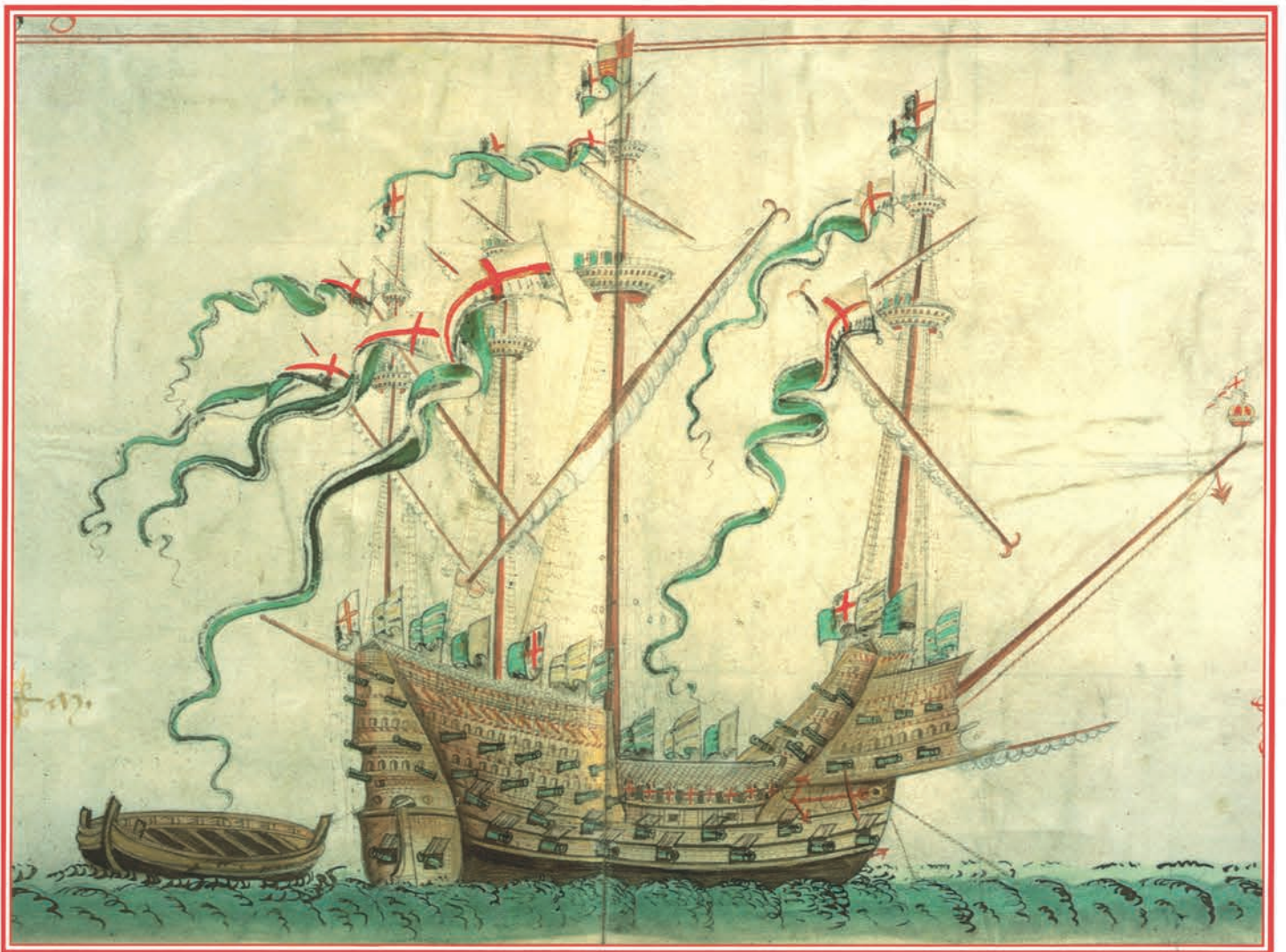


THE ANTHONY ROLL

of Henry VIII's Navy



edited by

C.S. Knighton and D.M. Loades

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Vol. 2

THE ANTHONY ROLL



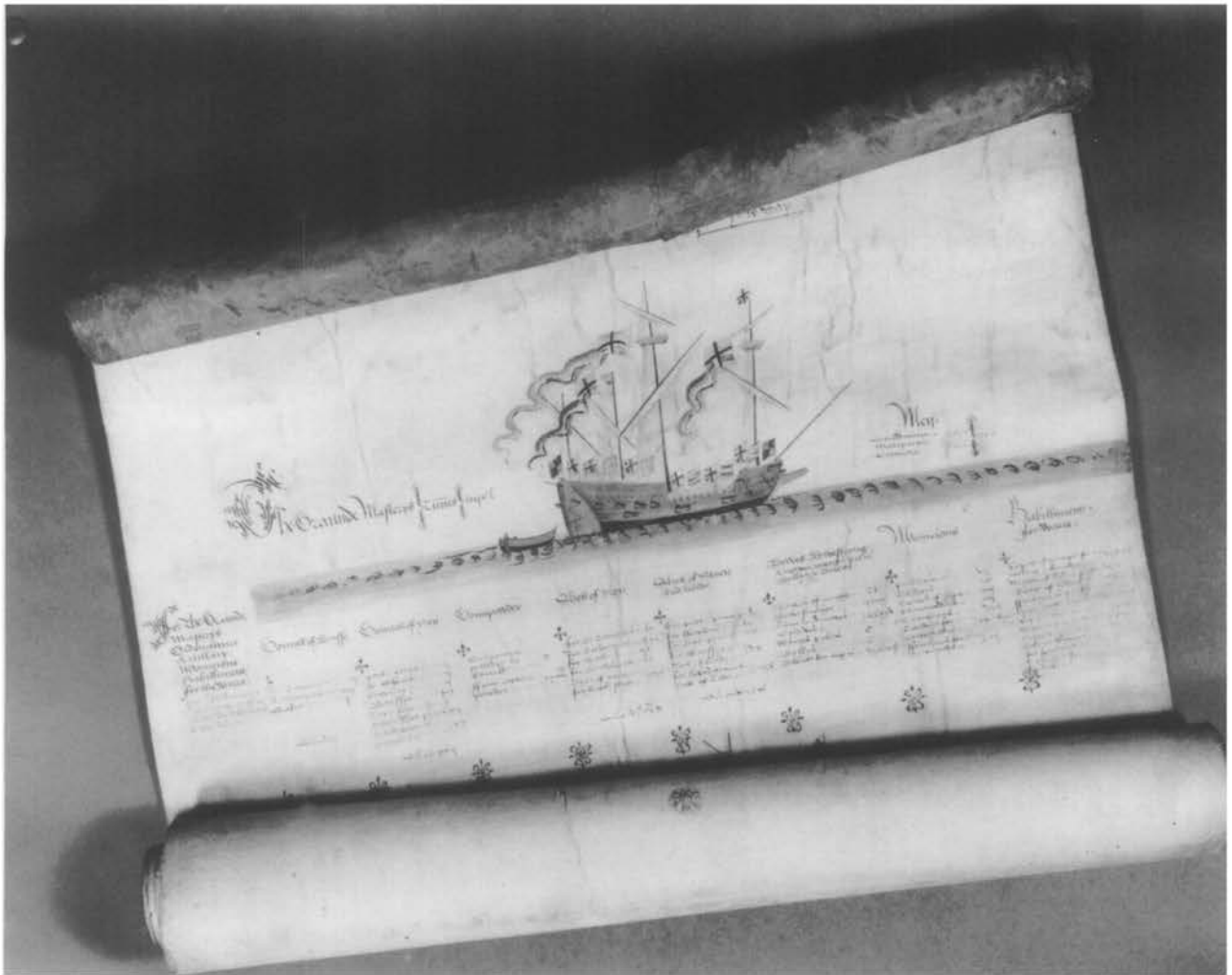
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British Library Add. MS 22047, m. 1
(Anthony Anthony's second roll)
Open to show the second entry, the *Anne Gallant* (see below, pp. 64-5)

THE ANTHONY ROLL of Henry VIII's Navy

Pepys Library 2991 and British Library Additional MS 22047
with related documents

Edited by
C.S. Knighton and D.M. Loades

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Preface

This volume is offered as a Millennium celebration; not that 2000 marks any special anniversary in the history of the Royal Navy. The Kings's, and Queens's, ships have served these islands for rather more than half of the Christian era. At a relatively recent point in that time, just over 450 years ago, the fleet appears visibly and strikingly over the horizon. In the last year of the reign of Henry VIII an officer of the ordnance, Anthony Anthony, compiled a complete visual record of the royal ships; and because it was his professional concern, he appended an inventory of each vessel's munitions. His manuscript, the Anthony Roll (in fact originally three separate rolls, two of which were bound as a volume by their later owner Samuel Pepys) is a unique record of the navy at a crucial time in its history.¹ Individual illustrations from the Roll have been published many times before; Anthony's painting of the *Mary Rose*, the sole contemporary representation, is especially well known. But the complete Roll has never been printed before now.² The unusual and large format of the MS has discouraged previous publication; even now what is provided is not a complete facsimile. All 58 ship illustrations are reproduced from newly commissioned colour photographs, while the accompanying texts are printed adjacently, in the original spelling. In this way it is hoped that the visual and textual elements of the document are presented to best advantage, retaining their juxtaposition in a format suited to the pages of a book. A further illustration is printed as frontispiece showing the disposition of a ship and its underlay text, as revealed by unrolling the document in its original form.

By bringing together the parts of the Roll, separated for over 300 years, Anthony's original sequence of entries can now be enjoyed and studied in entirety for the first time. Just some of its many facets are discussed in the Introduction, for which (in addition to editorial contributions) essays were commissioned from experts in several particular fields.

To complement Anthony's document of 1546, in Part Two of this volume there is a transcript of one of the most important and complete inventories of the fleet as it was in 1514, in the early years of Henry's reign. This manuscript, like Anthony's, is in part already familiar but is here printed in full for the first time.³ Unlike Anthony's specialist ordnance inventory, the 1514 lists also include rigging and miscellaneous equipment. In order to match the sectional layout of the Anthony MS in Part One, the 1514 inventory is printed page-by-page as the original, again in its 16th-century spelling. The Glossary (Appendix III) is designed to help with archaic spellings of familiar words, as well as explaining technical and obsolete terms. The Glossary also explains some terms used in the introductory essays.

A caution must be expressed, as more particularly discussed below, about the verisimilitude of the illustrations of the Anthony Roll. It is not to be expected that these were individual portraits, drawn from life. Even in relation to Anthony's chief interest, the ordnance, there are obvious distortions and discrepancies between illustrations and texts.

Ships, especially warships, are magnificent but perishable. Before Anthony had finished his manuscript, the second grandest of the ships he had drawn lay at the bottom of Portsmouth harbour. A few years later the grandest of all was ignominiously burnt at her moorings. The various destinies of the other ships in the Anthony Roll and the earlier inventory can be traced in the brief service lists given as Appendix II. But it is not his ships which give Henry VIII a claim to be the founder of the modern navy as much as the administrative – and indeed physical structures which he gave to the service. By this token the last entry in the 1514 inventory (the contents of the storehouse at Erith)⁴ is arguably of more enduring significance than the fleet now re-assembled as Anthony drew it.

Notes

1. For the naval history of the period see generally D.M. Loades, *The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political and Military History* (Aldershot, 1992) and N.A.M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Great Britain, I, 660–1649* (1997). The classic older 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* (1896, republ. Aldershot, 1988) remains a valuable compendium, though its detail is not always to be trusted. The most complete list of the fleet is in T. Glasgow jr, 'List of ships in the royal navy from 1539 to 1588 ...', *MM*, LVI (1970), pp. 299–307. Rodger (pp. 475–83) updates this for ships of 100 tons and above.

xii Preface

2. This was judged 'remarkable and deplorable' by Professor Rodger (*Safeguard of the Sea*, pp. 548–9 (n. 35)). We are glad to rectify this.
3. Oppenheim, *History*, pp. 372–81, printed the first section (for the *Henry Grace à Dieu*) of what was then known as 'Chapter House Book, vol. XIII'; the name derived from the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, where exchequer records were housed from the 16th to the 19th century.
4. Cf. Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*, p. 222.

Acknowledgements

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The Pepys Librarian, Dr Richard Luckett, has greatly encouraged this project, and has given assistance scholarly and practical. The Assistant Librarian, Aude Fitzsimons, and the Library Assistant, Bridget Alexander, have given much support; we also thank all at Magdalene who have helped with administration. Dr Knighton is particularly grateful to the Master and Fellows of Magdalene, and to the Principal of Westminster College, Cambridge, for hospitality during the making of this volume. We are grateful to David Way for co-operation in publishing. We owe a great deal to Ann Payne for help in arranging the photography at the British Library, and in many other ways in addition to her written contribution here. To her, and to John Bennell, Maria Hayward, Alexzandra Hildred, Stuart Vine, and Timothy Wilson, we are greatly obliged for their several expert essays in the Introduction. Gerry Bye and Laurence Pordes deserve special thanks for their original photographs of the Roll. We also thank Christopher Dobbs and Andrew Elkerton at the Mary Rose Trust for help with other illustrations and supporting material.

We are honoured that the Council of the Navy Records Society accepted and sponsored this special volume; we particularly thank Michael Simpson for his confidence in what we undertook. We are extremely grateful to Ellen Keeling and all at Ashgate who have brought our concept to life.

C.S.K.
D.M.L.

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Notes on contributors

Editors

C.S. Knighton, M.A., Ph.D., D.Phil., is on the editorial staff of the Public Record Office, and has edited two volumes of state papers. He compiled the catalogue of *Modern Manuscripts* in the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge (1981), and contributed to *Samuel Pepys and the Second Dutch War* (NRS 1995).

D.M. Loades, M.A., Ph.D., Litt.D., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., taught at the universities of St Andrews, Durham, and Wales (Bangor), and is now professor emeritus of the University of Wales and honorary research professor of the University of Sheffield. His publications include *The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political and Military History* (1992), and he contributed to *British Naval Documents 1204–1960* (NRS 1993).

Essayists

John E.G. Bennell, M.Litt., has been interested in ships, mainly of 1540–1600, for more than fifty years. Since editing a London port book of 1565 for his Oxford thesis, he has studied the social and economic history of the Elizabethan city and port of London. He has contributed to the *Mariner's Mirror* on the subject of English 16th-century oared vessels.

Maria Hayward, M.A., Ph.D., trained as a textile conservator, and completed a thesis titled 'The possessions of Henry VIII'. She is now a lecturer at the Textile Conservation Centre, University of Southampton.

Alexzandra Hildred, B.A., M.I.F.A., was educated at the University of Sheffield, and has extensive experience as a marine archaeologist. Her association with the *Mary Rose* began as an archaeological diver at the site in 1979. She has held several appointments at the Mary Rose Trust, and since 1998 she has been curator of ordnance. She has published numerous reports on her findings.

Ann Payne, B.A., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S., is Head of the Department of Manuscripts at the British Library (formerly in the British Museum), which she joined as an Assistant Keeper in 1965. Her main fields of research are in medieval and early modern history, with a particular interest in heraldic, antiquarian and topographical manuscripts. She has contributed to numerous volumes of the quinquennial *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Library* and has published books, articles and exhibition catalogues based on aspects of the manuscript collections.

Stuart Vine, B.Sc., was educated at The Queen's University, Belfast and the University of Wales (Cardiff). From 1981 to 2000 he held a number of appointments at the Mary Rose Trust, latterly that of curator. He now works for FTKnowledge.

Timothy Wilson, M.A., M.Phil., F.S.A., was research assistant in the Department of Weapons and Antiquities at the National Maritime Museum from 1978 to 1980. From 1980 to 1990 he was Assistant Keeper with responsibility for Renaissance applied art collections at the British Museum. Since 1990 he has been Keeper of the Department of Western Art at the Ashmolean Museum and fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. He is the author of *Flags at Sea* (1986. 2nd edn., 1999).

Photographers

G.D. Bye, M.A., A.B.I.P.P., is head of the photographic department at Cambridge University Library. His published work includes the facsimile of Pepys's MS catalogue in the new *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge* (1991).

Laurence H. Pordes is senior photographer at the British Library; he has contributed to numerous publications, including *Maps in Tudor England* (1993).



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Illustrations

black and white

- Frontispiece BL, Add. MS 22047 (Anthony's 2nd roll), opened to show the *Anne Gallant*
1 (p. 21) BL, Cotton MS Augustus I.i.18
The French raid on Brighton, 1545, drawn by Anthony Anthony
2 (p. 22) BL, Cotton MS Augustus I.i.29
Sketch of fortification for (?) the Wych Channel, Poole Harbour, believed to be drawn by Anthony Anthony
3 (p. 23) BL Cotton MS Augustus I.ii.64
Projected route for Anne of Cleves's passage from the Low Countries, 1539, drawn by Anthony Anthony

Other diagrams and archaeological drawings accompany the Glossary

colour

- (between pp. 40–106) The 58 ships illustrated in the Anthony Roll, Magdalene College, Cambridge, Pepys Library, no. 2991 and BL, Add. MS 22047
Photographed by Gerry Bye and Laurence Pordes

The images here printed are on average 65.6% actual size. For technical reasons the % reduction has been varied, notably with ship no. 1 (63%) and ship no. 30 (51.5%). Measurements for the 58 original drawings are given below, in inches, from bow to stern at the waterline (except for no. 30, in which the bow is not visible; here the measurement is from the point at which the leading port side oar cuts to waterline, to the stern)

1	4 ³ / ₄	13	3 ¹ / ₈	25	4 ⁷ / ₈	37	3 ¹ / ₂	49	2 ⁷ / ₈
2	4 ¹ / ₈	14	3 ¹ / ₈	26	4 ⁷ / ₈	38	3 ⁵ / ₈	50	2 ⁷ / ₈
3	3 ³ / ₄	15	3	27	5 ⁷ / ₁₆	39	3 ³ / ₄	51	2 ³ / ₄
4	3 ⁵ / ₈	16	3 ¹ / ₈	28	4 ⁷ / ₈	40	3 ³ / ₄	52	2 ¹⁵ / ₁₆
5	3 ¹ / ₂	17	2 ⁷ / ₈	29	4 ⁷ / ₈	41	3 ⁷ / ₈	53	3
6	3 ⁵ / ₈	18	3	30	10 ² / ₁₀	42	3 ³ / ₄	54	2 ¹³ / ₁₆
7	3 ¹ / ₄	19	3 ¹ / ₈	31	4 ¹ / ₄	43	3 ³ / ₄	55	3
8	3 ³ / ₈	20	3 ¹ / ₄	32	4 ⁷ / ₁₆	44	3 ⁵ / ₈	56	3
9	3	21	5 ³ / ₈	33	4 ³ / ₁₆	45	3 ³ / ₄	57	3
10	3 ¹ / ₄	22	5 ⁵ / ₁₆	34	3 ⁵ / ₈	46	3	58	2 ¹⁵ / ₁₆
11	3 ¹ / ₄	23	5 ¹ / ₁₈	35	3 ⁵ / ₈	47	2 ⁷ / ₈		
12	3 ¹ / ₄	24	5 ³ / ₁₆	36	3 ⁷ / ₈	48	2 ⁷ / ₈		

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Line drawings © The Mary Rose Trust and Professor D.M. Loades.



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Abbreviations

- Adair, 'English galleys' E.R. Adair, 'English galleys in the sixteenth century', *EHR*, XXXV (1920), pp. 498–504
- APC J.R. Dasent, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, new series, 32 vols. (1890–1907)
- Ashley, 'Tudor office of ordnance' R. Ashley, 'The organization and administration of the Tudor office of ordnance', B.Litt. dissertation, University of Oxford (1972)
- Auerbach, *Tudor Artists* E. Auerbach, *Tudor Artists* (1954)
- Auerbach, 'Vincent Volpe' E. Auerbach, 'Vincent Volpe, the King's painter', *Burlington Magazine*, XCII (1950), pp. 222–8
- Barber, 'Henry VIII and map-making' P.M. Barber, 'Henry VIII and map-making', in D.R. Starkey, ed., *Henry VIII: a European Court in England* (1991), pp. 145–51
- Barber, 'Pageantry, defense, and government' P.M. Barber, 'England I: Pageantry, defense, and government: maps at court to 1550', in D. Buisseret, ed., *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps* (Chicago and London, 1992), pp. 26–56
- Beets, 'Cornelis Anthonisz.' N. Beets, 'Cornelis Anthonisz.', *Oud-Holland*, LVI (1939), pp. 160–84
- Bellew, 'Mary Rose' Sir G. Bellew, 'An examination of the flags and heraldry on the contemporary pictures of the *Mary Rose*', *The Coat of Arms*, new series, V, no. 122 (1982), pp. 47–53
- Bennell, 'Oared vessels' J.E.G. Bennell, 'English oared vessels of the sixteenth century', *MM*, LX (1974), pp. 9–26, 169–85
- BL British Library, London
- Bodleian Bodleian Library, Oxford
- Byrne, *Lisle Letters* M. St.C. Byrne, ed., *The Lisle Letters*, 6 vols. (Chicago, 1981)
- Chappell, *Tangier Papers* E. Chappell, ed., *The Tangier Papers of Samuel Pepys* (NRS LXXIII, 1935)
- Colvin, *King's Works* H.M. Colvin, et al., eds., *The History of the King's Works*, 6 vols. (1951–82)
- CPR *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*
- Croft-Murray & Hulton, *British Drawings* E. Croft-Murray and P. Hulton, *Catalogue of British Drawings*, I (British Museum, 1960)
- CSPD *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*
- CSP Spanish *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*
- de Beer, *Evelyn* E.S. de Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols (Oxford, 1955)
- Derrick, *Memoirs* C. Derrick, *Memoirs of the Rise and Progress of the Royal Navy* (1806)
- E Exchequer (PRO)
- EHR* [in textual notes to Part Two, referring to E 101/57/2]
- EHR* *The English Historical Review*
- Glasgow, 'List of ships' T. 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
- [further abbreviated as 'Glasgow' in Appendix II]
- Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* P.D.A. Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (1993)
- Howard, *Sailing Ships of War* F. Howard, *Sailing Ships of War 1400–1860* (Greenwich, 1979)
- Laughton, *Spanish Armada* J.K. Laughton, ed., *State Papers relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada, anno 1588*, 2 vols. (NRS I, II, 1894)
- Lloyd & Thurley, *Henry VIII* C. Lloyd and S. Thurley, *Henry VIII: Images of a Tudor King* (1990)
- Loades, *Tudor Navy* D.M. Loades, *The Tudor Navy: An Administrative, Political and Military*

xx Abbreviations

- History* (Aldershot, 1992)
[further abbreviated as 'Loades' in Appendix II]
- LP J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R.H. Brodie, eds, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 21 vols. and Addenda (1862–1932).
- MM *The Mariner's Mirror*
- Oppenheim, *Accounts and Inventories* M. Oppenheim, ed., *Naval Accounts and Inventories of the Reign of Henry VII, 1485–8 and 1495–7* (NRS VIII, 1896)
- 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, republ. Aldershot, 1988)
- Perrin, *British Flags* W.G. Perrin, *British Flags* (Cambridge, 1922)
- PL Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge
- PRO Public Record Office, London
- Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea* N.A.M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Great Britain*, I, 660–1649 (1997)
[further abbreviated as 'Rodger' in Appendix II.]
- Rodríguez-Salgado, *Armada* M. Rodríguez-Salgado, *Armada 1588–1988* (1988)
- Rose, *Navy of the Lancastrian Kings* S.P. Rose, ed., *The Navy of the Lancastrian Kings: Accounts and Inventories of William Soper, Keeper of the King's Ships, 1422–1427* (NRS CXXIII, 1982)
- Rule, *Mary Rose* M.H. Rule, *The Mary Rose: The Excavation and Raising of Henry VIII's Flagship* (2nd edn., 1983)
- Shelby, *John Rogers* L.R. Shelby, *John Rogers: Tudor Military Engineer* (Oxford, 1967)
- SP State Papers (PRO)
[in textual notes to Part Two, referring to entries in SP 1/230 as identified in key at p. 110 below]
- Spont, *War with France* A. Spont, ed., *Letters and Papers relating to the War with France, 1512–1513* (NRS, X, 1897)
- State Papers ... Henry the Eighth* *State Papers during the Reign of Henry the Eighth*, 11 vols. (Record Commission, 1830–52)
- Tanner, *Naval Minutes* J.R. Tanner, ed., *Samuel Pepys's Naval Minutes* (NRS LX, 1926)
- Tomlinson, *Guns and Government* H.C. Tomlinson, *Guns and Government: The Ordnance Office under the Later Stuarts* (Royal Historical Society, Studies in History series, no. 15, 1979)
- TRHS *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
- VCH *Victoria County History*
- Wilson, *Flags at Sea* T. Wilson, *Flags at Sea* (2nd edn., 1999)
- Wilson, 'Saint George' T. Wilson, 'Saint George in Tudor and Stuart England', M.Phil. dissertation, The Warburg Institute, University of London (1976)

All works cited in this volume are published in London unless otherwise stated.

Editorial note

Texts are presented in their original spelling, following the normal conventions of transcription; the letters u/v and i/j are rendered according to modern usage, however they appear in the MS. The double ff is treated as a single letter except within a word. The ampersand is written in full. The abbreviation 'di' (half) is extended to 'demy' where it forms part of a word, but 'd' is used in figures even if more fully written in the MS. The abbreviation for dozen is always given as 'doss', however written. Figures are written as in the MS. The frequent multiplier by 20 given as $\frac{xx}{iiij}$ (i.e. $20 \times 4 = 80$) is retained thus; it is also found within more complex numbers, as 'cc $\frac{xx}{iiij}$ xiiij' (= 293). The abbreviation for 1000 is 'm!' or 'j m!' as occurring. Incorrect singular/plural usage ('top pece ij') is retained. The flourished 'j' descender is retained for single or final minims. 'Xpoffer' is rendered 'Christoffer'.

Letters miswritten are corrected within the text and flagged to an explanatory textual note. Words supplying defects in the MS are placed within square brackets. Words supplying syntactical lacunae are placed within square brackets and flagged to textual notes. In Part Two, as more fully explained in the separate editorial note (p. 110), the symbols E and SP denote other documents collated with the main text. Figures superscribed are placed within round brackets. The symbol † indicates blank in MS where unspecified (rather than nil) quantity is meant. 'MS' always means the principal text being edited.

Punctuation and capitalization are editorial. Paragraphing is editorial, but reflects as far as possible the layout of the MSS. For the E 36/13 inventory the page structure of the MS is retained, including the running heads. For the Anthony Roll the shape of the MS requires a restructuring which nevertheless retains the relationship of each text entry to its illustration; for this see further the technical description of the MS on pp. 6–9 below.



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