

THE MEDIEVAL WILLS OF BRISTOL

with special reference to those of the Merchants.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

B.R.S.	Bristol Record Society.
C.C.R.	Calendar of Close Rolls.
C.P.R.	Calendar of Patent Rolls.
Ec.H.R.	Economic History Review.
L.R.B.	The Little Red Book of Bristol.
G.O.B.	Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills.
G.R.B.	Great Red Book of Bristol.
P.C.C.	Prerogative Court of Canterbury.
T.B.G.A.S.	Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society.

MEDIEVAL CHURCHES

1. All Saints' or the
Halmidean

2. St. Swithun's

3. St. Werburgh's

4. St. Trinity or
Church Church

5. St. Mary's port

6. St. Peter's

7. St. John's & Gate

8. St. Giles' & Gate

9. St. Leonard & Gate

10. St. Thomas'

11. St. Lawrence

12. St. Stephen's

13. St. Michael's

14. St. Augmentation's

15. St. Philip's

16. St. James' (Name of Trinity St.)

17. St. Brenden

18. St. John's Eu. (Knoppey)

19. St. Mary's on the Bridge

20. Holy Ghosts

21. St. Martin in the East

22. St. George's (now

23. St. Clement's

24. St. John's (now)

25. St. John's

26. St. Martin's

27. St. James' Baritone

28. Priors' Palace

29. Lane

30. Priory

31. -

32. -

33. -

34. St. Katharine's (Wurw)

CHURCHES

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3. St. Mary's

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5. St. John's Eu. (Knoppey)

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INTRODUCTION,

The purpose of this work is two-fold. First, it makes available hitherto unpublished material relating to over four hundred persons who inhabited Bristol between 1360 and 1500; secondly, it evaluates the main source material which consists of wills proved at Bristol and Canterbury. This evaluation involves both a general assessment of the use of wills as an historical source, and a specific examination of those relating to the inhabitants of Bristol. It is hoped that this research will be useful not only to subsequent work on Bristol and the surrounding rural areas, but also in the wider context of the study of medieval towns and ports.

Special emphasis is placed upon those Bristol inhabitants, about one hundred in all, who called themselves "merchants". However, not all such men can be proved beyond doubt to have been merchants, for they merely designated themselves as such either in their wills, or, as in a few cases, in licences to trade or in permits to travel abroad. Nor is there any indication as to what these men meant by the term "merchant". The wills give no proof that someone who called himself a merchant was engaged in wholesale foreign trade, in supplying home markets, or in retail trade. The term is never defined, and so it is impossible to ascertain whether these hundred or so "merchants" represented any one particular mercantile interest. However, these merchants did describe themselves as such, and none of their contemporaries saw fit to cancell the term in the wills.

An obvious corollary to this problem of defining the term "merchant" is whether there are many testators who were engaged in trade, but who did not call themselves "merchants" in their wills. Supplementary evidence points to the existence of only a small number of these cases, and they have been included in the merchants biographies. However, they may well have been men primarily engaged in industry, in real property development, or in a profession, and their role as merchants may have been temporary.

No study of a "merchant class" can be made on the basis of these biographies because of the problems involved in defining the term "merchant". Only a contemporary definition would be sufficient to classify these people, and then there is not enough consistent information about their trade, their ports of call, the goods they carried, or the ships they used. To give a satisfactory account of the merchant class of Bristol you would not only need material on trades and crafts comparable to that which exists for London, but also ten times as many wills. Sylvia Thrupp's work on the merchant class of medieval London is unique and will always remain so because of the vast amount of material available for London.

What, then can be learned from the Bristol wills? First, they provide valuable studies of individual townsmen. The wills tell us about a merchant's family connections, his friends and trading partners, his investments, and his living standards. One can also often discern a testator's attitudes to his family, to the Church, and to death. In fact, it is possible to build up a composite

picture of a section of Bristol society at a particular time.

However, it is a picture which cannot be proved conclusively nor expressed statistically. The answers to particular social questions can be suggested rather than stated categorically. Even this is valuable, however, as so little is known about medieval society in Bristol. In the absence of evidence which is statistically viable indications and suggestions are the only recourse.

Secondly, the biographies can be used with other contemporary material to help answer specific questions. The best example of this is to be seen in the use of Ricart's list of mayors, sheriffs, and bailiffs, in conjunction with the biographies, which helped to show that the town officers were merchants rather than men from other trades.¹ Having established this correlation, specific questions could be attempted, such as whether there was a merchant oligarchy, and if there was, whether it widened or became more elite during the fifteenth century. Bridbury, in his "Economic Growth" proposed that there were probably more newly established families entering the governing classes in towns in the fifteenth centuries.² He used material from York, Norwich, Colchester, Leicester, King's Lynn, Exeter, and London from which he drew the conclusion that after 1348 the registers of Burgesses were very much enlarged, which fact would imply a widening of the towns' oligarchies. There are no registers for Bristol, but the town officers listed by Ricart were all Burgesses. By using this list together with the biographies it appears that the officers of the late fifteenth century represented

a much larger group than those of the first two decades. Furthermore they had fewer connections with other officers, and had comparatively little social contact with each other. This development appears to be in agreement with Bridbury's conclusions on the Burgesses' registers.

The sources of wealth of the merchants and townspeople have already been accounted for as far as possible. Carus Wilson, in her work on the overseas trade of Bristol, has described the trading activities of a number of its merchants; and James Sherborne has given a fuller account of the diversity of Bristol trade, together with the economic history of the port.³ The wills can only give fragmentary additions to these studies. A small number of biographies illustrate particular trading ventures, but nothing sufficient to build up a satisfactory account to augment the works of Carus Wilson or Sherborne. One of the chief difficulties lies in the identification of a man named in a trading licence or agreement with the man on whom some information is already established and who bears the same name. There are many cases when identification cannot be made certain, so much of the information has to be discounted.

Similarly, there is little evidence about the industrial sources of wealth of Bristol inhabitants. In fact, there are fewer links with industry in the wills and other biographical material than there are with trade, and certainly there are not sufficient to allow any examination of Bristol's industry at the time. The only comment that can be made on the subject is that Bristol Crafts appear

to be very much subservient to the town government. The evidence for this statement is to be seen in Appendix I.

However, if the sources of wealth for the Bristol people cannot be ascertained in detail from the wills, the uses of that wealth can be traced with some certainty. There are a number of questions which can be answered. How did those men, supposedly merchants, spend their profits? What were their attitudes to expenditure? Was it mainly for investment, long or short term, for social prestige, or for pleasure? What were the chief ways in which they invested their money: in town houses, land, ships, or valuables? Were these merchants ever consumers, buying goods not specifically to sell at a later date for profit, but to enjoy, even with rapid depreciation? Were they charitable, and if so what institutions did they favour most? Did they have enough civic pride to donate sums of money to improvements of amenities? These are the questions which can be answered by the wills. They are rarely mentioned in other works on Bristol, except when a very wealthy man left tangible evidence of his charity or investment, in churches, houses, and effigies which are still standing to-day. The wills can give much more information than can such exceptions, they provide details on over five hundred men, over one hundred of whom were called merchants. The evidence is in countless small details which, put together, give a composite social picture.

To a certain extent wills also reflect the social attitudes of a medieval town. They are full of personal preoccupations concerning the behaviour of the testator's widow, the provision for

orphans, the conduct of the testator's funeral, gifts to the poor, and even his worries over the town's drainage and roads. It is interesting to note that the wills of the late fifteenth century indicate that testators gave less money to religious institutions, and spent more money on household comfort. Also on the question of religion, it appears that most testators, even if comparatively poor, left money to the four Orders of Friars, whereas donations to Bristol's monastic House were few.

For the purpose of this work, those testators called merchants have been studied as a group, and these particular questions applied to them. But they include only less than a quarter of the total wills and biographies. The rest of the material was used to help answer queries about the size of families, and more especially, to provide a yardstick for the questions posed regarding the merchants. A great deal of controversy has raged over medieval population, due to the lack of reliable or continuous sources; a situation hardly clarified by the work of J.C. Russell.⁴ The problem manifests itself in the biographical material for Bristol. There are obvious difficulties: Did the testators omit some of the children? Had some children received their portion before the making of the wills, say on gaining their majority? How many children had died before the date of the will? Some of these objections are met, however, as has been shown in the preamble to the second Appendix. But there are reservations about the real statistical value of using wills for population figures. The material provides suggestions rather than

proof. However, there are some questions which can be attempted: Was there any increase in Bristol's population in the fifteenth century? What was the average size of the family? How many families had more than four children? Were there many childless couples, bachelors, and spinsters among the testators?

As regards the use of the wills as a yardstick, this is invaluable for the study of the merchant testators. In the question concerning the merchant oligarchy, figures for the estates of the total testators give contrast and meaning to those for the merchants. This can be seen at a glance in tabulated form at the end of Chapter IV, in which the average figures for all the testators are compared with those for the twenty six merchant mayors between 1380 and 1500. Such comparisons are essential if the merchants' estates are not to appear meaningless, and, in fact, they raise the question as to whether the merchants were wealthier, on average, than those men whose occupations are unknown.

These are the questions for which wills and auxiliary sources can suggest answers. Like the majority of medieval material they cannot give direct proof, or meaningful statistics. At best they provide fragments - glimpses of the total picture; but to see part of the scene is always better than none at all.

Apart from asking these questions about the Bristol inhabitants, the purpose of the thesis is to give guidance on the use of wills as a source. First of all, where to find them? There is no complete central collection; the nearest one gets to this is the collections

of wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, in Somerset House. Even these wills are not complete and continuous research is being made into those wills not yet catalogued nor made available, some of which are thought to be originals. However, for anyone wishing to get some idea of the form and content of late medieval wills the Somerset House collection is quite large enough. The catalogue has an index for easy reference, many of the volumes are on the open shelves, each named after the testator of the first will. The names of the volumes used in this work can be found at the beginning of Appendix III. As yet there are no wills dated before the 1370s. Wills are also found in the records of each bishopric, and, as at Bristol, some are in municipal archives. The vast majority of wills are copies, the originals being lost or destroyed. These copies were made either at the time the will was written, or when the ecclesiastical or municipal court granted probate. It is because these courts preserved their records that there are still so many copies available.

As regards the text of the wills there are difficulties which should be mentioned. Those for Bristol do not appear to be in any way different from those for any other area, so difficulties encountered in reading them will be useful to the study of wills in general. The majority are written in a hurried cursive hand, and abbreviations are irregular. Moreover some wills are faded, which again hinders precise translation. Most wills are in Medieval Latin with odd English and French terms being used wherever the clerk could not

think of a convenient translation. Sentence construction does not follow classical rules and the positioning of the verb is often erratic; some wills are written in note form. From the last two decades of the fifteenth century there are many more wills in English, or more precisely a mixture of Latin abbreviations and English. The Bristol wills collected in this work contain some words which were either difficult to read because of markings, or simply too cursive to transcribe precisely. These have been given in transcription only, with any approximate translation in brackets.

The spelling of proper names can also give rise to some confusion. A clerk often spelt the same name in several ways in the same will. In such cases the first mention of the name has been accepted as the correct version in the Bristol wills, with any diversion from this qualified by "(sic)" beside the transcription. There are similar difficulties concerning place-names. Rarely are these located in the Counties by the testators, and so for the most part place-names have to be left in their original spelling. It is most unsatisfactory to use works such as that of Ekwall to determine the modern site and spelling of these places.⁵ A village could be spelt in several different ways in one will and it may only be feasible to give the modern name if an amalgam is made of the various spellings. In the same way the names of types of cloth mentioned by testators have had to be left in transcription, except where there is a commonly accepted translation.

Two particular points on translation arose out of this work on

Bristol wills. Those kept in the Bristol archives were translated by T.P. Wadley in 1886 in the Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archeological Society. As is discussed below these translations are not in full, but two terms used by Wadley have not been adopted in this thesis. These concern two common terms; - "toga", and "Dom". The translation of "toga" has been taken as "gown" by Wadley, but for the wills in this work "robe" has been adopted. This is a more accurate word to describe the garment, and is in clearer contrast to tunic or under-gown. The "toga" was worn by both men and women, and was usually of some value often being embroidered and lined with fur. The second divergence from Wadley's translation occurs in the word "Dom",, as a form of address to the clergy. Wadley used "Sir" which obviously caused confusion with knights, especially when the name was not followed by any description such as "vicar" or "chaplain". Anyone now counting the number of bequests to men appearing to have the title of "Sir" in Wadley's translations, may get the impression that Bristol testators had very many contacts with the knightly class. This is a gross exaggeration caused by the inadequate translation of "Dom". The Roman Catholic term of address to the clergy of "Father" is far more accurate, but because this in turn could cause errors over a testator's real father the term "Dom" has been kept in the translation of these wills in Somerset House.

Some other awkward words occur in the description of servants in wills. Some distinction has to be made between "serviens", "famulus" or "familiaris" as it is often spelt, and "ancilla". These

three terms have been translated as "servant", "household servant", and "maid" respectively. The only one of these which may be unsatisfactory is "household servant", so whenever "famulus" or "familiaris" are used the Latin terms are provided in brackets at the side of the translation. For it is possible that in some cases "household servant" is not an accurate description of the status of the particular person referred to. The person could be a merchant's agent, a man of comparatively high prestige in the household, or even the respected family nurse.

The lay-out of each will follows a generally accepted form. It begins with date when written, the name of the testator with his occupation or title if stated, and his wishes concerning his place of burial. The next section usually contains money bequests or dues to churches, chaplains etc. The major bequests are then described and apportioned. If land or real property of any type is included in these, the testator usually stated who was to inherit if the beneficiary died without immediate heirs. Sometimes five or six names are given in the instance of the failure of such heirs. In some cases the testator could not name any more ultimate beneficiaries for his property and so he would provide that in the event of all his heirs and relations dying without heirs of their own, the Church should inherit. The format of the ending of a will is uniform. The testator names his executor or executrix, with sometimes the appointment of a supervisor, for the administration of the will. The testator's seal is set to the document, with sometimes the date once

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more, together with the names of those who witnessed the sealing. The details of the probate of the will is then given, including, in the majority of cases, the date when probate was granted, and the person to whom the administration of the will had been entrusted, usually the named executor.

The importance and value of wills as sources depends upon other material available for any particular area. For Bristol they are of value because of the paucity of any other sources for the social history of the town. There are no private letters or accounts of individual merchants, and only one guild account book.⁶ The municipal records preserved in the Little Red Book and Great Red Book of Bristol shed little light on personalities or individual careers. Certain names can be traced in the list of councillors or craftholders over a period of time, but that is all. Ricart's "Kalendar" of names and dates of town officials is a little more useful.⁷ Although his dates need to be checked against the information provided by Latimer's work, Ricart gives such a comprehensive list that the political career of any officer can be easily traced. However, this is the extent of the information Ricart can provide on the inhabitants of his town.

It is only in conjunction with the wills that all other sources can make any worthwhile contribution. It is unfortunate that when there was considerable interest in publishing medieval wills the two chief enquiries centred on local genealogy and church history, perhaps because many antiquarians were vicars financed by the local

ruling family. Certainly the Rev. T.P. Wadley's collection of some Bristol wills omits cash bequests, many gifts of merchandise, jewellery, armour, silver, and furnishings.⁸ On the other hand he gives full details on names of beneficiaries and their relations, and on the clergy: their full names, titles, and where they served. Therefore Wadley's collection, the only published work on Bristol medieval wills, does not give the best nor fullest impression of what can be gained from such material.

In fact, when transcribed in detail, wills have just as much interest for the general historian as for the genealogist or antiquary. Primarily a will gives the name of an inhabitant of a certain town or county to which two dates can be attached; that of the making of the will, and for the probate granted to its executors. This is most important when dealing with local records which, unlike central government records, rarely provide accurate dating. As Latimer has shown in his work on Bristol deeds, even Ricart could make large numbers of mistakes in his dates.⁹ Ordinances of the Little Red Book, although recording long lists of councillors, do not always give accurate dating, and some of them can only be dated within a century.¹⁰

In most cases the writing of a will precedes the grant of probate by a few months, or in the case of a death-bed or nuncupative will, by only a few days. In Bristol a testator had to be fourteen years of age before his will became effective. So each will refers to an individual of at least fourteen years, whose death occurred some time between the writing and the probate dates. There are over four

hundred names and dates supplied from the Bristol collection alone. With such a number of dated names it is possible to trace family connections. For Bristol there is some difficulty in this due to the fact the wills of husband and wife are often divided between the collections in Somerset House and the Bristol archives. Only those of Agnes and Edward Kyte, who died within months of each other, are to be found together. However, the dates of the wills and the fact that most women testators described themselves as the widows or wives of certain men, enables family wills to be collected and analysed. In the same way one can trace the wills of children mentioned by a testator. So not only does one have a collection of names with dates, but also a considerable number of family groups. In Bristol marriage was important in making and ensuring trade connections; wealthy women, widows and daughters of prominent merchants often married several times.

About one third of the testators supply the name of their occupation. There appears to have been no regulation by which a man was obliged to state his occupation; it was probably personal preference to include it. However, even the small number of these designated testators can be grouped, and so add to the knowledge on Bristol's inhabitants. The majority are those of merchants, and it is these wills which show that the mayors listed in Ricart's "Kalendar" were most probably merchants. Although Ricart's list is a document peculiar to Bristol, this kind of classification from wills could be used for other towns in conjunction with innumerable local

records such as company or guild registers, or court rolls. Furthermore, unlike other records which are often confined to a short period of time, collections of wills span centuries. Those in Somerset House alone represent a vast source of information for several towns and counties from the fifteenth century onwards. The sample obtained for men of a certain occupation will be small, but well worth looking at. However, as has been mentioned above, class studies cannot be based on wills. For such purposes one would need thousands of wills spread over a short space of time for a particular town or county.

If wills cannot provide statistics, they can prevent exaggerations or misrepresentations arising from studies of a town's exceptional men. The house of a wealthy merchant or clothier may still be standing, his effigy in the local church is the most ornate, he figures frequently in town records or impresses contemporary chroniclers. Yet another man, equally important in his day may only leave his will. He may have spent his fortune in unrecorded transactions, such as acquiring land outside the town, in foreign trade, shipping, banking, or on his family. The Canynges dominate the history of late medieval Bristol, but they were only one of a number of equally impressive merchant families. However, the fact that the Canynges chose to rebuild and decorate St. Mary Redcliffe church has gained them a reputation far above the others. But John Vyell had just as many ships as William Canynges, junior. Men like Elias Spelly and John Estrefield, or merchant families such as the Rowleys and the Chesters probably had as much success as the Canynges. But without the wills it could

appear that Bristol merchants were completely dominated by men such as the Canynges, and two or three other exceptional men. Professor Carus-Wilson based her comments on "The Merchant" in the volume "Medieval Merchant Adventurers" on a very small number of merchants, whereas there is material on a hundred and twenty five, ninety of whom are designated testators. Although the use of information on a small number of exceptional merchants need not necessarily misrepresent, it does not give a full a picture as possible. Professor Carus-Wilson did state that investment in real property was undertaken by Bristol merchants and gave the names of at least four who did so. But if the estates of all the merchant wills still extant are analysed the developments in this type of investment can be traced in detail.

Investment is, in fact, one of the major topics upon which wills can provide material about a townspeople. In Bristol's case, real property, not ships or merchandise, form the major part of this investment. Tenements, shops, messuages, vacant plots, and real property are included. In many wills the exact size and site of each building is described. This is especially the case when a testator bequeaths a number of houses or shops to several beneficiaries. To avoid confusion and rival claims such testators give a full description to each bequest. From the four hundred or so Bristol wills it is possible to discover some common factors, such as the virtual disappearance of investment in shops by the middle of the fifteenth century. One can also discover whether lands or real property in

the countryside was bought. Wills can also denote the areas in which such property was purchased, from which one can map regional distribution. If there are enough wills one can make comparisons in real property for each decade or half century. Also if there are sufficient designated wills property comparisons can be taken for men of differing trades or classes. In addition wills furnish material for any changes in investment in a certain type of property, such as tenements, and they also shed light on the meaning of terms like "tenement" or "messuage". After some bequests there occur phrases such as ".....in which I live", implying the existence of a building on the piece of land described. Concentration of the ownership of shops in a certain street by one or two men is also illustrated. If shops left by various testators are described so that they can be located, say in one particular street, and the length of the street is known, one can arrive at some conclusions about the density of commercial establishments. From this one can discover real property concentrations and trace the men who controlled them at a particular time.

It is not only real property which can be studied in wills; they also contain descriptions of valuables - plate, silver, furs, jewellery. In fact, silver and gilt plate ranks second in importance to investment in real property, and obviously testators are proud of these belongings, giving lengthy descriptions of ornate chalices, covered cups and mazers. Sometimes valuations of their plate are given by testators, but it is not for this purpose that such

information proves useful. Very little plate owned by ordinary citizens of a medieval town still remains. It is the gifts to their churches, guilds, and companies which usually survive, and little is known of household plate. To a certain extent wills can fill this gap. But this is not only interesting to the antiquarian or jeweller but also to the historian. Plate and jewellery were part of a man's estate and the amount and nature of the plate bequeathed helps to assess a man's total resources. As has been said, values are given only in a few cases, so one cannot systematically price the valuables of a certain testator, but used in conjunction with the amount of cash and real property, a tentative assessment can be made of a man's estate.

A certain amount of jewellery is mentioned in wills, usually in those of women. Gold signet rings, coral beads and amethysts are the most common, with sometimes a bequest of a circlet of pearls. One or two religious cameos and pendants feature in the Bristol wills. This information could prove fruitful to anyone studying medieval jewellery who, with all the collections of fourteenth and fifteenth century copies, would find wills an invaluable source.

Bequests of furniture and furnishings help to judge the general standard of living of the testators, as well as changes in styles of artefacts. Bequests range from one flock bed to an inventory of expensive items. At the beginning of the fifteenth century wealthier testators left mostly plate and valuables, but by the last decade comfort was equally important. Tapestries, bed hangings, bench

seats, and cushions are more frequently mentioned at the end of the century. There appears no similar change in bequests of dress amongst the Bristol testators, but different styles and types of material can be traced. Dress was a significant gauge of social rank and as such gives some additional material on the standing of a certain testator.

Most wills were made a few months or weeks before death, so it is not surprising that 99% of the wills make bequests to religious institutions. For those interested in the ecclesiastical history of a town or county wills can offer a surprising amount of material. This is a source which is not often regarded as of any great significance in church history. But wills can often give the date of chapels, particular altars, or transepts of a church. Most testators give very detailed instructions as to where they are to be buried. Such phrases as "....next to my wife on the south side of St. Mary's altar in the chapel of the same" are not uncommon. As the will is dated the place of the proposed burial can be said to be in existence at that specific time. In this way wills can verify any questionable date of certain parts of a church.

For the social historian wills give him the names of vicars, priests, and chaplains who served at a particular church or chapel. If the movement of the clergy is being studied for a certain area, wills help to date the term of a priest's residence. Of course, there are also a number of wills of clergy themselves to help such studies.

The mention of bequests to churches in rural areas can suggest a testator's origin. Often relatives in the same parish are beneficiaries, which would suggest that the testator is a recent immigrant to the town or county in which he was living when he made his will.

Gifts to the Church at the time of making a will could be attributed to a testator's fear for his soul at the eleventh hour. But no such motive could have influenced bequests for improving facilities for the town or county. Money for the building and repair of bridges, streets, roads, and water conduits both in and out of town is set aside in many Bristol wills. It is interesting to note that such gifts do not occur with such frequency in wills of non-urban testators. Perhaps town dwellers travelled more and were sensitive to the needs of the community. The same men left money to the poor and sick. Wealthy citizens, in fear of damnation, probably made a greater contribution in this way than did the Church. In some cases more money is left to hospitals, the poor, imprisoned debtors, or street beggars than to religious institutions. In this aspect alone a comparison of the wills of urban and rural testators would give interesting results.

As mentioned above, testators often reveal social customs in the provisions laid down in their wills. It appears that women remarried frequently, especially if they were heiresses or wealthy widows. Through wills it is possible to trace the husbands of a particular wife. Although she may describe herself as the wife or

widow of her late husband, she frequently left money for Masses for previous husbands whom she names. The same can be traced for men, but it is very rare that the wills of all their wives are extant. Although remarriage was very common the idea of their widow re-marrying is obviously painful to some men about to die. A number of wills contain a clause by which the wife would lose all money and possessions inherited from her husband if she either took a lover or re-married. In extreme cases, when the widow might inherit a large estate, the testator empowered the officers of the town or county to seize possession if his wife was unfaithful to his memory. Likewise the social customs surrounding a funeral were many, and a number of testators give lengthy details of the proceedings. Again the poor nearly always benefitted from these customs, receiving food and drink, and sometimes clothing and shoes.

Children are mentioned by name in most wills, but there is no way of checking that the testators include all their children as beneficiaries, or whether the elder sons received their portion on gaining their majority. For statistical purposes, therefore, the wills are not an accurate source - a problem discussed above. However, in the absence of any information on population, the wills for Bristol at least afford some useful indications. Material on infant mortality also comes to light. Prayers for dead children are paid for in advance, and requests to be buried at the side of one's children occur. If a large selection of wills was taken from many areas over a short period of time they could give some statistics

for population growth with particular reference to child mortality.

Migration can also be traced from wills, for countless names are supplied which often indicate the bearer's origin.

This introduction has attempted to outline what can be gained from wills and to provide a rough guide to the value of such information. However, as with all kinds of sources there are several disadvantages in using them. Primarily, it is important to remember that only when the sample of wills runs into several hundreds covering a short period can the results claim to be anything more than indicative. This is rarely possible for a specific area or town. For the country as a whole or a large region the results would be more conclusive. Another disadvantage is the fact that a will is an assessment of a person's estate at a specific time in his life. At one time he may have been considerably richer or poorer than he was at his death. The example of a Bristol testator, William Canynges junior, illustrates this problem. He was known to have a dozen or so ships by his contemporary, William of Worcester, and yet not one of these is mentioned in his will. Indeed very few Bristol wills state bequests of ships.¹¹

It must also be born in mind that wills are made by the wealthier section of a community. The poor had no reason to make a will. The testators, therefore, are from the wealthier classes, and the wills can give very little information about the poorer men of a particular region. So although the wills may reflect a degree of affluence at a given time, this can only be true of a small section of the community.

Obviously one must not make the mistake of basing general comments about an area upon the material in wills.

This chapter has tried to provide an introduction to the subject of wills as a source. It has outlined the availability, the content, and the value of wills together with some general and specific questions for which they can be used to give partial if not completely satisfying answers. It is to these answers to which the rest of this work is directed. As already explained the collections for Bristol prescribe the type of questions that can be asked, but a number of major topics can be discussed: - the relationship between the merchants in Bristol and the government of the town; whether those merchants involved in town office formed an oligarchy; merchant investment and estates and whether the merchants were ever consumers as opposed to investors; the type of information to be gained from wills concerning the size of the family, and if there was any indication in Bristol wills of an increase in the population, excluding immigration.

FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. Ricart, R. "The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar," edit. Toulmin-Smith, L.
2. Bridbury, A.R. "Economic Growth - England in the Later Middle Ages".
3. Wilson, E.M. Carus "Medieval Merchant Venturers". Sherborne, J.
"The Port of Bristol in the Middle Ages."
4. Russell, J.C. "British Medieval Population".
5. Ekwall, B.O.E. "The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names".
6. The account book appears at the end of "Some Account of the Guild of Weavers in Bristol: chiefly from MSS". edit. Fox, F. and Taylor, J.
7. Ricart. op. cit.
8. An indication as to what Wadley included in his abstracts is to be found in his introduction,

"In making these abstracts, care was taken to give the names of all the persons mentioned in each will, adhering to the original spelling of their surnames, and setting down full particulars of the bequests in every case of real property. And for the satisfaction of other antiquarians, beside the genealogist, it was deemed advisable to note all the places, streets, lanes, and ships of which the testator makes mention".

Wadley, T.P. "Notes on the Wills in the Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills in the Council at Bristol".

9. Latimer, J. "The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar; its list of civic officers collated with contemporary legal MSS". T.B.G.A.S. vol. XXVI. 1903.
10. The Little Red Book of Bristol. edit. Bickley, F.B.
11. "Antiquities of Bristow in the middle centuries: including the Topography of William Wyrcestre and the life of Canynges". edit. Dallaway, J.

CHAPTER I

THE MERCHANTS AND THE CONTROL OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

One of the major questions mentioned in the introduction was whether the town officers were merchants, and if they were, whether they formed an oligarchy. Before answering these questions one should ascertain whether there were any qualifications for office, possibly biased in favour of merchants. One way to control access to town government appointments was through the franchise. If only enfranchised burgesses were to qualify then the terms under which they became burgesses were very important. By controlling the franchise qualification the town government could stipulate the kind of men they required, or more especially, the particular class or trade which they favoured.

In Bristol the first necessity for obtaining the franchise was to be of free condition. This meant personal freedom, and marriage to a burgess's widow or daughter did not automatically confer the freedom to one born unfree. However, if a man could prove his personal freedom, he then had to procure two Bristol burgesses to testify to his condition and character before the mayor. Standing for the surety of such a man was not to be taken lightly. If subsequently he was proved servile or criminal, each burgess thus testifying was liable to a ten shilling fine. Similar penalties were exacted from any burgess who was a master craftsman, for testifying falsely for his apprentice or servant.¹

These regulations of 1344 gave considerable power both to the mayor's court, and to the master craftsmen. Here one can detect the outline of three classes of citizens in Bristol - those in control of municipal government; the master craftsmen; and the employed workmen. The latter were dependent on the masters for gaining the legal status of a burgess, and the masters were equally dependent on the governing group for authorising their decisions concerning their apprentices and employees.

Between 1366 and 1367 additional rules were made concerning the franchise. The first of these clearly indicates the merchants' aim to control the town government through a favourably limited franchise. It stipulated that no one was to be received as a burgess unless he was a merchant known to be of good report and honest "conversation". On being received by the mayor's court the merchant was to pay the large redemption of ten pounds or more. If this ruling was carried out the franchise would not only have been limited to the merchants but to the wealthier ones. The oligarchic "rule of the twelve" of the 1314 - 1316 troubles may have been officially reduced by the establishment of a Common Council of forty eight members by 1349, but the aforementioned ordinance of 1366 would suppose an attempt to re-establish the power of the wealthy few.²

For the poorer merchants other arrangements were made. They were to be received as Portmen, a position of inferior status, which held fewer privileges than that of Burgess. The redemption for

becoming a Portman was at the discretion of the mayor and two stewards. Such an arrangement gave the town officers complete control over the acceptance of such traders.³ If, however, a man had not sufficient capital to become a Burgess or even Portman by redemption, then he could serve a merchant in a seven year apprenticeship. If, after this, his master was willing to testify to his good service, then he could become a Burgess with full rights in the franchise, without payment.⁴

There are no further ordinances on the franchise in the fourteenth century; the next document appears in 1445. In this year chamberlains were instituted in Bristol with the specific duty of checking prospective Burgesses. They were empowered to demand two pounds four shillings fees from any Englishman wishing to become a Burgess. Foreigners, including Welshmen, could gain the franchise of the town if they paid a five pound redemption or served a seven year apprenticeship with a Bristol merchant. So between 1366 and 1445 there had been a change in policy by the municipal government, reducing the redemption from ten pounds to just over two. More significantly, there appears no precise ruling that a prospective Burgess had to be a merchant. In fact, the wording of the ordinance indicates that by this time the franchise was open to any occupation.⁵ It is unfortunate that the gap between these two dates is so long, for without any lists of admissions to the franchise it is difficult to determine whether this development was the result of the social changes resulting from the Black Death. However, developments of this kind were common

in other cities at this time such as Lincoln, York, and Coventry. It cannot be proved that the number of Burgesses in Bristol rose in the fifteenth century as it appears to have done in other towns, but what can be said, is that there was little restriction placed on anyone who wished to take up the franchise.

By 1481 the franchise came within the means of much poorer citizens. If a man could pay one shilling and eight pence each quarter to the municipal funds, then he was admitted to the franchise. He was only to be deprived of his privilege if he failed to keep up the payments for a year and a day, and could not provide surety for the arrears nor for the future instalments. However, the system of payment by instalments must have either met with great opposition or had been proved impracticable for just over a year later, in 1482, an ordinance was passed to the effect that every Burgess had to pay six shillings and eight pence in one sum.⁶

From this it would appear that by the end of the fifteenth century the franchise had ceased to be the guarded privilege of a dominant group. Any Bristol inhabitant who had six shillings and eight pence plus four shillings and four pence fees could become a Burgess. By 1445 the inferior status of Portman or Portwoman was reserved only for those in the victualling trades. By the end of the fifteenth century the franchise excluded only very poor citizens or undesirable foreigners. It was no longer the means by which the ruling families may have sought to control the town.

If this was so, then were the town offices held by merchants or were they monopolised by another trade by the end of the fifteenth century? The material from the wills and auxiliary sources suggests that merchants still filled the more important posts. In fact, in enquiring closer it appears that these merchants could very well have formed an oligarchy. But it also appears that during the fifteenth century the closeness of the oligarchy, noticed at the beginning of the century, becomes wider, not so inbred nor so socially elite. This gives support to A.R. Bridbury's theory that in some towns the oligarchy was expanding in the second half of the century.⁷ It must be born in mind however, that a different answer could emerge if there were more wills and much more information on Bristol merchants.

The names of all Bristol mayors from 1217 to 1497 are given in Ricart's "Kalendar".⁸ Using these names with the designated wills, the Close and Patent Rolls, and a small number of miscellaneous sources, one can discover the number of mayors who were merchants. The only cause of difficulty in this occurs when a father and son of the same name held the office of mayor on different dates. It is very difficult to decide which was referred to when the dates are close together. However, these instances are few and cannot affect the bulk of the information.

For a period of just over a century thirty nine merchants, on whom there is information, were mayors of Bristol. Although this may appear a small number it must be remembered that mayors often

took office more than once. The best example of this is in the Canynges family, for the two William Canynges between them held the office of mayor eleven times.⁹ Elyas Spelly, contemporary and friend of the elder William Canynges was mayor four times between 1370 and 1390; another contemporary, Walter Derby, was elected for office twice. In fact, the thirty nine merchants accounted for represent, collectively, seventy five years of the mayoralty. So it would seem that in the period under review, 1380 to 1500, the office of mayor in Bristol was controlled by merchants for seventy five years.

Before being elected mayor it was usual for a man to have served as sheriff and/or bailiff in previous years. It is therefore possible to trace the political careers of the thirty nine merchant mayors, and to judge how far they monopolised the three offices of mayor, sheriff, and bailiff. The tables at the end of this chapter show that between 1360 and 1500 the thirty nine men were elected to office one hundred and fifty seven times. When this period is divided into groups of twenty years the ratio of the number of offices held to the number of merchants is on average only two. When a forty year group is analysed, however, the ratio of offices to merchants greatly increases to a little over three. The reason for this is that over a period of forty years a merchant could have been elected bailiff, sheriff, and mayor several times; whereas twenty year groups may exclude a merchant's two or three years as mayor when an older man or even as bailiff when younger.

Between 1360 and 1400 only six merchants accounted for eighteen years of office giving a ratio of 3:1. In the next forty years the ratio decreases, for fourteen merchants shared twenty three years of the mayoralty. Between 1440 and 1480 the ratio was 1:2.16. After 1400, therefore, there was a slightly larger merchant group controlling the office of mayor. In fact, after that date only five merchants held the office for more than three years. After 1480 only one merchant, John Esterfield, became mayor for more than one term.

If then these thirty nine merchants monopolised the mayoralty, did they at any time form an oligarchy? To determine this the social and economic background of these men has to be examined. The wills provide most of the material for this, together with information from commercial agreements found in trade licences, and from complaints concerning cases of piracy. But in the following discussion it must be born in mind that the results represent only one side of the coin. There could have been very many influential merchants in Bristol at this time whose records have been lost. So if it can be proved that those men on whom there is information did in fact form an oligarchy it is only part of the picture, the whole of which could either refute or confirm what is known.

With regard to the social background the following analysis of contacts and friends shows that the merchant mayors knew each other, and worked and married in the same circles; and this is especially so for the period 1360 to 1400. During those years one can follow the

social life of seven of the mayors - William Canynges, John Canynges, Walter Derby, John Somerwell, William Somerwell, Elyas Spelly, and John Vyell. William Canynges, who died in 1396, was mayor of Bristol six times. When holding the office of bailiff in 1362 and 1370 he did so with Walter Derby and John Vyell respectively, both merchant mayors like himself. In 1376 Canynges and Vyell were joint collectors for the wine customs; and he and Derby appear to have had a mutual acquaintance in John Woderoue, a friend of Canynges' father-in-law, John Stoke.¹⁰ Canynges' wife, Agnes, would certainly have been an asset to any prospective mayor, for her father had been elected three times. Her own daughter, by Canynges, married John Milton who was also elected mayor in 1436, though he died early one morning during his term of office. Agnes' son, John, was mayor twice, in 1393 and 1399, and in fact there were only three years between his first term of office and his father's last. When he himself died in 1405 he had had the satisfaction of seeing his son also become mayor.

Walter Derby was a friend of the Canynges family and was himself mayor four times. He and Canynges received gifts from the will of Canynges' father-in-law, John Stoke, with whom Derby had served as bailiff in 1360. Two years later Derby was re-elected to this office, but this time with Canynges himself. In the early 1350s Derby had met Robert Cheddre, who in turn became mayor in 1361 and 1363. Robert's wife, Joan, knew Peter Baroghe another contact in the town's government, for she was a beneficiary in his will. He too had

probably aimed at being elected to the mayoralty for he had been sheriff in 1387. John Somerwell carried out a term as bailiff with Peter Baroghe in 1384, and therefore probably knew Cheddre and his wife. Somerwell also followed in his father's footsteps by becoming mayor, just as the Canynges had. His father, William Somerwell, probably knew the wealthy merchant, Elyas Spelly, with whom his son served as bailiff. Another mayor, Thomas Norton, also numbered amongst Spelly's friends.

As regards trading connections, William Canynges, John Canynges, Walter Derby, and John Vyell all appear in the Register of the Trinity Guild of Coventry.¹¹ In politics, all except John Vyell accompanied each other on the journey to London to represent Bristol in Parliament. In 1382 Elyas Spelly travelled with John Stoke, friend of Walter Derby and father-in-law to William Canynges. William Somerwell was elected M.P. with William Canynges for the first Parliament of 1384; and for the second session John Canynges was returned with William Frome, another twice elected mayor.

For the next period, between 1400 and 1440, there are details about fourteen merchant mayors, who served a total of twenty three years out of the forty. They were John Barstaple, Thomas Blount, John Burton, John Droyes, Robert Dudbroke, Richard Forster, John Leycestre, Thomas Nortone, Robert Russell, John Sharpe, John Stephins, Richard Trenolde, and Mark Williams. John Barstaple, three times mayor, married Isabel, one of the daughters of Walter Derby, whom we have

seen was mayor for just as many sessions. Isabel's sister, Alice, also married a merchant involved in local government; he was William Warmynstre, bailiff in 1383 and sheriff in 1397. Through Isabel, Barstaple and Warmynstre would know John Woderoue, and through him could contact his friends William Canynges and Walter Derby.¹²

Thomas Blount and John Swell, both merchants and mayors, were close friends. Two of the beneficiaries of Swell's will were also merchant mayors, Robert Dudbroke and John Spyne. When Blount also died Richard Forster another mayor of this period, inherited some of his considerable real property in the weaving and fulling districts of Bristol.

John Burton and Richard Trenolde were partners in the wine trade. In February 1419 they were granted a licence, not to import wine, but to export as much as they pleased of their own wine to Normandy.¹³ Perhaps this partnership involved only the single venture, for Richard Trenolde's name did not appear amongst the other four merchants who, in 1421 together with Burton, lost a carrack loaded with eight thousand crowns worth of goods. But amongst these was another mayor, Robert Russell, who was elected twice, in 1418 and 1427.¹⁴

Like many others John Droyes owed his social position to an astute marriage. His wife, Margery, was the daughter of Thomas Knapp, a wealthy citizen, whose occupation is unfortunately unknown, but whom we know was wealthy enough to stand for election to the mayoralty six times between 1387 and 1404. At his death in 1417

Knapp made John and Margery his sole heirs to his real property, land, and rents in Bristol. Thomas Newton also founded his fortune on a bequest, for he was one of the three beneficiaries of John Leycestre's will. Certainly John Newton's ultimate fortune was sufficient for him to become mayor twice, whereas his benefactor was only in office for one year. Thomas Nortone, mayor in 1414, probably knew Newton also, for they had a mutual friend in John Muleward, a merchant.

Robert Russell found time off from his shipping business to take the mayoralty twice. He once worked in partnership with Nicholas Bagot and John Burton, both merchant mayors, in an expensive venture involving four ships and their merchandise.¹⁵

John Sharpe included Richard Trenolde in the list of his beneficiaries, and he also knew John Leycestre. These three merchants together served five years of the mayoralty. Sharpe was executor for John Warmynstre's will together with Thomas atte Hay who was later to become sheriff. He served one of his two years as bailiff, prior to his shrievalty, with another merchant mayor, John Stephins.¹⁶ The wealthy trader, Walter Derby, five times mayor, left a half share of his ship to Stephins in his will.

Richard Trenolde was in the shipping and wine trade and on one occasion worked with John Burton who preceded him as mayor by only two years. In 1421 Trenolde travelled to London with Mark Williams as Bristol M.P.s. Two years later Williams became mayor. However,

he soon fell into disgrace in the town, for by 1425 he was forced to ask two friends to provide a £40 surety to the town officers for his future obedience to them.¹⁷

As far as we can tell from the information available there were merchant mayors for twenty seven of the forty years between 1440 and 1480. Only thirteen merchants who became mayor can be traced for this period - William Canynges, junior, grandson of the Canynges of the same name in the period 1380 to 1400, William Codir, John Cogan, Ricard Hatter, John Hawkys, Nicholas Hille, Robert Jakys, Philip Mede, John Shipward senior, John Shipward junior, William Spencer, Robert Strange, and Robert Sturmy. Among these there appears only one instance where family connections can be followed up. John Shipward, four times mayor married his daughter, Agnes, to Edmund Westcote, a merchant who in 1478 became a bailiff, two years after Shipward's death. Eventually, the daughter of Agnes and Edmund, Isabel, was also married into the merchant class - to the son of Thomas Newton mentioned above.

Three of the merchant mayors for this period lent £2,000 to the Crown; repaid in full in 1459. This was a joint financial contract between William Codir, William Canynges, and Philip Mede. Canynges also entered into commercial agreements with John Shipwarde. William Spencer and Robert Strange were granted three joint trading licences between 1455 and 1472. In 1471 they were allowed to leave the country to organise their business in Spain. Strange also worked

with John Shipward and John Hawkys. With a number of other merchants they shipped wine, woad, iron and saffron in the ship "le Marie of Dansk alias Durdreight", which, however, was pirated off the Cornish coast with merchandise worth £2, 713 - 13 - 4.¹⁸ John Jaye, also involved in this loss had been bailiff with John Hawkys in the previous year.

Strange was involved in a very different partnership with John Schepward (Shipward) and John Cogan in 1471. Orders were issued by the Crown that they, with four others, were to be arrested and their goods seized, on a charge of causing a rebellion against the Crown. John Shipward, however, was subsequently pardoned and restored to his full position in society.¹⁹ In fact, this incident did not jeopardize the careers of the three merchants, for they all became mayor sometime afterwards.

The wills of these thirteen merchants mentioned comparatively fewer bequests to other mayors. William Canynges junior left all his goods, chattels, and jewels, to William Spenser and one of his servants. John Burton left the major part of his town real property to four friends, one of whom was Philip Mede.

For the first and last of the three sessions of the 1460 Parliament, Bristol was represented by two ex-mayors - John Shipwarde, and Philip Mede. However, for this period merchants who had not attained the mayoralty dominated the lists of M.P.s.

There is a much smaller amount of material on the merchant mayors for the last decade of the fifteenth century than for those of the earlier periods. John Esterfield, John Penke, Robert Strange, Henry Vaghan, Edmund Westcote, and Clement Wiltshire are the names one can trace. Concerning family connections, Edmund Westcote, mayor in 1486, was first married to the daughter of John Shipwarde senior mentioned above. They lived at the Baldwin Street tenement owned by Shipwarde, and on his death they were bequeathed the property. When Henry Vaghan made his will he chose another mayor, John Esterfield, to supervise the executors. These two merchants may have been friends for they had entered into a trading agreement in 1465, and in 1471 they were granted leave to travel to Spain with Robert Strange, William Spenser, and others together with their own factors and attorneys.²⁰ The ship "Le Antony" belonged to Esterfield and three other merchants, one of whom was another mayor, John Penke. In 1486 they all received compensation for the loss of the ship due to bad weather earlier in the year.²¹ But apparently the loss and inconvenience of the ship-wreck was not crippling to either Esterfield or Penke, for the one became mayor in 1488 and the latter succeeded him the following year. Esterfield was twice returned as M.P.; the first occasion was in 1485 when he joined Robert Strange. Henry Vaghan was his companion in the elections of 1487.

Two conclusions emerge from this analysis of the social

background of the merchant mayors. They had many family connections and social contacts with one another, and secondly they entered into mutual commercial and financial ventures. There also appeared to be some changes in the personnel of the mayoralty during the fifteenth century. Mayors had more identifiable connections with one another at the beginning of the century than at the end. This factor, correlated with the reduction of the number of merchants who held the mayoralty for more than three years, would suggest that the governing group was much larger by the end of the century.

It is a more difficult task to ascertain the affluence of these mayors. The wills provide us with the amount and type of real property owned, the rents received, the total amount of cash bequeathed, and the amount and nature of the goods and valuables, at the time of the mayors' deaths. The majority of them provided a detailed account of their estates, often giving precise descriptions and valuations. However, the use of the word "Residue" gives rise to difficulties in assessing the validity of the wills as a source of information on this particular question. The word usually occurs in the penultimate clause of each testament. Invariably the residue of an estate was left to the next of kin. It could be argued that a present day interpretation of this word could be justifiably applied to these wills of the fifteenth century. But it is only with the emergence of Bankers, Stockbrokers, Land Registries and highly complex systems of central administration that a man could assure

himself of the title to his estate. In the absence of this the fifteenth century testator had to be most specific in the writing of his will. If he was not precise in his description of his estate, especially for real property, rival claimants could question the deeds or the validity of the bequests. However, a comprehensive study of the numbers and nature of the bequests convinces one that, in most cases where time allowed, the testator mentally listed every penny and valuable object. At a time when a pewter vessel could bring a good price and could be a modest family heirloom, the testator made sure to preclude family feuds at the will reading. There are, in fact, many wills in which the testator explicitly states that the next of kin was to enjoy the residue of the estate except for all objects of any value, and the preceding bequests. Although the argument is not conclusive it would appear from the work on the Bristol wills that the residue would most probably imply all the household effects of little worth but which made up the familiar daily objects of the bereaved. Following this point of view it is unlikely that the "Residue" implied any real property or moveables of any value in the majority of the wills.

On the other hand, some wills may have omitted a large part of the estate if some real property had been enfeoffed. However, it would appear to have been the custom among Bristol testators to give at least some directions regarding any enfeoffed property. Often they mentioned the exact amount and nature of the property,

to whom it had been enfeoffed, and who was to be the ultimate recipient. Gifts to relatives and dependants during the lifetime of the testator might also account for a considerable portion of a man's estate.²² But without modern death duties there would be little incentive for this, and only the very wealthy merchants were secure enough to be able to dispose of large amounts from their estate during their lifetime. Trade could impose heavy losses without notice.

Taking into account these reservations about the source material, a tentative analysis can be made of the affluence of the merchant mayors mentioned above. There are three ways in which this affluence can be assessed: by the ownership of real property, of goods and valuables, and the total cash bequeathed. The first two factors are difficult to assess, for size and value of buildings and land are never stated in the wills. If, therefore, one testator owned one tenement and another two there need be no difference between the total size or value of the property of each. So concerning property the only assessment which can be made is on the general principle that a merchant having nine tenements was wealthier, in this respect, than another with only three. Adopting this principle one can categorise the various testators according to three criteria:-- Those who owned, at their death, ten or more shops, and/or five or more tenements are classed as large real property owners. Testators with three or more shops, and/or two or more tenements are classed as

average property owners; and those with under this amount of property are classed as small property owners.

The only assessment for valuables is either by weight, for silver or gold, or by quantity for woad, cloth, and any other such commodity. Again these assessments could be misleading but bequests of large amounts of these valuables indicate considerable investment in a will which mentions no other real property or cash. Evidence of ownership of a share in a ship or a fleet also contributes to the general information about a merchant's affluence.

For the period 1360 to 1400 all six merchant mayors mentioned above appear wealthy, either in terms of real property, valuables, ships, or cash, or a combination of all four. John Canynges made bequests only of real property, for he made no specific reference to valuables or ships. He owned no less than thirty-five shops and nine tenements, which probably made up his entire estate when he died. His father, William, may have given part of his own estate to John before he made his will, for his only bequest of value was a share in a ship together with numerous smaller gifts of money totalling £39 - 9 - 6d.

The other four mayors for this period concentrated their attention on amassing real property and goods. Walter Derby and Elyas Spelly bequeathed large amounts of real property totalling twenty eight shops in Bristol and twenty tenements. Spelly owned over £100 worth of silver plate. But both of them had large amounts of cash in hand for distribution after their deaths: Derby

left £473 - 19 - 2d., and Spelly a fortune of £781 - 14 - 8d. In neither will was there any instruction for the sale of property or the realization of commercial speculations to raise the cash for these bequests. The executors of the wills were merely to supervise the bequests, so presumably the cash was already available for them to carry this out.

The estates of the mayors for the next period do not reflect such affluence, as, in fact, do none of the merchants in subsequent periods. Between 1400 and 1440 only two mayors, John Droyes and John Leycestre, owned nearly as many tenements and shops as Derby and Spelly. Leycestre bequeathed fifteen shops and six tenements, while Droyes' estate consisted of ten messuages of land, seven shops, and two tenements. Neither of them left any moveables or merchandise; but a Close Roll of 1417 ordered the arrest of a thirty ton crayer owned by John Leycestre. However, as Leycestre did not die till 1436 there is some doubt in identifying this Leycestre of the Close Rolls with the Bristol merchant mayor of that name, although the latter was a wealthy man, for he too could order the distribution of large amounts of cash in bequests, in fact all of £177.

A mayor of more modest means, at the time of his death, was Robert Dudbroke. He left an average amount of real property, according to the criteria mentioned above, but did have £153 in cash. Richard Forster was similarly placed. Anomalies such as that of Richard Trenolde, who would appear comparatively poor, cannot be

explained because of lack of material on the man; but he is the only example of a "poor" mayor. Although Trenolde's estate may have been depleted by the time of his death in 1442, there is some indication that this had not always been the case. In 1417 a balingar had been arrested by the Crown; it was the "Julien" of Plymouth in which John Vielle, John Thorpe, and Richard Trenolde had a share.²³ Two years later, a Richard Trenolde was in partnership with John Burton in shipping their own wine to Normandy.²⁴ Again the identity of the two Trenoldes cannot be proved; but if they were the same man, the problem of the source of Trenolde's wealth, which enabled him to take the office of mayor would be resolved.²⁵

Ten of the fourteen mayors for 1440 to 1480 have left recorded wills. As can be seen in Figure A at the end of this chapter, John Burton, William Canynges, and John Shipwarde senior, were in the very wealthy class. But although they qualified for this section of large real property owners - together their bequests totalled ten messuages and thirty seven tenements with some smaller parcels of land in Bristol - their estates were much smaller than those of previous mayors. There is no compensating increase in the number of ships owned or in valuables or merchandise left. Also there is no increase in cash bequests.

William Codir owned very little real property; and the evidence suggests that he favoured finance to augment his income from trade. In 1459 the Crown repaid Codir and five others their joint loan of £2,000.²⁶ Loans to the Crown often ruined prosperous merchants, but

this had not been the case for Codir, as at his death he left over £288 in cash alone. However, unlike the testaments of men like Spelly the money for such bequests had to be raised from the sale of Codir's goods, jewels, and household effects. This is the difference between the men of the beginning of the century and those who held office towards the last decades.

Robert Sturmy, another merchant mayor of this latter period, had no interest in real property, at least that is, at the end of his life. Instead he invested most of his wealth in trade and shipping; and his will illustrates the extent to which the major part of a merchant's estate depended on the safe arrival of his ship. Sturmy was a comparatively wealthy man, for he bequeathed over £190 before he mentioned his ship which was still at sea. But he could promise his brother and children double the amount originally bequeathed to them if his ship arrived safely at Bristol. As the minimum amount bequeathed to his brother totalled £86 one can assume that amount only represented a portion of the value of the ships and its contents; but even this amount is over one third of the remainder of the estate.

Like Richard Trenolde, John Cogan did not conform to the pattern of affluence in this section. There are, however, more clues to this mayor's poverty at his death in 1472. In all, Cogan possessed £25 - 11s., and just over fifty pipes of woad. He does mention some houses and mansions which could have been included in the residue of the estate. However, this was probably not the case for if Cogan

had possessed such property he would certainly have given precise descriptions for each. Also he had probably been divested of any such property, for only a year before his death he had been arrested by the Crown; his goods and real property had been confiscated.²⁷

Between 1480 and 1500 only one mayor, Clement Wiltshire, held any real property, and then the total was only five tenements. John Esterfield, John Penke junior, and Edmund Westdote held shares in ships in partnership with other Bristol merchants. Penke, Westcote, and Wiltshire show some degree of affluence by the valuables in which they invested. Westcote calculated the value of his plate as being £233 - 6 - 8d., which at his death in 1485 accounted for his entire estate. On the other hand, John Penke's estate was, for the major part, in wine and woad. Seven tuns of wine from Gascony was to be given to his brother and sister from the first shipments arriving from Bordeaux.

This information concerning the estates of the twenty six mayors, whose wills are extant, must be seen against the yardstick of a larger number of figures. Nearly four hundred wills are extant, one hundred and twenty five of which are of men who claim to be merchants. The remainder includes the wills of manufacturers and retailers, and those of a large number of testators whose occupations are unknown. But to necessitate the writing of a will each of these citizens probably owned considerable wealth, and therefore represent the more affluent section of Bristol society.

Taking each period in turn it is worthwhile to compare the average number of shops and tenements held by each mayor with the same figures for the rest of the testators. For 1380 to 1400 the average number of tenements owned by each testator was two, while that for shops was just over three.²⁸ The figures for the six mayors for the same period are over five tenements and nearly eleven shops to each testator. This comparison makes the wealth of these merchant mayors appear considerable.

For the next period, however, from 1400 to 1440, the margin between the two sets of figures narrows. The average number of tenements per testator is nine, while that of the six mayors is 2.9. The figures for ownership of shops also decreases amongst these merchant mayors. The average number is 4.5. per testator, while that of the mayors is a little over five. Here the average number of shops has risen per testator by 50% on the figures for the preceding period. The number per mayor, however, decreased by 50%. However, because of the nature of the material, discussed at length in the Introduction, these figures cannot be taken as precisely accurate, but they can be used to illustrate a general movement in the relative affluence of the merchants in office.²⁹ In this period the affluence of these six merchant mayors, as gauged by the ownership of real property, did not rise much higher than that of the average well-to-do citizen.

The decrease in the number of tenements and shops owned by merchant mayors accelerates in the next period of 1440 to 1480.

The average number of tenements per testator is 2.4., the highest of the four periods, while that of the mayors is 4.5. However, this figure includes the estate of one mayor, John Shipward senior, who bequeathed no less than twenty five tenements. Excluding this exceptional estate the average number of tenements per mayor would only total 2.2. This would indicate that the flagging of interest in real property amongst the merchant mayors continued in this period. This is endorsed by the fact that none of these ten mayors left any shops in their estates. However, this is probably a reflection of the general lack of investment in shops, for the average number owned by any one testator was only 0.8. At the same time, however, there was increase in the number of messuages owned. This is especially the case with William Canynges junior, who bequeathed ten messuages of land. In terms of real property, then, the relative wealth of these ten mayors is therefore lower than that of the average of other affluent citizens.

Between 1480 and 1500 only one mayor, Clement Wiltshire, bequeathed any real property. The average number of tenements held by each mayor therefore only totals 1.2 whereas the average per testator was 2.5. Again there were no shops owned by the merchant mayors, but the average number owned taken from all the wills was only 0.06.

In real property, therefore, there emerges a steady decline in the amount owned by those merchants who took the office of mayor. Only in the period before 1400 do the mayors' estates reflect a marked degree of comparative affluence. In the course of the

fifteenth century this affluence decreases, at first in the number of shops owned, and, by the period 1440 to 1480 in the number of tenements. The examination of the real property owned is, however, only a part of the picture. Cash in hand or to be realised on sales and collections of debts, also contributes to any assessment of comparative affluence.

Again in using the material on total cash legacies amounts are probably underestimated. Like real property assessments, plurals occurring in the wording of the wills have been counted as only two, whereas a dozen servants or relatives may have been referred to. However, any large cash legacies, of over £1, were normally specifically allotted to a person by name. It is only the smaller amounts of three shillings and four pence, or less, that could involve more than the number assessed.

Excepting the period 1480 to 1500, the average total cash left by each mayor was double that of the average testator. For the first period of 1380 to 1400 the average figure for the six mayors was £147 - 6s., that of the average testator, £62 - 4s. Between 1400 and 1440 the mayor's average was very much less, only £60 - 6s., in fact; but so too was the testators' average totalling £31 - 9s. From 1440 to 1480 there appears an increase of over one hundred per cent in the average totals of cash legacies for the mayors, whereas that of the testators increases by thirty per cent.

If the figures for average cash legacies and bequeathed real

property are taken in conjunction with each, there emerges a composite picture of the comparative wealth of each mayor. However, there are unknown quantities such as the valuation of plate and merchandise, and the worth of the share or shares in ships, which cannot be taken into account. These considerations certainly effect the results for the period 1480 to 1500. From among the four mayors of the period whose wills are extant, three of them left valuable plate, and merchandise, and at some time in their lives three had a share in a shipping venture. The results for the period 1400 to 1480 are not affected so much by these unknown factors, but the period 1380 to 1400 could prove far greater wealth in the cases of each of the six mayors. Silver, cloth, woad, and ships all appear in the wills of these men, of which no assessment can be made.

With these reservations on the kind of results arising from the wills, there is an indication that the twenty two merchant mayors for 1380 to 1480 were of the wealthier group within the affluent section of the town. For the period 1380 to 1400 these men enjoyed greater estates, in real property and cash, than any of the merchant class who succeeded them to the mayoralty. Moreover the average figures for their estates were double that of the average of all the testators. These figures are not repeated in the fifteenth century. For the first forty years of that century the average figures for real property and cash for the mayors is only one third higher than the average of all the testators. In the next sixty

years figures for shops are negligible. As regards tenements the average for the merchant mayors is lower than the general average. However, the average amount of cash bequeathed by the mayors between 1440 and 1480 rose to two thirds higher than the average. Any development of the relation between the merchant mayors and other wealthier merchants and citizens would show a gradual decline of the affluence of the former, by the end of the fifteenth century.

Although there are as many as twenty six wills extant from the total number of merchant mayors, there are a number of wills of mayors which suggest large estates. Unfortunately there are no means by which these testators can be classified according to occupation. Therefore, although they bequeathed such estates, which would be difficult to accumulate other than by trade, these testators cannot be included in the ranks of the merchants. If they were included the figures for the average estate of the mayors would be higher.

In conclusion it can be seen that from 1380 to 1500 the executive government, as represented in the person of the mayor, was controlled by merchants. Thirty nine men of this class held the mayoralty for seventy five years. In the fourteenth century the office could be and was held for a number of years by one man, although only very rarely were these years of office consecutive.³⁰ The general rule for the fifteenth century was that a mayor held office for only one

year at a time, and for a maximum of three years. William Canynges junior, "five times mayor", was the one exception.

The picture which emerges is that by the end of the fifteenth century the merchants in office came from a wider social background than at the end of the fourteenth century. This means that fewer mayors monopolised the office, and that the merchants' control of the town's government had lost some of its former strength. Moreover, the closeness of the fourteenth century oligarchy, if in fact it ever was this, disappears during the course of the fifteenth. New men come in and hold office for one year seemingly unconcerned with making suitable social contacts.

Three factors arise in examining the reasons for the deterioration of the small closely knit wealthy oligarchy, a glimpse of which is afforded by the six mayors who served between 1380 and 1400. The first is the widening of the franchise which, as mentioned above, had been effected by the end of the fourteenth century. But even with the stipulated fee of £10 none of the merchants would have had difficulty in raising the sum. If, however, a system of election of town officers by the enfranchised could be discovered, then it is possible that the widening of the oligarchy was a reflection of the same development in the electorate. But although by the fifteenth century the franchise rules of membership of the craft of merchants had ceased to be put into effect, if in fact they ever were, there is no trace of a mayor of Bristol who was of any other occupation. The weavers and fullers constituted the strongest political and economic group outside the

merchant class, yet none of those citizens associated with these occupations held the office of mayor, or in fact any other office in the town's government, that is, as far as the extant wills are concerned.³¹ As Northampton, Coventry and Salisbury all had weavers and fullers in the town offices, and in 1424 York had a weaver mayor, the question as to whether one of Bristol's mayors was from one of these crafts is one which demands attention. For Bristol, however, the answer is elusive, for only if additional material such as wills, or Craft records were brought to light could the influence of such crafts on town government be ascertained.³² This is a problem peculiar to Bristol and the wills for another town could probe more satisfactory in answering this particular line of enquiry. However, the fact remains that from the information from Bristol wills it can be shown that for almost three quarters of the century the merchants, and men of no other occupations, monopolised the office of mayor. Even in the latter half of the century, when it would appear that a higher number of new families entered office, thirty four years of the mayoralty were held by merchants.

The second factor in this widening of the Bristol oligarchy concerns the relative wealth of the merchants, both amongst themselves and compared with other testators. As has been seen the mayors who died before 1400 were very rich and therefore had the opportunity and the time to take up office, not for a single year but for several. After 1440, however, these merchant mayors appear to be less affluent, and usually held office for only one year. There are two possible

reasons for this increase in the number of men who were elected to the mayoralty. Firstly the merchant class might have become poorer in the fifteenth century or, secondly, its chief sources of investment may have changed.

Throughout the fifteenth century native merchants exported increasingly large amounts of cloth from Bristol. The numbers rose from four thousand in 1400 to a record seven thousand cloths in 1500.³³ Indirect evidence for the affluence of this class can be seen in the amount of building carried out by merchants, for they built not only churches and tombs, but also mansions and houses.³⁴ No satisfying conclusion can be gained from the evidence in the merchant wills. Figure A represents only an indication of the estates bequeathed. In this, the period 1380 to 1400 produced the largest number of very wealthy merchants. The period 1400 to 1480, although seeming to approximate the figures for the turn of the century, is in fact exceptional. Thomas Rowley's fortune of over £467 in cash, and John Shipwarde's twenty five tenements increased the average figures for this period, thus distorting the results. Excluding these two exceptional estates the average figures for the period 1440 to 1480 appear in agreement with those of the century.

However, this comparative decrease in the estates of these particular merchants after 1420 does not necessarily imply that the fortunes of the merchant class as a whole had dwindled. Because of the evidence of cloth exports, and the investment in ships and property building, it is more likely that these developments reflect

changes in investment rather than increasing poverty. It is strange that in this large collection of wills there are very few ships mentioned. William Canynges, junior, the great ship owner of his age, bequeathed none in his will. The emerging class of ship owners mentioned by Carus-Wilson would appear non-existent from the evidence of the wills.³⁵ From 1460 to 1500, when Carus-Wilson proposes that the fleet-owner became prominent amongst Bristol's merchants, only one out of thirty eight merchant wills bequeathes even a part of a ship.³⁶ It is possible, therefore, that there may have occurred an increase in investment in ships which would not be traced in the wills.

The third reason for the widening of the governing elite may be attributed to the fact that the mayor was not only mayor of the town but invariably also mayor of the Staple. Licences to trade, permits for entry to the harbour and use of dockyards was at the discretion of the mayor's court.³⁷ In this capacity a merchant could well use his office to his own advantage. The Staple, however, did not include cloth, only wool, woolfells, hides, and lead.³⁸ In this respect a merchant dealing primarily in cloth, or in any goods not mentioned in the Staple, would have little incentive to take up the office of mayor. Prestige, no doubt, motivated a number of merchants to take office for one year, but as has been seen one year was sufficient for them. But in the fourteenth century the mayoralty was held by the same men for several non-consecutive years.

At this time the native wool trade in Bristol was under considerable competition from aliens; a situation which could have made the office of mayor a more profitable prospect.³⁹ Native shipping in Bristol had not developed fully till the fifteenth century, a factor which would make the wool trade even more important as the chief source of income and object of investment in the previous century.

The office of sheriff and bailiff were of far less significance than that of the mayor.⁴⁰ Both positions were dependent on the mayor, only having personal control over specific tasks in government, for which they were directly responsible to him. On taking office each was required to take an oath before the mayor to uphold the liberties of Bristol. In terms of personal promotion as against devotion to public service neither office offered any power to the holder. However, to be in office at all might have been sufficient incentive. A merchant wanting to make his mark on society, and to meet men of influence who could be helpful in establishing trade connections, probably jumped at the chance to thus start his business. Merchants were elected bailiffs at the beginning of their career. If the mayoralty was their goal then the next phase was to become sheriff after a few years had elapsed in which some financial standing could be established. The election to the mayoralty itself normally followed two to four years afterwards. This was the pattern of the political career of all the thirty eight merchants who became mayor between 1360 and 1500.

Not all merchants wanted to become mayors. As there were two bailiffs elected each year as against only one sheriff and one mayor, more citizens were able to take up this office.⁴¹ A number of merchants were content with this brief space of town government work, for through it they had become established citizens, and had no desire to incur the costs of any other office.

Probably because of the comparative insignificance of the offices of sheriff and bailiff there occurs no monopoly of them by the merchants. Thirty five merchants held the office of sheriff for thirty five years between 1400 and 1500, the majority of whom went on to become mayors. Here there is a long period of time when there is no information concerning the holders of this office. From the forty five testators designated as manufacturers, however, none became sheriff. So it would appear that, as in the mayoralty, even the wealthier artisans found it difficult to have a share of town government, even in the less important positions. The figures for the office of bailiff reflect the same. Two men only from the forty five manufacturers became one of the two annually elected bailiffs; Jaye Goaslyn, a "Belyetter", and John Seynte who appears to have been a brewer, although he was probably also involved in trade.

Although only thirty nine merchants attained the mayoralty, office and town government was obviously of deep interest to all merchants. Very few of the hundred and twenty five identifiable merchants had neither friends nor relatives who had not been in office,

nor had never held it themselves. Concerning relatives, two instances of father and son becoming a town officer can be traced. In 1441, William Canynges first became mayor only nine years after his election as bailiff. He was to become mayor five times before his death in 1474. His father, John Canynges, had been mayor only twice, and his grandfather, William Canynges, had set the precedent of "five times mayor of Bristol". John Shipwarde, who became mayor in 1444, 1455, and 1463, had a son John, who shared his family's interest in municipal government and also became mayor three times. His sister Agnes married Edmund Westcote who was sheriff in the same year that her father died. Nine years later, in 1485, he died while still in the office of mayor having outlived Agnes and re-married.

Another four merchants illustrate family connections with municipal office. William Fisse held no office himself, but his brother Thomas became bailiff in 1419, and sheriff in 1434. Henry Chestre died in office in 1470 while still sheriff. His son John was elected bailiff six years afterwards. Richard Hatter, who followed the familiar pattern of bailiff, sheriff, and mayor, probably helped his step-son John Hawkys in his political career, for he too took all three offices. Only a year after his step-father's death, in 1457, John was elected bailiff. John Mede was the exception in his family as he took no office. But his great grandfather, Thomas Mede, or Thomas atte Mede, as he sometimes appears, was bailiff in 1438/39, and sheriff in 1452/53. Thomas' son, Philip,

attained the office of mayor no less than three times, an exception in the mid-fifteenth century.⁴² His son, however, John Mede's father, had no interest in municipal government, preferring the knightly to the merchant class. His will describes him as "gentleman", with a discreet change in the surname to Meede. This change may have been made with the connivance of his father, for his sister Isabel, had also entered the ranks of the gentry, through her marriage to one of the younger Berkleys, Maurice.⁴³ Although John Mede did return to the trade of his grandfather, he does not appear to have been accepted into the oligarchy.

These instances of nepotism in the municipal government are exceptions. For the most part a merchant's name appears in the list of officers only to disappear at his death. Lack of similar interests between father and son, or grandson, may account for this in part. As was seen in the case of the Mede family, town government and even trade need not necessarily interest the son of a merchant. Only when the son or step-son, as in the case of John Hawkys, showed an interest in town office, did the father encourage and perhaps facilitate his promotion.

A more important factor in this problem, however, is the high mortality rate of the children of the merchants, which has been examined in another chapter.⁴⁴ Few testators left sons at their death. Many, in fact, outlived their children, as in the case of the Rowley family.⁴⁵ Perhaps the merchants of Bristol may have desired to keep traditions of municipal office in the family, but

few had the chance to promote them. It is interesting to note that S.L. Thrupp found that the aldermen of London in the fifteenth century were seldom closely related, which had not been the case for the two previous centuries.⁴⁶

If, however, it was difficult to make municipal government a family concern, it was certainly preserved for and by the merchants. From the hundred and twenty five merchants examined, eighty five held some office themselves, thirty eight of whom were mayors. Of the remaining thirty, five had relations in office, and thirteen others knew or were connected with merchants in office. Therefore, there remain only twelve merchants who cannot be associated with any town official. Taking into consideration the fact that the information concerning the family, friends and business associates of these merchants is extremely limited, this evidence from only one hundred and twenty five biographies gives very high results. Such a small number cannot claim to be representative or even indicative of a class of people who in any single year would account for hundreds of citizens. However, to be able to detect such a high interest in municipal office in a small sample of limited information, would imply that the merchants of Bristol were keenly interested in taking office.

As has been suggested, however, the holding of office itself was probably not so advantageous in the fifteenth century. All three offices were expensive and time consuming, so why should merchants show so much interest in being in town government? In London the

aldermen emerged as the executive both in the City and in the merchant class, so could there have been a parallel development in Bristol whereby office in the government bestowed power within the merchant class as a whole? An indication of the existence of an elite such as the aldermen in London may be traced in the group of very wealthy Bristol merchants monopolising the mayoralty before 1420 - William Canynges, Walter Derby, and Elias Spelly. However, only by a charter of 1499 were six aldermen officially accepted as part of the town's government. Their powers in the town were to be modelled on that of the aldermen of London within their city. So officially it is only at the very end of the century that the aldermen were accepted as a self-perpetuating, self elective group within the government structure.⁴⁷

Another point on the interest of merchants in taking office emerges from an ordinance of 1391. By this the wearing of livery was forbidden to all except the officers of the town and their clerks and servants. Now in London, livery was the means by which each Company, within the merchant class, could assert any separate identity, but in the much smaller community of Bristol such outward rivalry to the officers of the town's government was not tolerable. Bristol merchants may have thought it unwise to invite fragmentation into small groups or Companies in the face of possible competition or reduced markets. Probably it was to keep solidarity that the severe fine of £40 was imposed on any one who dared to wear livery without express

permission.⁴⁸

In fact great concern was shown about the value of furs used for the livery of each officer of the town. Ten marks, and no more, was allowed for the mayor's fur and he was to have only one for his year of office. The sheriff's livery was valued at £5, and that of the bailiff, only six shillings and eight pence. Even the master of the gallows had to wear livery denoting his rank, for he was to receive a coat and hat of small value each year. Nor could any officer augment his allowance of fur with expensive cloth, for the total amount to be spent on all officers' livery was only just over £18 - 15s. The stylised portrait of civic dignitaries at the election of a new mayor in Ricart's calendar depicts a hierarchical lay-out. The furs of various sizes appear prominent, as if the artist sought to identify the officers by these means.⁴⁹

Perhaps it was in compensation that merchants' wives dressed in the very best cloth. Most female testator's bequests were of furred gowns and cloaks of good quality. In 1490 Henry VII, although having just received a gift of £500 from Bristol, fined all those having an income of £20 or more, £1 each. The reason for this apparent gross ingratitude was "because their (the burgesses') wives went so sumptuously apparelled".⁵⁰

It is unfortunate that Ricart could not have given the names of the councillors as well as those of the officers. If he had done so then evidence regarding the merchants' interest in getting a place

in the council would be far less fragmentary than it is. The mayor, sheriff, and bailiffs presided over each council and were ex officio members. So it follows that the eighty five who held office were councillors when in power. However, it would appear that the council was made up of past and future office holders. So although a merchant's term of office was only for one year he was possibly influential in town affairs for a number of years, through his capacity as a councillor.⁵¹ The analysis of a number of councils cannot prove a merchant majority, as has been possible for the mayoralty, because of the paucity of evidence by which each councillor could be identified. However, those men who can be traced do reflect a bias toward merchants.⁵² The information in Figure C, for the period 1444 to 1451, prove interesting in that the names supplied for each councillor re-occur. This would imply the existence of an elite of about forty citizens controlling the government of the town. Amongst these, the merchants were, by far, the most prominent. In the light of the evidence for the expansion of the oligarchy during the fifteenth century, it is worthwhile to note that the council did not show similar growth. However, the numbers of the council cannot be accurately judged, for in most lists of those present at a meeting the words "and others" were always attached. The numbers of named councillors vary from about sixteen to forty or forty two. The only development discernible is that before 1410 there are usually forty or forty two names given, and after that date there are smaller

numbers. For the council called in 1449 twelve names were supplied.⁵³ Although this development appears contrary to Bridbury's theory of an expanding oligarchy, the information is too fragmentary to claim attention.

This interest in office by the merchants however, could only have been satisfied if the rest of Bristol's citizens either became acquiescent or politically impotent. By the fifteenth century the latter would appear to have been the case. By 1373 the council had been reduced to forty members who were chosen by the mayor and sheriff with the consent of the community.⁵⁴ This last phrase however, which creates an illusion of democratic machinery, is never fully explained in any extant records. Ricart gives a very full and detailed account of the elections within the council, but only adds such phrases as "assent" and "consent" of the commons or the community. To obtain such permission would surely have necessitated a somewhat complex government machinery, and one which the careful Ricart would have set down for his successors. This "assent", therefore, was probably a negative kind of permission in that the community made no objection to any election results. As Miss Thrupp says of London's city government, had there been any real wish to extend the vote then a system of ballots would have been devised and recorded.⁵⁵ Similarly, in Norwich there is no indication that the "assent" of the community was gained by ballot. In fact in 1380 the oligarchy of the town obtained a charter giving the bailiffs and the "Twenty Four"

committee of leading citizens power to make and alter by-laws. For this charter the community had not been consulted for they later complained that it had been obtained without their knowledge.⁵⁶

In Bristol the election of the five aldermen in the fourteenth century was by each ward in the town.⁵⁷ However, it is likely, as in many other towns, that this also gradually came under the influence of the oligarchy. For the 1499 document which made the aldermen a permanent part of the civic government, also took their election out of the hands of the ward electorate and placed it at the disposal of the mayor and the "community". But we have already seen that the "community" had little say in these matters and removal from office was the sole charge of the mayor and the aldermen themselves.⁵⁸ This development was common in the fifteenth century. In York the election of the aldermen was by the mayor and other aldermen early in the century.⁵⁹ By 1419 it was the custom in London for the mayor to summon all freemen of the ward to nominate a candidate. If this was not acceptable then a second nomination took place within fifteen days. But despite this system the mayor and aldermen could reject both nominations and choose their own candidate. A similar development for restricting even this system of election occurred in London as it did later in Bristol. In 1480 it was ruled that no more than two aldermen and two commoners could be nominated and that no one could be present at the final election but the mayor, the aldermen, and the town clerk.⁶⁰

The lynchpin of the civic government in Bristol, the mayoralty, was also removed from the influence of the people. Firstly, he had to be or had been an alderman which stipulation automatically imposed a property qualification on the prospective candidate.⁶¹ Election of the mayor was both from among the councillors and by the council; so too were those of the sheriff and bailiff.⁶²

If the town government was controlled by merchants in the fifteenth century, how could a citizen enter the ranks of the elite? Perhaps the answer to this lies in an ordinance of June 30th., 1439, in which all Irish were forbidden entry to the council.⁶³ The heavy fine of £20 was to be levied not only on any Irishman who tried to gain such a place but also on "Any man of the Common Councilof any estate, grade or condition, having procured (such) election or admission". This indicates that although it might be serious offence to promote an Irishman to the council, promotion of any other citizen was acceptable. So personal introduction by a councillor would perhaps be the most usual means of entry to the governing elite. In fact this approximates to the system used by the London council as described above, whereby members of the government made final election of an alderman. If this was the system of election to office and the council in Bristol, the power of those in office could very well have approached that of an oligarchy.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I.

1. L.R.B. Vol I. p. 37. f.13.
2. Bristol Charters 1378 - 1499. edit. Cronne, H.A. pp.81, 82.
3. L.R.B. Vol II. pp 46 - 48. f. 113.
4. Ibid. p. 49. f.113b.
5. The Great Red Book of Bristol. edit. Veale, E.W.W. vol. IV. p.49. f.93a.
6. Ibid. pp. 152, 153.
7. Bridbury, op. cit. pp. 54 - 64.
8. The names and dates mentioned below are taken from Toulmin-Smith's edition of Ricart corrected by Latimer's work. Other corrections were taken from "The Cartulary of St. Mark's Hospital, Bristol." edit. Ross, C.D. B.R.S. vol. XXI. pp. XXXVIII seq.
9. Only one of these terms of office was consecutive. William Canynges senior held the mayoralty for 1373/1374 and for 1374/1375.
10. G.R.B. vol. IV. pp. 173 - 177.
11. The Register of Trinity Guild of Coventry. edit. Harris, M. Dormer. Dugdale Society Publications 13.
12. Isabel Barstaple was a beneficiary in John Woderoue's will.
13. C.P.R. 1416 - 1422. p. 180. 1419. February 23rd. m. 10.
14. C.P.R. 1416 - 1422. p. 418. 1421. October 17th. m. 17d.
15. C.P.R. 1416 - 1422. p. 418. 1421. October 17th. m. 17d. Three ships and one barge owned by four Bristol merchants.
16. Thomas atte Hay was bailiff in 1387 and 1389, and sheriff in 1391.
17. C.C.R. 1422 - 1429. p. 204. 1425. m. 6d.

18. C.P.R. 1452 - 1460. p. 612. 1460. February 27th. m. 10d.
19. L.R.B. vol II. pp.130, 131 f. 131r. 1471 May 12th. The Crown ordered the arrest of Nicholas Harvey (then reported killed), John Schepward (later pardoned), Robert Strange, and John Cogan, mercer.
20. G.R.B. vol. IV. p. 132.
21. C.P.R. 1476 - 1485. p. 193. 1480. March 20th. m. 21.
22. The only case of this of any significance is the estate of William Canynges junior, who took Orders before he died and may therefore have given away most of his ships and real property at that time.
23. C.C.R. 1413 - 1419. p. 343. 1417. February 5th. m.4.
24. C.P.R. 1416 - 1422. p. 180. 1419. February 23rd. m.10.
25. The L.R.B. contains a fifteenth century record of the annual expence allowances for town officers. For his year of office, the mayor's pension was only £20 plus expences for scarlet cloth, furs, wine and minstrels, which amounted to a little over £21.
L.R.B. vol. II. p. 10. However, even for the celebrations of his election a new mayor could soon spend all his pension. Ricart reports that after elections it was customary for "the moste parte of the Counseill.....to dyne with the new Maire, and a part with the olde Maire; in especial all officers to dyne with the olde Maire". Even if the entertainment took place in the Guild-hall, the new mayor was obliged to invite the retiring mayor and "alle the whole company" to his own home to take "cakebrede and wyne". Ricart, R. op. cit. p. 74. This would involve catering for a minimum of forty people. Therefore, it was very necessary

to have a reasonable amount of money available when a merchant wished to become mayor. When Trenolde was elected, therefore, he must have had far more wealth than that which is registered in his will.

26. C.P.R. 1452 - 1461. p. 511. 1459. August 27th. m.7.
27. L.R.B. vol. II. pp. 130, 131.
28. The wills from which this information is taken do not include those of any mayors before 1380. Vide Chapter II on investment.
29. Some wills merely state tenements or shops in the plural. In these cases the number assessed was two in either case. Some of the figures could therefore underestimate the number of buildings held by certain testators.
30. Because of the doubt cast on Ricart's dates of Bristol officers, especially for those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the number of consecutive tenancies of the office could be negligible.
31. Vide Appendix I.
32. Out of 418 extant wills, only 158 give the occupations of the testators.
33. "English Export Trade 1275 to 1547". edits. Wilson, E.M. Carus. and Coleman. O.
34. Vide Chapter II.
35. Wilson, op. cit.
36. Will of John Jaye - share in in the ship "Trinity".
37. A number of these licences are preserved in the Great Red Book of Bristol

38. L.R.B. vol. II. pp. 180, 181.
39. English Export Trade 1275 - 1547. Tables of wool exports 1279 to 1547.
40. During the fifteenth century no merchant held either office for more than one year. For details on Water bailiffs see Sherborne. op. cit.
41. Forty six merchant testators held office other than that of mayor.
42. Latimer, op. cit. p. 131.
43. Vide biographical notes on Philip Mede.
44. Vide Appendix II.
45. Vide biographical notes on the Rowleys.
46. Thrupp, S.L. "The Merchant Class of Medieval London." p. 81.
47. Bristol Charters 1378 - 1499. pp. 163 - 165.
48. L.R.B. vol II. pp. 66, 67. f.117b.
49. Toulin-Smith op.cit. The photograph facing the title page.
50. Harvey, A. "Bristol" p. 57.
51. Vide Figure B.
52. Vide Figure C.
53. G.R.B. vol. IV. p. 125. f. XIIIIB. 1449. May 20th.
54. Bristol Charters 1378 - 1499. pp. 81, 82.
55. Thrupp, op.cit. p. 81.
56. Green, E. and Young, R.M.R. "Norwich - The Growth of a City". p.17.
57. L.R.B. vol. I. p. 24. f. 13.
58. Bristol Charters 1378 - 1499. p. 82.
59. Miller, E. "Medieval York" in V.C.H. "A History of Yorkshire" edit Tillott, P.M. p. 78.

60. Thrupp, op. cit. p. 81.
61. L.R.B. vol. I. p. 40. Art. 29. The 1344 Customs of the Town.
62. Ricart, op. cit. pp. 67 - 86.
63. L.R.B. vol I. p. 86. f. 31.

List of Merchants who were Mayors, Sheriffs and
Bailiffs between 1360 and 1500

The list of mayors and bailiffs for 1360 to 1380 only include those merchants whose wills are extant. As the earliest will dates from 1380 these lists are incomplete.

The sheriffs are dated from October 1373.

Figures in brackets after the names denote the number of times that a merchant held the particular office in that period.

Names underlined in red denote the first appearance of that merchant in the office of mayor.

MAYORS	SHERIFFS	BAILIFFS
1360-1380 <u>William Canynges</u> (3) <u>Walter Derby</u> (2) <u>Elias Spelly</u> (2)		John Barstaple William Canynges (2) Walter Derby (4) Elias Spelly (2) John Vyell (2)
1380-1400 <u>William Canynges</u> (3) <u>John Canynges</u> (2) Walter Derby (2) <u>John Somerwell</u> <u>William Somerwell</u> <u>William Spelly</u> <u>John Vyell</u>	John Barstaple John Somerwell William Somerwell John Stephins John Vyell	Thomas Blount John Burton William Canynges John Canynges Robert Dudbroke (2) Thomas Nortone John Somerwell William Somerwell John Spyne John Stephins
1400-1420 <u>John Barstaple</u> (3) <u>Thomas Blount</u> (2) <u>John Droyes</u> (3) <u>Robert Dudbroke</u> <u>Thomas Nortone</u> <u>Robert Russell</u> <u>John Sharpe</u> <u>John Stephins</u>	Thomas Blount John Burton John Droyes Robert Dudbroke John Leycestre Thomas Nortone Robert Russell John Sharpe John Spyne Mark Williams	Nicholas Bagod John Burton John Droyes John Leycestre Robert Russell John Sharpe John Shipwarde Mark Williams
1420-1440 <u>John Burton</u> <u>Richard Forster</u> <u>John Leycestre</u> Robert Russell John Sharpe <u>John Spyne</u> <u>Richard Trenolde</u> <u>Mark Williams</u>	Nicholas Bagod William Canynges (jun) Richard Forster John Sharpe John Shipwarde Richard Trenolde	William Canynges (jun) William Codir Richard Forster Nicholas Hille John Sharp Richard Trenolde
1440-1460 <u>William Canynges</u> (jun.) (3) <u>William Codir</u> (2) <u>Richard Hatter</u> <u>Nicholas Hille</u> <u>Philip Mede</u> <u>John Shipwarde</u> (2) <u>Robert Sturmy</u> (2)	William Codir Richard Hatter Nicholas Hille John Shipwarde Robert Sturmy	John Cogan Richard Hatter John Hawkys Robert Jakys Philip Mede John Shipwarde William Spencer Robert Sturmy
1460-1480 <u>William Canynges</u> (jun.) (2) <u>William Codir</u> <u>John Cogan</u> <u>John Hawkys</u> <u>Robert Jakys</u> <u>Philip Mede</u> <u>John Shipwarde</u> <u>John Shipward</u> (2) <u>William Spencer</u> <u>Robert Strange</u>	John Cogan John Esterfield John Hawkys John Jakys John Penke William Spencer Robert Strange Henry Vaghan Edmund Westcote Clement Wiltshire	Robert Strange Henry Vaghan Edmund Westcote
1480-1500 <u>John Esterfield</u> (2) <u>John Penke</u> <u>Robert Strange</u> <u>Henry Vaghan</u> <u>Edmund Westcote</u> <u>Clement Wiltshire</u>	John Penke John Esterfield John Chester Clement Wiltshire	

THE RATIO OF MERCHANTS TO YEARS OF OFFICE

	M A Y O R S	S H E R I F F S	B A I L I F F S
	YEARS	YEARS	YEARS
1360-1400	18	5	19
1400-1440	23	15	13
1440-1480	26	15	10
1480-1500	7	-	-

A N A L Y S I S O F C O U N C I L S - II

FIGURE B

Reference	Date	Number of named councillors present.	Number of those councillors whose occupation can be traced.	Number of merchants in council.	Number of "others" in council.
L.R.B. I p.164 f.53	1381 Aug. 24	42	17	16	2 including 1 Tucker
I.R.B. I p.137 f.60	1409- 1410	42	13	12	1 Draper
I.R.B. I p.153 f.62	1422 Aug. 10	19	5	4	1 Wool- monger
G.R.B. p.49 f.93a	1444 Aug. 17	36	15	15	0
G.R.B. p.125 f.XIIIfb	1449 May 20	12	7	5(6)	2 including 1 Ship- owner
G.R.B. p.129 f.XVII	1449 June 10	33	14	12	2 - 1 Shipowner 1 "Belyetter"
G.R.B. p.152 f.158b	1482 Feb. 7	30	13	13	0

A N A L Y S I S O F C O U N C I L S I F I G U R E C

Reference	Date	Number of named councillors present	Number of past or future mayors amongst the named councillors	Number of past or future sheriffs amongst the named councillors	Number of past or future bailiffs amongst the named councillors
L.R.B. I p.114 f.53	1381 Aug. 24	42	13	6	10
L.R.B. I p.135 f.60	1409/ 10	42	13	7	10
L.R.B. I p.153 f.62	1422 Aug. 10	19	5	6	8
G.R.B. I p.49 f.93a	1444 Aug. 17	36	15	7	13
G.R.B. I p.125 f.XIIIB	1449 May 20	12	8(9)	3	0
G.R.B. I p.129 f.XVII	1449 June 10	33	11	10	11
G.R.B. I p.128 f.XVI	1449 Aug. 28	13	10	3	0
G.R.B. I p.135 f.XIXb	1451 Jan. 12	23	12	2	11
G.R.B. II p.152 f.158	1481 Feb. 7	30	12	10(11)	0

CHAPTER II

INVESTMENT BY THE MERCHANTS

The sources of wealth of any merchant class have attracted a great deal of speculation and research from historians. Bound so closely to foreign and regional trade the topic has become an integral part of the history of the national economy.¹ The investment of that wealth, however, has not received the same amount of attention. So here some attempt has been made to investigate investment among these Bristol merchants. The main source used was the collection of wills. The many and varied bequests show that there was investment in real property, both within Bristol and elsewhere, in ships, plate, jewellery, and armour.

The real property invested in was usually tenements and shops. Sixty eight point four per cent of the merchant wills mentioned such property, even if it was only "...the tenement in which I live....". But before anything can be said about the amount of real property held, a definition of the terms used in the wills, and the organisation of the available information must be explained. The term "tenement" has given rise to some difficulties; the literal translation of "the holding" is perhaps the most that one can infer to the term. However, in the wills "tenement" is often followed by the phrase "...in which I live", or "...in which ...lives" or "used to live".²

The use of the term in this context would suggest that there was normally some kind of buildings on the tenement. In fact if a merchant owned a plot of land on which there was no building he would describe it as such in his will. So a "tenement" can usually be taken as land on which there was a building incorporating living quarters and perhaps storage space. Shops, although perhaps part of a tenement, were owned separately. Though there are a few rare occasions when the whole building, including the shop on the ground floor, was held by a merchant. But division of this type of real property appears commonplace. Some wills mentioned bequests of separate solars, halls, or cellars. So whereas most merchants left tenements, the partitioning of these buildings was not unknown.

When considering investment in real property it would be helpful if some part of medieval Bristol had remained to tell us of the size and proportion of these buildings. Unfortunately there is nothing. Widening of streets in the Victorian period and air raids of the last war have obliterated anything which might have remained. Only analogy with cities like York with splendid fourteenth and fifteenth century houses remaining can give some impression of medieval Bristol.

However, the fifteenth century "Itinerary of Bristol" of William of Worcester does help to fill this gap. He wrote a detailed description of the town as it was in the 1480's.³ The accuracy of his details and especially of his measurements of various buildings have been questioned, but in the absence of any other information on Bristol real property, it is worthwhile to look at Worcester's work.

Unfortunately he only gave the size of one building besides those of the many churches. This was his own house; the only private building of which Worcester could take measurements at leisure. It was quite large, if one can estimate size from frontage alone. It was fifteen steps wide, which if one counts twenty inches to the step, gives a frontage of twenty five feet.⁴

As for the construction of Bristol real property, this would depend upon the amount of building space available and/or the position of adjacent property. However, a kind of stereotype tenement has been described by Dallaway as part of his comments on Worcester's work. At basement level, he states, there would most probably be a large cellar, usually with timber supports and roof. This part of his description has been substantiated by recent excavations in Bristol. There is also an ordinance of the late fifteenth century limiting the number of horse-drawn vehicles in the town because of the weakness of the streets caused by the many cellars extending under the roads. The ground floor was taken up by shops which were no more than divisions with stalls open to the streets. Some larger tenements had a hall at the rear, probably used as workshop or for storage. The living quarters of the tenement, states Dallaway, would be situated on the first floor and might include solars, chambers, and a kitchen. If there was a second floor it would be a garret projecting over the street.⁵ This description may be part commonsense and surmise, but the point about the open shops is

verified by a town ordinance. The making, and selling of goods had to be done in the open for town and craft regulations to be effective. Though sales in back rooms seem to have been attractive, if one can judge from the list of ordinances.⁶

The frontages of Bristol buildings were mostly of timber frames, with jettying held in large brackets. Stone was still a luxury building material as far as domestic real property, though Worcester did mention one or two houses in freestone. But these were strictly for the rich, for men like Vyell and Canynges. Even the college built by William Canynges, junior, for his priests, is described by Worcester as having "...four bay windows of freestone for the chambers of the four priests...."⁷

These descriptive notes cover most of the real property mentioned in the Bristol wills, but there remain a few exceptions such as "mansion", "house", and "manor". From Worcester's work it appears that a mansion could be larger than a tenement, but presumably constructionally the same. In talking of Bristol bridge he says "....there were some spacious tenements with mansions on the sides..." Perhaps the same can be deduced for the "house" from Worcester's note of "...the spacious and handsome houses and tenements of the Norton family" In fact most of the adjectives used to describe these buildings convey the impression that they were slightly larger.⁸

As was more the case with York and London merchants, not all the real property left was within the town or suburbs. Between five and

ten per cent of the merchants' wills mention real property elsewhere. The area of investment outside Bristol was not extensive, and was confined to the surrounding counties of Gloucestershire and Somerset. Nearly all the real property was in towns or villages, with only two exceptions leaving land, meadow, and pasture.⁹ Although two merchants, Richard and John Forster gave very little detail concerning their estates in Somerset and Gloucester, which might well have included land. But John Draycot, who died in 1396, was more specific in stating that his lands, tenements, rents, estates and reversions were all either in Wells or "Wokyhole" in Somerset. John Canynges and John Clyve also gave the location of their estates. One of Canynges' seven tenements was in "Nethewer" in Somerset, and Clyve held a term in a tenement in Shemehampton in Gloucestershire. John Leycestre was another merchant who had invested in Gloucestershire real property. Unfortunately, the nature of this is not given, but it was situated in "Frenschawe" in Hambroke manor, in the Hundred of "Wynterborne", and in Hampton and Combe.

However, the relatively small number of merchants who held estates outside Bristol shows that their real interest in investment of this kind was centred in their own town. But about the same percentage of all the testators, irrespective of profession or trade, also left real property outside Bristol. The only difference in these figures was that the distribution was wider than that of the merchants' estates. It was roughly on a North-South parallel extending from

Tamworth in Warwickshire to Portland in Dorset. The exceptions in the North, on the eastern side, were estates in Leicestershire, and on the Western side, some in Limerick and Drogheda, in Ireland. To the far South, there was some real property left in Winchester, to the East, and in Chipping Torrington, in Devon, to the West. The densest area of most of the citizens' investment, however, was in Gloucestershire and Somerset.

As has been stated, most of the merchants' real property was in the town or suburbs or both. In many wills in which the buildings held were located, it has been possible to detect whether an individual owned a large number of tenements or shops in the same street. Four examples of this show what could be done in estate investment. Walter Seymour owned no less than thirteen shops in Tower Street in the North-East section of the old city. They were next to each other forming a block of shops up to Frome Gate.¹⁰ Nicholas Excestre owned seventeen shops in Gropelane, together with a tenement having a cellar and solar, and another to which a garden was attached. The same lane occurs in John Leycestre's will. He held fourteen shops there, and it appears that these two men, Leycestre and Excestre, had a very large share of the real property in this street. No other will mentioned Gropelane during the period 1420 to 1500. In another part of town, Touker Street, John Canynges was the important "landlord" having there ten shops, one tenement to which one shop was attached, one hall with adjacent shop, four tenements, and

two halls.

It could, of course, be argued that these amounts of real property are negligible compared with the total numbers of buildings in a particular street. However, even if the width given for Worcester's house is halved, giving twelve and a half feet, a small number of tenements having that frontage would certainly fill the street. A short tour of the streets mentioned above will convince anyone of the comparative smallness of medieval Bristol. In fact the width or frontage of the average shop could not have been more than the length of a stall or table on which goods were displayed. So one could say that merchants like Seymour and Leycestre more or less controlled a particular street. There must have been advantages in investing in this, but only a hint of what they were can be seen in the estate of John Canynges. He owned most of Touker street at a time when the woollen cloth export from Bristol was very high. As the name implies Touker Street was the headquarters of the cloth trade in Bristol, and not only for the fullers but also for anyone involved in cloth manufacture. To be near allied trades was important to the trader and artisan alike. Travelling around Bristol had to be done mainly on foot and to have a trade concentrated in one area was a great advantage. So Canynges had made an astute investment in buying up or somehow acquiring buildings in Touker Street. In fact he was in a position to determine rents and terms of tenancy. However, this concentration of real property in a certain area occurred

only in wills of the first twenty years. This does not imply that the accumulating of real property in one area was no longer of any interest to the merchants, but investment in buildings and land declined generally in Bristol after about 1420. More of this is discussed later in this chapter.

The majority of the real property bequeathed by the merchants was owned entirely by the testators, but a very small proportion was held in partnership or on some similar legal condition. The terms in the wills used to denote this kind of ownership are "estate in", "interest in", and "share in". Probably these refer to real property owned in partnership with one or more others. Between 1380 and 1400 only one merchant, John Vyell bequeathed real property owned in partnership. He had a twenty year term in one tenement which was rented at fifty shillings per annum. For the whole of the fifteenth century only five cases of joint ownership can be traced among the merchant wills. This very small number of shared holdings is 8.7% of the total number of merchant wills. So investment in real property was generally by the individual, not the group. This is contrary to the organisation of investment in trade, as we have seen in a previous chapter. Merchants involved in trade seemed to have preferred contractual or partnership investment. Ships were owned by a group, contracts were made for the export of goods of a number of traders in one ship, and often merchants would travel together on trade missions. So it was not that the Bristol merchants were against

partnerships in investment. More probably the sums involved in real property were small enough not to warrant the formation of a partnership.

To analyse investment in real property by the merchants the following system has been devised. The holders of real property have been divided into three classes according to the amount held. The criteria of each "class" are as follows:- that of the "large class", five tenements and/or ten shops or more; that of the "average class", two tenements and/or five shops or more; and that of the "small class", under two tenements and/or five shops. Four points are dealt with in the analysis. The maximum amount of real property held by each class; the apparent monopoly of the big class over shop investment; the popularity of certain types of real property for investment at different times in the period; and lastly some attempt at the assessment of the real property.

Between 1380 and 1400 there were three merchants who bequeathed large amounts of real property; six of the average class; and one in the small class. The maximum held among the holders of the large class include the eleven shops and six tenements left by Walter Derby; and the seventeen shops, and twelve tenements of Elias Spelly. To compare this large class with the holders in the average and small classes is difficult. For included in the information on these classes are several unspecified numbers of "tenements" or "shops". To avoid exaggeration these bequests have been interpreted as two of whatever real property is stated.

The merchants holding an average amount of real property only just qualify for this category, or "class". John Draycot's will gives the only bequest of three tenements; all the rest gave unspecified numbers or two of tenements and/or shops. So in this particular period there is a wide gap between those merchants leaving a lot and those who left an average amount of real property. Walter Derby and Elias Spelly appear as exceptions.

If these amounts of real property are divided into numbers of tenements and shops, some ratios can be worked out. Figure A shows the ratio of tenements to merchant real property holders. In this one can again see the gap between those leaving large amounts and average amounts of real property. This decreases only slightly towards the last decade of the century. A similar pattern can be seen in figure C concerning the numbers of shops bequeathed. The ratio of the large class is 14.1:1 and that of the average class only 3.1:1.

However there is a differentiating factor to be found in the analysis of these particular classes. Eight of the nine merchants of all three classes left one or more tenements, whereas only four bequeathed shops.

A similar pattern of figures appears for the second period covering 1400 to 1420. The seven merchants' estates are divided into three of the large class, three of the average, and one of the small class. None of those merchants holding large amounts come anywhere near the numbers of tenements held by Derby or Spelly of

the previous period. In fact, the largest number was five tenements held by Richard Panys, a wealthy man, who also left two shops. On the other hand, concerning shop investment, John Canynges and Walter Seymour left thirty five, and sixteen shops respectively; numbers which are far in excess of those left by Derby or Spelly. This comparison with the merchants of the previous period gives slightly different ratios for tenements and shops.¹¹ Concerning the ratios for tenements the number left by the merchants of the average and small classes remains unchanged; but the 7.6:1 ratio recorded for those of the large class for 1380 to 1400 was reduced to 6.6:1 in this next period. For the figures for investment in shops, there is a general increase in the ratios of all three classes of owners.¹² Between 1420 and 1440 the decrease in the numbers of tenements bequeathed is continued. The sixteen merchants for this period left only thirty one tenements. Only John Clyve had a possible nine tenements, and in some of these he may have had only a share. Nicholas Excestre, John Leycester, and Henry Gildeney left six tenements each, while the other ten merchants left three or less. As is shown in figure A, four merchants were of the large class, five of the average, and only one of the small class. Figures B and C give an increase in ratios of real property to merchants only for those of the large class. The tenement ratios increases from 6.6:1 to 7.6:1, and that of the shops from 25.5:1 to 27:1.

The figures and ratios for the periods covering 1440 to 1500

follow the pattern of this last twenty year period.¹³ There are, however, two significant developments. The first is that by 1480 there are a larger number of merchants leaving a small amount of real property or even none at all. In fact as many as thirteen merchants out of a total of eighteen left no real property. The second development is that the ratio of bequests of tenements remains the same among the average and small classes, but decreases from 7:1 to 5:1 in those of the large class. The most significant development, however, is in the list of shops left. After 1460 only nine shops appeared in merchants' wills and these for merchants of the small class.

A number of comments can be made on this analysis. Firstly the majority of merchants dying between 1380 and 1460 left two tenements and/or three shops each. Very few of these left more than two, or three tenements or shops above the minimum, most only just qualified for the "average class". On the other hand those included in the class of large real property owners did often exceed the minimum of five tenements and/or ten shops. As was seen Elias Spelly left twelve tenements, whereas John Shipward had as many as twenty five. Also men like John Canynges certainly exceeded the minimum for shops, for he left thirty five. But even he was outnumbered by the wealthy Nicholas Excestre, who held forty six. This indicates that there may have been a small number of merchants controlling large amounts of urban real property. Meanwhile the rest of the class owned the

tenement in which they lived with one or two shops. A look at the ratio of the numbers of tenements and shops to the number of merchants who held real property supports this idea. The average for the number of tenements ranges from 1.8 to 3.5 per merchant real property holder.¹⁴ The same figures for those merchants who left large estates are from 5.0 in the decade 1480 to 1500 to 7.6 for the period 1380 to 1400. So as regards tenements there are definite indications that from this very small number of Bristol merchants, there was a monopoly by the larger real property holders.

The same conclusion can be drawn concerning shops. Out of two hundred and one shops bequeathed between 1380 and 1500, one hundred and fifty three were held by no fewer than seven merchants. The ratios between shops and merchants bequeathing them also shows a monopoly, and one which was greater than that supposed for tenements. The average ratios for 1380 to 1440 when there is evidence of ownership of shops, range from 1.8:1 to 12.7:1, for all those merchants who left real property. Similar ratios for those merchants of the large class are in contrast to these average figures. They ranged from 14:1 in the period 1380 to 1400 to 27:1 for 1420 to 1440.¹⁵

So from this analysis one can see that it is possible that a small number of Bristol merchants were in a position to regulate the price and availability of urban real property. It is unfortunate that there is no extant Statute Book for Bristol. If there had been, it may have shed more light on possible complaints against the

effects of a real property monopoly. However, it is accepted that even before the fourteenth century there appeared small groups of men who sought to control the life and policies of the towns. The means by which they attained this were many, trade and municipal legislation being the chief ones. The monopolising of commercial-type real property, such as shops, should perhaps also be included in the means of this type of control.

The second point arising from this analysis is one which has already been brought to notice. Investment in shops by the merchants on whom there is information, ceased by the middle of the fifteenth century. From 1440 there are only nine shops bequeathed by those merchants having any real property. Four of the small class left these nine. In the next twenty years eight shops were left again by merchants of the small class. After 1460 only one shop is recorded in any of the wills. This result may be the product of these particular wills. If others had survived a different set of figures may have emerged. This sharp decline in the number of shops held is derived from forty two wills. It is a small number, but the decline in this kind of investment is constant in all the wills whether merchant or otherwise. So although these forty two merchant wills represent only one tenth of the total their results on shop investment is the same as those of the total number.

The reason for this decrease cannot be explained by the information available for Bristol. One suggestion is that this change in investment is linked to other changes among the merchant class in the

latter half of the century. At that time, as has been shown in the previous chapter, the merchant oligarchy was less tightly knit. Previous to 1440 Elias Spelly, Walter Derby, John Canynges, John Leycestre, and Nicholas Excestre left the largest numbers of shops. Their total holding was one hundred and twenty four out of the one hundred and eighty three shops bequeathed in merchant wills between 1380 and 1440. All five held municipal office, and with the exception of Excestre, were mayor for more than one year. Spelly and Derby were both mayor four times, while Canynges and Leycestre held the office for two years each. Spelly, Derby, and Canynges were also M.P.s for Bristol. So there appears some connection with the merchants who formed the close oligarchy of the beginning of the century and those who held large numbers of shops. After 1450 the merchant who held the mayoralty a number of times disappears and so too did the man who held large numbers of shops. So it would seem that by this later period the merchant class had less interest in controlling municipal office and shop investment. But both these means of control could check the retailing industrial elements in Bristol. It is possible, therefore, that interest in these aspects of the town's economy decreased among the merchants during the course of the century.

A clue to a possible alternative to investment in shops can be seen in two pieces of information. Firstly, Carus-Wilson's research led her to state that during the fifteenth century there emerged a

class of merchant ship owners in Bristol. Perhaps these men were mainly merchant capitalists who had little interest in industrial developments. An example of this change in the Bristol merchant class can be seen in the Canynges family. William Canynges junior, left no shops in his estate, in 1474, and yet his grandfather, John Canynges, who died in 1405 left thirty five. But whereas the grandson was renowned for his fleet of merchant ships there is no indication that his grandfather had any ships at all.

The second possible alternative is that trade absorbed far more of merchant investment. In 1467 the Fraternity of Merchants and Marines of Bristol was founded.¹⁶ This was to become the Society of Merchant Venturers in Bristol by 1552. Perhaps this Fraternity of 1467 was formed by the demand of merchants more exclusively investing in foreign trade. In fact they obtained a grant from the municipal government for the right to register all Bristol shipping trade, to fix the price of goods imported, to collect port dues, and to organise harbour traffic.¹⁷ Normally these were duties undertaken by the town officers and council, but here they are made the sole concern of a private society. Most probably the men who voted for this delegation of some of their most important powers were themselves members of the Fraternity. So there could have occurred a split in the interests of the government of the town and the merchants of foreign trade, which caused the latter to form their own body with exclusive powers more immediate to their particular investments.

These two alternatives in investment point to slow changes in the merchant class. As has been seen, investment in shops vanished from about 1450; but at about the same time the emergence of the great ship-owners is supposed to have occurred, and in 1467 a merchant Fraternity is founded with unprecedented powers. Taking these factors in conjunction with each other it appears that by the latter half of the fifteenth century the merchant class could have contained far more purely merchant capitalists rather than the mixture of industrial and mercantile interests of those of the first decades.

There are, however, three other possible explanations for the decrease in shop investment. At some time in the middle of the century it may have become the custom to include any shops attached to a house in the term "tenement". So bequests would no longer contain phrases such as "one tenement with two shops attached". However, this does not appear to be convenient. A merchant who wished to hold a shop would not want the whole tenement, and vice versa. The different needs of commercial and industrial real property, not to mention domestic accommodation could not have been catered for without confusion if a tenement included both shop and house.

Another possible answer to the decrease of investment in shops recalls the changes in Bristol's cloth manufacturing. The decrease could be due to lack of tenants for shops. The analogy of Salisbury's cloth industry has been mentioned in a previous chapter. In answer to a tax demand of 1487 Salisbury reported three hundred houses

empty. Similarly there is evidence for a decrease in the demand for real property of all kinds in York in the fifteenth century. Complaints of decayed rents and vacant tenancies are numerous, and gave support to the city's plea regarding taxation that York was not half so populous as it had been in the past.¹⁸ Similar decline in the demand for shop premises could have been caused by a decrease in the number of manufacturers and retailers in Bristol. A third possible explanation is that returns on investment in shops decreased. Either rents fell or they did not rise proportionately with the profit on other types of investment. As Professor Hilton has stated concerning the merchants of the Midland towns of Warwick, Gloucester, Coventry, and Worcester, mercantile and industrial profits were presumably sufficient to attract the bulk of urban capital. Certainly Bristol merchants do not appear to have owned these shops or tenements for profits. His proposal that by the fifteenth century there was far more institutional ownership of urban real property may provide another possible reason for the apparent decrease in real property investment by Bristol merchants at this time.¹⁹ The municipal government, the Guilds, or religious institutions could have taken over the bulk of the real property formerly owned by merchants. Unfortunately there are no complete rentals of any such institutions to verify this point for Bristol.

However, the question must be asked as to whether profits from urban real property were ever large enough to compete with those from industry and trade. Unfortunately rents are rarely given in the

wills, and so one can only base results on the small amount of information available. There are no rentals of Bristol real property for 1379 to 1500, the period covered by the wills. However there is a short rental dated for the fourteenth century, and also a larger one for 1350. The shorter rental is concerned with the "Fee of Arthur and Stakepenny", and the 1350 one was made for the procurators of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, and included all types of real property in all quarters of the town. Unfortunately neither rental state whether the payments mentioned were quarterly or annual sums. However, using the sparse information from the wills, and accounting for the changes in rent since the writing of the rentals it would seem that the payments were annual. There is a note on the manuscript of the 1350 rental to the effect that some figures allude to the change in rents in a revision of the rental at a later date, but unfortunately this date is not given. The dated payments of 1350 have therefore been used in preference to the supposedly later ones.

The information on rents from the wills themselves is almost negligible. One will mentioned two shops let at fourteen shillings per year; and another stated that three shops brought in three shillings per year.²⁰ These rents give a range of seven to one shilling per shop per annum. The information from the rentals gives a range of six shillings, and eight pence to three pence per shop per year; and the amount averages out at two shillings and two pence farthing, approximately. This sum amounts to a considerable amount

of money when applied to the bequests of large amounts of shops, and it must be remembered that this is an average of rent paid for a shop in 1350.

From these figures we can calculate the annual income which someone like Walter Derby could expect from his investment in shops. If two shillings and two pence farthing was accepted as the average rent per shop per year, he would have received £1 - 4 - 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d per annum., for the eleven shops he held at his death. His contemporary, Elias Spelly, would receive £1 - 17 - 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ d per year for the seventeen shops he held in 1390. Now E. Miller proposed that because the York merchants often made provision for the sale of their real property to realise bequests in the wills, they regarded this type of investment as relatively short term; a useful means of investment for small amounts of cash in hand. But if this were true then E. Miller's comments on the increase of decayed rents and vacant tenancies in the fifteenth century would imply that such short term investment was hazardous. Merchants would not buy real property if there was not a guaranteed demand, and this is especially so if this type of investment is to be regarded as short term. Security if not quick returns, would be a primary concern in buying real property which was to be sold quickly for trade ventures or to make up unexpected losses in goods or ships. True, a few Bristol merchants, gave directions for the sale of some real property to meet bequests or funeral costs, but many had large sums of cash in hand. Derby left over £473 and Spelly

£781 - 14 - 8; no instructions were given in either will for the sale of goods or real property to raise these sums, so presumably both testators had these sums in hand. In 1436 John Leycestre left fifteen shops which he might have left a total of £1 - 12 - 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ per year. In the same will, however, he left £177 in cash, as well as unspecified amounts of merchandise. These rent figures are very small in comparison with the cash held by the Bristol merchants, and the theory that real property investment was useful on a short term basis does not seem feasible, at least for Bristol. The rents probably did not warrant the trouble of buying real property and selling it in the face of possible decreasing demand. Other reasons must have made this form of investment attractive. Perhaps, as had already been suggested these men were concerned in keeping an interest in if not a control of the artisans and retailers of the town.

Again using the rentals mentioned above some figure for the rents from tenements can be worked out. Here the evidence from wills is more helpful than it was for shops. The average rent paid for a tenement for one year was £1 - 6 - 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ d, with a range of rents of £2 - 0 - 0 to 6s 8d. The same figures taken from the 1350 rental gives an approximate average of 3s 9d. per tenement per year. Whereas the evidence from the fourteenth century rental gives 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., as an approximate average rent. However, as has been said, it is not stated whether the amounts in the rental were annual figures; and the wide difference of average rents does not supply a sufficient nor

reliable basis on which any figures could be calculated. The only fact which can be deduced is that as was to be expected the rent for a tenement was higher than that of a shop. It would be expected, therefore, that for good returns merchants would concentrate their investment in real property in tenements. But this was not the case during the period 1380 to 1450. This fact endorses the proposal that shop investment was, to a certain extent, used for the control it would give these men over those artisans and retailers who rented these premises from them.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Wilson, E.M. Carus, "The Merchant Adventurers of Bristol in the Fifteenth century"; Thrupp, op. cit.
2. G.O.B. ff. LXVIIb; XIV; XXII, are three examples.
3. "Antiquities of Bristowe in the Middle Centuries". op. cit.
4. Ibid. pp. 97, 98n.
5. Ibid. p. 65n.
6. A particular ordinance of 1408 stipulated that "No man, burgess, or any other man of the craft is to do any work of Graware, Wyldeware, or any furring of high price in a private room or in any secret place. He must carry out his trade in a public place so the master and wardens can survey his work" L.R.B. vol. II. p. 96, f. 122b.
7. Ibid. pp. 48, 48n, 49, 61, 193, 72.
8. Ibid. 72, 86.
9. Will of John Clyve, 1430, left lands, meadows and pastures in Shemehampton in Gloucestershire. Will of Philip Mede, 1471, left lands, rents, meadows, pastures, and services in Somerset.
10. See map.
11. See figures B and C.
12. See figure C.
13. See figures A, B, and C.
14. See figure B.

15. See figure C.
16. Harvey, op. cit. Wilson, E. Carus, Medieval Merchant Venturers; Latimer, J., "The History of the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol, with some account of anterior merchant guild".
17. Latimer op. cit.
18. Miller, op. cit. p. 85.
19. Hilton R.H. "Some problems of Urban Real Property in the Middle Ages" in "Socialism, Capitalism, and Economic Growth". Essays presented to Maurice Dobb. edit. Feinstein, C.H. pp. 336, 337, 326 - 337.
20. G.O.B. ff. IX; XXI - XXIII.

DATES	REAL PROPERTY		CASH	NO. OF WILLS OF MERC. MAYORS
	SHOPS	TENEMENTS		
1380- 1400	11	5	(Merc. class £146.3) £147.6	6
1400- 1440	5	2.9	(Merc. class £84.2) £60.6	6
1440- 1480	-	(4.5) 2.2	(Merc. class £73.9) £125	(10) 9
1480- 1500	-	1.2	(Merc. class £46.4) £28.6	4

AVERAGE FIGS. FOR 26 WILLS OF MERCHANT
MAYORS.

REAL PROPERTY		CASH	NO. OF TESTATORS
SHOPS	TENEMENTS		
3	2	£62.4	111
4.5	1.9	£31.9	172
0.8	2.4	£40.5	67
0.06	2.5	£40	68
AVERAGE FIGS. FOR ALL TESTATORS.			418

AVERAGE FIGURES FOR MERCHANTS' ESTATES

DATE	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES TO NEAREST £	TENEMENTS	SHOPS
1380-1400	£185.5	2.4	2.25
1400-1420	£ 90.6	2.4	9.7
1420-1440	£ 72.1	2.5	5.2
1440-1460	£ 52.8	1.3	0.5
1460-1480	£ 57 (without the exception of Thomas Rowley)	1.3 (without the exception of John Shipward)	0
1480-1500	£ 44.4	0.5	0

FIGURE A

NUMBER OF TENEMENTS HELD BY EACH
"CLASS" OF MERCHANT REAL PROPERTY HOLDERS

DATE	LARGE CLASS	AVERAGE CLASS	SMALL CLASS
1380-1400	7.6:1	2:1	1:1
1400-1420	6.6:1	2:1	3.8:1
1420-1440	6.7:1	1.6:1	4:1
1440-1460	7:1	2.4:1	2.8:1
1460-1480	7.5:1 (without the exception of John Shipward)	2:1	2.3:1
1480-1500	5:1	2:1	1.8:1

FIGURE B

?
 NUMBER OF TENEMENTS HELD BY EACH
"CLASS" OF MERCHANT REAL PROPERTY HOLDERS.

DATE	LARGE CLASS	AVERAGE CLASS	SMALL CLASS
1380-1400	14:1	3:1	1:1
1400-1420	25.5:1	5.5:1	2:1
1420-1440	27:1	8:1	2.3:1
1440-1460	-	-	2.6:1
1460-1480	-	-	1:1
1480-1500	-	-	-

FIGURE C

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS 1380-1400

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
ASCHE, Richard	£4-3-4	Estate in cellars, shops and solars. Un- specified property.	NIL	1 garden with pool.	NIL	NIL	NIL
atte BARUGH, Peter	£692-19-4	5	NIL	NIL	Silver and lead vessels.	NIL	20 sacks of wool at 10 marks each; 10 whole cloths at £3 each; 2 whole cloths at 53/4 each; 3 yds. cloth at 2/6; 1 doz. cloths; 13 qts. woad.
CANYNGES William	£39-9-6	Reversion of all tenements of his wife.	NIL	NIL	Unspecified silver vessels.	1	1 doz. cloths, 2 qts. woad.
CLERK, Thomas	£34-4-0	NIL	NIL	NIL	3 silver cups, arms.	NIL	NIL
DERBY, Walter	£473-9-2	6	11	NIL	Some silver plate.	3/4 share in a ship. 1/2 share in a bal- inger.	NIL

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS 1380-1400 (cont.)

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
DRAYCOT, John	£26-0-0	3	NIL	"Land" mention- ed twice.	NIL	NIL	NIL
FRAMPTON, Walter	£0-6-8	Unspecified number of tenements.	Unspecified number of shops.	Unspecified amount of land.	NIL	NIL	"Goods"
MULEWARD, Richard	£168-10-0	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
RUSSELL, John	£12-19-4	NIL	NIL	1 garden	NIL	NIL	Barrells and pipes in Ire- land. 80 barrells.
SOMERWELL, William	£86-10-4	Unspecified number of tenements & mansions	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
SELLY, Elias	£781-14-8	12(?)	17	2 messuges. "Lands".	2 silver cups. Sil- ver plate.	1	NIL
TEDISTILLE, Walter	£70-13-4	2, a term in 1.	1	NIL	2 silver cups	NIL	"Goods"
VYELL, John	£160-12-0	20 year term in 1	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
WYKE, John	£43-10-9	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS 1400-1420

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
BARET, William	£106-0-4	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
CANYNGES, John	NIL	NIL	35.	5 gardens. 2 vacant plots. 1½ acre of land.	NIL	NIL	"Goods".
DROYES, John	£27-0-0	2	7	11 messuages 3 gardens. 1 dove-cote.	NIL	NIL	NIL
DUDBRCKE, Robert	£153-5-4	2	4	Interest in 1 messuge.	NIL	NIL	"Goods"-some of which were over-seas.
FANYN, Richard	£266-17-4	5 1 hall with chambers & kitchen	2	NIL	Armour & weapons	NIL	NIL
SEYMOUR, Walter	£34-15-0	6	16	1 garden	NIL	NIL	NIL
SCLERS, William	£5-0-0	1 house	2	1 garden	NIL	NIL	NIL
SCHERWELL, John	£133-19-10	Reversion of unspecified no. of tenements.	NIL	"Lands".	NIL	NIL	1 barrell oil. 20 cloths = 100 marks.

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS. 1420-1440

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
BAGOD, Nicholas	£10-17-0	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	2 quarters woad.
CLYVE, John	£0-13-4	9(?)	13	3 messuages 5 gardens. 3 lots of "land" mentioned.	NIL	NIL	NIL
DEVENYSSHE, Nicholas	£740-18-8	NIL	NIL	NIL	Jewels. Armour.	NIL	NIL
EXCESTRE, Nicholas	£2-0-0	6 2 halls	46	3 closes. 1 garden.	Some silver plate	NIL	NIL
FISHER, John	£100-11-0	2	2	1 messuage	1 silver cup. Silver spoons.	NIL	NIL
FISHER, Thomas	£1-8-8	3 Estate in 4 tenements	Estate in 4 shops.	Estate in 2 messuages	NIL	NIL	NIL
GILDENEY, Henry	£69-7-8	6	1	1 messuage. "lands" "gardens"	Silver plate.	NIL	NIL

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS. 1420-1440 (cont'd)

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
HEETHE, John	£29-4-4	2	NIL	"Lands"	NIL	NIL	"Goods"
JOCE, Gilbert	£1-7-8	3	4	Reversion of 2 messuages and 1 garden	NIL	NIL	NIL
KETFORD, Philip	£7-16-7	NIL	NIL	NIL	64 ozs. of silver plate	NIL	Unspecified number of pipes of woad.
LEYCESTRE, John	£177-0-0	6	15	"Lands" mentioned twice.	NIL	NIL	"Goods"
MOILLE, William	£0-8-4	NIL	NIL	NIL	Jewels	NIL	"Goods at sea and at home"
POWLISHAM, John	£2-12-10	1 house	1	2 selions. 1 garden 1 messuage.	NIL	NIL	NIL
UMFRAY, John	£2-5-0	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	3 qts. woad

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS. 1420-1440 (cont'd)

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
WHITE, William	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	13 qts. woad some of which was over- seas
YONGE, Thomas	£7-10-0	3	8	10 messua- ges 1 garden	NIL	NIL	NIL

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS. 1440-1460

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
AISSHE, Richard	£26-0-0	NIL	NIL	NIL	1 silver chalice	NIL	2 whole woollen cloths.
BLOUNT, Thomas	£3-0-0	4	4	1 vacant plot. Estate in 1 parcel of land.	Jewels. Silver vessels.	NIL	500 lbs. of lead.
BURTON, John	£272-1-8	7 Reversion of 4½ tenements.	3 Reversion of 3½ shops.	Reversion of ½ garden. 1 messuage. ½ close.	Silver cups. Salvers, & spoons.	1 ship "La Marie of Bristol	2 sacks of wool. £40 worth of cloth. "Merchandise" in ship. 1 pipe of woad.
FISSCH, William	£11-4-8	Unspeci-fied number.	NIL	Unspeci-fied amount.	1 silver cup. 1 silver bowl. Jewels.	NIL	Goods and merchandise in England & abroad.

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS 1440-1460. (cont'd)

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
FORSTER, Richard	£71-13-4	2 2 yrs. term left in 1 other tenement.	NIL	"Lands"	NIL	NIL	NIL
HATTER, Richard	£75-6-8	NIL	NIL	NIL	1 silver bowl weighing 12 ozs.	NIL	NIL
HAYMAN, John	£13-7-8	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
HOLBROKE, Richard	£6-11-8	NIL	NIL	NIL	1 silver bowl. 1 silver salver.	NIL	2 whole cloths.
KNOLLES, William	£0-14-6	2	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
ROPER, Richard	£3-13-4	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS 1440-1460. (cont'd)

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
SPYCER, John	£10-2-4	Unspecified number.	NIL	Unspecified amount.	NIL	NIL	NIL
STURMY, Robert	£190-12-0	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	1	Goods in ship.
TRENOLDE, Richard	£2-6-8	Mentioned rent from 1 tenement.	1	1 messuage 1 garden	NIL	NIL	NIL

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS 1460-1480

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
CANYNGES, William	£220-5-0	6	NIL	10 messuages	Jewels	?	"Goods and chattels".
CHESTRE, Henry	£0-8-0	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
CHESTRE, John	£1-3-4	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
CODIR, William	£288-16-7	1	NIL	NIL	Jewels	NIL	12 pipes woad. 2 large pipes of woad. "Goods".
COGAN, John	£25-11-0	NIL	NIL	NIL	Silver plate = 10 marks. 1 silver cup.	NIL	"Goods" in mansion. 5 pipes woad. 1 measure woad 1 qt. woad.
GAYWODE, John	£38-14-7	11 1 house.	NIL	6 gardens. 2 closes. $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of meadow land. 1 vacant plot.	Armour. Silver plate.	NIL	NIL

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS 1460-1480. (cont'd)

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
HOTTON, William	£59-6-8	1	NIL	NIL	1 silver standing cup. 1 silver salver.	NIL	1 whole woollen cloth. $2\frac{1}{2}$ yds. woollen cloth. $2\frac{1}{4}$ pipes woad.
JAKYS, Robert	£41-3-4	1 Unspecified number.	NIL	"Lands" twice mentioned. 1 messuage. 1 loft. 1 vacant plot. 2 burgages.	NIL	NIL	"Goods"
JAYE, John	£107-9-4	1 house.	NIL	NIL	NIL	A share in 1 ship.	Salt = 100 marks. 2 whole cloths. 1 pipe woad.

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS 1460-1480. (cont'd)

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
MAY, Henry	£2-0-0	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	1 pipe woad
MEDE, Philip	£44-2-8	Unspecified number.	NIL	Unspecified amount.	NIL	NIL	1 pipewoad
MORS, Ludovic	£1-11-8	1	1	NIL	NIL	NIL	20 pipes woad - i.e. 14 in ships and 6 in his house. 1 qt. woad.
ROGERS, Thomas	£1-16-8	Unspecified number.	NIL	Unspecified amount.	NIL	NIL	1 qt. woad.
ROWLEY, Thomas	£467-13-4	NIL	NIL	NIL	1 silver bowl weighing 23½ ozs. 1 silver chalice weighing 24 ozs.	NIL	25 pipes woad. 18 dol. iron. 7 pipes iron.
SMITH, George	£0-1-0	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	1/4 share in 1 ship.	4 pipes woad

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS 1480-1500

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
BRACY, Denyss.	£109-8-4	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
DAWES, Edward	£188-12-0	NIL	NIL	NIL	140 ozs. silver plate. Jewels.	NIL	20 pipes woad at £8 each. 24 measures woad. 20 woollen cloths worth 8 marks.
ESTREFIELD, John	£676-7-8	4 houses	NIL	11 messuages 2 parts of 1 measures. Reversion of 7 messuages, + 2 parcels of land with fullers' racks.	Silver plate. Jewels. Gold rings.	NIL	13 tuns at 5 marks per tun.

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS 1480-1500. (cont'd)

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
de la FOUNTE, William	£179-1-0	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	£40 worth of salt at 4d. per bushel. 100 marks worth of salt. "Goods".
FOSTER, John	£199-10-0	Unspecified number - enfeoffed.	NIL	"Lands" 1 mess- usage. Term in 2 mess- usages.	100 marks worth of silver plate. £40 of silver plate. 4 silver gilt cups.	NIL	NIL
HUTTON, John	£0-2-0	NIL	NIL	NIL	1 silver cup. 6 "paris" pieces.	NIL	4 measures woad.
KYTE, Edward	£30-13-10	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	1 measure woad. 1 horse.

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS 1480-1500. (cont'd)

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
LUMBARD, William	£0-2-0	1	NIL	1 garden	NIL	NIL	NIL
LYNCOLN Walter	£4-9-0	5	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	2 pipes woad.
MEDE, John	£0-14-4	1 Term in unspecified number.	NIL	1 garden. 3 tenters. Term in "lands". Term in 1 garden.	NIL	NIL	NIL
PENKE, John	£18-7-8	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	11 pipes woad. 14 measures woad. 19 tuns wine. 2 pipes wine. 1 hogshead wine.
ROWLEY, John	£4-1-0	1 mansion	NIL	NIL	Jewels	NIL	NIL

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS 1480-1500. (cont'd).

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
ROWLEY, William	£7-0-0 (+£14 Flemish money)	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
ROWLEY, John	£0-7-8	NIL	NIL	NIL	Silver plate	NIL	Merchandise 1 pipe woad worth 5 marks.
SKRYVENE, John	£0-18-8	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	1 qt. woad.
SPENSER, William	£80-6-8	NIL	NIL	2 messuages	NIL	NIL	6 pipes woad. 3 dol. iron merchandise.
VAGHAN, Henry	£9-14-6	NIL	NIL	NIL	Jewels. Silver. Gold.	NIL	Merchandise 10 pipes woad. 12 dol.iron. 1 pipe iron. 4½ yds. broad wool- len cloth.

ESTATES OF THE MERCHANT CLASS 1480-1500. (cont'd).

NAME	TOTAL CASH LEGACIES	TENEMENTS	SHOPS	LAND	VALUABLES	SHIPS	MERCHANDISE
VAGHAN, John	£2-6-8	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
WALSHE, John	£9-17-8	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
WESTCOTE, Edmund	£42-3-4	NIL	NIL	NIL	450 marks worth of silver plate.	NIL	35 pipes of woad
WILTSHERE, Clement	£45-1-8	1 Term in 4 tenements.	NIL	NIL	20 ozs. silver.	NIL	6 "see" cloths.

CHAPTER III

THE MERCHANT AS A CONSUMER

Not so much money was spent on valuables as on real property. Thirty three of the hundred and twenty-five merchants left silver, gold, or armour in their wills. But this proportion is, in fact, the same for all the Bristol testators, merchant or otherwise. No valuation can be given for gold and silver, as none of the testators gave the price of their valuables. The kinds of objects invested in can, however, be examined in full.

Silver plate figures prominently among the bequests. Some merchants left vast amounts. Edmund Westcote left as much as £300 worth of plate in his will of 1485 while his contemporary John Foster bequeathed plate valued at over £106. Other merchants did not invest so much in plate, but twenty of them boasted varieties of silver objects, even if on a smaller scale. Cups, mazers, and basins or dishes are the most usual pieces found in the bequests. Cups could be in various sizes, shapes, and weights. One of the most ornate cups belonged to Henry Gildeney who left his friend, William Pytte, a silver cup called a "Standyngecuppe", which had a silver cover or lid, and a pearl setting. John Cogan owned two silver cups, also with covers, which were in a chased work commonly called "parys" plate. Another standing cup called a "Note" was owned by William Fissch, the cover of which was made of silver gilt, which was quite popular as an added finish to the

covers of silver cups. Nicholas Excestre had one large silver cup with such a cover. Two merchants, Thomas Rowley, and Richard Aisshe bequeathed chalices; Rowley's weighed as much as twenty four ounces of silver.

Dishes and mazers made of silver and silver gilt were found in most collections of plate. One silver dish with a silver cover was valued at £2; and a silver mazer at £1 in John Fisscher's will. John Gaywode also had a small but interesting collection of dishes. One of his mazers he described as a "Note" standing, white in colour and decorated with silver gilt. "Paryce" work was not confined to cups and chalices.¹ Gaywode had three silver dishes, each weighing twelve and a half ounces of "paryce" work, with a short foot, and an emblem worked in the middle of each dish. Five of his bowls, each weighing seven and a half ounces, he called "Flatte pece". On the other hand, John Hutton owned six "paris" plates and Nicholas Excestre left three bowls called "Bollepecis". All the silver dishes and bowls left by Walter Derby were used to hold wine, whereas one of Nicholas Excestre's dishes was called a "Spice dish". So it seems that by the fifteenth century some silver plate had specific uses and were probably designed for these. In fact bequests of such pieces reflect a certain elegance of living amongst those who could obviously afford it.

A number of merchants owned quantities of silver, pewter, and lead vessels, which if bequeathed to one person, were rarely described.

Bequests of silver spoons are common to most collections of wills of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They were probably the first form of plate invested in by the young up-and-coming merchant. But, in fact fewer instances of gifts of silver spoons occur in the merchants wills. Perhaps, they were thought insignificant compared with costlier pieces, and were included in the household effects. It is certainly true that the gift of a half a dozen silver spoons only gets specific mention by the poorer testator who owned no other valuables. Some indication of the type of silver spoons available to the merchants can be seen in the will of a goldsmith, Thomas Cockys. His dozen silver spoons with figured handles probably approximated to present day standards of craftsmanship, for although obviously intricately designed, each spoon weighed over just one ounce only.

Jewellery is not described in any detail in any of the merchant wills. Eight mention bequests of jewels, but these are incorporated in such phrases as "all my gold, silver, and jewels."² Using the analogy of jewellery described in other wills of Bristol, the main pieces could include gold rings, necklaces or circlets, pearls, coral beads, and more unusual, amethysts. One strange ring owned by John Wyell was set with a stone from the pillar to which Christ had been bound. Some merchants owned elaborately decorated girdles. Peter atte Barugh described his best girdle as being bound with silver on which was hung his best baslard. John Gaywode's three best girdles, in blue, russet, and green were also bound with silver, and had gold purses attached. Other girdles were of silk usually with

some silver binding; and some were even made completely of silver.

A small number of merchants invested in arms and armour.

Brigandines, and cuirasses numbered among John Gaywode's possessions.³ His pair of Brigandines were covered in red worsted and had buckles, and pendants of silver. Another man who invested his money this way was Nicholas Devenyssh. He left his son a considerable estate which included a set of armour complete with hauberk, breastplate, one pair of vambrace, one pair of rerebrace, a pair of plated gloves and a pair of greaves. The arms left to him included a pole axe, a sword, and a lance. The son and heir of Richard Paans was also provided with arms by his father's will. He was to receive £20 for his advancement, and for his arms and armour. Daggers and baslards, however, were the usual arms invested in.⁴ Henry Gildeney owned as many as seven daggers, one of which was bound in silver. Two of his other baslards were decorated with silver, one of which had an ivory haft covered in the same way. He and John Burton had both invested in two of the long spiked spears called poleaxes.

The merchants also spent their money on furnishing their homes. Only the most costly pieces are recorded, but these give some insight into the sort of furniture bought. The bed was the most costly possession, and appears most often in bequests of furniture. John Estrefield left his best feather bed, then in his great chamber. He had one other feather bed complete with bolsters and pillows, as well as a flock bed and a mattress, also with bolsters. A similar

degree of comfort was enjoyed by a number of merchants. Numerous feather beds were bequeathed, and in some cases they represented a major part of a dowry, as in Estrefeld's case. Henry Gildeney and Philip Ketford who both died in the 1430s owned canopied beds with testers. The coverlet of Ketford's bed was in the same material and colour as the tester hangings. George Smith, whose will is dated November 1470, and who may have been more familiar with the great beds which came into fashion in the sixteenth century, also had matching hangings and coverlet for his best feather bed. Storage space for furnishings and clothes was provided by great wooden chests. These came in a variety of woods, the most popular being spruce or cypress. John Gaywode owned two great chests of spruce wood, and another one was, he said, kept in his parlour. On the other hand, Thomas Rowley found it more convenient to stand his chest in the hall of his tenement. A more sophisticated form of the chest was the clothes press, and in wills of the latter years of the century cupboards are mentioned as part of the furniture of parlours and kitchen. But throughout the period dining furniture was always comprised of tables, trestles, and forms, purely functional pieces providing little comfort.

To offset the hard lines of such furniture, soft furnishings were introduced towards the end of the century. Cushions and bench covers were the most common aids to comfort. Though the merchants also bought expensive tapestries and hangings, often matching

the other soft furnishings. The halls of merchants such as John Gaywode were decorated in this way. Table cloths and napkins were extra refinements bought by a number of merchants. George Smith owned a dozen best napkins as well as four good quality "bordeclothes", and Estrefeld left a number of dyed tablecloths. For lighting and heating merchants' houses were well equipped with candles and open hearth fires. One hall had a simple chandelier in the form of a candlestick suspended from the centre of the ceiling. Great andirons often flanked the hearth, which were more often for decoration and generally used only at Christmas festivities.

More merchant spending can be seen in the wills of merchants' wives. In general these wills mentioned jewellery, clothings, and small articles of value. Agnes Spelly, widow of the wealthy Elias, left a collection of small silver vases, and cups, and some pieces of jewellery. As was usual, she had been left the home by her husband, and she gave a detailed account of its contents in her will. She particularly mentioned the hall, equipped with cupboards and a large hanging ewer. Its soft furnishings included a profusion of bankers and dossers, little known at the time of Agnes' death.⁵ Another wealthy widow, Alice Chestre was left what appears to have been a comfortable home by her husband. She ran her own business when widowed and was therefore able to collect valuable items herself from her own fortune. Her silver plate was impressive and included a large ewer and basin in silver and parcel gilt weighing seventy ounces, together with an

ornamental goblet in silver and whole gilt called a "bell cup".

However, a large amount of money was spent on clothing by both men and women. Unlike to-day clothes were of value even second-hand, and were invariably left to relatives and friends in the same way as plate, or money. There were a wide variety of garments including robes, cloaks, and hoods, or, at the end of the century, doublet and hose. Dyed woollen cloth was the most usual material in a wide range of colours such as green, blue, ruby, and violet. Some were even multi-coloured and striped. More expensive clothing was of coloured silk and trimmed with fur. Linings were used for extra warmth, and most robes and cloaks were lined as so were hoods, usually with a cloth of matching colour.

Clothing, like other possessions, was graded. Each garment bequeathed was described and qualified by "very best", "second best", and "third best" grading. In fact the merchant testators were well aware of the value of each garment, and they were considered bequests of some importance. However clothing was not just bought for warmth and comfort. Beyond the obvious difference between rags and riches clothing was a form of recognition between the classes of society. To dress well and for one's wife to dress expensively was essential for two reasons. Firstly a great deal of medieval trade depended on trust and confidence. Money and goods were only entrusted to a merchant who could entertain lavishly in a comfortable mansion, and who was dressed expensively. Others found enough surety in such a merchant's

possessions to risk valuable cargo or loans with him. This surety was very important in the system of shipping used by Bristol merchants. For when a merchant exported goods only a nominal sum was paid in advance to the shipper. The balance was only paid on the safe arrival of the cargo, or in the case of a round trip, with the arrival of the imported goods. So these types of transactions depended upon trust and knowledge of some surety on both sides by both merchant and shipper. Good clothes and lavish furs helped to create the reputation of these men. So in this way a man could affirm his place in the elite of the merchant class.

Secondly, clothing also indicated a man's place in Bristol society as a whole. It has been seen in a previous chapter that Ricart's portrait of the election of a mayor illustrated clearly how clothing indicated one's position in the hierarchy of town government. So it was a very worthwhile investment for a merchant to spend quite a proportion of his income on clothes for himself and his family. To display wealth in this way was not only to inspire confidence in business but to infer superiority within the community.

Though a lot of money was spent on clothing, it did have a practical use, the same cannot be said for lavish funerals. A merchant's funeral, however, was in many cases the most important status symbol. Instructions for burial in the wills were detailed and often costed. A funeral could be spread over three days, with services on the vigil, the day, and the morrow. Priests, chaplains,

and friars were all paid to attend these ceremonies. Churches where the burial was to take place received gifts of money, vestments, plate, candles, and sometimes real property. The coffin itself was often draped in black Welsh woollen cloth, which, after the service, was given to the church. Some merchants provided cloth, or money for the black mourning robes of not only the immediate family, but for servants and friends. Twelve or as many as twenty four poor were sometimes similarly provided with black cloth, if they agreed to accompany the funeral procession. Some poor received cloaks, hoods, and shoes made for the specific purpose of attending the funeral. Food for the poor was also provided at the more grandiose funerals. Numerous large candles were ordered, to be carried around the hearse and lit during the ceremonies. These again were often carried by the poor who would receive clothing for the ceremony. The candles were normally distributed to various churches afterwards, in return for prayers for the dead man. Apart from the ceremonies, money was also spent on the place of burial. A gift had to be left to the church where a merchant wished to be buried, so that was the initial expense. Then he often built or erected a stone, tablet, or tomb for himself. In some cases, as with the Canynges family the tomb was to be built in the testator's chantry. However chantries, tombs, and ritual were all expenses with no return. The only profit to be had, and it must have been thought well worth the money, was in the status that a lavish funeral would give to a

merchant family. Presumably Bristol gave recognition to these displays of mixed opulence and piety.

If the respect of the community could be bought in this way, then many merchants considered they could also buy salvation. The churches, clergy, and the poor were all paid for their prayers. Churches provided masses, and remembrance services for several years after the death of a testator. Some chaplains were paid an annual salary for up to twenty years for masses for the dead. Others were offered accommodation, food and drink for a specified period for the same services. The four Orders of Friars in Bristol were regularly left money bequests. Most of these were for the attendance of a number of friars at the funeral and the provision of prayers said in their churches. Individual priests and chaplains especially confessors, were paid sums of money for their special prayers. Food and clothing, rather than money, was given to the poor for prayers offered, perhaps for some paternalistic reasoning that the poor would mismanage money. These gifts were usually distributed by the executors of a merchant's will at the time of the funeral, so that the poor could attend and pray in their newly acquired finery or when well fed. In some wills an annual gift to the poor was ordered. This was often made the responsibility of the priest appointed to offer continual prayers for the soul of the benefactor.

The merchant's desire to buy salvation not only benefitted the poor in a practical sense. Most of the hospitals and prisons were

also maintained on such funds from rich testators. In his attempt to secure a befitting rank in Heaven as he had done in Bristol, a merchant often saved the blind, crippled and disease-ridden poor from suffering their Hell while on earth. In some respects this was a welfare service provided, not as was usual by the Church, but by the richer laity. Widows, poor girls, and orphans also benefitted from bequests and gifts. Also a more humane concern was shown for unfortunate debtors in prison than was given in later centuries by a much more affluent society. Bequests to such prisoners were always left with the proviso that they should only be given to those merchants who had suffered by misfortune and not by mismanagement.

One can see from this evidence from the wills that merchants were very astute consumers. In all their buying, from silver plate to a few prayers, any profit was carefully thought out. There was no spending for its own sake; plate was surety and personal effects inspired confidence in business. When his place on earth became gradually more important to the merchant than his future place in Heaven, then the community rather than the Church benefitted. Either way the merchant gained respect and certainly got what he paid for. Even money for clothing was well spent, for a merchant's whole business could be based on how well he and his family were dressed. Furs and jewellery, though added expense, boosted the image and could even get one a place in the merchant elite. So it is not strictly accurate to call the merchant a consumer pure and simple. He was always an investor whether in trade, in real property, or even clothing.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. This probably means "made in Paris".
2. The eight wills are those of Blount, Fissche, Dawes, Vaghan, Wiltshire, Devenyssh, Moille, and Codir.
3. A brigandine or brigantine is a coat of mail made of light, thin jointed scales usually lined with silk or velvet.
4. Baslard was the abbreviated form of "baslardus". It was a type of dagger, usually worn at the girdle.
5. Bankers and dossers are ornamental cloths used as a cover for the back of a seat or wall.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX I

THE TOWN GOVERNMENT AND THE CRAFTS

With the exception of the drapers, and possibly the weavers in the fourteenth century, the crafts were dependent on the municipal government. The decisions taken by the masters of a craft needed the sanction of the town officers and council to be put into effect. The reason was that each craft made up a unit in the town's economy as a whole. Decisions on prices, wages, and conditions of work affected all other industries and trades. To control the economy the municipal government considered the petitions of each craft, only passing them if they did not threaten the rest of the community.

The crafts also had little control over their own craftsmen. If they were found guilty of breaking the craft regulations they were brought before the mayor's court. The wardens or surveyors of a craft were only empowered to search for these craftsmen, and had no jurisdiction. Moreover, the fines imposed on the mayor's court were normally halved; one part going to the town and one part to the craft. Continual offenders were not only excluded from their craft but were also disenfranchised. To be expelled from their craft would be a severe blow to craftsmen who knew no other skill. But the loss of the liberty of their town forced them into the inferior status of "foreigner", restricted in all aspects of industry and trade. The mayor's court, therefore, had a firm control over the

individual craftsman.

Indeed the general tone of the petitions of these men indicate their subservient position to the municipal government. A 1408 petition for an ordinance for labour regulations begins, "To the honourable and discrete Sirs, the Mayor, Sheriff, and all the honourable burgesses of the Common Council of the town of Bristol, supplicate humbly your co-burgesses the skinners of the same town."¹ An identical petition of the cordwainers of the same year, after listing several masters, prayed "the said mayor, sheriff, and good people of the council of the town for support of remedy, and that all the ordinances of the craft hereafter named may be kept and firmly guarded to endure perpetually."²

The tanner craft masters used the same respectful terms in 1415, when they asked the local government to solve the problem of badly treated leathers. Their address was "To the very honoured and very wise Sirs, the Mayor, Sheriff, of Bristol and to all the honourable and very wise Council of the same town, supplicate humbly your poor fellow burgesses.....masters of the craft of Tannery....."³

Even the weavers' craft, probably one of the oldest in Bristol, referred to their masters as "poor co-burgesses" of the municipal officers and council. Although their ordinances had been sanctioned by the town government, their surveyors had been "greatly and grievously injured and vexed by trespasses against the form of the ordinances". They therefore asked "May it please your very wise discretions to survey all and singular the

ordinances aforesaid and those which shall seem good and profitable for the community of the town in writing under your common seal".

If this was mere formal jargon adopted to give weight to the ordinances, they are of little significance. However, there appeared a clause at the end of each petition which implies that the tone of such words as "supplicate"⁴ or "humble" indicates real subservience.⁴ The 1429 ordinance of the cordwainers was granted full approval of the municipal authorities, but with the proviso clause of "full authority and power being always reserved to the..... Mayor, Sheriff, and Bailiffs and good men and their successors for the time being, to revoke, annul, augment, renew, or set aside the aforesaid ordinance as often as and whensoever it shall seem expedient..... for the common utility, honour, and better government of the Commonalty of the town and of the craft aforesaid."⁵ An ordinance of the barbers had the same clause appended, as to had that of the hoopers in the same year. The town government insisted on retaining the same authority over the mariners, when they established a fraternity in 1445.⁶

So any decisions made by a craft depended upon their acceptance by the town government to be put into effect. Even if the ordinance was allowed by one government, there was no guarantee that a later one may not revoke it. But we have seen that the individual craftsman was punished by the mayor's court, as so too were the craft officers. Also no craft office could be established without the consent of the

town government. Although decisions taken in the craft needed official sanction by the town government, municipal regulations concerning the craft needed only to be proclaimed to come into effect. In fact, the few examples quoted above indicate that some Bristol crafts had no real power left to them.

An apparent exception to this municipal control over craft business occurs in a 1389/90 ordinance of the weavers. Previous and subsequent weavers' ordinances were sanctioned by the mayor and council, but in this the "good men" of the craft were said to have made the ordinance themselves. The wording and content of this document explain this apparent exception. The use of the words "par lez prodez hommes del arte de textours" in the title indicates that these decisions were made by the wealthier weavers. This theory is endorsed by the fact that their ordinance limited the election of the craft aldermen. In 1355 the mayor had summoned all weavers to elect four aldermen from amongst themselves. By this late 1389 document, however, the aldermanic elections were made the privilege of the twelve "pluis prodes hommes du dite arte". Perhaps these men were small industrialist capitalists, acting as agents between the merchants and the poorer weavers. This may have been the case, for their ordinance limited servant wages and terms of employment, which would certainly have been against the interests of the smaller craftsman. Also, these top weavers made their ordinance without any reference to the town government. The only plausible explanation

for this exception is that these "worthy men" were in fact part of the government themselves.

In answer to the question as to whether Bristol crafts in the fifteenth century had any real power, it can be said that they had very little. Of course, this conclusion comes from only a small number of extant records. But there are some outstanding common factors in all these. With the exception of the one weaver's ordinance, mentioned above, all the ordinances began as petitions. Municipal authority had to be sought for all decisions to become effectual. Also the government controlled the punishment of both craftsmen, and craft officers.

However, if the government controlled the crafts, was there any rival body of merchants' organisation other than the government? There are two possibilities. First of all there existed in Bristol, from at least 1216, the religious guild of Kalendars. It was well provided, wealthy, and took considerable charge of education providing, after 1404, a free library and a weekly lecture by the prior.⁷ Certainly there were close ties between the town government and this guild. The mayor had the presentation of the prior, and it was the officers and council who drew up the regulations concerning the free library. It is quite possible that a number of prominent merchants were members of this guild as they were of others. However, there is no evidence that it constituted a rival to the town government. Only one or two merchants make any bequests to the guild, whereas other

religious guilds are mentioned a little more frequently. So in light of the available material one cannot compare the Kalendars guild with those of towns such as Leicester, Coventry, and Norwich. Moreover, Bristol's main trades were in wines and cloth, but there is no extant document for a vintners' or mercers' craft, or company. The spicers and grocers, so powerful in London, leave no record in Bristol. Industrial capitalists such as the drapers only appeared once in the Little Red Book. Their ordinance was granted in 1370 "for the drapers". Appended to a list of names of "prodes hommes" was the phrase "et plusours aultres, merchauntz et drapers".⁸ No other ordinance was so worded, and no subsequent petition for the drapers occurred. It appears in this instance that the drapers who asked for its sanctions were actually sitting and voting with the town government. So the town offices and council appear to have provided most of the needs of the merchants.

However, this can only be proposed for the period up to the first half of the fifteenth century. By 1467 a Fraternity of Merchants and Mariners was in existence in Bristol. Its meeting place was Spicer's Hall, where, by town rules, all merchants took wool and cloth to be stored or sold. Initially its purpose was to provide shelter for twelve poor sailors under the charge of a priest. In 1467, however, the Fraternity was given charge of the regulation of foreign trade. They fixed prices, collected port dues, and controlled harbours and quays.⁹ These unprecedented measures were

passed by a town council led by William Canynges, as mayor; a merchant who had vast resources and enormous interest in foreign trade. It is unlikely, therefore, that he would be a party to such grants to an individual fraternity, if he himself was not a member. In fact, the fraternity may have been the particular interest of the ship-owning merchants who emerged in the latter half of the fifteenth century, of whom Canynges was one of the most important. However, by 1467 the fraternity is definitely a rival body to the town government. Almost a century later, in 1552, when the fraternity became the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol, did this rivalry become a dangerous threat to the town government. In that year the Society gained a charter restricting all foreign trade to its members. Only in 1571 did the town council succeed in repealing this order, and regained some of its former strength.¹⁰

FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX I

1. L.R.B. vol. II. p. 93. f. 124.
2. Ibid. pp. 102, 103. f. 125.
3. Ibid. p. 111
4. French - suppliont.
5. L.R.B. vol. II. pp. 146, 147 f. 137b.
6. Ibid. p. 158 f. 141; p. 167 f. 144 - in Latin; p. 191 f. 152.
7. Hunt, W., "Bristol". pp. 58, 59, 112.
8. L.R.B. vol. I. p. 51. f. 114.
9. It is interesting to note that in the previous year the Kalendars' Guild suffered extensive damage by fire which destroyed the famous free library. It is conceivable that this had some bearing on the sudden impetus gained ~~by~~ the Fraternity of Merchants and Mariners.
10. Harvey, op. cit. pp. 230, 231; Wilson, E.M. Carus, "Merchant Venturers of Bristol".

APPENDIX II

SOME POPULATION FIGURES BASED ON ALL THE EXTANT WILLS

Medieval population figures have troubled the historian and demographer alike. The absence of parish registers and the consequent reliance on tax returns and rent lists, which are all subject to doubts about their accuracy, has led to nebulous speculation. No accurate, reliable documentation exists to tell us the population of Bristol in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century.

For information on the population of the city at this time, therefore, one has to use the small amount of extant evidence. These include the tallage of 1312 and a subsidy of 1327, but the phraseology of both is too ambiguous to allow any calculations.¹ The basis of assessment of the tallage was a 1/15th., on moveables and a 1/10th., on rents. The king ordered this tax on the demesne and boroughs in December 1312, but because of the imprisonment of a number of Bristol burgesses, the Gloucestershire commissioners were unable to make the assessment. Not until John le Taverner and the other imprisoned burgesses were released in the following June were the commissioners allowed to start. They were headed, however, by Lord Berkeley, with whom Bristol had a long standing quarrel over the jurisdiction of Redcliffe in the suburbs. His appointment led to the imprisonment of the commissioners and a riot broke out. Eventually, however, they were allowed to make their assessment. Even

so three years elapsed between the imposing of the tallage and any payment. This is the background to this assessment, and it must be kept in mind that this particular tax was on the one hand bitterly resented by the townspeople because of the imprisonment of some of their Burgesses, and on the other, involved the honour of the king in dealing with his recalcitrant Burgesses. Moreover, the king was in great need of immediate funds. As E.A. Fuller has shown in his work on the tallage, the levy was rigorous; but there are discrepancies. The membrane is incomplete; the assessment is divided into the two parties of the followers of the constable, and of the townsfolk; and there are many names against which no amounts are registered. Perhaps as Fuller suggests, the value of such a tallage is as a source of information of local life. It is certainly not a sound basis for statistics on population.

There appear to be considerable differences between this tallage and the subsidy of 1327. The total number of those assessed in 1312 was 960, and yet that for 1327 was 347. Moreover, Fuller detected that between these two dates the number of persons assessed at one pound and upwards have decreased by more than seventy five per cent. Fuller proposes two reasons for this; the decrease in the prosperity of the citizens or "some great mortality".² He can give no proof for either of these suggestions, and strangely overlooks the possibility of evasion. The circumstances of the tallage had ensured a more rigorous assessment and collection, although this is

not to say that Bristol people did not try to evade the tax in any way. The subsidy, a nation-wide tax, did not involve any local issues. Because the pressure on the commissioners of enquiry was probably less in 1327 than it was in 1313, evasion or more generally the concealment of goods was correspondingly more widespread.

Evasion of the assessment, or the use of a different basis of assessment, also affects the landgable lists. These were the rents paid to the king on tenures held in free burgage. From the three extant lists for Bristol it appears that there was a landgable unit of threepence three farthings, and although larger sums were registered they can be broken down into numbers of these units. As E.W. Veale illustrates in his work on Bristol burgage tenure there was a definite unit of value in these rents. He also suggests that as no man would be willing to render the same rent for less than that held by his neighbour, there was also a unit of area. Land values also possibly varied in each quarter. These points concerning the landgable illustrate that they could not be used to discover any reliable figures on population. Each unit does not represent a clearly defined tenement of a specified size which could accommodate an average number of households. Even if the landgable lists were extremely accurate and all payments were duly paid, there is too much doubt as to how many persons each unit represented, to use the lists for anything beyond information on burgage tenure in Bristol.³

Evasion, different bases of assessment, and ambiguous phraseology, thus drastically reduces the value of these sources. Despite this, J.C. Russell has tried to calculate population figures for Bristol.⁴ As his chief source he takes the Poll Tax returns for 1377, the landgable lists of 1438, and the Chantry returns for 1545. There were six thousand three hundred and forty five people taxed for Bristol in 1377. From this Russell estimates a total population of nine thousand five hundred and eighteen. In the first calculations there are two possible causes of error. The number registered for Bristol in the Poll Tax was open to evasion, bribery of officers, and inaccuracies. In addition Russell's allowance for children under fourteen, the clergy, and the religious Orders is too vague to be applied to every set of figures, for every town. So that the figure from the Poll Tax for Bristol cannot be more than a guess. However, it is on this basis that Russell puts forward his assumption concerning the landgable lists. But as we have seen these cannot give any accurate figures for population. He calculates the ratio of these returns for 1296 and the early fourteenth century, to that of the 1438 list. However, he then assumed that the 1438 population equals that for 1377, some sixty one years previously. But the figures for 1377, as has been stated, have little chance of being accurate. Therefore the figures of sixteen thousand nine hundred and forty in 1295, seventeen thousand and thirty five in the early fourteenth century, and nine thousand five hundred and seventeen in 1438 cannot be accepted.

Similarly his use of the Chantry returns are disturbing. Using the landgables and the Poll Tax he had established a decline in population from seventeen thousand and thirty five in the early fourteenth century to nine thousand five hundred and seventeen in 1438.⁵ To endorse this finding he takes the figures of the Chantry returns. Seventeen parishes gave a total of five thousand nine hundred and seventy one houseling people. But there are three parishes omitted and for these Russell multiplies first by 1.5 and again by 20/17, presumably based on the extant figures for the remaining parishes. This calculation totalled ten thousand five hundred and thirty six people for 1545. He is therefore assuming the existence of the second half of the population from calculations based on the first half. However, a population of ten thousand five hundred and thirty six in 1545 agrees with his premise that population in Bristol did not regain the figures of the thirteenth century after the early fourteenth century, for between 1438 and 1545 there is an increase of only ten per cent. So it can be seen that Russell's figures for Bristol cannot be anything more than supposition.

However, one major question to be asked is, "Was there any increase in the population of Bristol in the fifteenth century?" There are many difficulties in answering this. Always remembering that there are only four hundred and sixty of these Bristol wills, certain deductions can be made from the testators' families.

Although there may have been exceptions, it is probable that all the surviving children were mentioned in the wills. There was no death duty, and therefore no incentive to endow children before death or at least the signing of the will. From this evidence the average number of surviving children to each couple was extremely low, never reaching above 1.9 for any decade, and only 1.6 for any twenty years. (See Tables I and II). As shown in the tables the figures for 1440 to 1459 are doubtful for very few wills are extant for this period. The results, however, are fairly consistent in that throughout the whole period the number of children surviving the death of one of their parents never exceeded two. So from this it would appear that the population in the fifteenth century barely replaced each generation.

In a closer analysis of the wills there was a high proportion of testators who did not mention the existence, past or present, of a wife or husband.⁶ This is more than mere forgetfulness, for it was the norm for a testator either to provide for his wife or to pay for masses for her soul. Even if several marriages were involved all the husbands or wives received some acknowledgement. So it is possible to say that some if not all these testators had not married. Few of these were very wealthy, so perhaps lack of sufficient money had prevented these men from getting their heiress or wealthy widows. In a comparatively small town, the effect of people marrying late or not at all could have been serious.⁷ (See

Tables III and IV).

Another factor emerging from the analysis is the number of married testators giving no indication of the existence of children. Again discounting the figures for 1440 to 1459, the lowest percentage of childless testators to the total number is twenty seven per cent, the highest fifty four per cent, with an average of thirty four point eight per cent. (See tables V and VI.) This would represent an extremely high rate of infant mortality at this time. It could also contribute to the theory of later and fewer marriages. Most probably it reflects the effects of a combination of causes.

There were exceptions to these general figures. Some testators left a number of children, some as many as six or seven, but there were only a few of these. In relation to the total number of married testators they are rare. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the families having four or more children made up four per cent of the total; this rises to twenty three per cent in the last decade. The average percentage, however, is only eight point five. (See tables VII and VIII.)

So from the four hundred and sixty testators ten point eight per cent of them mention no husbands or wives and thirty four point eight per cent give no indication of any surviving children. This forty five per cent is extremely high, and it would be difficult for any society to be able to maintain even a stagnant population on this figure. In support of this are the frequent provisions in the

wills in the case of a beneficiary having no immediate heirs. Often four or more people are named in the case of no heirs remaining, and often the testators name a church as ultimate beneficiary if all those named survive their heirs. This was a necessary provision, as E. Miller showed in tracing some thirteenth century York property claims. He found that it was often the case that men inherited because their brothers and sisters had no surviving heirs. He gives as an example a claim of 1246. This was traced to a tenant on Richard I's reign whose two sons and daughter died without immediate heirs. The title then went to the original tenant's brother, but his two sons also died without heirs leaving his daughter as ultimate heir.⁸

Such provisions do not prove high infant mortality, but they do suggest that the possibility of failure of heirs was very real to Bristol merchants at this time. Of the remaining fifty five per cent or so, eight point five per cent of the testators could leave bequests to four or more children. The majority, however, never reached an average of two children per couple. So these figures suggest that Bristol's population barely maintained its numbers. On the other hand Russell gave a ten per cent increase over just less than a century. But in either case the results are low.

It is possible that Bristol like York and London had numbers of immigrants in the fifteenth century. Certainly the town ordinances frequently introduce measures to regulate labour of

"foreigners", especially of those who worked outside the craft system. In fact some craftsmen were out of work because of immigrants. In 1443 the Cordwainers said they feared the "Crafts be wey of such maner resceyte of Alyeans (was) like to be destroyed for evermore."⁹ The Dyers had made a similar complaint five years previously.¹⁰ In 1462 the weavers blamed the immigrants for their own unemployment.¹¹ However, these complaints only prove that a number of "foreign" craftsmen had moved to Bristol and competed with the townspeople from a number of crafts. Certainly they would have increased the population, but to what extent cannot be calculated.

So from these sources on Bristol it appears that the population hardly grew at all. This suggestion has some support in J. Sherborne's comments on Bristol trade, for he maintains that the fortunes of its maritime commerce in the fifteenth century did not suggest an increase in wealth or employment until the end of the century.¹² The picture may in fact, have been worse than that reflected by the wills, for it must be remembered that wills always reflect the richer section of any community. Only people with estates and something of value to leave needed to make a will, and these are the testators who could afford to feed and clothe their children and save them from the malnutrition and hardship from which poorer children would die. However, these figures from the wills cannot be claimed to be typical; for there is no way of knowing if the testators deliberately

excluded spouses or children from their wills, and this element of doubt could invalidate the figures. The fact that towns like York, Gloucester, and Salisbury also give some indication of declining population, does, however, add credence to the figures for Bristol.

FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX II

1. Tallage 6 Edward II (December 1312) 1/15 on moveables.
P.R.O. E 179/113/4.
2. Fuller, E.A. "The Tallage of 6 Edward II, and the Bristol Rebellion." T.B.G.A.S. vol. 19. p. 206.
3. Veale, E.W.W. Introduction in "The Great Red Book of Bristol" Part I. pp. 137 - 139.
4. Russell, J.C. "British Medieval Population." pp. 285, 296, 297
5. Sometimes this appears as 9, 518.
6. 10.8% of the total number of testators do not mention a partner.
7. Hajnal. Chapter 6 "European marriage patterns in perspective." in "Population in History" edits. Eversley, D.E.C. and Glass, D.V.
8. Miller, op. cit.
9. L.R.B. vol. II. p. 177. f. 147b. 10 April 1443.
10. Ibid. pp. 171, 172 f. 146. 14 September 1439.
11. Ibid. pp. 128, 129. f. 130b. 31. May 1462.
12. Sherborne, op. cit. p. 29.

THE SIZE OF THE FAMILY. - Decades.

-90	44	137	3.11	1.11
1400	69	202	2.92	0.92
10	76	234	3.07	1.07
20	57	179	3.14	1.14
30	32	108	3.37	1.37
40	12	34	2.83	0.83
50	16	44	2.87	0.87
60	21	42	2.00	-
70	18	67	3.72	1.72
80	31	112	3.61	1.61
90	27	87	3.22	1.22
-1500	47	156	3.31	1.31

Number of wills.	Number of members of family.	Average including parents.	Average excluding parents.
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A

B

C

D

TABLE I

20 year groupings.

1380-1400	113	339	3.00	1.00
20	133	413	3.10	1.10
40	44	142	3.22	1.22
60	37	86	2.33	0.33
80	49	179	3.65	1.65
1500	74	243	3.26	1.26

A

B

C

D

TABLE II

TESTATORS NOT MENTIONING WIFE OR HUSBAND - Decades.

1380-90	2	44	4
1400	9	69	13
10	9	76	11.8
20	9	55	16
30	4	32	12
40	1	12	8
50	-	14	-
60	2	16	12
70	2	18	9
80	1	30	3
90	2	35	5
1500	9	48	18

No husband or wife.	Total number of testators.	% age of A to B
A	B	C

TABLE III

20 year groupings.

1380-1400	11	115	9
20	18	131	14
40	5	44	10
60	2	30	6
80	3	48	6
1500	11	83	11.5

A	B	C
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TABLE IV

Childless couples. - Decades

1380-90	12	28
1400	26	43
10	24	35
20	16	34
30	13	46
40	6	54
50	9	64
60	9	64
70	3	18
80	5	17
90	9	27
1500	11	28

Childless
couples.

Percentage of childless couples to
total number of testators omitting
those not mentioning existence of
husband or wife.

A

B

TABLE V

Childless couples. - 20 year groupings.

1380-1400	38	c.35
20	40	c.35
40	19	50
60	18	64
80	8	c.17
1500	20	c.27

A

B

TABLE VI

FAMILIES OF FOUR OR MORE CHILDREN. Decades.

1380-90	2	42	4
1400	3	60	5
10	3	67	4
20	2	46	4
30	5	28	19
40	2	11	18
50	-	14	
60	-	14	
70	2	16	12
80	5	29	17
90	2	33	6
1500	9	39	23 approx. figs.

Four or more children	Total number of testators omitting those not mentioning husbands, wives.	Percentage of A to B
A	B	C

TABLE VII

20 year groupings.

1380-1400	5	102	4.5
20	5	113	4
40	7	39	18.5
60	-	28	
80	7	45	9.5
1500	11	72	14.5

A	B	C
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TABLE VIII

APPENDIX III

EXTRACTS OF BRISTOL WILLS IN SOMERSET HOUSE

The following extracts of Bristol wills aim to provide a companion collection to that compiled by T.P. Wadley, published in 1886 by the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archeological Society. All of these wills are now in Somerset House and have been taken from the following registers:-

1382 - 1452 Rous.
1401 - 1449 Luffenam.
1454 - 1462 Stokton
1463 - 1468 Godyn.
1471 - 1480 Wattys.
1479 - 1486 Logge.
1487 - 1490 Milles
1491 - 1493 Dogett.
1493 - 1496 Vox.
1496 - 1500 Horne
1500 - 1501 Moore.

The extracts follow the format described in full in the Introduction except that the date of probate is given below the date when the will was written, it being the nearest to the actual date of the testator's death.

The only omissions made in these extracts include the praising

of the saints which precedes any will, some lengthy inventories of household effects, the list of witnesses to the will, and the details of the grant of probate. Bequests and demands to executors have been numbered in the extracts, though of course there is no such division in the texts. Numbers were used to assist any reader using the extracts to obtain information at a glance.

The reference given for each will states firstly the number of the section into which the particular register is divided, the name of the register, and the page number. In the registers numbers are given in the top right hand corner of the right hand pages. Left hand pages are not numbered in the registers, but appear in these extracts as "-a". Some of the later registers do not give page numbers, only the number of the section.

Richard Aisshe. Merchant. Burgess.

1457 September 12

Probate 1457 October 20

10 Stokton p.77a

1. To be buried in St.Thomas Martyr church facing the high cross there.
2. To the Mother church at Wells - 3/4.
3. To the vicar of St.Thomas Martyr church, for tithes - 20s.
4. To the proctors of this church - 20s. for my burial there.
5. My executors are to provide a fit chaplain to pray for my soul for
 7 years in this church.
6. For the fabric of the church of St.Michael of "Knyghton" - 13/4.
7. For the fabric of the Fraternity at Ludlow - 20s.
8. For the glass of the window in St.Mary Redcliffe church - 100s.
9. To the Fraternity of the Holy Cross in St.Nicholas church - 10s.
10. To the church of "Mongomery" (Montgomery) - one silver chalice to
 pray for my soul and that of John Pike.
11. To my father - one robe of "Medley" trimmed with fur, and with a
 hood; £10 for his sustenance according to the discretion of
 John Aisshe, my uncle.
12. The chamberlains of Bristol - £6-13-4.
13. Residue - Joan, my wife
14. Executors - " " "
15. Supervisor of my will - Thomas Coferer who is to receive, for his
 work, my best robe with hood; two whole woollen "medley" cloths.

Seal appended.

John Barstaple. Burgess.

1411 April 10.

Probate 1411 September 21.

23 Marche p.184

1. To be buried in the chapel of Holy Trinity in "le Fordysgate", to the south side of the high altar.
2. 28 lbs., of wax to be used to make 5 candles for use in my funeral.
3. 10 candles to be carried around my body after my obituary day.
4. On the same day 100 of the poorest people are to be given one robe with hood of white Welsh cloth each.
5. To each porter of "Kayham" - one gown with hood, the cost of which should be covered by £20.
6. Dom. William Hawytle, rector of St. Werburgh's church, for tithes - 10 marks.
7. To the Order of Preacher Friars - 20s., to pray for my soul.
8. Each of the 3 other Orders of Friars - 6/8.
9. Each chaplain celebrating in St. Werburgh's church - 12d.
10. To the clerk who tolls the bell there - 2s.
11. Each chaplain celebrating in Bristol - 4d. to celebrate for my soul.
12. To the Fraternity of Holy Trinity at Laffords gate - 2 silver cups with covers - after the death of my wife.
13. Robert Schepward - 10 marks.
14. Joan, my daughter - 10 marks.
15. William Scot - 100s.
16. Executors - Robert Schepward; William Scot.
17. Supervisor of my will - Dom. William Hawkyns, rector of St. Werburgh's church.

John Barthomew. Chandler. Burgess

1483 December 21

Probate 1484 September 9

9 Logge p.69a

1. To be buried in St.Mary Redcliffe church.
2. For my burial there - 6/8.
3. To the Cathedral church of Wells - 4d.
4. For the use of St.Mary Redcliffe church - 6/8.
5. Master Nicholas Pyttes, the vicar of the above church, my curate -
one silver dish; 6 silver spoons; my best girdle.
6. John, my son - £6-13-4; one mazer; one silver dish, 6 silver spoons;
my best girdle; one gilded girdle.
8. To the altar of All Saints church - 3/4.
9. Residue - Margaret, my wife.
10. Executor - " " " .

John Bathe. Burgess

1420 June 22

Probate None recorded

51 Marche. pp.408, 408a.

1. To be buried in St. Werburg's church next to Juliana, my late wife.
2. To the rector of this church, for tithes - 6/8.
3. Each priest celebrating mass there on my burial day - 12d.
4. To the water-bearer there for tolling the bell on my burial day - 12d.
5. For the work of this church - 6/8
6. John Milton, and John Alburton, proctors of this church - one messuage with a cellar, in Corne street in which John and Joan A(u)sten now live.

The rent of this property is also to pass to this church which is to provide prayers for my soul and the souls of my late wives, Agnes and Juliana, and to distribute bread to one hundred poor people.

7. For the Mother church at Worcester - 20d.
8. Katherine Lewys, in service - one black chest; two best beds.
9. Margarete Lewys, my apprentice - two best beds, 40s; one silver plate weighing 15 ozs; one girdle trimmed with silver.
10. William Radeley - one silver trimmed girdle of blood coloured silk on which is embroidered the image of Christ; one best baslard worked with silver.
11. Alice Bokerell "de Baton" - one silver gilt girdle on which is embroidered the image of St. Katherine.

12. My state, term and reversion in one garden with a tenement over a shop and solar situated in "Leweynesmede" in Bristol suburbs. I bought this property off Richard Arthur and his wife Alice - It is to be sold by my executors and the money put to pious uses.
13. My state and term in one solar with a small house situated in the hospital of St. Bartholomew. I bought this property off John Prentis, master of this hospital. It is to be as above.
14. My reversion of two cottages in the street called "Vicarus" lane in the city of Bath to be sold as above after the death of Katherine, my apprentice.
15. My reversion of one tenement situated in "Frogge lane" in the city of Bath to be sold as above after the death of John S(ei)le and his wife, Alice.
16. Residue - to be distributed by my executors for the good of my soul.
17. Executors - John (B)ourghull; John Austyn.

Then follows an inventory of effects and goods, in English. Date given at end of this 1421 October 29.

Elizabeth Bayly alias Hownedeslowe

1494 July 18

Probate 1494/5 May 1

11 Vox p.86 In English

1. To be buried in St. Stephens parish church before the altar of Mary and John.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 20d.
3. To the high altar of Mary and John in above church - one silver and gilt chalice; one pair of blue velvet vestments.
4. To each of the four Orders of Friars - 6d on my burial day and likewise on my months mind and years mind.
5. Sixteen priests are to attend the services on my months mind and my years mind - they are to receive 4d each.
6. On my burial day and on my months mind six poor men are to carry each one candle. For this work they are each to be given a gown and hood of "fryse" (frieze).
7. On the day after my months mind one Trental of St. Gregory is to be celebrated for my soul in St. Stephens church. This is to be organised by the parish priest of St. Stephens, John Vaughan.
8. At every such anniversary - 20s. worth of bread is to be given to the poor.
9. Margaret Robyns if she ever leaves me - one red girdle embroidered in silver and gilt.
10. Joan Gower - Like bequest.
11. Isabel, my servant - one feather bed; one flock bed with a cover, according to the discretion of the said Master John Vaughan. Also - one green gown; one black kirtle; $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. pewter pots; one basin and ewer.

12. Margery Ley - one crimson gown trimmed with fur; one blue girdle with silver and gilt studs.
13. Isabel Bracy, daughter of Denys Bracy - one salt cellar with a cover in silver and gilt; six of my best spoons. These goods are to remain in the keeping of John Vaughan until she is married.
If she dies before this then John Vaughan is to have them.
14. Residue - John Vaughan.
15. Executor - " " .

Seal appended

Thomas Botoner, chaplain

1418 November 13

Probate 1419 April 20

48 Marche p.379a.

1. To be buried in the cemetery of All Saints church.
2. To the vicar of this church - 12d.
3. To the proctors of St.James church - 6/8
4. To each chaplain at the above church - 4d.
5. Isabelle Wylkyns. servant Robert Beverley - 40s; one bed.
6. Residue - John Blake, Prior of the House of Kalandaries.
7. Executor - " " .

Seal appended

Williams de Brunby (Brounby in margin) Vicar of Holy
Cross Temple church.

1402 May 20

Probate 1403 April 27

3 Marche p.24a

1. To be buried in the chancel of Holy Cross Temple church.
2. For the fabric of the belfry of this church - 100s.
3. John (Sinor), chaplain - 6/8.
4. William Burton, chaplain - 13/4.
5. To each other priest in this church who celebrates there - 2s.
6. " the clerk of this church - 12d.
7. For my funeral expenses - 100s.
8. Thomas Blount, my parishioner - 40s.
9. To be distributed to my poor parishioners - £3.
10. Nicholas, my servant - 3/4; one robe of "russet" trimmed with fur; one hood.
11. To each Order of Mendicant Friars - 6/8.
12. To Brother Walter Wer of the Order of Augustinian Friars - 3/4.
13. The nuns of the Order of St.Mary Magdalene near Bristol - 6/8.
14. The nuns of the House of "Tykled" in York diocese - 6/8.
15. To the Hospital of the Holy Trinity at Lafford's gate - 2s.
16. My anniversary is to be kept in Holy Cross Temple church for six years -
- 10s.
17. William Grog, chaplain - one cup decorated in silver; one silver dish;
6 silver spoons; $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. pewter vessels; 4 "le Charges" of pewter.

18. Thomas Fyll, onetime clerk at my church - 6/8.
19. To my succesor - £1-6-8 for the repair of my house.
20. For the repair of the vestments in my church - 100s.
21. " " " one pair of silver crosses used at the high alter.
22. Residue - to be distributed by my executor in pious alms.
23. Executor - Thomas Blount who is to receive 40s. for his work.

Elena Candevere, alias Stanys. widow of

John Candevere, burgess.

1406 March 30

Probate 1406 May 12

15 Marche pp.118, 118a

1. To be buried in the chancel of Holy Trinity church, "Bradeford",
near to my late son John.
2. For the fabric of this church - 6/8.
3. To the vicar of this church - one Trental.
4. For the fabric of St. Leonard's church - 6/8.
5. To the vicar of the above church -
6. To the monks of "Henton" - 13/4.
7. To the monks of "Farlegh" - 13/4.
8. 20 chaplains are to celebrate for my soul on my burial day - and to
receive 1s. each.
9. Joan Stanes, my former servant - 20s.
10. Agnes, daughter of Robert Aisshelegh - one silver cup; one silver
gilt girdle.
11. To be distributed to the poor on my burial day - 6/8.
12. Robert Aisshelegh - one tenement in Broad street in which Richard
Arnfford lives with his wife, Margaret. Aisshelegh's heirs
are to inherit this property from him i.e. his heirs by his
late wife, my daughter Joan, by my former husband John Stanys.
Also, one tenement in High street in which Margery Myllyng,
alias Bokemaker, lived.
Also, one garden with dove-cote, situated in the suburbs of the
town.

If the above Robert dies leaving no remaining heirs then this property is to be sold and the money used in pious works for the good of my soul, and those of John Stany, and John Candevere, my late husbands, and that of Joan my daughter.

13. Residue - Robert Aisshelegh.

14. Executor - " " .

Nicholas Caunterbury. Burgess.

1443 December 15

Probate 1443/4 February 4

34 Luffenam. pp.266, 266a

1. To be buried in the church of St. Thomas the Martyr, next to my parents.
2. To the above church - a cloth of silk for one pair of vestments for the use of the church. In return I wish the vicar of this church to include my name in the list of benefactors of the church which he gives from the pulpit on certain days.
3. To the vicar of this church, for tithes - 6/8.
4. To the Mother church at Wells - 12d.
5. Edith, my wife - my broad black girdle, gilded; one table called a "Syprus" table; one cupboard standing in the hall.
Also, one ewer hanging in the hall; one large plate of iron; one "hyrth" of iron; one large pair of andirons for one hearth.
Also all utensils, coverlets, jewells.
My l shop in Redcliffe street in which William Kyrkely, sadler, lives.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ of my hospice (hospitium) called "le Redehalle" in which John (E)ylond lives.
After the death of Edith, this property is to pass to William, my son.
6. William, my son - all my instruments, ornaments.
7. Residue - Edith, my wife; William, my son who are to pay for my funeral expenses out of this. The remainder they are to dispose of for the good of my soul.

8. Executors - Edith, my wife; William, my son.

9. Supervisor of my will - John Lane.

Robert Chepe. Citizen of Bristol.

1407 April 25

Probate 1407 May 4

13 Marche pp.102, 102a

1. To be buried in the chapel of St.Thomas the Martyr, next to the tomb of my late wife Agnes.
2. My funeral to be arranged according to the discretion of my executors.
3. Dom William, vicar of Redcliffe church - 40s.
4. My executors are to reserve a rent of £10 to provide for a fit chaplain to celebrate in St.Thomas chapel for my soul and that of Agnes, my wife.
He is also to celebrate mass on my obituary day and anniversary day with 'placebo' and 'dirige'.
5. £200 in goods and chattels - to my executors to provide for services at my funeral.
6. £20 in goods and chattels - to my executors to provide prayers for my soul at the high altar of the above chapel.
7. Each chaplain in this chapel - 12d. to attend my funeral.
8. For the fabric of the chapel on Avon bridge - 20s.
9. Dom. William Tamworth, chaplain, to celebrate at the St.Gregory Trental - 13/4; one best cloak. For himself - £4.
10. Dom. Richard Seygne, chaplain, to celebrate at the St.Gregory Trental - 13/4; one blue robe.
11. Robert Scheperd, my servant - £10.

12. Thomas Botuler, my servant - 100s.
13. Elene " " - 40s.
14. Margery " " - 40s.
15. Agnes Madeley " " - 20s.
16. Richard, my apprentice - 20s.
17. Alice Bevre - 20s.
18. Bernard Mullewart - £4 if he agrees to be an executor to my will.
19. Dom. Henry, chaplain at St. Thomas chapel - 20s.
20. Roger Chepe, my kinsman - 20s.
21. Residue - to be distributed in charitable works and pious uses
according to the discretion of my executors and supervisor.
22. Supervisor of my will - Dom. William Tamworth, chaplain.
23. Executors - Bernard Mullewart of Bristol; Robert Scheperd; Thomas
Botuler.

Alice Chestre, widow of Henry late burgess of Bristol.

1485 December 10

Probate 1485/6 February 7

14 Logge pp.103a, 104

1. To be buried in All Saints parish church near the tomb of my husband.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 3/4.
3. Dom. John Thomas, my curate, vicar of All Saints church, for tithes and to pray for my soul - one standing bowl with cover in silver and gilt, called a "bell cup"; one standing mazer in silver and gilt.
4. Master John Chestre, canon, prior of "Bereleych" - the £100 which he owes me; his debt of £5-6-8; my best ewer and basin in silver and parcel gilt weighing 70ozs.
5. Two candles each to the following:- the high altar of All Saints church; St.Mary's altar in the same; St.Werburgh's church; St.Ewen's church; the altar of the Fraternity of St.Katherine in the Temple; the crypt of St.Nicholas church; St.Michael's parish church.
6. One candle each to the crypt of St.John Baptist church, and St.Philip and St.James church.
7. One chaplain is to be provided to celebrate mass for my soul and those of my husband, my parents and all my relations. He is to celebrate in All Saints church for 5 years and is to receive a stipend of £6.

8. John Chestre, merchant, my son - my state and term in one tenement which my husband bought off William Nicols "halyer" of Bristol. This tenement is situated in Wynch street. The rent from this is to be distributed to the poor by John.
9. John Baynton - one small silver and gilt mazer.
10. John Chestre, son of Henry Chestre - one robe trimmed with fur; an annual rent of 13/4 during his life time.
11. Margaret, the daughter of the above John - one towel of "Twilly".
12. Margarie Rowley junior - one ruby girdle embossed with silver and gilt.
13. Frideswide Dalamer - one violet silver and gilt girdle; one brooch with a lamb (inscribed) in the middle of it; one pair of linen sheets; one (table) cloth; one towel; one dozen napkins of "Twilly"; one fork (forsett).
14. Edith Wolff, my sister - one silver and gilt girdle in black.
15. Residue - John Chestre, merchant of Bristol, my son.
16. Executor - " " " " " " .

Seal appended

William Clifford. Merchant.

1498 February 13 Given at end of will.

Probate 1499 April 20

30 Home. No page number.

1. To be buried in St.Thomas church before the door of St.Nicholas choir.
2. To the Mother church at Wells - 12d.
3. To the vicar of St.Thomas church - 40d.
4. To this church, for the repair of the "batilment" - 20s.
5. To the four Orders of Friars - 40d. each for attending my dirge and mass
6. For the making of St.Clement's chapel - 20s.
7. For two Trentals - 20s.
8. To twelve poor men - 12 groats at my burial and months mind.
9. Dom. Jamys Tailour, my spiritual father - 6/8.
10. Joan, my wife, and my children - the rest of all my goods. Two parts are to go to my wife, and one part to my children.
If they all die without immediate heirs then it is to pass to St.Thomas church to provide one priest.
11. Executors - Joan, my wife, my children.
12. Supervisors of my will - John Eliot; William Lane, who are to receive 20s. each for their work.
13. Richard Draper, my brother - is to receive in Brekenoke cloths as it stands in my book:- 2 "brekenocke" (sic) cloths; 2 pieces of frieze from "John Goldsmythe of Tynby"; all debts which the wife of the "New Ynne" of "Chapstow" owes me; all debts which Thomas the little barber of "Chapstow" owes me; all his own debts which he owes me.

14. Sir Richard William - my horse, saddle, bridle; and I release him from his debts to me.
15. William Cradocke, my servant - 2 barrels of tar.
16. William Edward, my child - 13/4.
17. Elizabeth Coke, servant - the house at the back of mine to live in when she is married.
18. Thomas Mason - my best robe; my sword and buckler.

Seal appended

Richard Cockes

1498 January 12

Probate 1498 February 22

30 Horne. No page number.

1. To be buried in the parish church of the Apostles Philip and James.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 6d.
3. My executors to provide one fit chaplain to pray for my soul and those of my parents, in the church of the Apostles Philip and James. He is to celebrate mass for one year and to receive 8 marks.
4. Joan, my wife - a half of all my goods in Bristol; utensils, implements, in my mansion.
5. My precious children, Thomas, Alice, Juliane, Margaret - the other half of all my goods and utensils as above.
6. Residue - to be divided into 2 parts - $\frac{1}{2}$ -Joan, my wife. $\frac{1}{2}$ to be distributed for the good of my soul. Also to cover the following bequests:-
 7. Robert Kene, mayor of Bristol - £8.
 8. William Lavis - £4.
 9. Executor - Joan, my wife.
 10. Supervisor - John Bale.

Seal appended

Thomas Cockys. Goldsmith. Burgess.

1498 January 7.

Probate 1498 April 22.

33 Horne. No page number.

1. To be buried in Holy Trinity parish church facing the altar
of St. Margaret, Virgin.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 12d.
3. For the fabric of Holy Trinity church, for my burial there - 6/8.
4. Dom. John Lorymer, chaplain - 12d.
5. Dom. Thomas Lyncoln, chaplain - 8d.
6. Dom. David Crawley, chaplain - 4d.
7. Dom. William Moor - 4d.
8. Dom. John Chew, chaplain - 4d.
9. To each chaplain intercessing for my soul at my funeral - 4d.
10. To the Orders of Friars i.e. the Minors and Preachers,
intercessing for my soul as above - 2/6 each.
11. (Space left blank), elder daughter of John Cock(sic), my son -
2 silver salvers, with covers, in parcel gilt, weighing
28 ozs; one silver standing cup with cover called "le
Bellcuppe", in parcel gilt weighing 21 ozs.; one mazer
ornamented in silver and gilt weighing 21 ozs.; 6 silver
spoons, weighing 8 ozs.; one silver cup of Parisien
make, weighing 12 ozs.; one pair of mazers ornamented
with silver; one girdle of ruby silk ornamented with
silver gilt; one girdle of velvet silk.

12. John Wareyn, goldsmith - 2 silver salvers with one cover weighing 13 ozs. in all; one silver salver with cover weighing 10 ozs.; 6 silver spoons as above; one cup called "le Nutte" ornamented and gilded, weighing 15 ozs. one mazer ornamented with silver; one wide mazer; one feather bed formerly belonging to his father; my best brass pot.
13. Joan, wife of above John Wareyn - one girdle of green silk ornamented with silver and gilt; one string of coral beads, in all containing 18 beads with links of silver and gilt.
14. Joan, daughter of above John and Joan - one silver standing cup with cover weighing $11\frac{1}{2}$ ozs.; one girdle of ruby silk ornamented in silver and gilt; one good brass pot.
15. Edith Philkin - one silk girdle ornamented with silver and gilt.
16. Proviso - Joan, my wife, is to have all the above goods for her life. After her death they are to be distributed as above.
17. Residue - Joan, my wife.
18. Executor - " " "
19. Supervisor of my will - John Wareyn.

Seal appended.

John Cogan. Merchant

1466 October 21

Probate 1467 June 18

18 Godyn p. 154a.

1. To be buried in "le Growde" at St. Nicholas church opposite the crucifix next to "le Steyer".
2. To the proctors of this church - 3/4, for my burial there.
3. To the Mother church at Worcester - 12d.
4. Master John Arsaye, clerk, and vicar of St. Nicholas church - 6/8 for exhorting God for the good of my soul, from the pulpit in his church.
5. To the fraternity called "le Growde" - 6/8.
6. To St. Nicholas church - one quarter of woad.
7. To the church of St. Mary-le-Port - one measure of woad.
8. Margaret, my wife - 5 pipes of woad; 10 marks in silver plate and mazers; all my goods and utensils in my houses and mansions.
9. William, my brother - one best silver standing cup, with cover; 2 plates with covers in chased work called "Parrys" plate; my best robe; my best hat (tena)
10. A fit priest is to be provided to celebrate for my soul in St. Nicholas church. He is to serve in the choir, for three years after my death and is to receive £18 stipend.
11. Residue - William, my brother.
12. Executor - " " "

Seal appended

John Cokkes. Baker of parish of St. Nicholas
1449 December 22.

Probate 1450 July 3.

12 Rous p. 90a.

1. To be buried in the chapel of St. John the Evangelist on the
Backs of the Avon.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 4d.
3. To the vicar of the parish church of St. Nicholas, for
tithes - 3/4.
4. For the fabric of St. John's chapel - 20d.
5. " " " " Nicholas church - 3/4.
6. To the upkeep of the chapel in the "scapta" of St. Nicholas
there - 20d.
7. To the Fraternity of St. Mary on Avon bridge - 6/8.
8. " " Fraternities of St. John the Baptist, and St. Katherine
- 3/4.
9. To the vicar of St. Nicholas church - 8d. to intercess at my
funeral.
10. To each chaplain in the above church - 4d. if they intercess at
my funeral.
11. To each Order of Mendicant Friars - 2/6.
12. My executors are to provide for one fit chaplain to celebrate
in the chapel of St. John for one year for my soul, and
those of my parents and benefactors. He is to receive
£6 as stipend.

13. William Lumbard - one pair of silver plates with the image
of St. James engraved in silver.
14. Robert Baker, my son - my blue robe trimmed with otter fur.
15. John Fader, Baker - my hood of the livery of St. Mary on the
bridge.
16. John Felippys - cloth with which to make one robe.
17. Residue - Alice, my wife who is to dispose of it for the good
of my soul.
18. Executor - Thomas Molle who is to receive 13/4 and one hood
of scarlet, for his work.

Robert Colman of St. Peter's parish

1480 January 20.

Probate 1481 May 4.

13 Logge p. 95.

1. To be buried in St. Peter's church.
2. To the Mother Church at Worcester - 12d.
3. To the light altar in St. Peter's church, for tithes - 3/4.
4. Joan, my daughter - £10 for her dowry; £10 of debts owing to me.
5. One honest chaplain to celebrate mass in the chapel of St. Mary "le Belhous" according to the discretion of the rector there and of my executors.
6. Residue - William Wodhous; Thomas Biddell.
7. Executors - " " " "
8. Supervisor of my will - Richard Bond who is to receive 20s. for his work.

Walter Conne. Burgess

1422 March 2

Probate 1423 April 18.

55 Marche pp. 438, 438a.

1. To be buried in the parish church of St. James next to the tomb of Alice, my wife.
2. For the fabric of the Mother church at Worcester - 6/8.
3. To the proctors of St. James church, for tithes - 20s.
4. For the fabric of this church - 20s.
5. Dom. William, parish chaplain at this church - 6/8.
6. My executors are to provide one chaplain to celebrate in this church for my soul for 7 years.
7. 100s. to be distributed to the poor.
8. To the Order of the Friars Minor - 20s.
9. " " " " " Preachers, Mendicant, and Augustinian - 13/4 each.
10. My funeral arrangements to be at the discretion of my executors.
11. Elene, my sister - 20s.
12. Thomas, son of William, my brother - 20s.
13. John Conne, my servant - 20s.
14. Mabille, my wife - one tenement in "Lewysmede", in the suburbs, which I bought from John Droys. After her death this property is to be sold for the good of my soul. Also, my reversions, tenements, messuages, burgages, and cottages. To be sold as above after her death.

15. Residue - my wife.

16. Executors - " " ; Philipp (Farute); John

waxmaker. The latter two are to receive 20s. each
for their work.

Seal appended

William Coole (Cole). "Belmaker". Burgess.

1468 January 24.

Probate 1468 February 9.

26 Godyn p. 216a.

1. To be buried in the church of the Apostles Philip and James, in Worcester diocese.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 12d.
3. To the vicar of the church of the Apostles, Philip and James, for tithes - 12d.
4. To the clerk at the above church - 8d.
5. John, my son - 45 marks.
6. Margery, my daughter - 20s; her chamber (cam'a).
7. William Newport, my apprentice - 20s. on condition.
8. Robert, my servant - 20s. on condition.
9. William Glasiere, my servant - 13/4 on condition.
10. Margerie, my wife's mother - 16/8.
11. Thomas Wynterborne - my green robe.
12. Residue - Margery, my wife.
13. Executor - Margery, my wife.
14. Supervisor - William Brigge baker, who is to receive 13/4 for his work.

Seal appended.

Elizabeth Cornwall

1489 January 3

Probate 1489 June 6.

23 Miles p. 189a. In English.

1. To be buried in St. Marks church in St. Nicholas chapel.
2. To the Nother church of Worcester - 4d.
3. For the building of the East end of St. Mark's church - 40s.
4. For the use of this church - my little flat plate and salt cellar.
5. To St. Augustine's abbey - 6/8.
6. For the building of the tower of "Harawyghford" and for the lead
for it - £30.
7. The House of St. Mark near Bristol called the "gauntis of Billefrid"
- £20 to found an obit there to be celebrated every year
for myself and my friends for ever.
8. To the four Crders of Friars - 26/8.
9. "Cer" Edmund, my son - my two best rings, my bed in the chamber
together with all its hangings.
10. Edmund's wife - my best robe and my best girdle.
11. " eldest daughter - my second best robe and girdle.
12. " youngest " - " third " " "
13. Janet Ax - 20s; 1 pair of sheets (shetis).
14. Elizabeth Chippenam, for her marriage - 40s; one robe.
15. Marryon Katherna (?) - one broad girdle.
16. Jane ap Hopkyn- one other " "
17. Margaret Dolle - 1 robe.
18. Anne Went - 13/4; a "crokke"; a pan; a brooch.

Elizabeth Cornwall

1489 January 3

Probate 1489 June 6.

23 Miles p. 189a. In English.

1. To be buried in St. Marks church in St. Nicholas chapel.
2. To the Mother church of Worcester - 4d.
3. For the building of the East end of St. Mark's church - 40s.
4. For the use of this church - my little flat plate and salt cellar.
5. To St. Augustine's abbey - 6/8.
6. For the building of the tower of "Harawyghford" and for the lead
for it - £30.
7. The House of St. Mark near Bristol called the "gauntis of Billefrick"
- £20 to found an obit there to be celebrated every year
for myself and my friends for ever.
8. To the four Orders of Friars - 26/8.
9. "Cer" Edmund, my son - my two best rings, my bed in the chamber
together with all its hangings.
10. Edmund's wife - my best robe and my best girdle.
11. " eldest daughter - my second best robe and girdle.
12. " youngest " - " third " " "
13. Janet Ax - 20s; 1 pair of sheets (shetis).
14. Elizabeth Chippenam, for her marriage - 40s; one robe.
15. Marryon Katherna (?) - one broad girdle.
16. Jane ap Hopkyn- one other " "
17. Margaret Dolle - 1 robe.
18. Anne Went - 13/4; a "crokke"; a pan; a brooch.

19. John Blewet - 20s.
20. "Cer" John Randolph a brother of "the Gaunts" - 20s.
21. Richard Went, my servant - 20s.
22. To the shrine of St. Thomas of Harford - my gold chain with my pendant attached to it containing relics.
23. "Cer" Philip a Veyna (?) - my gilt salt.
24. Maurice Holyday, my godson - 6/8.
25. John Penson, my servant - 20s.
26. John Penson's wife - one robe.
27. Thomas Penson - 10s.
28. Thomas Penson's wife - one robe.
29. Edmund Penson, my godson - 13/4.
30. Edmund Penson's wife - one robe.
31. To make a window in St. Nicholas chapel in St. Mark's church - 40s.
32. Residue - Edmund Cornwall, knt., my son; Sir John Randolph;
Richard Went.
33. Executors - about three.

Seal appended.

Nicholas Cornyssh

1485 November 30.

Probate 1485/6 October 25

17 Logge p.125.

1. To be buried in the cemetry of Holy Cross Temple.
2. To the Mother church at Wells - 4d.
3. To the parish church of Holy Cross - 3s.
4. To the vicar there, for tithes - 3s.
5. My brother - one robe of "murray".
6. Residue - Elene, my wife.
7. Executor - " " "

Thomas Croft, esquire.

1485 October 11

Probate 1485 November 15

17 Milles pp. 141, 141a.

1. To be buried where God pleases.
2. To the abbot of the monastery of "Goddystowe", in Oxford, for tithes - 40s.
3. To Thomas Norton, esquire, of Bristol - £13-6-8 in payment of my debt to him.
4. My executors are to attend to the loan of £20 to the late King Edward for the expenses of his household at "Wodstok".
5. My executors are to attend to a loan from the tolls of the market in Bristol - 20s.
6. My executors are to pay the procters of St. Peter's parish church- the debts owing to me from Thomas Canynges and his mother.
7. For the payment of the debts of the widow of Thomas Guybons of "Watlyngton" in Oxfordshire - the money due to me from Edmund Below for one messuage, and one virgate of land in "Southweston".
8. My executors to pay a certain nun(?) of Horewell near Stratford-on-Avon - 66/8.
9. My procurators to pay the heirs of "Quynartons" (sic) - 66/8.
10. My executors to pay Robert Colyar staying near "Asteley" in Worcestershire - 40s.
11. My executors to pay Margaret Acton - £20.

12. To the mayor of the town of "Wodestok" and the proctors of the church of St. Mary Magdalen in that town -
- 1) All my lands, and tenements in "Wodstok"
 - 2) Four tenements in Bristol and its suburbs. One of these is situated on "le Were" near the Castle; one in Small street; two on Avon bridge.
- This town is to provide one fit chaplain to celebrate mass in St. Margaret's chapel in St. Mary Magdalene church (Wodstock) for five years - for the souls of William and Isabel Crofte, my parents, and of Elizabeth, my wife.
- This priest is to live in the tenement newly built near Trinity Gate in "Wodstok", together with two honest poor men.
- He is to receive a salary of £6 p.a. from which he must give one penny each day for the poor in lieu of payment for his tenement.
13. As soon as I die, the news of my death shall be proclaimed in London, Bristol, Gloucester, Hereford, Oxford, "Woddestok" and Aylesbury.
14. All my goods and the remaining lands and tenements are to be sold for a satisfactory price.
15. Residue - to be put to pious uses according to the discretion of Elizabeth my wife.

16. Executors - wife; John Worcestre; John Hemmyng; John Inhyngs,
my chaplain and vicar.

Seal appended.

Henry Culmer. Burgess.

1407 August 16.

Probate 1407 October 21.

14 Marche p. 112.

1. To be buried where God pleases.
2. To the high altar of my former parish church of Holy Trinity at "Kerlyon" in Wales, for tithes - 6/8.
3. To the high altar in my parish church of St. Stephen, for tithes - 6/8.
4. My executors are to provide 100s., - for works and fabrics of the town of "Kerlyon".
5. John, my brother - 100s. one pair of best plates; armour; my best baslard in silver; my best doublet; one long striped robe trimmed with fur, with hood of scarlet.
6. Elen, my sister - 100s.
7. Philip, my brother - 100s; my blue robe trimmed with otter fur; one hood of scarlet; armour; my best cloak.
8. Richard, my brother - 40s.
9. Agnes, my wife - all household effects in the chamber, solar, and kitchen; £20. Also, if she wishes to remain in "Kerlyon" - $\frac{1}{2}$ share of my tenement there; one other tenement in "Kerlyon".
10. Joan, my daughter - she is to hold my hermitage in Wales. After her death it is to pass to Philip Colmer (sic), my brother.
Joan is to be under the governance of Agnes, my wife,

and Philip, my brother for 10 years till she becomes
of age.

11. My executors are to appoint one honest vicar to celebrate in
the church of the Holy Trinity in "Kerlyon", for the
souls of Philip Edward and his wife, Joan, and of my
parents.
12. Henry Wo(x) - armour.
13. John, my son - my girdle; one pair of silver baslards.
14. William (G)russ, my servant - 20s; one robe with hood; one pair
of linen vests.
15. To each Order of Friars in Bristol - one Trental.
16. My executors are to choose one honest vicar to celebrate for one
year in St. Stephen's church in Bristol, for my soul and
the souls of my parents. He is to receive 100s. stipend.
17. Ammice, my sister - my gold signet.
18. John Baker - my woollen robe.
19. Residue - to my executors for the payment of my debts. The
remainder to be disposed of by them for the good of my
soul.

Thomas Curteys.

1406 September 21.

Probate 1406 September 31.

11. Marche p 88a.

1. To be buried in the convent of the Carmelite Friars.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 6d.
3. Residue - Joan, my wife; John, my son.
4. Executors - " " " " "

Thomas Devenyssh.

1426 November 12.

Probate 1426 December 4.

2(ii) Luffenenam p. 16a.

1. To be buried in the cemetery of St. Stephens church next to my mother's tomb.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 20d.
3. To the rector of St. Stephen's church for tithes - 20d.
4. For the fabric of this church - 10s.
5. Thomas, my brother - 40s. two new robes; my 2 better girdles; hoods.
6. Robert Lounde - 13/4.
7. John, my mother - 20s.
8. Gilbert Gawler - 10s.
9. Philip " , his son - 10s.
10. Joan " " daughter - 20s.
11. Cusse Weston - 6/8.
12. Joan Cilward (?), my sister - 40s.
13. Agnes Andres - 40d.
14. John Glasier - 20s. for his work as a supervisor of my will.
15. Agnes, my wife - all my goods; £20 from my goods.
16. Residue - wife; John Glasier.
17. Executors - Nicholas Devenyssh, my father.
18. Supervisor of my will - wife; John Glasier.

Nicholas Devenysch. Merchant.

1438 June 28.

Probate 1459 October 20.

26 Luffenam pp. 205a, 206.

1. To be buried in St. Stephen's parish church under the altar cross between the altar of the Holy Trinity and the altar of St. James the Apostle.
2. Fabric of Mother church at Worcester - 6/8.
3. " St. Stephens church - 10 marks.
4. Each of the 3 orders of Friars - 20s. to intercess at my funeral.
5. The Order of Friars Mendicant - 26/8 to intercess at my funeral.
6. To the poor kept in Monkebrigge (prison) - 100s.
7. For the repair and building of roads, and ways - 100s. to be spent on whatever my executors deem most necessary.
8. Twenty four honest chaplain to intercess at my funeral.
- 6d. each.
9. The parish clerk of St. Stephens for tolling the bell at my funeral - 40d.
10. The suffragan at the same church for carrying the cross at my funeral - 12d.
11. The sisters of the House of Mary Magdalene - 20s.
12. John Chapeleyne, scribe - 20s. for his work with my executors.
13. Joan, my wife - 500 marks; all utensils in my house; all jewels.
14. Thomas, my son - £300. On condition - that he demands no more from my executors.
15. To be distributed to the poor in clothing and shoes - £20.

16. John Cadygan, chaplain - to celebrate mass for my soul at the altar of St. James the Apostle in St. Stephen's church - He is to receive a stipend of £6 p.a. for ten years.
17. The fraternity of St. Mary of the Assumption on Avon bridge - 40s.
18. Executor - wife; Thomas Noryce, merchant.
19. Thomas Moryce, merchant - £10 for his work as executor.
20. Thomas, my son - my suit of armour; 1 pole axe; 1 sword; 1 lance.

Seal appended.

John Elyott. Burgess

1473 April 1.

Probate 1473 April 30.

9 Wattys p. 64.

1. To be buried in the parish church of St. Thomas the Martyr.
2. To the work of this church, for my burial there - 20s.
3. To the Mother church at Wells - 12d.
4. To the church of St. Mary Redcliffe - 12d.
5. To the chapel of St. Mary on the bridge - 12d.
6. To the Fraternity of St. John Baptist - 12d.
7. To the vicar of Redcliffe church, for tithes - 10s.
8. To "Burton's" chantry - 2 whole cloths.
9. The son of the late William Elyott - 20s.
10. John Smalecombe - 3/4.
11. John Fysshe - 12d.
12. Residue - Alice, my wife.
13. Executor - " " "
14. Supervisors of my will - Master Nicholas Pyttes; John Janys, dyer.
15. John Jones (sic) - 6/8 for his work.

John Esterfeld. Merchant.

1504 February 5.

Probate Only a note recording that the will was
proved at Lambeth

26 Holgrave No page number. In English

1. To be buried in the Holy Oratory of Our Lady of "Belhowsse", in St. Peter's church.
2. To the above chapel - my best mass book; one chalice of silver and gilt; my small silver dish (?).
3. To the high altar of St. Werburgh's church, for tithes - 6/8.
4. To the Mother church at Worcester - 12d.
5. One honest priest is to sing before (the tomb of) my wife in St. Werburgh's church, for 6 years. He is to receive a salary of £6.
6. Scolast my wife - all her goods and money belonging to her before her marriage to me. These are to include plate, bedding, and other household things. Also, £600 in money for my children and my executors. (The "children" referred to on this bequest were his two sons, Henry, and John, the younger).
My wife is to receive £50 of this money each year by the hands of my executors.
7. My executors are to pay the rent of my house for any whole year after my death.
8. After the first year after my death, my wife is to have the state and term in my house, whether she is disposed to live

there or elsewhere. She is to pay rent as I do, i.e. to Sir John Rodney, knight, £4 p.a., and she is to incur the cost of repairs.

9. Scolast my wife - one garden in St. Leonard's lane, for as long as she lives in my house.

10. My wife is not to keep the house belonging to St. Werburgh's church for which I pay 13/4 p.a.

This property is to be restored to the above church, by my executors.

11. Master John Esterfeld, my son, canon of St. George's chapel within Windsor castle - 3 of my best robes trimmed with such fur as shall please him; one silver goblet, gilded, with cover weighing 18 ozs; one standing cup, gilded, with covers, weighing 40 ozs; one silver dish, weighing 22 $\frac{3}{4}$ ozs; one silver ewer and basin weighing 62 ozs; my best cover otherwise called a "bredecloth".

12. Henry, my son - my best coverlet of "aves" work which I had off Master Forster; one featherbed with one bolster and 2 pillows, both embroidered; one psalter book and one matins book; my best gold chain with cross; one harness; pots, pans, basins, ewers and pewter vessels valued at 4 marks; my mother's clothes press; one good flock bed with one bolster; one matress with one bolster. Also - 2 new houses which I built in Small street. If Henry dies without immediate heirs then the property is to pass to

John, my younger son. If he also dies without such heirs then it is to pass to Jane Poppheyne my daughter.

13. If Henry marries in my lifetime then he is to have £40; £30 in plate @ 3/4 per ounce; 12 tons of iron @ 5 marks per ton. Total = £140. If he does not marry in that time and follows the advice of my son master John and my executors, then he is to receive this bequest for his marriage.

14. Henry - my state in Richard Hobbs house, and also that in 4 gardens which Jenet Boole holds for 18d p.a.

Also, 1 garden which is held by John Marsh, labourer for 8s. p.a.

Also another garden in St. Leonard's lane.

15. John, my younger son - £110 i.e. £30 in plate, £80 which is now in the hands of his master, David Philip alias David Cogan.

Also, my feather bed in my great chamber and my fine coverlet of old "aves"; a "powche" of purple velvet; one ring of parcel gilt and a matching girdle embroidered with silver; one gold chain; my best matins books covered in velvet; one string of amber beads; 3 of my best lined robes; 4 marks worth of pots, pans, ewers, and pewter vessels.

Also, all land which his mother bequeathed him by her will, i.e. one house with effects in Temple street where William Walter, late mayor, lived; one garden on the Old

Market place, which John Carpenter, mercer, now holds.

The rent from this garden is to be kept in hand till John is of age.

16. John, my son - the house in Temple street which I recently bought.

If he dies without immediate heirs then this property is to go to Henry, my son. If he also dies without such heirs then it is to pass to my daughter. If the same occurs then it is to pass to the almshouse of the Three Kings of "Coleyne".

Also, one flock bed with matress and bolster.

17. Henry, and John, my youngest son - all my weight of lead - to be divided equally between them by my executors.

Also, both are to have my gold rings and signettes.

18. My 2 sons and my daughter, Jane - all my household belongings to be divided between them, or sold and the money divided.

19. Robert Popphain (sic) - £16 which he owes me in ready money; one ton of iron = £4. Total = £20.

20. William Grevell, sergeant-at-law, recorder of Bristol; John Esterfeld, clerk; Henry Esterfeld; John Esterfeld, senior; John Rowland; Richard Soly, merchant; Thomas Hardyng, common clerk of the town; John Knollong - the reversion of 7 messuages and 2 parcels of land with fullers' racks situated in the parish of Holy Cross Temple, Bristol; one messuage in Marsh street which Alice Micham now holds for a life term; reversion of 2 parts of a messuage in

Corn street which Agnes Weston, widow now holds for life.
The above are to receive this property to carry out
certain debts and intentions hereby specified by me.

21. My executors are to have all my books of debts and obligations, together with all the keys of my cellars with the salt kept there. They are to sell all my merchandise for the best price. The money from this sale is to be used for pious works. All the executors have to agree on the above, especially the principle executors.
22. Executors - Master John, my eldest son, who is to be content with his bequests for his labour as such; John Vaughan, son of the mayor, who is to have £10 for his work.
23. Residue - to my executors who are to dispose of it as they think best for the good of my soul and especially to have remembrance of the almshouse.

Maud Estrefeld

1491 July 21

Probate 1492 February 6

20 Dogett p. 157.

1. I am the wife of John Estrefeld, merchant.
2. To be buried in the chapel of St. Mary "Belhouse" in St. Peter's church.
3. To the Mother church at Worcester - 4s.
4. To the parish church of St. Werburgh's - 12d.
5. To the tabernacle of St. Mary in the above church - 10s.
6. To the Prior or guardian of each house of the Friars Mendicant
10s between them.
7. For the use of the chapel of St. Mary "Belhouse" - my
wedding ring.
8. One white vestment for use in the chapel of St. Mary in
the porch of the parish church of St. Mary Redcliffe.
9. John Estrefeld, my younger son - 2 tenements on Temple street;
one garden in Market street next to Lafford's gate.
If he dies without any immediate heirs then this
property is to pass to Henry, my son. If there occurs
a similar failure of heirs then it is to pass to
Isabel, my daughter; then to John, my son.
10. Isabel, and John, my children - all my personal ornaments -
at the discretion of my husband.

11. William Rogers, my son - 2 dozen napkins; 4 cloths (mappas);
4 towels; one pair of linen; one coverlet; 6
3 pots; 3 salts; 2 dozen dishes (percipsidos); one
dozen dishes (discos); one dozen saucers made of electrum.
12. Alice (sic) - 3 robes.
13. Agnes, my servant - one robe.
14. Executor - my husband.

Seal appended.

Thomas Eyer. Burgess.

1416 October 10.

Probate None recorded.

36 Marche p. 283.

1. To be buried in the crypt of St. Nicholas church.
2. For the fabric of this church - 6/8.
3. To the Mother church at Worcester - 40d.
4. To the vicar of St. Nicholas church - 6/8.
5. To the parish chaplain at this church - 12d.
6. To the chapel of St. Mary there - 12d.
7. To each Order of Friars - 2/6.
8. To the poor of Holy Trinity next to the gate in Lafford - 6/8.
9. To the poor in the Houses of "le Langrewe", St. John the Baptist,
 St. Katherine - 40d. each.
10. To the poor in the leper house of "Bryghtbowe", and in the House
 of - 20d each.
11. To the poor on my burial day - 100s.
12. For my funeral expenses - £10.
13. To the Fraternities of St. George, and St. John the Baptist -
 6/8 each.
14. To the Fraternity of the Cross in the crypt of St. Nicholas
 church - 10s.
15. Thomas Bertlet - 20s.

16. Residue - John, my son.
17. Executors - " " "; Thomas Bertlet.

Seal appended.

William Ferrour. Burgess.

1487 October 21.

Probate 1487 November 20.

4 Milles pp. 39, 39a.

1. To be buried in St. Stephen's church.
2. To the Cathedral church of Worcester - 12d.
3. To the rector of St. Peter's church, for tithes and to pray
for my soul - 6/8.
4. For the new fabric of the above chapel (sic) of St. Stephens
- $\frac{1}{2}$ pipe of woad on condition that John Druez, Philip
Kyngeston, and Thomas Doon know the chapel.
5. Elizabeth, my wife - my estate and term of years remaining
in the messuage in Baldwin street in which I live.
6. Residue - my wife.
7. Executors - wife.
8. Supervisors of my will - John Druez, Philip Kyngeston.

Seal appended.

John Flanyngham

1490 June 12.

Probate 1490 August 16.

34 Milles pp. 276, 276a.

1. To be buried in the cemetery of St. James parish church.
2. To the above church - 3/4; one psalter - (to provide prayers for my soul).
3. To the Cathedral Church at Worcester - 20d.
4. To the high altar in St. James church, for tithes - 8d.
5. To Dom. Robert vicar of the above church - 20d.
6. William, my brother - my best robe.
7. Thomas father (?pater) - one robe in russet.
8. Thomas Howell - one robe trimmed with black fur.
9. John, my son - one whole cloth valued at 5 marks.
10. Elen, " daughter - " " " " " "
11. William, my son - " " " " " "
12. Residue - Anastacie, my wife.
13. Executor - wife.

Alice Fletcher (Fleccher in margin)

1406 August 12.

Probate 1406 October 18

11 Marche p. 88a.

1. To be buried in St. Philips church.
2. My debts are to be paid fully.
3. The light opposite the cross in St. Philip's church - 10s.
4. One tenement - to be sold by my executors. Option on the sale
to be given to the brethren of the Fraternity of Holy
Trinity before all others. The proceeds from this sale
are to be distributed for the good of my soul.
5. To the rector of Holy Trinity church, for tithes - 3/4.
6. To the clerk of this church - 12d.
7. William Pollard - 3/4. To his wife - one tunic, with one kirtle
and camica, (article of clothing of very fine material)
8. Alice Austyn - 12d.
9. Edith Waterledere - 12d; one kirtle.
10. John Youge - 12d.
11. William Colvyr; John Colvyr - to collect my debts in Bristol,
and to receive 6/8 each for their work.
12. All my rents and tenements on St. Michael's hill - are to be
sold. The proceeds are to be distributed for the good
of my soul.
13. To the Fraternity of (rubbed) in Bristol - my best salt.
14. To the four Orders of Friars - 10s to attend my funeral and
the mass on the following day.

15. Residue - to my executors.
16. Executors - Robert Bowyer; John Broun, mariner.

Richard Forster. Merchant. Burgess.

1450. December 13.

Probate 1451. January 20.

16 Rous p. 125.

1. To be buried in the cemetery of the parish church of St. Mary Redcliffe next to the tomb of my children.
2. To the Mother church at Wells - 6/8.
3. For the fabric of the parish church of Holy Cross Temple - 6/8.
4. " " " " " " " " St. Andrew - 6/8.
5. " " " " " " " " Publowe - 6/8.
6. To each chaplain taking part in the mass and intercessions at my funeral - 20d.
7. To each Order of Mendicant Friars in Bristol - 3/4.
8. For the fabric of Redcliffe church - 13/4.
9. My executors are to find an honest chaplain to celebrate in the parish church of Holy Cross for four years for my soul and those of my parents.
10. To be distributed to the poor on the day of my burial - 40s.
11. To each of my Godchildren - 20d.
12. Isabelle Norton, my daughter - my term which is almost completed but for 2 years in one tenement.
13. The children of Isabelle and Walter Norton - 100 marks.
14. Richard, my son and heir - all lands, tenements, rents, reversions services, in Bristol and its suburbs and in the Counties of Somerset, and Gloucestershire. If he dies without immediate heirs then this property is to pass

to Isabelle, my daughter. If she dies without such
heirs then - to Thomas, my brother.

15. Residue - Joan, my wife; Richard, my son who are to dispose
of it for the good of my soul.
16. Executors - Joan, and Richard as above.

John Foster. Merchant.

1492 August 6.

Probate 1492 September 15

9 Doggatt pp. 65-66. In English.

1. To be buried in St. Werburgh parish church beside the holy Trinity altar in the tomb which I have built there.
2. To this church, for my burial there - £10.
3. Dom. Richard Wood, parson of this church, for tithes - 40s.
4. To the Cathedral church at Worcester - 3/4.
5. To each Order of Friars - 10s to help at my funeral and at my month's mind.
6. £4 to be distributed to the poor at the discretion of my executors, at my funeral and month's mind.
7. 6/8 to be distributed as above to poor prisoners in Newgate.
8. My executors are to find one honest priest to sing daily in the chapel of my almshouse in Stepe(?) street in the parish of Mighell (sic). He is to do this for 15 years for my soul, and the souls of Elizabeth my late wife, our parents, and especially for the soul of James Venables. The priest is to receive £4 p.a.
9. During the next 40 years my executors are to distribute 2/2 to the poor living in the 13 chambers of my almshouse, i.e. 2d. per chamber, per week. The money is to be taken from the sale of my goods.

10. The feoffees of all my lands, tenements, reversions, and services in "Cam, Slymbrigge, Goslyngton, Arlingham" in Gloucestershire, should make the property over to Richard, my son, and his wife Katherine. If Richard dies without immediate heirs then this property is to be sold after the death of Katherine. The yearly value of this property is 10 marks over and above all charges and repairs.

The above feoffees are to see that Richard and Katherine get the residue of all the above property including rents, reversion, and services.

If the property is sold in the event of their being no immediate heirs, then the money is to be used to found a perpetual chantry with one priest.

11. Richard, my son - 100 marks in plate; 100 marks in silver; all household (effects) belonging to the hall, parlour, chamber, and kitchen in my house in Small street where I live.

My executors are to allow Richard to have the messuage in which I live during the term still due, on condition that Richard and his heirs keep in good repair the walls, the timber, the tiles, the doors, the windows, pavements (?) vaults.

If Richard dies without immediate heirs then my executors are to sell my term in this messuage and to use the money

for the good of my soul in charitable and pious work.

12. Agnes, my daughter, and wife of William Weston, merchant - one messuage in Corn street in which she and her husband are now living. She is to hold this property for life on condition that she keeps it in good repair as above, and pays the rent i.e. 10s. to the Prioress and Convent of St. Mary Magdalene in Bristol; 2s. to the Abbot and Convent of Tewksbury; and 2s. to the proctors of St. Werburgh's church.

If my executors find that Agnes and her husband do not keep this property in good repair even after being warned by the executors, then the reversion of the messuage is to be sold immediately to whomsoever wishes to buy. Then most of the money is to be divided into three equal parts-

two thirds to the maintenance of my almshouse
one third to St. Werburgh's church.

Also, Agnes and her husband are to pay 10s. p.a. for life, towards the repair of my chapel and almshouse.

13. Agnes, my daughter - £40 in plate; £40 in silver.

14. Robert and Richard, sons of Richard, my son - to each a sum of money and goods as my executors think proper.

15. John Walsh - my silver half gilt salt cellar with cover.

16. John Esterfeld, merchant - my state and term in one messuage in
Small street in which Edward now lives; one garden in
St. Leonard's lane which the above John Esterfeld
now occupies.
17. Robert Bolton - one best robe of scarlet; one silver cup; £5.
18. William Adams - my servant; £5; one silver cup; cloth for one
violet coloured robe.
19. Residue - John Walsh; John Esterfeld.
20. Executors - " " " " who are to receive £20 and one
silver and gilt cup each, for their work.

Seal appended.

William Frome. Burgess.

1413 January 6.

Probate 1413 April 14.

26 Marche p. 203.

1. To be buried to the left of John Stooke in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr.
2. To the above chapel - 6/8.
3. 15 yards of Welsh russet cloth to cover my body at my funeral, on the eve, during the mass, and on the next day. My executors are to choose the cloth and (afterwards are to) divide it equally amongst 20 poor who are to carry 5 lbs. of wax candles around my body.
4. To each of these poor men - 4d.
5. 15 yards of white Welsh cloth - to be divided equally between 5 poor widows in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Each widow is also to receive 4d.
6. To each chaplain celebrating in St. Thomas chapel and St. Mary Redcliffe church following my funeral, on the eve, etc. as above - 4d.
7. Dom. Thomas Wyke, junior - 6/8; my robe trimmed with fur.
8. All my household effects - to the honest poor who have lost their goods by misadventure, and who do not wish to beg.
9. Christine, my wife, and Thomas, my son - 4 shops in the Market near those belonging to the abbott and convent of Tewksbury.
Also, one hall and 2 shops opposite the cross in the

porch of St. Stephen's church.

10. To the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Avon bridge - 6/8.
11. " " " St. John the Baptist - 6/8.
12. My executors are to sell all my best clothing, all movables.

After my debts have been paid, the proceeds of the sale
are to be divided into 3:

$\frac{1}{3}$ - pious works wherever they are needed most.
 $\frac{1}{3}$ - Christine, my wife.
 $\frac{1}{3}$ - Thomas, my son.

13. Thomas, my son and his heirs - a certain number of my holdings
in the north part of "Erlismede".
14. To each of my executors - 20s for their work.
15. Executors - Thomas, my son; Henry Talbot, chaplain; Thomas
Stamford.

William Fyssher.

1488 January 26.

Probate 1488 May 26.

23 Milles p. 187a.

1. To be buried in the doorway of St. Peter's parish church.
2. To the Cathedral church at Worcester - 8d.
3. To St. Peter's church - 50s.
4. To the chapel of St. Nicholas of "Ledwelly" in Wales - 50s.
5. Master Thomas Wodyngton - all my books now in his keeping.
6. Thomas Wodehouse - one book called a "jornall".
7. Thomas Norton - one book called a "Salster" psalter
8. Matilda Hempmyng - one table of "pruse" work.
9. John, kinsman - one bed; $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen pewter vessels; one copper bowl; 1 copper salt; one bowl.
10. John Young - my blood coloured robe without fur; one noble.
11. Isabel, my sister - my best furred robe; one noble.
12. Richard Cole, shoemaker - one robe; one noble.
13. Agnes, my sister - one robe, one noble.
14. Alianore Hempmyng - one bowl.
15. Residue - Executors - John Wodyngton, Henry Hempmyng who are to receive 20s. each for their work.
16. Supervisor of the will - William Spicer who is to receive 20s. for his work.

Robert Galion

1390 October 19

Probate 1391 June 10.

2 Rous p.12a.

1. To be buried in the church of the Friars Minor in Northampton.
2. Mathilde, my wife - 20 marks.
3. 2 chaplains are to celebrate at my funeral - They are to receive 12 marks.
4. Richard Spede - 5 marks.
5. Robert Galion, junior - £5 when he is of age. If he dies before he becomes of age then the money is to be distributed for the good of my soul.
6. John Plu(mmer) rubbed, vicar of the church (rubbed) of Northampton - 40s. (rubbed) to pray for my soul.
7. Residue - Robert, my son; John son of John atte Wode.
8. Executors - " " " " " " "

Joan Geffrey, widow (Gefferey in margin)

1494 June 21

Probate 1494 October 6.

15 Vox no page number. In English

1. To be buried in the churchyard of the Temple by my husband at the east end of the church.
2. To the Cathedral Church at Wells - 4d.
3. To the vicar of the Temple, my curate, for tithes - 10s.
4. For the use of the chapel and brotherhood of St. Katherine in the above church - one cup called a "Nuttē" embossed with silver, and with a cover.
5. One honest chaplain to be provided to pray for the souls of Richard Geffreys, Andrew Hourlefrenssh, and Joan wife to both of them, and for the souls of their friends.
6. A year's mind and obit to be kept in the Temple for the souls of the above for twenty winters. 6/8 is to be spent on this each year:

To the vicar - 8d for two tapers and 4d for himself.

To four other priests - 16d.

To two clerks - 4d.

For ringing three peals on the great bell, i.e. one at the beginning of the dirge; one before mass; one after mass - 6/8; and the change out of this noble is to be distributed to the poor .

7. For five years 6d is to be given in bread or money, to the poor.
8. On every Friday in Lent in these five years 6d to be given in bread to poor prisoners in Newgate prison, Bristol.
9. Twelve candles to be distributed as follows:
 - one to "Brokworth" parish church in Gloucestershire;
 - one to "Westerleygh" " " ;
 - four to the four Orders of Friars in Bristol;
 - one to Our Lady in "Belhouse" in St. Peter's church, Bristol;
 - five to poor churches in Bristol who have most need of one.
10. Each Christmas for five years 10s. worth of wood and coal is to be given to the poor in almshouses and other such places.
11. John Hourlefrenshe - my best loom with its frame.
12. Richard Edmondes, son of John Edmondes - 20s.
13. Elizabeth Jay, my goddaughter - "one crock called the poddyng crock";
one pan; one standing cup called a "Nutt" with cover,
embossed in silver and gilt.
14. Elyn, daughter of Philipp Harper - 6/8.
15. Wylliam Dorborne(?) - my second loom with its frame.
16. Three Trentals of St. Gregory are to be said for my soul and that
of my late husband on my burial day, on my month's
mind and four days after my month's mind.
17. Residue - John Jay, my cousin; Philipp Harper.
18. Executors - " " " " "
19. Supervisor of my will - John Hourlefrensshe, who has received £3-6-8 for his work.

John Geffrey alias Nete "Boucher"

1455 December 31.

Probate 1455 December 15.

4 Stokton p. 28.

1. To be buried in the crypt of my parish church of St. Nicholas
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 12d.
3. John Arsoc, vicar there - 20s.
4. John, my son - £10; my best gown trimmed with fur; my best
baslard worked in silver.
5. Joan, my daughter - £10.
6. Edith, my mother - 20s.
7. Agnes, my sister - 20s.
8. Residue - Agnes, my wife.
9. Executor - " " "
10. Supervisor of my will - John Arsoc vicar.

Seal appended.

Egidea George alias Swayne.

1495 April 1.

Probate 1495 May 14.

25 Vox. No page number.

1. To be buried in St. John Baptist church.
2. My executors are to build a freestone tomb for me.
3. To the Mother church of St. Andrew at Wells - 4d.
4. To the high altar of St. John Baptist - the silk cover from my pall; one large chest now standing in my hall; one towel.
5. To Richard Colyns, Master of the House of St. John Baptist - one table of 'Flanders' work; one silver and gilt cup; one pair of linen sheets.
6. Benedict Prendergest, chaplain - one silver standing cup with cover weighing 35 oz; one feather bed.
7. Peter Philipps - another cup as above weighing 25 ozs; one feather bed.
8. To the above two men - all linen.
9. Giles Philipps - household effects including one best green coloured cloth hanging in the hall called a "halling".
10. Elionore Phillips (sic) and Alice Warham - clothing.
11. Giles, son of John Warham, John Webbe, chaplain; Henry Webbe; John Guilham; Alice my servant; Joan daughter of Robert Lirpole; John Everard; - clothing and household effects.
12. Residue - Benedict Prendergest, chaplain; Peter Philipet (sic), merchant.

13. Executors - the above two.
14. Supervisor of my will - Richard Colyns, master of the house
of St. John the Baptist.

Seal appended.

Margaret Gildeney, widow of Henry Gildeney,

late burgess of Bristol.

1430 January 8.

Probate 1430 January 28.

15 Luffenam. p. 116.

1. To be buried in the crypt of St. Nicholas parish church.
2. The vicar of this church - My second best gown in scarlet with grey fur.
3. Elizabeth Bassett, my sister - My best gown in scarlet with grey fur.
4. The executors are to appoint one fit chaplain to celebrate mass in St. Nicholas church for four years after my death.
- For the good of my soul and the soul of Henry my late husband.
5. John Bassett, son of William Bassett my brother - My best bed with hangings; silver plate; 12 silver spoons.
6. Residue - to William Bassett, my brother; William Pute, merchant, who are to dispense of it in pious uses for the good of my soul.
7. Executors - Above two.

William Godewyn

1403 September 10.

Probate 1403 October 7.

4. Marche p.30a.

1. To be buried in the Chapter House of the Friars Minor facing the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
2. For the fabric of the Mother church at Worcester - 12d.
3. To the rector of St. Stephen's church - for tithes - 40s.
4. For the fabric of this church - 3/4.
5. To each Order of Friars - 2/6.
6. To each chaplain celebrating in St. Stephen's church - 4d.
7. Executors - Edith, my wife; Robert Michel.
8. Residue - " " " "
9. Supervisor of my will - the rector of St. Stephen's church.

Seal appended.

Agnes Gorges. Widow of Thomas Gorges

1419 August 28.

Probate 1419/20 January 3

47 Marche pp. 369, 370.

1. To be buried in St. Werburgh's church.
2. To the rector of this church, for tithes, and to pray for my soul - 6/8.
3. To help the annual repair of windows in the chancel of All Saints church in Wroxall, Somerset - 20s.
4. To the Cathedral church at Worcester - 20d.
5. To help the repair of the North aisle in the above church at Wroxhall - 40s.

Also, - one gold chalice; one pair of vestments of "Baudekyn" in green and black; one embroidered frontal. These gifts are to remain in this church which in return is to provide prayers for my soul and the souls of Thomas Gorges, and Thomas Norton, my late husbands.

6. To the church of St. Peter in "(N)ailse" - one pair of vestments - to pray for my soul and those of my husbands.
7. To the chapel at Burton - one pair of vestments - to pray as above.
8. To the Order of Friars Minor - 20s.
9. " " " " Carmelite, and Preachers - 6/8 each.
10. To the nuns of St. Mary Magdalene - 40d.
11. To be distributed to the almshouses and hospitals and the poor in Bristol - 13/4.

12. To be distributed to my poor tenants at Wroxhall - 20s.
13. To the needy poor - 16/8.
14. One fit chaplain is to celebrate one Trental of St. Gregory for one year after my death. He is to receive £5-6-8 as stipend.
15. One fit chaplain to celebrate 1000 masses - to receive £4-3-4.
16. 13 poor to be clothed in woolen cloth.
17. Theobold, my son - one brooch worked in gold; one ring with one stone called a "deamande"; one cup with cover worked in silver.
Condition:- that he is of age when he inherits.
18. William, my son - jewellry.
My executors are to have the governance of William till he is married or becomes of age. If he dies before either, then these bequests are to be sold and the proceeds used for the good of my soul.
19. Isabel, my daughter - 20 marks for her marriage to a sufficient and honest man; jewelry and clothing.
My executors are to have the governance of Isabel till she is married to an honest man. If she dies before then, these bequests are to be sold and the proceeds used for the good of my soul and those of my late husbands and Isabel.
20. Thomas Beauchampe, clerk, my brother - one silver cup with cover; one table made of spruce; my best "yeiderbedde" with bolster

21. Henry Spechesley - 10 marks; one pair of gilt plates; one gold brooch with one diamond set in it; one gold ring with one sapphire set in it; one silver cup with cover worked with griffins on it; 6 silver spoons; one bed with one pair of best blankets; one set of linen etc. beds and bedding.
22. Marian Blake - 10s. one pair of plates bound in silver and gilt; one gold brooch; one gold ring; one silver cup with cover; beds and bedding; clothing.
23. Richard Herband - 20s; one bed with one pair of blankets; one set of linen; one matress.
24. William Berde, John Chambre; Alice Cornysch; William Hunte; - 20s; one bed with one pair of blankets; one set of linen, each.
25. To each of my 3 executors - 40s.
26. Residue - to be disposed of for the good of my soul and those of my husbands.
27. Executors - Thomas Marchall, vicar of All Saints church; Robert (Veel) of Somerset; Henry Spechesley.

Seal appended.

Codicil: One chalice - to the chapel of "Naillse"
" " " " " " Burton
For the dowry of Isabel, my daughter - 10 marks
To William Berde, and Robert Herband - 20s. each.
To be distributed amongst my poor tenants at Wroxhall - 20s.
Residue - to be distributed in alms for my soul.

Adam Gower

1493 July 4

Probate 1493 August 26

28 Doggett. No page number. In English

1. To be buried in St. Stephens parish church before the high altar of
St. James.
2. To the high altar of St. Stephens church, for tithes - 6/8.
3. To the Mother church at Worcester - 20d.
4. To the repair of St. Stephens church - $\frac{1}{2}$ pipe of woad.
5. Isabell, my daughter - one pipe of woad; one silver flat plate;
one mazer; $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. spoons; one silver salt without
cover.
6. To the four Orders of Friars on my burial day - 5s each; 2/6
each at my months mind.
7. Thomas, my child - 10s.
8. Master Vaghan, parish priest of St. Stephens church - 6/8.
9. Residue - Joan my wife.
10. Executor - " " "
11. Supervisor of my will - Jenkyn Jay who is to receive 20s. for his
work.

John Gybbyss.

1403 March 10.

Probate 1403 April 14.

6. Marche p.43.

1. To be buried in St. Peter's church.
2. For the fabric of the church at Worcester - 6d.
3. To the rector of St. Peter's church.
4. Agnes, my wife - all my movables, and immovables.
5. Executors - my wife; William att Wylle, who are to distribute
the residue of my goods for the good of my soul.

Constance Hatter, widow of Richard.

1461 May 15.

Probate 1461 July 1.

22 Stokton p.174a. In English.

1. To be buried in the ground of St. Leonard's church.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 20d.
3. To the House of Kalandaries - 6/8.
4. To the four Orders of Friars - 6/8 each to pray for my soul
and to attend my funeral and month's mind.
5. Alice Walchen, wife of John Walchen of Abynden - one standing
cup in silver weighing 20oz.
6. Elizabeth Hawke, wife of John Hawke, my son - my best robe;
my three best girdles, three strings of beads.
7. Residue - John Hawke, my son, except my clothing which is to
be given to the poor.
8. Executors - John Hawke.

Seal appended.

Richard Hatter. Merchant. Burgess.

1457 September 5.

Probate 1457 September 21.

10 Stokton pp. 74, 74a.

1. To be buried in All Saints parish church next to the tomb of Thomas Hallewey and Joan his wife.
2. For the fabric of Mother church at Worcester - 6/8.
3. " " " St. Leonards church - £6 - 13 - 4.
4. " " " All Saints " - £3 - 6 - 8.
5. " " " St. Mary Redcliffe church - 20s.
6. To the vicar of St. Leonard's parish church - £3- 6 - 8.
7. Twenty four chaplains are to attend the dirge and mass of my funeral. Twelve poor men are to carry one candle each.
8. To the Order of Friars Minor - 20s. for attending my dirge and mass, and intercessing for my soul.
9. To the other three Orders of Friars - 13/4 each.
10. My executors are to provide a fit chaplain to celebrate mass for my soul in St. Leonard's church for ten years after my death.
11. For the repair and building of the chantry of Thomas Hallewey - £77 - 13 - 4.
12. To buy one missal for this chantry - £8.
13. John Hatter, my brother - one blue robe trimmed with beaver fur; one hood of scarlet.
14. The son of John above - 40s.
15. Isabelle Stafford, my sister - one silver dish weighing 12 ozs.

16. Robert Warmyngton and his wife - £3 - 6 - 8.
17. Master Richard Warmyngton - £3. 6 - 8.
18. William Hatter of London, my brother - £3 - 6 - 8.
19. Thomas Devenyssh - £20.
20. John Laverance, my servant - £6 - 13 - 4.
21. Richard Marchall, my apprentice - £3 - 6 - 8.
22. Richard Boole - £5.
23. Matilde, my servant - 40s.
24. John Villeyn - 40s; one robe.
25. Residue - Constance, my wife; John Hawke, her son.
26. Executors - " " " " " "

Seal appended.

Thomas Hawkyns, jun., "Baker" of the parish
of St. Stephen.

1487 September 2.

Probate 1487 November 28.

4 Milles p.39a.

1. To be buried in St. Stephen's parish church.
2. To the Mother Church of Worcester - 3/4.
3. Alice Olyver my sister - 40s; one blue robe.
4. Residue - Agnes, my wife.
5. Executor - wife.
6. Supervisor of will - Dom. John Edward.

Seal appended.

Sir Thomas Hawkyssocke

1486 September 13.

Probate 1496 (sic) October 16.

1 Horne. No page number.

1. To be buried in St. Mary Redcliffe church between two pillars near the font.
2. To the Mother church at Wells - 4d.
3. To the proctors of St. Mary Redcliffe church - 6/8 for my burial there.
4. Master Bernard - one silver dish.
5. Dom. William Skynner - my breviary; two "jornals".
6. Agnes Miles - all my pewter, brass, and lead vessels.
7. Katherine Payne - my mazer during her life. Afterwards it is to pass to Alice, her daughter. Another mazer - to the sisters of this Alice.
8. To the vicar (sic) - 2s.
9. John Mogge one string of amber beads.
10. Thomas Skynner - one robe.
11. John Baker, and his wife - two robes.
12. To each priest in St. Mary Redcliffe church - 12d to attend my funeral and mass.
13. To each clerk in St. Mary Redcliffe church - 6d. to attend my funeral and mass.
14. Dom. Thomas Meryfeld - one bed cover.
15. Dom. Stephen, deacon - one other bedcoverr
16. Dom. William Carpenter - one silver dish.

17. John Harding - one flock bed with a bolster and a blanket;
6/8.

18. Residue - Robert Payne.

Thomas Hawley. "Poyntmaker"

1493 September 17.

Probate 1493 October 18.

1 Vox p.3.

1. To be buried in the church of the Friars Preachers opposite the altar of St. Salvatoris.
2. To the Mother Church at Worcester - 6/8.
3. To the Friars Preachers, for my burial in their church - £5.
4. To the prior or rector of St. James parish church - 3/4 to pray for my soul.
5. For the work of this church - 40s. to make a new "entreclos".
6. John Taylour, my cousin - 40s. to pray for my soul.
7. To the Carmelite Friars - 20s. for the repair of the church there.
8. John Clifford, monk of Dyryst - 6/8 to pray for my soul.
9. Dom. John, chaplain - 6/8 to pray for my soul.
10. To the Minor and Augustinian Friars - 5s. each to pray for my soul.
11. John Skypper, my cousin - 6/8 to pray for my soul.
12. Margaret Han(er), my servant - 3/4 " " "
13. Residue - Margaret, my wife.
14. Executor - " " "
15. Supervisors of the will - Thomas Hoisshekyns; John Sowle, tanner.
16. Thomas Hoishekyns - 20s. for his work.
17. John Sowle - 13/4 " " "

John Haymon. Merchant.

1454 March 28.

No probate recorded.

6 Stokton p.42.

1. To be buried where God pleases.
2. To the Mother Church at Worcester - 12d.
3. Residue to be divided into three parts:-
 - one third - 20 of the poorest people.
 - " " - 20 poor scholars for their exhibitions.
 - " " - poor chaplains; poor girls for their dowries - for the good of my soul.
4. Executor - John Horssey; John Knotte, who are to receive 20 marks between them for their work.
5. Supervisor of my will - John Shippeward, my master.

Seal appended.

John Hemmyng of the parish of St. Mark the
Evangelist in "lez Gauntis".

1498 February 31.

Probate 1498 April 22.

32 Horne No page number.

1. To be buried in the chapel of the Transfiguration in St. Mary's church.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 3/4.
3. To the parish church of St. Michael Archangel - 20d.
4. Alianore, my wife - all my estate in that tenement in which I live.

She is to hold this property for life, and to keep it
in good repair. Also, £100 in plate of various kinds,
i.e. cups, salvers, spoons and other goods in silver and
gold.

Also, my household effects in the above tenement.

5. Richard, my son - my estate in one tenement in Small street in
which he lives.

Also, all my merchandise, and debts. He is to give to
my executors for collecting the latter - 40s. which
Elizabeth, wife of the above Richard owes me.

6. Agnes, my daughter, widow of the late John Rowley, merchant, now
wife of Richard Shadwell - one tenement in Small street.
7. The above Agnes and her husband - to be released from their debt
of £20 owing to me; also, 2 silver and gilt dishes;
2 gold rings.

8. Alianore, daughter of John, my son - £6-13-4; 20s. p.a. from my newly

built tenement next to St. Augustine's green and in
"lez Gaunts". She is to inherit this property after
the death of my wife.

9. To the poor of the hospital of Holy Trinity at Lafford's gate - 8s.
per week from my executors from the rent of the above
tenement on St. Augustine's green.
10. Every year on my obituary day, my wife is to order the celebration
of my Requiem Mass. She is to pay for this from the
rents of the 2 tenements left to her.
11. All the tenements which I built on St. Augustine's green are to remain
in the hands of my wife. After her death, they are to be
in the keeping of Master Thomas Tyler, now master of
"le Gaunte" and the fraternity there.
12. Residue - Thomas Tyler; Thomas Coderyngton; my wife.
13. Executors - " " " " " "
14. Thomas Tyler and Thomas Coderyngton are each to receive £10 for
their work.

Seal appended.

Thomas Hend. Burgess.

1428 December 16.

Probate 1429 January 29.

10 Luffenam pp. 78, 78a.

1. To be buried in a specified tomb next to the aisle in the crypt of St. Nicholas parish church.
2. The vicar of this church - 13/4.
3. Fabric of this church - 20s.
4. The Fraternity of this crypt in St. Nicholas church - 10s.
5. Each chaplain who celebrates mass in this church and who attends my funeral - 6d.
6. For the fabric of the Mother Church at Worcester - 12d.
7. The convent of the Order of Friars Minor - 6/8 to intercess at my funeral.
8. The other three Orders of Mendicant Friars - 3/4 each to intercess at my funeral.
9. The poor in the almhouse in "le Langrew" - 2s.
10. " " " " " Laffords gate - 3/4.
11. Walter, my son to provide a fit chaplain for $6\frac{1}{2}$ yrs. after my death. He is to celebrate mass at St. Mary's altar in the crypt of St. Nicholas church - salary £6 p.a.
12. William, my servant - one silver cup with cover called a standing cup weighing $17\frac{3}{4}$ oz; one silver girdle weighing $8\frac{1}{4}$ oz; one gown of "medley" trimmed with "ffychede" fur.

13. Christine, my servant - the bed on which I now lie in death;
the bed cover and tester; two blankets; two sheets,
one bolster, one pillow; one pair of coral beads,
decorated in silver and gilt and with a crucifix
pendant; three silver spoons; 6/8.
14. Margaret, my servant - one bed cover, one sheet, one pair
of blankets, two silver spoons; 3/4.
15. Richard Combe - one silver cup inscribed weighing 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ozs.
16. Marione - $\frac{1}{2}$ rent from my tenements i.e. 2/6.
17. John Wheler - reht " " " " "
18. David Gough - " " " " i.e. 3/4.
19. Walter, my son - all lands, tenements, rents, reversions,
and services in Bristol and its suburbs.
20. Residue - Walter, my son.
21. Executors - Walter, my son; Dom. John Lucas, chaplain.

Agnes Hert, widow

1493 February 4.

(1493 October 26 - Date given at the end
of the will)

Probate No record of probate

10 Vox p.72.

1. To be buried in the crypt beneath the parish church of St. Nicholas.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 3/4.
3. To the high altar of St. Nicholas church, for tithes - 6/8.
4. To the fabric of this church - 10s.
5. For the crypt in " " - 5s.
6. " " fabric of the parish church of "Alverton" in the Forest of Dean - 3/4.
7. Dom. Robert Carter, chaplain, my confessor - 2s. to celebrate mass and to intercess for my soul on my burial day.
8. To each chaplain serving daily in St. Nicholas church who intercesses for my soul at my funeral - 12d.
9. To each Order of Friars, to intercess for my soul at my funeral - 3/4.
10. Agnes, wife of Robert Jubb - one black robe for her use on the anniversary of the marriage of William Hert and myself.

11. Similar bequests of clothing, household effects, and utensils to:- Matilda, wife of John Pollard, and her daughter, Alice; John Guvild, servant to John Pollard; William Hert of London; John Hert of Bristol; Thomas Tymber; Isabel, my servant.
12. To Matilde Pollard and Thomas Tymber - £10 on condition that they provide my mother with food, clothing and all necessities.
13. To John Deem, my servant - 40s. to be raised from my merchandise in my shop. He is not to take it from the best or cheapest goods, but from that of average worth, according to the discretion of my executors.
14. Walter Kemmylion - 3 dozen "dogen" from which to make knife sheres, with 5 "peciis de pixid".
15. John, son of above - 3 silver spoons.
16. Thomas Butteler, my servant - 40s. for good service to me.
17. Henry Hert - for a certain sum of money, to be settled by my executor, he is to have the option on all goods or merchandise and instruments for my craft which are in my shop. Also - all effects in my chamber including my bed, and in my hall.

18. Margaret Coteller - one feather bed covered with canvas ("canabo"); one truckle bed with one pair of blankets; one pair of linen (sheets); one bolster; one bedcover; one "murray" coloured tunic; one cupboard standing in the hall between the chamber and the store-room.
19. John Bowurd - three silver spoons.
20. John Clifford - one gold ring.
21. The son of Henry Borude (?), my godson - one brass pot.
22. Elizabeth Clerk - one broad girdle embroidered with silver and gilt which formerly belonged to Thomas Sayer, her father.
23. Alice, daughter of John Maddock of "Elvinton" (?) in the Forest of Dean - one gold ring, my best silk cap.
24. Katherine Simon - 6/8 in goods.
25. Agnes, wife of John Robert - £10; (clothing; household effects including one table of Flemish make).
26. John Browne, my cousin - one "fruntlet" of velvet.
27. Residue - David, Philip, and John Pollard.
28. Executors - David and John Pollard.

William Hert. Burgess.

1493. August 14.

Probate 1493 October 18.

28 Doggett. No page number.

1. To be buried in the crypt under St. Nicholas church facing the holy cross there.
2. To the Mother church of Worcester - 5s.
3. To the high altar of St. Nicholas church, for tithes - 20s.
4. For the fabric of this church - 10s.
5. For " crypt " " " - 10s.
6. John, my son - 40s; one "flatt" plate; one tenement in "Baste" street on condition that he pay 2s. capitege annually to the lord for that tenement.
7. Agnes, my wife - the stable connected to the above tenement. She is to hold this property for her life. One tenement in "le Backe" in Bristol. After her death this is to pass to John, my son. If he dies without immediate heirs then it is to pass to Agnes Jubb, my daughter. If she dies without immediate heirs, then it is to pass to Stephen Forthey. If he dies etc. then it is to pass to the proctors of St. Nicholas church, who are to receive 3/4 for selling the tenement.
8. William, my son - 20s.
9. Agnes Jubb, my daughter - 20s; one "flatt" plate.

10. To keep one honest chaplain to celebrate mass for my soul and those of my parents in St. Nicholas church for two years - £12.
11. Residue - Agnes, my wife.
12. Executor - " " " ; Robert Forthey, merchant who is to receive one standing cup with cover for his work.
13. Supervisor of my will - Robert Carter, chaplain.

Seal appended.

John Hertham.

1404 February 22.

Probate 1404/5 February 6.

8. Marche. p.62.

1. To be buried in the convent of the Friars Carmelite.
2. Joan, my daughter - all my lands, tenements in "Gatysbury", Wiltshire. If she dies without immediate heirs then this property is to pass to Agnes, my daughter. If she dies without such heirs then it is to pass to Margery, my wife and her heirs.
3. For my funeral expenses -40s.
4. To the Mother church at Worcester - 20d.
5. For the fabric of the church of St. Leonard - 40d.
6. To the four Orders of Friars - 6/8.
7. Executors - my wife; William Spelly.
8. Supervisor of my will - John Bathe.
9. Matilde Russell, my servant - one black bed with one ewer and basin; one brass pot; one brass salt.
10. Davyd Hydeford - 2 robes with hoods.
11. Residue - my wife; my children.

Richard Holbroke. Merchant. Burgess

1457 July 13.

Probate 1457 July 28.

9 Stokton p. 69a.

1. To be buried in St. Stephen's church in the chapel founded in
the honour of St. Katherine.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 12d.
3. To St. Stephen's church - 3/4 for the repair of books for the
choir.
4. For the candle of the Holy Cross and the repair of the church
candles - 2s.
5. To the church of St. Stephen - 3/4.
6. A fit priest is to celebrate in this church for my soul - £6. 2s. 0.
7. John Geffraye, my brother - my best dish with cover; one silver
standing salver with cover; my second best mazer; my
second best bed.
8. John Bartelet, my brother - my best robe trimmed with fur.
9. Richard, my son - two whole cloths; one standing cup with
"taster"; one covered goblet (sic).
10. Residue - Margaret my wife.
11. Executor - " " "
12. Supervisor of my will - John Skryven; William Brid who are to
receive 6/8 each for their work.

Andrew Hurlefrensh. Burgess.

1472. February 5.

Probate 1473. May 21.

9 Wattys p.66.

1. To be buried in the cemetery of the parish church of the Holy Cross.
2. To the Mother church at Wells - 8d.
3. Dom. Thomas Smyth, vicar of the church of Holy Cross Temple, for tithes - 3/4.
4. John Howell - 3/4.
5. Hugh Davy - 3/4.
6. Residue - Joan, my wife - to pay for the funeral expenses, debts etc.
7. Executor - " " "
8. Supervisor of my will - John Jay, senior.

John Hutton. Merchant. Burgess.

1485 September 30.

Probate 1485 October 25.

17 Logge pp.125a, 126.

1. To be buried in St. Werburgh's parish church in the entrance on the North side.
2. To this church - 2 measures of woad.
3. To the Mother church at Worcester - 2s.
4. Master William Crosse, my curate at St. Leonard's church - my silver cup called a "Rokett" cup.
5. John, William, Richard, my sons - six "pairs" plates engraved with a figure of St. Katherine, with covers.
6. Matilde, my wife - one tenement in Oldcorne street, for her life, then it is to pass to my heirs.
7. Humfrie Bradley, my apprentice - 2 measures of woad.
8. Residue - my wife.
9. Executor - " "

Seal appended.

Richard Hygham, gentleman.

1485 September 29.

Probate 1485 November 19.

18 Logge pp.133, 133a.

1. To be buried in the church of St. Mary in Foro.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 4d.
3. To the rector of St. Peter's parish church, my curate, for tithes - 3/4.
4. Agnes, my wife - 13/4 annual rent from one tenement in Broad street in which Henry Griffith, brewer, lives.
6/8 annual rent from one tenement in Broad street, at the sign of the White Hert, in which David Osteler lives.
3/4 annual rent from 2 shops near to St. James on the Back.

After the death of Agnes, then this property is to pass to my heirs.

5. Residue - Agnes, my wife.
6. Executor - " " "

John Jenkyns alias Stainour

1499 January 31

Probate 1499 August 1.

38 Horne. No page number.

1. To be buried in my tomb in All Saints parish church.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 8d.
3. John Thomas, perpetual vicar of All Saints church, for tithes - 20s.
4. Joan Tasker, my servant (famule) - one bed; part of my household effects
5. Residue - Thomas Jenkyns, alias Payntour, my brother.
6. Executor - " " " " "
7. Supervisor of my will - John Davyson, writer, who is to receive for his work - one silver goblet, one best blue robe.

Seal appended.

Gilbert Joce. Burgess.

1421 February 13

Probate 1423 October 21

1 Luffenham pp. 4a, 5.

1. To be buried in the parish church of St. Werburgh facing the cross.

2. To the Cathedral church at Worcester - 12d.

3. To the fabric of St. Werburgh's church - 3/4 for my burial there.

4. To the rector of this church, for tithes - 3/4.

5. Alice, my daughter - the reversion of 2 messuages on the Quay in

Bristol which were built by John Caveyr, hooper, and Edmund Northamton, Mariner. This property is now inhabited by Agnes Bevyll widow of Thomas Somerset (?). If Alice dies without immediate heirs then - to Walter, my son. If he dies without immediate heirs, then - to Matilde, Isabel, and Joan, my daughters to be divided equally amongst them. Also, the reversion of one garden in Bristol in "le Pytchay" which John Haddon senior and his wife Christine, hold for the term of their lives. After the death of Edith this garden is to pass to William, my son. If he dies without immediate heirs then - to my daughter as above.

Also, lands, tenements, rents and services which pass to my wife after the death of Agnes Bevyll. All this property is situated in Bristol with the exception of 2 (messuages) which is held by my wife for the term of her

life. After the death of Edith then this property is to pass to my daughters equally. If they die without immediate heirs then - to Walter, my son. If he dies without such heirs then - to William, my son. If he etc. then - to Alice, my daughter.

Also one tenement in Baldwyn street with four shops annexed to it. After the death of Edith this property is to be sold. From the proceeds my executors are to spend 40 marks for the good of my soul.

6. Regarding all of the above property - if all my children die without heirs then the property is to pass to the proctors of St. Werburgh's church. In return for this the church is to provide a fit chaplain to celebrate for my soul and those of Agnes my wife, John Sommerwell, and his wife, Alice. The remainder of the proceeds from the above property:-

$\frac{1}{4}$ to my executors on my anniversary.

$\frac{1}{4}$ to be distributed to the poor in bread.

$\frac{1}{4}$ for the use of the two most worthy and venerable men of the above parish.

$\frac{1}{4}$ for the repair of St. Werburgh's church.

7. Walter, my son - one best robe, trimmed with fur; one best girdle with baslard; all my armour.

8. For the repair of the parish church of "Southmolton" in Devon -
one loose gown (slopam), of velvet.
9. Thomas Molend - 20s. if he administers my will.
10. Residue - Agnes my wife.
11. Executors - " " " ; Thomas Moland.

Seal appended.

Thomas Jones. Burgess

1496 April 10.

Probate 1496/7 March 5.

5 Horne. No page number.

1. To be buried in the crypt of St. Nicholas church.
2. To the Cathedral church at Worcester - 12d.
3. To the vicar of St. Nicholas church, for tithes - 6/8.
4. For the use of the church of "Wondy" - 6/8.
5. To the church of "Rogett" - 6/8.
6. " " " " "Lanshangill" in Wales - 3/4.
7. " " " " "Evinton" - 3/4.
8. " " " " "Galisort" - 3/4.
9. Alice, my wife - 10 marks in plate, with other goods.
10. One chaplain is to celebrate mass for my soul in St. Nicholas church.
11. Residue - David Cogan, merchant.
12. Executor - " " "

Philip Ketford. Merchant. Burgess.

1422 November 4.

Probate 1422 November 28.

17 Luffenam pp. 134a, 135.

1. To be buried where God wills.
2. For the new window in St. Thomas Martyr church - 10 marks.
3. The four alms houses - 13/4. i.e. 40d. each.
4. Dom. Roger Saundres, the perpetual vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe, for tithes - 40d.
5. My executors are to provide a fit chaplain to celebrate mass in St. Thomas' church for one year.
6. John Ketford, my brother - articles of clothing.
7. Margaret, my daughter - all my pipes of woad; 64 ozs. of silver plate; bed linen; utensils.
8. Residue - to Joan, my wife.
9. Executors - wife; Simon Dier.
10. Supervisor of will - Thomas Mede.
11. Simon Dier and Thomas Mede - 20d. each, for their work in this will.

Thomas Keynes. Burgess.

1499 September 24.

Probate 1500 June 22.

9 Moone p. 71a.

1. To be buried in the cemetery of the parish church of St. James.
2. To the Mother church of St. Mary at Worcester - 6d.
3. To the high altar at St. James church, for tithes - 3/4.
4. Joan, my wife - one tenement in Marsh street; one tenement in "Brokehouse". After her death this property is to pass to Thomas, my son.
5. Thomas, my son - one silver dish; one silver and gilt mazer; 2 ewers and basins; 1 brass pot; 1 brass salt.
6. Agnes, my daughter - one silver dish; etc. as above.
7. John, my son - as above.
8. Isabell, my wife's daughter - 6 silver spoons, 1 brass pot; 1 brass salt.
9. Alice, my wife's daughter - as above.
10. Christiana, my wife's son - "unum strumentum sine for--tam cum --ntentis suis"; one pouch.
11. John Colman, curate - 3/4 to pray for my soul.
12. Residue - Joan, my wife.
13. Executor - " " "
14. Supervisors of my will - Dom. Alexander, chaplain; Thomas Haskyns; William Nell, who are to receive for their work - 40s.

Seal appended.

William Knolles. Merchant, Burgess.

1442. September 4.

Probate 1442. September 10.

16 Rous p. 123.

1. To be buried in the parish church of St. Mary-in-Foro in the chapel of St. Katherine the Virgin next to the tomb of Ade Inhyne, late merchant and burgess of Bristol.
2. To the Mother church at Wells - 6d.
3. To the vicar of the parish church of St. Mary Redcliffe, for tithes - 8s.
4. For the fabric of the parish church of St. Thomas the Martyr - 40d.
5. 2 chaplains to intercess at my funeral - 4d.
6. 2 clerks at St. Thomas church, for ringing the bells - 2s.
7. Katherine, my wife - 2 tenements over "le Wer" which Katherine Payntoor once held of me. After the death of my wife this property is to pass to Alice Keche daughter of my wife. If she dies without immediate heirs then - to Thomas Knolles, my brother.
8. Residue - Katherine, my wife.
9. Executors - " " " ; Thomas Knolles.

Seal appended.

David Kyllingworth of Westhamerford in

Wales. Merchant.

1461 April 7.

Probate 1461 April 14.

22 Stokton p. 171.

1. To be buried in All Saints parish church, Bristol.
2. To the proctor of this church - £100 to furnish candles to burn there, and for prayers for my soul.
3. Richard, my elder son - one silver dish with cover.
4. My younger son (no name given) - £5; one gilt dish with cover; He is to be under the guardianship of William Jooce of Bristol, gentleman, alias merchant, during his minority together with the money and goods bequeathed, till he is 21 years.
5. John Kyllingworth, my servant - 10 marks.
6. John Jooce, my godson - one silver dish called a "Bolpece", of "Burdeaux" make.
7. Richard, my son - one tenement which I built in "Westhamerford".
8. Residue - Joan, my wife; William Jooce who are to dispose of it for the good of my soul and the souls of my sons and daughters.
9. Executors - wife; William Jooce.
10. Supervisor of my will - Master John Arsoc who is to receive 40s. for his work.

Seal appended.

John Laynell. Draper.

1473 March 21.

Probate 1474 May 5.

14 Wattys p. 102.

1. To be buried in All Saints parish church at the discretion of my executors.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 12d.
3. William Howe, clerk, vicar of All Saints church, for tithes - 40s.
4. To the above church - one missal; one pair of vestments; one silver cross.
5. My executors are to provide one fit chaplain to celebrate in this church each year for ten years. He is to receive £60 i.e. £6 p.a.
6. My executors are to hold my anniversary each year for ten years. On these occasions they are to distribute 13/4 according to their discretion.
7. Katherine, my wife - £50; 200 ozs. of silver; all my utensils in my house; Condition: that she gives the utensils to Edith, my daughter.
8. Edith, my daughter - 100 ozs. silver; 100 marks in money.
9. Henry Dale - my best robe; my best hood.
10. Above Henry and his wife, Edith, my daughter - 100 marks in silver; £37-10s in money of which sum Henry already holds £17-5s.
11. John Raynes, barber - one robe; one second best hood, according to the discretion of my executors; £3-6-8.

12. Katherine (Doll), my servant - 40s.
13. William Sampson, hosier - one blue robe; 20s.
14. Barnardo Coke - 20s.
15. John Fyler - 20s.
16. Alice Chestyr Coke (cook) - 20s.
17. Walter Hylle - 20s.
18. David Wattys - 20s.
19. Residue - To my executors.
20. Executors - my wife; Henry Dale.

Seal appended.

Henry Lokke

1414 May 18

Probate 1415 November 8

30 Marche p. 238.

1. To be buried in St. Werburgh's church, in the chapel of St. Anne.
2. To the rector there - £4 of which 40s. is for tithes, and 40s.
is for supervising the administration of my will.
3. For the fabric of this church - 40s.
4. Dom. John Baynar - 4d. to celebrate in this church.
5. To each Order of Friars - 20s.
6. For one fit chaplain to celebrate in St. Werburgh's church for
20 years - He is to receive 8 marks each year as stipend.
7. My executors are to provide one pair of vestments of the value
of £10; one chalice valued at 6 marks - to serve the
above chaplain. After the 20 years, these bequests are
to remain to the church.
8. Joan (S)anter, my servant - 40s.
9. William Pope, my servant (famulus) - 6/8.
10. Margaret, my servant - 6/8.
11. Juliana, my servant - 3/4.
12. To the vicar of St. Leonard's church - 6/8.
13. For the fabric of " " " - 6/8.
14. Residue - Isabel, my wife.
15. Executors - " " " ; Walter Mylron; John Alwarde.

Walter Lincoln. Merchant. Burgess.

1484 October 10.

Probate 1484 October 29.

9 Logge pp. 66, 66a. In English.

1. To be buried in St. Stephens church.
2. To the Cathedral church at Worcester - 2s.
3. For the use of St. Stephen's church - one pipe of woad.
4. To the parish of this church, for tithes - 13/4.
5. Dom. John Edward, the parish priest there - 6/6.
6. Isabell, my wife - my two tenements in St. Thomas street together with two chambers in St. Thomas church yard. She is to hold this property for life. Then it is to pass to John, my son and his heirs. If John dies without heirs then it is to pass to St. Stephen's church. The proctors there are then to keep my anniversary on the 15th March.
7. For two candles to be burnt during the antiphon at my funeral - 12d.
8. For ten priests to attend my antiphon and mass - 3/4.
9. To the clerk for the same - 2d.
10. For the ringing of two peals of bells at the antiphon and mass - 12d.
11. To the "Bedman" - 4d.
12. 3/4 worth of bread to be sent to Newgate prison.
13. For the poorer people of St. Stephens parish - 3/4.
14. To the almshouses in Bristol - 6/8 in bread, and other necessities.
15. To each proctor of St. Stephens church - 12d for their work in seeing that my will is performed and if this is not done and the above tenement and appurtenances is not repaired

then the Chamberlains of the Chamber of Bristol are to enter the above chambers and tenement and keep the aforementioned obit and reparacions after the form written above as they shall answer to God.

16. Isabell, my wife - three tenements in "Waterfourde". She is to hold this property for life. Then it is to pass to John Lincoln my son and his heirs. If he dies without heirs then it is to pass to William Lyncoln, my brother, and his heirs who are to keep my anniversary in "Christechurch" of "Waterfourde", This is to take place on the 16th March with an antiphon and on the morrow after the mass as is the custom of the city. The above are also to distribute 6/8 in alms to the poor. If they fail to do this then the property is to pass to the Dean and Chapter of Christechurch in "Waterfourde".
17. To the Chamber of Bristol - one pipe of woad to maintain the water conduit of the quay.
18. Residue - Isabell, my wife.
19. Executor - " " " ; Richard Mawdelyn.
20. Supervisor of my will - William Lumbard.
21. Richard Mawdelyn; William Lumbard - 40s. each for their work.

Seal appended.

Thomas Mathewe

1470 August 4

Probate 1470 August 22.

30 Godyn p. 249a.

1. To be buried in the chapel of St. Mary facing the image of St. Andrew the Apostle, in St. Mary's church.
2. For the fabric and repair of this church - 12d.
3. To the Mother church at Worcester - 4d.
4. To the Cathedral church at "Landanen" - 12d.
5. Residue - Katherine, my wife, and David, my son.
6. Each of my godchildren - £40 to be paid by my wife out of the rent from my shops.
7. David, my son - all lands, tenements, according to the law of England. Alice is to have the governance of David and this bequest.
8. Each of my godchildren - to be provided for in the school house, by my heirs.
9. Executor - John Perkyns.

Henry May. Merchant. Burgess

1466 October 2.

Probate 1466 October 21

14 Godyn pp. lllla, ll2.

1. To be buried in St. Stephens parish church facing the high altar of St. Katherine the Virgin, on the south side of the church.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 3/4.
3. To the rector of St. Stephen's church for tithes - 6/8.
4. To each Order of Mendicant Friars - 2/6.
5. To the town Council and the work of the community - one pipe of woad.
6. Residue - Joan, my wife who is to dispose of it for the good of my soul and those of John and Walter Coston, merchants of Bristol. These two are to be my executors.
7. Walter Coston - for his work as an executor - my robe of scarlet trimmed with fur.
8. Supervisors of my will - John Shypward, senior; Richard May; John Young, merchants.
9. John Shypward - one purse of gold cloth; 20s. for his work.
10. Richard May - my best blue robe trimmed with martin fur, for his work.
11. John Young - one green girdle embroidered with silver, for his work.

Seal appended.

John Mede. Merchant. Son of Richard Mede,

gentleman of Bristol

1496 April 14.

Probate 1496 May 2.

30 Vox. No page number.

1. To be buried in St. Mary Redcliffe church in St. Stephen's aisle next to the bookcase (librarum) there.
2. To the Mother Church at Wells - 12d.
3. To the work of St. Mary Redcliffe church - 10s.
4. Dom. Nicholas Pitte, vicar of this church, and my curate, for tithes - 3/4.
5. Philip Kyngstone, my cousin - one tenement in Redcliffe street in St. Thomas parish.
My garden and my three tenters in the south part of the same street.
6. Alice, my wife - my state and term in all my lands, tenements, gardens, tenters, and pastures in Bristol and its suburbs.
7. Dom. Roger of Gloucester - my state and term in one garden outside Laffords gate in Barton Hundred. He is to hold this property during the life time of Alice, my wife.
8. After Alice's death all her property together with the above is to pass to John More, chaplain, my cousin.
9. Residue - Alice, my wife; John More.
10. Executors - " " " "

11. Supervisor of my will - Philip Kynstone (sic)

Seal appended.

Thomas Mede of St. James parish in
Worcester diocese.

1454 February 20.

Probate 1455 April 2.

3 Stokton p.18.

1. To be buried in the parish church of St. Mary Redcliffe - that is to say in the north part in the new buildings there.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 12d.
3. " " " of St. Andrew at Wells - 12d.
4. For the fabric of Redcliffe church - one pipe of woad; 40s. for my burial there.
5. To the Prior of St. James for tithes and to pray for my soul - 40s.
6. To the Vicar of Redcliffe church, for tithes and to pray for my soul - 20s.
7. Dom. Richard Barton, chaplain at St. James - 13/4 to pray for my soul.
8. To the parish clerk at St. James - 5s. for ringing of the bell.
9. " " " " " Redcliffe church - 6/8 for the same as above.
10. Each Order of Friars for celebrating one Trental for my soul - 10s.
11. My executors are to provide two chaplains - one to celebrate for my soul in St. James church and one in Redcliffe church. Both are to serve for one year and to have 20 marks for their stipend.
12. For the fabric of St. Luke of Bristilton and for one chaplain

to celebrate there for my soul - 20s.

13. For the fabric of St. James - 20s; a newly made silver and gilt cross in St. Ewen's church, Bristol; 6/8.
14. 26/8 is to be divided amongs the poor in almshouses in Bristol.
15. Philippe Mede, my son - two pipes of woad; one whole woolen cloth; my best silver and gilt cup with cover; my best brass pot.
16. Joan, my daughter, wife of Roger Kingeston - one pipe of woad; 40s.
17. Agnes, my household servant (famula) - 5 marks.
18. Executor - Margaret, my wife.
19. Residue - " " " ; Philip, my son.

Seal appended.

Richard Meede, "gentilman"

1491 May 4.

Probate 1491 June 15.

45 Milles. No page number.

1. To be buried in St. Mary Redcliffe parish church in the north part of the chapel of St. Stephen the Martyr in my tomb at the foot of that of my parents.
2. To the Mother church of Welles - 12d.
3. To the vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe church, for tithes - 3/4.
4. Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Pauncef(e)t "de Hassefeld" in Gloucestershire - all my lands, tenements, rents, reversions, and services in Bristol, its suburbs and its liberty.
All lands, tenements, rents, reversions and services in "Bedmyster, Feyland, Wrexall, and Middletykenham" in Somerset.
5. To the proctors of St. Mary Redcliffe church - one messuage, one garden and a tenement annexed to it, situated on Redcliffe hill between the tenement of Richard Mede inhabited by Ralph Sporyer, on the north side, and a large tenement owned by the Fraternity of St. John Baptist on the south, extending to a large garden of Nicholas Pytte.
They are to receive this property in return for prayers for the souls of Thomas Mede; Philip Mede and that of his wife Isabel; John Sharpe and that of his wife Elizabeth; Richard Mede and those of Elizabeth and Anne

his wives. One of the preachers from St. Augustines
convent is to offer these prayers and is to receive 4d.
For their work, the proctors are to receive 8d. each.
The money for both payments is to be raised from the
rents from the above property. Any residue from this
rent is to go to the proctors.

6. Residue - Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Pauncefet.
7. Executor - "

Seal appended.

Henry Meryman. Beerbrewer. Burgess

1479 May 31.

Probate 1481 August 7.

13 Logge pp. 95a, 96.

1. To be buried in St. Mary Redcliffe church.
2. To the Cathedral church of Worcester - 20d.
3. To the parish church of St. James - 6/8.
4. Dom. Prior Richard (?) of the above church - 3/4.
5. To the curate there - 20d.
6. To the parish clerk there - 4d.
7. To the Four Orders of Friars - 10s. to be divided amongst them.
8. Twelve candles to be lit at my funeral and my mass.

Afterwards: 2 candles are to stand before the body of
Christ in St. James Church.

2 candles to St. Mary Redcliffe church.

2 " to each of the four Orders of
Friars.

9. Residue - Elene, my wife.
10. Executor - " " "
11. Supervisor of my will - Philip James.

Seal appended.

Thomas Michell. Burgess.

1426 December 20 (Die ven'is et in vigilia
s'ti Thome Ap'li) (sic)

Probate 1426 December 15.

8 Luffenam p. 61a.

1. To be buried in the ground of St. Stephen's parish church.
2. Fabric of the Mother Church in Worcester - 12d.
3. The rector of St. Stephens, for tithes - 20d.
4. Dom. John, the chaplain of this church - 20d.
5. Seven other chaplains celebrating mass there - 12d. each.
6. Edmund Ewstace, parish clerk there - 8d.
7. Suffragens there - 8d. each.
8. £12 to provide for 2 chaplains to celebrate in St. Stephen's church for the good of my soul and the souls of Walter Michell, my father, and Joan, my mother.
9. Poor virgins in Bristol - £8 for their dowry.
10. For wax to be used at my funeral - 8lbs wax.
11. For bread to be distributed amongst the poor at my funeral and on the eve of my burial day - £3.
12. Robert, my brother - 10 marks; one silver cup.
13. Richard, " " - £8 if he outlives me.
14. Agnes, wife of Richard Hokat - 13/4.
15. Two servants of the above Richard - 6/8 each.
16. My funeral to be directed by my executors.
17. Residue - executors.

18. Executors - Richard Hokat; John Chapeleyn.

19. Each executor - 40s.

Seal appended.

William Moore

1496 March 12.

Probate 1496 May 30.

10 Horne. No page number.

1. To be buried in the cemetery in St. John Baptist parish church.
2. To the Cathedral church at Worcester - 4d.
3. For the use of St. John Baptist church - 12d.
4. Dom. John Jense, parish chaplain of St. Nicholas church - 6/8
to pray for my soul.
5. John Wodyngton, wine merchant - one garden by "Monkebrigge".
6. William Gyfford - all my lands and tenements in Bristol and
its suburbs, and in Devon, and other places in England.
7. Residue - William Gyffourd (sic)
8. Executor - " "
9. Supervisor of my will - John Wodyngton.

John More.

1412 February 8.

Probate 1413 November 8.

28 Marche p. 222a.

1. To be buried where I die.
2. To the proctors of St. Peter's church - 20s. for one window in
the West side of the church to be made of glass; 20s.
for another.
3. 40s. to be distributed to poor.
4. To the Fraternity of Friars Preachers - my best gown trimmed
with fur, with one hood of "scarlet" - to pray for my soul.
5. John Hame, my brother - my black robe trimmed with fur.
6. John Lawes - one lined green robe.
7. John Viel, my brother - all my books of the law of the land.
8. William Viel, my brother - my silver girdle with baslard attached.
9. Margarete (E)otel - 40s. if she marries with the consent of
Margery, my wife.
10. John Elene, the blind man and his wife, Agnes - my new robe
of "Ray" trimmed with fur.
11. Thomas Gybbes - 20s.
12. Margery, my wife and our boy - all goods in the hall, chamber,
kitchen and buttery.
13. Margery, my wife - 6 bulls; 2 cows; one cartload of horse shoes.
14. Margery and our boy - all other goods.
15. Executors - my wife; John Wykeham.

Walter Mores.

1498 December 10.

Probate 1498/9 February 13.

50 Horne. No page number.

1. To be buried in the church of St. Augustine Minors outside Bristol.
2. To this church, for my burial there - 20d.
3. " " " - 10s.
4. To the Cathedral church at Wells - 6/8.
5. " " " " Worcester - 6/8.
6. " " " " Hereford - 6/8.
7. To the church of St. Mary in "Monmothe" - 10s.
8. " " " " Thomas the Martyr - 6/8.
9. " " " " Mary of "Barkley" in the diocese of
Worcester - 6/8.
10. " " " " Mark Evangelist of the Gaunts - 10s.
11. " " " " Mary of "Yalton" - 20s.
12. " " house of John Chapman, chaplain - 6/8.
13. Dom. Robert Warner, chaplain - 6/8.
14. " Richard Baker, " - "
15. Dom. James Thomas, Chaplain - 16/8.
16. Richard Atwell - 3/4.
17. Twelve priests, to attend my burial, funeral and mass - 1s each.
18. To any other priest intercessing for my soul at the above times
- 6d. each.
19. £3 - 6 - 8 to be distributed to the poor during my burial.
20. Robert and William Mores, my two brothers - £4.

21. Elizabeth, my sister - 33/4.
22. Philip Baschurch - 3/4.
23. Richard Halidey - 3/4.
24. John Calffe - 20d.
25. Executors - John Mores, scholar; Thomas Giles, merchant.
26. Supervisor of my will - Thomas Tiler master of the 'Gaunts'.
27. Residue - John Mores.

Seal appended.

William Morys (Moreys in margin)

1404 October 20.

Probate 1404 December 6

7 Marche p. 56.

1. To be buried in St. Mary Redcliffe church.
2. For the fabric of this church - 3/4.
3. To the vicar of Holy Cross Temple church, for tithes - 3/4.
4. William H(ane), chaplain - 2/6 to pray for my soul.
5. John, my brother - 6/8.
6. John, my son - one bed; on best pair of fuller's shears.
7. Henry, my son - one bed; " second best pair " " "
8. Walter, my son - one bed; " third " " " "
9. William, my son - one bed; " fourth " " " "
10. Residue - Lucie, my wife, who is to dispose of it for the good
of my soul.
11. Executor - " " "

Joan Packer widow of John Packer of Strangull'

1471 October 18.

Probate 1471 November 21.

4 Wattys pp. 26a, 27.

1. To be buried in the church of St. James the Apostle.
2. To the Cathedral church at Worcester - 20d.
3. " " " " (Landam'n) - 20d.
4. To the rector of the parish church of St. Werburgh - 12d.
5. Towards the bridge at "Strangull" - 20s.
6. To the belfry of the parish church of St. Andrew in "Stragull"
- 6/8
7. To the parish church of St. Laurence - 6/8.
8. To the parish church of "Gudenham" - 6/8.
9. To the chapel of "Anste" - 6/8.
10. To the chapel of "Northwyke" - 6/8.
11. To the fabric of Janne in "Stragull" - 6/8.
12. To the proctors of St. Katherine's chapel, "Stragull" - all my
lands, tenements, and burgages at "Stragull". Condition:
the proctors are to provide one chaplain to celebrate
for my soul, and that of John my late husband, in
St. Katherine's chapel, "Stragull". This was the wish
of my late husband.
13. My executors are to provide 2 fit chaplains to celebrate each
day in St. James church. One chaplain is to celebrate
at the altar in St. Margaret's chapel at "Betesley" for
one year.

14. To the above chapel at Betesley - my best silver dish to make into a chalice.
15. Residue - John (Muster); John Hopkyns.
16. Executors - " " "
17. Supervisor of my will - Richard Hooper.

Seal appended.

John Parkyns.

1493 January 8.

Probate None recorded.

8 Vox. p. 62a.

1. To be buried in the chapel of St. John the Baptist in St. Ewen's church where the tomb of John Nancothan lies.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 6d.
3. For the repair of the new house belonging to St. Ewen's church - one measure of "pas(t)elle".
4. Thomas Syward, my curate - 20s; another 20s, if Edmund Deane of Galoway, merchant, pays his debt to me.
5. To the chapel of St. John, for my burial there - one measure of "pas(t)elle".
6. John Parkyns, my elder son - one silver salt with cover; one silver mazer with cover; 12 silver spoons; one pipe of "pas(t)elle".
7. Philip, my son - £10 for his exhibition at Oxford University.
If he dies before he inherits this money then it is to pass to my wife, Edith.
8. John, junior, my son - one pipe of "pas(t)elle" which at this time is overseas.
9. To the Order of Grey Friars - 10s.
10. To the Orders of White, Black and Augustinian Friars - 6/8 each.
11. All the above Orders must intercess for my soul on my burial day.

12. Residue - Edith, my wife.
13. Executor - " " "
14. Supervisors of my will - Thomas Syward, curate; John,
my elder son.

William Penboke. Burgess

1417 September 29.

Probate 1417 October 23.

38 Marche pp. 304a, 305.

1. To be buried in the church of Holy Trinity next to the tomb
of my late wife, Margery.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 12d.
3. To the rector of this church - 6/8.
4. For the fabric of this church - 6/8 for my burial there.
5. One chaplain is to celebrate at the altar of St. Thomas
for a term - He is to receive £16 stipend.
6. To each of the four Orders of Friars - 2/6 for attending
my funeral.
7. 30s. to be spent on bread amongst the needy on my burial day.
8. John, my son - one best robe; one best cloak; one best
girdle with baslard; one silver cup; one ewer and
basin; one bed.
9. Residue - Agnes, my wife; my children.
10. Executors - my wife; John Marrey. The latter is to
receive 6/8 for his work.

Roger Peny. Baker. Burgess.

1412 April 12.

Probate 1412 June 29.

24 Marche pp. 192a, 193.

1. To be buried in the crypt of St. Nicholas church, next to the tomb of my late wife, Alice.
2. To the proctors of the above church - 6/8 for my burial there.
3. To the Fraternity of the crypt in this church - 13/4.
4. To make two copes for this church - 13/4.
5. To the Fraternity of St. Mary in the chapel on Avon bridge - 40s.
6. 100s in bread to be distributed to the poor and lame on my burial day.
7. To each Order of Friars - 2/6.
8. 60 chaplains to attend my funeral - to receive 4d each, i.e. 20s.
9. Cecilie(?) Plasterer, son of John Blasterer (sic) - 20s.
10. Alice Tegge, daughter of Isabelle Tegge - 20s. Condition:- she remains faithfull.
11. Edith Tyler, daughter of William Tyler, weaver - 20s. Condition:- as above.
12. To provide one chaplain to celebrate for four years for my soul in St. Mary's chapel on Avon bridge - £21-6-8.
13. To the Mother church at Worcester - 3/4.
14. To the high altar of St. Nicholas church, for tithes - 10s.
15. To be distributed to the poor - 100s.

16. Residue - Joan, my wife.
17. Executors - my wife; Thomas Bertlot;
18. Supervisor of my will - Dom. William Tamworth, chaplain who
is to receive 100s for his work.
19. Thomas Bertlot - 40s for his work.
20. To serve my chaplain - one chalice valued at 50s; one missal;
one pair of vestments.

Thomas Philippe. Burgess.

1492 December 20.

Probate 1497 February 7.

16 Horne No page number. In English.

1. To be buried in St. Ewen parish church.
2. To the Cathedral church at Worcester - 4d.
3. To St. Ewen's church, for my burial there - 6/8.
4. To the parson there - 3/4; one spoon of silver - to celebrate one Trental there.
5. Agnes, my daughter - my copy of St. James (sic.) after my death.
6. John, my son - the house of the sign of 3 cups (sic.) during my (term of) years.
Also my house in Grope lane with the two gardens attached to it, during my (term of) years.

7. Richard, my brother, of Bath - my best robe; my best doublet; best girdle; best shirt; best hood; best "bonet".
8. Thomas Barboure, my son-in-law, - all the basins hanging upon the beam, outside the window.
9. Patrick Stakpole, my apprentice - on basin; one ewer.
10. Residue - John, my son.
11. Executor - " " "
12. Supervisor of my will - John Jenkyns, stainer, who is to receive 3/4 for his work.

Richard Powere

1427 October 24

Probate 1428 June 1

3 Luffenam p. 18a.

1. To be buried in St. Peter's church on the north side of the altar of the great cross.
2. To the rector of this church, for tithes - 6/8.
3. For the fabric of the Mother church at Worcester - 4d.
4. Each chaplain of the above church who attends my funeral - 4d.
5. My funeral to be carried out according to the discretion of my executors.
6. Residue - Thomas Norton and Walter Norton to share it equally.
7. Executors - the above two.

Seal appended.

John Prowte. Whittawer. Burgess

1427 August 24.

Probate 1427 October 11.

8 Luffenam. pp. 59a, 60.

1. To be buried in St. James parish church, Bristol.
2. For the fabric of this church - 6/8.
3. To the Mother Church at Worcester - 12d.
4. The Prior of St. James, for tithes - 3/4.
5. Parish chaplain at St. James - 3/4.
6. Each chaplain " " " who intercesses for my soul - 6d.
Likewise to each monk there - 6d.
7. Each Order of Friars in Bristol - 2/6.
8. To Margaret, my wife - all effects and utensils in my house.
9. To Robert Prowte - 20s.
10. To Richard Went - 20s.
11. To Thomas Wodeford - 6/8.
12. To Laurence Prowte my brother - one gown and hood of striped
green cloth, and 10/- from which my debts and funeral
expenses are to be paid.
13. The residue - to be divided into three parts. One third to my
wife; one third to my two sons; one third to my two
daughters.
14. Executors - John Gush; John Beole.

Richard Pury. Burgess.

1469 October 5.

Probate 1469/70 February 12.

29 Godyn pp. 235,235a.

1. To be buried in St. Mary Redcliffe church.
2. To the Cathedral church at Wells - 12d.
3. Master Nicholas Pyttys, my curate, for tithes - one pipe of woad containing 16 measures.
4. For the fabric of the church of St. Thomas the Martyr - one pipe of woad containing 10 measures.
5. To the church of St. Mary Redcliffe - one pipe of woad containing 11 measures - for my burial there.
6. Dom. Richard Dugmore, chaplain - one robe of "crymesyn", with hood of scarlet; one girdle embroidered in silver.
7. Master Thomas Pitte, my nephew - one robe with hood.
8. Thomas Berde, tucker - one robe trimmed with fur and with a hood of scarlet; one lining of worsted.
9. John Predy, weaver - one robe of "medley" trimmed with fur.
10. Thomas Plomley, my apprentice - one whole cloth priced at 5 marks, on condition that he remains faithful and completes his term of apprenticeship.
11. Henry Bone, my apprentice - as above.
12. Residue - Margaret, my wife.
13. Executors - my wife; Master Nicholas Pyttis (sic.)
14. Supervisor of my will - Philip Mede.

John Randulf.

1412 September 14.

Probate 1413 April 15.

26 Marche p. 204a.

1. To be buried in my parish church of St. Philip and St. James.
2. For the fabric of this church - 40d.
3. To the Mother church at Worcester - 6d.
4. My two shops in Wynch street inhabited by William Glovemaker,
and John Trubrugge - to be sold to pay my debts.
5. Agnes, my wife - 10 marks from a certain tenement in Market
in which Margaret Brewer lives.
Also, 10 marks from one tenement, in part of which I live.
Also, all my utensils in this house.
6. Residue - my wife.
7. Executors - " " ; William (Krokyn)

William Regent

1498 October 18.

Probate 1498 November 16.

25 Horne No page number. In English

1. To be buried in St. Mary Redcliffe church.
2. To this church - 6/8 for my burial there.
3. To the vicar of this church, for thithes - 20d.
4. To the above vicar - 5s for beseeching the parishioners of his church to pray for my soul. Also for me to be named on the "bederoll" of this church.
5. To the Cathadral church at Wells - 12d.
6. My executors are to find one priest to sing for my soul in the above church for one year. He is to receive £6 for his stipend.
7. 2 candles are to burn at the mass sung by the above priest.
8. Christofer, my son, being of age - 5 marks.
9. Thomas, Julian, Joice, Anne, my children - 5 marks each.
10. John Wyneston, my servant - one pair of "sherman's skins".
11. Residue - Joan, my wife.
12. Executor - " " " .
13. Supervisor of my will - Thomas Snygge.

Seal appended.

John Roant. Merchant.

1468 January 18.

Probate 1471 June 3.

2 Wattys. p. 12a. In English.

1. To be buried in St. Werburgh's church.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 8d.
3. To the curate of St. Werburgh's church - 6/8.
4. For my burial in the above church - 13/4.
5. To each of the Orders of Friars - 2/6.
6. Edith, my wife - 2 pipes of woad - to provide for a good priest
to serve at the altar of St. Katherine.
7. William, Richard, John, my sons - 3 pipes of woad each.
8. Elizabeth, my daughter - 3 pipes of woad.
9. Residue of household effects - to my wife - to provide for a
priest to celebrate for my soul in St. Werburgh's church
for 6 years.
10. My wife is to have the custody of my children until they are of
age i.e. 21 years of age.
11. If my wife takes another husband - she and her husband are to
provide sufficient security to the mayor i.e. Thomas
Young - for the children and their legacies and that
they receive these when of age. In the case of my
wife re-marrying, the children's goods are to be placed
in the custody of my wife's cousin, Richard Forster,
gentleman.
12. William, my son - 13 shops with 1 garden in Grope lane. He is

only to inherit these after the death of my wife.

13. Richard, my son - one vacant site and three shops in Corne street. He is to inherit these after the death of my wife.
14. Residue - Edith, my wife, who is to dispose of it for the good of my soul.
15. Executor - my wife.
16. Supervisor of my will - Richard Forster, gentleman, who is to receive one yard of "scarlett"; one set of amber beads, for his work.

John Robertes. Merchant.

1493. September 15.

Probate 1493 October 18.

1 Vox p.2a.

1. To be buried in the chapter house of the Carmelite Friars.
2. For my burial there - 6/8.
3. To the Mother Church at Worcester - 12d.
4. To the high altar of St. Nicholas church, for tithes - 10s.
5. For the fabric of this church - 10s.
6. Robert Carter, chaplain - 10s; 4s (sic).
7. Residue - Agnes, my wife.
8. Executor - " " " .
9. Supervisor of my will - John Pollard who is to receive 20s.
for his work.

Seal appended.

John Rokell. Burgess.

1412 June 30.

Probate 1412 December 12.

25 Marche pp. 200a, 201.

1. To be buried in St. Werburgh's church with (penes) the altar of St. Anne.
2. For the fabric of the Mother church at Worcester - 40d.
3. Two chaplains are to celebrate for the good of my soul for one year. One of these chaplains is to celebrate at the altar of St. Nicholas in St. Leonard's church. The other is to celebrate at the altar of in St. Werburgh's church. Each is to receive 8 marks as a stipend.
4. To the Fraternity of St. George in the chapel next to the Guildhall (Gyaldam) - 40d.
5. " " " " " John the Baptist in St. Ewen's church - 6/8.
6. Residue - to my executors to pay my debts, then the most part to John, my son.
7. Executors - Walter Vynter; John Stone, who are to receive £4 each, for their work.
8. Supervisor of my will - John Stevenys who is to receive 40s. for his work.

Seal Appended.

Richard Roper. Merchant. Burgess.

1442 December 21.

Probate 1442 December 29.

14. Rous p. 107a.

The copy of this will has been scored out, seemingly by a contemporary hand.

1. To be buried in the church of St. Mary Redcliffe next to the tomb of John Cabbot.
2. To be distributed to the poor - 40s.
3. Robert Watercombe one robe of scarlet trimmed with fur.
4. John Lavander of Pensford - my kerchief; one robe of ungrained blue.
5. John Bokynngin - one blue robe trimmed with fur; one hood of scarlet.
6. Robert Spenser, my servant - one black coloured robe trimmed with otter fur; one hood.
7. Master Nicholas Pytte, perpetual vicar of Redcliffe church - 20s.
8. For the fabric of this church - 6/8.
9. For the fabric of the church of St. Thomas the Martyr - 6/8.
10. Residue - Margaret, my wife who is to dispose of it for the good of my soul.
11. Executor - " " ; Stephen Forster; John Bokynngin; Robert Watercombe.

Seal appended.

John Rowley. Merchant. Burgess.

1489 September 2.

Probate 1489 November 10.

29 Milles pp. 236a, 237. In English

1. To be buried in the chapel of Our Lady of the "Belhouse" in St. Peter's parish church.
2. To the church of Our Lady of Worcester - 12d.
3. Margaret, my wife - all my silver plate; all household effects.
4. All my merchandise - to be divided into three parts.
One third - Margaret, my wife.
" " - My children - If any of these children die then their share/shares to be divided amongst those remaining. If all my children die - then their shares to pass to my wife.
One third - John and Thomas Rowley, my brothers they are to see that one pipe of woad from my merchandise, of the value of 5 marks, is sent to our mother.
5. To the vicar William Newman - 6/8 to pray for my soul.
6. Residue - wife.
7. Executors - wife; John Drewey, merchant.

John Rowley

1496 September 21.

Probate 1497 May 3.

6 Horne No page number

1. To be buried where God pleases.
2. To the Cathedral Church at Worcester - 12d.
3. To St. Werburgh's church - 40s to pray for my soul and the souls of my parents.
4. All my goods are to be divided into three parts:-
one third to Anne, my wife.
" " John, my son, and Scolastica, my daughter.
" " be spent on pious uses for the good of my soul.
5. Anne, my wife - all utensils, implements, and ornaments in my house or mansion; $\frac{1}{2}$ of all my cups, covers, and jewels.
6. From the third part of my goods - 40s is to be given to the poor.
7. Anne, my wife is to proveede a fit chaplain to celebrate in St. Werburgh's church for 3 years.
8. Executor - Anne, my wife.

Thomas Rowley. Merchant. Burgess

1478 January 11

Probate 1478 February 28

36 Wattys pp. 283, 284.

1. To be buried in St. James parish church next to the body of Walter Frampton.
2. For the upkeep and repair of the tomb of Walter Frampton, and for two fit chaplains to celebrate there at the altar of St. Mary - £100 in the form of 20 butts of alum, each of which is valued @ £5.
3. For the use of the Chamber of Bristol - £40.
4. To the four Orders of Friars - £20.
5. £30 to the parish of St. Parish - to provide one chaplain to celebrate in the chapel of St. Mary Belhouse. If this chaplain does not want to take up this obligation with the stipulated conditions, then my body is to be buried in the crypt of St. John's church.
6. To the Mother church at Worcester - 6/8.
7. To the rector of St. John's church, my curate - 20s.
8. To a chaplain assigned to St. Mary the Virgin, on Avon bridge - one silver standing dish with cover, and decorated with birds, weighing $2\frac{1}{2}$ ozs.
9. To the Fraternity of the Holy Cross in the crypt of St. Nicholas - 20s.
10. To the Orders of Friars Minor, in Bristol - 40s.
11. To the other Orders of Friars, in Bristol - 20s. each.
12. To the chaplain of St. Mary Belhouse in St. Peter's church - 5 marks.

13. If the above chaplain agrees to pray for my soul every year for 20 years - he is also to have 20s. p.a.
14. One fit chaplain to celebrate for my soul in the parish church of St. John the Baptist, at St. Nicholas altar, for 5 years.
15. After the death of Margaret, my wife, the above church of St. John the Baptist is to have - one missal; one chalice weighing 24 ozs; one pair of vestments; one chest now in this church.
16. John, my son - £20; 5 pipes of woad.
17. To the four sons of William Rowley - 5 pipes of woad; 5 tons of iron, each.
18. To the 3 daughters of the above William, my son as above. They are to inherit when they are either married or become 15 years of age.
19. Joan and Thomas, children of Thomas Esterfeld, senior, and Alice, the daughter of his late wife - 6 tuns and one pipe of iron, 5 pipes of woad, each. Thomas is to inherit when he is 18 years of age. Joan is to inherit when she is 14 years of age.
20. Thomas Esterfeld, senior - £20 to send his son John to school.
21. William, ~~John~~, Thomas, the sons of William Rowley, my brother - 2 pipes of woad; 2 tuns of iron, each. All three are to inherit when they are 18 years of age.
22. Edith Wolphe, my sister - £5.
23. Master John Chester - £5 to pray for my soul.

Isabella Ruddok. alias Clive

1434 April 31.

Probate 1434 May 11.

22 Luffenam pp. 174, 174a.

1. To be buried in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, next to David Ruddok my late husband.
2. Vicar of this church - 6/8 for saying special orations.
3. For the use of this church - 1 pair of vestments with one gilt chalice.
4. William Scragge, chaplain - 20s.
5. Matilda Barbour - one blue gown trimmed with fur and with a hood in the same colour.
6. Joan my household servant (famula) - one green gown trimmed with fur.
7. Agnes, my daughter - one standing cup with cover.
8. Thomas, my son - my silver gilt girdle of "parys werk"; one red girdle of "parys werk"; one large standing cup in gilt with a foot and cover.
9. Isabel, my daughter - one red girdle trimmed with gilt.
10. John, my son - one standing cup with cover; one "salpote" in silver.
11. William, my son - one standing dish with cover; one "salpote" in silver.

12. Executors are to provide a fit chaplain to celebrate in the chapel of St. Thomas for one year for the good of my soul and that of my husband.
13. Residue - Thomas, my son, who is to dispose of it for the good of the poor, and in payment of my debts and funeral expenses.
14. Executor - William Scargg (sic) (Scragge).

Seal appended.

Roger Russell. Burgess.

1413. August 20.

Probate 1413 September 11.

27. Marche pp. 215, 215a.

1. To be buried in the North doorway of St. Werburgh's church.
2. For the fabric of this church - 6/8.
3. To the rector of this church, for tithes - 6/8.
4. To each chaplain celebrating in this church - 6d.
5. To the clerk of the parish there - 6d.
6. To the Order of the Friars Minor - 6/8.
7. " " " " " Carmelite - 3/4.
8. Roger Tayllour - one blue robe trimmed with fur; one cloak of the same colour. If he remains in other parts of England, then my wife is to keep this clothing.
9. Cecilie Coffrer - one robe of "russete" trimmed with fur.
10. William Dene of Toryngton, in Devon - one lining of worsted; one robe of "Fruyse" with hood.
11. John Clot - one green ribe; one blue lining of worsted.
12. John, my son - my second best silver girdle; one third best silver cup with cover; one mazer with silver and gilt figuring; one third best cup called a "Note"; one best baslard with one best dagger; one best sword with my best pollaxe.

If he dies without any immediate heirs then these bequests are to be sold and the proceeds given to the poor.

13. Executors - Henry Dunberton of Frome; Margery, my wife.
14. Residue - Margery, my wife.

Thomas Saunder alias Bidill (Bedyll in margin)

1487 April 13

Probate 1487 May 10.

3 Millis p. 19a.

1. To be buried in St. Mary in Foro parish church.
2. To the Cathedral church of Worcester - 4d.
3. My executors are to provide for a fit secular chaplain to celebrate mass for one year in St. Mary in Foro church.
4. Isabelle, my wife - my state and term of years remaining in a messuage in Marsh street in which John Search lives, between the tenement of the abbot and convent of Tewksbury on the one side, and the tenement formerly owned by Hugh Miller on the other, extending behind to the tenement of Thomas Norton.
2 messuages in St. Mary's street between the tenement of John Shepward on the one side and that of the Fraternity of St. Mary's Assumption, on the other, extending to a certain vacant site owned by John Burton.
One tenement in Temple street formerly inhabited by Richard Wilkyns.
One messuage in the Market, situated between the large garden of the House of St. Mary of Billeswick on one side, and a tenement of John Morecock now prior of St. James on the other, extending to the street opposite the church of St. Philip and St. James.

She is to hold the property for life, after which it is to pass to her direct heirs.

5. Residue - wife.
6. Executors - wife; John, my son.
7. Supervisor of my will - William Estby, merchant who is to receive £30 for his work. This money is now in the hands of Elizabeth Lubard (sic), widow of William Lumbard.

Seal appended.

Thomas Sayer. Fuller.

1487 August 30.

Probate 1487 October 5.

4 Milles pp. 31, 31a.

1. To be buried in St. Thomas parish church, next to the tomb
of Margaret, my late wife.
2. To the Cathedral church of Wells - 12d.
3. To St. Thomas church - 20s.
4. To Nicholas Pitte, vicar of this church and my curate, for
tithes - 6/8.
5. Alice Elliott, my daughter - my best silver standing cup with
cover; my best salt with cover; six best silver spoons;
one mazer.
6. The son of Alice Elliott - three woolen cloths.
7. Isabel Clarke, my daughter - two silver cups; one mazer called
a "Noote" with cover. d
8. Edmund Bracy - one whole cloth.
9. Walter Adams - " " "
10. Christine Riott - " " "
11. My executors are to distribute £10 to the poor.
12. Thomas Elliott - all my utensils and instruments necessary to my
craft, which are at my house.

My state and term of years remaining in one messuage on
which I live.

13. Residue - Gregory Huchyn; Thomas Elliott.

14. Executors - the above two who are to have £20 between them for
their work.

Seal appended.

Richard Seller. Grocer.

1471. July 1.

Probate 1471. November 21.

4 Wattys p. 27a.

1. To be buried in "le Growde" of the parish church of St. Nicholas.
2. To this church, for my burial there - 6/8.
3. To the Mother church at Worcester - 12d.
4. To the vicar of this church, to pray for my soul - 20d.
5. Residue - Katherine my wife, to provide for my children.
6. Executor - " " "
7. Supervisor of my will - John Gaywode, merchant, who is to receive 20d. for his work.

Seal appended.

David Sigodyn.

1450. February 7.

Probate 1450 March 10.

16 Rous p. 125. Written in third person.

1. To be buried in the crypt of the parish church of St. Nicholas.
2. For the fabric of the Mother church at Worcester - 12d.
3. To the vicar of St. Nicholas church - 40d.
4. To the Fraternity of the Holy Cross and Crypt - 6/8.
5. Mathilde his wife - half of all my movable goods; utensils.
6. John, my son - 5 marks; one basin and ewer.
7. For the fabric of St. Michael Archangel - 12d.
8. Dom. Andrew Arthur - 20s to pray for my soul.
9. Executors - John Montayn; Geoffrey ap Howell of Cardiff.
10. Supervisor of his will - Dom. Andrew Arthur, chaplain.

Seal appended.

John Skryven. Burgess.

1481 February 4.

Probate 1482 June 13.

13 Logge p. 99.

1. To be buried in St. Stephens church.
2. To the Cathedral church at Worcester - 2s.
3. Master William Bokett, my curate, and rector of St. Stephens church, for tithes - 3/4.
4. To this church - 1 quarter of woad.
5. To the parish church of the Apostles Peter and Paul in Wolverhampton - 13/4.
6. My executors are to provide a fit secular chaplain to celebrate mass for my soul in St. Stephens church for one year.
7. Residue - Joan, my wife.
8. Executors - " " " ; John Skryven, my son.

Jeorge Smith. Merchant.

1420. November 5.

Probate 1420/1 February 10.

37 Milles p. 295a. In English.

1. To be buried in St. Stephen's parish church.
2. To the Cathedral church of Worcester - 12d.
3. Agnes Foster who was to have been my wife - my best feather bed;
my best coverlet and bed hangings; four of my best
"Bordclothes"; 1 doz. of my best napkins; four pipes
of woad.
4. I am the owner of a $\frac{1}{4}$ share in the ship "la Katryn de St.
Sebastian Antonye de la tour" - This is to pass to
Gibon Cogan, my cousin together with all the tackling
and fittings.
5. Residue - Agnes Brown, my sister.
6. Executors - " " " " ; Janet Vaughan, my mother.

John Snygge.

1495 August 4.

Probate 1495 October 9.

26 Vox. No page number. In English.

1. To be buried in All Saints church.
2. To the Cathedral church at Worcester - 3/4
3. To the four Orders of Friars who are to attend my burial, my months mind and my years mind - payment according to custom in Bristol.
4. To the church of St. John in Cardiff - £7 - 7 - 0d.
5. To the parish church of "Towbrugge" - 2s.
6. " " " " "Neche" - one pipe of "harrys".
7. To the church of "Swynsey" - 3/4.
8. " " parish church of "Abyn" - 3/4.
9. To Allhalowen - £5 of which some must go towards the building of the steeple.
10. My spiritual father - my best violet robe - to pray for my soul.
11. To 12 poor men - one robe each.
12. My executors are to provide for: prayers for my soul to be said every day; one candle to be lit during mass to the honour of the Holy Sacrament; 2 candles weighing 3 lbs.
13. To the four Orders of Friars in Cardiff - 8s.
14. To the upkeep of the bridge at Cardiff - 2s.
15. Residue - my wife.

16. Executor - my wife.

17. Supervisor of my will - Thomas Snygge, my son.

Seal appended.

William Solghale. Burgess.

1409. November 3.

Probate 1410. August 27.

22 Marche. pp. 176a, 177.

1. To be buried where God pleases.
2. To the work of St. Peter's church - 20d.
3. To the Mother church at Worcester - 12d.
4. To the four Orders of Friars - 2/6 each.
5. Residue - Alice, my wife.
6. Executors - " " " ; John Clerk.

Agnes Spelly. Widow of Helis Spelly

1393 September 8.

Probate 1393 September 10.

9 Marche p. 67.

1. To be buried in the church of the Friars Minor.
2. To the brethren of the Friars Minor Order - 100s.
3. To each other Order of Friars - 20s.
4. Isabella Ke(n), my maid - £20; the bed on which I am lying in
my illness; all the bedding and bed clothes with this bed.
5. Robert Spelly - 100s.
6. Agnes, daughter of the above Robert - 20s.
7. The son of Robert - 20s.
8. John Gr(e)de - 100s.
9. John Spelly, my son - 2 silver cups with covers; all effects in
the hall; one large brass pot; 2 small ones.
10. To the abbot of St. Augustine's convent in Bristol - one large
ewer which hangs in my hall.
11. William Hogekyns - 10 marks.
12. Alice, wife of Walter Roper - 20s.
13. Edith my maid - 10s.
14. John Gadesone, my servant (famulo) - 10s.
15. John Hendy of Kyngeston - 100 s.
16. Alice Warner - 2 marks.
17. John Gamelyn - one pair of furs; 20s.
18. To the vicar of St. Leonard's church - 40s.
19. For my burial - 20 marks.

20. My executors are to collect all the money which Thomas Norton owes me.
21. Residue - to be disposed of for the good of my soul.
22. John chaplain - one pair of vestments.
23. To the Prioress of "Madalena" convent - one pair of vestments; one chalice - to celebrate my anniversary with requiem mass.
24. My executors are to give £20 to St. Leonard's church - to keep my anniversary.
25. After my death my executors are to give John Heremite, chaplain of St. "Jordom" one cup i.e. the best of three, with feet and a cover in a silver gilt.
26. My 2 executors - £20 between them.
27. Isabel, my maid - £20; - my bed with four covers and all linen which I promised her at the time of my illness.
28. John, chaplain - one pair of vestments.
29. John Pokelechurch - one silver cup with cover; one (ground) plate for the hall i.e. the best of two.
30. All my silver plate and jewells - to be sold, with the exception of some silver vases and 3 cups which are all kept in a chest in the home of Robert Spelly.
31. All effects and utensils in my house are to be given to Robert Spelly.

Seal appended

William Spencer. Merchant. Burgess

1494 October 20.

Probate 1494 November 6.

17 Vox No page number.

1. To be buried in the crypt of St. Nicholas parish church under the stone prepared for me.
2. At the funeral there is to be intercession with "placebo", antiphon and Requiem mass. Twenty four chaplains are to attend, together with two clerks. Twenty four torch bearers are to carry one candle, each priced at 4d. which should total 20 lbs. of wax. These bearers are to be poor men who are each to receive a gown and hood of black frieze. My executors are to pay all costs.
3. After the funeral the candles are to be divided as follows: one each to ten parish churches in Gloucestershire; one each to ten parish churches in Somerset; one each to the four Orders of Friars in Bristol.
4. To the Mother Church at Worcester - 20d.
5. Master John Burton, clerk and vicar of St. Nicholas parish church, for tithes, and his prayers - 40s. on condition that he helps my executors distribute the candles.
6. To the twenty four chaplains attending my funeral - 2s. each to be distributed by the above Master John Burton.
7. To those chaplain celebrating mass in St. Nicholas church - 16d. each.
8. To the other chaplains - 8d. each.

9. My executors are to provide for the celebration of my anniversary
in the above church with masses and tolling of the bell.
For the vicar if he takes part in this - 12d; each
chaplain - 8d; each chaplain not celebrating mass - 4d;
each of the two clerks - 4d.
10. The proctors of this church - 2s. i.e. 8d. each.
11. To the Prior and Convent of Mendicant Friars - 26/8 on condition
that they offer prayers for my soul each day for one
month.
12. To the Prior and Convent of Carmelite Friars - £6-13-4.
13. To the Prior and Convent of the other two Orders of Friars - 6/8 each.
14. To the Fraternity of the Assumption of St. Mary in the chapel on
Bristol bridge - 40s.
15. To the Fraternity of the Crypt in St. Nicholas church - 40s.
16. To the crypt of St. John Baptist - 20s.
17. To the Fraternity of St. John Baptist of the Tailors craft - 10s.
18. To the Fraternity of St. Katherine Virgin of the Weavers craft - 10s.
19. For the repair of the nare of St. Mary Redcliffe church - one pipe
of woad; two tuns of iron; merchandise.
20. To the two chantries in the above church founded by William
Canynges - £20 for the chaplains, serving these chantries
to pray for my soul as well as that of William Canynges.
21. To the abbot and convent of Abingdon, Berkshire, (Abendon) abbey - 6/8.
22. To the abbot and convent of Reading (?) Berkshire (Radinga) abbey -
6/8.

23. To the abbot and convent of Athelney (Athulney) in Somerset - 6/8.
24. " " " " " St. Augustine in Bristol - 6/8.
25. " " " " " Tintern in Wales - 6/8.
26. " " Master and Brethren of the house of St. Robert of "Knaresborough" - 6/8.
27. To the Master and brethren of the house of St. Mark at "Billiswyke" - 6/8.
28. Alice Wygan of Taunton - 20s.
29. Joan daughter of above - 20s.
30. Alice Pavay, servant - one pipe of woad; 10 marks for her marriage.
31. John Gr(o)ve (rubbed), my servant - 40s.
32. John Rede, my servant - 20s.
33. John Hyll, chaplain of the chantry of St. Mary in St. Nicholas church.
34. John Taylour, merchant - one pipe of woad.
35. John Popeley, " " " " "
36. Alice, wife of above - one silver standing dish with cover.
37. Robert Forthey, merchant - one tun of iron.
38. Thomas Pavay, " - one pipe of woad.
39. John Havingham, " - " " "
40. John Chamberlyn " - 40s.
41. Robert Alberton, my former servant - 20s.
42. Katherin Tyson, my servant - 20s.
43. Residue - Alice my wife.

44. Executors - Alice, my wife; John Popley (sic), merchant; John Honyngham (sic), merchant.
- The latter two of my executors are to receive £20 each for their work.
45. William Spenser - two messuages in Broad street in St. John's parish. One of these messuages I bought off John Bateman (armiger), the other I had from John Pavay, merchant, for life. Spenser is to inherit this property after the death of my wife, who is to hold it till that time.

Seal appended.

Thomas Spensere. Merchant. Burgess.

1460 July 19.

Probate 1460/61 January 10.

22 Stokton pp. 168a, 169.

1. To be buried in St. Werburgh's parish church near the tomb
of Juliane, my late wife.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 12d.
3. To the proctors of St. Werburgh's church - one chalice weighing
17 ozs; two candles - to pray for my soul and that of
my wife.
4. To the rector of this church, for tithes - 6/8.
5. Thomas Daventre, my godson - my small standing cup with cover;
one "Note" cup with cover; one silver salver with
cover; $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. of my second best silver spoons; one
flat basin; one round basin with one cover; one white
bedcover; two pairs of linen; one pair of blankets;
one feather bed; two pillows; my best girdle embroidered
in silver; two chests, one of which is of "Tolowes"
(Toulouse) make; and the other of spruce. These goods
are to remain in the custody of my executors till he is
of age, i.e. 14 years.
6. Alice, wife of William Jake - my silver and gilt circlet in
which is set a precious stone.
7. Joan Maye, my household servant (famula) - my copper circlet.
8. Margaret, my wife - all my utensils in my house.
9. To the Fraternity of St. Mary in Coventry - my best "flatte" cup
in gilt.

The chaplains and poor of the above fraternity are to
pray for my soul.

10. To the Fraternity of the body of Christ in Coventry - my second "Flatte" gilt cup of the same set as that above. The chaplains and poor of this fraternity are to pray for the souls of my wife and parents.
11. My executors are to distribute amongst all virgins in St. Werburgh's parish - 3 quarters of woad, each of which is valued at 6/8.
12. The same are to distribute among 24 needy poor - one quarter of woad - to pray for my soul.
13. Residue - Richard Alberton, William Philip.
14. Executors - " " " "
15. Supervisor of my will - William Sutton, rector of St. Werburgh's church.
16. To my executors, for their work - 5 quarters of woad divided equally between them.

Seal appended.

Agnes Spicer, widow of John Spicer, Merchant.

1456 May 20.

Probate 1456 June 18.

7 Stokton p. 52a.

1. To be buried next to my late husband in St. Mary's chapel on
the south side of St. James church.
2. To the Mother church of Bath and Wells - 12d.
3. " " " at Worcester - 12d.
4. Master Nicholas Pittys; curate of St. Thomas Martyr (sic) - 13/4
to pray for my soul.
5. For the work of St. Thomas church -20s.
6. To the three curates of the three churches of St. Thomas,
St. Werburgh, St. James - 20d. each.
7. To the three chaplains of these three churches - 12d. each.
8. To the four Orders of Friars who attend my funeral, obit day
and the masses on the day before each of these - 5s. each.
9. Residue - William Talbot, merchant; John Thorp, gentleman;
William Long, weaver.
10. Executors - the above three, who are to receive 100s. each for
their work.

John Spicer. Burgess.

1456 May 10.

Probate 1456 June 5.

7 Stokton p. 48a.

1. To be buried in the chapel of St. Mary on the south side in St. James church.
2. To the Mother church of St. Andrew of the diocese of Bath and Wells - 12d.
3. " " " at Worcester - 12d.
4. Master Nicholas Pittes, my curate - 20d. to pray for my soul.
5. For the work of St. Thomas parish church - 20s.
6. To the seven chaplains there - 12d. each.
7. To the four Orders of Friars who attend my funeral, obit day, and the masses on the day before each of these - 5s each.
8. Agnes, my wife - all lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, in Bristol and its suburbs.
Condition - she provides for one fit chaplain to celebrate in the chapel of St. Mary on the south side of St. James church.
9. Residue - wife.
10. Executor - " ; William Talbot, merchant of Bristol who is to receive 10 marks for his work.

Seal appended.

Hopkyn Spysour. Burgess.

1404 September 25.

Probate 1404 October 20.

7. Marche pp. 52, 52a.

1. To be buried in the crypt of St. Nicholas church.
2. For the fabric of this church - 20s.
3. Thomas Smyth, chaplain - 6/8.
4. Each chaplain celebrating at St. Nicholas church - 12d.
5. To each Order of Friars - 6/8.
6. Twelve poor people to have one robe each; 13 poor people to have one shirt, and one pair of shoes, each..
7. 20s. worth of bread to be distributed to the poor, for the good of my soul.
8. For one chaplain to celebrate for my soul - 8 marks.
9. Alice, my wife - one tenement which I hold - for her life.
All my utensils; $\frac{1}{3}$ of all my movables after my debts have been paid.
10. My daughter, free (filiis meis liberis) - the second $\frac{1}{3}$ of all my movables.
11. After the death of my wife - the above mentioned tenement is to pass to Roger, my son. If he dies without immediate heirs then it is to pass to John, my brother. If he dies without heirs then it is to pass to Thomas, his brother.
12. Reginald, my servant - £10.

13. John, my servant - £10.
14. Thomas, my servant - 40s. after finishing his term of work.
15. Mawde, my servant - 6/8.
16. Alice, my nurse - 2s.
17. Residue - my executors.
18. Executors - my wife; Richard Pewteri, chaplain; Roger Mynde.
19. To each of my executors - 20s.
20. William of the chapel on the Bridge - 3/4.
21. For the fabric of this chapel - 3/4.
22. For the fabric of the church in "Bodmen". - 6/8.

Seal appended.

Robert Sturmy. Merchant. Burgess

1457 June 27.

Probate 1458 December 12.

14 Stokton pp. 111a, 112. In English.

1. To be buried where God pleases.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 2s.
3. For the work of St. Nicholas parish church - 40s.
4. To the "Growde" in the same church - 20s.
5. Master John Arssos, vicar there - 40s.
6. Each priest singing there - 40d.
7. William Malsale, clerk there - for my soul and those of my father
and mother for the space of five years (sic) - £30
8. To the parish priest of "Knygton" in Worcester - 40s.
9. " " priest of the College of St. Mary's guild in Ludlow - 40s.
to pray for my soul.
10. To the Fraternity of the chapel on Bristol bridge - 6/8.
11. " " " St. John Baptist - 6/8.
12. " " " St. Katherine - 6/8.
13. To the four Orders of Friars - 10s. each.
14. To the poor brethren of "Woodehous" by Clee in Shropshire - 20s.
to pray for my soul and these of my parents.
15. John Sturmy, my brother - £40.
16. Robert " nephew, son of the above John - £20.
17. Edith Sturmy daughter of the above John - 6 marks.
18. Each of John's children - 40s.
19. Roger Banastre, my cousin - £4.

20. John Penk, my apprentice - £4.
21. William Mattok - 40s.
22. John Wetby barber - 40s.
23. Alson, my maid - 20s.
24. Janet, " " - 20s.
25. John, my brother - my best robe of scarlet trimmed with fur; my best girdle; my second best gilded standing cup with a cover.
26. If, after my death my ship and its cargo returns safely, then a secular priest should sing for me in St. Nicholas church for ten years. Also one other priest is to sing for my soul in "Knyghton" parish church for five years and is to receive 9 marks, and 4 Od. for bread, wine and candles each year.
27. Also if my ship returns my brother, all his children, and all my servants are to have as much again as that amount of money bequeathed them.
28. Residue - "Elyne", my wife.
29. Executors - " " " ; John, my brother.
30. Supervisor of my will - Master John Arssos, vicar; John Hosier, draper of Ludlow.
31. John Hosier, - 20s. for his work as the above; 20 marks - as we agreed
32. If my ship returns - Master John Arssos - 40s. and John Hosier - £20 who is to dispose of it as we agreed.

Seal appended.

Thomas Sywarde former rector of St. Ewen's
church, Bristol.

1495 June 28.

Probate 1496 October 16.

1 Horne. No page number.

1. To be buried in the hospital of St. Mark of Gaunts before the image of St. Mark.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 20d.
3. To St. Ewen's church - 13/4.
4. For funeral expenses including one Trental - £10
5. To the four Orders of Friars - 26/8 between them.
6. To the hospital of St. Robert of "Knaresbourough" - 6/8.
7. " " " " Antony, in London - 6/8.
8. To the hospital of St. Mark, Bristol - £11.
9. To the brethren of the above hospital - one large mazer.
10. " " above hospital - all my ornaments and utensils in my chamber.
11. Residue - for pious uses.
12. Executor - Thomas Tiler.
13. Supervisor of my will - John Popeley.

Seal appended.

John Tailour. Baker. Burgess.

1498 December 10.

Probate 1498/9. February 22.

30 Home. No page number.

1. To be buried (-) in St. Mary in Foro parish church (in St. Katherine's chapel).
2. To the Cathedral church at Worcester - 12d.
3. Residue - Joan, my wife.
4. Executor - " " "
5. Supervisor of my will - Nicholas, my son.

John Torre. Burgess.

1414 September 7.

Probate 1414 September 15.

29 Marche p. 231.

1. To be buried in a sacred burial place.
2. For the fabric of St. John the Baptist church - 40s.
3. Residue - Christine, my wife.

Seal appended.

John Umfray. Merchant. Burgess.

1428. January 20.

Probate 1429 June 28.

12 Luffenam pp. 9^b, 9^a.

1. To be buried in St. Werburgh's parish church opposite St. Nicholas altar.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 3/4.
3. To the rector of St. Werburgh's church - 6/8.
4. To the Order of the Friars Minor - 5/-
5. " " " " " Preachers - 5/-
6. " " " " " Carmelite - 2/6.
7. " " " " " Augustinian - 2/6.
8. For the fabric of St. Werburgh's church for breaking the ground,
where my body will rest - 20s.
9. John Carwell, my servant - two quarters of woad.
10. Robert Hawke, " apprentice - one quarter " " .
11. Residue - Agnes, my wife.
12. Executor - wife.

Seal appended.

John Vaghan. Merchant.

1491 August 20.

Probate 1492 September 15.

9 Doggult p. 65.

1. To be buried where God pleases.
2. To the Cathedral church of St. Mary the Virgin at Worcester - 3/4.
3. To the rector of St. Stephen's parish church, for tithes - 3/4.
4. Residue, Katherine, my wife.
5. Executor - " " "
6. Supervisor of my will - John Polard who is to receive 40s. for his work.

Seal appended.

John Walshe. Merchant.

1497 October 28.

Probate 1497/8 February 22.

10 Horne. No page number.

1. To be buried on St. Laurence parish church facing the altar of St. Mary.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 12d.
3. To the rector of St. Laurence church, for tithes - 6/8.
4. To the above church, for my burial there - 10s.
5. To each of the four Orders of Friars - 5s. to celebrate mass at my funeral.
6. On my burial day - 20s. to be distributed to the poor.
7. On the day that my Trental is celebrated - 20s. to be distributed to the poor.
8. One priest to celebrate for my soul and those of my parents and children, for one year in St. Laurence church at the altar of Christ. He is to receive £6 as his stipend.
9. Residue - Katherine, my wife.
10. Executor - " " "
11. Supervisor of my will - John Jay, my step-brother.

Seal appended.

Alice Warmystre.

1422 October 30.

Probate 1422/3 May 22.

53 Marche. p. 423a.

1. To be buried in St. Werburgh's church.
2. For the fabric of the above church - 30s.
3. To the rector of this church - 20s.
4. To each chaplain celebrating in this church on my burial day - 12d.
5. To the clerk there - 6d.
6. To the suffragan - 6d.
7. To each Order of Friars - 6/8.
8. To St. Werburgh's church - one chalice and one pair of vestments. Condition:- Master William Whyte, my chaplain has the use of these bequests. Mass is to be celebrated at the sacred altar in this church for the good of my soul and that of my husband William Warmystre.
9. Two linen cloths to hang above the altar of St. Mary in the above church; one frontal embroidered in gold; one other cloth hanging opposite this altar on which is embroidered the image of St. Mary.
10. Two linen cloths to hang above the altar of St. Anne in the above church - one frontal on which is embroidered the capital letters A and (omega).
11. Two linen cloths to hang above the altar of St. Michael in the above church - with one frontal, and one other cloth to

hang opposite this altar on which is embroidered the
Assumption of the B.V.M.

12. Master William (Andrew), my chaplain - my new pair of vestments used at the altar in my chamber; my silver standing plate with cover "Anglice standyng" plate.
Also all my tenements, halls, shops, one garden, with the rents of them, and my state in them. This property is situated in the parish of St. James and I hold it of the Abbot and Convent of "Tewkysbury". He is to hold this property for 20 years then it is to pass to John, my son and heir, and his heirs.
13. Mabille, sister of John Sutton - my cloth (matelli) with one lined hood.
14. Agnes (Bast) - 20d.
15. Walter ... (rubbed), my servant - 20d. to buy a robe.
16. Robert --gewey (rubbed) - 13/4.
17. Master Rogere Pert, vicar of St. Leonard's parish church - 20s.
18. Dom. John (F)ynd, junior - 3/4.
19. Christine Harry - my best robe.
20. Agnes, my servant - one unlined robe; one tunic trimmed with fur; one lined cloak with "buckesyn".
21. Agnes Pert - one robe trimmed with fur.
22. My kerchiefs are to be distributed amongst my servants.
23. The above mentioned Master William, my chaplain - is to celebrate for my soul and that of my husband.

24. Residue - John Warmystre, my son.
25. Executors - " " " " ; Master (Loginn).
26. Supervisor of my will - Master William Whyte.

Seal appended.

Agnes Wellishorte, widow.

1457 July 13.

Probate 1458 April 19.

12 Stokton pp. 92, 92a.

1. To be buried in the crypt of St. John Baptist parish church next to the tomb of Roger, my late husband.
2. For the fabric of the Mother church at Worcester - 20d.
3. " " " St. John Baptist church - 6/8.
4. Each chaplain celebrating in this church at my funeral - 3/4.
5. Each chaplain at the almshouses of the four Orders of Friars - 2/6.
6. Each almshouse in Bristol - 20d.
7. To the poor prisoners in Newgate prison, Bristol - 3/4.
8. 10 marks worth of bread to be distributed to the poor on my burial day at the discretion of my executors.
9. My expenses for the funeral and minds day - £4.
10. Agnes Gaywode, my daughter - my standing cup with cover ornamented in silver and gilt, called a "Gripissey"; twelve silver spoons; my feather bed; my better coral beads ornamented in silver and gilt; two best woolen cloths; one standing cup in silver with cover; one flat mazer with the image of St. John in silver and gilt, with cover.
11. Thomas Palmer of Oxford - 10 marks.
12. Joah Palmer, sister of above - 10 marks; my second best girdle; one silver plate; six silver spoons; $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. pewter pots.
13. Alice Palmer - 5 marks; one silver dish; my third best girdle; one copper pot; one copper salt; $\frac{1}{2}$ doz pewter pots.

14. Margaret Palmer - 20s; one silver dish.
15. Agnes, daughter of John Palmer - 20s; one silver dish; one girdle; one quarter of woad.
16. William Palmer - 20s.
17. Thomas Palmer, junior - 20s.
18. John " " - 20s.
19. " " senior, Nicholas Palmer, Henry Palmer - the sons of Agnes Gaywode my daughter - one whole broadcloth of my own making to each of them.
20. John Palmer, senior - one girdle of blue silk embroidered with silver.
21. Nicholas Palmer - one girdle of ruby-coloured silk embroidered in silver.
22. All the above Palmer sons are to be 18 before they can inherit, and the Palmer daughters are to be 16.
23. Agnes Dekyn, my daughter - 10 marks; one standing cup in silver i.e. my best cup called a "Note" with a cover and worked in silver and gilt; 12 silver spoons i.e. my second best.
24. Joan and Alice, the daughters of the above Agnes - one silver dish each.
25. To the sons and daughters of the above Agnes - 10 marks to be divided amongst them. The sons are to be 18 years and the daughters 16 years before they can inherit.
26. Richard Haynes, my brother - 20s.
27. Margaret, wife of the above - one robe or cloth from which to make a robe.

28. John, son of Richard and Margaret above - 6/8.
29. John Haynes, my cousin - one small mazer worked in silver and gilt; one green robe trimmed with fur.
30. John Gaywode's son, William, and each of his daughters - 6/8.
31. Agnes Wellishote, daughter of John Wellishote formerly of Clifton, my goddaughter - 5 marks; one silver dish; one bed with furnishings; one brass pot; one brass salt; one table cloth and napkins; $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. pewter pots.
32. Gregory Calf - one flock bed; one bed cover; two bodices; 2 pairs linen sheets; 13/4.
33. Agnes Gaywode - my daughter - my state and term in one tenement called "Wellishotesynne" in Broad street in which John Gaywode lives. One tenement annexed to the above in which I live.
My state and term in one tanement in Temple street.
One tenement in the town of "Vise" in St. Johns parish by the cemetry.
34. Residue - my daughter, who is to commemorate my anniversary in St. John the Baptist church for 20 years after my death.
35. Executor - John Gaywode, merchant.
36. Supervisor of my will - William Canynges, senior who is to receive for this work - my cup called a "Sterrid cuppe" with cover, in silver and gilt.

Seal appended.

Thomas Wellys.

1404 October 6.

Probate 1404/5 February 6.

8 Marche p. 61a.

1. To be buried in the cemetry of Redcliffe church.
2. To the vicar of this church, for tithes - 2s.
3. To the vicar of St. Nicholas church, for tithes - 2s.
4. John, my son - my two tenements in "Kerlyon", in Wales.
5. My tenement called "le Werhouse" in "Kerlyon" - is to be sold by my executors. The money is to be spent on pious works, alms, masses.
6. John, my son- one cow.
7. The two sons of William Benet; and the one son of my sister - one cow each.
8. William Balle - 6/8 if he is willing to administrate my will.
9. The profit from a certain "firme" called "leffreth" in my term to be divided into three parts:-
 $\frac{1}{3}$ - to fabric of church of St. "(G)Cadoci".
 $\frac{1}{3}$ - for the repair of the road between Newport and "Karlyon"
 $\frac{1}{3}$ - distributed by my executors to the poor, for the good of my soul.
10. Residue - John, my son.
11. Executors - " " "; William Balle.

John Wende. Clerk.

1396 June 7.

Probate 1404. November 21.

7 Marche pp. 54, 54a.

1. To be buried where God pleases.
2. 40s. for mass to be celebrated at my funeral.
3. Margery, former servant of Richard Hanteford of Bristol - £20.
4. John Wende, my father - £40.
5. Alice, my kinswoman - 40s for her dowry, if she makes a good marriage. If she does not, then my executors can amend this bequest.
6. Residue - John Wende, my father; John Clive
7. Executors - " " " " "
8. The above Margery - £10 if she is indeed pregnant.

Edmund Wescote. Merchant.

1485 September 1.

Probate 1485 November 19.

19 Logge p. 133a. In English.

1. To be buried in my parish church of St. Stephen's before the image of St. Paul, on the south side of the high altar.
2. Jane, my wife - £100 in plate according to my promise, the which I have weighed and placed in her keeping; £100 also according to my promise, which is to be raised from my best goods and debts.
3. Joan, my daughter - 200 marks, for her dowry, to be raised from the plate which Thomas Newton has in his keeping. The "white" plate is to be valued as 40d. per ounce and the gilt plate as 4s per ounce.
4. Thomas, John, Edmund, Richard, my sons - 6 pipes of woad, and 50 marks in plate each.
5. Maud, my daughter - 6 pipes of woad; 50 marks in plate.
If any of my children die before a "reasonable" age then their bequests are to pass to the remaining children.
6. To the Mother church at Worcester - 3/4.
7. To St. Stephen's church - 40s.
8. One priest to sing for my soul for three years - £20.
9. My household effects are to be divided between my six children now living.

10. My wife is to keep the £20 stipend for the above priest.
11. Executors - Joan, my daughter; Thomas, my son.
12. Supervisors of my will - Henry Weston; Philip Kyngeston.

Seal appended.

William White. Burgess.

1419. November 12.

Probate 1420 April 20.

55 Marche pp. 436a, 437.

1. To be buried in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr near the image of the Holy Cross.
2. To this chapel - 6/8 for my burial there.
3. For prayers to be said at the altar next to that of John Canynges - 40d.
4. To 12 poor people - one whole cloth.
5. To each Order of Friars - 2/6.
6. To my vicar, for tithes - 40d.
7. To each priest celebrating in the above chapel of St. Thomas - 6d.
8. To the religious Order at Kyngton - 6/8.
9. To the Fraternities of St. John the Baptist, and St. Katherine the Virgin - 6/8 each.
10. William, my son - 20 marks in silver and merchandise; one silver plate; 6 silver spoons; one second best mazer; one silver girdle with one baslard. If he dies before he becomes of age, then these bequests are to go to Edith, my wife.
11. Residue - Edith, my wife.
12. Executors - " " " ; my son.
13. Supervisor of my will - William (Frome).

Seal appended.

William White. Merchant. Burgess.

1429 April 20.

Probate 1429 June 25

12 Luffenam p. 91a.

1. To be buried in the chapel of St. Thomas Martyr.
2. Richard, my son - three quarters of woad from my goods now at sea.
3. Isabel, my cousin (kin) - four quarters of woad from above goods.
4. Thomas, and William, my sons, and Margery my daughter - "the children of my body" - six quarters of woad divided between them.
5. My executors are to distribute alms to the poor for the good of my soul.
6. Residue - Margery, my wife.
7. Executors - wife; Dom. William Grange.
8. Supervisor of the will - Thomas Colyns.

Alice Wisby (Wysby in margin) widow of Nicholas

Wisby, late burgess of Bristol, butcher.

1486 May 12.

Probate 1486 May 30.

23 Logge p. 178a.

1. To be buried in the parish church of St. Mary in Foro, near to
the tomb of my husband.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 4d.
3. To the church of St. Mary in Foro - my best feather bed; my best
silver and gilt cup.
4. To the rector of this church, my curate - two silver spoons.
5. Agnes, my daughter - my best standing cup with cover, in silver,
called a "Nutté" cup; one pair of mazers in mazer (?)
silver; my best silver girdle; my best string of coral
beads; 1 doz. silver spoons; linen.
6. Alice Hikke - my best robe of "medley"; one red and green girdle.
7. Alice Mersh - one robe of "medley"; one silver girdle embroidered
with silver; 6 silver spoons; one brass pot; 1 brass salt;
1 bed; one bed cover; one blanket; one pair of linen.
8. Rodewico, my servant - one silver spoon.
9. Margaret Yseland - one brown robe without fur; one silver spoon.
10. Alice Wutton - one green robe trimmed with fur.
11. Isabelle Sergeant - one black robe trimmed with fur.
12. Joan Biddil - one pair of silver plates gilded.
13. Hugh Sadeler - one silver cup called a "flat pece"

14. My executors are to provide for one secular chaplain to
celebrate in the church of St. Mary in Foro, for
one year.
15. Residue - Thomas Biddil, my brother; William Search.
16. Executors - above two.

Alice Wodeford.

1407 September 23.

Probate 1408 April 24.

16 Marche pp. 124, 124a.

1. To be buried in the chapel of St. Thomas Matyr opposite the cross
and next to the tomb of my late husband.
2. For wax to be burnt around my body on the burial day - 40s.
3. For expenses on the burial day - 40s.
4. To be spent in pious uses on my mind's day - 2 marks.
5. Each priest in chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr - 12d.
6. " of the three clerks there - 6d.
7. Each Order of Friars to celebrate mass for my soul, to witness
at my funeral and at the mass on my burial day - 40d.
8. For the poor widows at the hospital of St. John Baptist outside
Redcliffe gate -20d.
9. For the nuns of the house of St. Mary Magdalene - 20d.
10. " " sisters of " " " Bartholomew - 20d.
11. James Cockes to provide a fit chaplain to celebrate mass in the
chapel of St. Thomas Martyr for two years after my death.
12. My executors are to provide one other fit chaplain to celebrate
mass in the same chapel - for the souls of my two late
husbands, William Wodeford, and Nicholas Chapman.
13. Matilda, my servant - the annual rent of £1 from three shops on
'the back' of St. Augustine. After her death, this rent
is to pass to Bernard, my son.

14. Bernard, my son - My tenements, rents, reversions, and services which I hold in Bristol and its suburbs. If he dies without issue then this property is to be sold by my executors for the highest bid. The money is to be spent in the almshouses for the good of my soul and those of my husbands.
15. Residue - my son.
16. John Boteler, my brother - one silver plate with cover.
17. Matilda, wife of the above - clothing; one pair of small amber beads.
18. Isabell, daughter of the above - clothing, one pair of small coral beads.
19. John, son of the above - one gown trimmed with doe skin with a hood.
20. Each Order of Friars to celebrate mass for my soul for two years after my death - (l)2d.
21. John, my apprentice - two covers of small value; $5\frac{1}{2}$ elles of "Westesale"; one pot containing 4 gallons.
22. For the infirm - 1 $\frac{3}{4}$.
23. Isabelle Awngale - one red silk girdle.
24. Executors - John Caunterbury; John Palmer, merchant; my son.

Alice Woodley, widow of John Woodley.

1406 May 15.

Probate 1406 December 4.

12 Marche p. 93a.

1. To be buried in the chapel of St. Mary in St. Thomas church,
next to the tomb of John, my husband.
2. For the fabric of the choir of this church - 10s.
3. To this church - 10s for the repair of one pair of vestments.
4. To the vicar of this church, for tithes - 6/8.
5. For the fabric of the church of the Temple - 6/8.
6. To the above church - 6/8 for prayers to be said at the altar
of St. Mary there.
7. To each boy I have brought to the font - 6d.
8. Joan Pole - one green robe trimmed with fur.
9. Thomas, my kinsman - one whole cloth; one ewer and basin; one bed.
10. Alice Wyke - one robe of "rosset".
11. Anistacie - one blue robe trimmed with fur; one tunic.
12. Thomas - one robe of "melley" with hood; one kerchief "de parys".
13. Alice Dernam - one robe with hood; " " " " .
14. Residue - Thomas, my son.
15. Executors - Thomas Wodely; Walter Wodely.

John Wroth. Burgess

1410. June 21.

Probate 1410. June 30.

21. Marche pp. 165a, 166.

1. To be buried in the crypt of St. Nicholas church, next to my mother's tomb.
2. To the rector of the parish church of St. John, for tithes and to pray for my soul - 6/8.
3. To the vicar of St. Nicholas church, for tithes and to pray for my soul - 6/8.
4. For the fabric of " " " - 40d.
5. For the fabric of St. John's church - 40d.
6. To the Mother church at Worcester - 40d.
7. 20 fit chaplains are to recite the dirge and mass on my burial day - 4d. each.
8. To each Order of Friars - 2/6 to pray and say masses for my soul.
9. My funeral is to be carried out according to the discretion of my executors.
10. 40s. worth of bread is to be distributed to the prisoners in "Monkebrigge", and to other poor people.
11. 2 chaplains are to celebrate in the churches of St. John and St. Nicholas for one year. They are to receive 100s. each.

12. One chalice valued at 30s; one breviary - to the prisoners in Monkebrugge - to remain in the custody of the mayor, sheriff, and bailiffs of Bristol.
13. Each chaplain celebrating in this gaol - my second best brass pot in which to prepare the pottage for the above mentioned prisoners, who are to pray for my soul.
This pot is to remain in custody as above.
14. Robert Wroth, my kinsman - 40s to pray for my soul.
15. Robert, my servant - 13/4 to pray for my soul.
16. John Toryngton - my partially striped robe with blue skirt.
17. John Talbot - one robe according to the discretion of my wife.
18. John Westbury, cap-maker - 30s to pray for my soul.
19. To the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist in St. Ewen's church - 20s.
20. To the " " " Katherine in the church of Holy Cross Temple - 13/4.
21. " " " " George in the chapel of the Guildhall - 13/4.
22. To the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist in St. Ewen's church - the reversion of one tenement in Marsh Street, which is held by John Hayle, weaver. It is to inherit this property only after the death of my wife.
23. John Cokyns - 20s.
24. Residue - to be divided into two halves:-
one half to Anicie, my wife.
" " " be sold by my executors for the good of my soul.

25. Executors - my wife; John Chapleyn, minor.

Seal appended.

William Wycam

1494 October 10.

Probate 1494 November 6.

17 Vox. No page number.

1. To be buried in the cemetry Holy Cross Temple church.
2. Funeral expenses to be paid out of the sale of my goods.
3. To the Mother church of St. Andrew at Wells - 20d.
4. For the fabric of the nare of Temple church - 6/8.
5. To the vicar there, for tithes - 3/4.
6. " " " of St. Thomas the Martyr parish church, for tithes
- 3/4.
7. To John Vaughan, son of Henry Vaughan - my best scarlet robe
trimmed with fur.
8. Agnes, wife of above John - my best cloak trimmed with fur.
9. Residue, including my goods, jewels, ornaments, and chattels -
Alice, my wife.
10. Executor - wife, Alice.
11. Supervisor of my will - Henry Vaughan who is to receive 6/8.

Seal appended.

Alice Wylkyns.

1410 October 22.

Probate 1410/11 January 19.

22. Marche. p. 176a.

1. To be buried in the cemetery of St. Stephen's church.
2. To the Mother church at Worcester - 20d.
3. To St. Stephen's church - 40d.
4. To the church of St. "Walloner" in "Nuporte", Wales - 6/8.
5. My executors are to provide on fit chaplain to celebrate for my soul for one year in St. Stephen's church.

They are also to provide one chaplain in St. "Wollonyr"
(sic) church "Nuport".

6. To each brother in the four Orders of Friars - one Trental.
7. To my mother - 160s; one pan; one feather bed; one barell of soap.
8. To my sister - one best robe; one kirtle; one tunic.
9. My 2 sons - 10 marks each; two silver girdles; one string of coral beads.
10. My tenement in the above parish in Wales (rubbed)
11. Margaret, my servant - one robe, one tunic.
12. Juliana C(o)ok, wife of William Stephenes, burgess of Newport - 3/4.
13. Bury, brother of Castell Frerers - one pair of sheets.
14. My novice - one green robe with hood.
15. Elizabeth, wife of Roger Harry - one robe of "russet".
16. My mother - my best hood with cloak.
17. Elizabeth, my servant - one pot with short feet.

18. One dozen (?) vestments are to be made into robes for four men.
19. Dom. William Elene - 6/8.
20. Executors - John Wode; John Gregory.

Seal appended.

Nicholas Wysby. Baker. Burgess.

1485 July 30.

Probate 1485 September 9.

16 Logge, pp. 117a, 118.

1. To be buried in the church of St. Mary in Foro before the altar of St. Nicholas.
2. To the Cathedral church of Worcester - 12d.
3. My executor are to provide a fit chaplain to pray in the church of St. Mary in Foro.
4. Residue - Alice, my wife.
5. Executor - " " "

Seal appended.

William Wythyford (Withiford in margin)

1449. June 29.

Probate 1449 August 13.

16 Rous p. 128a.

1. I am the son and heir of Hugo Wythyford late burgess and merchant of Bristol.
2. To be buried in the parish church of St. Stephen's.
3. For the fabric of this church - 3/4.
4. To the rector of this church - 3/4.
5. To each chaplain who celebrates there - 4d.
6. " " clerk there - 2d.
7. For the fabric of the Mother church at Worcester - 12d.
8. Alice, my wife - my best silver standing dish with cover; 18 silver spoons; 300 yards of Irish linen cloth.
9. My executors - 200 yards of Irish linen cloth to clothe 10 poor people.
10. Joan Stevyns, my sister - my white silk girdle embroidered with silver.
11. Alice, my wife - all lands, tenements, rents, reversions, and services I have in Salop and County Salop. She is to hold this property for life, then it is to pass to William (no surname).
12. Joan, my mother - all tenements and lands in Bristol and suburbs which formerly belonged to John Clyve late burgess of Bristol. After her death this property is to pass to William Kaylewey and his wife, Joan.

13. Residue - Alice my wife.

14. Executors - Alice, my wife, William (Kaylewey) - rubbed.

John Wytlloff. Rector of the church of
"Lodiswell".

1404 March 6.

Probate 1405. April 2.

9 Marche p. 65a.

1. To be buried in the church of the Friars Preachers.
2. Dom. John Meryk, chaplain - my silk girdle embroidered with silver; 100s - to pray for my soul.
3. To the convent of the above Friars - 40s to the work of their church.
4. Brother Roger Wyntyrborn, prior of the above convent - 40s.
5. To the convents of the Friars Minor, Carmelite, and Augustinian - £3, i.e. £1 each.
6. To the church of "Kanisham" - 20s.
7. To the work of the church of "Fromequytyne" - 20s.
8. To be distributed amongst my poor parishioners - 10 marks in bread, shoes, and silver.
9. Mariote Wyllym of Lagham - 13/4.
10. For the work of the churchs of "Wodelegh, Cherchstow; Dodebrock; Therleston; Bykly, Auten Giffard" - £6, i.e. £1 each.
11. John Bruere, my servant (famulo) - 5s.
12. John Appuldore (alias persones) - 100s.
13. Matilda Denys, widow - one silver cup with cover.
14. To the rector of St. Michael - 20s.
15. Residue - to be disposed of in masses and charitable works, for

the good of my soul and the soul of John Seys, chaplain.

17. Executors - Brothers, Roger Wyntyrborn; Dom. John Meryk, chaplain.
14. Robert Vensche, my associate (utres meos) - my wine cup in silver with cover; 100s to buy himself wine. I ask him to help my executors.

Margaret Yonge. Wife of Thomas Yonge.

Burgess.

1406. November 3.

Probate 1407 April 15.

13 Marche pp. 100a, 101.

1. To be buried in the chapel of St. Katherine the Virgin, in Holy Cross Temple church, near my former husband Peter atte Berughe.
2. To the vicar of this church - 6/8 to pray for my soul.
3. Thomas (Scode), my chaplain - 13/4.
4. For the work of Redcliffe church - my best mantle - for the payment of lights or bells rung on my funeral day.
5. John Fayreford, Friar Preacher - 40s. - to celebrate one Trental of St. Gregory for my soul, for one year.
6. £6 to be distributed to the poor in my burial day.
7. One whole black cloth, priced 40s. to cover my body on my burial day. Afterwards this is to be given to the poor.
8. To the four Orders of Friars - 10s.
9. To 13 poor men carrying candles around my body on burial day - 13 pairs of shoes.
10. Thomas Lyonns of Whytcherche - one blue girdle in silk, embroidered with silver.
11. Isabella Lyonns, wife of the above - my best red robe of scarlet trimmed with fur, and one hood of the same; one girdle the same as that given to her husband; one saddle

with bridle.

12. Alice Roper - one best blue robe trimmed with fur and one hood of the same; $\frac{1}{2}$ a piece of silk kerchief.
13. Alice Harrys, daughter of John Harrys - one green gown; one kirtle in white.
14. Alice Ferthyng, widow of Walter Ferthyng - one green cloak; one kerchief of "gremylethred".
15. Margaret, my servant - 40s; one black robe trimmed with fur; $\frac{1}{2}$ a piece of silk kerchief.
16. Hugh, and William, my servants - 3/4. each.
17. Edmund Bierndene - 6/8.
18. Residue - Thomas Yonge, my husband.
19. Executors - " " " " ; Edmund Bierdene.

William Yong.

1416 February 15.

Probate 1416 March 21.

37 Marche pp. 293, 294.

1. To be buried in the cemetery of Holy Cross Temple church.
2. For the fabric of the above church - 10s.
3. For the fabric of Redcliffe church - 10s.
4. Alice, my elder (?) sister - all the clothes on my bed.
5. To the Order of Friars Minor in Bristol - 10s.
6. To each of the other Orders of Friars - 2/6.
7. To Robert Nemot - 40s.
8. Alice Blount, my sister - one tenement called "le veale" in Temple street between the tenement of Thomas Yong, and that of Thomas Hendy, extending from Temple street to "Lawdych".
9. John Eyer and his wife, Agnes - one garden in Bristol suburbs, in the Market between those of Robert Schippward, and the almshouse.
10. Thomas Fysch, senior - the rent from one tenement with one shop behind, in Redcliffe street. This property is rented by William Pays and his wife, Alice, and is situated between the tenement in which William Franceys lives, and my shop in which Alice Lawrder lives. Also, he is to have the reversion of this property after the deaths of the above William and Alice Pays.
Also, the rent and reversion of that which Joan Palmer

owes for one tenement in St. Nicholas street.

Also, rent and reversion of that which Robert Borlaas and his wife, Margaret owe for one tenement and three shops in Winch street. He is to receive the reversion of this after the death of this Robert and Margaret. Also, rent and services owed by the above Robert and Margaret for one tenement in Winch street. Reversion as above.

Also, rent and services from Thomas Saundres for one messuage on the Avon Back.

11. Thomas Fysche - three tenements in Redcliffe street; one shop in Redcliffe street;
one shop in Winch street;
three shops on "le Wer";
two shops in "Lewenesmede";
one tenement with two shops in Horse street in the suburbs;
two shops in Worship street;
one garden with one croft annexed to it, in the corner of St. Nicholas street;
one cottage with two crofts and one garden.

12. Residue - my executors to dispose of it for the good of my soul.

13. Executors - Thomas Fysch; John Eger.

14. Supervisor of my will - William Barden.

Thomas Yhokflet. Clerk. Vicar of the
parish church of St. Nicholas.

1405 February 10.

Probate 1405 March 31.

11. Marche. p. 84.

1. To be buried in St. Nicholas church, to the north of the altar
opposite the image of St. Nicholas.
2. Dom. William, chaplain - 3/4.
3. To each chaplain celebrating in this church - 12d.
4. To the clerk of this church - 8d.
5. To the suffragan of this church - 8d.
6. Residue - including my goods and chattels - Dom. Robert Gyles,
chaplain - who is to dispose of it for the good of my
soul.
7. Executor - Robert Gyles.

Seal appended.