Margaret M. Condon and Evan T. Jones (eds.), 'Bristol 1475: Particulars of Account of Thomas Croft and John Langston, customers, 26 March to 20 July 1475: Introduction' (University of Bristol, Research Data Repository, 2019)[1]

This ledger, like other particulars of account of the mid-1470s, has an especial importance because of the absence of enrolled accounts for the port of Bristol for the accounting years running from 1472 to 1477. It covers the period Easter (26 March) to 20 July 1475. Despite the absence of an enrolment, it is clear that the customers' particulars were subject to audit, although the parallel controlment has not survived.[2] It also seems safe to assume that, like the other accounts of the mid-1470s in which Thomas Croft was one of the named customers, the account was heard, not according to the ancient course of the Exchequer, but by declaration made before one of the Exchequer's auditors.[3] The manuscript itself is written in the same distinctive and elegant hand as the surviving ledgers from 1473 and 1474.

The end date of the account, altered in the ledger's heading from 29 July, was determined by the appointment of Nicholas Warynges as one of the two Bristol customers. The appointment was made under the Teste of Edward, Prince of Wales, as keeper of the realm while his father, Edward IV, was abroad with his army in France.[4] The changeover in customs officers triggered the closure of Croft and Langston's account, and the opening of a new accounting period: from which only the controlment now survives.[5]

The account and port administration

The recording of customs payments in this account is in some respects unusual. It is one of the few late medieval Bristol accounts to include a separate return for the 'creeks' of Bristol. This return is inserted in a different hand on the last folio of the ledger. Normally Bristol's particulars simply record ships entering or leaving the *port* of Bristol. Yet the port as an administrative area was wider than the town – or even the town, the River Avon and the villages of Pill and Shirehampton, near Avonmouth. The wider port for which Bristol's customs officers were responsible included the Gloucestershire reaches of the River Severn and, indeed, further upriver to Worcester, the ordinary limit of tidal navigation, fifty miles north.[6]

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[1] The National Archives of the UK [TNA], E122/19/11. This transcription is an output of the 'Cabot Project' (University of Bristol 2009-), funded by Gretchen Bauta, a private Canadian benefactor, and others. The transcription was completed in draft in 2014.

[2] An auditor's annotation makes specific reference to examination of the ledger with the controller's particulars, TNA, E122/19/11 fo. 12r. The account has the characteristic Exchequer-applied annotations identifying goods as cloth of assize, wine, or goods subject to poundage, and for every entry, a punctus (large dot) above the amount of customs or subsidy. Such annotations (and occasional alterations of figures) are a clear indication that each entry had been checked against the controlment, and summed towards the final *determinatio*. The process is explained in Stuart Jenks, ed., *The London Customs Accounts 24 Henry VI (1445/46)* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschicte, N.S. 74, Hansischer Geschichtsverein, Cologne, 2018), pp. xlv-lvii, and footnotes to edited text, passim.

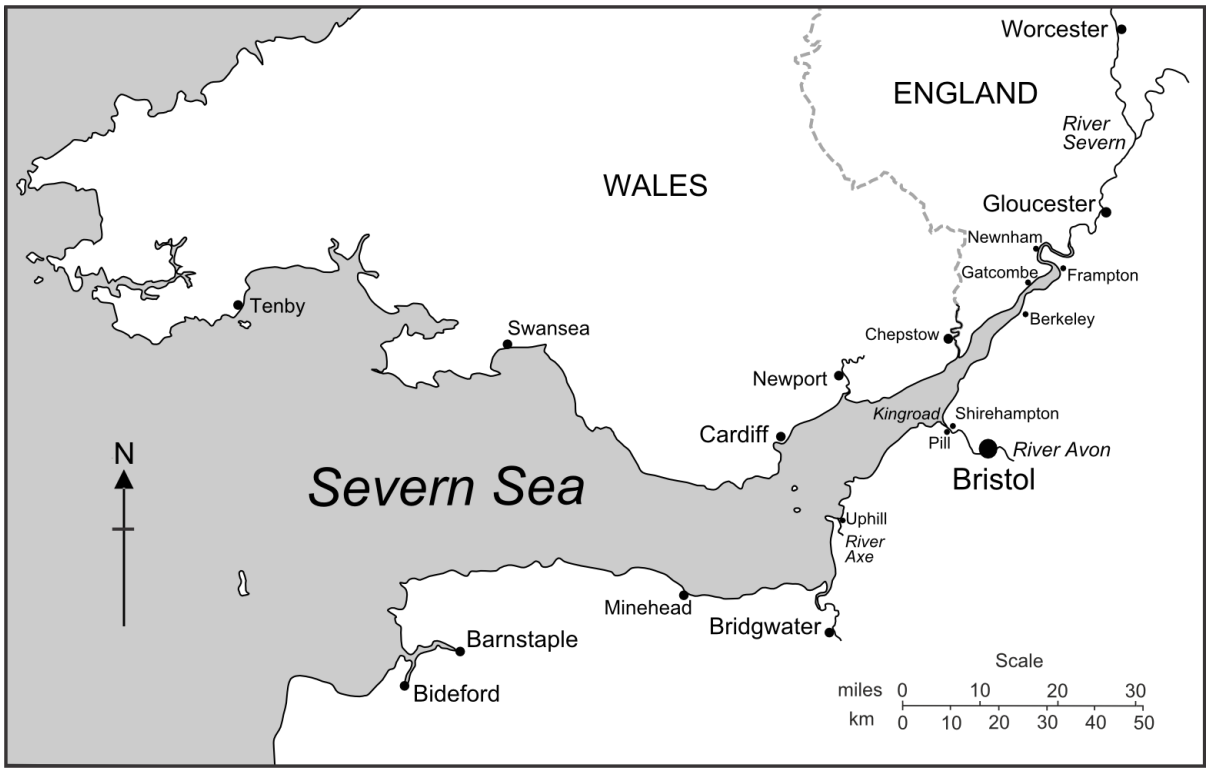
[3] Margaret M Condon and Evan T. Jones (eds.),'Bristol 1473: Particulars of Account of Thomas Croft and John Langston, customers, April to September 1473: Introduction' (University of Bristol, Research Data Repository, 2019), pp. 1-2; https://doi.org/10.5523/bris.3jsyg8gbv830k2clorj6obakjb.

[4] *Cal. Fine Rolls 1471-1485*, p. 103-5.

[5] TNA, E122/18/39.

[6] The quay of Worcester was considered the most northerly part of the port of Bristol in a sixteenth-century survey: Evan T. Jones (ed.), 'Survey of the Port of Bristol, 1565' (University of Bristol, PURE, 2011), p. 5; http://hdl.handle.net/1983/1707. During high spring tides the river could be tidal beyond this point and the river itself was navigable by flat bottomed boats of up to 50 tons burden as far north as Shrewsbury: R Whitworth, *The Advantages of Inland Navigation* (London, 1766), pp. 54-55. Deponents to a 1583 commission, however, suggested that seagoing vessels of more than 30-40 tons burden rarely went beyond Gatcombe: Alexander

Fig. 1: Bristol and its region



Unlike many of England's 'head ports', Bristol did not have any 'member ports', where deputy customs officers kept separate accounts, while remaining subject to the officers of the head port.[7] On the other hand, like other ports, Bristol did have many 'creeks' (typically inlets along the Severn), where overseas trade goods could be loaded or unloaded. In most of Bristol's particular accounts, the trade of these creeks was subsumed into Bristol's accounts. So, a boat carrying goods from Gloucester to Ireland, for example, would be recorded as a departure from 'Bristol', even though the vessel may not even have stopped at Kingroad on route. When this happened, the goods would have been declared to the 'clerk of the creeks', who then passed his records and the duties collected to the customer of Bristol.

What is distinctive about this account is that at least some of the trade of the creeks was not incorporated in the usual way. Instead, the shipments were appended at the end (rows 414-424 in the spreadsheet). They include shipments recorded at Gloucester, Frampton and Gatcombe. For example, the manuscript records that on an unspecified day during the accounting period, the merchant James Ive shipped 40 tuns of wine in an unspecified boat direct to Gloucester. While the lack of detail is frustrating, the separate account indicates that goods valued at £334 passed directly through these creeks. Given that the total value of Bristol's recorded trade in the accounting period was £7,945 this suggests that *at least* four percent of the trade of the port of Bristol did not pass through the town. It is unclear whether this was *all* of the trade of the creeks, or whether this was just a part of it that was perhaps appended to the main account because the information and payments came in late.[8]

Higgins, 'The Establishment of the Head Port of Gloucester, 1565-1584' (University of Bristol, unpublished MPhil, 2012), pp. 38-43. The narrow arches of Gloucester's stone bridge would have further limited navigation.

[7] For example, the customers for Plymouth, the head port, included but distinguished returns for the member port of Fowey, twenty-seven miles away by sea. Similarly, the head port of Sandwich had Dover as a member port.

[8] A 1479 return, covering a period form mid-April to mid-July, is similarly brief. In 1477-8 the account for the creeks, although in the hand of the customers' clerk, is on a separate bifolium whose second folio includes the

As with other Bristol particulars of the period, the 'Bristol' part of the account includes goods that had come from Welsh ports, such as Cardiff, Tenby and Chepstow. Since customs were not collected in Wales on behalf of the Crown, overseas goods arriving in the port of Bristol from Wales were treated as if they were coming from abroad.[9]

There are also a number of references to goods being declared that had arrived from English ports, such as Uphill (a creek of Bridgwater), or Minehead (the member port of Bridgwater). Such overseas goods could have been unloaded in Somerset and possibly transferred on to another vessel, or transferred from a larger vessel sitting at anchor in one of the 'roads' off Bridgwater or Minehead. But they were not declared in the port of Bridgwater before being dispatched on to Bristol.[10] Other boats from Bridgwater's minor creeks included Rooks Mill and 'Sodispill', as well as settlements along the River Axe, such as Lympsham.[11]

More unusually, there is a single entry for a horse or cart carrying cloth to Southampton for export. In other words, duty was paid in Bristol, even though the cloth was to leave from Southampton. In London, this was a common arrangement. Packhorses and carts regularly left London with goods of both denizen and alien merchants. They had customed their consignments in the city, but sent them for export from one of the ports on the south coast.[12] In Bristol, such records of the issue of cockets (certificates) for overland travel prior to export exist, apart from this single entry, only for 1477-80 and 1487.[13] The Bristol-issued cocket would have been directed to the customers in the port of export, and was lawful evidence notifying those customers that customs duties had already been paid.[14] Just why a solitary alien merchant took this option in 1475 is unknown. Shipping to the merchant's preferred foreign port may have been unavailable in Bristol; he may have wished to consolidate all his shipments in a different port; or, for whatever reason, thought sea passage from Bristol

auditor's *determinatio* – the summary that showed the constituent elements of the year's receipts. In 1479-80 the Exchequer auditors noted that a similar post-Easter return for the creeks, still extant in the customers' ledger, had been omitted from the controlment roll: TNA, E122/18/53; E122/19/14, fo. 27r. The Michaelmas to Easter return for 1477-8 is fully incorporated into Asshe's controlment, albeit as a separate rotulet. E122/19/13, rot. 1 (properly rot. 12). In 1480 the information may, as in 1475, have been transferred at audit to the controlment roll: the roll itself does not survive. Returns for the creeks were also made in 1479 and 1479-80, E122/19/15, E122/19/14, fos. 26r, v. The 1479 account additionally mentions Berkeley and Newnham as creeks of Bristol.

[9] See the brief discussion of medieval Wales in W. R. B. Robinson, 'The Establishment of Royal Customs in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire under Elizabeth I', *Bulletin of Board of Celtic Studies*, 23 (1970), pp. 348-9; W. R. B. Robinson, 'Dr. Thomas Phaer's Report on the Harbours and Customs Administration of Wales under Edward VI', *Bulletin of Board of Celtic Studies*, 24 (1972), pp. 492-7.

[10] The small boat from Uphill was carrying oars and shipboards at a time when Bristol's shipbuilding industry was stretched. Uphill is a small port near the mouth of the River Axe / Axewater, facing Cardiff. It is possible that the materials had been off-loaded in Wales, possibly from a Portuguese ship, from whence they could be taken to Bristol by lighter. Two days later a Cardiff boat brought in eight barrels of tar, which must have originated on the Continent.

[11] These vessels carried Irish produce. These unusual shipments, both Irish and continental, may be symptomatic of disturbed patterns of commerce in both Bridgwater and Bristol, as well as the quirks of record-keeping. All these boats were said to have come from the same place (venit de eadem) as the villages and waterways with which they were associated. 'Sodispill' has not been identified, but was named as a creek of Bridgwater in the customers' ledger for the port for 1482, E122/26/9. For Rooks Mill (obs.) and Axewater see A. H. Powell, *The Ancient Borough of Bridgwater* (Bridgwater, 1907), pp. 196-9; see also *Cal. Charter Rolls*, Vol. 6, pp. 226-7.

[12] For a discussion of the acts of 1472 and 1495 which respectively established and abolished a requirement for the payment of duties in the place of packing, H. S. Cobb, 'Cloth exports from London and Southampton in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: a Revision', *Economic History Review*, 31 (1978), pp. 601-609.

[13] For 1480 see E. M. Carus-Wilson, *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages* (Revised edn., London, 1967), p. 271.

[14] The statutory requirement between 1473 and 1495 was that cloth intended for export should be packed in the presence of collectors of customs and that duties should be paid at the place of packing.

unsafe at the time. If nothing else, the transaction is a reminder of the importance of Bristol's place in the manufacture and sale of cloth, both within the city, and for its wider hinterland.[15]

Lastly, there are references to vessels coming into Bristol from Hungroad, Kingroad or Shirehampton – all of which lay just a few miles downriver from Bristol near the Avonmouth. Kingroad was a large bay, out in the Severn between Avonmouth and Portishead. Hungroad was an anchorage on the Avon itself, about a mile from its confluence with the Severn, serviced by the communities of Shirehampton and Pill, on either side of the river. In many other accounts of the period, shipments from these places would have been recorded under the name of the vessel that had arrived from overseas destinations. So, to take a fictional example, wine arriving on the *St John* of San Sebastian would be recorded under the name of the *St John*, even if the ship had broken bulk in the Hungroad, with part of the cargo being sent upriver to Bristol in lighters. By contrast, in this account, some imported goods were recorded under the names of the lighters themselves. This may suggest poor record keeping on the part of the customs officers in Bristol (i.e. they did not ask on what ship the goods had arrived), unfamiliarity with Bristol's ordinary procedures on the part of a customer's clerk or a ship's master, or disruption caused by the wartime conditions. So, for example, when the *Mary* of Bilbao entered the port in June, the Basque shipmaster, John Darrys, appears to have broken bulk at anchor in Kingroad, unlading about two tons of alum, nails and vinegar on to the *Nicholas* of Shirehampton for dispatch to Bristol. In this case the customs account recorded the goods under the name of the *Nicholas*. The next day, 27 June, Darrys registered his exit cargo of cloth, this time citing the *Mary* as the carrier, bound for Spain. The ship itself had probably never left Kingroad – avoiding the difficult navigation up to Bristol's town quays on what was probably only ever intended to be a short stopover.[16]

Overall, this account displays a number of idiosyncrasies, some of which can make the data from the account difficult to compare to other accounts. Yet, while this is in some ways a drawback, the account's oddities serve as a reminder that Bristol's ordinary trading patterns were not quite as simple in reality as the particular accounts commonly suggest.

Trade and war

From early 1472 it was clear that England was drifting towards war with France. However, offensive alliances made with the independent duchies of Brittany and Burgundy faltered when the Duke of Brittany agreed a year-long truce with France. The Duke of Burgundy followed. Lacking allies, in March 1473 Edward IV agreed a truce with Louis XI of France, to last until 1 April 1474. This allowed Bristol to continue its Bordeaux wine trade, while Edward prepared for war. Having concluded a peace treaty with the Hansards in 1473 and a truce with Scotland, England and Burgundy sealed a treaty in July 1474 that required Edward to invade France by 1 July 1475. Yet, in the meantime he continued to negotiate short-term treaties with France, while at the same time seeking support from his own subjects for a major military expedition.[17] All this meant that while Bristol's merchants might have felt reasonably secure in dispatching ships to Bordeaux in the autumn-winter of 1474/5, they would have been well aware that war was imminent.

[15] The 7 pieces of cloth were valued at the higher rate of £18. Although the entry does not so specify, this higher valuation could mean that the pieces were 'cloth, large'. As an alien, Aleyn Bolsyk paid the higher rate of customs of 2s 9d, as well as subsidy of 1s in the £ value on each cloth.

[16] E122/19/11 fo. 7r. For anchorages and navigational hazards of the Avon, see R. A. Griffiths, 'Sailing the Severn Sea in the mid-fifteenth century', in Evan T. Jones and Richard Stone, eds., *The World of the Newport Ship: Trade, Politics and Shipping in the Mid-Fifteenth Century* (Cardiff, 2018), p. 100.

[17] For the preparations leading up to the King's 'Great Enterprise', C. D. Ross, *Edward IV* (2nd edn., London, 1997), pp. 205-226.

Individual kings, and Edward IV is a notable example, might own ships that could be used for commercial purposes in times of peace, and as the core of a fighting force in times of war. There was, however, no standing navy. In consequence, in war the Crown relied on its ship-owning subjects, both mercantile and aristocratic, as well as the impress or negotiated hire of foreign shipping, especially for the transport of troops.[18] As 1474 moved into 1475, the king's commissioners were empowered to impress any vessels of a portage greater than sixteen tuns. At least five Bristol ships, including the three largest vessels in her marine, were conscripted along with some of her most experienced masters, and, no doubt, mariners. They were engaged in the service of the king from 3 February 1475 until 10 July.[19] Ships of Bristol, and from ports further west as far as Plymouth and Fowey, were commanded to the Thames and to a muster point at Southampton.[20] Their duties included the safe keeping of the seas – both against French depredations and to protect friendly foreign shipping from attack by pirates. This naval force was then to ensure the safe passage of the king and his army across the straits of Dover to Calais. Soldiers, equipment and victuals would mostly have crossed in slower and more vulnerable hired transports, with the armed ships acting as escort, as well as troop carriers.[21]

With war in progress and many of Bristol's great ships away, the port's trade and shipping were disrupted. Impress into the king's service of three of Bristol's great ships and two *naviculae*, of which one, the *James*, was of at least 140 tuns burden, means that throughout this period of account at least 1,000 freight tons of Bristol's own shipping was not available to the merchants of the port.[22] Moreover, at the end of their period of active service on 10 July the five ships would have been away from home. Any superstructure added to prepare them as ships of war would have had to be dismantled, and any Crown-supplied armament, and superfluous fittings, returned. The decommissioning of the ships, along with any further work needed to prepare them for sea, presumably accounts for the failure of the Bristol ships to reappear in the Bristol accounts until the autumn.[23] It is unsurprising, then, that in the peculiar circumstances of the spring and summer of 1475, ships of Brittany and northern Spain outnumber those of Bristol's own marine in the customers' account.

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[18] See Colin Richmond, 'English naval power in the fifteenth century', *History*, 52 (1967), pp. 1-15 both for Edward IV's ship-owning and for the temporary nature of a wartime navy.

[19] Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade of Bristol*, p. 146; Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 218-9; *Cal. Patent Rolls 1467-1477*, pp. 494-5; full texts *Foedera*, xi, p. 843. The ships were the *naves* (great ships) the *Mary Redcliffe*, *Trinity*, and *Mary Grace*, and the *naviculae* the *Anne* and the *James*. They are presumably the same ships for whose service John Withipoll and John Jay were given licence to ship free of customs from either Bristol or Southampton to a total of £190 15s. Since William (Guillem) de la Founte received a new-build bounty, it is possible that his ship also served.

[20] If Bristol supplied additional shipping, and if, as is likely, the neighbouring port of Bridgwater also contributed ships and mariners, the details are lost in the delegated powers of press and payment given to Avery Cornburgh, an esquire in the king's household. The huge cost to the Crown, which was in excess of £2,500, for wages, victuals and other 'necessaries' – presumably including arms – of shipping from Bristol, Devon and Cornwall suggests that the actual number of Bristol ships may have been greater, even allowing for those impressed from other Western ports: TNA, E405/59, m. 7; E405/61, m. 5; *Cal. Patent Rolls 1467-1477*, pp. 495-6; full texts *Foedera*, xi, pp. 839-40; Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 218-9.

[21] Ross, *Edward IV*, pp. 218-9; *Cal. Patent Rolls 1467-1477*, pp. 495-6, 525-6.

[22] There is no record of the *Antony*, the other Bristol *navis* of the 1460s and early 1470s, between April 1472 and October 1477. Her regular summer employment was to Iceland: but even so this silence in the records could suggest that she was being rebuilt.

[23] The first of the impressed ships to re-engage in commerce was the *Mary Grace* of Bristol, which departed for Bordeaux on 20 September 1475. E368/252 States and Views Mich 19 Edw IV rot 6 et seq. The loss of almost all Bristol particulars of account between 10 September 1475 and 29 September 1477 means that for two whole years shipping details are hard to come by, although the *Trinity* returned, probably from Lisbon, in 1476, TNA, E101/82/14.

Only five, or at most six, of Bristol's middle-range ships were on extended mercantile voyages in the period of this account; two or three others made the short passage to Ireland.[24] James Rasebour brought the *Margaret* of Bristol in from Bordeaux at the end of March 1475, carrying wine for John Pooke of Bristol. This was probably a late returnee from an autumn voyage. After that the *Margaret* was dispatched to northern Spain on 24 April. Thereafter, until the end of this account, imports from Bordeaux were conducted in ships of Brittany and from Basque and Cantabrian ports of northern Spain. And even that traffic ceased in early May.[25] The final large Bristol ship to enter Bristol in this account was the *Mary Bird* of Bristol, which returned from Lisbon on 24 April, only to be dispatched three days later to Iceland. This is an extraordinarily rapid turnaround for a Bristol ship that had just returned from one long voyage and was now being sent on another one to the far north. As a vessel of at least 100 tons burden, the ship might have been seen as a candidate for the king's service, possibly prompting the owner, William Bird, to put the ship out of reach of both the English king and French privateers.[26]

Wendy Childs has noticed elsewhere the increasing importance of Castilian trade within Bristol, well evidenced in this account.[27] The king himself had earlier recognized the value of good relations with the port towns of Castile's northern provinces, and the mutual benefit to trade for both English and Castilian merchants, by providing reciprocal guarantees of safe conduct and protection, as well as reparations for acts of piracy. In August 1471 Edward IV confirmed annuities earlier granted by his 'by word of mouth' to two Spaniards 'so long as the peace between the five provinces of Spain on the sea should continue'. In February 1474, as preparations for war with France ratchetted up, those grants were confirmed on more secure sources, including £20 from the customs revenues of the port of Bristol.[28] As war drew ever closer, even neutral Spanish shipping was disrupted. Ships of San Vicente de la Barquera, one of the Cuatro Villas centred on Santander, more usually traded with Flanders.[29] Ships of Bilbao, although sometimes found in Bristol, more usually traded with London. The three ships entering Bristol from those ports may have been avoiding the English Channel, where even a temporary seizure would have been inconvenient. Lastly, the account also records one of the few occasions when a ship from the Basque port of Guetaria, eleven miles west of San Sebastian, entered Bristol (2 May).[30]

The merchants shipping from Bordeaux in April and May 1475 were largely French or Breton, although the younger John Shipward imported woad and honey on a Breton vessel, and shipped wine and iron in partnership with Thomas Rowley on the *Nicholas* of

[24] The mid-range Bristol 'navicula' (c.35-150 tons burden), include the *Margaret*, *Mary Bird*, *Michael*, *Maudelyn*, *Mary Bedelym*, and the absent *Julian Hemming*, away in Iceland. It is not known for certain whether the home port of the *Mary Cliff* was Bristol or another western port. Close dates of exit for Ireland on 1 and 10 June under different masters suggests two *different* ships named the *Michael* – unless the customers' records are inaccurate, or there was a last-minute change of master. No return voyage of the *Michael* of Bristol is recorded in the immediately following account.

[25] The winter months were the peak season for the Bordeaux-Bristol wine trade. Still, it was unusual, in the 1470s at least, for there to be *no* sailings of Bristol ships between the two ports in spring and summer.

[26] The *Julian Hemmyng* of Bristol had already departed for Iceland before the opening of this account: TNA, E122/19/11, fos. 2v, 3r; E122/18/39, m. 2r. The two ships returned together in September 1475.

[27] Wendy R. Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the later Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1978), pp. 58-65, 87-90, 108, 117, 132-6; Wendy R. Childs, *Trade and Shipping in the Medieval West: Portugal, Castile and England* (Porto, 2013).

[28] *Cal. Patent Rolls 1467-1477*, pp. 273, 422; Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, pp. 55-6, 214-5, 230.

[29] Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p. 153.

[30] The only other late fifteenth century record of a ship visiting Bristol from Gueteria was in 1480, when a ship stopped at Bristol while on a voyage from Flanders to Spain: TNA, E122/19/14, fo. 18v. Another small Basque port, Orio, was probably the home port of the *San Nicolao*, again an uncommon visitor of 1475.

Errenteria.[31] Small quantities of wine came in by lighter from the Welsh side of the Severn, where trade was less tightly regulated: its origin is unknown.[32] War, of course, brought other opportunities, and the armour and crossbows imported by the Spaniard John de Gayer (29 May), and the four guns imported by the Spanish shipmaster Lope de Gastye Garribie (2 May) could have found a ready market in Bristol or beyond. The import of shipboards, nails, and oars in May and June suggest that local nautical supplies were insufficient to meet demand, while illustrating, once more, the ability of merchants to respond rapidly to changing political and commercial conditions.[33] Benefit was not one-sided. Both Basque shipmasters, and Bristol's own merchants, exported large quantities of corn and beans this year to relieve Spain, following on from several famine years.[34]

Finally, it should be noted that while wartime disruption can explain many of the oddities of the account, war was not the sole source of disruption in the port of Bristol during the period. For instance, legal records reveal that the *Magdalen* of Bristol, owned by Thomas Rowley, caught fire in the harbour while mariners were applying pitch to its seams to make it watertight. The fire then spread to a Breton ship, the *Kateryne* of Concarneau, causing damage that was to delay its departure. Guillem Arneton, master of the *Kateryne*, sought redress in Bristol's Tolsey Court. His ship, of around 45-50 tuns burden, is recorded in the particular account as entering Bristol on 10 May and exiting on 18 June.[35] For a foreign ship to stay five weeks in Bristol was unusual during this era, so Arneton's grievance was probably genuine. The *Magdalen* (Maudelyn) of Bristol left for Spain on 8 June, implying that it was not itself badly damaged.

Editorial Practice

The transcription into Microsoft Excel follows the pattern set by Evan Jones for his ESRC-funded project on Ireland-Bristol trade in the sixteenth century.[36] These conventions are summarised in the introduction to the account for 1461. In particular, surnames and ships' names follow the manuscript; quantities of any particular commodity have, as far as practicable, been standardised to a single unit, calculated if necessary to two decimal places. Wine and cloth of assize have been notionally valued at £4 and £2 respectively, unless specifically valued in the manuscript. All entries in italics have been supplied by the editors. These include extensions of abbreviations. The presence of editorial comments is marked by a red triangle in the upper corner of any cell, and appears on mouse hover. Comments on discrepancies in value/quantity have been attached to the 'commodity' where they are more clearly visible.

[31] TNA, E122/19/11, fos. 1r-2v. The value of Shipward and Rowley's trade from Bordeaux was under half that of the alien merchants.

[32] TNA, E122/19/11, fos. 6r, 9v. From the general pattern of trade, the wine is most likely to have been Portuguese.

[33] E122/19/11, fos. 3v, 5r-v, 7r-v, 8r, 9r, 11v; in 1475-6 a Bristol ordinance forbade the breaking of any ground 'in and about Bristol to make any ship' unless a licence had first been obtained: quoted Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, p. 146.

[34] Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, pp. 97-9. Other consignment went through Sandwich, Faversham, and Poole.

[35] Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, p. 145. Rowley brought a counter-suit in Chancery, denying his personal responsibility and blaming the weather for the accident. For an analysis of caulking material applied to a real ship ten years or so earlier, Nigel Nayling and Toby Jones, 'The Newport Medieval Ship: Archaeological Analysis of a Fifteenth-Century Merchant Ship', in Jones and Stone, *World of the Newport Ship*, p. 24.

[36] Databases at http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Ireland/datasets.htm (accessed 6 Nov 2019); these were reformatted and published with indexes and abbreviated glossaries as Susan Flavin and Evan Jones, *Bristol's Trade with Ireland and the Continent 1503-1601* (Bristol Record Society, vol. 61, 2009). Editorial conventions are repeated at pp. xxii-xxv.