

ELIZABETHAN NAVAL ADMINISTRATION



Edited by
C.S. Knighton
and
David Loades

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PREFACE

This volume has been designed to stand alongside *The Navy of Edward VI and Mary I* (NRS, Vol. 157, 2011), with which it shares much common apparatus. Two substantial appendices containing details of all RN ships and most senior naval personnel mentioned in both volumes were printed in the first; and certain parts of the technical introduction printed there is repeated here.

Crown copyright material is used by permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, and the original State Papers were made available to us by the kind assistance of Mr A. H. Lawes. Papers at Hatfield House are printed by permission of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury. We are grateful to His Lordship's Librarian and Archivist, Mr R. H. Harcourt Williams, for aiding our research. Documents from the British Library, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, are included by permission of their several custodians, to whom we are indebted for access and guidance in our work. To the British Library, and to the Head of Modern Historical Manuscripts Dr F. Harris, we are in particular grateful for allowing us to print extracts from the Library's online catalogue as an appendix to our own work. Dr R. Lockett helpfully advised us about the provenance of items formerly in his care as Pepys Librarian. We are also appreciative of the research facilities provided by Cambridge University Library and the Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds. This volume has been produced alongside the Society's edition of the Pepys Library MS 'Fragments of Ancient English Shipwrighty', and we have tried to ensure that these two publications are mutually consistent and supportive. To this end we have been much assisted by Mr R. A. Barker, co-editor of 'Fragments', and by Dr S. L. Adams and Dr S. P. Rose, who have contributed essays respectively on Hawkins's 'Bargains' and nautical terminology for that volume. Dr J. D. Davies has kindly responded to our enquiries. We are obliged to Dr M. Hayward, Director of the AHRC Research Centre for Textile Conservation and Textile Studies, University of Southampton, for advice on fabrics. Miss A. Morgan, Archivist of the City of Plymouth, kindly helped us to identify some civic officials. We also thank Mr M. Birch of Castell Publishing, Miss J. Briody of Goole

Local Studies Library, Miss P. J. Martin, Senior Public Services Officer of the East Riding Archives and Local Studies Service, Miss J. Brookes at Selby Library, and Mrs A. J. L. Meadley for responding to our queries about Suffolk, Yorkshire and Dorset place-names.

Professor Loades is much obliged to the Trustees of the Leverhulme Foundation for the award of an Emeritus Fellowship, which assisted with the research expenses of this volume and our previous one.

ABBREVIATIONS

Books cited here and in the footnotes are published in London or by the issuing societies unless otherwise stated; where London is specified this is to distinguish the edition cited from an American issue with different pagination. Some briefer forms are used in the appendices, as specified in their respective head-notes.

Adams, 'Hawkins bargains'	S. Adams, 'The Hawkins bargains', forthcoming in <i>FAES</i>
Anderson	R. C. Anderson (comp.), <i>List of English Men-of-War, 1509–1649</i> (SNR Occasional Publication no. 7, 1959) [entry numbers used for identifying vessels not covered by Glasgow, 'List']
Andrews, <i>Last Voyage</i>	K. R. Andrews (ed.), <i>The Last Voyage of Drake and Hawkins</i> (Hakluyt Soc., 2nd ser. Vol. 142, 1972)
<i>APC</i>	J. R. Dasent (ed.) <i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i> , new ser. (1890–1907)
Beaven, <i>Aldermen</i>	A. B. Beaven, <i>The Aldermen of the City of London: from Henry III – 1908</i> (1908–13)
<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i> [continued as <i>Historical Research</i>]
BL	British Library
<i>BND</i>	J. B. Hattendorf et al. (eds), <i>British Naval Documents, 1204–1960</i> (NRS, Vol. 131, 1993)
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
<i>Cal. Scot.</i>	<i>Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots 1547–1603</i>
<i>Cat. PL</i>	C. S. Knighton (comp.). <i>Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, V, Manuscripts</i> , ii, <i>Modern</i> (Woodbridge, 1981)
<i>Cat. Rawl.</i>	G. D. Macray (comp.), <i>Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ, V, i, Viri Munificentissimi Ricardi Rawlinson ... complectens</i> (Oxford, 1862)

- Coleman, 'Artifice or Accident?' C. Coleman, 'Artifice or accident? The reorganization of the Exchequer of Receipt, c. 1554–1572', in C. Coleman and D. R. Starkey (eds), *Revolution Reassessed: Revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 163–98
- Corbett, *Spanish War* J. S. Corbett (ed.), *Papers Relating to the Navy during the Spanish War, 1585–1587* (NRS, Vol. II, 1898)
- CPR *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* [including continuation published by List & Index Soc. of which first vols were styled *Draft Calendar*]
- CSPD *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*
- CSPDE *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Edward VI*, revised edn (1992)
- CSPDM *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Mary I*, revised edn (1998)
- CSPF *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series* [continued as *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series*]
- Dickin, *Brightlingsea* E. P. Dickin, *A History of Brightlingsea: A Member of the Cinque Ports*, 2nd edn (Brightlingsea, 1939)
- Dietz, *Engl. Pub. Finance* F. C. Dietz, *English Public Finance 1558–1641* (American Historical Association, New York and London, 1932) [repr. as pt 2 of *English Public Finance 1485–1641* (1964)]
- Drake, *Hasted's Kent* H. F. Drake (ed.), *Hasted's History of Kent*, pt 1, *The Hundred of Blackheath* (1886) [only part of revised edn of E. Hasted, *A History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent* (orig. Canterbury, 1778–99); with (pp 40–43) extracts from Deptford parish registers]
- ECHR *Economic History Review*
- EHR *English Historical Review*
- Elton, *Tudor Revolution* G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government: A Study of Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1953)
- Elton, 'War in the Receipt' G. R. Elton, 'The Elizabethan Exchequer: war in the Receipt', originally in S. T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C. H. Williams (eds), *Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir*

- John Neale* (1961), pp. 213–48; repr. *Elton, Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government* (Cambridge, 1974–92), i, pp. 355–88
- EPNS English Place-Name Society
- EPNS, *Essex* P. H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Essex* (EPNS, XII, 1935)
- EPNS, *Glos.* A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire* (EPNS, XXXVIII–XLI, 1964–65)
- EPNS, *Surrey* J. E. B. Glover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, with A. Bonner, *The Place-Names of Surrey* (EPNS, XI, 1934)
- EPNS, *Sussex* A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, with J. E. B. Glover, *The Place-Names of Sussex* (EPNS, VII, 1930)
- EPNS, *Yorkshire* A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (EPNS, XXX–XXXVII, 1961–63)
- WR
- FAES R. A. Barker and C. S. Knighton (eds), *Fragments of Ancient English Shipwrightry* (NRS, forthcoming) [edition of PL 2820]
- GEC, *Baronetage* G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Baronetage* (Exeter, 1900–9)
- GEC, *Peerage* G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, ed. V. Gibbs, H. A. Doubleday, Lord Howard de Walden and P. W. Hammond (London and Stroud, 1910–98)
- Glasgow, ‘List’ T. Glasgow, jnr, ‘List of ships in the Royal Navy from 1539 to 1588 – the Navy from its infancy to the defeat of the Spanish Armada’, *MM*, LVI (1970), pp. 299–307
- Glasgow, ‘Maturing’ T. Glasgow, jnr, ‘Maturing of naval administration, 1556–1564’, *MM*, LVI (1970), pp. 3–23
- Glasgow, ‘Royal Navy’ T. Glasgow, jnr, ‘The Royal Navy at the start of the reign of Elizabeth’, *MM*, LI (1965), pp. 73–6
- Gunson, ‘Family of Gunson’ W. N. Gunson, ‘The family of Gunson or Gonson of London and Essex’, *Family History*, VIII, nos 46/47, new ser. nos 22/23 (1974), pp. 133–45
- Hakluyt R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Sir W. Raleigh (Glasgow, 1903–5)

- Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars* P. E. J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544–1604* (Basingstoke, 2003)
- HBC F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde (eds), *Handbook of British Chronology* (RHS Guides and Handbooks no. 2; 2nd edn, 1961)
- Heal, *Goldsmiths* A. Heal, *The London Goldsmiths, 1200–1800: A Record of the Names and Addresses of the Craftsmen, their Shop-signs and Trade-cards* (Cambridge, 1935; repr. Newton Abbot, 1972)
- Hist. Parl.* *The History of Parliament*. S. T. Bindoff, *The House of Commons, 1509–1558* (1982); P. W. Hasler, *The House of Commons, 1558–1603* (1981)
- HJ *The Historical Journal*
- HMC Historical Manuscripts Commission
- HMC, *Bath*, v G. Dyfnallt Owen (ed.), *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Bath, preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire*, v, *Talbot, Dudley and Devereux Papers, 1533–1659* (HMC 58, 1980)
- HMC, *Pepys* E. K. Purnell (ed.), *Report on the Pepys Manuscripts, preserved at Magdalene College, Cambridge* (HMC, 1911)
- HMC, *Salisbury* *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., etc., preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire* (HMC, 1883–1976)
- Inv. Hen. VIII* D. R. Starkey (ed.), *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: Society of Antiquaries MS 129 and British Library MS Harley 149. The Transcript* (1998)
- Kelsey, *Hawkins* H. Kelsey, *Sir John Hawkins: Queen Elizabeth's Slave Trader* (2003)
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- L&ASPF *List and Analysis of State Papers Foreign Series* (1964–) [continuation of *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series*]
- Laughton, *Armada* J. K. Laughton (ed.), *State Papers relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada, anno 1588* (NRS, Vols 1–2, 1894)

- Lewis, 'Armada Guns II' M. Lewis, 'Armada guns: a comparative study of English and Spanish armaments. Section II. The guns of the Queen's ships, 1569–99', *MM*, XXVIII (1942), pp. 104–7
- Loades, *Conspiracies* D. M. Loades, *Two Tudor Conspiracies* (Cambridge, 1965)
- Loades, *Tudor Navy* D. M. Loades, *The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political and Military History* (Aldershot, 1992)
- 'Lord Admiral Lisle' C. S. Knighton and D. M. Loades, 'Lord Admiral Lisle and the invasion of Scotland 1544', in S. P. Rose (ed.), *The Naval Miscellany VII* (NRS, Vol. 153, 2008), pp. 56–96
- LP* J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (eds), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* (1862–1932) [cited by entry number]
- McDermott, *Frobisher* J. McDermott, *Martin Frobisher: Elizabethan Privateer* (2001)
- Machyn, *Diary* J. G. Nichols (ed.), *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563* (Camden Soc. [1st ser.], XLII, 1848)
- MM* *The Mariner's Mirror*
- Monson, *Tracts* M. Oppenheim (ed.), *The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson* (NRS, Vols 22–3, 43, 45, 47, 1902–14)
- NEM* C. S. Knighton and D. Loades (eds), *The Navy of Edward VI and Mary I* (NRS, Vol. 157, 2011) [companion to the present volume]
- NRS Navy Records Society
- ODNB* H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [print edn periodically updated online]
- OED* *The Oxford English Dictionary*
- Oppenheim, *History* M. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in relation to the Navy from 1509 to 1660 with an Introduction treating of the preceding Period* (1896; repr. Aldershot, 1988)
- Oppenheim, *Naval Accounts Hen. VII* M. Oppenheim (ed.), *Naval Accounts and Inventories of the Reign of Henry VII, 1485–8 and 1495–7* (NRS, Vol. 8, 1896)

- Part. Friends* G. de la Bédoyère (ed.), *Particular Friends: The Correspondence of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn* (Woodbridge, 1997)
- Pepys, Diary* R. C. Latham and W. Matthews (eds), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (1970–83)
- Pepys, Navy White Book* R. C. Latham (ed.), *Samuel Pepys and the Second Dutch War: Pepys's Navy White Book and Brooke House Papers* (NRS, Vol. 133, 1995)
- Pett, Autobiography* W. G. Perrin (ed.), *The Autobiography of Phineas Pett* (NRS, Vol. 51, 1918)
- PL Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge
- Pollitt, 'Rationality and expedience' R. Pollitt, 'Rationality and expedience in the growth of Elizabethan naval administration', in R. W. Love, jnr (ed.), *Changing Interpretations and New Sources in Naval History: Papers from the Third United States Naval Academy Symposium* (New York and London, 1980), pp. 68–79
- RHS Royal Historical Society
- Rodger, *Safeguard* N. A. M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain 660–1649* (1997)
- Sainty, *Exchequer Officers* J. C. Sainty (comp.), *Officers of the Exchequer* (List & Index Soc., special series, no. 18, 1983)
- SNR Society for Nautical Research
- TCBS *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*
- TRP P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin (eds), *Tudor Royal Proclamations* (1969)
- TRHS *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
- Wallenberg, *Place-Names of Kent* J. K. Wallenberg, *The Place-Names of Kent* (Uppsala, 1934)
- Williamson, *Hawkins* (1927) J.A. Williamson, *Sir John Hawkins: The Time and the Man* (Oxford, 1927)

Manuscript Sources

All documents printed in this volume or cited in the footnotes are, except where otherwise stated, in the National Archives (formerly and now incorporating the Public Record Office); they are identified by the following departmental abbreviations:

AO 1	Auditors of the Imprest and Commissioners of Audit, Declared Accounts (in Rolls)
C 66	Chancery, Patent Rolls
E 351	Exchequer, Pipe Office, Declared Accounts (in Rolls)
E 404	Exchequer of Receipt, Warrants for Issues
PROB 11	Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Registered Wills
PSO 2	Privy Seal Office, Signet and other Warrants
SP 1	State Papers, Domestic, Henry VIII
SP 12	State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth I
SP 15	State Papers, Domestic, Addenda, Edward VI to James I

Other Repositories Cited by Abbreviation

Bodl. Bodleian Library, Oxford

PL Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge

Other Abbreviations and Symbols

d. died

wef with effect from

* Indicates MS annotations to the original documents, as more specifically explained in the head-notes of the items concerned.

Used before cross-reference between certain entries in **4** and **5**.

Some further abbreviations are applied locally.

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INTRODUCTION

Although Elizabeth's Navy has been a subject of enduring interest to scholars and the general public over the years, no general selection from the large body of surviving documents has previously been published. The Navy Records Society devoted its first two and another of its earliest volumes to the Armada and subsequent events of the Spanish war,¹ but the nearest to a comprehensive view of Elizabethan naval administration and finance came in the Society's centenary volume.² It is therefore appropriate to return to this field, particularly (but not exclusively) in the earlier years of the reign when there was no formal war. Between 1558 and 1585 the Navy was deployed variously in small-scale campaigns (such as those in Scotland in 1560, at Le Havre in 1563, and Smerwick in 1580), in the pursuit of pirates and in making occasional shows of force. Although the present work relates to such operations, its emphasis is primarily on the financial and administrative processes which supported them, covering such aspects as mustering, victualling and demobilisation as well as the repair and maintenance of the ships themselves. The general content is therefore closer to that of another of the Society's pioneering volumes, which presented similar though less detailed evidence from the reign of Henry VII.³

This collection is the second of two dealing with Tudor naval administration, the first of which was concerned with the Navy of Edward VI and Mary I, encompassing the first phase under the management instituted by Henry VIII at the end of his reign. The present volume opens with two foundation documents for the Elizabethan Navy – the first ship list, and the first ordinances for the Admiralty officers. The centrepiece is Benjamin Gonson's massive Quarter Book for 1562–63, which covers (among much else) the preparations for the Le Havre campaign. Although we have deliberately chosen not to make any additions to the Society's

¹J. K. Laughton (ed.), *State Papers Relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, anno 1588 (NRS, Vols 1–2, 1894). J. S. Corbett (ed.), *Papers Relating to the Navy during the Spanish War, 1585–1587* (NRS, Vol. 11, 1898).

²J. B. Hattendorf et al. (eds), *British Naval Documents, 1204–1960* (NRS, Vol. 131, 1993) [hereafter *BND*], Part II: 1485–1603, ed. N. A. M. Rodger and D. Loades.

³M. Oppenheim (ed.), *Naval Accounts and Inventories of the Reign of Henry VII, 1485–8 and 1495–7* (NRS, Vol. 8, 1896).

substantial dossier on the Armada,¹ the discovery of one hitherto unnoticed item from 1590–91 became the basis for a final section illustrating the organisation behind one of the post-Armada operations. The documents are drawn primarily from the Public Record Office, the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and those parts of Pepys's collection which eventually found their way into the Rawlinson MSS at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. We have also been able to reconstruct some of documents from the Cotton MSS in the British Library by using copies made for Pepys before the fire which wrecked the originals.²

Elizabeth inherited a war with France into which England had been drawn through Mary's marriage to Philip of Spain. The end of the Anglo-Spanish monarchy allowed the country to disengage from a conflict in which it had no independent aims, and which had gone badly. The consequences of Mary's French war nevertheless shaped the military and naval strategy of Elizabeth's early years, and in the longer term impacted even more significantly on English defence policy. The loss of Calais in January 1558 had removed the last English possession on the European mainland. It completed the long process by which the frontiers of the Crown's dominion withdrew from the middle of France to the English Channel. That seaway was thereafter a moat rather than a highway, and the Navy, which to the medieval kings had been primarily an agency for transporting themselves and their troops to the Continent, became a front-line defence force in its own right. It had been partly in recognition of this strategic evolution that Henry VIII had created his standing Navy and the infrastructure to sustain it: from the building of the Thames storehouses, so prominently featured below (1512–13), to the setting up of the independent naval department with whose records we are chiefly concerned, the Council for Marine Causes (1546).³ Over the same period

¹Laughton's collection has now been supplemented by S. Adams, 'The Armada correspondence in Cotton MSS Otho E VII and E IX', in M. Duffy (ed.), *The Naval Miscellany, Volume VI* (NRS, Vol. 146, 2003), pp. 37–92.

²The Cotton library was badly damaged by a fire at Ashburnham House, Westminster, on 23 October 1731. Many volumes lost the edges of each page, and further cropping was inevitable during conservation. Dr Adams's contribution to *Miscellany VI* drew attention to the value of the Pepysian copies in supplying the lost sections of Cotton texts.

³For the development of naval administration, see generally M. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in relation to the Navy from 1509 to 1660 with an Introduction treating of the preceding Period* (1896; repr. Aldershot, 1988); C. F. Richmond, 'English naval power in the fifteenth century', *History*, LII (1967), pp. 1–15; C. S. L. Davies, 'The administration of the Navy under Henry VIII: the origins of the Navy Board', *EHR*, LIII (1965), pp. 268–83; T. Glasgow, jnr, 'Maturing of naval administration, 1556–1564', *MM*, LVI, (1970), pp. 3–23; D. Loades, *The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political and Naval History* (Aldershot, 1992) and *The Making of the Elizabethan Navy: From the Solent to the Armada* (Woodbridge, 2009); N. A. M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Great Britain*, i, 660–1649 (1997).

the old pattern of dynastic warfare, characterised by complex treaties of brief duration and the chivalric overtones of aristocratic sport, was being replaced by ideological conflict focused on acceptance or rejection of papal authority over the church.¹ This had involved England as soon as Henry himself broke with Rome in the 1530s, and for the first time in centuries the country faced a real threat of assault on its shores. That moment arrived with the action which saw the loss of Henry's *Mary Rose* in July 1545. The prospect of invasion masquerading as crusade became more enduring when a specifically Protestant settlement was established in 1549 and, although the country was only briefly at war during Edward's reign, the Navy had been kept in repair and in commission. Although the invasion scare subsided with the accession of a Catholic ruler in 1553, Mary had done nothing to alter the priorities of the Marine Council established by her father. Her husband regarded the English Navy as a potential asset for his own wars, and had no desire to see it reduced or mothballed.² Eventually, in 1557, he managed to involve England in his own quarrel with France and the papacy. Meanwhile, at the start of that year, the Privy Council made important changes in the procedures of the Marine Council: overall responsibility was placed in the hands of the Lord Treasurer, with an ordinary or budget set at £14,000 a year, and the Surveyor-General of Victualling instructed to account separately.³ The ordinary was, however, put on hold for the duration of the war. Although peace negotiations were already under way when Mary died in November 1558, the Navy was in good condition and at full strength. About forty ships were in commission and several of them were still at sea on 17 November as the new reign began. Elizabeth was no more interested in ships than her sister had been, but she had very different priorities for ensuring her country's security. Mary had rested it on the Habsburg alliance, but Elizabeth was set on restoring England's independence. By reintroducing a Protestant church she exposed it to the same dangers which had existed before Mary's accession. This meant maintaining a strong Navy, and that was the advice given to the Queen unanimously by her Privy Council and her powerful secretary Sir William Cecil.

In March 1559, with the war obviously coming to an end (peace was signed at Cateau-Cambrésis in April) and all campaigning suspended, the

¹Cf. G. R. Elton, 'War and the English in the reign of Henry VIII', in L. Freedman et al. (eds), *War, Strategy and International Politics: Essays in Honour of Sir Michael Howard* (Oxford, 1992), p. 1 and sources cited in nn. 2–4.

²*CSPDM*, nos 230, 447. D. Loades, 'Philip II and the Government of England', in C. Cross et al. (eds), *Law and Government under the Tudors: Essays Presented to Sir Geoffrey Elton, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, on the Occasion of his Retirement* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 191–2.

³*APC 1556–8*, p. 39. *BND*, pp. 70–71. *NEM*, pp. 309–10.

Privy Council decided to take stock of the Navy, and to formulate some kind of a long-term policy for what was obviously going to be England's principal military arm for the foreseeable future. The result was 'The Book of Sea Causes', dated 24 March, which has been printed in the Society's centenary volume *British Naval Documents*.¹ The survey began by listing of 22² of the Queen's own ships 'meet to be kept and preserved' and a further 10 'very much worn' which could not continue in service without extensive repair. It was recommended that the latter should be sold as soon as peace was established; but for the present 'doubtful time' they remained on the active list. Several smaller royal vessels also existed though not named here. It was estimated that in time of war the Queen's ships could be supplemented by 45 hired merchantmen, and served by 20 small vessels as victuallers. Various policy statements then follow. In peacetime, Gillingham Water was 'the meetest harbour' for the Queen's ships; in time of war, after being 'perfectly grounded and rigged' in the Thames, the fleet should be sent to Portsmouth. Finally the shape of the future Navy is laid out. A total of 30 vessels was thought sufficient for the Queen to have of her own, and could be 'brought to this perfection'³ within five years. This notional fleet was rated by burthen (24 ships, from one of 800 tuns down to six of 200 tuns, with four barks of 60/80 tuns and two pinnaces of 40). The policy was never strictly adhered to, and seems not to have been formally adopted, but it provided basic guidance for the next 20 years. Between 1559 and 1580 over 20 ships of 100 tuns and more were either built, rebuilt or purchased, and a similar number of smaller vessels.⁴ Over the same time some fourteen large ships were taken out of service, and two were lost, the smaller ships showing a slightly higher turnover. The advent of Elizabeth therefore showed no sharp break with the past.

Although England did not officially go to war until 1585, there was no longer any such thing as complete peace – at least as far as the Navy was concerned. During the Scottish intervention of 1560 a squadron commanded by William Winter blockaded the Firth of Forth, and the Navy was heavily involved in the Le Havre campaign of 1562–63. In the first undertaking the

¹As no. 38 (pp. 62–70), from SP 12/3, no. 44 (*CSPD 1547–80*, p. 126).

²*BND* omits *Tiger* 160 tuns 120 men (after *Bull*). The total tonnage stated is 5,510 (not 1,510 as printed); the MS figures actually add to 5,470 because *Brigantine's* tonnage is given as 'nulla' in the tonnage column, but this is known from other sources to be 40, and with it included the MS total is correct. The total of men is correctly stated as 3,890 (not 3,880 as printed).

³Not 'their perfection' as *BND* (p. 69).

⁴T. Glasgow, Jr., 'List of ships in the Royal Navy from 1539 to 1588 – the Navy from its infancy to the defeat of the Spanish Armada', *MM*, LVI (1970), pp. 299–307 and (for ships mentioned in this volume) fuller details in *NEM*, Appendix 1 (pp. 455–523).

Navy played a vital role thwarting a French takeover in Scotland, an achievement well recognised by contemporaries and later commentators.¹ The operation is featured only in passing here [13]. Rather more will be found about the Le Havre expedition [4 *passim*];² indeed the Declared Account here printed [5] was subject to special scrutiny as part of a general examination of military spending in the aftermath of what had proved a disastrous undertaking. Ironically the success of the Scottish campaign had encouraged Elizabeth's government to a second adventure, directed this time at the mainland of France. Many English Protestants were keen to take the side of their Huguenot co-religionists in the civil war which was now beginning in France. Elizabeth and Cecil were at first unwilling to become involved, but when the Huguenots seized Le Havre and offered it to England in return for support, a new prospect emerged. England did not envisage permanent occupation of the port, but saw it as a pledge which might be exchanged for Calais if the Huguenots won the war outright or forced the French government to make concessions. The ensuing campaign involved virtually the whole of Elizabeth's fleet, though its role was essentially that of troop-carrier and purveyor. Such naval fighting as there was did not go well. Two ships were lost in action and two others by accident on active service, though the Navy's ranks were temporarily swelled by fifteen small vessels seized just before the evacuation. As with the attempt to relieve Calais in 1558, the operation was bedevilled by foul weather. Still more devastating was an outbreak of bubonic plague which spread rapidly through the fleet, and was then carried back home by those who had not died aboard. Even without these complications it is unlikely that the English could have secured their position against superior French firepower. These factors rather than any deficiency in the ships or their command adequately explain the decision to withdraw. The only useful outcome was to make of Elizabeth very wary of repeating the mistake, and it would be two decades before she again sent troops into a European theatre.

There were always still ships at sea; sometimes endeavouring (officially at least) to catch pirates: sometimes escorting fishing or merchant fleets, sometimes carrying diplomatic missions, and sometimes simply patrolling.

¹See T. Glasgow jnr, 'The Navy in the first Elizabethan undeclared war, 1559–1560', *MM*, LIV (1968), esp. p. 36: 'during the long reign of Elizabeth I, her ships saw more spectacular service ... but never was the royal navy more competent or effective than in this affair'.

²The English called Le Havre 'Newhaven', and the name is often still used in historical writing. We have retained it as such where it occurs in the texts, but use the modern French name elsewhere. The naval events of the campaign are most fully described in T. Glasgow, jnr, 'The Navy in the French wars of Mary and Elizabeth I. Part III. The Navy in the Le Havre expedition, 1562–1564', *MM*, LIV (1968), pp. 281–96. The political and diplomatic background is discussed in W. T. MacCaffrey, 'The Newhaven expedition, 1562–1563', *HJ*, XL (1997), pp. 1–21.

Royal ships were occasionally provided for trading expeditions as the Queen's investment in the enterprise; the Quarter Book reflects these ventures only incidentally, mentioning repairs for ships which met misfortune on the way to Guinea [4 (p. 213)]. Other ventures were more directly aggressive (and even piratical). It was while engaged in such a mission that the veteran *Jesus of Lübeck*, rebuilt in 1563 [4 (p. 85)], was eventually lost at San Juan d'Ulloa in 1568. At times of high political tension, the Navy was put on alert; operational costs and victualling costs were estimated, and supplies collected.¹ The estimates from 1574 [30] and 1579 [19] have to be seen in this context, although no major operation was mounted in either year.

The direction of naval policy owed much to continuity of personnel in the Marine Council. Here also there had been no sharp break with the past. At Elizabeth's accession William Winter, Benjamin Gonson and Edward Baeshe remained in post as, respectively, Surveyor of the Navy, Treasurer, and Surveyor-General of naval victualling, though Baeshe's function was soon to be redefined. Richard Howlett, the Clerk of the Ships, stood down in 1560, and was replaced by Winter's brother, George. William Broke, the Clerk Comptroller, died in 1561 and William Holstock, hitherto Keeper of the Storehouses, was appointed in his place. Sir William Woodhouse remained as Vice-Admiral (*alias* Lieutenant of the Admiralty), though when he died in 1565 his office was discontinued for the rest of the Tudor period.² Thereafter the Council turnover was slow. Gonson served until his death in 1577, when he was succeeded by his son-in-law John Hawkins. George Winter was replaced by William Borough in 1580. Both Baeshe and William Winter died in office, the former in 1587 and the latter in 1589, by which time he was the last surviving link between the Pinkie campaign of 1547 and the Armada. Shortly before the 'Book of Sea Causes' was drawn up, Elizabeth reactivated the Privy Council's decision of 1557, and on 11 March 1559 she issued a warrant dormant fixing the naval ordinary at £12,000;³ this

¹Cf. *BND*, pp. 103–8, in addition to documents reproduced here.

²For Woodhouse's functions in this capacity, see T. Glasgow, jnr, 'Vice-Admiral Woodhouse and shipkeeping in the Tudor Navy', *MM*, LXIII, (1977), pp. 253–63. The office was revived in 1604, and survives today as the purely ceremonial appointment of Vice-Admiral of the United Kingdom, in the Royal Household: M. Lewis, *England's Sea Officers: The Story of the Naval Profession* (1939), pp. 161–4. For Cecil's purpose in abolishing the post at this point, see R. Pollitt, 'Rationality and expedience in the growth of Elizabethan Naval Administration', in R. W. Love, jnr (ed.), *Changing Interpretations and New Sources in Naval History* (New York, 1980), pp. 68–79, and S. Adams, 'The Hawkins bargains and naval shipbuilding', forthcoming in R. A. Barker and C. S. Knighton (eds), *Fragments of Ancient English Shipwrightry* (NRS, forthcoming) [hereafter *FAES*].

³The original warrant is not extant, but it is repeatedly cited in the accounts, e.g. 4 (p. 23), and 5 (p. 526).

was £2,000 short of the figure sought by the Admiralty [1]. The Lord Treasurer's supervisory role seems to have been abandoned, because the ordinances of c. 1560, which specify exact procedures for the conduct of every office, mention him only in a limited capacity.¹ Every officer is accountable, directly or indirectly, to the Lord Admiral. In 1565 the Surveyor-General's victualling operations were put on a contract basis [28] and a standard allowance was made to him for every man at sea or in harbour – 5d a day for the former, 4½d for the latter. A victualling schedule current in 1568, setting out the daily rations for each man, had been drawn up a quarter of a century earlier,² but prices had moved on since then and Baeshe was always struggling to provide within the allowances. Nevertheless he contrived both to retain a reputation for honesty and to die a fairly rich man. His success can be measured from the crescendo of complaint provoked by his successor, James Quarles.

Placing the victualling upon a contract basis had a number of consequences. Purveyance as a prerogative right was abandoned, although not at once, and thereafter Baeshe's local deputies and commissioners had to buy in the open market; hence his plea for extra allowances in the 'dear year' of 1574. Cecil's intention was to establish a quota system which would enable counties to calculate their liability in advance. He began to do this after 1572 when, as Lord Burghley and Lord Treasurer, he assumed overall responsibility for the Navy. However, it was an uphill task against much local resistance and was not finally accomplished until about 1590.³ What this meant (in theory at least) was that every time a victualling commission was issued, each county was due to provide so many bushels of wheat, so many cheese, so many beeves, and so on. Both the quantities and the particular commodities varied from county to county, but it was the responsibility of the Justices of the Peace in each shire or city to make sure that the quotas were met, and delivered to Baeshe's deputies at a given time and place. Needless to say, the practice often fell far short of the theory.⁴ Elizabeth liked contracts, because they were ways of making expenditure more predictable, and also of cushioning the effects of random price rises. She also disliked the ordinary and reduced it, first to

¹That is, as Treasurer of the Exchequer, as below, p. 3 n. 5. But cf. 4 (p. 451), for an instance of the Lord Treasurer acting along with the Navy administrators.

²PL 1266, p. 251 (copy made 1568 and dated 34 Henry VIII [1542/3]). Printed from a 17th-cent. copy (Bodl. MS Rawlinson C. 846, pp. 132–3) in *BND*, pp. 102–3.

³Shortly before he retired, in January 1587, Baeshe had drawn up a schedule 'declaring out of what shire the wheat, malt, oxen, butter and cheese is to be had': *BND*, pp. 109–11. See also A. Woodworth, 'Purveyance for the Royal Household in the reign of Queen Elizabeth', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new ser. XXXV, i (Philadelphia, 1945).

⁴Loades, *Tudor Navy*, pp. 205–7.

£10,000 a year and then to £5,714. This did not mean that the Navy was getting cheaper, but simply that more money was being provided by occasional warrants. The great advantage of this from the Queen's point of view was that it meant that warrants could be drawn on whatever revenue source happened to be available, whereas the ordinary was always paid out of the Exchequer.¹ Elizabeth was not exactly mean when it came to the Navy – she could not afford to be – but she was always looking for economies, and perhaps the most controversial of these were Hawkins's 'bargains' which were introduced in 1579. These were modelled on Baeshe's contract of 1565, and specified that each contracted officer should perform specified duties in return for a fixed payment.

This was rather like the system used for farming the customs revenues. Hawkins himself, for example, contracted to maintain (but not repair) 25 ships for £1,200 a year. The master shipwrights Peter Pett and Matthew Baker at the same time contracted to ground and grave the ships at regular intervals, and to carry out specified repairs, in return for £1,000 a year.² Inevitably disputes arose almost at once, as contracted officers endeavoured to shift work to their uncontracted colleagues, or on to each other. The shipwrights in particular accused Hawkins of every kind of fraud and malfeasance, and it is likely that the itemised savings of £8,100 a year [19] were always more notional than real. A subsequent enquiry exonerated Hawkins, but as pressure built on the Admiralty after 1582, with the threat of war looming the system was abandoned [20–23]. The friction and bad feeling which it must have generated in any case heavily outweighed any slight financial advantage.³ The intention was that each contractor should make a profit, and save the Exchequer money at the same time, but, like most such schemes, it was overambitious. In 1575 there were 28 ships recorded in service. Between 1580 and 1592 a further 18 ships of over 100 tons were added, and in 1589 the total number listed was 44 [37]. The Armada had proved the supreme test. Each side assembled, armed and victualled about 140 ships. It took Philip two years to mobilise and equip his fleet, at a cost of over 2 million ducats (about £700,000), while Elizabeth mobilised her response in six months, at not much more than a quarter of the cost. Whatever may be said about the fighting, the advantages of home waters, or the fact that the English twice ran out of ammunition, the contrast is very striking. In spite of all its failings, the Admiralty vindicated itself triumphantly on that occasion.

¹See below, Introduction to Section V, p. 564.

²SP 12/132, no. 42 (CSPD 1547–80, p. 634); to be printed in *FAES*.

³Loades, *Tudor Navy*, pp. 184–5. S. Adams, 'New light on the "Reformation" of John Hawkins: the Ellesmere naval survey of January 1584', *EHR*, CV (1990), pp. 96–111, and 'Hawkins bargains'.

That exceptional achievement was built upon the settled practices of calmer times. When ships were out of commission their guns and rigging had to be stored, and the ships themselves looked after on a care and maintenance basis. They had to be regularly surveyed, careened and repaired, whether they were in service or not. This in turn meant employing a great variety of clerks, craftsmen and workmen, who had to be paid, fed and sometimes housed. It also meant procuring all manner of supplies, either through the Crown's own agencies or by contracting with merchants. There were always some ships under repair, and any new building made exceptional demands for all these requirements. The maintenance and extension of store installations required further men and material, albeit on a much smaller scale. When ships were required for action, they had to be rigged and armed, and crews had to be recruited, mustered, paid and brought to the points of embarkation. Masters, mariners, gunners, soldiers, shipwrights, caulkers and labourers had to be found all over southern England and Wales, using a network of commissioners and other agents, and local officers had to be persuaded, or bribed, to co-operate. The crew of a large ship was a complex community, because under the captain and master served a variety of under-officers, from the master gunner to the cook, as well as experienced and inexperienced seamen, gromets (youths under 18) and boys (under 14).¹ When a ship returned from active service its crew was paid off, and provided with money to 'conduct' them to their places of origin. Every mariner needed a certificate of discharge, and ships which had been requisitioned had to be similarly paid off and discharged. Skeleton crews were used to move warships from one anchorage to another, and some masters and seamen specialised in this kind of work. When a ship was laid up, shipkeepers had to be appointed, and properly supervised. It had been the lack of such supervision which had caused the loss of the *Edward* (ex *Great Harry*) in 1553.²

Deptford was by this time the main store and dockyard, with similar facilities at Woolwich and Portsmouth. Gillingham was the principal anchorage, and there were minor outposts at Rye and Harwich, and at Brightlingsea on the River Colne. Occasionally royal ships were serviced at Newcastle, Bristol or Dover, but there were no permanent facilities there. The naval dockyards were the largest industrial organisation in the land, and needed a huge and relentless intake of materials. Cordage and

¹These were the notional age brackets, though the accounts show some individuals variously occurring as 'boy', gromet' and 'mariner' outside the natural progression, suggesting that the grades were not always strictly applied, or that payment sometimes reflected function rather than age. Cf. Index *s.a.* Butler, Thomas; Fletcher, Francis.

²See below [1] and *NEM*, p. 487.

canvas was generally bought in large quantities from City merchants such as Alderman Christopher Draper, and ferried down to Deptford for distribution. The royal forests in Kent and Sussex provided some of the timber required, and the Navy had only to pay for it to be felled and carted to the yards where it was needed. But these local supplies were not enough, and wood was also brought down from as far away as Yorkshire. Specialist timber such as masts and deals came mostly from the Baltic, and had to be bought from the shippers. Ironwork was mainly to be had from regular suppliers close to the yards, though a Staffordshire man was also used. The yards consumed a prodigious quantity of nails and bolts of all sorts, as well as more complex fittings. Lead, glass, wickerwork and leather were also constantly needed, as well as animal hair (for caulking) and burning reed (for cleansing hulls of weed and encrustacea). Many tradesmen must have been kept in business by these requirements; the dockyard industry thereby sustained employment well beyond the direct workforce. One of the Navy's more unlikely agents was the supplier of spades and shovels, John Benbow, who doubled as a singer in Elizabeth's chapel. There was as yet no cat on the Admiralty establishment,¹ so an essential purchase was the rat poison provided by Roger Cratway (who was also the cook of the *Mary Rose*).

The Keeper of the 'Great Storehouse' at Deptford was a senior officer, only just below the level of the Principal Officers; like them he held office by patent and was paid directly from the Exchequer. Each dockyard had a small regular staff of clerks, subordinate storekeepers, clerks and purveyors paid quarterly by the Navy Treasurer. The much larger numbers of craftsmen and labourers and shipkeepers were hired as they were needed. Payment was reckoned by day, night or tide, and graded according to status. Many of the men were employed from time to time in different capacities, and might be moved from yard to yard, or even to serve aboard ship.² If ship repairs had to be undertaken at one of the outports, such as Bristol or Plymouth, then shipwrights travelled from Portsmouth or Deptford to oversee it. But men appearing in one place as dockyard carpenters or shipwrights might serve another time as ship's carpenters, or as caulkers or mere labourers. All those listed as watchmen had other jobs. Many of the yard workers also feature as suppliers, and some of the local men (or their wives) are paid for lodging their itinerant colleagues. In consequence the overall number on the payroll was a good deal smaller than appears from a casual glance at the Quarter Book. The movements and multiple functioning of men known only from these entries can never

¹Cf. Admiralty minutes of April–June 1921 in *BND*, pp. 887–9.

²See the instances noted below at 4 (p. 433).

be traced exhaustively. Widely variant spellings and a limited range of forenames complicate the issue (and even a distinctive combination of forename and surname might belong to more than one member of a family). Even so it is possible to find a good many connections, and the cumulative impression is of a close-knit, mobile and multi-skilled (or at least multi-tasked) workforce.

The Principal Officers also employed their own clerks, in addition to those based in the yards. Most of these men are known to us only by name, if at all; one of them, however, has left us a comprehensive memorandum of his routine business. This was James Humphrey, who worked for the Clerk Comptroller (William Holstock at the time), and who compiled a book of model letters and forms for use on various occasions, which passed eventually into the hands of Samuel Pepys [6–15]. The Officers, who were based on Tower Hill in London, kept up a constant correspondence with their agents in the ports, with the Lord Admiral, wherever he happened to be, with the Privy Council and with the commanders of individual ships. Letters and instructions were mostly carried by the Admiralty's own messengers such as John Elmer, or by ships' officers; but sometimes post riders were engaged. When ships were keeping close to shore, as they commonly did, messengers would usually travel overland, because in a straight race a horse could easily outrun the average warship.¹ Contact between ship and shore would be by the ship's own boats, and so does not feature in the accounts. In some circumstances a fast-sailing pinnace might be sent to overhaul a fleet, but the sources we print mention only one rather different kind of hot pursuit.²

Ordnance required another complex of administrative procedures. When a ship was prepared for active service, she had to be armed, and this was normally done at Deptford, so that the guns could be brought down river from the Tower where they were stored. Similarly when a ship was being laid up, the first thing that happened was that she returned to Deptford. The guns were taken out of her and returned to store, while the ship herself proceeded to Gillingham to join the others at anchor.³ Small arms, such as arquebuses, bills and body armour seem to have been

¹See, for example, the engagement of a local man to ride up through Suffolk to alert the officers at Yarmouth to ships approaching from Harwich: below, 4 (p. 460). An Elizabethan pinnace might be capable, in favourable conditions, of 8 or 9 knots, but a likely average is around 4.5 knots: cf. speeds for merchantmen discussed in I. Friel, *The Good Ship: Ships, Shipbuilding and Technology in England, 1200–1500* (1995), pp. 84–6. Ships could travel at night when a horse could not, but in daylight a post rider averaging 7½ m.p.h. (see Pepys, *Diary*, X, p. 452) could be expected to arrive ahead of a fleet moving along a parallel course.

²The bizarre instance of a Thames passenger-boat commandeered to chase a barge which was evading the press officers: below, 4 (p. 463).

³See payments in relation to *Hart*, *New Bark*, *Phoenix* and *Swallow* 4 (pp. 408–9).

handled in the same way, unless the soldiers had already been armed by the counties from which they were drawn. This may have happened later in the reign, at the time of the Armada for instance, but county armouries did not even begin to come into existence until the 1570s, and the method used to provide ships with such weapons is not clear.

What is clear is that the Elizabethan Admiralty was a sizeable organisation, with a permanent staff of two or three dozen, and a regular workforce numbering many hundreds, operating in five main locations. When the fleet was deployed in strength many thousands of seamen were needed. How willingly these men served can only be guessed. Sometimes rewards were given to local officers for bringing men to the musters, and there are notes of absentees, suggesting reluctance, but no record says that ships were seriously undermanned, or that missions ever had to be aborted for lack of crews. Contrary to what is sometimes said, the welfare of these men was not callously neglected. Each was paid conduct money at a fixed rate per mile, both going and coming, and although he was normally expected to bring his own clothes, the rations provided in transit were generous.¹ Once men were embarked, victuals were normally only a problem if a ship had to remain at sea for an exceptionally long period, and even then she could be resupplied from 'victuallers' (tenders) – provided she was in home waters. Baeshe had been generally efficient, and serious complaints only began after Quarles had taken over in 1587 and then had to cope with the exceptional circumstances of the Armada campaign, when the number of ships was unprecedented, with many of them constrained to spend weeks at Plymouth, far from the main supply bases. The sixteenth century was unfamiliar with the modern notion of a balanced diet, and the staple items of bread, beef, beer and cheese lacked vitamin C. This did not matter greatly if the service was no more than a month or two, but it wrought havoc with long-distance voyages. Although by the end of the century the value of scurbutics was known, most masters and pursers (to say nothing of seamen) were too conservative to use them.² The sicknesses which beset the Navy regularly in its normal duties was not scurvy but typhoid, intermittently compounded by plague. Although every ship of any size carried a surgeon, his main duty was to deal with the (infrequent) battle casualties, or the results of accidents rather than illness. If typhoid or plague appeared, the only immediate remedy was to set the sufferer ashore with whatever part of his pay the purser could provide. If this did not check the infection, the ship had to be taken out

¹Every man was supposed to receive a wheaten loaf of 20 oz, 2 lbs of fresh beef, and a gallon of ale every day: *BND*, pp. 102–3.

²D. W. Waters, 'Limes, lemons and scurvy in Elizabethan and early Stuart times', *MM*, XLI, (1955), pp. 209–21.

of commission and 'cleansed'. If that could not be done, the effects could be devastating, as happened at the end of the Armada campaign.¹ The system could cope with the normal discharge of two or three ships at a time, and a handful of sick mariners, but in the face of the mass discharge of over a hundred ships, and literally thousands of invalids in twenty different locations, it broke down completely. Neither was the money available, nor the medical services able to cope. This, however, was an extreme case, and it is probably safe to say that no early modern administration could have done any better. The spiritual aspect of welfare is mentioned, rather surprisingly, only once in the documents here printed [22]. This was not because it was usually ignored but because chaplains, when they were carried, were seldom on the normal payroll. Only the larger ships carried a full-time minister, and he was allocated by the social status of the captain rather than the needs of the men. Sometimes a preacher was paid at the specified rate, but more often he was either supported by a benefice from which he had taken some form of leave, or paid privately by the captain or admiral.² Noblemen or wealthy gentlemen serving with the fleet were often accompanied by their 'retinues', which might include a personal chaplain. In those circumstances, and if no official minister was appointed, he would provide services for the whole ship. When no chaplain was available, the captain or the master would usually conduct public prayers on a daily basis, but of course none of this left any record in the accounts.³

Wage rates were not generous. Before 1585 a seaman was paid a mere 3d a day, and even the captain of a Great Ship received only 16d, unless he was also an Admiral. At the same time a labourer working ashore might be paid anything from 2d to 6d a day, depending on skill and circumstances, while a master craftsman would receive 10d or 12d. However, it must be remembered that sea rates did not include the victuals which were also provided, and were costed at the same rate. So that a seaman at 6s 8d a month actually cost the Exchequer 13s 4d, and a captain at 40s, £4. Likewise a mariner at sea cost £8 a year and a captain £48. Ashore victuals were provided for some, but not all, of the workforce, and the basis for the distinction is not clear. It is probable that the different rates of pay for the same job reflect the provision (or otherwise) of food. In 1585, in response to inflation, and at the suggestion of John Hawkins [20] wages at sea were raised by 33 per cent, so that an ordinary seaman received 10s a month, plus his victuals, 'and so every officer will be increased after that rate'. As inflation during the reign was approximately 100 per cent

¹G. Parker and C. Martin, *The Spanish Armada* (1988), pp. 253–4.

²Rodger, *Safeguard*, pp. 306–8.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 311–12.

this could be regarded as too little and too late, but wage rates ashore were similarly lagging, and there is no reason to suppose that naval rates were considered particularly inadequate. There were, however, two problems. In the first place privateers were paid on a quite different basis, by a share of the plunder rather than a wage. Although this meant that if there was no plunder there was no pay, most privateers were doing well enough to make this an attractive option, and a few men made their fortunes at it.¹ The attraction of serving in a privateer was such that experienced mariners often tried to avoid naval service if possible and inexperienced men had to be recruited in their place. The second problem with naval pay was the actual availability of the money. The Queen had a great reputation for parsimony, but that was not the real issue. The difficulty lay in getting sufficient specie to the places where it was needed when the ships actually arrived. Individual ships on routine missions seldom caused a problem, but if a fleet had to be discharged – and particularly if weather conditions scattered the ships – the crews might well find no money awaiting them when they came ashore. Either they had to wait, and run up debts, or to take notes of credit (which might never be honoured) and beg their way home.² In the case of the Armada fleet there were problems of scale, of dispersal and also of sickness, and unpaid mariners not only rioted, but attempted to lay siege to the court.³ This was a unique reaction, and emergency steps had to be taken, but it was not typical of the way in which the Admiralty functioned. The payment of crews was not always as efficient as it was for dockyard workers, but it should not be thought that seamen were constantly cheated of their wages by a cash-strapped government. Usually the system worked.

In the documents which follow, politics feature relatively little, but some things emerge clearly. Hawkins was a much more innovative and controversial Treasurer than Gonson, and upset his colleagues considerably. Baeshe was extraordinarily efficient, and in spite of his protests did his difficult job well. It was only after his death that it became clear just how well he had done. Wooden ships deteriorate rapidly, whether they are in use or not, and England could not afford to have any significant

¹K. R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering* (Cambridge, 1964) and *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprises and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 222–38. H. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake: the Queen's Pirate* (1998), pp. 207–40.

²From about 1600, these notes of credit were known as 'tickets', and by Pepys's time they were a form of currency all too familiar to seamen: *OED*.

³In July 1589 a mob of discharged seamen and soldiers, many of them plague-stricken and all very angry, advanced on the court, then at Westminster. The government issued a proclamation, denying them access: *TRP*, iii. 39–40 (no. 712). On this occasion there was an additional concern to prevent the spread of plague from the ports.

proportion of its fleet out of action for long. The whole reign was politically and militarily tense, and about a third of it was spent at war. English soldiers were not the maladroits of historical mythology, but it was upon the Navy that the country depended.¹ The fleet varied in size from about 30 to about 45 ships, and the amount of maintenance and repair work required is astonishing. The dockyards not only performed the largest and most complex industrial operation in Elizabethan England, but by the standards of any age they were demonstrably well-run. Only at the very end of Elizabeth's reign, and well expressed in the reports of the Jacobean Commissions,² did the efficiency begin to falter and significant corruption to undermine what had been one of the great mid-Tudor and early Elizabethan achievements.

Editorial Procedures

In keeping with NRS convention, the texts are printed in modern spelling; the language, however, is not modernised, and that requires the retention of some archaisms. Common forms such as 'hath' and 'cometh' have been retained because they are not precisely equivalent to the modern 'has' and 'comes'. On the other hand, 'Her Highness ships' has been understood as an obsolete spelling of the possessive, and is rendered as 'Her Highness's ships'. The scribal use of singular and plural is followed: so 'succours' and 'groundings' where we would say 'succour' and 'grounding', but (in most instances) so many 'nail' and 'last' rather than 'nails' and 'lasts'.

Technical terms not in current usage have generally been given in the first form recognised by the *OED*, though if another spelling is established in maritime usage, that has been preferred.

Capitalisation and punctuation are editorial.

Layout is based on the form of the originals, and therefore varies from piece to piece, but is a reinterpretation for the printed page. Therefore in the Quarter Book, by far the largest entry, the repeated headings of the original are omitted and replaced by editorial running-heads which serve the same purpose in the new format. The original headings are retained only when new sections begin.

Corrections to text by the original scribes are shown roman within square brackets, with *inserted*, *deleted* or *repl.* (for 'replacing'). Auditor's

¹On the army, see M. C. Fissell, *English Warfare, 1511–1642* (2001), pp. 137–54, which presents an unconventional view of English soldiers. On the Navy in its general military context, see P. E. J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544–1604* (Basingstoke, 2003), esp. pp. 161–9, 254–6.

²A. P. McGowan (ed.), *The Jacobean Commissions of Enquiry, 1608 and 1618* (NRS, Vol. 116, 1971).

markings and other addenda are italic within square brackets, prefaced by *, as more particularly explained at the head of each relevant entry. Correspondences between certain entries in **4** and **5** are marked by codes in bold within square brackets, prefaced by # (as detailed in the Introduction to Section II). Editorial explanations and other interpolations are italic (sometimes bold italic) within square brackets, without any symbol.

Proper Names

All identifiable place-names are modernised, and the MS spellings are given in the index. Unidentified place-names are in the MS forms, within inverted commas. Surnames of those identified in the footnotes or the Biographical Notes (*NEM*, Appendix 2) are standardised, and the variant spellings given after the headword for each surname in the index. All other surnames are left in their MS forms; in consequence many individuals appear in a variety of spellings; much further regimentation could have been imposed on the minor characters, but many uncertainties would still have remained, so it was felt best to apply a definable distinction. Forenames are standardised except where unusual or uncertain; in a few cases the original spelling is appended (within square brackets) to the standard form. The names of royal ships are always in the spellings shown in *NEM* Appendix 1, with MS variants given in the index. Other ship names are retained in the forms in which they occur, including any locational suffix, which may indicate origin rather than current deployment; the modern forms of these place-names are supplied editorially where it has been thought this might be useful.

Numerals

Because the volume contains elements from many sources, which use a variety of forms for money sums and other figures, no attempt is made to follow the original usages precisely. The treatment of money sums is explained more particularly below. Except within Latin phrases, all Roman numerals are rendered Arabic. Numerals have generally been printed for numbers above one, whether the MS uses them or writes the number in words or a mixture of numerals and words. Numbers below 10 have, however, commonly been given in words when attached to persons, ships and buildings, or elsewhere when Arabic numerals would appear ungainly to the modern eye. Numbers expressed in scores (whether in writing or by the use of the suprascript, as *vij^{xx}* for 140) have been rendered as simple numerals. But where calculation by standard hundred of 5 score or long hundred of 6 score is stipulated, the words 'score' and 'hundred' are left in words. In all these respects the concern has been to

represent the original texts in modern typography rather than to replicate the occurrence of Roman numerals or written-out numbers in the MSS.

Straightforward corrections to figures are inset within square brackets preceded by *recte*. More complex corrections are shown in footnotes. This editorial function has not been comprehensive; but all figures involving hundredweights and long hundreds have been checked and aberrations noted.

Dates, Weights and Measures

Dating Style and the Year of Grace

Dates are given throughout in the old style (Julian Calendar), except in a few cases in editorial matter where the double dating old/new (Julian/Gregorian) is supplied for clarity. In the documents the year of grace for dates up to 24 March is given in the MS forms, with editorial explanation of the modern reckoning, as ‘21 March 1562 [1563]’. In the editorial matter the calendar year is always dated from 1 January. Within English phrasing Roman numerals for the days of the month have been converted to Arabic numerals.

Regnal Years

Elizabeth I’s regnal year began on 17 November. In the Quarter Book [4] the regular dating formula is *Anno Domini 1562. Anno regni regine Elizabethæ quarto* (‘In the year of Our Lord 1562. In the fourth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth’), with the Arabic numerals as printed. In the Declared Account [5] various Latin forms occur such as ‘*viij die Novembris dicto anno quarto domine regine*’ (‘the 8th day of November in the said fourth year of the Lady Queen’). In all these cases the Roman numerals have been retained with the rest of the original format. The usual variants are *eiusdem mensis* (‘of the same month’) and *dicto anno* (‘in the said year’) or, where the scribe remembers to refer both to the regnal year and the year of Grace, *dictis annis* (‘in the said years’).

The regnal years most frequently encountered here are:

1 Eliz. <i>anno primo</i>	17 November 1558 – 16 November 1559
2 Eliz. <i>anno secundo</i>	17 November 1559 – 16 November 1560
3 Eliz. <i>anno tertio</i>	17 November 1560 – 16 November 1561
4 Eliz. <i>anno quarto</i>	17 November 1561 – 16 November 1562
5 Eliz. <i>anno quinto</i>	17 November 1562 – 16 November 1563
6 Eliz. <i>anno sexto</i>	17 November 1563 – 16 November 1564
7 Eliz. <i>anno septimo</i>	17 November 1564 – 16 November 1565

Abbreviations for Certain Days of the Month

The contemporary usages 'one and twentieth' etc. for the day of the month resulted in the abbreviations '21th', '22th', '23th' and '31th'. These have been retained in preference to '21st', '22nd', '23rd' and '31st', representing the modern expression of dates with the larger element first.

Duodecimal Currency

2 × 1 farthing ($\frac{1}{4}$ d) – 1 halfpenny ($\frac{1}{2}$ d)
 2 halfpence – 1 penny (1d)
 12 pence – 1 shilling (1s)
 20 shillings – 1 pound (£1)

The mark (13s 4d) was an accounting unit, never an actual coin.

Sums of money, however represented in the MSS, are here rendered in standard £sd forms. 'Top heavy' pence or shillings (as 20d, 45s) are retained as such within blocks of text, but in displayed totals they are converted to £sd (as 1s 8d, £2 5s). In the *recepta* of the Quarter Book where each sum is duplicated, the version within the text is printed in words and the displayed total in figures, whatever the format of the original.

Linear Measure

12 inches – 1 foot
 36 inches/3 feet – 1 yard
 45 inches – 1 ell (of cloth)
 1,760 yards – 1 mile

Quantities of Cut Paper

24 sheets – 1 quire
 20 quires/480 sheets – 1 ream
 (commonly rounded to 500 sheets)

Capacity

2 pints – 1 quart
 4 quarts – 1 gallon
 8 gallons – 1 bushel
 8 bushels – 1 quarter (qr)

Avoirdupois Weight

16 ounces (oz) – 1 pound (lb)
 14 pounds – 1 stone

2 stone/28 pounds – 1 quarter (qr)
 4 quarters/112 pounds – 1 hundredweight (cwt)
 20 hundredweight/2,240 pounds – 1 ton

Although the modern hundredweight of 112 lbs was generally adopted by the mid-sixteenth century, some use was still made of the hundredweight of 100 pounds from which the measure had taken its name. A quantity of sye is computed by simple hundreds of pounds [4 (p. 266)], and rosin may sometimes have been reckoned in the same way [4 (p. 325)]. This could apply to other commodities which cannot be checked; doubtless variations also reflect the practices of individual suppliers.¹

Commonly the Quarter Book runs together modern hundredweights and pounds into a single figure, as:

ccl pounds weight

This normally means not 250 lbs but 274 lbs, that is [(2 × 112) + 50]

Wherever this reckoning is known or assumed to apply, the modern hundredweight is indicated by the word ‘hundred’ written out, and the actual quantity is inset in italic figures within square brackets. So in this example the quantity would be shown as:

2 hundred 50 pounds weight [*274 lbs*]

Sometimes where there are no loose pounds, the complete hundredweights are still expressed as so many hundreds of pounds, as:

v^c pound weight

In such cases the meaning cannot be checked by calculating the price per lb, but has been taken as a variant form of the usual measure of 112 lbs (see p. 104 n. 2 for a demonstration of this).

Where there are no pounds and the word ‘weight’ is not in the MS, it is supplied editorially, as:

2 hundred[*weight*]

Where (as at p. 200) the hundredweight is specifically said to be of ‘5 score’, or if that usage is clear from the calculation, the figures are as expressed in the MS, without an inset interpolation:

340½ pounds weight

¹For some comparative detail, see *NEM*, p. xxxv n. 1 and p. xxxvi n. 1.

The thousandweight is normally 10 cwt of 112 lbs. Sometimes the thousands are separated by *mille* and sometimes the figure is expressed in top-heavy hundreds; these variant usages have been retained, so:

xxj^{cl} pounds is printed as 21 hundred 50 pounds

ij^{ml}cl pounds is printed as 2 thousand [one] hundred 50 pounds

In both cases the ostensible 2,150 is 2,402 ($21 \times 112 + 50$), and is identified as such in the usual editorial insert.

All the calculation of hundredweights has been investigated. The quantity in pounds has been inset in all cases involving loose pounds, and occasionally (for regularity within entries) for complete hundredweights. Errors which seem likely to derive from mistranscription by the Quarter Book scribes have been corrected within the text and further explained in the footnotes. The notes give a modern recalculation of all the questionable figures. Where (as in most cases) the price per cwt does not break down to complete pence or even farthings per lb, the modern calculation applies a precision far beyond the means and requirements of the original accountants. Almost all the 'imprecision' can in fact readily be explained by the necessary rounding up or down of fractions of pence, which doubtless varied from one supplier to another. Indeed because the margin of error is usually so minute, the recalculations demonstrate the preponderating accuracy of the original accounting, not its weakness.¹

Long Hundreds

Certain commodities (such as rafters) are reckoned by the long hundred of 120, and this usage is usually specified by the accountant. In these cases the actual quantity as well as the rate is expressed in the long hundred. Thus:

200 rafters at £12 10s every 100 after 6 score to the 100

This means not 200 items at so much for every 120, but 240 items.

Likewise 293 rafters means 333, i.e. [$2 \times 120 + 93$]

¹See especially the largest single computation in the Quarter Book [4 (p. 321)], for a sum in excess of £2.5k which is within 0.02d of the notional figure achieved by decimal calculation, and so correct to the halfpenny stated. It will be found, unsurprisingly, that substantial merchants generally price their goods with precision, and that mistakes more commonly occur with small-time operators and casual suppliers.

For clarity in these cases the word 'hundred' is written out wherever the long hundred is clearly meant, however represented in the MS, and the actual quantity is added editorially:

2 hundred [240] rafters at £12 19s every hundred after 6 score to the hundred

2 hundred 93 rafters [333]

Obsolete Measures

Measures which were obsolete by the twentieth century are explained in the Glossary (Appendix 2).

Note on Terms: Admiralty, Navy, Marine Causes

In the sixteenth century, Admiralty was used to denote the whole range of maritime administration: the Council for Marine Causes, its officers and dependent structure, as well as the Admiralty Courts which exercised the Lord Admiral's jurisdiction over marine causes, both centrally and locally. After the Restoration the meaning changed, because there was then an Admiralty which was distinct from the Navy Office or Navy Board, as by then the sixteenth-century Council for Marine Causes was known. The principal officials established in 1546 (Treasurer, Comptroller, Surveyor, Clerk) are already sometimes jointly called the Navy Officers or the Officers of the Navy (in distinction to the ships' officers). They have their continuance in the subordinate post-Restoration department, and their headquarters remained in the City. The separate and superior Admiralty existing between the reigns of Charles II and William IV was essentially a political and policy-making body, with its offices in Whitehall. In the Elizabethan period, those higher functions remained chiefly with the central agencies of government, the Principal Secretaries and the Privy Council. Almost all the concerns of the present volume are those which by the later arrangement would be the responsibility of the Navy Board rather than the Admiralty.

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I

FIRST NAVAL BUSINESS IN THE STATE PAPERS

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The first specifically naval paper found in the Elizabethan State Papers [1] is a ship list drawn up four months after the Queen's accession, and a month before the more substantial 'Book of Sea Causes'. Since the latter is printed in *British Naval Documents*,¹ it is not repeated here. Both documents were part of the general stocktaking at the start of the new reign. The first list also includes incidental information, affirming that operational costs should not be charged against the ordinary, and listing the seven merchant ships at that time in royal service. Cecil's marginalia show an attention to maritime affairs proper in an old ship-lord,² and are the only evidence for *Minion* being given away to Lord Admiral Seymour. In the case of *Trinity Henry* the verdict 'decayed utterly' seems a little premature, since the Quarter Book shows this vessel was still maintained afloat, albeit relentlessly leaky, four years later. But although it is instructive, the February 1559 list is no more than a memorandum.

From about a year later come the first ordinances for the Admiralty officers [2],³ which are mainly a systematic record of the changes which had been introduced after the 1557 review.⁴ They are important because they mark a stage in the bureaucratisation of naval administration, and because they emphasise the interdependence of the marine officers, particularly the extent by which they were required to check up on each other. The most notable omission is any reference to the Lord Treasurer, who by terms of the earlier reforms was supposed to be in overall charge.⁵ Perhaps the Marquess of Winchester, though retained in office by

¹See above, p. xxii & n. 1.

²He had been part-owner of a merchantman in Edward's reign: *CSPDE*, no. 474.

³They are among undated papers in an artificial collection bound together and calendared in the 1850s as 'probably ... 1560' (*CSPD 1547-80*, pp. 165-70). The ordinances could well have been written even earlier in Elizabeth's reign, or conceivably as late as 1564 (when the office of Vice-Admiral, to which they refer, was discontinued). For convenience they have been called 'of c. 1560' here.

⁴See Introduction above, p. xxi.

⁵Except (in the instructions for the Master of the Ordnance) for reference to the Lord Treasurer in his technical and departmental *alter ego* as Treasurer of the Exchequer; but clearly the 1557 regulations involved the Lord Treasurer in his larger political role as a Privy Councillor and Great Officer of State.

Elizabeth, had no desire to continue his involvement as established under Mary; or perhaps his role in the formation of policy was simply taken for granted in an administrative directive. However, every officer is described as being responsible to the Lord Admiral, or the Vice-Admiral in his absence, for the discharge of his regular duties, and policy decisions are to be taken by the whole council, reporting to the Lord Admiral. There is no mention of the Lord Treasurer in that context either.

The ordinances, however, do not present a complete picture. The Treasurer (of the Navy), in addition to the detailed procedures described here, was also required to render an annual account to specially appointed commissioners. Similarly the accountability of the Surveyor-General of the Victuals is incomplete. It is declared that he should receive his money 'in prest' from the Treasurer, but not that he should account to him, or as part of his own account. In practice he was required to account separately to the Admiral, and that was done until the contract system was introduced in 1565 [28].

It is clear also that a great deal of paperwork was generated which has now disappeared. The council was presumably required to keep a record of its decisions, and every officer was required to report and account in writing, but all that has been discovered are the annual accounts of the Treasurer and the Surveyor-General, plus a few of the Quarter Books which happened to find their way into the hands of Samuel Pepys. Of the accounts of the Surveyor and Rigger, Comptroller, Clerk of the Ships and Clerk of the Store, or indeed of the minute book of the council, no trace has been found. This is perhaps because (unlike accounts to commissioners) these were 'in-house' documents, and were not subject to outside scrutiny or audit. The Lord Admiral, like the Lord Treasurer, was a Privy Councillor *ex officio*, and the Privy Council's overall control was probably exercised through him. It would not have been thought necessary to say so in a document of this kind.

Brief though it is, this paper is of great significance as the first version of regulations which were revised and extended by successive Lord Admirals in the seventeenth century. They reached their most enduring form as the Duke of York's General Instructions to the Navy Board of 1662, which were printed in 1717 as *The Economy of His Majesty's Navy Office*. This lineal connection has at least been noted from the other end.¹ Only one previous writer appears to have discussed the regulations in their original context.² This is not the place to follow the process by which the Elizabethan ordinances evolved into the instruction manual of Pepys's

¹C. S. Knighton, *Pepys and the Navy* (Stroud, 2003), pp. 14–15, and sources cited on p. 179 n. 19.

²Pollitt, 'Rationality and expedience', pp. 71–3.

day and beyond. But it serves as a further reminder that most of the work of the Tudor Admiralty would descend to the Stuart and Georgian Navy Board.¹

¹An additional point of interest appeared when this volume was in the press. It had been presumed that [1] contained the last reference to *Peter Pomegranate*, and that the intended rebuild was cancelled: *NEM*, p. 501. However it is now suggested that *Peter* was rebuilt as *Elizabeth Jonas*: R. Hutchinson, *The Spanish Armada* (2013), p. 256. This would mean that the sister ship of Henry VIII's *Mary Rose* survived through successive rebuilds until 1618: see *NEM*, p. 477.

1 *List of the Queen's ships; with annotations by Sir William Cecil*

[SP 12/2, no. 30 (CSPD 1547–80, p. 121)]¹

20 February 1559

The 20th day of February 1558 [1559] *anno primo Elizabethæ primo*.

The names of all Her Highness's ships and where at this present they do remain, with remembrances concerning the same.

	<i>ships</i>	<i>tuns</i>	<i>men</i>
At Gillingham	The <i>Mary Rose</i>	600	350
	The <i>Lion</i>	500	330
	The <i>Philip and Mary</i>	450	300
In the River of Thames	The <i>Great Bark</i>	600	330
	The <i>Jesus</i>	600	330
	The <i>Tiger</i>	160	120
	The <i>Bull</i>	160	120
	The <i>Red Galley</i>	–	300
	The <i>Black Galley</i>	–	300
	The <i>Brigantine</i>	–	100
	The <i>Flower de luce</i>	40	30
	The <i>Sun</i>	60	60
At Portsmouth	The <i>New Bark</i>	160	120
	The <i>Mary Willoughby</i>	160	120
	The <i>Jerfalcon</i>	140	100
	The <i>Sacret</i>	160	120
	The <i>Salamander</i>	300	200
	The <i>Anne Gallant</i>	300	200
	The <i>Double Rose</i>	40	30
	The <i>Hare</i>	40	30

¹A stock-taking exercise three months after Elizabeth's accession. A summary (omitting the latter part, and supplying construction dates from elsewhere) was given by T. Glasgow, jnr, 'The Royal Navy at the start of the reign of Elizabeth', *MM*, LI (1965) pp. 73–6. This contains some errors in transcription, especially from Cecil's notoriously difficult hand, of which only the most striking instance is specifically corrected here. See also Glasgow, 'Maturing', pp. 11–12. Cecil was Principal Secretary 1550–53, 1558–72; Lord Treasurer 1572 to death, 1598. Created Baron Burghley 1571, KG 1572. The Queen's first minister: GEC, *Peerage*, ii, pp. 429–30. *ODNB. Hist. Parl. 1509–58*, i, pp. 603–6; *1558–1603*, i, pp. 582–8. C. Read, *Mr Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (1955) and *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (1958). B. W. Beckingsale, *Burghley: Tudor Statesman, 1520–1598* (1967). S. Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558–1569* (Cambridge, 1998), and *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I* (2008).

The Narrow Seas	The <i>Saker</i>	70	60
	The <i>Bark of Boulogne</i>	60	60
	The <i>Bright Falcon</i>	60	60
	The <i>Sprite</i>	40	30
Presently to be sent northward	The <i>Greyhound</i>	160	120
	The <i>Falcon</i>	100	80
	The <i>Phoenix</i>	70	60
Ships presently dry-docked, in new making, and to be repaired:			
At Woolwich in new making	The <i>Peter</i>	800	600
At Portsmouth in new making	The <i>Jennet</i>	200	160
At Portsmouth to be repaired	The <i>Sweepstake</i>	300	200
At Deptford to be repaired	The <i>Hart</i>	300	200
	The <i>Antelope</i>	300	200
	The <i>Swallow</i>	200	160
	The <i>George</i>	120	100

Number of Her Majesty's ships, barks and galleys: 34

Toward the maintenance of all the said ships, the Queen's Highness's pleasure is to be known for the continuance of the ordinary of £14,000 by the year from Christmas last, as well for the new building and repairing of the same ships and provisions for the same, and for wages and victuals of shipwrights, caulkers and other artificers, as also shipkeepers in harbour for their like wages and victuals.

It is to be remembered that if Her Highness's pleasure be to have the said ships or any of them put to the seas in fashion of war, the charge thereof is extraordinary, and not to be accounted within the aforesaid ordinary of £14,000 by the year.

Merchants' ships and barks presently in Her Highness's service ¹	The <i>Prymerose of London</i>	300	200
	The <i>Hart of Dover</i>	—	—
	The <i>Peter of Dover</i>	—	—
	The <i>Jhesus of Dover</i>	—	—

¹Cf. the *Prymeros*, *Swallow* of Dover and *Grayhond* of Dover serving with the fleet in the Narrow Seas at the start of the French war in May 1557: *CSPDM*, no. 766.

The <i>Grayhounde of Dartmouth</i>	–	40
The <i>Swallow of Dover</i>	40	40
The <i>Grayhounde of Dover</i>	40	40

[*Minuted by Cecil (against the Deptford section but not referring specifically to it)*]

800 [tuns]	<i>Henry Grace à Dieu</i>	burned 1553 ¹
120	The <i>Minion</i>	given to Sir Thomas Seymour ²
121	The <i>Primrose</i>	sold for £1,800, unde £1,000 paid ³
122	<i>Trinity Henry</i>	decayed utterly ⁴
123	The <i>Dragon</i>	} decayed
120	The <i>Lion</i>	

2 Ordinances for the Admiralty officers

[SP 12/15, no. 4 (CSPD 1547–80, p. 165)]⁵ [Undated; c. 1560]

For the office of our Admiralty and Marine Affairs.

Forasmuch as since the erection of the said office by our late dearest father King Henry the eight there hath been no certain ordinances established so as every officer in his degree is appointed to his charge; and considering that in these our days our Navy is one of the chiefest defence for the preservation of us and our realm against the malice of any

¹On 25 Aug. while docked at Woolwich: Machyn, *Diary*, p. 43. The ship, which the diarist called the ‘the grettest ... in the world’, had been rechristened *Edward* on Edward VI’s accession, but is remembered (as here) by the older name. See *NEM*, p. 487.

²Maternal uncle of Edward VI, and younger brother of Lord Protector Somerset; himself created Baron Seymour of Sudeley 16 Feb. 1547 and appointed Lord Admiral the following day; deprived of office 18 Jan. 1549 and executed for treason on 20 March: *ODNB. Hist. Parl. 1509–58*, iii, pp. 297–301. Glasgow (‘Royal Navy’, p. 75) saw this entry as ‘Given to London for trading’, a misreading which has complicated understanding of the ship’s history. She must have been given to Seymour by 10 Jan. 1548, because she is not in the RN list of that date which forms part of the great posthumous inventory of Henry VIII’s goods: *Inv. Hen. VIII*, pp. 144–6. Her ordnance is listed there (pp. 149–50) along with that of other ships, all delivered into the Tower 1 Jan. 1548.

³One of several redundant royal ships sold by Queen Mary. The Navy Treasurer’s account for 1554/5 confirms the sale of *Primrose* to a consortium of London merchants (Sir George Barne, Sir John Yorke, William Garrard and Francis Lambart) for £1,000, by authority of a warrant to the Lord Admiral and Navy Officers dated 10 Dec. 1554: *NEM*, p. 416.

⁴Still being maintained at the Colne yard in 1562/3 though the attempts to keep her afloat would soon thereafter be abandoned: cf. 4 (pp. 176–9, 386–9).

⁵A 17th-cent. copy in the British Library (Add. MS 9295, ff. 17–18v) assigns the piece to the reign of Edward VI. A synopsis with some extracts from the SP text was printed in H. B. Wheatley (ed.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Supplementary Volume, *Pepysiana* (1899), pp. 155–7.

foreign potentate, we have therefore thought good by great advice and deliberation to make certain ordinances and decrees, which our pleasure and express commandment is that all our officers shall on their parties execute and follow as they tender our pleasure, and will answer to the contrary.

The several offices as they are established:

The Vice-Admiral.

The Master of the Ordnance and Surveyor of the Marine Causes: one officer.

The Treasurer.

The Comptroller.

The General Surveyor of our Victuals.

The Clerk of our Ships.

The Clerk of our Store.

First, the said officers once in the week or as more as the case shall require, to assemble themselves together at our house at Tower Hill and consult upon such our causes as shall be meetest for the good order of our Navy, and once every month to make report to our High Admiral of their doings, or to the Vice-Admiral in his absence.

It is agreed that our ships shall be safely kept in harbour with as little charge as may be, and that the captain of our blockhouse of Upnor at Gillingham with his gunners shall be at the muster and under the charge of our Lord Admiral.

The Master of our Ordnance once a quarter or oftener shall make declaration to our Lord Admiral, or to the Vice-Admiral in his absence, of the state of his office and of such wants as shall be needful for his office, so as in time it may be supplied, and the books of his accounts and reckonings shall be quarterly signed by the hands of three or two of our said officers, whereof our Vice-Admiral to be one. And also he shall yearly by the books so subscribed account for his office before our Treasurer, Barons and other officers of our Exchequer. And the said office of the Ordnance shall be surveyed, considered and viewed once a quarter or oftener by our Vice-Admiral or others of our officers to be called by him.

The Treasurer to make declaration weekly to our Vice-Admiral of his receipts and payments [*inserted* and he to make no payments but] by warrants of three or two of our said officers, whereof our Vice-Admiral, Surveyor of our Ships and Comptroller to be always one. And at every quarter to make up his books, so as our charge may appear, and to have to his quarter books the subscription of three or two of our said officers, whereof our Vice-Admiral, Surveyor and Comptroller to be one. And once a month or oftener if need be, to signify to our Lord Admiral the state of

his office, or to our Vice-Admiral in his absence. Provided always that for all provisions, emptions and victuals, money may be so paid out by our Treasurer that where there is most need, the same may be first despatched by order of our officers as is aforesaid, and not otherwise.

The Surveyor General of our Victuals to make no victualling but such as shall be warranted unto him by the hands of three or two of our said officers, and at every quarter's end to have the hands of three or two of our officers to his quarter book, whereof our Vice-Admiral, Surveyor of our Ships and Comptroller to be one, and to receive the prests for his victualling at the hands of our said Treasurer. And once a month or oftener if need shall be, to make declaration to our Lord Admiral or to our Vice-Admiral in his absence of the state of his office. Provided always that there be a sufficient store of victuals always in readiness so as upon fourteen days' warning he may deliver victuals for 2,000 men to the seas for a month; and he is to account as the Treasurer does for his office.

The Surveyor of our Ships, Comptroller and Clerk of our Ships and Clerk of our Store to see our ships from time to time grounded and trimmed, and to keep them in that good order and readiness, that always upon fourteen days' warning we may set to the seas at the least twelve or sixteen sail, and the rest in short time after. And they to make and to bring in monthly a report to our Vice-Admiral and to the rest of our said officers of the state of our said ships, so as the same as occasion shall command may be declared to our Lord Admiral.

The Clerk of our Ships to make provision of timber and other necessaries for the building and repairing of our ships from time to time; albeit to enter the felling of no timber without the consent and agreement of three of our said officers, whereof the Vice-Admiral, Surveyor and Comptroller to be always one. And for money for his office to have it by prest at the hands of the Treasurer. And his accounts to be seen and perused by three or two of the officers, whereof the Vice-Admiral, Surveyor and Comptroller to be one, and the account to be subscribed by the hands of three or two of our said officers, and to be delivered over to the Treasurer to pass in his accounts.

The Clerk of the Store to keep perfect books of all such provisions as shall come to his hands, with the prices to be entered. And the same provisions to be delivered out of his office by warrants of three or two of our officers. And the same Clerk of the Store once a quarter or oftener as occasion shall command shall bring and deliver to our Lord Admiral, or in his absence to our Vice-Admiral, a note of all provisions in his charge, and he to account once a year before our Vice-Admiral, Surveyor and Comptroller and other our officers. And it is to be considered that once a quarter or oftener the store to be perused with the remainder a-shipboard,

and the waste and expenses of every ship for the whole year to be seen. And that there be such a special care had that for all sudden service there may be a sufficient furniture of provisions.

Item, our pleasure and commandment is that all our said officers do agree in one consultation, and all such necessary orders as shall be taken amongst them from time to time to be entered in a ledger book for the whole year, to remain of record.

The Assistants not to be accounted any of our head officers, but yet to travail in our causes when they shall be thereunto commanded or appointed by our Lord Admiral or Vice-Admiral or other officers.

Item, our mind and pleasure is that every of our said officers shall see into their fellows' offices, to the intent that when God shall dispose his will upon any of them, they living may be able, if we shall prefer any of them, to receive the same.

These ordinances to be read once a quarter amongst our officers, so as thereby every of them may the better understand his duty, and to be safely kept in our consultation house at Tower Hill.

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II

THE NAVY TREASURER'S QUARTER BOOK FOR
1562–1563

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The main item here [4] is the first of the five Quarter Books surviving from the reign of Elizabeth,¹ and is reproduced in full because of the unique insight which it provides into the detailed working of the Admiralty and its various agencies at that time.² The regular income of £12,000 a year provided by the warrant of 1559 is recorded in its successive tranches under 'Ordinary: Receipts'. Most of this revenue is absorbed by the wages and other charges itemised in the quarterly sections for the several royal dockyards, as 'Ordinary: Deptford' or 'Ordinary: Portsmouth'. Further charges against the same income are listed under 'Ordinary: Conduct' (recruitment of shipwrights, caulkers and other craftsmen), 'Ordinary: Prests' (money advanced to Edward Baeshe for the victualling of shipkeepers and workmen in the harbours), and 'Ordinary: Charges', which relate to the collection of the money from the Exchequer. Extraordinary income is listed separately. This was obtained under a number of ad hoc warrants from different sources, and was so called not because it was exceptional, but simply because it was not issued under the ordinary warrant. Extraordinary expenditure relates to the actual 'setting forth' of the ships to the seas, and apart from that incurred at Portsmouth, is mostly under one or other of the general categories. 'Extraordinary: Conduct' relates to the recruitment of seamen, gunners and soldiers to serve in the ships; 'Extraordinary: Prests' to money advanced to Baeshe for victualling the ships for active service, and 'Extraordinary: Charges' to a variety of miscellaneous costs, most of them relating to communications. The 'Extraordinary: Sea Charges' cover the diets and wages of captains, masters and mariners on active service. It should be noted that at this stage Gonson is still passing substantial sums of money to Baeshe, who accounted separately in accordance with the Privy Council order of 1557.³ This was to change with the introduction of the victualling contract in 1565.

¹The others are listed and related to the corresponding Declared Accounts in Appendix 1 below.

²A tabular synopsis is given below (pp. 16–18).

³*APC 1556–8*, p. 40.

The overall composition is uniform, as the following table shows. The most significant variations are in the entries for Portsmouth, much fuller as the yard became the centre of operations during the Le Havre campaign, and in the sections on conduct money and sea charges, which increase for the same reason.

Synopsis of the Quarter Book for 1562–63

[In this table the sectional headings have been amplified for clarity]

<i>Folios of MS</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>Pages of this edition</i>
Cover	Title	22
	<i>Year 1 January – 31 December 1562</i>	
1–2v	Ordinary receipts	23–6
3–7	Extraordinary receipts	26–31
8–57	Ordinary expenses: Deptford	
8–14v	<i>1 January – 31 March</i>	31–41
15–25	<i>1 April – 30 June</i>	41–56
26–41	<i>1 July – 30 September</i>	56–79
42–57	<i>1 October – 31 December</i>	79–104
58–67	Ordinary expenses: Woolwich	
58–60	<i>1 January – 31 March</i>	107–10
61–3	<i>1 April – 30 June</i>	110–13
64–5	<i>1 July – 30 September</i>	113–14
66–7	<i>1 October – 31 December</i>	114–16
68–112	Ordinary expenses: Gillingham	
68–77v	<i>1 January – 31 March</i>	116–28
78–88v	<i>1 April – 30 June</i>	128–42
89–101	<i>1 July – 30 September</i>	142–59
102–12	<i>1 October – 31 December</i>	159–75
113–116v	Ordinary expenses: Colne	
113r–v	<i>1 January – 31 March</i>	175–7
114r–v	<i>1 April – 30 June</i>	177
115r–v	<i>1 July – 30 September</i>	177–8
116r–v	<i>1 October – 31 December</i>	179–80
117–134v	Ordinary expenses: Portsmouth	
117r–v	<i>1 January – 31 March</i>	179–80
118r–v	<i>1 April – 30 June</i>	180–1
119–122v	<i>1 July – 30 September</i>	181–5

123–134v	<i>1 October – 31 December</i>	185–202
135–137v	Ordinary expenses: conduct money	
135–6	<i>To service</i>	203–4
137–137v	<i>From service</i>	204–5
138–138v	Ordinary expenses: prests	205–6
139	Ordinary expenses: Exchequer charges	206
140–43	Extraordinary expenses: conduct money	207–12
144–52	Extraordinary expense: miscellaneous charges	212–27
153–4	Extraordinary expenses: prests	227–8
155–8	Extraordinary expenses: Portsmouth (repairs)	229–33
159–62	Extraordinary expenses : sea charges	233–7
163–164v	Extraordinary expenses: conduct money	237–40

Year 1 January – 31 December 1563

165–166v	Ordinary receipts	240–2
167–173v	Extraordinary receipts	242–51
174–226	Ordinary expenses: Deptford	
174–185v	<i>1 January – 31 March</i>	251–6
186–99	<i>1 April – 30 June</i>	266–85
200–214v	<i>1 July – 30 September</i>	285–309
216–26	<i>1 October – 31 December</i>	309–27
227–232v	Ordinary expenses: Woolwich	
227–9	<i>1 January – 31 March</i>	327–30
230r–v	<i>1 April – 30 June</i>	330–1
231r–v	<i>1 July – 30 September</i>	331–2
232r–v	<i>1 October – 31 December</i>	332–3
233–270v	Ordinary expenses: Gillingham	
233–43	<i>1 January – 31 March</i>	333–47
244–254v	<i>1 April – 30 June</i>	347–62
255–63	<i>1 July – 30 September</i>	362–73
264–270v	<i>1 October – 31 December</i>	373–85
271–274v	Ordinary expenses: Colne	
271r–v	<i>1 January – 31 March</i>	385–6
272r–v	<i>1 April – 30 June</i>	386–7
273r–v	<i>1 July – 30 September</i>	387–8
274r–v	<i>1 October – 31 December</i>	388–9
275–307v	Ordinary expenses: Portsmouth	
275–83	<i>1 January – 31 March</i>	389–400
284–291v	<i>1 April – 30 June</i>	400–10
292–301	<i>1 July – 30 September</i>	410–24
302–307v	<i>1 October – 31 December</i>	424–32

308–309v	Ordinary expenses: conduct money	432–4
310–310v	Ordinary expenses: prests	435
311	Ordinary expenses: Exchequer charges	436
312–320	Extraordinary expenses: conduct money	436–49
321v	[Extraordinary expenses]: coat money	449–50
322–341v	Extraordinary expenses: miscellaneous charges	450–84
342–344v	Extraordinary expenses: prests	484–7
345–55	Extraordinary expenses: sea charges	487–500
356–61	Extraordinary expenses: conduct (homeward)	501–9

This volume corresponds exactly with the period covered by Gonson's Declared or summary account, rendered in this instance to special commissioners [5]. The book 'signed with the hands of the officers' referred to in the latter document is this same Quarter Book. However, the data from the Quarter Book is comprehensively re-assembled in the Declared Account, which had a different purpose, and the correspondences are not always easily seen. To assist cross-reference throughout this volume an algebraic key has been supplied, introduced by the # symbol:

A1–A4	ordinary 1562
B1–B18	extraordinary 1562
X1–X4	ordinary 1563
Y1–Y28	extraordinary 1563

The Quarter Book treats the years separately, and so has a second *recepta* for 1563 beginning at f. 167. Within each of these there are first the ordinary receipts from the four several tellers, then the extraordinary receipts from all the various sources in a single chronological order. The totals for 1562 (**A1–4**) and 1563 (**X1–4**) have been inserted editorially at the appropriate points.

The Declared Account, covering both years, structures the revenue more precisely. It first runs together the ordinary receipts from each teller for the combined years, and totals them, i.e. (**A1–4**) + (**X1–4**). It then lists receipts via the tellers on extraordinary warrants (**B3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13–18, Y2, 6, 10–12, 14–20, 22–8**), and gives a combined total from the tellers for ordinary and extraordinary. Then follow the receipts from all the other sources: the sales (**B1, 2**), the court of Wards (**B7, 10, 12**), the privy seal loan (**Y1, 3–5, 7–9, 13, 21**), the privy purse (**B5**), and finally the sale of the *Jerfalcon* (**B4**).

The Quarter Book does not provide cumulative totals of receipt and expenditure; its interest lies in the mass of particular detail it records. Fortuitously it also enables us to supply some *lacunae* in the Declared Account. As noted in the Introduction to Section III, the Exchequer scribe

telescoped some of the lists of warrants; but since his sub-totals are the same as those of the Quarter Book, the missing data can readily be recovered. With this reconstruction in place, it will be found that *recepta* or charge sides of both accounts match one another perfectly, and are internally correct. The Quarter Book has also been used to correct some other slips in the Declared Account. The Quarter Books and Declared Accounts do not cover fees and allowances of the Lord Admiral and the senior officials (Vice-Admiral or Lieutenant, Surveyor/Master of Ordnance, Treasurer, Comptroller, Clerk of the Ships, Keeper of the Storehouses), who were paid directly from the Exchequer under the terms of their respective patents. In 1562/3 this amounted to over £767 in main salaries, extended to a notional £1,357 including travel allowances and clerks' wages; discontinuance of the Vice-Admiral's post after 1564 reduced this outlay by £100+ *per annum*.¹

A few of the original privy seal warrants survive in the Exchequer files, and those which have been located are noted.² The signet warrants which authorised the application of the higher seal were often retained by the individual Lords Privy Seal; a good many others would have perished in the fire which destroyed the departmental archive in 1619. Just two relevant survivors have been found and noted against the entries in the Quarter Book.³ One warrant has been printed in full at the head of this section [3] as an example of the instruments to which the Quarter Book so often refers.

Some fragmentary drafts and other papers used in the preparation of this Quarter Book also survive in the Evelyn MSS now in the British Library. These shed interesting light on the compositional process, and supply some details omitted or compressed in the final version.⁴ There are complete fair copy versions of the Deptford and ordinary accounts for

¹See *NEM*, pp. 525–6.

²No warrants of any kind survive in the Exchequer files for 4 Eliz. (1561–62). Those which do for years 5 and 6 (1562–64) are in E 404/115. The individual warrants in this file are not separately numbered, and reference is made to the year bundles.

³Both from PSO 2/13, bundle May 1563 (those marked #Y6, #Y10 on pp. 244–5); the PSO warrants are gathered into monthly bundles, but are not individually numbered.

⁴BL, Add. MSS 78169–78171 (formerly Christ Church, Oxford, MSS 68, 69, 283). Evelyn's archive, along with his library, passed to descendants who in 1949 deposited them at Christ Church. The library was sold and dispersed in the 1970s, though a nucleus of some 300 volumes was preserved through purchase by the British Library. When the archive was sold by the Evelyn Trustees in 1995, the whole collection was acquired for the BL, with substantial assistance from the National Heritage Memorial Fund: T. Hoffmann et al., 'John Evelyn's Archive at the British Library', in *John Evelyn in the British Library* (BL publication, 1995), pp. 11–73, with (p. 59) a brief list of the Elizabethan naval MSS inherited from the Gonson family. Much fuller descriptions are given in the BL provisional catalogue, and in Appendix 4 below, which is developed from the BL catalogue by courtesy of the Library authorities.

the Christmas quarters¹ of 1562 and 1563 and fragments of the like for Deptford, Woolwich and Portsmouth in the Michaelmas, Lady Day and Christmas quarters of 1563. Some of these carry auditor's markings, while others are signed on each page by Holstock and George Winter. These survivals demonstrate that the Quarter Book went through at least two complete draft stages before the final version (which is also signed by William Winter). The draft versions include some marginal notes for rearrangement of material (as 'enter among the labourers'), a few separate bills attached by pin, and memoranda of settlements to individuals. The three files also contain some shorter deleted drafts, and original accounts which the Quarter Book summarises. The annotations and supporting papers show that the *expense* of the Quarter Book itself cannot be taken as a sure record of payments discharged. Some bills ostensibly settled in 1563 were still being paid off by instalments into the second half of 1565.

The penultimate rescensions are of particular importance in interpreting the suffix 'sr' appended to many names in all categories of the listed workforce. The abbreviation itself stands for the Latin *servus*, as 'mr' more obviously does for *magister*, though these terms would have been spoken and read in the English forms 'master' and 'server'. The latter was a general term for an artisan's assistant.² Some of the surviving drafts for the Quarter Book are marginated with brackets linking servers to a preceding name (usually but not always identified as master), and occasionally that name is added to the bracket, indicating that the servers' pay was delivered to him along with his own. In these cases at least it is clear that the groupings identify a settled sub-section of the workforce under a particular leader, perhaps in some cases his apprentices. Other margination seems merely to show that occasionally an individual's pay was entrusted to one of the dockyard officers, to a spouse or colleague, or even to a colleague's spouse. In many cases the qualification 'server' is not carried over from the draft, which explains some of the seemingly random pay scales in the final account. The edition notes the lost 'server' identifications in the few places where this is possible,³ and indicates where the drafts supply other details.

The Quarter Book itself consists of 370 paper folios bound in parchment. The paper itself was supplied by the London stationer William Prestwoode

¹Even though accounting was by quarters of the calendar year reckoned from 1 January (i.e. determining 31 March, 30 June, 30 September and 31 December), the quarters were loosely referred to by the names derived from the conventional terminal dates of Lady Day (25 March), Midsummer (24 June), Michaelmas (29 Sept.) and Christmas (25 Dec.). The names of the quarters do not appear in the finished book, but are often used in the papers from which this was compiled.

²*OED*, 'server', l.c.; cf. 'serve' v¹, 36.

³See particularly the example of Matthew Baker's servers noted in full on p. 87, where the draft supplies one 'server' identification which the final version gives in every other instance.

[p. 325]. The text occupies the first 361 folios (with occasional blanks), and is written in two fine clear examples of secretary hand, the second rather more flourished. The first 158 folios were evidently written by the Comptroller's clerk, Thomas Baker, who is paid for engrossing the books to 31 December 1562 [p. 451]. The second scribe (ff. 159–361) was Stephen Alexander, clerk at Deptford, who is paid for 'making perfect' the reckonings in the Quarter Books for the whole calendar year 1563 [p. 477].¹ In fact the last two sections for 1562 (159–163v) are in the second hand, though the division of labour accords broadly with the payments to Baker and Alexander. The modernised text reflects some slight variation in the respective scribal practices (for example, Baker generally wrote 'dock' and 'plank' but Alexander preferred 'docks' and 'planks'). The manuscript also contains auditing marks (such as 'ex' for *examinatur*), some additional calculations, and the occasional supply of missing section heads. The only foliation is by modern pencil, applied on every fifth leaf.

Although these books were public records, they must have been retained personally by Gonson (a common enough practice at the time), because they were inherited by his daughter, Thomasine. She married Christopher Browne, the son of Sir Richard Browne, a senior servant of the Earl of Leicester; through this connection the Gonson archive, together with many of Leicester's own papers, came eventually into the hands of Sir Richard's great-grand-daughter, Mary, who married John Evelyn.² From Evelyn much of this material, especially items of naval interest, passed to Samuel Pepys.³ After his death, the papers which had been bound and incorporated into his main library passed by bequest to Magdalene College, Cambridge, where they still remain. Other parts of Pepys's archive were acquired by Richard Rawlinson, and came in time to the Bodleian Library in Oxford; the surviving Quarter Books are preserved by that descent.

¹Alexander is identified as the second scribe by the record that he had entered up the Colne section for Michaelmas quarter 1563: BL, Add. MS 78171 [item 1(g)], f. 40, as detailed in Appendix 4 below. He had assisted the composition of the previous year's account, principally by supplying details from the pay-books: below, p. 225.

²The archival descent is fully set out in S. Adams, 'The papers of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. I. The Browne-Evelyn collection', *Archives*, XX (1992), pp. 63–85.

³Evelyn showed one of the volumes ('a Lieger of the Treasurer of the Navy ... just 100 years old') to Pepys on 24 Nov. 1665, which Pepys liked so much that Evelyn immediately made him a present of it, and promised to find others, yet older: Pepys, *Diary*, vi, pp. 307–8 and n. 1. Pepys eventually acquired eleven volumes of such accounts though only five survive, and it is the earliest of them (Rawlinson MS A. 200, for 1562–63) which is printed here. For the others, and their correspondence with the Exchequer Declared Accounts, see Appendix 1.

3 *Privy Seal warrant to the Exchequer for payment of ships at sea*

[E 404/115, bundle 5 Eliz. I]¹

28 October 1563

Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., to the Treasurer and Chamberlains of our Exchequer, greeting; and will and command you that, of such our treasure as is presently or hereafter shall come into the receipt of our said Exchequer, you do content and pay to our servant Benjamin Gonson, Treasurer of our Admiralty,² the sum of two hundred fifty-three pounds six shillings eight pence, to be by him paid over in prest to our servant Edward Baeshe, General Surveyor of our Victuals for the Seas,³ for the victualling of 380 men serving us on the Narrow Seas in the *Aid*, the *Falcon*, the *Phoenix*, the *Bark of Boulogne* and the *Hare*, under the charge of Sir Thomas Cotton, knight, for one month beginning the 29th day of October and to end the 25th of November next. And these our letters shall be your warrant and discharge in this behalf. Given under our privy seal at our castle of Windsor the 28th day of October the fifth year of our reign.

[*Countersigned*] Richard Oseley, [Clerk of the Privy Seal].

4 *Navy Treasurer's Quarter Book*

[Bodl. MS Rawlinson A. 200 (*Cat. Rawl.*, col. 260)]⁴

1562–63

[*Cover*] The accounts as well ordinary as extraordinary of Benjamin Gonson, Treasurer of the Queen's Majesty's Marine Causes, for two whole years begun the first day of January 1561 [1562] and ended the last day of December 1563.

¹Printed here as a sample of the type of warrant frequently cited in the next document. The issues it authorised are recorded in the Quarter Book as received 20 December: p. 250, entry #Y28.

²Appointed 8 July 1549: *CPR 1549–51*, p. 164; for further career details, see *NEM*, pp. 545–6.

³Appointed 18 June 1550: *CPR 1549–51*, p. 309; for further career details, see *NEM*, pp. 526–8.

⁴The MS has been annotated by an auditor. Where his marginalia supplement the sub-headings provided by the original scribe they are used here for the same purpose; where they make some further computation they are printed at the end of the paragraphs to which they relate. The frequent simple check mark 'ex' (for 'examinatur') is not printed. Otherwise the auditor's insertions are given here within square brackets preceded by *. The page headings are printed only where the formula changes, and the officers' signatures at the foot are printed only in the first and last instances.

[Part I: for the year 1 January – 31 December 1562]

[f. 1] **Ordinary. Receipts:**

Anno Domini 1561 [1562]. Anno regni regine Elizabethæ quarto

Money received by Benjamin Gonson, Treasurer of Her Highness's Marine Causes, upon Her Grace's warrants, as hereafter more plainly appeareth.

Received of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer by virtue of Her Grace's warrant of privy seal to them directed dated at Her Highness's palace of Westminster the 11th day of March 1558 [1559] and in the first year of Her Highness's reign, containing the sum of £12,000 by the year;¹ as well toward payment of wages and victuals of shipwrights, caulkers, sawyers, smiths and other artificers and workmen for new building and repairing of Her Grace's ships and provisions for the same; and for wages and victuals of masters, mariners and gunners keeping Her Highness's ships afloat in harbour; as also for provision of cordage, canvas and divers other needful things for the rigging and tackling of the said ships to the seas: of Richard Stoneley one of the four tellers there,² viz. the 24th day of March 1561 [1562] – £500; the 19th day of September 1562 – £500; the 5th day of November 1562 – £100; the 10th day of December 1562 *anno quinto dicti Elizabethæ reginæ*³ – £500; the 18th day of the same month – £500; the 25th day of the same – £1,000; the 28th day of the same – £700; and the last day of the same month – £600. In the whole –

¹See Introduction above, p. xxiv.

²The tellers received and recorded all sums payable into the Exchequer. For the office and the general administrative background see W. H. Bryson (ed.), 'A book of all the several officers of the court of Exchequer ... by Lawrence Squibb', in *Camden Miscellany vol. XXVI* (RHS Camden 4th ser. XIV, 1975), pp. 133–4; G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 20–21 and *passim*; Elton, 'The Elizabethan Exchequer: war in the Receipt', repr. in his *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government* (Cambridge, 1974–92), i, pp. 358–9 and *passim*; C. Coleman, 'Accident or artifice? The reorganization of the Exchequer of Receipt, c. 1554–1572', in Coleman and D. R. Starkey (eds), *Revolution Reassessed: Revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 168–9 and *passim*. Stoneley was appointed by patent 10 Feb. 1554: *CPR 1553–4*, p. 84. In post until surrender by 6 Feb. 1598, despite substantial defaults on his account revealed in the 1570s; died 1600: *Hist. Parl. 1558–1603*, iii, pp. 450–1. J. C. Sainty (comp.), *Officers of the Exchequer* (List & Index Soc., special ser. 18, 1983), p. 232. Coleman, *loc. cit.*, p. 191 & n. 101, and *passim*. As noted below, three of the four tellers featured in the present document met similar trouble.

³Elizabeth's fifth regnal year had begun on 17 Nov.

£4,400 [#A1].¹ **[Examinatur per certificatorium Thome Felton clerici pellium]*²

[f. 1v] Received of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer by virtue of Her Grace's warrant of privy seal to them directed dated at her palace of Westminster the 11th day of March 1558 [1559] and in the first year of Her Highness's reign, containing the sum of £12,000 by the year; as well toward payment of wages and victuals of shipwrights, caulkers, sawyers, smiths and other artificers and workmen for new building and repairing of Her Grace's ships and provisions for the same; and for wages and victuals of masters, mariners and gunners keeping Her Highness's ships afloat in harbour; as also for provisions of cordage, canvas and divers other needful things for the rigging and tackling of the said ships to the seas: of Thomas Gardener, esquire, one of the four tellers there,³ viz. the 8th day of May 1562 – £500; the 3rd day of June 1562 – £300; the 21th day of July 1562 – £100; the 20th day of August 1562 – £1,000; the 27th day of September 1562 – £500; the 27th day of November 1562 *anno quinto dicti Elizabethae regine* – £400; the 4th day of December 1562 – £100; the 12th day of the same month – £1,000; the 17th day of the same month – £150; the 28th day of the same month –

¹Inset references preceded by # relate the *recepta* of the Quarter Book to the equivalent entries in the Declared Account 5; see synopsis in Introduction above, p. 18.

²The clerk of the pells oversaw the work of the tellers and made further record of their receipts. The title, deriving from the pells or skins on which accounts were written, was originally and sometimes still phrased in the singular (*clericus pellis*), but the abbreviation *pell'* always used in this MS is extended to the plural form which gained currency. Felton's post was actually writer of the tallies (from appointment by Lord Treasurer Wiltshire 10 May 1550 to his death on 4 Sept. 1566), while the clerk of the pells was Robert Hare (from appointment by Lord Treasurer Winchester [as Wiltshire had become] 30 May 1560 until vacated by 1 April 1570); but these two officials were engaged in a prolonged contest for each other's responsibilities. Hare had been brought in as Winchester's personal deputy with wider remit and a more elaborate title ('clerk to the Lord Treasurer and writer and keeper of the pells of receipt and issue') which seemingly allowed Felton to poach the inferior but more ancient style 'clerk of the pell(s)'. Cf. Squibb, 'Officers of the Exchequer', p. 132; Sainty, *Exchequer Officers*, pp. 207, 215; Elton, *Tudor Revolution*, pp. 188, 252–3; *idem*, 'War in the Receipt', pp. 359–61, 365 and *passim*; J. D. Alsop, 'The Exchequer of Receipt in the reign of Edward VI' (Cambridge PhD dissertation, 1978), esp. pp. 58–9, 60–1, 334–7 (biographical notes on Felton), 308–13 (transcribing Felton's treatise on the procedures of the Receipt); Coleman, 'Artifice or accident?', pp. 168–9, 183–4 and *passim* (making use of further unpublished work by Prof. Alsop). The John Felton who assassinated Lord Admiral Buckingham in 1628 appears to have come from another branch of this family: A. Hervey, 'Playford and the Feltons', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*, IV (1874), pp. 21, 23, 39–40, 54. ODNB 'Felton, John'.

³Appointed by patent 19 Feb. 1560: *CPR 1558–60*, p. 281. Deprived 4 May 1569 and subsequently imprisoned for defrauding the Crown of almost £30,000 by speculation with public moneys held on account (not in itself illegal, but he had been unable to make restitution): *Hist. Parl. 1509–58*, ii, p. 187. Sainty, *Exchequer Officers*, p. 232. Coleman, 'Accident or artifice?', pp. 191, 192 & n. 107, 193 & n. 109.

£500; and the 30th day of the same month of December – £470. In all – £5,020 [#A2]. *[*Examinatur per certificarium clerici pellium predicti*]

[f. 2] Received of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer by virtue of Her Grace's warrant of privy seal to them directed dated at Her Highness palace of Westminster the 11th day of March 1558 [1559] and in the first year of Her Grace's reign, containing the sum of £12,000 by the year as well toward payment of wages and victuals of shipwrights, caulkers, sawyers, smiths and other artificers and workmen for new building and repairing of Her Highness's ships and provisions for the same, and for wages and victuals of masters, mariners and gunners keeping Her Grace's ships afloat in harbour; as also for provisions of cordage, canvas and divers other needful things for the rigging and tackling of the said ships to the seas: of William Patten, esquire, one of the four tellers there,¹ viz. the 9th day of November 1562 – £500; the 28th day of December 1562 *anno quinto dicti Elizabethae regine* – £540; the 29th day of the same month – £1,140. In all – £2,180 [#A3]. *[*Examinatur per certificarium predicti*]

[f. 2v] Received of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer by virtue of Her Grace's warrant of privy seal to them directed dated at her palace of Westminster the 11th day of March 1558 [1559] and in the first year of Her Highness's reign, containing the sum of £12,000 by the year, as well towards payment of wages and victuals of shipwrights, caulkers, sawyers, smiths and other artificers and workmen for new building and repairing of Her Grace's ships and provisions for the same and for wages and victuals of masters, mariners and gunners keeping Her Highness's ships afloat in harbour; as also for provision of cordage, canvas and diverse other needful things for the rigging and tackling of the said ships to the seas: of Henry Killigrew, esquire, one of the four tellers there,² the 24th day of December 1562 *anno quinto dicti*

¹Appointed by patent 23 June 1562: *CPR 1560–3*, p. 340. Suspended 17 Jan. 1568 on being found to have lost £7,900 of the Crown's money, and deprived 13 July. On loss of this and other public employments he turned to scholarship, though best remembered for his original publication *The expedition into Scotlāde of the most wootherly fortunate prince Edward* (1548), the account of the 1547 invasion which he accompanied as a military judge: *ODNB. Saintry, Exchequer Officials*, p. 232. Coleman, 'Artifice or accident?', p. 191 & n. 101. B. O'Kill, 'The printed works of William Patten (c. 1510–c. 1600)', *TCBS*, VII (1977), pp. 28–45. For his ancestry, cf. V. Davis, *William Waynflete: Bishop and Educationalist* (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, VI: Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 6–7.

²Appointed by patent 23 June 1561: *CPR 1560–3*, p. 127. Probably in reward for his service in Scotland the previous year, and in office until a year before his death in 1603, though his extensive political, military and diplomatic career meant his Exchequer duties were usually delegated. Knighted 1591: *ODNB. Hist. Parl. 1509–58*, ii, pp. 466–7; *1558–1603*, ii, pp. 374–5. Saintry, *Exchequer Officers*, p. 232. A. C. Miller, *Sir Henry Killigrew: Elizabethan Soldier and Diplomat* (Leicester, 1963), esp. pp. 66–7, 228–30.

Elizabethhe regine – £400. *Summa* – £400 [#A4]. *[*Examinatur per certificarorium predicti*]

[#A1–4: *total ordinary receipts 1562* – £12,000]

[f. 3] **Extraordinary. Receipts:**

Anno Domini 1561 [1562]. Anno regni regine Elizabethhe quarto

*[*Sale money*]. Received the 22th day of January *anno supradicto* of Thomas Gardener, esquire, one of the tellers of the receipt at Westminster and keeper of Her Grace's money growing upon the sales by virtue of Her Highness's warrant to him directed given under Her Grace's signet at her palace of Westminster the 21th day of this present, containing the sum of £8,000 appointed to be paid to divers persons by the High Treasurer or Under-treasurer of the Exchequer toward the satisfaction and payment of the marine causes or affairs within my charge, determinable upon mine account at Christmas last, as by the said appointment with the said Thomas Gardener remaining more plainly appeareth: the sum of three thousand pounds – £3,000 [#B1]. *[*Examinatur per certificarorium Thome Gardener*]

*[*Sale money*]. Received the 24th day of January *anno supradicto* of the aforesaid Thomas Gardener, esquire, one of the tellers of the receipt at Westminster and keeper of Her Grace's money growing upon the sales by virtue of Her Highness's warrant to him directed given under Her Grace's signet at Her Highness's palace of Westminster the 23th day of this present, containing the sum of £5,000 appointed to be paid to divers persons by the High Treasurer or Under-treasurer of the Exchequer towards the satisfaction and payment of the marine causes or affairs within my charge determinable upon mine account at Christmas last, as by the said appointment with the said Thomas Gardener remaining more plainly appeareth: the sum of three thousand pounds – £3,000 [#B2]. *[*Examinatur per certificarorium Thome Gardener*]

[f. 3v] Received the 8th day of March *anno supradicto* of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer by virtue of Her Grace's warrant of privy seal to them directed dated at Her Highness's palace of Westminster the 6th day of this present at the hands of Richard Stoneley, esquire, one of the tellers there, in full satisfaction and payment of Her Grace's marine affairs within my charge determinable upon mine account at the feast of Christmas last past: the sum of one thousand five hundred twenty-four pounds seven shillings – £1,524 7s [#B3]. *[*Examinatur per certificarorium predicti*]

Received the last day of September *anno supradicto* of Francis Lee of Rotherhithe, gunpowder maker, for a ship of Her Majesty's called the *Jerfalcon*, sold by virtue of Her Grace's warrant given under her signet at her manor of Greenwich the 29 day of June last, to the right trusty and well beloved the Lord Clinton and Saye, High Admiral of England,¹ &c. directed, the sum of four score pounds – £80 [#B4].

Received the 28th day of September *anno supradicto* of the Queen's most excellent Majesty by the hands of the Right Honourable Sir William Cecil, knight, Her Highness's Principal Secretary, to Her Grace's use towards the charges and maintenance of Her Majesty's Navy,² the sum of one thousand pounds current money – £1,000 [#B5].

[f. 4] *Anno Domini 1562. Anno regni regine Elizabethae quarto*

Received the 7th day of July *anno supradicto* of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer by virtue of Her Grace's warrant of privy seal to them directed dated at Her Grace's manor of Greenwich the 3rd day of this present of Richard Stoneley, one of the tellers there, by way of prest for the setting forth of the *Saker* and the *Phoenix* furnished for one month with 60 men appointed to transport Her Highness's provisions into the north parts:³ the sum of threescore six pounds thirteen shillings four pence – £66 13s 4d [#B6]. **[Examinatur per certificarium Thome Felton predicti]*

¹Edward, Baron Clinton and Saye (Earl of Lincoln 1572), Lord Admiral 1550–54; reappointed 10 Feb. 1558 and in office till his death (1585): *CPR 1557–8*, p. 2. *HBC*, p. 133; see fuller career details in *NEM*, pp. 542–3.

²A loan made available immediately out of the privy purse on the Queen's authority, for which a privy seal warrant was issued retrospectively on 17 July 1563 (cf. 18 below). Large reserves of cash were still kept in the royal palaces; from an early point in Elizabeth's reign Cecil had taken effective control of their disbursement, over the head of the Household official (First Gentleman of the Privy Chamber) formally in charge: P. Wright, 'A change in direction: the ramifications of a female household, 1558–1603', in D. Starkey (ed.), *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (1987), pp. 152–3 & n. 25, drawing attention to a note of miscellaneous payments by Cecil on the Queen's authority, May–Aug. 1561: *HMC, Salisbury*, i, pp. 261–2. The present detail usefully corroborates the evidence noted by Wright and the inference drawn from it.

³Extra provisions were required in the north in anticipation of the passage of the Queen of Scots and a train of 1,000 en route to an interview with Elizabeth. Articles for the meeting, at York or as far south as Nottingham, were concluded at Greenwich on 6 July. On 8 July the Privy Council ordered 200 quarters of wheat and the like of malt to be bought in Buckinghamshire and sent to Berwick. Arrangements were still being made on 12 July, but the meeting was cancelled three days later: *APC 1558–70*, p. 113. *Cal. Scot. 1547–63*, no. 1126 (pp. 640–1). *SP 12/23*, no. 53 (*CSPD 1547–80*, p. 202). This entry suggests that the provisioning mission was set in hand three days before the terms of the interview were formally agreed; no evidence has been found that the ships actually sailed, so this charge may simply cover aborted preparations.

Received the 23th day of July *anno supradicto* of Sir William Damsell, knight, Receiver-general of Her Grace's court of Wards and Liveries,¹ by virtue of Her Highness's warrant to him directed given under Her Grace's signet at her manor of Greenwich this present 23th day of July: the sum of eight hundred three score twelve pounds ten shillings; as well to be immediately delivered over to Edward Baeshe, General Surveyor of Her Grace's victuals for the seas, for the victualling of four ships and one bark with 990 men, as also for the conduct money of 850 men appointed to be called to serve Her Grace in her said ships – £872 10s [#B7]. **[Examinatur per certificariorium Willielmi Dansell militis]*

[f. 4v] Received the 4th day of September *anno supradicto* of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer by virtue of Her Grace's warrant of privy seal to them directed dated at her manor of Greenwich the 4th day of August last by the hands of Richard Stoneley, esquire, one of the tellers there: the sum of one hundred forty pounds, to be delivered over to Edward Baeshe, General Surveyor of Her Grace's victuals for the seas, for the victualling of 140 men for 6 weeks appointed to serve Her Highness in one of her ships and a bark called the *Willoughby* and the *Phoenix*, as well for the waftage of certain Her Highness's munitions presently shipped for Her Grace's realm of Ireland, as for the apprehension of certain pirates at the seas² – £140 [#B8]. **[Examinatur per certificariorium Thome Felton clerici pellium]*

Received the 15th day of September *anno supradicto* of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer by virtue of Her Grace's warrant of privy seal to them directed dated at her manor of Greenwich the 4th day of this present, by the hands of Richard Stoneley, one of the tellers there: the sum of one hundred thirteen pounds six shillings eight pence, to be paid over in prest to Edward Baeshe, General Surveyor of Her Grace's sea victuals, for one month of 28 days for 170 men appointed to serve Her Highness at the seas in the *New Bark* and the *Saker* – £113 6s 8d [#B9]. **[Examinatur per certificariorium predicti]*

[f. 5] Received the 9th day of September *anno supradicto* of Sir William Damsell, knight, Receiver-general of Her Grace's court of Wards and

¹Appointed 27 Dec. 1550; reappointed 17 Jan. 1554 with special proviso preserving his function and revenues in event of the court's reorganisation or dissolution: *CPR 1549–51*, p. 311; *1553–4*, p. 49. A Merchant Adventurer who had entered public service as the Crown's factor in the Netherlands (1546–52), and knighted 1553. Retained his appointment in Wards to his death in 1582: *Hist. Parl. 1509–58*, ii, pp. 9–10; *1558–1603*, ii, p. 11. J. Hurstfield, *The Queen's Wards: Wardship and Marriage under Elizabeth I* (1958), pp. 212, 226–7 and *passim*.

²In June the Privy Council had been informed of piracies in the Irish Sea and elsewhere, and on 30 July the Queen ordered Clinton to send four ships (evidently including *Swallow*) under Sir William Woodhouse to clear pirates from the English Channel: *APC 1558–70*, pp. 107–8, 129–30; SP 12/23, no. 64 (*CSPD 1547–80*, p. 203).

Liveries, by virtue of Her Highness's warrant under her signet at her manor of Greenwich the 7th day of this present: the sum of three hundred twenty-six pounds thirteen shillings four pence, for the wages and conduct money home of 400 mariners presently to be discharged out of two of Her Grace's ships the *Hope* and the *Lion* – £326 13s 4d [#B10]. *[*Examinatur per certificatorium Willielmi Dansell militis*]

Received the 19th day of September *anno supradicto* of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer by virtue of Her Grace's warrant of privy seal to them directed dated at her manor of Greenwich the 15th day of this present, at the hands of Richard Stoneley, one of the four tellers there: the sum of one hundred and thirty pounds, to be immediately paid over to Edward Baeshe, General Surveyor of Her Grace's victuals, for the victualling of 390 men for 14 days appointed to serve Her Highness at the seas in the *Hart*, the *Swallow* and the *Hare* – £130 [#B11]. *[*Examinatur per certificatorium Thome Felton predicti*]

[f. 5v] Received the 5th day of October *anno supradicto* of Sir William Damsell, knight, Receiver-general of Her Grace's court of Wards and Liveries, by virtue of Her Highness's warrant to him directed, given under her signet at Her Grace's honor of Hampton Court the second day of this present: the sum of one hundred fourescore six pounds thirteen shillings four pence, to be delivered over in prest to Edward Baeshe, General Surveyor of Her Grace's victuals for the seas, for the victualling of 560 men for 14 days appointed to serve Her Highness at the seas in the *Swallow*, the *Hart*, the *New Bark*, the *Saker* and the *Hare* – £186 13s 4d [#B12]. *[*Examinatur per certificatorium Willielmi Dansell*]

Received of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer by virtue of Her Grace's warrant of privy seal to them directed dated at Her Highness's honor of Hampton Court the 14th day of October: the sum of seven hundred twenty-seven pounds six shillings eight pence, for the payment of masters and men of three Her Grace's ships now discharged, *viz.* of Richard Stoneley, one of the tellers, there the 16th day of this present month of October at the hands of Burde and Smythe – £519; and of Thomas Gardener, one of the tellers, there the same day – £208 6s 8d [#B13]. *Summa* – £727 6s 8d. *[*Examinatur per certificatorium Willielimi Dansell*].

[f. 6] Received the 6th day of November *anno supradicto* of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer by virtue of Her Grace's warrant of privy seal to them directed dated at her manor of Hampton Court the third day of this present at, the hands of Richard Stoneley, one of the tellers, there: the sum of one hundred twenty pounds, to be delivered over in prest to Edward Baeshe, General Surveyor of Her Grace's victuals for the seas; as well for a provision of victuals for three weeks for 200

men serving Her Highness at the seas in the *New Bark*, the *Saker* and the *Hare*, to begin the first of this present month of November; as also for one month's victuals for 30 men likewise appointed to serve Her Highness at the seas in the *Double Rose* to begin the 13th day of October last – £120 [#B14]. *[*Examinatur per certificarium Thome Felton predicti*]

Received the 11th day of November *anno supradicto* of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer by virtue of Her Grace's warrant of privy seal to them directed dated at her honor of Hampton Court the 8th day of this present, at the hands of Richard Stoneley esquire one of the tellers there: the sum of threescore four pounds, for the prest and conduct of 320 mariners for the conduction of five Her Grace's ships to Portsmouth for Her Highness's service, *viz.* the *Antelope*, the *Jennet*, the *Greyhound*, the new ship¹ and the *Bark of Boulogne* – £64 [#B15]. *[*Examinatur per certificarium Thomas Felton predicti*]

[f. 6v] Received of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer by virtue of Her Grace's warrant of privy seal to them directed dated at Her Highness's honor of Strand² the 15th day of November: the sum of three hundred fourscore-six pounds thirteen shillings four pence, to be delivered over in prest to Edward Baeshe, General Surveyor of Her Grace's victuals for the seas, as well for three weeks' victuals for the *Phoenix* for 40 men begun the first of this month of November, and for one month's victuals for the *New Bark*, the *Saker*, the *Hare* and the *Phoenix* with 240 men serving Her Highness at the seas to begin the 22th day of this present month of November;³ as also for the like victualling of 310 men for one month appointed to carry and transport certain Her Grace's ships from Gillingham to Portsmouth, *viz.* the *Jennet*, the *Antelope*, the *Greyhound*, the new ship and the *Bark of Boulogne*; *viz.* of Richard Stoneley the 18th day of November *anno quinto supradicto regine Elizabethæ* – £100; of Henry Killigrew the 19th day of the same month and year – £246 13s 4d; and of William Patten the 20th day of the same month and year – £40. *Summa* – £386 13s 4d [#B16]. *[*Examinatur per certificarium Thome Felton predicti*]

Received of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer by virtue of Her Grace's warrant of privy seal to them directed dated at her manor of Strand the 7th day of December *anno supradicto*: the sum of five

¹The *Aid*, which had been launched at Deptford on 6 October. As explained in the victualling schedule [25], on arrival at Portsmouth she took the place originally designated for *New Bark*, with the same complement; *New Bark's* captain transferred to the new ship *wef* 1 Dec.: below, pp. 228, 235, 236.

²Somerset Place, which had been Elizabeth's town house before her accession, and was occasionally used by her as Queen.

³Cf. Baeshe's application for a warrant of £160 to victual these four ships for the month beginning 22 Nov. [24].

hundred twenty-one pounds six shillings and eight pence, to be employed as well for the diets of William Driver, captain of the *New Bark*, and wages of 119 persons serving there as masters, mariners and gunners for four months one week beginning the 4th day of August last and ending the last of November following, and for Thomas Hare, captain of the *Phoenix*, and [Robert]¹ Marsh, captain of the *Hare*, each of them having 39 persons serving in them, for like time and rate, and to John Henshaw, captain of the *Saker*, and 49 persons serving under him for like time and rate, and to Thomas Elye, master of the *Double Rose* and 29 persons serving there by the space of 7 weeks 2 days begun the 11th day of October last and ending the last day of November last for like time and rate; viz. of Richard Stoneley, one of the tellers there, the 16th day of December *anno supradicto* – £200; of Henry Killigrew, one other of the tellers there, the 26th day of the same month of December *anno supradicto* – £221 6s 8d; and of Thomas Gardener, another of the tellers there, the 27th day of the same month of December – £100. *Summa* – £521 6s 8d [#B17].

[f. 7] Received the 24th day of December *anno supradicto* of the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer by virtue of Her Grace's warrant of privy seal to them directed dated at Her Highness's manor of Strand the 8th day of this present, at the hands of Henry Killigrew, one of the tellers there: the sum of two hundred pounds, to be delivered over in prest to Edward Baeshe, General Surveyor of Her Grace's victuals for the seas, for the victualling of six Her Highness's ships, viz. the *New Bark*, the *Saker*, the *Phoenix*, the *Hare*, the *Bark of Boulogne* and the *Double Rose* for one month of 28 days to begin the 20th day of this present month of December and to end the 16th day of [January]² next – £200 [#B18].
*[*Examinatur per certificadorium predicti*] [f. 7v blank]

[#B1–18: total extraordinary receipts 1562 – £12,459 10s 4d]

[f. 8] **Ordinary. Deptford:**

Anno Domini 1562. Anno regni regine Elizabethhe quarto

A payment made the last day of March as well to keepers of storehouses, dock and timber-yards, as also to shipwrights, caulkers, sawyers, smiths, carpenters, labourers and others working upon the new building of Her Grace's ships there and provisions for the same, and to sundry persons

¹MS 'Thomas', doubtless by confusion with the preceding Thomas, and perhaps also with the Thomas Marше occurring a little below (p. 32); *Hare's* captain and Captain Hare are correctly distinguished at pp. 235–6. 161. Cf. also *NEM*, pp. 549–50, 559.

²MS 'Februarij', in obvious error. Cf. Baeshe's application for this warrant [25].

for divers provisions of them had and delivered into Her Highness's storehouse for the use of Her Grace's ships; begun the first day of January last and this day ended, as followeth:

*[*Timber-yard keeper*]. To Thomas Marshe, mariner,¹ the last day of March for his wages daily attending and serving Her Highness in safe-keeping of Her Grace's timber-yards wherein lieth her timber, plank and board for the use of her ships, as also for the rigging, grounding and tackling of Her Grace's ships to the seas, by the space of 12 weeks 6 days begun the first day of January last and this day ended, at 20s every month – £3 4s 3d.

*[< deleted *Labourers'* > *Mariners' wages – 42s 10d; victuals – 42s 10d*]. To Robert Tasse and William Olyve, mariners, the same day for their wages daily attending and serving Her Highness in labouring about the coiling and tarring of cables, cablets, hawsers and other provisions brought into the storehouses and the same delivered out again for the use of Her Grace's ships, by the space of 12 weeks 6 days begun and ended as aforesaid, at 6s 8d every month the man – 42s 10d; and more to them for their victuals for the like time as abovesaid, at 20d every week the man – 42s 10d. *Summa* – £4 5s 8d.

[*Signed*] W. Winter. William Holstock. G. Winter.²
Summa – £7 9s 11d.³

[f. 8v] * [*Labourer in coiling of cables*]. To Richard Harwood, mariner, the last day of March for his wages and victuals daily attending and serving Her Highness in labouring about the carriage of provisions and coiling up of cables in Her Grace's storehouse for the use of her ships, by the space of 12 weeks 6 days begun the first day of January last and ended as aforesaid, at 13s 4d every month. *Summa* – £2 2s 10d.

* [*Shipkeeper*]. To William Partricke, mariner, the same day for his wages daily attending and serving Her Highness in safe-keeping of one

¹Here and in similar entries in the Deptford sections the abbreviation 'mr' is taken to stand for 'mariner' rather than (as it normally does) 'master'. Marshe the timber-yard keeper is 'mr' in every quarterly entry, while most other names are invariably followed by 'mariner'. But for two of the labourers the style varies in successive quarters: John Benwell is 'mr' ×3, 'mariner' ×3, then 'mr' again; Richard Harwood is 'mariner' ×2, 'mr', 'mariner' ×3, 'mr' ×2. Nothing can be deduced from the scribal variations, and it is safest to extend the abbreviation to the word by which these officials are elsewhere described.

²William Winter, Surveyor and Rigger (1549–89), William Holstock, Comptroller (1561–89) and William's brother George Winter, Clerk of the Ships (1560–80); for full career details see *NEM*, pp. 551–2, 571–2. The signatures of these officers appear at the foot of each succeeding page (except the blanks); they are printed only in this instance and the last.

³The sum of the page, occasionally written '*Summa pagine*', hereafter signalled '[*Page total*]'.

of Her Grace's new ships lying in the dry dock¹ there by like time of 3 months 6 days begun and ended as aforesaid, at 6s 8d every month. *Summa* – £1 1s 5d.

*[*Labourer*]. To John Benwell, mariner, the same day for his wages daily attending and serving Her Highness in labouring about the carriage of provisions and coiling up of cables by like 12 weeks 6 days begun and ended as aforesaid, at 13s 4d *per mensem* – £2 2s 10d.

*[*Shipkeeper*]. To Giles Hall, mariner, the same day for his wages serving Her Highness in safe-keeping of one of Her Grace's ships at Deptford lying in the dry dock there,² by like time of one quarter of a year begun and ended as aforesaid, at 13s 4d *per mensem* – £2 2s 10d.

*[*Labourer in coiling of cables*]. To Thomas Larke and Christopher Brayfot, mariners, the same day for their wages and victuals daily attending and serving Her Highness in labouring about the carriage of provisions and coiling up of cables as aforesaid, by like time of 12 weeks 6 days begun and ended as aforesaid, at 13s 4d every man the month. *Summa* – £4 5s 8d.

[*Page total*] – £11 15s 7d.

[f . 9] *[*Shipkeeper*]. To Paul Saunders, boatswain, the last day of March for his wages daily attending and serving Her Highness in safe-keeping of her ship named the *Jerfalcon* there by the space of 12 weeks 6 days begun the first day of January last and ended as aforesaid, at 6s 8d the month. *Summa* – £1 1s 5d.

*[*Keeper of prick and cheque book*].³ To James Jentill the same day for his wages daily serving Her Highness for the keeping of the prick and

¹Dry docks were originally, and still at this time, excavated basins sealed off with walls of earth and rubble before being pumped dry, to enable the undersides of ships to be inspected and repaired. Such docks existed at all the main bases, although ships were still frequently beached outside of a dock, for routine maintenance (cf. below, p. 35. 10). It appears to have been at Deptford in 1578 that closable timber gates were first introduced, a major technical innovation which significantly assisted English maritime development: Oppenheim, *History*, p. 150. Rodger, *Safeguard*, pp. 335–6. B. Dietz, 'Dikes, dockheads and gates: English docks and sea power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *MM*, LXXXVIII (2002), pp. 145, 153 n. 12.

²The *George* hoy; cf. below, p. 57 and other entries.

³The officer later known as clerk of the cheque, keeping the muster-book of the dockyard workforce, recording payments and absences; for his functions (and abuses of them), see R. C. Latham (ed.), *Samuel Pepys and the Second Dutch War: Pepys's Navy White Book and Brooke House Papers* (NRS, Vol. 133, 1995), pp. 64–5 and *passim*. A pin-prick marked each man's attendance: cf. the nineteenth-century 'prick-bill' at Christ Church, Oxford [*OED*]. This form of the word 'check', a usage distinct from that in banking, survives in the titles of officers of the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen at Arms and The Queen's Bodyguard of the Yeoman of the Guard. Cf. E. F. Rimbault (ed.), *The Old Cheque-Book, or Book of Remembrance, of the Chapel Royal, from 1561 to 1744* (Camden Soc. new ser. III, 1872), pp. xii–xiii.

cheque book of masters, mariners and gunners serving in Her Grace's ships within the river of Thames, by the space of 90 days begun and ended as aforesaid, at 8d *per diem*. *Summa* – £3.

*[*Keeper of storehouse*]. To Henry Abraham the same day for his wages daily attending and serving Her Highness for the safe-keeping of Her Grace's storehouses there wherein lieth divers and sundry kinds of provisions as cables, hawsers, small cordage, oakum and other sorts of stuffs for the use of Her Grace's ships, by like 90 days begun and ended as aforesaid, at 8d *per diem* – £3.

*[*Purveyor*]. To Edward Gotley the same day for his wages daily attending and serving Her Highness in providing of all kinds of provisions and necessaries for the building and repairing of Her Grace's ships, by like time of 90 days begun and ended as aforesaid, at 8d *per diem*. *Summa* – £3.

*[*Surveying of provisions*]. To Thomas Thomas the same day for his wages daily serving Her Highness for the taking of the survey of all manner of necessary provisions had of divers persons for the furniture of Her Grace's ships, as well at their setting forth to the seas as also at their coming home again into harbour, by like time of 90 days begun the first day of January last and ended as abovesaid, at 8d *per diem* – £3.

[*Page total*] – £13 1s 4d.

[f. 9v] *[*Keeper of timber-yard*]. To John Kinge, mariner, the last day of March for his wages daily attending and serving Her Highness in safe-keeping of her timber-yards wherein lieth Her Grace's timber for the use of her ships, by the space of 3 months 6 days begun and ended as aforesaid, at 6s 8d *per mensem* – £1 1s 5d.

*[~~Labourer~~ *Plug keeper*]. To William Ally, labourer, the same day for his wages daily serving Her Highness about the keeping of the plug and letting out of the water for the dry keeping of the same dock wherein lieth Her Grace's two new ships,¹ by like time of 90 days begun and ended as abovesaid, at 8d *per diem*. *Summa* – £3.

*[*Keeper of timber-yard*]. To Thomas Woodde, porter, the same day for his wages daily serving Her Highness in safe-keeping of the timber-yards there wherein lieth Her Grace's timber, plank, masts, reed and other necessaries for the use of her ships, by like 90 days begun and ended as aforesaid, at 8d *per diem* – £3.

*[*Riding charges*]. To John Elmer, messenger, the same day for his wages daily serving Her Highness for the carrying of the officers' letters

¹That is, breaching and closing up the wall of the dock as required; the temporary nature of this 'plug' involved frequent maintenance. Cf. Oppenheim, *Naval Accounts Hen. VII*, pp. 170–1. The ships are identified below (p. 61) as *Triumph* and *Victory*.

in post to divers and sundry places along the sea coasts for the marine causes, by like time of 90 days begun and ended as abovesaid, at 12d *per diem* – £4 10s.

*[*Shipwright*]. To Augustino Levello, Venetian shipwright, the same day for his wages daily attending and serving Her Highness for the repairing and mending of Her Grace's two galleys,¹ by the like 90 days begun and ended as aforesaid, at 16d *per diem*. *Summa* – £6.

[*Page total*] – £17 11s 5d.

[f. 10] *[*Clerk*]. To Stephen Alexander the last day of March for his wages daily attending and serving Her Highness for the writing making and keeping of the book of report of all such provisions and necessaries had and taken of sundry persons for the use of Her Grace's ships, for one quarter of a year due as aforesaid. *Summa* – £6 13s 4d.

*[*Caulker*]. To Robert Hart the same day for his wages daily serving Her Highness in giving attendance for the caulking of Her Grace's ships by like time of 90 days begun and ended as abovesaid, at 8d *per diem* – £3.

*[*Caulker*]. To Thomas Bolton, caulker, the same day for his wages daily attending and serving Her Highness for the caulking of her ships at their groundings, by 90 days begun the first day of January last and ended the 26 day of March, at 8d *per diem* – £2 16s 8d.

*[*Shipwright*]. To Matthew Baker, shipwright,² the same day for his wages daily attending and serving Her Highness in her ships by the space of 90 days begun the first day of January last and ended as abovesaid, at 8d every day. *Summa* – £3.

*[*Shipwright*]. To Edward Bright, master shipwright,³ the same day for his wages daily attending and serving Her Highness for the working upon Her Grace's ships there by the space of 78 days within this time begun the first day of January last and ended the 19th day of this present, at 12d *per diem* – £3 18s.

[*Page total*] – £19 8s.

¹In fact the Navy had three galleys in service at this time: *Mermaid* (or *Black Galley*), *Speedwell* and *Tryright*, each originally a French prize. Henry VIII's *Galley Subtle* (or *Red Galley*) had gone out of service in 1559, and was to be replaced in 1563 with *Eleanor* (p. 419 below), also of French origin. Because English shipwrights had no skill with galleys, this Italian was retained at a special wage to look after them. In fact three are mentioned next time (p. 44), but the entry reverts to two (pp. 61, 85), before becoming unspecific (p. 254), so must refer only to the numbers under repair in any particular quarter.

²Later the Queen's master shipwright by patent 23 June 1572: *CPR 1569–72*, no. 3303; for full career details see *NEM*, pp. 529–30.

³Co-builder of *Elizabeth Jonas*; for career details see *NEM*, pp. 533–4.

[f. 10v] <i>Shipwrights</i> *[<i>Artificers</i>]	
Peter Pett, master, ¹ 7 days at 12d	7s
Christopher Sweteman, server, ² 6 days at 6d	3s
George Kingstun, 6 days at 4d	2s
Edward Bright, master, 12 days at 12d	12s
Davy Baker, server, 12 days at 6d	6s
Thomas Jewell, 12 days at 6d	6s
Daniel Bright, 12 days at 6d	6s
<i>Caulkers</i> *[<i>Artificers</i>]	
Thomas Bolton, master, 5 days at 8d	3s 4d
William Bolton, server, 5 days at 6d	2s 6d
Walter Claye, 5 days at 6d	2s 6d
Richard Bartun, 5 days at 7d	2s 11d
John Graye, server, 5 days at 5d	2s 1d
Robert Brigges, 5 days at 7d	2s 11d
John Dowell, 4 days at 6d	2s
James Dowell, 4 days at 5d	20d
<i>Smiths</i> *[<i>Artificers</i>]	
Richard Welles, 45 days at 8d	30s
Thomas Welles, server, 45 days at 4d	15s
Richard Atkinson, 45 days at 4d	15s
Thomas Wattes, 42 days at 6d	21s
Thomas Davy, 42 days at 6d	21s
Thomas Jonson, 45 days at 6d	32s 6d
[<i>Page total</i>] – £9 6s 5d.	

[f. 11] *Victualling*. To Peter Pett, master shipwright, the 21th day of January for the victualling of himself and 20 other shipwrights, caulkers and smiths working upon Her Highness's ships there by the space of 430 days among them all, Sundays and holy days in the same accounted, begun the first day of January and ended as abovesaid, which maketh 61 weeks 3 days, at 4s every week the man. *Summa* – £12 5s 9d.

Lodging. To Thomas Bolton and Neme Welles the 24th day of February for the lodging of 13 of the aforementioned shipwrights, caulkers, smiths and other[s] working upon Her Grace's two new ships there, in seven featherbeds by the space of 53 weeks among all, begun the first day of January last and ended as abovesaid, at 2d every week the man. *Summa* – 8s 10d.

[*Page total*] – £12 14s 7d.

¹Royal master shipwright by patent 29 April 1558, granting this daily fee: *CPR 1557–8*, p. 100; for full career details see *NEM*, p. 562.

²Assistant: see Introduction, p. 20, for the significance of this commonly occurring term.

[f. 11v] *House-carpenters*

John Leache, 31 days at 12d	31s
Thomas Hill, 39 days at 10d	32s 6d
John Thrall, 38 days at 9d	28s 6d
Robert Thorrelley, 38 days at 7d	22s
	*[£5 14s 2d]

Labourers

Willam Ally, master, 30 nights at 4d	10s
Richard Raynsforth, 12 days at 7d	7s
John Hurlestone, 94 days and tides ¹ at 6d	47s
Nicholas Gest, 94 days and tides at 6d	47s
Thomas Thisstellton, 94 days and tides at 6d	47s
George Mathew, 94 days and tides at 6d	47s
John Lowman, 94 days and tides at 6d	47s
James Howper, 94 days and tides at 6d	47s
John Gibson, 5 days at 6d	2s 6d
Henry Stevenson, 4 days at 6d	2s
George Bell, 2 days at 6d	12d
John Twyford, 2 days at 6d	12d
Robert Scot, 1 day at 6d	6d
John Jennyns, 1 day at 6d	6d
Robert Marshall, 3 days at 6d	18d
John Bastian, 2 days at 6d	12d
William Kelley, 4 days at 6d	2s
Edward Plumer, 4 days at 6d	2s
Richard Shaftes, 1 day at 6d	6d
Edward Lamtun, 1 day at 6d	6d
Henry Courtland, 1 day at 6d	6d
	*[£15 14s 6d]

[Page total] – £21 8s 8d.

[f. 12] *Watchmen*

Nicholas Gest, 36 nights at 6d	18s
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¹A tide was originally the term applied to the interval between tides (i.e. slack water) when certain work could be undertaken on ships which had been beached. It then became a standard unit of overtime or bonus payment for difficult or urgent work, irrespective of the actual state of the water. These entries therefore mean that the man concerned did so much time at the standard rate and then so much overtime, bringing his total earnings to the equivalent of (in this first instance) 94 days at the standard rate. The implication is that the six men listed here were a gang employed on a specific job. 'Night' could also mean a fixed unit of 5 hours' overtime, and is probably so used here. By the Restoration a 'tide' had become a fixed unit of 1½ hours' overtime; for these later usages see R. V. Saville (ed.), 'The management of the royal dockyards, 1672–1678', in N. A. M. Rodger (ed.), *The Naval Miscellany, Volume V* (NRS, Vol. 125, 1984), pp. 97–8; Pepys, *Navy White Book*, pp. 45, 46 & n. 1.

John Hurleston, 36 nights at 6d	18s
Thomas Thissellton, 36 nights at 6d	18s
George Mathew, 36 nights at 6d	18s
James Howper, 36 nights at 6d	18s
John Loweman, 36 nights at 6d	18s
Thomas Smythe, 32 nights at 6d	16s
William Partrick, 25 nights at 6d	12s 6d
Paul Saunders, 26 nights at 6d	13s
John Twyford, 22 nights at 6d	11s
Edward Plumer, 20 nights at 6d	10s
Henry Stevenson, 19 nights at 6d	9s 6d

[Page total] – £9.

[f. 12v] *Emptions*

Timber, plank, shores and trenails. To James Davyson of London the last day of March for price of 23 loads 8 foot of timber oak of him had and delivered at Deptford for the use of Her Highness's ships, at 10s every load after 50 foot to the load. *Summa* – £11 11s 8d.

To Richard Dyngle of Chislet the same day for price of 6 loads and a half of elm timber of him had and delivered as aforesaid for the use of Her Grace's ships, at 5s every load – 32s 6d; and more to him for 5 loads of oaken shores after talwood mark,¹ at 5s every load – 25s. *Summa* – £2 17s 6d.

To Henry Fyllyan of Yalding in Kent the last day of March for price of 1,740 foot of 4-inch plank oak of him had and delivered at Deptford Strand for the new building and making of Her Highness's two ships there, at 11s every 100 foot – £9 11s 10d; more for 2,924 foot of 3-inch plank oak, at 11s every 100 foot – £16 1s 9d; more for 832 foot of 2-inch plank oak, at 10s every 100 foot – £4 3s 1½d; more for 5 loads 30 foot of timber oak, at 11s every load after 50 foot to the load – £3 3s 3d; and more to him for 13,000 of trenails of 24 inches long, at 2s every 100 – £13. *Summa* – £45 19s 11½d.

To the said Henry Fyllyan the same day for price of 4,349 foot of 4-inch plank of him had and delivered as aforesaid for the use of Her Highness's ships, at 11s every 100 – £23 18s 4½d; more for 2,379 foot of 3-inch plank oak, at 11s every 100 – £13 1s 8d; more for 1,606 foot of 2-inch plank oak, at 10s every 100 – £8 0s 7½d; more for 29 foot of inch ½ board oak, price – 10d; more for 600 of trenails of 30 inches long, at 2s 6d every 100 – 15s; and more for 44 foot of timber oak, price – 8s 9d. *Summa* – £46 5s.

[Page total] – £106 14s 1½d.

¹I.e. as sized for firewood.

[f. 13] *Timber oak.* To William Greves of Deptford the last day of March for price of 29 foot of timber oak of him had and delivered at Deptford for the new making of Her Highness's ship boats there, at 4½d every foot. *Summa* – £8 0s 5½d.

A pump. To William Bexley of Foots Cray in Kent the same day for price of one elm pump of him had and delivered at Deptford for the use of Her Highness's ships, containing in length 16 foot at 20d every foot, by agreement – 26s 8d; and more to him for ironwork for the same pump, price – 6s. *Summa* – £1 12s 8d.

Ironwork. To Thomas Willson of Ratcliff, smith, the same day for price of 3 hundred 2 quarters 26 pounds weight [418 lbs] of his own new iron of him had and by him made into spikes and overlop nails, and the same delivered at Deptford for the use of Her Grace's ships, at 24s 6d every hundredweight – £4 11s 5d;¹ more for 8,100 of 10d nail, at 8s 4d every 1,000 – £3 7s 6d; more for 8,200 of 6d nail, at 5s every 1,000 – 41s; more for 1,100 of 4d nail, price – 3s 8d; and more to him for 1,000 of 3d nail, price – 2s 6d.² *Summa* – £10 6s 1d.³

To Richard Welles of Greenwich, smith, the same day for the working of 2 hundred 2 quarters weight [280 lbs] of Her Highness's old iron by him made and wrought into spikes and overlop nails for the use of Her Grace's ships, at 13s 4d every hundredweight working. *Summa* – £1 13s 4d.

Hire of smith's tools. To the said Richard Welles the same day for hire of his smith's tools occupied in Her Highness's forge at Deptford for the use of Her Highness's ships, by one quarter of a year ended as abovesaid. *Summa* by agreement – 10s.

[*Page total*] – £14 10s 6½d.

[f. 13v] *Shivers of Brass.* To Robert Hunt of London, founder, the last day of March for price of 6 great brass shivers of him had and by him delivered at Deptford for the use of Her Highness's ships, which was of Her Grace's old brass, weighing 9 hundred [one] quarter 14 pounds weight [1,050 lbs], at 4d every pound casting and working. *Summa* – £17 10s.

Anchors. To Butolph Moungey⁴ of Gillingham in Kent the same day for price of 3 great anchors of him had and delivered at Deptford for the use of Her Highness's ships, weighing 3 thousand 7 hundred 2 quarters weight [4,200 lbs], at 18s 8d every hundredweight. *Summa* – £35.

¹The calculation yields a futher ¼d: $[(3 \times 112) + (2 \times 56) + 26] \times (294 \div 112) = 1097.25d$.

²As these figures readily show, nails were classified by the price per measure of (approximately) 100.

³The first of several items in a summary of this man's bills for 1562: BL, Add. MS 78171 [item 1(e)], f. 38, as detailed in Appendix 4 below.

⁴Admiralty official: for career details see *NEM*, p. 560.

Burning reed. To John Rawllyns of Paris Garden, reedman, the same day for price of 2,000 of burning reed¹ by him delivered at Deptford for the use of Her Highness's ships, at 12d every 100. *Summa* – £1.

To James Gybbes of Rainham, reedman, the same day for price of 2,000 of burning reed by him delivered as aforesaid for the use of Her Grace's ships, at 12d every 100. *Summa* – £1.

To John Maze of Plumstead, reedman, the same day for price of 1,800 of burning reed by him delivered as abovesaid for the use of Her Highness's ships, at 12d every 100 of reed. *Summa* – 18s.

Pitch, tar and rosin. To Thomas Clay of London the same day for price of 4 thousand pound weight² of yellow rosin of him had and delivered at Deptford for the use of Her Highness's ships, at 7s every hundredweight – £14; more for 2 last of hard stone pitch of the oaken band, at £3 12s every last – £7 4s; more for one last 3 barrels of Riga tar of the great band,³ at 8s every barrel – £6; and more to him for the hire of a lighter for the bringing down of the same from London to Deptford, by agreement – 3s 6d. *Summa* – £27 7s 6d.

[*Page total*] – £82 15s 6d.

[f. 14] *Oil* * [£17 16s 8d] and *Spanish iron* * [£12 6s 8d]. To William Megges of London, merchant, the last day of March for price of one hogshead of oil for the use of Her Grace's ships, price by agreement. *Summa* – £2 16s 8d.

To William Merryck of London, merchant, the same day for price of one tun and one hogshead of train oil by him delivered at Deptford for the use of Her Grace's ships, at £3 every hogshead – £15; and more to him for one ton of Spanish iron,⁴ price – £12 6s 8d. *Summa* – £27 6s 8d.

Ink. To William Kirby of London the same day for price of one gallon and one pottle of ink by him delivered as aforesaid for the writing of sundry pay books for Her Highness's marine causes, at 5s 8d the gallon. *Summa* – 8s.

Oakum. To William Collins, John Hawkins, Richard Harwood and eight other persons of Deptford, Greenwich, Lewisham and thereabouts the same day for the working and picking of one thousand 7 hundred [one] quarter 20 pounds weight [1,952 lbs] of Her Highness's old ropes and

¹Used for breaming.

²Uncertain if meaning 4,000 lbs at 7s per 100 lbs, or 40 cwt (4,480 lbs) at 7s per cwt, because the sum is the same.

³MS 'Ryze'. Here and elsewhere 'band' is a form of 'bond', i.e. thickness or binding consistency.

⁴A century later Pepys was assured by a merchant that Spanish iron, mostly coming from Bilbao, was 'for all uses the best in the world, especially for ships, it being able to bear the blows of the greatest sledges'; it was therefore commonly specified in contracts: Pepys, *Navy White Book*, pp. 36, 356 n. 2.

junks into oakum for the needful caulking of Her Grace's ships, at 3s 8d every hundredweight working. *Summa* – £3 3s 11½d.

Hair or sye and white lockram. To Peter Pett, master shipwright, the same day for price of 47 stone of sye or hair by him delivered for the use of Her Highness's ships,¹ at 13d every stone. *Summa* – £2 10s 11d.

To Edward Hall of London the same day for price of nine ells of white lockram of him had and by him delivered at Deptford, at 12d every ell. *Summa* – 9s.

[*Page total*] – £36 15s 2½d.

[f. 14v] *Claps and scupper-leathers.* To John Harryson of Tower Hill, shoemaker, the last day of March for price of 5 dozen of scupper-leathers of him had and by him delivered there for the use of Her Highness's ships, at 16d the piece – £4; more for 5 dozen [*and*] 9 great pump-hose, at 2s 8d the piece – £9 4s; more for 3 dozen and one claps, at 16d the piece – 49s 4d; more for 16 small claps, at 8d the piece – 10s 8d; and more to him for 18 pump-hoses, at 16d the piece – 24s. *Summa* – £17 8s.

Scoops, bowls, pulleys and steel shovels. To John Childerlay of London, turner, the same day for price of 6 steel shovels by him delivered at Deptford for the use of Her Highness's ships, at 12d the piece – 6s; more for 6 spades, at 7d the piece – 3s 6d; more for 2 dozen of great bowls, at 8d the piece – 16s; more [*for*] 2 dozen of steel shovels, at 7d the piece – 14s; more for 2 dozen of scoops, at 4d the piece – 8s; more for 12 polancre pulleys, at 10d the piece – 10s; more for 2 dozen of pulleys, at 6d the piece – 12s; more for 12 pulleys, at 4d the piece – 4s; and more to him for 2 dozen and 2 pulleys, at 3d the piece – 6s 6d. *Summa* – £4.

Compasses and running glasses. To Richard Stevens of Tower Hill, compass-maker, the last day of March for price of 6 dozen compasses by him delivered at Deptford for the use of Her Highness's ships, at 2s 8d the piece – £9 12s; and more to him for 6 dozen of running glasses, at 10d the piece – £3. *Summa* – £12 12s.

Baskets. To Thomas Edes of London, basket maker, the same day for price of 4 dozen of baskets by him delivered at Deptford for the use of Her Highness's ships, at 18d the dozen. *Summa* – 6s.

[*Page total*] – £34 6s.

[f. 15] A payment made the last day of June as well to masters, mariners, keepers of timber-yards, storehouses, labourers and others daily attending and serving Her Highness about the taking in of cables, hawsers and divers other kinds of stuffs brought into Her Grace's great storehouse at Deptford

¹Used for caulking; 'sye' probably here in the original sense of cowhair, though it came to mean tow generally: *OED* 'sye' *sb.*¹.