

THOMAS KYTSON AND SOMERSET CLOTHMEN, 1529-1539

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This article concerns the purchases of cloth, by the 16th-century London merchant Thomas Kytson, from Somerset clothiers, or *clothmen* as he preferred to call them; the export of those cloths to the four seasonal marts in Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, and his other occasional dealings with Somerset.

Thomas Kytson, born 1485, was the son of Robert Kytson of Warton in Lancashire. In his youth he was apprenticed to the London mercer Richard Glasyer and on the completion of his apprenticeship was admitted a freeman of the Mercers' Company in 1507.¹ In his younger years he displayed an independent nature when in 1509, as a Master Bachelor of the Mercers' Company, 'he refused the lyvery presented unto hym by the Maisters Bachelers and wolde not go with theym nor attende at the presentacion of the Maire in the Eschecure'. He at first refused to pay the £4 fine for his disregard of the Mercers' ordinance, but repented the next day and was let off with a fine of 6s 8d.² This independent nature later bore fruit as he traded and became an affluent citizen of London.

Kytson's trading as a mercer enabled him, in 1521, to purchase the manor of Hengrave, Suffolk, and the manor of Colston Bassett in Nottinghamshire from the Duke of Buckingham. In 1529 he bought the manor of Downhead with Stoke St. Michael in Somerset from the sixth Earl of Northumberland.³ He also acquired other manors in Devon, Dorset, Lancashire, Suffolk and property in the city of London.⁴

Kytson was a member of the Merchant Adventurers Company and dealt extensively in cloth exported to the cloth marts in Flanders. In 1517 he is recorded as one of 'late Tresorers of the Merchauntes adveneturers by yonde the see',⁵ and in 1525 he was elected as one of the four wardens of the fellowship of Mercers.⁶ His wealth is illustrated by his loan of £2340 to Henry VIII in 1521,⁷ and by his valuation as an inhabitant of London, living in Milk Street in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen's, of 4000 marks in goods and 600 marks in land in 1522.⁸ In 1533 he served as sheriff of London, and on Saturday, 30 May of that year he was knighted at an investiture celebrating the coronation of Anne Boleyn.⁹ In 1535 he was assessed at 4000 marks (the seventh highest out of 146 citizens)¹⁰ and the next year he appeared as alderman in a list of various merchants who were owed debts by King Henry.¹¹ Kytson died on 11 September 1540 and was buried at Hengrave.

Four annual cloth marts were held in Flanders, to which convoys of ships set out from London laden with cloth and other exports such as tin, lead and leather. The four marts were the *Paasmarkt* or *Pask* mart (the passion or Easter mart) which began on Maundy Thursday; the *Pinxten* or *Sinxtenmarkt* (the Pentecost Fair) which began on the second Sunday before Whitsuntide; the *Bamis* mart (St. Bavo's Fair) which started on the second Sunday after the feast of the Assumption (15 August) and the *Koudmarkt* or Cold Mart which commenced on the Thursday before All Hallows Eve (31 October). The *Sinxten* and *Bamis* marts were held at Antwerp, and the *Pask* and

Cold marts at Bergen-op-Zoom (known to English merchants as 'Barrow'). Antwerp, located near the conflux of the Rhine, Maas and Scheldt rivers, was on the trade routes used by German and Italian traders on their missions to Italy and the Danube basin. It was also conveniently sited for access to English and French ports, and placed on the sea routes used by the Hanseatic traders. Bergen-op-Zoom, only some 30 miles distant from Antwerp, was equally placed to enjoy the benefits of pan-European trade, but by the time that Thomas Kytson was using the marts its rôle was changing. Bergen-op-Zoom continued as a 'fair town' but mainly dealt with foreign traders only during the *Pask* and Cold marts. Antwerp however, enlarged its foreign dealings from the peaks of the *Sinxten* and *Bamis* marts such that its business became more continuous, but this expansion was moderated by the Merchant Adventurers' desire to maintain the periodicity of their trading at all four marts, especially the *Sinxten* mart. Antwerp drew merchants from across Europe to buy the famed English cloths and its Bourse provided the pre-eminent financial centre for the exchange of currency or the settlement of bills. In addition Antwerp very nearly monopolized the European cloth-finishing industry. In 1537, there were 1,348 cloth finishers and journeymen employed in the conversion of the unfinished English cloths to the final fully-dressed and dyed cloth that the European middle classes craved for.¹²

Among Kytson's books remarkably preserved are two in which are recorded his shipments of cloth to the annual marts, and to some extent the shipping entries in those two books are duplicated.¹³ The second of the books, 'Thomas Kytson's Boke of Remembraunce'¹⁴ also, more importantly, records the clothmen from whom he purchased the cloth and the prices he paid. Other entries include sales of various goods imported by Kytson from the continent, notes concerning goods being sent to Hengrave, purchases of land and property, and memoranda concerning recompense paid to the merchants in Antwerp or Barrow who had bought faulty cloth from Kytson. That book which was started in 1529 and was continued until shortly after Kytson's death, contains some scrawled entries by Thomas himself, but the entries are mainly by his factors or apprentices George Collyns, Robert Mathe, Thomas Wasshyngton and Nicholas Lunne, with a few later entries in the impeccable hand of William Cockyshed. A third book of Kytson's was kept by Thomas Wasshyngton and is his account of his dealings as Kytson's factor at the *Sinxten* mart held in 1536.¹⁵

An extract from the 'Boke of Remembraunce' of the entries relating to Kytson's dealings with Somerset for one year is given in Appendix 1. The shipping entries and the notes and memoranda are written in English, but the records of purchases and sales are written in a mixture of abbreviated French, Latin and English, with the purchase prices being in code. A typical simple entry of two purchases is:

Acchat de John Gastard de Beckyn-ton le 3 io ^r de Fev'ell A ^o 1536	
Item ij whit ^s de at f ^r JJs pd at ij ^h xj ^s 4d	vij ^h iij ^s iiij ^d
pd le eodem io ^r	vij ^h iij ^s iiij ^d
R ^s le 13 io ^r de Feverell 5 wyttes de xv ^h	
Sm ^a To ^t 22 ^h / 3 . 4d	

which equates to

Bought of John Gastard of Beckington the 3 rd day of February of the year 1536	
Item 2 whites at £3 11s 4d at £3 11s 4d	£7 3s 4d
Paid the same day	£7 3s 4d
Received the 13 th day of February 5 whites at £15	
Total sum	£22 3s 4d

The first two lines record the initial bargain struck between Thomas Kytson and John Gastard, and the third line records that Gastard was paid the same day. The fourth line shows that Kytson

later purchased a further 5 cloths, but this time he only paid £3 for each cloth. Throughout the book the coded price (here in *italics*) appears to be the maximum price Kytson was prepared to pay, or in the cases of the entries of his sales the minimum at which he hoped to sell his wares. The majority of cloths purchased were in packs of 10, and the purchase price was given for the pack. When smaller quantities were purchased the price was either for the pack, the half-pack or for individual cloths.

Kytson's main interest was in the unfinished broadcloths or 'whites' although he did buy significant quantities of 'penestones'¹⁶ from Cheshire and also some 'Kentish russets'¹⁷, 'friezes'¹⁸, 'cottons'¹⁹, 'kersies'²⁰ and 'Castlecombs'²¹. The main centre of production of the 'whites' was in the valleys of the Avon and Frome rivers, and the area from Warminster to Devizes, so that Kytson's suppliers came predominantly from Somerset and Wiltshire. The places where most of his suppliers lived may be determined from the entries in his 'Boke of Remembraunce'. Professor Carus-Wilson writing about Kytson's 'Boke', stated 'the pre-eminence of west Wiltshire for the manufacture of white woollen broadcloth is immediately apparent from a perusal of Kytson's book.'²² This study will refute this claim. From the entries in Kytson's 'Boke' the overall statistics relating to his purchases and exports of 'whites' may be determined, and are shown in Table 1. The purchases are here collated in 'Exchequer years' so that Kytson's share of the English exports may be determined. The Exchequer year ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas because the Crown, like other great landlords, made up its accounts at harvest time. The export figures for cloth and the customs derived from them were recorded by port officials and ultimately the summation of these figures was made up by Exchequer clerks in the Exchequer Enrolled Accounts.²³ The Somerset clothmen and the numbers of 'whites' they sold to Kytson in each 'Exchequer year' are shown in Table 2.

By far the greatest number of cloths were bought from John Clevelod of Beckington until his death in 1537 or 1538, when his daughter Mary continued in his stead.²⁴ It then seems likely that John Gastard the elder took over the position of dominant clothman in Beckington. John Kent of Bath was a major supplier to Kytson until his death in 1533, but his widow (Mistress

	Exchequer Year, Michaelmas to Michaelmas									
	1529-1530	1530-1531	1531-1532	1532-1533	1533-1534	1534-1535	1535-1536	1536-1537	1537-1538	1538-1539
Number of whites bought by Kytson										
Somerset	276	530	802	1031	1029	713	758	980	538	500
Wiltshire	271	245	591	619	449	402	739	796	408	559
other or unknown		60	1	34		20	11	76	43	33
Total	547	835	1394	1684	1478	1135	1508	1852	989	1092
Somerset share %	50.4	63.5	57.5	61.2	69.6	62.8	50.3	52.9	54.4	45.8
Number of whites exported by Kytson										
Somerset	254	667	562	1019	1234	493	729	941	636	650
Total	625	990	1050	1722	1848	818	1480	2012	799	1599
Somerset share %	40.6	67.4	53.5	59.2	66.8	60.3	49.3	46.8	79.6	40.7
Total number of cloths exported by denizens. See note.	42,812	36,069	32,241	44,105	50,292	42,235	51,143	47,458	49,288	37,699
Kytson/Somerset % share of total exports	0.593	1.849	1.743	2.310	2.454	1.167	1.425	1.983	1.290	1.724

Table 1 Thomas Kytson's purchases and exports of white broadcloths, 1529-1539

Note: Woollen cloths were accounted for in terms of the standard 'cloth of assize', measuring approximately 24 yards long by 1½ to 2 yards wide when fulled and finished. Cloths of other sizes were converted for customs purposes into cloths of assize. The Somerset broadcloth 'whites' conformed to cloths of assize. 'Denizens' are defined as merchants who were regarded for customs purposes as if they were native-born subjects of the king and who cannot be identified as aliens from the accounts.

Clothmen	Exchequer Year, Michaelmas to Michaelmas											
	1529 -30	1530 -31	1531 -32	1532 -33	1533 -34	1534 -35	1535 -36	1536 -37	1537 -38	1538 -39	1529- 39	
John Clevelod of Beckington	191	281	471	480	528	467	390	432	100			3340
John Kent of Bath	85	151	169	155								560
John Thycke of Frome Selwood		40										40
Lewes Andley of Frome Selwood		5				12	13	2				32
Walter Bayley of Rode		40										40
John Dolman of Keynsham		10	26	3	10							49
Robert Dolman of Keynsham		3	7	23	9							42
Thomas Palmer of Bath			71	43	50		25	67				256
William Style of Bath			37	58	30	15	10	17	5			172
Robert Style of Bath			1		76			5	42	90		214
John Smith of Rudge			10									10
Harry Cavell of Bath			10									10
John Clement of Bath				10								10
Roger Blackdon of Farleigh Hungerford				110	160	212	198					680
Aldhelm Lugg of Hinton Charterhouse				24	10			15	9			58
John Horner of Stoke Michael				5								5
William Byan of Bath				19			7	39	12	18		95
Thomas Style of Bath				100	119							219
Mistress Kent of Bath				1	15	7						23
John Horner the elder					7							7
Robert Chapman of Bath					15			14	20	8		57
[?] Dolman							1		10			11
Harry Jarne of Bristol							2					2
James Byse of Stoke Michael							4					4
Thomas Jesse of Beckington							8					8
John of Bath							20					20
Mistress Blackdon							60	54				114
John Gastard the elder							20	7	34	217		278
Leonard Shawler of Frome Selwood								45*				45
Richard Cook of Frome Selwood								20				20
Harry Davison of Norton St. Philip								42	29			71
Richard Chapman of Bath								2				2
John Smith of Beckington								5				5
Maurice Llewellyn of Farleigh Hungerford								161	207	135		503
William Daws of Hinton								15				15
John Pereman of Stoke								3				3
John Chapman of Bath								25				25
Richard Pereman of Bath								10				10
Mary Clevelod of Beckington									64	10		74
William Parfitt of Stokelane									4			4
John Byse of Stoke Michael									2			2
Leonard Style of Bath										10		10
John Raynoldes of Bath										2		2
John Pyett of Rode										10		10
Totals	276	530	802	1031	1029	713	758	980	538	500		7157

Table 2 Sales of 'whites' by Somerset clothmen to Thomas Kytson

Notes: Stokelane is synonymous with Stoke Michael, now called Stoke St. Michael. *Those cloths are recorded as 'by the handes of Wm Baxter'. The name Leonard Shawler does not appear in the lists of exported cloths, but that of William Baxter does.

Kent of Bath)²⁵ clearly could neither deliver the quantity nor the requisite quality that Kytson sought. Roger Blackdon of Farleigh Hungerford, too, consistently supplied Kytson with large numbers of cloths until his death in 1536, and his widow (Mistress Blackdon)²⁶ supplied cloths in the next year; her position as dominant clothier in Farleigh Hungerford being taken by Maurice Flawellen (Llewellyn) in 1536-37. It is not to be supposed that other clothmen from whom Kytson purchased cloths were necessarily small producers. Any clothman who could supply him with cloths in packs of 10, like Thomas Palmer, William, Robert and Thomas Style of Bath, John Thycke, Leonard Shawler and Richard Cook of Frome Selwood, or Walter Bayley of Rode must have been major producers; those men selling their cloths at other times to other merchants.

The prices that Kytson paid for cloths depended on the quality of the spinning and weaving. In 1530 John Clevelod was paid £29 or £30 for each pack of 10 cloths, whereas John Kent received £28 for his 'whites' and £32 for his 'fine whites', or even £4 for each of 6 'fine whites' and £8 for what must have been one exceptional 'white'. John Thycke, on the other hand, was only paid £25 the pack. The next year John Clevelod's whites were categorized as 'coarse', 'of his second making' and 'fine whites' or 'of his best making', at £26 13s 4d, £28 and £30 the pack respectively. In 1533 the prices paid to John Clevelod were £26, £30 and £34 the pack. In 1534 an identification scheme was instituted by which his cloths were categorized as 'of the Chappell', 'of the Rede card' or 'of the yallow card', and the next year he was paid £24, £28 10s and £30 the pack for those three categories. In addition John Clevelod produced two other grades, one better at £33 the pack, and one inferior at £2 11s 8d the cloth.

A multiple entry of several consecutive purchases is:

Bought of John Clevelode 11 June 1535
 Item 11 whites at £33 Item 24 whites of the Red card
 Item 5 of the Chappell
 Item 1e fyrst day of July 1535
 11 whites of the yawlow card
 Item 17 whites of the Rede card
 Item 3 whites of the Chappell
 Resaved 5 August 1535
 Item 21 whites of the Yallow card
 Item 14 whites of the rede card
 Item 1 white of the chappell

Resaved 9 September 1535
 Item 31 whyttes of yallow Carde
 Item 8 whyttes of Rede Carde
 Resaved 28 October 1535
 Item 42 whites of Ye Yallow card
 Item 19 whites of the red card
 Item 1 white of the chappell fawty
 Item 2 whites at both £5 3s 4d

Of the yallow card at £32	6 whites
Of the red card at £28 10s	81
Of the chappell £24	9

Other clothmen were paid similar prices by Kytson throughout the 1530s. It is not possible to determine exactly what he paid out for all the cloths that he purchased, because in some cases – particularly for John Clevelod – the clerks did not enter the prices paid. However, an estimation of Kytson's total expenditure for Somerset 'whites' is £21,700 from 1529 until 1539 at an average of £30 4s for each pack of 10 cloths.

Kytson was able to export virtually all the 'whites' that he bought, and keep within the price limits set by Statute. In 1514 an Act had forbidden the export of unfinished cloth valued at more than 5 marks (£3 6s 8d).²⁷ In 1536 a further Act raised the price limit to £4 for whites and £3 for coloured cloths.²⁸ Other purchases by Kytson from Somerset men are listed in Table 3.

The kersies, frieze and blankett were inferior to the broadcloths bought normally by Kytson. The black cloths were poor quality cloths that had probably been dyed to disguise their faults, and were not all exported to Flanders but placed in store by Kytson until some convenient time for their sale or disposal. In one case, it was noted 'delivered to my Lady the 21 day of Aprell 1536, one coursse blacke which is for lynnynges the which was boght of John Clyfflod for 23s'.

The three large quantities of silver bought by Kytson from John Kent and John Clevelod are intriguing. Neither Somerset man is known as a goldsmith²⁹; they too, like Kytson, were able to use their finances and frequent journeys to London to buy and sell the silver to their benefit. The full entries in Kytson's book for the purchases of silver are:

Bought of John Kent clothyar of Bathe, 6 February 1531/[2]

Item won not³⁰ of sylver all gylt, weight 68½ onz

1 pottell pot³¹, parcell gylt, weight 65½ onz

1 quart pote with a cover, parcell gylt, weight 22oz

1 cupe with a cover, all gylt, weight 28oz

1 goblet, parcell gylt with a cover without knops³², weight 17½oz

2 ewers of sylver all white³³, weight 36oz

1 Bassyn, parcell gylt, weight 43½onz

1 bassyn, parcell gylt, weight 43onz

2 chysed³⁴ peces with a cover, parcell gylt, weight 55oz

2 covers, all gylt with 2 knops, weight 25½oz

1 goblet, parcell gylt with a cover, & 2 sponniss, 1 gylt & the other parcell gylt, weight 14oz

Total sum, weight all 398 ½ onz at 3s 7d. Sum £71 7s 11d halfpenny.

Paid the next day. Sum £71 7s 11d halfpenny.

Bought of John Clyfflod 16 Aprell 1535

A tabernakyl³⁵, A chales with a patten. & a salte with a cover, A masser band³⁶. All thes be all gylt, weight 195 onz at 3s 11d the ounce. Sum £38 3s 9d

Item more. A senser & a salte parsell gylt and a pece all whytte, 61½ onz at 3s 5d the onz. £10 10s 1d.

Total sum £48 13s 10d

Item plus a note of sylver all gylt weight 77 oz. at 4s the ownce. Sum £15 8s

Sum of bothe sums £64 22d

Bought of John Clevelod 29 September 1536

Item a 121 ounces 3 quarters of gelt & parcell playtte of deverys sortes at 3s 6d one with another. Sum £23 6s 4d.

Rebate owt of the holle 16d.

Rest net £23 5s

Paid 2 October 1536 £23 5s.

Kytson was not slow in reaping profits from his purchases. Within three days of buying the silver plate from John Kent in 1531, Kytson had sold the whole of it to an Antony Gorney for an immediate profit of £21 18s 9d, or 31%. The purchases from John Clevelod in 1535 and 1536 were similarly sold on to a William Sadler, goldsmith of London, within a few days, but for smaller profits.

The last two entries in Table 3 referring to John Horner, whilst not recording his residence, appear to relate to John Horner of Stoke Michael, and show that besides being a 'clothworker' he dealt in imported material. The purchases of sarcenet and satin were made by Kytson at a

Date	Vendor	Goods	Price paid
30 Mar. 1531	John Horner of Stoke Michael	15 kersies at 24s the piece	£18
25 Aug. 1531	John Byse of Stoke Lane	8 kersies at 24s the piece. £9 12s less 8d for short length	£9 11s 4d
22 Sep. 1531	Thomas Bocher of East Harptree.	10 kersies at 25s the piece	£12 10s
7 Feb. 1531/2	John Kent clothier of Bath	398½ ounces of silver goods at 3s 7d the ounce	£71 7s 11½d
29 May 1533	John Clevelod of Beckington	2 kersies at 26s 8d the piece	53s 4d
15 Dec 1533	John Clevelod clothman	4 coarse black cloths at 20s the piece	£4
16 Apr. 1535	John Clevelod	195 ounces of silver goods	£38 3s 9d
24 Nov. 1535	John Clevelod	one coarse black for lining for store	23s
29 Sep. 1536	John Clevelod	121 ounces of silver goods	£23 5s
22 Mar. 1536/7	John Clevelod	1 piece of black frieze for store	24s
13 Dec. 1538	John Gastard the elder clothman	1 coarse blankett for store	23s
13 Dec. 1538	Maurice Lewellyn	1 coarse black for store	30s
23 Jan. 1539/40	John Horner broker & clothworker	4 pieces of coloured sarsenet. 163½ yards at 2s 10d the yard 20 pieces of Bruges satin. 535 ells at 10d the ell with a rebate in every picce. at 16d the yard.	£23 3s 3d £26 6s 8d
20 Feb. 1539/40	John Horner broker	2 pieces of sarsenet. 1 green of 17 yards. 1 'changeable' of 30 yards. 47 yards at 3s the yard	£7 21d

Table 3 Sales of other goods by Somerset clothmen to Thomas Kytson ('blankett' was a coarse undyed cloth; 'sarsenet' is a fine silk material)

time, shortly before his death, when he had all but ceased buying fabrics for sale. Here, at least, he was partly buying for his own use. Two related entries in Kytson's 'Boke' are:

Memorandum, delivered to my lady by the hands of my Master the ij day of Marche in A^o dni 1539[40]

Item one holl pece of yelow Bregges satten whyche was to make the Chylldren³⁷ kyrtelles a gayste Est[er]

Memorandum, delivered unto my master & geving unto young master Ryche le 26 jour de June a^o 1540

Item 6 yardes & a half of changeable sarcnett, of grene & Redd, cut owt by my lady

The 'Boke of Remembraunce' records the exports made by Kytson, and the majority of these are of cloth, with some Cornish tin also included. For each mart there was a record made of the ships and the cloths assigned to each master for the passage to Flanders. The export of goods to the four annual fairs was governed by the rules of the Merchant Adventurers. No merchant was allowed to ship his goods independently but had to use and pay for the ships chartered for the collective use of all of the merchants. The Merchant Adventurers had three classes of officials to manage the convoy from London to Flanders. When a fleet was about to sail for a mart 'appointers' were chosen, to see to its equipment and protection, and those men were either elected in General Court or named by the different fellowships of the Adventurers.³⁸ In order to pay for the fleet 'conduitors' were chosen who assessed and levied the necessary rates to pay for the convoys (the 'conduit money'), and kept the accounts.³⁹ Those accounts were checked by the 'auditors'.⁴⁰ The London Fellowship who chartered the ships also determined when the fleet sailed, where it went or even if it went at all, depending on the circumstances and the likelihood of attack by Scots or Scandinavian pirates.⁴¹ The 'appointers' had 'to se that the shippes have their complement and also furnysshed with men, with vitaille, takkle & ablements of Warre, lyke & accordyng to the Charter partie'.⁴² In 1522 Kytson had been elected as one of the 8 'appointers' of the Merchant Adventurers for the *Pask* mart,⁴³ and in the next year he became an elected 'conduitor' for the *Sinxten* mart fleet and sought naval protection by Henry VIII from 'the Kyng of Denmarke [who] ys uppon the See with a grete Navye of Shippes and ys aryved in the Cost of Flaunders'.⁴⁴

In order to mitigate the financial loss that might have occurred if a ship had been attacked or lost at sea Kytson arranged, for every sailing to the marts, for his cloths to be sent on several ships. The cloths were made up into 'fardells' of about 40 cloths,⁴⁵ and occasionally there was also a 'truss' of a smaller number of cloths. No one fardell contained more than 32 of any clothman's cloths, and even the small number of cloths of a minor producer was spread throughout the fleet. When Kytson shipped 39 fardells to the Cold mart in Barrow in 1536 they were distributed between 24 ships, and of these ships, 19 carried 26 fardells with Somerset cloths in them. The prime-quality whites were wrapped either in canvas or even in the inferior 'coarse whites' or the cheaper 'cottons' or 'penestones'. Kytson's clerks recorded 'there ys spent in canvas whych was for sydes & heddes at the Passe mart holden in Barrow 1532 26 elles', and 'that thar ys spent in Canvas this shipping to ye Cold mart anno 1535 Item 247 elles of canvas for xij hedis and sydes delyvered this Cold mart'; and often there is an entry in the make-up of a fardell, such as – 'Item 1 whitte de Wm Style course, wrappers'.

Part of a typical entry in Kytson's 'Boke' is:

The schypping by the grace of God to the Colde mart A^o 1534

A fardell⁴⁶ no *J* in the Jhusus of Hull master under God Wyllyam Smyght

Item 20 whyttes no 1 de Roger Blackdons

Item 10 whyttes no 2 de Geffere Whytacher

Item 2 whyttes no 3 de Cleflods fynes

Item 7 penestones de John Granthams

A fardell no *m* in the Trynyte London master under God Rychard Rede

Item 10 whyttes no 4 de Wm Styles

Item 10 whyttes no 5 de John Smyght

Item 7 whyttes no 6 de T Admys

Item 5 whyttes no 3 de John Cleflods fyne

Item 7 penestones de John Granthams

A fardell no *f* in the John Paptyst of Lee master Haddock

Item 30 whyttes no 7 de Wm Adlams

Item 2 whyttes no 3 de John Cleflonds thyrde

Item 7 penestones de John Granthams

A fardell no *S* in the Ann of London master under God Robart Crysmas

Item 31 whyttes no 3 de John Cleflonds seconds

Item 1 whyte no 8 de Robart Heryett

Item 7 penestones of John Granthams

The number of the fardell was always given in code; here we see the codes for numbers 1 to 4.⁴⁷ Prior to making up the fardells each batch of clothman's cloths was allocated a number, and here the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4 etc. corresponded to the cloths of Roger Blackdon, Geffere Whytacher, John Cleflond (Clevelod) and William Styles etc. respectively.⁴⁸ Professor Carus-Wilson has stated that Kytson's 'cloths were carefully graded and described by numbers ranging from 1 to 19',⁴⁹ but this is not the case. The numbers related to the clothman, and in the above example John Cleflond's three grades of 'fyne', 'seconds' and 'thyrde' were all allocated the same number.

The numbers of white broadcloths exported by Thomas Kytson to the Flanders marts are shown in Tables 4, 5A, and 5B. The exports are collated in 'Exchequer years'.

When the numbers of cloths exported by Kytson are compared with his purchases there are some differences in the annual totals, but those may be explained by the fact that cloths were being sent by the clothmen to London after the last sailing to the *Sinxten* or *Bamis* marts and

		Mart				Total
		Cold	Pask	Sinxten	Bamis	
Exchequer Year, Michaelmas to Michaelmas						
1529 - 1530	Somerset	103		151		254
	Total	197		428		625
1530 - 1531	Somerset	210	241	95	121	667
	Total	306	311	157	216	990
1531 - 1532	Somerset	145	274	143		562
	Total	328	495	227		1050
1532 - 1533	Somerset	396	297	326		1019
	Total	751	438	533		1722
1533 - 1534	Somerset	367		598	269	1234
	Total	576		983	289	1848
1534 - 1535	Somerset	138		355		493
	Total	278		540		818
1535 - 1536	Somerset	334		395		729
	Total	602		878		1480
1536 - 1537	Somerset	489		452		941
	Total	1181		831		2012
1537 - 1538	Somerset	369		267		636
	Total	369		430		799
1538 - 1539	Somerset	298		352	-	650
	Total	818		700	81	1599
1539 - 1540	Somerset	14				14
	Total	14				14

Table 4 Thomas Kytson's exports of white broadcloths to the Flanders marts

before the end of each Exchequer Year. The total number of Somerset cloths exported by Kytson over the ten-year period amounted to 7199. He became virtually inactive as a merchant one year before his death in September 1540. Kytson bought 'whites', from more than 40 Somerset clothmen over the ten year period covered by his 'Boke of Remembraunce'. Throughout that time his favoured suppliers were John and Mary Clevelod of Beckington, John Kent, Thomas Palmer and the Styles of Bath, John Gastard the elder of Beckington⁵⁰ and Maurice Llewellyn of Farleigh Hungerford. The remainder of his suppliers must only be a small fraction of those Somerset clothmen who produced the 'whites' which contributed to the bulk of the English cloths exported to meet the insatiable demand of the continent.

The 'Boke of Remembraunce' records the sales made by Thomas Kytson in England. Those to Somerset men are listed in Table 6.

Woad occurs predominantly in these sales. John Clevelod only bought small quantities, as his main business was in 'whites'; but the sales of woad to James Byse and John Horner of Stoke Michael or Stoke Lane were of a different scale. From Table 2 we can see that Byse and Horner only sold 4 and 5 whites respectively to Kytson; whereas from Table 3 we can see that they had sold 8 and 15 kersies to him in 1531. As Stoke Michael was away from the main production area for whites we might assume that Byse and Horner produced mainly the cheaper kersies, and that these were probably dyed, but not necessarily fully finished. These assumptions are supported by the records of John Smythe, the Bristol merchant, who wrote in his ledger in 1540 that he bought '7 clothes hewlynges & of 2 clothes azars . . . & and of a saddlewe clothe' from 'James Biss of Stokelane in Somerzetshire clothiar'⁵¹. These cloths were all dyed. In 1539 John Smythe also recorded that he had had to pay 'for rowyng of 10 fyne clothes of James Bissis at 4s the clothe' and for the 'sheryng of 10 clothes of James Bisses at 3s 4d per clothe'.⁵²

Mart	Exchequer Year. Michaelmas to Michaelmas														
	1529-1530		1530-----1531				1531-----1532			1532-----1533			1533-----1534		
	Cold	Sixten	Cold	Pask	Sixten	Barnis	Cold	Pask	Sixten	Cold	Pask	Sixten	Cold	Sixten	Barnis
Clothman															
John Clevelod	103	151	80	131	50	91	73	152	69	246	168	104	234	279	171
John Kent			85	70	35	30	47	65	30	100	40	45	1	11	
John Thycke			40												
Lewes Andley			5												
Walter Bayley				40											
John Dolman					10		3	5	10	14					
Robert Dolman											11		14	16	1
Thomas Palmer							10	22	17	20	13	20		30	
William Style							10	10	17	6		32		16	14
Robert Style							2							76	
John Smith of Rudge								10							
Harry Cavell								10							
John Clement										10					
Roger Blackdon											50	50	30	90	50
Aldhelm Lugg												16		6	
John Horner											5		7		
William Byan											10	9			
Thomas Style												50	81	58	30
Mistress Kent														1	3
Robert Chapman														15	
Total	103	151	210	241	95	121	145	274	143	396	297	326	367	598	269

Table 5A Thomas Kytson's exports of Somerset white broadcloths, 1529-1534

The 'Seville oil' sold to John Clevelod would have been olive oil used in the spinning of the wool and distributed or sold by him to the Beckington spinners. Oil was used at the rate of about 8 to 10 pounds per the 60 or 70 pounds of wool in each cloth⁵³ so that each tun of oil would have been sufficient for approximately 300 cloths, or about a half to two-thirds of Clevelod's annual production of 'whites'.

The delivery to John Clevelod of 108 'paresles' in November 1531 probably refers to the hire of bindings for his packs of cloth. Kytson's entry in his 'Boke' reads 'delivered to John Cleflon 20 November 1531 108 paresles at viijd the pece. Also the said John Cleflond must kepe the Ropys hole of the said hunder dyght [hundred and eight] parylles. Sum amountes in silver £4 12s'.

The purchase of the three 'rugs' by John Mayer, Abbot of Athelney, is coupled in Kytson's book with a loan equal in value to the cost of the goods. The entries read:

28 March 1531

Memorandum, that I John Mayer Abbott of Athelney hathe boroyd off master Kytton marchant off London in lawfull money £13 6s 8d.
per me John Maier Abbate.

Sold to John Mayer Clerkes Abott Athelney in Somerset shere 2 Apprell 1531

Item 1 Rug with a torkeys

Item 1 Rug with a Saver

Item 1 Rug with a Rule

To pay at awr Lady day in Lentt next comynge £13 6s 8d.

Other entries in the 'Boke' are of interest to Somerset, such as the memoranda penned by the clerks:

Memorandum that I George Collyns paid in the Synckson Martte 1530, to the compeny of the Penneylles for Recompens of iij faulte clothes sold thym thys present martt of Jhon Clyflodes.

Mart	Exchequer Year, Michaelmas to Michaelmas										
	1534 - 35		1535 - 36		1536 - 37		1537 - 38		1538 - 39		1539
	Cold	Sinxten	Cold	Sinxten	Cold	Sinxten	Cold	Sinxten	Cold	Sinxten	Barnis
Clothman											
John Clevelod	92	228	206	211	185	223	245				
Lewes Andley		12			15						
Thomas Palmer			10	15	47	20					
William Style	10	5		10	6	5	5				
Robert Style					1	4		2	80	50	
Roger Blackdon	35	104	111	156							
Aldhelm Lugg						15					10
William Byan			7		10	23				17	
Mistress Kent	1	6									
Robert Chapman					14		20		4	5	
James Byse				3							
Mistress Blackdon					114						
Mistress Gastard					20						
John Gastard									87	164	
William Baxter					37						
Richard Cook					20						
Harry Davison					18	25		29			
Richard Chapman					2						
John Smith of Beckington						4					
Maurice Llewellyn						97	99	130	92	102	
John Pereman						1					
John Chapman						25					
Richard Pereman						10					
Mary Clevelod								39	30		
William Parfitt								4			4
John Byse								2			
Leonard Style									5	2	
John Raynolds											2
John Pyett										10	
Total	138	355	334	395	489	452	369	267	298	352	14

Table 5B Thomas Kytson's exports of Somerset white broadcloths, 1534-1539

Sum xls Flemish [0]g xxxijs sterling

Resaved and a lowd by the handes of John Clevelod le 8 jour de December 1530 xxxijs

Here we see George Collyns recording that three faulty cloths of John Clevelod had been sold to the Penneylls company at the *Sinxten* mart in 1530, and that they had been paid 40 Flemish *schellingen* (shillings) [0] *groten* (groats) in recompense, equivalent to 32 shillings sterling. Altogether there are records of 29 instances where recompense was paid for faulty cloths made by Somerset clothmen. It is not clear exactly how many cloths were faulty but on the basis that recompense was paid at some 10s or 15s per cloth, it appears that about 50 cloths or 0.7% of Kytson's exports of Somerset 'whites' had escaped detection by the aulnagers' inspections before they were exported. Two other entries of this type are:

Memorandum that I Nicholas Lunne hath paid unto Wolfe van Hamsbrigge of Andwarp as yt dothe appere per a bill of his handes which ys for fawttes in ye clothes of John Clevelodes sold to hym in the Synxson marte last 1535, as yt was awardett by Thomas Copar skinner and Baltisor of the Welsones, which clothes was marktett with the chappell. Sum amounth 45s [0]g'

Date	Purchaser	Transaction	COST
27 Nov. 1529	Sir John Bouchier of Stowey knight	sold 1 bale of Ulmus fustian sold 1 bale of Osbornes fustian	£28 6s 8d £25
25 Aug. 1530	John Clevelod of Beckington	sold 4 bales of woad (7cwt 25lb at 10s the cwt)	£5 15s 8d
20 Oct. 1530	John Thycke of Frome Selwood	sold 26 'baletts' of woad (44cwt 1qtr 22lb at 18s the cwt)	£40
8 Feb. 1530/1	John Clevelod of Beckington	sold 2 bales of Ulmus fustian	£38
2 Apr. 1531	John Mayer, Abbot of Athelney	sold 1 'rug with a torkeys' 1 'rug with a Saver' 1 'rug with a Rule'	£13 6s 8d
3 Apr. 1531	John Clevelod	sold half a 'balet' of woad (1cwt 92lb at 16s the cwt)	29s 8d
1 July 1531	Walter Staynyng	sold 1 bale of Ulmus fustian	£17
3 July 1531	Walter Staynyng of Holnicote	sold 1 bale of Ulmus fustian	£20
20 Nov. 1531	John Clevelod	delivered 108 pannels at 8d the piece	£3 12s
20 Nov. 1531	John Clevelod & John Dru of 'Beystaw'	sold 1 bale of Ulmus fustian	£20 13s 4d
22 Nov. 1531	Walter Staynyng of Holnicote	sold 1 bale of Ulmus fustian	£21 13s 4d
26 Nov. 1531	Walter Staynyng of Holnicote	sold 1 bale of Ulmus fustian	£22
7 Feb. 1531/2	Sir John Bouchier knight	sold 8 yards of black velvet	£4 8s
9 Mar. 1531/2	Sir John Bouchier knight	sold 2 bales of Ulmus fustian at £22 the bale, 24 ells of Holland at 32s 4d, and a loan of £4 7s 8d	£50
10 Mar. 1531/2	John Clevelod of Beckington clothman	sold 1 tun of Seville oil	£14
12 Apr. 1532	John Clevelod	sold 1½ yards black velvet	15s
3 May 1532	Walter Staynyng	sold 5 blocks of Cornish tin (16cwt 3lb at 38s 5d the cwt)	£31 5s 5d
18 May 1532	John Clevelod	delivered 3 pieces of tapestry and 4 ells of 'Barras' canvas	£27 8s
10 July 1532	John Clevelod	sold 30 ells of 'Barrow' canvas (at 4d the ell)	10s
6 Aug. 1532	John Clevelod	sold 1 tun of Seville oil	£14
28 Sep. 1532	John Clevelod	sold 2 half bales of woad (3cwt 1qtr 12lb at 14s the cwt)	47s
21 Oct. 1532	James Byssse of Stoke Lane	sold 4 bales of woad (8cwt at 14s the cwt)	£5 12s
16 Nov. 1532	James Byssse of Stoke Lane	sold 21 'baletts' of woad at 14s the cwt	£24 11s 6d
29 Nov. 1532	James Byssse	delivered 7 'baletts' of woad to James Byssse's house by James Dene carrier	
14 Dec. 1532	James Byssse	delivered 10 'baletts' of woad by Dene carrier of Wells	
22 Feb. 1532/3	John Horner	delivered 6 half bales of woad by John Colyard, carrier	
3 Dec. 1532	John Clevelod	sold 4 'baletts' of woad (6cwt 3qtr 17 lb at 14s the cwt)	£4 16s 7½d
7 Dec. 1532	John Clevelod	sold 1 piece of Holland (23 ells at 10d the ell)	19s 4 ½d
15 Feb. 1532/3	John Horner of Stoke Michael	bargain made for 47 'baletts' of woad at 14 the cwt, sold 12 'baletts' of woad (20cwt 41lb at 14s the cwt)	£14 5s 1½d
15 Feb. 1532/3	John Clevelod	sold 2 'baletts' of woad (3cwt 16lb at 14s the cwt)	44s
27 Mar. 1533	John Clevelod of Beckington	sold 2 'baletts' of woad (3½ cwt 1lb at 14s the cwt)	49s 1½d
27 Aug. 1533	John Horner	delivered 6 'baletts' of woad by John Clevelod's carrier	
4 Oct. 1533	James Byssse of Stoke Michael	sold 14 'baletts' of woad (22cwt 1 qtr 13lb at 14s the cwt)	£15 13s 2d
24 Oct. 1533	James Byssse of Stoke Michael	sold 19 'balets' of woad (33cwt 3qtr 17lb at 14s the cwt) delivered 8 'baletts' to William Orryng servant of James Byssse the same day delivered 8 'baletts' to William Orryng servant of James Byssse 25 October delivered 3 'baletts' to James Dene carrier of Wells 6 February	£22 9s

Date	Purchaser	Transaction	Cost
15 Feb. 1536/7	Thomas Champion of Shepton	sold 2 'baletts' of woad (5cwt 14lb at 16s the cwt)	£4 2s
3 Mar. 1536/7	Robert Style	bartered 8 yards of black satin at 6s 8d the yard plus 26s 8d in silver, for 1 white cloth at £4	53s 4d
10 Mar. 1536/7	John Clevelod	sold 3 'baletts' of woad (5cwt 7lb at 16s the cwt)	£4 14d
23 Mar. 1536/7	James Byse of Stoke Michael	sold 4 'baletts' of woad (6½ cwt 19lb at 15s the cwt)	£4 19s 10 ½d
22 May 1537	John Clevelod	sold 2 'baletts' of woad (3cwt 1qtr 7lb at 16s the cwt)	53s
8 June 1537	James Byse of Stoke Michael	sold 40 'baletts' of woad (67cwt 1qtr 23lb at 14s the cwt)	£47 4s 4d
30 Aug. 1537	John Clevelod	sold 1 'balett' of woad (1cwt 2qtr 13lb at 16s the cwt)	25s 10d
3 Nov. 1537	James Byse of Stoke Michael	sold 23 'baletts' of woad (38cwt 1qtr 22lb at 14s the cwt)	£26 18s 3d
29 Mar. 1539	Maurice Llewellyn of Farleigh Hungerford	sold 1 harness	15s

Table 6 Sales by Thomas Kytson to Somerset men ('ulmus' fustian was a coarse cloth made in Ulm from cotton and flax; harness was body-armour or military accoutrement)

Memorandum that I Nycholas Lunne hayth resaved agayne of Jasper Crophe one fawtye clothe of Mores Flowellens which was sold to them this mart [the Cold mart 1538] for £5 5s 4g, which was full of stoppes & holles, and I sold yt to Ulter the metter of Andwarpe for £4 10s [0]g as yt appereth per his byll, wherein was left to be resaved of Mores Flewellen Sum 15s 6g'

In the first entry we see the names of the two independent arbitrators who had been appointed to settle the complaint of Wolfe van Hamsbrugge against Thomas Kytson. In the second case there is a glimpse of Kytson's profits at the Cold mart. The cloth in question, which had been bought for about £3, was sold initially for £5 5 *schellingen* 4 *groten* (£4 1s 0d⁵⁴); and then resold for £4 10 *schellingen* (£3 9s 3d) with the producer, Mores Flewellen (Maurice Llewellyn) having to pay the difference. The final result was that Kytson made a modest profit of 9s 3d, whereas Llewellyn only received about £2 8s net for his cloth. The other point illustrated is that the cloth was eventually purchased by Walter of Antwerp who held the 'metership', or the job of measuring the clothes that were put to sale.

From these records we learn the name of some of Thomas Kytson's customers in Antwerp and Barrow. The Pennylles or Pymmells could have been agents, because in two instances faulty cloths were 'resaved from the Pymmels, sold to Garard van Rotyngham' and 'resaved agayn of the Pymmels . . . whites . . . which was sold to them . . . and was sold agayn to Ayrt van Wellick'.⁵⁵

The following entry is a rarity in Kytson's book, recording as it does the settlement of the account of John Clevelod:

Memorandum. Reconyde with John Clyfflod clothman of Beckynton in Sumersetshe the vij day of December 1530, for All Reconynges be fore this day a forseyd.
I Charge hym for a Rest of past money a fore thys day xlj^h
I Charge hym for bettryng of iij clothes in the Synckson Marte 1530 xxxiij
Item I Charge hym for iij ballettes of wode as dothe apere by the boke v^h 15s 8d
Item I Charge hym with the whole debethe of the whole yere of Donhede asforthe & dew Westem[inster] endyd at Myghelmas 1530. Sum iij^{ss} 14^h 14s 9s
Payd to hym in Redy money le 7 jour de December 1530 lvj^h 17s 7d
Sum ijC^h

The arithmetic is not accurate but the entry records a previous debt, the 'bettryng' or recompense paid at the *Sinxten* mart, money owed for a sale of woad, and the onus placed on John Clevelod to pay the whole of the account for Kytson's newly-acquired manor of Downhead in Somerset. The entry ends with a payment in ready money, making a total of £199 19s 2d or £200 in round figures owed to Thomas Kytson.

Thomas Kytson's financial arrangements with his clothmen show that he always paid his established suppliers in cash on receipt of the cloths. Sometimes these payments are recorded as 'in Argent'. When he made a bargain with a new supplier it appears that Kytson, not surprisingly, wanted to see all the cloths that he had bargained for before he paid any money. An entry by Nicholas Lunne in Kytson's 'Boke' reads:

Bought of Leonard Shawler by the handes of William Baxter of Fromesellwood 6 [October] 1536
 Item 15 whites of his best maykyng at £28 at £28 the pack. Sum £42
 Item 10 whites of his second maykyng at £24 10s at £24 10s. £24 10s
 Total sum £66 10s Paid
 Memorandum that he hayth promysed my master to deliver 5 clothes mo of his best maykyng by twyxt this & Alhalloutide next and that thay shall be of as good wooll, lenthe, spyning and maykyng as this a fore resaved &c
 Rebate for a fawtie clothe 3s 4d and ther resteth a nother fawtie cloth in my masters handes of 56s of ys best maykyng Resaved the same day with the said cloth. Rest nett £63 10s 8d paid.
 Resaved the first day of December 1536 7 of his cowrse paid
 Resaved the same day mor 5 whites of his cowrser maykyng
 Resaved 27 October 1536 8 whites of course paid
 & he must delyver 7 moo clothes

The prompt payment for the cloth purchased was sometimes coupled with a willingness to give his customers extended credit. When James Bisse of Stoke Michael bought 40 'balletts' of woad for £47 4s 4d on 8 June 1537, Nicholas Lunne recorded 'To pay the viij day in December next the one halfe, and the rest to be payd the viij day in June 1538'. Extended credit sometimes cost the customers dear. When bales of *Ulmus fustian* were being sold for £17 13s 4d cash, Walter Staynyng of Holnicote was charged £21 13s 4d on 26 November 1531 but he was given until 1 November 1532 to settle the bill; and at the same time John Clevelod was charged £20 13s 4d with payment due the following Easter. In effect Staynyng and Clevelod paid interest at the illegal and penal rates of 23 % and 51% per annum respectively. Similarly, hidden interest rates are illustrated when in March 1531/2, Sir John Burchier bought 2 bales of *Ulmus fustian* at £22 per bale, and 24 ells of Holland⁵⁶ at 16d per ell when other customers paid 10d or 11d; additionally he was 'lent' a sum of £4 7s 8d making a convenient total of £50, and was given until Easter 1533 to pay his debt.

Sometimes Kytson found it necessary to borrow money; here are illustrated not only the rate of exchange in 1537 but evidence of bills of exchange being used for the transfer of money:

Tayken uppe by exchange of George de Sayre etalion 6 Aprill 1537 £200 sterling at 26s 6g [Flemish] the [pound] payable 4 dayes after the sight unto the said George de Siyre or in his absens to Alexander de Pree. Sum £265.

Memorandum taken up by exchange of Wyllyam Golles of Tutnes the ix daye June 1537, £80 sterling at 26s [6]g [Flemish] le pond. payable 3 dayes after the synght of hys byll. £106 6s 8d. Delyvered hym but on byll.

There is no reference in the 'Boke of Remembraunce' to Blackwell Hall, the usual place for trading in woollen cloth. There are hints that Kytson dealt directly with his clothmen. In 1532

it was recorded under John Clevelod's name, 'Resaved 9 November 1532 by horse 5 fyne whites & 1 of his second' as though this was a direct delivery from Beckington to Kytson's warehouse in London. And in 1537, after an entry of the making of a bargain with Aldhelm Lugg of Hinton Charterhouse for 9 whites, there is the implication of further direct dealings:

Bought of Alldam Luge of Charterhows 16 February 1537
 Item 9 whytthes at £27 13s d the pack Sum £24 18s 0d
 Memorandum that he must delyver one clothe more of the said maykyng
 And that my master shall have the fyrst sight of all the ryst of his clothes that he shall mayke
 betwyxt this and the next shipping

There are also several agreements between Kytson and his new suppliers for them to deal directly with each other. One such is:

Bought of Robert Style of Baythe clothman 5 September 1538
 Item 40 whites at £31 at £31 the packe Sum £124 . 0 . 0
 and he must delyver all his maykyng of this marke that he shall mayk be twyxt this and Alhalloutyde
 and that thay shall be off as good wooll spynnyng & maykyng as these afore resaved and that he
 must at Alhalotide for ber for 2 packes of clothes at my masters pleasure

This entry illustrates two other points. Firstly, that the agreement lasted until All Hallows, which was the last day allowed by the Merchant Adventurers for shipping to the Cold mart.⁵⁷ Secondly, the reference to 'maykyng of this marke' is coupled with a drawing in the margin of the book of the mark of Robert Style. Clothiers had usually marked their cloths with a distinctive mark, but by a recent Statute enacted in 1535 it had been made imperative: 'every Clothier within this Realm shall weave, or cause to be woven, his or their several Token or Mark in all and every Cloth, Kersey and other Cloths, whatsoever they be, made and wrought to be uttered and sold.'⁵⁸ The 'Boke' contains drawings of nine marks of Somerset makers, all entered between 1536 and 1538. None of the marks are of Kytson's established clothmen, as those were obviously well known to him and his clerks. The marks are illustrated in Figure 1, together with a note of the colour of each mark.

From 1529 to 1531 a record was kept of the costs of shipping his wares to and from the fairs. These records are all lightly crossed out, not because they were wrong, but probably as though they were re-entered in another book, now lost.⁵⁹ The first such record illustrates the varied costs involved in getting the fardells of cloth onto the ships:

Coostes paide for Clothes shipped to the Colde Martte at Barrow 1529	
First for 2 small boxes for wryttes	2d
for a letter & a wrytt sente to master Adam Williams by a Cariar of exc't	
[Exeter?]	4d
for bringing home of Cottons & Clothes borrowed to packe withall this shipping	4d
for bynding of 6 Fardells to 3 portars at 9d the fardell & 2d ovar in all to drinke	4s 8d
for carying them downe & the Truss	2s 6d
for 4 Cockettes of the Custumhowse	16d
paid & geven to the Serchars to drincke	2s 8d
for portrage & cranage at 8d the Fardell	4s 8d
for lytradge at 4d the Fardell	2s 4d
paid & geven to our lytarmen for to labour agenst the tyde & to the shipmen of the Mary of London to tow the lytar a borde with the bote for my meate & drincks this shipping	12d
	14d

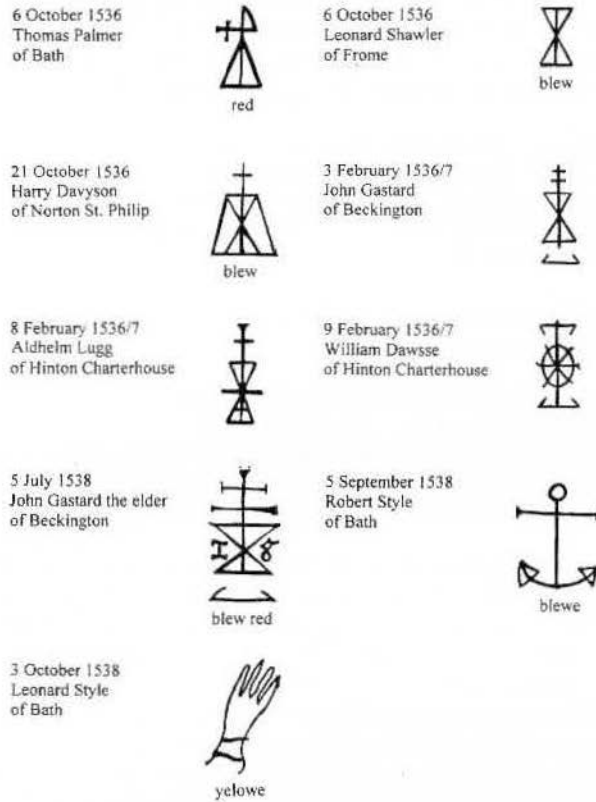


Fig. 1 Maker's marks of Somerset clothmen

for my bothier all this shipping	9d
paid & geven to the Marynars of the Mary Swepestake & of the Mary Fortune for to tak 2 Fardells in for feyre of weythar	8d
for lacys for the Rentalls & mowth glewe	1d
Item paid more for a cockett for the last trus	4d
for packing of the same Trusse & for watching to the portars	14d
for carying downe of hit paid to A cartar & for watching for hit	16d
for portradge lytradge & cranadage	12d
for setting of the kersseis to packe with	1d
for my going a borde Jacob Johanson of Andwarppe at dyvers tymes	4d
Total sum of all thies Coostes	26s 11d

Not only are there payments for the expected costs of binding up the fardells, the portorage and cranage charges, and the 'cockett' or sealed export permit obtained from the Customs House, but also incidental expenses paid to the porters for watching over the final valuable truss, and a gratuity to the mariners for saving two fardells from the weather. We also learn that the fardells were taken to the awaiting ships by lighter, and that the lighter was towed by oarsmen. The implication is that the ships were anchored in midstream and not tied up at a quay.

In two places in the 'Boke of Remembraunce' there are thumb-nail sketches of ships. Both show single-masted, square-rigged vessels. The more informative of the two (Fig. 2) shows the

yard and the fore and after castles. It is reasonable to assume that both ships were drawn as being typical of the type of ship used to convey the cloths from London to the Flanders fairs. Dorothy Burwash in her seminal book on medieval shipping stated that by the early sixteenth century English shipping had evolved into ships with two or more masts and complex sail-plans.⁶⁰ The representation of single-masted ships by someone familiar with the sea-borne carriage of goods from London to Flanders perhaps indicates that such small ships, probably of about 60 tons burthen, were sufficient for the day-and-a-half sea journey, and with the ability to be navigated through the western Scheldt *en route* to Antwerp.

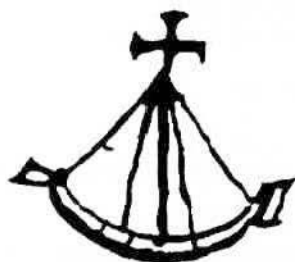


Fig. 2 Thumb-nail sketch of a single-masted square-rigged ship from the 'Boke of Remembraunce'

Other costs sustained by Thomas Kytson included remedying damaged clothes before they were shipped to the fairs. For this he employed the services of two London shearmen, Harry James and Matthew Sharpe. One entry reads, 'delyvered to Herre James shereman 28 August 1533, 7 whittes of Thomas Styles which were veyt in the caryage, to drye, folde and tacke' and a similar entry was made two days later for Harry James to dry 4 whites of Robert Dolman's that had also got wet whilst being carried from Keynsham to London. On 7 September 1538 two cloths of Maurice Llewellyn's were delivered to Harry James 'for to tenter, folde and drye, and he to have for the dressing of them 2s 8d'. Three days later there is noted 'paid to him by Nicholas Lunne 2s 6d'!

From Thomas Wasshyngton's account for the *Sintxen* Mart of 1536 can be learned the gross profit that Kytson reaped from his sales. Typical of Wasshyngton's entries and specifically relating to Somerset clothmen are:

Sold to Arte van Hotterley of Andwerppe &c	
Item 31 whittes of Roger Blackedonnes of £32 the packe at £52 g	
Sum	£161 4s 0g
Item 14 whittes of John Clyffelodes second makynge of £28 10s	
at £48 g the packe	£67 4s 0g
Item 5 whittes of Thomas Pallmer of £14 13s 4d the hallffe packe	
at £24 10s	£24 10s 0g
Total sum	£252 18s 0g
To pay in the Bawius Martt next commyng	
Sold to Allbryght Sonnambryght of Collen &c	
Item 60 whittes of Roger Blackedonnes of £32 the packe at £51 g	
Sum	£306 0s 0g
To pay in the Bawmuis Martt next commyng Sum	£153 0s 0g
To pay in the Cold Martt next commyng Sum	£153 0s 0g
Sold to Johan Blocke factor for Hans Kelder of Franckford &c	
Item 29 whittes of John Clyffelodes second of £28 10s the packe	

Item one whitte of John Clyffelodes coursse making of 48s the pece	
Sum 30 whittes at £48 g the packe Total Sum	£144 0s 0g
To pay in the Bawius Martt next commyng	
Sold to Evallte Tacke and Petter Heere of Cole	
Item 60 whyttes of Roger Blackedonnes of £32 at £52 g the packe	£312 0s 0g
To pay in the Bawmius Martt next commyng Sum	£156 0s 0g
To pay in the Cold Martt next commyng Sum	£156 0s 0g
Sold to John van Clette of Andwerppe the &c	
Item 10 whittes of Wylliam Styyles of £33 4s 8d the pack at	
£51 10s g Sum	£51 10s 0g
To pay in the Colde Martt next commyng	£51 10s 0g
Sold to Jacob Stotte of Andwerppe the &c	
Item 10 whittes of John Clyffelodes second of £28 10s the pack at £48 g Sum	£48 0s 0g
To pay in the Colde Martt next commyng	£48 0s 0g

Each entry gave the sterling purchase price in code (here in *italics*) and the sale price in Flemish currency. The buyers were not expected to pay for their purchases until the next *Bamis* Mart or the Cold Mart, some four or six months after the *Sinxten* Mart.

Wasshyngton recorded the sale of 859 cloths for £4300 13s Flemish. At the exchange rate of 25 *schellingen* 6 *groten* for each pound sterling (the rate at which Wasshyngton had had to borrow money in Antwerp) the price of those 859 cloths, that had cost Thomas Kytson £2588 5s 6d sterling, was equivalent to £3235 6s 5g Flemish. The gross profit that Wasshyngton gained for his master was therefore £1065 6s 7g Flemish or 32.9%

Also from Thomas Wasshyngton's account are the costs incurred by him at the *Sinxten* Mart:

My costes of the Synkeson Martt 1536	
In primus payd for 4 showe bordes for our packes	4s 8g
payd for hallff a thousand of Inglysshe wood with the caryage which lyes at Barro Sum	3s 10g
payd to Nycholas Lonne for hys costes goyng and commyng to Barro for to shyppe the tynne to Rowan as it shall appere by a byll Sum	19s 11g
payd to Raffie Goodwynne of Ipsewyche which is for costes of certen stuffe the which was shyppe to Hengrave fro the Cold Martt last 1535 as it shall appere by a byll of the sayd Raffie hand Sum 8s 6d sterling qi ffact Sum	11s 4g
payd for crantage of 28 fardells which was shyppe to this martt at 8g the pece	18s 8g
payd for pynage ⁶¹ and bryngyng in to our packehousse ⁶² of 28 fardells at 12g	28s 0g
payd for primage ⁶³ of 28 fardells at 4g [the] pece	9s 4g
payd for tolle of 856 clothes which was shyppe to this martt at 1g ye clothe	£3 11s 4g
payd for freght of the sayd 856 clothes at 8g le clothe	£28 10s 8g
payd for lodmonage ⁶⁴ of 856 clothes at ½ g le clothe	23s 9g
payd for Imposycyons ⁶⁵ of 856 whites at 1g le clothe Sum	£33 11s 4g
payd for forow ⁶⁶ for our packehouses	5s 4g
payd for caryage of clothes fro one packehouse to another and for fodyng up penestons and to helpe us to sett Sum	5s 8g
payd for our showe housse on the Godderte and a packehouse in John Merdles house Sum	£3 5s 0g

paid for watchyng of 4 packe houses at 4g ye pece	Sum	16g
paid for a dubblett lynnyng and making for me	Sum	6s 4g
paid for a pare of hosse and for lynnyng and maykyng of theym		5s 8g
paid for 3 pare of shoyes for me	Sum	3s 4g
paid for my tabyll fro the first day of July unto the 28 th day of October 1536 which is 17 weakes at 8s le weake	Sum	£6 16s 0g
Sum total of all my costes of this sayd Synkeson Martt 1536		£53 18g

This modest cost of £53 18g was only 1.23% of the price of the cloths sold. The net profit gained by Kytson was therefore £1012 1s 1g Flemish or 31.3%.

Thomas Kytson's 'Boke of Remembraunce' records his dealings with his clothmen and others for the decade before his death, and the export of the cloths to the four seasonal markets in Flanders. In totality Somerset men and their heirs supplied the greater part of Kytson's broadcloths or 'whites' that contributed to England's main export in the Tudor period. Over forty Somerset 'clothmen' and others are lifted from near-obscurity⁶⁷ and appear as links in the chain of commerce as producers of cloth; alongside Kytson's apprentices and factors, the London shearmen whose task it was to remedy and dry such cloths as had been wetted by rain on their journey from Somerset to London, the mariners and masters of the little ships chartered by the Merchant Adventurers to make the short crossing to Flanders, and finally the purchasers in the annual marts who had the Somerset broadcloths dyed and finished and distributed throughout the continent.

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- ¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*.
- ² Lyell, L., and Watney, F.D., *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company*, 1936, 345.
- ³ Suffolk Record Office E 3/15.106/1.2.
- ⁴ Gage, J., *The History and Antiquities of Hengrave in Suffolk*, London, 1822. The Devon manors were Iplepen, Knight's Kerswell, Withycombe, Torbryan and Clyston Dartmouth. The Dorset manors were Okeford Fitzpaine, Durweston with Knighton, Bere, Litchett Larwant; and Nash Court in the parish of Marnhull.
- ⁵ *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company*, 453.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 698.
- ⁷ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, Vol. 3 Part 1, 503.
- ⁸ *Ibid.* Vol. 3 Part 2, 1052.
- ⁹ *Ibid.* Vol 6, 279.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. 8, 184.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.* Vol. 9, 567.
- ¹² Baumann, W-R., *The Merchants Adventurers and the Continental Cloth Trade*, Berlin, 1990, 38.
- ¹³ Cambridge University Library, Hengrave Hall Ms.78/1 (Goods shipped to the markets in the Low Countries 1512-39) and Ms.78/2 (The Boke of Remembraunce 1529).

¹⁴ The first page is enscribed 'The boke of Remembraunce belongyng unto me Thomas Kytson of London Mercer made the xxth daye in Septe[m]ber An^o 1529'.

¹⁵ Cambridge University Library, Hengrave Hall Ms.78/4 (The Account of ye Synkeson marritt, holden at Andwerppe for my Master Syr T. Kytson, Knight & Alderman of London by me Thomas Wasshyngton, 1536).

¹⁶ 'Penestone' is the obsolete form of 'penistone', a kind of coarse woollen cloth similar to a 'kersey'.

¹⁷ 'Russet' was a coarse woollen cloth of a reddish-brown, grey or neutral colour.

¹⁸ 'Frieze' was a coarse woollen cloth with a nap, usually on one side only.

¹⁹ 'Cotton' was a woollen cloth similar to a frieze.

²⁰ 'Kersey' was a narrow woollen cloth which did not have the completely felted surface of a broadcloth or 'white'.

²¹ 'Castlecomb' was a woollen broadcloth made in Castle Combe of a red or white colour.

²² *VCH Wilts*, Vol. 4, 139.

²³ Carus-Wilson, E.M., and Coleman, O., *England's Export Trade 1275-1547*, 1963.

²⁴ Mary, the name of John Clevelod's daughter is obtained from his will, dated 26 August 1537, proved 8 February 1537/8; by the terms of which Mary was to have his tenement with the fulling mill and granary next to it if his wife Agnes was to marry again, *Somerset Medieval Wills 1531-1558*. Somerset Record Society, Vol. 21, 1905.

²⁵ John Kent's wife, the 'Mistress Kent of Bath' of Kytson's purchases, was named Alice; she was joint executrix with their son Thomas of John's will, dated 4 March 1532[3], proved 2 April 1533, *ibid*.

²⁶ Roger Blackdon's wife, the 'Mistress Blackdon' of Kytson's purchases, was named Agnes; she was the executrix of Roger's will, dated 29 March 1536, proved 18 May 1536, *ibid*.

²⁷ *Statutes at Large*, 5 Henry VIII, c.3.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 27 Henry VIII, c.13.

²⁹ see Pickford, I., *Jackson's English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, 1989; Timothy Kent, personal communication.

³⁰ A 'nut', or 'nut' was at this time a cup made from the shell of a coco-nut mounted, usually, in silver; or as in this case made entirely of silver and resembling a coco-nut in shape.

³¹ A 'pottle pot' was a vessel of about a half gallon capacity.

³² A 'knop' was a knob or boss, often in the shape of a flower or fruit.

³³ 'All white' = ungilt.

³⁴ 'Chysed' = 'chased' or embossed or engraved in relief.

³⁵ A 'tabernacle' is an ornamented receptacle for the vessel containing the consecrated host.

³⁶ A 'masser' was a 'mazer', a bowl made of a hard wood (usually maple) with a silver rim, here described as a 'band'. The band being made of silver gilt and presumably scrap from a broken mazer.

³⁷ Thomas Kytson had four daughters – Catherine, Dorothy, Anne and Frances, and a posthumous son Thomas.

³⁸ *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company*, 207, 226.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 194, 200-2, 214, 223 etc.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 194.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 394. The danger from pirates had been reported to the General Court of the Fellowship of Mercers in 1511, 'there be dyvers shippes of warre of Skottes upon the See, whiche have taken certen Shippes of Englonde laden with divers merchaundises, and cast the Englisemen over borde into the See'.

⁴² *Ibid*, 195.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p537.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p568.

⁴⁵ When, as in the majority of cases, most of the cloths were the long broadcloths, each fardell would have weighed about 1 ton, corresponding to the contemporary tonnage unit of a 'tun' or 'tontight'. When the fardells included many of the lighter and shorter 'cottons', 'penestones' and 'kersies' the total number of cloths in each fardell rose to over 50.

⁴⁶ The sign ff was used as an abbreviation for 'fardell'. The same sign was also used for 'Flemish'.

⁴⁷ Kytson's code was; $J = 1$, $m = 2$, $f = 3$, $S = 4$, n or $N = 5$, $C = 6$, $B = 7$, $p = 8$, $A = 9$, and $o = 0$.

⁴⁸ John Grantham's penestones were never allocated an identification number.

⁴⁹ *VCH Wilts*, Vol. 4, p140.

⁵⁰ There was a 'John Gastred the younger' but he is described as 'of Gillingham in Dorset'.

⁵¹ Vane, J., ed., *The Ledger of John Smythe 1538-1550*, Bristol Record Society, Vol. 28, 1975, 156.

⁵² *Ibid*, 93. Other references to James Byssse are on pp 5 and 144.

⁵³ Mann, J. de L., *The Cloth Industry in the West of England 1640 to 1880*, 1987, 319, 321. Although the figures quoted by Mann relate to a period later than the Tudor era, they may be justified in being used in making the approximate calculations of John Clevedol's usage of olive oil.

⁵⁴ The value is calculated at the exchange rate of 26 Flemish *schellingen* = 20 English shillings

⁵⁵ The full list of those in the 'Boke of Remembraunce' to whom Kytson sold his cloths were, the company of the Pymmells, Mores Horne, Antony van Bumbargyn, George Kester, Wolf van Hamsbrigg, Henricke van Ackland, and Johan van Monckehoyt all of 'Andwarp', Peter Johnson of 'Hamsterdam', Corneles Ayrton of 'Delfe', Albright Sennybright of 'Collon', Phillippe Lennycke, Simond Royfse, George Mutyng, Garard van Rotyngnam, Ayr van Welick, Hartman Simnall, Gerard Falke, Hans Rucker, Henricke Barre, Jacob Scott, and Jasper Croppe. Other buyers of Kytson's cloths mentioned in Thomas Wasshyngton's account were Johan Arteson, John van Clette, Yeewrowe Flemmyngs, Franse Gyles, Arte van Hotterley, Wylliam van Innersell, Hubryght Johanson 'fessantflette', George Kesselor, John van Monghest, Corneles Priment and Jacob Stotte of 'Andwerppe', Petter Heere and Evalte Tacke of 'Collen', Johan Blocke factor for Hans Kelder of 'Frankford', Ellarde Symonson of 'Hamsterdam' and Phylippe Lenycke factor for Segemundus Brevon of 'Lybbes'.

⁵⁶ 'Holland' was a linen fabric made in the province of Holland in the Low Countries.

⁵⁷ *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company*, 702.

⁵⁸ *Statutes at Large*, 17 Henry VIII, c. 12.

⁵⁹ Where other entries in the 'Boke' are crossed out, and intended not to be part of the record, they are marked 'vacat' in the margin (i. e. null and void).

⁶⁰ Burwash, D., *English Merchant Shipping 1460-1540*, Toronto, 1947 (reprinted by David & Charles, 1969, Newton Abbot).

⁶¹ 'Pynnage' was probably the sum paid for carriage by pinnace of the cloths from the ship to the quay.

⁶² A 'packhouse' was the building where the packs of cloth were stored prior to being sold.

⁶³ 'Primage' was the customary allowance made by the shipper to the master and crew of a vessel for the loading and care of a cargo.

⁶⁴ 'Lodmonage' or 'lodemonage' was the sum paid for the hire of a pilot for conducting a ship from one place to another.

⁶⁵ An 'imposycyon' or 'imposition' was a tax or duty levied on imported cloths.

⁶⁶ The 'forow' was probably a payment in advance for the hire of the packhouse.

⁶⁷ Not all the persons named in Thomas Kytson's 'Boke of Remembraunce' are totally obscure. John Kent, Thomas Style, Henry Cavell, Robert Style, Richard Pereman, John Clement, Thomas Palmer, Richard Chapman and John Chapman appear in the Bath Lay Subsidies of 1523, 1524, 1525 and 1540; John Kent and Robert Style being the mayors of Bath in 1523 and 1540 respectively (Green, E. *Bath Natural History & Antiquarian Field Club*, Vol. 6, No.4). Richard Pereman, 'bailye of Bath' appears as a witness in the case of William Crouch v. Horner and others in 1534 when Henry Cavell is described as the 'now maire of . . . Bath of thage of 50 years', Thomas Style is also the 'late maire of . . . Bath' (Bradford, G., ed., *Proceedings of the Star Chamber. Henry VII and Henry VIII*, Somerset Record Society, Vol. 28, 1911). John Horner, James Byse and John Byse of Stoke Michael are listed in the court records of the manors of Downhead and Stoke St. Michael (Suffolk Record Office E3 15.106.1.2). John Horner and James Byse are also recorded as suppliers of cloth to the Bristol merchant John Smythe (Vane, J., ed., *The Ledger of John Smythe 1538-1550*, Bristol Record Society, Vol. 28, 1975). James Byse was granted property in Somerset by Henry VIII in 1544 (Collinson, J., *The History of Somersetshire*, 1791). The John Dru of 'Beystow' was the 'Johannes Drews mercator, of Bristol listed as a master in the *Calendar of the Bristol Apprentice Book 1532-1542*, Bristol Record Society, Vol. 14, 1949. Henry Davison and Aldem Lugg appear in the Reeve's accounts for Norton St Philip and Hinton Charterhouse that were sent to Henry VIII after he acquired these two manors in 1539. Henry Davison had the farm of Norton grain mill by indenture from Edmund Horde the last prior of Hinton Priory (Public Record Office SC6/Henry VIII/3144). Sir John Bourghchier of Stowey (otherwise Sir John Boulchere and Sir John Bowtcher and each time additionally described as 'knight') was the John Bouchier who was born 20 July 1470, succeeded his father as Lord Fitz Warine in 1479, made Knight of the Bath in 1494, created Earl of Bath 9 July 1536 and died 30 April 1539. His only son John became Sheriff of Somerset in 1519, later becoming Earl of Bath in 1539 on his father's death, and married as his third wife Margaret the widow of Sir Richard Long and formerly the widow of Sir Thomas Kytson in 1548 (G.E. C[ockayne], *The Complete Peerage*, Vol. 2, 1912). John Bouchier left his estate in the manor of Nether Stowey to his wife Elizabeth (Weaver, F.W., *Somerset Medieval Wills 1531-1558*, Somerset Record Society, Vol. 21, 1905). *Somerset Medieval Wills 1531-1558* also provides the following

information on Kytson's 'clothmen': John Clevelod's will, dated 26 August 1537, proved 8 February 1537/8, provided the majority of his estate for his wife Agnes and his daughter Mary, with 'Thomas Kytson knt' as overseer; Henry Cavell is described as 'alderman', he made bequests to his overseers who included Richard Chapman, and John Clement witnessed the will; 'Henry Kevell gentleman, maior of Bathe' is the overseer, and John Clement and William Byam were witnesses to the will dated 14 November 1534 of a prosperous widow of Bath (Isabel Chauncelor), Thomas Palmer and John Clement were witnesses to John Kent's will; John Gaster (Gastard) and John Clyrlood (Clevelod) were witnesses to the will a fellow clothier (John Cooper) in Beckington; John Bysse of Stoke St. Michael was named as a governor of the son of a fellow cloth maker (Thomas Ashe of Batcomb). The will of Adelme Luggie, dated 17 November 1543, proved 22 August 1544 provided for his widow (Shilton, D.O., and Holworthy, R., *Medieval Wills from Wells*, Somerset Record Society, Vol. 40, 1925). John Mayer (Maioir) was the penultimate Abbot of Athelney (Bates, E.H., *Two Cartularies of the Benedictine Abbeys of Muchelney & Athelney*, Somerset Record Society, Vol. 14, 1899).

APPENDIX

Extracts from the 'Boke of Remembraunce' relating to Somerset, for the Exchequer Year 1531 to 1532 (Michaelmas to Michaelmas).

Abbreviated text has been expanded to the clerks' usual spelling, but 'qt' for 'quantity' remains. Arabic numerals originally in code are here decoded and placed in *italics>*, and names relating to Somerset are in bold text. Some punctuation has been added.

Bought of **Thomas Pawmer** of Baythe 25 October 1531

Item 12 whites at £30 at £30 the pack.	Sum £36
Paid the next day	£30
Paid 17 November 1531	£6

Bought of **John Kent** of Baythe in Wiltshire 27 October 1531

Item 15 whites of his fyne maykyng at £32	
Sum	£48
Item 15 whites at £28 at £28 the packe.	
Sum	£42
Total sum	£90
Paid the same day Sum	£90
Resaved 18 November 1531 5 whites fyne	
Item 1 fyne white at £8 at £8	

Delyvered to Herry James sherman of London 29 October 1531

Item 3 whites of **John Kenttes** cowrsse whyche were weett in the cariage, to drye fold and tacke
Resaved 2 November 1531 3 whites

Bought of **John Clevelod** of Beckenton
6 November 1531

Item 7 October 1531 30 whites

Item 6 November 1531 20 whites	
Resaved 18 November 1531 20 whites	
Sum 70 whites at £30 the packe	
Sum in silver	£210

Bought of **William Style** of Baythe in Wyltshire
15 November 1531

Item 10 whites at £32 13s 4d at £32 13s 4d the packe	£32 13s 4d
Sum	£32 13s 4d
paid the same day Sum	£32 13s 4d

The shipping by the grace of God to the Cold Marte holden in Barrow in AD 1531

A Fardell no 13 in the *Anne Gallant* master under God John Paycke

Item 32 whites no 3 de John Clevelodes	
Item 5 peces penystones of John Grantham	
Item 10 peces cottons of Gilbert S[ariscold] wrappers	

A Fardell no 14 in the *Anne Gallant* master under God John Paycke

Item 25 whites no 4 of John Kentt cowrsse	
Item 6 whites of John Lawrens	
Item 5 peces penystones of John Granthams	
Item 10 peces cottons of Gilbert S[ariscold] wrappers	
Item 1 white of Thomas Harfordes mercer	

A fardell no 15 in the *Mary Grace* of Colchester master Richard Maykyng

Item 18 whites no 3 of John Clevelodes	
Item 14 whites no 4 of John Kenttes fyne	
Item 5 peces penystones of John Grantham	
Item 11 peces cottons of Gilbert S[ariscold] wrappers	

A Fardell no 16 in the *Trynite* of Snodland master Symond Barnes

Item 22 whites no 5 of Robert Baythe

Item 10 whites no 6 of **Thomas Pawmer**

Item 5 peces penystones of John Grantham

Item 11 peces cottons of Gilbert Sariscold wrappers

A Fardell no 18 in the *John Baptist* of London master Richard Harwood

Item 20 whites no 8 of Roger Tanner

Item 10 whites no 9 of **William Style**

Item 2 whites no 7 of Thomas Davis

Item 5 peces penystones of John Grantham

Item 9 peces cottons of Gilbert Sariscold wrappers

A Fardell no 19 in the *Myhell Bonaventur* master Herry Bennett

Item 11 whites no 5 of Robert Baythe

Item 10 whites no 10 of John Ussher

Item 10 whites no 2 of John Vawghn

Item 1 white no 6 of **Robert Pawmer**

Item 5 peces penystones of John Grantham

Item 7 peces cottons of Gilbert S[ariscold] wrappers

A Fardell no 20 in the *Martyn* of Byrkelsy master Richard Dawlson

Item 15 whites no 3 of **John Clevelod**

Item 6 whites no 4 of **John Kent** fyne

Item 1 white no 6 of **John Pawmer**

Item 4 castellcommes of Herry Somers

Item 1 fyne white of **John Kent**

Item 1 white of Thomas Harfordes mercer

Item 1 white of **Robert Style** fyne

Item 1 white of George Vawghan

Item 7 peces penystones of John Grantham

Item 7 peces cottons of Gilbert Sariscold wrappers

Item 1 fyne Denshire karsay

Item 2 whites no 11 of **John Dolman**

A Fardell no 21 in the *Michell Bonaventur* master Herry Bennett

Item 2 whites no 3 of **John Clevelod**

Item 1 white no 11 of **John Dolman**

Item 1 white of John Baker fyne

Item 1 fyne white pece karsay

Item 26 peces blonkettes karsayes

Item 5 reds karses

Item 2 Sadde grene karsayes

Item 1 lyght grene karsay

Item 1 Whatchett karsay

Item 1 yallow karsay

Item 5 castellcommes Christopher Clarke

Item 32 peces penystones of John Grantham

Item 4 peces cottons of Gilbert S[ariscold] wrappers

A trusse no 22 in the *Michell Bonaventur* master Herry Bennett

Item 3 peces whites no 3 of **John Clevelod**

Item more shipped to this marte 4 packyng wherin was bownd 1 fyne whyte of **John Kent** 1 white of

Robert Style 3 whites of **John Clevevelods**

Memorandum that there ys shipped over to this marte as yt dothe appere by shipping in the Fardell no 20, 1 fyne white of **John Kent** which ys nott bought in this boke. And also the said **John Kent** ys contentted that my master shall doo his best for the saylle of the said clothe &c

Delyvered to **John Cleflon** 2 November 1531 108 paretles at 8d the pece. Also the said **John Cleflond** must kepe the Ropys hole of the said hunder dyght parylles. Sum amounts In silver £3 12s

Resaved of **John Cleflod** 18 May 1532

A other 36 paretles & the Rest of the 72 paretles by the sayd **John** for 8d the pece

Sold to **John Cleflond** & **John Dru** of Beystow 20 November 1531

Item 1 bale of Ulmus fustyan at £21 10s. at £20

£20 13s 4d at £20 13s 4d £20 13s 4d

To paye at Ester next comyng 1532 £20 13s 4d

Bought of **Robert Style** of Baythe 27 November 1531

Item one whyte at £3 13s 4d at £3 13s 4d Sum £3 13s 4d

Sum £3 13s 4d

paid 20 November 1531 £3 13s 4d

Sold to **Watter Stanyng** of Hanycote 22 November 1531

Item 1 Bale of Ulmus fustyan at £21 10s at £21 13s 4d £21 13s 4d

To pay the fyrst day of November 1532

Bought of **John Dolman** 21 Marche 1531[2]

Item 5 whites at £30 the pack £15

Sold to **Watter Stanyng** of Hunycote 26 November 1531

Item 1 bale Ulmus fustyan at £21 10s at £22

Sum £22

To pay the fyrst day of November 1532 .

Costes of clothes shipped to the Cold marte holden in Barrow 1531

paid for byndyng of a 11 Fardells at 9d the fardell 8s 3d

paid for caryng to the watter syde of 7 Fardells at
6d the Fardell Sum 3s 6d
paid for caryng to the wattersyde of 4 Fardells,
and to the cartars for watching for them, at 9d the
Fardell 3s 3d
paid for 4 cokkettes 16d
paid and geven to the maryners of Birkilsay for
taykyng in of a Fardell when yt was lykly to rayne
2d
paid And geven to the Sarchers 4d
paid for portrage cranage and lyghtrage of 11
Fardells and a trusse 11s
paid and geven to the lyghtermen for rawyng a
gaynst the Streame at nyght, with a Fardell and for
taykyng uppe of yt at the key 6d
plus as follows
paid for caryng of a empty pype to the Ayle brewers
1d
paid for my boott hire for this shipping 8d
paid for my boott hire for shipping 3 hogges heddes
of bere in Richard Harwods 2d
paid for caryng to the watter syde of a pipe with
ayle 4d
paid for caryng to the watter syde of a chist 2
ferckynges with brawne and a hampper 4d
paid for portrage and cranage of the pipe with ayle
and the chist 4d
paid for my boott for shipping of the ayle 1½d
paid for my boyett for shipping of the hampper
with venyson in Perys Smith of Flussshyng 2d
paid for a lydd for the Sand boxe 1d
Sum of all the costes 34s 2d halfpenny

Bought of **John Clevelod** 28 January 1531[2]

Item 30 whites

Resaved 8 February in the aforesaid year Sum 30
whites

Resaved 22 February in the aforesaid year 28 whites

Resaved 10 March 1531[2] of **John Cleflondes**
best makyng 12 whites

Item more Resaved the same day 30 whyttes of
hys cowrsse makyng at 26 13s 4d

Item 4 whites at 32s the clothe Sum £6 8s

Resaved 21 March 1531[2] 19 whites

Bought of **John Kent** of Baythe clotheman 7
February 1531[2]

Item 20 whites of his fyne makyng at £32 the pack £64

Item 20 whites of his cowser maykyng at £28 the
pack £56

Resaved 23 March 1531[2] 15 whytes of his fyne
clothis at £32 Sum £48

Resaved the same day 10 whytes of his Cowrser
makyng at £28 Sum £28

Bought of **John Kent** Clothman of Bathe 6
February 1531[2]

Item won not of sylver all gylt, weight 68½ onz

1 pottell pot, parcell gylt, weight 65½ onz

1 quart pote with a cover, parcell gylt, weight 22oz

1 cupe with a cover, all gylt, weight 28oz

1 goblet, parcell gylt with a cover without knops,
weight 17½oz

2 ewers of sylver all white, weight 36oz

1 Bassyn parcell gylt weight 43½onz

1 bassyn, parcell gylt, weight 43oz

2 chysed peces with a cover, parcell gylt, weight 55oz

2 covers, all gylt with 2 knops, weight 25 ½oz

1 goblet, parcell gylt with a cover, & 2 sponniss, 1

gylt & the other parcell gylt, weight 14oz

Total sum, weight all 398 ½ onz at 3s 7d. Sum £71

7s 11d halfpenny.

paid the next day. Sum £71 7s 11d halfpenny.

Bought of **Thomas Pawmer** of Bathe 20 February
1531[2]

Item 10 whites at £30 at £30 the pack Sum £30

Resaved 14 March 1531[2] 10 whites

Resaved 21 March 1531[2] 2 whites

Sold to Antony Gorney by Skelton[?] 9 February
1531[2]

Item 400 onz of playt gelt & parcell gelt as dothe

Apere by the bargaen of **Kentts** before written at 4s
8d. Sum £93 6s 8d

Item 7 balles Ulmus fustean at £20 10s at £20 19s

the balle Sum £146 13s

Item in silver 4d

Sum £240

Delyvered to Herry James Shereman 13 March
1531[2]

Item 2 cowrsse whites of **John Clevelods** to drye,
fold and tacke, whiche was weett in his carte with
cariage to London the same day in the year aforesaid

Memorandum that Herry James Shereman must
allowe in workemanshipe of clothe for a payre of
Sheremans Sheres whiche was sold to hym for 2s
2d Flemish

Sold to **John Clevelod** of Beckynton in
Somersetshe clothman 11 March 1531[2]

Item one tonne of Syvell Oylle at £14 at £14

Sum £14

Bought of **William Styll** of Baythe in
Somersetshire 14 March 1531[2]

Item 5 whites at £32 13s 4d the pack

Sum £16 6s 8d

Resaved 21 March 1531[2] 5 whites at £3 6s 8d
the clothe

Sum £16 13s 4d

Bought of **John Smethe** of Rudge in Somersetsher
19 March 1531[2]

Item 10 whites at £28 10s at £28 10s Sum £28 10s
Sum £28 10s

Bought of **Herry Cavell** of Baythe in Somersetshire
21 March 1531[2]

Item 10 whites at £28 13s 4d at £28 13s 4d Sum
£28 13s 4d

Sum £28 13s 4d

The shipping by the grace of God to the Passe marte
holden in Barrow in AD 1532

A Fardell no 2 in the *Mary Christopher* master
Richard Rede

Item 32 whites no 2 of **John Clevelods** fyne
Item 9 peces penystones of John Grantham
Item 9 peces cottons of Gilbert S[ariscold] wrappers

A Fardell no 3 in the *Harry* of London master Harry
Norman

Item 32 whites no 2 of **John Clevelods** fyne
Item 9 peces penystones of John Grantham
Item 8 peces cottons of Gilbert S[ariscold] wrappers

A Fardell no 5 in the *Trinite* of London master
William Bullye

Item 32 whites no 2 of **John Clevelods** fyne
Item 9 peces penystones of John Grantham
Item 8 peces cottons of Gilbert S[ariscold] wrappers

A Fardell no 7 in the *Trinite* of London master
William Bullye

Item 25 whites no 6 of John Lawrens
Item 5 whites no 7 of **John Dolmans**
Item 2 whites no [blank] of Thomas Horfords mercer
Item 9 peces penystones of John Grantham
Item 7 peces cottons of Gilbert S[ariscold] wrappers

A Fardell no 8 in the *John of Baptist* of Ley master
William Hoddocke

Item 20 whites no 8 of **John Kentts** cowrse
Item 9 long whites no 9 of Thomas Wheteter
Item 3 long whites no 10 of William Foxeys
Item 3 peces penystones of John Grantham
Item 7 peces cottons of Gilbert S[ariscold] wrappers

A Fardell no 9 in the *John Baptist* of Ley master
William Haddocke

Item 20 whites no 5 of **Thomas Pawmer**

Item 4 whites no 2 of **John Clevelod** fyne

Item 5 whites no 12 of **William Style**

Item 2 whites no [blank] of Thomas Herford mercer

Item 1 long white no 10 of William Foxe

Item 9 peces penystones of John Grantham

Item 7 peces cottons of Gilbert S[ariscold] wrappers

A Fardell no 11 in *John Baptist* of Ley master
William Haddock

Item 20 whites no 8 of **John Kent** fyne

Item 8 whites no 13 of **Harry Cavels**

Item 4 whites no 5 of Thomas Davis

Item 10 peces penystones of John Grantham

Item 6 peces cottons of Gilbert S[ariscold] wrappers

A Fardell no 13 in the *George* of London master
William Rogers

Item 20 whites no 2 of **John Clevelod** cowrse

Item 7 whites no 3 of John Vawghan

Item 1 white no 5 of Thomas Davis

Item 4 whites no 2 of **John Clevelods** cowrsest
maykyng

Item 5 peces penystones of John Grantham

Item 3 peces cottons of Gilbert S[ariscold] wrappers

A Fardell no 14 in the *Mary Martyn* master John
Johnson

Item 15 whites no 8 of **John Kentts** fyne

Item 10 whites no 4 of **John Smeth**

Item 5 whites no 12 of **William Style**

Item 4 peces penystones of John Grantham

Item 6 peces cottons of Alexander Plymyles mercer

A Fardell no 15 in the *New Anne* of London master
Thomas Lynche

Item 19 whites no 2 of **John Clevelod** fyne

Item 1 white of Thomas Harford mercer

Item 10 whites no 8 of **John Kent** cowrse

Item 2 whites no 13 of **Harry Savell**

Item 1 white no 2 of **John Clevelod** corse bynder

Item 2 peces penystones of John Grantham

Item 5 peces cottons of Gilbert S[ariscold] wrappers

A Fardell no 16 in the *Harry* of London master
Harry Norman

Item 8 whites no 2 of **John Clevelod** corse

Item 6 whites of Thomas Harford mercer

Item 4 peces cottons of Gilbert Scariscolds

Costes of clothe Shipped to the Passe marte holden
in Barrow 1532

paid for byndyng of 14 Fardells at 9d the Fardell
10s 6d

paid to 4 porters for byndyng of 2 Fardells 2s

paid for cariayng of 16 Fardells to the watter syde
& 5d over in all Sum 8s 5d
paid for 6 cockettes owte of the costomhowse &
for mendyng of a cock for the trusse 2s 4d
paid for portrayge, cranayge & lyghtrayge of 15
Fardells and a trusse 15s 4d
paid and geven to the Sarchers 5s 8d
paid for my boott hyre at Syndry tymes for
Shippyng the said Fardells 7d
Sum 44s 6d

Sold to **John Cleflond** 12 Aprell 1532

Item 1 yard and a half of black velvet at 8s 4d at
10s the yerde 15s

Delyvered to my mastrys 15 Aprell 1532 by my
masters comandement 1 yard of black velvet which
came from the Cold marte holden in Barrow 1531

Bought of **William Style** 19 Aprell 1532

Item 11 whites at £3 6s 8d Sum	£36 13 4d
Item 1 white at £6 13s 4d pece	£7 13s 4d
Total sum	£44 6s 8d
paid 16 May 1532	£41
net	£3 6s 8d

Bought of **John Dolman** 24 Apryll 1532

Item 10 whyttes at £30 at £30 the pack Sum £30
paid the same day Sum £30

Sold to **Watter Stanyng** 3 May 1532

Item 5 blockes of Cornys tyn weight all 16C q^u 3^u
at 38s 5d the C Sum £31 5s 5d
Item in Redy mony Sum 41s 3d
Total sum £33 6s 8d
To pay the Fyrst day of May 1533

Memorandum that there ys spent in canvas which
was for sydes & heddies at the Passe mart holden in
Barrow 1532 26 elles 26 elles

The Shyppinyg by the grace of God To the
Synckson mart holden in Andwarpe 1532

A Fardell no 1 in the *Mare John* of London master
John Rutte

Item 30 whyttes no 1 of John Vawgham
Item 2 whyttes no 2 of **John Dolmans**
Item 6 peeces penestones of Granthams
Item 7 peeces cottons of Rychard Bromssworthe

A Fardell no 2 in the *Yolde An* of London master
Robert Master

Item 32 whyttes no 3 of **John Cleflonds** fynest
Item 6 penestones of John Granthams
Item 7 peeces cottons of Rychard Bromssworthe

A Fardell no 3 in the *Mare John* of London master
John Rutte

Item 15 whyttes no 4 of **John Kents** fyne
Itwm 10 whyttes no 5 of **T[homas] Palmers** owne
Item 7 whyttes no 5 of **T[homas] Palmers** of ye
fyne makyn
Item 6 penestones of John Granthams
Item 7 peeces cottons of Rychard Bromssworthe

A Fardell no 4 in the *Madelin* of Darford master
John Goodwyn

Item 15 whyttes no 4 of **John Kents** cowsrse
Item 8 whyttes no 2 of **John Dolmans**
Item 7 whyttes no 3 of **John Cleflod** fyne
Item 2 whyttes no 6 of **Wyllyam Styles**
Item 6 penestones of John Granthams
Item 7 peeces cottons of Richard Bromssworthe

A Fardell no 5 in the *Madelin* of Darford master
John Goodwyn

Item 23 long whyttes no 7 of Wyllyam Phyllips &
Richard Lanford
Item 1 whyte of no 6 of **Wyllyam Styles**
Item 1 pece of karsse of T Harford mercer
Item 7 peeces cottons of Rychard Bromssworthe

A Fardell no 6 in the *Yolde An* of London master
Robart Master

Item 30 whyttes no 8 of Roger Tanners
Item 2 whyttes no 6 of **Wyllyam Style**
Item 7 peeces cottons of Richard Bromssworthe

A Fardell no 7 in the *John of Baptist* of London
master Rychard Horwode

Item 20 whyttes no 3 of **John Cleflonds** fyne
Item 10 whyttes no 3 of **John Cleflonds** cowsrse
Item 1 whyt no 6 of **Wyllyam Styles** fyne
Item 1 whyt no 6 of **Wyllyam Styles** yold makyn
1 pece of plonket karsse of T Harfords
Item 6 penestones of John Granthams
Item 6 peeces cottons of Richard Bromssworthe

A Trusse no 8 in the *John of Paptyste* of London
master Rychard Harwod

Item 10 whytes no 6 of **Wyllyam Styles**
Item 1 whyt of Thomas Harford mercer
Item q 3 peeces cottons of Rychard Bromssworthe

Memorandum that there ys shyped to thes Synckson
mart 1 packyng shet where in ys bond 1 fyne whyt
of **Wyllyam Styles**

Total sum of All Thys shyppinyg To thys Synckson
mart holden in Andwarpe 1532

£727 16s 10d

Costes of Clothes shipped To the Synckson mart holden in Andwarpe 1532

paid for bendyng 7 Fardells at 12d the Fardell 7s	
paid for the Carrage of 7 Fardells & A trusse to the watersyde	3s 11d
paid for portrage, cranage & lyghtrage of 7 Fardells & A trusse	7s 10d
paid & geven to the sarchers	2s 8d
paid for 4 cockets owt of the customhowse	16d
paid for my bot here at syndere tymes for to se the Fardells be stoyed	4d
for my met & dryneck thys shypyn	6d
Sum	23s 7d

Bought of **William Style** 16 May 1532

Item 5 whites at £3 6s 8d at £3 6s 8d	Sum £16 13s 4d
paid 20 May 1532	£16 13s 4d

Bought of **Thomas Palmer** of Bathe 16 May 1532

Item 10 whites of his awn makyng at £30 at £30	
Sum	£30
Item more of hym 5 whites of 2 makyng at £3 5s the peces	£16 5s
Item more 1 white at £3 6s 8d pece	£3 6s 8d
Item more 1 fyn whit at £3 16s 8d	£3 16s 8d
Total sum	£53 8s 4d
paid 16 May 1532	£53 8s 4d

Bought of **John Kent** of Bathe 16 May 1532

Item 15 whites at £32 at £32	Sum £48
Item 15 whites at £28 at £28 the packe	Sum £42
Sum	£90
paid the same day	£90

Bought of **John Clevelode** 16 May 1532

Item 60 whites at £30 the packe at £30	Sum £180
Item 1 packe of hys Cowrs sorte at £26 13s 4d	£26 13s 4d
Sum	£206 13d 4d
paid the same day	£206 13s 4d

Delyveryd to **John Clevelod** 18 May

Item 3 peces of tapstre qt 42½ 45 50 yards	Sum 137
steckes & A half at 4s	Sum £27 8s
[Steck or stick = Flemish ell]	
Item 4 elles Barras canvas	
Item 1 half busthyst	

Memorandum that I have grantydy Master Hongrffords chapyllon for 3 peces for £24 all

Resaved 3 peces of of tapstre by the handes of **John Cleflond** 2 September 1532

Sold to **John Cleflond** 10 June 1532

Item 1 pece of Barowe Canvas qt 30 elles at 4d the yelle	Sum 10s
Resaved for quyt	

Bought of **John Cleflond** 10 June 1532

Item 29 whites fyne at £30 the packe	
Resaved 15 June 40 whyttes of John Clefoldes fyne. 5 of hys cowrsseste makyng.	
Resaved 5 August 20 whittes of hys best makyng. 16 whittes of hys Second makyng. 4 whittes of hys coursed makyng	
Resaved the 2 daye of September 1532 30 of hys best makyng. 3 of hys Second. 1 of hys course.	
Resaved 28 September 27 fyne. Of the second 3.	
Resaved 21 October [15]32 32 fyne. 6 of hys Seconds.	
Resaved 8 November 20 fyne. 4 of second sort.	
Sum of alle [blank]	

Resaved 9 November 1532 by horse 5 fyne whites & 1 of his second. Total sum

in silver [blank]

Resaved 28 September 27 fyne. Of the second 3.

Resaved 21 October [15]32 32 fyne. 6 of hys Seconds.

Bought of **Thomas Palmer** 19 July 1532

Item 10 whyttes at £29 at £29	Sum £29
paid 19 July 1532	£29
Resaved 10 September 1532 10 whites	

Bought of **John Kent** of Bathe 15 July 1532

Item 19 whyttes of hys best makyng at £32	
Item 18 of hys cowrsse clothes at £28	
Resaved 6 August 2 cowrsse. 1 fyne	
Resaved 4 October 25 fyne & 15 cowrsse	
Resaved 10 November 25 fyne & 5 cowrsse	
Total sum	£304

Bought of **John Dolman** 20 July 1532

Item 4 whites at £3 the peces at £3.	Sum £12
paid the same day	Sum £12
Item more 7 whites at £3	Sum £21
Item 1 fyne whitt qt 29½ yardes at £4 6s 8d	
Item more 16 November 2 whytes at £3 the pec	
Sum	£6
Total sum	£43 6s 8d

Sold to **John Cleflond** 6 August 1532

Item 1 tonne of Syvyll yole at £15 at £14 Flemish	Sum £14
Resaved 5 December 1532	£14

Memorandum that I Nycholas Lone hayth paid unto the Pymmels for recompens of 3 fawtye clothes of **John Clevelodes** sold unto them in the Synxson marte 1532, 11s Flemish, and for recompens of a clothe whiche I toke a gayne of them whiche was full of brackes & holles wherein was lost in the Sayle of yt 12s Flemish

Sum 22s Flemish
Sum 22s Flemish

Sold to **John Clyfflod** 28 September 1532
Item 2 half ballis wode weight 3C 1qⁱⁱ 12ⁱⁱ at 14s
[the C] 47s
Resaved for quyt