Early Modern mariner literacy: The literacy intensity of work

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Goal and structure of this talk

1. Functional framework
2. Evidence and measurement
3. Findings
4. Future research
5. Documentation
6. Appendix

Appendix

Signoff examples: Mariners
Signoff examples: River trades
Signoff examples: Materials handling
Signoff examples: Formally educated hands
Further literacy calibration material
Ship literacy maps
Shore trade literacy maps
Manuscript document examples
AI analysis
Twitter poll and thought experiment

Functional framework: Two strands

1. Literacy is a functional elective skill
2. Task content of specific occupations drive skill needs

Fuctional framework: Textiles supply chain

Pre-voyage at port of departure

	Charter ship	Hire men	Fit out ship
Owners	Letters Charter party copies Receipt book Cash book		Cash books Account books
Mariners	Master: Charter party original	Master's and/or purser's wage book Mariners: Letters of attorney	Gunner's inventory Carpenter's inventory Steward's book Master's book Journals
Merchants	Letters Charter party copies Receipt book Cash book		
Suppliers	Scrivener: Charter party drafts and copy Scrivener's book		Cash books Account books Tallies Invoices/bills/notes Receipts
Revenue			

Source: Signs of Literacy analysis

Fuctional framework: Textiles supply chain

Pre-voyage at port of departure

Owners			
Mariners			
Merchants	Letters Receipt book Cash book	Receipt book Cash book	Receipt book Cash book
Suppliers	Letters Invoice Receipts Account book	Cloth drawers/Dyers: Invoice/bill Receipts Receipt book Cash book	Packers: Invoice/bill Receipts Receipt book Cash book
Revenue			

Source: Signs of Literacy analysis

Fuctional framework: Textiles supply chain

Pre-voyage at port of departure

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

Fuctional framework: Textiles supply chain

Owners				Letters		
Mariners	Cockets Searchers clearance	Seabooks Charts Almanacs (tide tables; celestial bodies) Journals	Seabooks Charts Almanacs (tide tables; celestial bodies) Journals	Marks Numbers on goods Letters	Boatswain's notes Boatswain's book Lighterman's receipts Lighterman's book	Custom house book inwards Cockets Journals
Merchants				Letters		
Suppliers						
Revenue	Cockets Searchers clearance					Custom house book inwards Cockets

Source: Signs of Literacy analysis

Fuctional framework: Textiles supply chain

Pre-return voyage at port of destination

	Buy goods	Modify goods	Pack goods	Transport goods to ship	Lade goods	Register goods
Owners						
Mariners				Bargeman Waterman Notes/Receipts	Boatswain's receipts Boatswain's book Record of marks, numbers & quantities Bills of lading Master's book	Custom house book outwards Cockets Licence for bullion Journals
Merchants	Letters Receipt book Cash book		Receipt book Cash book	Receipt book Cash book Record of marks, numbers & quantities		
Suppliers	Letters Invoice Receipts Account book			Porters: Notes/Receipts Wharfinger: Wharfinger's book		
Revenue						Custom house book outwards Cockets Licence for bullion

Source: Signs of Literacy analysis

Fuctional framework: Textiles supply chain

Owners						
Mariners	Cockets Licence for bullion Searchers clearance	Colourable bills of lading	Seabooks Charts Almanacs (tide tables; celestial bodies) Journals	Custom house waiter's book Custom house waiter's notes Marks Numbers on goods	Boatswain's notes Boatswain's book Lighterman's receipts Lighterman's book Landwaiter's book Landwaiter's notes Wharfinger's book	Custom house scales note Custom house book inward
Merchants						
Suppliers				Cooper's notes Cooper's book		Porter's receipts Warehouse receipts Warehouse book
Revenue	Cockets Licence for bullion Searchers clearance					

Source: Signs of Literacy analysis

Evidence and measurement

SOLM-2022 overview

Source: SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11.0

Evidence and measurement: Extracting occupational data and linking to signoffs

Deposition of Mark Harrison; mariner and master; resident in Wapping, Middlesex; age 27;
Dated September 21st 1659 (TNA, HCA 13/68, ff. 1r-3r)

http://www.marinelives.org/wiki/HCA_13/68_f.1r_Annotate; http://www.marinelives.org/wiki/HCA_13/68_f.1v_Annotate; http://www.marinelives.org/wiki/HCA_13/68_f.2r_Annotate ; http://www.marinelives.org/wiki/HCA_13/68_f.2v_Annotate; http://www.marinelives.org/wiki/HCA_13/68_f.3r_Annotate

English High Court of Admiralty signoffs

TNA, HCA depositions; MarineLives wiki snippets

Unable to write or read

Able to read not write

Able to write and read

Able to write and read in multiple languages

MASTERS

"Hee this examinate did keepe a .. journall of the interrate ship's voyage and that is now under this examinate's custodye in his chest aboard his shippe called the *Elsabeth and Mary* at ffallmouth"

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

"Which noate this deponent (being acquainted well with the sayd Trenchpaines hand writeing 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"

HIGHER OFFICERS

"He cannot write nor read written hand"

"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"

"This hee knoweth for that hee kept a journal"

"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 embeazeled and wanting"

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

"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"

"[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"

LOWER OFFICERS

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

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

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 kepyt 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 neithe 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 iuornall what day the sayd shipp came to Nants, but in reguard of his wages kepte 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"

"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"

"He can write and reade written hand"

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

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

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"

"He can both write and read and hath divers tymes seene writings in the hands and custodie of the stewards for the tyme being of the mannor and hundred of ffaversham"

Source: SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11

Signature and handwriting of John Totton, mariner, and Adrian Henrix, merchant

Delivery note from Mr Reach endorsed by John Totton and Adrian Henrix

Handwriting and signature of John Totton, 1634. HCA 15/1 unfol. 126_06_6711.

Handwriting and signature of Adrian Henrix. HCA 15/1 unfol. 126_06_6711.

What do schooled mariner hands look like? These pairs of signatures are of school friends. Orpheus Dunkin and Henry Mabb were at school together in Cornwall circa 1610. John Crockson and Edmund Ellison were also at school together, possibly in Shadwell.

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

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

1638

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.

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)

Source: SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11.0

Evidence and measurement: What type of documents were written, read and carried on ships? Where were the documents to be found?

Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/73/17th-century-merchantman.jpg

Acquittances
Almanac
Bible
Bills of lading
Bill of sale
Boatswain’s book
Boatswain’s notes
Carpenter’s inventory
Charter party
Chief mate’s book
Cockets
Commercial letters
Commissions
Gunner’s inventory
Instructions
Invoices
Master’s book
Merchants’ letters
Notes
Personal letters
Purser’s book
Receipts
Seabrief
Seacartes
Steward’s book
Wage notes
Waggoner or Sea book

Barrels
Bags
Cabins
Ceilings
Chests
Closets
Cook room
Great cabin
Gun room
Letter case
Mast
Round house
Scrittor
Tin box
Trunks

Findings: Occupational analysis

Table Three: Mariner literacy by sub-occupation

Occupation	Count Other	Count Signoffs	Count Marke	Initials	Signatu	Total		% Other	% 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

Source: SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11.0

Findings: Occupational analysis

Table Four: Mariner literacy compared with lightermen, watermen, fishermen, and labourers

Occupation	Count Other	Count Signoffs	Count Marke	Count Initials	Count Signature	Count 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

Source: SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11.0

Findings: Occupational analysis

Table Five: Mariner literacy compared with wood and metal trades												
	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%**
Shipwright [on shore]	2	276	33	33	210	278		0.72%	11.87%	11.87%	75.54%	100.00%
Blockmaker	0	7	1	1	5	7		0.00%	14.29%	14.29%	71.43%	100.00%
Sawyer	0	9	4	1	4	9		0.00%	44.44%	11.11%	44.44%	100.00%
Woodworkers	2	292	38	35	219	294		**0.68%**	**12.93%**	**11.90%**	**74.49%**	**100.00%**
Plateworker	0	2	0	0	2	2		0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Blacksmith	0	58	9	9	40	58		0.00%	15.52%	15.52%	68.97%	100.00%
Anchorsmith	1	37	7	10	20	38		2.63%	18.42%	26.32%	52.63%	100.00%
Nailer	1	5	2	2	1	6		16.67%	33.33%	33.33%	16.67%	100.00%
Metalworkers	2	102	18	21	63	104		**1.92%**	**17.31%**	**20.19%**	**60.58%**	**100.00%**
[1] Common man & variants = common mariner + common seaman + ordinary mariner +ordinary seaman												

Source: SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11.0

Findings: Occupational analysis

Table Six: Mariner literacy compared with professional services and shore based materials handling

Occupation	Count Other	Count Signoffs	Count Marke	Count Initials	Count Signature	Count 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%**
Scrivener	0	175	0	0	175	175	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Book keeper	0	48	0	0	48	48	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Accountant	0	24	0	0	24	24	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Clerk of the assurance office	0	11	0	0	11	11	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Doctor of Lawes	0	1	0	0	1	1	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Appraiser	0	27	0	1	26	27	0.00%	0.00%	3.70%	96.30%	100.00%
Arbitrator	0	43	1	0	42	43	0.00%	2.33%	0.00%	97.67%	100.00%
Professional services (Type A]	0	329	1	1	327	329	**0.00%**	**0.30%**	**0.30%**	**99.39%**	**100.00%**
Merchant	37	2680	5	6	2669	2717	**1.36%**	**0.18%**	**0.22%**	**98.23%**	**100.00%**
Searcher	0	16	0	0	16	16	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Tidesman	0	0	0	0	8	8	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Waiter	1	81	1	4	76	82	1.22%	1.22%	4.88%	92.68%	100.00%
Professional services [Type B]	1	97	1	4	100	106	**0.94%**	**0.94%**	**3.77%**	**94.34%**	**100.00%**
Wharfinger	0	34	0	1	33	34	0.00%	0.00%	2.94%	97.06%	100.00%
Porter	1	75	24	19	32	76	1.32%	31.58%	25.00%	42.11%	100.00%
Shore based materials handling	1	109	24	20	65	110	**0.91%**	**21.82%**	**18.18%**	**59.09%**	**100.00%**

[1] Common man & variants = common mariner + common seaman + ordinary mariner +ordinary seaman

Type A = Financial, legal and assurance services; Type B = Taxation services

Source: SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11.0

Findings: Occupational analysis

Table Seven: Mariner literacy compared with cloth handling											
	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%**
Clothier	0	16	0	0	16	16		0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Packer	0	6	0	0	6	6		0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
Dyer	0	27	1	1	25	27		0.00%	3.70%	3.70%	92.59%	100.00%
Clothworker	0	84	5	5	74	84		0.00%	5.95%	5.95%	88.10%	100.00%
Feltmaker	0	8	0	3	5	8		0.00%	0.00%	37.50%	62.50%	100.00%
Cloth handling	0	141	6	5	126	141		**0.00%**	**4.26%**	**3.55%**	**89.36%**	**100.00%**
[1] Common man & variants = common mariner + common seaman + ordinary mariner +ordinary seaman												

Source: SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11.0

Findings: Literacy at ship level

Officer

The *Anne* of Hulbridge

Voyage: Wakering [Essex]/London
Return lading: ?
Ship burthen = 130 tons [60 chaldron of coals]
Known company = 2 men
Missing company = 1 man
Total company = 3 men
1609
Master: Arthur Harris senior
Voyage length = 1 to 2 days

Definitely unable to write or read

Probably unable to write or read

Arthur Harris senior, sixty-one year old mariner of Hulbridge, Essex. Master of hoy named the *Anne* of Hulbridge.

Arthur Harris junior, sixteen year old mariner and son of Arthur Harris. One of two of the company of the hoy the Anne of Hulbridge.

Probably able to write and read

Source: SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11.0

Findings: Literacy at ship level

Officer

The *Successe* of Dover

Voyage: Newcastle/Dover [Kent]
Return lading: Coals
Ship burthen = 100 tons
Known company = Master + 4 men + 1 boy = 6
Missing company = 2
Total company = 6
ca. 1654
Master: David Adamsone
Voyage length = N/A

Definitely unable to write or read

"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 aforesaid"
(HCA 13/70 f.67v)

Probably unable to write or read

John Roo, forty-six year old mariner of Dover, Kent. Master's mate of the *Successe* of Dover.

Probably able to write and read

David Adamson, thirty-six year old mariner of Dover, Kent. Master of the *Successe* of Dover.

Daniel Cristi, fifty year old mariner of Dover, Kent. Common mariner of the *Successe* of Dover.

James Hales, fifty-seven year old mariner of Dover, Kent. Ordinary mariner of the *Successe* of Dover.

"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"
(HCA 13/70 f.99v)

Source: SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11.0

Findings: Literacy at ship level

Officer

The *Golden Cocke* of London

Voyage: London/Plymouth/?/Livorno; Tunis; Livorno; Zant; Zephalonia; Candy [Crete]/?/London
Return lading: ?
Ship burthen = N/A, but sizeable
Known company = 21
Missing company = N/A
Total company = N/A
1629
Master: John Barker
Voyage length = 27 months

Freighted by two London merchants, John ffowke and Symon Whetcombe

John Barker, master and commander of the *Golden Cock* of London, age N/A, resident in Ratcliffe, Stepney, Middlesex; dated 1629 [HCA 13/48 f.494v]

All three master's mates were literate

Peter Deane, surgeon of the *Golden Cock* of London, age 30, resident in Saint Mary Woolchurch, London; dated 1629 & 1630 [HCA 13/48 f.492r; HCA 13/48 f.509r]
Born in Stamford, Lincolnshire
Monthly wage = 30 shillings

Christopher Wayde, surgeon's mate of the *Golden Cock* of London, age N/A, resident in London; dated 1630 [HCA 13/48 f.494v]
Born in Yorkshire
Monthly wage = 26 shillings

Possibly 19 years old

Charles Holliday, purser of the *Golden Cock* of London, age N/A; dated 1629 [HCA 13/48 f.494v]

Roger ffiske, position unclear, possibly a quarter master, of the *Golden Cock* of London, age 26, resident in Ratcliffe, Stepney, Middlesex; dated 1630 [HCA 13/48 f.507r
Born in Woodbridge, Suffolk]
Monthly wage = 30 shillings

Edward Haward, coxswain of the *Golden Cock* of London, age 28, resident in Ratcliffe, Stepney, Middlesex; dated 1629 [HCA 13/48 f.504r]
Born in Bewdlye, Worcestershire
Monthly wage = 23 shillings

William Rider, master's mate of the *Golden* Cock of London, age N/A, resident in Ratcliffe, Stepney, Middlesex; dated 1629 [HCA 13/48 f.492v]
Born in ?Devon or ?Dorset

Andrew ffoxe, master's mate of the *Golden Cock* of London, age N/A, resident in Berwick, Scotland; dated 1629 [HCA 13/48 f.493v]

Thomas Woolman, master's mate of the *Golden Cock* of London, age N/A, resident in Ratcliffe, Stepney, Middlesex; dated 1629 [HCA 13/48 f.494r]

Edward Presson, mariner and gunner of the *Golden Cock* of London, age N/A, resident in Ratcliffe, Stepney, Middlesex; dated 1630 [HCA 13/48 f.511]
Born in Weymouth Melcome Regis, Dorset
Monthly wage = 40 shillings

John Langworthie, mariner and gunner's mate of the *Golden Cock* of London, age N/A; dated 1630 [HCA 13/48 f.508v]
Born in Exeter, Devon. Raised in Dartmouth, Devon.
Monthly wage = 28 shillings

Source: SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11.0

Findings: Literacy at ship level

A	B	C	I	T	W	IN	IO	IP	IQ	IR	IS	IX	IY	IZ	JT
Entry numbe	Primary image	Volume and folio	Type	Script	Occupations [Synthesised]W1:W1	Street/Hamlet	Parish/Precinct	Town/Boro	County, Province or Region	Ag	Year of depositi	Firstname [metadat	Middle names [metad ata]	Surname	VOYAGE DETAILS
5428	20191025_153353	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.453v.PNG	Initials	Roman	Mariner; Quarter master [of the Gc	Ratcliffe	Stepney		Middlesex	N/A		William		Browne	YES
5430	20191025_153401	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.454v.PNG	Marke	N/A	Sailor; One of the company [of the		Precinct of Saint Katherines near the Tower of London			N/A		Thomas		Bailye	YES
5423	20191025_153333	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.451r.PNG	Marke	N/A	Sailor; One of the company [of the			[?Kenn]	Devon	N/A		Lawrence		Garricke	YES
5418	20191025_153244	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.444v_One.PNG	Marke	N/A	Mariner; Gunner's mate [of the Go			Apsham	Devon	N/A		William		Glanfeilde	YES
5425	20191025_153341	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.452r.PNG	Marke	N/A	Sailor; One of the company [of the			Plymouth	Devon	N/A		Arthur		Hearda	YES
5431	20191025_153404	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.455r.PNG	Marke	N/A	Cooper [on ship] [of the Golden C			London		N/A		Humphrey		Perkins	YES
5426	20191025_153346	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.452v.PNG	Marke	N/A	Sailor; One of the company [of the			Lynn	Norfolk	N/A		Richard		Rawe	YES
5419	20191025_153244	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.444v_One.PNG	Marke	N/A	Sailor; One of the company [of the			Dartmouth	Devon	N/A		John		Skinner	YES
5439	20191025_154144	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.494v_Two.PNG	Signature	Roman	Mariner; Master [of the Golden Co	Ratcliffe	Stepney		Middlesex	N/A	1629	John		Barker	YES
5429	20191025_153355	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.454r.PNG	Signature	Roman	Sailor; Steward [of the Golden Coc	Blackwall	Stepney		Middlesex	N/A		John		Clifton	YES
5435	20191025_153958	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.493r.PNG	Signature	Roman	Chirurgeon [of the Golden Cocke c		N/A	London		N/A	1629	Paule		Deane	YES
5464	20191025_154303	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.506r.PNG	Signature	Roman	Chirurgus [chirurgeon] [of the Gol		Saint Mary Woolchurch	London		30	1630	Paulus		Deane	YES
5436	20191025_154136	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.493v.PNG	Signature	Roman	Mariner; Master's mate [of the Gol			Barwicke		N/A	1629	Andrewe		ffox	YES
5417	20191025_153236	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.443v.PNG	Signature	Roman	Carpenter [on ship] [of the Golden	Blackwall	Stepney		Middlesex	N/A		Bartholomew		Goodall	YES
5438	20191025_154144	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.494v_One.PNG	Signature	Roman	Purser [of the Golden Cocke of Lor			N/A		N/A	1629	Charles		Holliday	YES
5466	20191025_154321	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.508v.PNG	Signature	Roman	Nauta [mariner]; Gunner's mate [o		N/A		Middlesex	N/A	1630	Johannes		Langworthie	YES
5468	20191025_154341	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.511r_One.PNG	Signature	Roman	Gunner [of the Golden Cocke of Lo		Stepney		Middlesex	40	1630	Edwardus		Presson	YES
5434	20191025_153954	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.492v.PNG	Signature	Roman	Master's mate [of the Golden Cock	Ratcliffe	Stepney		Middlesex	N/A	1629	William		Rider	YES
5424	20191025_153338	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.451v.PNG	Signature	Roman	Mariner; Quarter master [of the Gc			Topsham	Devon	N/A		John		Tuckerman	YES
5467	20191025_154323	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.509r.PNG	Signature	Roman	Chirurgeon's mate [of the Golden		N/A	Fon le Rys	Yorkshire	19	1630	Christopher		Wayde	YES
5427	20191025_153348	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.453r.PNG	Signature	Roman	Sailor; One of the company [of the	Ratcliffe	Stepney		Middlesex	N/A		Thomas		Webster	YES
5437	20191025_154138	KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1348_f.494r.PNG	Signature	Roman	Mariner; Master's mate [of the Gol	Ratcliffe	Stepney		Middlesex	N/A	1629	Thomas		Woolman	YES

Source: SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11.0

Literacy map of two related families of shipwrights – Mayden and White. The men (Thomas Mayden senior, his sons Thomas Mayden junior and William Mayden, and son-in-law John White, were all literate. Their wives (Anna Mayden and Hannah Mayden used a mark or initial. Thomas Mayden's daughter (Catherine White) used an initial.

Thomas Mayden [senior], fifty-nine year old shipwright of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Surrey. Owner of dock in Bermondsey. Father of Thomas Mayden [junior] and husband of Anna Mayden. Deposed January 12th 1638. HCA 13/54 f.390r.

Owner of shipwright's dock in Rotherhithe [Redriff]

Anne Mayden, fifty year old wife of Thomas Mayden, shipwright, of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Surrey. Mother of Catherine White, who was married to John White, mariner, of Saint Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, Surrey. Deposed August 26th 1639. HCA 13/55 f.222r.

Witnessed bill of sale of the *Anne Catherine*

Hanna Mayden, nineteen year old wife of Thomas Mayden, shipwright of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Surrey. Daughter-in-law of Anne and Thomas Mayden, shipwright. Deposed August 26th 1639. HCA 13/55 f.222v.

Witnessed bill of sale of the *Anne Catherine*

Thomas Mayden, twenty-two year shipwright of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Surrey. Husband of Hanna Mayden. Deposed August 26th 1639. HCA 13/55 f.223v.

Thomas Mayden, twenty-six year old shipwright of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Surrey. Worked in shipyard of partners William Hooke and Thomas Mayden senior. Deposed November 233rd 1644 HCA 13/59 f.583r.

Catherine White, eighteen year old wife of John White, mariner of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Surrey. Sister to Thomas Mayden, mariner, son of Anne and Thomas Mayden. Deposed August 26th 1639. HCA 13/55 f.222r.

Witnessed bill of sale of the *Anne Catherine* and subscribed "her name or mark"

Catherine White, twenty-six year old wife of John White, mariner of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Surrey, master and owner of the *ffortune*. Sister to Thomas Mayden, mariner, son of Anne and Thomas Mayden. Deposed May 1st 1648. HCA 13/55 f.222r.

John White, twenty-seven year shipwright of Redriff, Surrey. Husband of Catherine White. Deposed June 11th 640. HCA 13/56 f.79r.

John White, thirty-two year old shipwright of Redriff, Surrey. Worked in shipyard of partners William Hooke and Thomas Mayden senior. Deposed November 1644 HCA 13/59 f.584r.

William Mayden, twenty-two year old shipwright of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Surrey. Brother of Thomas Mayden junior and Catherine White. Son of Thomas Mayden senior and Anne Mayden. Deposed November 1644 HCA 13/59 f.582v.

Johannes Goney, twenty-four year old shipwright of Redriffe, Surrey. Former servant to Thomas Mayden senior. Worked in shipyard of partners William Hooke and Thomas Mayden senior. Deposed November 1644 HCA 13/59 f.583v.

Source: SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11.0

Twelve or thirteen shipwrights worked on the repair of the lighter the William and ffrancis at the key of shipwright John Mayor in Horsey Downe, Southwark, in late 1654. We have signoffs for five of them. Interesting to see the signoffs of two shipwright contractors and three young apprentices/servants working on a repairing a lighter on the Thames shore. Both shipwright contractors were literate, as were two of the three apprentices/servants [See HCA 13/70 f.16r; 135v; 136r; 138r; 138v] "The sayd **John Mayer** did thereupon hire **Edward Bigland**, **William ffurnis**, **Isaac Meyer**, **John Priddam**, **Henry Row**, **Richard Mallet**, **Thomas Phillips**, and a **boy**, and did employ him this deponent; and his fellow servants **William Robinson**, and **Richard Cooke**, to and for the doeing of the sayd repayre" (Deposition of **William Haynes**, HCA 13/70 f.137v)

John Mayor, shipwright, owner of Horseydown wharf

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

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

Henry Row

Richard Mallett

William ffurnis

Thomas Phillios

John Priddam

Unnamed boy

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

Source: SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11.0

Journal keeping on board English commercial ships in 1H C17th

Sub-occupation	Number [Count]	Percentage [%]	Average age [years]	Age range [years]
Master's mate [1]	25	44.64%	33.5	22 to 51
Master	11	19.64%	36.2	24 to 48
Gunner	5	8.93%	31.8	24 to 40
Carpenter	4	7.14%	25.5	21 to 31
Boatswain	2	3.56%	29	27 to 31
Quartermaster	2	3.56%	25.5	22 to 29
Pilot [1]	1	1.79%	30	30
Purser	1	1.79%	21	21
Sopracargo or factor on ship	1	1.79%	28	28
Chirurgeon	1	1.79%	40	40
Coxwain	1	1.79%	21	21
Servant [to master of ship] [2]	1	1.79%	18	18
Mariner [sub-occupation unknown]	1	1.79%	43	43
Total [3]	56	100.0	N/A	18 to 51

[1] Including a self-described chief mate/pilot
[2] No place or office
[3] 56 individuals, one individual in two categories

Source: SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11.0

Findings: Mariner letters

Locations at which letters were written by English masters of ships & other mariners, 1H C17th

Achin (Sumatra)
Alicante
Almeira
Amsterdam
Angedeive (East Indies)
Backshill (Sussex)
Barbados
Barnstaple (Devon)
Bellsound
Bergen
Cadiz
Cape coast (Guinea)
Coast of Essex
Coast of Guinea
Cochin (East Indies)
Comonagota (Spain)
Cork (Ireland)
Cornwall
Dover
Dublin
Falmouth
Foy (Cornwall)
Genoa
Gottenburg
James River (Virginia)
Jersey
La Rochelle
Larwick (Norway
Lisbon
Liverpool
Livorno
London
Longsound
Mallaga
Marseilles
Messina (Sicily)
New Barcelona (Spanish West Indies)
Newcastle
Newhaven (France)
Nireto (near Naples)
Ostend
Plastow
Plymouth
Plymouth sound
Portsmouth
Redrith (Rotherhithe)
Saint Christophers
Sally
Surat (East Indies)
The Downs
The Groyne (Galicia)
Tunis
Venice
Virginia
Vlissingen
Wapping
West country
West Indies

Wherever English mariners sailed, they were likely to have sent and received letters concerning the condition of their ships, their planned routes, their ladings, and their financial need, together with personal correspondence to and from family and friends.

= Mariners letters sent

Source: SOLM-2022 08012020 Ver.11; Openstreetmap

0 km

Letter from Captain Peter Cooze, mariner and former master of the *Livorno ffrigot* [March 1663]

Sir,

After my most humble service to you, I make bold to trouble you with these few lines, Sir the bearer hereof Edwardd Tarver a musitioner hath a desire to stay in India with you, if you be pleased to vouch safe him entertainment. Sir, I have known him of a child that came of honest parents, and is a preitty sivil young man and for his musick I hope he may have thee happiness to play you a merry lessen. Sir, I pray excuse my boldness. My wife and mother desires theire kind remembrance unto you, I have written you in a former letter all thee particulars concerning thee *Livorne Friggatt.* It is inclosed in your letters sent by Madam Dallison.

Having not else at present I rest
Your ever respectful servant to
you and yours

Peeter Cooze

Queene Staires in Ratcliff

Source: BL. Add. MSS. 40708-40713

Letter from Ann Townesend, widow of John Nicholls, deceased master of the *Expedition* [February 1663]

Right Worthy Sir

I had once a husband whose name was John Nicholls and was master of the *Expedition* whome you very well did know, I made bould to acquaint your Worshippe in London about my sufferings, and by whom, and your Worshippe was pleased to promise mee your helpe when God brought you to India. Mr Goodyer can very well informe you who has my husband's will for hee was on board when he dyed; I desire that I may have the will heare.

I have given a letter of attorney to one Mr John Oates cheife mate in the *America* who with your powerfull assistance is willing to act for my releife in it; without your Worshipp's helpe hee cann doo nothing I shall not need to begg your helpe of the just and mercyfull whome your Worshippe is well knowne to bee,

Sir I am in a suffering condition, my wants are great, and my desires are no more than just, under God my hopes are in you soo craving pardon for my bouldnesse I take leave and rest

London the 23th ffeb 1662:

Your troublesome friend
and servant
Ann: Townesend
Alias - Nicholls

Source: BL. Add. MSS. 40708-40713

Drivers of writing of letters by masters of ships

Ship operations

Dealing with shore suppliers
- Settling or contesting bills

Keeping owners and/or freighters informed of voyage
- Informing about storm damage to ship and/or lading
- Informing of loss of ship through storm or seizure
- Informing of delays or embargos

Reacting to operational needs
- Requesting supplies (sails; cables)

Commercial operations

Seeking freight
- Letters to factors
- Letters to brokers
- Letters to local merchants

Seeking instructions from owners or freighters
- Routing decisions (in the Downs; at Lisbon; in the Mediterranean)

Adjusting voyage
- Extending voyage or varying ports of call
- Extending demurrage
- Breaching charter party covenants

Seeking legal assistance
- Dealing with disputes on shore (embargos; licences; commercial contracts; wage disputes)

Source: SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11.0

Future research

- Two peer reviewed journal articles
- Extend HCA deposition imaging and indexing
- Mariners Letters workshop, June 2022
- International Mariners Letters network, 2023+

Documentation

Appendix

Signoff examples: Mariners
Signoff examples: River trades
Signoff examples: Materials handling
Signoff examples: Formally educated hands
Signoff examples: Different types of mark
Further literacy calibration material
Ship literacy maps
Shore trade literacy maps
Manuscript document examples
AI analysis
Twitter poll and thought experiment

Appendix

Signoff examples: Mariners

Chirurgeons

Chirurgeons' and barber chirurgions' signatures

Jefferie Campian, thirty year old chirurgion, of Shadwell in parish of Stepney, Middlesex, Oct. 21, 1656 (HCA 13/71 f.396r)

John Wallraven, twenty-four year old chirurgeon, of the parish of Saint Buttolph without Algate, London, Dec. 7, 1654 (HCA 13/70 f.17v)

Henry Gleade, twenty year old chirurgion, self-described as chirurgion's mate, of Shadwell in the parish of Stepney, Middlesex, Jan 12, 1655 (HCA 13/71 f.175r)

James Brooke, forty year old barber chirurgeon, of the parish of Saint Andrew Undershaft, Jan 31, 1657 (HCA 13/71 f.546v)

Thomas Hall, forty year old barber-chirurgion, of the parish of Saint Pancras Soaper-Lane, London, Jan 26, 1655 (HCA 13/70 f.216r)

Thomas Hall, forty year old copprise-man, of the parish of Saint Pancras Soperlane, London, Dec 22, 1656 (HCA 13/70 f.216r)

Appendix

Signoff examples: River trades

Lightermen
Watermen

Lightermen – signatures, initials & other markes, 1637-1657 [PART ONE]

Henery Walton, thirty-eight year old lighterman, of the parish of Saint Dunstans in the East, London, June 10th 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.207v)

Richard Heaviside, twenty-nine year old lighterman, of the parish of Saint Dunstans in the East, London, March 2nd, 1654; stated he and another lighterman, William Purse, had charge of an open lighter which was brought to the side of the *Smirna ffactor* near Blackwell Staryres (HCA 13/70 f.313r)

John Hodgkins, twenty-seven year old lyterman, of the parish of Saint Olave Southwarke, March 2nd, 1654 (HCA 13/70 f.314v)

Gilbert Woodman, thirty-two year old lighterman, of the parish of Saint Olave in Southwarke, March 10th, 1655; identified his master as Mr Ambrose Pomery (HCA 13/70 f.316r)

Richard Davi[e]s, thirty year old lighterman, of the parish of Saint Buttolphs Algate, London, November 13th, 1655 (HCA 13/70 f.690v)

John Weaver, twenty-two year old lighterman, of the parish of Saint Olave Southwark, November 19th, 1656 (HCA 13/71 f.414v)

Robert Adlington, fifty year old lighterman, of the parish of Saint Peter ad Vincula in the Tower, London, May 16th, 1657; "being a lighterman and imployed by the sayd Mr ffernandez and Betts to fetch wines with his lighter severall dayes in the moneth of Aprill last from on board the sayd ship" (HCA 13/72 f.32v)

Thomas Jones, fifty year old lighterman, of Wapping Wall, June 1st, 1657; "hee hath for theise seaventeene or eighteene yeares last used the occupation of a lighterman in the River of Thames, and hath bin frequently imployed in the taking up of ballast therein"; "the sayd Jones and Marketure are low watermen and lighter men who are usually imployed in takeing up of ballast" (HCA 13/72 f.34r)

Edward Makkettuer, fifty-three year old lighterman, of Wapping in the parish of Stepney, June 4th, 1657; "hee hath bin a lighterman belonging to the River of Thames and accustomed to take up and carry ballast there for fowerteene yeares last past and saith and hath bin a mariner for many yeares before that and and lived neere the Thames, and thereby bin acquainted {with} the customs concerning the takeing up of ballast in the sayd River"; "the sayd Jones and Marketure are low watermen and lighter men who are usually imployed in takeing up of ballast" (HCA 13/72 f.40v)

Lightermen – signatures, initials & other markes, 1637-1658 [PART TWO]

Richard Walker, thirty-eight year old lighterman, of Poplar in the parish of Stepney, June 20th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.208v)

Gregory Parbury, fifty year old lighterman, of Lambeth, October 24th, 1657; "hee hath left ballasting seaven yeeres and hath noe relation to the interrogated Prior or his Lighters, and that hee was formerly a low water man, but now imployes his lighter in carrying of rubbish from this citie" (HCA 13/72 f.168v)

William Tayler, sixty year old lighterman, of Wapping in the parish of Saint Mary Matsellon alias Whitechappell, Middlesex, January 15th, 1658; "a lighterman by trade and hath bin for these thirty yeares last past or more imployed in ballasting of shipps" (HCA 13/72 f.229v)

Appendix

Signoff examples: Materials handling

Porters

Labourers

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 *Imployment* moored near Execution Dock, Wapping, into lighters for fixed rate of 12 *s* per man (HCA 13/70 f.554r)

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 *Imployment* moored near Execution Dock, Wapping, into lighters for fixed rate of 12 *s* per man (HCA 13/70 f.555v)

Bartholomew Cuff, sixty year old porter of the Stillyard, of the parish of Allhallowes 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)

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)

Edward Sherwin, fifty-six year old cittizen and leatherseller, of the parish of Little Allhallowes, 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)

Thomas Roots, twenty-nine year old porter, of the parish of Greate Allhallowes, 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)

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)

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)

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)

Labourers – initials and other markes, 1654-1657

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

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 21st, 1654; "this deponent who hath for theis ten yeares bene a constant labourer in the sayd yard"(HCA 13/68 f.596v)

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 19th, 1654; probably a landsman on the whaling ship the *Martha* (HCA 13/68 f.604v)

William Coxe, forty-one year old labourer, of Wapping Wall, January 31st, 1657; "hee cometh to bee examined at the request of the producent and hath receaved of her two shillings sixe pense 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)

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

William Barnes, fifty-six year old labourer, of Greenwich, Kent, May 29th, 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)

Henry Wilson, forty year old labourer, of Greenwich, June 9th, 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)

Appendix

Signoff examples: Formally educated hands

Notaries
Scriveners
Secretaries
Doctor of Physick

Notary publiques

Frederick Ixem, twenty-eight year old notary publique, of the parish of Saint Bennet ffinck, London, Oct. 26, 1655 (HCA 13/70 f.544r)

[? Wright, Notary Publique, Interpreter, 1655 [Interpreted for Jacob Van der Ende, thirty-four year old mariner of Flushing in Zealand and master of the ship the *mermayde*, who signed his deposition with a cross], Oct. 18, 1655 (HCA 13/70 f.543v)

Abraham Der Kinder, Notary Publique, Oct. 26, 1655 (HCA 13/63 f.320r)

Scriveners

William Paramor, forty-seven year old scrivener, of Ratcliffe, Middlesex, March 28th, 1637 (HCA 13/53, f.117r)

Robert Walpole, fifty-four year old scrivener, of the parish of Saint Thomas the Apostle, London, November 20th, 1655 (HCA 13/70 f.550r)

John Cowes, twenty-eight year old scrivener, of Wapping, Middlesex & parish of Saint Mary Matsellon, alias Whitechappell, November 15th 1655 (HCA 13/70 f.693r)

Walter Craxton, forty-five year old scrivener, of the parish of Saint Mary at Hill, London, April 22nd, 1656 (HCA 13/71 f.141r)

Thomas Smith, twenty-seven year old scrivener, of the parish of Saint Michaell Cornhill, London (HCA 13/71 f.642v)

James Windus, thirty-eight year old scrivener, of London, November 8th, 1656 (HCA 13/71 f.408v)

Leonard Bates, thirty-four year old scrivener, of the parish of Saint Michael Cornehill, London, November 12th, 1657 (HCA 13/72 f.164r)

William More, fifty-five year old scrivener, of Wapping, July 19th, 1660 (HCA 13/73 f.532r)

Samuell Haughton, twenty-one year old scrivener, of the parish of Allhallowes Lombardestreete, London, January 14th, 1658 (HCA 13/72 f.181r)

Secretaries

George Crooke, twenty-five year old secretary of his Excellencie the Lord Embassador of the States of the United Netherlands, Nov. 11, 1655 (HCA 13/70 f.651r)

John Whittell, secretary to the Worshipfull Commissioners for Prize Goods, of the parish of Saint Maudlins Milkestreet, London, Mar. 14, 1656 (HCA 13/71 f.118r)

Egidio Mottet, thirty-three year old secretary to his Excellency the Lord Embassador of Spaine, Jan. 24, 1655 (HCA 13/70 f.72r)

Gerrard Menschever, thirty-six year old secretary to the Agent of the Queene of Sweden, of Stockhollon in Swethland, May 3, 1654 (HCA 13/68 f.506v)

Doctor of physicke

Edward Odling, fifty-eight year old doctor of physicke, of the parish of Saint Andrewes Warderobe, London, March 2, 1657 (HCA 13/71 f.450r)

Appendix

Signoff examples: Different types of mark

Curved squiggles
Crosses
Vees, circles, traingles, semi-circles, dumbbells
Anchors
Arrows, cross in circle, hour glass
Single initials, double initials, pseudo initials
Mirror image initials, upside down initials, rotated initials, pseudo initials

Different types of simple marke – curved squiggles

Thomas Hobson, seventy-nine year old fisherman, of Hammersmith, Middlesex, February 8th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.24r)

John Hudd, nineteen year old fisherman, of Barkinge, May 17th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.193v)

Roger Greenfield, twenty-four year old blacksmith, of the parish of Stepney, Middlesex, August 21st, 1655; " he the deponent hath wrought with the producent [Walter Gough] (who is an anchor smith by trade) as a journeyman for nigh fower yeares last past" (HCA 13/70 f.457r)

Phillip Lawne, ninteene year old sailor, of Severne, Suffolk, September 22nd, 1655; self-described "one of the company of the ship the *Adventure*" (HCA 13/70 f.610v)

William James, forty-five year old mariner, of Plymouth, Devon, April 3rd, 1656 (HCA 13/71 f.130r)

John Davies, thirty-sixe year old labourer, of Wapping in the parish of Stepney, Middlesex, February 21st, 1657 (HCA 13/71 f.563r)

John Jourden, twenty-four year old mariner, of the parish of Stepney, Middlesex, February 27th, 1657 (HCA 13/71 f.609v)

William Ballow, thirty year old ferryman, of Greenwich, June 1st, 1657 (HCA 13/72 f.34v)

Thomas Johnson, forty year old mariner, of Rotterdam, May 26th, 1657 (HCA 13/72 f.52r)

John Hunt, twenty-one year old mariner and foremast man of the ketch the *Bachelor*, November 24th, 1657; carrying coal from Sunderland to Colchester (HCA 13/72 f.149v)

Different types of simple marke – crosses

William Taylor, forty year old nayler, of Ratcliffe, Middlesex, March 22nd 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.82r)

Nicholas Corbell, twenty-five year old mariner, of Dunkirke in fflanders, June 21st, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.227v)

Lawrence Gooldbrandson, twenty-eight year old mariner, of [?BaXXXX], Norway, October 12th, 1653 (HCA 13/68 f.118r)

William Meys, twenty-two year old mariner, of Worrom, Holland, January 11th, 1654 (HCA 13/68 f.393v)

Samuel Browne, fifty year old mariner & boateswaine of the *Mary*, of Alborough, Suffolk; Nov. 24, 1654; in the *Mary* of Alborough ["the ship been a constant trader for coals from Newcastle to London"], when she collided with the *Freeman*, whilst coming up the River Thames in Long-Reach, known also as Gallions Reach (HCA 13/70 f.30r)

William Coxe, forty-one year old labourer, of Wapping Wall, January 31st, 1657; "hee cometh to bee examined at the request of the producent and hath receaved of her two shillings sixe pense 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)

Maurice ffoard, thirty year old brewer, of the parish of Stepney, Middlesex, January 14th, 1657; self-described landsman on the whaling ship the *Owners Adventure* (HCA 13/71 f.497v)

Pedro de Moralis [name as rendered by notary], twenty-eight year old mariner, of Saint Lucar, Spain, March 23rd, 1659; interpreted by Wiliam Martyn; hired on an English/Dutch ship, masquerading as a Spanish ship; self-described as one of seven Spaniards in a company of twenty-one, when the ship was seized & brought into Milford Haven (HCA 13/73 f.133r)

Different types of simple marke – vees, circles, triangles, semi-circles, dumb bells

Rosa Hogben, thirty years old, wife of Richard Hogben of ffeversham, vintner, May 16th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.163r)

Rosa Hogben, thirty years old, wife of Richard Hogben of ffeversham, vintner, May 17th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.166v)

Laurentius Robinson, fifty year old wagoner of the parish of Saint Dunstan, [?XXXX], May 16th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.163r)

Laurentius Robinson, fifty year old wagoner of the parish of Saint Dunstan, [?XXXX], May 17th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.166v)

George Meade, fifty-eight year old mariner, of Plymouth, March 22nd, 1658 (HCA 13/72 f.264r)

Lauris Andrisson, March 28th, 1637; ?mariner (HCA 13/53 f.86v)

Richard Gribble, about fifty years old mariner, dwelling in Kings Streete near Newe Graell Lane in Wapping Wall, May 11th, 1637; self-described foremast man on the *Rebecca* of London, sailing from London to Virginia in May 1636 (HCA 13/53 f.157v)

Robert Hercules, forty year old mariner, of Ratcliffe, October 27th, 1659; mariner on another ship in River Thames, who tried to save the *Warewell's* cargo of coals, after she bilged (HCA 13/73 f.114v)

George Little, twenty-five year old cooper, of Shadwell, November 11th, 1659 (HCA 13/73 f.405v)

George Seale, fifty-two year old waterman, of Saint Olave Southwarke, February 8th, 1661 (HCA 13/73 f.620v)

Different types of more complex marke – anchors

Amons Barentsen, thirty-five year old mariner, of Copenhagen, Denmark, October 13th, 1653; self-described as an "ordinary mariner", hired to sail from the Sound to Hamburg on the *Golden Hawke* of Stockholm (HCA 13/68 f.81v)

Claude de Gagnon, twenty-five year old mariner, of Melon, near Brest in Britanny, May 22nd, 1656 (HCA 13/71 f.225r)

John Tylor, forty-two year old shipwright, of Lower Shadwell, in the parish of Stepney, Middlesex, February 14th, 1659 (HCA 13/73 f.36r)

Richard Shepperd, fifty-eight year old cooke, of Brixton, Devon, March 29th, 1637; self-described cooke of the *Hope* of Ipswich (HCA 13/53 f.87r)

Andrew Beake, thirty-six year old lookeinglassemaker and formerly seaman, of Rose alley without Bishopsgate, London, January 21st, 1655 (HCA 13/70 f.252v)

Andrew Beake, thirty-six year old looking-glasse maker, of Rose-Alley in Bishopsgate streete, London, February 13th, 1655 (HCA 13/70 f.252v)

Richard Man, thirty-one year old mariner, of Southampton, January 8th, 1659; self-described common man of the *Lisbone ffrigott* on voyage to Oratava (HCA 13/73 f.26v)

John Burnelau, twenty-eight year old sailor, of Mornar, France,March 30th, 1661 (HCA 13/73 f.486v)

Different types of more complex marke –combination of symbols, arrows, cross in circle, hour glass, stars

William Thompson, forty-six year old fisherman, of ffaversham, Kent, October 16th, 1655; oyster fisherman (HCA 13/70 f.543r)

Barent Claeson, thirty-one year old mariner of Middleburg in Zeeland, March 8th, 1637; self described member of company of the *Griffin* of Middleburg (HCA 13/53 f.68r)

Stephen Cranbrooke, thirty-six year old mariner, of Deale, Kent, November 2nd, 1657 (HCA 13/72 f.174r)

Johannes Glover, twenty-three year old servant of Thomas Baldwyn, the party producent, July 28th, 1637 (HCA 13/52 f.221r)

Clemens Simpson, fifty year old mariner and late gunner of the ship the *Minorie Busse*, February 27th, 1657 (HCA 13/71 f.449r)

Different types of more complex marke – single initials, double initials, mirror image initials, pseudo initials – mariners, fishermen, watermen, fishermen, stuffe weavers, coopers, gunners

Bartholomewe Williams, twenty-five year old late boatswayne of the *Christian* of Weymouth, of Weeke, near Weymouth, Dorset, March 6th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.65v)

John Reynolds, thirty-six year old mariner, of Weymouth, Dorset, March 6th, 1637; self described master of the *Christian* of Weymouth, returning from Saint Lucar to London with cargo of oranges & lemons (HCA 13/53 f.67r)

William Miller, forty-two year old fisherman, of Greenwich, Kent, December 2nd, 1655 (HCA 13/70 f.664v)

William Seaman, twenty-eight year old fisherman, of Greenwich, Kent, December 2nd, 1655 (HCA 13/70 f.665r)

Thomas Pilgrim, twenty-two year old pilot ("navigator"), of Wapping, Middlesex, March 10th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.72r)

Henry Polkinhorne, forty-six year old mariner, of Wapping, Middlesex, March 15th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.77v)

Richard Jagger, fifty year old stuffe weaver, of Stepney, Middlesex, March 15th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.78v)

Samuel Selwen, forty year old browne baker, of Wapping in the parish of Stepney, August 1st, 1650 (HCA 13/63 f.344v)

George Morsed, thirty-five year old sailor, of Milbrooke, near Plymouth, Devon: self-described quarter master of the *Welfare*, April 13th, 1654 (HCA 13/68 f.504r)

Robert Dawson, forty-four year old waterman, of the parish of Saint Salvatoris in the borough of Southwarke, March 17th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.81r)

George Pitchwell, thirty-four year old mariner, of Wapping, Middlesex, March 18th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.81r)

Johannes Such, twenty-four year old servant of cooper Henrici Laycocke of the parish of All Hallowes Stayninge, London, March 8th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.69v)

Edward Hannings, twenty-five year old mariner, of Stepney, March 21st, 1659; self-described gunner of the *ffrancis and John* (HCA 13/73 f.97r)

Different types of more complex marke – mirror image initials (“S”; “N”, “L”); 90 degree rotated initial (“E”); upside down initials (“W”); 90 degree rotated initials (“EC”), pseudo initials

Johannes Such, twenty-four year old servant of cooper Henrici Laycocke of the parish of All Hallowes Stayninge, London, March 8th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.69v)

John Nash, thirty-seven year old mariner, of Saint Katherins, November 26th, 1658 (HCA 13/72 f.633r)

Nicholas Hutton, forty-eight year old waterman, of the parish of Saint Olave in the Borough of Southwarke, February 4th, 1654 (HCA 13/68 f.488r)

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 *Imployment* moored near Execution Dock, Wapping, into lighters for fixed rate of 12 *s* per man (HCA 13/70 f.555v)

William Seaman, twenty-eight year old fisherman, of Greenwich, Kent, December 2nd, 1655 (HCA 13/70 f.665r)

Edward Comparr, sixty year old, mariner and late pilot of the *Martha*, of East Greenwich, Kent, November 16th, 1654 (HCA 13/70 f.109v)

John Lowers, twenty-six year old mariner, of Masterland, Norway, May 1st, 1654 (HCA 13/70 f.140r)

Richard Emmery, twenty-one year old mariner of Leigh, Essex, October 3rd, 1660 (HCA 13/73 f.569r)

Appendix

Further calibration material

Simple marke – significant variability for same person one day apart

Rosa Hogben, thirty years old, wife of Richard Hogben of ffeversham, vintner, May 16th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.163r)

Rosa Hogben, thirty years old, wife of Richard Hogben of ffeversham, vintner, May 17th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.166v)

Laurentius Robinson, fifty year old wagoner of the parish of Saint Dunstan, [?XXXX], May 16th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.163r)

Laurentius Robinson, fifty year old wagoner of the parish of Saint Dunstan, [?XXXX], May 17th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.166v)

Initial style signature – two subtely different versions, nineteen days apart: WOL · TER Io · HAN · SEN and WOL · TER · Io · HAN · SEN

WOL · TER Io · HAN · SEN or Wolter Johansen (rendered by the English notary as Walter Johnson), a forty-four year old mariner of Lubeck,master of the *White Swann*, November 15th, 1653 (HCA 13/68 f.231r)

WOL · TER · Io · HAN · SEN or Wolter Johansen (rendered by the English notary as Walter Johnson), a forty-four year old mariner of Lubeck, master of the *White Swann*, December 8th, 1653 (HCA 13/68 f.239v)

Initials – Initials of John Cheshire, a Surrey nailer, five years apart, showing improved writing ability, with move from crude three barred “I” to better formed “I C”

John Cheshire, twenty-eight year old nailer, of Rederith, Surrey, June 19th, 1655 (HCA 13/70 f.385v)

John (Johannes) Cheshire, thirty-six year old nailer of the parish of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, October 27th, 1660 (HCA 13/73 f.626r)

At the edges of literacy – “robert ostler”; “WOL . TER JO . HAN . SEN”; ?”tho” (Thomas)

Roberte Ostler, sixty-three year old chaundler, of the parish of Saint Mildreds Breadstreete, London, June 5th, 1637 (HCA 13/53 f.188r)

WELTER JO . HANSEN (or Walter Jonson, as written by notary), forty-four year old mariner and master of the *White Swann* of Lubeck, of Lubeck, November 15th, 1653 (HCA 13/68 f.231r)

Thomas Wills, forty-four year old mariner and boateswaine of the *Margarett*, of the parish of Stepney, Middlesex, September 4th, 1654 (HCA 13/70 f.118r)

Stable signature of an educated man - eleven years apart

Nathaniel Morecocke de Ratcliffe in comitatu Middlesex genusus aetatis 31 annorum [Oct. 2nd, 1649] (HCA 13/62 unfol.)

Nathaniel Morecocke of Ratcliff in the county of Middlesex practitioner in the mathematicks aged 41 yeares [Oct. 25th, 1660] (HCA 13/73 f.613r)

Signoffs plus additional text

Richard Banks, 46 year old purser of the *Hopewell*, dated 1602. HCA 13/36 f.144r

Phillip Dassigny Bosson, dated October 27th 1662. HCA 13/74 f.328r

Appendix

Ship literacy maps

Findings: Literacy at ship level

Officer

The *Anne* of Hulbridge

Voyage: Wakering [Essex]/London
Return lading: ?
Ship burthen = 130 tons [60 chaldron of coals]
Known company = 2 men
Missing company = 1 man
Total company = 3 men
1609
Master: Arthur Harris senior
Voyage length = 1 to 2 days

Definitely unable to write or read

Probably unable to write or read

Arthur Harris senior, sixty-one year old mariner of Hulbridge, Essex. Master of hoy named the *Anne* of Hulbridge.

Arthur Harris junior, sixteen year old mariner and son of Arthur Harris. One of two of the company of the hoy the Anne of Hulbridge.

Probably able to write and read

Findings: Literacy at ship level

Officer

The *Successe* of Dover

Voyage: Newcastle/Dover [Kent]
Return lading: Coals
Ship burthen = 100 tons
Known company = Master + 4 men + 1 boy = 6
Missing company = 2
Total company = 6
ca. 1654
Master: David Adamsone
Voyage length = N/A

Definitely unable to write or read

"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 aforesaid"
(HCA 13/70 f.67v)

Probably unable to write or read

John Roo, forty-six year old mariner of Dover, Kent. Master's mate of the *Successe* of Dover.

Probably able to write and read

David Adamson, thirty-six year old mariner of Dover, Kent. Master of the *Successe* of Dover.

Daniel Cristi, fifty year old mariner of Dover, Kent. Common mariner of the *Successe* of Dover.

James Hales, fifty-seven year old mariner of Dover, Kent. Ordinary mariner of the *Successe* of Dover.

"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"
(HCA 13/70 f.99v)

Findings: Literacy at ship level

Officer

The *Golden Cocke* of London

Voyage: London/Plymouth/?/Livorno; Tunis; Livorno; Zant; Zephalonia; Candy [Crete]/?/London
Return lading: ?
Ship burthen = N/A, but sizeable
Known company = 21
Missing company = N/A
Total company = N/A
1629
Master: John Barker
Voyage length = 27 months

Freighted by two London merchants, John ffowke and Symon Whetcombe

John Barker, master and commander of the *Golden Cock* of London, age N/A, resident in Ratcliffe, Stepney, Middlesex; dated 1629 [HCA 13/48 f.494v]

All three master's mates were literate

Peter Deane, surgeon of the *Golden Cock* of London, age 30, resident in Saint Mary Woolchurch, London; dated 1629 & 1630 [HCA 13/48 f.492r; HCA 13/48 f.509r]
Born in Stamford, Lincolnshire
Monthly wage = 30 shillings

Christopher Wayde, surgeon's mate of the *Golden Cock* of London, age N/A, resident in London; dated 1630 [HCA 13/48 f.494v]
Born in Yorkshire
Monthly wage = 26 shillings

Possibly 19 years old

Charles Holliday, purser of the *Golden Cock* of London, age N/A; dated 1629 [HCA 13/48 f.494v]

Roger ffiske, position unclear, possibly a quarter master, of the *Golden Cock* of London, age 26, resident in Ratcliffe, Stepney, Middlesex; dated 1630 [HCA 13/48 f.507r
Born in Woodbridge, Suffolk]
Monthly wage = 30 shillings

Edward Haward, coxswain of the *Golden Cock* of London, age 28, resident in Ratcliffe, Stepney, Middlesex; dated 1629 [HCA 13/48 f.504r]
Born in Bewdlye, Worcestershire
Monthly wage = 23 shillings

William Rider, master's mate of the *Golden* Cock of London, age N/A, resident in Ratcliffe, Stepney, Middlesex; dated 1629 [HCA 13/48 f.492v]
Born in ?Devon or ?Dorset

Andrew ffoxe, master's mate of the *Golden Cock* of London, age N/A, resident in Berwick, Scotland; dated 1629 [HCA 13/48 f.493v]

Thomas Woolman, master's mate of the *Golden Cock* of London, age N/A, resident in Ratcliffe, Stepney, Middlesex; dated 1629 [HCA 13/48 f.494r]

Edward Presson, mariner and gunner of the *Golden Cock* of London, age N/A, resident in Ratcliffe, Stepney, Middlesex; dated 1630 [HCA 13/48 f.511]
Born in Weymouth Melcome Regis, Dorset
Monthly wage = 40 shillings

John Langworthie, mariner and gunner's mate of the *Golden Cock* of London, age N/A; dated 1630 [HCA 13/48 f.508v]
Born in Exeter, Devon. Raised in Dartmouth, Devon.
Monthly wage = 28 shillings

Findings: Literacy at ship level

Officer

The *William* of London

Voyage: ?/Tunis [Barbary]/Livorno/?
Return lading: ?
Ship burthen = N/A
Known company = Master [deceased] +12 men
Missing company = ?
Total company = ?
ca. 1640
Master: Abraham Steevens [deceased by 1640]
Voyage length = N/A

83.3% signature literacy on partial headcount

All probably unable to read or write

Edward Hart, 38 year old mariner of Limehouse, Stepney. One of the quartermasters of the *William* of London.

Edward Weeks, 24 year old shipwright of Stepney, Middlesex. Carpenter's mate of the *William* of London.

All almost certainly able to read and write

Thomas Spicere, 32 year old ship carpenter of Stepney, Middlesex. Carpenter of the *William* of London.

Charles Becket, 38 year old mariner of Saint Olaves, Southwark. Cook of the *William* of London.

Richard Tuckey, 36 year old mariner of Saint Olaves, Southwark. One of the quartermasters of the *William* of London.

John Pigion, between 18 and 19 years of age, mariner of Stepney, Middlesex. Mariner of the *William* of London.

John Gilson, 36 year old mariner of Limehouse, Stepney, Middlesex. Master's mate of the *William* of London.

John Harrison, 40 year old, Saint Bottolphs within Bishopsgate, London. Cooper of the *William* of London.

George Cheetham, 20 year old, Greenwich, Kent. Trumpeter's mate of the *William* of London.

Ralph Huggard, 45 year old mariner of Greenwich, Kent. One of the quartermasters of the *William* of London.

John Walfare, 26 year old, of Stepney, Middlesex. Surgeon of the *William* of London.

Christopher Wilson, 47 year old mariner of Limehouse, Middlesex. Boatswain of the *William* of London.

Findings: Literacy at ship level

Richard Lamberte, master of the *Sonne*; Took charge from London to Newfoundland and at Newfoundland while fish were laded

John Muffett, master and part-owner of the *Sonne*; Took charge at Newfoundland after fish were laded

The *Sonne* of London

London/Newfoundland/Marseilles/Zant/Zephalonia/London
Lading: Newfoundland fish
Ship burthen = 130-150 tons
Known company = Master (x2) + 14 men
Missing company = at least 3
1601

Fourteen signoffs
4 marks; 7 initials; 3 signatures
Missing signoffs = 2 masters; gunner; carpenter; second quartermaster

21% signature literacy on partial headcount

All probably unable to read or write

John Gabryel, age 49, mariner of [?Comeingetyunch]. Gunner's mate of the *Sonne*.

Andrew Casley, age 30, sailor of Kingescastell, Devon. Mariner in the *Sonne*.

Rycharde Cowes, age 21, sailor of Stocke, Devon. One of the company of the *Sonne*.

Christopher Lurrye, age 23, sailor of Chidley, Devon. One of the company of the *Sonne*.

Most probably unable to read or write

John Cartwryghte, age 32, sailor of Poole, Dorset. One of the master's mate of the *Sonne*.

William Tydbery, age 30, mariner of Poole, Devon. One of the quartermasters of the *Sonne*.

William Kinge, age 25, mariner of Poole, Dorset. Carpenter's mate of the *Sonne*. Shipped in the West country.

William Bawden, age 46, sailor of Coningtyust, Devon. Steward of the *Sonne*.

John Cruchmann, age 25, mariner of Lymington, Southampton. One of the company of the *Sonne*.

John Hudgmann, age 29, mariner of Christchurche, Southampton. Sailed in the *Sonne*.

Thomas Urrye, age 23, sailor of Knowle, Isle of Purbecke, Dorset. One of the company of the *Sonne*.

Officer

Not common man

All almost certainly able to read and write

John Boys, age 37, mariner of Redriff, Middlesex. One of the master's mates of the *Sonne*.

Thomas Pynckett, age 23, sailor of Plymouth, Devon. Came into the *Sonne* at Newfoundland after she was laden with fish.

William Hooper, age 22, sailor of Sanctemaryechurche, Devon. Mariner in the *Sonne*.

The *Jonas*, which sailed from London to Dartmouth, Newfoundland and San Lucar, before returning to London on a voyage of 20.5 months, provides a contrast. Nine deponents. A mixture of London & Devon men. 66.7% partial signature literacy, with 80% partial signature literacy among 5 men without offices.

Findings: Literacy at ship level

Officer

All probably unable to read or write

William Hall, age 25, of Deptford, Kent; mariner, one of the company of the *Plyades*. "Hee hath used to goe to sea for these eleaven yeares laste paste but never as master or masters mate of any shipp nor ever tooke uppon him the charge of a shipp as master or master's mate."

John Grimsbye, age 33, of Deptford, Kent; mariner, one of the company of the *Plyades*. "Hee this rendent the tyme aforesaid was one of the company of the interrate shippe the *Plyades* but had no office in her."

Gervase Ridla, age 38, of Stepney, Middlesex; served in the *Plyades*. Came into the Plyades at Venice and served in her for 16 months, including 14 months in service of the Duke of Venice.

Thomas Powell, age 35, of Stepney, Middlesex; shipwright, carpenter's mate of the *Plyades*.

Jeremy Bishopp, age 38, of Redriff, Middlesex; mariner, master's mate of the *Plyades*.

The *Plyades* of London

London/San Lucar/Malaga/Venice//Venice/?/Corfu/?/Venice//Venice/?/Zant/?/London
Return lading: currants; oil
Ship burthen = 350 to 400 tons
Known company = Master + Purser + 15 men
Missing company = 23 to 33 men
Total company = est. 40 to 50 men
ca. October 1637 to ca. May 1640
Voyage length = 32 months

66.7% signature literacy on partial headcount

"This hee affirmeth uppon his oath to bee true, who was then at Venice master's mate of the shippe the Love of London then alsoe lett out there for the same service and was there on shore with the said Anthony and others of the company of the Plyades after they went there on shore out of her as aforesaid" (HCA 13/58 f.150r); "The said Anthony [the chirurgeon], 3 of the quarter masters, the carpenter and boatswaine's mates, 3 trumpetters and some other of the company of the Plyades as were on shoare at Venice and there stayed fower or five dayes and this rendent heard them say that they would not goe onboard her againe and proceed in the service of the Duke of Venice uunlesse they might have more wages than they were shipt for in England" (HCA 13/58 f.150v)

All almost certainly able to read and write

John Milles, age 28, of Stepney, Middlesex; mariner, foremast man of the *Plyades*.

Stephen Dabson, age 27, of Wapping, Middlesex; mariner, one of the company of the *Plyades*. "Hee hath used the sea as a common sailor or mariner for the space of about these fower years laste paste."

Thomas Adee, age 35, of Wapping, Middlesex; quartermaster of the *Plyades*. "Hee hath bine imployed as a seaman or mariner in merchants' shippes and the King's shippes in all for the space of about these fourteene years laste paste."

Jefferie Steavens, age 30 or 33, of Saint Brides, London; mariner, master's mate and one of the company of the *Plyades*.

John Anthony, age 28, of Saint Dunstans in the East, London; one of the company and chirurgeon of the *Plyades*.

Thomas Ashlye, age 40, of Limehouse, Middlesex; mariner, chief master's mate and pilot of the *Plyades*.

John Hollister, age 20, of Stepney, Middlesex; mariner, second master's mate of the *Plyades*.

Anthony Annesley, age 40, of Limehouse, Middlesex; mariner, first boatswain's mate, then gunner's mate of the *Plyades*.

Thomas Wager, age 40, of Limehouse, Middlesex; shipwright, carpenter of the *Plyades*.

John Clarke, age 26, of Deptford, Kent; boatswain of the *Plyades*.

Appendix

Shore trade literacy maps

Literacy map of two related families of shipwrights – Mayden and White. The men (Thomas Mayden senior, his sons Thomas Mayden junior and William Mayden, and son-in-law John White, were all literate. Their wives (Anna Mayden and Hannah Mayden used a mark or initial. Thomas Mayden's daughter (Catherine White) used an initial.

Thomas Mayden [senior], fifty-nine year old shipwright of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Surrey. Owner of dock in Bermondsey. Father of Thomas Mayden [junior] and husband of Anna Mayden. Deposed January 12th 1638. HCA 13/54 f.390r.

Owner of shipwright's dock in Rotherhithe [Redriff]

Anne Mayden, fifty year old wife of Thomas Mayden, shipwright, of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Surrey. Mother of Catherine White, who was married to John White, mariner, of Saint Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, Surrey. Deposed August 26th 1639. HCA 13/55 f.222r.

Witnessed bill of sale of the *Anne Catherine*

Hanna Mayden, nineteen year old wife of Thomas Mayden, shipwright of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Surrey. Daughter-in-law of Anne and Thomas Mayden, shipwright. Deposed August 26th 1639. HCA 13/55 f.222v.

Witnessed bill of sale of the *Anne Catherine*

Thomas Mayden, twenty-two year shipwright of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Surrey. Husband of Hanna Mayden. Deposed August 26th 1639. HCA 13/55 f.223v.

Thomas Mayden, twenty-six year old shipwright of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Surrey. Worked in shipyard of partners William Hooke and Thomas Mayden senior. Deposed November 233rd 1644 HCA 13/59 f.583r.

Catherine White, eighteen year old wife of John White, mariner of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Surrey. Sister to Thomas Mayden, mariner, son of Anne and Thomas Mayden. Deposed August 26th 1639. HCA 13/55 f.222r.

Witnessed bill of sale of the *Anne Catherine* and subscribed "her name or mark"

Catherine White, twenty-six year old wife of John White, mariner of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Surrey, master and owner of the *ffortune*. Sister to Thomas Mayden, mariner, son of Anne and Thomas Mayden. Deposed May 1st 1648. HCA 13/55 f.222r.

John White, twenty-seven year shipwright of Redriff, Surrey. Husband of Catherine White. Deposed June 11th 640. HCA 13/56 f.79r.

John White, thirty-two year old shipwright of Redriff, Surrey. Worked in shipyard of partners William Hooke and Thomas Mayden senior. Deposed November 1644 HCA 13/59 f.584r.

William Mayden, twenty-two year old shipwright of Saint Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Surrey. Brother of Thomas Mayden junior and Catherine White. Son of Thomas Mayden senior and Anne Mayden. Deposed November 1644 HCA 13/59 f.582v.

Johannes Goney, twenty-four year old shipwright of Redriffe, Surrey. Former servant to Thomas Mayden senior. Worked in shipyard of partners William Hooke and Thomas Mayden senior. Deposed November 1644 HCA 13/59 f.583v.

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

Henry Row

Richard Mallett

William ffurnis

Thomas Phillios

John Priddam

Unnamed boy

Literate blacksmith, Jeffery Winchurst, had two sixteen year old servants and apprentices, one literate and the other not. The literate servant/apprentice kept the books; the illiterate servant/apprentice kept a tally of materials and had a written schedule read aloud to him

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 materialls as accordinge to the rates that are usuallye given and allowed for the like comodityes by other men that use the same" (HCA 13/57 f.380r)

Appendix

Manuscript document examples

Inventory of goods lost at Barfleur in France

Mariner, master of the John and Francis of London

Mariner, one of the company of the John and Francis of London

Source: HCA 13/71 f.10Ar

Extract from a letter received from Leghorne from Edward Campion and Hugh Forth Junior

"Hee this deponent being a merchant and having dealeings into severall parts and places beyond the seas did in or about the latter end of September or the beginning of October last past receave a letter from his correspondents at Leghorne wherein there was a relation of the violent behaviour and carriage of the arlate Robert Swanley and Nicholas Terricke in theire seizeing and takeing away of tenne barrills of indico which is in the said letter said to belong into the arlate Sir Jacob Garrad from abord the ship the *Salvadore* arlate then at or neare Leghorne whereby hee saith the said action of the two captains appeares to bee such as that it was taken notice of and knowne to and amongest the English merchnats then resident at that place. A true coppie of soe much of the said letter which relates to that particuler and which hee soe received from Leghorne hee this deponent doth now leave behind him annexed to this his deposition" (HCA 13/64 unfol. 20181220_131346)

HCA 13/64 unfol. 20181220_141332

Account of goods laden on board the *Prosperous* for the use of English men

Source: HCA 13/64 unfol. 20181220_131352: 20181220_131356

1643

"Hath nowe with him at the time of his examination a letter written unto him this deponent by the said Abraham Miter from Mallaga aforesaid, which upon examination hee findeth to be of the same character and forme of letters as the said schedule is" (HCA 13/61 f.129v)

Cigt ~~Court of the Admiralty~~ ~~[illegible]~~ forty and dos/bty
by vertue of ye oath.

That ye: this deponent hath disbursed for the State and really paid the summe of thirtie
six pounds eight shillings and ten pence for charges in and about 45 bagge and
pockets of woolll, wch came to this port of London from Kingsale in Ireland
in the shipp the Cigt to John and William, Thomas Maide master, the particulars
and parts of wch account are as followeth viz:

		s	d
ffor the stowe at Kingsale for ~~xxx~~ two whole bales 100 stone at 4d per stone	16	13	4
ffor portidge and lightherage of the said woolll at Kingsale	1	1	6
ffor the freight after 20s per tonne	16	0	0
ffor Dawnes, portsruell nauclis and mauding	1	18	0
ffor primage and averidge	0	16	0
Summa	36	8	10

Ralp: Conyers

"This deponent hath disbursed for the State and really paid the summe of thirtie six pounds eight shillings and ten pence for charges in and about 45 bags and pockets of wooll, which came to this Port of London from Kingsale in Ireland in the shipp the *John and William*, Thomas Maide master)

HCA 13/65 unfol. 20200103_130647

Thomas Bardsey is a plumber. His signature is relatively simple, but competent. His handwriting is similarly competent. Thomas Cox, the master of the *Seahorse*, has a slightly simpler signature, but writes well and clearly.

Invoice from Thomas Bardsey, plumber, for lead

As a twenty-four mariner of Redrith, Surrey, Thomas Cox signed an Admiralty Court deposition [1612]. He had already "used the sea in trade of merchandize" for twelve years. In 1634, clearly the same man, now master of the *Seahorse*, forty-six year old Thomas Cox, instructed his boatswain or purser to pay one of his suppliers, Thomas Bardsey, a forty-five year old plumber living in the parish of Saint Dunstans in the East

Signature of Thomas Bardsey, forty-five year old plumber of Saint Dunstans in the East, London. Deposed January 22nd 1635. [HCA 13/51 f.255v]

Signature of Thomas Cox, twenty-four year old mariner of Redrith, Surrey, where he has lived for sixteen years. Voyage from London to Livorno and Naples on a ship named the *Mantle*.Deposed February 24th 1612. [HCA 13/42 f.130r]

Instructions to pay invoice [1634]
Handwriting of Thomas Cox

"Master henderick I pray pay ye plomer sixe pound seven shilling for lead
Thomas Cox"
[HCA 15/1 unfol. 126_06_6666]

Receipt of payment [1634]
Handwriting of Thomas Bardsey

"Rd [received] the 11th of December 1634
the somme of sixe pounds seaven shillings in full payement
of this bill 6 *li* 7 *s*
p [per] me Tho Bardsey"
[HCA 15/1 unfol. 126_06_6666]

Initials of William Cleamans, smith. Handwriting of receipt in a different hand.

Back of invoice from Willaym Cleamans, smith, for work done

Initials of William Cleamans. Handwriting of receipt in another hand. HCA 15/1 unfol. 126_06_6671.

Mark of John Rabson. Handwriting of receipt in a different hand.

Invoice from John Rabson for carpenters store (timber and planks)

Mark of John Rabson. Handwriting of receipt in another hand

Deposition and front matter

http://www.marinelives.org/wiki/HCA_13/68_f.1r_Annotate;
http://www.marinelives.org/wiki/Mark_Harrison

Appendix

AI analysis

Can we use key word spotting to excavate raw metadata?

LANGUAGE DENOTING OCCUPATION

"The premisses hee deposeth being one of the company of the *Bridgewater ffrygott*, and sawe the same soe done" [HCA 13/72 f.90r] [CONCLUSION: One of the company]

"The premisses he deposeth for that he the deponent was not onely for the voyage arlate wherein she was stranded, but in two former voyages stiersman of the sayd ship" [HCA 13/72 f.90v] [CONCLUSION: Steersman]

"after such buying of the said shipp the *Santa Hellen* by the said da [?Groots] and company aforesaid, namely in or about the moneth of October 1643 (about three monethes after the adiudication aforesaid) being in possession of the said vessell, put and constituted this deponent master of her, and hee then entred master upon her at Port Lewes in Bretany" [HCA 13/72 f.95r] [CONCLUSION: Master]

"all which hee knoweth being masters mate of the said shipp the said voyage" [HCA 13/70 f.669v] [CONCLUSION: Master's mate]

"hee knoweth the premisses because hee was boatswaines mate of the said shipp and went all the said voyage in her" [HCA 13/70 f.671r] [CONCLUSION: Boatswain's mate]

Can we refine raw machine generated metadata using a combination of NPL, controlled vocabularies, and programmable decision rules?

LANGUAGE DENOTING OCCUPATION

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"all which hee knoweth being masters mate of the said shipp the said voyage" [HCA 13/70 f.669v] [CONCLUSION: Master's mate]

"the premisses because hee was boatswaines mate of the said shipp and went all the said voyage in her" [HCA 13/70 f.671r] [CONCLUSION: Boatswain's mate]

KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1370_f.546r.PNG	HCA 13/70	Signature	Mariner; Boatswain
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1370_f.571v.PNG	HCA 13/70	Signature	Mariner; Boatswain
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1370_f.596v_One.PNG	HCA 13/70	Signature	Mariner; Boatswain
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1370_f.636r.PNG	HCA 13/70	Signature	Mariner; Principal boatswain
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1370_f.671v.PNG	HCA 13/70	Marke	Mariner; Boatswain's mate
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1368_f.631v.PNG	HCA 13/68	Signature	Mariner; Boatswain
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1371_f.27r.PNG	HCA 13/71	Initials	Mariner; Boatswain
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1371_f.27v_One.PNG	HCA 13/71	Initials	Mariner; Boatswain
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1371_f.27v_Two.PNG	HCA 13/71	Initials	Mariner; Boatswain
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1368_f.640r.PNG	HCA 13/68	Signature	Mariner; Boatswain
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1368_f.687r.PNG - CREATE	HCA 13/68	Signature	Mariner; Boatswain [of the Civill Society]
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1371_f.77v.PNG	HCA 13/71	Signature	Mariner; Boatswain
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1370_f.378r.PNG	HCA 13/70	Signature	Mariner; Boatswain
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1371_f.99r.PNG	HCA 13/71	Signature and	Mariner; Boatswain [of man of war]
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1370_f.484v.PNG	HCA 13/70	Signature	Mariner; Quartermaster; Boatswain
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1371_f.139v.PNG	HCA 13/71	Signature	Mariner; Boatswain
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1371_f.167r.PNG	HCA 13/71	Signature	Mariner; Boatswain [of the John and Mary]
KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1371_f.279r.PNG	HCA 13/71	Signature	Mariner; Boatswain

Visual geometries of flourishes – C17th Irish, Dutch, English & Moroccan merchants

Source: Clockwise from top LH side: KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1368_f.34v.PNG, KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1370_f.366r.PNG, KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1370_f.134r.PNG, KaggleTestSnippet_HCA_1368_f.58r.PNG

Appendix

Twitter poll and thought experiment

Pinned Tweet

MarineLives @Marinelivesorg · Jan 6

How many letters were sent and received by English mariners in the C17th? Please take our poll and tweet your comments. My answer on January 10th, when I talk about mariner literacy and the literacy intensity of work at a @Prize_Papers lunchtime talk prizepapers.de/lunch

1 mill	6.7%
5 mill	26.7%
10 mill	30%
50 mil	36.7%

30 votes · 19 hours left

1 5 1

Appendix

Mapping mariner letters as part of the Early Modern commercial information system

Wouldn't it be great if we could map the sending, receiving, writing and reading of letters sent by and received by Early Modern mariners? And put these maps in the context of the Early Modern commercial information system?

Source: Nikolaus Schobesberger, Paul Arblaster, Mario Infelise, André Belo, Noah Moxham, Carmen Espejo and Joad Raymond, Ch: 2: European Postal Networks, in in Joad Raymond and Noah Moaxham (eds.), (Brill, 2016), p.62

FIGURE 2.13 *Sketch map of major European postal routes operating at various times during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Collaboratively compiled, at the Vienna workshop of the News Networks in Early Modern Europe research project, 13/9/12, by Paul Arblaster, Nikolaus Schobesberger, Mario Infelise, André Belo, Carmen Espejo, Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham, with input from Oswald Bauer*

Source: Nikolaus Schobesberger et al. (2016: 62); Colin Greenstreet, Literacy Initensity of Work, Jan 10th 2022; SOLM-2022 08012022 Ver.11.0

Locations at which letters were written by English masters of ships & other mariners, 1H C17th

Wherever English mariners sailed, they were likely to have sent and received letters concerning the condition of their ships, their planned routes, their ladings, and their financial need, together with personal correspondence to and from family and friends.

Source: SOLM-2022 08012020 Ver.11; Openstreetmap