

# The 17th century Thames shoreline: migration and literacy, 1580-1680

Colin Greenstreet

Saturday, May 21<sup>st</sup> 2022

Museum of London

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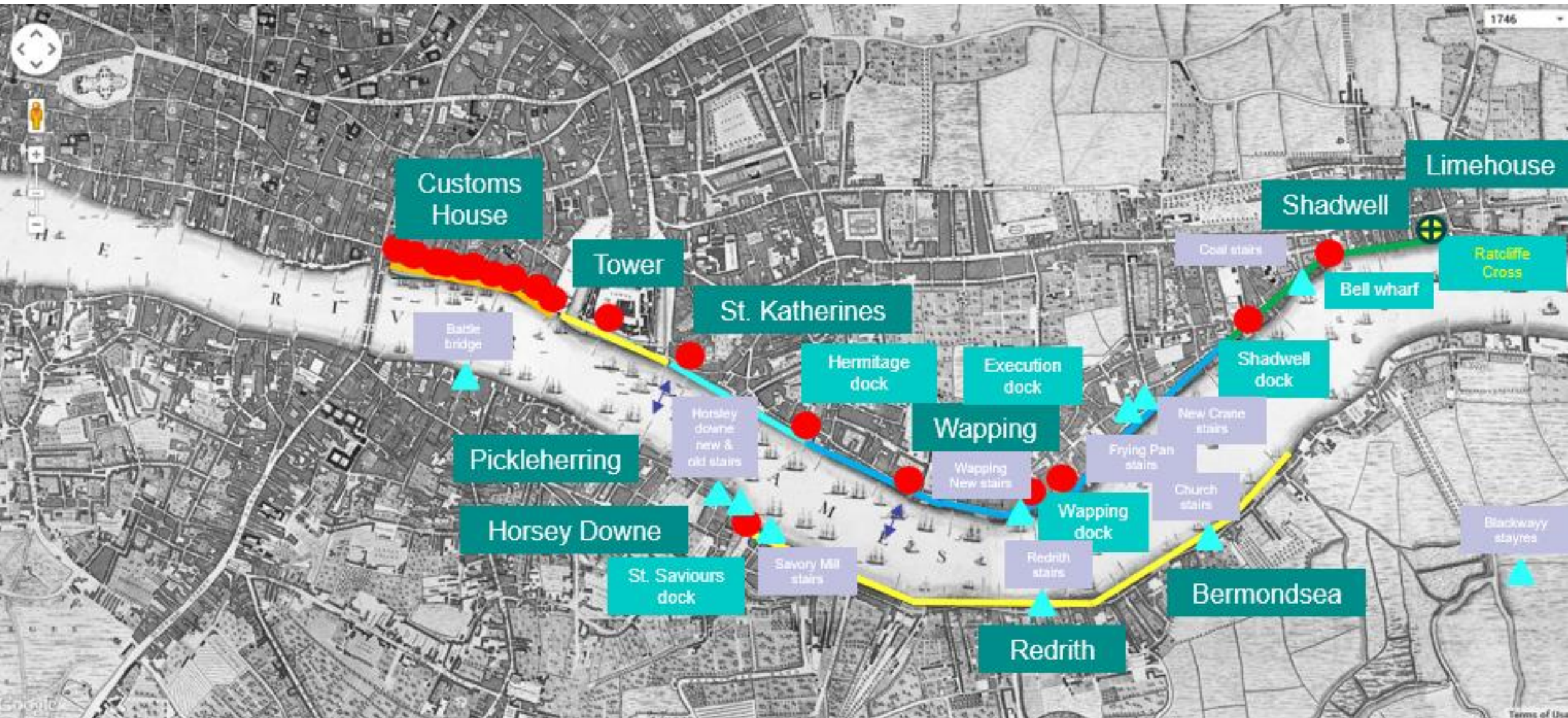


# Structure of this presentation

- Introduction
  - Geography of Thames shoreline – a linear city
  - Occupational and linguistic diversity
  - SOLM-2022 dataset
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  - Literacy as an occupational requirement
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  - Example: Shipyard workers [family]
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  - Geographic origins of migrants: one ship
  - Geographic origin of migrants: part of Devon
- Research opportunities
  - Scaling up literacy analysis & establishing international comparisons
  - Deepening county and regional based educational insights

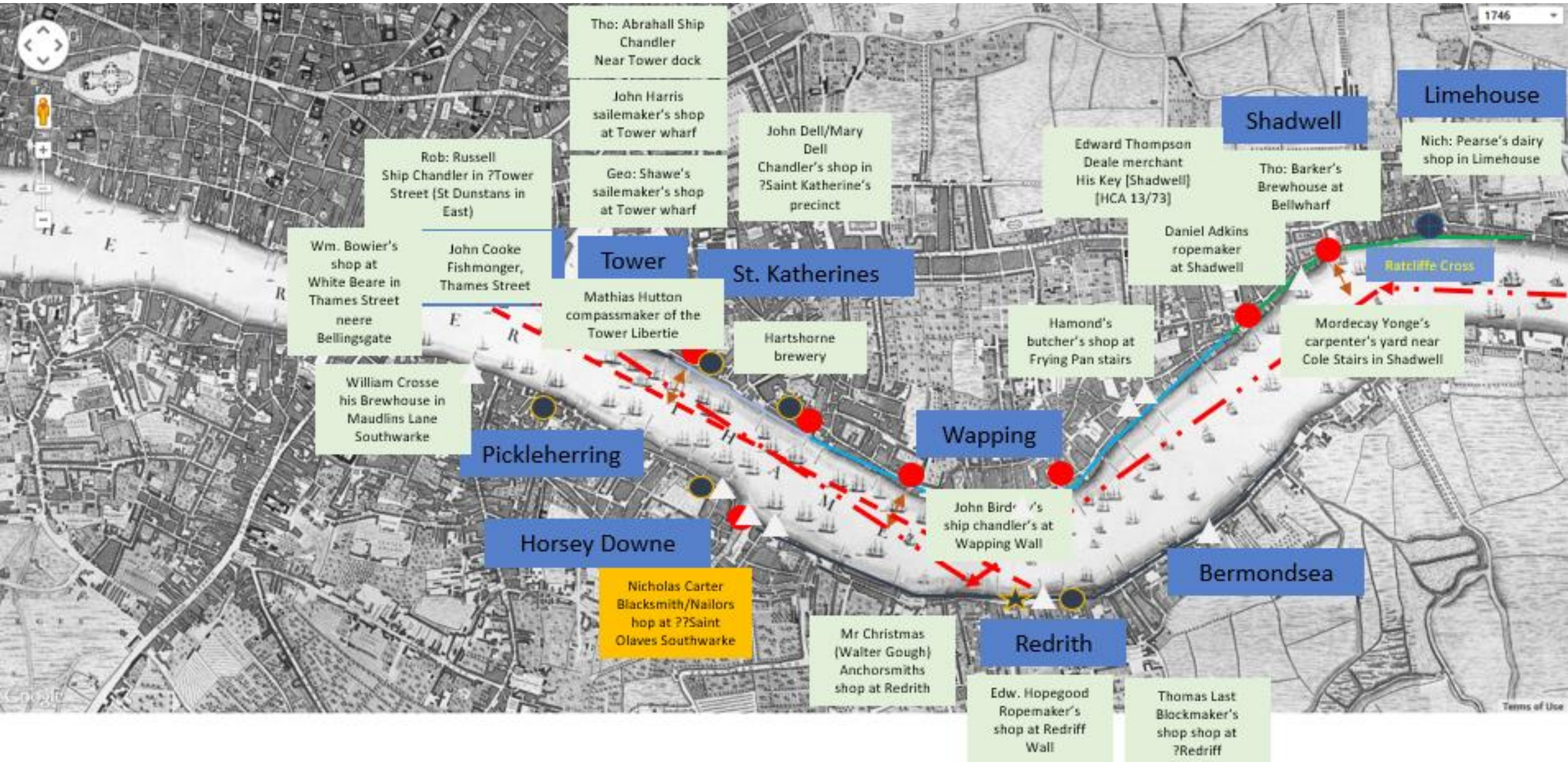


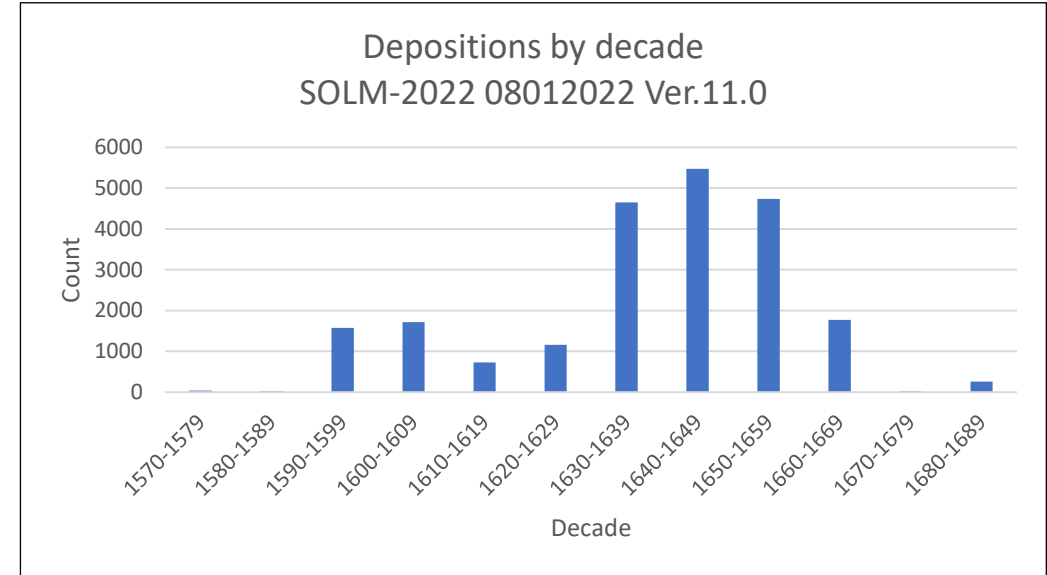
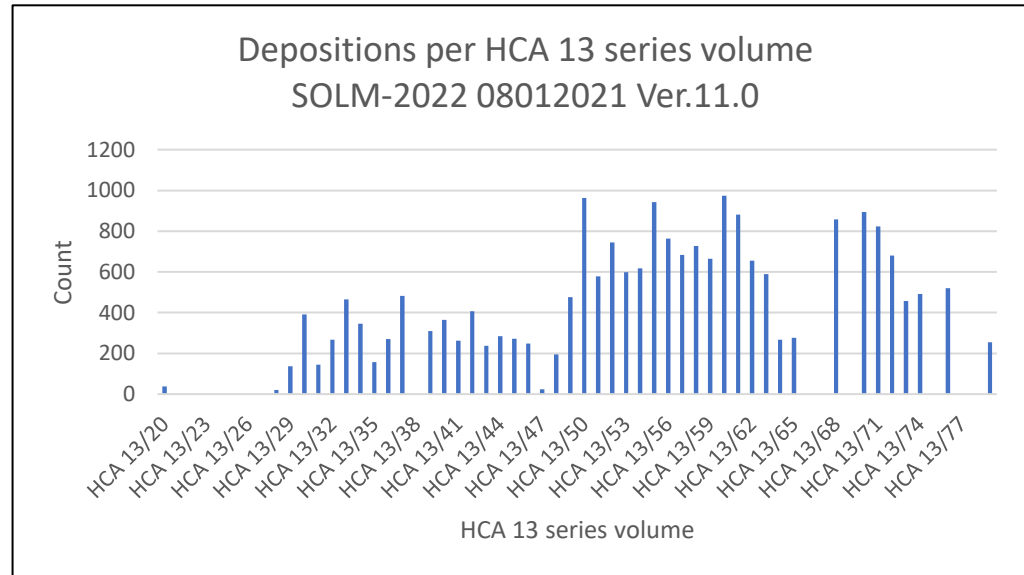
## Geography of Thames shoreline – a linear city





# Occupational and linguistic diversity







# SOLM-2022 calibration

## Unable to write or read

### MASTERS

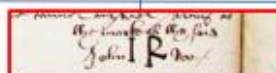


### HIGHER OFFICERS



"He cannot write nor read written hand"

## Able to read not write



"Hee can neither write nor reade, but yet can keep accompt of times, by a sort of cyphering which hee hath learnt for his owne use, and thereby remembreth the time"

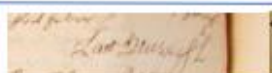


"He can read printing but cannot write"

## Able to write and read



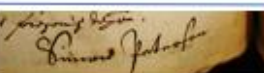
"Hee this examinee did keepe a ... journall of the Interrate ship's voyage and that is now under this examinee's custodye in his chest aboard his shippe called the Elizabeth and Mary at Hallmouth"



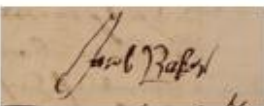
"This hee knoweth for that hee kept a journall"



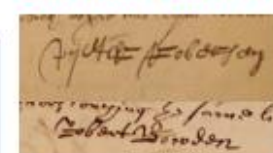
"Hee can write and reade, and learned the same when hee was a youth...hee can reade written hand well, and understandingly"



"Hee saith hee can write and read written hand, and sawe and tooke notice of all the goods aboard and of what was as aforesaid embazeeled and wanting"



## Able to write and read in multiple languages



"He can write and read written hand and saith he can speake and understandeth ffrech, Dutch and Spanish, and a little English"

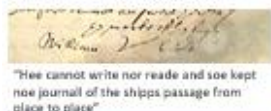


"Which noate this deponent [being acquainted well with the sayd Trenchpaines hand writing and understanding the french tongue] verily beleveeth (although hee sawe not the same written) was and is the proper hand writing of the sayd Trenchpaine"

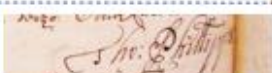
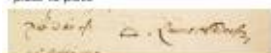


"Hee can read written hand in Dutch very well, and understandingly, and in English hee can reade the names in a Commission, And some few words besides"

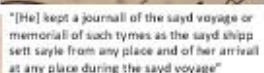
### LOWER OFFICERS



"Hee cannot write nor reade and soe kept noe journall of the shipp's passage from place to place"



"Being accompt keeper for and on the behalfe of the said shipp's booteswaine, who could not write, this examinee entred the said goods and marks and for whose accounts the same were, into the said booteswaine's booke"



"[He] kept a journall of the sayd voyage or memoriall of such tymes as the sayd shipp sett sayle from any place and of her arrivall at any place during the sayd voyage"

### COMMON MEN



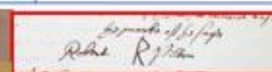
"For what accompte or to whom they were there to bee delivered hee cannott declare, nor how they were marked because hee cannott write nor read nor knows any letters."



"Hee cannot write nor keept any accompt how the windes stood the tyme interrogated"



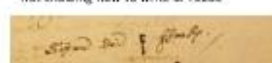
"Hee can speake the North sea language and Lowe Dutch and noe other language, and that North sea is his mother tongue, and other hee learnt in his youth...hee can neither reade nor write"



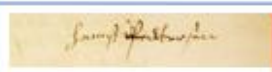
"Hee cannot write nor read but hee remembreth that the winde stood contrarie the sayd 20th of December"



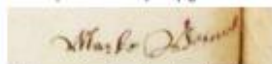
"The time hee cannot particularly remember not knowing how to write or reade"



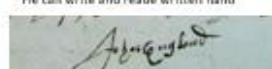
"He beinge not able to write or reade did not keepe any iournall what day the sayd shipp came to Nants, but in regard of his wages keepe an accompte of howe many dayes she stayed there"



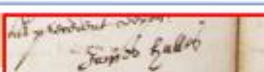
"All the sayd bills of ladinge are subscribed with the proper hand writinge of the sayd Wybrants havinge seene many of his subscriptions in the sayd voyage"



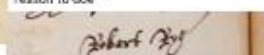
"He can write and reade written hand"



"Hee can both write and read and saith hee did not keepe any diarie or dayly accompt in writing how the windes then stood"



"Hee can write and reade, and saith hee did not take any note in writing of the time when the disaster aforesaid happened, but very well remembreth it, as hee hath great reason to doe"



"Hee can write and read but remembreth not the date of the writings by him predeposed of"

On coal ship

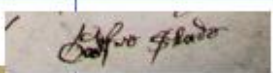
### FISHERMEN



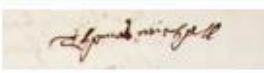
"Hee cannot write nor reade written hand, but hath seene writings and heard them read"



"Hee can read, but not write nor read written hand"

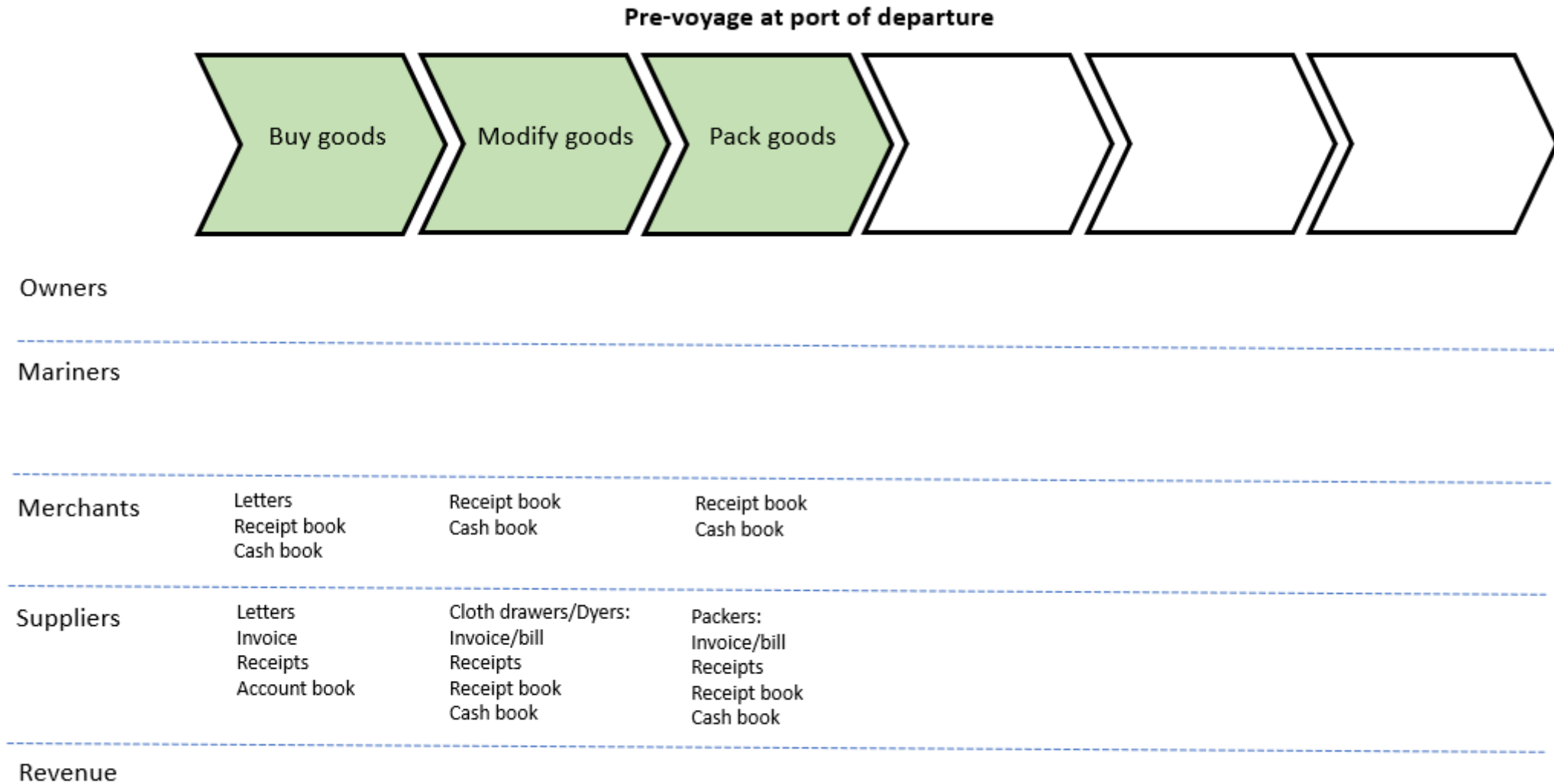


"Hee can write his name but not reade written hand very perfectly"



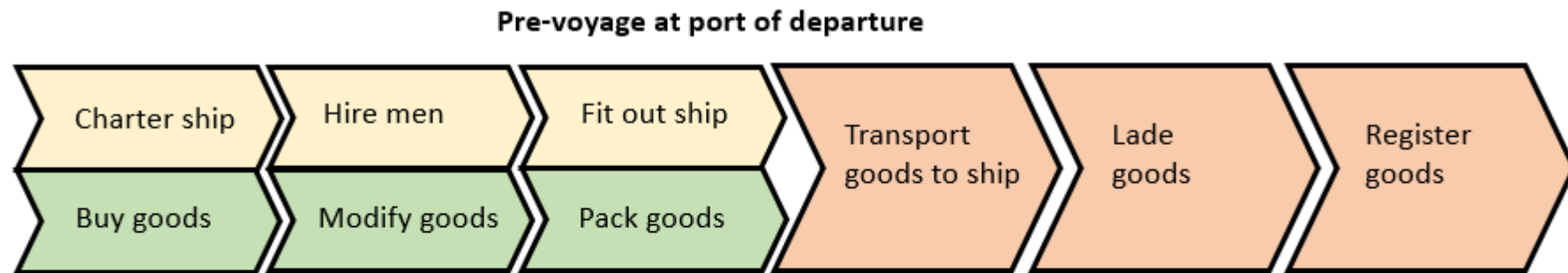
"Hee can both write and read and hath divers tymes seene writings in the hands and custodye of the stewards for the tyme being of the manner and hundred of flaversham"

# Literacy as an occupational requirement: textiles supply chain



Source: Signs of Literacy analysis

# Literacy as an occupational requirement: textiles supply chain



Owners

Mariners

Lighterman  
Waterman  
Wherryman  
Notes/Receipts  
Lighterman's book

Boatswain's receipts  
Boatswain's book  
Record of marks,  
numbers & quantities  
Bills of lading  
Master's book

Custom house book outwards  
Cockets  
Ordnance declaration

Merchants

Receipt book  
Cash book  
Record of marks,  
numbers & quantities

Suppliers

Porters:  
Notes/Receipts  
Wharfinger:  
Wharfinger's book

Revenue

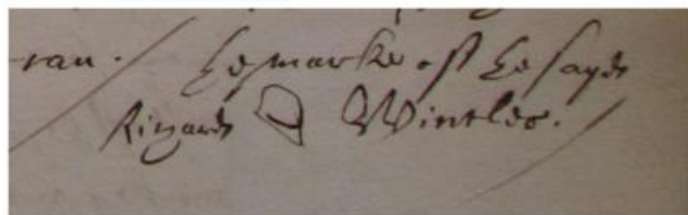
Custom house book outwards  
Cockets

Source: Signs of Literacy analysis

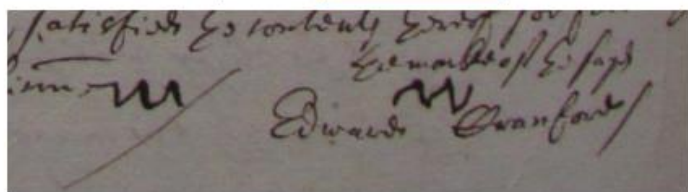


### Porters handling coals, whale oil, ginger & corn

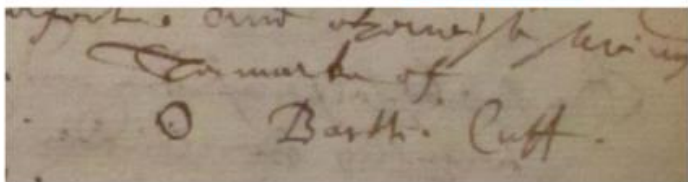
Richard Wincles, thirty-three year old porter, of the parish of Stepney, Middlesex, Dec. 15, 1656; employed as a labourer with fifteen other men to unload coals from the *Impoyment* moored near Execution Dock, Wapping, into lighters for fixed rate of 12 s per man ([HCA 13/70 f.554r](#))

A handwritten signature in dark ink on aged paper. The text reads "Richard Wincles" in a cursive script. Above the name, there is some faint, partially legible text that appears to say "Remarks of Es. p. 156".

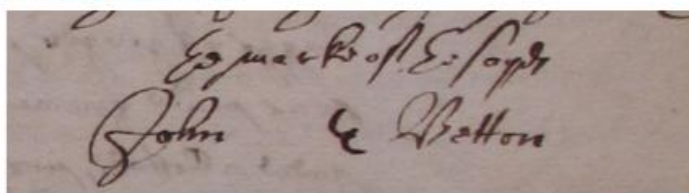
Edward Cranford, forty-four year old coale heaver or porter, of the parish of Stepney, Middlesex, Dec. 15, 1656; employed as a labourer with fifteen other men to unload coals from the *Impoyment* moored near Execution Dock, Wapping, into lighters for fixed rate of 12 s per man ([HCA 13/70 f.555v](#))

A handwritten signature in dark ink on aged paper. The text reads "Edward Cranford" in a cursive script. Above the name, there is some faint, partially legible text that appears to say "Remarks of Es. p. 156".

Bartholomew Cuff, sixty year old porter of the Stillyard, of the parish of Allhallows the Greate, London, May 15, 1658; assisted in the landing of whale oil from lighters at the Stillyard Key and loading them away into a warehouse ([HCA 13/70 f.555v](#))

A handwritten signature in dark ink on aged paper. The text reads "Bartholomew Cuff" in a cursive script. Above the name, there is some faint, partially legible text that appears to say "Remarks of Es. p. 156".

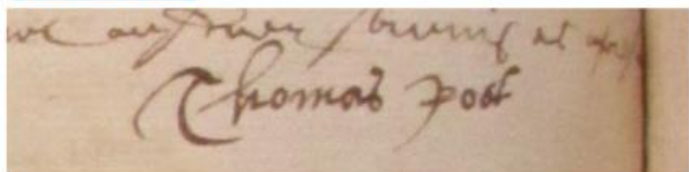
John Betton, fifty-four year old citizen and white baker of London, of the parish of Saint Buttolph Algate, London, Jul. 31, 1655; self-described as a porter employed by the Commissioners for Prize Goods to deliver ginger from a warehouse at Ralphes Key ([HCA 13/70 f.449r](#))

A handwritten signature in dark ink on aged paper. The text reads "John Betton" in a cursive script. Above the name, there is some faint, partially legible text that appears to say "Remarks of Es. p. 156".

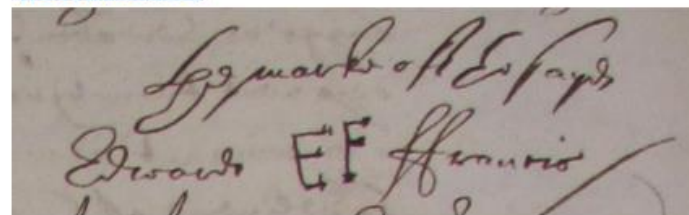
Edward Sherwin, fifty-six year old cittizen and leatherseller, of the parish of Little Allhallows, London, Jul. 31, 1655; self-described as a porter employed by the Commissioners for Prize Goods to deliver ginger from a warehouse at Ralphes Key ([HCA 13/70 f.449v](#))

A handwritten signature in dark ink on aged paper. The text reads "Edward Sherwin" in a cursive script. Above the name, there is some faint, partially legible text that appears to say "Remarks of Es. p. 156".

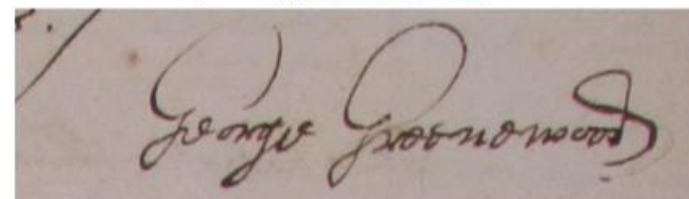
Thomas Roots, twenty-nine year old porter, of the parish of Greate Allhallows, London, May 15, 1658; assisted in the landing of whale oil from lighters at the Stillyard Key, as one of the Stillyard porters, and loading them away into a warehouse ([HCA 13/72 f.330v](#))

A handwritten signature in dark ink on aged paper. The text reads "Thomas Roots" in a cursive script. Above the name, there is some faint, partially legible text that appears to say "Remarks of Es. p. 156".

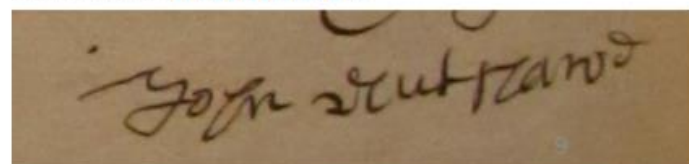
Edward ffrancis, citizen and merchantaylor of London, of the parish of Saint Olave in Southwarke, Jul. 31, 1655; self-described as a porter employed by the Commissioners for Prize Goods to deliver ginger from a warehouse at Ralphes Key ([HCA 13/70 f.450v](#))

A handwritten signature in dark ink on aged paper. The text reads "Edward Francis" in a cursive script. Above the name, there is some faint, partially legible text that appears to say "Remarks of Es. p. 156".

George Greenwood, thirty year old citizen and vintner of London, of the parish of Saint Buttolph Bishopsgate, London, Jul. 31, 1655; self-described as a porter employed by the Commissioners for Prize Goods to deliver ginger from a warehouse at Ralphes Key ([HCA 13/70 f.454r](#))

A handwritten signature in dark ink on aged paper. The text reads "George Greenwood" in a cursive script. Above the name, there is some faint, partially legible text that appears to say "Remarks of Es. p. 156".

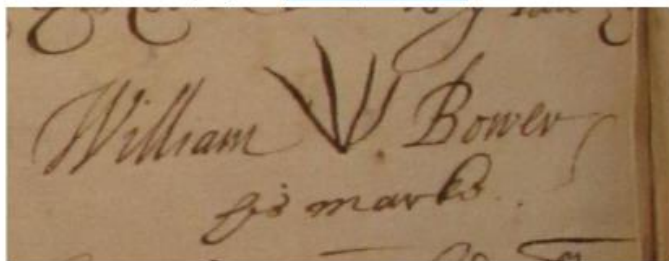
John Nutshall, fifty-five year old corne porter, of the parish of Saint Saviours Southwarke, Nov. 19, 1653; employed with a barber chyrurgeon/corne meter, an additional corne-meter, and other labourers to unlade a cargo of what in the *ffortune* of Stettin, moored against Limehouse; eight years of experience as a corne porter ([HCA 13/70 f.352v](#))

A handwritten signature in dark ink on aged paper. The text reads "John Nutshall" in a cursive script. Above the name, there is some faint, partially legible text that appears to say "Remarks of Es. p. 156".

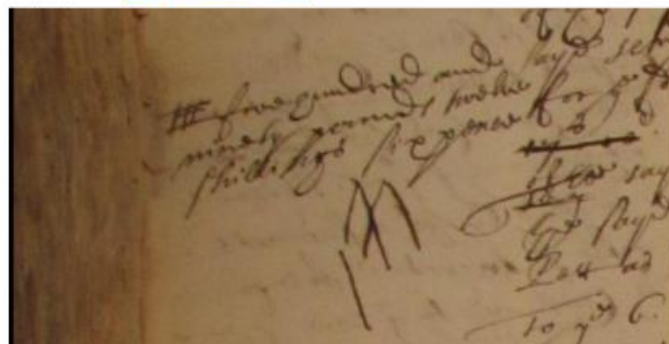


### Labourers – initials and other marks, 1654-1657

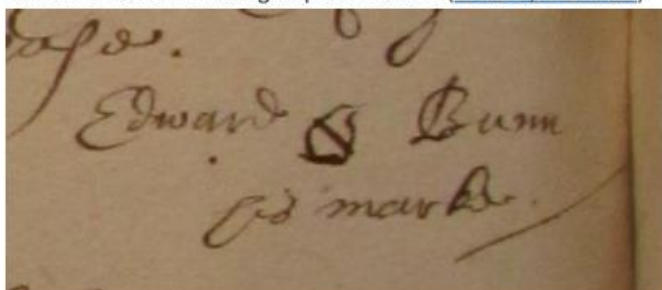
William Bower, forty-two year old labourer in the shipyard of Mr Pett shipwright, of Ratcliffe, November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1654; “this deponent who hath for theis ten yeares bene a constant labourer in the sayd yard” ([HCA 13/68 f.596v](#))

A close-up of a handwritten signature 'William Bower' in cursive script. Below the name is a large, stylized 'V' mark, followed by the words 'is mark'.

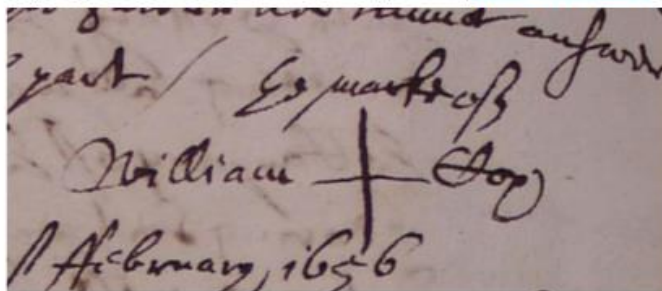
Annotation in LH margin of final page of deposition of William Bower, forty-two year old labourer in the shipyard of Mr Pett shipwright, of Ratcliffe, November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1654; “this deponent who hath for theis ten yeares bene a constant labourer in the sayd yard” ([HCA 13/68 f.596v](#))

A close-up of a handwritten signature 'William Bower' in cursive script. Below the name is a large, stylized 'V' mark. To the left of the signature, there is a marginal note in cursive: 'the fine gundred and ...'.

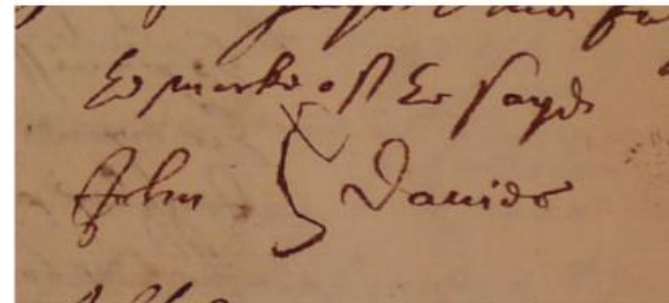
Edward Bunn[e], thirty-five year old labourer, late of the company of the *Martha* John Pibus master, of King street in the parish of Stepney, Middlesex, February 19<sup>th</sup>, 1654; probably a landsman on the whaling ship the *Martha* ([HCA 13/68 f.604v](#))

A close-up of a handwritten signature 'Edward Bunn' in cursive script. Below the name is a large, stylized 'S' mark, followed by the words 'is mark'.

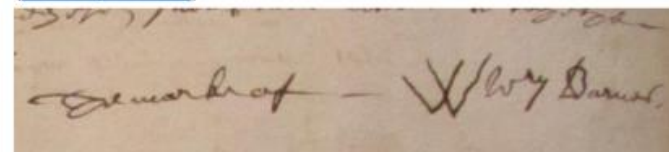
William Coxe, forty-one year old labourer, of Wapping Wall, January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1657; “hee cometh to bee examined at the request of the producent and hath receaved of her two shillings sixe pence toward his hinderance of his labour by comming and attending to bee sworne and examined and expecteth that the same shall bee made up two shillings a day beeing only soo much as hee could earne by his dayly labour) for soo long tyme as hee shall bee enforced to attend thereabout hee having all ready spent fower dayes tyme thereabout and saith hee was one of the labourers aboard the sayd lighter when the dammage happened” ([HCA 13/71 f.447v](#))

A close-up of a handwritten signature 'William Coxe' in cursive script. Below the name is a large, stylized 'S' mark, followed by the words 'is mark'.

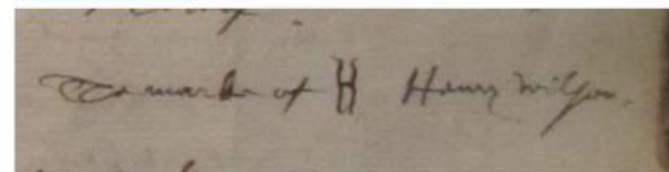
John Davies, thirty-six year old labourer, of Wapping in the parish of Stepney, Middlesex, February 21<sup>st</sup>, 1657; “[he] was a labourer aboard the lighter the *Ellen and Anne*” ([HCA 13/71 f.563r](#))

A close-up of a handwritten signature 'John Davies' in cursive script. Below the name is a large, stylized 'S' mark, followed by the words 'is mark'.

William Barnes, fifty-six year old labourer, of Greenwich, Kent, May 29<sup>th</sup>, 1657; “ hee well knoweth the producent Mary Ewen and the bancks and wharfe arlate, having often times wrought thereat...hee hath lived for theise thirtie yeares last at Greenwich, and hath and doth live by his labour” ([HCA 13/72 f.33v](#))

A close-up of a handwritten signature 'William Barnes' in cursive script. Below the name is a large, stylized 'S' mark, followed by the words 'is mark'.

Henry Wilson, forty year old labourer, of Greenwich, June 9<sup>th</sup>, 1657; “ hee by times for theise seaven yeeres hath used to worke as a labourer upon the said [ballast] wharfe” ([HCA 13/72 f.42r](#))

A close-up of a handwritten signature 'Henry Wilson' in cursive script. Below the name is a large, stylized 'S' mark, followed by the words 'is mark'.

# Example: Shipyard workers [family]



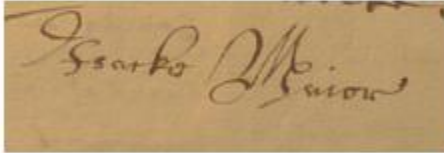


## Example: Shipyard workers [specific ship]

### Owner

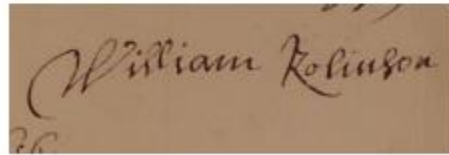
**John Mayor**, shipwright, owner of Horseydown wharf

### Overseer

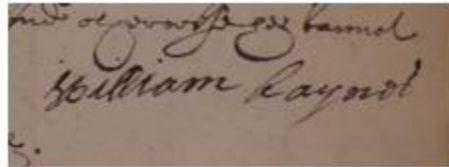


**Isaacke Maior**, 24 year old shipwright, of Horseydown, Surrey. Hired by John Mayor, shipwright as an overseer of work. HCA 13/71 f.16r

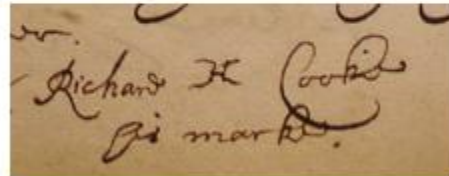
### Servants + Apprentices



**William Robinson**, 20 year old shipwright, of Saint Mary Magdalen, Southwark, Surrey. Servant to John Mayor, shipwright. HCA 13/71 f.137v

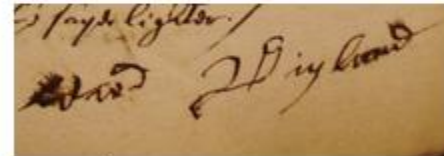


**William Haynes**, 19 year old ship carpenter, of Horseydown, Surrey. Servant to John Mayor, shipwright. HCA 13/71 f.138r



**Richard Cooke**, 20 year old ship carpenter, of Horseydown, Surrey. Servant to John Mayor, shipwright. HCA 13/71 f.138v

### Contractors



**Edward Bigland**, 67 year old shipwright, of Saint Mary Magdalen, Southwark, Surrey. Hired by John Mayor, shipwright. HCA 13/71 f.135v

**William ffurnis**

**John Priddam**

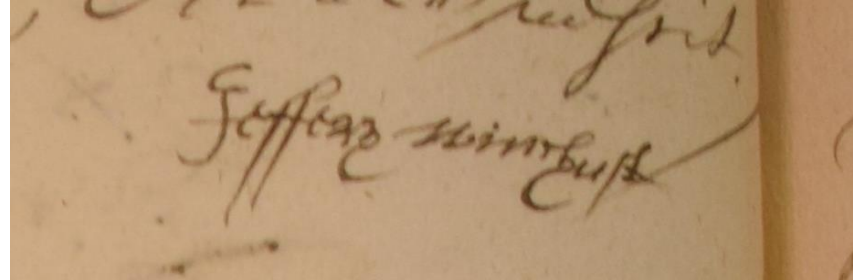
**Henry Row**

**Richard Mallett**

**Thomas Phillios**

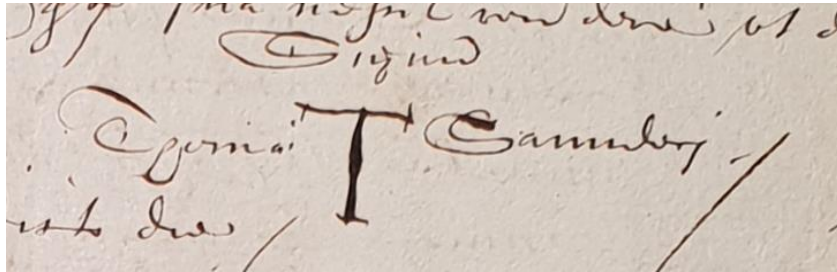
**Unnamed boy**

## Example: Blacksmiths [hierarchy]



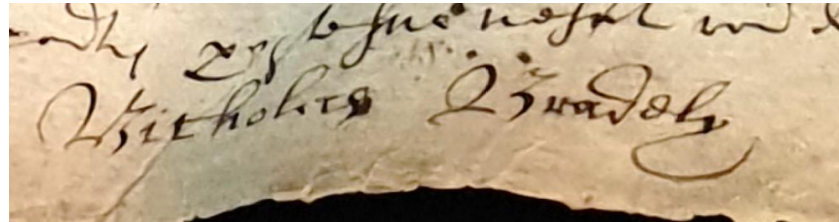
Jeffery Winchurst, blacksmith, age 25; resident at Shadwell, Middlesex; previously resident in Redriff and Horseydown (where he was born) dated 1637 [HCA 13/53 f.145v]

Jeffery Winchurst would have then been ca. 30 years of age in 1642, when he was master of two sixteen year olds at his Ratcliff blacksmith's shop



Thomas Saunders, servant and apprentice to Jeffery Winchurst, blacksmith, age 16; resident at Ratcliff, Middlesex; dated 1642 [HCA 13/57 f.380r]

"Hee well remembreth the contents of the said schedule having heard the same reade over to him the same passage ... and for that hee kepte the tallye of whate was done for the shippes use" (HCA 13/57 f.379v)



Nicholas Bradely, servant and apprentice to Jeffery Winchurst, blacksmith, age 16; resident at Ratcliff, Middlesex; dated 1642 [HCA 13/57 f.380r]

"And this hee sayeth is true by vertue of his oath whoe kept his masters bookes of accounte where all the said worcke was entered and extracted the arlate schedule out of the said booke of accounts and the pieces sett downe for the said worcke and materials as accordinge to the rates that are usuallie given and allowed for the like comodities by other men that use the same" (HCA 13/57 f.380r)

# Quantitative occupational comparisons

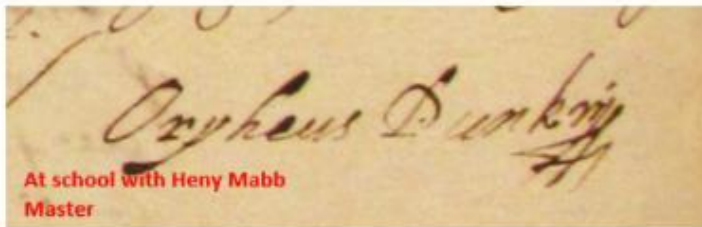
Table Three: Mariner literacy by sub-occupation																				
	Count		Count		Count															
Occupation	Other	Signoffs	Marke	Initials	Signatu	Total				%	%	%	%	%						
Purser	3	310	1	0	309	313				0.96%	0.32%	0.00%	98.72%					100.00%		
Chirurgion [on ship]	4	196	1	0	195	200				2.00%	0.50%	0.00%	97.50%					100.00%		
Factor/Sopracargo	4	169	1	1	167	173				2.31%	0.58%	0.58%	96.53%					100.00%		
Master[all ship types]	23	2741	119	111	2511	2764				0.83%	4.31%	4.02%	90.85%					100.00%		
Master's mate [no variants]	21	1046	50	56	940	1067				1.97%	4.69%	5.25%	88.10%					100.00%		
Coxwain	0	41	1	4	36	41				0.00%	2.44%	9.76%	87.80%					100.00%		
Pilot	2	216	24	19	173	218				0.92%	11.01%	8.72%	79.36%					100.00%		
Mariner	112	8639	1206	875	6558	8751				1.28%	13.78%	10.00%	74.94%					100.00%		
Cooper (on ship)	0	107	17	12	78	107				0.00%	15.89%	11.21%	72.90%					100.00%		
Gunner's mate	1	89	15	9	65	90				1.11%	16.67%	10.00%	72.22%					100.00%		
Boatswain	3	580	82	86	412	583				0.51%	14.07%	14.75%	70.67%					100.00%		
Gunner	3	371	43	71	257	374				0.80%	11.50%	18.98%	68.72%					100.00%		
Trumpeter	0	27	5	4	18	27				0.00%	18.52%	14.81%	66.67%					100.00%		
Carpenter [on ship]	4	476	94	104	278	480				0.83%	19.58%	21.67%	57.92%					100.00%		
Steward [on ship]	2	94	19	20	55	96				2.08%	19.79%	20.83%	57.29%					100.00%		
Common man & variants [1]	2	208	68	36	104	210				0.95%	32.38%	17.14%	49.52%					100.00%		
Foremastman	1	88	18	27	43	89				1.12%	20.22%	30.34%	48.31%					100.00%		
Quartermaster	6	330	95	79	156	336				1.79%	28.27%	23.51%	46.43%					100.00%		
Sailor	11	608	244	92	272	619				1.78%	39.42%	14.86%	43.94%					100.00%		
Cook [on ship]	1	126	46	29	51	127				0.79%	36.22%	22.83%	40.16%					100.00%		
[1] Common man & variants = common mariner + common seaman + ordinary mariner +ordinary seaman																				



# Compare mariners; rivermen; fishermen; labourers

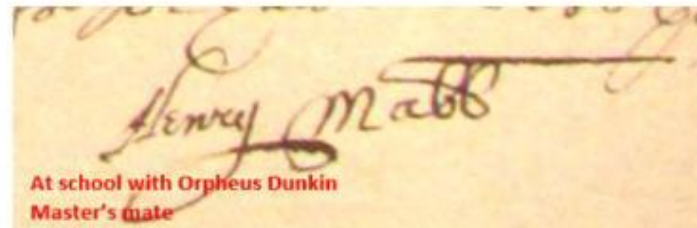
Table Four: Mariner literacy compared with lightermen, watermen, fishermen, and labourers												
	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count		%	%	%	%	%
Occupation	Other	Signoffs	Marke	Initials	Signature	Total		Other	Marke	Initials	Signature	Total
Mariner	112	8639	1206	875	6558	8751		1.28%	13.78%	10.00%	74.94%	100.00%
Sailor	11	608	244	92	272	619		1.78%	39.42%	14.86%	43.94%	100.00%
Common man & variants [1]	2	208	68	36	104	210		0.95%	32.38%	17.14%	49.52%	100.00%
Foremastman	1	88	18	27	43	89		1.12%	20.22%	30.34%	48.31%	100.00%
Lighterman	0	116	37	36	43	116		0.00%	31.90%	31.03%	37.07%	100.00%
Waterman	1	211	87	55	69	212		0.47%	41.04%	25.94%	32.55%	100.00%
Fisherman	4	128	78	24	26	132		3.03%	59.09%	18.18%	19.70%	100.00%
Labourer	0	42	24	12	6	42		0.00%	57.14%	28.57%	14.29%	100.00%
[1] Common man & variants = common mariner + common seaman + ordinary mariner +ordinary seaman												

## When and where was literacy acquired? Schooled hands.



**At school with Henry Mabb  
Master**

Signature of Orpheus Dunkin, thirty-eight year old mariner of Wapping, Middlesex. Master of ships for the last five years. Deposed April 28<sup>th</sup> 1638. HCA 13/54 f.79v.



**At school with Orpheus Dunkin  
Master's mate**

Signature of Henry Mabb, thirty-eight year old mariner of the precinct of Bridewell, London. Master's mate of the *George and Elizabeth* of London. Dated May 25<sup>th</sup> 1638. HCA 13/54 f.101r.

1638



**School friend of Edmond Ellison  
Boatswain**

John Crockson, forty-five year old mariner of Wapping, Middlesex. Boatswain of the *Rebecca* of London. Deposed May 1650. Carried survivors from the *Pearcy* home to London from Toulon. HCA 13/63 f.114v.



**School friend of John Crockson  
Master and commander**

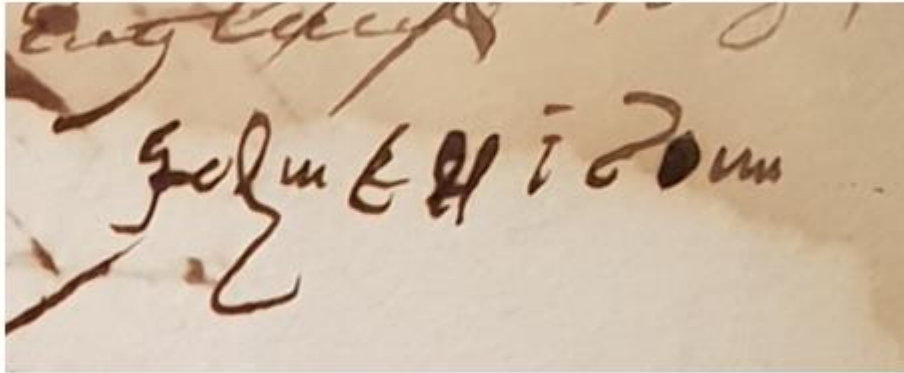
Edmond Ellison, mariner of Shadwell, Middlesex. Master of the *Pearcy*, a ship of ca. 425 tons, 26 guns and ca. 42 men; his ship captured in a fight with a French man of war on a voyage home from Livorno via Lisbon to London. Deposed May 1650. HCA 13/63 f.119v.

1650

"This rendent went to schoole in Cornewall with the sayd Mabb and never knewe or heard that the sayd Mabb was brought up as a tayler or any other trade or profession but at sea but as he beleiveth he the sayd Mabb hath bene broughte up as a seaman but this rendent sawe him not from the tyme that he went to schoole with him which was about twentye eighte yeares since, untill about nyne or ten yeares since and then the sayd Mabb had the commannd of a shipp as master." (HCA 13/54 f.79v)

## When and where was literacy acquired? Unschooled hand.

### FATHER OF EDMUND ELLISON



John Ellison, fifty-seven year old mariner of Shadwell, Middlesex. Deposed November 1639. HCA 13/55 f.390r.

**Mariner and part-owner of his son's ship**

### FATHER OF EDMUND ELLISON



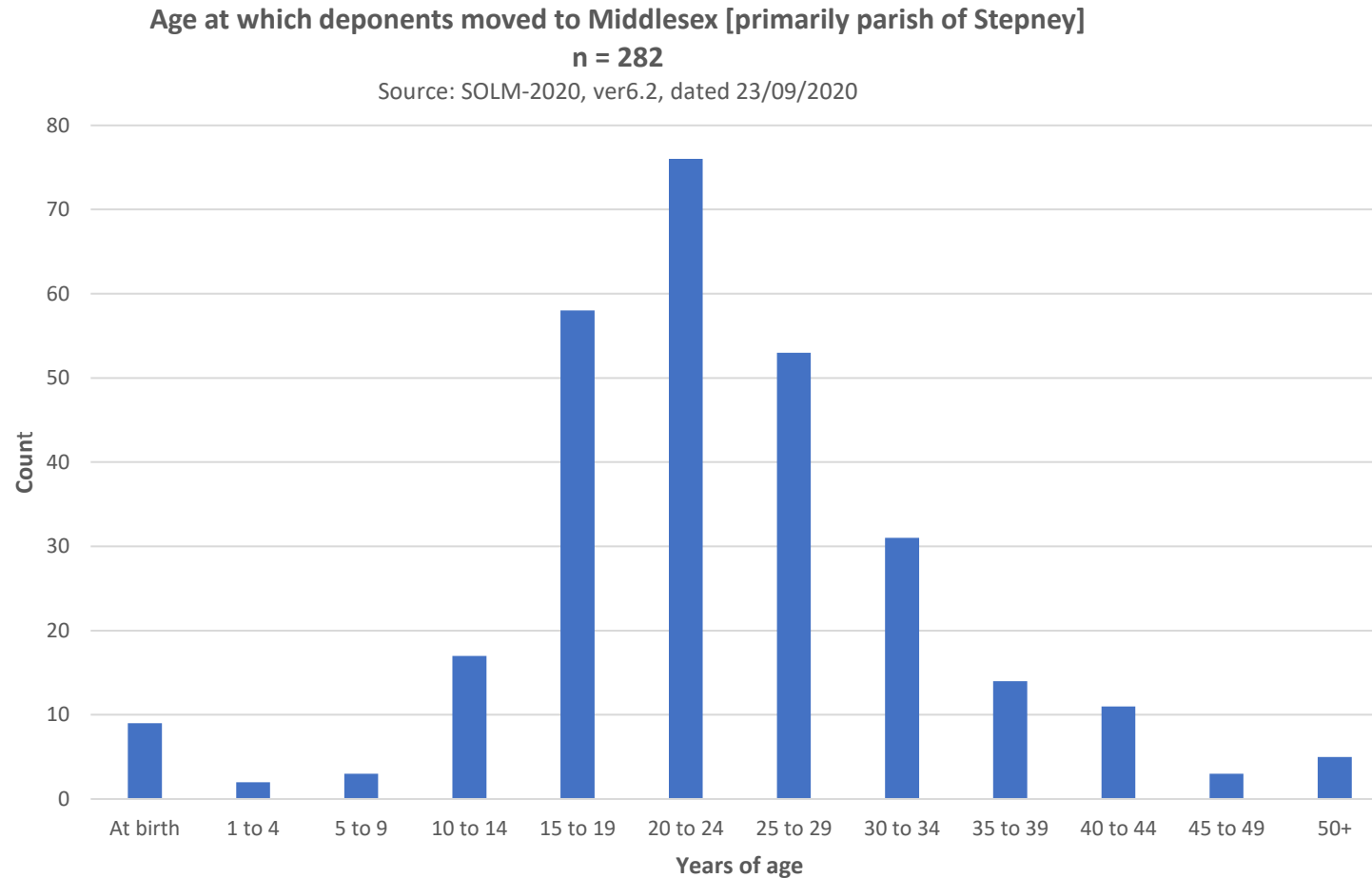
Captain John Ellison. Sixty-six year old mariner of Shadwell, Middlesex. Deposed October 1650. HCA 13/63 f.389r.

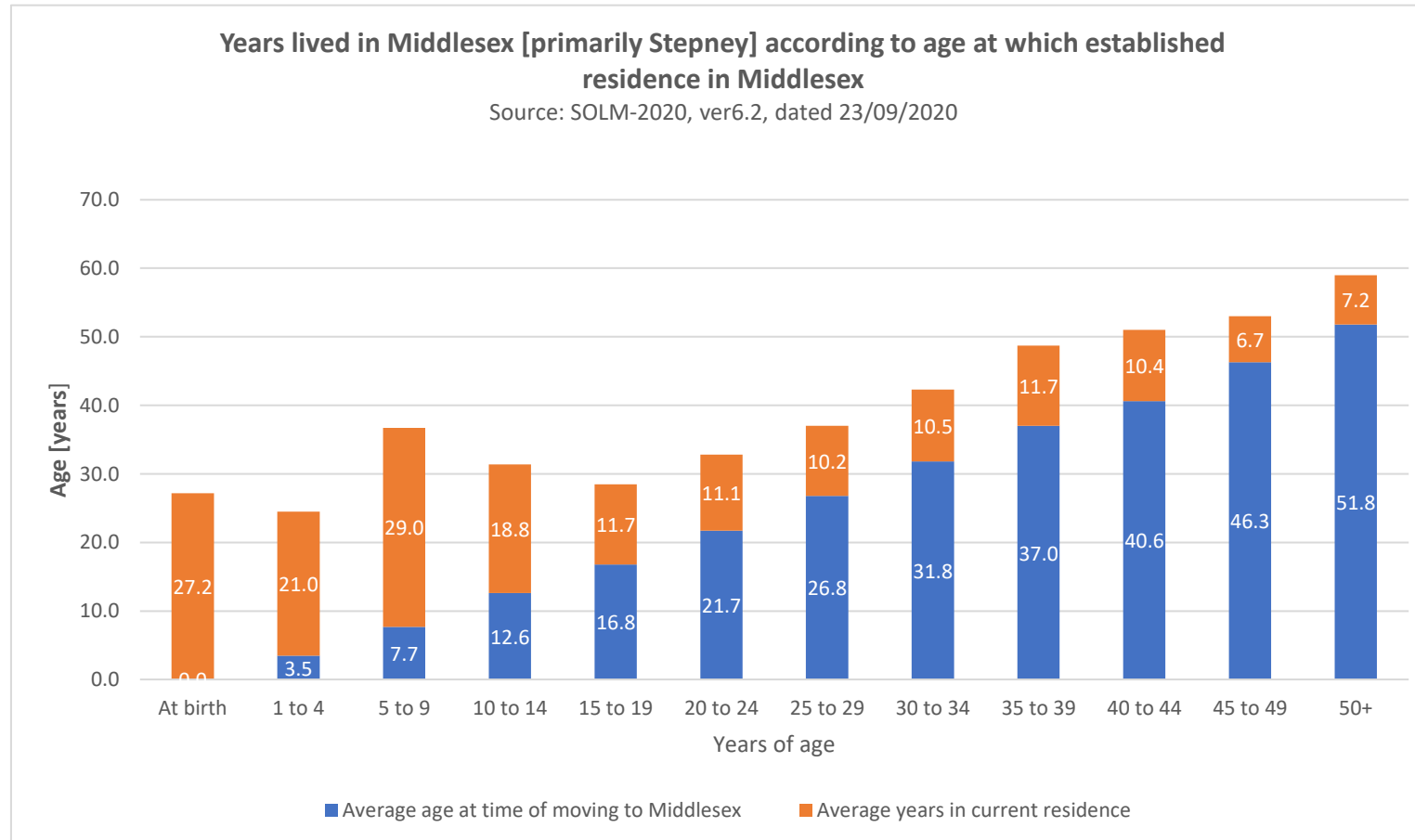
**Mariner; Captain**

"Before the arlate shippe the *George and Elisabeth* sett saile from Gravesend the voyage arlate the arlate George Hanger did treat and agree with the arlate Edmund Ellison in the presence and hearing of this examine for the transportation of eleaven negroes in the said shippe from England to Mallega or some other places thereabouts in Spaine and the said Edmund Ellison agreed to finde them victuals at his chardge in their transportation...He is the natural father of the said Edmund Ellison the producent, and was owner of a quarter part wanting a 32th of the interrater shippe the voyage interrater." [Deposition of John Ellison, November 1639] (HCA 13/63 ff.389r-389v)

"Hee this deponent being a chirurgeon by profession was aborde the shipp the *George and Elisabeth* whereof the producent Captaine [Edmund] Ellison was captaine and commander in and about the yeare 1635 interrater and was and did execute the place of chirurgeon all the said voyage aboard the said shippe" [Deposition of James Russell, chirurgeon of the *George and Elisabeth*, under the command of Captaine [Edmund] Ellison; called as a witness in the HCA suit concerning Edmund Ellison as master and commander of the *Pearcy*] (HCA 13/63 f.124r)







Migration case studies: mariners and sailors living in Stepney, Middlesex, but born outside London and Thames shoreline parishes

### MIGRATION TO STEPNEY AGE 5 TO 20

**Born at Lyme, Dorset, Kent. Lived in Limehouse, Middlesex, with parents from age of 5 to age of 15. Lived in Ratcliffe, Middlesex from age of 15. Now aged 20.**

"He was borne at Lyme in Dorsetshire and that he hath dwelt at Ratcliffe for these five yeares last past or therabouts and before that with his parents at Lymehouse by the space of ten yeares and upwards "

[Henry Browne, 20 year old mariner of Ratcliffe, Middlesex. Cockswain's mate of the *Margarett Constance*. Voyage from London to the East Mediterranean and back. Deposed 1634. SIGNATURE LITERATE. HCA 13/50 f.515r]

**Born in Newport, Isle of Wight. Apprentice from age 15 to 21, lodged, when not at sea, with surgeon and his wife in Shadwell, Middlesex. Lived another one or two years in Shadwell after end of apprenticeship, then moved for a year to Shields, near Newcastle. Recently returned to Stepney, living in Limehouse. Now aged 25 or 26.**

"Hee was borne at Newporte in the Isle of Wighte and is of the age of aboute 25 or 26 yeares and is by profession a chirurgeon and liveth by that profession goinge to sea as a chirurgeon and sayeth that hee came from the Sheilds aforesaid aboute a moneth after Michaelmas laste and before that tyme lived there about a yeare, and before that tyme for seaven or eighte yeares lodged in Shadwell when hee was not at sea and six of those yeares was an apprentice there with one Mr Mason a chirurgeon and his wief, and since hee came from the Sheilds when hee hath not bin at sea hath lived in Wappinge in his owne house neare the Castle and Still "

[Roger Hewes, 25 to 26 year old surgeon of Limehouse, Middlesex. Surgeon of the *Neptune*, a private man of war. Deposed 1599. SIGNATURE LITERATE. HCA 13/34 f.112v]

**Born in Dartmouth, Devon, where probably lived till age 15. Moved to Limehouse aged 15. Now aged 18 and is servant and apprentice to master of a London ship.**

"Andreas Lovewell de Limehouse nauta ubi per tres annos moram fecit natus in oppido de Dartmouth annos natus 18 "

[Andreas Lovewell, 18 year old mariner of Limehouse, Middlesex. Servant and apprentice to John Bedfor, master of the *Penelope* of London. Deposed 1608. SIGNATURE LITERATE. HCA 13/39 f.124r]

**Moved to London from Berkshire at age of 16 or 17. Now living in Limehouse at age of 31.**

"Hee was borne at East Shefford in Barkshire, about six miles from Newberry, and hath lived about fourteene yeares last at London, and that hee is brother to ffrancis Prince one of the said owners, but hath himselfe noe part in the said shipp, but had goods to the valew of an hundred pounds sterling or thereabouts on board for his owne account, which were for the most part alsoe seized and taken away"

[George Prince, 31 year old mariner of Limehouse, Middlesex. Master of the *Charitie* of London. Deposed 1658. SIGNATURE LITERATE. HCA 13/72 f.353v]

**Born in Bungay, Suffolk, 40 miles from Ipswich. Apprenticed in Ipswich to mariner. Moved to London aged 18 after end of apprenticeship. Now aged 25.**

"Hee was borne at Bungy in Suffolke and served an apprenticeship with a marriner in Ipswich, and for these seaven yeares laste past since that apprenticeship hath sailed from London "

[Thomas Webb, 25 year old mariner of Shadwell, Middlesex. One of the company of the *Thomas Bonadventure*. Deposed 1626. NOT SIGNATURE LITERATE – USED INITIALS. HCA 13/45 f.492r]



Migration case studies: mariners and sailors living in Stepney, Middlesex, but born outside London and Thames shoreline parishes

### MIGRATION TO STEPNEY AGE 20 TO 30

**Split time between Norway and London from at age of 12 or 13. Moved to Shadwell at age of 21. Now aged 26.**

"This deponent was borne at Dronthem a citty of Norway his parents being natives of that country, but had most of his education in East-Frisland at Staveren a place subject to the States of the United Provinces untill within theis 14 yeares last past, wherein most of his tyme hath beene spent in voyages betweene London and Norway, being most of the winters here in London and in the summers at sea and in Norway and that about five yeares since hee marryed here in London, and hath lived ever since whilest at home in London in Shadwell aforesayd, where his chylde now liveth but his wife is dead"

[Augustinus Hance, 26 year old mariner of Shadwell, Middlesex. Boatswain of the *Sampson*. Voyage from London to Crogera in Norway and back. Deposed 1667. SIGNATURE LITERATE. HCA 13/76 f.196r]

**Lived in Bristol from birth until age 24, when moved to Gun Alley, Limehouse. Now aged 31.**

"Hee was borne at Bristoll, is a marriner by profession, getteth his liveinge by the sea, hath lived in Gunn Allye in Wappinge for the space of these seaven yeares laste paste, excepte when hee hath bine at sea, and the resideue of his tyme before at Bristoll aforesaid"

[Thomas Smith, 31 year old mariner of Limehouse, Middlesex. Boatswain of the *Richard and Nathaniel* of London. Deposed 1641. SIGNATURE LITERATE. HCA 13/56 f.527v]

**Born on Isle of Grain, Kent. Lived in Faversham, Kent from age of 13 until age of 25, when moved to Limehouse, Middlesex. Now aged 30.**

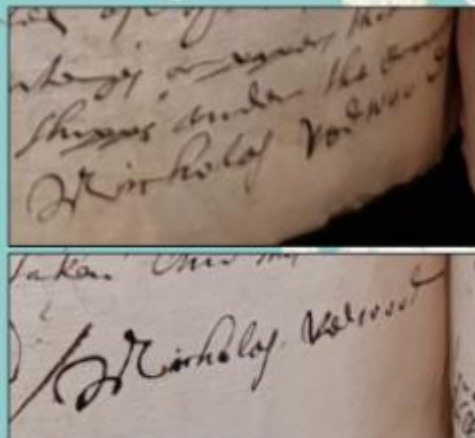
" Edwardus ffenner de Lymehouse in comitatu Middlesex saylor ubi habitaverit per quinq annos et autea apud ffeversham per duodecem annos et ultra natus in Insula de Grayne in comitatu Kantia etats triginta annorum vel circa "

[Edward Fenner, 30 year old sailor of Limehouse. Quartermaster's mate of the *Neptune*, a private man of war. SIGNATURE LITERATE. HCA 13/34 f.120r]

## Case studies: One individual

**Most literacy seen amongst English mariners sailing out of London in the first half of the C17th was imported from English ports on the south, south east, and eastern coasts.**

This one example shows a thirty year old mariner, John Redwood, who was born in the coastal parish of Chideock in Dorset, moved to Weymouth in Dorset at the age of six, where he would have learned to read, and then almost certainly been an apprentice and servant to a Weymouth mariner. He established residence in Ratcliffe in the parish of Stepney in Middlesex around the age of 27. Most English mariners working out of the Port of London moved to Thameside parishes in their mid to late teens and their early twenties. At the time of Redwood's English High Court of Admiralty deposition in 1631, he was one of the master's mates of a ship named the *Peter Bonadventure*, which had been on a voyage to Venice and Zante in the Mediterranean. A family of Redwood mariners appears in Chideock from the 1560s.



A possibly related mariner, Nicholas Redwood, was resident in Dartmouth in the same period that John Redwood was in Stepney

1  
b. ca. 1601  
Chiddeocke,  
Dorset

2  
Resident ca. 1607 to 1627  
From age of 6 to 26  
Weymouth, Dorset

3  
Resident ca. 1628 to 1631  
From age of 27 to 30  
Ratcliffe, parish of Stepney,  
Middlesex

John Redwood

John Redwood

Source: HCA 13/49 f.369r-370r; OpenStreetMap; Plymouth Archives, ref: 74/99/8. Bargain and sale 1. John Redwood of Chideock, Dorset, mariner 2. Edmond and Christian...; HCA 13/59 f.341v, HCA 13/59 f.405v

## Geographic origins of migrants: one ship

Office	Birthplace	Current residence	
Boatswain	Rubeck, Sanwich, Dorset [England]	Limehouse, Stepney, Middlesex [England]	Signature
Carpenter	Pontiling, Northumbria [England]	Stepney, Middlesex [England]	Signature
Cook	Pembrooke, Pembrokeshire [Wales]	At the sign of the Hand and Hatchet upon Little Tower Hill	Mark
Steward	Saint Buttolphs without Algate, London [England]	Saint Buttolphs without Bishopsgate, London [England]	Signature
Surgeon	Edinburgh [Scotland]	Fenchurchstreet, London [England]	Signature
Quartermaster	Limehouse, Stepney, Middlesex [England]	Stepney, Middlesex [England]	Signature
Foremastman A	Yarmouth, Norfolk [England]	Lower Shadwell, Stepney, Middlesex [England]	Signature
Foremastman B	[?Cerell] Fife [Scotland]	Saint Mary Matsellon alias Whitechapell, Middlesex [England]	Signature
Foremastman C	Northlastick, Devon [England]	Stepney, Middlesex [England]	Signature

KEY: Born outside London or Thames parishes of Middlesex, Surrey and Kent

### PLACE OF BIRTH OF MARINER DEPONENTS ON A SPECIFIC SHIP [1669]

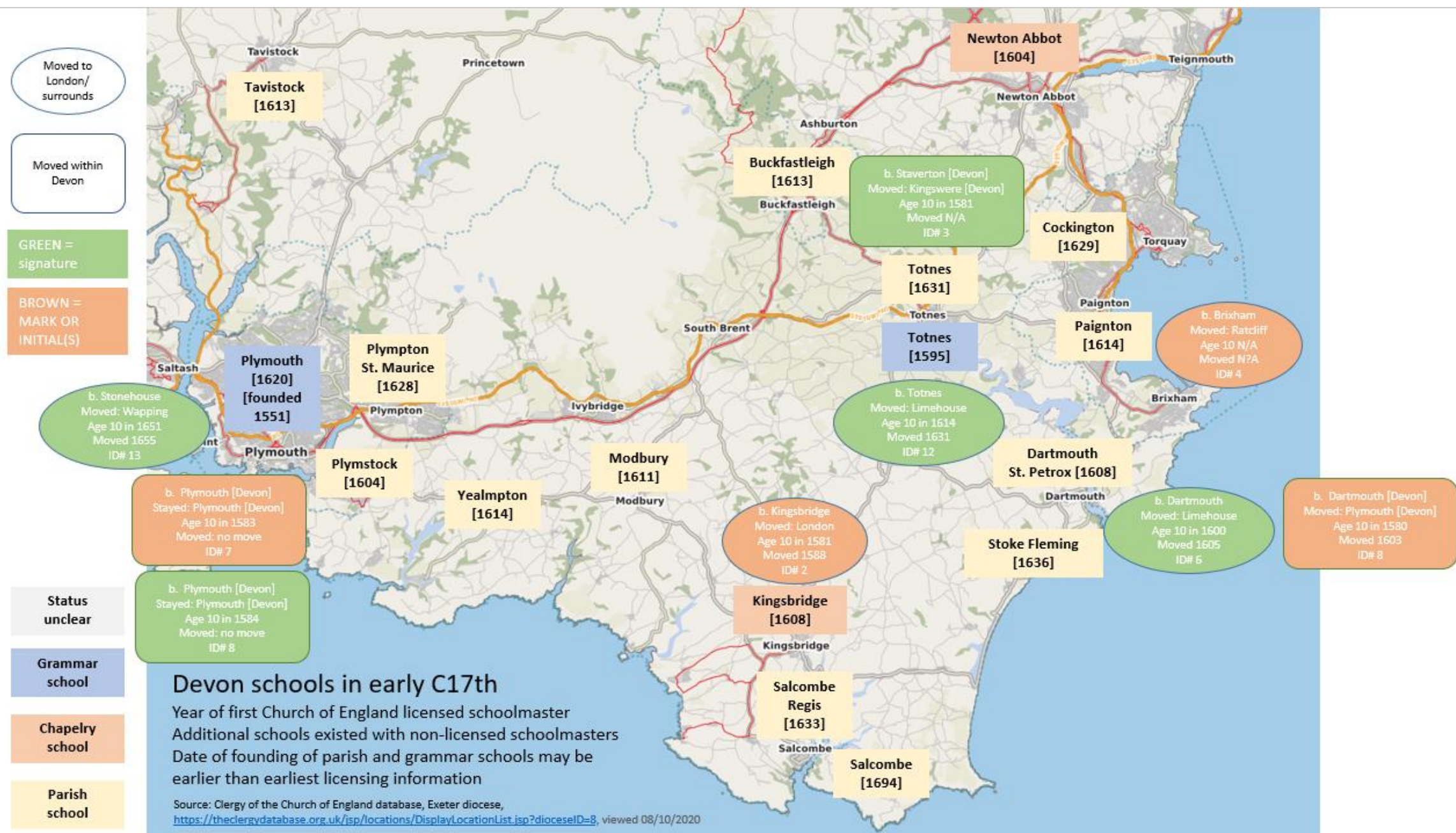
#### The *Edward* [London/Virginia/London]

In a High Court of Admiralty case in 1669 there were nine deponents who sailed on a ship named the *Edward*, on a voyage from London to Virginia and back to London. Details of the birthplace of all nine deponents were recorded. Seven of the nine were born outside London or near London. Only the steward and the quartermaster came from London or near London. Two of the seven came from Scotland – the surgeon from Edinburgh and one of the foremastmen from Fife. The seven came from coastal counties in England, Scotland and Wales – Dorset, Devon, Fife, Norfolk, Northumbria, and Pembrokeshire.<sup>2</sup> Eight of the men were literate, including all three foremastmen (with ages of 24, 26 and 30). The 24 year old cook, born in Pembrokeshire, was illiterate.

Average age of the whole sample = 29.4 years and average year of birth = 1639.6 [range of 1629 to 1646]



## Geographic origins of migrants: part of Devon



Scaling up literacy analysis & establishing international comparisons

Deepening county and regional based educational insights

# APPENDICES

1. Talk synopsis
2. HCA Machine learning project
3. Publications



# 1. Talk Synopsis

The north and south Thames shoreline, to the east of London Bridge, was transformed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century by inward migration. It became a bustling polyglot linear city, centred on commercial marine trade and its diverse infrastructure of shipyards, boarding houses, and taverns, workshops, foundries, mast yards, and shops. This talk explores the character of the Thames shoreline population, focussing on the literacy of different occupations as revealed in the depositions of the English High Court of Admiralty. The talk relates the level of literacy seen in different occupations to the nature of the work performed in those occupations. It shows how specific occupations, such as porter and shipyard worker, are associated with quite wide ranges of literacy attainment, with literacy attainment varying according to the functional demands of the job and the hierarchical position of an individual. The talk provides data demonstrating a high degree of literacy amongst commercial 17<sup>th</sup> century mariners living in London and contrasts this high literacy with a medium level of literacy for 17<sup>th</sup> century shore trades, and a low level of literacy for 17<sup>th</sup> century Essex and Kent fishermen. This polyglot shoreline was one based on migration, largely from the southern and eastern coastal counties of England, but also from neighbouring countries around the North Sea and along the northern European coastline. The talk examines these migration patterns using a dataset of over 12,000 mariners, who gave evidence in the English High Court of Admiralty between 1570 and 1680. By analysing the age at which mariners migrated to the Thames shoreline, the talk demonstrates that much of the high literacy seen amongst Thames shoreline mariners was acquired outside London, with counties of origin such as Devon, Dorset, Essex, and Suffolk of particular importance. The talk will present some fascinating life stories and tales of acquired literacy and language skills, which will remind listeners of the extraordinary diversity and richness of 17<sup>th</sup> century marine focused life.

## 2.1 HCA MACHINE LEARNING PROJECT: project goals and strategy

- Build a multi-hand, multi-year Secretary Hand HTR model, optimised for English High Court of Admiralty depositions, 1600-1659

- Build a multi-hand, multi-year generalized Secretary Hand HTR model, optimised for multiple sub-types of Secretary hand, 1600-1659

- Develop a semi-automatic machine text creation & editing work process, integrating machine based pre-processing, HTR-recognition, post-processing, and humans in loop to create high quality editions at scale

- Work with panel of academic historians interested in English High Court of Admiralty archival material to understand their research needs
- Work with the same panel to understand how they use a test group of HCA volumes made viewable and searchable in the Marine Lives Transkribus collection

- Explore C17th Secretary Hand types, and consider different research needs for Secretary Hand machine transcription, including possibility of a model focused on C17th legal, or C17th legal and administrative Secretary Hand
- Work with panel of academic historians with a range of archival material interests to understand their research needs
- Work with the same panel to understand how they use a test range of Secretary Hand documents covering a range of sub-types of Secretary hand and a range of archival materials

- Develop semi-automatic work processes to publish 34 million word edition of English High Court of Admiralty depositions, 1574 – 1688, by end 2022

- Learn from reception of HCA deposition publication to improve work processes

- Synthesize findings; publish model; publish paper; hold workshop(s) and/or conference

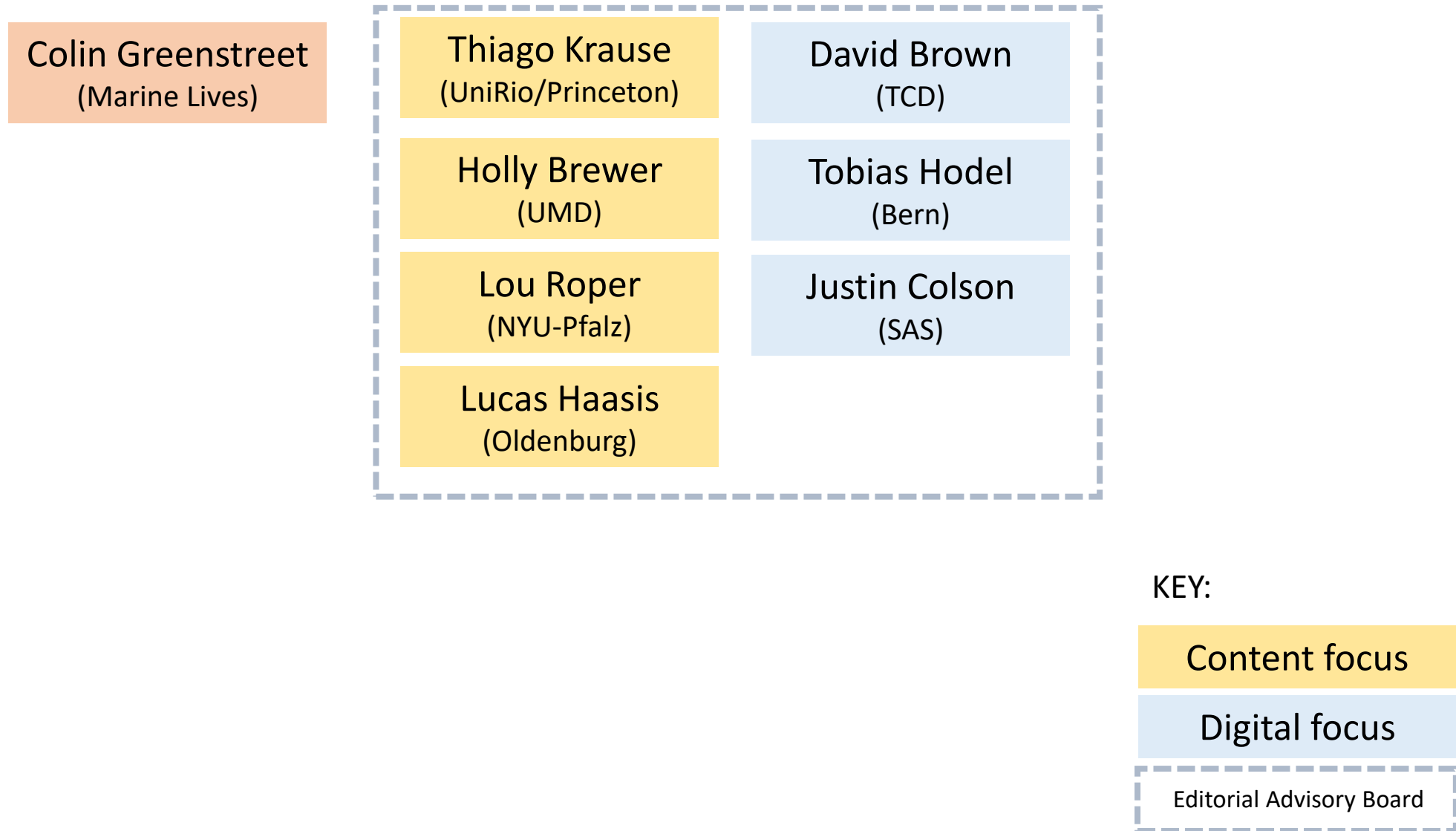
- For example, Michael Bennett (Manchester); Thiago Krause (UniRio/Princeton); John Styles (CalTech) [TBC]

- For example, 1620-1639 [HCA 13/43 to HCA 13/55; 6816 depositions; ca. 10,000 pages; ca. 500,000 lines; ca. 5 million words]

- For example, Brodie Waddell (Birkbeck); Susan Amussen (UCMerced) [TBC]

- For example, Worcestershire QS Petitions, 1592-1699; Star Chamber, C17<sup>th</sup>

## 2.2 HCA MACHINE LEARNING PROJECT: We have formed a seven person Editorial Advisory Board to supervise the production of our planned edition of HCA depositions, 1574 to 1688





## 2.3 HCA MACHINE LEARNING PROJECT: Publication strategy

- Synthesize findings

- Publish model

- Publish paper

- Hold workshop(s) and/or conference

- Working paper: technical

- Working paper: process

- HCA C17th Secretary Hand Model (PyLaia and CITLab HTR+ versions]

- Legal & administrative C17th Secretary Hand Model (PyLaia and CITLab HTR+ versions]

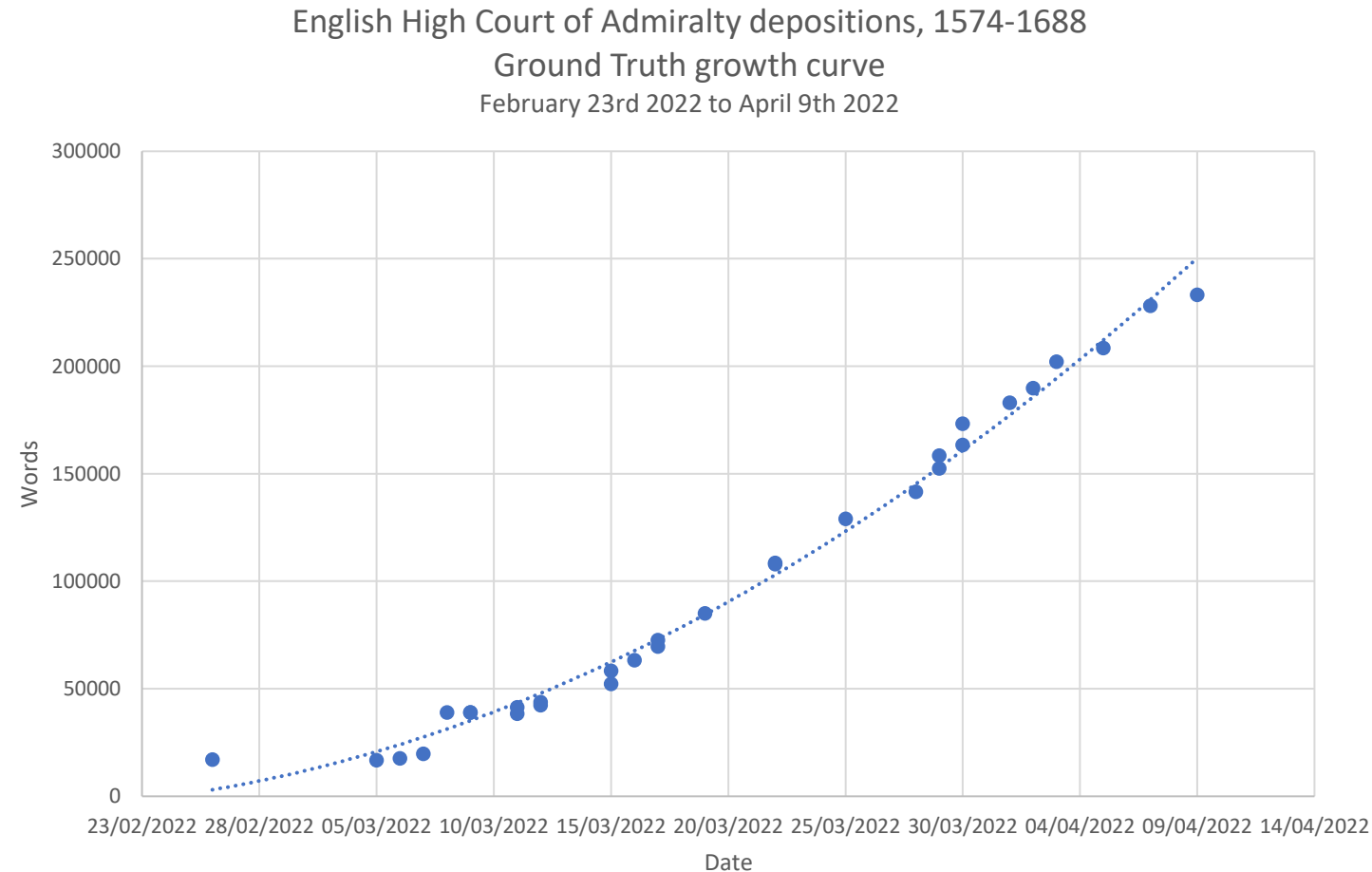
- Journal article: Machine facilitated large scale document editions

- Building a Ground Truth workshop

- Possible conference session topics:

- Process
  - Machine facilitated large scale document editions
- Technical
  - Pre-processing
  - HTR
  - Post-processing

2.4 HCA MACHINE LEARNING PROJECT: We are building our Ground Truth at a rate of 10,000 words a day, with increasing momentum. For the last two weeks we have been using machine transcription to create a first pass of ground truth, which we are then manually inspecting and correcting. Our ground truth is 308,000 words. We aim to have 400,000 words of ground truth by end-May and 500,000 words of ground truth by end June.



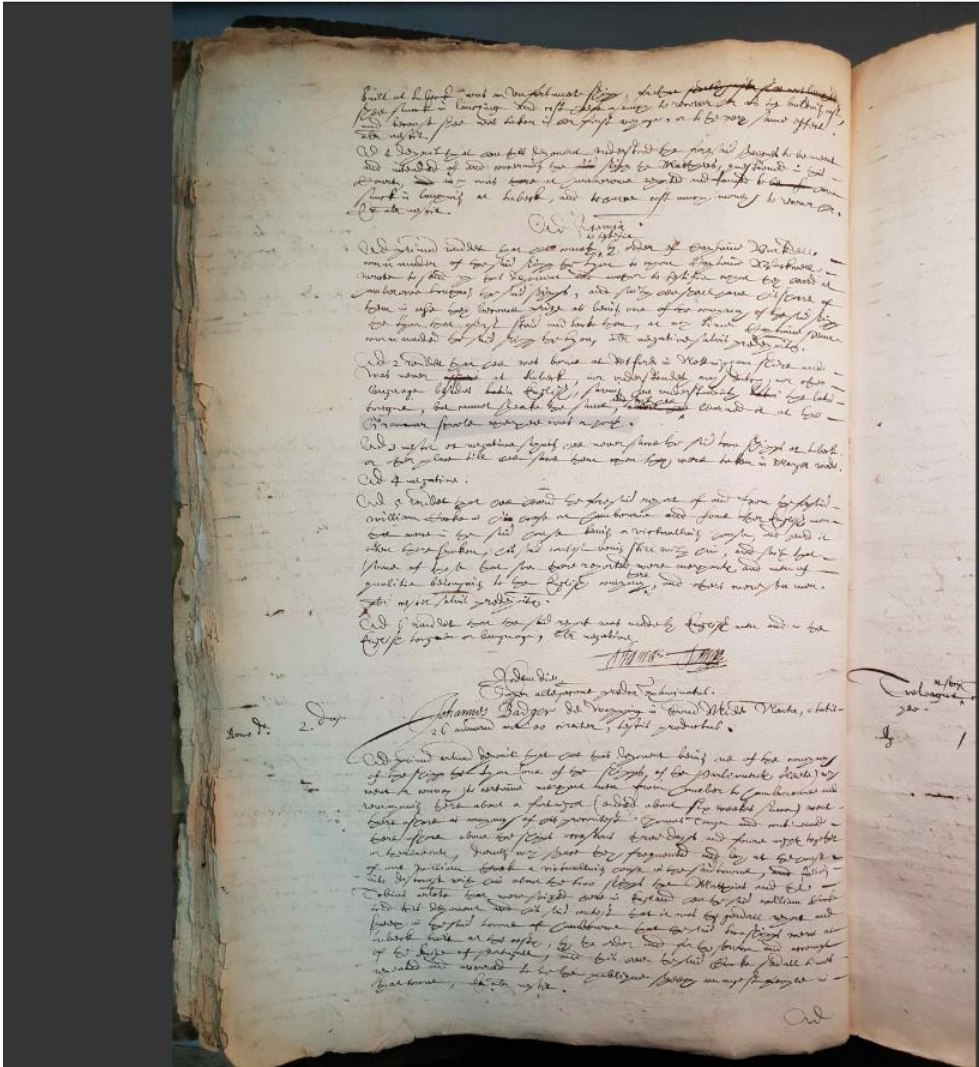
2.5 HCA MACHINE LEARNING PROJECT: P. 90 in volume HCA 13/64 reveals that the mariner Thomas Tonge was borne in Retford in Nottinghamshire, and learned Latin in his youth at grammar school, which he can understand, but not speak.

Transcribe

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built at Lubeck was an unfortunate shipp, or that shortly after shee was launched shee sunck in lauching and cost halfe asmuch to recover her at the building cost and because shee was taken in her first voyage, or to the very same effect. alr nescit./

Ad 4 deponit that hee this deponent understood the foresaid speeches to be meant and intended of and concerning the said shipp the Mattheis, questioned in this Court, and wch was there at Hamborowe reported and famed to be for have sunck in touching at Lubeck, and to have cost much money to recover her. Et alr nescit.

Ad Interria. to testifie

Ad primu rendet that hee cometh by order of Captaine Buckdell commander of the said shipp the Lyon to whom Captaine Blackwell wrote to send upp this deponent and another to testifie what they heard at Hamborowe touching the said shippis, and saith hee shall have his share of them in case they became prize as being one of the company of the said shipp the Lyon that first staid and tooke them, at wch time Captaine Parr commanded the said shipp the Lyon, alr negative salvis predepoits.

Ad 2 rendet that hee was borne at Retford in Nottingham shire and was never ashore at Lubeck, nor understandeth any dutch, nor other language besides latin English, saving hee understandeth latin the latin and saith hee tongue, but cannot speake the same, albeit hee learned it at the Grammer schoole when hee was a youth

Ad 3 nescit et negative saying hee never sawe the said two shippis at Lubeck or other place till hee sawe them when they were taken in Marget roade,

Ad 4 negative.

Ad 5 rendet that hee heard the foresaid report of and from the foresaid William Cooke in his house at Hamborowe and some other English man that were in the said house being a victualling house, and heard it often there spoken, his said contest being still with him, and saith that

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# 3. PUBLICATIONS

