

**Margaret M. Condon and Evan T. Jones (eds.), ‘Bristol 1476: Particulars of Account of Thomas Asshe, controller, 12 March to 14 April 1476: Introduction’ (University of Bristol, Research Data Repository, 2020)<sup>1</sup>**

## Text and comment

Thomas Asshe was appointed controller of the port of Bristol by letters patent of 1 March 1476.<sup>2</sup> The heading of this, his first controlment, gives the period of account as 12 March to Easter, 16 Edward IV. In 1476, Easter fell on 14 April. The account consists of two parchment rotulets, written throughout in a neat and distinctive hand. The first part of this manuscript has been known since the nineteenth century. The second, previously unknown, was identified in the course of research arising from ‘The Cabot Project’ (University of Bristol 2009-). [Fig. 1] This item remains separate, part of a large bundle of unsorted customs fragments. The argument for dating is set out below. The dating evidence is sufficiently strong that the associated EXCEL database treats both rotulets as parts of the same original document. After Easter 1476, apart from a single orphan rotulet, there is an eighteen-month gap before surviving Bristol customs particulars resume.<sup>3</sup>

## Dating the document

The first membrane of Asshe’s particulars declares the period covered by the full account. Dates of ship entry commence on 13 March [1476], with the exit of the *Leonard* of Waterford. They end on the dorse of the same rotulet with the entry of the *Mare Clyf* from the Algarve on 22 March. The undated second rotulet is a continuation membrane, beginning with a new ship entry dated ‘eodem die’ (on the same day) as a previously listed ship. A similar entry follows. These two entries record the exit of Irish boats, the *Trinity* of Wexford and the *Trinity* of Malahide.<sup>4</sup> The first fully-dated entry on the rotulet is for the *Bestian* (Sebastian) of Bristol, sailing to northern Spain on 28 March, which means that the two Irish boats exited before that date.<sup>5</sup> The last extant record is for the entry of the *Mary Grace*, returning from Bordeaux in April. The actual day of entry of the *Mary Grace*, much of the ship’s lading, and any subsequent entries once recorded on this membrane, are lost through physical damage to the bottom of the rotulet. The dorse, now obscured by repair parchment, can be assumed to be blank, with any note of delivery into the Exchequer being written on the lost portion of the rotulet.<sup>6</sup> That the

<sup>1</sup> The National Archives, UK [TNA], E122/19/12 and E122/174/3 (part). This transcription is an output of the ‘Cabot Project’ (University of Bristol, 2009-), funded by Gretchen Bauta, a private Canadian benefactor, and others. We thank Professor Wendy Childs, Dr. Iago Iroxo, and Professor Stuart Jenks for their advice on details, as further noted in the footnotes. We particularly thank Professor Jenks for making the text of his *Enrolled Customs Accounts*, pt. 10, (List and Index Society, vol. 344, 2012) available to us.

<sup>2</sup> He replaced Nicholas Warynges, controller since November 1475, *Cal. Patent Rolls 1467-1477*, p. 554. Asshe continued in office until April 1481, when he was replaced by John Walshe, *Cal. Patent Rolls 1477-1485*, p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> The account edited by Eleanor Carus-Wilson as July to September 1476 is actually an account of 1475: Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade of Bristol* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn. London, 1967), pp. 203-9; the 1933 edition (published for the Bristol Record Society) has 1437. For the recently discovered stray membrane, dated on internal evidence to either August to September 1477 or 1476, see Margaret M. Condon and Evan T. Jones (eds.), ‘Bristol c. 1477: particulars of account of Thomas Asshe, controller, large fragment, early August to 2 September: Introduction’ (University of Bristol, Research Data Repository, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.5523/bris.27wzf95m0q6fw2ths0w2ae37or>

<sup>4</sup> It follows that, if the fragment is also 1476, then the undated ship entries at its head are also 22 March.

<sup>5</sup> TNA, E122/174/3 (part).

<sup>6</sup> Given the materials used, and relatively clumsy craftsmanship, the repair was probably affected during the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Repairs of this type, which completely obscure the reverse of a document,

dorse of the rotulet was blank suggests that the account ended with, or shortly after, the entry for the *Mary Grace*. The dates and arrangement of the detached rotulets supply a coherent chronological sequence and fit an Easter end to the particulars. Yet, by itself, this is not sufficient to determine the year date of the fragment.

The handwriting of the second membrane is the same as on the first and, indeed, that found in other surviving particulars of account submitted by Thomas Asshe. From this it may be surmised that the fragment dates to the period of Asshe's tenure as controller of the port of Bristol: 12 March 1476 to 9 April 1481.<sup>7</sup> The fragment cannot belong to 1478 or 1480, since securely dated particulars of account are extant for March in both years, and their data does not overlap. Although particulars of account do not survive for March 1479, or for March 1481, the enrolled accounts show that the Bristol customers for those periods made no claim for allowance against privileges granted to a Gascon merchant, Arnald Trussell, discussed further below. Trussell's shipments are prominent in both membranes discussed here. That he is included as a shipper in the second membrane rules out 1479 and 1481.<sup>8</sup> By a process of elimination, the detached rotulet must therefore date to 1476 or 1477.

Excluding this new fragment, but comparing its ship entries with other firmly dateable accounts, Martisans de Barand is recorded in Bristol accounts as master of the *James* of Bilbao only in 1475; John Lloyd was master of the *James* of Tenby 1474-77. The *Sebastian* is recorded as a ship of Bristol only in this fragment.<sup>9</sup> These entries support the conclusion that the second membrane dates to the mid 1470s. Yet it does not resolve the issue of whether it relates to 1476 or 1477. Fortunately, more can be learnt from the movements of the *Mary Grace*.

An extended audit of the Bristol customers' account for 1477-8 reveals that a Bristol great ship or *navis*, the *Mary Grace*, exited Bristol for Bordeaux on 20 September 1475, just three weeks after the Treaty of Picquigny brought to an end the invasion of France by Edward IV. The audit also notes that the same ship returned to Bristol from Bordeaux on 4 April 1476. This fits with the final entry on the fragment, which records the return of the *Mary Grace* from Bordeaux on an unidentified day in April, under Walter Cocke as master. The audit further records that by 21 March 1477 the *Mary Grace* was mastered by William Thomas. On that day, it exited Bristol for a voyage to Seville. Particulars of the adjacent port of Bridgwater indicate that the *Mary Grace* subsequently took on additional cargo in Bridgwater on 3 April.<sup>10</sup>

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would only have been undertaken if nothing were written on the dorse. Although crude, the repair undoubtedly secured the long-term preservation of a badly damaged item.

<sup>7</sup> John Walshe replaced Asshe as controller by letters patent of 9 April 1481, providing a robust *terminus ad quem*: *Cal. Patent Rolls 1477-1485*, p. 270.

<sup>8</sup> TNA, E356/22, rot. 9r, 10r, and below, Table. 1. Trussell's final claim for privileged export was for customs on the export of 391 cloths *after* 22 April 1481; his subsidies on just over £106 of goods imported and exported 22 April to Michaelmas 1481 were not exempt. This is good evidence for excluding 1481 as a possibility for the fragment.

<sup>9</sup> The ship is possibly the *Sebastian* of Plymouth that entered Bristol from Andalucía under Thomas Sheriff as master in May 1475, TNA, E122/19/11. A *Sebastian* of Plymouth is also recorded in Bordeaux in October 1482, under master John or James Benet, *Registre de la Comptablie de Bordeaux, 1482-1483*, ed. M. G. Ducaunnès-Duval, Archives Historique de la Departement de la Gironde, Vol. 50 (1915) pp. 87-8.

<sup>10</sup> TNA, E368/252 States and Views 19 Edw IV, rot 6d contd (AALT, IMG 848); E122/26/7, m. 1r. For a well-documented instance of an intermediate stop at Minehead, a creek of Bridgwater, in the course of an outward voyage of another *navis*, the *Trinity* of Bristol, in 1480, T. F. Reddaway and A. A. Ruddock (eds.), 'The accounts of John Balsall, Purser of the *Trinity* of Bristol, 1480-1', *Camden Miscellany xxiii* (Camden Society, Fourth Ser. Vol 7, 1969), pp. 8-9. The return of the *Mary Grace* in 1476 was followed by a further exit to Bordeaux on 23 May 1476, returning 29 December of the same year. Both extended voyages may be explained by the size of the ship, which was in excess of 300 tons burden. For the tonnage of the *Mary Grace*, Margaret M. Condon and Evan T. Jones, 'William Weston: early voyager to the New World', *Historical Research*, 91 (2018), p. 640. For the economics of shipping and its effect on the frequency and duration of ship voyages, Evan T. Jones, 'The Shipping Industry of the Severn Sea' 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), pp. 138-9, 149-51. By September 1477 Walter

It would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, for a ship leaving the Severn Sea in April 1477 to reach Bordeaux, acquire a return cargo and get back to Bristol before the month was out. So, even leaving aside the fact that the destination of the *Mary Grace* in 1477 was Seville (rather than Bordeaux) and that the ship was by that time sailing under a different master, the orphaned rotulet cannot relate to that year. It must therefore date to the Spring of 1476, making it the second part of what was originally an account comprising of two rotulets.

### **The grants to Arnald Trussell: a case study in customs exemptions**

One of the more striking features of the account is the large number of entries listed under the name of Arnald Trussell. He was a Gascon merchant formerly of Bayonne but by the mid-1470s a permanent resident of the Basque port of San Sebastián, a town of the kingdom of Castile. The port frequently figures in records of Bristol's trade in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Trussell's story is a complex one, to be more fully told elsewhere. For present purposes it is necessary to ask why he is so dominant among the merchant shippers of 1476 – why was an implausible amount of the port's trade attributed to him?

The background to Trussell's trade in the later 1470s through Bristol and other ports lies in a compensation claim he made following the seizure of one of his ships in c. 1466. The vessel was taken by mariners under the command of John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester (d. 1470), despite a safe conduct that should have safeguarded the Bayonnais ship and its merchandise. Although the ship, with most of its apparatus and some of its cargo, was returned to Trussell, he successfully petitioned the king for further redress. By letters patent of 12 February 1472, Trussell was permitted, over a ten-year period, to ship by himself or his factors, woollen cloth, lead, and other merchandise free of customs and subsidies to an annual maximum rate of impost due of £100. This was to continue until such time as he had been recompensed £1000. In other words, all his compensation was to be obtained in the form of an exemption from customs duties levied on his overseas trade, or that of his factors, in English ports.<sup>11</sup> The sum was enormous, being equivalent to about 200 years of earnings for an ordinary labourer – or, at the other end of the scale, about eight per cent of the annual cost of the royal household.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, since duties on most overseas trade goods amounted to only about five per cent of their value, Trussell or his factors would have had to import or export goods worth about £20,000 to recoup the full benefit of the grant.<sup>13</sup> This was equivalent to about a fifth of England's total annual cloth exports.<sup>14</sup>

By 1475 Trussell had used only £90 9s of his allowance. Taking advantage of the presence of Edward IV at Calais in September 1475, he negotiated a revised grant, which passed the great seal on 11 September 1475. The new grant removed the annual restriction, explicitly included duties levied on wine, and also allowed Trussell to export wool 'through

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Cocke, the shipmaster of the fragment, had transferred to the *Mary Bowier*, sailing for Bordeaux and returning at the beginning of March 1478, TNA, E122/19/13.

<sup>11</sup> TNA, C76/155, m. 12; *Cal. Patent Rolls 1467-1477*, p. 559.

<sup>12</sup> The household cost c. £11,000-£12,000 per year, excluding the charge (c. £2000 p.a.) of the Great Wardrobe, C. D. Ross, *Edward IV* (London, 1974), p. 372.

<sup>13</sup> Duties varied depending on the good and, to some extent, the identity of the merchant. Most goods were subject to the subsidy: an *ad valorem* duty equivalent to five per cent of the nominal value of the goods for denizens. Wine paid a specific duty of 3s. per tun at a time when wine was, for prisage purposes, considered to be worth 80s. per tun. English broadcloth (cloths of assize in the spreadsheet) paid 14d. per cloth when exported by denizens. The nominal customs value (when calculated) was figured as 40s, although sometimes higher for aliens (non-denizens).

<sup>14</sup> While robust figures for cloth exports do not survive for most of the 1470s, data from the 1460s and 1480s suggests exports at that time of around 40,000-60,000 cloths per year: E. M. Carus-Wilson and Olive Coleman, *England's Export Trade, 1275-1547* (Oxford, 1963), p. 139.

the straits of Marrok' into the Mediterranean. To do this required a special licence, most typically obtained by Italian merchants. The licence was incorporated in Trussell's new grant: but notably it also exempted him from paying duty, at specified rates, on his wool shipments.<sup>15</sup>

Trussell's new grant resulted in a massive increase in his declared trade, not just through Bristol but also through Plymouth, Bridgwater, Exeter, London and Southampton. [Table 1] The result was that, by 1481, Trussell was fully compensated for his losses.<sup>16</sup> While Trussell benefited from the new grant in a variety of ways, to gain the most from it, he did one more thing: move permanently to Spain.<sup>17</sup>

In the mid-1470s Trussell relocated from Gascony to San Sebastian. As a result, his status as an alien changed from French to Castilian.<sup>18</sup> This change of permanent residence and status, which required a voyage of less than thirty miles by sea but crossed a national border, offered a major commercial advantage to Trussell, since it allowed him to enjoy the special privileges granted by Edward IV to Castilian merchants in 1467.<sup>19</sup> As a Castilian citizen and merchant '*de Hispania, indigena*' (of Spain, denizen) neither he, nor his 'factors', if denizen or Castilian, were liable to the additional duty on goods, nor the higher rate of customs on cloth, imposed on other aliens. That Trussell's exemptions and privileges as a Castilian extended to his named 'factors' was particularly important in the context of his grant, because much of Trussell's compensation appears to have been taken by selling part-shares of his licence to other merchants, who were nominally his agents. So, while his change of 'nationality' would not have increased the value of his compensation (still set at £1000), it would not only have allowed him to sell shares in his grant to both English and Castilian merchants (as before), but, crucially, for both to be charged customs and subsidies at denizen rates. Whilst his 1472 grant had allowed the use of both alien and denizen factors, '*factores siue attornati tam indigene quam alienigene*' they were governed by Trussell's status as an alien, not their own. This meant that all trade in Trussell's name was conducted at alien rates.<sup>20</sup> Trussell's initial grant thus was really only of economic value to Trussell himself or to an alien factor, should he sell a share of his licence. By becoming a subject of Castile, Trussell thus broadened the range of people who could benefit from being registered as his 'factors': the fiscal penalty had been removed.

Although there are no details about how Trussell was able to persuade other merchants to trade under his name, it seems probable that he offered a discount on the official customs duty to make it worth their while. So, for example, a merchant liable to pay £5 subsidy on a consignment of 20 tons of olive oil (valued at £100), might have purchased the right to trade as Trussell's 'factor' in return for a payment of £4 to his 'principal'. The merchant would thereby save £1, while Trussell would reap advantage from his grant much more quickly. It would, however, be at a discounted rate – in this example 20 percent.

Trussell's grant was used at several ports and was sometimes applied to import consignments that could not have been anticipated. This suggests he operated through agents.

<sup>15</sup> TNA, C81/1511 no. 3; *Cal. Patent Rolls 1467-1477*, p. 559.

<sup>16</sup> Table 1; Wendy R. Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the later Middle Ages* (Manchester 1978), pp. 56, 60, 62, 69. Childs was unaware of Trussell's Bristol trade in 1475-6, nor does she include Bridgwater in her tabulation for 1471-89 of Castilian trade in goods subject to poundage.

<sup>17</sup> Trussell's emigration to Spain may also have had a political element. Whereas a 1465 letter of protection in favour of Trussell was said to be granted at the request of Louis XI of France, by 1475 the merchant was complaining of imprisonment and harsh treatment by Louis: TNA, C76/148, m.1; C81/854 no 4210.

<sup>18</sup> Trussell settled in San Sebastián c. 1475; at least two of his daughters were born there, although his eldest daughter, Piñana, was French-born; a son appears to have inherited lands in France. Still in San Sebastián, Arnald Trussell was dead by 1489. We thank Dr. Iago Iroxo (Ereiten Kultur Zerbitzual, S.L.) for information derived from Spanish sources.

<sup>19</sup> For the privileges, Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, pp. 53-7.

<sup>20</sup> This was true even for the 'king's factor', Alan de Monte Serato. When in 1472 to 1473 an English (denizen) factor traded through Plymouth in Monte Serato's name he was charged at alien rates: Stuart Jenks, *Enrolled Customs Accounts, Part 10* (List and Index Society, vol. 344, 2012), pp. 2523-4.

While anyone in the port could have served in this capacity, the most likely people might be customs officers of the ports in question. No one, after all, would have been better placed to suggest to a newly arrived merchant that he might enter his cargo under Arnald Trussell's name. Whether the arrangement was made through the customs house, an independent agent, or Trussell himself, the transaction is likely to have involved a discount or commission in some form: Trussell would have needed to provide *some* incentive for merchants to enter their goods under his name. That the trade was through multiple ports, and continuous only through Bridgwater, might imply that arrangements were not consistent from port to port. Trussell was of course still free to trade directly. If he were the actual shipper, he, like his nominal factors, would have received the cocket without monetary payment of customs to the king. In the words of Exchequer audit, he would have said to have retained any customs and subsidies due 'in his own hands'.<sup>21</sup> All this raises further questions. How did the customers know that they were to allow the exemptions? And how did the customer and the Exchequer keep track of the 'stock' of exemptions? And how, indeed, did Trussell receive any money due to him? Since this introduction concerns only the Bristol account of 1476, the audit process has not been investigated for every port in every year of Trussell's grant. Yet, an examination of one audit, that for the Bridgwater account for 1476-7, illustrates how the process *could* work.

The Exchequer's first point of reference for Trussell's grant was his September 1475 patent, a copy of which had been sent to the Exchequer for information. But the Crown had already informed the customers of Bridgwater of Trussell's privileges by a writ under the great seal. This was dated, it was said, 9 September 1475, two days before the sealing date of Trussell's grant. It is probable that this same writ was retained in the customs house of Bridgwater, on to which writ the customer would record instances in which Trussell's grant was employed. The 1476-7 audit gave details of duties claimed in Plymouth and London, as well as in Bridgwater the previous year. This reflected the Exchequer's awareness that it needed both to keep a close eye on the use of the grant, lest Trussell exceed his total allowance, and that Bridgwater's customers needed to know how much of Trussell's allowance had been used in other ports.<sup>22</sup> These totals are likely to have been noted also on the dorse of the Bridgwater customers' writ. A similar writ, of the same date, had been sent to Bristol, and, presumably, other ports.<sup>23</sup>

On 14 December 1477, the Bridgwater customers concluded an agreement with Trussell. This stated that after divers shipments by divers factors, both alien and denizen, between 25 December 1476 and 14 December 1477, Trussell had retained in hand customs and subsidies to a total of £59 12s 7½d. In other words, Trussell declared that he had benefited from exemptions on customs duties to this amount. In witness, the indenture was sealed 'interchangeably', which meant that the customers retained the half with Trussell's seal. Presented with this evidence, the Exchequer allowed the customers equivalent rebate on their account, which they had closed on 31 December, a fortnight after Trussell's indenture was

<sup>21</sup> A Southampton shipment of 1476-77 suggests that Trussell and his 'factors' would still have been liable for the customers' fee for sealing the cocket; any local dues would also have been payable: see notes to Table 1.

<sup>22</sup> No mention is made in the Bridgwater audit of the sums allowed in Bristol in 1475-6. This is because of irregular audit. It would be 1481-2 before the Bristol customers received the Exchequer's authorisation of the exemptions they had allowed Trussell six years earlier. This late accounting brought its own problems for Bristol's customers. In 1481-2 they had allowed Trussell a further £31 17s 5½d in good faith, not knowing of sums claimed in other ports – but the inclusion meant that Trussell had, indeed, exceeded his total allowance. Edward IV ordered the Exchequer to record this amount as money delivered to his Chamber by Trussell. While this was a fiction, it effectively exonerated the customers from penalty: TNA, E404/77/3, no 69.

<sup>23</sup> It is likely that a similar procedure was followed in other ports. If Trussell, or his representative, had to physically show his patent in any port at the end of that port's accounting year, then it is possible that the patent, too, was endorsed. For the Bristol writ, E368/254, States and Views Mich 21 Edw. IV, rot. 5 et seq.

exchanged.<sup>24</sup> If Trussell had, in reality, received only *part* of the monies exempted, with the remainder going to the customers or ‘factors’, that would have been a private matter for Trussell and the customs officers.

The scale of Trussell’s activities, as recorded in the accounts, was remarkable – especially in the two years beginning at Michaelmas 1475, following his receipt of the revised grant on 11 September 1475. In Bristol’s neighbouring port of Bridgwater, Trussell, or his ‘factors’, were responsible in 1476 for the export/import of cloth, wine, and goods to a value of more than £820. The following year that figure almost doubled to more than £1573.<sup>25</sup> In Plymouth in 1475-6, Trussell, or his factors, accounted for 29% of all goods subject to poundage passing through the port that year.<sup>26</sup> In reality these ‘factors’, would have been the true owners of most of the goods. Indeed, given the enormous value of merchandise that would be required to fulfill Trussell’s patent, a significant proportion of goods shipped would always have been the property of others. That he would do this is something the crown would certainly have both accepted and expected. It was not uncommon for the crown to pay back debts to merchants in the form of relief from customs duty and it was not unusual for merchants to take advantage of such grants in the same way that Arnald Trussell did during the 1470s. The same fictive process can be observed in Bristol particulars for 1465-66, which document the similar arrangements made by the Crown to repay loans advanced by William Canynges and other Bristol merchants.<sup>27</sup> As was the case with Arnald Trussell, that grant led to much trade being declared under the names of Canynges and his fellow grant holders. Yet, in reality most of the merchandise would have been the property of the men listed in the customs particulars as ‘factors’ of the grant holders.

Despite severe physical damage to the document, the use of named ‘factors’ shipping on behalf of Trussell is evident in the Bridgwater particulars for 1477.<sup>28</sup> Thomas Asshe’s 1476 Bristol roll offers another example, although factors are not named, and the entire cargo is ascribed to Trussell. Nicholas de Brignali and other merchants of Genoa had laded the *Julian* of Deva with oil, wine and other goods, to be imported to Southampton or London. However, her master, Geoffrey de Sasiola, broke the terms of his agreement and took the ship into Bristol. As Eleanor Carus-Wilson first noted, this is almost certainly the entry recorded by Asshe in this account for 22 March 1476. This records the entry of the *Julian* of Deva into Bristol carrying *at least* 102 tuns of olive oil and 124 tuns of wine. All of this was listed under Trussell’s name.<sup>29</sup> Yet, Brignali’s complaint suggests the entire cargo belonged to Genoese merchants, *none* of whom could be Trussell.

Asshe’s controlment shows Arnald Trussell shipping, in a four-week period, at least 82.75 cloths of assize or equivalent, 190 tuns of wine, and goods subject to poundage of at least £712 in value according to customs rates. The nominal value of the goods, as determined by the customs officers, was thus at least £1637.<sup>30</sup> This marries well with the figures provided in

<sup>24</sup> TNA, E368/250, States and Views Hil. 17 Edw. IV, rot 2r, d, et seq; images at AALT, IMG 471-2. 1043-4.

<sup>25</sup> Calculations from data transcribed in Table 1.

<sup>26</sup> Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p. 60.

<sup>27</sup> Margaret M. Condon, Evan T. Jones, and Glenys Philips, eds., ‘Bristol 1465-6: Particulars of Account of Thomas Gibbes and Robert Strangways, customers, 28 November 1465 to 14 May 1466: Introduction’ (University of Bristol, Research Data Repository, 2019); <https://doi.org/10.5523/bris.1iermz7birqy22vbhsybu8ccam>.

<sup>28</sup> TNA, E122/26/7.

<sup>29</sup> TNA, E122/19/12, m. 1d; petition C1/64/459, printed Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade of Bristol*, pp. 149-50. For the quantity of oil, see below, n. 28. The high value of the cargo does, however, provide a useful comparator for Trussell’s own claim for compensation from Edward IV.

<sup>30</sup> A scribal error could mean a further 50 tuns of olive oil were Trussell’s: the quantity and subsidy recorded do not match. TNA, E122/19/12 m. Rotulet 1d records Cij [102] tuns of oil valued at vjcvij li [£608]. Olive oil was valued for customs purposes at £4 per tun. So, the valuation was £250 higher than it should have been for this quantity. While the valuation *could* be wrong it is more likely that the scribe had simply omitted ‘l’, from the



a 1481 audit, which indicate that during the period November 1475 to April 1476, Arnald Trussell's exemptions from duty in Bristol amounted to £100 2s. 10d. That would imply a total trade in the region of £2000. [Table 1] More modest shipments through Bristol followed in the second part of the accounting year. For these we have only the sum total of duties exempted under Trussell's licence, but not the specifics of goods or factors.<sup>31</sup>

Thomas Asshe did not detail the factors shipping in Trussell's name in March to April 1476, but ascribed all the merchandise to Trussell alone. Perhaps, at the time, it did not matter. The account of the two customers, Thomas Croft, and the recently appointed Thomas Norton, for 17 November 1475 to Easter following, was made by declaration before the auditor Richard Sheldon, rather than as of record according to the ancient course of the Exchequer.<sup>32</sup>

## Trade and shipping

Most customs accounts have distinctive features peculiar to that year. The dominance of Arnald Trussell among merchants shipping has already been noted. The inclusion among the merchants shipping inwards of an Italian, John Baptist Gentili, and another alien, John Dalmathe, whose name suggests a Croat, also seems worthy of remark.<sup>33</sup> 'Alien' shippers to Bristol were more usually Portuguese, French, or Breton (Castilians in this period were rated as denizens). The ship carrying Gentili's goods requires further explanation. Asshe recorded that the *Mare* of 'Allocat' entered from 'Hispania', which in Bristol accounts of the later fifteenth century indicates the ports of northern, especially Basque, Spain. Its cargo, however, included fruit, which was typically an import from southern Iberia, as well as alum, which would have been of Mediterranean origin. The merchandise further included two unusual items not generally found in Bristol accounts, capers and 'tonell', (most likely tuna).<sup>34</sup> 'Allocat' the

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quantity, intending to write 'Clij' rather than 'Cij'. It is possible, from the general pattern of shipping in this account, that a further 140.5 tuns of wine belonged to Trussell. Damage to the document means that no shipper is now recorded. The wine was laded on the *Mary Grace*, the last ship to be recorded on the second fragment. It would be an unusually large shipment for a Bristol merchant. Entries for woad and iron follow, but the details of both are lost.

<sup>31</sup> Table 1.

<sup>32</sup> TNA, E368/252, States and Views Mich 19 Edw. IV, rot. 6 et seq. This period of account was determined by the office-holding of the customers rather than the controllers. As in 1471, two controllers must have presented successive accounts. That of Nicholas Waryngs, from November 1475 to early March 1476, is lost.

<sup>33</sup> John Dalmathe shipped from the Algarve on the *Mary Cliff*. It is possible he was a citizen of Dubrovnik which had a flourishing maritime trade.

<sup>34</sup> Capers were a rare luxury in England at this time. In 1482 the duke of Norfolk bought 22 lb of capers [capres], together with a pot and salt to cure them, costing in all 3s, J. Payne Collier, ed., *Household Books of John, duke Of Norfolk, and Thomas, earl of Surrey, 1481-1490* (Roxburghe Club, London, 1844) p. 311. An occasional import into London, capers were imported by the frail (small basket) on a Venetian galley in 1472, and by the barrel in 1477. The 'tonnell' of the account may be a very early reference to 'tunny' (i.e. tuna fish). It has also been suggested that the commodity is small barrels. The earliest known reference to imported tunny is an import to Southampton in 1433, when a few jars of 'tonyn' were imported on two Italian carracks, TNA, E122/141/21. In 1495 five barrels of 'tony' were imported into London on the carrack of Nicolao of Napoli, and valued at 40s – i.e. 8s. per barrel. In a rare misreading, Stuart Jenks renders this entry as 'cony', but cf. turnsole on the same membrane, E122/79/5, m. 15. In the London accounts of 1506 'tony' was valued at 20s a barrel: E122/79/12, m. 14r. It seems possible that the customers/controller of Bristol in 1475 were unfamiliar with tunny and simply transcribed what they thought they heard. Lacking any established valuation in their book of rates, they may simply have applied the rate for Irish pickled herring, also valued 5s. per barrel. For capers and tunny, see: Stuart Jenks, *The London Customs Accounts 1472/3-1476/7; 1505-6* (Hansischer Geschichtsverein, 74 iii no 3 (2016), pp. 111, 113-4, 116; idem, 74 iii no. 4, p. 40, idem, iv no. iii, p. 181 (as 'cony'); idem, iv no. 6, p. 101, all at: <https://www.hansischergeschichtsverein.de/>. The author's name should be used as the search term. Typically for London customs, mixed consignments for a single merchant were valued as a whole, making it difficult to determine the value of an individual commodity. We are grateful to Professor Wendy Childs for the 1433 and 1495 references. It is not known whether Thomas Say, the importer of the capers and 'tonell' was in any way

home port of the *Mare*, and of her master, Pero Ochoa ['Pochea'] is probably the Basque port of Lequeitio.<sup>35</sup> While 'Ochoa' was a common name in Spain, if the master were the ship-owning son of Martin Ochoa of Deva, then he was one of a number of known Basque shipmaster-owners whose ventures into the Mediterranean from mid-century had increasingly integrated Basque shipping into the available marine as important carriers of Mediterranean freight.<sup>36</sup> John Flenrygan's import on the *Mare Clyf* of fruit in a 'sort' and two 'tapnets' are unusual. These were small units more commonly found in the London customs accounts, or as measures used in the retail trade.<sup>37</sup> The small quantity suggests that Flenrygan was a crew member rather than a regular merchant. The *Mare Clyf* was a fairly early voyager from Bristol to the Algarve: Bristol sailings beyond Lisbon to southern Portugal and Andalucía only became common during the 1480s-90s.<sup>38</sup>

Even the Irish trade of 1476 has some differences. Preserved fish and coarse cloth are conventional enough as imports from Ireland; but exports to Ireland included a significant quantity of alum. This was a mordant for fixing cloth dye. It was, however, an expensive product used mostly for higher quality textiles of a type not normally associated with the Irish cloth industry of this period. The export of six suits of light armour to Ireland was also unusual, but may be a carry-over from military activity against France in 1475. Bristol's commercial ties with Ireland were predominantly with the port towns of Ireland's southern coast, such as Cork, Waterford, and Wexford. The 1476 account, however, includes, a small boat, the *Trinity* of Malahide, exiting Bristol on 22 March carrying cloth and some other goods typical of the Irish trade. Malahide, halfway up the east coast, and just north of Dublin, was last mentioned in a Bristol account in 1437-8.<sup>39</sup>

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related to the better-known John Day/Hugh Say of Cabot fame. We have assumed them to be unrelated unless otherwise proven.

<sup>35</sup> Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p. 259 notes numerous spellings of this port, including Elkyto, Ketu, Keyte, Lakete, Laketto, La Ketiva. Forms closer to the Bristol entry are found in the Chester customs accounts, and in Chester sheriff's books later in the century, when ships of Lequeitio frequently brought wine into that port. Examples include 'La Katyva de partibus Hispanie' in 1484, 'de Alikita' in 1493, 'La Kuytif' and 'la Kitif' in Hispania' in 1494, and other variants. For Chester customs variants, including 'Alacuto', see K. P. Wilson, ed. *Chester Customs Accounts 1301-1566* (Lancs. And Ches. Record Society, vol. 111, 1969). We thank Professor Childs for this information additional to her published work.

<sup>36</sup> Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, pp. 228-9; Jacques Heers, 'Le commerce des Basques en Méditerranée au XVe siècle (d'après les archives de Gênes)', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 57 (1955), pp. 292-324, esp. pp. 297-308.

<sup>37</sup> The tapnet (MS: 'topyn') was a rush basket, otherwise known as a frail, containing about 30 lbs (*OED*); a sort was thought by Eleanor Carus-Wilson to be the equivalent of half a hogshead, although this entry would seem to suggest a smaller equivalent given the usual valuation of fruit at 40s per tun: E. M. Carus-Wilson, *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the later Middle Ages* (2nd edn. London, 1967), p. 338. The quantity relationships given by Professor Stuart Jenks, as 10 sorts to the 'dolum' (tun/ton), and 30 'pieces' to the tun/ton (i.e. 3 to the sort), seem nearer the mark: Stuart Jenks, ed., *The London Customs Accounts 24 Henry VI (1445/46)* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte, N.S. 74, Hansischer Geschichtsverein, Cologne, 2018), p. 387.

<sup>38</sup> The *Mare Clyf* exited to Andalucía in August 1475. A break in the series of surviving accounts means that it is not known whether the return from the Algarve represents a second voyage to southern Iberia, or the return voyage from Andalucía. It is not certain that the *Mary Cliff* was a Bristol ship. A different 280-ton vessel of the same name had been seized in 1460 from the port of Dartmouth and then retained by the earl of Warwick: *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1452-1461*, p. 652; Michael Hicks, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 250-1.

<sup>39</sup> TNA, E136/238/2: imperfectly edited in Henry Bush, *Bristol Town Duties A Collection of Original and Interesting Documents [Etc.]* (Bristol, 1828): online at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/bristol-duties>, Chapter 1. For Bristol's ties with the southern ports, especially Waterford and Cork, Brendan Smith, 'Late Medieval England and the English Connection: Waterford and Bristol, ca. 1360-1460', *Journal of British Studies*, vol.50 (2011) pp. 546-565; Wendy R. Childs, 'Irish merchants and seamen in late medieval England', *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 32 (2000), pp. 22-43.



## The accountants

The 1476 account names only the controller. But Thomas Asshe's appointment would have brought together for the first time three extraordinary men: Asshe as controller, with Thomas Croft and Thomas Norton as joint customers of Bristol. Croft and Norton are relatively well known, with entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.<sup>40</sup> All of the men had direct connection to the king. These appointments to the senior customs offices in Bristol in the mid-1470s emphasises the extent of royal control, or royal interest, in the port. The appointments are also a contrast to those of the 1460s, where magnate influences, particularly on the part of the earl of Warwick and William lord Herbert (Edward IV's 'masterlock' in Wales), were much more evident in the appointment of officers.<sup>41</sup> Thomas Asshe, the accountant to whom this 1476 controlment belonged, is less well known.<sup>42</sup> In the 1460s he served in the king's household alongside Thomas Croft, the long-serving customer of Bristol first appointed in 1472, and another Croft brother, Richard.<sup>43</sup> By the 1470s these two Croft brothers appear to have commuted their household livery for gifts of wine.<sup>44</sup> Their elder brother, another Richard, assumed increasing responsibility within the council and administration of the prince of Wales. All the brothers owed their primary loyalty and promotion to the king and his immediate family.<sup>45</sup>

During the 1470s Bristol customs seems to have operated to some extent outside the close scrutiny of the Exchequer. This was expressed by the way that the officers were allowed greater flexibility and leeway in how their records were audited. It is clear from letters sent into the Exchequer intervening on behalf of Croft and his fellow customers that the suspension of the ordinary process of account had the king's full support. Nevertheless, the appointment of another man attached to the royal household, Thomas Asshe, may have seemed prudent. As controller, Asshe was the direct representative of the Crown. His accounts were a check on the accounts of the customers and he would be well placed to keep an eye on both the activities of the customer and of the broader port, its commercial life and its trade. Asshe appears to have been a competent administrator, remaining as controller in Bristol until 1481. Thomas Croft, one of the two customers of 1476, continued in the king's favour, remaining a customer in Bristol until the end of the reign. In 1475 he had even been appointed to what was surely an incompatible office, that of deputy butler in Exeter and Dartmouth, held alongside his customership in Bristol.<sup>46</sup> Given that customs officers were meant to be resident, this would have forced him to operate by proxy in one or other office, but more probably in the Devon ports.

<sup>40</sup> C. S. L. Davies, 'Croft, Thomas (c. 1435-1488)', *ODNB* (2008); Anthony Gross, 'Norton, Thomas (d. 1513)', *ODNB* (2008).

<sup>41</sup> For a similar, but less pronounced, shift in appointments to offices in the port of London, see the analysis in H. S. Cobb, ed., *the Overseas Trade of London: Exchequer Customs Accounts 1480-1* (London Record Society, xxvii, 1990), pp. xvii-xxi.

<sup>42</sup> Asshe is discussed at greater length in Condon and Jones (eds.), 'Bristol c. 1477: particulars of account of Thomas Asshe, controller, large fragment', pp. 5-7, <https://doi.org/10.5523/bris.27wzf95m0q6fw2ths0w2ae37or>

<sup>43</sup> TNA, E101/412/2, dona; E101/411/15, dona.

<sup>44</sup> E101/412/10, dona; E101/412/11, dona. In addition to their connection with the court, the king's younger brother, Richard duke of Gloucester, appointed both to estate offices in Wales: D. E. Lowe, 'The Council of the Prince of Wales and the decline of the Herbert family during the second reign of Edward IV (1471-1483)', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol. 27 (1977), p. 291.

<sup>45</sup> C. S. L. Davies, 'The Crofts: Creation and defence of a family enterprise under the Yorkists and Henry VII', *Historical Research*, vol. 68 (1995), p. 246; Lowe, 'Council of the Prince of Wales', pp. 281-2, 289-92.

<sup>46</sup> *Cal. Patent Rolls 1477-1485*, p. 548. Since the appointment was within the gift of the Chief Butler, Anthony Woodville lord Rivers, Thomas Croft may have owed the appointment to the influence of his elder brother with the Woodville circle.

The third member of the trio, Thomas Norton, should have been an ideal appointment as a customer in the port, with ties to both the city and the king.<sup>47</sup> He had been appointed on 10 November 1475.<sup>48</sup> He was also sheriff of Gloucestershire 1475-6, and of Somerset and Dorset the following year.<sup>49</sup> Thomas Norton sprang from a long-established Bristol family. He was a son-in-law of the prominent Bristol merchant, John Shipward, senior; brother-in-law of John Shipward the younger; and brother-in-law by marriage of another, Edmund Westcote, who had also married one of Shipward's daughters.<sup>50</sup> Westcote's daughter was Isabel Norton. She may therefore have been the wife of Thomas's younger brother, another Thomas. Westcote himself was the brother of Guy Westcote, Asshe's predecessor as controller of Bristol. Norton's house, behind St. Peter's church and on the banks of the Avon, was ideally placed for a customer of Bristol, lying just a few minutes' walk from the customs house itself, down on the 'Back'.<sup>51</sup> Unfortunately, it appears that Norton was a difficult character, best exemplified from an unfounded accusation of treason he levied against the mayor of Bristol in 1479. That slander lost the trust of the Common Council of Bristol and the king's faith in him. The result was the loss of his post of customer in 1479.<sup>52</sup> Thomas Norton's posthumous fame, however, rests, not on his actions as customer of Bristol, but on his authorship of one of the most read treatises on alchemy produced in the later middle ages. He began the work, written in the vernacular in rhymed verse, in 1477, while he was still a customer. A surviving presentation copy includes an 'author portrait' – albeit this is very unlikely to have been an actual likeness of the man [Fig. 2]. Thomas Norton remained in Bristol after 1479 and was buried in St Peter's church.<sup>53</sup> His house was extended and enlarged in the early seventeenth century. [Figs. 3-4] Surviving until 1940 as a notable Bristol landmark, it is now lost.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Norton's credentials as a member of the household have been questioned, although his loyalty to the king is undisputed: Anthony Gross, 'Norton, Thomas (d. 1513)', *ODNB* (2008).

<sup>48</sup> *Cal. Fine Rolls, 1471-1485*, pp. 103-5.

<sup>49</sup> *Cal. Fine Rolls, 1471-1485*, pp. 102, 127.

<sup>50</sup> T. P. Wadley, *Notes on the Wills in the Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills in the Council House at Bristol*, (Bristol, 1886), p. 161.

<sup>51</sup> For the Customs House see Peter Fleming and Kieran Costello, *Discovering Cabot's Bristol* (Tiverton, 1998), p. 64; Roger H. Leech, *The Topography of Medieval and Early Modern Bristol, Part 1* (Bristol Record Society, vol. 48, 1997), pp. xx, 129.

<sup>52</sup> Condon and Jones, 'Bristol c.1477: Particulars of Account of Thomas Asshe, controller, large fragment', pp. 6-7: <https://doi.org/10.5523/bris.27wfv95m0q6fw2ths0w2ae37or>, summarising E. W. W. Veale, ed., *The Great Red Book of Bristol, Part IV*, (Bristol Record Society, xviii, 1953), pp. 57-93.

<sup>53</sup> Anthony Gross, 'Norton, Thomas (d. 1513)', *ODNB* (2008); C. E. Boucher, 'St. Peter's Church, Bristol', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 32 (1909), pp. 275, 279-81. It is tempting to think that the now lost Norton cadaver tomb was that of Thomas: it could equally have been his father or grandfather. For Thomas trading in woad in Bristol, TNA, C1/63/143. For the full text of Norton's book John A. Reidy, *Thomas Norton's Ordinal of Alchemy* (Early English Text Society, no. 272, 1975).

<sup>54</sup> J. J. Simpson, 'St. Peter's Hospital, Bristol', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 48 (1926), pp. 193-204, 210-15; Leech, *Topography*, pp. 114-5. The buildings were destroyed in the Bristol blitz of 24 November 1940.

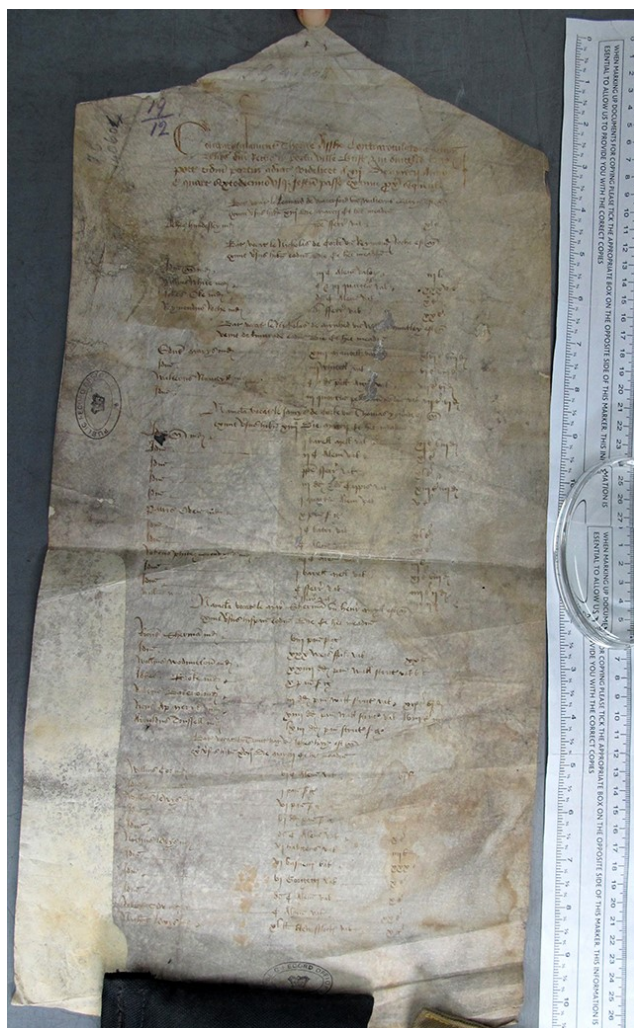
## Editorial practice

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.<sup>55</sup> 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. In line with the format adopted for other defective accounts, zeros have been entered where data is absent to preserve the viability of the spreadsheet for data analysis.

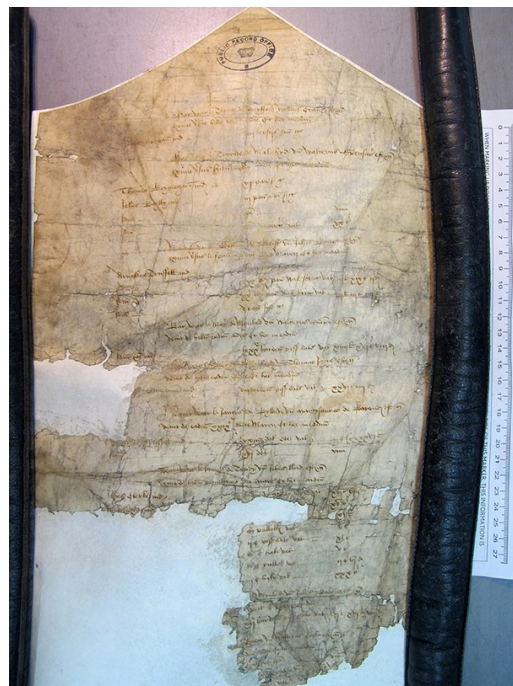
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<sup>55</sup> Databases at <http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Ireland/datasets.htm> (accessed 6 Nov 2019); these were reformatted and published with indexes and abbreviated glossaries as Susan Flavin and Evan Jones, *Bristol's Trade with Ireland and the Continent 1503-1601* (Bristol Record Society, vol. 61, 2009). Editorial conventions are repeated at pp. xxii-xxv.

Fig. 1: The two rotulets of the account (recto)



TNA, E122/19/12



TNA, E122/174/3 (part)



*Fig. 2: Thomas Norton as a student of alchemy<sup>56</sup>*



*Fig. 3: Thomas Norton's House.*

The rebuilt three central bays at least, with their heavy Jacobean strapwork, and possibly some of the older buildings beyond, occupy much of the footprint of Norton's house. (Photo in possession of authors.)



*Fig. 4: Location map, Thomas Norton's House*  
Base map, © Roger Leech



<sup>56</sup> British Library MS Add. MS 10302, fo. 8v (detail). © British Library.

*Table 1: Exemptions of duties arising from customs and subsidies claimed by Arnald Trussell 1475-81*<sup>57</sup>

Date (29 Sept – 29 Sept)	Bristol	Bridgwater	Exeter & Dartmouth	Plymouth & Fowey	S'hampton	London (tonnage & poundage)
<b>1475-76</b>	£100 2s 10d <sup>58</sup> £11 2½ d <sup>59</sup>	£33 6s 9d <sup>60</sup>		£62 19s 9d <sup>61</sup>		£10 2d <sup>62</sup>
<b>1476-77</b>		£59 12s 7½d <sup>63</sup> (& see 1475-76)	£18 14s 8d <sup>64</sup>		£300 0¾d <sup>65</sup>	£54 (recte 54s) <sup>66</sup>
<b>1477-78</b>		£37 12s 6d <sup>67</sup>		£28 5s <sup>68</sup> £31 15s <sup>69</sup>		£54 6d <sup>70</sup>
<b>1478-79</b>			£21 12s 6¾d <sup>71</sup>			
<b>1479-80</b>		£28 9s 1d <sup>72</sup>	£50 8s 5d <sup>73</sup>			
<b>1480-81</b>	£22 14s <sup>74</sup>	£35 11s 7d <sup>75</sup>				

<sup>57</sup> Table compiled from TNA, E368/254, States and Views Mich 21 Edw. IV, rot. 5 et seq., supplemented by E356/22, rots 5-6, 10 (Bridgwater and Bristol). The first tranche of Trussell's compensation 1471-73 had been paid by exemptions from duties arising from his trade through Plymouth, Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, pp. 56, 60-62. As of Bayonne, in 1471-2 he exported 80 cloths of assize and 20 pipe of pike; in 1472-3 his imports/exports were 13 cloths of assize, goods worth £249, 146 tuns wine and £16 of pewter: Stuart Jenks, *The Enrolled Customs Accounts, Part 10* (List and Index Society, vol. 344, (2011)), pp. 2523-4.

<sup>58</sup> E368/254 has the account ending 13 April 1477: but in 1477 Easter was at the earlier date of 6 April. In 1476 it was 14 April – and there is good evidence in the present account, including the first, dated part, of Trussell's activity in the port.

<sup>59</sup> Account [for half-year] ending 29 September 1476.

<sup>60</sup> Account for 25 December 1475-25 December 1476. Customs and subsidies accrued from 140.75 cloths of assize, 45.5 tuns of wine, and £357 6s 8d of goods at customs valuation, including £34 16s 8d worth which were the property of aliens. All these were exempt from duty under the terms of Trussell's grant.

<sup>61</sup> 228 cloths of assize, £164 good by value, £153 tin and pewter by value, and 213 tuns of wine shipped through Plymouth and Fowey, E356/22 rot. 51d.

<sup>62</sup> Goods worth £200 3s. E356/22, rot. 43r.

<sup>63</sup> Account 25 December 1476 to 31 December 1477: see also TNA, E122/26/7. Customs and subsidies on 272.75 cloths of assize, 153.75 tuns of wine, and £413 3s 4d worth of goods, all exempt as above.

<sup>64</sup> Account 6 June 1476 to Michaelmas 1477. Customs and subsidies on 88 cloths of assize, 7 tuns of wine, and £251 in goods: TNA, E356/22 rot. 16.

<sup>65</sup> Account 29 September 1474 to 3 November 1476. Wendy Childs notes that the 112.5 sacks of wool exported under Trussell's licence were probably intended for Italy: Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p. 73. The wool was not sent to Calais, but exported on galleys and carracks, a signifier of Italian trade; it is not clear whether the entry in the declaration made by the customers in May 1481, assigning Trussell's wool to Lorenzo de Medici, is an error or a statement of fact, although the amount exempted agrees with the Bristol figures; the enrolled account, E356/22 rot. 63r-d, gives a total of £435 5¼ d due for wool customs, subsidy, Calais dues and cocket fees on this amount: TNA, E368/251, States and Views Trin 18 Edw IV rot. 6 et seq.; Jenks, *Enrolled Customs Accounts, pt. 10*, p. 2561.

<sup>66</sup> This appears to be an error. The London customers charged themselves only with 54s on £54 worth of goods: TNA, E356/22 rot 43d.

<sup>67</sup> Account Easter (22 March) to 29 September 1478. Customs and subsidies on 308 cloths of assize, and £393 3s 4d worth of goods, all exempt from duty.

<sup>68</sup> Account 11 December 1476 to 30 November 1477. Custom and subsidy on 47 Cloths of Assize, 86 tuns wine and £252 3s 4d worth of goods.

<sup>69</sup> Account Michaelmas 1476 to 10 December 1476. Tunnage and subsidy on 211 tuns wine and 40s-worth of goods. E356/22 rot. 52r.

<sup>70</sup> On goods worth £899 and 60 tuns of wine.

<sup>71</sup> Includes 12 tuns wine, £347 1s 8d goods and 42.33 cloths of assize: Jenks, *Enrolled Customs Accounts, pt. 10*, pp. 2431-2.

<sup>72</sup> Customs and subsidies on 89 cloths of assize, 10 tuns red and white wine, and £435 5s worth of goods, all exempt from duty.



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<sup>73</sup> 197 cloths of assize, £790 11s 8d goods, and 0.5 tuns wine, Jenks, *The Enrolled Customs Accounts, Part 10*, pp. 2433-4.

<sup>74</sup> Account East (22 April) to 29 September 1481. Exempt customs part of total of £22 16s 2d due for export of 391 cloths: so also TNA, E356/22, rot. 10r. In addition, Trussell imported/exported £106 10d worth of goods. These were not exempt because he had already reached the limit of £909 (in total) allowed by his grant.

<sup>75</sup> Out of £45 11s 7½d due for total shipments in the period of 222.83 cloths of assize, 71.5 tuns of wine, and goods worth £434 18s 4d.