: 253-69). Lambarde, writing about 1576, lists over 60 annual Fairs in Kent along with 39 market towns (Lambarde, 1576: 22).

Henry II confirmed by Charter the right of the Abbot of Faversham to hold a Fair. It was held for eight days beginning on August 1st. By the Charter of Henry VIII, the holding of two Fairs is confirmed, the Lammas1 Fair in August and St Valentine's Fair held on February 14th for seven days. The Fairs were initially held in the Abbey Close and Nether Green. With the dissolution of the Abbey, Arden, the new owner, moved the Fairs to the Abbey or Standard Green, charged the corporation rent and kept all the profits to himself.2 After Arden's death the Fairs came under the jurisdiction of the corporation. There is a Wardmote Order of 1685 "that the fairs be held, in future, in Court Street below Partridge Lane on each side of the Street, and the Cheese Fair be kept in the warehouses on the Town Key and on the plot of ground before the Sluice Key, and that the butter, cheese and fish that previously used to be landed on the Standard Green shall now be landed at the Town and Sluice Key."3 (Fig.46).

The opening of the Fairs was proclaimed by the Mayor attended by the Jurats and Commoners. Warders and Watchmen were appointed. In 1586 expenditure on the Watch was "item for the charges of breade drynke and other necessaryes at the watche at Lamas fayer - vjs vd [6s 5d]. Another item indicates the Warders were fulfilling their function - to check for overpricing, under weighing, and fit for purpose. "Item for half a lode of wodd to burne fygges that were naught4 at fayer - xxd." The cost to the corporation of the Fair is also itemised: "Item for the farme of the grene at Valentyn fayer paid to Master Bradborn5 - vs."6

All sorts of goods and merchandise were imported to Faversham for the Fairs, mostly by water from London and Suffolk. London would provide all manner of cloth and manufactured articles and Suffolk would send cheese, butter and some fish. It was usual for the townspeople and neighbourhood to purchase at Fairtime their stock for the ensuing half-year, and itinerant vendors would, if unable to secure a stall, rent a shop to sell their wares. An advert in The Kentish Post of 1747 states,

> "During the Fair at Faversham, will be exposed to sale at Mr Hutton's the Bakers-shop over against the jail, the following Goods, by the maker, viz. Three Quarter Mantua's,7 half Yard Mantua's, half Ell8 Silks for Aprons, Black Silk for Hoods, Rich Tabbies9, half Tabbies, and Rich Poplings10. N.B. There will be a parcel of Calamansoes,11 Yard wide Stuffs and Cambletts12 for Riding hoods, Printed Linnens and fine printed Cottons, to be sold at prime cost; the person who sells them designing to Leave off selling several of those Goods"13 (Fig.82).

However with the emergence of the shopkeeper who in the mid 18th-century could supply goods on the same terms as those who sold at the Fairs, the twice-yearly Fairs went into rapid decline, and by the end of the 18th century the much-reduced Fairs were relocated to Tanners Green.

The Market

Most Kentish towns were centres not of industry, but of commerce, and their most distinctive feature was the Market. A Direction for the English Traveller in 1635 mentions 24 market towns while the of England Remarques in 1678 names 29. Kilburne in 1659 also mentions 29 (Chalkin, 1965: 163).

The area served by each Market in Kent was probably within about three to five miles radius. Certainly creditors mentioned in Faversham merchants' wills indicate Market trade was local, but with supply to and from London. In Henry Saker's will of 1601 the following merchants who owed money are:14

John Hammon of Faversham for debt due	£16	19s	2d
Sir John Garrard of London for debt due for five quarters of wheat	£5	0s	0d
Master Thomas Fynche of Preston for tythes of four coppices		4s	3d
One Hennaker of Chartham for tythes of certain podwares		30s	0d
Cadman of Faversham for tythes of certain podwares		10s	10d
One Bacheler of Uples for certain corne due	£3	0s	0d
Stephen Allen of Preston for debt due		62s	0d
Cowland of Ospringe for debts due		12s	0d
Constable of the Queens wheat due and owing		10s	0d
John Hodsall of London for debt due	£7	10s	0d
One Wiles of Graveny for debt due	£6	0s	0d
William Ewell of Herne for debt due	£6	5s	10d

John Taylor of Sheldwich for debt due	£21	0s	0d
Samuel Adams of Faversham for certain boots and shoes delivered		18s	10d

All the merchants owing money to Henry Sakar were from Faversham or within a five mile radius, apart of course from the shipping connections to London.

The market for meat, fish, poultry, butter, eggs, fruit was held underneath the Guildhall and the adjoining Shambles. There were two market days, Wednesday and Saturday (altered from Friday to Saturday in 1659). In 1669 an order was placed in the Wardmote Book, to ring off the Market at 6 o'clock in the evening in winter and 8 o'clock during the summer.15

A Fish Market was also held daily, near the Shambles in the 16th century, then moved to the north end of Market Street and finally in 1746 to under the Guildhall by the pump. A Corn Market was held on Wednesdays and a Cattle Market on the first and third Tuesday of every month. A Wool Market had been held since 1389.16 The actual traditional area of the Market can be gleaned from lease documents in the Sondes Collection:

> "all that parcel of land of the demesne and waste, sometime of the Monastery and Manor of Faversham, lying in the North Street, near the Market corner thereof the south part containing between the south and north six perches of land, of the north part one perch and six feet of land and of the south part three perches of land, upon which land the Mayor, Jurats, and Commonalty of the town do use, and for all time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, have used to merchandise and hold their markets, and of late there have erected a certain house called Guildhall".17

The Guildhall

The Guildhall was first erected in 1574. The wooden building was similar to the still standing old grammar school but with the addition of a Bell Tower. Sixty-five loads of timber were used in its construction, and its walls and beams were decorated with mottoes, texts and verses, copies of which can be found in Jacob's History of Faversham (Jacob, 1774: 214-222). It was built with gifts of money and materials from grateful merchants. In 1636 it was "beautified and oiled". In 1666 the Market clock and the spear on which it hangs were repaired. In 1725 the clock house was repaired and covered in "rough cast". In 1814 the old first-floor building was removed, leaving the oak supports and cross beams, and the present building with its dummy windows erected.18

Weights and measures

The weights and measures of the Market would be kept at the Guildhall. The Court of Pie Poudre (a derivation from pied (foot) and poudre (dusty)) was held during the Market and Fairs, judgement being given in a summary manner before the dust was shaken from the feet of the suitor. Also the Court of Clerk of the Market held the correct weights and measures and imposed fines on malefactors. Twenty-four "good and lawful men of the liberty of the same town" were sworn in as jurors and then would prosecute malefactors. On 20th February 1598 the jurors presented "Christopher Lame of Sothwerck near London in the county of Surrey", on the grounds that "he sold soope [soap]19 in the market, that a certain four pound weight of soope lacked in weight one and half ounces to the great deceit of the people loyal subjects etc." He was fined 20 shillings.20 Trading was restricted to those traders who had the rights of freedom of the town. Anybody else was termed a "foreigner" and only allowed to trade on payment of a toll and then only on market days. In 1747 an order was made by the corporation restraining foreigners from selling, "of late years devised and practised by subtile and sinister means how to defraud such customs and tolls ... and do frequently in private and secret places sell and put to sale their goods wares and merchandizes."21

For better regulating the markets,

> "it is ordained that every person being a foreigner and not a freeman of the said town who shall bring any turkies, geese, ducks chickens or other poultry piggs pidgeons butter eggs apples pears cherrys plumbs or oranges lemons or other fruit artichokes cabbages beans peas herbs roots or any fish flesh or other dead victuals whatsoever ... shall bring the same on market days only and sell the same in the common market already sett apart for the sale of the said respective things and not elsewhere."22

An account of money received by the Clerk of the Market on 5th August 1754 gives a good indication of the size of the Market even in its declining years. There were 61 stalls, all of which paid 2d each. Eleven of the stalls were run by women, ten of whom were married. All the stallholders are named and with the surviving market documents of 1599, 1601, 1606, 1621, 1631, 1669, 1720, 1740, 1754 and 1800 it would be possible to define the extent of the trading hinterland of Faversham's Market.23 The tolls on weights and measures on 5th August 1754 came to:

Wine and beer measures, 9s 3d
Dry measures, 2s 8d
Great weights, 4s 6d
Small weights, 10s 0d.

There were 34 people selling wine and beer, including the Widow Rigden, whose family started the famous Faver-

5 January 1745	*Richard and John* of hern	20 qtrs wheat, 20 qtrs oats
25 January 1745	*Endevour* of Hern	20 qtrs wheat
2 February 1745	*Endevour* of Hern	20 qtrs wheat, 3 packs flax
22 February 1745	*Endevour* of Hern	40 qtrs wheat, Hogshead Brandy
2 March 1745	*Endevour* of Hern	20 qtrs wheat, 20 qtrs oats
7 March 1745	*Endevour* of Hern	20 qtrs wheat, 20 qtrs beans

sham Brewery. Sixteen people were selling goods needing "dry measures" and 27 people were using "great weights" to sell heavy articles.

Henry Cobb, one of the stallholders on 5th August 1754, went on to open a shop in Faversham: "Henry Cobb, Grocer and Tallowchandler, near the May Pole in Feversham sells all things in that way of Buisness, Wholesale or Retale, at the very lowest Prices to encourage Trade: He likewise sells all sorts of Druggist Goods for Horses, where all Gentlemen Farmers and Farriers may be supplied with every goods, and as cheap as at London."24

Henry Cobb also exported cargoes to London:25

The example of Henry Cobb is indicative of the move away from markets to private trading and shops. It is also indicative of the trading dynasties of local families. Henry Cobb's son, also called Henry, became Mayor in 1811 and manufactured and sold hard soap in his late father's shop, No.1 Court Street (Wyman, 1974: 21).

The market town of Faversham was not simply a centre for trade; it was the focus of the rural life round it. Its market square and taverns provided the meeting place for yeomen and husbandmen, not only to buy and sell, but to hear the news, listen to gossip and organise shipping and trade.

In an urban community such as Faversham everything was still carefully made by craftsmen. Essentially it was still a hand-made world, and the trading classes often enjoyed a substantial amount of comfort. Henry Saker, one of the Jurattes of Faversham who died in 1601, left goods worth £2,099.26 Saker's trading goods included 8 hogsheads of strong beer, 20 bushels of apples, 3 bushels of onions, a crop of cherries, 2 fields of hemp, barley in barns worth £120 and wheat in barns worth 400 marks. Henry Saker also owed town droits of 8d on 40 quarters of wheat which had been shipped to London.

He also owed Alexander Oore 40 quarters of barley sold to Oore for £28, paid for, but not delivered. Alexander Oore is a merchant who figures prominently in the Faversham Port Books, usually shipping in the Dorathie of Faversham, master John Rye.

Saker also had marketing connections directly with London tradesmen. Robert Golding of Westminster, baker, had paid £100 in advance for a year's supply of corn, but because of Saker's death, had not received it.27 The very last item shipped from London for Henry Saker was his tombstone and "certaine paving tiles to bee used thereabowtes, in all the somme of 12s 0d."28

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1 OED: Lammas, 1st August, an old feast day celebrating the first fruits of the harvest (O.E.: hlaf-maesse, from hlaf, loaf and maesse, feast).
2 CKS: AC/1 p.212.
3 CKS: Wardmote AC/2 p.312.
4 OED: Bad in condition or quality: not good for eating or drinking.
5 Master Bradborn was Thomas Arden's nephew.
6 CKS: Fa AC/1, p.6.
7 Mantua: a woman's loose outer gown, worn in the 17th-18th centuries.
8 Ell: a cloth measure equal to 11/4 yd.
9 Tabby: a coarse waved or watered silk fabric, apparel from Attábiy, a quarter in Baghdad where it was made.
10 Poplin: a corded fabric with a silk warp and worsted weft. From Italian papalina papal, from the papal town of Avignon, where it was made.
11 Calamanco: a satin-twilled woollen fabric, with a chequered or brocaded design woven into the warp.
12 Camlet: a strong waterproof cloth, originally of camel's hair but now chiefly of wool and goat's hair.
13 Canterbury City Library, microfiche of Kentish Post, 1747.
14 CKS: PRC 20.3 f.29-50.
15 CKS: Fa AC/4.
16 CKS: Fa AC/2.
17 NAO: 341/22, 7.
18 Giraud, 1899: 132.
19 My brackets and text.
20 CKS: Fa/JM, 12.
21 CKS: Fa AC/2.
22 CKS: Fa/AC5 pp.58-60.
23 CKS: Fa/JM/1-60.
24 Canterbury City Library, microfiche of Kentish Post, Aug. 1755.
25 PRO: E190/677/4.
26 CKS: PRC 28/4 Fo.7.
27 CKS: PRC 20/3 f.29 to 50.
28 CKS: PRC 28/4 F.7.

Chapter 14 The Customs Service at Faversham

The earliest Port Books, although dating from the 13th century, are a possible legacy of the Magna Custuma of the Britons as mentioned by Strabo (Gras, 1918: 14). Sandwich, the Head Port for Faversham, had by the 12th century three distinct layers of customs. The custuma ville, lastagium and the nova custuma. An alien merchant exporting cargoes would pay custuma ville on all his goods, lastagium upon agricultural products and also the nova or new custuma on all his exports (Gras, 1918: 24-31).

The national arrangement for collection of such local taxes was to make one seaport the chief port for a stretch of coast, which would include several member ports, so that the former was called "port" and the latter were known as "members". The main feature of the system was the exemption of privileged classes from paying tax. In the case of 13th-century Sandwich , those exempted included all members of the Cinque Ports (which included Faversham). But also those of "scot" and "lot" of Canterbury, the denizens of London, the denizens of the Hundred of Milton, Battle, St Albans, Antwerp, Gynes (Guines) and the people of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The custuma ville was the local town toll, administered by the local bailiffs or port reeve. Lastagium was probably a tax imposed certainly before the 11th century by the sovereign. In 1266 Prince Edward, Warden of the Cinque Ports, instructed Thomas of Sandwich "to keep the lastage of that port during the pleasure of the King and the said Edward, as bailiff of the said lastage."1 Lastage, like the local town toll, was subject to many exemptions, but goods going abroad paid both lastage and the town toll.2

The nova custuma was introduced to consolidate and simplify the medieval complexity of various tolls, moreage, terrage, pesage, busselage and scavage. With the introduction of the "new custom" came the establishment in 1275 of the Customs Service. The collector of the customs, designated in the Sandwich and Faversham Port Books as ballivus, custos, collector, receptor and custumarius, came to be known ultimately as collector or custumarius. His duties were to record all shipments, collect the customs money and eventually hand it over to the Exchequer. Customs collectors issued "cockets or cocquets" as receipts for money received. Alongside the customs collector was the controller. His task was to keep a duplicate record of goods shipped and money paid as a check on the customs collector's activities. -3

For the export of wool the customs collector had one half of the seal or "cocquet" and the controller had the other half. Not surprisingly the sovereign, although having appointed controllers to watch the collectors, then established a central office to watch and check on them both (Bland, Brown and Tawney, 1983: 216-219). Two other customs officials were also introduced, the searcher and surveyor. The searcher's task initially was to confiscate gold and silver being illegally transported and to arrest persons bringing in false money (Gras, 1918: 132).

By 1545 the searcher also examined cockets and then the cargo, to see if both tallied. Eventually his task covered smuggled goods, passports and the entry of aliens. The surveyor was appointed to check on the activities of the searcher. In 1440 the "Surveyor of Searches" at Sandwich states that goods seized by the searcher had been valued and sold under his own supervision.4

The necessity to "double up" on the checking procedures is comment enough on the early Customs Service. Strict procedures were set down:

> "Also that no bond be taken by the Collector for the Transporting of any Wares or Vitailes from one Port to another within this Realm but in the presence and by the Consent of the Comptroller and Surveyor the said bond to remain in the Custom house under the said officers keeping so that the Kings Majestie may then be truly answered for the forfeiture of them accordingly.
>
> "And that the Obligacons and Certificates made by the Customers and their Cocketts may be Examined by the Kings Attorney and Solicitor for Terme to Terme."5

Book of Rates

The customs documents invariably give the name of the merchant exporting or importing foreign goods. From 1549 the names of merchants involved in the coasting trade are also given. Merchants in the early history of customs documents are described as either "aliens" or "denizens", denizens being those merchants who were resident. The old customs of 1275 were collected from aliens and denizens at the same rate. By 1303 the new rate was only paid by aliens. In 1347 the customs were paid with differential rates by both aliens and denizens. These differential rates were computed from the Book of Rates. The first Book of Rates to survive dates from 1507. It possibly denotes customs dues for London.6 Some samples of entries are:

Over 350 commodities are itemised, and this 1507 list survives as an early 18th-century transcript.7 It was reissued in 1532 to the Head Ports in England, and in 1545 a printed reissue was entitled "The Rates of the Custome House both inwarde and outward the dyfference of measures and weyghts and other commodities very necessarye for all merchantes to knowe, newly correctyd and imprynted." Apart from the official valuations of a large number of

Asshes called wood asshes, the last	xx s.	
Brymstone the c	iii s.	iiii d.
Bere the pype	vi s.	viii d.
Butter the barrelle	vi s.	viii d.
Bottells the dossen		x d.
Coperus the C Wyte	iii s.	iiii d.
Cony skynes sesoned the C	iii s.	iiii d.
Coper called rede coper whether ytt be rowned or square the C.	xvi s.	viii d.
Hoppys the sacke containing vii^{c}	xl s.	
Herynge shotton the laste	xl s.	
Sylke called rowe cade the lb	iiii s.	

commodities the books contained tables of weights and measures, the gauge of wine and other information useful to both merchants and the Customs Service. A second series of books were issued in 1558, almost coinciding with the loss of Calais to the French. In 1604 a further book was issued,8 and twelve more during the 17th and 18th centuries.

At times the administration of the Customs Service was transferred from Crown officials to persons who had paid for the privilege of collecting the money.9 In 1643 the Long Parliament ended the farming out and regulated the collection of the revenue by means of a parliamentary committee whose members were appointed commissioners and collectors of the customs.10 These committees, appointed by Parliament until 1660 and then by Charles II, continued to 1662. In that year the customs were farmed out until 1671 when farming out stopped and the Board of Customs Commissioners was created.11

From 1671 the collector became a Crown officer, and was given the responsibility for the collection of dues in a port and the return of money collected into the customs office. The collector, with the controller, had the control of duties at a port. The customer conducted the coastal business in the outports and returned the quarterly Port Books to the Exchequer.

All coastal transactions at an outport were handled by the collector, controller and customer, and the collector, by his examination of all coasting bonds and certificates, was held equally responsible with the two other officers for all customs business conducted at the outports.12

An order of Elizabeth I required the quarterly return to the Queen's Remembrancer in the Exchequer of special numbered parchment books known as the Port Books (Fig. 83). These books were to be delivered in a tin box under the Exchequer seal to the outports, and were required to be returned on oath.13

Outport procedures

Customs officers at outports supervised two types of trade, port-to-port traffic by water and goods sent by land carriage. Procedures at outports followed closely established methods at London (Crouch, 1732). For instance, if a London merchant wished to send imported tobacco to Faversham, the master of the ship involved would make an entry of his ship with the collector-outwards. The proposed voyage having been recorded, the London merchant applied for a sufferance to permit the clearance of the tobacco coastwise. He would specify the marks, content, and quality of the tobacco being shipped and make a statement, under oath, that the import duties on the tobacco had been paid. When the sufferance was granted the merchant would have his barrels marked and weighed and recorded on the sufferance. He would then give to the London coast-waiter the endorsed sufferance as an authority to allow loading. The coast-waiter executed the sufferance by examining the tobacco and seeing it safely stowed on board, and certifying the same on the document. The coast-waiter then returned the sufferance document to the merchant who in turn submitted it to the collector-outwards. The collector-outwards then granted the master of the ship a coast cocket permitting the shipping of the tobacco - if the master took out a bond to land the tobacco at the port designated (Crouch, 1732).

Coast cockets, involving such bonds, were taken on for all goods prohibited for export or subject to a duty exceeding 20 shillings (1740) and 40 shillings in 1783.14 Bonds had to be discharged by a certificate of due landing within six months. If one were not, it was passed to the Exchequer in London and listed in a schedule of forfeited bonds. Security with bonds was equal to the amount of the value of the goods being shipped and on most occasions was a considerable sum-

When the ship arrived at Faversham, the master presented to the collector his document of sufferances, coast cocket and the certificate of the original payment of import duties. If the cocket was in order, the master was granted a

Date of coast bond	Name of bondsman, Faversham shipmaster or merchant	Penalty of coast bonds	Quantity of raw wool, (cwt)	Where landed	Date of certificate
2 October 1739	John Iden, John Argent	£1,000	250.1.14	Ipswich	9 October
5 October 1739	Nath. Perry, James Fagg	£200	85.3.7	London	23 October
19 October 1739	John Iden, John Argent	£1,000	156.14.0	London	15 March
30 October 1739	John Iden, John Argent	£1,000	213.1.0	London	12 November
13 December 1739	James Sanders, John Argent	£1,000	261.3.14	London	10 January
24 December 1739	James Sanders, John Argent	£1,000	254.2.1	London	24 March
13 January 1740	Nat. Perry, James Fagg	£200	84.1.0	London	21 February
12 February 1740	Nat. Perry, James Fagg	£200	129.0.0	London	23 February
26 February 1740	James Sanders, John Argent	£1,000	270.0.0	London	7 March

Source: PRO: T64/281 p.92 (1739-43).

sufferance for landing the goods, which he presented to the coast-waiter who then allowed the barrels of tobacco to be unloaded. The coast-waiter would carefully examine the marks on the barrels, comparing them with the shipping quantities listed on the sufferance. When all the tobacco was landed the coast-waiter recorded a description of the goods in his "blue book". He cancelled the sufferance and returned it to the collector who certified the transaction. It was then returned to the master of the ship along with a certificate of landing, which enabled the master to cancel his bond in London (Crouch, 1732: 11-17, 21-28, 23-31 and Daniel, 1750: 41-42, 44).

Two other employees of the Customs Service appear in the Faversham port records, the searcher and tide waiter. The searcher controlled the outward shipping from the quays at Faversham. Upon receiving the cocket he would check all barrels, packages and sacks as they were placed on board ship; he would compare merchants' marks, the weights and on occasion would require barrels to be opened to ensure no fraudulent exportation was about to take place. A document was then made out by the searcher of the quantity certified as shipped. It was also the searcher's responsibility to ensure that the goods which had been entered outwards on the cocket were actually shipped. To make sure the searcher would station on every outgoing vessel a tide-waiter whose job literally was to wait for the tide to come in and for the vessel to sail without any additions to its cargo.15

Head ports and creeks

In 1565 a change had been made in the system of accounting and announced in the form of Rules, Orders and Directions made by Queen Elizabeth, and passed under her Great Seal, "to be observed and performed by all her Officers, Ministers and other persons concerned in and about Levying and Collecting her Customs and Subsidies within all the Ports, Havens, and Creeks in England and Wales, and by all the Merchants and Traders in the said ports." The reason for the change in practice was a desire by the Exchequer to maximise the gathering of tax; there was a suspicion that money owing to the Crown was being misappropriated or "lost". The Court of Exchequer was ordered to

> "sende every Hillary and Trynytie Term to every Customer, Collector, Comptroller and Searcher in every Porte within the Realme, one Booke in Parchement under the Eschequor Seale in a Tynne Box, with the leave nombred of Recorde; and so many like Books besides to every of their Duties that have taken any Entries of Marchaunts Inwards and Outwards at any Creeke within ten years before the first yere of the Quene Majestys Reigne, to make the severall Entries theirin Outward and Inward as hereinafter is appointed."16

It was ordered that all entries by merchants should be made in front of the customer and comptroller in the "Quenes Original Booke". The searcher was also required to keep a book and both books were to be returned to the Exchequer every Michaelmas and Easter term. These Exchequer Port Books contain the name of each ship and master, burden, name of the merchant and his cargo, details of sailing and duty paid. The series is arranged under the Head Ports, which include the various member ports and creeks. A Head Port was distinguished by the appointment of three patent officers, the customer, comptroller and searcher who had authority over all the Member Ports and creeks which came within the jurisdiction of the Head Port. In the 1696 list17 Rochester had become a Head Port with its own collector. Faversham was also a Head Port but had Milton and Whitstable as its creeks. Sandwich,

although with a dwindling trade, remained a Head Port with its creeks of Broadstairs, Ramsgate and Margate. In 1696 there were 50 head and member ports.18 In 1786 the number had risen to 71. Head Ports registered in Kent were Dover, Faversham, Rochester, Sandwich, Deal. A Member Port was different from a Head Port in that only, as a rule, it was a smaller port.

The Member Port, apart from the control of the patent officers, was entirely independent of the Head Port and like it in every respect. A creek was a place within the limits of a Head or Member Port, at which the coastal business could only be transacted by officers stationed by order of the Customs Commissioners. It wasn't a legal place of commerce, and no foreign shipping could be carried on unless a licence was issued from the Head or Member Port, subject to strict regulations, of which the most important was the requirement that duties must be paid in advance at the Head Port.19

Quarterly salaries paid to the customs officers in Kent give an indication of the importance of the ports at different periods. In the 1696 list20 Deal's collector had a salary some 25 per cent greater than of other Kent ports, except Dover. Dover had not only become a Head Port, but, together with its creeks of Lydd, Romney, Hythe and Folkestone, had also by far the largest staff, and its collector's salary was double that of the collector at Deal.

Over 70 years later in the 1768 Quarterly List21 the collector of Rochester had a 25 per cent increase in salary only because his area of responsibility had increased to include the creeks of Sittingbourne, Chatham, Sheppey and Maidstone. He was also in charge of the cutter Queen Caroline with her crew of commander, mate, 11 seamen and a boy. The salary of the collector at Faversham hadn't changed from 1696. It was still £10 a quarter, but he received an extra £2 10s 0d to employ a clerk and a further £2 10s 0d for Incidents.22 The collector of Faversham's jurisdiction included Ore,23 Milton, Canterbury, the Riding Officers at Herne, Herne Bay, Reculver, Milton and Sittingbourne. By 1768 Sandwich had increased the work for the collector so much that his quarterly salary had risen to £17 10 0. He was also paid an extra £10 per annum for keeping a horse, no doubt to enable him to visit the creeks of Broadstairs, Ramsgate, Margate and the Isle of Thanet. The collector of Dover still received £25 per quarter and an extra £10 for a clerk. He now controlled the creeks of Lydd, Romney, Dymchurch, Hythe and Folkestone. He was also responsible for the cutter Frederick with a crew of commander, mate, nine seamen and one boy.

It should be remembered though that the salaries paid to the collectors were in fact nominal. The principal part of a collector's income was derived from fees. Fees were charged for a variety of services - such as the acceptance of a ship's report inwards and outwards, the issuing of coast cockets, coast transires and coast returns. All fees were divided up in order of precedence between the Patent Officers and other staff.24 In 1785, on every entry outwards at Sandwich a merchant had to pay 7s 6d, of which the customer received 2s 23/4d, the collector 1s 11/4d, the patent comptroller 1s 03/4d, his deputy and clerk 71/4d, the patent searcher 1s 8d and his deputy and clerk 10d.

Attempts were made by the Commissioners to abolish the fees or at least control them, but there were always merchants willing to pay for the quick dispatch of their affairs.25

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1 PRO: Calender of Patent Rolls Hen III, vol. 1266-72.
2 PRO: Cust, 124/12 and Gras, 1918.
3 PRO: Cust, 6/21.
4 Particule compoti Willelmi Clement supevisoris scrutinii regis in portubus Londonie et Sandwici ...(PRO: Cust. 184/10).
5 BM: Add. 30198 fol 43.
6 BM: Add. Roll 16577.
7 On a small piece of parchment glued to the beginning of the Roll is written: "In the latter end of March 1732, I made a fair copy of my old Roll of Rates (in a quartobook containing 20 pages) and gave it to my particular good friend Mr Samuel Gale of the Custom House, and Treasurer of the Antiquarian Society, London. Note the roll is five yards long and six inches wide and was given me by the Hon. Roger North of Rougham in Norfolk 1727. Ita testor. Thomas Martin. of Palgrave in Suffolk."
8 PRO: Cust.: 173/3.
9 PRO: The Reports of the Commissioners Appointed to Examine, and State the Public Accounts of the Kingdom 1787 III, 170.
10 PRO: Ordinance 1742-3 Jan. 21 and Ordinance 1643 May 30. See also Firth, C.H. and Rait R.S. 1911, Acts and Ordinances of the Interegnum 1642-1660. London pp.163-164.
11 PRO: Patent Roll 23 Chas II Part 2 No Mem 33-38 (1671) Sept. 27.
12 PRO: Repts. of Comrs., 1787 III, 170-171, Fifteenth Report. 1786.
13 PRO: T.I. Treasury Board Papers, Bdl 344 Nos 5-8, "Touching the Port Books Sent by the Court of Exchequer to the Several Ports in England and Wales", a survey by Taylor (1751).
14 PRO: Treasury Papers Bdl. 470 No. 202. Cust. Comrs to Lords of Treas. 1769 Mar. 22.
15 PRO: Rept. of Comrs. 1787 III.
16 PRO: Customs 18/431.
17 PRO: Customs 18/36.
18 PRO: Customs Series I quarterly Estab. Nos. 36, 430.
19 PRO: Reports of Commissioners 1787, 111 121-124 and Fifteenth Report 1786.
20 PRO: Customs 18/36.
21 PRO: Customs 18/313.
22 The Customs House at Faversham is shown on the 1795 O.S. maps as just behind the Town Quay.
23 Defoe comments on a coast-guard station at Oare: "to the left, aground like a stranded whale, stood the hull of a brig, now used as the coast-guard station, and tenanted by the Chief Boatman who with his family looked towards the three gunboats which mastless, black, immobile, lay like three porpoises floating side by side in the creek. (F.I.M.J. August 1898 p.66).
24 PRO: Report on Public Accounts Vol. 111 pp.796/7, 1784-1786.
25 PRO: 1 Geo IV c.7, s.9) Carson, 1973: 30-33.

Chapter 15 The administration of Faversham's fishing industry

In medieval times the trading of fish was a closely regulated and extremely important item of commerce. Jacob says of the Abbey at Faversham, "by the rules of the founder of the order, they were to live upon fish, except on some special occasion, but this seems not always to have been in their memory. King John gave them the property of the present fishing grounds, which he disjoined from his manor of Milton for their sustentation" (Jacob, 1774: 33-4).

Fish and shellfish were important items on the medieval diet. The church instructed that on at least two days a week, on saints days and during the six weeks of Lent the eating of meat was forbidden. Numerous household accounts of aristocratic and ecclesiastical establishments indicate that the rules were adhered to.

The Winchester diet rolls show that fish was usually the main course on most days of the week and that this was usually sea fish. Cod and herring were the most important fish; others included flounder, ling, plaice, sole and mackerel. Occasionally whale and sturgeon were consumed (Bond, 1988: 69-113).

Fishing, certainly before 1200, was a subsistence industry; fishermen could hardly fish and also organise a sales business. In London, the obvious market, after the local needs of Faversham had been satisfied, the sale of fish was organised round the "Stocks Market" established in 1283.1

Ordinances during the 13th and 14th centuries prohibited forestalling2 and any partnership between fishmongers and fishermen. The dealers were prevented by statute from buying before the nobler citizens and population had bought. The price of fish in London was fixed by numerous assizes.3 Most fishing ports suffered from the problem of dealers going on board just outside the port and buying the cargo. This was prohibited in London, the Thames Estuary and most river and sea ports.

In 1552 Edward VI allowed "subjects now dwelling or inhabiting within one mile of the main sea, to buy all manner of fish, fresh or salted (not forestalling the same) and to sell the same again at reasonable prices."4

Billingsgate market

Billingsgate became the leading London fish market and the destination of Faversham's fish and oysters. In 1699 it was made "a free and open market for all sorts of fish", where it was "lawful for any person to buy or sell any sort of fish without disturbance".5

It was common practice for Faversham fishermen to moor their loaded fish vessels in the lower Thames and wait for the price to rise. From 1749 the fishermen were allowed eight days to dispose of their fish once entering the Thames. In the late 1750s the dealers were served first, "those who kept shops in the various parts of the town" and the "hawkers who during the forenoon cried them through every street" (Middleton, 1807: 543-9).

The wholesale market opened first thing in the morning and the salesmen continued selling until they sold out. The salesman's place was then taken by the retailer. The price of fish varied from week to week, but on October 9th 1750 the prices as reported in the London General Advertiser were:6

Cod	10p per lb.
Codling	4d per lb.
Halibut	6d to 7d per lb.
Salmon	12d to 16d per lb.
Lobsters	8d to 12d per lb.
Herring	24 for a penny

The fisherwomen of Billingsgate were famous for their foul language and fighting ability. In the Ashridge Collection (Marylebone Public Library) is the printed challenge: "I Martha Jones of Billingsgate, fish women, who have fought the best fighting women that ever came to this place ..." On September 2nd 1723 Martha Jones married a Faversham hoy skipper, George Wilcock, who no doubt was much impressed by her fighting ability. It is said that to preserve the good looks of Martha Jones he insisted that in all future fights women had to hold coins in their hand to prevent their pulling out each other's hair.7 In addition to fish, Billingsgate did a large business in oranges, lemons and Kentish cherries. There was also a passenger service to Gravesend in wherries.

In 1699 William III introduced a set of regulations for Billingsgate market. It prohibited the developing practice of fishmongers buying complete cargoes from fishermen and dividing by lot amongst themselves then to sell by retail. The regulations attempted to stop another practice which was growing out of control: fishmongers were stopping fishing boats at Gravesend, whence the fish were "brought up to market only by boatloads at a time, the remainder of the fish cargo being shifted into a wellboat, or storeboat, under the care of a servant, who sent it up by degrees as the fishmonger directed".8

The London fishmongers, as well as buying from the masters of fishing boats, operated their own fishing boats or hired fishing boats and their crews to catch fish on their behalf.

In 1580 the Faversham Port Books record that all the cargoes of fish were owned by London fishmongers.

"In the *Anne Fraunces* of Faversham burden 30 tons, John Robinson master, the same day (27 July 1580) towards London. Of Edmund Andrewes and Francis Birckes denizens of London fishemongers for ten lastes9 fish called Barr fishe, by certificate of the date aforesaid.

In the Margett of Faversham burden 6 tons John Dyon master, the same day (3rd Aug. 1580) towards Dagnam. Of Christopher Garland denizen for twelve hundred codfishe and one and a halfhundred lynges, by certificate of the date aforesaid.

In the Mary of Faversham, burden 20 tons Henry Edwards master, 5th August 1580 towards London. Of Thomas Hicker and Robert Elliot for two thousand and seven hundred hollandes linges and two lastes barr fishe, by certificate of the aforesaid date."10

By the 18th century individual London fishmongers owned part interests or cargoes in up to 8 vessels registered at Faversham.11

The French and Dutch fishing fleets

A cause for concern for the Faversham fishing industry was the domination of the Thames Estuary by the French and Dutch fishing fleets. Faversham fishermen were constantly complaining from the 16th century onwards of the incursions of foreigners, and in 1771:

"A motion being made relative to the destruction of the spawn of fish by illegal ways and means and also of the intrusion of numbers of French fishermen within the admiralty jurisdiction of the Cinque ports ... the petition ... On complaint that the French fishermen frequently come in great numbers and fish on the coasts within the Admiralty jurisdiction of the Cinque ports and do not only take and carry away great quantities of fish but also destroy the brood and spawn of fish with trammel and trawl nets ... and great quantities of fish of divers sorts have been usually caught by them [the Cinque Port fishermen] thereon for the supply of the markets of the City of London .... But that of late years the said coasts of Kent have been frequented by a great number of French fishing boats carrying on board ten or twelve men each ... they fish within a quarter of a mile of the same shore with trammel trawling and mackerel nets with many of which nets fish of all sizes are caught and taken and very large quantities of the brood and spawn of fish destroyed ... that the French fishermen do not only fish in manner aforesaid but frequently come and shoot their nets (which are of a greater size) over or before the nets of your Majesty's subjects ... the number of French sailors employed in fishing on the English coasts does not amount to less than one thousand ... they must gain a knowledge of the sounding on your Majesty's coast..."12

All the ingredients of a fishing war are there - national pride and injury, loss of jobs, the French using larger nets, destruction of the stock and an unhealthy knowledge of the English coastline.

The Dutch were even more numerous and better organised than the French. The herring industry in the North Sea had from the 15th century been dominated by the Dutch. By the 17th century over a thousand boats were sent out each season. The Dutch fleets started fishing on 24 June off the Shetlands and followed the herring south reaching the Thames Estuary by December. To break the deadlock the Dutch held on the North Sea fisheries it was proposed in England to set up a national fishery organisation. An association was formed in 1632 with its supply base in Deptford but because of a lack of capital the Royal Fishery had ground to a halt by 1638. Sufficient interest had been awakened though to enforce territorial and therefore fishing claims.

There wasn't in the 17th century any international agreement on territorial waters although it was standard practice to adopt the convention that if land could be sighted from the main-tops the water between was territorial. Lawyers brought in by both countries needed to be more specific. Grotius the Dutchman in "Mare Liberum" (1609) argued for complete freedom at sea but John Seldon in "Mare Clausum" (1635) claimed all waters bordering up to other countries as territorial. James I and Charles I insisted the Dutch buy licences to fish in the North Sea. Charles I had more success as the revitalised Royal Navy enforced the legislation. When war was declared in 1665 both the Dutch and English fleets withdrew, as they did again in 1674.

By 1750 the industry was in decline and wouldn't pick up again until the advent of the Scottish fishing fleets of the 19th century.

Organisation of the Faversham fishery

Fish from Faversham had been provided - sometimes under protest - to both the Abbot of Faversham Abbey and the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. At the time of Edward I (1239-1307) the town gave 1,000 herring and the fourth of a centine13 of fish called lyng to the Warden. Other presents of fish followed until the Warden demanded as a right 100 salt fish as belonging to his office, and "by force compelled the men of Faversham to paye them". Subsequent Wardens followed his example.14

By 1446 Faversham was giving annually to the Warden 2,000 herring and 100 salted fish called greyling. The original charter to the Abbey of Faversham (1183) states,

"grant to the church of St. Saviour of Faversham and to the

> Abbot and monks serving God there, the fisheries of Middleton or Milton which the men of Seasalter held of the Kings Manor of Middleton by the yearly rent of 20s per Annum and doing therefore the customs and services which used to be done for that Fishery" (Jacob, 1774: 108).

The design of this grant was to supply the Abbey with fish, as well as to increase its revenues. The extent or boundaries of their fisheries are described in an ancient costumal of this Abbey, from Colemansole Mill on the sea shore, to the Snowt Wears and from the Snowt Wears to Ride. "Within these precints no one was to fish without leave of the Abbot, or paying a fine, and even then were reserved to the Abbot the four principal fish" (Lewis, 1727: 33). By 1735 the bounds of the fishing grounds of Faversham started from Kimber Creek, to the cliffs at Reculver (Jacob, 1774: 87-88).

Fishing methods in the Swale

The simplest method of catching or gathering fish or shellfish is by hand. Suitable areas for hand picking are mud banks with a large difference in the rise and fall of the tide. The only equipment needed is baskets to carry the catch. Roman and medieval sites in Faversham have evidence of a vast shellfish gathering industry.15 At the School Farm medieval site the molluscan species were found in a layer a foot thick and contained many millions of shells including oysters, whelks, mussels, cockles and winkles.

In a deposition of 1560 over a fishing dispute between Faversham and Harty fishermen Henry Neve of the parish of Leysdown within the Isle of Sheppey,

> "a marriner aged aboute fortie eight yeares saieth the said John Knighte did fishe in the place called the Neb and he knewe one Henry Odyn for savegarde of his mussels did drive certen stakes16 nere the place where the channell used to runne". The farmers paid Sir Thomas Cheyney rent for the mussel grounds of "foweer markes by the yeare and two bushells of muskels every weke betwene Shrove Sonday and Palme Sonday in Lent".17

Windmill Creek opposite Faversham is the time-hallowed place for what the Faversham fishermen call "griping".18 Small fish weirs were also used on the rillways - a number of posts were permanently set into the mouth of the rillway and a length of fishing net secured to the posts. Flounders were caught when coming up the rillway with the making tide, swimming over or round the net so when the tide fell. When they attempted to get back into the main channel they found the way blocked by the net. Essex and Kent fishermen would also fish for cockles in the Swale by the simple expedient of anchoring over the Horse Sands or Pollard and stepping onto the sands once the tide had receded.19 Working quickly, they would rake out the cockles and fill bushel baskets. Some Swale fishermen used a "dygal", a rake and net combined, and the word and instrument seems unique to the Swale.20

Eels were caught with eel traps, "sapping" or shooting with a spear or shear. Eel traps were long and tubular and traditionally made of wicker, about 3 ft long with a wooden peg for attaching the marker buoy rope. "Sapping" is a peculiar Kentish fishing activity of fishing for eels with a dangling ball of worms secured to a line.21 Fish spears have been used in the Thames Estuary since the Early Pleistocene. To enhance the effectiveness of aim, fish and eel spears or shears are provided with several prongs or tines; the handle was usually about 8 ft long (Dent, 1984: 105-15).

"Shore walking" was a form of dragneting practised along the Swale. Two men would hold out the seine net, the outside man would wade through the shallows pivoting in an arc and both haul in the bight of the net as he approached the beach. The catch was usually dabs and Dover sole (Jemmett, 1996).

Fishing in the Swale

The earliest fish weir excavated in the Thames Estuary dates from the 5th century.22 The earliest illustration of a fish weir in Britain is found in a 1460-70 estate map in the archives of Westminster Abbey recording the fishing rights on the River Coln (Harvey, 1980). The earliest written references in Britain are from an Anglo-Saxon charter for Tidenham on the Severn Estuary mentioning a "haccwer" or hedge weir (Seebohn, 1884: 152-4).

In 1303 at Faversham, Warin of Seasalter complained of "William the brother of Gilbert of Dover and others for coming to his piscinarium (fishwell) and carrying off the fish to his grevious damage." The defendants acknowledge that they were there, but didn't carry away any fish; the fish they had, were bought from John Dod and Peter Kok (Giraud, 1895: 275-6).

The bequest in wills of fish weirs in the Swale occurs from the 15th century onwards: "John Germyn of Seasalter, who died in 1478 leaves to his son James a weir in the sea at the place called the Bekyn."

"William Bolle of Seasalter in 1481 left his weir at the Bekyn, to be sold."

> "Thomas Hokkyn of Faversham, at his death in 1499 left a quarter of the caldie of mine and my cokke23 boat. To Margaret my wife, remainder of a lease in a weir at Snowte, according to an indenture with Faversham Abbey. Stephen Swanton to have my weir at the stade24 in Seasalter."25

Snowt Weirs, first mentioned in 1183, formed one of the boundaries of the Faversham oyster fishery and as such were part of the possessions of the Abbey at Faversham. In 1377 and again in 1540 these weirs were damaged by storms and the quit rent was remitted. In the survey of Ford Manor in 1647 there is a list of 21 weirs on the Swale.26

A plan was prepared in 1608 by the Faversham Oyster Fishery Company. It clearly shows the Snowt Weirs (Fig. 85) east of Shellness and Whitstable Weirs (Fig. 86) east of Whitstable church. Snowt Weirs are U-shaped and have five "sails" and five double baskets. The baskets were conical and were made of "withies" or willow rods tied to posts. Long-meshed, egg-shaped baskets were fitted over the narrow end of the cone and no doubt were removed when full of fish and replaced with a fresh basket. The direction of both Snowt Weirs and Whitstable Weirs indicates, as expected, that the catch would be on the ebb. The first of the ebb in the Swale is the strongest, running between three and four knots at Elmley and Kings Ferry until the mud banks (and fish weirs) are dry, then gradually easing to slack at low water. At Faversham Creek buoy the tide runs about 55 minutes to the eastward after high water at Sheerness, thus making about eight hours easterly and four hours westerly tide at this place.27

Whitstable Weirs at Graveney had three baskets, constructed in or at least drawn the same way as at the Snowte Weirs. The sails however are V-shaped with one wing - the furthest from the shore the longest. Collard in 1902 described these weirs:

> "it was built of oak posts driven in about six feet apart, and standing a height varying from one foot to six feet above the ground at low water, the spaces being filled in with transverse timber. The weir is shaped like the letter V, with the point out to sea, this pointed end being enclosed like a box, called the "pound"; the wide end is left open. As the tide recedes, fish in the weir are unable to escape. Large quantities of fish used to be wasted by want of attention in collecting them when caught" (Collard, 1902: 79-80 also Fig. 44).

Exceptional low tides now expose ancient fish weirs no longer in use which presupposes a higher sea water table or lower land then than now. The Kentish Gazette on 3rd March 1784 said: "the tide ebbed to the lowest point known by the oldest inhabitant, trunks of large trees lay as they fell, showing that land once extended far outside the present shore. At 11/4 miles from Herne Bay shore, it was perfectly dry on the Weir Rand28 and the long rows of wooden stumps that were revealed showed the remains of ancient fishing weirs."

Weirs were a danger to shipping and The Kentish Gazette on January 3rd 1786 reported that a boat with four men in it had run foul of the weirs and the men drowned, bringing the total of deaths by this weir alone to 16.

In April 1995 a team of volunteers from the N.A.S. (Nautical Archaeology Society) surveyed the remaining fish weirs both at Graveney and Shellness with an E.D.M. (Electronic Distance Measurer). 4,321 posts were located indicating over 35 fish weirs. Most were V-shaped but some were in the form of a U. (Fig. 87).

A typical weir had "wings" of 35 m. Posts were in double rows spaced 0.5 to 1 m apart and would have supported wattled hurdles of round-section rods. Additional bundles of rods lay at the foot of the hurdling to make it "fish proof" (Fig.88).

At the apex of the weir was the opening in the sail which would have contained the baskets, as shown on the map of 1608. Around this opening was a working area or platform made of boughs, twigs and stones mixed up with surviving fish bones, and further inshore remains of wooden barrels weighted down with blocks of Kentish ragstone (Fig. 89). The function of these barrels is in doubt, but informed opinion is that they were used to wash the catch after cleaning and gutting. Also recorded were a number of wattle causeways leading out from the shore and areas of "burning", possibly in the manufacture of salt.

Organisation of the Faversham Oyster Fishery

Rutupino edita fundo ostrea callebat primo deprendere morsu29 (Juv. Sat IV.)

In 1774 Edward Jacob started his introduction to the Faversham Oyster Fishery - possibly the oldest company in the world30 - with the above quote. Jacob then says, "the only staple commodity of this town being the oysters taken within the fishing grounds belonging to the manor of Faversham, by which not less than one hundred and ten families are principally supported, and the whole town much benefited" (Jacob, 1774: 75). Oyster fishing, port trading and marketing had a pre-Domesday existence in Faversham, and Jacob recognises that these elements clearly made Faversham the multi-functional town it was.

Oysters were originally indigenous to many of the coastal bays and inlets of southern Britain, and the Roman writer Sallust in 55 BC says: "The poor Britons, there is some good in them after all, they produce an oyster!" Romano-British oysters were called Rutupions from the Wantsum Channel near the Roman fort of Rutupiae, the modern Richborough. Roman letters found at the fort of Vindolandia on Hadrian's Wall acknowledge receipt of oysters from Coravan, a settlement possibly in the Thames Estuary.

During the period of Saxon domination, the oyster fish-

eries would have been uncontrolled but as soon as Kent came under Norman rule in 1067, and as the great monastic houses rose to power, they hastened to gain control of manors where oysters and fishing rights could be controlled. At Faversham the fishermen paid a collective rent to the Crown as early as 1150 (Hasted, 1798: 550) and in 1205-6 Seasalter lost its oyster grounds in the West Swale when the Milton Fishery was given by King John as an endowment to the Abbey of Faversham (Hasted, 1798: 550, 630). The yearly rent was 23s 4d and included the lucrative oyster grounds on the Pollard Bank. In his History of Faversham (1774) Edward Jacob observes that the rent was with the Abbey of Faversham until the dissolution, when it continued with successive lords of the manor.

The oldest document preserved is a certificate rendered to the Court of Exchequer on 25 May 1591 by Sir Thomas Fludd, Knight, and William Beynham Esq.31 It states that King Stephen not only founded the Abbey in 1147 but also for the good of the tenants "ordeyned an Amyralle Court, and apoynted a steward for the same court, and also a water baylye to execute all wrytts, to levie all tynes and to doe all other services belonginge to the said court."

After close examination of some inhabitants of the Isle of Sheppey and examination of various Court Rolls and records, it enabled them to define the Faversham oyster fishing area.

> "This was known as "the Nebbe" and "Ewsdowne" or rather the Ouse under Poyning Downe... two sevrall places ... parted one from the other by the channell now in some places much swarved up, but yet ... in many places of good depth of a lowe water ... and not drye at my ebbe."

The enquiry of 1591 established that oyster dredging was carried out by the fishermen of the town and hundred of Faversham who duly admitted "at her Maties Court of Admiralty yereley holden within her Maties [Elizabeth I] Manor of Faversham and that the yearly rent of 23s 4d dwares hath byne levied amonge [the fisherman] them selves, by way of assessment of evry boate a porcion, according to the number of there boats", indicating they were organised together as a "company". Control was exercised through an annual Admiralty Court; to counter poaching it was recommended that the Faversham fishermen should "sett up stakes or beacons at the uttermost bounds of the said ouse ... to be by the said fishermen continually kept and repaired" (Goodsall, 1955: 118-151).

Careful surveys of the rights and boundaries were made on three occasions under Elizabeth I and James I. The first, as discussed, was in 1591 to settle a dispute between Sir Thomas Fludd and Richard Thornell who owned the foreshore of Leysdowne - an area in dispute with the Faversham Oyster Fishing Company. The second was in 1599 to settle a dispute between John Michell, Robert Colwell and others against William Crux, Aquile Cocke, Walter Summers, William White and John Crookes.32

It is the first "trewe survey" made of all "the boundes and lymyttes of the fishing groundes and watercourses belonging to the quenes manor of the hundred of Feversham, and to her highest tenanttes there."

Another 16th-century document that has come to light was located in the Victorian safe at the old Town Hall in Faversham.33 Dated 21 July 1599 it perambulates the boundaries of the Faversham oyster fishery and remarkably doesn't deviate in content from the Canterbury Cathedral or Public Record Office versions. It runs to 26 folios and encompasses all the rules and regulations worked out and polished by centuries of practice and discussion. After the calling of the Water Court, the choosing of the steward and water-bailiff, freemen are then chosen, "iij at on[e] tyme". The oath of the freemen and "the rest" is taken, and a note is made of what tenants are at court and what tenants are absent.

The rules and regulations

The ownership of dead bodies found floating in the Swale is high on the agenda; in fact it is the first item: "Then you shall inquier of deodanes, which is when eny persone, within the jurisdiction of this court, falleth forthe of a boate, or otherwise into the haven or sea whereby he is drowned. All that then moved, and furthered his ende is termed a deodane, and here belongeth to the quene, and you must present the same."34 This is an interesting and unique concept of collective guilt. If a crew member was lost over the side, the boat and equipment would be forfeited to the Crown. No doubt this rule stopped "accidents" happening to the senior hierarchy initiated from junior members impatient to inherit.

The next item addresses the question of Christian burial:

> "And that everye deed person might Christian lyk be provided for, you are to inquier, yf eny may hath founde the bodye of a dead man, within the jurisdiction aforesaid upon the sea or seabankes, and hath not delivered all the money, jewells and goodes found about the said corpse, here to her majestie steward, that yt may disposed for the funerall of the dead, or otherwise, you are to present hym and he is to be fyned to the value of those goodes and more."

If a body is found, presented for burial but had had his pockets rifled, the offender was to be fined.

The question of the ownership of wreck and the Swale is also clarified: "Nixt, yf eny have found eny goodes wrecked, [a wreck ys set downe by statute]. To be when

neyther man, dogge or cate escapeth quick forth of the shipe; so that if eny person come within one yere and a daye and prove yt no wrecke he is to have those goodes againe delivered hym, Alowing alwayes for the saveing of them." A wreck was defined only if no living creature (including a cat or dog) survived. The goods had to be kept a year and a day and the rule goes on to say the steward had to keep them safely, but if of a perishable nature they were to be appraised and sold. But the money was to be safely kept under the year and a day rule. If no owner came forward, the money or goods were to be split, half to the Queen and half to the finder.

Any goods found floating in the Swale were dealt with next. "Which is called flotson, getson, or goodes soncke in the sea, which is called lagons".35 If the proper owner couldn't be found, again the value was to be split between the Crown and finder. Any merchandise brought ashore by "pirattes or by suspicion of piracye" was to be reported and a reward of half the value of the goods paid. Smaller misdemeanours were dealt with next:36 the setting up of mills on salt or fresh streams. Fish weirs, discharging ballast and allowing boats to settle on the oyster beds, were all liable to a heavy fine. Fighting between rival gangs of fishermen was also seen as a problem: "hath broken the quenes peace, and hath made a fraye, whereby there us bloud shed, his fine is XVs; or hath mayned37 eny man, then he be to make recompence to the partie, and fyne to the quene a Cs [100 shillings]."

Smuggling out of the Swale was addresssed: "if there be eny virkinstealers,38 that stealeth eny woole, talloe, lether, corne or eny other unlawfull merchandize in pypes or barells, or otherwise to convey the same over the seas, by which the quenes customes is stolen." Any persons caught by the men of the oyster company were to be detained, the goods confiscated and fines incurred.

It was obvious that the oyster fishermen were looked upon as an unofficial waterguard, but acting as a fraternity with established legal rules and procedures. But they also had to police themselves: "Nixt of mysdemeanours amongest your selves, in your fisheing". The oyster fishermen were not to take the young brood or fry in any water, salt or fresh. Also trout and salmon were not to be fished out of season - or the fisherman would be fined 20 shillings. No "fishing engines" were to be used (apart from angling), and the trammel net must have a mesh of 2 ins in breadth. If a fisherman was caught with a smaller mesh, the nets would be confiscated and he would be fined 20 shillings. Also there must be no tramelling for sole and plaice out of season, the seasons being "from the 15 March till the feaste of All Saintes (1st November) between the sun rising and the sun setting."

The customary laws for opening and closing the oyster grounds are itemised but also: "if the groundes be decayed, and have nede to be stored, doth everye tenant beare his portion, that the quenes groundes may be preserved." Even at this early date (1599) the oyster grounds were being farmed and oysters from elsewhere in the Swale being brought in.

Lastly a warning was given that if any "forstallers " or "regrators" came into the port to buy oysters they were to be imprisoned for half a year and if caught with unlawful measures or weights the measures were to be burnt.

34 oyster fishermen are listed in the 1599 oyster company document.

Sixteen rules of operation are itemised and probably go back to the very beginning of organised fishing in the Swale. The oyster fishermen of 1599 didn't just keep to oysters; anything which could be caught for a profit is addressed, including salmon, trout, plaice, sole, whiting, smelts and occasionally the odd whale.39 The Faversham oyster fraternity also managed the "vij fish-traps40 called Southwerys" and "the old channell muskells were wontt to be layde, there to growe and increase, and stakes have byne dryven in, to kepe upe the said muskells from fallinge into the said old channel, when the tyde is gone." Leland in 1565 notes: "Herne is 3 miles from then where men take good muscles cawled Stake Muscles" (Leland, 1549: 69).

Depositions taken in March 1599 41also indicate an extremely active oyster and fishing industry in the Swale but with a focus on whether the lucrative Pollard fishing grounds belonged to the Manor and Hundred of Faversham or were "common ground".

An insight into the practice of "inning" is revealed:

> "he knowethe there are fishinge growndes belonginge to her Majesties Mannor of the hundred of Faversham, and also as he hath heard are set downe by lymits and bowndes and partelie as he dothe knowe, and also hath been testified to his knowledge by the oathe of diverse and severall parsons, that from a place called Tanham Robbes besides. Tenham Gutt a place verie well to be founde, for that there is at a lowe water aboute five fadome water, and that from thence the same libertie extende the Northe and by East to Capell Fleete now inned, and from thence out of Mushold Creeke likewise now inned and camphed up where the men of Faversham gathered oisters. and that from the same place called Tenham Robbes and Mushold Creeke."

Valuable as the oyster crop was, it is apparent that the practice of "inning" and turning to pasture the saltmarsh was more profitable to the mainly ecclesiastical landowners - wool was still in the late 16th century a highly profitable

cash crop.

If John Younge of Milton didn't know the "quantitie" or "valew" of the dredged oysters, Francis Graise of Ore certainly did:

> "he saieth that the defendants have dregged and filled in or uppon the grownde now in question called the Pollard and in other grownes, and he thinckethe, that they have taken to the quantitie of a hundred wasshe42 which when they were waight were worth viijs a wasshe."

Francis Graise goes on to say that the defendants had been told not to dredge by the water-bailiff of Faversham:

> "...that he dothe knowe that the water bailive of Faversham did forbide the defendants, from dregging on the oister grownde called the Pollard, and saiethe that they were forbidden, were named, John Page, William Cruxe, and Walter Summers beinge of Milton the which saied John Page swore he would kill or be killed before he would be taken, and so they did threaten resiste and hurt hym or them, that then did for bidd them."

Livelihoods were at stake and feelings obviously were running high. Even the water-bailiff wasn't safe:

> "John Bennett then saide philpottes Water-bailiffe and divers others of the towne and Libertie of Faversham did threaten the saide William Thomas the Water bailiffe that if hee or any other officer in his place should thenceforthe arrest any shippe or barque whatsovr in the Kinges Channell within the hundred of Faversham they would undoe him with suites, and take him and hange him at a boates sterne".

The 1608 survey

Disputes rumbled on into 1608-9 when the most detailed survey yet of the oyster grounds was made for Sir Michael Sands, Sir Richard Sands, Sir Francis Gilbourne and John Herty.43 The oyster fishing area began at Tenham Robbs, on the south and west, to Black Shore, along Tenham Gutt eastwards. Then along Tenham Gutt, along Ride Ferryway to a place called Stinkes Nass and the south side of a channel called Howflete "betwixt the sand and the land which channel in times past came out above the beacon at Favershams Cricks-mouth". From this beacon "to a place called the Laynes and eastward to the West-hole. Then from West-hole to East-hole, Spit Cricks and the Hope. From the Hope to Nasse Grounds on the east side of the channel. Then to Kimber Crick and places called Great bales Poole and Little Bales Poole down the west side of the Pollard to the weares on the east side. Then to Hampton Pitts and into the sea."

These boundaries were so clearly established that the findings of the 1608 survey were used in court cases as late as 1788.

The conflict in 1608-9 wasn't just about fishing rights but about whether jurisdiction of the Faversham fishery lay with the vice-admiral of Kent or with the lord of the manor. The jurisdiction obviously hadn't been tested while the Crown held the manor and the case can be followed through in the State papers.44

The claim of the lord of the manor was said to date back to King Stephen. The title of admiral was first used by Gervase Alard in 1300 when he was made "Admiral of the Fleet of the Cinque Ports". The first Admiralty Court sat in 1340, after the Battle of Sluys, mainly to deal with spoils. Henry VIII and his successors expanded and strengthened its jurisdiction to include such matters as fishing. This extension clashed with the traditional rights of a number of seaports which had from time immemorial claimed their own privileges. Both the civil court and Admiralty Court came to agreement in 1575. Sir Edward Coke, a famous common law lawyer, returned to the attack in the 1550s (Marsden, 1902: 69-96 & pers. corres. P. Hyde, Oct. 1996).

On 17 February 1630 Sir Dudley Digges of Chilham (Clark, 1977: 377-385), with the support of Sir Edward Hales, bought the Manor and Hundred of Faversham for £3,129 13s 4d (Clark, 1977: 378). Unfortunately in September 1629 an order of Council had said that on the sale of His Majesty's Lands near Faversham the Admiralty jurisdiction was to be reserved. This led to various court disputes, including that of John Philpot, a lawyer who had been Mayor of Faversham in 1616. Philpot ten years earlier had unsuccessfully contested the case with the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports for the customs of the oyster fisheries.45

Sir Thomas Walsingham was a bitter opponent of Digges - their feud had been going on for many years. He urged that Sir Henry Marten's report of 1629 be acted upon. It suggested that "a commission presentlie issue out to inquire here of that uppon due returne thereof some more peaceable course bee settled hereafter...". Walsingham, who was vice-admiral of Kent, was extremely unhappy to have Digges over him in a new commission of vice-admiralty (Clark, 1977: 378). Walsingham was determined, as he was heavily in debt, to milk his office for what it was worth, and we see in a petition presented to the Admiralty on 10 November 1630 from the "poor fishermen of Faversham" that because the rent of the oyster grounds were in dispute he had decided to "charge" Flemish ships which arrived to purchase oysters.46

This petition is important in a number of ways - it established that trading with the Dutch started around 1550;

that, as Faversham's population in 1630 was about 1,200, 400 (over 30%) of the people depended on, or worked the oyster fisheries; and that the Dutch paid in "ready mony", a valuable commodity then as now. We will see later in this paper by referring to the Faversham Port Books the exact amounts of cargoes shipped out by the "flemish vessells" in the 18th century.

In 1633 trade with the Dutch was stopped by order of the Admiralty Court because "the store of oysters is much decayed" and the Dutch were held responsible. On 19 November 1633 Walsingham wrote to the Admiralty that his water-bailiff - a certain Henry Boate - had been poached by Digges and was now steward of Digges's Water Courts. Meanwhile, under Admiralty orders Captain Thomas Austin of The Henrietta was stopping Dutch pinks from loading oysters.47 On 31st January 1634 he reported back to the Admiralty that he had stopped three pinks but the Faversham oyster catchers said they could sell to whoever they so wished. Three weeks later the Admiralty repeated their order to him that he must stop the Dutch traffic.

In January 1635 Thomas Askew, Digges' water-bailiff, was arrested at Billingsgate to appear before the Lords of the Admiralty to answer charges that he had allowed trading with the Dutch to continue. Askew denied the charge but Captain Thomas Cooke, Captain Austin's successor, "wearily reported" that he had found ten pinks, many of whom had broken individual promises not to trade; he had then taken a cash bond from them but "he then saw them hasten to provide hoys and ketches to carry over oysters for them, or to put them aboard at sea."

What happened to Askew we can't be sure. The political fight now fades out of the State papers and Walsingham must have given up the struggle to impose an Admiralty Court on the Faversham oyster fisheries. Certainly Digges and his successors as lords of the Manor of Faversham kept their own Admiralty Court. In March 1655 the High Court of Admiralty decreed that tenants of the Manor of Faversham had the right to dredge for oysters on Harty Shore, the Nebbe, East Swale, Beacon ground, Nesse Ground and Pollard Ground, "exclusive of the fishermen of Strood and Milton and all others" (Jacob, 1774: 86).

In 1739 "The great frost, which begun at the end of the year, was very destructive to our oyster fishery, killing all the oysters fit for market and the young brood so that no profits accrued for three years thereon" (Jacob, 1774: 110). It is also worth referring to the diaries of Stephen Rouse, parish clerk of Minster in the Isle of Sheppey, who kept a daily weather report in his diaries from 1769-1814.48 On at least three occasions the Swale completely froze over and on one occasion (it is said!) so did the entire Thames Estuary from Kent to the shores of Essex.

The Admiralty Court

The Faversham Oyster Company operated under the jurisdiction and protection of the lord of the manor who appointed a steward to hold two courts annually - the first court met the first Saturday after Easter and was called the Admiralty Court, and part of its function was to appoint a foreman, treasurer and four members to form a jury for the year ensuing.

The jury was a "board of management" for the year and at Faversham comprised four tenants. The foreman's job was to regulate the procedures involved in the actual dredging for oysters and also to check trawls of other boats to see if they had caught "stray" oysters and to pass oysters sent to London. Other persons directly involved in the oyster fishery, apart from the "freeman", can be traced in contemporary court accounts.49 The most important of these was the water-bailiff. He should "set and maintain all such beacons in the rivers and fishing grounds belonging to the manor, and for default thereof he is to pay six shilling and eight pence, and he is entitled to take of every Englishman four pence, and of every Stranger twelve pence, for beaconage; by his office he is to give notice of holding the courts, and to levy the fines of delinquents" (Jacob, 1774: 81).

The Water Court

The second court, the Water Court, was convened on the last Saturday in July, "and then the grounds are to be opened and considered of, and ordered by the tenants, for their own good, and preserving of them; besides other matters given in charge" (Jacob, 1774: 79). The rules of 1599 had **???**

When employed on day work the work was for a number of stated hours, and the aim was to save all the oysters fit for market, save all the brood and lay it back upon undisturbed grounds, to save all the rubbish and take away.

London marketmen always purchased their own cargoes and what they did not purchase was sold to the Dutch skippers waiting in the Swale.

Natural stock that fell at the Ness or East End should remain until it became what is termed "Ware" and then removed into the "in-grounds" for the succeeding winter's market. Change of "soil" would improve the "fish" (Maude, 1835).

The average price for a wash of oysters in 1703 was £3, very much a cash crop if you consider an oyster boat could easily dredge up 30 bushels (120 wash) in one "stint". 120 wash would be worth £480 at 1703 prices. The months for supplying the Dutch were January, February and March,

August, September, October, November and December.

Before oysters became scarce each freeman was paid 3s by the oyster company for a "stint", which was half a London Peck (1/4 wash). A wash was worth to the oyster fisherman 12 shillings. Every boat was allowed a stint no matter how many freemen went out in her - but they could also pick up the stints for vessels lying in the creek which did not fish. Whoever bought Faversham oysters bargained with the jury, paid the money on the "binnacle" to the overseer who handed it over to the foreman who immediately paid every member according to his stints. The working members then paid the absent members their half stint, but where a working member dredged up an absent member's stint he had a third for doing so.50

One market boat was kept by the Faversham Oyster Company to run oysters to Billingsgate on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. London marketmen purchased their own cargoes, and what was left was sold to the Dutch skippers. Until about 1715 the company depended almost entirely upon the natural production of its own grounds for native oysters and when the grounds were shut up in the spring, the members dismantled their boats and laid them up, and went to sea for the most part up the Baltic and on the East country trade; some went to Greenland and some on West Indies voyages. In the winter they returned home, fitted out their boats and attended closely to work in their own grounds and the flats adjoining (Hill, 1842).

In 1788 there were 120 oyster boats employed on the grounds and about 160 families. Documents are scarce on the exact number of freemen and boats employed on the oyster fishery but in the Faversham Institute Monthly Journal we find probably the only exact figures,51 and they are worth quoting in full:

1560	33 freemen
1641	34 freemen
1673	70 families
1776	110 families
1792	170 families

Defoe in 1724 said of Faversham: "the principal business we found among them, was fishing for oysters, which the Dutch fetch hence in such extraordinary quantities that when I was there, we found twelve large Dutch hoys and doggers lying there to load oysters; and sometimes, as they told us, there are many more." Defoe thought that many of the townsfolk had "grown monstrous rich" by "the most notorious smuggling trade, carried on partly by the assistance of the Dutch in their oyster boats" (Defoe, 1726: 162).

Later, Jacob in the *History of Faversham* said: "not less than one hundred and ten families are principally supported, and the whole town much benefited". He continued: "oysters of Faversham is most regarded by the industrious Hollanders, who had had, time immemorial a constant traffic here, they always give the preference to our oysters, and never dealing with others, while they can here purchase those suitable for their consumption at a price equal to those of the adjoining fisheries, and generally laying out upwards of three thousand pounds annually for them" (Jacob, 1774: 75-7).

Organisation of the oyster grounds

> "Nature has been very bountiful in the production of oysters, each one bringing forth many thousand; the time of spawning is between May and August, at which time they are not considered in season. The spawn is dispersed by the action of the sea, and rises from the bottom like small bubbles of oil to the surface of the water, where by the action of the air and the warmth of the sun the shell is forme." (Crow, 1855: .97).

Temperature is critical in the spawning process. The water must be warm and not too salty. The fresh water streams or freshets running into the Swale keep the salinity of the water about right, are warmed from sun in their narrow courses, and perhaps convey certain seeds of water plants and other products which make for fattening and supplement the marine diet of the oysters by infusoria and microscopic vegetables (Collard, 1902: 55). The temperature needs to be about 15ºC, the eggs are fertilised by the oyster from sperm introduced by the tidal stream. Fishermen speak of oysters being first "white sick" then "dark sick" as the eggs get darker. After the larvae are ejected they are moved by the tidal streams, which means that in the Swale the larvae can be moved at least 20 miles east or west before attaching themselves to a clean hard surface. Too much fresh water is bad for oysters, for they may become too fat and die (Collard, 1902: 27).

Clean hard surfaces on the Faversham oyster grounds were provided by laying "cultch". These would be "clocks" or dead oysters which would be saved when dredged up, brought ashore and laid above the high water mark to beach and be re-laid the following year for the oyster "spat" to settle on. A good source of dead oyster shells appears in the pictorial map of Faversham made in 1520 (Fig. 14) and on the dredgers' map of 1609 (Fig. 90). Quite a substantial hill some 25 m high appears to be made entirely from discarded oyster shells - possibly some 3,000 metric tonnes. It is beyond the scope of this study to establish the origin of such vast quantities of oyster shell, but the site even now is named Shellness.

A good fall of "spat" would maintain the oyster grounds for several years, but this depends on the tides at the time of spawning. The Swale has two tidal entrances, the Med-

way to the west and the lower reaches of the Thames to the east. At the time of low water at Sheerness the tide is practically slack throughout the Swale. At the first of the flood the tide runs into the Swale through each entrance, flowing to a point about two miles east of Elmley Ferry, which is the general meeting place of tides coming from both entrances. This point can be affected by strong winds and extremely high tides and the meeting point can be up to four miles east of Elmley Ferry.52

The tide is strongest at the first of the flood, running at the rate of 31/2 knots at Kingsferry, gradually easing back to slack at high water. From the time of high water at Sheerness the ebb tide sets to the east through the Swale for about one hour; about one hour after high water at Sheerness the tide turns and sets to the west into the Medway. This separation point of the tides isn't stationary, but gradually works its way up the Swale to about two miles east of Elmley Ferry. Thus the tide at Elmley Ferry runs to the east for about 9 hours - during the whole of the flood until three hours after high water - and to the west for the other three hours. This local phenomenon, called by the oyster fisherman, "tide and half tide", of course would distribute the floating oyster larvae of the Swale on to the Faversham and then the Seasalter and Whitstable oyster grounds. It would appear that there has not been much variation during the last 120 years, as in 1876 a writer stated, "the tide continues to run along the whole course of the Swale for some time after it has begun to fall and is running down the Medway, but later, between Emly Ferry and Harty the Swale ebbs both ways" (Donne, 1876: 216).

Oysters are more prolific on the Essex coast (Collard, 1902: 25) and once a point had been reached in the 18th century when natural supply couldn't keep up with demand. Colchester smacks would supply young oysters to both Whistable and Faversham oyster companies to fatten up on their respective grounds. There was a certain amount of rivalry between Kent and Essex which at times flared up into open warfare. It's worth recounting a passage in Collard (p.25): "the crew of a Whitstable smack not long since observed an Essex boat dredging off the coast near Reculvers, and determined to play off a practical joke on their visitors. Knowing to a nicety the exact position of a submerged Spanish galleon they sailed over it, at the same time partially hauling up their dredges, the Essex men following on what they supposed to be a profitable course left their dredges down and left them permanently hard and fast on the wreck."53

The various oyster grounds in the Swale were marked by either posts or floating beacons. The floating beacons were tarred barrels which would be taken ashore periodically and cleaned and retarred. The barrels were moored to an iron sinker with a S-shaped link which would be heated on the cabin stove and then closed up with a maul (Collard, 1902: 71).

Average hauls

The average haul of oysters was restricted by the rules of the company, but as court entries indicate, unscrupulous oystermen would break the rules and sell direct to the Dutch. A court entry of 1765 indicates the quantity of oysters which could be dredged by a boat of the time:

> "...and I stated in the outset I would prove that in the course of a night, (especially a long winters night), as many oysters might be taken by a dredgerman who was going a dredging, as would be saleable for £30 or thereabouts and that therefore taking the chance of escaping detection, the sume of £50 was a reasonable penalty. Have I not made that out or not? Have not two or three witnesses been examined for the purpose of proving it? They have stated that as many as 30 bushels might be taken by a dredge in the night time by a man with his assistant (for they always have an assistant with them) and that those oysters would be worth a pound a bushel; others have proved that native oysters sold this season for 36s., a bushel...".54

A watch-boat was stationed to patrol the oyster grounds but numerous court cases throughout the 18th century attest to the cunning of dishonest fishermen faced with what was a potential small fortune.

Boundary disputes

Posts to mark the extent of the various oysters fisheries were established extremely early in the 16th century. This led to disputes in the 17th and 18th centuries between Seasalter and Faversham, the latter being accused of riotously entering on the former's grounds and carrying off great quantities of oysters, although in earlier cases the charges were the other way round. It was this sort of friction which drove the Faversham men, backed up by the lord of the manor, to go to so much trouble accurately to establish and demarcate their fishing boundary (Figs.91, 92).

In 1769 the boundary dispute came to a head and in The Kentish Post on 13th May the following statement was published:

> "According to the account given by the men of the place who have known the grounds and boundary threat for fifty or sixty years past, say that it did go sometimes from a place called Scabs Acre bearing North West in a straight line to a place called Shellness opposite Laysdown Church in the Isle of Shepway. But as the variation of the magnetic needle has for many years kept increasing to the westward, is the reason that the Company of the Dean and Chapter have encroached on that of Lord Bolingbroke, only by their not rightly accounting for the said variation for that point of the

compass which was north west sixty years ago is far from going the same now which is the reason of the dispute and Encroachment, for had the variation of the compass been to the Eastward as it formally was. This is therefore to give notice that the dispute, and the variation of the compass which is the cause of it, will be explained and accounted for on Thursday 26 May instant and the Boundary marked out at the same time."

The courts rejected Seasalter's case. "Although the compass variation may alter from year to year, the known marks which are the point at the compass bearing do not".55

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1 Lib. Cus. I Civ.
2 OED: foresteal, to buy up before reaching the market, so as to sell again at higher prices.
3 Lib. Cus. II pt I 117-120, Lib Alb. 380-1.
4 PRO: 5-7 Ed VI, Cap 14-15.
5 PRO: 10-11 Wm III.
6 Ashridge Collection, Marylebone Public Library.
7 CKS: Fa AC3/22.
8 The Gentlemen Magazine 1760 pp.255-8.
9 1 last of fish was equal to 2 tons, 20 cades, 48 firkins 12 barrels for cod and herring and 10,000 to 13,000 fish for red herring.
10 PRO: E190/641/13.
11 PRO: Rep from Com. H.C.X. 365.
12 CKS: Fa AC5 extracts.
13 Centine - hundred of 124 in number - Zupko.
14 Arch. Cant., Vol IX - Faversham, the Town Charters pp. lxvi, lxvii.
15 Swale Archaeological Survey 1995-97.
16 The stakes for these mussel beds still exist.
17 PRO: E134 31 and 31 Eliz Mich 29 and E134, 42 Eliz. Trinity 7.
18The method used in "griping" is to work down the rillways as the tide recedes feeling with both hands in the muddy water - clouded deliberately so the fish couldn't see. On finding a fish grab and press down with both hands avoiding the sharp spikes on its side and once in a firm grip transfer the catch to the waiting basket. (Pers. corres. Jan. 1995; A.E. Jemmett - Faversham's only surviving oyster fishery freeman.)
19 CKS Fa/AC5 p. 62.
20 Although Poke nets or dip nets which have a half circle rim supporting a net bag were used in the Northern Isles to catch small fish and prawns (Harvey P.D.A. 1980).
21 Pers. corres. A.E. Jemmett, March 1996.
22 Salisbury, 1988: 70.
23 OED: Cokke, cock or cocke, a small boat used in the herring industry. From Late Latin caudica - dug-out canoe. A possible Romano-British dug-out was found on Seasalter flats in the 1970s but apparently was then lost (Seasalter Papers, No. 17, Fig.84).
24 Stade being the open beach where boats were hauled out by capstans.
25 Arch. Cant., 24. Some Kentish Indents, 1900 pp. 108-9.
26 Arch. Cant. Vol XXVI p.128.
27 Swale Archaeological Survey 1994.
28 Commonly pronounced "Ware Rand".
29 "The oysters of the Rutupian Bay at the first taste he knew."
30 The Faversham Oyster Fishing Company is referred to as existing "from time immorial" i.e. in English Law as from before 1189 in existing legal documents (Guinness Book of Records 1992 p.142 "Oldest company".
31 PRO: E134: 4.2 E/12 Easter 70.
32 PRO: E134 42 E112 Easter 70.
33 Old MS Alexander Centre, Preston Street, Faversham.
34 Folio 4.
35 Now spelt flotsam, jetsam and lagan.
36 Folio 6.
37 For maimed.
38 Not clear whether this is Vizt. instealers; fore firkin-stealers.
39 A dispute arose in 1599 between the fishermen of Faversham and Swalecliffe about the ownership of a beached whale.
40 Gurgit: fish-traps, weir.
41 PRO: Exchequer Depositions by Commission E134 42 Elizabeth Easter 70.
42 About 51/4 gallons measure or 1/4 of a standard "tub" or 2 pecks to a "wash".
43 PRO: LR2/218 ff 209-256, Arch. Can.t 1955 Lxxx 118-151 C.CA Wilson Collection U33, Box 2, CKS U390 1736/1.
44 PRO: Cal. S.P. Dom. 1629-35 passim.
45 PRO: Cal. S.P. Dom 1619-23, 106, 138, 187.
46 PRO: SP 16/175 f.102.
47 PRO: SP16/290 f230.
48 CKS: U2567, F1-F4.
49 CKS: KG5171.
50 A dialogue between a creditor and a member of the Faversham Oyster Company. CKS: C150 576099. William Hill. 1842.
51 F.I.M.J. October 1898 pp.96-101.
52 Swale Archaeological Survey 1996.
53 A Swale fisherman now in his seventies told me whilst he was crew on a boat doing a sub-surface survey for a sewer outfall off Reculver a very large wooden wreck was located 11/2 miles off Reculver.
54 CKS: Fa/Zb2/44.
55 CKS: A2 H228.

Chapter 16 Organisation of gunpowder manufacture at Faversham

"The only considerable manufacture carried on here, is of that dreadful composition Gun-Powder. This has continued to be made upon our stream, ever since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, if not before her time" (Jacob, 1774: 94).

Jacob in his history of Faversham recounts in this bald statement all he knew of the earliest beginning of the gunpowder industry in Faversham

A.J. Percival in "Favershams Gunpowder Industry"1 suggests that monastic initiative lay behind the introduction of the gunpowder industry. Gunpowder was being made at Rotherhithe in the late 16th century on land owned by Bermondsey Priory and it was from Bermondsey Priory that the Prior Clarembald and twelve monks left to establish the Royal Abbey at Faversham in 1147. Gunpowder was being made in England by the 14th century and its first recorded use by English soldiers was at the Battle of Crecy in 1346.

Jacob's statement that gunpowder was "made upon our stream" fits in well with one of the earliest maps of Faversham - the pictorial map of the north-east Kent coast made on instructions of Henry VIII in about 1520 (Fig.11). The map shows pallisading round the area of "our stream", a feature which was still in existence in c.1770 when a Kent map shows the pallisading still surrounding "our stream" and the area of St. Annes - later to be called the Home Works or the Royal Powder Mill (Fig.93). Pallisading of course was to keep the gunpowder works both secure and safe, an increasing problem both to the townspeople and the manufacturers.

In a 1573 Faversham muster list2 there is documented the earliest gunpowder maker as yet found in Faversham - "Thomas Gyll Gunpowder makers, Wylliam Byrde his servaunte."

Thomas Gill's profession is confirmed in a transcription made of the Chamberlain's accounts of 1560 to 1600. The book (now lost) was in 1875 "a little better than a confused mass of damp-stained paper, ready to crumble into dust".3

Thomas Gill was charging about £5 per 100 lb barrel of gunpowder. This list was for gunpowder and shot to be supplied to the 40-ton ship Hazarde being readied to fight the Spanish Armada - over 81/2 barrels of 100 lb gunpowder, but from at least four different sources.

The supply of powder was found to be inadequate during the Spanish invasion emergency and in 1589 certain gunpowder makers were licensed by royal letters patent. In 1621 James I appointed the Lords of the Admiralty as Commissioners for Saltpetre and Gunpowder. The kingdom was divided into districts for the collection of saltpetre, and in 1634 Francis Vincent of Canterbury was appointed official "saltpetreman" for Kent and was required to supply the government with six hundredweight a week. Thomas May of Faversham entered into a contract with Vincent "to cover the floor of my dove house with earth a foot deep, fit for the growth of the mine of saltpetre."4

Daniel Judd owned from about 1650 a gunpowder mill in the vicinity of Ospringe. This gunpowder was exported by sea from the port of Faversham. In 1649 the Naval commander of the Downs was ordered to escort powder vessels from Faversham as far as the Hope, "as they were liable to attack from pickeroons lying at the mouth of the river" (Percival, 1986). Judd was described by Hasted as "a busy committee man and sequestrator of the royalists estates".

1579-90 "Monye laide oute for powder and mattche:

Item for four hundred [pounds]1 of powder	£18	0	0
Item for four barrels to put in the powder	0	3	8
Item paid to Thomas Gill for two hundred of powder	10	0	0
Item for two barrels to put in the powder	0	2	2
Item for one hundred of powder	5	0	0
Item for half a hundred of powder	2	10	0
Item for one hundred of match	1	0	0
Item for two hundred and 24 pound of lead	0	19	0
Item paid for 9 pounds of powder to Mr Pelham	0	8	3
Item paid to the porters for carrying the powder lead and match	0	1	0
Item paid for cutting out lead and casting [shot]	0	5	8
Item paid to Thomas Gill by the hands [of?] for one hundredweight of powder	5	0	0

The Admiralty Committee in London constantly pressed him to fulfil his contracts: "Dec 17 1652, Whitehall, 'We hear there remains in your hands a quantity of powder, which by your contract should have been delivered in long since .... You are to deliver before Monday morning or attend to give an account....,".5 Also in December 1652 a warrant for payment of money was issued, "for 30 cwt of English match, and 6 tons of match, flemish spun and English made - £136 10s 0d."6

An agent of the committee, Captain William Billers, visited Judd's mills in February 1653. He wrote: "have been to Mr Judds powder mills at Offspring, to ascertain what powder and saltpetre could be had; he has shipped 87 barrels; he will have 60 ready by 1 March, and then having a new mill, can supply 40 barrels a week."7 Captain Billers returned on March 26 to find the mills, "were going as fast as the water would carry them", and they (Judd) had promised to ship 40 barrels of powder for the Tower the next week. Judd also agreed, as long as he was punctually paid, to deliver 1,000 barrels to Dover Castle by 1 May at £5 a barrel.8

Daniel Judd's new mill unfortunately had upset the townspeople who complained to the Council of State that Judd had converted a flour mill and tampered with watercourses. The townsfolk were told that in the national interest they should take no action against Judd "till they inform the Council of the cause thereof."9 In 1652 Judd built a mansion just to the west of Ospringe at Syndale, but unfortunately his fortunes waned with the restoration of Charles II, and nothing further is heard of him.10

Francis Grueber (senior) was running both the Faversham and Oare Gunpowder Works. He was one of five powder makers supplying powder to the Ordnance Office.11

It seems that additional cargoes were sent out without the knowledge of the customs. In 1673 they complained "that every week large quantities were being exported without cocquet or security under pretence of His Majesty's goods, but what it is or where it goes we are not able to give any account" (Hasted, 1797: 338-41). The perambulation of 1743 indicates a "gunpowder mill of St. Johns College in Cambridge and lately built by the said Thomas Pearce, the occupier of the said mill." By April 1740 the Faversham mills were run by Thomas Pearce, but Grueber (junior) was still operating in April 1741, "of late Mr Grueber (notwithstanding divers orders of Wardmote to the contrary) has carried gunpowder in a carriage uncovered and unbarreled through the town to the great dismay of the inhabitants".12 Faversham Borough Council made a bylaw in 1742 prohibiting the carriage of gunpowder through the streets with a fine of 40 shillings for each offence. Additional powers on controlling the carriage of gunpowder were conferred by a general Act of 1771.

With the enforceable closure of the highways around Faversham to the transport of gunpowder it is reasonable to presume that from this date of 1742 greater attention would be paid to the carriage of gunpowder by water. In 1701 a tragic accident had occurred when Mr Grueber was proprietor - the works blew up, killing several people and his son.13 Defoe, with his nose for a good story, recounts:

> "but what was most remarkable in it all, was, that the eldest son of the master of the powder-mill, a youth of about fifteen years of age, who was not in the mill, or near it, when it blew up; but in a boat upon the river, rowing across was killed by a piece of the building of the mill, which blew up into the air by the force of the powder, and fell down upon him in the boat."

This indicates that by 1701 the mill ponds had punts already on them.

In Jacob's map of 1745 a punt carrying two men is located on the large mill pond upstream from Horsen Chartmills (Fig. 94). In Hasted's map of 1770 (Fig. 95) the Oare and Faversham feeder streams join forces inland of the Davington plateau. The main feeder stream at Oare Creek probably rose further south-west than the Oare gunpowder works, and Edward Crow said, "at this period of time the wood of Syndale spread over the adjoining fields the lost parish of Chetham and the swampy land through which the streams pass until they join the creek, was overrun with willows, alder and blackthorn etc. as we now see on part of it. The spring head and stream under Bysing wood which stretched to Oare was also enveloped by trees and brushwood etc., and occasionally the tide forced back the spring water to beyond where it rises" (Crow, 1855: 93).

The "Home Works", situated on the stream feeding Faversham Creek, had its headwaters in springs south of Ospringe. The river flowed down Water Lane and across Watling Street, sometimes in a torrent. Another feeder stream came from the "willow beds", a low-lying area now enclosed by housing but in a desultory way still providing water. On Hasted's map the willow beds streams are shown running from Bysing Wood into Oare Creek (Fig. 95). No doubt as the Home Works grew the willow beds stream was diverted backwards to boost the Home Works' headwaters. Arthur Percival in the 1970s could still detect a narrow low dam or causeway at the north end of the beds. A parish boundary follows the southern end of the postulated feeder stream to Bysing, which reinforces the hypothesis.14

Purchase of Faversham Mills by the Ordnance Board

By 1745 Grueber was bankrupt and the residue of his lease at Oare was taken over by the partnership of Ri-

chard Chauncy and Thomas Vigne. Thomas Pearce ran the Home Works until 1754 with his partner, Stevens.15 Grueber and then Pearce held the Faversham Mills as one freehold and two leasehold estates. The largest of the leasehold estates, the Kingsmill, which included "horse and water powered gunpowder mills, thirteen acres of land, other building tackle and barge-punts"16 came up for sale on 7 May 1754 when Cox, the lessee, was also declared bankrupt. The lease was bought in 1754 by Richard Chauncy, gunpowder maker at Oare and lately chairman of the East India Company.

In 1753 Thomas Pearce went into partnership with a Benjamin Pryce prior to the selling of the lease to Richard Chauncy. By 1754 Pearce was in debt and sold his interest in The Home Works to Pryce as long as his creditors were paid.17

In July 1757 the Duke of Marlborough, as master general of the Ordnance, undertook negotiations to purchase the Home Works. The choice of an established mill in preference to building a new one was to gain the advantage of a well proven gunpowder works, already providing powder to the Ordnance Board on a site with good access to the Thames Estuary and the gunpowder magazines at Upnor and Greenwich. The Ordnance Board "also considered that in order to reprocess the large quantity of unserviceable powder for the immediate use of the armed forces mills already in existence would be best suited for the purpose."18

The siting of a gunpowder works was fraught with problems and the Ordnance Board in their own letters suggest the ideal:

> "we think it right to make the following observations upon the nature of such works; they should invariably be executed near navigable rivers or upon the sea coast, that the powder might be shipped for Service without the possibility of land carriage, either through towns or villages, and if at this time there are any Powder Mills in situations that do not agree with rule, it is a matter of regret."19

Fifteen years after the Ordnance Board had bought Faversham mills, Edward Jacob produced his map and a description of the works in his history of the town. "Considerable improvements and enlargements have been making .... Upon the river are erected at various distances, eleven sets of mill-stones, and five others that are worked by horses" (Jacob, 1774: 94-5). The Faversham Mills or the Royal Powder Mill were bought in 1759 and consisted of two main estates, one leasehold, the other freehold, plus a smaller leasehold property (Fig. 46).

The freehold property included "the great grist mill formerly a powder mill, mill house and lands, together with a double water powder mill, with lands and diverse utensils and materials of the gunpowder trade" (West, 1975: 152-3). The double powder mill was the Horse and Chart Mill formerly called Horsen Chartmills or Horsham Chartham but now called Chart Mills. The Ordnance Board paid £2,940 for the freehold of this estate.

Kingsmill manor was situated at the head of Faversham Creek and contained two water-powered gunpowder mills and two horse-powered gunpowder mills called Lower Water Mills and Lower Horse Mills. Also included in the sale of the lease were 13 islands, numerous watch, stove, corning, dusting, store, refining and dwelling housing, brimstone and coal mills, watercourses, punts and ponds, totalling 13 acres. The leasehold of the manor was sold for £1,897.20

The third property purchased was Ospringe Mills. Thomas Pearce had leased this land in 1752 from St John's College, Cambridge, for 21 years at a yearly rent of £5. This was renewable every seven years at a fine of £30, based on the price of wheat at Lady Day and Michaelmas at the corn market at Cambridge. This property comprised a water-powered gunpowder mill. It worked three sets of stones in 1768 and four sets by 1789.21 The lease, along with "all goods utensils and other materials, was sold to the Ordnance Board for £537 13s 4d".22 Unfortunately the equipment and all the mill stones were owned by St John's College and it took many years of legal dispute to unravel the complications.

Administration of the Faversham Mills

Faversham Mills were administered by the Ordnance Office based in London and managed on its behalf by Ordnance Officers and staff of the Ordnance at Faversham. By 1787 35 men were employed, the oldest being Robert Christfield, a collier of 86 years, the youngest Dutt Higgins, a labourer of 32 years, the average age of the 35 men being 53 years.23 Edward Jacob remarks: "To work in this hazardous employ there is never a want of hands, light labour and constant pay are the two strong inducements ... this business requiring so considerable a number of hands to execute, makes it very beneficial to the trading part of the town" (Jacob, 1774: 90).

Money spent on wages and incidental expenses were £3,226 in 1784, £2,568 in 1785, £2,490 in 1786 and £3,107 in 1787.24 By 1788 84 men were employed, 6 of these on punts. At the middle of the 18th century output of gunpowder had been stepped up to a peak in 1762 of 25,783 barrels. And at the time of the Napoleonic Wars the labour force numbered 395, almost a quarter of the total male population of Faversham. Nearly £250 a week was drawn in salaries and wages, the most highly paid being the storekeeper (£100 a year) and the master worker

(£90). The two carpenters (£62) were better paid than the two clerks (£54 and £36) and the hoy master (£31) and his mate (£23).

Dr Edward Jacob, the Faversham historian, visited the men when sick or injured and the Ordnance Board paid him an annual fee of £20 plus £0 10s each for any additional person.25 "When any of the men work extra hours they are to be paid the rate of ten hours for one day."26

The men were by and large looked after. If they were sick their wages would be paid, but if the demand for gunpowder was stopped because of peace, they would immediately be paid off. The men of advanced years were quite often oyster fishermen or corn hoy crew who after a demanding life at sea finished their working life engaged in "light work" at the Faversham Gunpowder Mills.

The manufacture of gunpowder at the Faversham Mills is illustrated in a series of unique sketches made in 1798 by John Ticking, the master worker at Faversham. Thought lost by Arthur Percival, the Faversham historian, the sketches were relocated at the Kent Archive Office in Maidstone Kent.27 This is the earliest graphic survey of its kind and is as important as the "Treatise on Gunpowder" written in 1830 for the Board of Ordnance.28

The first stage in gunpowder manufacture was to refine the saltpetre and sulphur. The "grough" saltpetre was dissolved in water, boiled and recrystallised. Charcoal was made in sealed retorts. Saltpetre, charcoal and sulphur had to be pulverised. This was done in crushing mills with stone-edged runners. The powdered ingredients were each sieved to ensure uniformity. The saltpetre, charcoal and sulphur were then weighed out, usually in the proportion of 75:15:1029 and mixed in a revolving drum to make the green gunpowder.

The earliest method of incorporating was with a pestle and mortar worked at Faversham by a water-driven camshaft. In 1772 pestle mills were made illegal on safety grounds. Both water and horse-powered incorporating mills were in use at Faversham. The green charge, restricted by law to 40 pounds in 1772, was ground for up to six hours. After incorporating, the charge was pressed and then corned.

Gunpowder, unless corned, tended to separate back into its three ingredients. The practice began in the 16th century of forcing it through parchment sieves to form "corn powder". The corn powder was glazed with black lead to make it more resistant to moisture and then dried in a gloom stove on open trays. After it was dried it was given a final dusting and stored in magazines screened by massive earthworks before shipment to the upper reaches of the Thames Estuary (Fig. 96).

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1 Faversham paper No.4 1969, 1986.
2 CKS: Fa CPM3 folio 3 reverse.
3 " the sheets have become detached and disarranged and not one perfect page remains. From these odds and ends, crumbling under my slightest touch, I have endeavoured to recover some trifles, which will, I trust, be deemed not unworthy of preservation" (Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, O.S. 1, (1875) 218-38, "Notes from the Records of Faversham 1560-1600", J.M. Cowper).
4 PRO: SP 16/356/34.
5 Cal S.P.D.S. 1652-3 pp.38, 421, 482, 534, 535, 554, 564.
6 Cal S.P.D.S. Vol XXXI .6.
7 S.P. Vol XLVII 142.
8 S.P. Do. Vol 49, 103.
9 S.P. Dom Vol XXXVII 421.
10 On 18 April 1661 Judd was granted a 21-year lease of a "barn and Court Lodge together with lands and woods lying in the Parishs of Faversham and Ospringe" (DRC/Arbl f32 pers. corres. Arthur Percival).
11 PRO: WO 51/64 p.15, 28 Feb. 1702 regarding contract October 1701.
12 CKS: Fa/ZB1 p.217.
13 PRO: Supp. 5/877, 1771 letter book.
14 Pers. Corres. A. Percival June 1995.
15 PRO: CCA U3/138/11/4.
16 TA 21/874 and Supp 5/74, 10.
17 PRO: C11/2522/1.
18 PRO: WO 47/50 p.206-8.
19 PRO: Supp 5/111.
20 PRO: C 54/6047, 16 May 1759.
21 PRO: WO 47/59 p.102.
22 PRO: Supp 5/114 Nov. 1789.
23 PRO: Supp 5/113 p.156.
24 PRO: Supp 5/113 p.284.
25 PRO: WO 47/58 p.111 and Supp 5/70.
26 PRO: Supp 5/66 p.63.
27 CKS: U269 0187/1.
28 This treatise exists only in manuscript and can be consulted (under supervision) at the Public Record Office, Kew (reference supply 5/762 and MP.11.15).
29 A return of proportions of gunpowder requested by the Board for experiment - Nov. 8th 1782.

PART FOUR:
THE CARGOES CARRIED

Faversham: The cargoes carried

"In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the total volume of Faversham's traffic placed it among the leading ports of Kent, and in certain branches of the coasting trade it had few rivals anywhere in England" (Andrews, 1956: 221).

In the following section an attempt is made to trace the development of trade in the period 1580 to 1780, using the series of Port Books in the Public Record Office.1 These documents, however, although they contain detailed lists of vessels and cargoes entering and leaving the port, cannot be accepted without question as a record of Faversham's trade.

It must be kept in mind, that although registered at Faversham, vessels could and did use the other landing places under the jurisdiction of the customs port of Faversham. In some way the task is made easier as almost always ships are annotated with their "home port", Robert & Elizabeth of Faversham, John and Mary of Whitstable or John and Thomas of Herne. Nevertheless, the majority of trade was carried out in vessels using Faversham as their home port, and where it is important to point out differences in locality it will be done so.

One other important limitation to the statistical understanding of the trade of the port is that only cargoes of a taxable nature would be entered in the Port Books, and from 1702 customs officers were enacted not to enforce the system of cockets and bonds for vessels carrying farm produce, other than wool, to London from places within the North Foreland.2 There was a brief interval between April and December 1741 when the old system of authorising the coasting trade of the Thames Estuary was temporarily restored. These particular Port Books will be studied in detail.3

Faversham merchants also claimed exemption on tonnage duty imposed on vessels in 1694, claiming as mitigation the very small size of the boats employed and the short distances involved.4 They were also exempt from cocket fees and therefore were omitted from inclusion in the Port Books.

Another feature of the port was the considerable amount of trade with London, but almost all its foreign trade consisted of the export of oysters to Holland with occasional imported cargoes of iron and softwood from the Baltic States.

There was also a number of ships, although registered at Faversham, which spent their working lives elsewhere, and these will not figure in this study.

All the Kentish ports depended on London for their trade, largely on account of their proximity to the capital. Faversham itself is only 50 miles away by water, and considering the cheapness of water transport in comparison with road carriage, it is not surprising that nearly all the produce was sent by hoy to London. This coastal trade was "exceedingly great" and employed a "prodigious amount of ships" (Defoe, 1726: 326).

London was becoming increasingly the great distributive centre in England, not only for imports from abroad, but also for home products: many Faversham hoys returned from London with cargoes as diverse as pepper, tea, spices, tobacco, oranges, lemons, pipe clay and wine.5 Over 25 markets in London served this vast trade:

The nearer the port to London, the less independent was its trade. Dover and to a lesser extent Sandwich maintained trading links with Europe, East Anglia and the north of

City of London markets in 1724

Fish markets	Billingsgate, Fishstreet Hill, Old Fishstreet.
Herb Markets	Covent Garden, Stocks Market.
Cherry and Apple markets	At the Three Cranes.
Corn markets	Bear Key, Queen Hithe.
Meal markets	Queen Hithe, Hungerford, Ditch-Side, Whitecross Street.
Hay markets	Whitechapel, Smithfield, Southwark, Hay-Market Street, Westminster, Bloomsbury.
Leather market	Leaden Hall.
Hides and skins	Leaden Hall, Wood's Close.
Coal markets	Billingsgate, Room Land.
Bay market	Leaden Hall.
Broadcloth market	Blackwell Hall.
Bubble market	Exchange Alley

Source: Defoe, 1726: 343.

England; yet Faversham, with the exception of the export of oysters to Holland, the import of coal from Sunderland and Newcastle, and dairy produce from East Anglia, relied increasingly on London, both for the sale of its produce and the import of miscellaneous goods.

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1 PRO: E190 Port Books series. 641-715.
2 State Papers, Domestic, Anne, 1/35.
3 PRO: E190 718/23, 718/3.
4 Hargrave MS. f.274.
5 PRO: E190 Series.

Chapter 17 Cargoes imported and exported

An indication of the plurality of goods made available for shipping can be obtained from the tables of fees issued by Faversham's town porters from "time out of mind received and taken by the common porters."

The earliest list to survive dates from 1443.1

Tonne of Wine
Bag of Wool
Barrel Salmon
Quarter of Wheat
Quarter of malt
Quarter of Barley
Barrel of Herring
Other Corns
Quarter of Salt
Chalder of Coals
Barrel of Beer

The second list is from the mid-18th century.2

Ton of oil
Barrel of oil
Barrel of herring
Cade of herring
Barrel of salmon
Barrel of soap
Piece of raison
Weigh of cheese
Weigh of salt
Chaldron of coals
Hundred of fish
Ton of iron
Dryfats
Last of pitch and tar
Hundred of waincott
Load of wood

Other items on mid-18th century lists are - wheat, barley, meal, malt, beans, peas, rye, tares, oats, timber, laths, tiles, boards, bricks, wood, coales, apples, pears, wardens, quinces, other fruits, sprats, onions, other roots.

The third list dates from 1780.3

	s	d
Cheese at per Cwt	0	9
Hogshead of Sugar, Tallow, &c.	8	0
Hogshead of Russia Tallow	4	0
Pipe or Butt of Wine	14	0
Pipe or Puncheon of Spirits	14	0
Wine or Spirits in hampers, pr. doz	0	9
Chest of Fruit	2	0
Firkin of Butter	0	6
Firkin of Dutch ditto	0	8
Cask of Butter	0	10
Frail of Fruit	0	4
Bale of bacon, at per Cwt.	0	6
Hogshead of Vinegar	3	0
Lump of Sugar	0	3
Loaf ditto	0	1½
Butt of Currants	10	0
Half ditto	5	0
Hogshead of Oil	4	0
Prickle of Bottles	1	6
Carboy	3	0
Crate of Glass	3	6
Puncheon of Treacle	6	0
Butt of Porter	6	0
Hogshead of ditto	3	0
Barrel ditto	2	0
Kilderkin ditto	1	0
Barrel of Tar or Pitch	2	0
Roll of Hop Bagging	1	0
Ditto of Pocketing	0	6
Salt, Slate, Stone, Lead or Woollen Rags, per Ton	10	0
Wool, per Pack	3	0
Bark, per Bag	1	6
Paper, per Ream	0	1½
Sack of Flour	1	0
Wheat and Beans, per Quarter	1	6
Oats, per Quarter	1	3
Timber, per Load	12	0
White Rags, per Ton	15	0
Twelve-feet Deals, per hundred	30	0
Crates, Boxes, Trusses, and Parcels, according to size & value		

This breadth of trade was recognised by Jacob who said: "Here are also some other vessels employed in carrying wool, apples, pears, and cherries, to London and other parts in the season" (Jacob, 1774: 66-7).

However, Faversham's chief water-borne export was corn. Faversham in the 17th century handled the largest quantities in Kent.

In 1650 London received 989 shipments of corn coastwise, of which 524 came from Kent: of these Sandwich and its members sent 179, the ports of Faversham 164, Milton 67, Rochester 66, and Dover 48 cargoes (Willan, 1938: 138).

Corn sent (to London) 1657-58 (1 Oct-25 June)

Faversham	157
Sandwich	110
Margate	94
Milton	94
Maldon	76
Leigh	74
Rochester	58
Colchester	24
Dover	15
Ipswich	11
Harwich	10
Yarmouth	9
Rye	7
Lynn	3
Newhaven	3
Hastings	1
Boston	1

Source: B.M. Galba C11 f.157 (All figures in shipments)

The Faversham hop trade confirms Defoe's account of the hop grounds between Faversham and Canterbury.

> "The great wealth and increase of the city of Canterbury, is from the surprising increase of hop grounds all round the place; it is within the memory of many of the inhabitants now living, and that none of the oldest neither, that there was not an acre of ground planted with hops in the whole neighbourhood" (Defoe 1726: 118).

In the 1580 Port Book there is just one entry of hops being exported, but by 1650 it had risen to just over 100 bags per year and by 1689-1701 exports had risen to over 1,750 bags per year, and in the nine recorded months of 1741 they totalled 2,682 bags.4

Raw wool, another important export of Faversham, was produced in large quantities along the rich alluvial pastures of the Swale. Occasionally these exports were supplemented by wool from Romney Marsh.5

Like hops, the wool export flourished, and then peaked in the late 17th century, until Faversham, with an average annual export of over 2,000 bags, had become the chief wool-exporting port of England. After 1715 however, the trade declined and by 1730 the English wool trade was dominated by Rye, which exported double the amount of Faversham.

The only industrial exports of any magnitude were gunpowder and copperas. Copperas first appears in the Faversham records from about 1580, whilst gunpowder was first made about the same time.

Most copperas was shipped out from Whitstable - some 225 tons in 1656, but by 1741 the decline had set in and only 184 tons were exported.6

Shipments of gunpowder were in excess of a thousand barrels a year, and refined saltpetre was also exported, the civilian manufacturers sometimes exporting directly to ships waiting at anchor near Deal. The government exports almost always went to the magazines situated on the upper reaches of the Thames.

The output of the manufacturers of Canterbury - worsteds, British silk, paper - were also exported from Faversham and Whitstable in some quantity.

Imports

Imports to Faversham were of three kinds, coal; butter and cheese from Suffolk; and manufactured and general goods from London. Imports of coal from Newcastle and Sunderland increased from two cargoes (at 20 chaldron each) in 15807 to almost 2,500 chaldrons in 1741-50 (Nef, 1932: 241).

Butter and cheese were mainly supplied by the Suffolk ports of Aldeburgh, Woodbridge and Ipswich, imports coinciding with the holding of Faversham's two great Fairs - St. Valentine's and Lammas Fair. However by the 18th century the fairs were in decline and goods were almost exclusively supplied by London merchants.

Faversham imported from London an annual average of 5 cargoes in the early 16th century, and 68 cargoes in the 17th century, and nearly every cargo included a great variety of manufactured goods. It was, as Willan states, "as if the general shop had been bodily transported on board ship for conveyance to a more profitable district" (Willan, 1938; 51).

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1 CKS: Fa/LB1 82.
2 CKS: Fa AZ 61/2, 63/3 and Fa/AC3 (16m) Folio 101v.
3 Faversham Society archives.
4 PRO: E190 718/23.
5 Symonds, A New Years Gift to Parliament, or England's Golden Fleece Preserved. 1702 p.28.
6 PRO: E190 718/23.
7 PRO: E190/641/13

Chapter 18 Corn

The 80 or 90 parishes surrounding Faversham in north-east Kent were primarily arable, the leading crops being wheat, beans and barley. Wheat was grown on two-fifths of the arable acreage.1

The dominant position of this crop was established as early as the 13th century, when it was the major crop on most of the lands held by Canterbury Cathedral Priory. Beans were grown on one-fifth of the cropped acreage, the average sown field being about 20 acres. In the 13th century beans were grown around Faversham on the heavier soils - the claylands and marshes (Hall & Russell, 1911: 140). Peas and beans taken together accounted for over a quarter of the sown acreage and Marshall believed that, "in the management of the pulse, as a fallow crop, the farmers of east Kent may claim great merit" (Marshall, 1798: 27).

Barley, grown on the light chalk and loam soils covered about one-tenth of the cropped acreage, but barley became more important in the second half of the 17th century, Faversham exporting coastwise over 6,000 quarters of wheat, about 4,000 quarters of oats, almost 5,000 quarters of barley and over 2,000 quarters of peas and beans. The oats probably came from the clay soils of the Blean and the top of the Downs.

In 1796 John Boys wrote that "the chief part of the agricultural commerce of this country is that of exporting corn to the London Markets" (Boys, 1796: 89-90).

It has been estimated that by the end of the 17th century the corn trade of London was 80 per cent of the total trade of England (Moffit, 1925: 130-5). There is little doubt that Kent, led by Faversham, played a prominent role in this trading activity.

From 1587-88 London received 12,080 quarters of corn from Kent rising to 57,187 quarters in 1638. Essex, the nearest rival, sent 4,463 quarters in 1587-88 and 5,532 quarters in 1638. The four leading Kent ports sending corn coastwise to London lay along the edge of the north-east region of Kent and between them they accounted for

Corn imports into London via the coasting trade (in quarters)

From	1587-88	1615	1624	1638
Kent	12080	41823	27957	57187
Essex	4463	10368	12765	5532
Suffolk	458	258	2127	1843
Norfolk	390	7670	10873	19550
Hants	250	670	464	208
N.E. Coast	25	33	672	4840
S.W. Coast	10	170	312	2747
	17776	68596	61649	95714

Source: Fisher, 1935: 47.

Ports sending corn to London 1585-86 (Mich. to Mich.)

Port	Shipment	Port	Shipment
Bristol	1	Colchester	11
Newcastle	1	Blakeney	14
Grimsby	2	Boston	19
Chichester	3	Yarmouth	19
Dover	3	Rochester	35
Hythe	3	Lynn	51
Meeching	3	Maldon	53
Newhaven	3	Ipswich	67
Dunwich	4	Sandwich	82
Woodbridge	5	Milton	137
Hull	7	Faversham	210

Source: B.M. MS Galba C12 fol.147.

Shippers in the coastal cereal trade to London

Faversham	No. of shippers	No. of shipments	Total quantity (in quarters)
1598-99	75	241	15905
1633-34	67	184	14812
1662-63	64	201	11196
1699-1700	18	315	31213
Milton			
1598-99	62	119	4893
1633-34	43	78	3417
1662-63	14	80	3268
1699-1700	11	115	10571
Sandwich			
1598-99	63	116	9186
1633-34	164	256	38537
1665-66	89	187	15971
1699-1700	62	220	34184

Source: PRO: E190 series.

464 shipments or nearly three-fifths of London's coastwise trade in corn in 1585-86.

The most prolific ports, Faversham, Milton and Sandwich sent in 1598-99 some 29,984 quarters of corn to London in 476 shipments. By 1699-1700 this had risen to 75,968 quarters in 650 shipments. But as the shipments increased, the number of shippers declined as monopolies were established.

Kentish corn bound for London headed for the capital's two great corn marts, Bear Quay and Queenhithe. The latter was also the chief market for the malt of the upper Thames valley. Bear Quay was renowned as the greatest corn market in Europe, to which "comes all the vast quantity of corn that is brought into the city by sea, from the counties which lie commodious for that carriage" (Defoe, 1738; 174). It was sold on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. By the early 18th century Faversham hoys were sailing to Bear Quay according to an advertised schedule and often carried passengers and other freight.

In 1580 the average size of a Faversham hoy was 15 tons but by the 18th century the larger hoys, such as the 60-ton William and Mary built in 1728, had a capacity of 400 quarters of corn under deck.2 Barley would take up less room than corn and the collector of customs commented,

> "We are informed that a quarter of barley will fill up less room in a ship than a quarter of wheat, the barley laying lighter in a bushel than wheat; when it is poured into a ships hold, settles closer than it did in the bushel, we are informed that a quarter of malt well made fine and fit for the London market will take up as much room in stowage as a quarter of barley ..... the ships hold is generally filled quite up to the beams and they force it closely into every part of the hold. For an instance we humbly refer to the ship William and Mary, the ship is reported by the master at 60 tons, but we judge her as upwards of 90; in the coal trade she makes about 80 chalder of coal Winchester measure and carries about 400 quarters of wheat but for malt she generally clears out with 700 quarters and upwards and we are well satisfied the whole is actually on board."3

The corn hoys of Faversham were run as family firms, the hoymen using the local inns as information and collecting centres. The inns at Canterbury were used by the hoymen to arrange carriage of goods and passengers. The goods were "taken in" and arrangements made to send by road the various commodities to the quays of Faversham, Whitstable and Herne.

In The *Kentish Post*, published weekly in Canterbury, numerous hoymen advertised their services:

"*Kentish Post*, September 7th 1754.

Give notice Edward Fairbrass hoyman - sails to London every Friday night.

Corn per quarter - 1s 0d
Hops per bag - 1s 6d
Ditto pockets - 1s 0d
Which will be carefully sold at the best market prices.

Edward Fairbrass
83 Abbey Street
Faversham"

Some hoymen arranged for farmers to deliver their sacks of corn to Canterbury to be forwarded to the quays for 12d per quarter.4

The farmers of the district scrutinised the Bear Quay prices printed regularly in The Kentish Post5 and when they judged the market profitable, gave instructions for their corn to be shipped.

From the earliest records under study (1580) a hoyman would be prepared to "receive and pay money himself."6 Certainly Faversham ships returning with coal from Newcastle had money on board, "£100 sterling"7 and "1 bag of money containing £50",8 and in 1679 Richard Tappenden carried £100 to London on his hoy, "to pay Mr Knight, on behalf of Lord Teynham".9 By 1710 the Tappenden hoys were operating a credit policy, loans at interest were being made, and the carrying of cash to settle clients' accounts continued. James Tappenden, "hoymen of Faversham", supervised the hoy business's expansion during the 1730s, and in 1789 the Tappendens established the first Faversham Bank.

The hoymen as a group were powerful and influential both in London and Kent. In 1727 a number of farmers and hoymen had founded a Farmers Club in Faversham, the first in England, and hoymen were usually presidents and more often than not, also the mayors of Faversham. The hoymen acted as factors at Bear Quay, corn consigned to them being sold for the most favourable price, which in turn depended on the quality of the product and the state of the market. The hoymen-factors received their consignments at Faversham, carried the corn to Bear Quay, arranged for its unloading, and then sold to the highest bidder.

Contemporary legal documents elaborate on such procedures -

> "That the hoymen who carry the corn and grain from Faversham to London market and there sell it, have and take only 1s 4d per quarter for every quarter of wheat, beans, peas, tares, rye and other heavy corn and grain for the freight and factorage (and two new hoymen of late set up in that business have taken only 10d per quarter for such corn); and for all the lighter sort of corn and grain such as barley, oats, malts at 10d per quarter for the freight and factorage. From all freemen of the said town, and from all foreigners being non-freemen of the said town, they have always charged and received 1s 6d per quarter for such heavy corn or grain or grain viz. 2d a quarter more for the droits."10

In 1729 Robert Sharewood of Faversham was sailing to London on alternate Fridays. He set sail for home on the following Thursdays and settled immediately with the farmers. He "proposed pay-day on Saturdays or any other day the week ensuing."11

Freight charges to the farmer were low; freightage and factorage together amounted to only 5 or 6 per cent of the selling price at Bear Quay, and in the years of high prices were as little as 3 per cent.12 For oats, these costs were in the region of 8 per cent and for beans 10 per cent of the selling price. The cost to the farmer of selling his grain was in the order of 11/2d per ton-mile, the cost by wagon was 71/2d. Water transport possessed a cost advantage over land transport in the ratio of one to five. Average costs of carriage by water throughout England during the 18th century was a fifth of land carriage costs (Dyson & Aldcroft, 1969: 40).

Faversham corn cargoes in the 16th and 17th centuries

In the Port Book of 158013 we have 22 hoys; aggregate tonnage is 337 tons, average tonnage is 15 tons. Forty-one masters were employed throughout the year and most cargoes were destined for London. There were 122 outgoing voyages by Faversham ships in the six months covered by the Port Book of 1580, carrying for the most part wheat - some 5,743 quarters throughout the six-month period. Malt was also carried, some 745 quarters.

There were 42 inbound/outbound voyages by English ships registered elsewhere. Apart from the 16 from Essex for Lammas Fair, the others were mostly London registered to pick up wheat and export elsewhere. Five voyages were made by two ships registered at Whitstable, the Mary Flower of Whitstable (10 tons) and the Mariegold of Whitstable (16 tons), both for Canterbury merchants. No ships or voyages are recorded for Herne or Reculver.

The trade of Faversham was firmly in the hands of merchants from Faversham. Richard Tillman was the corn merchant for all 16 voyages with wheat in the Blackeleeche of Faversham and on other ships he was merchant for another 17 cargoes of wheat, carrying some 2,133 quarters of wheat in 33 voyages, an average of 64 quarters per voyage.

Another Faversham corn merchant was John Philpot who sent to London 1,835 quarters of wheat on 21 voyages, an average of 87 quarters per voyage. In total there were 97 voyages carrying 5,743 quarters of wheat, averaging 59 quarters per voyage, if you discount the 7 ship convoys to Ireland, which included 3 ships of 100 tons from London, which carried 610 quarters between them of wheat.

The price of wheat fluctuated throughout the year but on an average price of 15 shillings the total exports of wheat alone were worth £4,307.5s, not an inconsiderable sum in 1580. Other cargoes were leather, bay salt, oats, barley, groceries, wine, silk, oranges, falcons and hawks, tallow,

codfish, Brazil wood, woad, ale, but no exports were recorded of gunpowder, wool or oysters.

The principal areas to supply London with wheat were Essex, Norfolk and along the northern coastal strip of Kent. It was here that prosperous yeomen like Arthur Seath of Rodmersham would devote over half his capital and over 100 acres of his farm to the production of wheat.14 Most of the Kentish wheat was shipped from Faversham or Milton Regis to London, an almost unlimited market for agricultural produce.

Usefulness of ports usually depends on a good internal river system, Faversham overcame this obstacle by building warehouses where corn could be stored alongside the wharves. Every shipmaster's house had its store and cellar, There was an efficient town porter system with a standardised list of charges for every commodity, the earliest list dating from 1448.15 As Faversham developed so did its hinterland transport system, tramways for bricks and potteries, canals for gunpowder, drove roads for cattle, lighters for passing maritime trade, ferries for communication along the Swale. The efficiency of wheat storage meant Faversham merchants could purchase at times of glut, store until prices rose and then release cargoes to the metropolis to maximise profits. The ambiguities of Tudor agricultural policy reflected the government's constant dilemma. They had to safeguard the home consumer by pegging the price of corn, but at the same time provide cereal growers with sufficient profit to persuade them to stay in arable farming. In the years of good harvest producers were allowed to export their surplus crop, so preventing a slump in price through over production. Problems arose in times of need. The corn merchants were then looked upon as exploiters and speculators threatening the stability of the Realm by holding back wheat until prices reached their peak. The populace rioted on many occasions.16

The Privy Council's reaction was to prohibit exports of grain unless with a special licence. This didn't stop the Faversham merchants:

> "Petition to the King and his council by the town of Faversham, Kent, for an enquiry into the conveyance beyond sea, contrary to the proclamation of restraint by William Caslock and Belke of Feversham about May last, of two hoys laden with grain (specified) for Flusshen in Zeland, and by John Brynebourn of Feversham in July next ensuing of his own hoy similarly laden, and by others probably with the connivance of the searchers."17

Prior to this, in 1540, eleven shiploads of grain were taken to Flushing between 25 May and 13 Nov. on hoys belonging to that town. Grain exports had been forbidden in 1540 so if apprehended by the authorities - as they were - complications arose which led to guile on the part of the smugglers and if this didn't work force was used.

> "William Castlocke brewer and William Belke, barber of Faversham did load two hoys of Flushing with grain bought by John Goldfinch of Faversham. This was restrained by the King.... and Castlocke and Belke were bound over to deliver it to the Cinque Port Admiral at Dover. Four days after Castlocke and Belke came to the Faversham customers wife pretending to have unladen the grain, and so recovered their bonds, then at the next tide they provided John Aucke and others with bows, bills and other weapons to defend them till their hoys might pass over and so passed into Zeeland.18

The year 1586 was one of famine and prices of grain reached an unprecedented level. Shipments abroad still went on: "There are of late eight ships with wheat and salt laden within the Isle of Thanet and arrived at Sluce in Flanders and that sundry other ships to be laden with grain in Kent are expected to come into the place aforesaid."19

The Privy Council's concern is obvious. Not only were corn supplies short at home, but corn was being exported no doubt straight into the bellies of the Spanish army then occupying most of the Netherlands. To the Faversham merchant it was more simple - with duty of only a shilling a quarter20 the consideration was not saving duty but the higher prices to be obtained abroad, set against the extra expense of a longer voyage and no doubt bribes to be paid. This would indicate a sophisticated intelligence service and a foreign distribution network.

The other problem of course was loading, Port facilities must be used and so secrecy was impossible; either the customs officers were bribed or small creeks (and Faversham, out of all ports in Kent, has an abundance) were utilised. Yet with all this smuggling Faversham was still the leading exporter of corn to London in the 1580s, at least 122 shipments against a figure of 202 for all of Kent.

Table of Corn Sent to London (shipments)

Source of supply	Shipments 1579-80
Kent	202
Essex	17
Suffolk	10
Yarmouth	1
Lynn	6
Boston	11
Hull	7
Sussex	8
Southampton	1

Source: Gras, 1915: 107

Coastwise cereal imports into London, 1580 (in quarters)

FromKent	12,080
Essex	4,463
Suffolk	458
Norfolk	390
Hants	250
N.E. Coast	25
S.W. Coast	10
	17,776

Source: Fisher, 1935.

In quarters of corn Faversham21 yet again provided almost a half - some 5,743 quarters of corn, and 745 quarters of malt in 1580 from Kent.

The grain shipped to London by the Faversham merchants - John Philpot of Faversham, Roger Jenkyns of Sittingbourne, Peter Newall of Faversham, Richard Tillman of Faversham, Walter Woodd of Boughton under Bleane, Nicholas Adie of Faversham, Thomas Bruer of Faversham - (some 18 merchants from Faversham and the surrounding district) would have been handled by the London corn factors who sold it for them on a commission basis (Westerfield, 1953: 152). Some, in 1580, no doubt was disposed of by the merchant/hoy master direct, others would have used the family ties which existed between Faversham families and London merchants. Even at this early stage some London bakers were buying direct; "Of James Crewe denizen of London baker for sixty quarters wheat in the Joan of Faversham burden 12 tons."22

These merchants acted in a two-fold capacity - they supplied the retailer on the home market and, when allowed, exported grain. The factor kept a stand at Bear Quay (Cambell, 1747: 287) and as Defoe described - "To Bear Key comes all the vast quantity of corn that is brought into the city by sea, and have here come may be said, not to be sold by cartloads, or by horseloads but by shiploads and except the corn chambers and magazines in Holland the whole world cannot equal the quantity bought and sold here" (Defoe, 1726: 43-46).

At Faversham there wasn't a corn market until 178023 so farmers would have disposed of their corn in several ways. An average farmer in the Faversham district in the first half of the 16th century would have goods worth about £33. Nicholas Wigmore of Goodnestone, next to Faversham, died in 1560 leaving goods worth £240 2s 5d.24 Over three-quarters of this wealth was in grain: 70 quarters or 560 bushels of barley stored in the barn were worth three times the 20 quarters of wheat in store; there were also "six semes of malt stored in the brewing house".25 There was 30 acres of winter wheat growing, valued at £24, and "201/2 acars of podwar", valued at £8. Given an average yield per acre of 10-12 bushels of barley, the barley in store had been sown on some 50 acres of land.

This valuable surplus grain would have been sent the three miles to Faversham wharves in the three carts owned by Wigmore. In 1559 cart money collected by the Corporation came to some £3 7s 2d.26 The sacks of grain would have been unloaded at one of the town or merchants quays by the town porters who would have charged 2d per quarter of "wheat, barley, malt, meal, beans, peas, rye, oats".27 Money collected on town droits28 came to £17 1s 1d in 1559.

Wigmore would have sold his corn at the farm, when it was in the barn or while still standing in the field. Other farmers not so wealthy or economically powerful as Wigmore would have sold by "sampling".

> "The farmer that has perhaps only twenty load of wheat in his barn rubs out only a few handfuls of it, puts it in a little money bag and with this sample, as 'tis called, in his pocket away he goes to markett. When he comes there, he stands in a particular place where such business is done, and there the factors come also. The factor looks at the sample, asks his price, bids, and then buys - and that not a sack or a load but the whole quantity; and away they go together to the Inn to seal the bargain" (Defoe, 1726: 427-428).

Shipment of grain is still a confused area. Contemporary continental pictures show grain being shipped loose and weighed when unloaded (Hutchinson, 1994.b: 94). The standard measure for grain was the quarter, and four quarters made a ton; a quarter was equal to 8 bushels but most mealmen bought their corn in 4-bushel sacks.29 Sacks were shipped free of charge back from London by the Faversham hoymen30 so the little evidence we have suggests corn in the late 16th century was shipped loose, but bagged for unloading.

London's needs for corn can be gauged by a statement made by the Lord Mayor of London in 1574 that 6,154 quarters of corn were consumed each week. London had to draw its supplies from a wide area. The authorities stated in 1574 that "the City hath been chiefly furnished with all kinds of grain for provision of the same from the shires lying westward from the city, and aptly conveyed to the City as well as by land as by the River of Thames, as also from Kent, the principal supply for the City came from Faversham and those parts of Kent."31

The growth of the London corn market was restricted by the failure to grapple successfully with the problem of transport. Coastal and river transport were the only feasible systems in use in the 16th century. An average Faversham corn hoy of 1580 could carry 60 quarters of

wheat at a price of 2s a ton (6d a quarter) from Faversham to London.32 It wasn't possible to move that quantity by road,33 it would have taken 10 carts or 50 pack horses to move the same load (Willan, 1938: 190). But the roads would have restricted such lengthy journeys. Contemporary writers speak of Kent roads as "What God left after the Flood" and that the only way to get along in rainy weather "was by swimming" (Pratt, 1956: 73). In winter it was impossible to travel by carriage or cart; any journey would have been on horseback and any bulk transportation by packhorse.

In Kent, owing to the badness of the roads, the price of transporting timber was one shilling per load every mile; and it frequently happened that autumn cut oak, reputed the best in the Kingdom for the purposes of the Royal Navy at Chatham, lay two or three years before it could be removed from the places where it was felled.34

Faversham corn cargoes in the 17/18th centuries

In 1597/835 some 7,909 quarters of wheat, 7,964 quarters of malt, 863 quarters of barley, 500 quarters of oats and only 47 quarters of tares were exported from Faversham. By 1699/70 exports had risen to 12,053 quarters of wheat, 5,959 quarters of malt, 812 quarters of barley, 4,527 quarters of oats and 3,287 quarters of beans. Yet in October 1741 the monthly total for wheat alone was 1,632 quarters of wheat.36

Shipments of corn to London, 1728

Faversham	353	Dover	65
Sandwich	238	Deal	34
Rochester	135	Folkestone	10
Milton	132	Hythe	9

Source: Willan, 1938.

Yet as the quantity of corn sent to London inexorably increased, the number of shippers decreased. It seems as if merchants wished to spread their liability and risk on a number of commodities, and not deal exclusively in corn.

In the 18th century the corn hoys made an average of 22 voyages a year, and the trade was constant, the number of shipments depending on the price of corn and not the vagaries of the weather.

Faversham continued to lead Kent with exports of corn to London.

But whereas in 1580 all of the shippers were Faversham merchants, by the 17th century the trade had been infiltrated by London merchants. Four of London's leading corn shippers - Robert Terry, James Franklyn, Thomas Knowler and Edward Spillet - all became mayors of Faversham (Jacob, 1774: 125). In 1700 wheat still dominated the corn trade:

An account of corn brought from Faversham by Edward Harts' hoy to London

1724 April-December	3050 quarters	16 voyages
1725 January-December	4204 quarters	23 voyages
1726 January-December	4567 quarters	26 voyages
1727 January-December	5157 quarters	20 voyages
1728 January-December	4765 quarters	25 voyages
1729 January-December	3769 quarters	23 voyages

Source: CKS Fa/LB39

Number of coastwise cargoes of corn per year 1676-1706

	Outwards	Inwards	Total
Faversham	278	51	329
Sandwich	108	81	189
Margate	93	21	114
Ramsgate	2	11	13
Broadstairs	2	6	8

Source: PRO E190 series

Coastal export of cereals and pulses 1699-1700 (in quarters)

	Faversham	Sandwich	Milton	Rochester	Dover
Wheat	13307	6256	6131	526	183
Oats	5431	–	2965	8456	102
Barley	698	161	315	–	274
Malt	6785	23888	425	180	2578
Beans	4238	3824	477	–	78
Peas	–	293	–	–	10
Total	**30459**	**34422**	**10313**	**9162**	**3225**

Source: PRO E190 series

In 1702, an Act was passed allowing "English corn, grain, meal, and other goods which may lawfully be exported and for which no Duties are payable and cocquets and bond are not required from within an area defined as including so much of the ports of Sandwich and Ipswich and the members thereof as are within the said limits".37

Mixed cargoes, which included goods still needing recording, continued to be listed in the Port Books. Unfortunately these figures are misleading and can in no sense be taken as an indication of relative prosperity. In such cases literary evidence can fill the gap until 1740/1, when the Act was rescinded for a short time and a part year of full entries in the Port Books still survives.

Jacob indicates that in 1774 six hoys "go alternately every week to London, with corn of all sorts, amounting in very plentiful years, to forty thousand quarters per annum" (Jacob, 1774: 66). Edward Crow in his third manuscript book itemised certain particulars from existing customs books: "the date of the oldest custom house book is 1688, and that is only a remnant, many have been destroyed."

In 1750 a new Corn Exchange was opened in London at Mark Lane38 and by this time it was established practice to bring only samples to the market instead of whole cargoes of corn; this allowed deliveries to be made elsewhere at a mutually arranged time. With the introduction of the Thames sailing barge, cargoes of corn could be delivered direct to shipping in the port of London or alongside shallow-berthed mills and granaries.

By the end of the 18th century the London corn trade at Mark Lane was in the hands of a small influential group of factors. The day of the Kentish hoymen, "ship-master, super cargo and factor", had passed, but he had played a significant role in this trading transformation.

Flour

Marshall said that Kentish wheat which was not sent to the London market was sold to country millers (Marshall, 1798: 122).

The chief function of the miller was the processing of corn

Coastal export of cereals and pulses 1699-1700 (in quarters)

Year	Wheat	Beans	Pease	Barley	Malt	Oats	Flour (sacks)
1696	3884	1530	25	697	2346	6074	140
1792	20786	6281	2523.5	2256.5	1215	1184	10236
1793	18689	3080	2295	2574	1161	401	12242

Source: Edward Crow, unpublished MSS. 1855. Faversham Public Library.

Grain shipped at Faversham April-December 1740 (in quarters)

	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	Total
Wheat	356	1432	791	651	1493	796	1410	1632	1639	10200
Malt	50	90	–	–	15	10	–	–	14	179
Barley	186	865	293	70	190	40	154	156	390	2344
Oats	77	275	436	90	497	299	205	476	452	2807
Tares	20.5	370	204	75	360	126	673	691	789	3308.5

Source: PRO E190/718/23.

Coastal export of cereals and pulses 1699-1700 (in quarters)

	1580	1597/98	1628/29	1649/50	1699/1700	1741
Wheat	5743	7900	5506	6210	11725	11550
Malt	745	7974	7932	8417	6179	179
Barley	40	863	125	216	772	2632
Oats	170	500	3738	1419	4527	3123

Source: PRO E190 series

(mainly wheat) into meal and flour. After grinding, the miller would seek out the best markets for his meal and flour. William Colley owned two mills in 1751, one at Tonge, the other at Herne. It produced high quality flour "fit for the London trade". He would then sell his flour at one of the inns where farmers, millers, and other dealers could meet and transact their business.39 The Ship at Whitstable, the George at Sittingbourne and the Bear at Faversham all became well known as "trading markets". Flour was first exported to London in 159940 by John Lawrence and Anthony Napleton in the Barbara of Faversham, burden 10 tons. By 1740 some 1787 sacks of flour were being exported to Sheerness, Chatham, and Whitby. This trade had grown to some 10,000 sacks by 1792.

Malt

From April to September 1580, only 745 quarters of malt, compared to 5,743 quarters of wheat, were exported to London by the merchants Richard Tillman, Nicholas Freeman, and others of Faversham. By 1597/8 the amount of malt shipped had increased to 7,974 quarters, just more than the 7,900 quarters of wheat shipped in the same period.

By 1628 the export of malt was still more than wheat, but by 1699/70, it had fallen to just more than a half of the total wheat exports for that year.

By 1741 a negligible amount of malt was being exported from Faversham's quays. These trends41 indicate the rise and fall of the independent maltster as brewing and malting became integrated by the end of the 17th century. John Rigden, a member of one of Faversham's most famous brewing families, said: "the brewers have joined malting to their other trade and now will buy no malt but use what they makes and so the maltsters for want of customers was forced to give over."42 In the face of a contracting demand, independent maltsters looked to the overseas market, and although some Port Book entries indicate that for a time malt was exported to Holland, by far the largest part was shipped to Norwich merchants at Yarmouth. The Faversham merchants of the late 16th century - John West, Alexander Oore, unlike Yarmouth malt merchants43 - also shipped mixed cargoes of malt and wheat to Queenhithe market. This market attained similar importance in the meal and malt trade as did Bear Quay in grain, and, like it, was a "monster for magnitude and not to be matched in the world" (Defoe, 1726: 41).

To Queenhithe came "malt and meal from Surrey, Bucks, Berks, Oxford, Wiltshire, Kent, in the great barges which carried as much as a thousand quarters of grain, and yet did not draw more than two feet of water" (Strype, 1737: 218).

However, a large proportion of corn and malt coming to London didn't pass through these markets; grain was consigned by the country factor or farmer direct to the London dealer. Also a great deal of corn and meal brought for same to London was forestalled before it reached the markets and sold by private arrangement, in spite of all the efforts of the city authorities to stop such illegal practices.

Once the London brewing companies had organised their own supply of malt, Faversham exports would have been directed, via the factors, to Holland.

London merchants were encouraged to export to Holland by various bounties. In 1688, a bounty was granted of 2s 6d per quarter of malt when the price did not exceed 24s (Combrune, 1768: 95-6). Export of malt was further encouraged by a "draw-back" of duty during the first quarter of the 18th century.44 and by exemption from duty after 1726.45 From 1697 to 1760, a duty of 6d was paid by the maltster on every bushel produced (i.e. 4s per quarter); but the whole of this sum could be "drawn-back" or reclaimed if the malt was exported overseas.

"Draw-back" was paid on the bulk of the malt, rather than the weight, and maltsters would produce a more bulkier malt than would have been acceptable to home-made brewers. Barley would be steeped in a container of water for three days, drained and then placed on wooden trays for a day to allow swelling to take place. It was then spread on the malthouse floor for 12 to 15 days to allow germination to take place. According to the type of malt being produced, the shoot of the grain (the acrospire) could grow to varying lengths, depending on the amount of water sprinkled on it. Finally the germinated grain was dried in kilns (Mathias, 1959: 406-11).

Local excise officers claimed that "it had become a common practise for exporting maltsters to allow their barley to sprout and grow excessively"46 as it lay on the malthouse floor. This, it was alleged, enabled maltsters to convert ten bushels of barley into fifteen and invoice for the extra five bushel "bonus".47

The Dutch however, were able to make good the defects of the "blown" English malt, converting it into equally cheap gin and exporting it to France, England and Spain (Kinross, 1959: 1).

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1 CKS: Propate Inventories and B.B. 54/5, "Copy of Book of Measurement of the Farms and Lands of the Parish of Faversham, total arable land, 1373 acres, in pasture 562 acres, hops 10 acres, wood 18 acres".
2 Kentish Post June 1746.
3 Customs 97/11 18 Nov 1738.
4 Kentish Post June 1739.
5 Kentish Post November 1732.
6 CKS: Fa/AC1.
7 PRO: E19/656/6 July 1629.
8 PRO: E19/656/6 August 1629.
9 CKS: U498/AZ.
10 CKS: Fa/ZB1 (1743) p.266.
11 Kentish Post August 1729.
12 CKS: U593 AZ, Kentish Post February 1738.
13 PRO: E190/641/13.
14 CKS: PRC 10/35.
15 CKS: Fa/AC3 f.10.
16 CKS: Fa/AC1/2.
17 State Papers, Foreign, Henry VIII, Vol.19.
18 PCR 1540-1558.
19 PCR 1586.
20 Two shillings after 1593.
21 These figures, whilst almost a half of the annual figures postulated by Fisher, are only for a six-month period of 1580!
22 PRO: E190/041/13.
23 CKS: Fa/2B/71.
24 CKS: PRC 24/ZK/1
25 A seam (seme) = 1 quarter = 8 bushels.
26 CKS: Fa/LB/39.
27 CKS: Fa AZ63.
28 Droits is from the French, but its origin was from the Latin directum, signifying rights.
29 House of Commons Journals xxii, 265.
30 CKS: Fa AC1/332.
31 Remembrancia of the City of London, 1580.
32 CKS: Fa/Ac/52.
33 Ten sacks of corn were formerly considered a fair load for four horses, but now (1647) 30 or even 40 sacks are put behind a team (Arch. Cant. Vol.XXI).
34 House of Commons Journals xxiii 469.
35 PRO: E190/646/10 & E190/647/6.
36 PRO: E190/718/23.
37 I Anne. C.20.
38 Rep. Com. HC., IX p.144.
39 Kentish Post, Jan. 1751.
40 CKS: E190/647/6.
41 The Port Books are not the material on which a statistical account of the volume of trade can be based. They are at best "figures". We are still a long way off the age of statistics.
42 CKS: Fa AC/3 & 4.
43 See N.J. Williams, "The Maritime Trade of the East Anglian Ports, 1550-1590".
44 I. Will & Mary C.12.
45 12 Geo I., C.4.
46 PRO: Customs 48/11.
47 PRO: Customs 97/3.

Chapter 19 Fish and oysters

Fishing was one of the historic cornerstones of Faversham's prosperity. Selling oysters to the Dutch started probably about 1550, for in 1630 the poor fishermen of Faversham presented a petition to the Admiralty over oyster ground rents: "Humbly sheweth, that for the space of seventie yeares and upwards it hath bene usuall for flemish vessells to come into the said river and with their ready money to buy oysters, and to transport them beyond the sea".1

Although the Oyster Company had been established by law from 1189 it no doubt was much older - in fact reputed to be the oldest existing company in the world.2 By 1599 it had written down its oral traditions into the first extensive charter, "taken the 21st day of Julye in the one and fortyeth yere of the quene Elizabeth Anno Domini 1599 by those, whose names are under written, and written owt of various auncyent bokes and by the testimonye of divers antientest tenantes by the direction of their ancestors now dead". There are 47 names underneath.3 Also in the 1599 charter it states: "No tenant shall give or deliver any surplas oysters to any Dutchman or any other Foreigner resorting here to buy oysters of this company". All sales of oysters had to be regulated by the company and not by individual fishermen.

For some reason the Port Books fail to record the export of oysters until late in the 17th century. Fish, however, are recorded in the 16th and 17th century Port Books, and are without exception processed or "manufactured" fish - "hollande linge, barr, and coddfish." In 1580 five voyages are recorded, all for London fishmongers.

Fish can be preserved in a number of ways, drying, salting and smoking. Cod and ling were dried in the open with no salt treatment, herring and barr fish would be heavily salted and then smoked. There were at least two fish smoke houses in Faversham in the 1580s.4 Fish would be packed into barrels, with salt between the layers containing no less than one part of salt to three parts of fish (Cutting 1955:63-64).

By 1597/8, according to the Port Books, only nine barrels of white herring were imported from Woodbridge. But in 1601 the Pelican of Flushing, burden 6 tons, imported from Flushing "200 linges, 400 of codfishe and hallfe a hunderethe coddfishe".5

Numerous entries up to the 18th century confirm that foreign imports of fish continued to arrive at Faversham, but that the export of fish had either ceased or was no longer required to be recorded in the Port Books.

There is no doubt the Faversham fishing grounds and rivers6 contained "an infinate plenty of excellent, sweet and pleasant fish; including salmon, trout, smelt, gudgeon, flounders, shrimps, shads, grayling, carp, chub and sturgeon".7

Part of the fish supply caught at Faversham reached London by road. It came from the Cinque Ports in 15-mile stages, with one set of carriers working from the coast to Chepsted, and another from Chepsted to London.8

At the end of the 18th century, fish could be brought from Rye, Hastings, Folkestone, Whitstable, Faversham and Milton Regis in 12 to 15 hours, whereas by sea it took 48 hours or longer.9 It would be brought up in wagons filled with water which was changed every night at an inn.10 Fish for local consumption would be sold at the Faversham fish market under the Guildhall, or along with the fish from Whitstable sold at the fish market situated outside the gates of the cathedral at Canterbury.

Oysters

Kentish oysters were reported in 1709 to be produced in an area 20 miles long and 7 miles wide, stretching from the North Foreland to Sheerness,11 but most of the oyster beds were in creeks to the west of Faversham. Exports to the port of Zieriksee in Holland amounted to some four-fifths of the total although a small amount was sent to the North Sea ports of Germany in the early 18th century.

Name	Cargo
Edmund Andrews and Francis Birckes denizen of London, fishmongers	10 lastes[1] of Barr fish
Christopher Garland to Dagnam	1,200 codfishe
Thomas Hicker of London	2,700 Holland Linge 2 laste Barr fish
Francis Shaw and Thomas Hicker of London	1,500 Holland Linge and cod
Edmund Andrews and Francis Birckes denizen of London, fishmongers	3 lastes barrall fishe 2,250 lynges 350 cod

Source: PRO: E190/641/13.

Out of all the oyster companies along the Swale, Faversham was the most favoured with the Dutch: "amongst the different parts of these general oyster grounds, that of Faversham is most regarded by the industrious Hollanders, who have had, time immemorial, a constant traffic here, they always giving the preference to our oysters, and never dealing with others, while they can here purchase those suitable for their consumption" (Jacob, 1774: 77).

This favouritism is reflected in the general trade figures:

Oyster shipments to Holland (by the wash)

	1662-3	1675-6	1699-1700	1712-13
Faversham	244	55	835	400
Rochester	81	45	206	60
Milton	54	11	170	141

Source: Coleman, 1951: 113.

A sample has been transcribed from the Port Books 1701-1728 which is indicative of how the trade was conducted with the Dutch. From 1702 the value of the oysters sold to the Dutch was £3,758 peaking to an all-time high in 1708 of £6,242. From 1715 (£1,623) there is a sharp decline of income to 1719 which has an all-time low of £426.

According to the Port Book documents on 23 June 1719 James Sulling imported for the first time from St. Michaels Mount in France 400 bushels of oysters with a value of £20. These were to restock the overfished and depleted oyster beds at Faversham.

The average price per wash at the beginning of the 18th century was £3; the price fluctuated between 1709 and 1715 indicating the supply of oysters was haphazard. In 1719 when only 93 wash could be sold to the Dutch the

Oysters sold to the Dutch 1702-28

Season	Number of wash	Value (in £)	Value per wash (to the nearest £)	Number of Cargoes
1702	1219	3758	£3	38
1703	1229	3585	£3	39
1704	1182	3730	£3	37
1705	1233	3888	£3	43
1706	1294	4391	£3	40
1707	Entries badly damaged and not transcribed			
1708	1907	6242	£3	52
1709	1548	3736	£3 10s	30
1710	449	1256	£3	11
1711	708	2260	£3 5s	21
1712	534	1600	£3	17
1713	456	1474	£3 5s	12
1714	637	1211	£2	13
1715	411	1623	£4	11
1716	No documents available			
1717	161	673	£4 2s	5
1718	No documents available			
1719	93	426	£4 10s	3
1720	6950 bushels imported in 17 cargoes			
1721	1709	1759	£1	13
1721	2700 bushels imported in 6 cargoes			
1722	No documents available			
1723	1753	1901	£1	31
1724	746	2685	£3 10s	22
1725	635	2052	£3 5s	18
1726	897	2884	£3 5s	24
1727	632	1704	£2 10s	17
1728	740	1420	£2	22

Source: Port Books E190 series.

price reached an all-time high of £4 10s. By 1721 when the newly laid brood had come to fruition it seems the Dutch had taken their trade elsewhere. Although 1,709 wash were sold to them the price had fallen from the peak of £4 10s in 1719 to an all-time low of £1 per wash. In 1723 with 1,753 wash sold to the Dutch the price was still pegged at £1 per wash. By 1724 when less oysters again were available the price per wash crept up to £3 10s. Average cargoes throughout the sample period were 34 wash.

Apart from the Port Books, the only Faversham Oyster Company document available for scrutiny and containing accounts is the Faversham Water Court Minute Book12 covering the period 1766 to 1792. All other documents of this period are in private hands and unavailable for study.13

As the title indicates it is a complete record of finance, apprentices and refinements of existing rules of the Oyster Company. A treasurer was appointed yearly who acted as a "banker". He would hold the cash funds of the company and pay all outgoings and debts:-

> "17th April 1773, John Hills, one of the tenants of this manor and hundred. Treasurer appointed by this company produces his accounts and thereby it appears he hath received of the companies money the sume of two thousand four hundred and eighty one pounds, six shilling and ten pence farthing and that he hath disposal of the sum of two thousand four hundred and seventy six pounds, eight shilling and ten pence three farthing, so that remains due to the company the sum of four pounds seventeen shilling and eight pence halfpenny."14

The treasurer was paid £5, "for their trouble in executing the said office". In 1790 it was ordered that in future "all money buisness and transactions relitive to this company shall be carried on with the bank lately established in this town called the Faversham Bank upon the same plan as the buisness of the Seasalter Oyster Company is now transacted with the Bank of Canterbury."

It is possible to produce a sample profit and loss account for the Faversham Oyster Company using the minute book for the period 1767-1780.

Year	Name of treasurer	Income (in £)	Expenditure (in £)	No. of members
1767	Daniel Dane (£600 spent on brood oysters)	4554 13s 2.5d	1571 2s 4d	54
1768	Daniel Dane (£600 spent on brood oysters)	1202 16s 6d	1174 7s 4d	58
1769	Daniel Dane (£69 spent on brood oysters)	1076 6s 2d	1061 4s 4d	69
1770	Daniel Dane	1260 7s 6d	1232 8s 10d	70
1771	Daniel Dane (£1000 spent on brood oysters)	536 11s 5d	453 11s 1d	74
1772	John Hills (£1500 spent on brood from Scotland)	2157 12s 5d	2150 5s 11d	74
1773	John Hills (£1000 to be spent on brood from Scotland or Essex)	2481 6s 10.25d	2476 8s 10.75d	78
1774	Richard Horton (£100 spent on Home Brood)	2716 16s 11d	2543 6s 4d	77
1775	John Hills (£1000 spent on brood)	2056 3s 4d	2004 9s 1.25d	75
1776	John Hills (£1000 spent on brood)	2296 12s 6.5d	2044 4s 8d	83
1777	John Hills (£2000 spent on brood, Essex and home)	1183 3s 11d	1114 15s 1d	86
1778	Daniel Dane (£2000 spent on Scottish and Essexbrood)	751 7s 11d	668 16s 6d	74
1779	Edward Hills (£1000 spent on Essex brood)	1945 15s 6d	1716 2s 1d	81
1780	Edward Hills	2356 7s 1.25d	2180 5s 5.75d	

Source: University of London MS 261.

The accounts indicate a company in trouble, falling stocks of oysters to sell, and as we know from other documents falling prices at Billingsgate. The number of members increased dramatically from 54 in 1764 to 93 in 1780. This problem was addressed by the company, stricter entry rules were introduced for apprentices and in years of financial disaster, postponement or cancellation of widows' rights.

The amount spent on restocking the oyster beds is staggering, some £11,869 on young brood from Scotland, Isle of Wight, Concale, Devon, Essex and Falmouth.

By 1774 the situation of the Oyster Company was apparent to Edward Jacob, who said: "It would be deemed almost an act of insanity, if a farmer should neglect to sow his land when seed-corn is dear, for fear he might sell the produce cheap, yet the acts of our dredgers seem parallel to it .... my good friends will excuse these few remarks on their former conduct, and it is hoped will be benefit thereby; as without sowing, they must be assured they cannot reap" (Jacob, 1774: 82).

But with overfishing, lowering prices, and pollution the Faversham Oyster Company slid into a non-reversible decline which was accelerated by the marketing activities of the Whitstable and Seasalter Oyster Fishery Company.

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1 PRO: SP16/175 f102.
2 Guinness Book of Records.
3 The title on the cover of the volume which is currently held amongst the Faversham Borough Archives at the Alexander Centre, Preston Street, Faversham, is "The Company or Fraternity of the Free Fishermen and Dredgermen of the Manor of Faversham, Old M.S. Records".
4 CKS Fa ACI/241.
5 PRO: E190/647/8.
6 The ancient name for the river issuing from the springs to the south of the town was Fishbourne.
7 CKS: Fa/1LB/2.
8 Court of Requests Proceeding bdl.74 no.4.
9 Guildhall Library: "The Case of the Fishmongers in and about the City of London" (TR 221521).
10 PRO: PC2/56 to 690.
11 Journals, House of Commons, Vol.16, p.356.
12 University of London MS 261.
13 Present-day directors of the Faversham Oyster Company are unwilling to allow access to tea-chests full of material in case it jeopardises on-going litigation with the Seasalter Oyster Company (1995).
14 MS 261: 100.

Chapter 20 Leather

One of the earliest references to the trade in leather at Faversham is an entry in the Calendar State Papers of 1540, where a William Bringbourne, having purchased a parcel of hides at Bartholomew Fair, had it loaded on board Robert Berye's ship bound for Faversham. Before the consignment could be removed from London, Bringbourne had to enter into a £40 bond agreeing not to carry the hides overseas. The State Papers report, "Nevertheless he conveyed it into a ship of Dieppe at East Swale and showed the Customer at Faversham six deker of country leather in his storehouse and so got a certificate to discharge his bond." The original purchase was for 20 deker1 so he obviously had altered his cocket2 and smuggled the rest.

In 1580 Freeman Stevens, denizen of Faversham, was the most prolific exporter and importer of leather. He exported as merchant, "20 doz pelts, 6 dickers backes, 8 doz kyppes of tanned leather, and 14 dicker of tanned leather." Some 480 raw hides were imported from London in 14 different cargoes. All needed and were provided with a certificate or bond signed by William Phillippes and William Burchier, gentlemen.

Although Freeman Stevens was by far the most prolific exporter and importer it wasn't a monopoly. Henry Pysing, denizen of Faversham and tanner, sent to London, "one part cargo of 6 dickers, 3 hides of tanned leather, 4 dicker polles and 42 bundles of kyppes." Thomas Mychell, denizen of Chartham, sent two part cargoes and Richard Fidge of Canterbury received one of 60 raw hides from London.

Traditionally "Tanner Street" has been the home of the tanning community of Faversham. "The fellmongers3 building was about 30 or 40 ft square and three stories tall, skins were steeped in the adjacent Stonebridge Pond.4 It had all prerequisites necessary for the trade - running water, outskirts of town (to avoid the smell), and easy access to the cattle market and quays of Faversham.

It is difficult for us to appreciate the importance of leather in the 16th and 17th centuries, but without it military and civilian enterprise would have come to a halt. It was used to make caps, jerkins, boots, saddles, harness, bottles, buckets, parts of bows and ships. The embryonic gunpowder trade in Faversham covered the floors of punts and magazines with it, and even the Faversham Port Books are written on it.

In 1580 John Trowtes (senior) handled most of the cargoes in leather. The export of leather in the 16th century was prohibited, but with ever-increasing warfare on the continent the Faversham smuggler saw lucrative possibilities. Leather had been smuggled from Faversham from the 1540s.5 William Bringbourne, as we have seen, had purchased a parcel of hides at Bartholomew Fair and had it loaded on board Robert Berye's ship bound for Faversham. Before the consignment could be shipped, Bringbourne had to enter into a £40 bond agreeing not to carry the hides overseas. Nevertheless he conveyed them into a Dieppe ship anchored at East Swale (just off Faversham) and showed the Customer at Faversham six deker6 of country leather in his storehouse and so got a certificate to discharge his bond. The original purchase was of 20 dicker so Bringbourne must have altered his cocket7 or have bought a substitute document. Unless the customs had information, there would be no reason to suspect him of smuggling.

John Trowtes (senior) had employed as an able seaman, a Thomas Smythe, in 1586.8 A Thomas Smythe appears in a sworn deposition given to the Crown in 1594 by the searcher at Rye about smugglers in leather to Dieppe.

> "John Pryck of Rye sayler, aged 30 years or thereabouts, swore deposeth and sayeth as followeth. That about Shrostyd was twelve moneth Richard Sadler and a man of John Scrughams brought down Appled Water certain Lether (as calve skyns and wombe and hydes) And this deponent and others were syred to help put the same aborde by Thomas Smythe to be transported into France. And he and his partners dyd putt aborde Symons his boate 11 doz. parcell thereof and when he and his fellowes had the rest in their boate to be put aborde a frenchman, Mr Pryant and the other officers of the custome house came out in a boat and pursued them and seased them and all the rest of the said leather."9

Both Faversham and Rye were involved in smuggling leather, usually to Dieppe. By 1593 the problem had grown to such an extent that Lord Burleigh sent one of his secret agents, a Walter Orme, across to Dieppe to report on the smugglers and their methods.10

Walter Orme wrote back to Lord Burleigh twice in November in 1593, the first time to answer a request for a list of smugglers' names; he couldn't provide it, "as the transporters of the leather and other prohibited wares out of England do not show themselves in the taking up or selling of the same and the shipmasters do not make any entry in the Custom House." Orme went on to say: "not long since he did send the names of some of the transporters and their factors, some of whom have within these six days received out of a hoy of Faversham upwards of £80 worth of leather, John Collwell was master and the leather was received by Prymt, Allison and Morrant a widow."

There isn't a John Collwell registered as a master at Faversham, but John Trowtes, senior, owned the hoy

Imports and exports of leather to and from London

	1580	1597/8	1628/9	1699/1700	1741
Hidefells	240 pelts	12950 skins	53578 skins	20 bags dressed 30 tanned kids	22 bags of dressed skins 95 butts of leather
Leather	540 hides	8 Dicker 1 load bullocks horns	2000 bullock horns	hog skins, calve skins, cony skins, horsehair, doe skins	
Tallow	2000 weight tallow	6 barrel (12cwt)	9 barrels	12 barrels	

Source: PRO: E190 series.

Trinity, which appears not to have been trading, his ship-master was in 1586 Robert Collwell and the able seaman was Thomas Smythe. Walter Orme goes on to say: "two shipments of leather, valued at £200 by Orme hadd been brought over by a man named Thomas Smythe, who also took tallow and hides to Calais .... By the great quantity of leather from Rye and other ports, it appears that some of her Majesty's officers make a living by permitting such prohibited wares to pass out of the Realm."11

Rye town was certainly the main offender, but a means of escaping detection was to employ a "back exit", with access to water transport. Faversham was used as that back exit, and so wool and leather running proceeded via Faversham Creek. Smuggling on the Dieppe run reached a peak in 1594. Military campaigns in north-west France had denuded the country of livestock. Wool and leather were at a premium. Walter Orme estimated that £10,000 worth of contraband was brought into Dieppe in a year, usually without hindrance, although Orme recounts an incident when a smuggler lost a cargo worth £300 to a French pirate.

Thomas Smythe, as we have seen, was caught by the customs officer at Rye, a Mr Pryant, but history doesn't record what happened to Smythe. The usual punishment would be to lose a hand, but Smythe had powerful friends, and in the Faversham Borough records of September 6th 1564 "a area of the key of Faversham aforesaid, and also one messuage to the same messuages adjacent lying and being in the West Strete there to the land of Thomas Smythe." Thomas Smythe obviously wasn't just an "able seaman" after all. John Trowtes and his descendants also prospered and became leading citizens in the town of Faversham in the 17th century.

Apart from smuggling, bona-fide cargoes of leather continued to be exported and imported to Faversham.

In 1580 240 pelts were exported to London and 540 raw hides were imported from London for processing in the tanneries in Faversham, Chilham and Canterbury.

By 1597/8 the import and export of raw hides had either ceased or no longer figured in the Port Book returns. However almost 13,000 sheep and lamb skins12 were being exported to London by William Spencer, William Elom, and John Castlock (senior). In 1628/9 over 53,000 lamb and sheep skins were being exported to London along with 2,000 bullocks horns by John Trowtes, Edward Hales, Robert Greenstreet and John Spencer of Faversham.

By 1699/70 the Port Book entries no longer number the amount of skins passing through the port but do itemise the various types - "tanned kid, cony skins, hogskins, doe and calve skins." Tallow, the ubiquitous rendered animal fat used as a lubricant and waterproofer, both for agricultural and maritime usage, had by 1699 crept up to 12 barrels exported to London. It seems from the Port Book entries that tallow was packed in barrels of 2 cwt.

By 1741, some 22 bags of dressed leather and 95 butts13 of leather were exported to London. It is apparent by the declining trend of the figures that leather was more often than not produced locally for local needs, and London, with the expansion of its own trades, needed all the leather it could produce.

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1 OED: A dicker equals 10 skins, a last of leather equals 20 dickers. A kip (kyppes) (1) is the hide of a young or small beast (as a calf or lamb, or cattle of small breed) as used for leather; (2) A set or bundle of such hides containing a definite number Pelts are woolfells (Latin Pelles).
2 Certificate of loading.
3 Tanning.
4 CKS: Fa Ac/3.
5 Privy Council Register 1540-1570.
6 One deker or dicker equals 10 skins, a last of leather equals 20 dickers.
7 His custom certificate of loading.
8 Cal S.P. Dom 1581-90 p.388 P/SP 12/198/no 47.
9 Calendar of State Papers, Domestic 7-17 Nov. 1593 and in Dell, 1965: 22.

10 Calendar of State Papers, Domestic 7-17 Nov. 1593.
11 Calendar of State Papers, Domestic 28 Nov. 1593.
12 Corei operate de ovibus et agnis. Opus in this instance is the skin of a sheep or goat with short wool on; the raw or undressed skin of a furbearing animal; a pelt.
13 A large cask carrying approximately 126 gallons.

Chapter 21 Wool

"Kent has long been famous for a fine breed of sheep called in the country, Romney Marsh sheep, but in Smithfield, where great numbers are sold every week, Kent Sheep. They are remarkable for producing a large fleece of very long fine wool" (John Boys, 1796).

Wool, as Willan rightly points out, was the foundation of the prosperity of medieval England and still of unsurpassed importance in the 17th and early 18th centuries. "Yet the movement of the raw material, as opposed to the organisation of the industry itself, has not received that attention which is essential for a full picture of a trade which clothed the Englishman while he was alive and shrouded him in death" (Willan, 1938: 87).

Yet, among other agricultural products the trade in wool was perhaps the most important. Acts were passed prohibiting the export of wool in 1661 and 1665, but there was much smuggling with France, especially in raw wool from Romney Marsh. However, wool from sheep on the north Kent marshes was exported from Milton and particularly Faversham in considerable quantities.

The amount increased dramatically in the two decades at the end of the 17th century and for Faversham peaked in 1716, making Faversham the chief wool exporting port of England.

Most of this wool was sent to London, although Colchester received small amounts. But by 1735 Exeter, Plymouth, Colchester, Lyme and Ipswich were all receiving wool from Faversham.

The long wool used by the worsted manufacturers of Canterbury was from local sources but much combed wool was imported through Faversham, the chief port of Canter-

Total coastwise exports of raw wool (bags)

Faversham	Rochester	Milton	Sandwich	Dover
1662-3 (586)	-	1662-3 (152)	1665-6 (7)	1663-4 (153)
1675-6 (960)	1675-6 (183)	1675-6 (183)	1675-6 (954)	1675-6 (30)
1699-00 (2,499)	1699-1700 (156)	1699-00 (252)	1699-1700 (3)	1699-1700 (89)
1712-13 (1,714)	1714-15 (221)	1712-13 (253)	1712-13 (38)	1712-13 (110)

Source: PRO: CO 390/8.

An annual account of cwt bags of wool exported from Michaelmas 1714 to Michaelmas 1719

	1715	1716	1717	1718	1719
Faversham	7530	9891	8350	5406	6185
London	6183	6065	5947	4803	4713
Rochester	648	483	962	706	649
Sandwich	931	599	567	724	594
Deal	None	None	None	None	None
Dover	504	460	468	233	372
Rye	2514	2770	1111	1080	3301

Source: PRO: CO 390/8.

Faversham, wool put on board (cwt) 1735-1741

1735	5367 cwt	For London, 4287, Exeter 659, Ipswich 690.
1736	5101 cwt	For London 3,056, Exeter 1,142, Plymouth 293, Colchester 608.
1737	3532 cwt	For London 2,399, Exeter 783, Plymouth 349.
1738	4173 cwt	For London 3,506, Exeter 441, Colchester 226.
1739	4590 cwt	For London 2,850, Exeter 1,451, Colchester 68, Plymouth 199.
1740	4579 cwt	For London 3,658, Exeter 529, Colchester 217, Lymne 174.
1741	4287 cwt	For London 4,067, Exeter 219.

Source: PRO: T64/278.

bury. from London. The trade in combed wool peaked in the 1670s and Faversham handled about 700 bags a year.1 The coastwise shipping of wool was free from cocket, sufferance or transhire, but wool might be smuggled abroad and thus evade customs payments. For this reason bonds had to be deposited against the discharge of the cargo at an English port (Gras, 1918: 707).

These bonds were released upon presentation of certificates that the wool had been duly landed at an English port, but they were forfeited if no such certificate was forthcoming (Willan, 1938: 4). This system of control was regularised by an Act of 1662.2 Numerous bonds still survive, the earliest dating from the 16th century.3

> "Know all men by these presents that [name] of Faversham in the county of Kent is held and firmly bound to the sovereign Queen Elizabeth in ten pounds of good and legal money of England to be paid to the same sovereign queen or her successors or certain attorney to maing which payment indeed well and faithfully I bind myself my heirs, executors and administrators and by these presents sealed with my seal, given the twelfth day of January in the twenty fourth year of the reign of our said sovereign Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith and so forth.
>
> "The condition of this presente obligation is suche that if the abovebouden {name} assignes, parteners or servauntes or eny of them shall at eny tyme heerafter, ladde, shippe, transporte or carrye in eny his or their hoyes, crayers or vesselles eny kinde of corne or grayne out of the towne of Faversham aforesaide or out of the portes haven or creekes belonginge to the same, to eny other towne porte haven or creeke either within this realme of Inglonde or without that then if the saide {name} his assignes parteners and servauntes doe gyve notyce and knowldege theerof to the maior of faversham for the tyme beinge of the ladinge, shippinge, transportinge and carrieinge of the same corne and grayne and whoe is propre owner theereof, with the nomber and qualitie theereof And to what towne porte creeke haven or place the same is to be transported and carryed and by what auchthoritie And that before his or their departure out of the same towne porte haven or creeke And afterwardes doe not departe from thence with the same without the leve of the ame maior, This presente obligation to be voide, or elles it to stande in all his full strengthe and vertue."

These bonds are all the same in substance, and are to be found pinned to the folios of the Port Books as well as in the town records of Faversham. There are, however, 47 bundles containing many thousands of uncatalogued bonds (in the E209 series) at the Public Record Office.

It is unclear how the customs officials fixed the value of the bonds. Professor Nef indicates that shipmasters had to deposit bonds "equal, or more than equal, to the full amount of the export tax on their cargoes" (Nef, 1932: 236).

The Act of 1662 declared that masters of coasting ships were to take out a cocket "and become bound to the Kings Majesty with good Security in the value of the Goods Wares and Merchandizes aforesaid for delivery."4

The ratio between the amount of the bond and the value of the cargo is not always apparent, but Hoon indicates that security was taken "to the amount of the value of most goods" (Hoon, 1938: 265).

From the Faversham examples it seems the bond was in excess of the value of the cargo, and may reflect the concern the authorities felt about smuggling from this part of Kent. Certainly a quoted example, from Willan, of a cargo of 154 cwt 2 qtr 20lb of raw British wool, which left Lyme Regis for Southampton on March 9th 1743, was under bond of £500.5 Willan takes a figure of 19s 6d to 21s as the price of a tod of wool, valuing the cargo at about £400 (Willan, 1938: 7). In the Faversham example, a cargo of 156 cwt 4 qtr, again with a value of about £400, was bonded for

Bonds on wool exported from Faversham, 1739-1743

Name of Bondsman	Bond	Quantity of raw wool (cwt)
John Iden, John Argent	£1,000	250. 1.14
Nath. Perry, James Fagg	£200	85.3.7
John Iden, John Argent	£1,000	156.4.0
John Iden, John Argent	£1,000	213.1.0
James Sanders, John Argent	£1,000	261.3.4
James Sanders, John Argent	£1,000	254.2.1
Nat. Perry, James Fagg	£200	84.1.0
Nat. Perry, James Fagg	£200	129.0.0
James Sanders, John Argent	£1,000	270.1.7

Source: PRO T64/281.

£1,000, over twice the amount requested by the customs at Lyme Regis. It may be that too many Faversham ships were "forced overseas by stormy weather"6 and the bond reflected the true value of the wool if smuggled.

"Wool-running" was the term used to denote the illicit trade of exporting wool out of England in such a manner as to avoid paying export duties. One of the means was to employ a "back exit", so that Romney Marsh "wool running" proceeded via Faversham (Defoe, 1726: 150). Defoe comments, "nay, even the owling trade (so they call the clandestine exporting of wool) has seemed to be transposed from Romney Marsh to this coast (Faversham), and a great deal of it has been carried on between the mouth of the East Swale and the North Foreland" (Defoe, 1730: 112).

Jacob, Faversham's historian, hotly denies the accusations, protesting "the ridiculousness of the repeated assertion of this town being notorious for smuggling; yet as this history may possibly fall into the hands of some wholly unacquainted therewith, it is necessary to declare, that there is not one vessel belonging to it that is known to be employed in that iniquitous trade, or even suspected of it" (Jacob, 1774: 68).

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1 PRO: E190/646/14.
2 14 Car. II c.11, sec.8.
3 In the Centre of Kentish Studies archives there is a series of bonds which are very badly damaged by water/damp. Since the bonds, half of which are written in Latin, are in a standard form, it has been possible to reconstruct the formula by examining a number of bonds (CKS: Fa/JQr 6/2).
4 14 Car. II c.11. sec 8.
5 PRO: E190 920/8.
6 CKS: AC4/22.

Chapter 22 Wood and coal

"The coasting trade is most conveniently studied by commodities. Coal must come first" (Williams, N.J., 1988: 140).

The revolutionary growth of the coal industry in the late 16th and early 17th centuries can be explained by the deteriorating supply and rise in price of firing wood - billets, faggots and charcoal.

There was, predictably, an aversion for using coal as a fuel. Shakespeare made Master Seacole "a grubby dirty fellow". In 1578 Queen Elizabeth stayed away from London because of the "noysomme smells" of coal smoke.1

Even as late as 1641 the burning of seacoal was prohibited within a mile of any building in which the Royal Court resided.2 Pollution became so great that Dean Swift wrote, "the smoke of the city, which in winter is so thick, and cloudy enough to stifle men and beasts, so great an influence that it affects even the blossom and bloom of the flowers in the spring."3

After 1550 the price of firing wood, because of shortages, rose so rapidly that "the increase in the cost of any commodity in common use must have been almost without precedent in the history of western civilization" (Nef, 1932: 158). England had been denuded of timber. Defoe once remarked, "once a squirrel could travel from Bristol to York without once touching the ground" (Defoe, 1724: 21). By 1585, the famous Weald of Kent had "been greatly decayed and spoiled and will in short time be utterly consumed and wasted if some convenient remedy therein be not timely provided."4

The rapid replacement of coal for firewood began in Elizabeth's reign; and, the higher the price of timber rose, the greater became the distance from the pits at which the new fuel could be marketed, and, consequently, the larger the output of the collieries (Nef, 1932: 162).

In the Port Book of 1580, Faversham exported 447 loads of billettes, 13 loads of faggots, 54 loades of logges, 78 loads of coal (charcoal), 1 load of "clapboards"5, and 2 loads of "sawen" timber. The timber and coal trade was firmly in the hands of Robert Mawle, denizen of Faversham, who exported to London 432 loads of billettes6 and "logges" and 78 loads of coal. Other merchants itemised in the 1580 Port Book as exporting timber to London are: Thomas Cleeve, Nicholas Adie, Robert Mackett, Thomas Oliver, Abraham Snothe, Richard Tillman, William Trowtes, all traders of Faversham. The only London merchants itemised are Alan Clarcke for one cargo of 18 loads of billettes and William Monger for one cargo of 38 loads of billettes.

Other timber cargoes were two 10-loads "saween" timber both exported to London by Robert Mawle. There were two imports of coal from Newcastle upon Tyne; one on 26 June was the Dragon of London, burden 30 tons, William Dallmore, master of ship and cargo - some 20 chalder of coal - and the arrival on 11 July of the William of Newcastle, burden 30 tons, William Herryson, master of both ship and cargo, of 20 chalder7 of coal.

The two cargoes of coal from Newcastle were for consumption in and around Faversham, the 78 loads of coal exported by Robert Mawle were no doubt "char-coal". If wood was bought by a collier he normally "coaled" on the spot, presumably on account of the lighter weight for carriage. In the late 16th century George Herbert, a Kent ironmaster bought coppice as "top" wood at 8s a cord and dug pits there to coal it, "as is usual in such cases".8

Woodland remained in most areas around Faversham despite centuries of continuous clearance for tillage and pasture. The very word "Weald" in the name of the large tract of forest around Faversham is derived from the Germanic wald and specifically means "forest". Faversham district was itself heavily forested, Blean Forest still exists, an extension of the Weald, and the Blean Forest originally covered an area of Kent from Faversham to Chatham. This is now shown by the appearance of the rare Celtic word céto9 or caito meaning "forest" in at least four places in the Faversham area, Chatham itself, Chattenden, Chetney and the lost parish of Chetham near Ospringe (Hasted, 1798: 499). Wallenberg hesitates to accept this explanation on the ground that Celtic names are rare in Kent but Professor Everitt in "The making of the Agarian Landscape of Kent" proposes this important point.

Most wood in the Faversham district was coppice wood, saleable after 12 and 15 years, interspersed with carefully preserved older trees. The large timber would be used for house and ship building; even by 1580 there was a thriving ship building and repair yard at Faversham.10 Brushwood, branches and lopping were used for industrial fuel as well as young trees, often in the form of charcoal. The royal surveyor who bought 93 trees in Kent in 1571 intended to use the "tops and lops" for burning the Queen's bricks at Greenwich.11

The 16th and 17th centuries were the age of timber, metal was still used only in small amounts, and all tools, apart from the cutting edge and striking face, were of wood. Charcoal had to be mixed with saltpetre to prepare gunpowder, wood-ash made potash, essential for the production of soap, glass and saltpetre (Nef, 1932: 191).

Substantial quantities of wood and charcoal were being

consumed in making starch, baking bread, firing bricks and tiles, drying malt and hops, and building ships and houses. Three London brewers are said to have consumed 2,000 wagon loads of firewood in the year 1578, and, if the other brewers used as much, the annual consumption of wood for brewing in the city must have approached 20,000 wagon loads.12

In Faversham charcoal was one of the essential ingredients of gunpowder and produced by the controlled burning of carefully collected and then selected wood. The supply of suitable wood to make into charcoal was a constant problem to the gunpowder makers of Faversham. Alder, willow, dogwood or hazel were the preferred woods. At the Faversham Mills willow was the first choice, although hazel performed best at proof. The collected wood was stored in the wood-yard at Faversham Mills for up to at least two years to season it.

Up to the mid-18th century wood was processed in a beehive oven. The wood was stacked on end, the thinner wood placed first at the far end away from the "doorway" into the beehive, the next layer of wood would be thicker and so on until the beehive was full. The capacity of each oven was about 11/2 cord of common wood, each cord being 126 cubic feet, weighing 20-22 cwt.13 As soon as the oven was loaded a bushel sack of charcoal was distributed on top of the wood and lit with a shovelful of hot cinders. The "doorway" was sealed with daub and the charcoal burner controlled the burning by allowing air to enter through various airholes built into the brickwork. The charcoal burner tested the manufacture by the simple expedient of poking a stick into the beehive and by feel and experience gauged whether the wood had fully carbonised. The oven was left sealed for at least three days to cool before the contents were sieved into charcoal and ash. The average time of combustion was 24 hours, and 650 to 850 lb of charcoal would be produced from each burning (Patterson, 1995: 24).

This particular process had been used for many centuries, and at Blacklands just east of Faversham trial excavation on the 10-11th century foreshore of Ewell-fleet exposed a 2 acre by 50 cm layer of small charcoal left over from sieving. The bagged charcoal was undoubtedly shipped from Ewell-fleet to the London Markets.14 Manufacturing charcoal this way was fraught with difficulty. In October 1768 heavy rains flooded the charcoal pits and ruined charcoal intended for Faversham Mills and this, together with shortage of timber, added significantly to difficulties in gunpowder production at this time.15

Unfortunately at Faversham there wasn't a river system to transport timber down from the Weald; it had to be transported by wagon, and this led to even more problems of supply. In order to find suitable wood the master worker and his assistant were paid expenses at the rate of £0 10s a day. The master worker wrote to the Ordnance Board explaining that because of the state of the roads, travel was only possible in the summer months, and that with "extrodinary fatigue and trouble".16

In 1788 the decision was taken to advertise for charcoal and, acknowledging the difficulty of delivery by road, it was suggested coastal transport should be used:

> "Wanted supply of the following woods for making charcoal. viz - Black dog wood of any age, White Willow from 4 to 6 years growth. Alder from 6 to 11 years growth.
>
> "The rind or bark to be taken off and the wood delivered at the following places, before the 1st of August 1788.
>
> "At the Royal Powder Mills at Faversham, at any wharf or landing place upon the banks of the River Thames or Medway or in any harbour upon the coast of Essex, Kent, Sussex or Hampshire or in any place where cut within ten miles of any wharf or landing place, or the banks of the River Thames or Medway, or any harbour upon the coast as aforesaid, after having been barked, stacked with liberty to char the same in some place adjoining, during the months of June, July and August 1788.
>
> "Any person willing to contract for supplying wood as above, described, are desired to send proposals in writing to the office of Ordnance Westminster on or before the 1st day of February next".17

Detailed instructions were issued to wood-burners on how to process timber for coaling:

> "to be felled and flewed18 at the proper time next month, and as soon as flewed, you will from day to day cause such as fit to be brought to the powder mills as measures from one inch to a half in diameter without the bark. This wood to be stacked in the Pear Orchard, in rows not exceeding five feet in height, the rows to be at least four feet from the other, to admit a free circulation of air. All the wood which exceeds one inch and a half in diameter when flewed, is to be left in the woods, until the small wood is all brought home, when it is also to be brought to the mills and to be stacked in the lower Pear Orchard. Great care must be taken, to keep the woods of different growth and different age separate and to prevent confusion. Tallies must be fixed at each end of every row specifying the kind of wood contained therein."19

In 1788 a list was compiled of suppliers of wood to the Faversham mills.20

Messrs Young of Dorking also supplied charcoal by contract to Faversham and Waltham Abbey, while charcoal burners were sent from Faversham to char wood at Wye,

Bonds on wool exported from Faversham, 1739-1743

	Cords	Distance
Mr Daniels of Herne Hill about	40	4 miles
Mr Barber of Boughton Aluff	30	10 miles
Mr Maylam of Westwell	30	10 miles
Mr Millan of Hothfield	15	11 miles
Mr Bright of Hothfield	20	11 miles
Mr Munn of Sandhurst	150	11 miles
	285	
Wood that may be purchased -		
Mr Jemmet of Ashford	25	13 miles
Mr Ashbee of Chilham	25	7 miles
Mr Thomas Hilton of Sellinge	30	5 miles
Mr Ashbee of Little Chart	20	11 miles
Mr Munn of Ford Mill Street	15	11 miles
	115	

Imports of coal into the Port of London

Year	Period covered	Chaldrons	Tons
1591-2	Mich-Mich	26,068	34,757
1614-15	Mich-Mich	68,699	91,599
1637-8	Xmas-Xmas	106,934	142,579
1667-8	Midsummer-	198,159	264,212
1680-1	Mich-Mich	295,092	393,456
1699-1700	Mich-Mich	335,114	446,819

Source: Nef, 1932: 381.

Imports of coal into Kentish ports

	1598-99	1613-14	1633-34	1662-63	1675-76	1699-1700
Faversham	106	184	231	1,075	956	488
Sandwich	1,176	2,694	3,352	1,230	2,727	2,676
Dover	456	909	1,558	1,400	950	887
Milton	40	244	422	443	476	394
Total	1,778	3,847	5,563	4,148	5,109	4,445

Source: PRO: E190/646/1, 3, 8, 14. E190/650/7, 9, 16.

Coastwise shipments of coal from Newcastle 1682-3

London	270892	Rochester	2494
Kings Lynn	16546	Sandwich	1919
Southampton	4190	Deal	453
Ipswich	3436	Faversham	399
Hull	2090	Dover	276
Plymouth	268	Milton	113
Arundel	118	Rye	113
Scarborough	108	Folkestone	53

Source: E190 series (quantities in Newcastle chaldron).

Coastwise imports of coal from Newcastle

	1662-3	1675-76	1699-1700	1712-13
Rochester	–	2357	2473	3759
Milton	443	476	394	346
Faversham	1075	956	488	906
Sandwich	1230	2727	2676	2360
Dover	1400	950	887	1082

Source: E190 series (quantities in Newcastle chaldrons).

Coastwise shipments of coal from Newcastle 1730-31

London	477556	Rochester	2742
Kings Lynn	13403	Sandwich	2302
Southampton	3227	Dover	460
Ipswich	3189	Faversham	443
Hull	1892	Rye	244
Plymouth	939	Deal	170
Arundel	48	Milton	136
Scarborough	1182	Margate	62

Source: E190 series (quantities in Newcastle chaldron).

An account of coal received at Faversham, Whitstable and Herne

		Chaldron
1696	Coal from Newcastle in 8 colliers	412
1696	Coal from Sunderland in 3 colliers	170
1712	Coal, culne and cinder	1,942½
1713	Coal, culne and cinder	2,253¾
1735	Coal, Faversham only	2,051½
1755	Coal	7,714-9
1756	Coal	8,126-11-4

Source: Crow, 1854: 58.

Hythe and Charing.21

Kentish charcoal and faggots were still being supplied to London in the 18th century.

Shipments of faggots into London (1728)

Faversham	353
Sandwich	238
Rochester	135
Milton	132
Dover	65
Deal	34

Source: Maitland, 1760: 1263.

The "usual provision" for the Earl of Rutland's town house in London for one year included 30 tons of "seacole", 26 loads of Kentish faggots and 12,000 billets. In the Pepys household, coal had become by 1660 the common fuel for all purposes, though Kentish charcoal was burned, as a luxury, in the dining room and the bedroom, when it could be obtained.22 With the introduction of coal, came the building of chimneys and no longer was the smoke of the fire allowed to find its own escape.

Imports of coal into London can be gleaned from Nef's great work:

In comparison, the following chaldrons of coal were imported into Kent ports:

Imports of coal from Newcastle steadily increased, except in the wartime years of 1689-1713.

In 1676-80 separate port records were kept and about a third of all coal cargoes were landed at Whitstable.

Whitstable, as the nearest harbour to Canterbury, was described in 1673 as "the best port town (next to Faversham) for Canterbury" (Blome, 1673: 131). But only 13 cargoes of coal were landed there in 1676-80 whilst Faversham imported over a 100 cargoes of coal annually.

Fifty years later Defoe, in describing the trade of Canterbury, ignored Faversham and described how coal and timber were brought to the city via Sandwich and Fordwich with heavy goods from London being landed at Whitstable (Defoe, 1727: 119).

By 1730 London far outstripped all other ports for the import of coal, but the quantity of coal re-exported from London was negligible in comparison with the total of imports from the Tyne. These colliers did not put into Faversham because they were stormbound: they left Newcastle under certificate, intending to unload their cargo at Faversham.

Edward Crow's account of the customs at Faversham enable a closer look at quantities of coal landed. Interestingly, the amounts are far greater than indicated by the Port Books and may be a truer picture of cargoes landed.

The ships used in the collier trade were three-masted, square-rigged ships that passed down the coast "with topsails out, full-bunted and bows rustling" (Willan, 1938: 11). Defoe, with his eye for detail wrote, "an English ship will always endure more severity, load heavier, and reign (as the seamen call it) longer, than any foreign built ship whatever; the examples are to be seen every year, particularly in the Coal Trade, the loading of which is very heavy, and the ships swim deep in the water, by the eagerness of the masters to carry large burdens; and yet it is frequently known that a Newcastle or Ipswich built collier shall reign ... forty or fifty years" (Defoe, 1727: 32).

The average size of these colliers and cargoes into Faversham were:

1580		
From Newcastle	20 chalder	*Dragon of London*, burden 30 tons
From Newcastle	20 chalder	*William of Newcastle*, burden 30 tons
1598		
From Newcastle	42 cauldron	*Margarett of London*, burden 80 tons
1628		
From London	5 chalder	*Ann of Faversham*
From Newcastle	9 chalder	*Prosperous of Faversham*
From Newcastle	8 chalder	*Rebecca of Faversham*
From Newcastle	6 chalder	*Gift of Faversham*
From Sunderland	7 chalder	*Content of Milton*
From Newcastle	6 chalder	*Bell of Milton*
From Newcastle	35 chalder	*Katherine of Bridlington*
From Newcastle	13 chalder	*William and John of Margate*
From Newcastle	9 chalder	*Indevour of Harwich*
1679-80		
From Newcastle	19 chalder	*Mary of Faversham*
From Newcastle	32 chalder	*Constant Friend of Faversham*
From Newcastle	34 chalder	*Speedwell of Faversham*
From Newcastle	16 chalder	*Happy Return of Faversham*
From Sunderland	19 chalder	*Hopeful Adventurer of Faversham*
From Sunderland	19 chalder	*Owners Devout of Faversham*
1700		
From Newcastle	23 chaldron	*Owners Goodwill of Faversham*
From Newcastle	34 chaldron	*French Adventurer of Faversham*
From Sunderland	20 chaldron	*Goodwill of Faversham*
From Sunderland	30 chaldron	*Adventurer of Faversham*
From Sunderland	17 chaldron	*Francis and Mary of Faversham*
From Sunderland	30 chaldron	*Canterbury of Whitstable*

1722		
From Sunderland	34 chalder	*Philip and Sarah of Whitby*
From Sunderland	40 chalder	*Supply of Scareborough*
From Sunderland	8 chalder	*Elizabeth of Faversham*
From Sunderland	42 chalder	*Friends Goodwill of Faversham*
From Newcastle	34 chalder	*Hopewell of Margate*
1741		
From Sunderland	42 chaldron	*Constant John of Faversham*
From Sunderland	53 chaldron	*Lawrell of Whitby*
From Newcastle	16 chaldron	*Two Brothers of Faversham*
From Newcastle	40 chaldron	*Bonny Betty of Faversham*
1756		
From Sunderland	54 chaldron	*Hopewell of Sunderland*
From Sunderland	20 chaldron	*Richard and Ann of Faversham*
From Milford	15 chaldron	*Good Intent of Carmarthen*
From Newcastle	22 chaldron	*Success of Faversham*
From Sunderland	80 chaldron	*Lawrell of Whitby*
From Sunderland	52 chaldron	*Isebella of Sunderland*
1762		
From Newcastle	48 chaldron	*William and Ann of Sunderland*
From Sunderland	40 chaldron	*Margarett of Sunderland*
From Newcastle	19 chaldron	*Richard and Ann of Faversham*
From Sunderland	56 chaldron	*True Briton of Sunderland*
From Sunderland	45 chaldron	*Mary of Sunderland*
From Newcastle	45 chaldron	*Neptune of Faversham*

Source: E190 series.

The average coal cargo imported into Faversham in 1580 was 20 chalder, by 1598 it had risen to 42 tons, by 1679-80 it had fallen to 23 chalder. In 1700 it was 25 chaldron and by 1762 it had again risen to 42 chaldron. Most cargoes of coal were landed during the summer months, Faversham ships joining the huge fleet of colliers operating along the north-east coast. But whereas in 1629, London-bound colliers would have on board an average cargo of 139 tons (Willan, 1938: 11) Faversham registered ships would average only 8 chalder. The numbers of Faversham ships employed in this trade was minute and probably represented opportunistic voyages by Faversham shipmasters when trade was slack.

Ships of Kent employed in the Newcastle coal trade 1702-4

	Ships	Chaldrons of coal
Faversham	5	59
Dover	8	232
Broadstairs	12	241
Sandwich	17	554
Rochester	21	808
Margate	24	1,001
Ramsgate	42	2,147

It is impossible to unravel the financing of a coal voyage. In contrast to all other coastwise shipments recorded in the Port Books, coal cargoes were in almost every case entered as being the "adventure" of the shipmaster. At Faversham, ship-owning merchants outnumbered the independent masters, as the Faversham records indicate: "lately Mr Pratt, one of the coal merchants in order to evade such duty has taken his coals out of his vessel and carried them into his storehouses without the town meters inspecting the measure."23

Since 1635 the port of Faversham had appointed a "Common Water Meeter" to measure "all such coals, salt, onions and roots as should be sold or delivered out of any ship, hoy or other boat or vessel on the water."24 The fee to be paid was 3d "for every chaldron of coals measured and poured out." Christopher Pratt, coal merchant, advertised his wares in The Kentish Post, "This is to give Notice, that Christopher Pratt of Feversham, Coal Merchant, will sell good Newcastle Coals for £1 2s per Chaldron, till Michaelmas next. All Persons to pay ready Money, except constant customers. N.B. At the same place may be had good Quart and Pint Bottles25 of all sorts."26

However the best customer for coal in Faversham was the

Royal Gunpowder Mills. Coal was an essential requisite for any embryonic industrial process and gunpowder was no exception. Apart from the warming of personnel during the winter months, coal was used to process sulphur and dry gunpowder, which had been placed on racks in a drying room. The open fire was contained in a "gloom stove" set in the wall of an adjacent room.

By 1775 however some gunpowder mills at Faversham had switched to steam drying for obvious safety reasons: "these mills are enlarging and improving every day, more particularly in the act of drying the gunpowder, which is there effected by the means of a constant stream of hot water, conveyed under the copper frame whereon it is placed to dry" (Jacob, 1774: 97). Coal was ordered from local coal merchants at the "season of the year", normally the summer months.27

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1 S.P.D. Eliz. vol cxxvii, no.68.
2 S.P.D. 1635-6 p.161.
3 In Swift, Works, ed. Sir Walter Scott. vol. vii 1824 p.222.
4 27 Eliz., cap. 19.
5 Clapboards were fashioned into staves to make casks (Nef, 1966: 191).
6 Billettes were timber of equal length, 3 ft 4 ins, but not of equal thickness although usually they had a circumference of 71/2 ins. Quarters no doubt were billettes split into fours and fylloes (fillets) were possibly billettes reduced to kindling. Billettes are bound by austry rods, smaller than thatching rods, cut out of 5 ft long hazel, sold for 1/2d for a bundle of 100 (Ronald Edward Zupo, A Dictionary of English Weights and Measures, 1968).
7 In England the standard chalder of coal, first regulated in 1421 under Henry V, contained 32 bushels totalling 1 ton (Zupo). A "load" would be the definitive weight of some specified substance, usually 191/2 cwt; this was the weight at the Kings Beam at Faversham in 1590.
8 CKS: U593 A4.
9 c.t. modern Welsh "coed".
10 CKS: Fa, ACI/221.
11 PRO SP 18/17/38-41.
12 S.P.D. Eliz. vol. cxxvii no.68 and Nef. p.193.
13 A cord of wood as supplied to Faversham Mills stacked 3 ft high, 14 ft long and 3 ft wide, "exclusive of any brushwood upon it may be attached" (PRO Supp 5/66).
14 Swale Archaeological Survey, Interim Report, Blacklands, 1996.
15 PRO: WO 47/72 p.125.
16 PRO: Supp 5/115.
17 PRO: Supp 5/66 No.106.
18 OED: flewed, to strip off the skin or outer covering: Old Norse: flā to peel.
19 PRO: Supp 5/66 No.19.
20 PRO: Supp 5/113 No.311.
21 PRO: Supp. 5.115.
22 Pepys Diary, ed. H.B. Wheatley, 1893 vol.i p.32.
23 CKS: FaZB1 (19 September 1740).
24 CKS: FaZB1 p.226.
25 Glass bottles were imported from Newcastle as a part cargo along with the coal.
26 Kentish Post May 30th 1740.
27 In 1787 consumption of coal by the Ordnance Board at the Faversham Gunpower Mills was 360 chaldrons (PRO Supp 5/113 p.170 No.31).

Chapter 23 The grocery and wine trade

In the 1580 Port Books of Faversham1 there are 13 inbound cargoes itemised, carrying groceries, manufactured goods, clothing and wine. It is, as if "the general shop had been bodily transported on board ship for conveyance to a more profitable district" (Willan, 1938: 51).

Out of the thirteen grocery cargoes, six were carried in London registered ships, two in Whitstable ships and five in Faversham ships. All cargoes were from London.

London grocers owned seven of the cargoes, just over 50%; the other six show a wide spread of merchants and locality - Whitstable, Canterbury, Faversham and Ashford, which indicates, even in 1580, that the Faversham trade covered a wide area. The trade in groceries looks almost seasonal, most voyages being undertaken at the beginning or end of the year. As in the corn trade, masters of the vessels weren't the same throughout: Mary Anvild of London for instance, on her six voyages to Faversham, had two different Captains, a Thomas Swallowe and Richard Woodsall.

The richness and variety of goods imported from London for the delectation of the expanding merchant classes must have had an early beginning; certainly by 1570 the variety of goods shipped in by the Lyon of Faversham was impressive:

> "In the Lyon of Faversham, burden xij tons,2 John Standley of there, master, the same day [2nd November 1570] from London.
>
> "Of Richard Straunsham denizen merchant for nine tuns3 of vinegar, sixty gallons4 sallet5 oyle three maundes6 of six pounds purging cassia7 three pounds camphire8 five pounds scamonye9 ten pounds metridatu[m],10 four pounds castru[m]11 four pounds venyce turpentyne four pounds olei spyke12 fourteen pounds Alasacatrina, thirty pounds sal ammoniac,13 half a quarter of termerathe,14 eleven pounds masticke,15 six pounds quycke sylver, two pounds storax16 fifteen pounds squilla17 six pounds galbanum18 eleven pounds long pepper and six pounds mercurye sublimye by certificate of the date aforesaid."

The determination of quality, the product of centuries of experience, covers many of the principal commodities of this flourishing trade from London. In John Brown's The Marchants Avizo, a late 16th-century handbook, advice on many of the commodities is given. In the case of pepper, mace, nutmeg and ginger, "the largest and greatest are best"; for cloves, "the longest and smallest stems are best"; and for cinnamon "the largest and bright orenge colour, and which are quickest and pleasantest on the tong". Woad is difficult to judge before it is brought to the proof in boiling, and "men chuse it either by experience or good report of the soyles where it groweth, or els of the fatness of the ode [woad]." Oil is judged by its "sweetness, its clarity, and purity of colour, yellor or green." Salt may be known by the "brightness and whitness of its grains", but of wines,

> "it cannot be set downe by pen or words, the right knowledge of it, for it is perceivable only by the taste and favor, but the best sortes of wines are when they doe tast pleasant and strong withall, and when they drinke cleane and quicke in the pallet of the mouth, and when they are cleere and white hued if they be white wines, or of faire orient red, if they be red wines. But if they drinke weake, rouogh, foule, flat, inclining to egernesse, or long: they are not good" (Brown, 1580: 71).

Ship	Burden	Merchant	Date
Mary Anvild of London	15 tons	William Penyngton, London grocer	21 April 1580
Mary Anvild of London	15 tons	John Hyde, London grocer	26 April 1580
Mary Anvild of London	16 tons	William Penyngton, London grocer	13 May 1580
Ellen of Faversham	12 tons	Christopher Bridge of Canterbury	14 May 1580
Mary Anvild of London	15 tons	William Penyngton, London grocer	29 May 1580
Mary of Faversham	16 tons	George Austen of Asheforde and others	1st Sept. 1580
Ellen of Faversham	12 tons	Thomas Barling of Faversham and others	1st Sept. 1580
Marygold of Whitstable	16 tons	William Penyngton, London grocer	3 Sept. 1580
Mariegold of Whitstable	16 tons	John Rose of Whitstable	10 Sept. 1580
Mary Anvild of London	30 tons	Thomas Yong of Canterbury	15 Sept. 1580
Thomas of Faversham	16 tons	Robert Loggins of Faversham	24 Sept. 1580
Ellen of Faversham	12 tons	John Hyde, London grocer	27 Sept. 1580
Marie Anvild of London	16 tons	John Hyde, London grocer	12 Nov. 1580

Source: E190/641/13.

Faversham had become by the 16th century the centre for redistribution, by land, of a great variety of imported goods. By the end of the 16th century the traffic through Faversham was active in many directions. Imported victuals included walnuts and almonds, honey, figs, raisins, garlic and onions. Supplies of fish, fresh and salted, came from London and East Anglia: red and white herring, sardine, salmon, haddock, cod, mackerel, stockfish, coalfish, lamprey and sturgeon. Spices came with the wines: pepper and ginger, cinnamon, mace, cloves, saffron and cumin. Dyes included woad, brazil and alum. A rate was recorded for Russian tallow, Dutch butter, sugar, glass, treacle, tar and pitch, salt, slate, stone and lead, bark, paper, rags and crates, boxes, trusses and parcels according to size and value.19

In 1628, coastwise shipments from London to Faversham amounted to 16 cargoes:

London's coasting trade in 1628

Destination	No. of shipments
Ipswich	50
Hull	32
Colchester	30
Great Yarmouth	29
Kings Lynn	20
Newcastle	20
Faversham	16
Dover	11
Rochester	7
Sandwich	6

Source: E190 321/5 (Willan, 1938: 203).

By 1683 coastwise shipments from London to Faversham had risen to 43 cargoes:

Coastwise shipments outwards from London in the year ending Christmas 1683

Destination	No. of shipments
Newcastle	99
Hull	84
Great Yarmouth	62
Colchester	60
Ipswich	51
Faversham	43
Kings Lynn	37
Exeter	35
Rochester	35
Dover	16
Sandwich	11
Milton	2

Source: PRO: E190 & 120 series (Willan, 1938: 204).

There was no corresponding increase in London's trade with East Anglia. To some extent the growing London trade can be explained by the decline in trade between Kentish ports and the continent. London was acting as a transhipment port. Some of the cargoes imported in 1683 may have come direct to Faversham in 1628. It is clear that Kent was successful in satisfying part of London's growing demands for corn and other agricultural products. And that the increased wealth that this brought to the Faversham and Canterbury merchants was used for greater purchases of luxury items and household goods from the capital (Chalkin, 1965: 182).

A typical cargo destined for Whitstable, and consequently for Canterbury merchants, has been transcribed:

Coast Cocquettes Continued inwards20
Margin: London April 10 [1762]
April 16 1762

In the Endeavour of Whitstable Thomas Harnett master Edward Neave and Co.

Four firkins sixteen half firkins British soft sope once parcel of one hundred weight three quarters sugar six pounds blue six pounds rice three hampers of sugar of five hundred weight one ton of cheese twenty firkins butter one case of paper hangings one quarter pound of mace two pounds coffee and one pound of tea half a load and five parcels of houshold goods six parcells rolled iron one hamper of two dozen French Wine one box of Apothecary ware two parcels haberdashery ware one chest one box of apparell and books one bundle of woollen cloth one box of glass one box braisery two casks of sugar containing six hundred weight two casks of hatters dregs21 twenty seven sacks of hay seed four cases of chai[?ns] (Fig. 97).

One box of tin plates three hampers of empty bottles one bottle containing three gallons of shrub22 two crates of glass one box parcel of apothecary ware one basketts of oilmans ware eight cask Brittish Spirits containing four hundred and fifty gallons two barrels containing two hundred and thirty eight pounds of cutt Tobacco one barrel two boxes containing two hundred and twenty two pounds of snuff three trusses two parcels containing one hundred and sixty ells of Rusia and eighty ells of Germany and three hundred yards of British and Irish Linnen one cask of melosses six casks raysins containing six hundred weight and three casks one hogshead and four cases containing forty seven pouches forty eight slings forty eight waistbelts forty five shoulders belts six drums eighteen drums cases forty two match cases forty two Granadiers swords seven hundred and seventy seven caps twenty drumers hangers and five fifes for the use of the Earl of Pawmures Regment.

Not all cargoes are as mixed; the hoy Elizabeth of Whit-

stable was seized in London, on 21st July 1690 by the Admiralty Marshall and an inventory taken. All the cargo was cloth or clothing, over 375 separate bundles or items. A selection is itemised:

> "Thirty seven yards and one half of Broad Cloth
> Sixteen yards and one half thick kersey23
> Thirty petticoats of women and girls
> Twenty-four mens waistcoats, serge.
> Fourteen boys coats lined with linen
> Four Camberwicke hoods for women
> Fifty-five yards of mock baudekin.24
> Seven yards of shag.25
> Twenty boys cloaks.
> Ten pair black silk petticoats.
> Twenty-four yards taffeta.26
> Six yards of cattgutt.27

The numbers of cargoes of grocery and household goods shipped to Faversham and Whitstable are:

Grocery and household goods shipped from London to Faversham and Whitstable

1580	13 cargoes	(5 in Whitstable ships)
1597/8	16 cargoes	(7 in Whitstable ships)
1628/9	16 cargoes	(8 in Whitstable ships)
1645/6	28 cargoes	(19 in Whitstable ships)
1683/4	43 cargoes	(37 in Whitstable ships)
1699/1700	57 cargoes	(42 in Whitstable ships)
1740/41	62 cargoes	(52 in Whitstable ships)
1756	79 cargoes	(61 in Whitstable ships)

Source: PRO, E190 series.

Wine and grocery goods

Wine was always a high-value commodity and from the very beginning had attracted taxation. Some of the earliest documentation, from 1288, indicates a special tax of 4s per cask was levied by Edward I on these 13 ports -

Dover
Hull
Faversham
Hastings
Romney
Yarmouth
Sandwich
Bristol
St. Botulph
Rye
London
Keath
Southampton

Source: Simon, 1906: 144.

After the King, the Church, and the nobles, the largest consumers of wine were the townsmen. The mayor and corporation of Faversham appear to have often insisted, as a fine, on the payment of a certain number of casks of wine to themselves (Simon, 1906: 359).

In 1580, "111/2 tuns of Gascony wine, 19 hogshead of Gascony wine, 1 hogshead of vineger, 2 runlettes of wine, one pipe of sweet wine, 1 tun of sacke wine, 3 buttes of sweet wine, 2 tuns of ale and three barrels of beer" were imported into Faversham.

Wine was always transported in wooden tun casks (Fig. 98) and the tun, or the space it took up in a ship's hold, was the standard way of measuring the ship's carrying capacity. So the Ellen of Faversham, 12 tons burden, could carry 12 tons or 12 tun casks of wine if the need be.

As taxes were levied on tuns or casks carried, there was a tendency in the medieval and post-medieval period to enlarge the capacity of the wooden "tun" - more liquid carried for less taxation. It is extremely difficult without archaeological evidence to quantify the capacity of tun casks used to import wine into Faversham in the period under study. But hazel hoops and oak staves and ends have been recovered from the contemporary Studland Bay wreck (Ladle, 1994: 16) and no doubt, in the fullness of time, drawings and therefore capacity of tun casks will be made available for study. To show how different tun cask capacity can be, it is only necessary to look at an early 13th-century cask recovered from a well in Exeter, which had a capacity of 815 litres. Its height was estimated at 1.42 m and maximum diameter of about 0.94 m (Allan, 1984: 313).

Zupko estimates the capacity of a 15th-century wine tun at about 954 litres and an 18th-century tun cask preserved at the Coopers' Company headquarters at London has a capacity of 252 imperial gallons (1,145 litres).

Casks were normally used for carrying liquids, but their very water-tightness made them extremely useful for transporting other commodities (Fig. 98). We find in the "grocery cargoes" that "barrell pewters ware, two barrell figges, two tuns grocery wares in barrels, thirty barrels soap, one tun of grocerey in hogsheads, ten barrells butter, and one tun grocery and haberdashe in caske", indicate a certain lack of weather- and water-tightness on the part of the ship itself.

Casks were carried to the ship on wagons or strung on a beam between two porters - incidentally the same method used by Roman porters with amphora.28 On board ship the barrels were laid on their sides, end to end with the ends facing the stem and stern of the ship. The casks were secured in position with wooden wedges and with their

bungs uppermost. In times of disaster, when the need arose to lighten ship, a maul was kept handy, and used to stove in the casks and the liquid contents could be pumped over the side.

Other items in the "grocery cargoes" were "trusses" (Fig. 99).29 As the contemporary illustration shows, the bundles certainly were very well "trussed" up; the cord was knotted like a net at every crossover and tensioned with levers before knotting. The trussed bundles generally weighed 52lb and were equal to a 1/36 load of hay (Millard, 1960: 84).

They would contain a variety of goods, "twenty eight kerses"30 "three remnant frizeadoes".31 Others had "one piece32 of cottones, two frizes, and two frizeadores."33

Other items in the grocery cargoes were: "one dryfatt,34 habberdashe wares", "two cases glasse". A case was a statement of weight - ordinary glass was generally 11 cwt. Glass was packed in an "open" wooden cage, no doubt to check immediately on breakages. "Four fardelles35 containing six cottones", "Two bales36 woad". Woad is a blue dye-stuff prepared from the leaves of Isatis tinctoria after powdering and fermenting.

With mixed cargoes the possibility arose that ownership of casks, bales and trusses could be confused. Most cargo was by necessity branded or marked in paint with merchant's marks. Merchant's marks are to be found on the excavated casks from the Gdánsk W5 wreck (Litwin, 1985: 48) and in the Kent Port Books, including Faversham.

Wine casks were also painted with the merchant's trademark. A surviving document itemises five pipes37 of Portuguese wine confiscated by the customs in 1742.

What's happening here??????

Edward Crow, in his manuscript on the customs at Faversham notes: "In 1731, the first seizure of Genera spirits in the whole port was 41/2 gallons. The principal smuggling was in brandy and tea" (Crow, 1860: 55). He lists the amounts seized by the customs:

1731 -	seizure, Brandy	661¾ gallons
	seizure, Tea	2,043¼ lb
	seizure, Rum	6½ gallons
	seizure, Chocalate	14 lb
	seizure, Coffee	6¼ lb
1734	seizure, Brandy	590½ gallons
	seizure, Tea	1,985¼ lb
	seizure, Chocalate	33 lb

Crow went on to write: "the quantity increased for many years afterwards" (Crow, 1856: 56). Wine was imported increasingly from London as part of the "grocery cargoes". However, by 1700, wine imported from abroad had ceased and all the needs of the port were satisfied by London.

The variety of wine imported from London is impressive. The Port Books itemise: "Langadoc wine from Toulon; Peresomena [from Malaga], Canary wine, Spanish wine and sack, Muscatel, Portuguese, and Rhenish wine".38

This variety of choice is confirmed by adverts placed in The Kentish Post:

"John Appleby from the Kings Head Tavern in High Street, Canterbury, keeps the Cock Tavern without Westgate, and sells very neat dry Malaga, Mountain, Lisbon, Sherry and White Port Wines at 1s. 4d. per Quart, or Wholesale at 5s per Gal. Red Port at 1s. 6d. per Quart, or at 5s 4d per Gal. Canary at 1s 9d per Quart, or at 6s 6d per Gal. Also very neat French Wines, and all other sort of wines, at a very cheap rate. Likewise very fine Foreign Brandy and Rum at 3d per Quartern; and Brandy and Rum Punch at 1s 2d per Quart: Arrack Punch at 8s per Quart, and all other sorts of liquor sold.39

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1 PRO: E190/641/13.
2 Latin dol for dolium.
3 Tun: (a) a large cask; hence a measure of capacity for wine, etc. containing 252 gallons (Statutes II p.497, 1483-84). (b) a measure of weight equal to 2,240 lbs, i.e. 2 M. (2Ml make a tunne, is a "carte loade," Noumbre of Weyghtes p.13.
4 Gallandes.
5 Sallet = Salad. Olive oil of superior quality.
6 About 2 to 3 peck (cl.76 or c.2.64 dkl).
7 casafistula for cassia fistula.
8 Camphor.
9 Scammony: a gum-resin obtained from the tuberous roots of Convolvulus Scammonia used in medicine as a strong purgative; also the dried tuberous root from which the drug is prepared.
10 Metridate: obs. form Mithridate. (1) Old Pharmacy: A composition of many ingredients in the form of an electuary; regarded as a universal antidote or preservative against poison and infectious disease. Hence, any medicine to which similar powers were ascribed. (2) In full, mithridate mustard, a name from the plants Lepidium compestre and Thlaspi arvense, also bastard mithridate mustard: candytuft.
11 Latin Castru query castor: a reddish brown unctuous substance having a strong smell and nauseous bitter taste, obtained from two sacs in the inguinal region of the beaver; used in medicine and in perfumery; castoreum.
12 Lavender oil.
13 sal armoniacum: sal ammoniac.
14 Tumeric.
15 Mastik: the gum or resin exuding from the bark of Pistacia lentiscus and other trees (used in medicine).
16 Gum resin of tree styrax officinalis.
17 Latin: A bulb or root of the sea onion scilla maritima.
18 Latin: gum from a desert plant.
19 Town Porter Lists, Fav. Soc.
20 CKS: FA/Z17 f.5v.
21 OED: Dregs: The most worthless part or parts; the base or useless residue; the refuse or offscourings.
22 OED: shrub (Variant of SHRAB, or metathetic ad. Arab. shrub drink, draught). A prepared drink made with the juice of orange or lemon (or

other acid fruit), sugar, and rum (or other spirit). Often rum-shrub; also with other qualifying words indicating the ingredient which takes the place of the rum in drinks prepared in this way to which the name "shrub" is extended. 1747 Gentl. Mag. 468 A mixture of lemon juice and rum (shrub as they call it) may be carried in any quantity, as it will keep a long time.

23 Kersey: a coarse cloth originally from the village of Kersey in Suffolk.

24 Baudekin: a very rich silk woven with gold, now called brocade.

25 Shag: from Anglo-Saxon sceacga, denoting a rough hairy cloth with a velvet nap on one side.

26 Taffeta - a sort of thick silk (The Drapers Dictionary by William Beck. London. 1898).

27 PRO: HCA-4 No.78.

28 Two Roman amphora were recently located in a garden of Arden's House in Faversham. Research indicates they are Dressel type 2b from Spain (Parker, pers. corres.)

29 OED: A truss was a collection of things bound together in a bundle or a pack.

30 A kind of coarse narrow cloth, woven from long wood and usually ribbed, originally produced in Kersey in Suffolk.

31 Remnant was the end of a piece of goods, left over after the main portion has been used or sold, whilst frizeadore was an obsolete Spanish word meaning silk plush.

32 Piece was used to define cloth goods. Its length and breadth varied with the quality of fabric, its construction, its monetary value, and its place of origin or manufacture. Hence although the standard piece of cloth was 24 yards in length and 7 quarters (about 1.60 m) in breadth there were many exceptions.

33 PRO: E190/641/13, 641/1, 656/1.

34 OED: Dry-fat is a large vessel, i.e. cask, barrel, tub, box used to hold dry things.

35 OED: Fardell is a little pack, a parcel, a fourth part of anything.

36 A bale was a half-load for a mule or horse and weighed 185 lb (80-85 Kg) (Millard, 1960 p.175).

37 One pipe of Portuguese wine - quantity 134 gallons.

38 PRO: E190 series.

39 Kentish Post. April 7th, 1731.

Chapter 24 Timber

Although by the 18th century, the wealthier townsmen were building handsome brick houses for themselves, the poorer classes were living in houses hastily run up at minimum cost. It is not surprising that carpenters dominated the building trade (Whyman, 1974: 43).

One of the largest firms in Faversham, T.A. Whittle and Co., was founded in 1729 and by the end of the 18th century employed over 30 men. Formerly called Messrs Stone and Shepheard, their timber yard had a 300ft frontage to the creek, "where there is excellent wharfage", and shedding occupied an area of 4,000 sq. yards. Large stocks of both home-grown and foreign timber were held and the firm imported directly from the Baltic, Russia, Germany and Norway, being "always in a position to meet the demands of an unusually large trade."1 The company supplied builders and contractors over a circuit of 20 miles round Faversham and also carried on lath-rending, "supplying laths to a wide clientele in the building trade". Edward Crow itemised the cargoes of Baltic softwood, some imported for the company.

The first cargo recorded is in 1689.

1689
Imports, the year ending at Michaelmas. Three ships from Norway with 74 Hundred of Deals.

1703-4
January 23. 221 pieces of 3348ft fir timber were picked up at sea and brought to Faversham and valued at 3d per foot. Sold to Shepheards.

1706
April 1. Entry made of goods saved from a ship of and from Gottenburgh, stranded on the Isle of Sheppy. 32 Hundred of Deals, 35 masts, 4600 staves, 1000 balks. Sold to Shepheards.

1713
Imported by John Creed and Company from Norway 54 Hundred deals. 70 small spars and 160 pieces of lath wood. No deals had been imported between this date and 1689. And none before the latter. E. Crow.

By 1719 the import of timber from Norway had expanded, and again Edward Crow salved from the Customs Books an itemised account:

Crow continued: "deals formed the principal part of all these cargoes, there were a few oars and small balks and other articles, but not one piece of Timber" (Crow, 1856: 55). However, by the end of the 18th century timber was being imported from London. A typical entry is:

Wood brought coastwise to Faversham (1780)

May 20th	From London.	605 loads timber
	From London.	49 (hundreds) 3 (quarters) 2 (odds) Deals
	From London.	5 (hundreds) 1 (quarter) Deal ends

Deals imported into Faversham from Norway

		Hundreds	Quarters	Odds
1719	1 ship imported	40	-	-
1721	1 ship imported	22	2	-
1722	2 ships imported	43	1	28
1724	3 ships imported	54	-	15
1725	2 ships imported	101	1	20
1726	1 ship imported	46	0	29
1727	1 ship imported	43	0	9
1728	2 ships imported	88	1	21
1729	1 ship imported	40	2	-
1730	3 ships imported	92	-	16
1731	2 ships imported	79	1	5
1732	3 ships imported	124	-	8
1733	3 ships imported	129	3	10
1734	2 ships imported	78	1	19
1735	2 ships imported	77	-	12

Source: Edward Crow, 1856, unpublished manuscript. Fav. Lib.

From London.	14 (hundreds) battens
From London.	5 (hundreds)
	2 (quarters)
	6 (odds) spars
From London.	50 Fathom Lathwood

Source: Edward Crow, 1856: 59.

Trade in timber had turned full circle in the period under study, from the 16th century exports of timber to London, to the end of the 18th century, where prepared softwood was being imported to Faversham from London.

However, local oak timber was still being used in Faversham to build ships. Thomas Bennett, "that skilful and sound shipwright", occupied in 1774 a yard just downstream from Standard Quay where Edward Jacob had so praised him (Jacob, 1774: 62). This yard had been occupied by a Mr Tripp prior to 1720, and from 1720 by a John Payne for 30 years. He was followed by Thomas Bennett, then his son John and subsequently by Mark Redman; at his death by his son and then by J.M. Goldsmith. Edward Crow tells us that John Bennett built the largest ship at this yard, its burden being 120 tons (Crow, 1855: 27).

Thomas Bennett's friend, Edward Jacob, as well as writing a history of the town, had painted a map which now hangs in the Mayor's Parlour at the Town Hall in Faversham. Now on transparency, it is possible to view Thomas Bennett's yard of 1745-50 with its two sawpits, stacks of seasoning timber, slipways and building sheds (Fig. 100). The timber seen in Thomas Bennett's yard came from the forests owned by Lord Sondes, and in the Sondes papers at Rockingham Castle are itemised lists of oak supplied to Bennett in 1766:

> "Timbers sold to Thos. Bennett of Faversham 8th March 1766.
>
> Sold to Thos. Bennett of Faversham the following butts of oak timber now lying in Hazelwood in Throwley belonging to the Right Hon. Lord Sondes.
>
> 640 feet - 23 tons. Amounting in the whole to Sixty Pounds, seven shilling and sixpence which I promise to pay the Right Hon. Lord Sondes or his order at Midsummer next."2

Bennett also bought "14 Crooked Toppends of Oak out of Leas Court Timber Yard containing 40 foot at 15d per foot delivered to Faversham." So in this "very convenient yard, where vessels from upwards of one hundred tons burthen down to the oyster smack, are continually building, by that skillful and sound shipwright, Mr Thomas Bennett" the complete cycle of timber supply to Faversham's shipping was conducted right up to the 18th century (Jacob, 1774: 69).

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1 Industrial Great Britain Part II: A Commercial Review of Leading Firms selected from Important Towns of Many Countries. 1891 (Rochester Reference Library).
2 NRO, WR244.

Chapter 25 Hops

One of the earliest references to hops in the Faversham Port Books is in 1535 when John Bringborne, Mayor, imported "iij pokettis1 hoppes weighing vjc and a half a thousand of hooppes value iijs iijd." It would seem that quantities remained standard for some time as George Clinch in his book on English Hops says: "From the accounts published in old books on the subject it is evident that there were two kinds of receptacles used for the packing and marketing of hops, namely rough, common bags made of refuse hemp, fine, tow and hay intermixed, and calculated to contain 21/2 cwt of hops of inferior, or discoloured quality, hops of later picking; and pockets made of strong canvas, as above, with the capacity of 11/2 cwt for the finest and best flavoured hops."2

The quality of Kentish hops was renowned: "The hops growing there in East Kent are of a very fine rich quality, and if well managed are of a good colour. They are highly esteemed by the London brewers for their great strength, doing more execution in the copper than those of any other district" (Boys, 1796: 27).

The initial import of hops was from the Low Countries and Germany, and an Elizabethan merchant has left on record an account of foreign trade near the end of the 16th century. It was written for the guidance of merchants to instruct them in the "time and wares" suitable for different trades. Hops are itemised as being imported from Germany and the Low Countries: "hops, linen, brass and copper."3

But by 1580 hops had been established and were growing in quantities around Faversham and Canterbury. Most hop gardens of this period were between a half and two acres in size.4 The slow spread of hops in the 16th century was probably due to the high cost of "dressing" the hop-garden, the expense of buying hop-poles, two or three of which were placed around each plant, and the five or six-year wait between planting and cropping.

A typical early 16th-century inventory shows that the shipping of hops was some 12% of the total expenditure.5 The bigger farmers were dependent on the London market; smaller farmers no doubt used most of their crop for domestic consumption or sold it on to the embryonic breweries in Faversham town.

The inventories of Faversham tradesmen best illustrate the dual-economy of growing hops and owning a business. George Wildish, a Faversham butcher, kept bees and poultry, and owned "a slip of hop ground at Ospringe .... containing 200 hills".6 In 1732 he owned eight "old oust hair cloths" and five years later John Berry, a local cooper, cultivated two acres of hop grounds worth £24, while four bags of hops were itemised at £30.7

In Boughton, just outside Faversham, Andrew Shoulton, tilemaker, also farmed hops. His inventory dated 29th October 1753 itemises:

For the hop pouls one hoad land	£55
For the hop pouls in Boughton	£458

Kentish hops were ideal for brewing the new beer - porter. Benjamin Martin, in 1759, extolled the particular virtues of Kent hops: "Kentish hops are a coarser leaf, stronger than Farnham hops, tho' not so agreeable a Bitter, and are esteemed preferable for London Porter" (Martin, 1759: 149).

In 1580, 1 pocket of hops was shipped to London, but by 1597/8 the shipments had risen to over 200 pockets.9

October 1597	69 pockets
February 1598	8 pockets (15 cwt)
April 1598	12 pockets
June 1598	78 pockets
July 1598	4 pockets
September 1598	29 pockets

Source: E190/646/10 and E190/647/6

In 1601 hops were being exported to and from Flushing and Calais. "Of the Pellican of Flushinge burden 6 tons Jacobe Skelworthe master the 17 Julye (1601) from Flwshinge. Of the same master alien for 200 linges 400 pownd wayghte of Hollans chees, 400 of codfishe, 2 bagges of 400lb10 wayght of hoppes, 6 barrelles of whitte salte."11

However English hops were itemised as such in the Port Books: "In the Ellen of Faversham burden 16 tons Hugh Nethersole master 4th day of October towards London." "Of George Spier denizen for twenty and one pocketes Englyshe hoppes containing four thousand weight."12

In 1615 two London dealers contracted to take delivery of 21 bags of hops weighing nearly 2 tons. A price of 40 shillings a hundredweight was agreed and an extra allowance of 20 shillings was made for water transport to London from Faversham (Baker, 1985: 672). The contract had been for hops which were "sweet and merchantable", but the hops actually shipped were described by the purchasers as, "rotton and stinking hoppes and very old, beinge at the leasst seaven or eight years growth."13

Sending hops to London for sale could be a fraught business, but as with the shipment of corn, the Faversham hoymen rose to the challenge. They arranged the freightage with the grower, carried the hops and sold the hops on his

behalf to the factors. In May 1712, Mr Tappenden sold two bundles of hops on behalf of the grower, William Tylden, for £1 7s 3d.14

Hoymen prided themselves on the quality of service offered, and advertised regularly in The Kentish Post: "This is to give notice that Mark Pearce, hoymen, from Faversham, is removed to Hearn; and will carry hops, corn, goods and passengers to London every fortnight."15 The hoymen organised the cargoes and acted as bankers to their clients: "To Mr Tappenden, hoyman, for one year carrying hops from Faversham to London - £21. 0. 0.

To Mr Tappenden, hoyman, in full for a bill which he paid to James Philips £52 18s 0d."16

Water transport costs were kept to the minimum: "John Knowler of Whitstable, owner of the New Canterbury hoy, will begin, from the 18th day of September, to carry hops to London for eighteen pence the bag in coarse cloth, and pockets in fine cloth at twelve pence each."17 These were the standard rates at Faversham and Whitstable.

By 1628/9,18 Faversham exported only 31 bags of hops. However by 1699/1700 exports had risen to over 1,700 bags a year.

Exports of hops, 1699-1700

January	153 bags
February	32 bags
March	24 bags
April	13 bags
May	-
June	40 bags
July	(damaged entries)
August	124 bags (incomplete)
September	717 bags
October	475 bags
November	74 bags
December	54 bags

Source: PRO: E190 677/4 and 678/17.

In the nine recorded months of 1741 the total rose to over 2,680 bags. These figures illustrate the expansion of hop growing in the Canterbury and Faversham districts.

In 1741, over 12 hoys were carrying hops from north-east Kent, sailing fortnightly to Southwark; 7 of these hoys were registered at Faversham.19 In the four months September to December they carried over 1,400 bags.

Hops were carried as mixed cargoes:

> "15th January for London. (1741)20
> John of Faversham, master Walter Holmes, merchant Elizabeth Sharwood, cargo, 50 qtrs wheat, 30 qtrs barley, 11 qtrs oats, 18 bags of hops."

> "16th January for London (1741)
> Prosperous of Hearne, master William Cook, merchant William Amis, cargo, 60 qtrs wheat, 80 qtrs barley, 10 qtrs beans, 16 bags hops."

As part cargoes, hops would be offloaded at Southwark into the care of factors, some of whom had Canterbury origins and had moved to London as the business of middlemen expanded: "To be lett from Michaelmas next, the dwelling house, gardens and hop-oast, belonging to Mr Henry Linaker in Canterbury, who removes to the back side of the Bear Tavern on London Bridge, Southwark; where hop planters, etc., may apply to him for the sale of their hops by commission, after the first day of August 1726."21

Hop growers were kept fully informed of the expanding facilities at Southwark through adverts placed in The Kentish Post: "At Cotton's Wharf next to Bridge yard, Southwark: warehouses convenient for hops or other goods, insured from fire, which being close to the Thames-side, vessels may come in to unload or load every tide; where is constant attendance to receive in and deliver out."22

Foreign exports of hops from Kent were small; most English hop exports were from London. The hop trade from Sandwich and the Thanet ports was extremely small and

Hoys carrying hops to Southwark, 1741

Ship's name	Owner	Master
Endeavour of Whitstable	Joseph Tolbutt	Nathanial Legee
Success of Whitstable	James Fagg	Nathanial Perry
Ann of Whitstable	William Philpott	The same
Hopewell of Hearne	John Martin	Michael Martin
Three Brothers of Hearne	William Oliver	The same
Prosperous of Hearne	William Amis	William Cook
John of Faversham	Elizabeth Sharwood	Walter Holmes

Source: PRO: E190/718/23.

hardly any hops were exported from Dover and Deal.

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1 Pockettis according to A.M. Millard in "Some useful weights and measures found in the London Port Books (imports only) for certain years between 1588 and 1640" a typescript book on the PRO Round Room shelf, is a "sack" measure which equals 21/2 cwt. Other hop measures in Millard's typescript are: hops: 1 sack = 6 cwt; 1 poake = 4 cwt; 1 pack = 31/2 cwt, and 1 pocket, as discussed, equals 21/2 cwt.
2 Anthony Cronk, English Hops Glossary (1959) says of the Pocket: (1) package in the form of a sack made of stout twill, measuring when filled 6-7 feet high and 2 feet in diameter; (2) the quantity of hops contained in a pocket, average weight is between 11/2 and 13/4 hundred weight. The poke he gives as a sack of fairly loosely woven material, capable of containing 8-10 bushels of green hops.
3 "Elizabethan Imports" (Eng. Hist. Rev. XXIX: 515).
4 CKS: U814 P1 and U31 P3.
5 PRO: E134/11-12.
6 CKS: PRC 11/80/78.
7 CKS: PRC 11/81/71.
8 CKS: PRC 27/42/191.
9 PRO: E190/646/10 and E190/647/6.
10 The Libris abbreviation changed, where it is obviously weight and not money.
11 PRO: E19/647/8.
12 PRO: E190/646/10.
13 PRO: C2 James I Hil. 13/24.
14 CKS: U593 A2 "A Book of my expenses being Housekeeping. 1694. William Tylden".
15 Kentish Post: 3 Aug. 1728.
16 CKS: U498/A3. 1708-1714. Receipts and payments for the Right. Hon. Henry Lord Teynham.
17 Kentish Post, 16 September 1732.
18 PRO: E190/656/6.
19 The Port of Faversham in the technical sense of the word included Whitstable and Herne.
20 PRO: E190/719/23.
21 Kentish Post, 23 July 1726.
22 Kentish Post, 28 September 1743.

Chapter 26 Cheese and butter

"The soil and climate of this country being better adapted to the growth of corn than of grass, no cheese or butter is made for exportation, nor a sufficient quantity for the consumption of the inhabitants; the deficiency therefore, commerce supplies from other parts of the Kingdom" (John Boys, 1796).

In 1580, however, "commerce" was a fleet of small boats like the Marion of Southolde, burden 8 tons, descending on Faversham between 28 July and the last day of July loaded with "weys of cheese" and "barrelles of salted butter" to sell at the Lammas Fair, held for eight days commencing 1st August. This fair, although confirmed by charter by Henry VIII in 1540, had been held long before even the Domesday survey of 1080. In Saxon times, Faversham at the north and Newenden at the south of Kent were the only towns which possessed markets; and, except in open market, the sale of anything above the value of 20 pence was prohibited (Jacob, 1774: 29).

In 1580 there were 16 vessels sent to Lammas Fair:

Some 391 weys1 of cheese and butter were delivered and 49 barrels of salted butter. The average tonnage of the boats involved was 9 tons. Return cargoes to Suffolk were of soap, wheat, codfish, tallow, and some unsold cheese and butter. Interestingly, cargoes to London during and after the Fair also comprised cheese and butter bought by London merchants for London markets.

Boat	Burden	Cargo	Date of Arrival
Marion of Southolde	8 tons	10 barrels butter 20 weys of cheese	28 July
Primrose of Ipswich	16 tons	2000 coddes 10 weys of cheese 2 barrels butter	29 July
Alyce of Woodbredge	10 tons	20 weys of cheese 10 barrels butter	29 July
Bridgett of Southeolde	4 tons	16 weys of cheese 5 barrels butter	29 July
Maryefortune of Woodbredge	15 tons	30 weys of cheese and butter	29 July
Thomas of Woodbredge	8 tons	24 weys of cheese and butter	29 July
Repentaunce of Burneham	6 tons	15 weys of cheese barrels cheese and butter	29 July
Grace of Barling	10 tons	20 weys of cheese	29 July
Dorathy of Maldon	8 tons	15 weys of cheese and salted butter	29 July
John of Salcott	8 tons	30 weys of cheese and butter	29 July
Ellen of St Owzes	12 tons	25 weys of cheese barrels of butter	30 July
James of St Owzes	8 tons	20 weys of cheese	30 July
John of Burneham	10 tons	30 weys of cheese and salted butter	30 July
John of Burneham	10 tons	20 weys of cheese and salted butter	31 July
Dorathie of Burneham	6 tons	10 weys of cheese	31 July
John of Walberswicke	8 tons	26 weys of cheese 6 barrels of butter	29 July

Source: E190/041/13.

Coastal imports of butter

	1633-34	1662-63	1675-76	1699-1700
Faversham	746	-	1,520	1,208
Milton	120	147	-	14
Rochester	290	1,721	1,102	578
Sandwich	1,471	1,117	1,042	1,928
Dover	1,516	368	321	148

(All figures in firkins)

Coastal imports of cheese

	1598-99	1613-14	1633-34	1662-63	1675-76	1699-1700
Faversham	360	351	367	609	267	343
Milton	106	86	45	42	-	2
Rochester	450	486	107	-	340	624
Sandwich	282	241	10	220	132	25
Dover	35	196	72	164	112	122

Source: PRO: E190/646/1, 3, 8, 14, 16, E190/650/7, 8, 16, E190/651/7, E190/658/26.

All figures (where possible) in Suffolk weys of 256lb

Dairy produce comprised the largest quantity of imported foodstuffs into Kent. Faversham handled some Dutch cheese earlier in the 16th century:

> "Fraunces Johnson master of the Flingermouse of Flwshinge of vj tonnes in from Flwshinge
> Of the same master alien for iijc pound
> Wayte Hollans chees and ijc bunches onyons.2

In 1604-05 Faversham imported 3 tons of cheese from abroad, Sandwich 31 tons, and Rochester 1 ton, 151/2 cwt.3 By the Restoration the foreign trade in cheese had disappeared (Chalkin, 1965: 176). Rochester and Faversham were the biggest importers of English cheese from East Anglia and the port of London. East Anglia and particularly Suffolk was "above all a butter and cheese country".4 Faversham supplied Canterbury's cheese on account of its closeness to both London and East Anglia. The Suffolk ports of Aldeburgh, Woodbridge, and Ipswich supplied the Faversham fairs and markets.

For St Valentines Fair in February, 1629, Suffolk sent the following cargoes:5

By 1650 average annual imports amounted to nearly 800 firkins of butter and more than 5,000 cheeses. But, by the end of 1700, the only cheese and butter recorded in the Port Books is from London, and one cargo of 1,600 cheeses and 3 firkin of butter from Aldeburgh, but carried in a Faversham registered ship for London merchants. By 1740, all the cheese and butter was shipped in from London for St. Valentines Fair, some 10 tons of cheese and butter, spirits, raisins, oranges and tobacco.6

It may be, however, that small cargoes of cheese and butter from Suffolk were still sent to Faversham, but went unrecorded.

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1 Wey is old English for weight (Latin, waga). Zupko says that wey varied in size with the product as well as with the region. The OED quotes Jeake as saying of salt that it is reckoned by the hundred and a wey is one hundred of salt. Wey could also be about 40 bushels.
2 P120: E190/643/10.
3 PRO: E190/648/7, 9, 18, 658/10, 660/2.
4 T. Centleman, "Englands Way to Win Wealth", printed in Harleian Miscellany 3 (1809), 378-91. Published in Williams, 1988, The Maritime Trade of the East Anglian Ports, 161.
5 PRO: E190/656/6.
6 PRO: E190/718/23.

Chapter 27 Copperas and salt

Copperas was a noted Kentish product. In 1572,

> "the 17th daye of November in the 15 yere of the reygne of our soverigne ladye Elizabethe, one Croose of merchaunte man of London whyche he seyethe he nowe bye syghte, went aborde of the said Lewes harder hys barke, lyeing at the cryckes mouthe comyng in here to Faversham and hys men delyveryd and shypped into hym the said Abraham Snothe hys hoye 4 fattes of cooperes...."1

This is probably the first recorded instance of copperas being shipped by a merchant of London.

Copperas was used for sheep dressing. At Boxley in 1320, two pounds of "coperose" were bought for 6d for sheep ointment. In addition it was used for dyeing woollen cloth and hats black, for marking ink, tanning and dressing leather and supplying oil of vitriol and Spanish brown for painters (George, 1984: 169). Campbell states "the main purpose for which copperas was intended was the production of ink or black dyes, particularly for hats: there was indeed an Act of Parliament in 1565 which forbade the dyeing of black caps in any other way (Campbell, 1971: 9).

Daniel Colwall noted in 1677 that "the brightest of these stones they used for wheel-lock pistols and fuses" (Colwall, 1677: 1057). In the 17th century Dr Robert Plot attributed the scarcity of rats and moles on the island of Sheppey to the presence of copperas stones.2

The 17th century was a period of great activity in the industry. The stones were gathered from the foreshore of Whitstable and Sheppey, "by the neighbouring poor who collected the pyrites and copper stones from the shore and which they deposit in heaps on the beach at the rate of one shilling per bushel for their labour until a sufficient quantity is procured to load a vessel to take it away" (Boys, 1796: 66).

From the beach the stones were periodically loaded onto a hoy and dispatched to the copperas houses at Deptford and Queenborough.

In 1629 the following 127 tons of copperas was exported from Whitstable:

Thomas Golde and Edmond Rowse kept to a strict timetable, each taking turns to export bi-monthly.

However, copperas was not the only cargo shipped. On 17 December 1629, in the Gift of Whitstable 12 quarters of oats was also carried, and in 1765:

		Ship	**Merchant**
15 January	12 tons	*Gift of Whitstable*	Thomas Golde
17 February	12 tons	*Thomas of Whitstable*	Edmond Rowse
28 March	8 tons	*Thomas of Whitstable*	Edmond Rowse
6 April	10 tons	*Gift of Whitstable*	Thomas Golde
6 May	6 tons	*Thomas of Whitstable*	Edmond Rouse
16 July	10 tons	*Gift of Whitstable*	Thomas Golde
7 August	10 tons	*Thomas of Whitstable*	Edmond Rouse
September	22 tons	*Gift of Whitstable* (12 tons)	Thomas Golde
		Thomas of Whitstable (10 tons)	Edmond Rouse
14 October	12 tons	*Gift of Whitstable*	Thomas Golde
4 November	13 tons	*Thomas of Whitstable*	Edmond Rouse
17 December	12 tons	*Gift of Whitstable*	Thomas Golde

Source: PRO E190/656/6.

Coastal exports of copperas from north Kent ports

	1633-34	1662-63	1675-76	1699-1700
Faversham	127	425	114	403
Milton	-	180	148	158
Rochester	78	-	124	94

Source: PRO: E190 series (all figures in tons).

> "Where bound" - London 12 January 1765 In the John and William of Whitstable, John Hunt, Master,
>
> 15 tons of copperas, 20 quarters of wheat, 10 quarters of barley, 5 quarters of oats, 9 butts, 8 backs tanned leather, 1 box wound silk containing twelve pounds and a half load of household goods and apparell. William Philpott. Date of Return 14 Feb 1765."3

Comparable amounts shipped from other ports in Kent can be gleaned from the Port Books:

By 1700, over 400 tons were being exported from Whitstable, but in the nine months of 1741 only 170 tons were shipped, possibly the start of the decline of the industry. In 1775, Sarah Parker agreed to sell and deliver to Joseph Hurlock and Joseph Hagen of London all the copperas made by her at Whitstable for a term of seven years commencing January 1775, at the price of 4s 6d per cwt, not more than 120 tons of the best green copperas to be made in one year.

The copperas was to be shipped in casks containing not less than nine and not more than fourteen hundredweight to some "wharfplace or warehouse between Deptford Creek and London Bridge" (Goodsall, 1956: 157)

The "Pilot's Guide to the Thames" of 1828 shows two of the copperas houses (see also Fig. 91), presumably because they were good landmarks, while they are similarly marked on one of the charts illustrating "A Handbook for the Navigation of the Thames and Medway" published by R.H. Laurie in 1867.

The actual vats or tanks, triangular in shape, and located on the foreshore of Whitstable are shown in great detail on a map from Canterbury Cathedral Archives.4

The manufacture of copperas at Whitstable eventually went into decline in the late 18th century, possibly because of the high cost of investment and the discovery of better ways to make sulphuric acid (Campbell, 1971: 11).

Salt

"There are still traces, too, at Whitstable, of some very early salt pans, and the memory of this medieval industry for obtaining salt by evaporation of sea-water survives in the name of the neighbouring parish of Seasalter" (Collard, 1902: 36).

Numerous entries in the Domesday Book allude to a vigorous medieval salt working industry along both banks of the Swale (Darby, 1952: 370). Dr Bridbury in his account of salt-working is reasonably certain that in the English climate the evaporation was largely done by artificial means and not by the sun (Bridbury, 1955: 18).

The only excavated salt-works in the Faversham area, were investigated by Misses Thompson and Butcher in 1956 at Seasalter (Thompson, 1956: 44-65). They concluded that the salt was obtained from partial evaporation by the sun followed by boiling in earthenware or lead containers. The date of the earthenware is circa 13th century.

However, salt was not an important local industry in the period under study, and sizeable quantities had to be imported from France and Spain, from Newcastle, and from London, acting as a distributive centre (Chalkin, 1965: 155).

The only local salt-works of any significance were on the Isle of Grain, where in 1669 it was proposed to borrow £1,000 for further development. It already possessed 1,800 brine pans, lead cisterns and two brick storehouses.5

Adverts to promote local consumption can be found in The Kentish Post:

> "To be sold at the Salt-Works in the Isle of Grain, Good White Salt at One Pound Sixteen Shillings per Tun; where all Chapmen6 may be readily served. Also to be Sold at my House at Rochester Key at Two Pounds per Tun. Likewise at Maidstone in a cellar over-against the Market Cross on Market Days it will be Sold at Forty Two shillings per Tun. By Thomas Heming"7

The port and region of Faversham seem to have used salt primarily for domestic purposes. "Bay salt", from south-western France, had been imported into Faversham from the 16th century: "Of one ship of Flosshinge 29th day of October (1543). Of John Bringeborn denizen for xv weys8 of bay salt value £x.9

"Bay salt" was universally regarded, like "London beer", as a product of the finest quality: merchants realised that an inferior grade of salt - such as that made in the Firth of Forth - was no safe substitute where the preserving of meat and fish was concerned.

Not all bay salt came from the famed Baie of Bourgneuf in the Loire-Inférieure, south-west of Nantes. By the 16th century bay salt was being obtained from the many marshes along the Bay of Biscay and, even further south in the maritime provinces of Spain and Portugal (Twemlow, 1921: 214-218).

Much of the bay salt was exported to Yarmouth and Lynn via the Low Countries (Williams, 1988: 116). It was then re-exported to Faversham: "Of the Thomas of Alborowe10 burden 10 tons Thomas Hunt master, the same day from Alborowe, of the same master denizen for nine

weys of bay salt by certificate Torenes for the collector and Battell for the comptroller dated 8th April 1580".11 Or even direct from the Low Countries: "Of the Angell of Flwshinge burden 6 tons Thomas Anderson master the 6th of September (1601) from Flwshinge. Of the same master alien for 3 waye of baye sallte and 400 lbs wayghte of Hollans chees".12

Salt, in barrels and sacks, was also imported from London. By 1741, over 90 tons of salt were being imported annually from Newcastle, usually as a split load with coal: "In the Richard & Ann of Faversham, Isaac Dane Master. Two tons of salt, nineteen chaldrons of coal".13

As the 18th century came to a close, almost all the salt imported into Faversham and Whitstable came as a shared load from Newcastle or Sunderland.

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1 CKS: Fa/JQE1.f.7v.
2 Kent V.C.H. 1392 p.397.
3 CKS: Fa/Z17, 7.
4 C.C.A.: BB/241/1 and CKS:... See forthcoming excavation report, C.A.T. March 1997.
5 CKS: U214 E7/22
6 OED: a person who buys or sells; an intinerant dealer.
7 Kentish Post August, 1731.
8 Latin: waga, OE: weight, wey. Zupko says that wey varied in size with the product as well as the region.
9 PRO: E122 130/15.
10 Aldeburgh.
11 PRO: E190/641/13.
12 PRO: E190/647/8.
13 CKS: Fa/Z17.

Chapter 28 Gunpowder

Gunpowder was being made in Faversham from at least 1572: "Item paid the xviiijth daye to Thomas Gill for 68 lbs of gunpowder."1 Jacob, the 18th century historian of Faversham, wrote that: "It has continued to be made upon our stream, ever since Queen Elizabeth, if not before her time" (Jacob, 1774: 94). It was probably this mill that was owned, at least from 1650, by Daniel Judd, a Londoner who bought the Rochester capitular lands in the district from Parliament. He may have had a second mill operating by 1680, and producing over 40 barrels a week.

The Port Books indicate, certainly in time of war, an ever-expanding trade:

	Powder	Saltpetre
1651	1,046	4
1656	1,137	-
1663	807	-
1665	1,648	7
1667	92	-
1671	697	-
1676	196	-
1677	190	-
1678	-	-
1679	1	-
1685	1,415	-
1689	1,016	-
1692	571	-
1693	346	-
1694	1,054	65
1695	621	77
1696	870	27
1697	845	7
1698	1,629	40
1699	2,692	136

Source: PRO E190 series.

Apart from Daniel Judd, other gunpowder merchants were operating from Oare, just to the west of Faversham. Again details can be gleaned from the Port Books:

In December 1703 Francis Grueber2 shipped to London in the James of Faversham 110 barrels of gunpowder, 10 half-barrels and 28 full barrels of saltpetre. In January 1704 a further 80 barrels of gunpowder and 23 barrels of saltpetre

Gunpowder exports from Faversham to London

Date	Ship's name	Master	Merchant	Quantity
Dec. 24, 1699	*William & Mary*	John Dodson	Robert Baddenhope	222 barrels gunpowder
Jan. 12, 1700	*James*	Samuel Scoone	Francis Grueber	120 barrels gunpowder
Feb. 2, 1700	*James*	Samuel Scoone	Francis Grueber	17 barrels refined saltpetre 100 barrels gunpowder 10 barrels refined saltpetre
Mar. 11, 1700	*James*	Samuel Scoone	Francis Grueber	220 barrels gunpowder 20 barrels refined saltpetre
Mar. 18, 1700	*William & Mary*	John Dodson	Robert Baddenhope	260 barrels gunpowder
Mar. 20, 1700	*James*	Samuel Scoone	Francis Grueber	137 barrels gunpowder
June 10, 1700	*James*	Samuel Scoone	Francis Grueber	84 barrels gunpowder 55 barrels refined saltpetre
Aug. 24, 1700	*James*	Samuel Scoone	Francis Grueber	200 barrels gunpowder 6 barrels refined saltpetre
Sept. 22, 1700	*James*	Samuel Scoone	Francis Grueber	180 barrels gunpowder 20 barrels refined saltpetre
Sept. 30, 1700	*James*	Samuel Scoone	Francis Grueber	220 barrels gunpowder 13 barrels refined saltpetre
Nov. 3, 1700	*James*	Samuel Scoone	Francis Grueber	298 barrels gunpowder 12 barrels refined saltpetre
Dec. 6, 1700		John Dodson	Robert Baddenhope	160 barrels gunpowder

Source: PRO E190/678/17.

New gunpowder supplied to the Ordnance Office 1755-70				
Year	**Barrels delivered for proofing**	**Barrels successfully passed at proof**	**Percentage of total**	**Number of mills supplying gunpowder**
1755	8,750	6,582	75%	8
1756	17,975	14,941	83%	8
1757	14,303	11,849	83%	8-9
1758	16,198	13,758	85%	9
1759	19,695	15,363	78%	9
1760	18,522	16,302	88%	10
1761	16,443	14,631	89%	10
1762	25,783	21,902	85%	10
1763	5,411	3,903	72%	9
1764	1,319	973	74%	2
1765	4,179	3,759	90%	7
1766	10,982	9,558	87%	7
1767	9,859	7,292	74%	8
1768	9,312	6,734	72%	8
1769	7,338	6,402	87%	8
1770	3,066	1,719	56%	3

Average pass rate for gunpowder offered for proofing 75%

(PRO: WO 47/45 - 76 and WO 51/144 - 234).

were shipped to London in the James of Faversham and in March 170 barrels of gunpowder, 40 barrels of saltpetre. In April a further 265 barrels of gunpowder and 24 barrels of saltpetre were sent to London in the James and William and John of Faversham. In the first five months of 1704 Francis Grueber had shipped to London 630 barrels of gunpowder and 115 barrels of saltpetre.

The local gunpowder merchants also catered for local trade. In The Kentish Post of October 1732, the following advert appeared: "Thomas Poulter, of Oare, near Faversham Makes and sells all sorts of Gun-powder, by Wholesale and Retale: Where any Gentlemen may have double strong Gun-powder: Likewise Gentlemen, Grocers, and other may have Merchants Powder for common shooting; and all at very reasonable Rates."3

With the purchase of the Faversham works by the government in c.1759, the quantities of gunpowder shipped are better recorded:

Gunpowder barrel marking

Gunpowder barrels, like merchants' barrels, were marked with what seems at first glance a cryptic code, but a code which can with application be deciphered: "Order of the Comptroller, from the six half barrels of -

WHAT DO YOU WANT HERE?

and two half barrels of -

Four quarter barrels of the first and two quarter barrels of the second are to be ultimately mixed together and put into six quarter barrels containing 22 lb 8 oz in each, then the heads of the barrels are to be marked in white paint.

Each quarter barrel would have six white ash hoops, to prevent the bark of the hazel hoops from falling into the powder and making it full of "lights."4 Gunpowder was traditionally packed in oak barrels and kegs of various sizes, the 100 lb (44 kg) barrel being used as the standard size from the early 16th century. By the 18th century the Ordnance Board had decreed that a 100 lb barrel should in fact contain 90 lb of gunpowder - so to allow the grains freedom of movement and to prevent "caking". Barrels with the new measure were marked as such in white paint. The staves for the barrels were all of equal width, enabling repair in the field to broken or damaged barrels. All barrels containing gunpowder were tarred internally, obviously to try and stop the ingress of water.

Barrels were hooped in two ways, either with copper hoops or with hazel hoops:5

WHAT SHOULD GO HERE? TABLE OR FIGURE?

Indications are that the hazel-hooped barrels were for land use and the copper-hooped for sea service.

An 18th century English shipwreck, off Bermuda, has amongst its artifacts a riveted copper barrel hoop. It is stamped on the inside with three of the English govern-

ment's broad arrows. It was found complete about 25 yards from the site. Several casks were also found on the wreck. One had Roman numerals on the inside of the staves. They appeared in no sequential order and were inscribed with a race knife (Watts, 1955: 105).

Copper rivets were certainly used on English gunpowder barrels to secure the copper hoops:

> "Rivets - Copper for Powder Barrels, whole at 11d per lb, half at 11d per lb".
> Barrels - powder - whole
> Copper-hooped at 10s 2d each
> Barrels - powder - half
> Copper-hooped at 6s 8d each
> Hoops, pink,6 whole at 2s per bundle, half at 1s 8d per bundle.7

There were three sorts of gunpowder manufactured at Faversham Mills. "LG" in red paint on the barrel head denotes a very strong powder, "LG" in blue paint a powder that is of a uniform quality and very durable, "LG" in white paint, a powder that is generally stronger than the blue but more liable to grow dusty. Merchant's powder that had been dusted and restored is marked thus on the bottom of each barrel:

INSERT RS?

and this mark also on the bottom of each barrel means the powder has been stove dried on such a day and year as indicated.

The following table of distinguishing marks were used on Faversham Mill gunpowder barrels in 1786.8 All denote types of charcoal.

Large round wood	Small wood split
Mill cake	Small bush
Small round wood	Large brushwood with bark on
Large wood split	

All (except mill cake) denote types of charcoal.

Large grained powder	Large grain powder
Small grained powder	Small grain powder
Fine grained powder	Fine grain powder
This box denotes that the charcoaled wood is not dated.	This denotes dated wood.

(CKS: U269 0187/1 130-32).

In time of war, there was a high demand and full employment at the mills, but during peacetime, little demand was made on the mills apart from the reprocessing of gunpowder. Gunpowder could not be stockpiled, as other weapons, and there was, in peacetime, a continuous demand for reprocessed gunpowder. In 1749, government mills were kept busy reprocessing 6,150 barrels of unserviceable gunpowder, and a further 1,600 barrels were reprocessed and sold to the private trade (West, 1986: 190-91).

Source: PRO: Supp 5/111.

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1 CKS: Fa/FAC 3/1 & 2 (Chamberlain's Accounts).
2 An interesting aside indicating the Grueber family's Hueganot background is an advert in The Kentish Post of October 1726: "Lost the 30th September somewhere about Faversham, a gold seal belonging to a watch with a red stone let into it, the stamp on the stone is, a little Cupid with two dogs hunting two hares; with a motto round in French, Jamais deux; who ever shall bring the said gold seal to Mr Gruebers at Faversham shall have a Half a Guinea Reward. . (Kentish Post 1726 Canterbury Library Microfiche).
3 Kentish Post, Oct. 1732.
4 PRO: Supp 5/111 No.79.
5 PRO: Supp 5/111.
6 "pink" denotes copper metal.
7 PRO Supp 5/111.
8 CKS U269 0187/1 p.128-30. Regulations for the supply of His Majesties Navy with gunpowder. Office of Ordinance June 1780.

Chapter 29 Other cargoes

Numerous other commodities, in varying amounts, were exported or imported into the ports of Faversham. Fruit, for instance, because it is not a taxable commodity, only appears in the Port Books by default. Crow with his nose for statistical ephemera, jotted down in his notebook the following "gleanings":

> "1690, seized 10 cwt 2 qtr 4lb of iron wire for being illegally imported.
>
> 1691, Imported from Rotterdam, a ring of 10 cwt of iron wire, a few iron kettles and pots, with bullrushes and pantiles.
>
> 1698 to 1713, Imported quantities of bullrushes from Zuriczee a little holland and ticking and scarcely anything beside.
>
> 1705-6, January 5th, 6 cwt of Madder first imported and none after until 1724 which was 32 cwt 2 qtr 15lb 1719, First regular import of Swedish iron, 101/4 tons in a vessel with bullrushes and pantiles from Rotterdam.
>
> 1721, Apples first imported, two vessels from Dunkirk masters John Snoth and Christopher Pratt.1
>
> 1728, Imported 117,500 oranges.
>
> 1729, Imports, 202 cornfans, 2 cwt garden seed, 11/2 cwt onion seed, 11 cwt mustard seed" (Crow, 1856: 56).

John Boys, writing in 1796, says canary seed was grown locally and then, "sold to the seedmen in London who send it to all parts of Europe for feeding small birds, Radish seed, sold to London seedsmen who send it to all parts of the kingdom for retailing to the gardners." He also mentions, spinach seed, kidney beans, cress and white mustard, potatoes, woad, flax and madder.

The first cultivation of madder in Kent "upon a large scale took place in the vicinity of Faversham." John Boys also mentions, "the sorts of apples for domestic use are sold to fruiterers, who send them to London by the hoys, and to the north of England by the coal vessels, cherries are usually sold to the higlers who retail them on the seacoast of Kent by the sieve or basket, containing forty eight pounds each, or they are sent to London by water and consigned to the fruit factors" (Boys, 1796: 213).

Fruit was landed at Three Cranes Wharf and the chief retail markets were the Stocks and Covent Garden. Dr Willen notes the shipment of 2,240 bushels of fruit from Sandwich in 1627, whilst in the Faversham Port Books consulted, the earliest shipment of fruit recorded was in 1622-3, when 1 load and 2 cwt of fruit and 6 maunds2 and 3 casks of apples were loaded for London.

By 1651, fruit imports to London were:

Rochester	1,112 maunds, 500 bushels, 11 baskets, 3 casks, 2 chests, 1 load.
Milton	4 maunds.
Faversham	91½ maunds, 100 bushels.
Sandwich	201 maunds, 15 baskets, 4 barrels, 35 prickle.

The fruit was carried in small boats of 7 to 14 tons, using both sails and oars to get to the market as soon as possible. Such vessels would have claimed exemption from the tonnage duty of 1694.3

It is difficult to imagine Kent, as the country's premier fruit producing district, only sending such small amounts of fruit to the capital. How much this lack of figures can be applied to other commodities is not known, but suggests the need for caution in using Port Book information as statistics.

Soot, wood ash, marl (chalk) were also cargoes carried by Faversham hoys. All were used as a valuable dressing to the fields, Boys writes:

> "Soot is a valuable manure for a top dressing, it is usually purchased at London, or the neighbouring towns for 6d per bushel. Coal ashes are a good manure for the same purpose, but not so much used on account of their consumption in the manufacture of bricks, the price in the Metropolis is about 2d per bushel" (Boys, 1796: 27).

Marl, as Defoe writes, was exported to the farmers of Essex (Defoe, 1727: 54). In The Kentish Post adverts were placed which indicate a healthy, albeit unrecorded, trade in wood ashes:

> "Christopher Pratt of Faversham, seaman, will give five pence a Bushel for Kell or Tanners ashes, or sixpence a Bushel for Wood or Hop Bind Ashes, burnt upon a Hearth, clear of Rubbish, and delivered in to the Town Key of Faversham. At the same place any person may be furnished with Pottle Bottles at Two Pound a Gross; Quart at One Pound, One Shilling a Gross, and Pints at Sixteen Shillings a Gross."4

Christopher Pratt, coal merchant of Faversham, imported glass bottles as well as coal from Newcastle: "Elizabeth of Faversham, from Newcastle, 16 August 1723, Christopher Pratt, Master and Merchant, 8 chaldron of coal, six gross glass bottles."5

Ragstone, Caen stone, chalk blocks, wall flint, pantiles, bricks, slate and gravel were all building materials carried by the Faversham hoys in the period under study.

Beer, although appearing in all the town porters' lists of fees from the 15th century, does not appear in any quantity in the Port Books of the later period. It seems as if the burgeoning businesses of Shepheard and Rigdens Breweries did not export by sea. It is only up to the late 16th and early 17th centuries that exports of beer are recorded in the Port Books: "In the Joone of Feversham burden 12 tons Robert Snode master the 30 of November (1601) towards Ostende. Of Edwardd Myllson, denizen for 4 tonnes of beere and one barrell of Porke".6

Other merchants or brewers itemised in 1601 are: Philipe Row, alien, John Castlocke, (4 tons of beer). John Caslocke (5 tons of beer). John Lawrence, (6 tons of beer). William Pennye, (13 tons of beer). Christopher Scott (10 tons of beer). John Caslocke, (one pipe of beer).

As in the Roman and medieval periods, ragstone was an important export from the Maidstone area, carried by the river to London and most ports along the Kent coast. Stone, because of its weight, was carried by water. Sir Thomas Cheney had his Chilham castle demolished and the stones brought to Sheppey to build Shurland Manor in 1660, and the stone for Faversham Abbey had been brought from Normandy and returned by the same sea route (to Calais), when demolished in the mid-16th century. Pantiles and bricks were imported into Faversham from the Low Countries from 1580.7

In the 1572 Chamberlain's Accounts are:

> "Item paid to Harris for settinge of a hoye of beache from the nasse,8 paid the same day to four labourer that went withe him for ij dayes a peece vjs, viijs."

> "Item made frea thy yere John Fyssher, John Berrye, Abraham Snoode, John Rockyns, John Dyxson, Robert Rye, John Trowtes maryners for fettchynng of gravell from Shellnashe."9

In 1708, Mr Tappenden, hoyman, invoiced the Right Hon. Henry, Lord Teynham, for two hoy loads of building chalk at £24, and in 1717 three freights of wall flints were carried to the Island of Grain for £6. 10s 0d.

Some of the manufacturers of Canterbury, woollens, worsteds, silk and paper were exported by sea, but most seems to have gone by road (Andrews, 1954: 130).

Interesting items handled by the port of Faversham include, 64 falcons,10 church bells for Chilham,11 millstones,12 saddle trees,13 bags of goose feathers,14 bags of "cat guttes",15 old pewter,16 and one live bear and keeper!17

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1 Both Faversham denizens.
2 A fruiterer's maund contains 12 corn bushels.
3 Hargreave MS 222.
4 Kentish Post, Wednesday May 26th, 1726.
5 PRO: E190/700/14.
6 E190/647/8.
7 PRO: E190/641/1.
8 Shellness, the most easterly point on the Island of Sheppey.
9 C.K.S.: Fa/FAC 3/1.
10 PRO 190/641/3.
11 PRO 190/647/6.
12 PRO 190/646/6.
13 PRO 190/647/6.
14 PRO 190/647/6.
15 PRO 190/677/4.
16 PRO 190/656/6.
17 PRO 190/712/2.

Conclusion

"Detailed investigations into what was happening in at least half a dozen other regions are required before a comparative account of the trade of the outports can be given and their relationship to the trade of the capital can be satisfactorily ascertained" (Williams, 1988: 256).

Neville John Williams, in his seminal study of the maritime trade of the East Anglian ports, indicated, that contrary to academic perceptions, the outports of East Anglia did not suffer because of their proximity to London, but he was unable to speak for other outports. The same conclusions have now been reached for Faversham.

Generalisations made by otherwise competent historians on the state of the outports' trade will not always bear close examination. According to one, "London's trade increased enormously at the expense of other English ports on the south and east coasts whose vitality and strength were sapped by the expansion of the metropolis" (Ruddock, 1950: 470). According to another, the astounding growth of the capital imposed on the provincial ports "a struggle to preserve what they could of their dwindling prosperity" (Bindoff, 1950: 69). Williams comments, "How little the East Anglian ports deserve such verdicts is already apparent" (Williams, 1988: 257). And yet, Williams in citing the case of Southampton, says "catastrophic commercial decline ensued"; and Southampton did not recover until the coming of the railways, "and to a lesser extent the Cinque Ports experienced a fate similar to Southampton" (Williams, 1988: 259).

For Faversham (a member of the Cinque Ports) nothing could be further from the truth. The maritime prosperity, vitality and strength Williams found in the East Anglian ports was equalled, if not bettered, by the port of Faversham. Time and time again, throughout the period under study, Faversham rose through the ranks to become the premier port in England in trading in a particular commodity.

In 1683 London imported some 316 cargoes from Faversham, more than any other port in England (apart from coal from Newcastle). In 1728, Faversham was (with Ipswich), the main port sending cargoes to London. In the wool trade, Faversham was the premier trading port in the first half of the 18th century. In oysters, Faversham, out of all the oyster fisheries, had almost exclusive rights of selling the best of the crop to the Dutch, enabling the oyster fishermen to become millionaires.

How? Why did a small port without an integral river system manage to rise to such prominence? The reasons are numerous, some involved luck, and some design. And yet there were reasons, involving design, that were unique to Faversham.

The maritime apprentice system, for instance, whereby almost 60% of the maritime labour force were boys under 14 was significant. Local Acts had been passed ensuring that orphans and poor boys had by law to be apprenticed to the merchant fleet of Faversham (Crow, 1855: 33). The merchant fleet was also run on a shuttle service, with captains taking whatever ship was ready1. There was also an efficient Town Porter Office, whereby cargoes would be briskly dealt with and removed from the quays to the merchant's stores and warehouses. This, like a number of key activities in maritime Faversham, was a monopoly, but one whose efficiency was the concern of every ship owner and merchant. For the smooth running of berthing ships, a sluice was built very early on (to scour the harbour of mud), and lighters provided to tranship cargoes on low spring tides (when the quays would not have been accessible to deep-draught ships). "Hovellers" would have waited to tow the ships up Faversham Creek, and Cinque Port pilots would have boarded in the Downs (by Deal) to pilot the ships through the treacherous channels of the Thames Estuary.

Faversham, by good fortune, was located almost astride Watling Street, the premier road in the kingdom, and only seven miles from Canterbury, the largest city in the region. This, combined with the best farming land (in Kent) situated around Faversham, meant that an efficient and profitable "shuttle-service" evolved, with corn, wool, hops, and other agricultural produce being shipped to London for a profit. And with that profit, merchants purchased manufactured goods for sale in the district. This symbiotic trading pattern, of course, was infiltrated by London merchants. But a London merchants' dreams and aspirations were to buy a title or country estate, and what better way to fund the new lifestyle than having a successful trading business with an outport. But there were also in Kent dynastic families who had relations installed as middlemen in the great markets of London to look after their affairs.

The Faversham Oyster Company, reputedly one of the oldest companies in the world, was run as a monopoly, and not only that, a hereditary monopoly, with only sons of oystermen allowed to be apprentices. The profits that it was possible for the individual oyster fisherman to accrue were phenomenal - some £480 for an eight-hour stint. And if he chose to, by selling direct to the Dutch boats in the Swale (a practice that was forbidden), he could earn a large fortune in a very small time. Smuggling, the other illegal, but widely practised activity in Faversham, again made rich some of the earlier members of its maritime dynastic families.

Trading patterns changed and evolved in the period under study. Wood (billets, faggots and charcoal) was still being exported in some quantity to London in the 1580s, but with a deteriorating supply and a consequent rise in prices, coal began to take its place, and as coal replaced wood in London, the same pattern, albeit on a smaller scale, happened at Faversham. In 1580, 40 chaldron of coal was imported into Faversham from Newcastle, by 1598-99 some 160 chaldrons, and by 1756 the grand total for the Faversham ports was 8126 chaldrons 11 cwt 4lb. All this coal was for consumption by Faversham and the surrounding districts. Corn, Faversham's chief water-borne export, rose from 6,698 quarters in 1580 to 17,484 quarters in 1741. Faversham in the 17th/18th century handled the largest quantities of corn in Kent.

Hops, in the 1580 Port Book figured only once, but by 1650 exports had risen to just over 100 bags per year and by 1689-1701 exports had risen to over (on average) 1,750 bags per year, and in the nine recorded months of 1741 they totalled 2,862 bags2.

Raw wool, another important export, flourished in the period under study, and peaked in the late 17th century, until Faversham, with an average annual export of over 2,000 bags, became the chief wool exporting port of England.

Oysters, initially a natural crop found in the creeks west of Faversham, were no doubt exploited throughout the historical period. By 1702 the value of the oysters sold to the Dutch was £3,758 peaking to an all-time high in 1708 of £6,242. However, from 1708 the oyster industry went into a rapid and terminal decline caused by over-fishing. In 1719 for instance, only £426 worth of oysters were sold to the Dutch.

The only industrial exports of any magnitude were gunpowder and copperas. Copperas first appears in the Faversham Port Books from about 1580, whilst gunpowder was first made about the same time. Most copperas was shipped out from Whitstable - some 225 tons in 1656, but by 1741 the decline had set in and only 184 tons were exported3. Shipments of gunpowder were in excess of a thousand barrels a year, and refined saltpetre was also exported.

Faversham imported from London an annual average of 5 cargoes in the early 16th century, and some 79 cargoes by 17564. Nearly every cargo included a great variety of manufactured goods. It was, as Willan states, "as if the general shop had been bodily transported on board ship for conveyance to a more profitable district" (Willan, 1938: 51).

The merchant fleet of Faversham changed radically in both size and rig in the period under study. The tonnage had progressed from the 16th century average of 12 tons up to the 18th century average of 80 tons. There was also a progressive simplifying of the rig; the Lucy of 1573 was rigged as a three-masted ship, with "a main sail, a main-topsail, a foresail, a fore-topsail, a spritsail and a mizzen sail", and also included were "two bonnets and a drabler5." For flat calm or tidal work Lucy was also equipped with ten oars. By 1742 the Margaret was rigged as a single-masted cutter, "with her mast, bowsprit, boom and gaff, two yards, and a flying jib boom"6. With the simplifying of the rig came a consequent reduction in running costs in both rigging and sail replacement, and of course less crew were needed to man the ships.

The present work offers an in-depth portrait of the trade and operation of Faversham's port for 200 years.

By and large Faversham, in the period under study, showed a progressive expansion of trade, it was a centre of prosperity, driving a thriving coastal trade, and making a substantial contribution to the wealth of Kent. It also provided an important source of certain commodities for the city of London, thus playing its part in an integrated economic system that underpinned the expansion of the capital.

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1 PRO: E190 series.
2 PRO: E190 718/23.
3 PRO: E190 718/23.
4 PRO: E190 series.
5 CKS: Fa/JQ21.
6 PRO: HCA-4.