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VOLUME 58

ROBERT STURMY'S COMMERCIAL EXPEDITION TO THE MEDITERRANEAN (1457/8)
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Acknowledgements

This little book is a revised and vastly expanded version of an article I originally published in the Festschrift of my old mentor at the Free University of Berlin, Prof. Dietrich Kurze, in 1993.1 Before that, it had been given as a paper at the Institute for Comparative Urban History (Institut für vergleichende Städtgeschichte) of the University of Münster at the kind invitation of Prof. Peter Johanek.

As with any book, debts of gratitude need to be discharged. In the first place, I have greatly profited from the advice of Prof. Jürgen Sarnowsky (Hamburg) on matters relating to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Furthermore, I would like to thank Evan Jones (Bristol) for encouraging me to translate the article and for midwifing its publication by the Bristol Record Society. That, however, is only half of the huge debt I owe him: it was Evan's idea to expand the scope of the work to include the voyages of discovery and the English trading companies, and I would have been lost at sea had he not piloted me through the vast oceans of scholarly literature on the 16th century. Finally, I would like to thank my wife for providing references to cases involving Robert Sturmy in the King's Bench and Common Bench and - more crucially - for her careful and critical reading of one draft after another.

Any remaining errors are, of course, my private property.

Chiswick, 2 August 2005

### Abbreviations

<table>
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<tr>
<td>CPM</td>
<td>Arthur H. THOMAS and Philip E. JONES (eds.), <em>Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall, A.D.1323-1482</em>, 6 vols., Cambridge 1926-61</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCR</td>
<td><em>Calendar of the Close Rolls</em> (1272-1485), London 1892-1954</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPR</td>
<td><em>Calendar of Patent Rolls</em> (1232-1509), London 1891-1916</td>
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<td>DKR</td>
<td><em>Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records</em></td>
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<td>Foedera (H)</td>
<td>Thomas RYMER (ed.), <em>Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes vel communitates (1101-1654)</em>, 10 vols., The Hague 1739-45</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBC</td>
<td>E.B. FRYDE et al. (eds.), <em>Handbook of British Chronology</em> (Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 2), London 1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanserecesse</td>
<td>Karl KOPPMAN et al. (eds.), <em>Hanserecesse und andere Akten der Hansetage (1256-1535)</em>, Leipzig 1870-1940 (cited by series and volume, e.g. II, 5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>HUB</td>
<td>Konstantin HÖHLBAUM et al. (eds.), <em>Hansisches Urkundenbuch</em>, Halle a.S. and Leipzig 1876-1938 (cited by volume, e.g. HUB 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RP</td>
<td><em>Rotuli Parliamentorum, ut et petitiones et placita in parliamento</em> (1278-1503), 6 vols., [London 1777/83]</td>
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When one thinks of the English maritime expeditions of the fifteenth century, there is a tendency to recall first, perhaps indeed solely, John Cabot’s 1497 expedition to North America. Long portrayed as the first step in the creation of Britain’s maritime empire, Cabot’s 1497 expedition is justly famous — in Britain, in Canada and particularly in Bristol. Such indeed is Cabot’s fame in his adopted city that it is difficult to go far in Bristol without being reminded of him. One statue of John Cabot stands at the entrance to the Council House and another stares pensively over the entrance to the medieval harbour. A reconstruction of his ship, the Matthew, is berthed a few hundred metres down from the old harbour and she, in turn, is overlooked by Cabot Tower on Brandon Hill. Moreover, Cabot’s name is used by dozens of institutions and businesses across Bristol, from Cabot School, to Cabot Studios, to Cabot Properties.

Robert Sturmy, by contrast, is an individual of little fame, even in his hometown. Operating forty years before Cabot, his commercial expedition to the Eastern Mediterranean is little known and less remembered — no streets are named after Sturmy and no memorials can be found to him. Yet, as is shown in this volume, Sturmy’s expedition deserves to be recognised and celebrated, for while it did not take him to Terra Incognita, it was, in many ways, at least as ambitious as that of Cabot. What made it so was the scale of Sturmy’s ambitions, the obstacles he had to overcome to achieve them and the size of the investment needed for his venture.

As Stuart Jenks shows, Sturmy’s aims were not dissimilar to those of his more famous successor. Both sought access to the valuable products of Asia by cutting out the middle men and going direct to the source. Cabot wanted to do this by sailing westwards across the Atlantic to reach China and Japan, from which he hoped to bring back the riches of the Orient. For Sturmy, the plan was to initiate an English trade route with the Eastern Mediterranean, which would allow him to both tap the Asian trade and, above all, provide direct access to alum supplies, a valuable mineral that was essential to the English cloth industry. The difference between the two men was that while Cabot was defeated by geography, Sturmy failed because of politics. And it is the nature of their failure that accounts for their differing fame. While Sturmy’s failure brought only death and a temporary crisis in relations between England and the city state of Genoa, Cabot’s failure to reach the East was to be eclipsed by the importance of what he found blocking his path — the continent of North America.

Cabot’s accidental discovery of North America means that he is today remembered as an intrepid and successful explorer, rather than as a commercial pioneer who hoped to create a monopolised trade route with Asia. Cabot is thus lauded as a great discoverer, while Sturmy is ignored as a failed businessman. Yet, this does not do justice to the scale of Sturmy’s ambitions, the size of his venture, or the importance of that venture to the history of England’s commercial development. For, as this volume reveals, the 1457/8 expedition should best be remembered, not as a precursor to Cabot’s voyage, but as the first serious English attempt to expand the reach of its seaborne trade beyond the narrow bounds of north-west Europe. In a time when most English merchants rarely strayed beyond Calais, the Netherlands and Bordeaux, Sturmy’s voyage represented a quantum leap in ambition. For his plan
was to break the Italians’ monopoly over Mediterranean trade by going straight to their most lucrative market, that of Asia Minor and the Aegean. To achieve his ambition, as Stuart shows, Sturmy sought and received support not just from Bristol’s merchant elite, but from some of the greatest and most powerful nobles of his time. Such men certainly included Lord Stourton, a former Lord Chamberlain, and possibly the Duke of York – the father of the future King of England.

The amount of money invested in Sturmy’s expedition is staggering. As Stuart notes, Sturmy received a licence to export £37,000 worth of English goods to the Eastern Mediterranean, which once exchanged for the products of the region would be sold for far more back in England. And while the actual investment in the 1457/8 expedition was much lower, the £6000 compensation for losses awarded in England indicates that this was a huge venture. To put these figures in context, it may be noted that while simple inflation means that this figure could be multiplied by a factor of five hundred to convert it into 2006 prices (£3 million) such a calculation would fail entirely to express the importance of this voyage relative to the economy of fifteenth-century England. There are two reasons for this. First, per capita incomes are more than ten times higher today than in the fifteenth century – we are all much richer today than in the Middle Ages. Second, the population of England and Wales is about twenty-five times higher today (c. 50 million) than it was in the mid-fifteenth century (c. 2 million people). In consequence the total output, or GDP, of the economy at the time of Sturmy’s voyage was no more than £2,000,000 per year. The investment in Sturmy’s single voyage therefore amounted to about 0.3% of GDP. The damage inflicted on the English economy and, particularly, on the Bristol economy, would thus have been the equivalent to around a £4 billion loss in today’s money. Given this, it is hardly surprising that the capture of the expedition by Genoese-backed pirates should have led to the imprisonment of the entire Genoese community in England and the seizure of their assets.

The fact that Sturmy’s voyage was ‘merely’ a commercial one should thus not overshadow the fact that it was probably the most ambitious and expensive commercial venture of its type initiated by any group of English merchants in the Middle Ages. If the expedition had been successful, it would not only have made Sturmy and his associates very rich, it would also have allowed England to break into one of Europe’s most lucrative commercial networks by latching onto the end of one of the major land routes of contemporary world trade. And even though the endeavour was frustrated, it deserves to be remembered as the first major attempt by English merchants to expand their commercial horizons beyond the shores of Atlantic Europe. As Stuart argues in this volume, Sturmy’s ambitions and mode of operation certainly place him squarely within a pattern of commercial exploration and expansion that was characteristic of the sixteenth century and was directly linked to the founding of the great English trading companies. And it was this expansion that was to transform England into the world’s greatest commercial and maritime power. Indeed, since Sturmy’s voyage is so obviously a precursor to England’s maritime enterprises of the Tudor era and since Sturmy himself had no obvious precursors in England, he should be regarded as one of England’s first commercial pioneers. Any analysis of why England – a relatively small and poor country – became Europe’s premier economy has to begin with Sturmy.
Sturmy is thus a man fit to be remembered. And with Stuart’s new discoveries, found in the archives of the city of Cologne and published in this volume, we now know much more about him and his voyage than ever before. It is thus to be hoped that with Stuart's discoveries and his re-evaluation of Sturmy’s voyage and its place in English history, Sturmy will at last receive just recognition. For he deserves to be remembered as one of this city’s greatest sons, a man who embodied the commercial daring of the most entrepreneurial class of fifteenth century England – the merchant venturers of Bristol.

Dr Evan Jones, University of Bristol
Erratum

This volume contains an earlier version of Evan Jones’ preface, which was printed in place of the final version. While the two versions are almost identical, the earlier version contained a miscalculation about the size of GDP. This relates to the following section of the fifth paragraph:

‘In consequence the total output, or GDP, of the economy at the time of Sturmy’s voyage was no more than £2,000,000 per year. The investment in Sturmy’s single voyage therefore amounted to about 0.3% of GDP. The damage inflicted on the English economy and, particularly on the Bristol economy, would thus have been the equivalent to around a £4 billion loss in today’s money.’

This should read:

‘The damage inflicted on the English economy, and particularly on the Bristol economy, would thus be the equivalent to a loss of about £750 million in today’s money.’

The final version of the preface can be found in the ‘Bristol Repository of Scholarly Eprints (ROSE)’: http://hdl.handle.net/1983/598
ROBERT STURMY'S COMMERCIAL EXPEDITION TO THE MEDITERRANEAN (1457/8)

INTRODUCTION

At the very cusp of the Middle Ages – just over 500 years ago – the discovery of America changed the world forever. The first discoverer to have followed Christopher Columbus to the New World was the Genoese immigrant John Cabot who sailed from Bristol in 1497 and discovered North America. In a justly famous article,1 Eleanora Carus-Wilson advanced the thesis that it was not by chance that Cabot set out from Bristol on his epochal voyage. In her view of it, the intellectual climate of Bristol's merchant community was characterized by a new, adventurous and expansive spirit, one which welcomed challenges and did not shy from risk. The first representative of this spirit to have left his traces in the surviving records was Robert Sturmy, who lived a half-century before Cabot. For Carus-Wilson, Sturmy's commercial expedition to the Mediterranean in 1457/58 was, in its own way, just as epochal as Cabot's voyage was to prove to be, particularly since it was not the only 15th century Bristol harbinger of the following century's voyages of discovery. In view of the magnitude of Carus-Wilson's thesis, there is no need to justify delving, once again, into Robert Sturmy and his commercial expedition, especially since I arrive at a different conclusion than Carus-Wilson.

In 1433, Robert Sturmy is first mentioned in the sources. Until the beginning of the 1440s, his commercial activities – trade with Ireland and Gascony – were typical of Bristol merchants of the time.2 However, from 1445 onwards, the sources tell us

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2 Ireland: Appendix II, No. 1; Gascony: Appendix II, No. 2 and 4 and CPR 1436-41, p. 350 (mentioned by CARUS-WILSON, Merchant Adventurers, p. 69, but wrongly dated). The very first trace of Sturmy's trading activities in 1433 (TNA: PRO, E122/73/6 f. 44') does not, to be sure, fit this pattern. However, it does not, in my view of it, say much about how Sturmy traded on his own, since it clearly stems from the time when he was acting as the commercial
of undertakings which do not fit the mould and lend credence to the assumption that Sturmy's ambitions had waxed grand indeed. His imports of dye-stuffs, citrus fruit and paper via London and Southampton between 1447 and 1457 show that he had developed commercial contacts with Italy in one form or another, and he demonstrably exported wool directly to Pisa, undoubtedly destined for Florentine looms. One offshoot of his commercial activities in the Mediterranean was the transport of pilgrims to Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostella in his own ship. Sturmy had become a wealthy and esteemed merchant, as is shown by his career in Bristol's town government: between 1441/2 and 1453/4 he was one of the town's bailiffs (1441/2), then in quick succession – town councillor (1450), sheriff (1451/2).

agent of a principal: On 9 Mar. 1433 Sturmy imported together with Stephan Tittersshe and John Nanskilly 1 pipe and 1 small barrel of grain (granum pro pannis, a scarlet dye) worth £20 and 2 pipes of oil worth £2 in the ship of Johannes Yanus via London. Unquestionably, these goods originated from the Iberian peninsula, and – by way of confirmation of this – the skipper Johannes Yanus was himself Portuguese: CPR 1452-61, p. 254. Nanskilly was a London citizen and draper: CPR 1446-52, p. 494 (11 July 1452), whereas Tittersshe was a mercer: CPR 1452-61, p. 475 (14 Oct. 1458); Laetitia Lyell and Frank D. Watney (eds.), Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company, 1453-1527, Cambridge 1936, p. 57 (1461). Both of Sturmy's principals dealt in cloth, and Tittersshe was also a Calais staple merchant and a creditor of the crown: CPR 1452-61, p. 213 (16 Oct. 1454).
Robert Sturmy's Commercial Expedition 3

and finally mayor (1453/4). Unquestionably, Sturmy belonged to the political and commercial elite of Bristol. Let us now turn to the measures he took to prepare his commercial expedition of 1457/58. On 8 February 1457 Henry VI granted Sturmy a licence to export colossal amounts of tin, lead, wool and cloth — worth a total of about £37,000 via Bristol and Weymouth to the Mediterranean. On 14 March 1457 Sturmy was granted another licence, this time for the export of 400 quarters (1128 hectolitres) of wheat, clearly intended to provision passengers and crew on the long voyage. Finally, it emerges from his will made on 27 June 1457 that he placed great hopes in the commercial success of this monumental undertaking, calculating that his total wealth — impressive enough in contemporary terms — would double in value if his ships returned safely to port.

Carus-Wilson had precious few sources at her disposal to reconstruct the progress and fate of Sturmy's little fleet. She was able to show from reports in contemporary chronicles that the Genoese attacked Sturmy's ships in the vicinity of Malta. Sturmy himself must have met his end during this sea battle, as Carus-Wilson concluded from the fact that his will was proved on 12 December 1458. Finally, she noted that the incident off Malta led to the incarceration of the Genoese in England and the seizure of their goods. Following a trial before the royal council, the Ge-

11 The price of a pecia of tin in Southampton in the 1450s was £2 10s (see TNA: PRO, E122/141/35 f. A and E122/141/36 m 2d). A fodra of lead was worth £4 at this time in Southampton (E122/141/35 f. 15°). The wool prices (£2 14s 10½d per sack or c. £5 9s 8½d per sarper) were taken from T.H. Lloyd, The Movement of Wool Prices in Medieval England (Economic History Review Supplements 6), Cambridge 1973, p. 43. See also the list of wool prices from the early 1460s in Stuart Jenks, Werkzeug des spätmittelalterlichen Kaufmanns: Hansen und Engländer im Wandel von memoria zur Akte (mit einer Edition von The Nombre of Weyghtys), in: Jürgen Schneider and Gerhard Rechter (eds.), Festschrift Alfred Wende­horst zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von Kollegen, Freunden, Schülern, 2 vols. (Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung 52-3, 1992), vol. 1, p. 283-319, here 312f. Cloth prices (£1 6s 8d/pannus curtis sine grano) were calculated from Stuart Jenks, England, die Hanse und Preußen: Handel und Diplomatie, 1377-1474 (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Hansischen Geschichte, Neue Folge 38), Cologne 1992, Table 27, p. 263-4.
12 Carus-Wilson, Trade, No. 128, p. 113-5.
13 Ibid., No. 129, p. 115.
14 Ibid., No. 130, p. 116f.
15 Sturmy's legacies in cash amounted to more than £173 12s, the gifts of 40d to every preest synging in St. Nicholas (Bristol) and of 40s to each child of Sturmy's brother John having only been counted once. Should his ships return safely, Sturmy expected this sum to increase by £198 16s 8d to a total of £372 8s 8d: Carus-Wilson, Trade, No. 130, p. 116f.
noese were condemned to pay damages of £6000 on 25 July 1459. Finally, Jacques Heers was able to identify the leader of Sturmy's attackers as the Greek-Genoese freebooter Giuliano Gattilusio from Mitilini on the island of Lesbos.

This quick mustering of the sources known to Carus-Wilson shows that a huge gap yawns in our precise knowledge of Sturmy's movements between the writing of his will on 27 June 1457 and its proving on 12 December 1458. Between these two dates lay – as we know from chronological reports alone – the attack on Sturmy's fleet and the arrest of the Genoese in England.

THE TRIAL BEFORE KING AND COUNCIL

It is precisely this gap which a previously unknown transcript of the trial before king and council fills.19 This trial resulted from charges which John Heyton and the other English victims of Gattilusio's raid had filed in order to obtain compensation from the Genoese merchants in England who had had nothing to do with the incident off Malta, but whom Heyton and his fellows nonetheless held to account for it.

The transcript survives in a copy originally made for the Hanseatic counter in London, now held in the Cologne city archives (Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln). This may seem an odd place for English public records to have survived, but the anomaly is easily explained. In the summer of 1467 Bristol and Lynn merchants had sailed to Iceland where they committed numerous atrocities against the inhabitants, culminating in the murder of the Danish governor around Michaelmas (29 September 1467).20 By way of reprisal, king Christian of Denmark had six English ships seized in the Sound at Whitsuntide of the following year. The English victims of this reprisal could not hope – given the dearth of Danish shipping in English waters – to obtain compensation from the Danes. Consequently, they took advantage of the fact that a certain number of ships and sailors from Danzig, who had taken the king of Denmark's penny, had taken part in the seizure of the English ships.21 Citing this, they submitted a petition to Edward IV in which they portrayed the incident in the Sound as a purely Hanseatic attack and appealed for the arrest of all Hansards in

17 CPR 1452-61, p. 517.
18 J. Heers, Les Génois, p. 810.
19 Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln [Historical Archive of the City of Cologne], Hanse III.K.3, Bl. 76'-89', edited in Appendix I. This transcript documents 16 sessions of the king's council between 21 Aug. 1458 and 13 Feb. 1459. That is a considerable advance in our knowledge of the sessions of the council. Previously, the council was only known to have come together six times between Jan. 1457 and June 1460: Roger Virgoe, The Composition of the King's Council, 1437-61, in: BIHR 43, 1970, p. 134-60, here p. 159 n. 6. In addition, the Cologne transcript proves that Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury, had become a member of the council by 4 Nov. 1458 at the latest, a fact unknown to Virgoe: ibidem, p. 159f. For general information on the council t.r. Henry VI see also J.F. Baldwin, The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages, Oxford 1913 (still the fundamental work); A.L. Brown, The King's Councillors in Fifteenth-Century England, in: TRHS 5th Ser., 19, 1969, p. 95-118; Ralph A. Griffiths, The King's Council and the first Protectorate of the Duke of York, 1453-1454, in: EHR 99, 1984, p. 67-82.
England and the seizure of their merchandise. The crown granted the petition.\textsuperscript{22} On 24 July 1468 the Hanseatic counter in London was confronted with the English accusations and given the choice of finding sureties for the payment of the English losses (£20,000) or accepting imprisonment and the seizure of their goods. Despite the London counter's agreement on 25 July to provide sureties, the Hansards were arrested and their goods sequestered on 28 July.\textsuperscript{23} Although the merchants from Cologne were released three days later, the remaining Hanseatic merchants were charged before king and council and – with the exception of the Cologne merchants (who were acquitted) – condemned to pay damages on 21 November 1468.\textsuperscript{24}

It is clear that the Hanseatic merchants in England in 1468 found themselves in precisely the same unenviable predicament as had the Genoese ten years before. What is more, the Steelyard was exquisitely aware of this: At the end of the transcript of the trial of 1468 – as transmitted in the Acta Anglicana in the Cologne city archives – the scribe has entered *Sentencie in Englant gwijst tgan den coupman van der Hansen, ouch tgan de Jenevosen* ('Sentence pronounced against the Hanseatic merchants in England, also against the Genoese').\textsuperscript{25} This note – entered parallel to the binding of the last gathering of the transcript of the 1468 council trial\textsuperscript{26} – was clearly intended as a finding aid. It shows that not only did the Hanseatic counter in London realize that the two trials of 1458 (against the Genoese) and 1468 (against the Hansards) turned on the same point, but also that it had had the copies of the transcripts of both trials bound together.

But how did the Hanseatic merchants in England in 1468 come to be aware of the fact that they were in the same position as the Genoese had been in 1458? And how did they obtain a copy of the transcript of the earlier trial before king and council?

The answers to these questions emerge from a previously neglected letter. On 30 December 1468 – shortly after the condemnation of the Hansards by the council on 21 November 1468 – Henry Patenmaker, an inhabitant of King's Lynn, wrote to Gerhard von Wesel, the alderman of the Steelyard, and reminded him of the conversation they had had on 23 December, when Patenmaker *spake to jow [sc. Gerhard von Wesel] for the poor merchauttes and schypmen of grande Janys schyp.*\textsuperscript{27} In short, it was Patenmaker who pointed out to von Wesel that the two trials before


\textsuperscript{24} Charles Ross, *Edward IV,* London 1974, p. 121 and 308-10 with the research quoted there. For the course of the trial before the council see: HUB 9, No. 519-24, p. 364-80. The council's sentence: HUB 9, No. 527, p. 382f.

\textsuperscript{25} HUB 9, No. 526, p. 382 (from Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Acta Anglicana, f. 46*). Contrary to the statement of Hildegard THIERFELDER, *Der Bestand "Hanse" des Kölner Stadt­archivs,* in: *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 87, 1969, p. 77-90, here p. 89, the copies of the 1468 trial of the Hansards (Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Acta Anglicana, f. 11*-46*) must have been made in the Steelyard, since they were written – at least in part – or annotated by the Steelyard's alderman Gerhard von Wesel.

\textsuperscript{26} These gatherings were only later bound up together with other copies to form the seven volumes of the Acta Anglicana in the Cologne town archives: THIERFELDER, *Der Bestand "Hanse","* p. 89.

\textsuperscript{27} HUB 9, No. 535, p. 398. Nothing more is known about Patenmaker than this one letter.
king and council turned on the same point and that the Hansards were in the same predicament as had been the Genoese. Moreover, Patenmaker told the alderman how to obtain a copy of the transcript of the earlier trial against the Genoese, writing at the end of his letter of 30 December 1468 *I prey jow, commaunde my to mayster William, the meyers clerke.*

Now, *Mayster William* is unquestionably William Dunthorne, Common Clerk of the city of London from 1461 to 1489 and as such the archivist of the mayor and aldermen. Dunthorne not only had access to town and crown documents, but was also something of an early antiquary, interested in historical questions. Moreover, the Steelyard’s accounts for 1468/69 prove that Dunthorne was paid 20s by the Hanseatic counter in London to provide a copy of the transcript of the 1458 trial against the Genoese before king and council. It is this copy which survives today in the Cologne town archives (Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln).

Although the council had condemned the Hansards to pay compensation and had ordered the distribution of their merchandise to the English victims, the situation of the Hanseatic merchants in London remained unclear after 21 November 1468. On the very day of the promulgation of the council’s sentence, the Steelyard was able to report that the Hansards would be allowed to enjoy their privileges once they had paid compensation. Moreover, the counter was hopeful that matters would improve, since the Emperor Frederick III had intervened by letter on the Hansards’ behalf. Nor did this optimistic mood rapidly evaporate. Despite the fact that – following the council’s sentence – the king had ordered the mayor and sheriffs of London to assess the goods seized from the Hansards preparatory to distributing them to the petitioners and to submit a schedule by 20 January 1469, the Hanseatic counter was able to report on 16 December 1468 that the goods were not to be distributed before 24 January 1469.

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28 HUB 9, No. 535, p. 398.
32 The editor of the Steelyard’s annual account in HUB 9, No. 540, p. 405-11 assigned a false date to it. The account is headed with the date *Jhesus anno etc. 68 Marcii* (ibidem, p. 405), but this relates to the English ecclesiastical year, which began on 25 Mar. after our New Year. Therefore the Steelyard account covers the period 25 Mar. 1468 to 24 Mar. 1469.
33 For this the Steelyard paid 20s to *meyster Wyllem der stat clerck*: HUB 9, No. 540 § 129, p. 409. Dunthorne must have produced the copy between the sending of Patenmaker’s letter on 30 Dec. 1468 and the end of the Steelyard’s accounting year on 24 Mar. 1469.
35 *Hanserecesse II*, vol. 6, No. 119, p. 90f.
37 *Hanserecesse II*, vol. 6, No. 121, p. 92f.
ROBERT STURMY'S COMMERCIAL EXPEDITION

STURMY'S EXPEDITION IN THE LIGHT OF THE TRIAL TRANSCRIPT

Dunthorne's copy of the transcript of the trial against the Genoese permits us to draw a number of conclusions as to Sturmy's route, the dimensions and financing of his commercial venture in 1457/58 and finally his overall mercantile ambitions.

The transcript gives us three indications of Sturmy's route (see Map 1). We learn that the ships were fitted out in Bristol in June 1457,\(^38\) that Sturmy began his return voyage to Bristol in May 1458 from Candia (Herakleion) on Crete\(^39\) and that Gattilusio's attack began on 9 June 1458 with a wild pursuit on the high seas off Malta and ended three days later with the capture of two of the three English ships.\(^40\)

\(^38\) See Appendix I, § 1a: Robert Sturmy and John Heytone merchauntez of your towne of Bristowe, pitiously compleynyng that where as they with other dyvers merchauntez of this your realme in the monethe of Juynye the yere of your fulle noble reigne 35 [June 1457] did affect 3 shippes, oone of theyme called a kervelle, under the guydyng, charge and governaunce of your seid besechers with dyvers merchaundises frome the porte of the towne aforesaid...

\(^39\) See Appendix I, § 1a: Candye... at whiche porte the seid 3 shippes and also another shippe called a kervelle were fully frect and charged... and frome thens they retorned and toke there viage with the same merchaundises and goodes towards the porte of Bristow aforesaid in the moneth of May last passed [May 1458].

\(^40\) In his first petition, Heyton stated that the first sighting of Gattilusio's ships had taken place on 9 June 1458 and that the attack began the following day 10 June: Appendix I, § 1a. In his letter of 18 June 1458, the viceroy of Sicily was more precise: die veneris nono instantis mensis Junii [9 June 1458] velificantibus quatenus juxta insulam Maltis, una navis et una caravella Januenses de freta sive surgitorio hujus insule Gaudisii contra eos exeunte, eis adheserunt et manu armata easdem duas naves dicti exponentis et dicti Roberti invadentes easdem naves duro marte per dies tres debellaverunt [sailing past the island of Malta on Friday, the 9th of June [9 June 1458], a ship and a carvel of Genoa sailed out against them from the channel or promontory of this island of Ghawdez, pursued them and attacked the said two ships of the expositor [Heyton] and the said Robert [Sturmy] fiercely for three days]: Appendix I, § 3a, cf. § 3b. This version of events is confirmed by the letter of the captain and jurats of Malta on 17 June 1458: nono die presentis mensis Junii, 6 indictione, 1458 [9 June 1458], a parte orientali dicte insule Melincii apparuerunt tres naves prope terram et a parte septemtrionis due et majores facientes iter eorum versus portum. Et dum essent coram castro, quod est in dicto portu, ceperunt votum et rederunt versus insulam Gaudisii. Die vero sequente [10 June 1458] elapsa hora vespertina audivimus multas bumbardas versus meridiem. Accessimus nonnulli versus locum predictum et vidimus quinque naves omnes quasi junctas acsi essent ligate et hoc die sabbati sequente [10 June] et tota die usque ad occasum solis sterunt sic semper in bello. Superveniente nocte seipsum elongaverunt non enim minus a longe et sic eciam steterunt tota die dominica [11 June] sequente. Die vero lune [12 June] tunc primo sequente iterum dicte due naves maiores redierunt pro tribus et inceperunt bellare bumbardis, spingardis, balistis, arliis et aliis generibus armorum et conclusionare. Eadem die dicte due naves maiores ceperunt bellando duas naves de tribus [on the 9th of this present month of June, 6th indiction, 1458 [9 June 1458]], there appeared three ships coming from the east of the said island of Malta near the shore and from the north two, indeed larger [ships] making their way to port. And when they were off the castle which is in the said port, they changed course and sailed back towards the island of Ghaudze. On the following day [10 June 1458] after the hour of vespers we heard several cannon shots to the south. Several of us approached the said place and saw five ships looking as if they were fastened together, indeed as if they were tied together. They stayed locked together in battle the whole of the following Saturday [10 June 1458] until sunset. When nightfall came, they separated a little from one
However, the transcript also gives us a number of indirect indications. Sturmy must have conducted business in Pisa and Naples, since the schedule of damages includes claims for losses of Neapolitan saluti d'argento and 'coin of various countries received at Pisa and Naples'. However, it is far from certain when Sturmy reached Pisa. While we would naturally assume that the outward voyage took place soon after the issuance of the royal export licence on 8 February 1457 – as indeed the Exchequer did – three court cases heard before King's Bench make it very doubtful indeed that this was the case. Even more confusingly, the cases do not tell the same story, and it is best to begin by setting out the facts as declared in court.

He had established trading links with Pisa as early as the 1440s: Appendix II, No. 5.

Appendix I, § 15a: Item in coyne and plate, that is to sey nobles, salves [saluti d'argento from Naples] and dokettes [ducates of Rhodes] and other coyne of dyvers countres receyved at Pisse [Pisa], Naphes [Naples] and Rodes [Rhodes] ...

In the Easter term of 1458, the Exchequer cited the Poole customers John Thomas and Roger Huls to appear on 17 Apr. 1458 and hand over Sturmy's surety of 500 marks (Appendix II, No. 10). Since Thomas and Huls only served together as customers during the accounting period from 23 Nov. 1456 to 13 Aug. 1457 (Stuart Jenks (ed.), The Enrolled Customs Accounts (PRO, E356, E372, E364) 1279/80-1508/09 (1523/24) Volume 9: E356/21 (List and Index Society) [in print, appears 2012] No. 234), it follows that the Exchequer assumed that Sturmy had shipped his goods during that time.
1. On 18 January 1458, a 'gentleman' named Richard Bennet from Pembroke was indicted in Bristol for having lead a gang attack – virtually amounting to an armed insurrection – on Robert Sturmy on 15 December 1457, stealing his purse which contained 40s and leaving him half-dead.\(^{44}\)

2. At some time between 20 January and mid-February 1458,\(^{45}\) Robert Sturmy brought a bill of custody in person\(^{46}\) against Richard Benneyth, being in the custody of the marshal of the marshalsea of the King's Bench, alleging that he – apparently acting alone – had attacked him in Bristol on 6 September 1457 and had caused his ship *le Katerine* to be arrested for ten days without reasonable cause, so that Sturmy was unable to export the goods loaded in the ship overseas.\(^{47}\)

3. At some time between 20 January and mid-February 1458, Robert Sturmy brought a second bill of custody in person\(^{48}\) against Richard Benneyth, being in the custody of the marshal of the marshalsea of the King's Bench, alleging that he – again, apparently acting alone – had attacked him in Bristol on 3 September 1457, leaving him so severely injured that he was unable to conduct his business – the purchase of merchandise and its transport overseas via Bristol in his ship *le Katerine* – for six weeks [to 15 October 1457], for which he claimed damages of £200.\(^{49}\)

Thus, the records of the King's Bench give evidence of three separate attacks on Sturmy, namely on 3 September, 6 September and 15 December 1457. The first attack left him so incapacitated that he was unable to conduct business for six weeks. The second attack – alleged to have taken place while Sturmy was incapacitated – resulted in the arrest of his ship *le Katerine* for ten days, while the third attack makes no mention of how long it took Sturmy to recover from his wounds, severe as they are said to have been. While these three cases do provide independent evidence that Sturmy was acting on the royal licence he had been granted on 8 February 1457, purchasing goods for export overseas in the *Katerine*, they do raise the question of when he left England and arrived in Italy. Now, we can probably discount the statements Sturmy made in case No. 2, since it was dropped, but Benneyth was convicted of trespass in case No. 3 and condemned to pay damages of 230 marks in a *nisii prius*

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\(^{44}\) Appendix II, No. 6.


\(^{46}\) The original bill of custody has survived in the panella files for Hilary term 36 Hen. VI/1458 (TNA: PRO KB146/6/36/2 unnumbered). While the scribe has not entered a dot over Sturmy's name in order to indicate that he was present in court, the list of attorneys for Hilary term of 36 Hen. VI does not contain an entry for Robert Sturmy, whereas the list for the following Easter term (KB 27/788 (Pascha 36 Hen. VI) m 131 (attorney lists m 1)) contains two identical entries (which appear immediately after one another) relating to cases No. 2 and 3: *Bristoll Robertus Sturmy de Bristoll mercator ponit loco suo Ricardum Kayton vel Johannis Beell versus Ricardum Benneyth de placito transgressionis*.

\(^{47}\) Appendix II, No. 7.

\(^{48}\) See note 46.

\(^{49}\) Appendix II, No. 9.
session conducted by John Fortescue CJ in Bristol on 29 May 1458. That justifies the conclusion that Sturmy's preparations for his commercial expedition were set back by injury until mid-October 1458. Furthermore, the conclusion is inescapable that he was personally present in the King's Bench in Westminster at some point during Hilary term of 1458 in order to submit both bills of custody, although he acted through an attorney at all following stages of cases No. 2 and 3, so that we can be sure that he had left England by 19 April 1458 at the very latest. At some point between the beginning of Hilary term on 20 January and the session of the King's Bench on 19 April 1458, Sturmy must have sailed to Italy, there calling at Pisa and Naples and other ports, but we cannot be any more precise about his movements than that.

At the very end of the outward voyage Sturmy must have been in the harbour of Rhodes, since he began the return voyage to Bristol via Crete in May of 1458. Even so, this leaves a gap from his departure from England to May 1458. Where was he during this time? The trial transcript gives us an important clue. Among the goods taken by Gattilusio, Heyton listed 152 tons of alum 'roche' and alum 'foille'. Both sorts of alum were available only from the Genoese monopolists of the Maona di Scio on the island of Chios in the Aegean. This was surely where Sturmy and his partners bought the other oriental goods later captured. After all, Chios lay at the end of one of the great caravan routes leading from the East (Map 2) and consequently was one of the major Mediterranean emporia for oriental goods.

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50 See note 46.
51 As Appendix II, No. 7 and 9 show, Sturmy was represented by his attorney John Beelle at the session of the King's Bench on this day.
52 See note 39.
53 See the schedule of damages: Appendix I, § 15a. One should mention that the sweet Mediterranean wines Tyer and Malvesies listed there do not give us a specific indication of Sturmy's route. To be sure, the name Malvesie was originally restricted to wine from Neapolis (near cape Maléas in the Peleponnes), but had – by this time – become a generic name for all Mediterranean sweet wines.
54 Alum was the mordant which fixed the dye to the woven fabric.
56 See the schedule of damages in Appendix I, § 15a.
57 J. HEERS, Gènes, p. 396f.
The fact that Sturmy traded in oriental merchandise in Chios opens up the prospect of assessing the dimensions of his commercial expedition and the magnitude of his commercial ambitions. Sturmy's native town, Bristol, lay at the foot of the Cotswolds, one of the most important cloth-making regions of 15th century England, and Bristol's merchants ran second to the Londoners – and usually well ahead of other competitors such as Southampton and Hull – in the export of cloth (Graph 1).
Alum was essential for the production of Bristol's chief export product, fine cloth made from valuable Cotswolds wools. However, since the Turkish conquest of the alum mines of Phokaia on the Asia Minor side of the bay in 1453 (see map), alum supplies had been drying up and the mordant was becoming increasingly expensive. This had forced the Maona di Scio to ransack its reserves in order to export any alum at all, and the reserves were shrinking apace. The first Genoese fleet to visit England after the resumption of commercial relations in 1460 brought no more than 250 cantares (11,900 kg). Sturmy, however, lost 152 tuns (137,891.36 kg) of alum to Gattilusio, almost twelve times as much. This amount of alum would have sufficed to dye some 34,000 cloths, which was roughly the amount exported in a given year from all of England during the 1450s (Graph 2).

There can be no doubt that Sturmy intended to supply England's burgeoning cloth industry with alum single-handedly at a time when supplies of the indispensable mordant were severely limited. It had surely not escaped his notice that he would be as close to cornering the alum market as made no difference. Seen in this light, his will - which envisaged a mere doubling of his considerable assets - would seem a model of conservative prudence.

58 Prior to the discovery of alum near Tolfa in 1462 there were no productive alum mines in occidental hands: Jean DELUMEAU, L'alun de Rome, XV*-XIXe siècle (École Pratique des Hautes Études – VIe Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Ports – Routes – Trafics 13), Paris 1962, p. 19ff. On the development of the world alum market since 1453 see M.-L. HEERS, Les Génois, p. 39, 50-2 and J. HEERS, Gènes, p. 397. It is noteworthy that among the goods seized from the Genoese in the summer of 1458 precious little alum was found: J. HEERS, Les Génois, p. 825.


60 At around this time the Colchester dyer Richard Lowthe used 14 lb. of alum and 33 lb. of madder in order to dye 100 lb. (45.36 kg) of wool grey: JENKS, England, die Hanse und Preußen, p. 392f. An English broadcloth weighed 64 lb.: John H. MUNRO, The Medieval Scarlet and the Economics of Sartorial Splendour, in: N.B. HARTE und K.G. PONTING (eds.), Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe. Essays in Memory of Professor E.M. Carus-Wilson (Pasold Studies in Textile History 2), London 1983, p. 35 note 1. A quick calculation shows that 8.96 lb. of alum would have been required as a mordant in dyeing one broadcloth. Consequently, 152 tuns of alum (304,000 lb.) would have sufficed to dye 33,928.57 broadcloths.

61 It is conceivable that he was inspired by the monopoly on the sale of alum granted to the Genoese by Henry VI, which was to last from 1 May 1451 to 24 June 1453: RP 5, p. 214-6; Ralph A. GRIFFITHS, The Reign of King Henry VI. The Exercise of Royal Authority, 1422-1461, London 1981, p. 386.
But why did Gattilusio attack Sturmy's little fleet? The trial transcript states explicitly that the attack was launched only after Gattilusio learned that Bristol merchants were aboard the ships.\textsuperscript{62} One witness, John Warde, stated that he had heard from the London draper Laurence Test in Bruges that while Test had been in Genoa he had heard that the Genoese in London had written to their fellow citizens, informing them of the expected arrival of the ships from Bristol long before they had reached Italy.\textsuperscript{63} Given the circumstances of its writing, this letter can only have contained the information that Sturmy's ships had departed. Warde's statement was, of course, intended to show that the Genoese attack had been planned long in advance, but it raises the question of why the Genoese did not attack Sturmy's ships on the outward voyage if they intended to scuttle his ambitions. There can be only one explanation: The Genoese did not have the slightest reason to attack Sturmy's expedition at that point and were wary of endangering their trade with England through precipitous, and possible unnecessary actions. After all, Sturmy called first at Pisa.

\textsuperscript{62} See Appendix I, § 1a: \textit{thene [10 June 1458] the seid carake ... sente unto theyme [sc. Sturmy's ships] his bote with a mane, demaundyng theyme of whens they were and under whos obeisance, fro whens they came and wheder they were bownde. They thene aunsweryng that they were merchautz of Bristow under the obeisance of you, sovereyne lord kyng of England, comyng frome Candye laded with merchautzises homeward. The same mane thene aunsweryng in this wyse in the langage of Jeane, "Thane be we all goode frendes and goode love betwene us, for all we be mene of Jeane." ... And as sone as ever the seid man retorned frome youre seid besechers unto the seid carrake, they ... forthewith assautyd your seid besechers in the most horrible and cruell wyse of werre.}

\textsuperscript{63} Warde testified that Laurencius Test, famulus T[h]ome Cock aldermanni London', sibi dixit apud Bruggam in Flandria, quod ipse Laurencius existens apud Januam intellexit, quod mercatores Januenses London' existentes scripcerunt de adventu navium Bristollie diu ante adventum earundem ad partes illas: Appendix I, § 16c.
and Naples, thus posing no more of a threat to Genoese commercial interests as he had in earlier years.64

However, the situation — as viewed through Genoese eyes — must have drastically changed for the worse at the point when Sturmy arrived in Chios. Nonetheless, the about-face of Genoese policy requires a more exacting explanation, since any attack on an English fleet would surely excite English reprisals and gravely endanger Genoese trade. If we compare the captured goods listed in Heyton's schedule with the types of merchandise the Genoese imported via Southampton, their chief port of entry into England during the 1450s, then we will see that Sturmy made massive purchases of precisely those products which were the mainstays of Genoese trade with England. In short, Sturmy was poised to eliminate the Genoese as middlemen between England and the Levant. It was also more than apparent that Sturmy's expedition would not prove to be the last, were it to be successfully concluded, but rather would entice other Englishmen to try to establish direct commercial contacts with Chios. The Genoese could not afford to ignore the danger that they might be marginalized or even excluded from trading with England. There are a number of indications in the trial transcript which — taken together — suffice to prove that the Genoese decision to attack Sturmy's fleet was in fact only taken in March of 1458, when Sturmy was presumably making purchases on a massive scale in Chios.65

These conclusions force us to re-examine the opinions Carus-Wilson and Heers put forward. First of all, the schedule of damages Heyton submitted undermines Carus-Wilson's assertion that Sturmy was interested primarily in spices. Together with unspecified, but certainly considerable amounts of gunpowder, turpentine and cotton, spices made up no more than 14.21% of total losses (Graph 3). Second, massive doubt is in order that the attack on Sturmy's fleet was the result of French machinations, as both Carus-Wilson and Heers supposed.66 It is noteworthy that the immediate victims of Gattilusio's attack asserted that this was so, although they did

64 See Carus-Wilson, Trade, No. 94, p. 84f.; No. 114, p. 104f.; and Appendix II, No. 5.
65 Gattilusio spent the winter (until the beginning of March) in Savona fitting out his ships: Appendix I, § 3b. From 5 to 10 Apr. 1458 he was in Genoa: Appendix I, § 8a and J. Heers, Gênes, p. 307. The English sailor William Tentone, taken prisoner by Gattilusio in the course of the attack on Sturmy's ships, testified before the council that during his captivity he had spoken with a number of Frenchmen who had gone on board Gattilusio's ship in Genoa. These Frenchmen told him that at that time (early April 1458) it was the opene noyse at Jeane ... that the seid Englissh shippes shuld never retourne into England: Appendix I, . The Venetian Bartholomeus de Candi testified that he knew from statements of the Genoese Karoli Agosine, Benedicti Courseca et cujusdam Scoti, qui primo commorabantur cum dicto Cataluxo et postea et ante capicionem predictam fuerunt cum ipso deponente in Grecia in Castello de Rupayne, that Gattilusio was Genoese: Appendix I, § 7a. The most likely point in time for such a conversation to have taken place — in view of the known times of lading and sailing of Venetian ships bound for the Levant — would have been late March or early April 1458. The testimony of both witnesses suggests that the decision to capture Sturmy's ships was taken in March 1458. There is nothing in any deposition to contradict this conclusion.
66 Carus-Wilson, Overseas Trade, p. 72: "It is therefore highly probable that the French instigated the seizure of Sturmy's ships by the Genoese." J. Heers, Les Génois, p. 811, concedes that French machinations were conceivable, but if so, they were limited to agreements between Gattilusio and the French crown, since the Genoese — who primarily valued friendly relations with the Provençal house of Anjou — would scarcely have risked their North Sea trade for love of Charles VII.
not fail to point out that the seid duc of Jeanne with alle the hole body of the same have takene, electe and chosyne the Frenssh kyng grete adversary unto yououre seid sovereyne lorde to their chief lorde, capiteyne and protectour. The truth is as the victims stated it: the Genoese planned and executed the attack on their own. Indeed, they had every reason to scuttle Sturmy's expedition at the exact point in time they chose to do so, since their trade with England was endangered acutely. None other than Heyton stated this plainly:

Item please it youre highnesse and noble lordshipes at the reverense of God to remembre and considere the disposiciouns and ententes of the seid Robert Sturmy and John Eytone and theyr feleshippe in theyr viage, which was not onely for theyr singuler advayle, but to the comyne advayle and experience of fete and entercours of merchaundises aswele to be had, gotene and understonde by us in theyr parties as they have had of long tyme withyne this your realme, the which they in nomaner wyse wolle suffre to the uttermost parte of theyr power and goodes for drede that the merchauntez of this youre londe shold have eny understandyng or knowleche of their commodites and merchaundises and of the prises and values of the same in theyr parties.

Graph 3: Sturmy and Heyton's losses

Gattilusio, by contrast, had another motive altogether: As principal of the Maona di Scio and furthermore as ruler over the last alum mines unconquered by the Sultan, Gattilusio was threatened existentially by Sturmy's commercial ambitions. Moreover, his past activities as a pirate in the Aegean made him the perfect choice to execute the attack.

67 Appendix I, § 5a.
68 Appendix I, § 5a.
70 On this see J. HEERS, Gènes, p. 306f.
How was Sturmy's expedition financed? Since he and his partner John Heyton could not possibly have provided all the funds necessary to fit out the ships and purchase the export goods by themselves, it had to have been backed by other investors. In stating thatGattilusio managed to capture Sturmy's and Heyton's ships, but that the caravel belonging to John, lord Stourton, escaped, the trial transcript gives us an indication of the identity of one of the noble investors. Stourton was a major land-owner in Wiltshire and had served from 1446 to 1453 as royal chamberlain. Henry VI was notoriously generous in granting crown lands to his favourites, and Stourton indubitably belonged to this charmed circle. We can therefore proceed from the assumption that he received what he asked for. If we compare the pattern of his land acquisitions with the extent of the cloth-producing regions of the English southwest (Map 3), we will see that Stourton obtained grants of land in areas wherever the cloth industry was burgeoning.

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Map 3: Stourton's land acquisitions and cloth-producing areas in the Southwest

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71 Although James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire, received the compensation funds from the Genoese together with Philip Malpas and John Young, he had not invested in Sturmy's enterprise. The debt bond mentioned in Appendix II, No. 13, was issued to him in his capacity as treasurer: CPR 1452-61, p. 517; cf. CPR 1461-7, p. 54.

72 The expedition consisted of three ships, one of theyme called a kervelle: Appendix I, § 1a. In addition to Sturmy's and Heyton's ships, the schedule of damages names the 2 kervell of th'Erle of Worcestre and the Lorde Stourtone: Appendix I, § 15a.

73 GRIFFITHS, Henry VI, p. 357.

74 HBC, p. 81.

75 Sources: CCR 1447-54, p. 147-8, 153; CCR 1454-61, p. 103-4, 213; CPR 1446-52, p. 35-6,
This conclusion is confirmed by an analysis of Stourton's holdings at the time of his death (25 November 1462). While it is not always possible to establish the date when Stourton acquired the properties shown on Map 4 — or whether he was still holding them during the run-up to Sturmy's expedition — the pattern of acquisitions is suggestive. There are distinct clusters of property in the southern Cotswolds, around Salisbury and Southampton and along the road connecting Bristol with Southampton. In addition, Stourton had acquired property in the vicinity of the ports of Bridgewater, Weymouth, Poole and Southampton. A further indication of Stourton's interest in cloth-making is the fact that he loaned money to a clothmaker from Salisbury in 1452. From all this I conclude that Stourton was at least indirectly involved in the production of cloth in the southwest of England and that it was for this reason that he invested in Sturmy's expedition.

Map 4: Stourton's holdings at the time of his death (overview)

103, 124, 137-8, 160; CPR 1452-61, p. 419.

76 Dates of acquisition as noted in the inquisitions post mortem: No. 2 on 8 Apr. 1439; No. 3 on 10 July 1449; No. 4 on 18 Apr. 1430; No. 5 on 2 Apr. 1441; No. 6-8 on 25 May 1426; No. 24 on 3 Apr. 1441; No. 25-27 on 5 Mar. 1430; No. 36-37 on 8 Mar. 1430; No. 38 on 8 Mar. 1430, 17 Oct. 1455 and 12 Dec. 1433; No. 39-44 on 2 Apr. 1441; No. 45 on 2 Mar. 1422 and 2 June 1448; No. 47-49 on 2 Mar. 1422; No. 50-53 on 1 Mar. 1441.


78 Sources: TNA: PRO, C140/8 Devon file (numbered No. 2 in red), London file (No. 4), Middlesex file (No. 6), Essex file (No. 8), Hampshire file (No. 10), Somerset file (No. 11), Dorset file (No. 13), Gloucester file (No. 15), Wiltshire file (No. 17)
Indeed, Stourton's financial involvement was a god-send to the other investors seeking compensation from the Genoese. On 25 July 1459 Stourton – together with the sergeant-at-arms Richard Chok and the Bristol merchants John Heyton, William Cannynges, William Coder and Philip Mede – empowered to receive the £6000 which the treasurer had demanded from the Genoese by authority of the sentence of the council and to distribute the money among the victims. On the same day, the council approved advance payments of expenses for six ambassadors to goo in oure

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79 CPR 1452-61, p. 517.
Although the crown had not bothered to send representatives to the opening of the Congress of Mantua, it suddenly discovered not only a burning desire to be represented in style, but also the monetary resources to pay the expenses of its emissaries for six months in advance. This change of heart cost the crown – otherwise utterly incapable of finding funds for the worthiest of causes – £1780 in cash. The significance of the council’s decision for our question reveals itself when one recognizes that these funds were put forward by precisely the same persons who – on the very same day (25 July 1459) – had been empowered to receive the compensation paid by the Genoese in England and distribute it among the victims of the attack on Sturmy’s fleet. There can be no doubt that Stourton and the others had attracted the attention of the council by advancing a loan of £2000 and used that to promote their own ends. A certain amount of nudging was, to be sure, necessary, since the Sturmy affair was far from the top of the council’s agenda. In particular, the pressing ur-
gency of measures to counter internal disorder occupied the council's attention, and
the suit brought by the English victims against the Genoese in England was only
handled very occasionally after 27 November 1458 and not at all after 13 February
1459. Since the council had not yet handed down a sentence by the latter date, a
cogent reminder was in order.

Stourton is unlikely to have been the only nobleman who invested in Sturmy's
commercial expedition. Indeed, it is at least possible that Richard, duke of York,
also belonged to Sturmy's backers. A connection with York is suggested by the fact
that Heyton's schedule of damages lists the losses of one John Wykes from New­
market (Cambs). From 1448/50 onwards, Wykes belonged to York's retainers,
receiving £8 8s 1d yearly. On 30 October 1448 he obtained a royal letter of protec­
tion in order to accompany York to Ireland. Following York's return in the autumn
of 1450, Wykes was charged with treason, it being alleged that he had organized
rebellious gatherings in Cambridgeshire which — together with other assemblies
motivated by domestic unrest which ultimately resulted in the revolt of the house of York
against Henry VI (see note 83).

On 2 Dec. 1458 — in view of the activities of certayne mysruled and seduceouse persons — the
council ordered that 500 pikes, 500 lead-weighted clubs and three cannon (3 grete ser­
pentynes of yrene, which shalbe portatyve to be caried to any place where we shalle com­
mande thayme, which 3 gonnes shalbe of power ... to subdue any castelle or place that woll
rebell e ayenst us) be made available for the protection of the court: TNA: PRO, E404/73/3/43; WOLFFE, Henry VI, p. 315. On the following day the court left Westminster,
now felt to be insecure: ibidem, p. 371. On 7 May 1459 the crown — considering themmies
on everyside aprooching upone us aswelle upone the see as on londe — ordered 3000 bows and
stuffe for to make 3000 shef arowes (TNA: PRO, E28/88/49), and shortly thereafter Henry VI
called upon a number of particularly trustworthy subjects to arm themselves and meet him at
Leicester on 10 May 1459, ready for two months of military service: WOLFFE, Henry VI, p. 317. Given this atmosphere of acute mutual distrust, it is hardly surprising that the duke of
York and his allies failed to attend a session of the Great Council which met at Coventry
shortly after 24 June 1459, a decision which notoriously led to the battles of Blore Heath (23
Sept. 1459) and Ludford (12 Oct. 1459): WOLFFE, Henry VI, p. 317-9; R.L. STOREY, The End

It should be mentioned that the manner in which the loan of £2000 was to be repaid gives
us evidence that Stourton was involved in the cloth industry of southwest England. The patent
of 26 Aug. 1459 ordered repayment from the aulnage receipts in Bristol, Salisbury and Wilt­
shire (alongside smaller amounts to be paid from the current receipts of the sheriffs of 15

See Appendix I, § 15a. Cf. also Appendix II, No. 12.

Joel ROSENTHAL, The Estates and Finances of Richard, Duke of York (1411-1460), in:
Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History 2, 1965, p. 115-204, here p. 181. On Wykes' real property in Newmarket see Peter MAY, Newmarket, Medieval and Tudor, King's Lynn
1982, p. 32f.

CPR 1446-52, p. 227; cf. p. 297. Since 'John Wykes of Newmarket, co. Cambridge, esquire,
alias gentleman, alias John Wykys of Newmarket, co. Suffolk' was the recipient of this letter
of protection, we can be certain that he was identical with the John Wykes named in the
1447-12 May 1453; period of residence in Ireland: 5 July 1449-Sept. 1450) see HBC, p. 163;
WOLFFE, Henry VI, p. 220, 240-2; GRIFFITHS, Henry VI, p. 419-23 and Ralph A. GRIFFITHS,
elsewhere, all directed by York at arm's length – were intended to depose Henry VI and raise York to the throne. The mere fact that Wykes' losses were included in Heyton's schedule of damages would seem to suggest that York himself was one of Sturmy's backers.

However, it might be objected that the schedule of damages makes it clear that Wykes was not on board any of the ships belonging to Sturmy and Heyton's fleet, but rather upon a galey of Cataloyne passyng from the Roodes to Alexander when he was attacked by the Genoese. Moreover, this incident took place on 2 February 1458, more than four months before Gattilusio's attack on Sturmy's ships, and the Catalan galley was not captured by Gattilusio, but rather by the patronez of 2 carrakes of Jeane named Mathewe de Gremawede and Pykamylle. This makes it seem likely that Heyton included Wykes' damages in his schedule in order to obtain compensation for all losses suffered by English merchants and noblemen at the hands of the Genoese in the recent past.

Nonetheless, one can argue for York's involvement in Sturmy's undertaking. Edward IV's order to release the sums (which the Earl of Wiltshire – acting as treasurer – had collected from the Genoese and which had been sequestered in consequence of the reversion of his property to the crown) and distribute them to Gattilusio's English victims mentions that at least one of those receiving compensation lived in Ludlow (Shropshire). Now, it is inconceivable that John Wykes, who lived in Cambridge-shire, could have been numbered among the 'victims in Ludlow' to whom Edward IV ordered Genoese compensation to be distributed. Furthermore, no other commoner mentioned in the trial transcript came from Ludlow. However, the town was not only an important cloth town with close commercial links with Bristol, but also one of the most important strongholds of the duke of York. Consequently, it is at least possible that York had invested in Sturmy's expedition.

In addition – since he is included in the schedule of damages – we shall have to ask ourselves if John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, had perhaps also invested in Sturmy's undertaking. Tiptoft undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1458, and

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91 Appendix II, No. 12.
93 Appendix I § 15a.
94 Wiltshire's second period of office as treasurer ran from 30 Oct. 1458 to 28 July 1460: HBC, p. 107. He was executed as a traitor on 1 May 1461 (HBC, p. 487) and attainted in Edward IV's first parliament: RP 5, p. 476-83, esp. p. 478 and 480. For the release of £2000 of compensation and the order to distribute this sum to the victims in 'London, Bristol, Salisbury, Ludlow and other places of the realm': CPR 1461-7, p. 54 (26 July 1461).
96 GRIFFITHS, Henry VI, p. 692.
97 Tiptoft's pilgrimage to the Holy Land is extraordinarily well documented. No less than four of his fellow travellers – the legal expert Gabriele Capodilista from Padua, the courtier Giovanni Matteo Butigella from Milan, the condottiere Roberto da Sanseverino from Milan and the English scholar William Wey – wrote diaries or reports of their journeys: Anna Laura Momigliano LEPSCHY (ed.), Viaggio in terrasanta di Santo Brasca 1480 con l'itinerario di Gabriele Capodilista 1458 (I cento viaggi 4), Milan 1966; G. MARUFFI (ed.), Roberto da Sanseverino, Viaggio in Terra Santa (Scelta di curiosità letterarie rare o inedite 229), Bologna
was attacked twice by the Genoese, as the transcript of the trial before king and council records. On his outward voyage to the Holy Land, Worcester's galleys stumbled over two Genoese ships off Rhodes. Although one of these took up the chase, Worcester's galleys managed to scurry to the security of the harbour of Rhodes. This incident took place on 10 June 1458 and can have had nothing to do with Gattilusio's simultaneous attack on Sturmy's fleet 600 km to the west. On Worcester's return voyage – on which he embarked on 5 July 1458 – the English pilgrims were warned in Rhodes that Gattilusio's ships were lying in wait for them. As they were approaching Crete, Gattilusio sighted them and gave chase, but they were able to reach Candia (Herakleion) before an attack could be joined. When the English pilgrims later arrived in Corfu, they were again informed that Gattilusio was lying in wait for them. Consequently Worcester switched ships before continuing his homeward voyage via Venice, preferring a light galley (galea subtili) in which he would be sure of escaping from the Genoese pirate.

Even though Worcester was not one of Sturmy's financial backers, Heyton included the Genoese attacks on Worcester's galleys, most probably hoping to attract the council's attention to his case. After all, the council might well simply ignore a Genoese attack on English merchants, but an attack on an English nobleman who enjoyed the confidence of the monarch was another matter altogether. Heyton's goal was to show to king and council alike that the Genoese owe no goode wille to this your rea/me nor to the nacioun of the same, but [be] to theyme opene adversaries and mortall enemies, who had take/ne electe and chosyne the Frenssh kyng grete adversary unto you oure seid soverteyne lorde to their chief lorde, capiteyne and protectour. An attack upon the entire English nation – orchestrated by the king of


98 Appendix I § 7e.
99 Both Sanseverino (MARUFFI (ed.), Roberto da Sanseverino, p. 53f.) and Capodilista (LEPSCHY (ed.), Viaggio in terrasanta, p. 175f.), p. 175f. report on it. The patronus of the Loredana frustrated the attack, telling the Genoese that his galley was Catalan and that there were plague victims on board, which hastened a precipitous retreat of the attackers. The galleys reached the harbour of Rhodes at 9 PM on 10 June 1458.
100 MITCHELL, Tiptoft, p. 47.
101 Appendix I § 7e. The English reached Rhodes on 22 July 1458: WILLIAMS, Itineraries, p. 78.
103 Appendix I § 7e. Worcester and the other English reached Corfu on 24 Aug. 1458: WILLIAMS, Itineraries, p. 79.
104 Appendix I § 5a.
France – was something to which the council could not but respond – Heyton must have hoped – with an exemplary punishment of those responsible.

One last question has to be answered: How did such high-ranking noblemen as Stourton and (possibly) York come to learn that Sturmy and Heyton – mere commoners – were planning a commercial undertaking in which they might be interested in investing? While York was governing the realm on behalf of the mentally-ill king during the first protectorate (27 March 1454-30 December 1455), parliament passed a provision in April of 1454, valid for three years, to protect shipping by fitting out a royal fleet and financing this by compulsory loans from the coastal towns. At £150, Bristol's contribution was the second-highest in England, and on 28 May 1454 the crown ordered the Bristol mayor Robert Sturmy, the town's sheriff William Howell and Thomas Young and Henry Weston to begin collection. Now, Thomas Young, a lawyer, was not only the town recorder but had also been the duke of York's attorney since 1449 and had even suggested to the parliament of 1451 that York would be a worthy successor of Henry VI, a suggestion which landed him an accusation of high treason and a period of incarceration in the Tower. There cannot be much doubt that Thomas Young was the channel for contacts between York and Sturmy. That is, however, not all. In the early summer of 1454 Sturmy had a stately vessel, only for the werre built at his own expense. This spectacular, personal contribution to the defence of the English coast will not have failed to register with those parliament had just made responsible for coastal defence, namely the earls of Salisbury, Shrewsbury, Worcester und Wiltshire and John, lord Stourton. Stourton's investment and York's possible involvement in Sturmy's undertaking three years later was likely to have resulted from these contacts.

105 On this see WOLFFE, Henry VI, p. 278-85; GRIFFITHS, Henry VI, p. 725-38.
106 RP 5, p. 244-6.
107 CPR 1452-61, p. 156 and 164.
108 CCR 1441-7, p. 50. Young was also the son-in-law and one of the executors of the Bristol merchant John Burton (VEALE, Great Red Book, vol. 3, p. 60f.; CPR 1452-61, p. 342), the husband of Isabelle Burton, who was one of the non-noble investors in Sturmy's commercial expedition: CARUS-WILSON, Trade, No. 89, p. 80. On Young's legal career see John H. BAKER, The Order of Serjeants at Law. A Chronicle of Creations, with related texts and a historical introduction (Selden Society Supplementary Series 5), London 1984, p. 546.
As for Sturmy's non-noble backers, the transcript of the trial before king and council restricts itself to the statement that on 30 October 1458 John Heyton — together with multis aliis mercatoribus de Bristolia et aliis locis — had sued for compensation. According to Edward IV's order of 26 July 1461 Gattilusio's victims hailed from 'London, Bristol, Salisbury, Ludlow and other places of the realm', and the later petition to the chancellor submitted by Richard Chok, William Codur und Richard Kaiton localized the investors in Sturmy's undertaking — and who had been awarded compensation for losses suffered — as mene of Bristou, London and other [places]. In addition, the prosopographical sources analyzed below show that at least one citizen of Southampton and Gloucester backed Sturmy's commercial expedition. The geographical patterns of investment which emerge reflect the close commercial ties between Bristol and London, Salisbury, Ludlow, Southampton and Gloucester.

The names of Sturmy's non-noble backers emerge from the two royal mandates, the petition to the chancellor and above all from the Exchequer trial of the London merchant Robert Talbot. A quick sifting of the prosopographical evidence shows that the sergeant-at-arms Richard Chok functioned solely as royal commissioner,

112 Appendix I, § 5. Cf. CPR 1452-61, p. 517: The victims came from 'Bristol and other cities and towns of the realm'.
116 Appendix II, No. 14: Alongside the royal commissioners (Richard Chok, William Codur and Richard Kaiton) Philip Malpas and John Yong were named as representatives of the victims.
whose legal expertise recommended him for appointment to the commission for collecting and distributing the compensation the Genoese had been condemned to pay to Sturmy's backers. Neither he nor the Bristol gentleman Richard Kaiton\textsuperscript{119} can have been among the financial victims of Gattilusio's attack. We can therefore be confident in striking them from the list of Sturmy's non-noble investors.

Prior to their investment in Sturmy's expedition, the commercial interests of Sturmy's non-noble investors had been concentrated on Gascony (17 backers) and the north coast of present-day Spain\textsuperscript{120} (13). Less popular as trading partners were Ireland (9), Iceland (5) und Portugal (5). It is a striking fact that not one of Sturmy's merchant backers had ever traded beyond Lisbon, much less breached the Straits of Gibraltar and reached the Mediterranean. There can be, therefore, no doubt that Sturmy was the driving force of the undertaking. It was likely to have been his idea to supplant the Genoese as middlemen between the eastern Mediterranean and England and to attract backers to invest in this undertaking.

<table>
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<th>Name</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
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<th>Spain</th>
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\textsuperscript{119} The signal fact about Kaiton to have left a trace in the sources is that he was a gentleman of Bristol: CCR 1454-61, p. 297 and 446; CCR 1461-8, p. 154 and 321; TNA: PRO, C244/102/66/2. He also acted as attorney for Sturmy before the King's Bench: see note 47 and Appendix II, No. 9. He is definitely not identical with the Richard Cayton from York who was named among the victims of the Danish-Danzig attack on English shipping in the Sound in 1468: HUB 9, No. 520, p. 369.

\textsuperscript{120} English sources do not normally distinguish between the various kingdoms (Castille, León, Aragon etc.) which made up 'Spain'. However, as Wendy R. CHILDs, \textit{Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages}, Manchester 1978, has shown, late medieval English references to 'Spain' designated the stretch of coastline between San Sebastian and Santiago de Compostella in present-day north Spain.
Given the magnitude of Sturmy’s commercial undertaking, one would assume that he managed to find wealthy backers. A glance at the activities of his merchant investors in the urban and royal administrations confirms this assumption (Table 2). Almost all of Sturmy’s non-noble backers belonged to the elite of their respective towns: 20 of 25 investors from Bristol were bailiffs (80%), 14 (56%) councillors, 15 (60%) sheriffs and 10 (40%) mayors. Among the total of 38 non-noble backers are numbered 19 councillors (50%), 18 (47.37%) sheriffs and 13 (34.21%) mayors, figures all the more impressive when one considers that five persons (13.16%) could not be localized at all.

In the eyes of the royal government, a good number of these urban investors appeared sufficiently substantial and worthy of confidence that they were named as royal commissioners. The most common task entrusted to Sturmy’s later backers was the investigation of claims that an English ship had captured a foreign one in Bristol itself or in the vicinity (5 persons/12 commissions). Other royal commissions to Sturmy’s later backers involved the arrest of insurgents (4/6), commissions of *oyer et terminer* (3/3), commissions of array (1/1) and the arrest of commercial shipping for the transport of troops (1/1). A significant number of Sturmy’s later backers were royal customers: prior to the sailing of Sturmy’s fleet in 1457, 6 of his non-noble investors had served a total of 28 terms of office as customer or controller of the

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121 Since my goal is to gauge the social status of Sturmy’s backers, I have taken John Burton’s civic and royal offices into account, although it was only his widow Isabelle who invested in Sturmy’s enterprise.
king's customs,\(^{122}\) and it cannot be by chance that all six of them had been active in collecting the royal customs in Bristol. This holds true even for the London grocer John Yong, who had other connections to Bristol.\(^{123}\)

Table 2: Non-noble investors as members of the local and national elites

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\(^{122}\) Richard Alberton and John Yong were controllers of the customs in Bristol after June 1457, Alberton having been appointed on 31 May 32 Hen. VI/1454 (CPR 1452-61, p. 146) and Yong on 25 Nov. 37 Hen. VI/1458 (CPR 1452-61, p. 459). In addition, Alberton was named deputy of the chief butler John Wenlok in Bristol on 14 Nov. 1464: CPR 1461-7, p. 359.

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However, Sturmy was far from having gained the backing of the entire Bristol elite for his undertaking. If we may regard membership in the Bristol Common Council as a sure indication that the person in question belonged to the Bristol elite, then we should investigate those attending the largest meeting of that body during the period when Sturmy was seeking backers. The surviving records suggest that the meeting of the Common Council on 29 August 1455 would repay investigation. Of the 36 named councillors attending, only 12 (33.33%) invested in Sturmy's commercial undertaking. However, those not investing do not seem to have been interested in foreign trade at all. Of the 24 councillors who did not back Sturmy, only seven had any demonstrable commercial contacts whatsoever outside of England, and only four could be reasonably described as prominent long-distance merchants. In short: almost all members of the Bristol elite who had been active in foreign commerce invested in Sturmy's commercial undertaking.

Now, the social and economic profile of Sturmy's investors is not terribly surprising. After all, Sturmy required economically potent backers for his undertaking, and was only to be expected that he would have found them principally among the long-distance merchants who belonged to the political and administrative elite of their native towns. To be sure, it is noteworthy that the Bristol merchant venturers were in a position to finance such a gigantic undertaking with a minimum of outside help.

**THE WIDER SIGNIFICANCE OF ROBERT STURMY'S EXPEDITION**

We have seen that Robert Sturmy — backed by noble and bourgeois investors — intended to supplant the Genoese as middlemen between England and the Levant and to supply at least the West country cloth industry with alum. Whether his ambitions were of greater magnitude — whether, for instance, he hoped to build up a pan-European alum monopoly after displacing the Genoese — cannot be decided on the basis of the available evidence. After all, Sturmy failed to realize even his immediate goals. Even so, it is clear that his commercial ambitions were of another order altogether than those of his Bristol contemporaries.

But does the scope of these ambitions justify Carus-Wilson's claim that Sturmy was a precursor of the voyages of discovery in the Early Modern era? Let us review her argument.\(^\text{125}\) In the early 15th century, Bristol's trade rested on three pillars: Ire-

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125 Here, I summarize the argument put forward in Carus-Wilson, Merchant Adventurers, p. 63-82 and Carus-Wilson, Overseas Trade.
land, Gascony and the Iberian peninsula. When English rule collapsed in 1453, the Gascon trade "vanished" suddenly and Bristol adventurers were forced to seek new markets to compensate for the loss of "one of their three chief sources of wealth". An "intrepid spirit of daring" led them to challenge the staple regulations of Bergen (Norway) by trading directly with Iceland, but this route only generated small-scale trade and failed to compensate for the loss of the Gascon outlet. It is in this context that Carus-Wilson views Robert Sturmy's expedition.

"Now the same intrepid spirit of daring impelled them [sc. the Bristol merchant adventurers] also to seek new highways for their ships in waters frequented from the dawn of history. Boldly they pushed through the Straits of Marrok to fetch for themselves the spices which they had hitherto meekly received from foreigners. The history of Bristol's earliest attempt to penetrate the Mediterranean is in separably bound up with the name of the great pioneer Robert Sturmy ..." Although Sturmy's attempt to break into the Mediterranean trade failed, this did not occasion any "decay" in the Bristol adventurers' "intense vitality and sturdy self-reliance". Blocked by the Hansards in the North Sea and the Baltic and by the Italians in the Mediterranean, Bristol's merchants turned to the Atlantic and "launched out boldly across the ocean". Sturmy's expedition and the Iceland venture were, then, merely a prelude to the attempt to find the Isle of Brasil (1480) and to the discovery of North America by Cabot (1497), both of which were backed by Bristol merchants' capital. Thus, for Carus-Wilson, it was fundamentally the intellectual climate of Bristol's merchant community – characterized by a new, adventurous and expansive spirit which welcomed challenges and did not shy from risk – which generated a number of ever more far-flung ventures which inevitably led to Atlantic expansion and the New World.

Now, in my view, any attempt to reason back from events, however indisputable they may be, to a putative state of mind which is then deemed to have caused those events is fraught with peril. After all, we have no direct evidence whatsoever on what Sturmy and his backers were thinking in 1457, and the same holds true generally for the subsequent English voyages of discovery. Indeed, I think it unlikely in the extreme that reference to an enterprising spirit will even begin to provide an adequate explanation of why Englishmen undertook such perilous ventures and why other Englishmen put up hard cash to finance them. My counterarguments are two: the crew would not have served (for long) on a completely uncertain voyage, and the backers would not have stumped up.

Up to the 14th century, sailors were customarily paid a combination of hire and portage, only part of their remuneration being in cash, and the other consisting of

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127 CARUS-WILSON, Merchant Adventurers, p. 68. CARUS-WILSON, Overseas Trade, p. 66.
128 CARUS-WILSON, Overseas Trade, p. 66.
129 CARUS-WILSON, Merchant Adventurers, p. 77.
130 CARUS-WILSON, Overseas Trade, p. 96.
131 Carus-Wilson does not shrink from using the word "destiny" in this context: CARUS-WILSON, Merchant Adventurers, p. 81.
a certain portion of shipping space in the hold which the individual crew member could use to transport goods for trade without incurring freight charges. This was the reason half the sailors' wages were customarily paid when the ship reached its outward goal: this enabled them to purchase goods to be loaded into their cargo space for the return voyage. Although payment of wages in cash was becoming increasingly common in the 15th century, portage in lieu of wages remained an option even at the end of the century. Given this method of remuneration, crew members were unlikely to sign on for voyages offering them no prospect whatsoever for trade, nor would an enterprising spirit on the part of the master and the merchant backers have persuaded them otherwise. Even if one were to object that sailors were sometimes pressed into service, a voyage of unforeseeable duration and uncertain outcome simply lay beyond the bounds of possibility. After all, crews expected to be consulted on matters of concern to them, in particular in regard to "the course and duration of the voyage". Indeed, the ship's master was forbidden to give the order to set sail unless a majority of the crew agreed that the time was favourable. Finally, crews on voyages of discovery – where their well-being was more at risk than was normal – surely exercised a higher degree of control. Consequently, "there was a limit, moral rather than physical, to the length of a passage across open ocean without sight of land." Not only was insubordination common on long voyages, but Columbus himself – an exceptionally inspiring leader of strong, indeed dominating personality – "narrowly escaped a mutiny which would have cut short his voyage before he made his landfall" in 1492, and 'disagreements' with his crew forced Cabot to break off his first venture in 1496.

Even in the 16th and 17th centuries, when funds seeking investment opportunities were much more plentiful than they had been at the close of the Middle Ages, London merchants were loathe to invest in ventures of uncertain outcome which would tie up their capital for long periods. As men of small to middling fortune they simply did not have sufficient resources to bear major, long-term investments, and in any event there were more enticing prospects which promised not only a sure return but also a rapid turnover of capital. Even in the 17th century, the East India Com-

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135 For instance, this was permitted on the first voyage to Russia in 1553: T.S. WILLAN, The Early History of the Russia Company 1553-1603, Manchester 1956, p. 3-4.
137 BURWASH, English Merchant Shipping, p. 61.
139 WILLIAMSON, Maritime Enterprise, p. 365.
140 WILLIAMSON, Cabot Voyages, p. 16.
141 WILLIAMSON, Cabot Voyages, p. 54 with n. 1, p. 213.
142 ANDREWS, Trade, p. 360.
143 ANDREWS, Trade, p. 56-7.
company "found it difficult to establish itself on a permanent basis before it had amply demonstrated its profit-making capacity to the City's cautious merchant investors". Such sober and cautious merchants – who were not only to be met in London – are exceedingly unlikely to have risked squandering their capital on far-flung ventures of uncertain outcome.

Of course, neither the crews of Sturmy's ships nor his backers had cause to trouble themselves about such matters. After all, Sturmy was attempting to wrest as large a piece of a well-known market from his competitors as possible, and to do so by coasting along tried-and-true trade routes.

However, the fact that Sturmy knew precisely where he was going and exactly what was to be obtained in trade when he got there does raise even more urgently the question of whether his expedition was comparable to those financed by John Jay (1480) and led by John Cabot (1497) and their successors, as Carus-Wilson thinks. That this was the case is, indeed, the fundamental assumption which crucially underpins what I would like to call the incrementalist theory of the Age of Discoveries, by which each voyage added a little to the stock of nautical and geographical information until a critical mass was reached and the revolutionary leap across the Atlantic became, if not a mere small step, then a hop, skip and a jump. Since, as I hope to have demonstrated, enthusiasm and charismatic leadership alone do not suffice to explain the readiness of crews to sign on and backers to stump up, knowledge – irrespective of whether its proponents were subsequently proved right or wrong – must have played a major role. To put it in a nutshell, Jay, Cabot and their successors must have managed to make a plausible case to crews and backers alike that they knew just where they were going, how long it would take and how rich the opportunities for trade would be. These practical difficulties suggest that we have been looking in the wrong direction in focussing on discovery as such. Whatever religious enthusiasms and academic geographers' theories might have inspired Columbus, there is no trace of them whatsoever to be found in the early English voyages. John Cabot was actuated solely by "a single-minded desire to divert and monopolize the oriental trade", and his successors who pioneered trade with Mo-

144 Robert BRENNER, Merchants and Revolution. Commercial Change, Political Conflict and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653, Cambridge/England 1993, p. 96. It was only in 1613, after nine of ten voyages had turned a handsome profit, that the company's London backers were content to leave their capital in the company for more than one voyage. The same pattern can be observed fifty years earlier in the nascent Muscovy Company, as permanent joint stocks replaced terminable ones: WILLAN, Russia Company, p. 277.


147 Williamson, Cabot Voyages, p. 18.

148 Williamson, Cabot Voyages, p. 45.
rocco, Russia, Persia, Guinea, Turkey and the East Indies had similar, rigorously commercial goals in mind.

But it is not only in the overall intention of cutting out the middlemen and monopolizing the trade with a given area that Sturmy's expedition is comparable to those which led to the founding of the great English companies of the Tudor and Stuart periods. In fact, his venture can be seen to fit into a common pattern, one characteristic of the early history of the English companies and consisting of four elements: information-gathering, trade reconnaissance, trade through resident agents and the obtaining of privileges, both patents of incorporation from the English monarchy and trading privileges from the rulers of the host nation.

Not only Columbus went to extraordinary lengths to gather as much information as he could before setting out in 1492. The same held true for most, perhaps all of the English voyages. John Cabot, for instance, conceived the idea of reaching Asia from the West after talking to merchants he met in Mecca, whence he had proceeded disguised as a Muslim. Asking them where the spices they traded came from and being told that others brought them to Mecca from distant countries, having received them themselves from traders yet more distant, Cabot reasoned that if spices were brought to the Levant by a whole series of caravans then — the world being spherical — one ought to be able to find the source of the spices by travelling from Europe "at the north towards the west". In 1526, Robert Thorne jun., an English merchant based in Spain and trading with the Canaries and the Spanish West Indies, invested 1400 ducats together with his Genoese partner Leonardo Cataneo in Sebastian Cabot's voyage to the South Seas and Spice Islands in 1526, merely in order to be able to send Roger Barlow, another English merchant based in Spain, and Henry Patmer, an English pilot, along on the voyage. According to Hakluyt, their purpose was to obtain "certaine relation of the situation of the country, and to be experte in the navigation of those seas and to have informations of many other things". Among the pioneers of the Morocco trade were merchants

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149 Columbus corresponded with the Florentine cosmographer Paolo Toscanelli, obtaining a copy of the letter and map Toscanelli had sent to king Alfonso V of Portugal in 1474: WILLIAMSON, Cabot Voyages, p. 7-8. Columbus did not, however, limit himself to academic geographers, but also gathered as much information as he could on any observations mariners and inhabitants of the Azores might have had to offer: David B. QUINN (ed.), America from Concept to Discovery. Early Exploration of North America (New American World. A Documentary History of North America to 1612 1), New York 1979, p. 76-7. Moreover, as the Day letter shows, he continuously and systematically revised his ideas and discoveries in the light of any new information which might come to light: QUINN, England and the Discovery of America, p. 104.

150 This is the substance of a conversation with Cabot which Raimond de Soncino reported to the Duke of Milan on 18 Dec. 1497 (WILLIAMSON, Maritime Enterprise, p. 57; WILLIAMSON, Cabot Voyages, p. 209-11), but it may be a mere self-aggrandizing boast. Nonetheless, it is clear that information about the Far East could be picked up in Alexandria and the other termini of the spice trade (in which Cabot had been active) from Jewish or Muslim merchants who had contacts throughout the southern oceans: K.N. CHAUDHURI, Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean. An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750, Cambridge/England 1985, p. 58-9 and 99.

151 Hakluyt is quoted from ANDREWS, Trade, p. 53. See also Gordon CONNELL-SMITH, Forerunners of Drake. A Study of English Trade with Spain the the early Tudor period (Royal Empire Society Imperial Studies 21), London 1954, reprinted Westport/Connecticut 1975, p.
trading with Spain and the Levant who knew – not only from their own commercial contacts, but also by evaluating the prizes on seized ships – that Morocco was a prime source of gold and sugar and suspected it might be a market for English cloth.\textsuperscript{152} The promoters of the Willoughby-Chancellor voyage in 1553 went to extraordinary lengths to gather information about Russia, even interrogating two Tartar stable boys who had somehow wound up in royal service "touching their contry and the manners of their nation".\textsuperscript{153} In formulating his instructions, Sebastian Cabot not only ordered Willoughby and Chancellor to keep logs and compile them into a common ledger, but also suggested that natives of the lands in question might be "enticed aboard the ships to give useful information", although this was to be done without violence.\textsuperscript{154} After completion of the voyage, Richard Chancellor, John Hasse and Clement Adams all submitted reports which contained a wealth of information on Russia, particularly on products suitable for export and where they might be obtained.\textsuperscript{155} Soon after the Russia Company had gotten a foothold in Russia itself, Anthony Jenkinson – who had travelled around the Ottoman Empire between 1546 and 1553 – was sent out in 1557 to central Asia to gather information on prospects for trade with Bukhara, Samarkand and parts beyond\textsuperscript{156} and talked with Indian merchants at Kazvin in 1562/3 about the possibility of opening up the spice trade there.\textsuperscript{157} In 1565/66, talks with Armenian merchants – who shipped raw silk and spices to Aleppo (Syria), exchanging them there for kerseys imported by the Venetians – and with the Shah of Persia himself gave rise to extravagant hopes that the English might succeed in cutting the Venetians out entirely.\textsuperscript{158} The inspiration for the syndicate which backed the first voyage to Guinea in 1553 "came direct from Portugal by means of a renegade named Antonio Anes Pinteado" who was conversant with West Africa.\textsuperscript{159} Before sailing to Guinea in 1562 in order to obtain slaves to be traded in the Spanish West Indies, John Hawkins travelled to the Canaries and informed himself "by diligent inquisition of the state of the West India." Discovering that black slaves could be sold at a good price there, he contacted his London friends and they, in turn, backed his voyage.\textsuperscript{160} After obtaining his human outward cargo in

\textsuperscript{198} (cf. p. 72) and \textit{Williamson, Maritime Enterprise}, p. 251, 260. In fact, Cabot's voyage proceeded no farther than the Rio de la Plata.

\textsuperscript{152} T.S. \textit{Willan, Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade}, Manchester 1959, p. 93-5. See also \textit{Andrews, Trade}, p. 102.

\textsuperscript{153} \textit{Andrews, Trade}, p. 66. See also \textit{Williamson, Maritime Enterprise}, p. 314.

\textsuperscript{154} \textit{Williamson, Maritime Enterprise}, p. 315. See also \textit{Willan, Russia Company}, p. 282-3.


\textsuperscript{157} \textit{Willan, Russia Company}, p. 58.

\textsuperscript{158} \textit{Willan, Russia Company}, p. 60. Arthur Edwards assured the Shah that the English could ship 200,000 kerseys yearly, and the Shah expressed an interest in imports of English and Eastern luxury clothes, war materials and even a commill.

\textsuperscript{159} \textit{Williamson, Cabot Voyages}, p. 43. The expedition also took along a French surgeon experienced in treating tropical diseases, thus indicating another direction in which information had been gathered.

\textsuperscript{160} \textit{Andrews, Trade}, p. 117. See also \textit{Loades, England's Maritime Empire}, p. 88.
Robert Sturmy’s Commercial Expedition

Guinea, his first port of call was Tenerife (Canaries), where his business associate, Pedro de Ponte, not only provided him with a pilot who could guide Hawkins' ships to the West Indies, but also tipped off his friends in Hispaniola that Englishmen would soon be arriving with slaves to sell.\(^{161}\) When John Newbery returned from an extended journey to Bagdad, Basra and Hormuz in 1581, during which he kept a journal which contained "much valuable information about commodities, prices, customs duties, transport costs, caravan routes" etc., the Turkey Company sent him and Ralph Fitch to India in order to see if it were possible to maintain trading posts with company factors in Bagdad, Basra, Hormuz and Goa "and so penetrate further into Eastern trade."\(^{162}\)

Note that the sort of information the nascent English trading companies sought about regions they hoped to open up for trade was severely practical, being limited in the main to products suitable for export, any costs which might be incurred in so doing and the geographical and nautical knowledge required to export those products. If such information could be obtained from informants like Antonio Anes Pinto and Pedro de Ponte who were conversant with the regions in question and might even have commercial contacts, so much the better: that saved time and money. One way or another, as much practical information as possible was collected. This sort of meticulous, yet pragmatic preparation was bitterly necessary,\(^{163}\) simply because the commercial – and consequently the geographical – horizon of 15th century Englishmen was very narrow indeed. If we take *The Noumbre of Weyghtys*\(^{164}\) as an indication of the state of affairs in the mid-1460’s, English trade and shipping had not advanced farther than Prussia in the east, Ireland and Iceland to the west and north and – to the south and west – the coastline extending from Flanders and Brabant via the Baie de Bourgneuf, Bordeaux and Bayonne to Portugal. Beyond this narrow ambit, 15th century Englishmen had, to be sure, a rough idea of what products might be obtained – for that they only had to observe the goods being unloaded from Venetian and Genoese ships – but no exact knowledge of the commercial emporia, no acquaintance with local business practices, no commercial contacts, in short, no idea of whether trade would turn a handsome profit or lead to ruin.

Once the requisite information had been obtained, the second stage in opening up a region was to send out a trade reconnaissance expedition to test the profitability of the endeavour.\(^{165}\) In order to overcome the merchants' reluctance to risk capital for long periods, these expeditions were often set up as terminable joint-stock companies. They required only a modest individual investment\(^{166}\) and the

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\(^{161}\) ANDREWS, *Trade*, p. 121.


\(^{163}\) It might be added that those who relied solely upon academic geography – like the participants in the ill-fated voyage of Master Hore of London to Newfoundland in 1536 – usually met with disaster: WILLIAMSON, *Maritime Enterprise*, p. 263-4.

\(^{164}\) For the best edition, see JENKS, *Werkzeug*, p. 299-315.

\(^{165}\) Sometimes, to be sure, this was not necessary. The newly-founded Eastland Company knew perfectly well that trade with Elbing would turn a handsome profit, if only the political difficulties with Danzig could be settled: Henryk ZINS, *England and the Baltic in the Elizabethan Era*, translated by H.C. STEVENS, Manchester 1972, p. 67ff.

\(^{166}\) £25 was the ante in the case of the first voyage to Russia in 1553, a total of £6000 being
ROBERT STURMY'S COMMERCIAL EXPEDITION

profits and capital were distributed to the backers after each voyage. If the first expedition was profitable or at least showed promise, backers would not be hard to find for further voyages. Since the commercial side of the early English ventures—which eventually led to the incorporation of the great trading companies by royal charter—has tended to get lost in scholars' sheer fascination with discovery per se it is worth looking at this aspect in detail, with particular attention to the financing, composition and profitability of the early voyages to Morocco, Russia, Persia, Guinea, Turkey and the East Indies, the major new trading regions of the Elizabethan era. 167

Who backed the ventures? The financing of long-distance trade by "the City interests and the nobility" did not arise during the last two decades of the 16th century, 168 but in fact began a great deal earlier. While Cabot was supported by merchants from Bristol in 1497, 169 Londoners fitted out one of the five ships of his second voyage 170 and were the sole backers of the first two ventures to Morocco (1551, 1552) 171 and of the first to the Spanish West Indies. 172 The financers of the ventures to Turkey in 1577 and 1578 remain obscure, but those named in the sources were all London merchants. 173 However, the City did not long remain the sole source of finance for trade reconnaissance voyages. The first four expeditions to Guinea (1553, 1554, 1555, 1556) were supported by London merchants—notably Iberia and Barbary traders and members of the Muscovy Company—as well as by prominent shipowners. 174 The next two syndicates included the Lord High Admiral, Lord William Howard, and the monarch herself. 175 Courtiers and crown alike wasted no time in contributing capital to the nascent Levant company, even if its membership remained overwhelmingly mercantile. 176 A mixture of monarchy, peerage and gentry (some with useful court connections) and London merchants was also characteristic of the syndicates backing the ventures to Russia (1553, 1555, 1556, 1557) and Persia via Rus-

167 BRENNER, Merchants and Revolution, p. 5. It makes good sense not to go beyond the early voyages of the nascent East India Company, since its success was concomitant with major structural changes in English foreign trade. On that subject see CHAUDHURI, Trade and Civilization, p. 82-3.
169 EVAN JONES, The Matthew of Bristol and the financiers of John Cabot's 1497 voyage to North America, in: English Historical Review [forthcoming].
170 WILLIAMSON, Cabot Voyages, p. 91, 93, 220-1.
171 WILLAN, Elizabethan Foreign Trade, p. 98-9, 188ff.
172 ANDREWS, Trade, p. 117. Members of the Muscovy Company were prominent among those backing this venture: WILLAN, Muscovy Company, p. 27.
174 ANDREWS, Trade, p. 104.
175 ANDREWS, Trade, p. 104. In 1558, Mary ventured two royal ships, and in 1564, Elizabeth contributed the fully equipped and armed Minion.
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sia (1561, 1564, 1565, 1568),\(^{177}\) to the Spanish West Indies via Guinea\(^ {178}\) and the first twelve voyages to India and the East (1601-12).\(^ {179}\)

The participation of the peerage and gentry permitted the raising of huge amounts of capital from a large number of comparatively modest investors who were not interested in trading themselves.\(^ {180}\) Since constituting a venture in the form of a joint-stock company – trading as a body through subordinate factors – was the ideal form of organization for the syndicates, it is hardly surprising that it was, in fact, typical of those starting a new branch of trade.\(^ {181}\) The trade reconnaissance voyages under examination here all chose this form. The uncertain outcome of any given venture also seems to have persuaded the backers to favour terminable joint stock and to insist that their capital investment be repaid and any profits distributed at the end of each expedition.\(^ {182}\) This was the form of investment probably chosen for the Cabot voyages\(^ {183}\) as well as the early ventures to Morocco\(^ {184}\) and certainly for the journeys to Guinea and the Spanish West Indies,\(^ {185}\) the Levant\(^ {186}\) and the East Indies.\(^ {187}\) The expeditions undertaken to Russia – and via Moscow to the Caspian and Persia – differed only in that they were financed by permanent capital stock which was not repaid after each venture,\(^ {188}\) further funds being raised for each succeeding one by making 'calls' on shareholders, requiring them to invest a certain sum in excess of their original outlay.\(^ {189}\)

Unfortunately, it is rarely possible to speak with any confidence about how much capital was involved in any particular venture. In regard to the Muscovy Company,

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177 WILLAN, *Muscovy Company*, p. 10-25. The London mercantile interest was largely drawn from the Staple and Merchant Adventurers' Companies, with a much more modest participation of traders having Iberian interests.


179 CHAUDHURI, *English East India Company*, p. 33-8. In its formative years, the East India Company was dominated by members of the Levant Company: BRENNER, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 21-2.

180 On this see WILLAN, *Muscovy Company*, p. 10-11 and RABB, *Enterprise & Empire*, p. 47. The Russia Company raised a respectable total of £6000, but for the individual investor the initial capital subscription was a mere £25: WILLAN, *Muscovy Company*, p. 6.


182 Even in the 17th century, 'dead stock' was much feared in commercial circles, rapid turnover of capital was felt to be of paramount importance: CHAUDHURI, *English East India Company*, p. 121.

183 JONES, *The Matthew of Bristol*.

184 WILLAN, *Elizabethan Foreign Trade*, p. 103. This was abandoned by the third voyage in 1555.


186 WILLAN, *English Trade with the Levant*, p. 404-6. Between 1588 and 1592, the newly merged Levant and Venice companies abandoned terminable joint-stock financing in favour of regulated trade.


188 WILLAN, *Russia Company*, p. 21.

189 Thus calls were made for £30/share (1555), £15/share in 1556, £30/share in 1557 and a total of £40/share between 1557 and 1564 for the Russian voyages and for £60 in 1564 to finance the second Persian venture: WILLAN, *Russia Company*, p. 41-6.
it is only in the case of the first voyage of 1553 that we can be certain that the entire capital (£6000) was spent on purchasing the required ships, refitting and victualling them and buying merchandise for export.\textsuperscript{190} Turning to the Levant trade, the goods John Hawkins proposed to load in the \textit{Swallow} and the \textit{Pelican} in 1577 were worth £7000, but the estimate notes that these will not be sufficient "to fyll or lode the shipes",\textsuperscript{191} and in any event Hawkins' estimate does not include any other costs. We have only fragmentary information on the amount of capital invested in the Harbome venture undertaken a year later: When Harborne's servant was robbed and murdered while underway to Constantinople, the losses of money and English cloth were said to have come to 4000 ducats (£1333 6s 8d),\textsuperscript{192} and in addition Harborne did send a servant to Crete by March 1579 with £1000 to purchase malmsey.\textsuperscript{193} However, we do not have the faintest inkling of how much the kerseys, lead and tin which he had imported by sea and unloaded in Chios were worth.\textsuperscript{194} The total capital expended on this venture must have vastly exceeded the £2333 6s 8d which can be identified, but it is impossible to say by how much. Finally, the surviving records of the East India Company suffice to detail – if not the total expenditure on the first twelve voyages – at the value of goods and specie exported.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Voyage(s)</th>
<th>Specie</th>
<th>Goods</th>
<th>Sum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1601</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>£21,742</td>
<td>£28,602</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>£11,160</td>
<td>£1142</td>
<td>£12,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1606</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>£17,600</td>
<td>£7280</td>
<td>£24,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1607</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>£15,000</td>
<td>£3400</td>
<td>£18,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1608</td>
<td>V</td>
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<td>£1700</td>
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<td>1609</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>£28,500</td>
<td>£21,300</td>
<td>£49,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1610</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>£19,200</td>
<td>£10,081</td>
<td>£29,281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1611</td>
<td>VIII-XI</td>
<td>£17,675</td>
<td>£10,000</td>
<td>£27,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1612</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>£1250</td>
<td>£650</td>
<td>£1900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Turning to the composition of the trade reconnaissance voyages, the first question to be addressed is the size of the fleets sent out. Graph 4 shows the number of ships dispatched overseas in each of the Cabot, Moroccan, Russian, Guinean, Spanish West Indian and East Indian ventures between 1497 and 1613. Normally, trade reconnaissance was undertaken with a fleet comprised of two or three ships. Single-ship ventures occurred only at the beginning (Cabot 1497) and the end of our

\textsuperscript{190} We are reasonably well informed about the total capital raised from shareholders between 1553 and 1572. It probably amounted to around £100,000. \textit{WILLAN, Russia Company}, p. 45, calculates £108,000 on the basis of the par value of a share in 1572 (£450) and a putative total of 240 shareholders, noting, however, that it is anything but certain that there were, in fact, 240 shares or that all shareholders paid up on each call. Furthermore, we know that further ventures were financed by calls made on shareholders.

\textsuperscript{191} \textit{SKILLITER, William Harborne}, p. 19-21.

\textsuperscript{192} \textit{SKILLITER, William Harborne}, p. 45, 61, 66.

\textsuperscript{193} \textit{SKILLITER, William Harborne}, p. 61, 66.

\textsuperscript{194} \textit{SKILLITER, William Harborne}, p. 46, 61, 66.
period, when from 1609 onwards the East India Company sent out five individual ships.\(^{195}\) Given the huge gaps in our knowledge, it would be pointless to attempt to compare total fleet tonnages.

Graph 4: Size of fleets in the 29 early trade reconnaissance voyages

A good deal more can be learned about the outward and return cargoes. While it is not my intention to join the debate about whether the English commercial expansion of the 16th and 17th centuries was import- or export-driven,\(^{196}\) it is worth pointing out that 16th century English merchants – not least the agents of the East India Company – did make manifold efforts to export the products of their homeland.\(^{197}\) Nonetheless, with the exception of Russia, success in exploiting a new branch of trade meant supplanting European or Asian competitors, that is to say fitting into pre-existing

\(^{195}\) The Company dispatched one ship only in 1609 (5th voyage), 1611 (7th voyage), 1612 (9th voyage), 1612 (11th voyage) and 1613 (12th voyage): CHAUDHURI, \textit{English East India Company}, p. 226.

\(^{196}\) BRENNER, \textit{ Merchants and Revolution}, p. 4-23 persuasively refutes the older view that "the transformation of English commerce in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was primarily an adaption to the short-term crises and the secular decline of the traditional export trade in broadcloths with Northern Europe". In his view, "the rise of the new trades of the Elizabethan era ... was based, from the start, on imports". However, Brenner only discusses textiles, leaving tin and lead entirely out of the picture, although demand was considerable in central Europe, the Mediterranean and the Middle East: John HATCHER, \textit{English Tin Production and Trade before 1550}, Oxford 1973, p. 133, Ian BLANCHARD, \textit{International Lead Production and Trade in the "Age of the Saigerprozess" 1460-1560} (Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte Beiheft 83), Stuttgart 1995, p. 290. However, despite the indubitable boom in lead and especially tin exports in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, the value of these exports rarely exceeded £12,000-£15,000 per annum, a sum utterly eclipsed by the value of the cloth shipped to the continent.

commercial structures. Therefore, the exports and imports of the trade reconnaissance ventures can be regarded as a series of experiments, undertaken to determine which products were readily saleable overseas and would provide the wherewithal to obtain imports which could be sold in England or re-exported to the continent at a profit. In drawing up Map 5, I divided the export goods into seven categories – cloth (a), metals (b), haberdashery (c), weapons (d), sugar (e), ornaments (f) and slaves (g) – and assigned them to the trade reconnaissance voyages to North America (I), Morocco (II), Russia (III), Persia via Russia (IV), Guinea (V), Spanish West Indies via Guinea (VI), Turkey (VII) and the East Indies (VIII). However, it must be emphasized that the amounts of cloth, metals and so forth which were exported to these destinations are seldom known, so that conclusions can be only drawn from changes in the mix of export goods sent to one region over the course of time.

Map 5: Exports of trade reconnaissance ventures, 1497-1607

Key: Ventures

| Ia | Cabot 1497 | Ib | Cabot 1498 | IIa | Morocco 1551 | IIb | Morocco 1553 | IIIa | Russia 1553 | IIIb | Russia 1555 | IIIc | Russia 1556 | IIIId | Russia 1557 | IVa | Persia via Russia 1561 | IVb | Persia via Russia 1564 | IVc | Persia via Russia 1568/73 | IVe | Persia via Russia 1579 | Va | Guinea 1553 | Vb | Guinea 1554 | Vc | Guinea 1555 | Vd | Guinea 1556 | Ve | Guinea 1558 | VIa | Spanish West Indies 1562 | VIb | Spanish West Indies 1563 | VIc | Spanish West Indies 1566 | VId | Spanish West Indies 1567 | VIIa | Turkey 1577 | VIIb | Turkey 1578 | VIIIa | East Indies 1601 | VIIIb | East Indies 1604 | VIIIc | East Indies 1607 |

Key: Products

| a1 | woollen cloth | a2 | kerseys | a3 | linen cloth | a4 | cottons | a5 | caps | b1 | tin | b2 | lead | b3 | iron | b4 | steel | b5 | tinware, pewter | b6 | other metals | c1 | haberdashery | d1 | weapons | e1 | sugar | f1 | coral, amber, jet, ivory, pearls, beads, trinkets | g1 | slaves |

Certain patterns leap to the eye. With the exception of the Spanish West Indies, merchants undertaking trade reconnaissance voyages universally loaded cloth, with

198 See, for instance, CHAUDHURI, Trade and Civilization, p. 83.
199 Where no information was available on the outward cargo (e.g. Cabot 1497), the voyage has simply been listed (Ia) without keying in any products.
woollens and kerseys characteristically being exported to Europe and Asia and linens to the Caribbean and Africa. Tin and lead – both militarily useful – were exported to Turkey and the East Indies, but were displaced by iron and tinware in the Guinea trade. No metals at all were dispatched to North America, Morocco, Persia or the Caribbean. The only goods to have obviously dropped out of the picture were sugar – no longer exported to Russia after 1555 – and miscellaneous haberdashery, which disappeared from the cargoes sent to Guinea after 1554 and to the East Indies after 1601.

The choice of goods sent back to England for sale or re-export depended, of course, on the branch of trade involved. Consequently, there was less need for experimentation as to the right mix of products, although the amount of each product included in the return cargo could obviously have a crucial impact on profits. Furthermore, the records sometimes allow us to discern whether a nascent company had hit upon a leading product which played the central role par excellence in its particular branch of trade or whether it laded more variegated cargoes. The second trade reconnaissance voyage to Morocco returned to London with sugar, dates, almonds and molasses on board. Rapidly, sugar established itself as the prime import of this branch of trade, comprising some 85% of all return cargoes, which also included some gum, almonds, dates and molasses. The goods shipped from Russia to England in the course of the trade reconnaissance voyages included wax and flax (1555), train oil, furs, felts and yarn (1556) and tallow (1557). After that, the import trade settled down in a regular pattern, the return cargoes consisting of wax, tallow, flax, train oil, furs and – somewhat later – cables and cordage, but it does not seem that any particular product played a leading role in the Muscovy Company's commerce. The Company's foray into Persia produced return shipments of coarse linen cloth (craskoes or 'crash') and raw silk in 1561 and 1564, and raw silk and

200 The East India Company discovered this to its cost in 1603 when it inadvertently inundated the home market with just over a million pounds of pepper: ANDREWS, Trade, p. 264, citing CHAUDHURI, English East India Company, p. 153-4.

201 To be sure, the records do not always tell us what the return cargoes were. What goods, if any, were imported from Newfoundland in the course of the second Cabot voyage in 1498 is unknown, since we only have evidence that one ship limped home before 25 July 1498 (WILLIAMSON, Cabot Voyages, p. 103, 228) and the London chronicles note that nothing had been reported about the fate of the other ships prior to the end of the current mayoralty on 28 October 1498: WILLIAMSON, Cabot Voyages, p. 220-1. The return cargo the the first trade reconnaissance voyage to Morocco is also unknown: WILLAN, Elizabethan Foreign Trade, p. 100. The same is true of the second and third slaving expeditions to Guinea and the Spanish West Indies.

202 WILLAN, Elizabethan Foreign Trade, p. 100.

203 WILLAN, Elizabethan Foreign Trade, p. 113-4.

204 WILLAN, Russia Company, p. 52.

205 WILLAN, Russia Company, p. 52-3.

206 WILLAN, Russia Company, p. 53. See also T.S. WILLAN, Trade between England and Russia in the second half of the Sixteenth Century, in: English Historical Review 63, 1948, p. 309.

207 WILLAN, Russia Company, p. 53-5.

208 WILLAN, Russia Company, p. 58-61.
probably also pepper, cinnamon and mace in 1565/66. Very little of the spices, galls, silk and 'tomans' bought at Tabriz and the raw silk ('wrought silkes'), spices and 'Turkie stones' obtained at Kashan in 1568/73 reached England and the last venture in 1579 managed to send but little raw silk back. Return cargoes from Guinea included gold and pepper (from 1553) and ivory (from 1554), with gold being the leading product. The return cargoes of the first and fourth slaving expeditions to Guinea and the Spanish West Indies consisted of hides, ginger, sugar and pearls (1562) and some gold, silver and pearls (1567). Although the details of the trade with Turkey conducted by Hawkins (1577) and Harborne (1578) remain murky, the picture becomes clear by 1582: the ships returned from Constantinople, Chios, Syria and Alexandria with "raw silk, mohair, cotton wool and yarn, carpets, drugs, spices, currants and indigo". After the merger with the Venice Company in 1592, imports of currants and sweet Mediterranean wines from the Venetian dependencies increased massively, the trade in currants from Zante and Cephalonia taking pride of place in the Company's trade. Finally, there can be no doubt that pepper was the prime import of the East India Company. Following the establishment of a factory at Surat on the western coast of India, indigo, sugar and saltpetre began to play a more significant role in the Company's imports.

Of course, the point of getting the mix of imports and exports just right was to make as much financial gain as possible. However, it is rarely possible to be precise about the total net profits — much less the annual return on capital — of a trade reconnaissance voyage. Indeed, in the cases of the ventures to Morocco and Russia, we are reduced to surmising that the journeys were profitable, simply because a further trade reconnaissance was essayed soon after. The same holds true for the Muscovy Company's attempts to establish trade relations with Persia, with the exception of two ventures. The first, undertaken in 1568/73, ended with the loss of all but £5000 worth of goods out of a cargo said to be worth £30,000 to £40,000, but the mer-

209 WILLAN, Russia Company, p. 59-61.
211 WILLAN, Russia Company, p. 150-1.
213 ANDREWS, Trade, p. 121.
214 ANDREWS, Trade, p. 127.
215 WOOD, Levant Company, p. 17. On the early trade to Turkey see also WILLAN, English Trade with the Levant, p. 405-10.
217 Other spices such as cloves, cinnamon and nutmeg played a decidedly minor role: ANDREWS, Trade, p. 264-6. On the imports generated by the first Voyage, returning in 1603, see also Henry STEVENS (ed.), The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1599-1603 containing an account of the formation of the Company, the first Adventure and Waymouth's Voyage in search of the North-West Passage, with an Introduction by George BIRDWOOD, London 1886, reprinted London 1967, p. 247.
218 ANDREWS, Trade, p. 270.
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chants apparently lost none of their principal. While this takes no account of other expenses, it does suggest that the venture would have been highly successful. The second – the Company's final attempt to trade with Persia – generated a meagre profit of 6%. The expeditions to Guinea produced huge financial gains, but the slaving expeditions to Guinea and the Spanish West Indies proved to be disappointing. The first venture (1562) was apparently profitable, the second (1563) earned a respectable 60%, the third (1566) was a failure and the fourth (1567) a disaster. By contrast, the trade with Turkey was an almost instant success, said to have generated profits of some 300%.

It is, however, only in the case of the East India Company where sufficiently detailed records have survived to enable us to calculate the overall profits as well as the per annum return on capital. The first twelve voyages returned an average profit of 155% overall, while the annual rate of return rose rapidly from 12%-19% on the first six voyages to 25%-45% on the next six.

It goes without saying that not all trade reconnaissance ventures were successful. After 1579 the Persian trade was abandoned. It had become clear that the hopes entertained so fervently at the outset of diverting the silk and spice trade and supplanting the Venetians as suppliers of kerseys to the Near East were bound to be dashed. Adding to the difficulties of an unstable situation in the region south of the Caspian, where the death of a single petty ruler could suffice to call off all bets, was the Turkish advance into Shirvan, which effectively blocked English trade. Voyages to Guinea continued in the 1560's, but the combination of ever more limited opportunities for obtaining a return cargo and the increasing expense of defending merchantmen against Portuguese naval forces drastically curtailed profits, and the English "effectively abandoned the Guinea trade" in the early 1570's. After 1567 the English did not again attempt to ship slaves from Guinea to the Spanish West Indies. The increasing expense of providing for adequate defence against hostile naval forces – both in Africa and in the Caribbean – squeezed profits to the point where the English could not compete with the Portuguese and the French.

If, however, one or more trade reconnaissance ventures had shown promise that commerce would flourish, the next step was to establish resident agents who could continue buying and selling throughout the year. This was by no means

219 WILLAN, Russia Company, p. 147.
220 ANDREWS, Trade, p. 84. On the profitability of the last two Persian expeditions see also WILLAN, Russia Company, p. 154.
221 WILLIAMSON, England and the Opening of the Atlantic, p. 43. See also ANDREWS, Trade, p. 106-7.
223 ANDREWS, Trade, p. 125-7.
224 WOOD, Levant Company, p. 17.
225 CHAUDHURI, English East India Company, p. 22.
227 Such as the death of Abdullah Khan, ruler of Shirvaz, on 2 October 1565: WILLAN, Russia Company, p. 60.
228 WILLAN, Russia Company, p. 152-3.
229 ANDREWS, Trade, p. 111.
an innovation of the Age of Discovery. In the early 1470's, the Celys were accustomed to shipping wool to their factors in Calais for sale there,\textsuperscript{231} and by 1526 Thomas Tison, an Englishman resident in the Spanish West Indies, was working as a secret factor for Robert Thorne and other English merchants based in Seville, distributing the goods sent to him in Spanish ships.\textsuperscript{232} Thus it seems most likely that an old system was simply applied to new areas of trade as they opened up. By the third voyage to Morocco in 1555, some of the charterers were indubitably trading through factors, but it is not clear whether these were living in Morocco. There can, however, be no doubt that by 1558 English commercial agents were residing in Morocco.\textsuperscript{233} Richard Gray, George Killingworth and John Brooke accompanied the second voyage to Russia in 1555, the first two destined to serve as factors in Russia and the third in Vardø in northern Norway.\textsuperscript{234} When Henry Lane was sent out two years later, it was deemed more opportune that the agents should take up residents in the principal Russian trading centres. Thus Gray stayed in Moscow while Lane went to Kholmogory, later transferring to Vologda. By 1589, there were four commercial agents permanently based in Russia in Moscow, Yaroslavl, Vologda and Kholmogory, the factory at St. Nicholas being under the supervision of the Kholmogory agent.\textsuperscript{235} In 1566, two years before Ivan IV conquered Narva, Christopher Hoddesdon was sent there as a resident agent.\textsuperscript{236} The fourth venture to Guinea in 1561 was directed to seek a site for a fort on the Gold Coast,\textsuperscript{237} which I interpret as an attempt to found a secure seat for a resident factor. The question of whether, and if so when, resident agents began acting for English merchants trading to Turkey has been obscured by the rapid appointment of consuls.\textsuperscript{238} Judging from the fact that these officials were forbidden to act as resident agents in 1624,\textsuperscript{239} it is likely that they had been doing so before that. Nonetheless, some commercial agents have left traces in the records. William Harborne himself was dispatched in 1578 as the agent of Edmund Osborne and Richard Staper and remained in Constantinople in this capacity for some time.\textsuperscript{240} Moreover, in 1582 Hakluyt states that a shadowy 'Master S.' – perhaps Richard Stanley – had become 'a factor at Constantinople and in other partes in Turkie' and was 'fitter than all the English factors there'.\textsuperscript{241} If the identification with Richard Stanley is correct, then he must have been acting in this capacity since 1579, and in any event he was manifestly only one of many resident English


\textsuperscript{232} WILLIAMSON, \textit{Maritime Enterprise}, p. 260.

\textsuperscript{233} WILLAN, \textit{Elizabethan Foreign Trade}, p. 103-4.

\textsuperscript{234} WILLIAMSON, \textit{Maritime Enterprise}, p. 327. See also WILLAN, \textit{Russia Company}, p. 22, 29-38.

\textsuperscript{235} WILLAN, \textit{Russia Company}, p. 29-30.

\textsuperscript{236} WILLAN, \textit{England and Russia}, p. 311. See also WILLAN, \textit{Russia Company}, p. 63, 74-7.

\textsuperscript{237} ANDREWS, \textit{Trade}, p. 109-10.

\textsuperscript{238} On this subject see WOOD, \textit{Levant Company}, p. 15. William Harborne appointed consuls in Alexandria (responsible for Egypt) and Tripoli (Syria and Palestine) in 1583, and in Algiers in 1585. In addition, consulates were set up in Chios and Patras at some unknown date. On the consuls' duties in the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries see WOOD, \textit{Levant Company}, p. 217-20.

\textsuperscript{239} WOOD, \textit{Levant Company}, p. 218.

\textsuperscript{240} SKILLITER, \textit{William Harborne}, p. 107.

\textsuperscript{241} Quoted from SKILLITER, \textit{William Harborne}, p. 48.
agents. In 1582, Lord Burghley noted that there were two English agents at Aleppo and one at Tripoli (Syria).\(^{242}\) Of course, once regulated trade replaced joint-stock trade (1588/92),\(^{243}\) resident factors became essential. This is reflected in the fact that Elizabeth I's charter of 1592 allowed factors to join the parent company,\(^{244}\) which implies that they were common at least by that time. Last, but not least, there can be no doubt that merchants trading to the East Indies relied on resident factors from the outset. By order of its backers,\(^{245}\) the very first trade reconnaissance voyage in 1601 left men behind "in suitable places to conduct trade pending the arrival of a second fleet."\(^{246}\) These included the province of Bantam on Java (1601-20, 1628), Masulipatam (1611), Surat (1611-1630/31), Patani in Malaya, Ayuthia in Siam and Hirado in Japan (all before 1620), Macassar (1623) and a host of other places.\(^{247}\)

The final logical step in opening up a region to trade was to obtain trading privileges from the ruler of the host region and an incorporation charter from the English crown. I do not propose to summarize at length the contents of these documents, but I do wish to draw attention to the fact that they formed the capstone to a -- sometimes brief, other times longer -- period of commercial development. This goes some way to explaining why most of the royal charters contained a provision granting the newly founded company a monopoly of trade within a given region, albeit only for a term of years.\(^{248}\) After all, a certain amount of commercial experience trading with a particular region was requisite if one were to judge whether it was worth exploiting. In any event there had to be enough members on hand to enforce the monopoly against interlopers. In addition, it often proved useful to conjoin foreign trading privileges with a domestic charter of incorporation. That guaranteed the company, at least for the time being, the right to trade in the host region, as well as protection for life and property and just possibly a number of concessions denied to competitors which would make the monopoly easier to enforce.\(^{249}\)

The Morocco or Barbary Company was incorporated on 5 July 1585, being granted a twelve year monopoly of trade with the Barbary coast.\(^{250}\) However, the company never sought nor received trading privileges from the kings of the Saadian dynasty. Apparently, the English were content with the edicts of Muley Abd el-Malek (6 July 1577) and his successor Muley Ahmed (18 June 1579), both of whom promised protection to all English merchants in the most general of terms.\(^{251}\) Elizabeth I gave the Muscovy or Russia Company a charter

\(^{242}\) SKILLITER, William Harborne, p. 178.
\(^{243}\) WILLAN, English Trade with the Levant, p. 405-7.
\(^{244}\) WOOD, Levant Company, p. 20.
\(^{245}\) STEVENS, Dawn of British Trade, p. 131.
\(^{246}\) ANDREWS, Trade, p. 264.
\(^{247}\) ANDREWS, Trade, p. 264-76.
\(^{248}\) I hasten to add that I am cognizant of the fact that a number of companies were incorporated in the hope of commercial success which never materialized and died soon after birth. For an overview of the companies founded between 1575 and 1630 see RABB, Enterprise and Empire, p. 147-64.
\(^{249}\) WILLAN, Russia Company, p. 9-10.
\(^{250}\) WILLAN, Elizabethan Foreign Trade, p. 184-7.
\(^{251}\) WILLAN, Elizabethan Foreign Trade, p. 151-3, 238-9.
of incorporation on 26 February 1555, granting it an apparently perpetual monopoly of trade with Russia.\textsuperscript{252} On the next (second) voyage undertaken, the newly formed company obtained extensive trading privileges from Ivan IV in October 1555.\textsuperscript{253} In addition, it received two privileges for customs-free trade in Persia, once in 1563 by Abdullah Khan for the province of Shirvan and another on 29 June 1566 from Shah Tahmsap for all of Persia.\textsuperscript{254} In the case of the \textit{Turkey or Levant Company}, the order was reversed. First, William Harborne obtained trading privileges for the English nation from Sultan Murad III in May 1580,\textsuperscript{255} but only on 11 September 1581 did Elizabeth I grant the company a charter, giving it a seven-year monopoly on trade with Turkey. One other clause of the queen's patent is unusual: the Company was required to import and export enough merchandise to pay customs to the value of £500 yearly for six of the seven years of the grant.\textsuperscript{256} On 7 January 1592, after the first charter had expired, Elizabeth granted a further charter, formalizing the merchants' agreement to merge the Turkey and the Venice companies.\textsuperscript{257} For twelve years this enlarged Levant Company was to have a monopoly on trade with the eastern Mediterranean and the land route to the East Indies pioneered by Newbery and Fitch.\textsuperscript{258} Finally, the \textit{East India Company}, which seems only to have received one privilege from a foreign ruler during its formative years,\textsuperscript{259} was constituted by royal patent on 31 December 1600, receiving a monopoly of English trade in all countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan (i.e. in the Indian and Pacific oceans), saving Christian lands.\textsuperscript{260}

Judging from the perspective of the English commercial ventures of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, Sturmy's expedition can be seen to fit into a common pattern, although of the four elements of that pattern – information-gathering, trade reconnaissance, trade through resident agents and the obtaining of privileges, both patents of incorporation

\textsuperscript{252} WILLAN, \textit{Muscovy Merchants}, p. 9; WILLAN, \textit{Russia Company}, p. 7-9.


\textsuperscript{254} ANDREWS, \textit{Trade}, p. 83; WILLAN, \textit{Russia Company}, p. 58, 60.


\textsuperscript{256} The patent is summarized in WOOD, \textit{Levant Company}, p. 11. See also Edmund Osborne's articles of 1582: SKILLITER, \textit{William Harborne}, p. 180-1.

\textsuperscript{257} The Venice Company traced its origins to Elizabeth's grant of a monopoly on imports of goods from Venice to the Luccan merchant Acerbo Velutelli and others in 1575. In retaliation for their imposition of fines on interlopers, Venice in turn subjected English imports and exports to heavy duties. English merchants trading with Venice and its Mediterranean dominions suffered accordingly, and they bought out Velutelli in 1582 and rescinded the monopoly. Since Venice failed to withdraw its measures, Elizabeth granted the English merchants trading with Venice a monopoly of imports of currants, sweet wines and oil from Venetian territories for six years in 1583: WOOD, \textit{Levant Company}, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{258} WOOD, \textit{Levant Company}, p. 21.

\textsuperscript{259} Formal trading rights in Surat and the Mughal Empire were obtained in 1610: CHAUDHURI, \textit{English East India Company}, p. 43.

\textsuperscript{260} ANDREWS, \textit{Trade}, p. 261; BRENNER, \textit{Merchants and Revolution}, p. 21-2; CHAUDHURI, \textit{English East India Company}, p. 28.
from the English monarchy and trading privileges from the rulers of the host nation — only the first two apply to him, since he was attacked by Gattilusio and lost his life in 1458. Nonetheless, it is striking just how exact the match is in the remaining two elements.

In the first place, it is more than likely that he had collected as much information as possible before setting out. Since Sturmy had transported pilgrims to Jaffa in the Holy Land in 1446 and to Santiago de Compostella in 1451 and 1456, he must have had at least proximate knowledge of the route or known where to find pilots who did. Moreover, he is almost certain to have gathered information about the Levant in more informal ways. Indeed, the *obiter dicta* recorded in the transcript of the trial before king and council edited here throw a good deal of light on how frequently information was exchanged in casual conversation. William Denys of Devonshire, who travelled to Jerusalem in the same galley as the Earl of Worcester, stated that he heard about the whereabouts of Sturmy's ship and Gattilusio's intentions in Rhodes, Candia, Corfu and Parenzo and picked up further common rumours in Venice. William Tentone, who was captured by Gattilusio and detained for four months, obtained a wealth of information by talking to him, his crew and various Frenchmen on board. William Crike not only claimed to know some 150 Genoese by sight who had served with Gattilusio, having seen them in Southampton and Sandwich, but also talked to the inhabitants of Portofino near Genoa about the arming and victualling of Gattilusio's galley. Finally, John Warde was able to report the substance of a conversation he had had with Laurence Test, a servant of the London alderman Thomas Cock, in Bruges about what Test had heard about Gattilusio when he was in Genoa. Language was clearly not an insuperable barrier to the exchange of all sorts of information.

There can be even less doubt that Sturmy's expedition was a trade reconnaissance voyage. First of all, it was declared as such, at least retrospectively. Heyton stated to the council on 30 October 1458 that

"the disposiciouns and ententes of the seid Robert Sturmy and John Eytone and theyr feleshippe in theyr viage [were] ... to the comyne advayle and experience of fete and entercours of merchaundises aswele to be had, gotene and understonde by us in theyr parties as they have had of long tyme withyne this your realme, the which they in nomaner wyse wolle suffre to the uttermost parte of theyr power and goodes for drede that the merchauntez of this youre londe shold have eny understandyng or knowleche of their commodites and merchaundises and of the prises and values of the same in theyr parties"

261 The fact that the *Cog Anne* was wrecked off Modon in Greece on the return journey is immaterial to the argument that the transport of pilgrims added to the sum of geographical knowledge available to English merchants. After all, the *Cog Anne* came to grief not because of any lack of geographical knowledge or nautical skills, but because she was dashed against the rocks during a storm: CARUS-WILSON, *Trade*, No. 95, p. 85-6. Indeed, an investigation of whether there might be connections between the transport of pilgrims and far-flung commercial voyages in the 15th and 16th centuries might well produce surprising results.

262 Appendix I § 7e.
263 Appendix I § 13b.
264 Appendix I § 16.
265 Appendix I § 16c.
266 Appendix I § 5a.
Sturmy's expedition was intended – as were those of the 16th century – to gain exact knowledge of the commercial emporia and acquaintance with local business practices, to initiate commercial contacts, in short, to acquire enough practical experience of the region to decide whether trade would pay off. Moreover, his outward cargo of woollens, tin, lead and wool corresponded almost exactly to the mix of merchandise sent out on later trade reconnaissance voyages, the only exception – wool – being readily explicable, since Sturmy knew from experience that he could sell it at Pisa, as he had done so in 1446. In addition, the goods sent back to England in the *Katherine* and the *Mary Heytone* matched the usual exports from the Levant. Again, with three ships Sturmy's expedition was more or less the same size as the early trade reconnaissance fleets, and its investment value was comparable, if one be permitted the likely assumption that the £6000 compensation adjudicated to Heyton and the venture's backers more or less corresponded to what they had invested. Sturmy's fleet followed the same route taken to the Levant by later trade reconnaissance voyages, stopping at Chios and returning by way of Crete, and – most strikingly – it adhered to the later English practice of sailing to the Levant during winter in order to avoid hostile galleys. The financing of Sturmy's expedition, with its mixture of court favourites with useful political connections and potent bourgeois financiers, was later to be the typical method of financing a trade reconnaissance voyage. Indeed, there is some justice to the claim that Sturmy's expedition, like so many later trade reconnaissance ventures, was financed on a terminable joint-stock basis with private trading being eschewed in favour of agents who traded in the name of the backers as a body. After all, to judge by the transcript, Sturmy and Heyton were the only merchants to have traded actively. Moreover, Heyton and the other plaintiffs never put forward individual claims for damages suffered by merchants accompanying the expedition and trading individually. Indeed, even after the council awarded them compensation, Sturmy's backers acted as a group represented by common attorneys, individual claims being ruled out before distribution had been made. While it would be perilous to pretend that these similarities justify a firm conclusion that Sturmy's endeavour was financed on a terminable joint-stock basis, the similarities are very striking indeed.

It is, of course, impossible to say what might have developed had Sturmy's expedition been successful. While it is tempting to point to the fact that in the early part of Henry VII's reign English ships were calling at Chios regularly and that English traders were resident in Chios by 1479 at the latest, as evidence of what Sturmy might have been aiming for in 1458, this does not constitute proof that establishing

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267 Appendix I § 15a.
268 Only mohair is missing.
269 *Skilliter, William Harborne*, p. 66.
270 Individual claims were only put forth for the turkopelier of Rhodes, who had merely shipped his own freight in Sturmy's ship, and for John Wykes and his servant John Dorya, who had lost merchandise and property in a completely separate Genoese attack in February 1458: Appendix I § 15a.
271 Appendix II, 13.
272 Appendix II, 14.
resident agents in the Levant formed any part of his plan. Nonetheless, it is indisputable that Sturmy's expedition and the later endeavours of the emerging English trading companies fit into a common pattern.

Thus, I am persuaded that Carus-Wilson was wrong to regard Sturmy as the precursor of the voyages of discovery in the Early Modern era. To view him as such makes the crucial presupposition that Sturmy's voyage in 1457/58 started something quite new and unprecedented which amounted to a significant break with the past. However, Carus-Wilson merely assumes, but does not prove this. Furthermore, it is difficult to regard Sturmy as a precursor of the later voyages of discovery, since, after all, it would take some 40 years for a successor to appear. In my view of it, the real break with medieval commerce came not in 1457, but in the early 17th century when the East India Company began to conduct bureaucratized trade on a world-wide scale and others realized that the New World – Virginia, in particular – would have to be settled before it could generate profitable trade. Consequently, Sturmy and the Early Modern English trading companies were part of one and the same phenomenon: both were symptomatic of the main thrust of late medieval commerce, one which united the 15th century with the 16th much more intimately than we have hitherto thought possible.

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275 It is worth pointing out that there was an obscure English attempt to break into the wool trade with Italy which was repulsed by force in 1412. For glancing references to this incident and the letters of marque issued to William Waldern and other London merchants in view of their alleged losses of £24,000 see J.L. Kirby, Henry IV of England, London 1970, p. 247 and G.D. Ramsey, English Overseas Trade during the Centuries of Emergence. Studies in the Modern Origins of the English-speaking World, London 1957, p. 35. Neither scholar provides references to the sources. Those I have found are: CPR 1408-13, p. 461-2 (letters of marque dated 3 Feb. 1413), CCR 1409-13, p. 437 (trade embargo against Genoa dated 3 Feb. 1413). Foedera (O), vol. 8, p. 717 and (H) vol. IV, pt. 2, p. 5 mis-date the close letter to 1412.

276 I hasten to add that I am aware of the sources which seem to record attempts to discover the Isle of Brazil. However, none of these sources seem to me to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that such voyages of discovery in fact took place.
APPENDIX I

TRANSCRIPT OF THE TRIAL OF THE GENOESE BEFORE KING AND COUNCIL

Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, Hanse III.K.3, Bl. 76-89. 1 gathering of 14 leaves of paper, the leaves having been first numbered in the 1980s.

Watermarks: Bl. 77-82: similar to water mark file Piccard in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart J 340, Hut (+ Mitra, Tiara), Ring, Herz, no number = Stadtarchiv Nördlingen U 7313,5 (receipt for payment of an instalment of a life annuity (Leibgeding)) (Munich 1469); Bl. 89: Briquet 12.481 (Paris 1468); also similar to water mark file Piccard in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart J 340, Kanne (+ Glas, Kelch, Krug), unnumbered = Stadtarchiv Mechelen, Schepenakten 94 (Mechelen 1474); Size of paper: 30 x 20 cm; size of text: 21 x 14 cm.

The booklet was written by one English hand, with rare exceptions which are signalled in the text's critical apparatus by being enclosed in "...". Interlineations are enclosed in ".. ..", marginalia in "... ...". Roman numerals have been reproduced as Arabic. The archive did not number blank pages, and this is reflected in the numeration of the leaves ("Bl." = Blatt / leaf).

For ease of reference I have divided the transcript into sections – [I], [Ia] etc., assigning a number to each day on which the case was heard and designating the events of the day and the documents submitted as "1a", "1b", "1c" etc.

The translation of the Latin texts is intended to convey the sense of the documents rather than reproduce all too faithfully the convoluted and ornate Latinity of the mid-fifteenth century.
Acts presented to the lords of the council against the Genoese

Acts presented in the suit before the lords of the council by John Heytone of Bristol in his own name and that of Robert Sturmy and other merchants of Bristol and other cities and places in England against the Genoese etc.

On the twenty-first of August in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Henry VI after the conquest [21 August 1458] the said John in the name of those named above — after the lamentable plea he made orally against the Genoese — presented the following bill.

To the kyng our sovereyne lord. Besechene most humble your true subgettes and liegemene Robert Sturmy and John Heytone mercantez of your towne of Bristowe, pitiously compleynyng that where as they with other dyvers mercantez of this your realme in the monethe of Juyn the yere of your fulle noble reigne 35 [June 1457] did affrect 3 shippes, oone of theyme called a kervelle, onder the guydyng, charge and govemaunce of your seid besechers with dyvers merchaundises frome the porte of the towne aforeseid towarde the porte of Candye and theym discharged of dyvers of there seid merchaundises at sundry portes in the meooie wey and recharged theyme ayene with other merchaundises and so accomplisshed theyr seid viage in sauftee thurght Goddes grace unto the porte salve of Candye aforeseid, at whiche porte the seid 3 shippes and also another shippe called a kervelle were fully frect and charged under semblable charge and governaunce with many dyvers merchaundises, that is to wete with spices, wynes, alone, clothes of silke, cotone, bowstaves, gonnpower and other goodes and merchaundises to the value in Eng­land of £20,000 or ryght there aboute, as evydently may be proved. And frome thens they retorned and toke there viage with the same merchaundises and goodes towards the porte of Bristow aforeseid in the moneth of May last passed [May 1458], in sauftee thought Goddes grace, unto they came in the high see ayenst the Isle of Malta the 9 day of Juyn thene nexte folowyng [9 June 1458], where they thane mette a grete carake, a kervelle and 2 galiettes, manned and vitailled by the ducce and the hole bodye of Jeane, fulle of mene of werre unto the nombre of 900 persones
or moo, liyng in a wayte for your said besechers, theyr shippes and goodes aforesaid, which forcibly chased your seid besechers contynuelly unto the morowe thene nexte folowyng [10 June 1458]. And thene the seid carake fette with seyle your said besechers and alle there seid shippes and sente unto theyme his bote with a mane, demaundyng theyme of whens they were and under whos obeissantce, fro whens they came and wether they were bownde. They thene aunsweryng that they were merchauentez of Bristow under the obeissantce of you, sovereyne lord kyng of Eng­land, comynge frome Candye laded with merchauendises homeward. [Bl. 77] The same mane thene aunsweryng in this wyse in the langage of Jeane, "Thane be we all gooode frendes and gooode love betwene us, for all we be mene of Jeane." And all this meane tyme the seid carrake bare a baner of Seynt George, wherfor your seid besechers trustid noone other but verrey feyth and frendeshippe. And assone as "ever" the seid man returned froyme youre seid besechers unto the seid carrake, they pulled downe the seid baner of Seynt George and sette uppe a baner of the Frenssh kynges of flourdelices and forthewith assautyd your seid besechers in the most horrible and cruell wyse of werre, that is to sey with wylde fyre, brynnyng oyle, unslekked lyme, caltrappes and gonnshotte a 1000 of a day and slew of theyr folkes your trew sub­gettes and liegemene to the nombre of 128 (and the remenaunt sore hurte and wounded) and toke and distroyed all theyr seid shippes, merchauendises and goodes and kept theyme prisoners withyne the seid carrake by the space of 6 dayes and thene set theyme one lande alle bare without socour or releefe in the Isle of Malta aforesaid to the utter destructioun and undoyng of your seid besechers and many merchauentez moo and contrarie to the leage and amyte betwene youre highnesse and the duc and commynalte of Jeane aforesaid for tymye auctorized and confermed. Please it theryor your highnesse of your most habundant grace the pitenouse pre­mysses tenderly to consider and theruppone to yeve especiall commaundement to your chaunceller of England and to the lordes of your honourable conseylle to do calle afore theyme the merchauentez of Jeane in London', whiche bene the hole bodye of Jeane as in this your noble realme, and thyme to do putte under warde or suffi­cient suerte to the tyme that due and indelayed examynacioun, redresse, restitucioun and sufficient amends be hadd in this behalf aswell to you soverayne lorde in bre­che of the leage and for the unlawfull murdre of youre trew liege people as to your seide besechers for there damages and interest in the premysses and they shall per­petually pray to God for you.

Qua billa lecta domini decreverunt Januenses in civitate London' existentes evocandos fore ad concilium regis et quod comparerent in crastino [22 August 1458], cui deliberacioni dictus Heytone et ali sibi adherentes acqueruerunt.

[2] On the 22nd of August, the Genoese who had been summoned appeared [before the council] and at the

1 Sic Ms.
dicta. Et postea lecta billa contra eos porrecta ipsique plurimis verbis seipsos declarare nitibantur immunes et finaliter responsum ipsorum ad dictam billam redactum fuit in scriptis per clericum consignatum eisdem ad eorum petitionem, quod quidem responsum scriptum est ad dorsum predicte bille in hunc modum.

[2a] [Bl. 787] Responcio Januensis ad hanc billam apud Westmonasterium 22\textsuperscript{do} die Augusti anno etc. 36\textsuperscript{o} [22 August 1458]

\textit{Nota responsio}\textsuperscript{b}

Primo nos dicimus, quod ille pirata, qui percepit naves Anglicorum, non est Januensis nec subditus Januensis, ymmo publicus pirata et oriundus in Grecia in quadam insula vocata Metelyne Vellenio, super quem dominacio Januensis nullum habet dominium, qui prius cepit dannificare Januenses quam alias naciones.

Item quod dictus pirata non exivit cum navibus Januensis neque missus per ducem neque per communitatem Janue, ut presupponitur in billa.

Item Januenses interrogati, an aliqui Januenses fuerint in nave cum predicto pirata tempore, quo cepit Anglicos, dixerunt, quod ignorant. Et est assignatus partibus dies 23\textsuperscript{cis} [23 August 1458] ad comparendum.

[3] Quo vicesimo tercio die [23 August 1458] adveniente domini considerantes enormitatem facti et facinoris pretensis qualitatem post deliberacionem decreverunt, quod dicti Januenses aut invenire deberent securitatem de quad-

[2] Interlined above nitubearunt, struck through Ms.


[4] Interlined above anj, struck through Ms.

outset the said suit was explained to them. After the reading of the bill handed in against them, they declared at great length that they were exempt. In the end the clerk assigned to them at their request drew up their response to the said bill in written form. This written response was entered on the dorse of the said bill in the following form.

[2a] Response of the Genoese to the said bill on the 22\textsuperscript{nd} day of August in the 36\textsuperscript{th} year etc. [22 August 1458]

Note: Response

First, we say that that pirate who captured the ships of the English is not Genoese, nor is he a subject of Genoa, but rather a notorious pirate, born in Greece on a certain island called Mitilini Vellenio over which the Genoese government has no influence. Indeed, he preferred to damage the Genoese rather than other nations.

Again, the said pirate did not sail forth with Genoese ships, nor was he sent by the duke or the city of Genoa, as the bill supposes.

Again, the Genoese [appearing before the council] were asked if any Genoese were in the ship with the said pirate at the time he captured the English, and they said that they did not know. And both parties were told to appear on the 23\textsuperscript{rd} [23 August 1458].

[3] On the 23\textsuperscript{rd} [23 August 1458] the lords [of the council] – considering the enormity of the alleged crime – decreed after some deliberation that the said Genoese should either find sureties for £40,000 to guarantee that they would
remain [in England] and respond to what they had been accused of and to stand trial in this regard or be committed to prison. And since those Genoese did not find such sureties, some of them were committed to be held in Fleet prison and others put in the custody of the sheriffs of London, some however – being licensed clerks – were put under house arrest. And decrees were sent under the privy seal to Southampton and Sandwich ordering that any Genoese found in those towns and parts be arrested and their ships and goods sequestered. And the said Genoese requested in the presence of the lords [of the council] that they be allowed to instruct council learned in the law. On this the lords wished to deliberate until the morrow [24 August 1458].

And the said Heytone – acting in the name of those named above – presented a number of letters, writings and documents to support his suit, which follow.

[3a] Letter from the viceroy of Sicily in Candia

Illustrious and mighty lord, humble greetings. Today, on the 18th of June in the sixth indiction [18 June 1458], a certain honourable Englishman came from the island of Malta to this island of Ghawdez who said that he was called John Heytone of Bristol in England, asserting that, as he with his ship and Robert Sturmy (also of Bristol) with his own ship were coming from the East, transporting various kinds of merchandise of great value and a large amount of money, and were sailing past the island of Malta on Friday, the 9th of June [9 June 1458], a ship and a carvel of Genoa sailed out against them from the channel or promontory of this island of

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5 Interlined above quibus dicti, struck through Ms.
Maltis, una navis et una caravella Januenses de freto sive surgitorio hujus insule Gaudisii contra eos exeuntes, eis adhserunt et manu armata easdem duas naves dicti exponentis et dicti Roberti invadentes easdem naves duro marte per dies tres debellaverunt. Tandem post multorum stragem et sanguinis effusione hominum dictarum navium ipsas duas naves ceperunt, dictoque Johanne exponente et dicto Roberto ac alis, qui ex hominibus dictarum navium post durum bellum et crudelissimam stragem et sanguinis effusionem semivivi remanerant, in terram dicte insule Maltis ejecit, dictas duas naves cum moneta, rebus et mercibus omnibus ipsius exponentis dictique Roberti et aliorum, qui in dictis navibus erant, transtulerunt ad partes Libie velificantes. Nos propterea requisivit instanter nonnullos homines, qui ex dicta navi et dicta caravella in hac insula Gaudisii remanerunt, super infrascriptis, videlicet qualiter dicta navis et dicta caravella de communis Janue dicione sint et in civitate Janue sive in civitate Sahone cum consensu ducis Janue ad piraticam exercendam armate fuerint, interrogare et examinare deberemus ad informacionem dominacionis vestre, super premissis interrogavimus, quorum nomina et cognomina deposicionis et dicta ad ipsius Johannis peticionem dominacioni vestre dirigimus presentibus inserta, videlicet:

6 condeliter Ms.
7 Interlined over quale, struck through Ms.
sworn and interrogated as a witness, says that the ship and carvel which in the last week, namely on Thursday, the 8th of the present month of June in the 6th induction [8 June 1458], was freighted for this island of Gwahdez, belonged and still belongs to one misser Juliano Gataluxi from the island of Mitilini. The said Julianus is master of the said ship, its captain and owner. Second in command or lieutenant of the said commander Julianus in the said carvel is a certain man called Petrus Bulgaru from the said island of Mitilini. And the said carvel was armed in the city of Savona beginning last winter. Indeed the said ship was also armed in the said city of Savona beginning three and a half months ago or about that time. After sailing forth from the said city of Savona, the ship was in the quay or harbour of the city of Genoa, where it took on men and indeed arms and victuals in the sight and with the knowledge of the duke of the said city, who rode out several times to the said quay and saw the said ship there in the water. And when the ship sailed forth, it came to the harbour of Bonifacio on the island of Corsica, where the said carvel was waiting for the said ship. And sailing forth from there together, the said ship and the said carvel conducted piracy along the coast of Catalonia. Passing from there, they came via Libya to the channel and promontory of this island of Gwahdez, where they landed on Thursday, the 8th of the present month of June in the 6th induction [8 June 1458]. And while they were standing on the promontory of the said island of Gwahdez on Friday, the ninth of this month [9 June 1458], they saw three ships sailing past the island of Malta. Immediately they ran back and began to sail towards the three aforesaid
ships, seeking rich plunder in the way of pirates, but they left the said witness and five other men of the said ship on the shore of this island of Ghawdez who could not go aboard the said ship because it and the said carvel raised sail and sailed away so quickly, which — the three ships having been spotted — raised sail and sallied forth to pursue the said three ships. Asked how he knew these things, he said that he knew them just as because he had been one of the men on board the said ship and had seen and heard all the aforesaid things at the place and time as above. The said witness declared that the said ship and the said carvel did not return to the island of Ghawdez afterwards. Therefore he said he was ignorant of what they did with the said ships which they had followed, and who indeed had them in his possession and where they went. 

[3c] 2nd witness. Johannes Rubagliann of the town of Celle Ligure in the district of Genoa, witness, sworn and interrogated, said much the same thing as the previous witness, asserting that he had been one of the six men left by the said ship on the island of Ghawdez because the ship and the said carvel had sailed away so quickly in pursuit of the three ships which they had seen off Malta.

[3d] 3rd [witness]. Baldazar de Carreca from the Riviera of Genoa, witness, sworn and interrogated, said much the same thing as the previous witness, declaring that he had been one of the said six men from the ship of Julianus Gataluxi left on the island of Ghawdez because the said ship and the said carvel had sailed away so quickly, pursuing the said three ships which they had seen off Malta.
APPENDIX I: TRIAL BEFORE KING AND COUNCIL


[3f] 5th [witness]. Jacobinus Berne de Finar testis juratus et interrogatus dixit formiter ut proximus, declarans se esse unum ex sex hominibus predictis.

Nos postremo humili obsequio dominacionis vestre gratie humiliter subiicientes. Scripta Gaudisii desimo octavo Junii 6th indictione [18 June 1458].

[3g] Letter of the captain and the jurates of Malta to all

To the most illustrious and mighty lord, Lopxundus, namely viceroy of the Two Kingdoms [of Sicily], unto their worthiest lord and continual benefactor

To one and all most illustrious and serene kings, viceroys, dukes, princes, margraves, counts, barons, captains and any and all other officials and persons, whatever their estate, dignity and status might be, to whom these letters come or are presented, the captain and jurats of the city and island of Malta, who show themselves ready to serve, obey, honour and defer, make manifest by the present testimonial patent letters that in the days just past, namely on the 9th of this present month of June, 6th indication, 1458 [9 June 1458], there appeared three ships coming from the east of the said island of Malta near the shore and from

the north two, indeed larger [ships] making their way to port. And when they were off the castle which is in the said port, they changed course and sailed back towards the island of Ghawdez. On the following day [10 June 1458] after the hour of vespers we heard several cannon shots to the south. Several of us approached the said place and saw five ships looking as if they were fastened together, indeed as if they were tied together. They stayed locked together in battle the whole of the following Saturday [10 June 1458] until sunset. When nightfall came, they separated a little from one another and stayed in those positions for all of the following Sunday [11 June 1458]. However, on the following Monday [12 June 1458] the said two larger ships sailed back in the direction of the three others and began to attack them with cannons, catapults, crossbows, grappling hooks and other sorts of weapons and to try conclusions with them. On the same day the two large ships captured two of the three ships and, having captured them, most of the men in the ships were dragged out, wounded, lethally stabbed and dead. A great many of them had died in the battle. And after the capture – the third being left behind, two having being captured – they sailed away from there. On the following day [13 June 1458] the said captured men were set on land on the said island. And thus all the

15 sentire follows, struck through Ms.
16 supervenient follows, struck through Ms.
17 memb follows, struck through Ms.
19 Vespers is the last hour before sunset.
20 The translation is speculative, since (h)arlio, (h)arlium etc. cannot be found in the usual dictionaries. However, since harlio means 'to hang on a hook' (R.E. Latham (ed.), Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources, London 1965, reprinted 1983, s.v. hardum), the translation seems plausible.
cultate fuerunt ducti et portati ad hanc civitatem Melvicii predictam, ubi positi fuerunt in hospitali. Et omnes stant in manibus medicorum, quia quasi nemo evasit sine percussione. Et positi in terra, nonnulli mortui sunt, et quamplures remanebunt membris mutilati et defectuosi. Et ipsis in terra positis hujusmodi veridicas informaciones, quod dicte due naves capte fuerunt et sunt Inglisi et de dominio serenissimi regis "de" Inglisi terra. Lu capitaneum de li dictz duii navi ham nomii Robertus Stumer, qui eciam fuit et est patronus majoris navis dictarum duarum captarum et relique due naves majores, que ipsas duas captas ceperunt, fuerunt et sunt naves Januenses, quam capitaneus et patronus nominatur Julianum Gataluxum de domo B[ufferii] de civitate Janue, quare de premissis ad reformacionem, quorum intererit, vestris eisdem dominacionibus presentes patentes litterae testimoniales anulo dicti capitanei munite destinantur in ipsius rei testimonium facte sunt. Scriptum in civitate Maltis, die 17 Junii, 6 indicione, 1458°.

[3h]°Littera viceregis Cicilie ad regem

Serenissime et illustrissime princeps et domine cum ea, qua decet, commendacione et reverencia majestae vestre significare proposui, quod a capitaneo et aliis officialibus civitatis et insule Melveta litteras quasdam recepi, per quas advisatum me fecerunt, qualiter infra presentem mensem Junii, videlicet die 9° ejusdem [9 June 1458], apparentibus ex parte orientali tribus navibus insulam Melvitanam et portum illius wounded and stabbed were led and carried with great difficulty to the said city of Malta were they were placed in hospital. And all of them remain in the hands of the doctors, since almost none escaped without wounds. And of those set out on land, many died and many were mutilated and impaired in their limbs. And from those set out on land we were informed truly that the said two ships which were captured were and are English ships under the rule of the most serene king of England. The captain of the said two ships had the name Robert Stumer who was and is the owner of the larger of the said two captured ships. The remaining two large ships which captured the two [English] ships were and are Genoese ships whose captain and master is named Julianus Gataluxi of the house of the B[ufferii] of the city of Genoa. In testimony of these matters the present testimonial patent letters – sealed with the ring of the said captain [of Malta] – have been drawn up and are sent to your majesty, in order that interested parties may seek compensation regarding the premises. Written in the city of Malta, the 17th of June, 6th indication, 1458.

[3h]°Letter of the viceroy of Sicily to the king

Most serene and illustrious prince and lord, with all due recommendations and reverence I propose to communicate to your majesty that I have received certain letters from the captain and other officials of the city and island of Malta, by which they advised me that within the present month of June, namely on the 9th [9 June 1458], – three ships approaching the island of Malta from the east and from the north two other, larger ships

21 ix° interlined above viiiij°, struck through Ms.
22 tribus follows, struck through Ms.
petentibus ex parte settentrionali due alie naves majores apparuerunt facientes iter et velificantes versus illas tres. Et tandem nondum dicto portu et insula appe­tito seu applicato omnes quinque se adinvicem conjungentes et affrenellantes per tres dies debellarunt, in quo bello multi gladio et aliis armorum generibus ex ambabus partibus corruerunt occisi et percussi, prout ex eisdem litteris, quas pro majori informacione majestatis vestre presencium interclusas transmittere curavi, ipsa majestas vestra poterit informari. Quarum trium navium, videlicet Roberti Stormy et Johannis Aytone Anglicorum patronorum dictarum navium, due per Julianum Graccaluxi Januensis piratam capte et deprehense fuerunt, alia se fuge remedio patens evasit. De quarum conflictu et captura ad ipsorum Roberti et Johannis instanciam eandem majestatem vestram in­formare proposui. In cujus gracia me continue commendatum et ad vota paratum facio. 

Written at Palermo, the last day of June in the 6th indiction [30 June 1458].

To the sacred royal majesty of England etc.

[4] On the morrow, namely on the 24th of August [24 August 1458], the lords [of the council] assigned the Genoese Hillyngworthe, Etone and Ripplyngham as counsel at their request and suggestion. And because the end of term was approaching, the lords [of the council] continued the matter until the next term, namely the following October.


[23] dimissis per dictam navim in insula Gaudisii propter festinum recessum ipsius navis et dicte caravelle follows, struck through Ms.

[24] Here, the translation is loose, since affrenare means 'to bridle' (e.g. a horse). Possibly the word suggested itself because the witnesses saw the ships conjoined by grapnels on ropes.

anno etc. 37° [30 October 1458], dictus Heytone cum multis aliis mercatoribus de Bristollia et alii locis comparuit coram dominis et cum magna instancia nomine quo supra peciit processum in questione sua contra Januenses. Pecitque, quod littere et documenta per ipsum producta et exhibita diligenter inspicerentur, que sufficiens probacio sibi videbatur. Et domini ad peticionem primam audiverunt dictas litteras per eundem exhibitas et dederunt sibi in mandatis ad comparendum singulis diebus pro prosecucione cause sue. Et ultra exhibuerunt certos articulos, qui secuntur.

[5a] [Bl. 80v] Unto the kyng oure sovereyne lord and to the full lordes of his ryght wyse and discrete counsaill

Memorandum that hereafter ensuene and folowene certeyne articles, by the which youre highnesse and goode lordshipes may fully conceyve, be acerteyned and understand that the duc and the body of Jeanne with the mercuantes and factours of the same withyne this realme this realme bene actours and causers of the takyng and robbynge of Robert Sturmy and John Eytone merchauntez of Brystow and of other merchauntez of this youre seid realme and murdre of many dyvers youre liege people.

Fyrst please it youre seid highnesse and goode lordshipes effectually and groundly to conceyve and understand the mater and tenure of a lettre myssife late sent unto you, sovereyne lord, by the right noble prynce the viceroy of Cesille with certeyne testimonialx in wrytyng directed with the seid lettre unto you oure sovereyne lord by the viceroy aboveseid touchyng the robbry and murdre aforeseid, consideryng that the lond from whens the seid lettre and testimonyalx be commen is the lond nexte adjoynynge unto the place where the seid robbry and murdre was done, where by reasone the best knoweleche of the seid robbry and murdre in that partie may be hadde.

Item seth the departyng of *the seid* Robert Sturmy and his feleshippe oute of this your seid realme and afore the takyng, robbry and murdre afore rehersid, the seid duc of Jeanne with alle the hole body of the same have takene, electe and chosyne the Frenssh kyng grete adversary unto yououre seid sovereyne lorde to their chief lorde, capiteyne and protectour,26 by the which is to understand that they entend not eny thyng that myght be to the honour of you sovereyne lorde. In preef wherof the carrake and other shippes and vessells of Jeanne that toke the seid Robert Sturmy and John Eytone and their feleshippe with their shippes and merchaundises aforesaid bare and set up in their shippes standarde of the armes of Fraunce with floureredelice in the same.

Item the seid marchauntes Janueys withyne this youre seid realme now late made

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26 On 7 Feb. 1458.
ROBERT STURMY'S COMMERCIAL EXPEDITION

and sente dyvers lettres overse to certeyne of theyr nacioun and other of theyr amyte concernyng and touchyng the premysse, which lettres be take and retornyd into this youre seid realme ageyne, as is well knowene. Wherfore please it youre seid excellente and noble lordshippes to cause and do calle the seid lettres afore you, so that ye may conceyve and understand the contente and mater in the same. By the whiche by Goddes helpe it shalbe understonde the subtyle and desceyvable disposition and parlous purposes of the Janues aforesaid.

[Bl. 81'] Item where as concernyng the premysse it pleased your highnesse and wyse discreciouns to commaunde and charge the mayer of London' and other to putte under arreste and saveguard all the goodes and merchaundises of the merchauntez Janues withyne youre cite of London' beyng, accordyng to which charge and commandement the seid mayer and other did. After which arreste so hadd, the seid Janueys merchauntz be covyne and of theyer subtyle ymagynacioun caused the merchaunt Florentynys withyne the seid cite to cleyme propertee and colour dyvers wollene clothes and other merchaundises of the seid Janueys to be the prope goodes and merchaundises of the seid Florentynys "and shipped theym in the names of the seid Florentynes", which clothes and merchaundises so shipped and colourid by another commyssioun now of late made beth take and under arreste, by the which it may well be conceyved and understand that the seid merchauntez Janueys withyne this youre seid realme, understandyng theyer seid offences in the premysse, woll withdraw and voyde theymeself and theyer goodes and merchaundises so loste, takene and robbed.

Item please it your seid hightnesse and goode lordshippes to understande how that ther was in youre porte of Hamptone a grete carrake of Jeanne with notable goodes and merchaundises theryne, the which was by the mayer of the same towne arrestid by vertue of your prevy seale, which carrake so beyng arrestid taried there by the space of 15 or 16 dayes or more after the seid arrest, takyng inne dayly grete substauce of merch[a]undises and goodes of the Janues beyng in this youre seid realme, as it is seid, and thene made seyle and went ther wey, not abydyng the arrest made by the seid mayer by the auctorite of your seid prevy seale, whiche proveth there opyne disobeissaunce and by liklyhode ther gylyts and offences in the premysse.

Item please it your excellente and wyse discreciouns to wete that the seid carrak and vesselles of Jeanne after the takyng of the seid Robert Sturmy and his feleshippe chased and followed under sayle the erle of Worcester to have takyne hyme, but, as God wold, he escaped frome thyme into the havene of Candie, which is to understand theye no goode wille to this your realme nor to the nacioun of the same,

28 con and other follows, struck through Ms.
29 On the arrest of the Genoese carracks in Southampton between 7 and 16 Sept. 1458 see R.C. ANDERSON (ed.), Letters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries from the Archives of Southampton (Publications of the Southampton Record Society 12), Southampton 1921, No. 6-8, p. 12-17.
30 John Tipoft was born c. 1427, named Earl of Worcester in July 1449 and executed 18 Oct. 1470: HBC, p. 488.
but to theyme opene adversarys and mortall enemys.

[Bl. 81'] Item please it youre highnesse and noble lordshipes at the reverense of God to remembere and considere the disposicions and ententes of the seid Robert Sturmy and John Eytone and theyr feleshippe in theyr viage, which was not oonely for theyr sinuler advayle, but to the comyne advayle and experience of fete and entercours of merchauundises aswele to be had, gotene and understande by us in theyr parties as they have had of long tyme withyne this your realme, the which they in nomaner wyse wolle suffre to the uttermost parte of theyre power and goodes for drede that the merchauuntez of this your londe shold have eny understandyng or knowleche of their commodites and merchauundises and of the prises and values of the same in theyr parties, which was the wylle and entente of the hight and myghty prynce of blessed memorie, fader unto yououre seid sovereyne lorde. And the chief cause of makynge of his grete shippes was to have his subgettes merchauundes to have the knowleche and cours of merchauundise in ferre strange landes.

Item dyvers yeres nowe late passed dyvers of the merchauuntez Janues in this your seid realme have withdrawene heme "hens", owyn grete goodes and endettid to your subgettes withyne this your realme, the seid goodes and dettes to theyme not satisfied ne contente ne never is like to be to their grete hurte, losse and dammage. And so it may well appere that they entende no thyng to the wele or profyt of your seid realme but oonely to theyer owne sinuler lucres.

Item the recours of theyr merchauundises into this your realme and oute of the same nowe in yeres late passed is not of suche quantities and values as hit hath bene afore tyme, but yerely and dayly withdrawe theyme theyre goodes and merchauundises. In profe wherof please it your highnesse and goode lordshippes to calle afore you the custumers of Hamptone and other portes of this your realme, theyme to examyne in the premysses, which wille declare with Goddes grace more at large mater touchyng this seid article.

Item please it yououre excellent and wyse discreciouns to consider and understand how that the seid Janues have bene the meanes, causers and helpers of armure, gonnyys and other habillementes of werre and of defence unto the Turks, the grete Turke and other myscreauntes and Sarisines which have caused the lesse of Emper of Consta[n]tenoble and other grete parte of Cristonedome and the dethe of many an 100,000 Christian creatures for which cause oure Holy Fader the Pope with all the cardynalis with the sensures of the chirche solemnly accursed the seid Janues with all the hole body of Jeanne.

[Bl. 82'] Item it please your highnesse and wyse discreciouns to consider how the seid Janues have and nowe bene the chief and grete officers and counsaillers with the Frenssh kyng, grete adversary unto you, sovereyne lorde, in Burdeaux and in Bayane, so ever redye ayenste you, sovereyne lorde, and by theyme the pryvetes of this your lande they wryte and sende by theyer currours dyvers and many tymes in every yere, so it goth firste into Fraunce and after into Jeanne and so frome thens to the grete Turke into Barbary and to Alysaundere. Wherfor please it yououre highnesse and noble lordshippes tenderly to considere the premysses and the grete robby, dispoyle and losses of your seid compleynauntez and the horrible and hevyous murdre of your seid subgettes, sovereyne lorde, as is aforesaid, and also the grete losse that ye, sovereyne lorde, have in forgoyng of your seid custumes by this wrongfull takyng

[^31]: wrong follow, struck through Ms.
aforeseid and how that youre seid compleynauntes and many other theyr nere frendes and welwillers be utterly undone and enpoverysshed without spedy redresse, remedy and due reformacioun be had unto theyme in the premysses accordyng to right reasone and concience.


[6] On the following 4th of November [4 November 1458] the said Heydone asked in the same names as above that for corroborative evidence of his proofs that the comito35 of a Venetian galley could be examined on those things which were done by the Genoese. Again he prays the certain others from the said galley, namely Mathew Stulphus and Jacobus de Massaro, ought to be examined similarly. The lords [of the council] agreed to his petition and commissioned the reverend bishop R[ichard Beauchamp] of Salisbury and master Peter Taster, the dean of St. Severin and Thomas Kent to examine the said persons. And the Earl of Warwick showed [the council] copies of certain letters of the Genoese, whose tenor is.

[6a] In littera Simonis Catanei directa nobilibus dominis Manuely et Leonelli de Grymaldis in Lermane continetur inter cetera una clausa, que insipit:

Avisamus vos, sicut post scripta, habuimus avisionem de Hantona et Sandwico eis evenisse, quod et nobis eventit, videlicet certe persone fuisset arrestate et sic bona quo audito, cum pejori animo sumus, quia continue magis intelligimus malam intencionem dominorum contra nos. Hoc non obstante non cessamus cotidie providere,

32 Interlined above galle, struck through Ms.
33 Sic Ms.
34 Richard Beauchamp was bishop of Salisbury from 1450 to 1481: HBC, p. 271. Peter Taster, born in Aquitaine, was dean of St. Severinus in Bordeaux before coming to England following the French conquest of Guyenne. Once in England, he received various ecclesiastical emoluments: CPR 1446-52, p. 468 and 511; CPR 1452-61, p. 152. Dr. Thomas Kent was for many years Henry VI's secretary.
in quid nobis possibile est, et omnibus viis tam in angariis quam aliis temptamus ceteros dominos de consilio nobis benivolos attrahere, quia intelligimus sine auxilio et supportacione aliquorum dominorum de consilio non posse bene in rebus nostris36 providere. [Bl. 82v] Et speramus reducsse unum, qui cum domino rege et toto consilio multum potest. Tamen nondum poterimus ipsum probare et exercere, quod faciemus, quando tempus erit. Venit hic, postquam predicta occurruerunt nobis, serenissimus dominus rex, cui queremoniam fecimus ex injuria37 nobis facta, qui una cum consilio secundum sentire petimus nos liberare, deliberaverat, sed inter­venerunt tante lamentaciones hominum de Bristollo38 et mulierum, que de eo loco venerunt, quod ubi prius deliberaverant, sed inter­venerunt propositum et nos usque in termino curiarum proximarum, quod erit octavo, venturi nos et bona nostra arrestatos tenere, quo tempore in rebus nostris majorum examenacionem39 habebunt, eo maxime quia dicti de Bristollo40 secun­dum sentimus produxerunt certas testificaciones factas per viceregem Cecilius Julianum fore Januensem et ejus naves armatas in Janua, que testificaciones41 multis rationibus nullius valoris possunt appellari, quas nos allegavimus, quia de eis publice nobis mencio facta non fuit. Nichilominus volo de ipsis vos advisare. Et intelligatis, [quod] predicti de Bristollo42 non cessant, continue cogitare et providere, in quid pro ipsis council] bear towards us. Nonetheless, we do not cease from taking care day by day, as much as we are able, and trying in any way we can to draw the rest of the lords of the council who are benevolent towards us over onto our side, because we are aware that without the help and support of certain lords of the council it will not be possible to look out for our interests effectively. And we hope to have drawn one man over to our side who has great influence with the king and the whole council. However, we have not yet been able to put this to the test or into practice, but will do so when the time is ripe. After all this happened to us, the most serene lord king came here and we complained about the injuries done to us. When we asked him – together with his council – to free us if he thought it fit, he did think about it, but in the meantime the men and women of Bristol raised such lamentations that they changed their minds and ordered us to appear during the next court term, which will be on the 8th, and kept us and our goods under arrest. When that comes to pass, there will be a fuller examination of the matter, especially since those of Bristol have – according to what we hear – adduced certain testimonials from the viceroy of Sicily that the said Julianus was Genoese and that his ships were armed in Genoa, which testimonies can be appealed as being of no value for many reasons which we have alleged, because no public mention has been made to us of them. Nonethe-

36 Interlined above nominis, struck through Ms.  
37 Interlined above juria, struck through Ms.  
38 Sic Ms.  
39 Sic Ms.  
40 Sic Ms.  
41 Sic Ms.  
42 Sic Ms.  
43 Sic Ms.  
44 Sic Ms.
est possibile, quare et nos simili modo habemus facere. Et quia recordam vobis bonum esset providendum habere testimonias a Summo Pontifice, a dominiis Venetorum et Florentinorum ipsum Julianum esse Grecum et non subditum Januensem ac immo armatum per ducem et commune Janue, quas testificaciones habere possendo clare intelligimus res nostra in bono termino reduceretur, quare totum faciendum est ipsas evidencias habere, quamcician est possibile, nec in similibus dormiendum est. Bene intelligimus male se posse in istis temporibus pestefieris providere, in quid est possibile, tamen considerato, quod negotio ista satis vobis et multis aliis tangunt, laudo et rogo faciatis pro liberacione nostrorum, quantum bonum potestis, quia clare intelligimus, hinc exire non posse, quousque provisiones ydrias versus ibi non habeamus maxime provisionem legacionis cum bailia reformandum pacem et ligam, quam cum istis habemus, quod sum certus, serenissimus dominus rex mens erit contentus. Faciamus, ut tantum dampnum et personarum et eris non paciamur eo maxime, quia id poterit fieri eo animo et intencione, ut hinc se expedire possimus, et, cum expediti erimus, dictam pacem et ligam frangere, quia eundo ad placitum semper id facere poterimus.

[6b] In littera directa nobilibus dominis Karolo et Egidio Lomelinis in Brugia continetur inter cetera videlicet: "Laus Deo, quod sub multis aphannis et periculis omnia panna nostra in tribus

less I want to advise you of these things. And understand that the said men of Bristol do not cease to scheme and plan (as far as they are able), whence indeed we have to do so too. And it would be good to provide you with a record in order that you might obtain testimonials from the Pontiff and from the lords of Venice and Florence that the same Julianus is Greek and not a Genoese subject nor indeed armed by the duke and commune of Genoa. We understand clearly that being able to have these testimonies in good time would help our cause. Therefore what needs to be done is to have those proofs as quickly as possible and not to nod off. We well understand that it is difficult to look after oneself as far as possible in these terrible times, but considering that this business affects you and many others directly, I hope and pray that you will do what you can for our liberation, because we understand clearly that we cannot get out of here until appropriate measures are taken and notified to us here. Best of all, of course, would be to dispatch diplomats with authority to restore the treaty of peace and alliance which we have with them which I am certain would set the mind of the king at rest. Let us see to it that we do not suffer so much damage both of persons and goods, particularly since it can be done with the intention that we may extricate ourselves from there, and once we are gone, to break the peace and alliance, because once we go we can always do it whenever we like.

[6b] In a letter directed to the noble lords Karolus and Egidius Lomelinus in Bruges there was contained among other things, namely "Praise be to God that despite many difficulties and dangers

45 Burgia Ms.

46 Probably a Greek loan word derived from the classical Greek ἀράνεια 'darkness, obscurity;
navibus onerant[ur] hodie in Dei nomine in hac forma: et primo factores Salviati onerabunt in navi Claix Bolart 3 balanis, 3 peciis, 60 largiorum etc."

"Item Anthonius de Luciano carcabit in alia navi ipsius Claix Bolart etc."

"Item factores de Medicis carcabunt in navi Skipper Jacob etc. 47"

"Item nulle naves Anglorum armate sunt; illa magna Gracia Dei de Sandwico intravit; alie domini in dispersione."

[6c] [Bl. 83'] Item in littera directa dominis Enrico et Angelo Pinellis per mercatores Januenses continetur inter cetera, quod ipsi adhibeant oportunam diligenciam, ne littere eorumullo modo perveniant in alie nacionis manus etc.

[7] Sexto ejusdem Novembris [6 November 1458] adveniente, dicti reverendus pater et magistri retulerunt, quod dicto 40 die Novembris ceperunt examinationem eis commissam, quam redigerunt in scriptis sub forma, que sequitur.

[7] On the 6th of the same [month of] November [6 November 1458] the said reverend father and master reported that on the said 4th of November they had begun the examination entrusted to them, which they had written up in the following form.

[7a] Deposition of Bartholomeus de Candi

Quarto die Novembris anno Domini 48

On the 4th of November 1458 Bartholomeus de Candi deposited his statement.

disappearance, utter destruction'.

47 Salvati and Antonius de Lutiano were Florentines trading with England. The arrest order issued on 14 Sept. 1458 (CPR 1452-61, p. 488) related to these ships: The Beryte and George of Antwerp belonged to Clais Bollaert (on him see G. ASAERT, De antwerpse scheepvaart in de XVe eeuw (1394-1480). Bijdrage tot de ekonomische geschiedenis van de stad Antwerpen (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse de Letteren. Jaargang 35, Nr. 72), Brussels 1973, p. 333-9), and the James (Jakob) of Middelburg belonged to the skipper Copyn Lambe whom the trial transcript designates as Skipper Jacob. The particulars of account (TNA: PRO E122) show that both shippers visited London and Ipswich repeatedly with precisely these ships. See TNA: PRO, E101/697/50 § [24].

48 aveniente follows, struck through Ms.
anno Domini 1458 [4 November 1458]
Bartholomeus de Candy juratus coram reverendo in Christo patre Ricardo Sarum episco in mansum suum London', dixit et deposuit, ut sequitur. Interrogatus de capcione quarumdam navium Anglie, quae venerant nuper onuste mercibus a partibus orientalibus, quarum principales ductores erant Robertus Sturmy et Johannes Aytone de Bristolia, dixit, quod audivit et communi fama fuit, quod naves ipse erant capte prope insulam de Malta per quemdam vocatum Cataluxum et complices suos. Et dixit, quod idem Cataluxus est Januensis et reputatur Januensis et ita habitus est ab omnibus, qui eum cognoscunt. Et ultra dixit se scire dictum Cataluxum esse Januensem, quia hoc habuit ex assersione nonnullorum et specialiter Karoli Agosine, Benedicti Corseca et cujusdam Scoti, qui primo commorabantur cum dicto Cataluxo et postea et ante capcionem predictam fuerunt cum ipso deponente in Grecia in Castello de Rupayne.

Item interrogatus, ubi naves dicti Cataluxi erant armate et fulte victualibus, dixit, quod in Savona et Scio et hoc per Januenses et ita fuit et est communis fama. Dixit eciam hoc esse sibi notum pro eo, quod dictus Cataluxus non potuit habere victualia et favorem ab aliis [quam] ab Januensibus, quia idem deponentis audivit eundem Cataluxum, quod proprio dicentem, quod omnibus guerram faceret preter Januenses et Venetos. Et quantum fidem reposuit in Venetis facto, declaravit, quia, dum venerat a casu in portum Mutine et ibi ad ancoram quieverat, concipiens ibi esse naves Venetorum, statim soluta ancora velo levato recessit. Dixit eciam eundem Cataluxum bene et amice semper fuisse et esse receptum apud Januum et continue exercet artem suam et spolia, que

tholomeus de Candy – having been sworn in before the reverend father in Christ Richard, bishop of Salisbury, in his house in London – said and deposed as follows. Asked about the capture of certain English ships coming from the east loaded with goods whose principal pilots were Robert Sturmy and John Aytone from Bristol, he said that he had heard and that it was commonly rumoured that these ships were captured off the island of Malta by a certain man named Cataluxus and his accomplices. And he said that the same Cataluxus was Genoese and was held to be Genoese and was considered to be such by all who knew him. And further he said that he knew that Cataluxus was Genoese because he had been told so by many people, in particular by Karolus Agosine, Benedictus Corseca and a certain Scotus who had first remained by the said Cataluxus and afterwards – before the aforesaid capture – were with the said deponent in Greece in Castello de Rupayne.

Again, asked where the ships of the said Cataluxus were armed and provided with victuals, he said that [this had been done] in Savona and Chios and indeed by the Genoese and that this had been commonly rumoured and still was. Indeed he said that he knew this because the said Cataluxus could not have obtained victuals and support from anyone other than the Genoese because the same deponent had heard the same Cataluxus saying about himself that he made war on everybody but the Genoese and the Venetians. And in fact he placed such faith in the Venetians that he declared that when he came into the harbour of Methoni by chance and realized there were Venetian ships there, he immediately weighed anchor and sailed away. Indeed, he [viz. Bartholomeus] said that
fecit, sub insigniis50, standardis et armis Januensium, et insuper, quod populus patriarchum ibidem ascribit hoc facinus Januensisibus. Cum magna lamentacione dixit et idem deponens, quod est amicus Januensium et predicta deponit, ut amicus veritatis et non alio respectu.

[7b] Item deposicio Stulphi

Matheus Stulphus de Venecia juratus, concertat de fama ut supra dicens, quod idem Cataluxus est dictus, reputatus et habitus Januensis et progenitores et parentes sui erant Januenses et illa, que dictus Bartholomeus deposuit, sunt promulgata, notaria et dicta vera per illas patrias, a quibus venerunt.

[7c] [Bl. 83v] Item deponit et dicit juratus Jacobus de Messaro de communi fama addens, quod idem Cataluxus non est habitus et reputatus Grecus.

[7d] Item isto sexto die Novembris [6 November 1458] reverendus pater Dunelmensis episcopus,51 cui commissa fuit examinacio patroni cujusdam carrace Venetorum existentis in portu Suthampton, fecit relationem, quod examinaverat eundem patronum, qui deposuit, ut sequitur.

Sexto die Novembris in domo reverendi in Christo patris domini Dunelmensis episcopi anno Domini 1458 [6 November 1458].

the same Cataluxus had always been well received in Genoa and continuously exercised his craft and [took] booty under the coat of arms, standards and arms of the Genoese and moreover that the people of the lands there ascribed this crime to the Genoese. With great lamentation the same deponent stated that he is a friend of the Genoese and that he deposed the foregoing because he was a friend of the truth and not for any other reason.

[7b] Again, the deposition of Stulphus

Matheus Stulphus of Venice – having been sworn in – agreed on the rumour as above, saying that the same Cataluxus was said, reputed and held to be Genoese and that his ancestors and parents were Genoese and that the things which the said Bartholomeus deposed were promulgated, notorious and said to be true in the lands from which they came.

[7c] Again, Jacobus de Messaro – having been sworn in – deposed and said [the same thing] regarding the rumours, adding that the same Cataluxus is not held or believed to be Greek.

[7d] Again, on this 6th of November [6 November 1458] the reverend [father in Christ, the] bishop of Durham to whom the examination of the master of a certain Venetian carrack moored in Southampton harbour was committed, reported that he had examined the same master, who deposed as follows

On the 6th of November 1458 [6 November 1458] in the house of the reverend father in Christ, the bishop of Durham.

50 insigniis Ms.
Deposition of Poloneus Macerio, master

In the matter of the capturing of the ships of the Bristol merchants Sturmy and Aytone, Polonius Macero, the master of a certain Venetian carrack moored in Southampton harbour – having been sworn in – was asked what he was able to depose in regard to the said capture, says that last June [June 1458] – he can't remember the day – his carrack was forced into the island of Malta by contrary winds, where a certain Cataluxus was lying with two ships full of armed men. And after the fourth day or on the same fourth day after the arrival of the deponent, Sturmy and Aytone came from Candia with their ships. When the said Cataluxus saw this, he made haste to attack them and thus indeed attacked them and captured them. And he was so avid to do battle with them, that – raising sail – he left behind three men whom he had sent to the island of Malta to fetch fresh water. Of these three men, one who is Genoese is in this city, having come to Southampton with the said [galley] master, from whose report and information the master learned the facts about which he deposes.

Again, asked if he knew the said Cataluxus and if he were Genoese or Greek, he said that he had known him for about five years and that he had a Genoese father, but that his mother was from the island of Mitilini. Asked if that island of Mitilini was under Genoese rule, he said that a certain Greek is lord of the island, but he said that more [of the inhabitants] are Genoese than Greek.

Again, asked where Cataluxus ob-
fultivit naves suas de victualibus et hominibus, dicit in villa Sahone, que circa 30' miliaria distat a Janua et est dicta villa sub dicione Januensi.

Item interrogatus, si Cataluxus predictus erat missus ad dictam capcionem faciendam per Januenses aut non, dicit se nescire. Tamen dicit, quod per totum tempus, quod dictus Cataluxus exercuit depredacionem, semper fuit receptus, favorizatus et habuit victualia et homines de Januensibus.

Again, asked if the aforesaid Cataluxus was sent out by the Genoese to execute the said capture or not, he said he did not know. However, he did say that during the whole time when the said Cataluxus despoiled [the ships] the Genoese always received him, favoured him and provided him with victuals and men.

Again, on the same 6th [6 November 1458] William Denys from Devonshire was produced [in court] as a witness who – having been sworn in – deposed before the lords [of the council] in the following form.

On the 6th of November in the 37th year [6 November 1458] William Denys of Devonshire – having been sworn in – deposed as follows in the matter brought by Robert Sturmy and John Heyton against the Genoese. He said that when he was in the pilgrims' galley with the Earl of Worcester and others last June twenty miles or so off Rhodes, there appeared two Genoese ships of which the smaller one raised sail and pursued the said galley to Rhodes with the in-

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57 John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester (1449-79). On his pilgrimage to Jerusalem see Mitchell, Roberto Sanseverino, p. 68 and (regarding his sojourn in Rhodes) p. 73. On 28 Jan. 1458 Tiptoft named attorneys for the period of his absence from the realm: TNA: PRO, C76/140 m 20; calendared DKR 48, App. p. 425.
58 apperuerant Ms.
59 Interlined above insequebatur, struck through Ms.
Rhodum animo capiendo dictum dominum Wigorum et ceteros Anglicos.

Item dixit, quod facta et expedita peregrinacione apud Jerosolimam reversi sunt ad dictam insulam de Rhodo, ubi dedicerunt, quod naves Januenses, que spoliebant dictum Robertum Sturmy et Johannem Heytone, posite erant itinere ad capiendum eundem dominum comitem Wigorum et Anglicos, qui secum erant.

Item apud Candi idem audiebat et eciam apud Corphu, quo pulsus idem dominus dimissa galea peregrinorum providit sibi de quadam galea subtili pro securitate sua ad invadendum insidias dictarum navium Januensis, quas reperit apud Arogosum jacentes et ancoras et cum illis navem vocatam Katerina, quam Januenses ceperant cum alis dictis Sturmy et Heytone. Et apud Parans dixit se audivisse, quod navis vocata Maria capta cum dicta Katerina transmissa erat cum mercibus Anglicorum, ut aliquo loco venderentur.

Item dixit, quod apud Venecias audivit et fama fuit, quod Januenses transmiserunt ad Cataluxum alios homines substituendos in loco defunctorum. Conflictu habito cum dictis Sturmy et Heytone, fuit eciam dictum ibidem, quod, dum navis quedam magna, quam idem Cataluxus habuerat, ruinam paciebatur apud Januam, eam dimisit et aliam sibi habuit consignatam per Januenses expensis ducis et communatis.

Item deposuit, quod publica voce et fama est patriis et locis, per quas idem deponentes venerat, quod spoliantes et obpugnantes dictos Sturmy et Heytone erant Januenses.

tention of capturing the said Earl of Worcester and the other Englishmen.

Again, he said that having completed their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, they returned to the island of Rhodes where they learned that the Genoese ships which had robbed Robert Sturmy and John Heytone were on their way to capture the same Earl of Worcester and the English who were with him.

Again, in Candida – indeed on Corfu – he heard that – having been pressed to do so – the same Earl dismissed the pilgrims' galley and arranged transport with a light galley for his safety in order to evade ambush by the said Genoese ships, which he had learned were lying at anchor off Argos and had a ship called the Katerina with them which the Genoese had captured together with the said Sturmy and Heytone. And he said that he had heard at Parenzo that the ship called Mary which had been captured together with the said [ship called the] Katerina had been sent elsewhere together with the merchandise of the English to be sold in another place.

Also he said that in Venice he heard and it was common rumour that the Genoese sent other men to Cataluxus to replace those who had died. After the conflict with the said Sturmy and Heytone it was said there that when Cataluxus' large ship became unseaworthy off Genoa, he left it behind and had himself given another [ship] by the Genoese at the expense of the duke and the community.

Again, he deposed that it was widely rumoured in the lands and places where the same deponent went that those who fought and robbed Sturmy and Heytone were Genoese.

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60 Interlined above ne, struck through Ms.
62 Sic Ms.
On the following 7th of November [7 November 1458] Baltazar de Carena - having been produced as a witness in the said case - deposed as follows.

Deposition of Baltazar de Carena

On the 7th of November in the 37th year [7 November 1458] at Westminster Baltazar de Carena - having been sworn in - deposed that he was one of the six [sailors] examined on the island of Gahwdez. And he says that when he was staying in Genoa exercising his craft, he heard that Cataluxus was about to sail forth upon the seas with his ship. The same deponent - since he had to earn a living and the plague was breaking out there - decided to go with Cataluxus and he and two of his associates were accepted by the said Cataluxus and entered Cataluxus' boat in Genoa on the 5th of April last past [5 April 1458]. [The deponent says] that Cataluxus' ship remained in Genoa for five days during which the duke of Genoa rode out and visited the ship a number of times.

Again, he says that he learned when he was in the ship that it had been victualled in Savona and that most of those on board Cataluxus' ships were from the Genoese Riviera and that the master [of the ship] was called Angelus Bru [who came] from a place called Cugen' and that the said Cataluxus - as the said deponent gave to understand - had been sent by the duke and commune of Genoa to make war against the Catalans, who were the enemies of the said Genoese, and against others whom he does not know. And when the same Cataluxus left Genoa, he sailed to Bonifacio, where the
cum Anglicis. Alias dictus deponens nescit deponere, nisi illa, que examinatus deposuit in dicta insula Gaudicii.

[8b] Item eodem die quidam ex Januensibus existentes in Flete vocati ad presensiam dominorum erant interrogati de materia contra eos proposita, qui per seipos et servientes ad leges, videlicet Ricardum Lakyne et Johannem Beef, Johannem Marchalle et Willelmum Denys, assignatos eis pro consilio nitebantur excusare se et omnes Januenses de dicto perpetrato facinore, al[ll]egantes eciam, quod querela facta per dictum Heytone et alios concernit corpus Januense, pro quibus ipsi particulares potestatem respondendi non habeant nec compelli ad hoc deberent, ut eis videbatur et propter alias causas per jurisperitos adtunc allegatas. Quo non obstante domini de avisamento justiciorum regis assignabant prefatis Januensibus terminum peremtorium ad respondendum in scriptis nono die Novembris tunc proxime sequente [9 November 1458].

[9] Quo nono die adveniente [9 November 1458] ob causas eos moventes domini prorogarunt dictum terminum peremtorium, videlicet 13° ejusdem carvel which was with Cataluxus when he did battle with the English was provided with victuals and armed. More the said deponent does not know to depose, other than that which he deposed when he was examined on the said island of Ghaedze.

[8b] Again, on the same day some of the Genoese being held in Fleet prison were called into the presence of the lords [of the council] and were interrogated on the matters which had been laid against them. And they themselves together with the sergeants at law - namely Richard Lakyne and John Beef, John Marchalle and William Denys - who had been assigned to them as counsel, attempted to excuse themselves and all the Genoese from the said crime perpetrated, alleging that the complaint put forward by the said Heytone and the others concerned the entire body of Genoa, for which they as individuals did not have authority to answer nor ought to be compelled to do so, as it seemed to them and for other reasons put forward at that time by their legal experts. Nonetheless, on the advice of the king's justices the lords [of the council] assigned the said Genoese a peremptory date to respond in writing on the 9th of November next [9 November 1458].

[9] On the 9th [9 November 1458] the lords postponed the peremptory date for reasons moving them until the 13th of the same month [13 November 1458].

66 examut follows, struck through Ms.
67 This Latin place name is not to be found in J.G.Th. GRAESSE, F. BENEDICT and H. PLECHIL (eds.), Orbis latinus. Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, 3 vols., 4th ed., Braunschweig 1971. It is conceivable that it is to be identified with Cogorno, 50 km. east of Genoa, but that is just a guess.
68 quibus corrected to quidam Ms.
69 K follows, struck through Ms.
70 BAKER, Sergeants, mentions none of these sergeants at law.
71 To wit, the failed attempt on Warwick's life. See note 82.
mensis [13 November 1458].

[10] Quo decimo tercio die adventiente [13 November 1458], domini occupati circa alia, iterum prorogarunt dictum terminum peremptorium in diem sequentem, videlicet 14tum ejusdem Novembris [14 November 1458].


[10] On the 13th [13 November 1458], the lords were occupied with other matters and again postponed the said peremptory date until the following day, the 14th of November [14 November 1458].

[11] On the 14th [14 November 1458], the same Genoese presented a certain written declaration. And it was ordered that a copy of this declaration and the response given to the first bill against the Genoese be made available to the said Heytone and his associates, in order that they be able to reply to it. The tenor of the said declaration of the Genoese with a copy of the said response on the dorse is this:

[11a] Shewene unto your goode lordshippes and grete wisdomys the merchauntes of Jeanne beyng here withyn this full noble realame of England in dyvers prisons of the same for their trewe aquitall and demeanyng in such maters, for the whiche they bene put in strayte prisone and her goodes and merchaundises attachid. First, foresmoch as in the bille of compleynt putte by Robert Sturmy and John Heytone ayenst the due and the hole bodye of Jeanne the offence submitted to be done is supposed to be done by the seid due and the hole body of Jeanne and no mater especialle of eny offence assigned to be done by the seid merchauntez of Jeanne beyng here withyn this seid realme. To the which mater putte ayenst the due and the hole body of Jeanne, the same merchauntes of Jeanne beyng here as yit havyng noone auctorite ne power frome the seid due and the hole body of Jeanne darnot, cane ne may in no maner of wyse take upone theyme to aunswere to the mater conteyned in the seid bille, but they trust it is well knowene unto the kynges hightenesse and youre grete wysdomys that there shall come in all godely haste an ambassate frome the seid due and hoole body of Jeanne with sufficient auctorite and power for sufficient declaracioun to the mater conteyned in the seid bille, for the which ambas-sate the seid merchauntez of Jeanne beyng here hath sued and purchased under the letters of the kynges grete seale a savegarde for the73 comyng of the ambassate aforesead.74 And so they trust to your grete wysdomys that ye shall thinke noo defaute ne lachees in theyme. And moreover the seid merchauntes of Jeanne beyng here withyn this seid realme seyene for theyr trewe declaracioun in the seid mater

72 Sic Ms.
73 seid follows, struck through Ms.
74 The safe conduct was issued on 9 Nov. 1458: TNA: PRO, C76/141 m 31 (printed: Foedera (O), vol. 11, p. 418; calendared: DKR 48, p. 431). On 12 Feb. 1460, the negotiators agreed on a four-year truce between England and Genua: Foedera (O), vol. 11, p. 441-3.
and offence supposed to be done by the seid bille that they were not therto assenting, willyng nor knowyng in maner wyse and over that if ther be eny mater especiall shewed ayenst the seid merchauntz of Jeanne beyng here provyng the contrarie, they prayene to have therof heryng and a copie and a resonable day to aunswere to the same, as it cane be thought by your grete wysdomys, the which by Goddes grace shall be so aanswerd that of reasone youre grete wysdomys shall thynke it sufficiently aanswered. Wherfor the seid merchauntz of Jeanne beyng here, prayng to be enlarged oute of prisone and their goodes and merchaundises to be discharged of the seid attachement, consideryng that if it be thought by your grete wysdomys that resonable suerte shall be founde for the seid merchauntz of Jeanne beyng here to abyde trewe and resonable tryall and examinacioun of suche especiall maters that bene shewed ayenst theyme, they shall do it to be found in resonable sommes as they may bere by the discrecioun of your grete wysdomys, prayng that in like wyse the seid Robert and John fynde semble suerte to restore the seid merchauntes of Jeanne beyng here of the damages that they have susteynd in this partie if the contrarie of suche especiall maters be provyd accordyng to the lawe in suche cas provyded and used.

[11b] The response to the first bill submitted in August, dated Westminster, 22 August in the 36th year [22 August 1458]

Primo nos dicimus, quod ille pirata, qui percepit naves Anglicorum, non est Januensis nec subditus Januensis, immo publicus pirata et oriundus in Grecia in quadam insula vocata Meteline Vellenio, super quem dominacio Januensis nullum habent dominium, qui prius cepit damnificare Januenses quam alias naciones.

Item quod dictus pirata non exivit cum navibus Januensibus neque missus per ducem nec per communitatem Janue, ut presupponitur in billa.

Item interrogatis Januensibus, an aliqui Januenses fuerunt in nave cum predicto pirata tempore, quo cepit Anglicos, dixerunt, quod ignorant.

[12] On the following 15th of November [15 November 1458], the said Aytone and his associates showed a bill containing a reply to the said declaration

75 susteyndd follows, struck through Ms.
APPENDIX I: TRIAL BEFORE KING AND COUNCIL

This is the replication of the merchants of Bristowe and other merchants against the first and second answer of the Januys.

The said merchants English say that the Januys being in England part and member of the whole body of Jeanne and as in this realm the whole body of the same, that the same Januys here being in this realm by their first answer unto the compleynyt putte against the due and whole body of Jeanne by the said merchants English in August last passed take upon the same to answer and answered unto the same compleynyt in the forme folowing:

"Primo nos dicimus, quod ille pirata, qui cepit naves Anglicorum, non est Januensis nec subditus Januensis, immo publicus pirata et oriundus in Grecia in quadam insula vocata Meteline Vellino, super quem dominacio Januensis nullum habet dominium, qui prius damnificare Januenses quam alias naciones. Item quod dictus pirata non exivit cum navibus Januensibus neque missus per ducem nec per communitatem Janue, ut presupponitur in billa. Item interrogatis Januensibus, an aliqui Januenses fuerunt in nave cum predicto pirata tempore, quo cepit Anglicos, dixerunt, quod ignorant."

"First, we say that that pirate who captured the ships of the English is not Genoese nor is he a Genoese subject, but he is rather a notorious pirate born in Greece on a certain island called Mitilini Vellenio over which the Genoese government has no authority and that he preferred to attack the Genoese over other nations. Again that the said pirate did not sail forth with Genoese ships nor was sent by the duke or the commonality of Genoa, as the bill supposes. Again, the Genoese being asked if any Genoese were in the ship with the said pirate at the time he captured the English, they said that they did not know."

Wherupon the said merchants English, for very replication to the same answer, were commanded to put in writing before your lordships such evidence testimonial and evident proves as they then had in verifying of their said compleynt and in destruction of the same answer. Which evyences testimonial and evident proves long time passed were put in writing before your lordships and there yet remaine of record, like as in your great wisdom is clearly understood. After which evyences testimonialles and proves in forme aforesaid shewyd and declared and by the same Janues well understand to be verrey and due prove of and for the compleyntes of the said merchants Englishse and clerely in distruccyond of their said answeres now late, that is to wete the 13 day of this present monythe of Novembre [13 November 1458], have putte afore your lordshippes a bille as for now answeres insufficient, contrarious and repugnaunt and discordant unto ther said first answeres, enteyndyng noone other therby, as it openly apperith, but onely fraude, subtilee and delaye ayenst the said merchants Englishse, as for dewe executioun of satisfaccioun and recompense to theyme to be hadd in the pre-

76 del follows, struck through Ms.
77 Interlined above it, struck through Ms.
misses, entendyng in conclucioun by suche meanes to escape and voide their persons and goodes oute of this realme and evere after to be subgettes and obbeys-saunce unto the most grete adversarie of the kyngoure sovereyne lorde and utter enmyes and adversaries to our seid sovereyne lorde, this his realme and all his subgettes of the same. Wherfore please it your good and gracious lordshippes, consideryng all the premisses with other examinaciouns, deposiciouns, proves, writyn­ges and circumstances had and shewed and by your goode lordshippes well under­stande and also the repugnancie and contrariousnes of the seid firste and secunde aunswere and insufficient and entente of the same to yeve sentense and decree that the seid merchauntez Englisshe may be restorid, satisfied and recompensed for their seid losses, murdris, costis and chargis in and for the premisses by theyme in eny wyse hadd or susteigned as goode feyth, reasone and consciens requyrene.


[13] [Bl. 86'] On the seventeenth of the same [month of] November [17 November 1458] the said Genoese showed their answer to the reply of John Eetone and his associates in the follow­ing manner.

[13a] Shewene unto your goode lordshippes and grete wysdomys the merchauntes of Jeanne beyng withyn this full noble realme of England to the mater conteyned in a cedule put unto your lordshippes by the merchauntes of Bristowe by wey of repli­cacioun. First, where it is conteyned in the cedule of replicacioun aforeseid that the Janueis beyng in England parte and membre of the hole body of Jean makyth in this realme the hole body of the same as by presumpcioun of the seid cedule of Replica­cioun it is to understande. Thereto the seid merchauntez of Jean beyng here seyene that, how be it that they beyng party and membre of the hole body of Jean afore­seid, yit in trouth the same merchauntes beyng here maketh nor bene the hole body of Jean here nor nevere no such hole bodye of Jean was never withyne this realme nor in noone other countre oute of the countre of Jean aforeseid. Also where it is supposed in the same cedule that in Auguste last passed the seid Januies here beyng within this realme shuld have yevene a firste aunswere unto the compleyntes put ayenst the duce and hole body of Jean and toke upone theyme to aunswere and aun­swerid to the same compleyntes in maner and forme, as it is supposed in the seid cedule. Thereto seyene the seid merchauntes of Jean beyng here that they toke never uppone theyme to aunswere nor answerid for the hole body of Jean, but certeyne persones of theyme beyng here hastely was sent fore to come afore your lordshippes of whome to the nombre of 6 persones came to fore your lordshippes at Westminster and there sodainly and straytely were apposed of certeyne maters by your lordshippes put unto theyme, wherto they at that tyme beyng desolate with­outene counsaill seide suche thynges as were verry treuthe to their trew understandyng, how be it that they never seide it be wey of aunswere for the hole body of Jean. For al be it that the seid mater of their seyng be trewe, they durst not take uppone theyme to aunswere for the hole body of Jean withoutene auctorite frome

78 Interlined above vode, struck through Ms.
79 hinc Ms.
theyme ne yit dare, but therupon they asked counsaill to be assigned unto theyme for
to avysye theyme and counsaill theyme in the seid mater of compleyntes for the
whiche they were and yit be in prisone. Wheruppon by thadvis of theyr counsaill
assigned unto theyme, they desired of your goode lordshippes to have a resonable
day and respite to be advysed of their trewe declaracioun in the seid mater. At
whiche tyme it pleased your lordshippes to yeve theyme day for the same unto this
terme. And theruppon they have put unto your lordshippes their declaracioun in the
premisses, desirynge of your goode lordshippes certeyeve peticions conteyned in the
same, besechyng your goode lordshippes that the seid peticions may be spedd and
executed as reasone and consiens wille. And where it is conteyned in the seid cedule
of replicacioun that there shuld be put in wrytyng to your lordshippes certeyne evi-
dences testimonialles and evydent proves in verefyng of the seid compleyntes of the
seid merchantes English [Bl. 86'] and after which evidences testimonialles and
proves shewed and declared and by the seid Janueis well understande to be verrey
and dewe prove of and for the compleyntes of the seid merchantez English, as it is
surmitted by the same merchantez by the seid cedule of replicacioun. Therto seyene
the seid merchantez of Jeane beyng here that they nevere sawe nor herd eny suche
evidences, proves nor testimonialles in forme aforeseid, but at all tymes they have
desired to have had heryng and copies therof and yit doth if eny such had bene
which as yit they knewe nevere noone suche evidences testimonialles ne proves. But
the seid merchantez of Jeane beyng here seyen that they have trewly declarid heme
in the premisses and have desired of your lordshippes a resonable respite of deter-
mynacioun of the seid premisses unto the tyme that an ambassate of Jeane shall
come frome the hole body of Jeane with sufficient auctorite and power with pleyne
declaracioun in the premisses, which they trust shall be here in all godely haste
without eny fraude, sotilte or other wilfull delay, how be it that in the seid cedule of
replicacioun it is surmitted the contrarie. Wherfor please it your goode lordshippes
that the seid merchantez of Jeane beyng here may be enlargid out of prisone and
their goodes and merchaundises to be discharged of the seid attachement, that they
enplye thair merchaundise for the contentacioun of her dettes and for the grete
aw[y]le of the kyng by reasone of his custumes and other dyvers by that cause to
hyme dewe and for their owne profite and other merchantez of this realme of Eng-
land.

Item eodem die dictus Heytone et socii
adduxerunt in testem quemdam Wil-
lemmum Tentone, qui juratus et exami-
natus depositit, ut sequitur.

Again, on the same day the said Hey-
tone and his associates produced one
William Tentone as a witness, who –
having been sworn and examined –
deposited as follows.

[13b] Depositio Willelmi Tentone

William Tentone sworne, seythe that Cataluxe after the destresse of Englishsmene
kept hym stille with hyme 4 monethes till at the last he escaped from hym at Arago
in Sklaveny. And he seith that the seid Cataluxe after the seid distresse seyled to
Tryply in Barbary and there factours of the Janueis receyvd the goodys of the
shippe called the Marie and there solde theyme. And after that the seid Cataluxe seilled by dyvers isles havyng with hyme the Katerine and the goodes theryne into tyme he came to Aragose.

Item he seith that the seid Cataluxe and his feleshippe were Janueis and so they named theyme self. And the patrone and the maisters of the shippes were of the Rivere of Jeanne and of the Isle of Boneface. And there were variaunce among thyme for that dyvers of the seid shippes wolde have sailled directly with thayr prizes to Jeane or Boneface, where they seid their wyfes and frendes were. And also he herde dyvers tymes of the seid Cataluxe and his feleshippe that they were manned and vitaillled by Janueys to take the seid Englissh shippes. And there were dyvers Frensshemene with the seid Cataluxe that he toke inne at eene, the which seid it was the opene noyse at Jeane where they came to the seid Cataluxe that the seid Englissh shippes shuld never retoume into England. And had not be the fere of Cateleyns, the seid Cataluxe wold have brought the seid shippes to Jeane. And the seid Cataluxe and his feleshippe seyde expressly and they myght have take the 2 kervellis that escapid there shuld noone of the Englisshemene have be saved but have died everych one. And also he seith that a notable mane of Jeane was made patrone of the Katerine. Also he seith that the petie kante of the 2 Englisshe shippes came to 24 dokettes a mane of 500 mene and asmoche to the vitailllers and awners and the bulke of the seid shippes hold.

\[14\] Vicesimo quinto Novembris [25 November 1458] domini deliberabant de modo procedendi in hac causa, et post plurima motiva hincinde visum fuit expediens ante prolacionum finem, quod Heytone et socii sui darent in scriptis, que et qualia bona amiserunt in navibus captis per Januenses, ut pretendebant, et quanti valoris bona predicta et naves fuerunt. Et ad hec faciendum domini assignabant diem lune proxime venturum, videlicet 27 Novembris [27 November 1458].

\[15\] Quo vicesimo septimo die [27 November 1458] adveniente, dicti Heytone et socii dederunt in scriptis dictam valuacionem bonorum et navium pro se et suis necnon domini Sancti Johannis et

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80 I.e. John Heytone's ship Mary Heyton.
81 Interlined above had, struck through Ms.
82 prolacionem Ms.
Stourtone et cujusdam Wykes in John [of Jerusalem in England] and forma, ut sequitur.

Stourtone and of a certain Wykes in the following form.

[15a] To the kyng our sovereign lorde

Here after ensewene certeyne remembrancez of the shippes with their apparellles and of the goodes and merchandises conteyned in the same and the values therof late takene, robbid and dispoyled frome the merchauntez of Bristowe and other of this your realme by the Janeirois besides the 2 kervell of therle of Worcestre and the lorde Stourtone and the goodes and merchandise in the same conteynd in a cedule to a supplicacioun annexed, late to your highnesse by the seid lorde put, specified and declared.

First a shippe called the Kateryne of Bristowe with thapparaille of the same to the value in Englond of £900

Item another shippe called the Marie of Bristowe with the apparailles of the same to the value in Englond of £800

Item in swete wynes as Tyer and Malvesies in buttes and barelles to the nombre of 960 buttes to the value in Englond of £3840

Item alome foile and roche to the weight of 152 tonne to the value in Englond of £3040

Item dyvers spices, that is to sey pepyr, gynger, synamun, sugre, grene gynger, rasyns of corans, rubarbe, turmatyme, cotone and gonnepowdere to the value in Englond of £2600

[Bl. 87] Item 4000 bowstavys to the value in Englond of £120

Item 2000 carpetys to the value in Englond of 2000 marc

Item 300 grete chestes and coffers and mo stuffid with clothes of silke as velvettes, damaskes, satens, tarterons, chamelettes, corces of golde and silke clothe of gold, baudekyns, purses, rynges and presious stonys, coralle, rawsilke, coyre de boyle, gold skynnes and boge with many other rich goodes and merchandises to the value in Englond of 5200 marc

Item in coyne and plate, that is to sey nobles, salves and dokettes and other coyne of dyvers countres receyved at Pisse, Naphes and Rodes and other places in their viage to the summe of £1200

Item in mennes clothyng, arraiementes and other armure, hameys and wepouns to theyme belongyng to the value of £1000

Summa totalis of the seid 2 shippes with thapparailles, merchandises and goodes as is aforesaid £18,166 13s 4d

And over that your seid humble subgettes for the hevyous affraye, grevous woundyng, maymyng and letyng of theyme done by the Janueis upone the hevyous robbrie and dispoillrie aforeseid and for their lechecrafte, costes and expancez done by theyme in coundithez and commyng home by straunge countrees and pas­sages and for their costes and expenses done and borne *by* your seid suppliauntes in their attendyng and suyng of their lamentable and pitefull compleyntes afore-

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83 These are the losses suffered by the hospital of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, by John, lord Stourton, and by John Wykes (cf Appendix II, Nr. 12).

84 Interlined above of the same, struck through Ms.

85 John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, and John, lord Stourton.
seid axene to be satisfied and contente of the seid merchauntez of Jeane now beyng in this realme by the decrete and jugement of the grete allowaunce of your goode grace and right wysnes of the somme of ...................... £10,000

Item moreover your poore oratours the wyfes and the next heirz of b1ode of your trew subgettes suche as were horribly and hevyously withoute pite and compasioun murdred, slayne, drowned and cast into the see by the Janueis upone the conflict, robbery and dispoillery aforesaid and now at this day bene and levyne in as grete sorow hevynes withoute helpe and comfor as eny people this day levyng, trustyng onely in God and in the grete habundaunce of your right wysnes and goode grace that your hightnesse woll ordeyne and provyde that the same your humble suggettes be satisfied and recompensed for their grete grevans and inportable hurtes aforesaid of the seid merchauntes of Jeane now beyng within this your realme to suche sommes and values as shall be thought by youre right wysnes and goode grace to and for the same your humble subgettes resonably and competente, consideryng their grete and importable losses, hurtes and hevynes aforesaid and shall pray dayly to almyghty Jhesu for the preservacioun of your most noble and rialle estat long to endure.

Memorandum that in Sturmys shippe was of the tercopelere of Rodys86 the thynges that folowene:

Fyrste, 4 cartele of olde wyne of Rodys
Item a cartele of olde vynagre of Rodys
Item 6 large carpettes
Item a peyre of curas and other small thynges with all togederys, as he writeth feithfully, was better thane .......................................................... £40 [Bl. 88] Item in another vesell a cartele of wyne of Rodys belongyng to the castellaine of Rodys87 and also other gere.

Please it the kyng of his highnesse and to the lorde of his noble and fuldescrte counsaill to have in remembraunce and consideracioun the parcell ensuyng lost by John Wykes88 of Newmarket in the counte of Cantebrigie and taken by 2 patronez of 2 carrakes of Jeane named Mathewe de Gremawde and Pykamylle before the citees of Alysaunder upone Candelmasse day last passed in the yere of our Lorde 1458 [2 February 1458].

Fyrst 300 dokettes Venice of golde
Item 5 keverchiefes of poile for ladies .................................................. 50 dokettes
Item 2 ropes of ambre in a purse .......................................................... 12 dokettes
Item 2 rynges of golde ............................................................................ 12 dokettes
Item 2 keverchiefes, 2 shertes, 2 doble bonettes, 1 bonet furred, 3 barell of wyne of Rodes, 2 peyre of hosyne with other apparaille to his persone, 1 dublet of sayne fygury. Summa .......................................................... 50 dokettes

86 The turkopoliwer was the commander of the light-armed soldiers of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. As such he was bailiff of the convent of Rhodes and a member of the English tongue (i.e. the English prior). See Jürgen SARNOWSKY, Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15. Jahrhunderts. Verfassung und Verwaltung der Johanniter auf Rhodos (1421-1522) (Vita Regularis. Ordnungen und Deutungen religiosens Lebens im Mittelalter 14), Münster 2001, p. 286-8.

87 The castellan of Rhodes was the temporal administrator of the island, appointed by the High Master. See SARNOWSKY, Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden, p. 380-1.

88 Cf. Appendix II, Nr. 12.
The parcell lost by John Dorya, servaunt of John Wykes aboveseid and take by the forseid patrons

Fyrst 1 peyre of curas ................................................................. 10 dokettes  
Item 1 sallet ................................................................. 3 dokettes  
Item 1 baner ................................................................. 1 doket  
Item 12 ellis of fyne lynnene clothe ...................................................... 8 dokettes  
Item 1 stile bowe the shotte .............................................................. 4 dokettes  
Item 1 swerde and 1 dager ............................................................... 2 dokettes  
Item 1 Januense swerde ............................................................... 2 dokettes  
Item 1 grete coser and a slaveyne ...................................................... 4 dokettes  
Item 1 long rope of ambre and another *of gayde* and a cappe .......... 8 dokettes  

Summa totalis with costes and damages amounteth ..................................... £200


[16a] [Bl. 88°] Item Johannes Taylour et Johannes Richardisse marinarii jurati
deposuerunt et concordant cum supra­
dicto Willelmo, salvo quod non hab­
erunt noticiam personarum in portubus
Suthampton' et Sandwico, prout supra­
dictus Willelmus dixit se habuisse.

\[16b\] Item Peryne de la Farga Grassco
juratus et examinatus dixit se fuisse in
Cecilia in loco vocato Palerma tempore
capcionis dictarum navium de Bristollia
e et nova subito illuc perlata fuisse de
eadem capcione, antequam Anglici\(^{91}\)
illoc venerant. Et facto rumore de illa
preda statim Januenses ibidem commo­
rantes valde commoti sunt, plangentes
dolore concussi propter distruccionem
futuram Januensium in Anglia. Et vo­
lentes providere eorum soluti condux­
erunt notabili summa unum cursorem,
qui omnì festinacione notificare
debèt dictam causam Januensibus in Veniciis
existentibus, ut ipsi suos socios cercio­
rarent in Anglia. Et in eadem Palerma
omnes Januenses acclamarunt dictum
Cataluxum conductum, armatum et
transmissum fuisse per commune Janue
et reputabant eum tutorem et defensorem
Januensium.

\[16c\] Item Johannes Warde juratus ut
supra dixit, quod quidam Laurencius
Test,\(^{93}\) famulus T[h]ome Cock alder­
manni London', sibi dixit apud Bruggam
in Flandria, quod ipse Laurencius existe­
ts apud Januam intellexit, quod mer­
catores Januenses London' existentes
scripserunt\(^{94}\) de adventu navium Bristol­
lie diu ante adventum earundem ad
partes illas. Item idem Laurencius [dixit]
eidem deponenti, quod Cataluxus fuit
transmissus per Januenses, et hoc dixit
sworn, deposed and agreed with the said
William, except that they had not seen
any [Genoese] people in the ports of
Southampton and Sandwich, as the
above said William said he had.

\[16b\] Again, Peryne de la Farga Grassco,
having been sworn and exami­
ned, said that he had been in Sicily in a
place called Palermo at the time the
Bristol ships were captured and that the
news of the same capture had been an­
nounced immediately there before the
English had arrived. And once the ru­
mour of the pillage had started, the Ge­
noese residing there were greatly dis­
turbed, bewailing the coming destruction
of the Genoese in England. And wishing
to provide for their freedom, they gave a
notable sum to a messenger who was to
notify the Genoese in Venice of the
matter in all haste, in order that they
might put their associates in England in
the picture. And in Palermo all the Ge­
noese claimed that Cataluxus had been
escorted, armed and sent out by the
commune of Genoa and reputed him to
be a protector and defender of the Ge­
noese.

\[16c\] Again, John Warde, having been
sworn as above, said that one Lawrence
Test, servant of the London alderman
Thomas Cock, told him in Bruges in
Flanders that when he was in Genoa he
had understood that the Genoese mer­
chants in London had written about the
arrival of the Bristol ships long before
their arrival in those parts. Again, the
same Lawrence [said] to the same de­
ponent that Cataluxus had been sent by the
Genoese. And he said that he knew this

\(^{91}\) Anglia Ms.
\(^{92}\) debent Ms.
\(^{93}\) Test was a London citizen and draper.
\(^{94}\) Sic Ms.
se scire, quia sui soldarii erant soluti\textsuperscript{95} apud Januam in banco ordinato et deputato ad solucionem faciendam eisdem. because his soldiers had been paid in Genoa at a bank especially set up to make payments to them.

\textit{[Bl. 89\textsuperscript{v} is blank]}

\textsuperscript{95} \textit{Interlined above sol of, struck through Ms.}
APPENDIX II
OTHER SOURCES

[1a] Robert Stormy and his wife Elyne petition the chancellor in regard to the bond for £100 which Elyne — acting as [femme] sole — had issued to the Irish merchant William Reygate, stating that it did not represent a debt, but had been issued to ensure that a reckoning took place between the two. Nonetheless Reygate sold the bond to the Bristol mercers William Talbot and Laurence Cotiller who have now sued the Sturmys for debt. — [before 24 August 1438].

TNA: PRO, C1/9/181. Original. Parchment. Unsealed. Below the text: Memorandum, quod vicesimo quarto die Augusti anno regni regis Henrici Sexti sextodecimo [24 August 1438] Ricardus Chokke et Johannes Caddebury coram dicto domino rege in dicta cancellaria sua personaliter constituti manuceperunt, videlicet uterque eorum, pro prefatis Roberto Stormy et Elena uxore ejus, quod in casu, quo ipsi materiam in hac supplicacione specificatam veram probare non poterint, tunc prefatis Willemo Talbot et Laurencio omnia dampna et expensas, que ipsi ea occasione sustinebunt, satisfacient juxta formam statuti inde editi et provisi [Memorandum that on the 24th of August in the 16th year of the reign of king Henry VI Richard Chokke and John Caddebury mainperned personally and severally before the king in chancery for Robert Sturmy and his wife Ellen that in case they cannot prove the matters specified in this supplication to be true, then they will satisfy the said William Talbot and Laurence for all damages and expenses sustained on this occasion according to the form of the statute].

To the righte reverent and graceous lorde the chaunceller of Engelond
Besechithe mekely to youre graceous lordeshippe youre pore servauntez Robert Stormy and Elyne his wiff, ..at where that the seide Elyne beynge sole was boundene in an obligacioun of a £100 to oone William Reygate of Irlond merchant by the menes of William Talbot of Bristowe and Laurence Cotiller of the same toune mercer, where in dede noo duetee was, but oonly uppone triste to abyde a rekenynge betwene the seyde Elyne and William Reygate, uppone whiche bonde under this forme soo made notwithstondyngye noo rekenyngs is yit hadde, the forseyde William Reygate solde and delivered the seyde obligacioun to the forseyde William Talbot and Laurence, be force of which obligacioun they sewe the forseyde Robert and Elyne gretly ayenste righte and goode conscience. Whereuppone if it please your graceous lordeshippe to considre the mater beforseyde and theruppone of youre grace to graunt writtes sub pena direct to the forseyde William Talbot and Laurence to appere befor you in the chauncerie uppone a certeyne day, to be examyned uppone this mater aforeseyde for the love of God and in werk of cheritede.

Robert Sturmy de Bristolia merchant et Elena uxor ejus alias dicta Elena Talbot ville Bristoliae vidua summoniti fuerunt ad respondendum Willemo Ragyt de Kylken' in Hibernia mercatorii de placito, quod reddant ei quadriginta libras, quas ei debent et injuste detinent etc. Et unde idem Willemus per Robertum Rasyn attornatum suum dicit, quod, cum predicta Elena, dum sola fuit, sextodecimo die mensis Marcii anno regni domini regis nunc undecimo [16 Mar. 1433] per quoddam scriptum suum obligatorium concessisset se teneri et obligari prefato Willemo in viginti libris legalis et usualis monete Anglie de predictis quadriginta libris solvendis eidem Willemo, heredibus vel executoribus suis aut suo certo attornato in festo Nativitatis sancti Johanni Baptistae, quod esset anno Domini millesimo quadrincentesimo tricesimo quarto [24 June 1434], et eciam quod, cum predicta Elena, dum sola fuit, dicto sextodecimo die Marcii dicto anno undecimo per quoddam aliud scriptum suum obligatorium concessisset se teneri et obligari prefato Willemo in viginti libris legalis et usualis monete de predictis quadriginta libris residuis solvendis eidem Willemo, heredibus vel executoribus suis aut suo certo attornato in festo Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste, quod esset anno Domini millesimo quadrincentesimo quinto [24 June 1435], predicta tamen Elena, dum sola fuit, et predicti Robertus et Elena post sponsalia inter eos celebrata, licet sepius requisiti, predictas quadriginta libras prefato Willemo nondum reddiderunt, set eas ei hucusque reddere contradixerunt et adhuc contradicunt, unde dicit, quod deterioratus est et damnum habet ad valenciam quadriginta marcarum. Et inde producit sectam etc. Et profert hic
in curia scripta predicta, que debitum predictum in forma predicta testantur, quorum data sunt die et anno supradiictis etc. Et super hoc idem Willelmus dicit, quod scripta illa facta fuerunt apud London' in parochia Sancti Botulphi Abbatis in warde de Billynggesgate etc.

Et predicti Robertus Sturmy et Elena per Iohannem Thornton attornatum suum venerunt et defenderunt vim et injuriam, quando etc. Et dicunt, quod ipsi de debito predicto virtute scriptorum predictorum onerari non debent, quia dicunt, quod eadem Elena tempore confecionis scripti illius imprisonata fuit per predictum Willemum et alios de covina sua apud Bristolliam et ibidem in prisoa detenta, quousque eadem Elena per vim, duriciam et cohercionem imprisonamenti illius scripta predicta eadem Willemo fecisset. Et hoc parati sunt verificare, unde petunt judicium, si predictus Willemus dictam accionem debiti predicti virtute scriptorum illorum in forma predicta factorum in hoc casu versus eos habere seu manutenere debeat etc.

Et predictus Willemus dicit, quod ipse ab accione sua predicta versus prefatos Robertum Sturmy et Elenam habenda per aliqua preallegata excludi non debet, quia dicit, quod eadem Elena tempore confecionis scriptorum predictorum fuit sui juris ad largum et extra quamlibet prisonam et scripta illa ex mera et spontanea voluntate sua prefato Willemo fecit et non per vim, duriciam neque cohercionem imprisonamenti, prout predicti Robertus Sturmy et Elena superius allegarunt. Et hoc petit, quod inquiratur per patriam. Et predicti Robertus Sturmy et Elena similiter. Ideo preceptum est vicecomiti Bristollie, quod venire faciat hie a die sancte Trinitatis in 15 dies [15 June 1439] 12 de villa Bristollie, per quos etc., et qui nec etc., ad recognoscendum etc., quia tam etc.

And the said Robert Sturmy and Elena came through their attorney John Thornton and denied force and tort when etc. And they say that they should not be charged with the said debt by virtue of the said bonds because they say that when the bonds were drawn up, the same Elena had been imprisoned by the said William and others of his covin in Bristol and detained there in prison until the same Elena by the force, harshness and coercion of that imprisonment issued the said bonds to the same William. And they are prepared to prove this, whence they ask for judgement if the said William may have his said action of debt against them in this case by virtue of those bonds drawn up in the said form or be allowed to maintain it etc.

And the said William says that he should not be excluded from pursuing his said action against the said Robert Sturmy and Elena by anything alleged above, because he says that at the time the said bonds were drawn up the same Elena was at large and no detained in any prison and issued those bonds to the said William of her own free will and not because of force, durance or coercion of imprisonment, as the said Robert Sturmy and Elena have alleged above. And he asks that this may be inquired into by the country etc. And the said Robert Sturmy and Elena similarly etc. Therefore the sheriff of Bristol was ordered to cause to come here on the quindene of Holy Trinity [15 June 1439] twelve of the town of Bristol, by whom etc., and who neither etc., to recognize etc., because both etc.
Robertus Sturmy of Bristol, merchant, and his wife Elena, otherwise known as Elena Talbot of the town of Bristol, widow, were summoned to respond to William Ragyt of Kilkenny in Ireland, merchant, on a plea that they pay him £40 which they owe him and unlawfully detain etc. And regarding that the same William says through his attorney Robert Rasyn that when the aforesaid Elena was a femme sole, she had conceded on the 16th of March in the 11th year of the present king's reign [1433] by means of her sealed bond that she was bound and obligated to pay £20 of the aforesaid £40 to the same William, his heirs or executors or his attorney on the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist 1436, and moreover that the aforesaid Elena was a femme sole, she had conceded on the said 16th of March in the said 11th year [1433] by means of another bond sealed by her that she was bound and obligated to pay the remaining £20 of the aforesaid £40 to the same William, his heirs or executors or his attorney on the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist 1437. However, the said Elena, when she was a femme sole, and the aforesaid Robert and Elena after they were married, have not yet paid the said £40 to the aforesaid William, although they were often requested to do so, but have hitherto refused to pay him and currently refuse, whence he says that he has suffered damages of 40 marks. And he produces suit thereof etc. And he proffers here in court the said bonds dated on the said day and year testifying
libras prefato Willelmo nondum red-
diderunt, set eas ei hucusque reddere
contradixerunt et adhuc contradictunt,
unde dicit, quod deterioratus est et
damnum habet ad valenciam quadra-
ginta marcarum. Et inde producit sectam
etc. Et profert hic in curia scripta pre-
dicta, que debitum predictum in forma
predicta testantur, quorum data sunt die
et anno supradictis etc. Et super hoc
idem Willelmus dicit, quod scripta pre-
dicta facta fuerunt apud London' in pa-
rochia Sancti Botulphi Abbatis in warda
de Billyngesgate etc.

Et predicti Robertus Sturmy et Elena
per Johannem Thornton attornatum
suum venerunt et defenderunt vim et
injuriam, quando etc. Et dicunt, quod
ipsi de debito predicto virtute scriptorum
predictorum onerarii non debent, quia
dicunt, quod eadem Elena tempore con-
feccionis scriptorum predictorum im-
prisonata fuit per predictum Willelmum
et alios de covina sua apud Bristoliam et
ibidem in prisiona detenta, quosque
eadem Elena per vim, duriciam et coher-
cionem imprisonamenti illius scripta
predicta eidem Willelmo fecisset. Et hoc
parati sunt verificare, unde petunt ju-
dicium, si predictus Willelmus dictam
accionem debiti predicti virtute scripto-
rum illorum in forma predicta factorum
in hoc casu versus eos habere seu
manutenere debeat etc.

Et predictus Willelmus dicit, quod ipse
ab accionie sua predicta versus prefatos
Robertum Sturmy et Elenam habenda
per aliquas preallegatoa excludi non debet,
quia dicit, quod eadem Elena tempore
confeccionis scriptorum predictorum fuit
sui juris ad largum et extra quamlibet
prisonam et scripta illa ex mera et spon-
tanea voluntate sua prefato Willelmo
fecit et non per vim, duriciam neque
coercionem imprisonamenti, prout
predicti Robertus Sturmy et Elena su-
perius allegarunt. Et hoc petit, quod
inquiratur per patriam. Et predicti
to the said debt in the said form etc. And
on this the same William says that these
bonds were drawn up in London in the
parish of St. Botulph Abbot in the ward
of Billingsgate etc.

And the said Robert Sturmy and Elena
came through their attorney John
Thornton and denied force and tort when
etc. And they say that they should not be
charged with the said debt by virtue of
the said bonds because they say that
when the bonds were drawn up, the
same Elena had been imprisoned by the
said William and others of his covin in
Bristol and detained there in prison until
the same Elena by the force, harshness
and coercion of that imprisonment is-
sued the said bonds to the same William.
And they are prepared to prove this,
whence they ask for judgement if the
said William may have his said action of
debt against them in this case by virtue
of those bonds drawn up in the said form
or be allowed to maintain it etc.

And the said William says that he
should not be excluded from pursuing
his said action against the said Robert
Sturmy and Elena by anything alleged
above, because he says that at the time
the said bonds were drawn up the same
Elena was at large and no detained in
any prison and issued those bonds to the
said William of her own free will and
not because of force, durance or coer-
cion of imprisonment, as the said Robert
Sturmy and Elena have alleged above.
And he asks that this may be inquired
into by the country etc. And the said
Robertus Sturmy et Elena similiter. Ideo preceptum est vicecomiti Brissollie, quod venire faciat hic a die sancte Trinitatis in 15 dies 12 etc. de villa Brissollie, per quos etc., et qui nec etc., ad recognoscendum etc., quia tam etc.

\[1d\] William Ragyt of Kilkeny in Ireland sues Robert Sturmy and his wife Elena in the Court of Common Pleas for a debt of £20, payable on 24 June 1438, on a bond issued by Elena as femme sole on 16 March 1433. — Easter term 17 Hen. VI./1439. The case is continued sine die because Robert's attorney presents the court with a royal patent of protection.


"London"

Robertus Sturmy de Brissollia marchoant et Elena uxor ejus alias dicta Elena Talbot ville Brissollie vidua summoned ad respondendum Willelmo Ragyt de Kylken' in Hibernia mercatori de placito, quod reddant ei viginti libras, quas ei debent et injuste detinent etc. Et unde idem Willelmus per Robertum Rasyn attornatum suum dicit, quod, cum predicta Elena, dum sola fuit, sextodecimo die mensis Marcii anno regni domini regis nunc undecimo [16 Mar. 1433] per quoddam scriptum suum obligatorium concessisset se teneri et obligari prefato Willelmo in predictis viginti libris legalis et usualis monete Anglie solvendis eidem Willelmo, hereditibus vel executoribus suis aut suo certo attornato in festo Nativitatis sancti Johanni Baptistae, quod esset anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo octavo [24 June 1438], predicta tamen Elena, dum sola fuit, et predicti Robertus Sturmy et Elena post sponsalia inter eos celebrata, licet sepius requisiti, predictas viginti libras prefato Willelmo nondum reddiderunt, set eas ei hucusque reddere contradixerunt et adhuc contradicunt, unde dicit, quod deterioratus est et dampnum habet ad valenciam viginti marcarum. Et inde London

Robert Sturmy of Bristol, merchant, and his wife Elena, otherwise known as Elena Talbot of the town of Bristol, widow, were summoned to respond to William Ragyt of Kilkeny in Ireland, merchant, on a plea that they pay him £20 which they owe him and unlawfully detain etc. And regarding that the same William says through his attorney Robert Rasyn that when the aforesaid Elena was a femme sole, she had conceded on the 16th of March in the 11th year of the present king's reign [1433] by means of her sealed bond that she was bound and obligated to pay the aforesaid £20 to the same William, his heirs or executors or his attorney on the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist 1438. However, the said Elena, when she was a femme sole, and the aforesaid Robert and Elena after they were married, have not yet paid the said £20 to the aforesaid William, although they were often requested to do so, but have hitherto refused to pay him and currently refuse, whence he says that he has suffered damages of 20 marks. And he produces suit thereof etc. And he professes here in court the said bond dated on the said day and year testifying to the said debt in the said form etc. And on this the
producit sectam etc. Et profert hic in curia scriptum predictum, quod debitum predictum in forma predicta testatur, cujus datum est die et anno supraddictis etc. Et super hoc idem Willemus dicit, quod scriptum illud factum fuit apud London' in parochia Sancti Botulphi Abbatis in warda de Bilyngesgate etc.

Et predicti Robertus Sturmy et Elena per Johannem Thornton attornatum suum venerunt et defenderunt vim et injuriam, quando etc. Et dicunt, quod ipsi de debito predicto virtute scripti predicti onerari non debent, quia dicunt, quod eadem Elena tempore confeccionis scripti predicti imprisonata fuit per predictum Willemum et alios de covina sua apud Brystolliam et ibidem in prasona detenta, quousque eadem Elena per vim, duriciam et cohercionem imprisonamenti illius scriptum predictum eadem Willemo fecisset. Et hoc parati sunt verificare, unde petunt judicium, si predictus Willemus dictam actionem debiti predicti virtute scripti illius in forma predicta facti in hoc casu versus eos habere seu manutenere debeat etc.

Et predictus Willemus dicit, quod ipse ab actione sua predicta versus prefatos Robertum Sturmy et Elena habenda per aliqua preallegata excludi non debet, quia dicit, quod eadem Elena tempore confeccionis scripti predicti fuit sui juris ad largum et extra quamlibet prisonam et scriptum illud ex mera et spontanea voluntate sua prefato Willemo fecit et non per vim, duriciam neque cohercionem imprisonamenti, prout predicti Robertus Sturmy et Elena superius allagent. Et hoc petit, quod inquiratur per patriam. Et predicti Robertus Sturmy et Elena similiter. Ideo preceptum est vicecomiti Bristollie, quod venire faciat hic a die sancte Trinitatis in 15 dies 12 etc. de villa Brystollie, per quos etc., et qui nec etc., ad recognoscendum etc., quia tam etc.

same William says that these bonds were drawn up in London in the parish of St. Botulph Abbot in the ward of Billingsgate etc.

And the said Robert Sturmy and Elena came through their attorney John Thornton and denied force and tort when etc. And they say that they should not be charged with the said debt by virtue of the said bond because they say that when the bond was drawn up, the same Elena had been imprisoned by the said William and others of his covin in Bristol and detained there in prison until the same Elena by the force, harshness and coercion of that imprisonment issued the said bond to the same William. And they are prepared to prove this, whence they ask for judgement if the said William may have his said action of debt against them in this case by virtue of this bond drawn up in the said form or be allowed to maintain it etc.

And the said William says that he should not be excluded from pursuing his said action against the said Robert Sturmy and Elena by anything alleged above, because he says that at the time the said bonds were drawn up the same Elena was at large and not detained in any prison and issued this bond to the said William of her own free will and not because of force, durance or coercion of imprisonment, as the said Robert Sturmy and Elena have alleged above. And he asks that this may be inquired into by the country etc. And the said Robert Sturmy and Elena similarly. Therefore the sherrif of Bristol was ordered to cause to come here on the quindene of Holy Trinity [15 June 1439] twelve of the town of Bristol, by whom etc., and who neither etc., to recognize etc., because both etc.
Postea continuato inde processu inter partes predictas per juratas in predicto comitatu Bristolie positas inde inter eas in respectum hic usque ad hunc diem, scilicet a die sancti Michaelis in 15 dies anno regni domini regis nunc decimo octavo [from 13. Oct. 1440], nisi Ricardus Newton unus justiciariorum domini regis de banco per formam statuti etc. die jovis proxime post festum sancti Laurencii Martiris ultimo preterito [11. Aug. 1440] apud Bristoliam prius venisset etc. Et modo ad hunc diem hic venit predictus Willelmus Ragyt per attornatum suum. Et prefatus justiciarius, coram quo etc., misit hic recordum suum in hec verba:

Postea die et loco infracontentis coram Ricardo Neuton uno justiciariorum domini regis de banco infranominato associato sibi Willelmo Kyng per formam statuti etc. venerunt tarn Willelmus Ragyt infranominatus per Thomam Parkhous attornatum suum quam infranominati Robertus Sturmy et Elena uxor ejus per infranominatum Johannem Thornton attornatum suum et idem Johannes pro predicto Roberto profert hic in curia litteras domini regis nunc de proteccione patentes, quarum tenor sequitur in hec verba:

Henricus Dei gracia rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis, ad quos presentes littere pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis, quod suscepimus in proteccionem et defensionem nostram Robertum Sturmy alias dictum Sturmyn de Bristowe marchaut, qui in obsequium nostrum versus partes ducatus nostri Aquitanie prefecturum est, ibidem in eodem obsequio nostro in comitiva dilecti et fidelis consanguinei nostri Johannis comitis Huntvingdon locumtenentis ducatus nostri Aquitanie predicti super salva custodia ac vitellacione parcium earundum moraturum, homines, terras, res, redditus et omnes possessiones ipsius Roberti. Et

Afterwards — process thereon between the aforesaid parties was continued by the adjournment of juries thereon in the said county of Bristol until this day, namely the quindene of Michaelmas in the 18th year of the present king's reign [from 13 Oct. 1440], unless Richard Newton, one of the king's justices of the Common Bench, should have first come to Bristol on the Thursday next after the feast of St. Laurence Martyr last past [11 Aug. 1440] [for lack of jurors] by the form of the statute etc. And now on this day the said William Ragyt came here represented by his said attorney. And the said judge, before whom etc., sent his record in these words:

Afterwards — on the day and in the place noted below — there came the said William Ragyt represented by his attorney Thomas Parkhous and the said Robert Sturmy and his wife Elena represented by their said attorney John Thornton before Richard Newton, one of the king's justices of the Common Bench, William Kyng being associated unto him by the form of the statute. And the same John — acting for the said Robert — proferred here in court the king's patent letters of protection, whose tenor follows in these words:

Henry by the grace of God king of England and France and Lord of Ireland to all his bailiffs and faithful, to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know that we have taken into our protection Robert Sturmy (also known as Sturmyn) of Bristol, merchant, who is about to travel on our service to our duchy of Aquitaine and to remain there on our service in the company of our beloved and loyal kinsman John Earl of Huntingdon, lieutenant of our duchy of Aquitaine, for the safe-keeping and victualling of the same parts, together with all of the said Robert's men, lands, chattels, rents and possessions. And we command you that you maintain, protect
ideo vobis mandamus, quod ipsum Robertum, homines, terras, res, redditus et omnes possessiones sua manutenatis, protegatis et defendatis, non inferentes eis vel inferri permittentes injuriam, molestatiam, dampnum aut gravamen. Et si quid eis foris factum fuerit, id eis sine dilacione faciatis emendari. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus paententes per unum annum duraturas. Volumus eciam, quod idem Robertus interim sit quietus de omnibus placitis et querelis exceptis plactis de dote, unde nichil habet, et quare impedit et assisis nove disseisine et ultime presentaciones et attinctis et exceptis loqualis, quas coram justiciariis nostris itinerantibus in itineribus suis summoneri contingat; presentibus minime valituris, si contingat ipsum Robertum iter illud non arripere vel postquam citra terminum ilium in Angliam redierit ab obsequio nostro supradicto. Teste me ipso apud Westminster, 30 die Julii anno regni nostri decimo septimo.

Therefore the said action remains without day etc.

Interlined Ms. \textit{scripta predicta corrected to scriptum predictum L.} \textit{Bristoll' marginated Ms.} \textit{Sine die marginated Ms.}

[2] Henry VI to the sheriff of Bristol: Order to ascertain whether Robert Sturmy, to whom the king on 30 July [1439] had granted a letter of protection valid for one year in order that Sturmy accompany the king's lieutenant in the duchy of Aquitaine, John, Earl of Huntingdon, and transport victuals thence, has in fact departed or remains in the county of Bristol, and to certify the result to the king in chancery. — 8 September 1439. Wells.


Henricus, Dei gracia rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, vicecomiti Bristollie salutem. Volentes certis de causis cerciorari, si Robertus Sturmy alias dictus Sturmyn' de Bristowe marchaunt, quem tricesimo die J ulii ultimo preterito [30 July 1439] per litteras and defend the said Robert and all his men, lands, chattels, rents and possessions, not causing or permitting them to suffer any injury, molestation, damage or oppression. And if anything of his is forfeit, you are to restore it without delay. In testimony of which we have caused these our letters to be made patent, valid for one year. Indeed, we wish that during this time the same Robert be quit of all pleas and suits saving pleas of dower (of which he has none) and 'quare impedit' and the assizes of novel disseisin and darrein presentment and attaint and saving actions which might be summoned before our justices itinerant in their eyres. The present letters are invalid if it should happen that the same Robert does not undertake his journey or afterwards leaves our service and returns to England before the end of the time specified. Witness myself at Westminster, the 30th of July in the seventeenth year of our reign [30 July 1439].

Henry, by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, to the sheriff of Bristol, greetings. Wishing for certain causes to be made certain whether Robert Sturmy of Bristol, merchant, to whom we granted a letter of protection by our patent letters
APPENDIX II: OTHER SOURCES

valid for one year on the 30th of July last past [30 July 1439] in order that he may set out in our service, accompanying our beloved and loyal kinsman John Earl of Huntingdon, lieutenant of our duchy of Aquitaine, to tarry [there] for the safekeeping and victualling of the same parts, [in fact] set forth on the same service or if he remained continuously in your county, tending to his own business. We order you to render us more certain in this matter without delay [by return] under your seal [to be delivered] to our chancery, sending this writ [back] to us. Witness myself at Wells, the 8th of September in the 18th year of our reign

LOUTHE.

[Sheriff's response] Robert Sturmy infrascriptus nullam trahit moram in comitatu Bristollie, propriis negociis suis intendendo, necne. Tibi precipimus, quod nos inde in cancellaria nostra sub sigillo tuo distincte et aperte sine dilacione reddas cerciores, hoc breve nobis remittens. Teste me ipso apud Welles, 8 die Septembris anno regni nostri decimo octavo.


TNA: PRO, C244/28/171/1-2 (/1: writ; /2: return). Old call number: C47/68/18/58. Original. Parchment. Seal on tongue torn off. On the back of /1: Responsio hujus brevis patet in quadam cedula huic brevi consuta [The response to this writ appears on a certain schedule sewed to this writ].

Henricus, Dei gracia rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, dilecto sibi Ricardo Stucle uni custodum pacis nostre in comitatu Midd' salutem. Volentes certis de causis clericorari super tenore cujusdam securitatis pacis, quam Robertus Sturmy invenit coram vobis de

Henry, by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, to our beloved Richard Stucle, one of the keepers of the peace in the county of Middlesex, greetings. Wishing for certain causes to be made more certain about the tenor of a certain surety of

1 Not enrolled.
2 The king rescinded this safe conduct on 28 Nov. 1439 because the sheriff of Gloucestershire certified in response to a further certiorari-writ that Sturmy had not gone overseas, but had been found in Barton Regis (Gloucestershire): CPR 1436-41, p. 350.
Robert Sturmy's Commercial Expedition

peace which Robert Sturmy found before you that he would neither cause nor procure any damage or harm to John Bonghan or any others of our people, neither doing them bodily harm nor burning their houses. We command you that you send the tenor of the said surety to us in our chancery under your seal without delay, together with this writ. Witness myself at Westminster, the 8th day of July in the 18th year of our reign.

[Stucle's return] Memorandum that on the 7th of July in the 18th year of the reign of Henry VI after the conquest [7 July 1440] John Staundon merchant, Thomas Bernard of London skynner, Ralph Haryngton of London gentleman and John Godard of Bedfont in the county of Middlesex [appeared] personally before me, Richard Stucle, one of the king's justices assigned to keep the king's peace in the county of Middlesex, and mainprized – each of them under penalty of 20 marks – for Robert Sturmy that he would neither cause nor procure any damage or harm to John Bonghan of Bristol, saddler, or any others of the king's people, neither doing them bodily harm nor burning their houses. Each of the said mainprizers granted that the sum of 20 marks be raised from his lands and chattels for the benefit of the king if any damage or harm come in any way to John Bonghan or any others of the king's people, be it to their bodies or to their houses by arson, by Robert Sturmy or at his instigation.

[4] The Bristol customers Thomas Rokes and Thomas Bateman account for the period from 29 September 1442 to 22 July 1443 and record (among other things) that during this time Robert Sturmy exported 78 weys [468 quarters or 1319.76 hl] of wheat worth £98 14s 4d to Bordeaux for the victualling of the king's loyal lieges (pro vitellacione fidelium ligeorum regis). — 29 September 1442-22 July 1443.
The Bristol customers John Sharpe and William Boord account for the period from 11 November 1446 to 31 January 1447 and record (among other things) that during this time the indigenous merchant Robert Sturmy exported 20% sacks, 12 cloves [3422.87 kg] of wool to Pisa by royal licence shown at their accounting and retained by Sturmy (20 saccos, dimidium, 12 clavos lanarum ... in portu predicto custumata et abinde usque portum civitatis de Pisa in Italia de licencia domini regis super hunc comptum ostensa et penes ipsum Robertum remanente transduxit). — 11 November 1446-31 January 1447.

On 18 January 1458 Richard Benett of Pembroke (Wales) was indicted before William Coder, mayor, and John Wykeham, sheriff, acting as justices of the peace and oyer and terminer justices in Bristol, for assault and theft of 40s committed against Robert Sturmy on 15 December 1457 in Bristol. On 24 April 1458 Benett was brought before the King's Bench in Westminster and pleaded not guilty, putting himself upon the jury. The jury was summoned for 5 June 1458. — 1458 January 18.

Bristol; this term
At another time, namely on the Wednesday before the feast of the conversion of St. Paul in the 36th year of the reign of the lord king [18 January 1458] in Bristol before William Coder, mayor of Bristol, and John Wykeham, sheriff, the king's justices of the peace and his justices assigned to hear and determine various felonies, trespasses and malfeasances committed in the said county, a jury of 12 persons indicted Richard Benett from Pembroke in the county of Pembroke in Wales, gentleman, and others — having gathered together a number of unknown malefactors and disturbers of the king's peace who were sworn together — with malice aforethought, armed with hauberks and defensive doublets and arrayed in a warlike fashion in the manner of the recent insurrection, on the 15th of December in

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3 TNA: PRO, C76/129 m 20 (printed CARUS-WILSON, Trade, Nr. 94, p. 84-5).
4 *Conversio Paulifell on a Wednesday in 1458.*
Robert Sturmy's Commercial Expedition

Regis tricesimo sexto supradicto [15 December 1457] apud Bristoliam vi et armis, videlicet lanceis, securibus guerrinis, gladiis, daggaris, arcubus et sagittis contra pacem domini regis in Robertum Sturmy insultum fecerunt et ipsum ibidem verberaverunt, vulneraverunt et mahemiaverunt et ipsum semivivium relictum reluquerunt et quadraginta solidos in pecunia numerata de denariis ipsius Roberti Sturmy in bursa ipsius Roberti adtunc et ibidem inventis felonice ut felones ceperunt et asportaverunt, et ipsum Robertum Sturmy adtunc et ibidem interficiendo felonice ut felones in incidiis jacuerunt etc. Per quod preceptum fuit vicecomiti, quod non ornitetur etc., quin caperet eum, si etc.

Et modo, scilicet a die Pasche in tres septimanas isto eodem termino [24 April 1458], coram domino rege apud Westminster venit predictus Ricardus Benett sub custodia marescalli marescalliae domini regis coram ipso rege, in cujus custodia perantea ex causa predicta et aliis certis de causis commissus fuit, ad barram hie ductus in propria persona sua et statim de premissis sibi superius impositis allocutus, qualiter se velit inde acquietare, dicit, quod ipse in nullo est inde culpabilis et inde de bono et malo ponit se super patriam etc. Ideo veniat inde jurata coram domino regi in octabis sancte Trinitatis [5 June 1458], ubicumque etc., et qui etc., ad recognoscendum etc., quia etc. Idem dies datus est prefato Ricardo in custodia prefati marescalli etc.

[7] In Hilary term 1458 Robert Sturmy brought a bill of custody in the King's Bench against Richard Benneyth for assault committed in Bristol on 6 September 1457 and the arrest of Sturmy's ship le Katerine, then moored at Bristol, for 10 days, by virtue of which Robert was unable to ship the merchandise in the said ship for the said period. On 19 April 1458—Sturmy being represented by his attorney John Beell—Benneyth denied all wrongdoing, stating that it was Robert who had intended to
assault him on the day in question in St. Florence in Herefordshire\(^5\) and that he had merely defended himself. As both parties put themselves on the country, a jury was summoned for 12 May 1458. — Easter term 1458.

L1 TNA: PRO, KB146/636/2 unnumbered (Hilary 36 Hen. VI). Or. Bill of Custody (Bristoll'). Robertus Sturmy to et contra pacem etc.). Parchment. Unsealed. In the lower right-hand corner: Plegii de prosequeundo [Pledges of prosecution] Johannes Man, Robertus Stork. On the dorsal side: Defendens in hac billa petit inde diem interloquendi etc. Et ei conceditur etc. Et super hoc dies datus est partibus in hac billa coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium usque diem mercurii proxime post 15\(^{\text{am}}\) Pasche [19 April 1458], videlicet defendenti ad interloquendum etc. et tunc ad respondendum etc. [The defendant in this bill requests leave to imparl etc. And it is granted to him etc. And for this reason a day is given to the parties in this bill before the king in Westminster until the Wednesday immediately after the quindene of Easter [19 April 1458], namely to the defendant to imparl etc. and then to respond etc.]


\(^{a}\)Bristol\(^{\text{b}}\)

Memorandum, quod alias, scilicet termino sancti Hillarii ultimo preterito [Hilary term 1458], coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium venit Robertus Sturmy de Bristollia mercator in propria persona sua et protulit hic in curia quandam billam versus Ricardum Benneyth in custodiamarescalli etc. de placito transgressionis. Et sunt plegii de prosequeundo, scilicet Johannes Cole et Robertus Stork. Que quidem billa sequitur in hec verba:

\(^{b}\)Bristol\(^{\text{c}}\). Robertus Sturmy de Bristollia\(^{\text{d}}\) mercator queritur de Ricardo Benneyth in custodia marescalli marescallie domini regis coram ipso rege existente, de eo quod idem Ricardus sexto die Septembris anno regni domini regis nunc tricesimo sexto [6 September 1457] vi et armis, videlicet gladiis, baculis et cultellis, in ipsum Robertum apud Bristolliam insulmum fecit et ipsum verberavit, vulneravit et male tractavit, ita quod de vita ejus desperabatur, ac quandam navim ipsius Roberti vocatam le Katerine adtunc et ibidem existentem absque causa racionabilis adtunc ibidem

Bristol. Robert Sturmy of Bristol, merchant, complains of Richard Benneyth who is in the custody of the marshal of the king's marshalsea, being before the same king, that the same Richard on the 6\(^{\text{th}}\) of September in the 36\(^{\text{th}}\) year of the reign of the present king [6 September 1457] with force and arms, namely swords, staves and knives, assaulted the same Robert in Bristol and beat, wounded and maimed him so that his life was despaired of, and arrested a certain ship of Robert's called the Katerine [moored] there and then in Bristol without reasonable cause and

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\(^5\) As far as I have been able to determine, no such place exists in Herefordshire. There is, however, a St. Florence in Pembrokeshire (now Tenby, Dyfed). This would accord well with No. 6 (immediately above) in which Benneyth is said to be a gentleman of Pembroke in Pembrokeshire.
arestavit et navim illum ibidem sub arestost illo per decem dies tunc proxime sequentes detinuit, per quod idem Robertus navim cum mercandizis suis ad partes transmarinas per tempus predictum transducere non potuit ad dampnum ipsius Roberti ducentarum librarum et contra pacem etc. Et inde producit sectam etc.

Et modo ad hunc diem, scilicet diem mercurii proxime post IS"m Pasche isto eodem termino [19 April 1458], usque quem diem predictus Ricardus Benneyth habuit licenciam ad billam predictam interloquendi etc. et tunc ad respondendum etc. coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium venit a tamd predictus Robertus per Johannem Beell attonatum suum quam predictus Ricardus in propria persona sua. Et idem Ricardus defendit vim et injuriam, quando etc., et quoad venire vi et armis seu quicquid, quod est contra pacem etc., necnon totam transgressionem predictam preter insultum, verberacionem, vulneracionem et male tractacionem predicta dicit, quod ipse in nullo est inde culpabilis etc. Et de hoc ponit se super patriam etc. Et predictus Robertus similiter etc. Et quoad eosdem insultum, verberacionem, vulneracionem et male tractacionem idem Ricardus dicit, quod predictus Robertus actionem suam predictam inde versus eum manutenere non debet, quia dicit, quod idem Robertus dicto tempore transgressionis predicte fieri supposte in ipsum Ricardum apud Seynt Florens in comitatu Heref insultum fecit et ipsum Ricardum adtunc et ibidem verberasse, vulnerasse et interficisse voluit, nisi idem Ricardus se in salvacionem vite sue ciusus defendisset, et sic malum, quod eidem Roberto adtunc et ibidem devenit, fuit de insultu ejusdem Roberti proprio et in defensionem predicti Ricardi absque hoc, quod idem Ricardus culpabilis est de insultu, verberacione, vulneracione et male tractacione predicta

kept that ship under arrest there for ten days following, for which reason the same Robert could not sail overseas with his goods in that ship for the said time, to the said Robert's loss of £200 and against the king's peace. And he produces suit thereof etc.

And now on this day, namely the Wednesday immediately after the quindene of Easter in this same term [19 April 1458], until which day the said Richard Benneyth had licence to imparl in regard to the said bill etc. and then to respond etc., there came before the king in Westminster both the said Robert, represented by his attorney John Beell, and the said Richard in his own person. And the same Richard denied force and tort when etc. And as to coming with force and arms or anything that is against the [king's] peace and moreover the entire aforesaid trespass other than the said assault, beating, wounding and maiming, he says that he is not guilty in any way etc. And on this he places himself upon the country etc. And the said Robert similarly etc. And as to the said assault, beating, wounding and maiming the said Richard says that the said Robert should not be allowed to maintain his said action against him, because he says that the same Robert at the time the said trespass was supposed to have taken place assaulted him, the same Richard, in Seynt Florens in the county of Hereford and there and then beat and wounded him and would have robbed him if the same Richard had not defended himself quickly in order to save his life. And so the harm which came to the same Robert there and then resulted from Robert's own assault and the said Richard's defence without Richard being guilty of the assault, beating, wounding and maiming which Robert claimed in his bill to have happened in Bristol. And
The jury is summoned in the case brought by Robert Sturmy against Richard Benneyth for trespass. — 1458 April 26. Westminster.

Henry by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland to the sheriff of Bristol greeting. We order you to cause to come before us in Westminster on the Friday immediately after the fifth Sunday after Easter [12 May 1458] 24 knights and other free and lawworthy men from the vicinity of Bristol, by whom the truth of the matter may be known and who are tied neither to Robert Sturmy of Bristol, merchant, plaintiff, nor to Richard Benneyth by any affinity, to make a judgement between the said parties in a plea of trespass, because both the said Richard and the said Robert between whom the dispute is, have placed themselves upon the jury. And have the names of the jurors there [together with] this writ. Witness J.
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ROBERT STURMY'S COMMERCIAL EXPEDITION

monasterium, 26th die Aprilis anno regni nostri tricesimo sexto.

SONDE
Rotulo 28°

Interlined L.

List of jurors.

L TNA: PRO KB146/6/36/3 unnumbered (Panella Pascha 36 Hen. VI) sewn to the writ. Original. Parchment. Unsealed. On the dorsal side: Districti mercurii post 15th Trinitatis; Nisi prius apud Bristoliam lune post festum Trinitatis [Distraint for Wednesday after the quindene of Trinity; Nisi prius at Bristol on the Monday after the feast of Trinity].

Jurata inter Robertum Sturmy querentem et Ricardum Benneyth defendentem de placito transgressionis

Jury between Robert Sturmy, plaintiff, and Richard Benneyth, defendant, in a plea of trespass

Johannes Poyntz, Ricardus Forster, Walterus Norton, Thomas Kemys, Johannes Pownenham, Johannes Halle, Ricardus Prelate, Johannes Clounte, Willelmus Caunterbury, Ricardus Warde, Ricardus Haddon, Willelmus Rokes, Johannes Taverner, Thomas Indkyn, Johannes Merbury, Thomas Ashe, Johannes Wyly, Ricardus Erle, Ricardus Weltofare, Ricardus Trenewyth, Johannes Nancothan, Willelmus Rowe, Johannes Rowhante, Lodowicus Mors

Quilibet juratorum predictorum manu captus est per Johannem Pert et Ricardum Beste

Each of the said jurors has been mainprized by John Pert and Richard Best

[8] In the case of Robert Sturmy vs. Richard Benneyth a nisi prius was issued for 29 May 1458.


"Bristoll" Jurata inter Robertum Sturmy de Bristollia mercatorem per attornatum suum querentem et Ricardum Benneyth de placito transgressionis ponitur in respectum coram domino rege apud Westmonserium usque diem mercurii proxime post 15th sancte Trinitatis [14 June 1458], nisi dilectus et fidelis domini regis Johannes Fortescu miles capitalis justiciarius ipsius regis ad placita coram ipso retenenda assignatus prius die lune proxime post festum

Bristol. The jury between Robert Sturmy of Bristol, merchant, by his attorney, plaintiff, and Richard Benneyth in a plea of trespass before the king in Westminster is continued until the Wednesday immediately after the quindene of Holy Trinity [14 June 1458], unless the king's beloved and loyal John Fortescu, knight, chief justice of the King's Bench come to Bristol for lack of jurors etc. on the Monday immediately after the feast of Holy Trinity [29 May
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santce Trinitatis [29 May 1458] apud Bristoliam per formam statuti\(^6\) etc. venerit pro defectu juratorum etc. Ideo vicecomes habeat corpora etc. Idem dies datus est partibus predictis ibidem etc.

\(^6\)Marginated Ms.

[9] In Hilary term 1458 Robert Sturmy brought a bill of custody in the King’s Bench against Richard Benneyth for assault committed in Bristol on 3 September 1457, by which Sturmy had been so severely that he was unable to conduct his business – the purchase of merchandise and its transport overseas via Bristol in his ship le Katerine – for six weeks [to 15 October 1457], for which he claimed damages of £200. On 19 April 1458 – Sturmy being represented by his attorney John Beell – Benneyth denied all wrongdoing. As both parties put themselves on the country, a jury was summoned for 12 May 1458. In the course of a nisi prius conducted by the chief justice John Fortescue and John Nicoll in Bristol on 29 May 1458, the jury found Benneyth guilty, Sturmy being represented by his attorney Richard Kayton, and assessed damages and costs of 230 marks. – Easter term 1458.

L1 TNA: PRO, KB146/6/36/2 unnumbered (Hilary 36 Hen. VI). Or. Bill of Custody (this is the second paragraph below containing the text running from Bristol). Robertus Sturmy to et contra pacem etc.). Parchment. Unsealed. In the lower right-hand corner: Plegii de prosequeendo [Pledges of prosecution]: Johannes Man, Radulphus Grene. On the dorsal side: Defendens in hac billa petit inde diem interloquendi etc. Et ei conceditur etc. Et super hoc dies datus est partibus in hac billa coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium usque diem mercurii proxime post 15\(\text{th}\) Pasche [19 April 1458], videlicet defendentis ad interloquendum etc. et tunc ad respondendum etc. [The defendant in this bill requests a day to impart in this regard etc. And it is granted to him etc. And a day is given to the parties in this bill before the king in Westminster until the Wednesday next after the quindene of Easter [19 April 1458], namely to the defendant to impart etc. and then to respond etc.]

L2 TNA: PRO, KB27/788 (Pascha 36 Hen. VI), m 28d. Contemporary official fair copy. Parchment. Unsealed.

\(\text{Bristoll}^b\)

Memorandum, quod alias, scilicet termino sancti Hillarii ultimo preterito [Hilary term 1458], coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium venit Robertus Sturmy de Bristollia mercator in propria persona sua et protulit hic in curia quandam billam versus Ricardum Benneyth in custodia mariscale etc. de placito transgressionis. Et sunt plegii de prosequeando, scilicet Johannes Man et Radulphus Grene. Que quidem billa sequitur in hie verba:

\(\text{Bristoll}^b\). Robertus Sturmy de Bristollia mercator queritur de Ricardo Benneyth in custodia mariscale marescallie 1458] by the form of the statute etc. Therefore the sheriff have the bodies etc. The same day is given to the said parties there etc.

\(\text{14 Edw. III, St. 1, c. 16 (SR I, p. 286).}\)
domini regis coram ipso rege existente, de eo quod idem Ricardus tercio die Septembris anno regni domini regis nunc tricesimo sexto [3 September 1457] vi et armis, videlicet baculis et cultellis, prefato Roberto apud Bristolliam tales et tantas minas de vita sua et mutilacione membrorum suorum impo­suit et ipsum tantis tantis injuriis et gravaminibus, videlicet insultis et affrais, ibidem affect, quod idem Robertus circa negotia sua ibidem facienda, videlicet circa empacionem mercandiza­rum suarum ‘ibidem’ ac conductionem navis sui vocati le Katerine a portu ville Bristolliam predictam versus partes transmarinas, per magnum tempus, videlicet a predicto tercio die per sex septimanas tunc proxime se­quentes [to 15 October 1457], intendere non audebat sicque negocia sua predicta per idem tempus infecta remanerunt, et alia enormia etc. ad dampnum ipsius Roberti ducentarum librarum et contra pacem etc. Et inde producit sectam etc.

Et modo ad hunc diem, scilicet diem mercurii proxime post 15am Pasche isto eodem termino [19 April 1458], coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium, usque quem diem predictus Ricardus habuit licenciam ad billam predictam interloquendum etc. et tunc ad respondendum etc., coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium venit tam predictus Robertus per Johannem Beell attornatum suum quam predictus Ricardus in propria persona sua. Et idem Ricardus defendit vim et iuriam, quando etc., et dicit, quod ipse in nullo est inde culpa­bilis etc. Et de hoc ponit se super patriam etc. Et predictus Robertus similiter etc. Ideo veniat inde jurata coram domino rege apud Westmonesterum die veneris proxime post quinque septima­shal of the marshalsea of the lord king – before the said king [i.e. in King's Bench] that the same Richard on the 3rd of September in the thirty-sixth year of the present king's reign [3 September 1457] with force and arms, namely staves and knives, directed against the aforesaid Robert in Bristol such and so great threats and hurt regarding his life and the mutilation of his limbs and inflicted upon him there such injuries and oppressions, namely assaults and affrays, that the said Robert dared not attend to his business there – namely purchasing various merchandises there and shipping them overseas in his ship called the Katerine from the port of the town of Bristol in [the county of] Bristol – for a great time, namely from the said third day for six weeks following [to 15 October 1457], so that his said business remained unfinished for the said time, and [inflicted other enormities upon him] to the said Robert's loss of £200 and in breach of the king's peace. And he produces suit thereof etc.

And now on this day, namely the Wednesday immediately following the quindene of Easter in this same term [19 April 1458], before the lord king in Westminster, until which day the said Richard had licence to imparl regarding the said bill etc. and then to respond etc., there came before the king both the said Robert, represented by his attorney John Beele, and the said Richard in his own person. And the same Richard denies force and tort when etc., and he says that he is in no way guilty thereof. And as to this he puts himself on the country etc. And the aforesaid Robert similarly etc. Therefore let a jury thereon come before the king in West­minster on the Friday immediately after the fifth Sunday after Easter7 [12 May

7 Technically, what is meant here is the Wednesday after the beginning of the return day 'five weeks after Easter', a period of up to six calendar days beginning five weeks and a day after
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nas Pasche [12 May 1458], et qui nec etc., ad recognoscendum etc., quia tam etc. Idem dies datus est partibus predictis ibidem etc.

Et continuato inde processu inter partes predictas per jurata positas inde inter eas in respectum coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium usque diem mercurii proxime post 15th sanctae Trinitatis [14 June 1458], nisi diectus et fidelis domini regis Johannes Fortescu miles capitalis justiciarius ipsius regis ad placita coram ipso rege tenenda assignatus prius die lune proxime post festum sanctae Trinitatis [29 May 1458] apud Bristoliam per formam statuti etc. venisset pro defectu juratorum etc. Ad quem diem coram domino rege apud Westminsterium venerunt partes predicte in proprisi personis suis etc. Et prefatus justiciarius, coram quo etc. misit hic recordum suum veredicti jurate predicte coram eo habitum in hec verba:

Postea die et loco infracontentis coram Johanne Fortescu milite capitali justiciario domini regis ad placita coram ipso rege tenenda assignatus infranominato associato sibi Johanne Nicoll juxta formam statuti etc. venerunt tam infranominatus Robertus per Ricardum Kayton attornatum suum quam infranominatus Ricardus in propria persona sua. Et juratores jurate, unde infra fit mencio, impanellati et retornati exacti similiter venerunt, qui ad veritatem de infracontentis dicendam electi, triati et jurati dicunt super sacramentum suum, quod predictus Ricardus Benneyth est culpabilis de tota transgressione infraspecificata modo et forma, prout predictus Robertus per billam et narracionem sua infraspecificata supponit. Et assident damnna ipsius Roberti occa-

1458] wherever etc., by whom etc., and who neither etc., to make recognition etc. Because as well etc. The same day is given to the aforesaid parties etc.

Process thereon between the aforesaid parties was continued by the adjournment of juries thereon before the king in Westminster until the Wednesday immediately after the quindene of Holy Trinity [14 June 1458], unless the king's beloved and loyal John Fortescu, knight, chief justice of the King's Bench should first have come to Bristol on Monday immediately after the fest of Holy Trinity [29 May 1458] for lack of jurors by the form of the statute etc. On which day the said parties came before the king at Westminster in their own persons. And the said justice, before whom etc., sent his record of the verdict of the aforesaid jury held before him in these words:

Afterwards – on the day and in the place noted below – there came the said Robert represented by his attorney Richard Kayton and the said Richard in his own person before John Fortescu, knight, chief justice of the King's Bench, John Nicoll being associated unto him by the form of the statute. And the jurors of the jury, of which mention is made below – summoned, empanelled and returned – likewise came. Chosen, tried and sworn to speak the truth on the matters contained below, they say on their oath that the said Richard Benneyth is guilty of the whole trespass specified below in the manner and form that the said Robert supposed in his bill and count. And they assess the damages of the same Robert occasioned by the said trespass – over and above his ex-

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8 14 Edw. III, St. 1, c. 16 (SR I, p. 286).
9 14 Edw. III, St. 1, c. 16 (SR I, p. 286).
Referring to the licence of 8 February 1457\(^{11}\) — by which Henry VI allowed Robert Sturmy to export (personally or through his attorneys or deputies) 10,000 pecie of tin, 100 fother of lead, 600 sarplers of wool and 6000 woollen cloths to the Mediterranean (ultra montana per strictus de Marrok) via Bristol or Weymouth, provided he [1.] pay the customs, subsidies and other duties at the indigenous rates as they were before the parliament of Reading on 6 March 1453,\(^{12}\) in particular 53s 4d per sack of wool, [2.] find surety under penalty of 500 marks sterling prior to

\(^{10}\) Richard Benneth was subsequently held in custody pending payment of damages: TNA: PRO KB27/87 (Trinity 36 Hen. VI) m 36d: Ricardus Benneth est in custodia marescalli occasione cujusdam transgressionis Roberto Sturmy de Bristollia mercatori et armis et contra pacem domini regis nunc facte, unde per quandam juratam patrie inde inter eos convictus est, unde dampna 230 marce. — Per Pascham ultimam rotulo 28 inter communia [Richard Benneth is in the custody of the marshal because of a certain trespass committed against Robert Sturmy of Bristol, merchant, by force and arms and against the peace of the present king, of which he was conviced by a jury of the country called in [in the case] between the two, whence damages 230 marks]. The entry is superscribed Fines termino sancti Micha­elis anno 39º Henrici vij\(^{11}\) [Fines in Michaelmas term, 39 Hen. VI], margined Bradstil; Mar' and crossed through. As the list of fines in the plea roll for Michaelmas 39 Hen. VI (KB27/798 m 107 (fines m 1)) indicates, Benneth was fined 40s in Michaelmas term 1461: De Ricardo Benneth de fine occasione cujusdam transgressionis Roberto Sturmy de Bristollia mercatori et armis et contra pacem domini regis nunc facte, unde per quandam juratam patrie inde inter eos convictus est, unde dampna 230 marce per plegium Ricardi Charwell de Herefordia in comitatu Herefordie gentilman et Willelmi Long de eadem in eodem comitatu gentleman 40s [From Richard Benneth a fine because of a certain trespass committed against Robert Sturmy of Bristol, merchant, by force and arms and against the peace of the present king, of which he was conviced by a jury of the country called in [in the case] between the two, whence damages 230 marks by pledge of Richard Charwell of Hereford in the county of Herefordshire, gentleman, and of William Long in the same county, gentleman, 40s].

\(^{11}\) TNA: PRO, E371/221 m 34 and C76/139 m 20 (printed CARUS-WILSON, Trade, Nr. 128, p. 113-5).

shipping that he would transport the said goods to the Mediterranean and [3.] pre-

sent to the chancery within one year certifications (littere testificantes) under the

seal of the Mediterranean port authorities where the cargoes were unloaded that he

had transported the said goods to the Mediterranean and nowhere else – the Ex-

chequer ordered the sheriff of Somerset and Dorset to distrain the property of John

Thomas and Roger Huls, whose customs district (Poole) included Weymouth, to

appear before the Exchequer on 17 April 1458 and hand over (ad liberandum)

Sturmy's surety for 500 marks. Although the sheriff of Somerset und Dorset dis-

trained Thomas' property, neither he nor Huls appeared, whence the Exchequer
distrained Thomas anew and issued a capias writ for Huls, ordering both customers
to appear on 12 June 1458. However, on that day the sheriff reported that he had
distrained Thomas, but that Huls was nowhere to be found (non fuit inventus). Since

neither customer appeared at the given date, new writs of distrain and capias were

issued, summoning both customers to appear on 30 September 1458. However, on

that day the sheriff reported that he had distrained Thomas, but that Huls was no-

where to be found (non fuit inventus). Since neither customer appeared at the given
date, new writs of distrain and capias were issued, summoning both customers to

appear on 20 January 1459. However, on that day the sheriff reported that Thomas

had no property which could be distrained and that Huls was nowhere to be found

(non fuit inventus). Since neither customer appeared, ulterius execucio was ordered [but expired in consequence of Edward IV's accession
to the throne]. On 14 January 1463, the sheriff returned that Thomas and Huls were

not to be found. Since neither customer appeared, ulterius execucio was ordered
[again]. Nonetheless, Roger Huls appeared – represented by his attorney William
Barowe – and requested an adjournment to 25 April and then to 20 June 1463. On

that day, Huls appeared – represented by his attorney – and denied having received
any surety at all from Robert Sturmy during his period in office as customer. He

then presented the Exchequer (a) with a general pardon dated 10 May 1462 (copied
TNA: PRO, E368/235 Recorda Trinity m 15) for all crimes and misdemeansours
(other than high treason) committed before 4 November 1461 and (b) with the cor-
responding order from Edward IV and requested that the charges against him be
dropped. [The enrolment breaks off at this point]. — [after 16 April 1458].

TNA: PRO, E159/234 Recorda Easter m 37. Contemporary official fair copy by the Ex-
chequer. Parchment. Unsealed. Marginalia: Somerset; Dorset; De Roger Huls allocuto ad
certificandum baronibus hujus scaccarii pro Roberto Sturmy, quot et quanta fodras plumbi,
saccos lane et pannos laneos idem Robertus eskippavit virtute litterarum regis patencium
eidem Roberto confactarum etc. [Somerset; Dorset; Of Roger Huls ordered to certify to the
barons of this Exchequer for Robert Sturmy how much and how many fathers of lead, sacks
of wool and woollen cloths the same Robert shipped by virtue of the king's patent letters
issued to the same Robert etc.]

[11] Referring to the licence of 8 February 145713 – by which Henry VI allowed
Robert Sturmy to export (personally or through his attorneys or deputies) 10,000
pecie of tin, 100 fother of lead, 600 sarplers of wool and 6000 woollen cloths to the

13 TNA: PRO, E371/221 m 34 and C76/139 m 20 (printed CARUS-WILSON, Trade, Nr. 128, p. 113-5).
Mediterranean (ultra montana per strictus de Marrok) via Bristol or Weymouth, the Exchequer ordered the sheriff of Bristol on 12 June 1458 to distrain Sturmy so that he certify into the Exchequer by 30 September 1458 how much of the merchandise specified in the export licence he actually exported. Despite the distrain, Sturmy did not appear on the date. Therefore the sheriff was ordered to distrain him as before for 20 January 1459. On that day the sheriff returned that Sturmy was dead. Therefore the Exchequer ordered his executors, heirs and tenants (or his administrators) distrained to appear on 2 April 1459. On that day the sheriff returned that Elena Sturmy was Robert Sturmy's sole executrix. On 2 April 1459 Elena appeared before the Exchequer through her attorney John Swillyngton who raised two formal objections, namely that she was not the executrix of her husband and that he had exported none of the goods named in the licence. The hearing was adjourned repeatedly and the enrolment breaks off with the order for Elena to appear on 20 June 1463. — 30 September 1458.

Comperto in originalibus de anno tricesimo quinto regis hujus rotulo 33° [TNA: PRO, E371/221 m 34], quod dominus rex nunc per litteras suas patentes datas octavo die Februearii anno regni sui tricesimo quinto [8 February 1457] concessit Roberto Sturmy mercatorii, quod ipse aut factores, attornati seu deputati sui decem milia pecias stanni, centum fodras plumbi, sexcentas sarplers lane et sex milia pannos laneos in portibus ville sue Bristollie et Weymouth in una navi seu diversis navibus, una vice vel diversis vicibus ad libitum sui eskippare ac stannum, plumbum, lanas et pannos predicta sic eskippata ultra montana per strictus de Marrok traducere et cariare valeat seu valeant paying him only such customs, subsidies and duties for this tin, lead and cloth as indigenous merchants paid the same king for these sorts of tin, lead, wool and cloths exported to other foreign parts before his parliament.

It having been found in the originalia rolls of the 35th year of the king on membrane 33 [TNA: PRO, E371/221 m 34] that the present king by his patent letters dated on the 8th of February in the 35th year of his reign [8 February 1457] granted to Robert Sturmy, merchant, that he or his factors, attorneys or deputies might load 10,000 pieces of tin, 100 fothers of lead, 600 sarplers of wool and 6000 woollen cloths in the king's ports of Bristol and Weymouth into one or more ships and ship them all at once or at various times just as they might choose and that they might legitimately and without penalty transport and ship the aforesaid tin, lead, wool and cloths, paying him [sc. the king] only such customs, subsidies and duties for this tin, wool, lead and cloth as indigenous merchants paid the same king for these sorts of tin, lead, wool and cloths exported to other foreign parts before his parliament.
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pannis ad alias partes exteras traductis ante e parliamentum suum sexto die Mar­cii anno regni sui tricesimo primo [6 March 1453] apud Redyng tentum solverunt et non alia, ac pro quolibet sacco lane predicte quinquaginta tres solidos et quatuor denarios sterlingorum. Proviso semper, quod predictus Robertus ante eskippacionem stanni, plumbi, lane b et pannorum b predictorum inveniat custumariis domini regis in portu, ubi ipse aut factores, attornati seu deputati sui stannum, plumbum, b pannos b et lanam illa eskippabit seu eskippabunt, securitatem sub pena quingentarum marcarum, quod ipsi stannum, plumbum, lanam et pannos illa ultra montana predicta cariari et ibidem et non alibi de navi sive navibus predictis discarcari faciant quodque ipsi litteras testimoniales sigillo autentico ultra montana predicta usitato sigillatas discarcacionem navis seu navium predictarum, si per mare vel infortunium periclitate aut per inimicos domini regis [capte] non fuerit vel non fuerint, de stanno, plumbo, lana et pannis predictis ultra montana predicta et non alibi factam testificantes infra unum annum proximate post eskippacionem stanni, plumbi, b pannorum b et lane predictorum et cujuslibet partis eorumdem coram dicto domino rege in cancellaria sua deferant seu deferri faciant, prout in litteris patentibus illis plenius continetur. Super quo preceptum fuit vicecomiti ville predicte per breve sub sigillo hujus scaccarii datum duo­decimo die Junii ultimo preterito [12 June 1458], quod non omitteret etc. et distringeret predictum Robertum Sturmy d per terras etc., ita etc. in crastino sancti Michaelis hoc termino [30 September 1458] ad certificandum baronibus hujus scaccarii quantas pecias de dictis decem milibus peciis stanni ac quantas fodras plumbi de dictis centum fodris plumbi necnon quantas sarpleras lane de dictis sexcentarum sarplerarum

held at Reading on the 6th of March in the thirty-first year of his reign [6 March 1453], and for each sack of the aforesaid wool 33s 4d sterling. Provided always that the aforesaid Robert prior to the shipping of the said tin, lead, wool and cloth find surety for the king's customers in the port where he or his factors, attorneys or deputies shipped that tin, lead, cloth and wool under penalty of 500 marks that he would carry that tin, lead, wool and cloth beyond the said mountains and would have it discharged from the said ship or ships there and nowhere else and that he would bring or have brought into chancery within a year after the shipping of the said tin, lead, cloth and wool letters sealed with the seal customarily used beyond the mountains testifying to the discharging of the said tin, lead, wool and cloth beyond the mountains, unless it be lost at sea by shipwreck or captured by the king's enemies, as is contained more fully in the patent letters. Thereupon the sheriff of the said town [sc. Bristol] was ordered by a writ under the seal of this Exchequer dated the 12th of June last past [12 June 1458] not to fail etc. in dis­training the said Robert Sturmy by his lands etc., so that etc. on the morrow of Michaelmas in this term [30 September 1458] in order that he certify the barons of this Exchequer how many pieces of the said 10,000 pieces of tin and how many fathers of lead of the said 100 fathers of lead and how many sarplers of wool of the said 600 sarplers of wool and how many woollen cloths of the said 6000 woollen cloths he had shipped and transported via the said ports and to receive in these matters what the court etc.
lane et quantos pannos laneos de dictis
sex milibus pannis laneis in portubus
predictis eskippavit et traduxit et ad
ulterius recipiendum in premissis, quod
curia etc.

Ad quem diem vicecomes retornavit
breve et mandavit, quod predictus
Robertus Sturmy districtus est, unde
exitus etc. Et idem Robertus ad eundem
diem non venit. Ita etc. in octabis sancti
Hillarii [20 January 1459]. Ad quem
diem vicecomes retornavit breve et
mandavit, quod predictus Robertus
Sturmy mortuus est, sicut continetur in
indorsamento ejusdem brevis, quod est
in ligula brevium de hoc anno in Bris
toll[']. Ideo concordatum est, quod
executores testamenti predicti Roberti
Sturmy ac heredes et tenentes necnon
administratores et occupatores bonorum
et catallorum, que sua fuerunt, distrin-
gantur per terras etc. ad certificandum
dicta pro prefato Roberto in forma pre-
dicta. Et predicta Elena ad eundem
diem venit per Johannem Swillyngton suum
et petit auditum dicta, et ei legitur etc. Quo auditum et
intellecto eadem Elena protestando,
quod ipsa non est executrix testamenti
Roberti Sturmy, prout superius suppo-
On that day the sheriff returned the
writ and reported that the said Robert
Sturmy had been distrained, of which the
profits etc. And the same Robert did not
come on the said day. Therefore the
sheriff was ordered to distrain him as
earlier, so that etc. on the octaves of St.
Hilary [20 January 1459]. On that day
the sheriff returned the writ and reported
that the said Robert Sturmy was dead, as
was contained in the endorsement of the
same writ which is in the file of writs for
this year in Bristol. Therefore it was
decided that the executors of the will of
the said Robert Sturmy and his heirs and
the tenants as well as the administrators
and occupiers of his goods and chattels
be distrained by their lands etc. to certify
e.tc. in place of the said Robert in the
form aforesaid. And the sheriff of the
said town was ordered to distrain the
said executors and the heirs and the
tenants as well as the administrators
and occupiers in the aforesaid form so that
e.tc. on the morrow of the Close of Easter
[2 April 1459]. On which day the sheriff
returned the writ and reported that Ellen
Sturmy – the only executrix of the will
of the said Robert Sturmy – had been
distrained, of which the profits etc. and
that the same Robert did not have any
other executors, heirs or tenants of his
lands and tenements or administrators of
his goods and chattels, as is contained in
the endorsement of the same writ which
is in the aforesaid file. And the said
Ellen appeared on the same day through
her attorney John Swillington and peti-
tioned to hear the said writ and it was
read to her etc. Having heard and under-
stood it, Ellen – while protesting that she
was not the executrix of the will of
Robert Sturmy, as was presumed above
nitur, dicit, quod predictus Robertus Sturmy non eskippavit nec eskippari fecit virtute litterarum patencium predictarum aliquod stannum, plumbum, lanam sive pannum laneum sive parcellam panni lanei, nec aliquod stannum, plumbum, lanam sive pannum virtute litterarum patencium predictarum regnum Anglie traduxit aut cariavit. Quam quidem materiam eadem Elena parata est verificare, prout curia etc. Unde petit judicium et quod ipsa quoad premissa ab hac curia dimittatur.

Et quia curia vult deliberare in premisis, antequam ulterius etc., datus est dies hic prefate Elene eodem statu quo nunc usque quindenam sancte Trinitatis [4 June 1459]. Ad quem diem eadem Elena venit per dictum attomatum suum et habet diem ulterius ex causa predicta usque octabas sancti Michaelis [6 October 1459]. Judgement was then postponed to 21 January 1460, then to 28 April 1460, then to 16 June 1460, then to 6 October 1460, then to 20 January 1461 and finally to 20 April 1461. Ante quem diem loquela predicta remansit sine die, eo quod dominus Edwardus nunc rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibemie Quartos ut consanguineus et verus heres tam domini Edwardi Tercii quam domini Ricardi Secundi nuper verorum et indubitatorum regum Anglie post conquestum - prefato Henrico nuper de facto et non de jure rege Anglie Sexto a possessione et exercicio regie dignitatis et potestatis predictarum le-gitime amo - ipsam regiam dignitatem et potestatem regimenque et gubernacionem ejusdem regni super se, justicia id poscente, suscepit. Et ad dictam quindenam Pasche [20 April 1461] predicta Elena non venit. Ideo preceptum sit vicecomiti de novo sub nomine dicti domini Edwardi nunc regis, quod ipsam Ellenam distingat per terras ut prius etc., ita etc. in octabis sancte Trinitatis⁶ [8 June 1461] ad respondendum eodem

- says that the aforesaid Robert Sturmy did not by virtue of the said patent letters ship or have shipped any tin, lead, wool or woollen cloth, nor did he transport or carry any tin, lead, wool or woollen cloth outside of the kingdom of England by virtue of those patent letters. And the same Ellen is ready to prove this matter as the court etc. And she prays judgement and that she be dismissed by the court as to the aforesaid matter.

And because the court wished to deliberate on the premises before [taking] further [action] etc., Ellen was given a day here until the quindene of Holy Trinity [4 June 1459] without change in the status quo. On that day the same Ellen appeared by her attorney. And she had a further day in the said suit until the octaves of Michaelmas [6 October 1459]. Judgement was then postponed to 21 January 1460, then to 28 April 1460, then to 16 June 1460, then to 6 October 1460, then to 20 January 1461 and finally to 20 April 1461. Prior to that day the said suit was discontinued because the lord Edward IV, now king of England and France and lord of Ireland as kinsman and true heir both of the lord Edward III and of the lord Richard II, once true and indubitable kings of England after the conquest – the said Henry VI erstwhile king of England in fact and not in law having been legitimately removed from the possession and exercise of the royal dignity and power – took upon himself that royal dignity and power and rule and governance of the same realm, as justice demanded. And on the said quindene of Easter [20 April 1461] the said Ellen did not come. Therefore be the sheriff ordered to distress her in the name of the said lord Edward now king by lands as before etc., so that etc. on the octaves of Holy Trinity [8 June 1461] to respond to the
domino regi nunc in premissis. Ad quem diem vicecomes non misit breve nec dicta Elena ad eundem diem venit. Ideo preceptum sit vicecomiti ut prius etc., ita etc. in octabis sancti Michaelis [6 October 1461]. Since the sheriff did not return the writ and Elena Sturmy did not appear, the case was continued to 20 January 1462, then to 3 May 1462, then to 21 June 1462\(^a\), then to 6 October 1462, then to 20 January 1463, then to 18 April 1463 and finally to 20 June 1463\(^a\). At that point the enrollment breaks off.

[12] The Genoese merchants in England petition the chancellor and show that John Wykes had sued them in London for a debt of £400, alleging he had lost various goods and 300 ducats on board a Catalanian galley sailing from Rhodes to Alexandria when it was attacked by the Genoese. In truth, however, the Genoese had returned all of Wykes' goods to him – with the exception of the 300 ducats, which could not be found – after he had given the Genoese commanders to understand that he was an Englishman. During the search for the missing coins, suspicion fell on a black Genoese sailor who admitted under torture that he had taken the 300 ducats, but claimed that they had fallen into the sea. Therefore the Genoese commanders compensated Wykes for his losses. Nonetheless, following their release from prison in London, the Genoese merchants in England had been ordered to pay Wykes £71 for the 300 ducats and had agreed with him on payment in three instalments, of which two had already been effected. Nonetheless, Wykes sued them for the whole sum of £400, whence they petition the chancellor for help. [undated].


To the ryghte reverent fader in God the right noble and gracious lorde the
chancellour of Ingland

Mekely besechen and lamentably compleynen the merchauentes Janueyes that how
one John Wykes squyer ayenst righte and consience vexeth, troubleth and suethe
your seid suppliauntes be an accioune taken in London' ayenst hem for the somme of
£400 and so purpousethe to recover the same £400 of hem without any title of righte
to theire grete wronge and utter undoing wytheout your good grace be shewed unto
hem in this behalve. Considering, gracious lorde, that the title that the seid Wykes
pretendethe ayenst your seid suppliantes is of his owne confession, for as moche as
he was upon a galey of Cataloyne passyng from the Roodes to Alexander and the
same galey was mette wyth shippes of Jeen and taken be the Janueyes, the same
John Wykes havyng in the same galey certeyne goodes and 300 ducates in gold, as
he seid. And whan the same John Wykes understode that the Janueyes and the
Catalanes had werre togeder, wherfor the seid galey and they that wer theryn shulde
be prisonners to the seid Janueyes, the seid John Wykes disclosed to the patrons of
the seid shippes that he was an Englysshmane, requiring hem that the lyege and peas
had betwene the kyng of Yng1ond and the Duke of Jean myghte be kept and shewed
to hym ther. Wherfor the seid patrons anon understondyng that he was an
Englysshmane, asked hym what goodes he had upone the seid galey and had hym
declare what goodes they were. And so he ded. And anon the seid patrons restored
the seid John Wykes to alle his goodes that he had there, except oonly the seid 300
ducates whiche coude not be founde. Wherfor the seid patrons anon ded do serche
amongst alle her peopyle for the seid 300 ducates and every persone denied the
havynge of the seid 300 ducates. The seid patrons, havynge suspicioun to oone blak
man, specially putte hym in torment for the seid 300 ducatis in presence of the seid
John Wykes to cause hym to confesse the trouthe. And so with grete turmenting at
the last he confessed that he had take the seid 300 ducates and in the goyng out of
the galey into the boot hit fille out of his bosom into the see. And whan this was
seen and understonden, the seid patrons made the seid Wykes good chere and seide
allthogh he wer among her enemyes — yet they wold observe the seid lyge and
peas, and so delivered hym and alle his goodes that coude be found and also a Cata-
lane that myghte have raunsomed 400 crownes, because he [sc. Wykes] seid he was
his mane; and alle this was of his owne confessioun. Than hit fille so after, that your
seid suppliauntes wer long in prisone in the Flete at the kynges commandement and
longe seued for theire deliveraunce. At the last, whan hit lyked the kynges highnesse
to graunte hem deliveraunce oute of prisone, the seid John Wykes had so laboured
that hit was seide unto hem [sc. the Genoese] that yf they wolde be delivered, they
must pay to the seid Wykes £71 for the seid 300" ducates wytheoute any other proc-
esse. And they — seing none other remedy — aggred wythe the seid Wykes to pay
the seid £71 atte 3 paymentes, wherof they have made 2 paymentes and the 3de
is behynde. Your seid suppliauntes, understondyng atte that tyme that they had be
quyte wythe the seid Wykes (and so he seide hymself that they were) and sens hit ys
so that the seid John Wykes wolle wrong your seid suppliauntes in maner and fourme
above declared, they have broughte the mater afore your lordshipe as a mater of grete
consience, as hit may be more evidently declared to your lordship. Plese hit therfor
your good grace tenderly to consider thise premisses and therupon to kepe the ma-
ter afore your lordshipe tille hit may be duely examened without any procedendo to
be graunted theryne be your lordship, as very righte and good consience requiren
and this atte the reverence of God and in the wey of charite.

[13] The Exchequer was informed that the Genoese merchants Cataneus Pynellus,
Julianus Salvaigo, Raphael de Aurea, Antonius Centurionus, Jeronimus Lomelinus,
Galiotus Centurionus, Cazanus Spynulla, Johannes Lomelinus, Simon Cataneus,
Benedictus Larcharius, Leonellus Centurionus, Lucianus Spynulle, Laurencius
Grillus, Nicholaus Cataneus, Marcus Spynulle, Petrus Batalia, Barnardus Pinellus,
Angelus de Nigro, Edwardus Cataneus, Dimitrius Spynulle, Franciscus Spynulle and
Gentilis de Camela owed £500 — payable on 29 September 1462 — to James, Earl of
Wiltshire, and the London citizens and mercers Philip Malpas and John Yonge by
virtue of a bond sealed on 9 August 1459. The debt remains unpaid. In consequence
of the forfeiture of the goods and chattels of the Earl of Wiltshire — who was at-
tained in the first parliament of Edward IV — the crown claimed the debt. However,
the bond of the Genoese came into the hands of the London merchant Robert Talbot on 1 December 1462, whom the Exchequer – at the petition of the king’s attorney Henry Sotehille – ordered to deliver the bond and all other obligations, sureties and writings relating to the debt the Genoese owed to the former Earl of Wiltshire into the Exchequer on 14 January 1463. Talbot, however, denied the king’s claim because the Earl of Wiltshire, Philip Malpas and John Yonge were merely the attorneys of the English victims of the Genoese attack (Ellen Sturmy, John Eyton, William Canynges, John Shipward, William Codure, Philip Mede, Robert Jakes, John Hawk, Richard Haddone, Isabelle Burton, William Spenser, John Wykeham, John George, Lodewicus Morice, John Galgane, John Jones, Robert Talbot, Alexander Chauncellere, Robert Barone, William Blakburne, John Skrevane, Robert Nortone, Richard Hille, Thomas Marres, John Halle, John Walker, William Vowell, Andrew Bye, John Hans, William Griffith, Edmund Hille, John Pavy, Richard Albertone and Henry Chestre) – none of whom were attainted – and that in consequence of the surrender of the bond on 1 December 1462 he had merely succeeded John Yonge as their attorney. — [after 29 September 1462].

TNA: PRO, E159/239 RM m 23-23d. Contemporary official fair copy by the Exchequer. Parchment. Unsealed. Marginated: London; De Roberto Talbot allocuto ad ostendendum domino regi, quare ipse de quingentis libras per quodam scriptum obligatorium in manibus dicti Roberti suppositum respondere non debet [Of Robert Talbot ordered to show the king why he is not obliged to answer for five hundred pounds on the basis of a letter obligatory presumed to be in his possession].

Memorandum, quod datum est curie pro domino rege intelligi, quod, cum Cataneus Pynellus, Julianus Salvaigo, Raphael de Aurea, Antonius Centurionus, Jeronimus Lolomolins, Galiotus Centurionus, Cazanus Spynulla, Johannes Lolomolinus, Simon Cataneus, Benedictus Larcharius, Leonellus Centurionus, Lucianus Spynulla, Laurencius Grillus, Nicholaus Cataneus, Marcus Spynulla, Petrus Batalia, Barnardus Pinellus, Angelus de Nigro, Edwardus Cataneus, Dimitrius Spynulla, Franciscus Spynulla et Gentilis de Camela mercatores de Janua per eorum scriptum obligatorium datum nono die mensis Augusti anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo nono et anno regni Henrici Sexti nuper de facto et non de jure regis Anglie tricesimo septimo [9 August 1459] obligati fuerint Jacobo nuper comiti Wiltes' jam defuncto,\textsuperscript{15} Philippo Malpas et Johanni Yonge civibus et mercatoribus London' Memoriandum that the court was given to understand on behalf of the king that although the Genoese merchants Cataneus Pynellus, Julianus Salvaigo, Raphael de Aurea, Antonius Centurionus, Jeronimus Lolomolins, Galiotus Centurionus, Cazanus Spynulla, Johannes Lolomolinus, Simon Cataneus, Benedictus Larcharius, Leonellus Centurionus, Lucianus Spynulla, Laurencius Grillus, Nicholaus Cataneus, Marcus Spynulla, Petrus Batalia, Barnardus Pinellus, Angelus de Nigro, Edwardus Cataneus, Dimitrius Spynulla, Franciscus Spynulla and Gentilis de Camela owe £500 to James, erstwhile Earl of Wiltshire, now deceased, Philip Malpas and John Yonge, citizens and mercers of London, by virtue of their bond dated 9 August 1459 and the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Henry VI, erstwhile king of England in fact and not in law, payable to the said Earl, Philip Malpas and John Yonge or one of them in the feast of St.

\textsuperscript{15} James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire, was executed around 1 May 1461: HBC, p. 487.
in quingentis libris sterlingorum solven­
dis eisdem comiti, Philippo Malpas et
Johanni Yonge aut uni eorum in festo
sancti Michaelis Archangeli jam ultimo
preterito [29 September 1462], quas
quidem quingentas libras aut aliquam
inde parcellam dicti obligati prefato
Jacobo in vita sua aut prefatis Philippo et
Johanni Yonge nondum solverunt nec
eorum aliquis solvit. Que quidem quin­
gente libre pretextu cujusdam judiciei
super quodam actu in parliam­
to domini regis nunc apud Westmonste­
rium quarto die Novembris anno regni
sui primo [4 November 1461] contra
prefatum Jacobum auctoritate ejusdem
parliamenti edito 16 redditi domino regi
nunc pertinent. Et quod quidem scriptum
obligatorium primo die Decembris anno
regni dicti domini regis nunc secundo [1
December 1462] apud London' in paro­
chia Sancti Michaelis ad Bladum in
warda de Chepe ad manus cujusdam
Roberti Talbot de London' mercatoris
devenit et in manibus suis adhuc existit.
Unde Henricus Sotehill, qui pro domino
rege sequitur, petit breve domini regis
extra hoc scaccarium prefato Roberto
Talbot dirigendum essendi hie ad certum
diem etc., deferendo secum scriptum
predictum ad opus domini regis liberan­
dum et hoc sub pena etc.

Super quo concordatum est, quod
mandetur prefato Roberto Talbot per
breve sub sigillo hujus scaccarii, quod
sit hic in propria persona sua in crastino
sancti Hillarii [14 January 1463], defer­
endo secum omnimoda obligationes,
securitates et scripta, per que Cataneus
et alii obligati sunt prefato Jacobo nuper
comiti Wiltes' in custodia sua existencia,
et hoc sub pena centum librarum.

Ad quem diem prefatus Robertus venit
in propria persona sua et petit auditum
Michael the Archangel last past [29
September 1462], they have not yet paid
the whole or any part of the debt to
James during his lifetime nor to Philip
and John Yonge or to any one of them.
These £500 are now owed to the king in
consequence of the judgment on a cer­
tain act drawn up against the said James
in the parliament of Westminster on 4
November in the first year of his reign
[4 November 1461] and by authority of
the same parliament. The said bond
[dated 9 August 1459] came into the
hands of one Robert Talbot of London,
merchant, on 1 December in the second
year of the reign of the said king [1
December 1462] in London in the parish
of St. Michael Cornmarket17 in Cheap
ward and is still in his possession.
Therefore, Henry Sotehill, prosecuting
for the crown, prays that a royal writ be
issued out of the Exchequer to Robert,
directing him to be here on a certain day
etc., bringing with him the aforesaid
bond to be handed over for the benefit of
the king. This under penalty etc.

Upon this it was agreed that Robert
Talbot be ordered by writ under the seal
of the Exchequer to be here in his own
person on the morrow of St. Hilary [14
January 1463], bearing with him any
and all bonds, sureties and other written
documents in his possession by which
Cataneus and the others were bound to
the aforesaid James, erstwhile Earl of
Wiltshire. This under penalty of £100.

On the said day the aforesaid Robert
came in his own person and asked to

17 Also known as St. Michael le Querne, St. Michael at Corn, this parish is in the ward of
Farringdon Within. There is no parish of St. Michael in Cheap ward.
informacionis predicte, et ei legitur etc. Qua audita petit ex gracia curie diem sibi dari, citra quem etc., quod ei concessum est. Et super hoc datus est dies hic prefato Roberto Talbot eodem statu quo nunc usque crastinum Purificacionis Beate Marie Virginis [3 February 1463]. Ad quem diem idem Robertus venit in propria persona sua et dicit, quod ipse scriptum predictum dicto domino regi sive ad opus domini regis deliberari non debet nec dictus dominus rex ipsum proinde impetere debet, quia dicit, quod in parliamento domini regis nunc tento apud Westmonasterium quarto die Novembris anno regni sui primo [4 November 1461] tento inter alia auctoritate ejusdem parliamenti per actum predictum in dicta informacione specificatum ordinatum fuit et stabili­tum, quod omnes obligaciones facie de statuto mercatorio, statuto stapule vel aliter, securitates et recogniciones facie aliqui personarum per eundem actum in parliamento predicto editum in forma in acto illo\(^{18}\) specificata attincente ad usum et proficium aliquorum ligeorum dicti domini regis aliorum quam aliquorum illorum per actum predictum attinnctorum sive ad usum aut proficium executororum sive administratorum aliquius personae tunc defecte non attincente per eundem actum forent valide eis, ad quorum usum, proficium sine interesse eedem obligaciones, securitates et recogniciones facie fuerunt, et quod nullum jus nec debitum accresceret domino regi racione aliquarum hujusmodi obligacionum, securitatum vel recognicionum, set quod ipsi, ad quorum usum sive proficium eedem obligaciones, securi­tates vel recogniciones fuerant facte, haberent et prosequentur in eorum propriis nominibus ad eorum proprium usum et proficium in omnibus et quibuscumque curiis domini regis om­ hear the aforesaid information and it was read to him etc. Having heard it, he petitioned the court to grant him a day after which etc., and this was granted to him. Thereupon a day was given to the said Robert here without change in the status quo until the morrow of Candle­mas [3 February 1463]. On that day Robert comes in his own person and says that his is not obliged to hand over the said bond to the king or give it up for the king's benefit nor that the king is permitted to demand it from him, be­cause he says that in the parliament of the present king held at Westminster on the 4\(^{th}\) of November in the first year of his reign [4 November 1461] among other things in the said act specified in the information [given to the Exchequer] it was ordained and established by au­thority of the same parliament that all bonds made by virtue of the Statute of Merchants, Statute Staple or otherwise, sureties and recognitions for debt made to any persons attainted by the same act of parliament in the form specified in the said act, being for the use and benefit of any lieges of the said king other than those attained by the said act of attain­der or to the use and benefit of their executors or administrators of any unat­tainted person then deceased were valid for those, to whose use, for whose bene­fit or in whose interest the same bonds, sureties and recognitions for debt had been made, and that no right or claim might accrue to the king by reason of these bonds, sureties or recognitions for debt, but rather that those whose use or profit the same bonds, sureties or recog­nitions for debt had been made should have and pursue in their own names and for their own use and profit all actions, enforcements and recuperations in any and all royal courts, even though they are not named in them, in the same man­

\(^{18}\) This refers to 1 Edw. IV, c. 1 (SR 2, p. 380).
nimodas acciones, execuciones et recuperaciones, licet ipsi in eisdem non nominarentur, in hujusmodi modo et forma ac si dicte obligaciones, securititates et recogniciones facte fuissent sibi ipsis. Et si aliqua obligaciones, securititates vel recogniciones facte fuissent alciu dictarum personarum sic attinctarum et alcu aiili persone sive personis per dictum actum non attincente ad usum sive proficuum earundem aliarum personarum sive alciuus ligeuror domini regis non nominatorum in eodem actu, quod tunc omnes acciones, recuperaciones, secte et execuciones habeantur super hujusmodi obligaciones, securititates et recogniciones tamen per dictas alias personam sive personas in eisdem nominatas non attinctas per eundem actu sive per eorum executores sive administratores absque nominando in dictis sectis, accionibus et executionibus aliquam personarum in forma predicta attinctarum et quod nullum jus nec debitur accresceret domino regi racione dictarum obligacionum, securitatum sive recognicionum, salvis cuilibet ligeuror domini regis obligacionibus in aliqua dictarum obligacionum, securitatum et recognicionum, heredibus, executoribus et administratoribus et terram tenentibus suis et eorum cuilibet omnimodis accionibus, sectis, placitis et exoneracionibus concernentibus dictas obligaciones, securititates et recogniciones, sicut ipse sive eorum aliquis habuit primo die dicti parliamenti, prout in actu illo hic in curia de recordo residente pleniust continetur. Et dicit predictus Robertus Talbot, quod predicti Cataneus Pynellus, Julianus Salvaigo, Raphael de Aurea, Antonius Centurionus, Jeronimus Lomelinus, Galeotus Centurionus, Cazanus Spynulla, Johannes Lomolinus, Simon Cataneus, Benedictus Larcharius, Leonellus Centurionus, Lucianus Spynella, Laurencius Grillus, Nicholaus Cataneus, Marcus Spynulla, Petrus ner and form as if the said bonds, sureties or recognitions for debt had been made in their names. And if any bonds, sureties or recognitions for debt had been made for any of the said persons attainted [by the parliament of Westminster] together with any other person or persons not attainted by the said act of parliament for the use and profit of the same other persons or of any liege of the king not named in the said act [of parliament], then all actions, recuperations, suits and enforcements in regard to the said bonds, sureties or recognitions for debt should be had by the said other person or persons named in them [i.e. the bonds, sureties or recognitions for debt] and not attainted in the same act or by their executors or administrators without naming in the said suits, actions and enforcements any person attainted in the said form and that no right or claim might accrue to the king by reason of the said bonds, sureties or recognitions for debt, saving the claims of any of the king's lieges in any of the said bonds, sureties or recognitions for debt, their heirs, executors and administrators and holders of their lands and to each of them any and all actions, suits, pleas and exonerations concerning the said bonds, sureties or recognitions for debt, just as they and each of them had these on the first day of the said parliament, as is contained more fully in that act remaining here in court as of record. And the said Robert Talbot says that the said Genoese merchants Cataneus Pynellus, Julianus Salvaigo, Raphael de Aurea, Antonius Centurionus, Jeronimus Lomelinus, Galeotus Centurionus, Cazanus Spynulla, Johannes Lomolinus, Simon Cataneus, Benedictus Larcharius, Leonellus Centurionus, Lucianus Spynella, Laurencius Grillus, Nicholaus Cataneus, Marcus Spynulla, Petrus Batalia, Barnabus Pynellus, Angelus de Nigro, Edwardus Cataneus, Damitrius
Batalia, Barnabus Pynellus, Angelus de Nigro, Edwardus Cataneus, Damitrius Spynulla, Franciscus Spynulla et Gentilis de Camela mercatores de Janua tempore confectionis scripti obligatorii predicti, scilicet dicto nono die mensis Augusti anno Domini 1459 et anno regni Henrici Sexti nuper de facto et non de jure regis Anglie tricesimo septimo [9 August 1459], indebati fuerunt Elene Sturmy, Johanni Eyton, Willelmo Canynges, Johanni Shipward, Willelmo Codure, Philippo Mede, Roberto Jakes, Johanni Hawk, Ricardo Haddon, Isabelle Burton, Willelmo Spenser, Johanni Wykeham, Johanni George, Lodewico Morice, Johanni Galgan, Johanni Jones, dicto Roberto Talbot et Alexander Chaunceller, Roberto Baron, Willelmo Blakburn, Johanni Skrevan, Roberto Norton, Ricardo Hill, Thome Marres, Johanni Hall, Johanni Walker, Willelmo Vowell, Andree Bye, Johanni Hans, Willelmo Griffith, Edmundo Hill, Johanni Pavy, Ricardo Alberton et Henrico Chestre dicto quarto die Novembris ligeis domini regis nunc, quorum nullus per actum predictum nec aliquo alio modo eodem die fuit attinctus, in quingentis libris. Pro solucione et securitate quorum quingentarum librarum ad opus ipsorum Elene, Johannis, Willemi, Johannis, Willemi, Philippi, Roberti, Johannis, Ricardi, Isabelle, Willemi, Johannis, Johannis, Lodowici, Johannis, Johannis, Roberti, Alexandri, Roberti, Willemi, Johannis, Roberti, Ricardi, Thome, Johannis, Johannis, Willemi, Andree, Johannis, Willemi, Edmundi, Johannis, Ricardi et Henrici et optinendum, habendum et possidendum dicto nono die mensis Augusti apud London' in parochia et wara predictis dicti Cataneus, Julianus, Raphael, Antonius, Jeronimus, Galeotus, Cazanus, Johannes Lemelinus, Simon, Benedictus, Leonellus, Lucianus, Laurencius, Nicholaus Cataneus, Marcus, Spynulla, Franciscus Spynulla and Gentilis de Camela were at the time the said bonds were drawn up, namely on the said 9th of August 1459 and the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Henry VI, erstwhile king of England in fact and not in law [9 August 1459], indebted to Ellen Sturmy, John Eyton, William Canynges, John Shipward, William Codure, Philip Mede, Robert Jakes, John Hawk, Richard Haddon, Isabelle Burton, William Spenser, John Wykeham, John George, Lewis Morice, John Galgan, John Jones, the said Robert Talbot and Alexander Chaunceller, Robert Baron, William Blakburn, John Skrevan, Robert Norton, Richard Hill, Thomas Marres, John Hall, John Walker, William Vowell, Andree Bye, John Hans, William Griffith, Edmund Hill, John Pavy, Richard Alberton and Henry Chestre on the said 4th of November [1461] – all lieges of the present king, none of whom were attainted by the said act [of parliament] on the said day in any way – for £500. Indeed for the payment and surety of the £500 to the benefit of the said Ellen [Sturmy], John [Eyton], William [Canynges], John [Shipward], William [Codure], Philip [Mede], Robert [Jakes], John [Hawk], Richard [Haddon], Isabelle [Burton], William [Spenser], John [Wykeham], John [George], Lewis [Morice], John [Galgan], John [Jones], Robert [Talbot], Alexander [Chaunceller], Robert [Baron], William [Blakburn], John [Skrevan], Robert [Norton], Richard [Hill], Thomas [Marres], John [Hall], John [Walker], William [Vowell], Andree [Bye], John [Hans], William [Griffith], Edmund [Hill], John [Pavy], Richard [Alberton] and Henry [Chestre] and obtaining, having and possessing [the money] the said Cataneus [Pynellus], Julianus [Salvaigo], Raphael [de Aurea], Antonius [Centurionus], Jeronimus [Lemelinus], Galeotus [Centurionus], Cazanus [Spynulla],
APPENDIX II: OTHER SOURCES

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Petrus, Barnabas, Angelus, Edwardus, Dimitrius, Franciscus et Gentilis fecerunt dictum scriptum obligatorium in dicta informacione specificatum dicto nuper comiti Wiltes', Philippo Malpas et Johanni Yonge, per quod quidem scriptum ipsi Cataneus, Julianus, Raphael, Antonius, Jeronimus, Galeotus, Cazanus, Johannes Lomelinus, Simon, Benedictus, Leonellus, Lucianus, Laurencius, Nicholaus Cataneus, Marcus, Petrus, Barnabas, Angelus, Edwardus, Dimitrius, Franciscus et Gentilis tunc obligaverunt se eisdem Jacobo nuper comiti, Philippo Malpas et Johanni Yonge in quingentis libris illis solvendis eis in festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli, quod foret in anno Domini 1462\[29 September 1462\], et scriptum obligatorium illud ut factum suum dicto nono die mensis Augusti\[29\] apud London' in dictis parochia et warda prefato Johanni Yonge ad usum et proficium ipsorum Elene, Johannis Eyton, Willemi [Canynges], Johannis Shipward, Willemi Codure, Philipii Mede, Roberti Jakes, Johannes Hawk, Ricardi Haddon, Isabelle Burton, Willemi Spenser, Johannis Wykeham, Johannis George, Lodowici Morice, Johannis Galgan\[8\], Johannis Jones, Roberti Talbot, Alexandri Chaunceller, Roberti Baron, Willemi Blakburn, Johannis Screvan, Roberti Norton, Ricardi Hill, Thome Marres, Johannis Hall, Johannis Walker, Willemi Vowell, Andree Bye, Johannis Hans, Willemi Griffith, Ed mundi Hill, Johannis Pavy, Ricardi Alberton et Henrici Chestere et non ad usum dictorum Jacobi nuper comitis, Philippus Malpas et Johannis Yonge nec eorum alicujus deliveravrent. Ipseque Johannes Yonge postea eodem nono die mensis Augusti\[3\] se ipsum deliberavit dicto Roberto Talbot ad usum ipsorum Elene, Johannis Eyton, Willemi, Johannis Shipward, Willemi, Philippus, Roberti, Johannis Hawk, Ricardi, Isabelle, Willemi, Johannes Lomolinus, Simon [Cataneus], Benedictus [Lercharius], Leonellus [Centurionus], Lucianus [Spynella], Laurencius [Grillus], Nicholaus Cataneus, Marcus [Spynulla], Petrus [Batalia], Barnabas [Pynellus], Angelus [de Nigro], Edwardus [Cataneus], Dimitrius [Spynulla], Franciscus [Spynulla] and Gentilis [de Camela] made the said bond specified in the said information [given to the Exchequer] on the said 9th day of the month of August in London in the said parish and ward to the said former Earl of Wiltshire, Philip Malpas and John Yonge, by which bond the same Cataneus [Pynellus], Julianus [Salvaigo], Raphael [de Aurea], Antonius [Centurionus], Jeronimus [Lomelinus], Galeotus [Centurionus], Cazanus [Spynulla], Johannes Lomolinus, Simon [Cataneus], Benedictus [Lercharius], Leonellus [Centurionus], Lucianus [Spynella], Laurencius [Grillus], Nicholaus Cataneus, Marcus [Spynulla], Petrus [Batalia], Barnabas [Pynellus], Angelus [de Nigro], Edwardus [Cataneus], Dimitrius [Spynulla], Franciscus [Spynulla] and Gentilis [de Camela] then bound themselves to pay the same James, formerly Earl, Philip Malpas and John Yonge £500 on the feast of St. Michael the Archangel in the year 1462 [29 September 1462] and handed over that bond made as their deed on the said 9th of August in London in the said parish and ward to John Yonge for the use and benefit of the same Ellen [Sturmy], John Eyton, William [Canynges], John Shipward, William Codure, Philip Mede, Robert Jakes, John Hawk, Richard Haddon, Isabelle Burton, William Spenser, John Wykeham, John George, Lewis Morice, John Galgan, John Jones, Robert Talbot, Alexander Chaunceller, Robert Baron, William Blakburn, John Screvan, Robert Norton, Richard Hill, Thomas Marres, John Hall, John Walker, William Vowell, Andrew Bye,
Robert Sturmy’s Commercial Expedition

Wykeham, Johannis George, Lodowici [Morice], Johannis Galgan, Johannis Jones, Roberti Talbot, Alexandri, Roberti, Willemi, Johannis Screvan, Roberti, Ricardi, Thome, Johannis Hall, Johannis Walker, Willemi, Andree, Johannis Hans, Willemi, Edmundi, Johannis Pavy, Ricardi et Henrici Chestre custodiendum ipseque Robertus eo pretextu scriptum illud habuit et custodivit tunc et omnino postea et adhuc illud in custodia sua habet. Et dicit predictus Robertus Talbot, quod predictus Jacobus in dicta informacione nominatus et predictus Jacobus auctoritate actus predicti attinctus fuerunt una et eadem persona et non aliae neque diversa. Et quod ipsi Elena, Johannes, Willemus, Johannes, Willemus, Philippus, Robertus, Johannes, Ricardus, Isabella, Willemus, Johannes, Johannes, Lodowicus, Johannes, Johannes, dictus Robertus Talbot ac Alexandrus, Robertus, Willemus, Johannes, Robertus, Ricardus, Thomas, Johannes, Johannes, Willemus, Andreas, Johannes, Willemus, Edmundus, Johannes, Ricardus et Henricus Chestere non fuerunt attincti nec eorum alius fuit attinctus per actum predictum et quod nullum habetur recordum, per quod liquere potest, quod ipsi aut eorum alius fuerunt attincti sive attinctus per actum predictum. Et absque hoc, quod aliquod habetur recordum, per quod liquere potest, quod dictus Jacobus nuper comes attinctus fuit per aliquem alium actum aut alio modo, quam per dictum actum per ipsum Robertum Talbot superius placiendo allegatum. Que omnia et singula ipse Robertus Talbot paratus est verificare, prout curia etc., unde non intendit, quod dictus dominus rex ipsum in premissis impetere velit. Et petit judicium et quod ipse quodam premissa ab hac curia dimittatur. The enrollment breaks off at this point.
Richard Chokke, knight, William Codur and Richard Kaiton petition the chancellor, showing how they — acting as royal commissioners  — had taken custody of a number of barrels of alum in Southampton which had originally been intended as payment of a loan extended to the Genoese by Philipppe Malpas and John Yong, but which the council had awarded to the victims of the Genoese attack [on Sturmy's expedition]. Nonetheless William Nedham of Southampton caused two of these butts to be arrested as property of Elyne Sturmy from Bristol, despite the fact that she could raise no claim to these goods prior to the distribution of the goods seized from the Genoese. Moreover, the petitioners are unable to distribute the goods of the Genoese before the alum is returned. Consequently, they petition the chancellor to issue a sub poena writ in order to force William Nedham to return the said two butts of alum. — [before 8 May 1466].


To the righte worshipfulle and our righte goode and gracious Lord tharche-bisshoppe of York chaunceller of Englond

Besechithe mekely your goode and gracious lordeishppe sir Richard Chokke knyght, William Codur and Richard Kaiton that — whereas now late at Suthampton

19 CPR 1461-7, p. 54.
20 The chancellor to whom this petition was addressed was George Nevill whose term of office lasted from 25 July 1460 to 20 June 1467. He was provided with the archbishopric of York on 15 Mar. 1465: HBC, p. 87 and 282. Consequently, the termini post quem and ante quem of this petition must be 15 Mar. 1465 and 20 June 1467. The petition's exact date emerges from the fact that it moved the chancellor to order the sheriff to certify the reasons for the seizure of the alum butts into the chancery. Since the corresponding cerciorari-writ (No. 15) was issued on 8 May 1466, this petition must have been submitted just shortly before that.
ther was delivered unto your seid besechers as to the kynges com[m]issioners by 
fors of his lettres patentes to your seid besechers made for the distribuciuon of 
certene sommes of money whiche late were awarded by the kynges counselle to 
divers mene of Bristou, London' and other in satisfaccioun of their grete losse which 
thei had and susteyned by the Janueys – certene buttyes of alyme for the contentacioun of [a] 
certene somme of money which the seid Janueys were boundene unto 
Phelippe Malpas and John Yong, ther come one William Nedham of the toune of 
Suthampton merchant and hathe arrested 2 buttes parcelle of the seid alyme as the 
goodes of Elyne Sturmy of Bristou, whereas the seid Elyne ne none other persone 
cane have no maner proprte in the seid alyme afores the distribuciuone therof made, 
so that by resone of the seid arrest your seid besechers cane go to no perfite distribuciuon 
without delivere of the seid alyme. Wherfore please hit your goode and 
gracious lordeshippe to considre the premisses and how your seid besechers bene 
daily called apone for the particioun of the same, theruppone to graunte unto your 
seid besechers a writte to be direct unto the seid Wiliam to appere before the kyng 
in his chancery at a certene day under a certene peyne by your goode lordesshippe to 
be lymyted to aunswere to the premisses and that theruppone he may be compelled 
to delivere the seid alyme that your seid besechers may go to the particioun therof 
accordinge to thentent therof ordeyned and thei shalle pray to God for you.

a thei Ms. (erroneous). b the follows, underpointed (i.e. striken) Ms.

[15] Edward IV to the mayor and bailiffs of Southampton: Order to certify the rea-
sons for the arrest or attachment (causa arestacionis sive attachiamenti) of the goods 
of the widow Elena Sturmy by the bailiffs of Southampton and all other relevant 
information (cum omnibus eam tangentibus) into the chancery by 16 June (in quin-
dena sancte Trinitatis proxime futuram). — 8 May 1466. (Teste me ipso apud West-
minsterium, 8 die Maii anno regni nostri sexto REYNOLD). Westminster.

TNA: PRO, C244/102/206/1. Original. Parchment. Seal on tag torn off. On the dorsal: Per 
cancellariam (top); Responsio istius brevis patet in quandam scedula huic brevi consuta 
[The return of this writ appears in a certain schedule sewn onto this writ] (below).

Return of the mayor and bailiffs of Southampton. — [8 May-16 June 1466]. [South-
ampton].

TNA: PRO, C244/102/206/2. Original. Parchment. Unsealed.

Nos Gilbertus Cornemonger major 
ville Suthampton, Johannes 
Burhebrigge et Thomas Reynold bailivi 
ejusdem ville domino regi in cancellaria 
sua certificamus, quod ante adventum 
dicti brevis certa bona et catalla Elene 
Sturmy vidue in predicto brevi nomi-
nate, videlicet due butte aluminis, ar-
estata et attachiata fuerunt virtute cujus-
dam querele de plactio debiti coram 
nobis prefatis majore et bailivis in curia 
pedis pulverizatis dicti domini regis ad sectam Willelmi Nedham versus pre-
dictam Elenem secundum consuetudi-
nem a tempore, quo non extat memoria, in eadem villa usitatam levate et affermate. Et hec est causa arestacionis sive attachiamenti bonorum et catallorum predictorum secundum consuetudinem predictam.

this is the cause of the arrest or attachment of the said goods and chattels by the said custom
Alexander, Alysaunder Alexandria
alone foile Alum from Foça (It. Foglia, Gr. Phokaia) in Asia Minor, ca. 50 km northwest of Izmir (Gr. Smyrna)
alone roche alum of high quality
Aragos in Sklaveny Argos, Greece
Argosum, Arogosum Argos, Greece
arraiments attire, dress
Barbary Barbary coast between Tripoly and Morocco
baudekyns silk cloth from the Orient worked with gold or silver threads
Bedfounton' in comitatu Midd' Bedfont, Middlesex
boge a lamb's skin with the fur dressed outward
Boneface, Bonefacium, Bonifacii, portus Bonifacio, Corsica
caltrappes traps to catch the feet of beasts, of horses or men in war: MED s.v. calketrappe
Candye Herakleion, Crete
Castello de Rupayne according to Riccardo PREDELLI (ed.), Libri commemorali della Repubblica di Venezia: Regesti, Bd. 5 (Monumenti storici pubblicati dalla R. Deputazione veneta di storia patria, Ser. 1: Documenti 10), Venice 1901, S. 230 this is probably near Vathia (Taiyetos, province of Lakonia, Greece) on the peninsula of Mani in Peloponnesia
Celli', villa Celle Ligure, province of Savona, 6 km northeast of Savona, Italy
chamelettes expensive cloth from the Near East: MED s.v. chamelet
corall red or white coral from the Mediterranean (used for jewelry and medical purposes): MED s.v. coral
corces of golde a ribbon or band of silk ornamented with gold thread: MED s.v. cors (5)
Corphu Corfu, an island in the Adriatic Corsice, insula Corsica
coser judging from context, clearly an article of clothing, but meaning unknown
coyre de boyle possibly quirboilli, boiled leather (for making armour)
Cugen' possibly Cogorno, province of Liguria, 45 km southeast of Genoa
curas cuirass: MED s.v. curas
Flete Fleet prison, London
Finar' Finale Borgo, province of Liguria, 20 km southwest of Savona, Italy
Fyne, portum de Portofino, 30 km southeast of Genua, Italy
Gaudisii, insula The island of Ghawdez northwest of Malta
gold skynnes goldbeater's skin, a prepared animal membrane employed to separate the leaves of goldfoil during the operation of beating
Hampton', Hantona Southampton
harneys armor, equipment
kerchiefes of poile for ladies ladies' kerchiefs from Apulia: MED s.v. poile
Lermane perhaps Lerma, province of Alessandria, Italy
Libicas, partes Libya
Maltis, insula Malta
Malvesies sweet Mediterranean wine, originally from Neapolis di Malvasia
in Peleponnesia, Greece: MED s.v. malvesie
Metelyne Vellenio Mitilini on Lesbos in the Aegean Sea
Mutine, portus Methoni, province of Messinia, Greece
Naphes Naples
Palerma Palermo
Panormj Palermo
Parans Parenzo (Porec) 50 km south of Trieste, Italy
petie kante 'small portion' (MED s.v. peti and cant), probably the sailors' free board
Pisse Pisa
Riparia Janue the Italian Riviera
Rivere of Jeanne the Italian Riviera
Rodes, Roodes Rhodes
Sahendusi, Sahone, Sahonensi, civitas Savona, province of Liguria, 35 km west of Genoa, Italy
sallet in medieval armor, a light globular head-piece, either with or without a vizor, and without a crest, the lower part curving outwards behind
Sandwico, Sandwicum Sandwich
satyne fygury satin brokade: MED s.v. satin
Scio the Island of Chios in the Aegean Sea
sclaveye long woollen cloak, esp. a pilgrim's robe
Suthampton' Southampton
tarterons silk cloth from the Tartar regions
Tryply in Barbary Tripoli, Libya
Tyer sweet Mediterranean wine
unslekked lyme quick lime (thrown into the eyes of the enemy): MED s.v. lim
wylde fyre Greek fire: MED s.v. fir (6) eene Genoa
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