

**The Wine Trade in Bristol in the Fifteenth
and Sixteenth Centuries**

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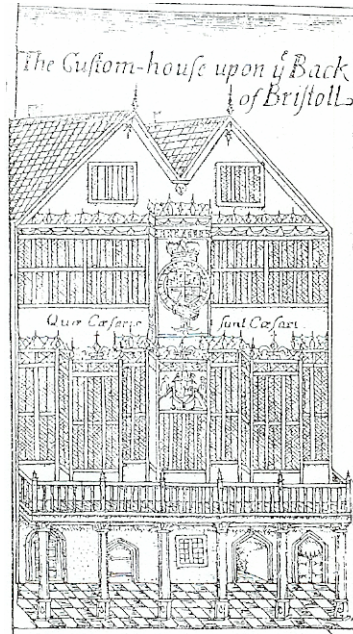


PLATE 1

I confirm that the following dissertation is my own work and all quotations, documentary evidence and data drawn from other sources have been duly acknowledged.

Catherine Pitt

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ABSTRACT

Bristol was the third largest importer of wine into England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and for the port itself, wine was its largest and most valuable import. There have been very few studies of this, especially using the extant custom accounts. This thesis aims to reconstruct Bristol's wine trade in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries through the indepth analysis of four custom accounts from varying years over this period. Three of these accounts were previously un-transcribed. In doing so, this study aims to gather more knowledge about the nature of Bristol's wine trade from the detail of these records.

The work will focus on the import of wine from the Continent into Bristol, and examine any transitions in Bristol's markets abroad. The thesis will examine the theory that the loss of Gascony in 1453 caused a shift away from French wine imports to growth in the Iberian peninsula, and will explore if this continued, and to what extent, over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This study will also investigate whether there was a decline in Bristol's wine trade over the sixteenth century. It has been found that the custom accounts have too often been taken on face value in the past and the impact of wine smuggling ignored. The reliability of the custom accounts studied will be assessed by considering influencing factors, such as war, religion and illicit trade, and to what extent this may have detrimentally influenced the accounts' data. This thesis will find that after 1558, there are significant incentives to smuggle wine that appear to have undermined those custom accounts created after this date.

Chapter One involves a detailed analysis of the data from the four custom accounts, studying the import amounts of wine to reveal the nature of Bristol's wine trade over the period, with focus upon evidence of a shift in market from France to the Iberian peninsula.

Chapter Two will then be an analysis of the reliability of these accounts as a true record of the wine imports and the nature of Bristol's wine trade. Evidence will be examined from relating studies and contemporary extant documents. This will reveal if there were any incentives or evidence for the smuggling of wine, and if so to what extent this may have affected the reliability of the custom accounts.

The conclusion will sum up the evidence found from the examination of these four custom accounts, and their reliability as a model for studies in the overall nature of Bristol's wine trade in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

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¹ Taken from: E. T. Jones., 'The Bristol Shipping Industry in the Sixteenth Century' (PhD, Edinburgh,1998): <http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Maritime/1998phd.htm>

² Map by Millerd, c.1644. Taken from facsimile at The Bristol Records Office.

³ Map by Millerd, c.1644. Taken from facsimile at The Bristol Records Office.

⁴ Photo taken by Susan Flavin. T.N.A. E190/1129/3, f.4v.

⁵ H. Johnson., *The Story of Wine* (London, 2004); Latin motto, 'Wine Gladdens the Spirit', of the Vintners' Company of London, reproduced with permission.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- App. = Appendix
- B.R.O. = Bristol Records Office
- Cal. Pat. = Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office
- Cal. S.P. For. = Calendar of the State Papers, Foreign Series
- d. = Pence
- Ec.H.R. = Economic History Review
- E.H.R. = English Historical Review
- est. = Established
- f. = Folio
- L.P. = Letters Patent, Foreign and Domestic Series
- MSS = Manuscripts
- P. de Santa Maria = El Puerto de Santa Maria [Spain]
- s. = shilling
- Sanlúcar = Sanlúcar de Barrameda [Spain]
- *Smythe's Ledger = The Ledger of John Smythe 1538-1550*, ed J. Vanes
- T.N.A. = The National Archives
- T.R.H.S. = Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
- Vol. = Volume

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GLOSSARY

- *Ad Valorem* - See Poundage.
- **Bastard** – Portuguese wine
- **Book of Rates** – List of goods imported or exported and their values. Custom duty was assessed on this value (see Poundage).
- **Butt** – 126 gallons [half a Tun]. Used for Spanish or Portuguese wine.
- **Certificate** – The receipt for the payment of import duties.
- **Charter Party** - Legal agreement made between merchants and the master of a ship. Records the cargo, freight charge, destination and costs to be paid.
- **Cocket** – Receipt for the payment of export duties.
- **Controller/Customer** – Custom officials who recorded separately in the ‘particular’ accounts the custom paid upon goods in and out of a port.
- **Cutt** – Unknown. Possibly Portuguese⁶
- **Factor** – The agent or representative for a merchant.
- **Gascon** – Wine of Bordeaux
- **Hogshead** – 63 gallons [quarter of a Tun]
- **Hullock** – Spanish wine, very dark.
- **Iberia** – Spain and Portugal
- **Levant (the)** – Mediterranean lands east of Italy
- **Malmsey** – Sweet wine, originally from Crete, later from Madeira and Canaries
- *Marchants Avizo* - Guide for apprentices by John Brown, merchant of Bristol (c.1589).
- **Michaelmas** - 29 September.
- **Muscatill/Muscatel** – Sweet wine

⁶ Imported with Bastard in the 1573-74 shipments, but unknown origin: T.N.A., E190/1129/3.

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- **Navigation Act** - enacted by Henry VII in 1485 and 1489 to prohibit the shipping of French goods to England in French vessels.
- **Ossey** – Portuguese wine, possibly from Azoia, coastal region south of Lisbon
- **Pipe** – 126 gallons [half a Tun]
- **Poundage** - Also known as *ad valorem* duty. Custom duty on goods, native or alien. Assessed on value of goods which was recorded in a Book of Rates. Included corrupt wine.
- **Prisage** -The right of the Crown to take 2 tuns from every English ship importing 20 tuns or more (aliens paid ‘butlerage’ at 2s. per tun in lieu of this).
- **Purser** - Entrusted with the ship’s store of money for expenses of the vessel during the voyage.
- **Rochelle** – wine of La Rochelle
- **Searcher** – Custom official who checked the cargo of vessels entering and exiting a port.
- **Seck/Sack** – Dry wine from Southern Spain, especially Cadiz or Jerez
- **Specific duty** – known as ‘subsidy’. Specific sum paid on a given quantity of a commodity. Usually refers to wool, cloth or wine.
- **Teynt** – Dark Spanish red wine.
- **Tonnage** - Ships capacity estimated by number of tuns could carry.
- **Tun** - 252 gallons.
- **Tunnage** – Specific duty paid on ‘sweet’ and ‘non-sweet’ wine.
- **Ullage** - leakage from barrels during a voyage.
- **Vintner** - wine merchant and/or retailer.
- **Waiter** – Custom official. Helped load and offload vessels.

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INTRODUCTION

Studies into the history of the English wine trade have revealed the traditional dominance of France as the major exporter of wine to England throughout the medieval period.⁷ Over 90% of the wine imported to England in the fifteenth century was that of non-sweet wine, a type generally associated with France.⁸ Of the average 12-14,000 tuns of wine exported from Bordeaux annually in the fifteenth century, three-quarters of it was imported to England.⁹ Wine accounted for a third of the value of England's import trade as a whole during this period.¹⁰ It was only nearing the dawn of the Tudor period, in the late fifteenth century, that a shift in this balance is believed to have occurred.¹¹ This was apparently stimulated by the loss of England's last wine producing French province, Gascony, with the fall of Bordeaux in 1453. The late fifteenth century, and the sixteenth century, have been seen as an age of expansion of English markets abroad, with the Iberian Peninsula apparently supplying more wine than France by the end of the Tudor period.¹² By the end of the fifteenth century alone, it had been estimated that up to a third of wine imports were now coming from Spain.¹³

⁷ M. K. James., *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade* (Oxford, 1971); E. M. Carus-Wilson., 'The Overseas Trade of Bristol', in Eileen Power and M.M. Postan (eds.), *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1933), pp.201-214; A. Crawford., *Bristol and the Wine Trade* (Bristol, 1984), pp.1-3; A. D. Francis., *The Wine Trade* (London, 1972), pp.7-9.

⁸ Calculated from: Power and Postan, *Studies in English Trade*, App. A, p.401.

⁹ English imports ranged between 9,000-11,000 tuns: James, *Medieval Wine*, pp.38-9.

¹⁰ E. M. Carus-Wilson., *Medieval Merchant Venturers* (London, 1967), p.271,n.1.

¹¹ 'Englishmen had come to rely heavily in the west on Iberia to offset Gascon losses', W. R. Childs., *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1978), p.132.

¹² A. L. Simon., *The History of the Wine Trade in England, Volume II* (London, 1964), p.206. Bristol discussed in: D. H. Sacks., *Trade, Society and Politics in Bristol, Volume II* (New York, 1985), p.511.

¹³ J. W. Sherborne., *The Port of Bristol in the Middle Ages* (Bristol, 1971), p.26.

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In the late medieval and early modern period, Bristol was considered one of England's most important ports.¹⁴ An average of 22% of England's total wine imports came into Bristol in the fifteenth century, making it the second largest importer of wine after London.¹⁵ Within Bristol itself, it can be estimated that on average half of the total value of imports coming into the port, over the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries, was wine.¹⁶ Despite the evident importance of wine in Bristol's, and England's, commerce, it is surprising and disappointing to observe, that even today, there are only a small number of specific indepth studies of the English wine trade, and even fewer case studies of individual ports.¹⁷

Wine is usually mentioned briefly within general studies of English trade.¹⁸ The most important and comprehensive studies specifically about the English wine trade, were the works of A. L. Simon, in 1964, and M. K. James in 1971.¹⁹ Though even these can only include cursory remarks about individual ports.²⁰ It was in 1933 that the first detailed study of Bristol's wine trade was written by E. M. Carus-Wilson.²¹ Following Carus-

¹⁴ 'There are scarcely any towns of importance in the kingdom excepting...Bristol, a seaport to the West, and...York...besides London...': Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', p.183.

¹⁵ Calculated using the figures from the 'Enrolled' Accounts detailed in: James, *Medieval Wine*, App. 6, App. 16. Sherborne calculated that on average 24% of the national imports of non-sweet wine came from Bristol in the fifteenth century: Sherborne., *Port of Bristol*, p.22.

¹⁶ Calculated by examining the total value of all imports into Bristol, and the total value of the wine imports, for the years 1479-80, 1516-17, 1525-6 and 1542-3, see **Appendix D**.

¹⁷ 'Export trade in wine... is one of the most important, but one of the least studied, branches of European commerce...', Carus-Wilson, *Merchant Venturers*, p.265. Childs fully transcribed the fifteenth century custom accounts for Hull: W. R. Childs. (ed.), *The Custom Accounts of Hull: 1453-1490* (Leeds, 1986). London is the port usually examined: M. K. James., 'The Medieval Wine Dealer', in *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History, Vol.X. No.2*.(December 1957), pp.45-53; F. C. Dietz., 'Elizabethan Customs Administration' in *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 45, No. 177 (Jan., 1930) pp.35-57

¹⁸ R. Davies., *English Overseas Trade, 1500-1700* (Essex, 1973). Francis., *Wine Trade*, is a study of the wine trade in general.

¹⁹ Simon, *History of Wine*, II; James, *Medieval Wine*.

²⁰ Simon only contains one paragraph on Bristol: Simon, *History of Wine*,II, p.102. James's focus is mainly on Gascon trade: James, *Medieval Wine*.

²¹ Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', pp.183-246.

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Wilson there have been very few historians who have looked not only at Bristol but specifically at the import of wine into the port. Sherborne and Crawford give only a brief overview of Bristol's history in their works.²² Vanes' collation of documents about Bristol's overseas trade is indispensable, yet she avoids making any quantitative assumptions about trade.²³ Sacks examined Bristol's trade as a whole for the period 1450-1700, but was more narrative.²⁴ E. T. Jones was the first historian to undertake an in-depth study of Bristol's shipping industry in his 1998 doctoral thesis.²⁵ He also used a number of previously untranscribed documents in his work. Most works about Bristol, and those of the English wine trade, have tended to limit their resources; often limiting themselves to the documents Carus-Wilson first transcribed in her pioneering study.²⁶ This thesis will try to follow Jones's example and study more of the extant original documents about the port of Bristol.

The most important, but least known, documents required for a study into English trade, are the custom accounts.²⁷ From these an analysis of the amount, value and nature of trade can be gathered. There are two types of account – the 'enrolled' and the 'particular'. From the thirteenth century the Crown gradually began to put impositions upon all the goods being imported into and exported from the kingdom.²⁸ In doing so, a record was needed of the revenue collected. England's coastline was divided into thirteen areas, each

²² Sherborne, *Port of Bristol.*; Crawford, *Bristol and Wine.*

²³ J. Vanes. (ed.), *Documents Illustrating the Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Sixteenth Century* (Bristol, 1979).

²⁴ D. H. Sacks., *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700* (Oxford, 1991).

²⁵ E. T. Jones., 'The Bristol Shipping Industry in the Sixteenth Century' (PhD, Edinburgh, 1998): <http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Maritime/1998phd.htm>.

²⁶ Sherborne, *Port of Bristol*; Crawford, *Bristol and Wine*; James, *Medieval Wine.*

²⁷ E. M. Carus-Wilson. (ed.), *The Overseas Trade of Bristol: In the Later Middle Ages* (Bristol, 1937), p.5.

²⁸ N. Williams., *Contraband Cargoes: Seven Centuries of Smuggling* (London, 1959), p.1.

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with its own custom house to oversee the collection of duties from every port in that area.²⁹ To protect against fraud, two records were made at each custom house and checked against each other, one by the Controller, the other by the Customer.³⁰ These are known as the ‘particular’ accounts or port books. These ‘particular’ accounts detailed in Latin a ship’s name, its origin and master, the date, and the destination the ship was coming from or going to. They also detailed the commodity being imported or exported, the custom paid, and the owner of the merchandise. In 1564 new custom records were introduced and these ‘port books’ as they are known, also included the size of the vessel, the gross amount of merchandise, and the amounts of net, corrupt or ullaged [leaked] goods once arrived at port. The ‘particular’ accounts and port books were then sent to the Exchequer to be audited, and if tallied, would then be summarised in what are known as the ‘enrolled’ accounts.³¹

Far fewer of the ‘particular’ accounts survive than the ‘enrolled’; perhaps only one in five survives complete.³² It appears their fragmentary nature has been the reason why general studies of English trade have tended to rely upon the ‘enrolled’ accounts to create a chronological picture of commerce. Yet the ‘particular’ accounts give specific detail of the nature of trade that the ‘enrolled’ accounts cannot. Another reason perhaps for the avoidance of these ‘particular’ accounts may lie in the fact that the majority are

²⁹ Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*, pp.3, 9; Jones, ‘Bristol Shipping’, p.32, n.1.

³⁰ Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, p.9; N. S. B. Gras., *The Early English Custom System* (Harvard, 1918), pp.95-6.

³¹ ‘Enrolled’ accounts omit most of detail of the ‘particular’ accounts: Power and Postan, *Studies in English Trade*, pp.321-2.

³² Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, p.7; Inadequacies discussed in: Childs., *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p.136.

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untranscribed documents, and are difficult and time-consuming to interpret from the cursive Latin script.

The custom accounts were initially examined in the nineteenth century.³³ It was their ‘rediscovery’ in 1911 and Gras’s study of the early English custom system using ‘particular’ accounts, in 1918, which made historians more aware of their value.³⁴ It was not until 1933 that a book of collected works about English trade based upon the custom records was published.³⁵ Carus-Wilson’s comprehensive study of the fifteenth century wine trade in Bristol using the extant ‘enrolled’ and also ‘particular’ accounts, was amongst them. Her work has been the basis for most assessments of Bristol and English trade.³⁶ In fact, few historians have gone beyond using the ‘enrolled’ accounts and actually engaged with ‘particular’ accounts or port books, let alone considered them to research a particular commodity.³⁷ This is a neglect of a rich source of material.

This thesis will re-examine Bristol’s wine trade using previously untranscribed accounts. Since Carus-Wilson there have only been four subsequent historians who have examined Bristol’s ‘particular’ records. Sherborne looked at Bristol’s medieval trade using Carus-Wilson’s transcription of the 1479-80 ‘particular’ account, but this study was only brief.³⁸ Connell-Smith looked at five ‘particular’ accounts from the late fifteenth century, and

³³ Schantz’s work: Power and Postan, *Studies in English Trade*, p.321.

³⁴ E. T. Jones., ‘The Smugglers’ Trade in Sixteenth Century England’, CUP Proposal, unpublished (University of Bristol, May 2006), p.3.

³⁵ Power and Postan, *Studies in English Trade*.

³⁶ Sherborne, *Port of Bristol*; Crawford, *Bristol and Wine*; James, *Medieval Wine*.

³⁷ Cloth and Wool exports have been examined through custom accounts in: E. M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman., *England’s Export Trade: 1275-1547* (Oxford, 1963).

³⁸ Sherborne, *Port of Bristol*, p.26.

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early sixteenth century, but only examined the wine imports from Spain.³⁹ Sacks used the ‘enrolled’ accounts, but only one ‘particular’ account, of 1575-76, to weave his narrative about Bristol’s trade from 1450-1700.⁴⁰ To date, the most recent and valuable study of ‘particular’ accounts and Bristol’s trade has been in the work of E. T. Jones. He transcribed three ‘particular’ accounts of Bristol from the 1540s, in an investigation of Bristol’s sixteenth century shipping industry, and later used these accounts in a paper that examined the extent of smuggling in Bristol in that period.⁴¹ However, as of this thesis, no historian had attempted to transcribe the ‘particular’ accounts of Bristol to get a general impression of the wine trade in Bristol in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The biggest debate relating to the custom accounts has been over their reliability as a source. The initial issue over their accuracy was resolved by comparison of the custom data to contemporary relating documents, and being aware of their limitations.⁴² In the 1950s two French historians, Verlinden and Craeybeckx, claimed the English custom records were completely unreliable.⁴³ In Carus-Wilson and Coleman’s study of English cloth and woollens they came to the defence of the English customs and scathingly attacked Verlinden’s and Craeybeckx’s work, revealing the inaccuracy of their case

³⁹ This renders it impossible to use this data for a comparison of French and Spanish wine imports into Bristol in this period: G. Connell-Smith., *Forerunners of Drake: A Study of English Trade with Spain in the Early Tudor Period* (London, 1954), App.A.

⁴⁰ In both: Sacks, *Widening Gate*, and D. H. Sacks., *Trade, Society and Politics in Bristol, 1500-1640*, Vol. I and II (New York, 1985).

⁴¹ Jones, ‘Bristol Shipping’; E. T. Jones., ‘Illicit business: accounting for smuggling in mid-sixteenth century Bristol’, in *Ec.H.R.*, LIV, 1 (2001) pp. 17-38.

⁴² Carus-Wilson dismisses the fifteenth century ‘particular’ accounts as possibly ‘misleading’ since they are fragmentary. However, she recognises that the later fifteenth century accounts are more comprehensive, and uses other data in her account to prove their reliability: Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, pp.7-8.

⁴³ Carus-Wilson and Coleman, *Export Trade*, App.VI, pp.201.

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against the English custom accounts.⁴⁴ The main issue however has been over the extent of illicit trade in England and how much this would have affected the custom records. This factor will not be ignored in this dissertation.

It should be remembered when examining the custom accounts that they are only a tax record, not an indicator of the true volume of trade.⁴⁵ The reliability of the custom figures as indicators of 'real' trade is dependent upon quantifying illegal trade.⁴⁶ Yet the very nature of smuggling makes this almost impossible to do. Carus-Wilson disregarded smuggling as having any possible effect on the custom accounts as she believed the custom checks in place were infallible.⁴⁷ Yet evidence from Memoranda Rolls of prosecutions in the Exchequer court, local court records and government surveys of ports, imply smuggling occurred in the medieval and early modern period.⁴⁸ Williams used the 'particular' accounts and the Exchequer court case against Francis Shaxton in the 1570s as proof of cloth smuggling at King's Lynn in Norfolk.⁴⁹ Croft's work on smuggling revealed important evidence that trade still appears to have continued despite the prohibitions of the Anglo-Spanish war [1585-1604].⁵⁰ Despite the evidence, some economic historians have either ignored smuggling completely or not attempted to relate

⁴⁴ Carus-Wilson and Coleman., *Export Trade*, App. VI, pp.201-207.

⁴⁵ They only relate to revenue: G. D. Ramsay., 'The Smugglers' Trade: A neglected aspect of English Commercial Development', in *T.R.H.S.*, 2 (1952), p.157, n.1.

⁴⁶ Jones, 'Illicit business', pp.17-19.

⁴⁷ Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, p.9. This appears to be a view also shared by Dietz, who writes of the measures taken to reform the custom system in England, but not the extent of success or failure. He seems to imply that they were successful at eradicating smuggling: Dietz., 'Elizabethan Customs', pp.35-57.

⁴⁸ Vanes, *Documents*, pp.29-57, p.165.

⁴⁹ N. J. Williams., 'Francis Shaxton and the Elizabethan Port Books', in *The English Historical Review*, 66, 260 (July, 1951) pp.387-395.

⁵⁰ Pauline Croft., 'Trading with the Enemy, 1585-1604', in *The Historical Journal*, 32, 2 (1989) pp. 281-302.

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it to the custom figures that they use.⁵¹ Ramsay was the first historian to indicate and to try and resolve the neglect of economic historians in studying the extent of illicit trade in England.⁵² N. Williams wrote a valuable overview of smuggling throughout English history, but though detailed in its evidence, his narrative appeared to imply that smuggling was occurring continuously over England, for all goods, throughout the medieval and early modern period.⁵³ Illicit trade needs an incentive to occur. One such trigger was the amount of custom paid on goods.⁵⁴ For the medieval period, Carus-Wilson concluded, such a rate was low.⁵⁵ What of the sixteenth century?

As already indicated, studies of Bristol's wine trade are sparse. Though Vanes uncovered documents about smuggling in Bristol, she made broad assumptions about this effect.⁵⁶ It is interesting to see that in Sacks's published doctoral work he made mention of evidence of smuggling in Bristol in the sixteenth century, yet did not assess the impact of this on the data he used.⁵⁷ Not only this, but in Sacks's following work on Bristol he completely omitted any mention of smuggling.⁵⁸ Dr Evan Jones was the first historian to seriously attempt to quantify some level of illicit trade in sixteenth century Bristol, and really

⁵¹ Crawford's and Sherborne's studies of Bristol do not mention the smuggling occurring around the port: Crawford, *Bristol and Wine*, Sherborne, *Port of Bristol*. Sacks used the figures as representing the overall trade in Bristol, and though he mentioned smuggling [p.725], he did not relate this to having any effect on the values: Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics, Vol. II*. In his following study of Bristol, he fails to mention smuggling at all: Sacks, *Widening Gate*.

⁵² Ramsay, 'Smugglers' Trade', pp.131-157.

⁵³ Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*.

⁵⁴ Jones, 'Illicit business', p.34.

⁵⁵ Duties had to be sufficient to 'make the risk worthwhile', apart from wool, duties in the fifteenth century were not sufficient: Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, pp.8-9.

⁵⁶ Degree of under-recording at Bristol must have been at 'certain times and in certain commodities...reached 50%': Vanes, *Documents*, p.2.

⁵⁷ Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics, II*, pp.725-734. Though Sacks admits the port books are only tax records, this is more of an afterthought in the final paragraph of his conclusion, and never mentioned when examining the data he uses: *Ibid.*, II, p.744.

⁵⁸ Sacks, *Widening Gate*.

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question the reliability of the custom figures.⁵⁹ He indicated the need to compare the custom accounts with more personal records, such as those of merchants, to truly identify a level of smuggling.⁶⁰ His study of the ‘particular’ accounts of Bristol, for the early 1540s, along with contemporary evidence from the extant ledger of John Smythe, a Bristol merchant, and surviving accounts of the two Tyndall brothers, also merchants of Bristol, revealed grain and leather smuggling in the port, motivated by the rising costs of tax upon these goods.⁶¹ Jones indicated that if the profits from smuggling outweighed the ‘real’ costs then this gave an incentive to smuggle.⁶² He also indicated that these ‘particular’ accounts showed there appeared to be no smuggling of wine in to Bristol in the 1540s.⁶³ No further investigation of illicit trade in sixteenth century Bristol has been undertaken since. Jones’ study of the 1540 ‘particular’ accounts, and his suggestion that rises in custom duties may have triggered smuggling, will be the basis for this dissertation’s investigation into wine fraud in sixteenth century Bristol.⁶⁴

It is important to be aware of the limitations of the custom accounts. Not only does illicit trade have to be considered, but there is no ‘normal’ year, since wine production fluctuated annually. Historians have tended to conclude that in the sixteenth century, Bristol’s wine trade declined.⁶⁵ This thesis will examine evidence for this, and in considering illicit trade will challenge the use of the custom accounts on face value. It

⁵⁹ Jones, ‘Illicit business’, pp.17-38.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.19.

⁶¹ Ibid., pp.20-26.

⁶² Ibid., p.34.

⁶³ Ibid., pp.21-2.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p.36.

⁶⁵ Sherborne, *Port of Bristol*, p.28; Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, I, pp.286-291; ‘decay in the wine trade’: Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p.37.

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will recognise that some of the extant documents cannot create a full overview of trade, which may mean a reassessment of the hypotheses of previous works.⁶⁶

Generally, historians have believed that there was a shift in the overall provenance of Bristol's wine imports from France to the Iberian Peninsula due to the loss of Gascony in 1453; though give little evidence of the extent of this.⁶⁷ Ralph Davies's argument that Gascon trade had recovered by 1500 can be dismissed by his lack of engagement with custom account evidence.⁶⁸ The transition in the wine trade was first identified and quantified by Carus-Wilson in her 1933 study, but she only examined the fifteenth century.⁶⁹ Little work has been done since using the original contemporary sources to deduce to what extent there was a transition to Iberian trade over the sixteenth century. Two significant works on Anglo-Spanish trade in the medieval period and early sixteenth century, by Childs and Connell-Smith, give evidence for the increase in Spanish trade.⁷⁰ However, as studies of just Spain, neither compares the proportion of French wine imports with these Spanish figures to show a shift.⁷¹ Vanes's work on Bristol documents included a number relating to both French and Spanish trade, but no assumption about provenance was made.⁷² Sacks was the first historian since Carus-Wilson to examine this shift. His conjecture that by Elizabeth's reign Bristol had become the 'specialised centre' for Iberian goods, including wine, is marred by the fact he used the detail from only one

⁶⁶ They do not show the total volume of trade as only tax records: Ramsay, 'Smugglers' Trade', p.157, n.1; Sacks, *Trade Society and Politics*, II, p.744.

⁶⁷ Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p.132; Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, II, p.511; Crawford, *Bristol and Wine*, p.13; James, *Medieval Wine*, p.84.

⁶⁸ Davies, *English Trade*, p.27.

⁶⁹ Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', p.214.

⁷⁰ Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*; G. Connell-Smith., *Forerunners of Drake*.

⁷¹ Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, pp.133, 136. Table 21 shows the imports of wine into Bristol 1461-93, gathered from 'particular' accounts, but only assesses the activity of the Spanish in the wine trade.

⁷² Vanes, *Documents*, pp.13-27.

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‘particular’ account of the sixteenth century, along with ‘enrolled’ evidence, to make his hypotheses about the wine trade over the whole of the period.⁷³

This thesis, therefore, will be an original study. It aims to analyse the wine imports from the Continent to Bristol from four ‘particular’ accounts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The study has involved the transcription of three of these ‘particular’ accounts for the very first time.⁷⁴ The detail taken from these custom documents has been determined by the aim of this thesis. This has meant that only wine imports have been selected. The documents have been translated from Latin to English, and the amount of wine imported has been converted into tuns. A summary of the accounts can be found in **Appendix A.**

This will be the first time a comprehensive study of the wine trade of Bristol over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, using ‘particular’ accounts and port books, will have been made. It is hoped that this will show the value of the ‘particular’ accounts as well as their limitations, and inspire further research of them and particular commodities. This work is touching the tip of a largely neglected resource not only for the wine trade, but English trade overall.

⁷³ Bristol as a ‘specialised centre’: Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p.36. Sacks only used the 1575-76 ‘particular’ account since in 1575, Bristol and Gloucester became separate administrative centres: Ibid., Table 6, p.39; Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, II, p. 739.

⁷⁴ The 1516-17 account was partially transcribed, but only for the Bristol – Irish trade, in 2004: S. Flavin., ‘The Development of Anglo-Irish Trade in the Sixteenth Century’ (M.A. Dissertation, Bristol, 2004): <http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Maritime>. It has never been transcribed for Continental entries until this thesis. The other two accounts that had never previously been transcribed until this thesis were: T.N.A., London, E190/1128/15 and E190/1129/3.

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The first ‘particular’ account chosen to be studied is that of 1479-80, which was reproduced in Carus-Wilson’s examination of Bristol’s overseas trade in the fifteenth century.⁷⁵ It is the first complete ‘particular’ account to survive from this period. Though only detailing nine months of trade, from Michaelmas 1479 [29 Sept] to Easter 1480, it covers the main season of the wine trade, which occurred from November to March. The next account book studied, that of the year 1516-17, was chosen to represent the early sixteenth century.⁷⁶ It should be noted here, that the choice of ‘particular’ accounts was partly dictated by the extant accounts’ quality and detail. Although limited by how many documents could be studied for this thesis, the four documents were chosen to ensure that trade over the whole period could be represented. There is a substantial gap of 53 years, however, between the 1516-17 account and the next of 1570-71.⁷⁷ A thorough study of the provenance of Bristol’s wine trade over the whole 150 years is marred by the fact that the ‘particular’ accounts of Bristol between 1520 and 1565 do not include the destination the ships came from or to. They therefore have been excluded from this study, as such information is needed. However, the extant ledger of the Bristol merchant, John Smythe, has been used to partially examine the wine imports in Bristol between 1539 and 1550.⁷⁸ This work on the ‘particular’ accounts ends with the account of 1573-74.⁷⁹ Examining two accounts from the 1570s, and only two years apart, enable any discrepancies in the accounts to be assessed, and ensure one year is not exceptional over the other. The reason this study excludes any ‘particular’ accounts after 1575, is because it was in this year that

⁷⁵ Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, pp.218-289.

⁷⁶ T.N.A., E122/21/2.

⁷⁷ T.N.A., E190/1128/15.

⁷⁸ J. Vanes. (ed.), *The Ledger of John Smythe 1538-1550* (London, 1975) [hereinafter known as *Smythe’s Ledger*].

⁷⁹ T.N.A., E190/1129/3.

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Gloucester's trade began to be accounted separately from Bristol's.⁸⁰ To ensure continuity in comparing data, it has been decided to examine records before this separation. Firstly, this study will try to reconstruct the nature of Bristol's wine trade using these accounts. The work will also question the reliability of these accounts as representatives of Bristol's total wine trade, by examining the incentive for and extent of illicit trade in wine.

Chapter One will not only analyse the 'particular' accounts, but will firstly set the study in context by briefly examining the nature of Bristol's ports, as well as the history of the provenance of the Anglo-Continental wine trade. Next, the 'particular' accounts will be analysed individually. The provenance of Bristol's wine imports and the diversity of its markets over this period will be observed. From analysis of these 'particular' accounts, the extent of a shift in Bristol's wine trade to Iberia in the sixteenth century, the hypothesis that the loss of Gascony had 'offset' a rise in Iberian imports, and the alleged decline in Bristol's wine imports from the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries, will be examined. The 'particular' accounts will also be scrutinised within their historical context to elicit any possible influence on the figures from political, religious or economic measures. The origin of the ships importing wine into Bristol has been briefly examined where relevant, but other data, such as the seasonality of the trade, has been summarised in the appendices.

Chapter Two will then be used to challenge the reliability of the 'particular' accounts and their data. Increasing incentives for, and examples of, the illicit import of wine over the

⁸⁰ Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, II, p.739.

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fifteenth and sixteenth centuries will be looked for. Jones's work showing the absence of wine smuggling in Bristol in the early 1540s, together with an examination of early documents, will be used to assess the reliability of the earlier custom accounts. The examination of the effect of the seventeen-fold increase in impositions on French wine in 1558 will put into question the custom data after this date. Levels of inflation in the second half of the sixteenth century will also be examined to assess whether the profit from smuggling outweighed the costs. The reliability of the custom system itself will also be examined through port surveys and John Smythe's ledger. The success of government measures to eradicate smuggling will also be assessed. Both the accounts of the 1570's show an increase in the amount of wine declared as corrupt and as ullaged [leaked] from the pre 1558 figures. By considering the percentage difference between impositions on French wine and Spanish wine, as well as between tunnage of wine and poundage on corrupt wine, it will be argued that these later 'particular' accounts appear to show fraud occurring because of the apparent manipulation of the amounts of corrupt and ullaged wine.

The conclusion will reflect upon the data collected from these four 'particular' accounts, along with the assessments that will have been made in this work about their reliability. It will then re-examine the assumptions that have been made about the provenance and nature of Bristol's wine trade with relation to this data.

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CHAPTER ONE

Early Modern Bristol

Bristol had a huge tidal range which made navigation up the River Severn to the port difficult. Due to this, in 1563, the Crown granted Bristol exemption from a curfew on lading and unloading vessels, enacted in the 1559 Statute of Fraud.⁸¹ Ships would anchor at the mouth of the Severn, usually either at Kingroad, near Portishead, or Hungroad near Pill.⁸² Bristol's Custom house was responsible for an area much larger than Bristol itself. It stretched to the minor ports north of Bristol up the River Severn to Gloucester and across to Chepstow. West of the River Avon it ended near Weston-Super-Mare, at the estuary of the River Axe, before Bridgewater, the next custom point.⁸³ Bristol was also easily accessible by road too, with connections to London, Gloucester, Chester, Warwick and the Midlands.⁸⁴ It was this accessibility, by sea and overland, that made Bristol one of the most important English ports, and the main centre for distribution of goods in the west.⁸⁵

The key offloading areas for ships at Bristol were the 'Back' and the 'Key'.⁸⁶ [Plate 2] Bristol's custom house itself was situated on the quay, and all goods would then be taken from the ships to the Backhall. This was the official place commercial transactions

⁸¹ 'The port of Bristowe is so dangerous and low of water...that great ships laden cannot come nearer than four miles...', 12 April, 1563, Cal. Pat, Elizabeth, Vol. II: 1560-1563 [Public Records Office] (London, 1948), p.478.

⁸² Sherborne, *Port of Bristol*, p.16.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.15.

⁸⁴ Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p.1; Simon, *History of Wine, Vol. II*, p.102; Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*, pp.10-11.

⁸⁵ Importance of Bristol as a 'centre of distribution' discussed in: Vanes., *Smythe's Ledger*, p.10

⁸⁶ The 'Welsh Back', by the River Avon, was where goods came to and from the southern coasts of England, while goods that came down the River Severn were offloaded at the 'Key' by the River Frome: Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', p.190.

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between denizen and alien merchants were supposed to occur.⁸⁷ The length of voyage for a ship to and from the Continent to Bristol would vary depending on the weather and number of ports of call for victuals and goods. It could take a week at the minimum, but often could be one to two months.⁸⁸ Merchants could transact business personally, but usually used a factor or their apprentice[s] to undertake this work for them. Apprentices were often sent abroad as part of their training, like Richard Fownes, apprentice to William Jones, a Bristol vintner, who was to be sent ‘overseas into Spain for one year’.⁸⁹

Bristol, unlike London and its Merchant Vintner’s Company, did not control its wine trade through a specific organised body.⁹⁰ The Society of Merchant Venturers’ of Bristol was officially established in 1552, but this was for the whole of the eligible mercantile community of Bristol.⁹¹ Bristol merchants also participated in national organisations established over the Tudor period, like the Andalusia Company [est. 1530] and the Spanish Company [est.1577], which through the trading privileges given, must have enabled Bristol’s merchants a firmer establishment of trade within Spain in the sixteenth century.⁹² Is this reflected in the custom accounts?

⁸⁷ Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics, Vol. I*, p.117; Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p.77; M. Stanford, (ed.), *The Ordinances of Bristol, 1506-1598* (Gloucester, 1990), p.16, for Spanish wares.

⁸⁸ The journey from Bristol to Bordeaux could take 10 days, and the whole expedition two months: Carus-Wilson, ‘Overseas Trade of Bristol’, p.206; ‘Model account for a voyage from Bristol to Andalusia gives a sailing time of 21 days’: Jones, ‘Bristol shipping’, p.16, n.5, taken from: P. McGrath. (ed.), *The Marchants Avizo by I. B. Marchant, 1589* (Massachusetts (U.S.A.), 1957), App. 6.

⁸⁹ E. Ralph and N. W. Hardwick, (eds.), *Calendar of Bristol Apprentice Book 1532-1565, Part II: 1542-1552* (Gloucestershire., 1980), p.121. Mercantile community discussed further in: Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics, Vol. II*, pp.657, 687-8. A model guide for apprentices survives: McGrath, *Marchants Avizo*.

⁹⁰ See A. Crawford., *A History of the Vintners’ Company* (London, 1977).

⁹¹ Before this, there had been a number of experimental commercial organisations: Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p.87.

⁹² Also Brotherhood of St George at Sanlúcar established in 1517: Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p.90; Formation of companies, deal with difficulties in trade: Connell-Smith., *Forerunners of Drake*, pp. xx, 81-99; Spanish Company (July 1577). Of 389 members, 74 from Bristol: Vanes, *Documents*, p.23.

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The Wine Trade

English demand for wine had been influenced by its early invaders, the Romans and the Saxons.⁹³ The Norman Conquest in 1066 reinforced English ties to French provinces in the North and guaranteed a supply of wine from these estates.⁹⁴ Though it is claimed in the Domesday Book [1086] that there were 42 vineyards in England, England was not proficiently self-sufficient to meet its wine demands.⁹⁵ In the thirteenth, fourteenth and most of the fifteenth centuries, wine imported to England mostly came from English held provinces in France. The marriage of Henry II of England to Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152, led to England acquiring a large area of southern French vineyards.⁹⁶ The English loss of Burgundian provinces in 1224 meant the provenance of wine imported to England shifted from the North to the South of France.⁹⁷ This was further secured by the marriage of Edward I to Eleanor of Castile in 1254, which included the wine producing lands of Gascony.⁹⁸

Trade links between England and the Iberian Peninsula were not unknown before the fifteenth century. Relations between Portugal and England have been described as ‘consistently friendly’ over the medieval period, united by a mutual distrust of Castile.⁹⁹

This was sealed by the 1386 Treaty of Windsor which remains in place today. This treaty

⁹³ The Romans imported wine to England and probably introduced viticulture: H. Johnson., *The Story of Wine* (London, 2004), p.51-2. The Saxons imported wine from noblemen’s estates in Northern France. A decree of Ethelred II fixed tolls in London to be paid ‘by the men of Rouen who come with wine’; suggesting Rouen was one of the principal markets: Carus-Wilson, *Merchant Venturers*, p.266.

⁹⁴ James, ‘Medieval Wine Dealer’, p.51.

⁹⁵ Vineyards mainly lay in the warmer southern regions, like at Gloucester or Ely: Johnson, *Story of Wine*, p.78; J. F. Nicholls and J. Taylor., *Bristol: Past and Present, Volume I: Civil History* (Bristol, 1881), p.85. The decay of viticulture in England is discussed briefly by Carus-Wilson., *Merchant Venturers*, p.265-69.

⁹⁶Carus-Wilson., *Merchant Venturers*, p.265; Crawford, *Bristol and Wine*, p.1.

⁹⁷ James, ‘Medieval Wine Dealer’, p.51.

⁹⁸ G. Harrison., *Bristol Cream* (London, 1955), p.26.

⁹⁹ Carus-Wilson., ‘The Overseas Trade of Bristol’, p.220.

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offered privileges to English merchants trading in Portugal which encouraged the settlement of some English merchants in Lisbon and Oporto.¹⁰⁰ References to Portuguese wine in the early fifteenth century are, however, only scanty.¹⁰¹

Diplomatic relations with Spain went back centuries too. Henry II married his daughter to Alfonso VIII in the twelfth century and the Anglo-Spanish trade boom of the late thirteenth century has been attributed to Edward I's Spanish marriage in 1254.¹⁰² It was not impossible that wine was amongst Iberian imports to England, although this was probably only a minor volume compared to the Gascon trade.¹⁰³ Some historians even argue that the losses in France from the Black Death caused an early, but short-lived, upsurge in Spanish wine being imported to England.¹⁰⁴ In the thirteenth century Chaucer describes the wines of Lepe [Southern Spain] as present in England, but this does not suggest large scale imports were coming into England from Iberia at this time.¹⁰⁵

Historians believe Bristol's early prosperity was initially based upon its Irish trade.¹⁰⁶

The first mention of wine in Bristol is within King John's Charter of 1188, but there is no

¹⁰⁰ Carus-Wilson, 'The Overseas Trade of Bristol', p.220.

¹⁰¹ Simon, *History of Wine*, I, p.214.

¹⁰² Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p.12.

¹⁰³ Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p.31. Though Childs does imply that the Castilians were active in importing some French wine to England too in the early medieval period: *Ibid.*, p.30.

¹⁰⁴ Childs estimated that between 14%-22% of alien imports of wine to England began to come on Spanish ships after the Black Death. However, this could include French imports as well, since Childs' suggests the Castilians were active in such trade: Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, pp.30, 31, 43 and Table 20. The Black Death may have caused a recession in commerce overall: *Ibid.*, p.29; it has been estimated that wine imports to England fell from a yearly average of 20,000 tuns in the early fourteenth century, to between 6-8000 tuns afterwards: C. Dyer., *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520* (Cambridge, 1989), p.104.

¹⁰⁵ Johnson, *Story of Wine*, p.89.

¹⁰⁶ Crawford, *Bristol and Wine*, p.1; Sherborne, *Port of Bristol*, pp.2-4. Bristol was in a good position for trade with Ireland: Carus-Wilson., 'Overseas Trade in Bristol', p.192. A study of Bristol's trade with Ireland in the sixteenth century using the 1516-17 'particular' account was undertaken by Susan Flavin in 2004: Flavin, 'Anglo-Irish Trade'.

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reference of a wine trade in Bristol before this date, though it is possible it occurred.¹⁰⁷ England's close alliance and possessions in France would have meant French wine would have been imported into Bristol. Early trade links between Bristol and Iberia were established, but not as well as the French links.¹⁰⁸ England had found a ready market for its cloth in Iberia.¹⁰⁹ Over a quarter of sailings from Bristol before 1400 carried around 40% of Bristol's annual cloth exports to Spain and Portugal.¹¹⁰ In exchange, valuable goods, such as wine, would be imported to Bristol.¹¹¹

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, it was because of the establishment of the custom system in the thirteenth century, that historians have been able to get a clearer picture of the amount of goods being imported and exported to and from England.¹¹² A problem encountered with the pre-fifteenth century custom accounts is determining the provenance of this wine.¹¹³

Since the 'enrolled' accounts are only a summary of the 'particular' accounts, it is difficult to estimate from these, the amount of wine specifically from Iberia entering the port of Bristol. Wine from this period could be described simply as 'sweet' or 'non-

¹⁰⁷ Crawford, *Bristol and Wine*, p.2. It has been suggested that wine imported into Bristol before this date probably came from La Rochelle: Sherborne, *Port of Bristol*, p.7.

¹⁰⁸ Though it has been argued that Bristol had closer connections with Iberia than other English ports at this date had: Connell-Smith., *Forerunners of Drake*, p.34.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.3.

¹¹⁰ Figures from: Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p.43. Calculations have also been made that Bristol's cloth exports to Spain increased from 50% to 75% by Henry VIII's reign: Connell-Smith., *Forerunners of Drake*, p.34.

¹¹¹ Sacks, *The Widening Gate*, p.28.

¹¹² Though both the 'enrolled' and 'particular' accounts vary in quality and detail: Carus-Wilson., *Overseas Trade*, p.7.

¹¹³ Childs suggests the early custom accounts are inadequate for an assessment of Spanish trade: Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p.136.

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sweet', which cannot indicate origin.¹¹⁴ Most sweet wine initially came from the Mediterranean area known as the Levant, imported by Italian ships to London and to Southampton, which held the royal monopoly on sweet wines.¹¹⁵ Bristol's topography meant few Italian ships reached its port.¹¹⁶ Examining Bristol's 'enrolled' imports of wine for the fourteenth century it appears that, on average for the whole century, only about 9% of the wine imported into Bristol was 'sweet'.¹¹⁷ Although the provenance of this wine is unidentifiable, it can be conservatively estimated that perhaps, on average, about 2%-3% of the 'sweet' wine imported annually into Bristol in the fourteenth century actually came from the Iberian Peninsula. Spanish wine may have supplemented the amount of French wine imported into Bristol in the early fifteenth century, but only to a minor extent.¹¹⁸

Bristol appears, therefore, to have been almost totally reliant on England's French wine-producing provinces for imports. The production of wine in Gascony had been securely controlled by the English government since the twelfth century. This control had influenced English palates, as well as their pockets. French wine in the fifteenth century was on average cheaper than the sweet wines imported in this period.¹¹⁹ It has been

¹¹⁴ In summary of 'enrolled' accounts: Power and Postan, *Studies in Trade*, App. A; 'swete wyne' recorded in Smythe's Ledger: Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*, f.721.

¹¹⁵ Southampton's royal monopoly discussed in: Simon, *History of Wine*, p.105.

¹¹⁶ Bristol's imports of Levant wine came overland: Carus-Wilson., 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', p.224. In the 1530s Nicholas Thorne of Bristol did however try to establish trade between Bristol and the Levant, but this appears to have been short-lived: Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*, p.24. References of other wines, except Gascon in Bristol few and far between: Crawford, *Bristol and Wine*, p.7.

¹¹⁷ Calculated from the import figures for Bristol in Appendix A of Carus-Wilson., 'Overseas Trade of Bristol'.

¹¹⁸ Supplementary trade: Carus-Wilson., 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', p.214. The quantity of Iberian wine was apparently 'insignificant' while the Gascon trade still brought to England 15-20,000 tuns of wine per year in the fifteenth century: Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p.136.

¹¹⁹ In the fifteenth century sweet wine was generally double the price of Gascon wine, and Portuguese bastard could be more. Though when Spanish wine identifiable, there appears to have been only a slight

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suggested that as English control wavered during the Hundred Years War [1337-1453], between England and France, this created the incentive for the Iberian wine trade.¹²⁰

The Hundred Years War appears to have affected production and export levels of French wine. In the fourteenth century it can be estimated that on average 2,500-3,000 tuns of wine were imported annually into Bristol, before the war.¹²¹ As **Graph 1.1** shows, as war continued in the fifteenth century, wine imports into Bristol fell, to on average, half of this amount. Trade appears from **Graph 1.1** to have not ceased completely while the English had still controlled their French territories. The short-term effect of the war upon the Anglo-French wine trade is demonstrated by **Graph 1.1**, which shows the rise in wine imports during the Anglo-French five year truce of 1444. The crux came, however, with the loss of Gascony in 1453. The French severed all trade links. An embargo on English ships was enforced, and a tax of 25 sous per tun was levied on all wines exported from Gascony.¹²² The actual extent that the loss of Gascony triggered a rise in Iberian wine imports, and in what quantity, between 1453 and 1479, is almost impossible to determine due to missing 'particular' accounts.¹²³ However, the dramatic drop in Bristol's wine imports directly after 1453, as charted in **Graph 1.1**, implies Bristol's reliance on French imports up to this date.

difference in price with Gascon wine [In 1462 this was a difference of 6s. 8d]: J. E. Thorold Rogers., *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England, 1401-1582, Volume IV* (Oxford, 1882), pp.638-9.

¹²⁰ Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p.132; James, *Medieval Wine*, p.84. Growth in Portuguese trade: Carus-Wilson., 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', pp.220-21.

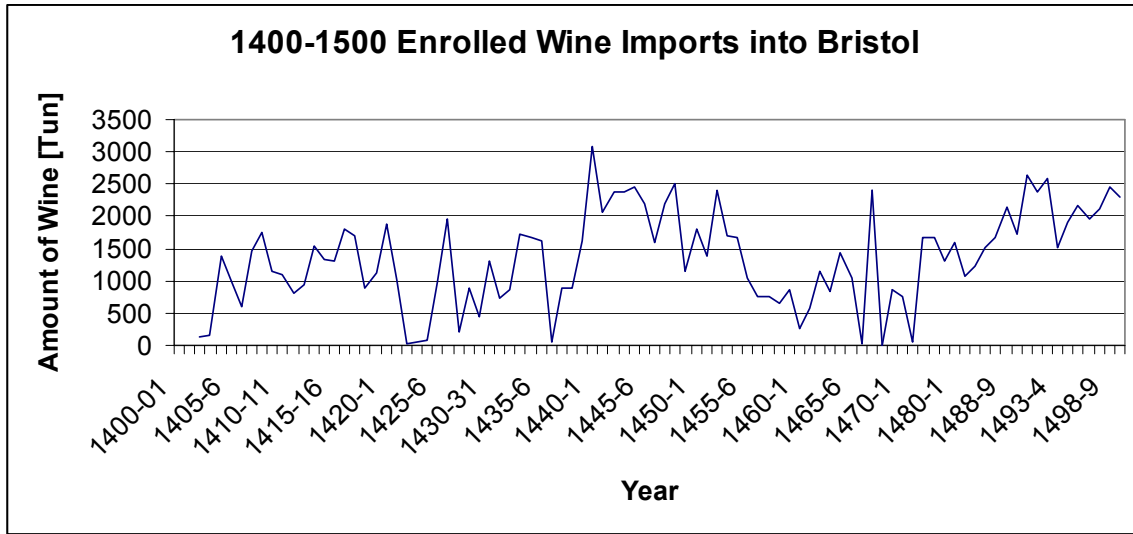
¹²¹ James, *Medieval Wine*, p.10.

¹²² Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', p.211. 20 sous = 28s. according to Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*, p.336.

¹²³ Gap from 1415-1461 and 1479-80 most adequate that survives: Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, p.8.

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Graph 1.1



Source: Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, 294-295; Vanes, *Documents*, Appendix 4

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1479-80 'PARTICULAR' ACCOUNT

The effect of the 1463 lift on trade prohibitions in France and the formal Anglo-French peace treaty in 1475 on the volume of wine from France into Bristol can be seen in the figures from the 1479-80 'particular' account in **Table 1.2** and **Pie Chart 1.3**.¹²⁴ Twenty-six years after the loss of Gascony, 67% of the year's wine imports are recorded as coming from France.

It appears from the analysis of the 1479-80 account, in **Pie Chart 1.6**, that French wine was not imported into Bristol on just native or English ships. The proximity of the Franco-Spanish borders meant that often French goods could be imported by Northern Spanish ships.¹²⁵ **Pie Chart 1.6** shows that this was occurring in 1479-80, for 22 tuns of wine from Bordeaux were imported into Bristol on the *Seynt Spirit* of Fuenterrabia.¹²⁶

It is believed that 'thirty years after their [the English] expulsion, it was said during the vintage season there were no less than 6,000 of them [Englishmen] in the city of Bordeaux'.¹²⁷ Of the 873,986 tuns of French wine imported into Bristol in 1479-80, 815,486 tuns came from the Gascon ports of Bordeaux and Bayonne, each respectively accounting for 80% and 20% of this import. This is illustrated in **Graph 1.4** and shows

¹²⁴ Recovery due to accession of Edward IV in England and Louis XI in France, as Louis restored privileges to Gascony. This is alleged to have encouraged the return of Bristol merchants: Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', p.212. It was the Treaty of Picquigny in 1475: Crawford, *Bristol Wine Trade*, p.9.

¹²⁵ Paid little attention to political boundaries for French wine and wood shipped via San Sebastian: Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, I, p.317; Spanish role in Gascon trade discussed in: Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p.132.

¹²⁶ Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, p.233.

¹²⁷ Quote from: Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', p.214.

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that by the late fifteenth century there had been a resurgence in trade links between Bristol and Gascony.¹²⁸

Wine from France had been exported out of independent Breton ports during the trade prohibitions following the end of the Hundred Years War.¹²⁹ **Graph 1.4** shows the remnant of this link. This had not been ‘extensively developed by Bristol’, for only 25.5 tuns of wine is recorded coming from Brittany in 1479-80, and 33 tuns from La Rochelle, while 815.486 tuns came from the Gascon ports.¹³⁰ An increase in Bristol’s wine imports between 1463 and 1479 is evident in the ‘enrolled’ accounts as illustrated in **Graph 1.1**. Yet assessing the provenance of this wine is almost impossible, since the ‘particular’ accounts are too fragmentary up until 1479.¹³¹ What the 1479-80 ‘particular’ account does show, however, is that by 1480 a definite shift had occurred in Bristol’s wine trade, most probably triggered by the loss of Gascony in 1453. **Table 1.2** and **Pie Chart 1.3** reveal that though trade had resumed between France and Bristol, 30% of the wine imports in this year came from the Iberian Peninsula. As can be seen from **Table 1.2**, an almost identical amount of wine came from Spain as it did from Portugal. This shows that the loss of control of wine production in France in 1453, had given a strong incentive for Bristol merchants to firmly establish, and expand, wine markets in Iberia.

¹²⁸ Sherborne uses Carus-Wilson’s work on the 1479-80 account to show that trade had recovered in Gascony by 1480. However, she does not relate this to any change in the provenance of wine, or assess the extent of Bristol’s trade in wine with Spain before or after this date. She has also rounded up the figures for convenience: Sherborne, *Port of Bristol*, p.26.

¹²⁹ Carus-Wilson, ‘Overseas Trade of Bristol’, p.212.

¹³⁰ Quote from: *Ibid.*, p.212.

¹³¹ Only 12 left from the fifteenth century, in various states: Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, p.7.

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Graph 1.4 shows that the provenance of Spanish wine imported to Bristol was from the main Spanish wine producing region of Andalusia. Though Bristol's initial trade links with Spain in the early fifteenth century had been with the Biscayan ports, by 1480 it is apparent that for wine, Bristol's markets had to diversify.¹³² The ports of Southern Spain, especially Seville, were known markets for goods coming from the Spanish possessions in the Americas, as well as from the Levant, which would have encouraged merchants to expand their trading networks to there.¹³³ Of the 197,375 tuns of wine from Spain in this year, **Graph 1.4** shows that the majority of this, 160,875 tuns, came from Seville, demonstrating that trade connections with Bristol were already well established by 1480.

Trade in Spain in the late fifteenth century was not just concentrated in Seville, but the surrounding ports as well. The custom records are only tax records, not records of each ship's entire voyage. John Balsall's record of the voyage of the Bristol ship, the *Trinity*, in 1480, of which he was purser, reveals the various ports the ship needed to call at for victuals, goods or simply out of necessity because of bad weather.¹³⁴ This record showed that other Andalusian ports were known to Bristol merchants in this period, including El Puerto de Santa Maria and Gibraltar.¹³⁵

Pie Chart 1.7 shows that 60% of the wine from Spain was imported on native vessels.

The origin of these ships, however, was from the Bay of Biscay ports, not Andalusia,

¹³² Bristol's trade according to Connell-Smith had begun on the North coast since their merchants and ships would visit Bristol and it was where English merchants lived: Connell-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake*, p.6.

¹³³ Bristol's geographical position, unlike London and Southampton, did not lend it to trade with the Low Countries or the Levant either. Seville: Connell-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake*, p.9.

¹³⁴ T. F. Reddaway and A. A. Ruddocks (eds.), 'The Accounts of John Balsall, Purser of the *Trinity* of Bristol, 1480-1', in *Camden Miscellany Volume xxiii, 4th Series, Volume 7*, pp.1-28.

¹³⁵ Reddaway and Ruddocks, 'John Balsall', p.6.

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confirming that Biscayans took a ‘more active’ part in trade to England than Andalusians.¹³⁶ The rest of the wine from Spain was imported on ships of Bristol, as **Pie Chart 1.7** shows, which demonstrates that Bristol had established connections in Andalusia by this date.

The privileges extended to English merchants in Portugal through the Treaty of Windsor in the fourteenth century encouraged Anglo-Portuguese trade connections.¹³⁷ **Pie Chart 1.3** illustrates that Bristol merchants appear to have already established trade links in Portugal by 1480, as 15% of the overall wine imported into Bristol in 1479-80 came from there. It is interesting to observe in **Graph 1.4** that 157.59 tuns of wine came to Bristol from Lisbon, while only 39 tuns came from Oporto, a port in the vicinity of some of Portugal’s best vines.¹³⁸ It is probable that wine from Oporto was shipped to Lisbon to be sold there instead, since Lisbon was a larger and more sheltered port than Oporto.¹³⁹

It is apparent, therefore, that Bristolians favoured Lisbon for Portuguese business in the late fifteenth century; for **Table 1.5** and **Pie Chart 1.8** show that 82% of the overall wine imported to Bristol from Lisbon, came on ships of Bristol. The 39 tuns from Oporto were in fact imported to Bristol in a native Portuguese vessel, the *Mighel* of Oporto.¹⁴⁰ **Pie Chart 1.18** shows that by 1480, the Portuguese were no longer monopolising the

¹³⁶ Connell-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake*, p.8.

¹³⁷ Carus-Wilson, ‘Overseas Trade of Bristol’, p.220.

¹³⁸ Carus-Wilson, ‘Overseas Trade of Bristol’, p.222.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.222.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.223.

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shipping of their goods, as they had done in the early fifteenth century, probably due to their expanding interests in the Americas.¹⁴¹

Table 1.2 and **Table 1.5** show that wine was also imported into Bristol from a number of ‘other’ ports. These ports were not Continental ports. They were Welsh harbours, which included Chepstow, Tenby, Milford Haven and St Bride.¹⁴² In the early fifteenth century, the Welsh ports, along with Cornwall and Chester were not part of the national custom system. In 1536 an Act of Union was instigated, the legislation reinforced by Parliament in 1543.¹⁴³ Therefore it wasn’t until the mid sixteenth century that these areas had been fully integrated into the system. Goods unloaded at these ports in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century only paid local taxes. Thereby to prevent tax evasion, any wine re-imported to English ports had to be declared and pay the national custom. This explains the inclusion of wine re-exported into Bristol. However, the account unfortunately does not detail the original provenance of this wine. The effect on the calculation of the overall provenance of wine in 1479-80, however, will only be minimal. As **Table 1.2** and **Pie Chart 1.3** shows these ‘other ports’ accounted for only 3% of the total amount of wine recorded in this year.

Overall, the analysis of this 1479-80 account has shown a change in the wine trade in Bristol by the late fifteenth century. It appears from examining the sudden drop in wine imports into Bristol immediately following the loss of Gascony, as shown in **Graph 1.1**,

¹⁴¹ Carus-Wilson, ‘Overseas Trade of Bristol’, p.221: ‘At first it had been the Portuguese who brought their own goods to England...’ ‘In 1465-6, six ships came from Portugal with nearly 500 tuns of wine.’

¹⁴² See **Appendix A**.

¹⁴³ J. Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988), p.174.

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that Bristol had been almost totally reliant on French imports of wine before 1453. After 1453, Bristol's wine merchants appear to have been forced to diversify, to ensure that in case of another war, a supply of wine could be guaranteed from elsewhere. The evidence from the 'particular' account demonstrates that by 1480 Bristol's merchants were no longer relying on French imports for their wine. Wine from Iberia was no longer a relatively minor import as it had been pre 1453, for in this year, 30% of the total volume of wine imported into Bristol came from this peninsula. It is apparent, therefore, that a shift in Bristol's wine trade had occurred due to the loss of Gascony. It has been estimated that by the end of the fifteenth century, a third of Bristol's wine was being imported from Spain alone.¹⁴⁴ To what extent did Bristol become reliant on Iberian as well as French imports in the sixteenth century?

¹⁴⁴ Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', p.221; Sherborne, *Port of Bristol*, p.26.

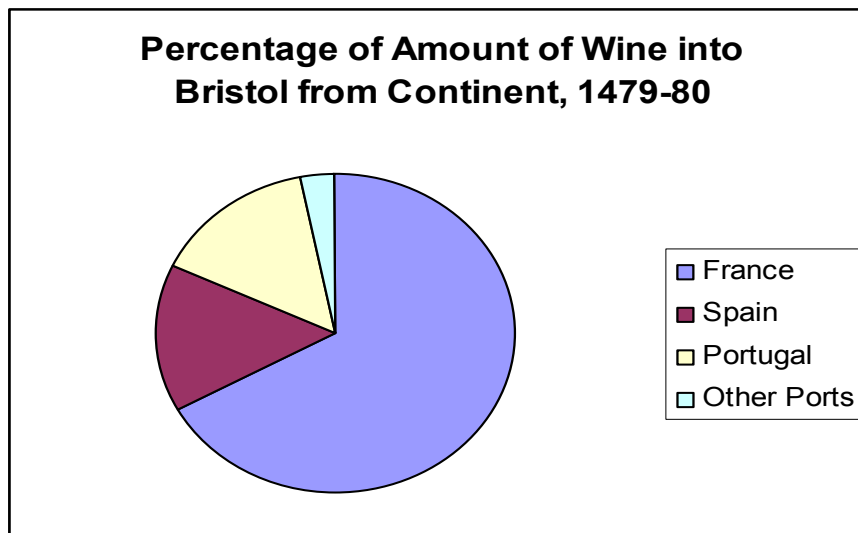
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Table 1.2: The Volume and Value of Wine imported into Bristol in 1479-80

	Amount of Wine [Tun]	Value of Wine [Modern £] ¹⁴⁵
France	873.986	£3,490.25
Portugal	194.75	£779.00
Spain	197.375	£789.50
Other Ports	39.25	£157.00
TOTAL:	1305.361	£5,215.75

Source: Carus-Wilson., *Overseas Trade*, pp.218-289.

Pie Chart 1.3

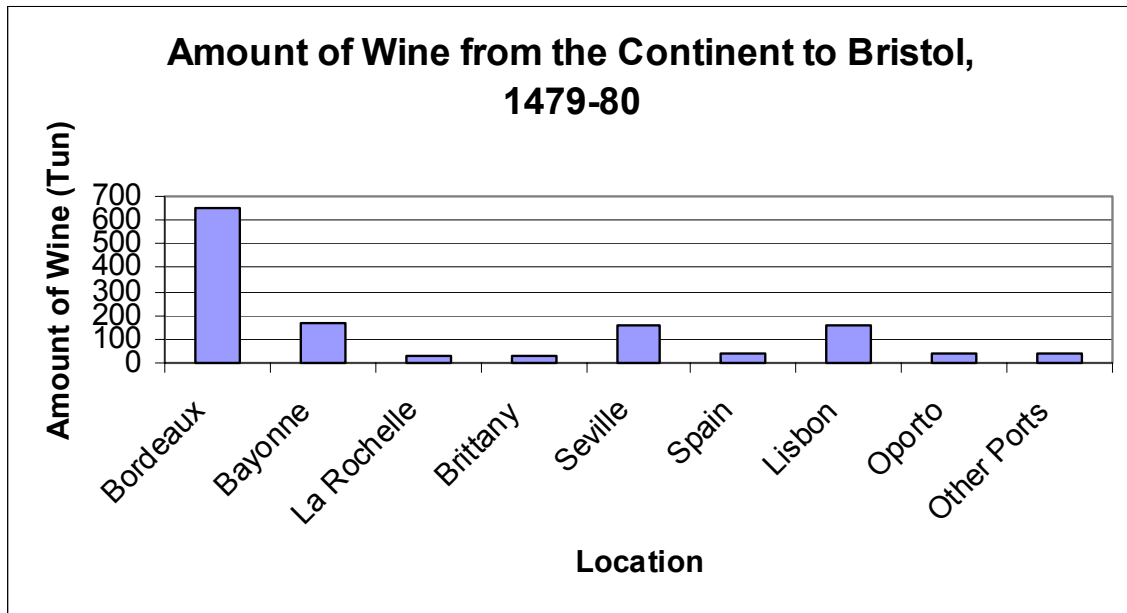


Source: Carus-Wilson., *Overseas Trade*, pp.218-289.

¹⁴⁵ The value of wine has been calculated throughout this thesis on the nominal value of £4 per tun: Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p.63. Though it should be noted this is lower than the actual amount, but has been used as an average for all calculations, since the value of wine fluctuated.

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Graph 1.4



Source: Carus-Wilson., *Overseas Trade*, pp.218-289.

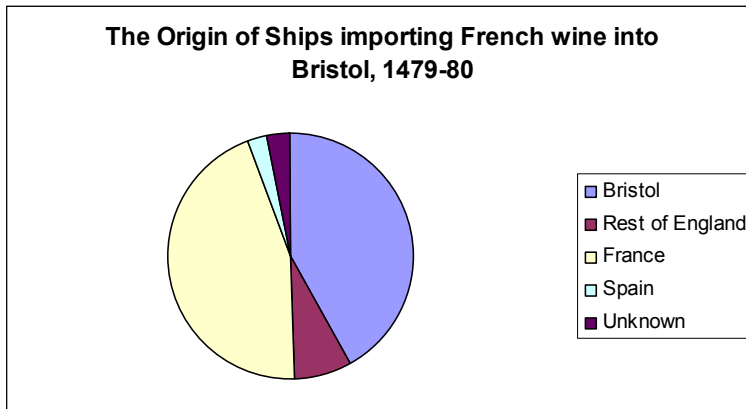
Table 1.5: The origin of ships importing wine into Bristol, 1479-80.

Ship's Origin	Number of Ships	Net Wine [Tuns]	Proportion of Imports
Bristol	10	602.619	46%
Rest of England	3	72	6%
France	7	396.492	30%
Spain	3	140	11%
Portugal	1	35	3%
Wales	8	29.5	2%
Unknown	2	29.75	2%
TOTAL	34	1305.361	100%

Source: Carus-Wilson., *Overseas Trade*, pp.218-289

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Pie Chart 1.6



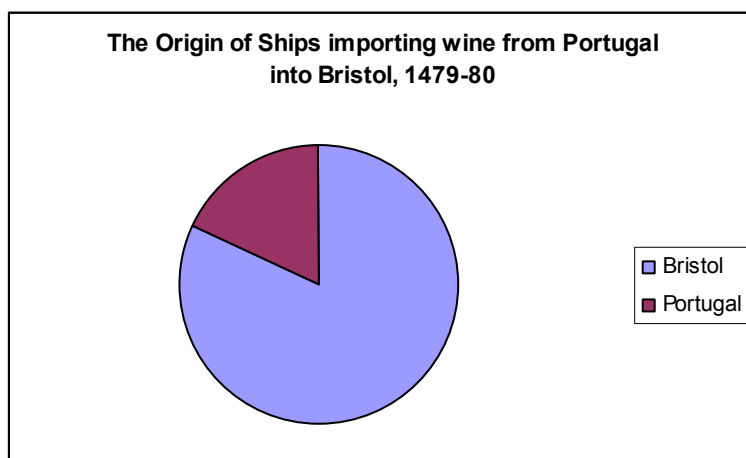
Source: Carus-Wilson., *Overseas Trade*, pp.218-289.

Pie Chart 1.7



Source: Carus-Wilson., *Overseas Trade*, pp.218-289.

Pie Chart 1.8



Source: Carus-Wilson., *Overseas Trade*, pp.218-289.

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1516-17 'PARTICULAR' ACCOUNT

The 1516-17 'particular' account shows that the value of wine imported into Bristol had almost doubled, over the thirty-six years since the initial 'particular' account studied; from £5,215.75 in 1479-80, to £9,980.85 in 1516-17, as **Table 1.2** and **Table 1.9** show. The amount of wine from France in 1516-17, however, had only increased by just over 100 tuns. In proportion to the Iberian imports for this year, French wine dropped 20% from the 1479-80 proportion, and now accounted for 40% of the overall wine imports into Bristol in 1516-17, as **Pie Chart 1.10** reveals.

Graph 1.11 shows that Bristol's markets in France in 1516-17 remained almost unchanged from those of 1479-80. **Pie Chart 1.13** also reveals that, as in 1479-80, political borders between France and Spain were ignored when it came to trade, for 45.25 tuns of French wine was imported to Bristol on the *Frances* of Grandevilla.¹⁴⁶ Bordeaux continued to be relied upon to supply Bristol with the majority of French wine. Of the 989.107 tuns of French wine imported into Bristol in 1516-17, as shown in **Table 1.9**, 934.875 tuns were imported from Bordeaux, which accounted for 95% of the total French imports. However, Bayonne does not feature in the 1516-17 account. This was probably due to the silting up of the River Adur, over the course of the fifteenth century, which may have prevented any vessels entering the port in 1516.¹⁴⁷

It appears from **Graph 1.4**, that by 1480, Gascon trade was recovering after 1453. However, the prohibitions that had affected trade between England and Gascony between

¹⁴⁶ See **Appendix A [III]**.

¹⁴⁷ Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', p.202.

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1453 and the Anglo-French peace treaty of 1475 had forced Bristol's trade in France to have diversified. With only 58.5 tuns of wine coming from Northern France in 1479-80, including 25.5 tuns shipped from Brittany, an independent duchy, it appears that these links were maintained during peace time, as an insurance in case of further hostilities. They appear to have only ever supplied minor imports in peacetime. Just as in 1479-80, two years after the end of an Anglo-Franco war, **Graph 1.11** shows that in 1516-17, 41 tuns of wine was imported from La Rochelle and 13.25 tuns from Brittany. It appears these ports were allegedly too 'cumbrous and expensive' to develop an extensive trade to Bristol, for in 1516-17 they only accounted for 5.5% of the overall proportion of French wine imported into Bristol.¹⁴⁸ This shows how Bristol was still tied to Gascony for its French imports, but trade had not really expanded significantly elsewhere in France, unlike Bristol's wine trade in Iberia after 1453.

The figures from **Table 1.9** show that Spanish wine alone had more than quadrupled in value in 1516-17, when compared to the 1479-80 value in **Table 1.2**. As concluded in the analysis of the 1479-80 account, wine supplies from Spain had been firmly established by this date in Bristol. However, the 1516-17 account shows in **Table 1.9** and **Graph 1.11** that Bristol's wine trade in Andalusia had grown considerably over the thirty-six years. Even the Franco-Spanish alliance through the Treaty of Noyes in August 1516 did not discourage trade between Bristol and Spain, for 1127.375 tuns of wine from Spain were imported into Bristol in this year.¹⁴⁹ It is probable that the continued enmity between France and England was to Iberia's advantage.

¹⁴⁸ Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', p.212.

¹⁴⁹ J. S. Brewer (arranged by), *L.P. Henry VIII, Vol. II, Part I, 1515-16* (Vaduz, 1965), p.cv.

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Further trade relations between England and Spain appear to have been encouraged by the 1489 Treaty of Medina del Campo, which ensured safe conduct for ships and privileges for English merchants in Spain.¹⁵⁰ Links were further buoyed by the further privileges offered by the Dukes of Medina del Sidonia who governed Sanlúcar de Barrameda [hereinafter referred to as Sanlúcar]. On 14 March 1517, privileges of English merchants in Sanlúcar were set out in letters patent and publicly proclaimed.¹⁵¹ **Graph 1.11** reveals that 977.125 tuns of the 1127.375 tuns of imports from Spain in 1516-17 came from Sanlúcar. This port accounted for 87% of the Spanish imports of wine into Bristol, and shows that the merchants had well established trade links there by this date. **Graph 1.11** shows that only 31.5 tuns of wine came from Seville in 1516-17, in comparison to the 160.875 tuns in 1479-80. Sanlúcar may have become a more popular port than Seville for Bristol merchants, because of the privileges extended to English merchants by the Dukes there and, possibly, because goods from Seville were shipped down to the coastal ports rather than ships making a longer journey up the Guadalquivir river to Seville.¹⁵² **Pie Chart 1.14** also shows that like the 1479-80 account, the majority of wine imported to Bristol from Spain was shipped upon vessels of English or Northern Spanish origin, demonstrating that trade continued to be mainly direct between the two countries, not in other merchants' hands.

¹⁵⁰ Connell-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake*, p.xiii.

¹⁵¹ Simon, *History of Wine*, II, p.206.

¹⁵² The long voyage up river to Seville made it difficult to get away quickly in times of trouble: Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', p.285.

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As Gascony had become Bristol's principal market in the Middle Ages, cloth and wine had become inexorably linked over the centuries.¹⁵³ The demand for English cloth in Iberia increased in the fifteenth century. Spain was apparently 'indebted' to England for her cloth and in Portugal in 1482, it was demanded that all other cloth should be forbidden.¹⁵⁴ With the expansion of trade links around this peninsula after the loss of Gascony in 1453, shown by this study, it is probable that this symbiotic relationship would have transferred to this region. The increase in proportion of the overall volume of wine from Spain than from France, as seen in **Pie Chart 1.10**, may have been due to the growing market for cloth in Iberia. However, Sacks has argued that by the end of Henry VIII's reign the boom in Bristol's cloth industry was waning, and with it, wine imports also declined at the same time.¹⁵⁵ The decline is said to have begun in the early sixteenth century. Between 1496 and 1505, cloth exports from Bristol fell from 8,614 cloths per year, to 4,612 cloths per year, and by 1561 there were only apparently 1,176 cloths being exported out of Bristol to the Continent.¹⁵⁶ The analysis of the 1516-17 'particular' account, however, appears to be contrary to this alleged decline, as comparing the volume of wine in **Table 1.2** and **Table 1.9** shows. In 1516-17, the volume of wine from Spain alone had increased from 197.375 tuns to 1127.375 tuns. Even though Sacks claims that 1515 saw an exceptional rise in the number of cloths exported from Bristol, this does not competently explain the doubling of the value of wine between 1480 and 1517, unless

¹⁵³ Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p.20.

¹⁵⁴ Carus- Wilson, 'Overseas Trade in Bristol', pp. 216, 221.

¹⁵⁵ Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p.25. This is part of Sacks' argument that Bristol turned to import-led trade in the later half of the sixteenth century, as cloth exports declined. Sacks believed wine imports declined up to 50% in the first half of the sixteenth century: Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, I, p.290.

¹⁵⁶ Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, I, pp.286-7. Apparently there were some good years, in 1515, 1530s and 1550 and 1555, but levels were never the same as the fifteenth century.

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1516-17 was also an exceptional year for wine imports.¹⁵⁷ However, Connell-Smith's study of the 'particular' accounts of 1503-4, 1512-13 and 1517-18 shows that the amount of wine imported to Bristol from Spain in these three years remained fairly steady at about 550 tuns.¹⁵⁸ Further investigation is needed, although the scope of this thesis prevents further analysis at present.

It is interesting to see that the import of wine from Portugal to Bristol in 1516-17 had fallen from the 1479-80 figure, and as a proportion of the total volume of wine it was more than half that of the 1479-80 account, as **Pie Charts 1.3** and **1.10** show. This does not corroborate the fact that relations between Bristol and Portugal were relatively stable throughout the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁹ **Graph 1.11** reveals that 178.5 tuns of wine were imported to Bristol from Lisbon, but there was no wine in this year at all from Oporto. This is probably because of the known popularity of Lisbon with English merchants since royal decree had given greater privileges there, and the fact that Lisbon was favoured as a larger and more sheltered port than Oporto.¹⁶⁰ It is possible that some Portuguese wine may have come via the ships that journeyed from Spain. However, this can only be an hypothesis since the 'particular' accounts do not record the detail of all the ports of call of each vessel. As **Pie Chart 1.15** shows, it is difficult to assess if Spanish ships imported any wine directly from Portugal, since 60% of the volume of wine from Portugal is from ships of unidentifiable origins. As it appears from the 1516-17 account, only 0.5 tuns of

¹⁵⁷ Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, I, pp. 286-7 and 290: 1515 slight rise in cloth export and wine imports.

¹⁵⁸ Connell-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake*, App. A. Can see a decline in imports from 1492-3, from 746 tuns, but other imports remain steady. This study was just of Spanish imports, not the overall imports. Further work is needed into these 'particular' accounts.

¹⁵⁹ Good political terms, even when Spain ruled in 1580. Crawford, *Bristol and Wine*, p.11.

¹⁶⁰ Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', p.222.

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wine from Portugal was imported on a ship of Bristol in this year, unlike the 159.75 tuns in 1479-80.¹⁶¹ This is interesting, since Bristol merchants were firmly established in Lisbon by the late fifteenth century and apparently continued to be through the sixteenth century.¹⁶² **Pie Chart 1.15** does show that 40% of the wine from Portugal was imported to Bristol, but this was only on one Portuguese vessel, as **Table 1.12** shows. This shows that Portuguese vessels continued to no longer monopolise the import of their goods to England by the early sixteenth century.¹⁶³

In 1516-17, as in 1479-80, 'other ports' continue to feature in the accounts. **Table 1.9** shows that 205.165 tuns of wine were re-exported from Wales, and also Ireland, in this year. The provenance of this wine cannot be proved since such information about the nature of the re-exports is excluded from the Bristol 'particular' accounts. The proportion of the re-exports of wine in both 1479-80 and 1516-17, accounted for less than 10% of the total volume of wine imported into Bristol in those years, as seen in **Pie Charts 1.3** and **1.10**. It can therefore be assumed that this will make little substantial difference to the general conclusions made in this thesis about the provenance of Bristol's wine.

The analysis of the 1516-17 'particular' account has shown that by the early sixteenth century there had been continued growth in the trade in wine between Spain and Bristol. Traditional links with Gascony continue, but it is specifically the Spanish trade that appears to be more developed within Bristol in this year. The Portuguese trade has

¹⁶¹ See **Appendix A**.

¹⁶² Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', p.220-222.

¹⁶³ This change began in late fifteenth century according to: Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', p.221.

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slightly declined, which is unexpected since traditionally it is believed that trade from both Spain and Portugal had ‘offset Gascon losses’.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p.132.

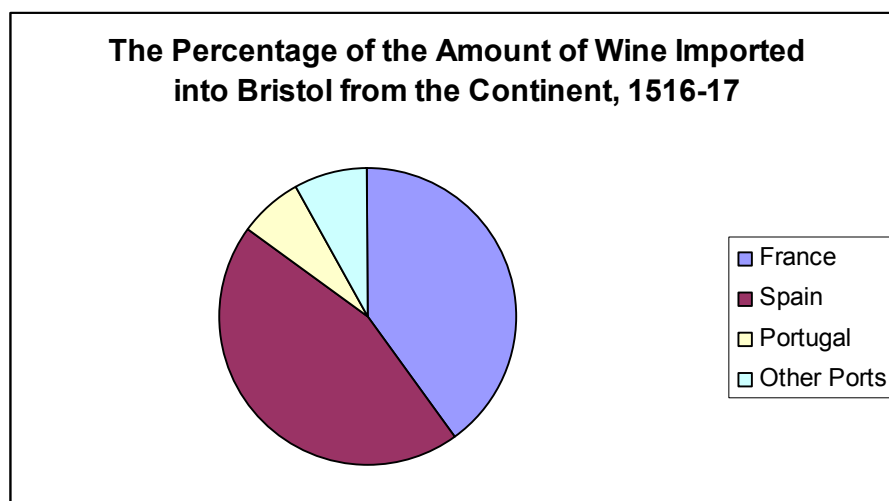
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Table 1.9: The Volume and Value of Wine imported into Bristol in 1516-17

	Amount of Wine [Tun]	Value of Wine [Modern £]
France	989.107	£3,935.02
Portugal	178.5	£714.00
Spain	1127.375	£4,509.50
Other Ports	205.165	£822.33
TOTAL	2500.147	£9,980.85

Source: T.N.A. E122/21/2.

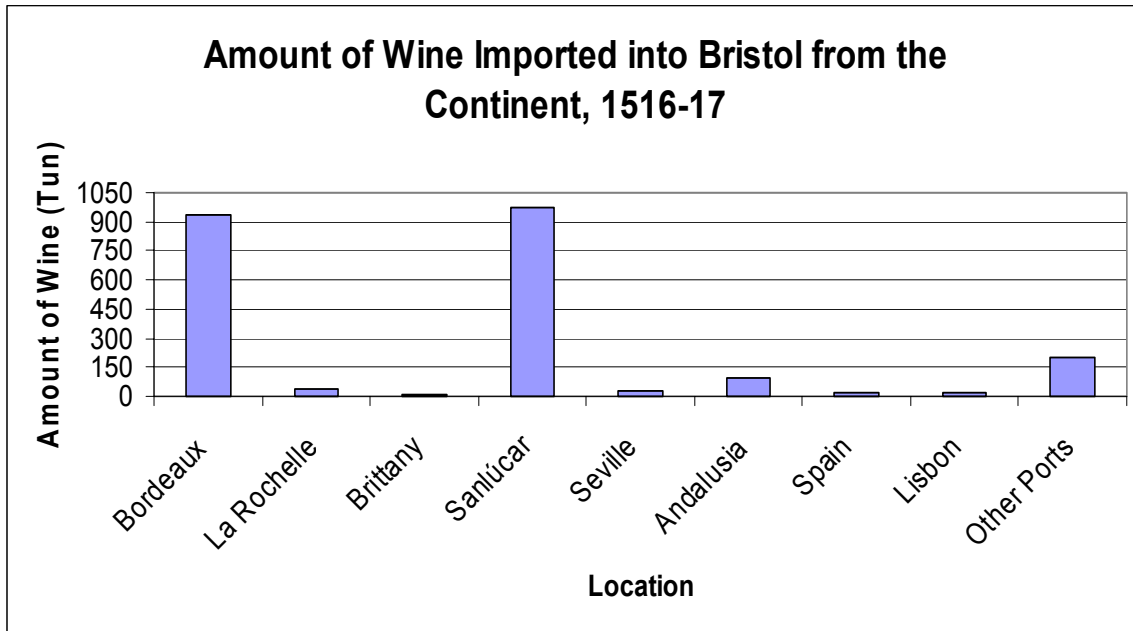
Pie Chart 1.10



Source: T.N.A. E122/21/2.

The Wine Trade in Bristol in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

Graph 1.11



Source: T.N.A. E122/21/2.

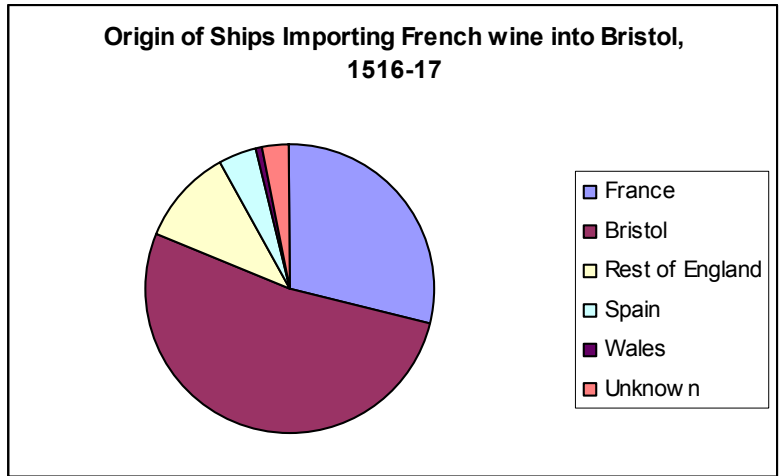
Table 1.12: The Origin of Ships importing wine into Bristol in 1516-17.

Ships' Origins	Number of Ships	Net Wine (Tun)	Proportion of Import
Bristol	14	1168.832	47%
Rest of England	20	227.75	9%
Ireland	8	22	1%
Wales	14	69.665	3%
France	6	316.4	12%
Spain	7	464.25	18.5%
Portugal	1	71.5	3%
Unknown	8	159.75	6.5%
TOTAL:	78	2500.147	100%

Source: T.N.A. E122/21/2.

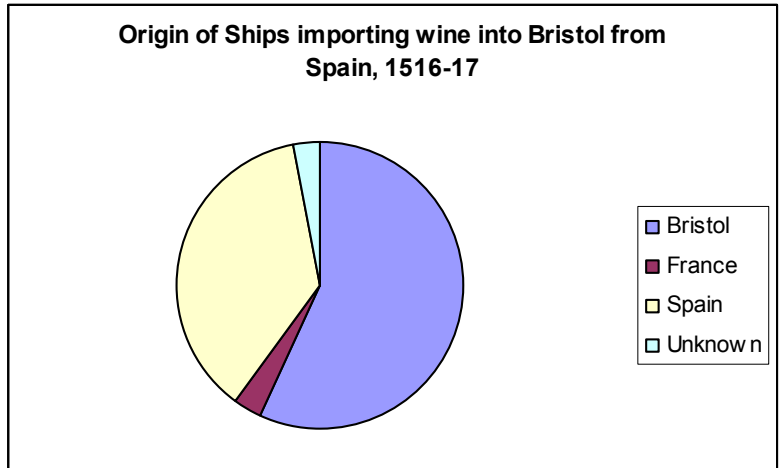
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Pie Chart 1.13



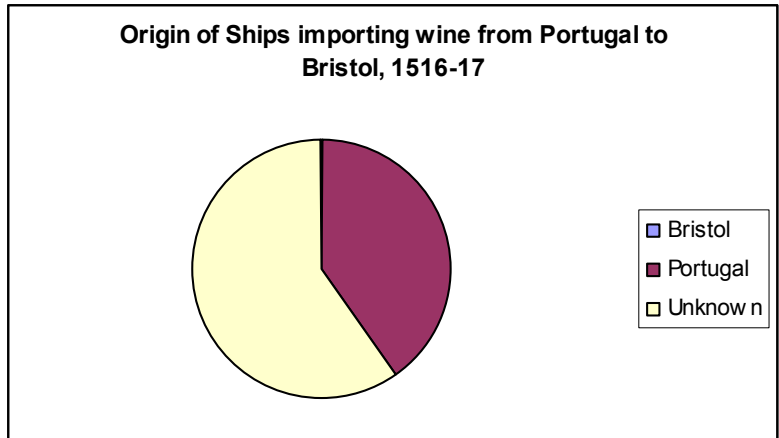
Source: T.N.A. E122/21/2.

Pie Chart 1.14



Source: T.N.A. E122/21/2.

Pie Chart 1.15



Source: T.N.A. E122/21/2.

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1570-71 'PARTICULAR' ACCOUNT

The analysis of the 1570-71 'particular' account reveals that the net amount of wine imported into Bristol in this year is substantially less than in the previous two accounts studied. **Table 1.16** shows that a total volume of 902.25 tuns of wine, valued at £3,609.00 entered Bristol in this year. However, **Table 1.16** and **Pie chart 1.17** show that in proportion to the total amount of wine imported into Bristol there was still substantially more Spanish than French wine imported in this year than there had been in 1516-17 [see **Pie Chart 1.10**]. There was, however, a sharp decline in the amount of wine coming from Portugal and the 'other ports'. The nominal amount of wine re-exported into Bristol as detailed in **Table 1.16**, can be explained by the fact that by 1570-71, Wales had been integrated into the national custom system.¹⁶⁵

It appears from the analysis of the 1570-71 'port book' that the 1516-17 account was not simply an exceptional year in which the wine imports from Portugal to Bristol fell. **Table 1.16** and **Graph 1.18** show that only 16 tuns of wine came from Lisbon in 1570-71. As **Pie Chart 1.17** reveals, only 1% of the total volume of wine entering Bristol in 1570-71 now came from Portugal. Comparing this pie chart to **Pie Chart 1.3** and **1.10**, it is apparent that the volume of wine from Portugal had gradually been decreasing since 1480. **Table 1.19** details the type of wine imported into Bristol in 1570-71. It shows, however, that there was no type of wine specific to Portugal, like 'bastard', recorded in the 1570-71 account, which means that in this year, at least, it had been more than likely that none of the ships that had visited Spain had picked up any wine from Portugal on

¹⁶⁵ In 1561 still Welsh ports resisting: Ramsay, 'Smugglers' Trade', p.142; Integrated under custom reforms: Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*, p.9. Only 6.75 tuns came from Newport in this year: T.N.A., E190/1128/15, f.5v.

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their voyage. A possible explanation for the decline in the volume of wine from Portugal to Bristol in 1570-71 may have been the decline in the Portuguese economy after 1550 which could have discouraged trade to and from Bristol, but this does not explain the decline in 1516-17.¹⁶⁶

In proportion to the overall volume of wine imported into Bristol in 1570-71, the amount that came from France can be seen from **Pie Chart 1.17** to have accounted for 42% of the total. This shows that Bristol, though continuing traditional trade links with France, was much less reliant on French wine now Southern Spain could supply a substantial volume. **Graph 1.18** shows that the number of French ports in 1570-71 had increased from the 1570-71 account, however 70% of the volume of French wine came solely from Bordeaux. Though Bordeaux still accounted for the bulk of wine from France in 1570-71, this proportion is somewhat less than the previous two 'particular' accounts showed. La Rochelle, a port that traded only minor amounts of wine with Bristol in both 1479-80 and 1516-17, accounted for 18% of the total amount of French wine in 1570-71.¹⁶⁷

In 1559, peace between England and France had finally ended the Anglo-French hostilities that had continually dogged the first half of the sixteenth century. France however, became embroiled throughout the 1560s and 1570s in a series of religious civil wars between Catholics and Protestant Huguenots. The third French War of Religion

¹⁶⁶ Portugal's wealth decreased in the second half of the sixteenth century. It declared itself officially bankrupt in 1560: A. H. De Oliveira Marques., *History of Portugal, Vol. I: From Lusitania to Empire* (New York, 1972), p.289.

¹⁶⁷ In 1479-80, the 33 tuns from La Rochelle, accounted for 3% of the total volume of French wine imported to Bristol: Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, p.222. In 1516-17, 41 tuns from La Rochelle accounted for 4% of the total French wine: T.N.A., E122/21/2. See **Appendix A**.

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ended in August 1570.¹⁶⁸ The true extent of the devastation caused by the wars on vineyards and wine production is incalculable. However, with only 375 tuns of wine from France imported to Bristol in this year, as shown by **Table 1.16**, it appears that the tumultuous affairs in France affected the volume of trade.

Graph 1.18 shows that Bristol merchants were forced to diversify the number and location of ports from which wine would come from in France because of these civil wars. The Huguenot lands that were attacked lay mainly in the south-west of France, including Gascony. It is claimed that English ships and goods were being seized in France during this civil war, and there were complaints of goods being ‘stayed at Bordeaux, Brest, Rouen and Calais’, which forced ‘English merchants to resort to Rochelle’.¹⁶⁹ The attacks on Protestants in France, therefore, most probably discouraged English trade.¹⁷⁰ After the truce in August 1570, Nantes, La Rochelle, St Malo and the Ile de Oléron still supplied Bristol with 103.5 tuns of the 375 tuns of French wine that **Table 1.16** shows came into Bristol in 1570-71. The French civil wars appear therefore to have encouraged further diversification in the French wine trade, as it appeared to have done by 1480, after the loss of Gascony in 1453; but these were still only minor amounts of wine compared to the imports from Bordeaux.

In 1536, Henry VIII broke with the Catholic Church. This made the situation precarious for merchants on the Continent. Although some English merchants, such as Thomas Pery

¹⁶⁸ A. J. Crosby (ed.), *Cal. S. P. For. Elizabeth, 1569-71* (Liechtenstein, 1966), p.323.

¹⁶⁹ Crosby, *Cal. S. P. For, 1569-71*, pp.82-3.

¹⁷⁰ The Earl of Rutland suggests the slaughter at Rouen in 1571 discouraged English travellers: Crosby, *Cal. S.P.For, 1569-71*, p.423.

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of London in 1539-40, were persecuted by the Spanish Inquisition, the true extent of these persecutions against Englishmen is unknown.¹⁷¹ Some merchants may have left Spain, but religious differences do not appear to have had a long term or large scale effect on the wine trade from the Continental Catholic countries. If trade had been adversely affected by religious or political prejudices, then commerce would have collapsed completely in the sixteenth century.¹⁷² Merchants residing in Spain appear to have adapted to the situation, some remaining, on appearance, ‘Catholics’: ‘The merchant of England cometh here [Spain] devoutly to the communion...these things are kept secret... and such as depend upon the trade of merchandise are loth to utter the same...’¹⁷³ As **Table 1.16** shows, wine was still imported out of Catholic Spain and France in 1570-71.

Bristol’s relationship with the main wine producing region of Southern Spain continued to flourish in 1570-71, as reflected in **Graph 1.18**. In 1570-71, 136.5 tuns of wine came from Andalusia, 55 tuns from Gibraltar, and 305 tuns were recorded specifically from Sanlúcar, accounting for 60% of the overall volume of Spanish wine imported into Bristol in this year. Though the volume of wine from Spain was less than in the previous two years studied, the proportion of this to the overall volume of wine had increased greatly, to 56% in 1570-71, compared to 45% in 1516-17, as shown by **Pie Chart 1.17**. The impression given by the 1570-71 ‘particular’ account is that though there would be

¹⁷¹ See Connell-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake*, pp.100, 111-120.

¹⁷² In 1568 it was said that Englishmen found the Galician Inquisition ‘no trouble at all’, thanks to the assistance of local authorities: Croft, ‘Trading with the Enemy’, p.283. The *Marchants Avizo*, a guide for apprentices, written in the 1580s, makes no mention of religious problems in Iberia or even the political hostilities: McGrath, *Marchants Avizo*.

¹⁷³ Connell-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake*, p.101.

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natural fluctuations in the wine trade each year, the shift in the provenance of wine imported into Bristol, from French to Iberian, had not altered by 1571.

Between 1569 and 1573 an Anglo-Spanish trade embargo was enacted as a result of the English seizure of Spanish treasure ships.¹⁷⁴ In the last forty years, studies of contemporary documents from England and Spain reveal evidence that trade continued between the two countries, revising traditional thought that trade had ceased between England and Spain during the 1585-1604 war.¹⁷⁵ As no war was enacted in 1570-71, this Anglo-Spanish trade embargo was merely an ‘inconvenience’ between these two countries.¹⁷⁶ Analysis of the 1570-71 port book has shown by **Table 1.20** that there was an apparent absence of any Spanish ships importing wine into Bristol in this year, despite the pattern shown in the 1479-80 and 1516-17 accounts of Northern Spanish vessels and English ships importing this wine into Bristol, as seen in **Pie Charts 1.7** and **1.14**. This demonstrates that, on the surface, the embargo against Spain was being enforced. However, as **Table 1.16**, and **Graph 1.18** show, 504.5 tuns of wine were imported into Bristol from Andalusian ports in 1570-71, demonstrating that trade continued between these ports despite the embargo.

This thesis has shown that Bristol had firmly established links to obtain wine in southern Spain by 1480, if not before. It has also been found through this study that by 1517, the provenance of wine imported into Bristol had shifted from France to Iberia, with 45% of the total imports of wine coming from Spain in 1516-17. In 1570-71, 56% of Bristol’s

¹⁷⁴ Crosby, *Cal. S. P. For, 1569-71*, p.xxxviii.

¹⁷⁵ Revised by: Croft, ‘Trading with the Enemy’; Vanes, *Documents*, p.23.

¹⁷⁶ Croft, ‘Trading with the Enemy’, p.281.

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total proportion of wine came from Spain, notwithstanding the embargo. This implies that prohibitions between Spain and England at this time did not cease what had become a valuable source of revenue for merchants, and for the Crown. Therefore, a blind eye could be turned to the wine that entered Bristol's waters from Spain since it was of little concern to the authorities once it was in English waters.

As **Pie Chart 1.22** shows, the majority of wine from Spain appears to have been shipped on vessels from France or Bristol, not Spain. In Spain, businessmen, such as the Archbishop of Santiago de Compostela had gained greatly from Anglo-Spanish links; therefore it can be assumed they would be loath to cease trade with England.¹⁷⁷ Even in Andalusia where royal officials kept a close check upon ships, Bristolians were protected by the self-interest of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia; whose wealth depended on the trade that had been developed with English merchants, through such privileges as the 1489 Treaty of Medina del Campo.¹⁷⁸ It was claimed that the Duke had been reluctant to uphold prohibitions during the 1585-1604 Anglo-Spanish war, and so it appears during the earlier Anglo-Spanish trade embargo, for 305 tuns of Spanish wine imported into Bristol in 1570-71 came from Sanlúcar alone, as shown by **Graph 1.18**.¹⁷⁹ This accounts for 60% of Bristol's total wine imports, therefore, it is apparent that English merchants must have been aided in Spain to continue trading despite the embargo.

¹⁷⁷ He apparently protected English merchants: Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', p.283.

¹⁷⁸ The Duke of Medina Sidonia's revenue at Sanlúcar amounted to 80,000 ducats per year during peace time: Croft., 'Trading with the Enemy', p.285-6. Connell-Smith., *Forerunners of Drake*, pp.38-41. The treaty had meant lower custom duties and free access to English and Spanish ports.

¹⁷⁹ Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', p.296.

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Pie Chart 1.22 reveals that 14% of the wine from Spain was imported into Bristol on ships originating from England. This suggests that some illicit methods must have been employed for these vessels to have obtained wine in Spain during the embargo. Fictitious nationalities for both ship and crew were apparently one method of evasion. During the Anglo-Spanish war, prohibitions against the English appear to have forced some Englishmen to disguise themselves as Irishmen or Scotsmen, and during the earlier embargo it is believed that French or Flemish nationalities were also chosen.¹⁸⁰ It has been said that by 1600 ‘the number of English ships passing themselves off as Irish had reached such proportions’ that the Spanish government attempted to introduce passports to prove foreigners’ nationalities.¹⁸¹ Such measures imply evasion was occurring. Although most accounts of evasion refer to the period of the Anglo-Spanish war, it is more than likely this was a continuation of tactics used during the 1569-1573 trade embargo. Other methods to import goods included the use of isolated ports, or ports renowned for evasion of government laws.¹⁸² In March 1573 nine ships returned from Spain to London and reported the connivance of southern Spanish ports.¹⁸³ Neutral factors or naturalised merchants, like Thomas Butler of Jerez, appear to have undertaken business transactions on behalf of English merchants during the later war, and it cannot be discounted this did not occur during the 1569-73 trade embargo.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Croft, ‘Trading with the Enemy’, pp.282, 287.

¹⁸¹ James I of Scotland also tried to introduce a passport. And Scotsmen and Irishmen became informers against Englishmen in disguise: Croft, ‘Trading with the Enemy’, pp.287-8.

¹⁸² Croft, ‘Trading with the Enemy’, p.283

¹⁸³ Ibid., p.283.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., pp.285-6.

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The bulk of wine from Spain in 1570-71, came on French ships, as **Pie Chart 1.22** shows. The use of French border ports, like St Jean de Luz, for entrepôt trade in this year, is apparent from the record of the *Samuel* of Bristol, which in 1570-71 is recorded as sailing from St Jean de Luz to Bristol, but carrying 7 tuns of Sack.¹⁸⁵ Contemporary accounts have described English merchants loading Biscayan ships with Spanish goods during the trade embargo, and this appears to be occurring in the 1570-71 account, with French vessels, like the *John* of Penmark or the *Gladro* of St Valery importing Spanish wine to Bristol.¹⁸⁶ However, all may not be as it appears. The fact that 54% of Spanish wine was imported on French ships, shown by **Pie Chart 1.22**, arouses some suspicion. Although there was an embargo, the evidence of wine from Spain being imported to Bristol in 1570-71, has shown that this was ineffective. Considering that the pattern of shipping Spanish wine in 1479-80 and 1516-17 had shown that Spanish wine had been mainly imported to Bristol in ships of English or Spanish origin, it is doubtful that this in reality ceased in 1570-71.¹⁸⁷ Seventy tuns of wine were imported from Spain into Bristol on English ships in 1570-71, as illustrated in **Pie Chart 1.22**, which suggests that English ships probably disguised their nationality to go undetected in Spain during the embargo. It is not implausible, therefore, that Spanish ships evaded the embargo in Bristol by similar methods. The origin of a number of vessels that imported wine into Bristol are unidentifiable and have been marked ‘unknown’, as can be seen in **Table 1.20** and the

¹⁸⁵ French border ports used during the embargo: Croft, ‘Trading with the Enemy’, p.290. The *Samuel* is found in T.N.A, E190/1128/15, f.2v. There is also another entry in this account which appears to show the use of French ports for entrepôt trade, that of the *Grehound* of Bristol, which sailed from St Malo but carrying 6 tuns of Sack: T.N.A, E190/1128/15, f. 7r.

¹⁸⁶ Croft, ‘Trading with the Enemy’, pp.283, 290; See **Appendix A [III]**.

¹⁸⁷ Can see pattern in the shipping of Spanish wine from **Pie Charts 1.7** and **1.14**.

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relating pie charts. This ambiguity may possibly indicate another form of deception used to evade the embargo.

In conclusion, the 1570-71 'port book' shows the ineffectiveness of the 1569-73 trade embargo in affecting the provenance of the wine imported into Bristol. From analysis of this account together with contemporary evidence, it can be deduced that Spanish ships continued to trade with Bristol. The French civil wars appear again to have caused a short term diversification of the French markets. However, the shift from French to Iberian wine remains, with 56% of the total wine imported from Spain in 1570-71.

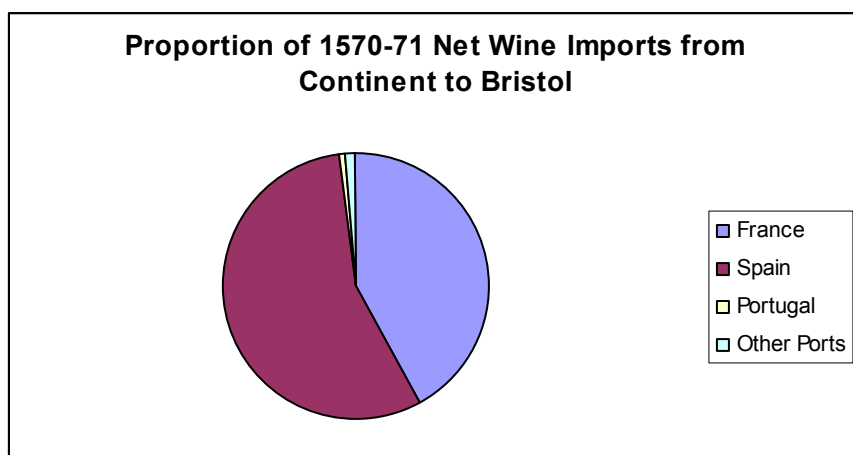
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Table 1.16: The Volume and Value of Wine imported into Bristol in 1570-71

	Amount of Wine [Tun]	Value of Wine [Modern £]
France	375	£1,500.00
Portugal	16	£64.00
Spain	504.5	£2,018.00
Other Ports	6.75	£27
TOTAL	902.25	£3,609.00

Source: T.N.A.: E190/1128/15

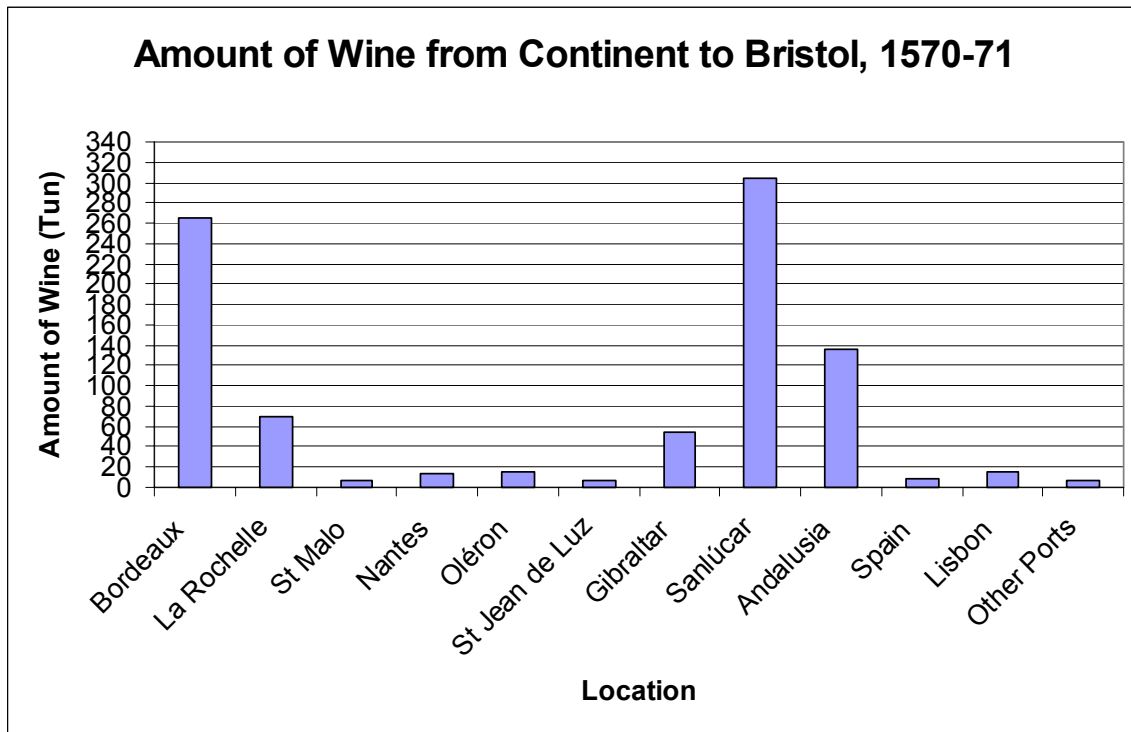
Pie Chart 1.17



Source: T.N.A.: E190/1128/15

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Graph 1.18



Source: T.N.A.: E190/1128/15

Table 1.19: Type of Wine imported into Bristol in 1570-71

Type	Amount of Wine (Tun)
French	31.5
Gascon	286.25
Muscatill	9
Rochelle	51
Sack	297.5
Spanish	227
TOTAL:	902.25

	France	Spain	Portugal	Other	TOTAL
Corrupt Wine (Tun)	149	132.5	0	1.25	282.75

Source: T.N.A., E190/1128/15

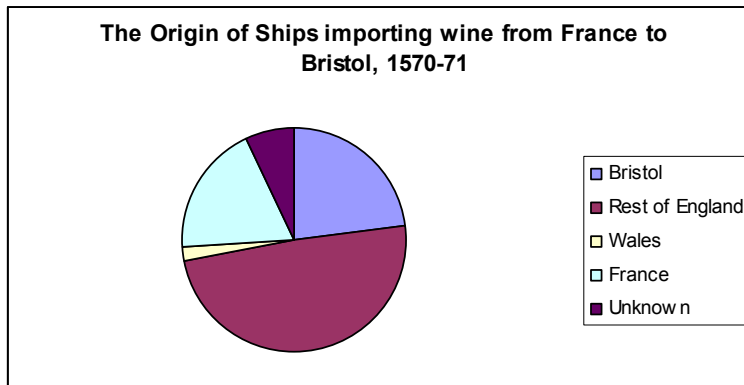
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Table 1.20: The Origin of Ships importing Wine into Bristol in 1570-71

Ships Origin	Number of Ships	Net Wine (Tun)	Proportion of Import
Bristol	6	97	11%
Rest of England	8	248	27%
Wales	2	13.75	1.5%
France	8	281.5	31%
Spain	-	-	-
Portugal	-	-	-
Flemish[?]	1	167	19%
Unknown	2	95	10.5%
TOTAL:	27	902.25	100%

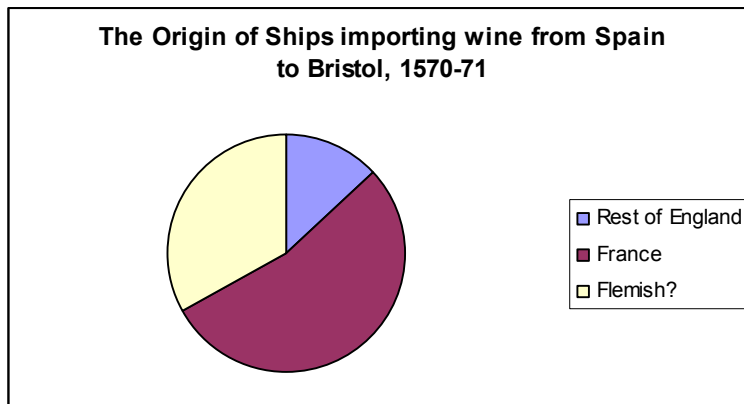
Source: T.N.A.: E190/1128/15

Pie Chart 1.21



Source: T.N.A.: E190/1128/15

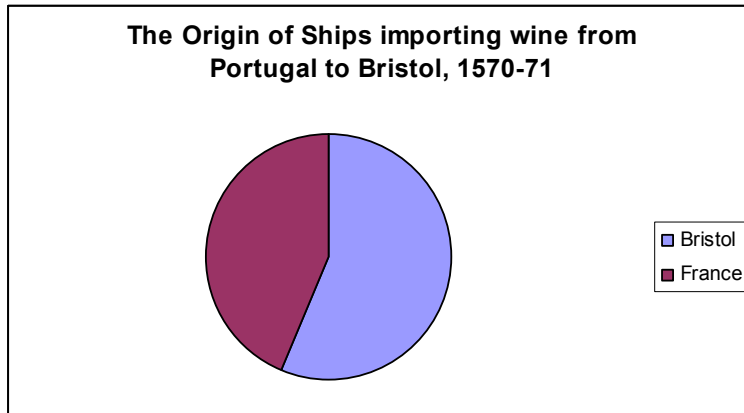
Pie Chart 1.22



Source: T.N.A.: E190/1128/15

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Pie Chart 1.23



Source: T.N.A.: E190/1128/15

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1573-74 'PARTICULAR' ACCOUNT

The 'port book' of 1573-74, shows in **Table 1.24** that two years after the previous account, there were only 710.5 tuns of wine recorded as imported into Bristol in this year from the Continent. **Pie Chart 1.25** shows that in total 79% of this wine came from Iberia and 21% from France. This is a reversal of the provenance of wine imported into Bristol almost a century earlier in 1479-80, as can be seen in **Pie Chart 1.3**. The majority of Bristol's wine in 1573-74 appears to have been imported from Spain rather than France.

In the 1573-74 'particular' account there are only three identifiable French ports – Bordeaux, La Rochelle and Nantes, as well as the more ambiguous 'France', as can be seen in **Graph 1.26**. Of the 151.25 tuns of French wine imported into Bristol in this year, the port book detailed that 76% of this came from Bordeaux. The French wine documented as coming from Bordeaux was not as high a percentage as the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century, presumably because of the impact that the French civil wars must have had internally on the supply and production of wine.

Hostilities between the Huguenots and Catholics in France had resumed at the end of 1572. On August 24 1572, the Massacre of St Bartholomew triggered a slaughter of French Protestants from Paris to Bordeaux.¹⁸⁸ The civil wars in France had already caused some diversity in the provenance of French wine imported to Bristol in 1570-71, as seen in **Graph 1.18**. Although in 1570-71 the proportion of French wine from La Rochelle had increased to 69 tuns from the previous accounts figures, in 1573-74 only

¹⁸⁸ Vanes, *Documents*, pp.156-7; A. J. Crosby (ed.), *Cal. S. P. For. Elizabeth, 1572-74* (London, 1876), pp.183-6.

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23.35 tuns of wine imported to Bristol was declared from La Rochelle. This decrease was probably due to the fact that there had been a siege at La Rochelle in March 1573, which would have affected access to the port.¹⁸⁹ The English merchants were apparently ‘discouraged from having any dealings’ in France in 1573-74.¹⁹⁰ Their complaints of losses of privileges, new impositions and customs, suggest some of the difficulties faced in importing wine from France to Bristol in this year, which probably reduced the imports to England generally.¹⁹¹ **Pie Chart 1.29** reveals that the majority of French wine was imported into Bristol on vessels from England, which appears to show that the widespread revolt in France would have in all probability affected the shipping of wine as well as production.

The pattern of decline in wine imported from Portugal to Bristol over the sixteenth century continued in 1573-74. In fact as **Graph 1.26** shows, in this year no wine at all is recorded as coming directly from Portugal. Only 18 tuns of wine is shown imported in this year from the Portuguese owned island of Madeira. This is surprising since there was a treaty between Portugal and England in November 1573 which confirmed the free trade between the two countries.¹⁹² It is apparent, however, that some Portuguese wine was being imported into Bristol in this year by an indirect route through Spain. **Table 1.27** reveals that there were 73.125 tuns of ‘Bastard’, a type of wine commonly attributed to Portugal, imported into Bristol in 1573-74. Of this wine, 76% came from Ayamonta, a port directly on the border with Portugal, and 24% from Sanlúcar. This implies that by

¹⁸⁹ Crosby, *Cal. S. P. For. 1572-74*, p.296.

¹⁹⁰ Crosby, *Cal. S. P. For. 1572-74*, pp.434-5.

¹⁹¹ Crosby, *Cal. S. P. For. 1572-74*, pp.432, 434-5.

¹⁹² ‘Treaty of amity’: Crosby, *Cal. S. P. For. 1572-74*, p.455.

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the second half of the sixteenth century, wine was no longer directly obtained from Portugal, if at all.

It is possible that the increase in volume of Spanish wine imported to Bristol had decreased the demand for Portuguese wine over the sixteenth century. This may have also changed the public's tastes. As the data from the four 'particular' accounts has shown, Bristol's markets in Spain for wine had expanded over the 150 years, and with it so had the proportion of wine from Spain. In relation to this, the amount of wine from Portugal had decreased. The *Marchants Avizo* was written by John Browne, a Bristol merchant, as a guide for apprentices, around the late 1570s, or early 1580s.¹⁹³ The *Avizo* suggests that the model voyage to Iberia would include visiting Lisbon, where cloth was exchanged for spices, but it recommended that wine was bought in Sanlúcar.¹⁹⁴ If reflecting actual trading practices of this period, then this suggests that wine was no longer imported directly from Portugal to Bristol in the late 1570s. This is apparently confirmed from the 1570-71 and 1573-74 'particular' accounts analysis, shown in **Tables 1.16** and **1.24**. The shift appears to have occurred by 1517, at the latest, for as **Tables 1.2** and **1.9** show, the volume of wine from Portugal is less than the 1479-80 amount.

Graph 1.26 shows the diverse number of Andalusian ports and Spanish islands that supplied Bristol with wine in 1573-74. From Sanlúcar, 120.5 tuns of wine was imported, 149 tuns had come from El Puerto de Santa Maria, and 199.5 tuns from unknown ports of Andalusia. This accounted for 67% of the total Spanish imports. Wine also came from

¹⁹³ McGrath, *Marchants Avizo*.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.13, 16.

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islands in the Azores and the Mediterranean. **Graph 1.26** shows that 95.75 tuns of wine came from Mallorca, and 6 tuns of wine from the Canary Islands. The majority of this wine from Spain, as **Pie Chart 1.30** shows, was once again imported into Bristol on English vessels, which confirms the continued connections of Bristol merchants with this country despite the growing hostilities. The ‘renewal of intercourse’ between Spain and England apparently occurred around March 1573, however, the embargo did not officially end until the signing of the Treaty of Bristol on 21 August 1574.¹⁹⁵ The absence of known Spanish vessels importing any wine at all into Bristol in this year, as shown in **Pie Chart 1.30**, demonstrates that the embargo was still in effect against Spanish vessels. However, as shown in the analysis of both the 1573-74 account and the 1570-71 account, merchants still met the demand for Spanish wine in Bristol despite any prohibitions. The ineffectiveness of the embargo in 1573-74 is in evidence with 541.25 tuns of wine imported into Bristol in this year, as shown in **Table 1.24**.

Analysis of the 1573-74 account shows that, as with the 1570-71 account, though the volume of wine had declined in comparison to the 1479-80 and 1516-17 accounts, and there was an Anglo-Spanish trade embargo, the majority of wine imported into Bristol continued to come from Spain, rather than France. The civil war in France appears to have continued to have a direct impact upon the volume and provenance of the wine imported to Bristol. Markets in Andalusia appear to have diversified, although the overall imports of wine direct from Portugal declined.

¹⁹⁵ Crosby, *Cal. S. P. For. 1572-74*, p.296-7 and p.543 respectively.

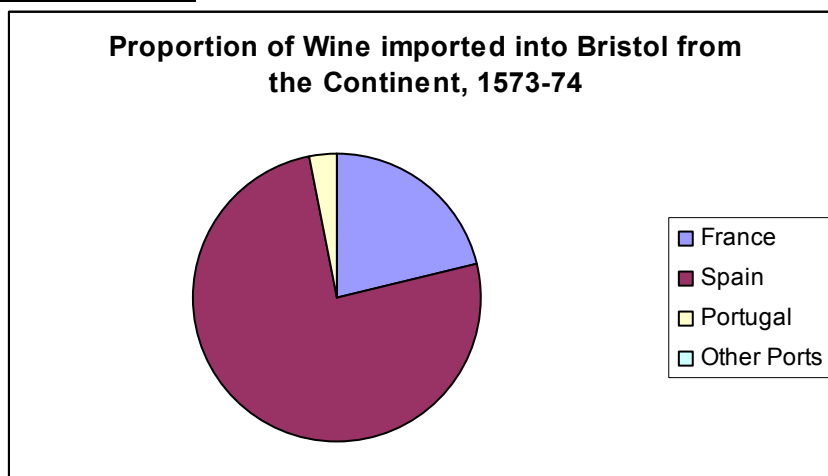
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Table 1.24: The Volume and Value of Wine imported into Bristol in 1573-74

	Amount of Wine [Tun]	Value of Wine [Modern £]
France	151.25	£605.00
Portugal	18	£72.00
Spain	541.25	£2,165.00
Other Ports	-	-
TOTAL:	710.5	£2,842.00

Source: T.N.A., E190/1129/3

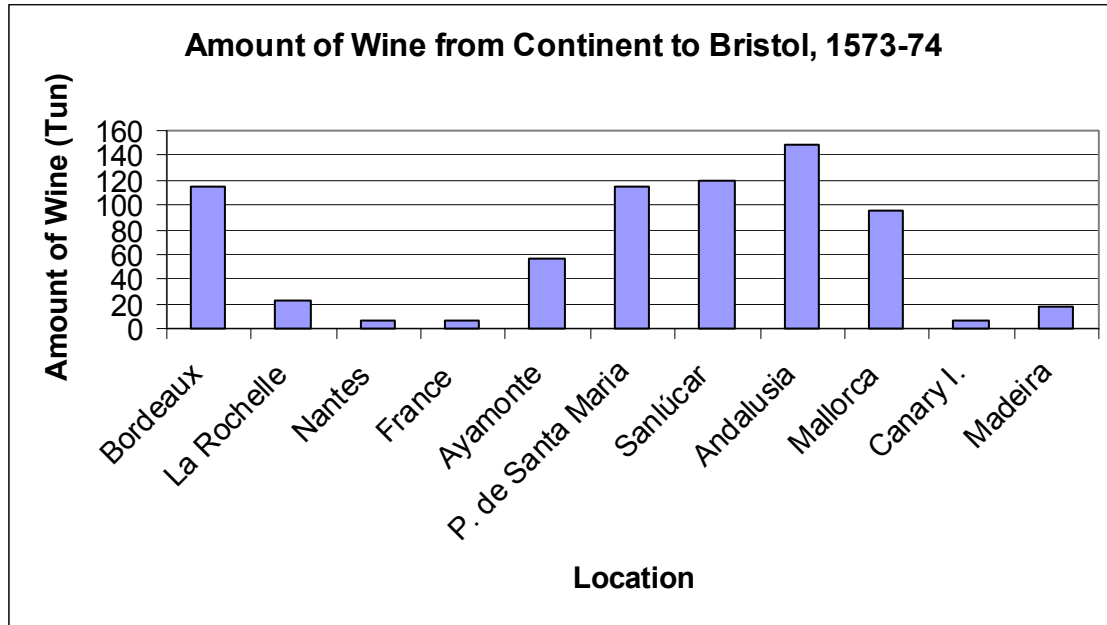
Pie Chart 1.25



Source: T.N.A., E190/1129/3

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Graph 1.26



Source: T.N.A., E190/1129/3

Table 1.27: The Type of Wine imported into Bristol in 1573-74

Type	Amount of Wine (Tun)
Bastard	73.125
Canary	6
Cutt	4.125
French	111.75
Gascon	33.75
Madeira	18
Rochelle	5.75
Sack	453
Wine	5
TOTAL:	710.5

	France	Spain	Portugal	TOTAL
Corrupt Wine (Tun)	26.75	97.5	4	128.25

Source: T.N.A., E190/1129/3

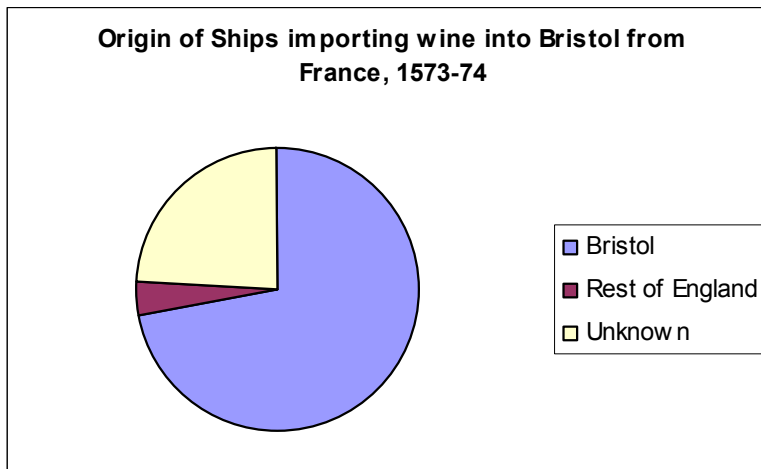
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Table 1.28: The Origin of Ships importing wine into Bristol, 1573-74

Ships Origin	Number of Ships	Net Wine (Tun)	Proportion of Import
Bristol	15	286.5	40%
London	1	21.5	3%
Rest of England	7	295	42%
France	1	22	3%
Spain	-	-	-
Portugal	-	-	-
Unknown	4	85.5	12%
TOTAL:	28	710.5	100%

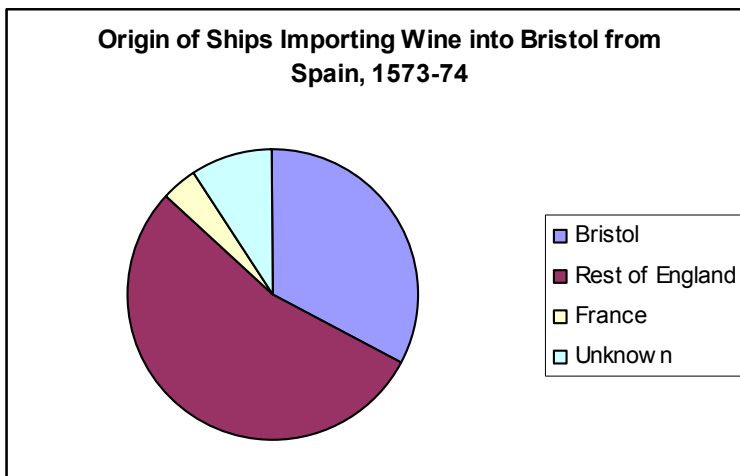
Source: T.N.A., E190/1129/3

Pie Chart 1.29



Source: T.N.A., E190/1129/3

Pie Chart 1.30



Source: T.N.A., E190/1129/3

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OTHER DATA

This Chapter has shown that detail about the provenance of Bristol's wine trade can be obtained from the extant 'particular' accounts. The 'particular' accounts from the mid sixteenth century lack detail of the destination ships came from. However, some evidence of Bristol's wine trade in the interim period between the 1517 and 1570 accounts can be deduced from the 1538-1550 ledger of the Bristol merchant, John Smythe.¹⁹⁶ It should be remembered that this ledger was an account of Smythe's own personal business transactions. It does not represent the overall volume of wine imported into Bristol in these years. However, it can add to the overall impression of the provenance of Bristol's wine trade in the sixteenth century.

The volume of wine Smythe imported from the Continent into Bristol between 1539 and 1550, was 565.34 tuns in total, as can be seen from **Table 1.31**. When detailed, the destination Smythe's wine came from was either 'Andalusia' or 'Gascony' or sometimes more specifically, the port of 'Bordeaux'.¹⁹⁷ Of the total imports for this decade, **Pie Chart 1.32** shows that 48% of the total imports of wine into Bristol at this time, came from Spain, and 44% from France. From this it can be hypothesised that the shift in the provenance of Bristol's wine, from France to Spain, revealed in this thesis, persisted between 1539 and 1550.

Pie Chart 1.32 shows that 7% of Smythe's total wine imports in this decade, came from Portugal. This is the same proportion as in 1516-17, as seen in **Pie Chart 1.10**. However,

¹⁹⁶ This has been transcribed by Vanes: Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*.

¹⁹⁷ 'Wynes of Andalusia': Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*, f.180l; 'Wynes of Gascon...Burdalez': Ibid., f.108l.

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the actual volume of wine from Portugal was less than 1516-17, with 42 tuns imported between 1539 and 1550, and 178.5 tuns in 1516-17 [see **Tables 1.31** and **1.9**]. This demonstrates that Smythe's ledger reflects the pattern of decline in wine from Portugal that has been found in the 'particular' accounts studied in this work. It can therefore be assumed that the loss of Gascony only caused a rise in imports from Spain, not Iberia as a whole in the sixteenth century, contrary to previous thought.¹⁹⁸

Between 1543-6 an Anglo-French war occurred. It would be easy to assume that in such a circumstance imports of wine from France may have declined, as they appear to have done during the Hundred Years War, as **Graph 1.1** illustrates. The examination of the 1570-71 and 1573-74 port books have shown that prohibitions during war were not always strictly adhered to. Merchants continued to trade during war, like the Englishman John Mason, who was permitted to bring to the realm, 'a certeyn nombre of Frenche wares' including wine in 1545, despite war.¹⁹⁹ During the 1543-6 war, wine from France continued to be imported by Smythe into Bristol too. The ledger reveals that he purchased a 'lysence' from the government to import French wine into Bristol, using English or Spanish vessels, including the *San John* of Pasajes and the *Santa Maria* of San Sebastian in April 1544.²⁰⁰ This shows that though the pattern of trade may have altered because of circumstances, trade continued, and was only affected in the short term by this war.

¹⁹⁸ Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p.132.

¹⁹⁹ J. Webb., *Great Tooley of Ipswich: Portrait of an Early Tudor Merchant* (Ipswich, 1962), p.55.

²⁰⁰ Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*, f.222.

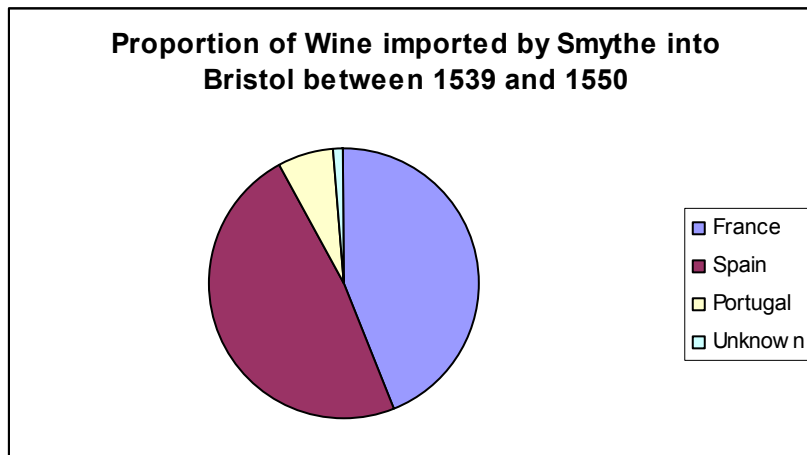
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Table 1.31: The volume of Wine imported by Smythe to Bristol between 1539 and 1550.

	Volume of Wine (Tun)
France	246.59
Spain	271
Portugal	42
Unknown	5.75
TOTAL	565.34

Source: Vanes., *Smythe's Ledger*.

Pie Chart 1.32



Source: Vanes., *Smythe's Ledger*.

It is apparent from this study's analysis of the 'particular' accounts, that political and religious factors did not appear to stop wine being imported into Bristol. **Graph 1.33** shows that wine continued to be imported from Spain into Bristol during the Anglo-Spanish trade embargo of the early 1570s, just as **Table 1.31** shows that during the Anglo-French war of 1543-6, Smythe continued to import French wine into Bristol. The change in England's official religion did not cause trade to cease between Bristol and the Catholic countries of France and Spain, as the examination of the 1570-71 and 1573-74 'particular' accounts show.

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Economic factors, however, may have influenced imports of wine into Bristol in 1570-71 and 1573-74. The impact of the increase in impositions on wine along with a new Book of Rates which increased poundage paid on goods, both occurring in 1558, may have had a long-term effect on the import of wine into Bristol.²⁰¹ The amount of tunnage paid on French wine increasing from 3s to 53s 4d per tun.²⁰² This was 13s 4d more than the tunnage paid on sweeter Iberian wines and may have increased the incentive for French wine to be smuggled into Bristol as Iberian. It is possible that Bristol's wine trade was not in decline in the sixteenth century, but rather that wine was under-represented in the accounts after 1558 because of illicit trade.²⁰³ The reliability of all four of the 'particular' accounts studied, evidence of incentives to smuggle wine, and the extent this may have affected the import figures for wine in Bristol, will be examined in further detail in the next chapter.

The analysis of the four 'particular' accounts undertaken in this thesis has shown, in **Graph 1.33**, that the provenance of wine imported to Bristol over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had shifted to Southern Spain. The loss of Gascony in 1453 appears to have caused a change in the provenance of Bristol's wine. The dramatic decline in wine imports into Bristol after 1453, as shown in **Graph 1.1** illustrated that Bristol had been almost totally reliant on French wine prior to this date. By 1480, links between Bristol and Iberia for wine had become more firmly established, for 30% of the total volume of imports came from Iberia in this year. Between 1480 and 1517 however, there

²⁰¹ T. S. Willan (ed.), *A Tudor Book of Rates* (Manchester, 1962), pp.xliii, xxviii.

²⁰² French: Willan, *Book of Rates*, p.xiii; Spanish wine: Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics, II*, p.933, n.26.

²⁰³ Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics, I*, p.290. Vanes even believed French wars caused the decline in the later sixteenth century: Vanes, *Documents*, p.12.

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appears to have been a definite shift in the provenance of the majority of Bristol's wine imports, away from French dominance, and to a greater volume from a diversity of ports in Spain. This remained as such in 1570-71 and 1573-74, despite a decline in overall imports.

There is a pattern of decline, however, in the import of wine from Portugal to Bristol, from 1480, that has been found in the examination of these four 'particular' accounts. This does not corroborate the fact that English relations with Portugal was said to have been 'consistently friendly' throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²⁰⁴ By 1516-17 the 'particular' account reveals that Bristol was no longer trading directly with Oporto, and by 1573-74, as can be seen from **Graph 1.26**, Bristol no longer had any direct imports of wine from Portugal. However, Bristol merchants had not ceased trading with Portugal. The *Marchants Avizo* reveals that by the late 1570s ships visited Lisbon to obtain spices, but it was to Sanlúcar that wine was recommended to be obtained from.²⁰⁵ It is also possible that the import of Portuguese wines may have declined, since apparently 'bastard' had been considered a 'downmarket' wine compared to other peninsula wines in this period.²⁰⁶ The pattern of decline in Portuguese wines found in this thesis may be reflecting a change in taste and demand for wine over the sixteenth century. Further investigation into this interesting anomaly, however, is needed.

On face value, an examination of the four 'particular' accounts show that Bristol's wine imports increased in the early Tudor period, but that by Elizabeth I's reign, the overall

²⁰⁴ Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade in Bristol', p.220.

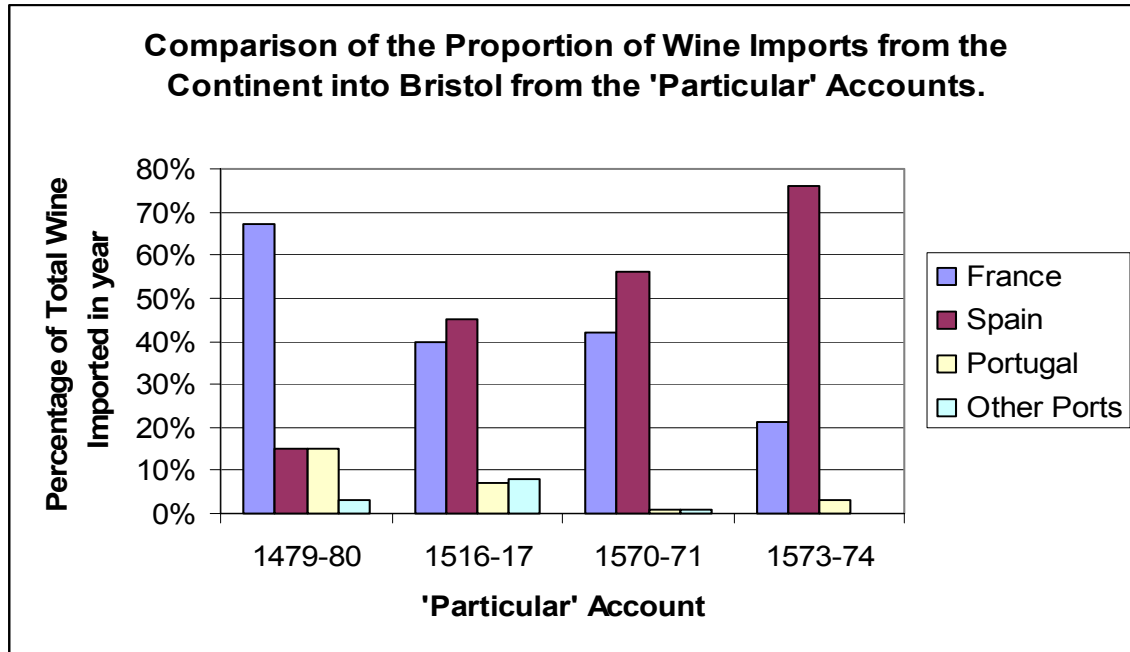
²⁰⁵ McGrath, *Marchants Avizo*, pp.13, 16.

²⁰⁶ Johnson, *Story of Wine*, p.90.

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volume of wine imported into Bristol declined. To what extent, however, do the custom accounts fully reflect the nature of Bristol's wine trade?

Graph 1.33



Source: Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, pp.218-289; T.N.A., E122/21/2; E190/1128/15; E190/1129/3

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CHAPTER TWO

In Chapter One it has been shown that the provenance of wine imported to Bristol over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had changed by 1517 from France to Iberia, and stayed as such over the sixteenth century. The loss to England of wine producing provinces in France, which had previously monopolised the English market, had made merchants more aware of the drawbacks of being solely reliant on one source of wine. Chapter One has shown the direct and indirect factors that could have affected the volume of imports into Bristol each year. This Chapter will re-assess these factors and determine how reliable the figures are given in the ‘particular’ accounts. It is important in an assessment of the nature of Bristol’s wine trade to judge the reliability of this data. The ‘particular’ accounts are only records of the legal trade in wine. This Chapter investigates any evidence of, and incentives for, illicit trade in wine, and assesses the extent this impacted upon the volume of wine legally declared in Bristol.

The introduction of custom duties in the thirteenth century was the initial catalyst for smuggling. The profit from smuggling needed to outweigh the costs of it to encourage large scale illicit activity and have a major impact upon commerce.²⁰⁷ Traditionally historians have been loath to examine the impact of smuggling on England’s imports and exports, and the relating custom figures, of medieval and early modern trade, or else have simply ignored it.²⁰⁸ A study of fifteenth and sixteenth century smuggling is limited by

²⁰⁷ Jones, ‘Illicit business’, pp.17, 36. Merchants had to consider the costs involved in smuggling, including bribery of officials, and increased transport costs for offloading at obscure creeks: Willan, *Tudor Book of Rates*, p.xlviii. In the fourteenth century merchants tried to evade the increasing higher duties on English wool exports through fraud: Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*, p.8, pp.20-22.

²⁰⁸ Ramsay’s study indicates the neglect of historians, while Dietz’s examination of the customs fails to recognise the impact of smuggling upon the success of the measures: Ramsay, ‘Smugglers’ Trade’, and

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the number and quality of the documents that survive.²⁰⁹ By its very nature smuggling limits the evidence, for its success laid in its ability to go undetected.

Those few works on smuggling have tended to focus upon the prolific evidence for illicit trade at the port of London.²¹⁰ Outports have been neglected in research.²¹¹ Though economic historians studying Bristol have uncovered documents relating to alleged illicit trade in Bristol, it has only been in the last five years that an attempt has been made to quantify the extent of smuggling in Bristol.²¹² E. T. Jones's comparison of the accounts of John Smythe and the Tyndall brothers, merchants of Bristol, with custom records and charter parties, were used to prove that smuggling occurred in Bristol in the 1540s.²¹³ His study is used as a basis for this Chapter's examination of the level of incentive for illicit trade in wine in the sixteenth century and the impact of this on the reliability of the 'particular' accounts used. With a lack of extant Bristol merchant accounts contemporary to the 'particular' accounts studied, quantifying the true extent of illicit trade in these years is more difficult, but an informed hypothesis can be made.

Dietz, 'Elizabethan Customs'. Though Sacks mentioned smuggling, he did not attempt to assess the impact this may have had on the values he used: Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics II*, p.725. In fact, in his following book, Sacks omits smuggling completely from his study of Bristol's trade: Sacks, *Widening Gate*.

²⁰⁹ 'The absence of quantitative information about the size, costs or profitability of the trade means that it is impossible to conduct a sophisticated analysis of illicit business: Jones, 'Illicit business', pp.18-19. Carus-Wilson., *Overseas Trade*, p.8, explains the state of early English records.

²¹⁰ Ramsay, 'The Smugglers' Trade' and Dietz, 'Elizabethan Customs'.

²¹¹ Williams used court records and account to investigate the illicit dealings of the Kings Lynn cloth merchant Francis Shaxton: Williams, 'Francis Shaxton', pp387-395.

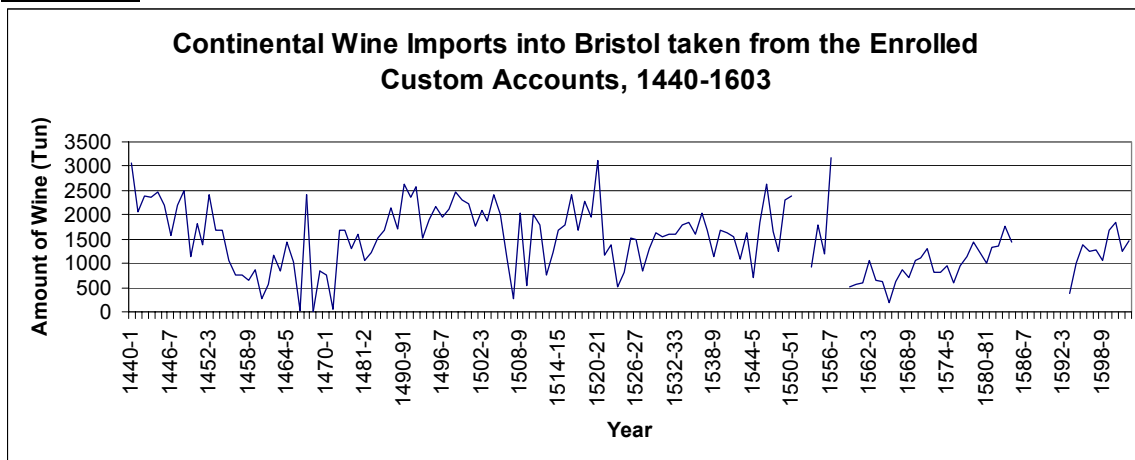
²¹² Documents relating to claims of smuggling in Bristol are in: Vanes, *Documents*, pp.39-57. The full transcription of some of these accounts is at: <http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Maritime/Sources.htm> . It has been said that the Exchequer is 'filled' with instances of illicit trade: Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, II, p.732.

²¹³ Charter parties were an agreement between merchants and a ship's master about cargo and costs: James, *Medieval Wine*, pp.133-5; Jones, 'Illicit business', p.17-38.

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Wine imports could be naturally affected every year by bad harvests, plague, war, and even by the effect of the weather or piracy upon voyages. Apart from prolonged war, these factors would have had a short-term effect on the pattern of trade. The effect of the loss of Gascony in 1453 on Bristol's wine imports is apparent from the decline in imports as shown in **Graph 2.1**. Examining the wine imports to Bristol from the 'enrolled' accounts, between 1440 and 1603, in this graph, it can be calculated that although there were the annual fluctuations, the volume of wine imported into Bristol from the mid 1470s up to 1558 averaged about 1,500 tuns per annum.

Graph 2.1



Source: Carus-Wilson., *Overseas Trade*, App. III, pp.294-5; Vanes, *Documents*, App. 4, p.167.²¹⁴

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, custom duties upon wine were relatively low in comparison to the value of wine. This is in juxtaposition to the claims made by Williams that the smuggling of French wine was 'inevitable' due to increasingly heavy duties.²¹⁵ The tannage paid by both 'sweet' and 'non-sweet' wine was 3s per tun before

²¹⁴ It should be noted that not all the years are complete. Those 'enrolled' accounts of the late 1460s are fragmentary, which explains the almost negligible amount of wine imported into Bristol in those years as can be seen on **Graph 2.1**. See: Carus-Wilson., *Overseas Trade of Bristol*, pp.295-6.

²¹⁵ Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*, p.23.

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1558.²¹⁶ By the 1550s, on average, wine cost about £6 per tun.²¹⁷ In the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century, wine cost between £4 and £5 per tun.²¹⁸ The percentage of the value of this wine that was paid in tax in the late fifteenth century and first half of the sixteenth century, therefore, was only between 2.5% and 3.75%. This shows there was little incentive for wine to be illegally imported into England at this rate of imposition in the early sixteenth century.

Jones's study of trade in 1540's Bristol proved that grain and leather were being illicitly exported out of Bristol, but he found no evidence for wine smuggling.²¹⁹ **Table 2.2** and **Table 2.3** illustrate that the comparison of contemporary charter parties with custom accounts, and the entries for specific ships in 'particular' accounts with data from Smythe's ledger, revealed that they were almost identical records.²²⁰ Where there are discrepancies they are small, and are not necessarily a result of illegal actions.²²¹ Prisaige, the Crown's right to take 1 tun in every ship carrying over 10 tuns of wine, and 2 tuns from every ship carrying 20 tuns or more, may not have been considered.²²² The difference may also have been due to 'ullage' [leakage] which could account for up to 10% of the cargo.²²³ The charter parties and Smythe's account recorded the amount of wine shipped from the Continent [gross volume], whereas the 'particular' accounts only

²¹⁶ Gras, *English Custom System*, p.692; Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*, p.23.

²¹⁷ This is based on prices of Gascon wine in: Simon, *History of Wine*, II, App. A. pp.282-3.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, App. A, pp.270-281.

²¹⁹ Jones, 'Illicit business', pp.21-2.

²²⁰ Only two of the studies that have been examined in Jones's work have been illustrated by these tables: Jones, 'Bristol Shipping', pp.40-48 and App. 6. There is also a table comparing Smythe's imports with the custom accounts in Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*, App. III, pp.322-23.

²²¹ Sacks had believed these had shown 'false custom declarations': Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, II, p.731. Jones believes they did not: Jones, 'Bristol Shipping', p.42.

²²² Prisaige: Simon, *History of Wine*, II, p.50.

²²³ The percentage was calculated from the accounts of London merchants who recorded the cost of importing wine in 1528 and 1583: Vanes, *Documents*, pp.85-6. The consideration of ullage and prisaige on the figures from these accounts was first stated by: Jones, 'Bristol Shipping', p.42.

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recorded the wine that was accountable for custom [net volume]. Therefore, in re-examining the accounts, it can be concluded that in reality there was little difference in the accounts, which suggests there was no large-scale smuggling of wine into Bristol in the late 1540s.

Table 2.2: The Comparison of the Charter Party and Custom Account for the *Primrose* of Bristol, 20 November 1536.

Charter Party	Tuns	Customs Account	Tuns
John Smythe	14.125	John Smythe	10.5
William Shipman	4.125	William Shipman and Cutte	4.0
John Court	0.5		
Francis Codrington	11.125	Francis Codryngton	8.5
John Gorney	4.5	John Gurney	3.5
William Sprat	7.0	William Sprat and Teson	7.75
Thomas Tizon	2.125		
John Branthon	7.5	John Brampton	6.5
William Cox	5.5	William Cockys	4.0
William Ballard	2.0	William Balard & Pryn	3.5
Richard Pryn	3.0		
Edward Pryn	2.5	Edward Pryn & Typton	5.5
Owen Thurston	4.5		
TOTAL TUNS	68.5	TOTAL TUNS	53.75

Source: Jones, 'Bristol Shipping', p.41.

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Table 2.3: The Comparison of John Smythe's Ledger and Custom Account for the *Trinity* of Bristol, 24 December 1541.

Smythe's Ledger	Tuns	Customs Account	Tuns
John Smythe	16.5	John Smyth	13.0
Nicholas Thorn	6.0	Nicholas Thorn	5.25
William Sprat	5.0	William Sprat	4.5
Edward Pryn	9.0	Edward Pryn	8.0
Francis Codrington & Carr	6.0	Francis Codrington	5.25
William Ballard	5.0	William Ballard	4.5
William Cockes	2.0		
Robert Buttler	2.0	William Cox & Butler	3.25
Thomas Tison	5.0		
Allen Hill	4.0	Alan Hill & Tyson	7.75
Arthur Smythe	3.0		
John Pryn	3.0	John Pryn & Smyth	4.0
Thomas Smythe	5.0		
Robert Durban	5.0	Thomas Smyth & Thurban	8.75
James Baylif	2.0	James Baley	1.75
Robert Guytton	4.0	Robert Gittens	3.5
John Wellsche	5.0	John Welsh	4.0
Johan Carpynter widdow	3.0	Johanna Carpenter	2.5
Robert Leighton	3.0	Robert Leyton	2.25
Matthew Kent	0.5	Mathew Kent & Pigot	1.0
Giles White & Thomas Shipman	4.0	Giles White	7.0
		William Shipman	2.5
TOTAL TUNS	98.0	TOTAL TUNS	88.75

Source: Jones, 'Bristol Shipping', App. 6, p.250.

The documents that pertain to illicit trade in wine in the early fifteenth and sixteenth centuries only appear to show minor evasions and sporadic incidences, such as the claim that seven tuns of Gascon wine were brought to Cardiff by a French vessel in 1515, contrary to prohibitions against such activity.²²⁴ As shown by **Graph 2.1**, **Tables 2.2** and **2.3**, and considering the relatively minor impact of the imposition on wine to its overall value in this period, the incentive for large-scale smuggling of wine was almost non-existent in the early Tudor period. It is possible that the Crown's right to prisage, with the

²²⁴ Vanes, *Documents*, p.42. The Navigation Acts were first implemented by Henry VII in 1485 to encourage English shipping: James, *Medieval Wine*, p.49.

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level of compensation being 5s lower at Bristol than any other port, could have encouraged fraud.²²⁵ Since this compensation was fixed, as wine prices rose over the following decades, the value of this compensation in proportion to the cost of the wine would have declined.

Though there is a report by a custom official claiming the evasion of prisage was occurring in Bristol in 1511, these are only minor and sporadic incidences.²²⁶ With wine costing between £4 and £5 per tun in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century, the merchant would still have received between 15%-19% of the value of wine as compensation for prisage.²²⁷ Therefore, the cost of smuggling only two tuns of wine to evade prisage would have outweighed any profit from this; thus prisage would have been a minor incentive for merchants to risk smuggling.²²⁸ As shown by **Table 2.2** and **Table 2.3**, there is no evidence of prisage being evaded in Bristol in the late 1530s and early 1540s. It appears, therefore, on the basis of the evidence that up to the mid sixteenth century there had been no large scale smuggling occurring in Bristol.

It appears from **Graph 2.1** that 1558 was the turning point in Bristol's trade in wine. The total wine imports fell significantly below the 1,500 tun mark after this date. Imports only appear to start to recover in the mid 1580s, but this was still gradual. The dramatic drop in imports after 1558 appears somewhat suspicious in its suddenness. Considering the

²²⁵ Gras, *English Custom System*, p.41.

²²⁶ 'The ship [*Mary Grace*] was ij ton priseable...the same master wold nott suffer me to mark eny wyne in the same ship...': Vanes, *Documents*, p.43.

²²⁷ Based on Gascony wine prices in: Simon, *History of Wine*, II, App. A, pp.270-281.

²²⁸ It is possible that larger ships were built to minimize the impact of prisage instead: Jones, 'Bristol shipping', p.22.

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average level of wine imports before 1558, what could have triggered such a decline?
Had incentives to smuggle wine increased?

In 1558, the impositions paid on wine increased. The amount of tunnage paid by wine had been fixed since the fourteenth century and had not taken into consideration the changing prices of wine.²²⁹ Mary I also introduced a new Book of Rates in this year which roughly doubled the poundage paid on customable goods.²³⁰ This included corrupt wine. As a result of the new impositions, tunnage paid on French wine increased 1,777% from 3s per tun to 53s 4d per tun.²³¹ In a few years this was followed by an increase in the imposition paid on 'sweet' wine, of 1,333%, from 3s per tun to 40s per tun.²³² If a tun of French wine cost about £6 per tun on average in the 1550s, the proportion of this paid in tax increased from 2.5% to 44% literally overnight.²³³ This dramatic increase shows there was a greater incentive to smuggle wine after 1558.²³⁴

Inflation in the second half of the sixteenth century caused an increase in the price of wine.²³⁵ As prices rose, the impact of the tax paid on wine would have lessened, therefore decreasing the incentive to smuggle wine. However, the levels of inflation rose gradually

²²⁹ It is apparent that even after the rise in impositions they were still below the true value of the goods: Willan, *Tudor Rates*, p.xliii.

²³⁰ There is debate over how much the value of goods increased by: between 75%-100%: Willan, *Tudor Rates*, p.xxviii.

²³¹ Dietz, 'Elizabethan Customs', pp.36-7.

²³² Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, II, p.933, n.26; Simon, *History of Wine*, II, p.55. Tonnage on sweet wine was lower than French wine, but still heavy, especially after new impositions on sweet wine in 1573: Willan, *Tudor Rates*, p.xiii.

²³³ Simon, *History of Wine*, II, App. A, pp.282-3.

²³⁴ This is in support of Jones's belief that an increase in customs increased smuggling: Jones, 'Illicit business', p.36.

²³⁵ Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, II, p.585.

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in the first few decades after 1558. By the 1570s a tun of French wine cost about £10.²³⁶ Though £4 more than the price of wine in the 1550s, the amount of tax paid upon this wine was 26% of the value, still a considerable amount in the 1570s. This shows that there would still have been a major incentive to smuggle wine in this decade. Profits from smuggling still outweighed the losses. **Graph 2.1** supports this by showing that the volume of wine recorded as imported legally into Bristol after 1558, still remained significantly lower than pre 1558 levels.

In the late 1580s and early 1590s the price of wine roughly tripled from that of the 1550s, and meant that only 13% of the value of the wine was paid in tax.²³⁷ This appears to have affected the incentive to smuggle wine, for as **Graph 2.1** shows, from the late 1580s, the volume of wine being imported into Bristol began to rise again.

Since sweeter Iberian wines cost 13s 4d less in tax than French wine, this may have encouraged fraud in the accounts, not just illegal trade. With an increased incentive to declare French wine as Spanish to pay the lower imposition, the true provenance of the wine in the 1570-71 and 1573-74 accounts is questionable.

In theory the Anglo-Spanish trade embargo of 1569-73 should have prevented Spanish wine reaching Bristol. **Tables 1.16** and **1.24** have shown that the embargo did not cease trade between Bristol and Spain. It would be overly cynical to deduce that all this Spanish

²³⁶ Simon, *History of Wine*, II, App. A, pp.285-7. French wine has been used as the example since because it cost more than Spanish wine it can represent the maximum amounts. Hereinafter, French wine is being used to represent wine overall.

²³⁷ Simon, *History of Wine*, II, App. A, pp.285-291.

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wine was actually French simply because of the incentive to pay the lower custom dues. It has been found that during the Anglo-Spanish war, and the earlier trade embargo, many underhand methods were used to continue trade.²³⁸ English ships could be renamed or given a fictitious nationality, and neutral factors or naturalised merchants, such as William Anors, ‘a Frenchman dwelling at Seville’, could undertake business transactions on behalf of English merchants.²³⁹ It appears that neither a trade embargo nor war could cease the trade in wine, but instead gave incentive for illicit dealings. Spanish wine is present in the ‘particular’ accounts during the embargo because the Bristol authority’s concerns would have been in preventing Spanish ships reaching England, not in Englishmen’s illegal dealings in Spain to obtain goods. Therefore, illicit trade in Spain could be openly recorded in England. This does not mean, however, that none of this Spanish wine was French. Determining the true proportion of French and Iberian imports under such circumstances of apparent fraud after 1558 from the custom accounts alone is almost impossible. As such, the reliability of the data from the 1570-71 and 1573-74 port books is in serious question.

The amount of wine leaked in a shipment was naturally variable, depending on the quality of the barrel and the weather during the wine’s voyage. The amount of wine lost by Smythe to ullage in his shipments of the 1540s varied, between 1.3% and 25%, as can be seen in **Table 2.4**. Using this data it can be calculated that, overall, the average amount of wine Smythe lost to ullage was 8%. An overall estimate about the amount of wine lost to ullage in the sixteenth century can be made using Smythe’s ledger, together with two

²³⁸ Croft, ‘Trading with the Enemy’, pp.281-302.

²³⁹ Croft, ‘Trading with the Enemy’, p.282, p.286.

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accounts of the amount of wine a London merchant lost to ullage in 1528 and 1583.²⁴⁰ From the two London accounts it can be calculated that the amount of wine lost to ullage was in both cases about 10% of the total import. Therefore, it can be estimated that, on average, merchants would expect to lose up to 10% of the wine imported to leakage in the sixteenth century.

Fluctuations in ullage also occurred in the shipments of wine to Bristol in 1570-71 and 1573-74, as they had for Smythe's shipments. However, the proportion of French and Iberian wine lost to ullage in both these port books is above the estimated average, as **Table 2.5** shows. Individual entries show greater discrepancies. The *Bride* of Mowreholl apparently lost 16% of its shipment of wine to ullage in 1573-74, while in 1570-71, the *Katherine* of St Vincent recorded a loss of 24% of Spanish wine to leakage.²⁴¹ It is also apparent that the greater impositions paid on 'non-sweet' wine than 'sweet' wine after 1558, appears to have influenced the claims of amounts of wine lost to ullage. In both accounts of the 1570s, the proportion of French wine lost to ullage is greater than that of Iberian wine, as seen in **Graphs 2.6 [a]** and **2.6 [b]**. The disparity between the overall volume of wine imported into Bristol that was lost to ullage in 1570-71 and 1573-74, as can be seen in **Table 2.5**, and the average of 10% that has been calculated, brings doubt upon the reliability of these 'particular' accounts. Were there other incentives after the 1558 increase in custom duties, which encouraged wine smuggling?

²⁴⁰ Accounts of costs of wine in: Vanes, *Documents*, pp.85-6.

²⁴¹ T.N.A., E190/1129/3, f.13r; E190/1128/15, f. 4v respectively.

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Table 2.4: The Percentage of the Volume of Wine imported by John Smythe to Bristol between 1539 and 1550 lost to Ullage.

Entry	Year	Destination From	Type of Wine	Amount of Wine (Tuns)	Ullage	% of Amount
F.70	1544	Andalusia	Sack and Bastard	13	2.5	19%
F.96	1539	-	Ossey	5	0.5	10%
F.108	1540	Gascony [Bordeaux]	Gascon	33.25	1.625	5%
F.114	1540	Andalusia	Sack of Sherry	36	4.5	12.5%
F.118	1540	-	Bastard	16.5	1.75	10%
F.144	1541	Gascony	Gascon	40.625	-	-
F.145	1541	Andalusia	Sack	47	2	4%
F.180	1542	Andalusia	Sack	10	0.5	5%
			Bastard	8.5	1.5	17.6%
			Sack	10	0.75	7.5%
			Sack & Bastard	10	0.5	5%
F.203	1543	-	Bastard	28	2.5	9%
F.213	1543	-	Taynt	4	-	-
F.222	1544	Gascony	Gascon	27.25	0.75	3%
F.235	1545	Gascony	Gascon	38.5	-	-
F.251	1549	-	Sack	39	2.5	6.4%
F.255	1546	-	Sack	52	-	-
			Bastard	7.5	-	-
F.259	1549	Gascony	Gascon	35	-	-
F.265	1547	Gascony	Gascon	38.25	0.5	1.3%
F.287	1548	Andalusia	Sack	24.5	1	4%
			Bastard	6	1.5	25%
F.289 A	-	-	Gascon	34.5	3	9%

Source: Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*.

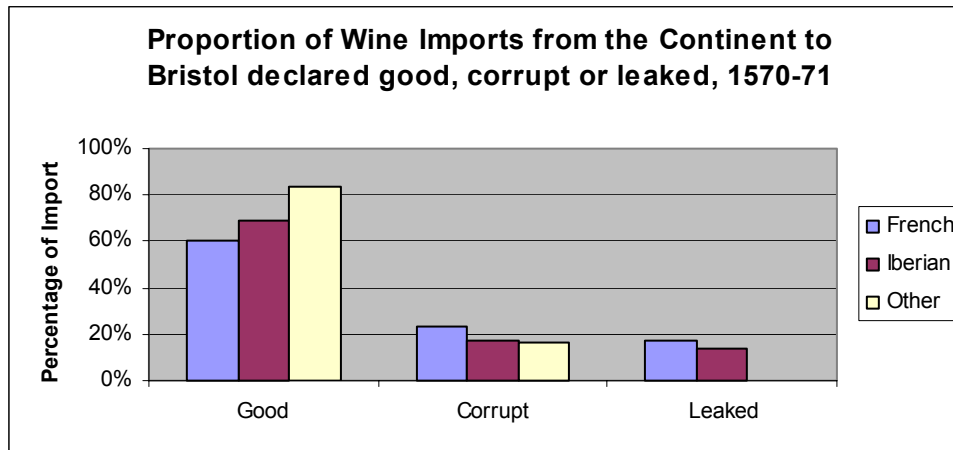
Table 2.5: Percentage of Wine Imports into Bristol in 1570-71 and 1573-74 declared Net, Corrupt and Leaked

	Net	Corrupt	Leaked
1570-71	63.5%	20%	16.5%
1573-74	74.2%	13.4%	12.4%

Source: T.N.A., E190/1128/15; E190/1129/3

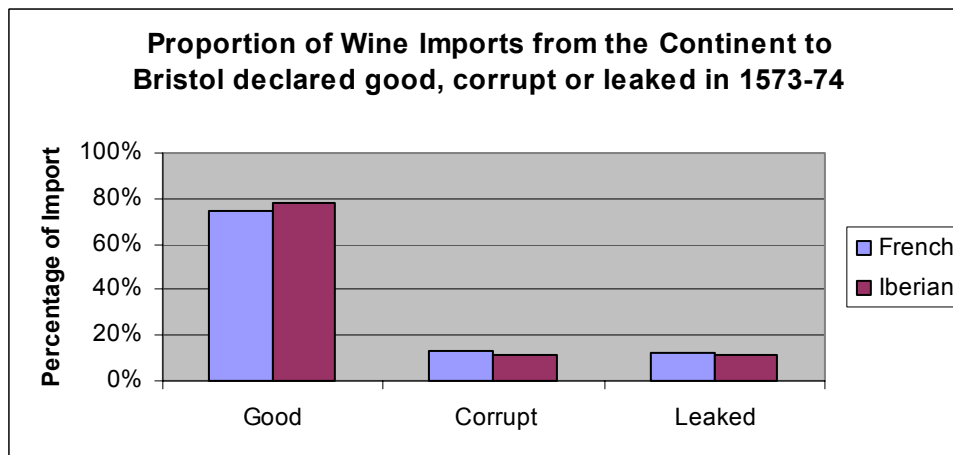
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Graph 2.6 [a]



Source: T.N.A., E190/1128/15

Graph 2.6 [b]



Source: T.N.A., E190/1129/3

Corrupt wine was imported and sold as a separate commodity in the sixteenth century.²⁴²

As such it did not pay tunnage but paid an *ad valorem* duty which amounted to around 5% of its value.²⁴³ Before the increase in this tax in 1558, merchants paid a duty which amounted to 18d per tun on corrupt wine. This was half of the custom paid by ‘sweet’ and ‘non-sweet’ wine. However, there was little incentive to claim good wine as corrupt, or even to illicitly import wine at this time. If wine cost on average £5 per tun before

²⁴² It was often used in the pickling industry: Vanes, *Documents*, p.14.

²⁴³ Known as ‘poundage’: Willan, *Book of Rates*, p.xix.

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1558, the amount of tunnage paid was only 3% of this value.²⁴⁴ If declared as corrupt wine, merchants would have saved only 1.5%. The difference therefore, in the custom paid on ‘corrupt’ and ‘good’ wine would have only been minimal, making fraud hardly worthwhile. In 1558 the new Book of Rates increased the duty paid on corrupt wine by 64% from 18d per tun to 28d per tun.²⁴⁵ Impositions at this time on good wine had also increased by 1,777% on French wine, and 1,333% on ‘sweet’ wine. If this good wine was falsely recorded as ‘corrupt’ after 1558, the merchant would only have paid 2s 4d per tun in custom rather than 40s per tun [Spanish wine] or 53s 4d per tun [French wine].²⁴⁶ This shows that the incentive to fraudulently declare good wine as corrupt after 1558 would have been extremely high, but is there evidence of this occurring in Bristol?

Table 2.7: The Amount of Wine in Tuns recorded in four ‘Particular’ Accounts of Bristol as Good, Corrupt and Leaked.

	1479-80	1516-17	1570-71	1573-74
Good	1305.361	2500.147	902.25	710.5
Corrupt	-	20	282.75	128.25
Leaked	-	-	235.75	118.25
Total [Tuns]:	1305.361	2520.147	1420.75	957

Source: Carus-Wilson., *Overseas Trade*, pp.118-189; T.N.A, E122/21/2; E190/1128/15; E190/1129/3.

In examining the four ‘particular’ accounts it can be seen, from **Table 2.7**, that in 1479-80, no corrupt wine was recorded as being imported into Bristol, although there are entries of exports of corrupt wine to Ireland and Iceland.²⁴⁷ This is also apparent in the 1516-17 account, where 110.5 tuns of corrupt wine had been exported from Bristol to

²⁴⁴ Simon, *History of Wine*, II, App. A, pp.270-281.

²⁴⁵ Information received from Susan Flavin and Dr Evan Jones (University of Bristol), based on T.N.A., E190/1129/9.

²⁴⁶ Willan, *Tudor Rates*, p.xiii.

²⁴⁷ 1 tun, 1 pipe of corrupt wine goes to Ireland in January 1480, while in February, 1 tun of corrupt wine went to Iceland: Carus-Wilson., *Overseas Trade*, p238, p.252 respectively. From this record, a total of 48.75 tuns of corrupt wine were exported from Bristol.

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Ireland.²⁴⁸ However, it cannot be proven that such corrupt wine came from Continental shipments of those years.²⁴⁹ There is one import on the *Mary Tower* of Bristol in April 1517 of 20 tuns of corrupt wine imported from Ireland in to Bristol.²⁵⁰ This meant that in 1516-17, only 0.8% of the total imports of wine for this year was corrupt wine. **Table 2.7** therefore shows that a small percentage, if any, of corrupt wine, arrived into Bristol pre 1558. This chapter has already hypothesised that there was little incentive for good wine to be declared as corrupt wine before 1558, and this table seems to reflect this, with only minimal imports recorded.

The amount of wine declared as corrupt in the ‘particular’ accounts studied post 1558, however, was considerably higher. No other factor, except the difference in duty paid by good and corrupt wine after the tax increases of 1558, has been found to explain the amount of corrupt wine imported into Bristol after this date. In the 1570s on average French wine cost £10 per tun.²⁵¹ With good French wine paying tannage of 53s 4d per tun after 1558, merchants would have paid 27% of the wine’s cost in tax. However, by declaring good wine as corrupt, which paid 2s 4d in poundage, the owner would have only paid 1.2% in custom. In both 1570-71 and 1573-74, **Table 2.7** shows that the amount of good wine imported into Bristol had declined compared to the previous accounts, but the amount of corrupt wine had increased. A substantial number of individual shipments show an extremely large proportion of wine declared as corrupt, which suggests that fraud must have been occurring. In 1570, the *Black Moriyen* of Rye

²⁴⁸ T.N.A., E122/21/2.

²⁴⁹ T.N.A., E122/21/2; also see **Appendix A [II]**.

²⁵⁰ T.N.A. E122/21/2, f.10.

²⁵¹ Simon, *History of Wine*, II, App. A, pp.285-7.

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declared 41% of its total import as being corrupt.²⁵² In the 1573-74 custom account the amount of wine lost from each ship to leakage or corruption is often of suspiciously equal distribution, which suggests the accounts were being manipulated. For example, the entry for the *Dragon* of Lynne records 27 tuns of Sack as ‘good’, with the remaining 10 tuns divided equally into ‘corrupt’ and ‘leaked’.²⁵³ This occurs more frequently in the 1573-74 account than the 1570-71 account, and although proving actual fraud is impossible, the pattern and frequency is suspect.

Graph 2.6 [a] shows that of the 1570-71 wine imported into Bristol, on average 24% of the total French wine and 17% of the Iberian wine, had been declared as ‘corrupt’. In 1573-74, **Graph 2.6 [b]** reveals that on average 13% of the total French wine imported and 13.4% of Iberian wine imported into Bristol was claimed to be corrupt. This is a dramatic increase from the minimal amount of corrupt wine before 1558, as shown by **Table 2.7**. It therefore suggests that not all of the corrupt wine recorded in the later custom records was as declared. Reasons, other than smuggling, for the high proportion of wine lost to ullage and declared corrupt in the two ‘particular’ accounts of the 1570s cannot be found. This Chapter has shown there were a greater number of incentives for wine smuggling after 1558. The depressed economy, war in France, and increase in custom rates may have discouraged trade, but wine was too valuable a commodity for trade to have declined simply because of these factors.²⁵⁴ Smuggling was ‘a response to

²⁵² T.N.A.,E190/1128/15, f. 6v.

²⁵³ T.N.A.,E190/1129/3, f.4r.

²⁵⁴ It was said that after 1550 the English economy went into decline – coinage was debased and this was followed by inflation: Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, II, p.583-5. Vanes believed decline was due to French civil wars: Vanes, *Documents*, p.12.

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either prohibitions or higher duties.²⁵⁵ It therefore appears that in the 1570-71 and 1573-74 port books, at least, a large proportion of the wine imported into Bristol from the Continent after 1558 was fraudulently declared. It would be interesting to study more of these later accounts to examine this pattern.

The increase in wine prices after 1558 probably had a major effect in encouraging the evasion of prisage, than before. Between 1500 and 1550, French wine cost on average £5 per tun.²⁵⁶ By the 1570s, the cost of French wine had doubled to around £10 per tun, and by the 1590s it had risen to about £20 per tun.²⁵⁷ The amount paid in return by the Crown for prisage, over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, remained fixed at 15s per tun. Therefore, as wine prices increased, the proportion of the value of wine returned in compensation for prisage would have halved, from 15% in the early sixteenth century, to only 7.5% in the 1570s. This decrease would have given merchants a greater incentive to evade prisage after 1558.

With the seventeen-fold increase in taxes paid on good wine, and the increasing gap between the level of compensation paid in return for prisage and the cost of wine after 1558, it is apparent that the desire of merchants to avoid superfluous costs, such as prisage, had greatly increased. This appears to be evident in the 1570-71 and 1573-74 port books. A large number of vessels in these 'particular' accounts were recorded as having a net amount of wine less than the prisage level, although when they were laded

²⁵⁵ Willan, *Book of Rates*, p.xlviii.

²⁵⁶ Average calculated from: Simon, *History of Wine, II*, pp.279-282; Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*, App. IV, p.324.

²⁵⁷ Simon, *History of Wine, II*, pp. 284-291; Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*, p.324.

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the gross amount would have been accountable to prisage, as the entry for the *John* of Roscoff in the 1570-71 port book shows, whereby 18.5 tuns declared as good, but 6.5 tuns were lost to leakage.²⁵⁸ In the 1573-74 port book there are a number of ships, like the *Hart* of Dartmouth, the *Bride* of Mowreholl and the *Merlin* of Bristol, which also have a net amount of wine under prisage, as well as the amount of wine declared as ullage above the estimated average. However, the amount of wine declared in these entries as ‘corrupt’ and ‘leaked’ is of equal volume too which is highly suspicious.²⁵⁹ If, as this chapter has suggested, a significant proportion of wine was being smuggled into Bristol after 1558, then this would have created a situation conducive for merchants to evade prisage as well. This study’s research has shown that the evasion of prisage appears to have been minor in the early sixteenth century. The number of ships in both the 1570-71 and 1573-74 port books with the amount of good wine below prisage, appears to show a trend, rather than exceptions, and therefore suggests that the these accounts were manipulated to avoid unnecessary costs. What other evidence is there that supports this supposition that wine smuggling was now occurring after 1558?

The extant documents of Bristol that date from before 1558, have been shown earlier in this chapter, to refer to small scale illicit activity in the wine trade in the early sixteenth century.²⁶⁰ As such, it can be estimated that probably only 1%-2% of wine was smuggled into Bristol, if at all, in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century. In 1565 the whole of the custom system was reformed.²⁶¹ The government began to

²⁵⁸ T.N.A., E190/1128/15, f.5r.

²⁵⁹ T.N.A., E190/1129/3, ff.12v, 13r, 12v respectively. Also see **Appendix A, [III]** and **[IV]**.

²⁶⁰ Vanes, *Documents*, pp.41-43.

²⁶¹ Dietz, ‘Elizabethan Customs’, p.38. Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*, pp.30-31.

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commission a series of port and smuggling surveys, like those of Bristol in 1565 and 1577.²⁶² This suggests that smuggling must have increased in scale and become a serious problem, for the government to have taken such apparently drastic action. In 1536 Thomas Cromwell had formulated a scheme to reform the custom system.²⁶³ The fact that this did not occur suggests that, if there had been smuggling at the time, it was small scale and of little concern to the government. The new port books introduced in 1565 were now bound, issued every six months and required further detail of the shipment of the goods and the ships themselves, than the previous accounts.²⁶⁴ This demonstrates that not only was this an attempt by the Exchequer to identify if smuggling was occurring and to deter corruption, but smuggling must have been occurring at a greater level than previously for such a drastic overhaul of the system to have been needed in 1565. The introduction of the Statute of Fraud in 1559, one year after the new wine impositions and the revised Book of Rates, appears to indicate that something was amiss which the government was trying to rectify.²⁶⁵ This may be assumed to have been a significant increase in smuggling, as there was impetus to do so after 1558.

This study has shown that by the 1560s wine smuggling was no longer accountable for minor losses of revenue. The apparent increase in the number of men of Bristol brought before the Exchequer court accused of wine smuggling, almost doubling from 15 to 26 after 1558, adds to the plausibility that the incentives to smuggle wine after 1558

²⁶² Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*, p.30; Vanes, *Documents*, pp.40-41, 43-4.

²⁶³ Ramsay, 'Smugglers' Trade', p.141.

²⁶⁴ Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*, pp.30-31.

²⁶⁵ Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*, pp.29-30.

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increased the illicit trade in wine in Bristol.²⁶⁶ Since this is representative of probably only a small proportion of men who smuggled in Bristol, as few were probably caught, it is impossible to imagine how great a problem smuggling was in the late sixteenth century. It is apparent though that the problem had increased.

It has been claimed that at Bristol, ‘vast frauds were being perpetuated in the wine trade’, but to what extent?²⁶⁷ A survey of smuggling commissioned in 1565 implied that large scale smuggling of wine was occurring in Bristol after 1558.²⁶⁸ It appears that there was a discrepancy between the Controller’s and the Customer’s accounts of the amount of wine imported into Bristol for the previous year, with 958 tuns of French wine allegedly recorded by the Customer, but only 398 tuns recorded by the Controller. As such, this would have meant that 58% of the wine imported into Bristol had been illegally imported in 1564. However, these are only claims of smuggling. There are just three informers who appear to clarify the allegations of smuggling against three of the eighteen vessels, but this does not prove the claims against the other 15 ships.²⁶⁹ The Customer’s account may not have accounted for ullage or prisage, and it should also be considered that the Exchequer may have exaggerated these discrepancies. Taking all this into consideration, it can still be estimated that between 33%-43% of wine may have been illegally imported

²⁶⁶ Vanes, *Documents*, App. 2, p.165.

²⁶⁷ Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*, p.52.

²⁶⁸ Survey of Smuggling in Bristol, 1565 (transcribed by Evan Jones, 2003): www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Maritime/Sources.htm

²⁶⁹ These were John Syllye of Somerset, masters mate of the *Prymerose* of Bristol; John Lytche of Devon, master of the *George* of Absome and William Warron of Walton, Somerset, boatswain of the *Grace of God* of Bristol. From their statements it can be calculated for each individual ship that the *Prymerose* did not declare 31.25% of its cargo, the *George* of Absome, 55%, and the *Grace of God* of Bristol, 60%: Survey of Smuggling, 1565, www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Maritime/Sources.htm.

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into Bristol in 1564.²⁷⁰ Further examination of allegations about illicit trade in wine in Bristol during this period needs to be undertaken. However, from this one account, it can be estimated that possibly up to 50% of wine was illicitly imported into Bristol in the second half of the sixteenth century. This demonstrates that large scale smuggling was probably occurring after 1558. This also puts into question how the data given in custom accounts post 1558 can be representative of the total volume of wine imported into Bristol.

The 1565 port survey of Bristol appears to show that large scale fraud was occurring at the custom house, with the claims of searchers falsely declaring the value of goods, the Controller's record not tallying with the Customer's, and the clerks illegally selling cockets and certificates.²⁷¹ The accusations against Bristol custom officials pre 1558, such as the claim that Nicholas Wykes, a Bristol controller, was absent from his post for three months in 1541, were petty and sporadic.²⁷² The government's claims of corruption and smuggling from the 1560s, such as in their port surveys, implies that illicit trade was on a much larger and wider scale in Bristol in the second half of the sixteenth century.²⁷³

²⁷⁰ Accounting for ullage and prisage, and assuming the volume of wine may have been exaggerated by between 100-200 tuns at least, it can be estimated that there were 600-700 tuns imported. With the Controller only recording 398 tuns as declared, the percentage of wine imported illicitly into Bristol in this year can be calculated to be between 33%-43%.

²⁷¹ Bristol Port Survey, 21 May 1565 (transcribed by Evan Jones, 2003): www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Maritime/Sources.htm. Cockets were the receipts for the payment of export duties, and Certificates the receipt for the payment of import duties, which the searcher used to compare with the amount of cargo on board a ship to ensure they tallied. There had been a problem with blank ones being sold: Williams, 'Frances Shaxton', pp.390-391, n.3.

²⁷² Vanes, *Documents*, p.51. In 1540, informers accused custom officers of 'very notable misdemeanours', but the governments disbelief at this, and lack of action, shows that though smuggling may have been occurring, it was not large scale enough to cause great concern: Ramsay, 'Smugglers' Trade', p.141.

²⁷³ There are a large number of complaints, surveys and irregularities occurring at Bristol after 1558: Vanes, *Documents*, pp.39-57, including, 'accusations against custom officials', p.52; a list of substantial 'custom evasions' at Bristol, such as 7 tuns of salt uncustomed by Nicholas Hill in 1588: p.41-2, and a 1577 survey of smuggling which describes apparent methods of evasion of prisage, pp.43-4. Lord

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With custom officials apparently involved in smuggling around Bristol in the later sixteenth century, like the waiter at Berkeley who would carry items ashore but not declare them at the custom house, this may undermine the reliability of the post 1558 'particular' accounts.²⁷⁴

The custom area of Bristol itself was extensive, and included 59 'pills, creeks and havens', which were considered to be areas of illicit lading and unloading, where 'corne, grayne, lether, calfe skynnes, vicutalles...secretlye in the night...transporte...without licence or awnsweryng of the queens duties.'²⁷⁵ It was a concern the government had been aware of for a while, since in 1543 an Act of Parliament had tried to prohibit illicit trade at Kingroad and Hungroad.²⁷⁶ This may have been merely a preventative measure, rather than evidence of smuggling occurring, although Jones has proven that the smuggling of grain and leather was being undertaken in Bristol in the 1540s.²⁷⁷ However, this evidence does show that the topography of Bristol's custom area suited smuggling, and probably encouraged it at Bristol.

If Bristol's custom officials were involved in smuggling, then this undermines the reliability of the custom accounts. The irony was, the very men in place to ensure legal trade, the custom officials, appear to be actually involved in smuggling themselves. Custom officers were paid very little for their duties by the government, and since they

Winchester's reforms in 1565 aimed to check custom officers: Dietz, 'Elizabethan Customs', pp.37-8, Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*, pp.32-3.

²⁷⁴ Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*, p.4.

²⁷⁵ Bristol Port Survey, 1565, www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Maritime/Sources.htm.

²⁷⁶ Jones, 'Illicit business', p.30.

²⁷⁷ Jones, 'Illicit business', pp.17-38.

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were not of a centralised body, their loyalties were not easily controllable.²⁷⁸ Custom officers were often chosen from the actual local merchant community.²⁷⁹ With local associations, and the fact that the custom officers were often involved in another profession that relied on Continental goods, such as a vintner or a grocer, this would have given them a bias towards their fellow businessmen.²⁸⁰ The government tried to control these vested interests by banning custom officials from direct trade as merchants while in office, but as a 1595 report against the Bristol custom men, John Andrews, William Colston and John Dowle, claims, this prohibition could be undermined.²⁸¹ The regulation of custom officers and fraud was almost impossible to control for there was a lack of local law enforcement agencies.²⁸² This suggests how it was likely that custom evasion could have occurred in Bristol in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Recent research undertaken on Smythe's ledger has revealed how Smythe was able to avoid suspicion from the custom house regarding his smuggling of grain and leather in the 1540s.²⁸³ Since merchants worked on a credit system based on individual and local ties, the debt to Smythe of a Bristol searcher, Anthony Standbanck of up to £200 for wine and other goods, appears extremely unusual, especially since Smythe does not extend

²⁷⁸ In London, searchers received no fee, while waiters earned less than £4 per year: Ramsay, 'Smugglers' Trade', p.140. The fee of some collectors in the fifteenth century was less than £10 per year: Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*, p.5. Not part of a uniform service: Ramsay, 'Smugglers' Trade', p.138.

²⁷⁹ Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*, p.4.

²⁸⁰ Anthony Standbanck was a waiter then a searcher at Bristol in the 1540s: J. Inwood., 'How did Anthony Standbanck rise to prominence and become one of the leaders of Bristol's community?', unpublished essay (Bristol University, 2006), pp.1-2, and Jones, *Documents*, p.61. From the apprentice books it can be seen that at this time, Standbanck was also a vintner in Bristol: Ralph and Hardwick, *Bristol Apprentice Book, Part II: 1542-1552*, pp.19, 39, 57,142.

²⁸¹ Vanes, *Documents*, p.52

²⁸² Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*, pp.12-13. In Bristol in the sixteenth century, Thomas Watkins, a clerk, found himself on a 'trumped up charge of debt' for threatening to inform against his fellow colleagues' illicit dealings: *Ibid.*, pp.52-3.

²⁸³ Inwood, 'Anthony Standbanck', pp.1-17.

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such a courtesy in his ledger to any other client.²⁸⁴ This debt appears as a form of bribery forcing Standbanck to turn a blind eye to Smythe's illegal dealings by the extension of credit beyond Smythe's usual three months, and the unspoken threat of the debt being recalled at any time.²⁸⁵ The entry of a 'gowne of damaskyn' for Standbanck, and a 'Cordanvan skuyn' for a searcher of Gloucester, in the ledger, appears to be other methods of buying custom officers' loyalties.²⁸⁶ It seems that neither Smythe's nor Standbanck's reputation was scarred by their involvement in smuggling, just as the outing of Frances Shaxton, a Norfolk merchant and cloth smuggler failed to destroy his, for all three men went on to become mayors of their towns.²⁸⁷ Standbanck was even mayor at the time of the 1565 surveys of Bristol, which shows the difficulty the government faced in trying to eradicate smuggling when it apparently had become part of merchants' lives.²⁸⁸ The need to earn a living meant honesty did not pay for a custom official or those who undertook the farming of wine in later years.²⁸⁹ This was shown in the case of Richard Young, a law-abiding inspector of cloths in London, who on his death in 1595 left his family paupers.²⁹⁰ The apparent increase in corruption in Bristol amongst officials, and their involvement in smuggling in the second half of the sixteenth century, adds to the reservations about the reliability of the custom figures recorded, already highlighted by the discrepancies amongst the 1570-71 and 1573-74 accounts.

²⁸⁴ Inwood, 'Anthony Standbank', p.3. Credit based system discussed by: Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics, I*, p.81.

²⁸⁵ 'Itm...for the freight of 2 ton pipe wyne...to paye half in hand & half at the end of 3 monthes next...', f.181(l): Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*, p.219.

²⁸⁶ Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*, p.108. Inwood, 'Anthony Standbank', pp.1-2.

²⁸⁷ Table 11 in Jones, 'Illicit business', p.31; Study of Frances Shaxton in: Williams, 'Frances Shaxton', pp.387-395.

²⁸⁸ 'The Certyfycat of Anthony Stanbanck maior of the Citie of Bristoll': Survey of Smuggling in Bristol, 1565, and Bristol Port Survey, 1565, www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Maritime/Sources.htm

²⁸⁹ Wine was farmed out in the late 1580s and 1590s, but there were no controls in place, thus smuggling could continue: Dietz, 'Elizabethan Customs', pp.43-45, 51-53.

²⁹⁰ Williams, *Contraband Cargoes*, p.41

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Overall, it appears that government measures in the late sixteenth century appear to have encouraged rather than eradicated illicit trade. It is plausible to indicate 1558 as the turning point in the import of wine into Bristol, and probably the rest of England. Smuggling appears to have responded to prohibitions or impositions.²⁹¹ This study has shown there was greater impetus to smuggle wine in the second half of the sixteenth century because of the rise in impositions on wine. The dramatic decline in wine imports after 1558, as shown in **Graph 2.1**, supports this hypothesis. There is also apparent manipulation of the 1570-71 and 1573-74 port books, which is supported by the increasing incidences of corrupt custom officials in the later sixteenth century. This study has also shown that the Anglo-Spanish trade embargo of 1569-73 was apparently ineffective in stopping trade, and encouraged illegal measures of obtaining wine in Spain. The Anglo-Spanish war of the late 1580s, brought about stricter government measures against trade between the two countries, but research by Croft shows these were contravened, and only increased the incentive to risk illegal trade.²⁹² By taking into account illicit trade, the assumption that Bristol's wine trade was declining over the sixteenth century appears to be incorrect.²⁹³

Though quantifying the extent of illicit trade in wine in Bristol is difficult without comparable evidence, it is apparent from this investigation that there are good reasons to believe that a significant volume of wine was imported illegally into Bristol after 1558.

²⁹¹ Willan, *Book of Rates*, p.xlviii.

²⁹² Croft, 'Trading with the Enemy', pp.281-302.

²⁹³ Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p.25. Vanes considers French civil wars cause of decline, not smuggling: Vanes, Documents, p.12.

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Considering the evidence from **Graph 2.1**, the 1570-71 and 1573-74 ‘particular’ accounts and the 1565 port survey of Bristol, it can be hypothesised that perhaps as much as 50% of wine was being smuggled into Bristol between 1558 and the late 1570s. This means that previous hypotheses made about the wine trade based solely on the face value of evidence after 1558 may have to be reassessed to consider the extent of illicit trade, and that the ‘particular’ accounts dating after 1558 should be treated with caution.

This study has found, however, that though there may have been some smuggling in wine occurring before 1558, this would have been minimal, and probably would have only affected the import figures by 1%-2%, if at all. The custom records before 1558 can, therefore, be considered to be reliable indicators of the total amount of wine imported into Bristol. As such, it can be stated that the 1479-80 and 1516-17 ‘particular’ accounts are fairly accurate reflections of the nature of Bristol’s wine trade.

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CONCLUSION

Prior to this thesis there had been very few studies specifically looking at Bristol's wine trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and even fewer studies of Bristol or even the English trade using the 'particular' custom accounts.²⁹⁴ This thesis, therefore, has been an original study examining the nature of Bristol's wine trade over the whole of this period through the analysis of four extant 'particular' accounts. It also involved the transcription of three of these 'particular' accounts for the first time.

There had been some previous debate over the reliability, and thus value, of the 'particular' accounts as representatives of Bristol's wine trade, especially as not all survive.²⁹⁵ It was important therefore to investigate this. This thesis has shown that though some historians, like Sacks, had been aware of the limitations to the accounts, the impact of wine smuggling on the accounts has often been neglected.²⁹⁶ Though difficult to quantify, smuggling should not be ignored. This dissertation aimed to investigate the extent of the impact of illicit trade, as well as political and religious factors, on the 'particular' accounts. As such, this thesis has revealed that some of the previous assumptions made about Bristol's wine trade, such as the general belief that it declined

²⁹⁴ First comprehensive study of Bristol and 'particular' accounts, made in the 1930's, but only for the fifteenth century: Carus-Wilson, 'Overseas Trade of Bristol', pp.183-246; Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, pp.218-289. Following works have been brief like: Crawford, *Bristol and Wine*, and Sherborne, *Port of Bristol*. Sacks undertook a study of sixteenth century Bristol, but used 'enrolled' accounts, and only one 'particular' account: Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, I and II. Jones was the first historian to use a series of Bristol's 'particular' accounts to examine trade in Bristol in the 1540s: Jones, 'Bristol Shipping', and 'Illicit business', pp.17-38.

²⁹⁵ Debate over reliability of custom records in: Carus-Wilson and Coleman, *England's Export Trade*, App. 6; Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, pp.7-9; Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, App. 1.

²⁹⁶ Sacks though including about the smuggling of wine in Bristol in his first work: *Trade, Society and Politics*, he did not use this to assess the reliability of the assumptions he had made from the accounts. In his following book he then completely omits smuggling: Sacks, *Widening Gate*.

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over the sixteenth century, need to be reassessed in the light of this evidence, rather than the accounts simply taken on face value.²⁹⁷

This study's assessment of the evidence of, and incentives for, wine smuggling in Bristol in this period revealed that there was greater fiscal impetus to smuggle wine after the increase in custom duties after 1558. Whether this affected other ports in England should also be investigated.

The 'particular' accounts before 1558, however, can be considered as a fairly accurate reflection of the nature of Bristol's wine trade. The analysis of the 1479-80 'particular' account has been found to support the hypotheses that the loss of Gascony in 1453 increased the amount of wine imported into Bristol from the Iberian Peninsula.²⁹⁸ The 1516-17 'particular' account showed that there had, by this date, been a shift in the provenance of Bristol's wine, away from a previous significant reliance on French imports, and that Bristol's markets had expanded into a variety of Andalusian ports. However, this research has shown an interesting anomaly contrary to the assumption that the loss of Gascony increased wine imports from the whole of Iberia. In the 1516-17 account it can be seen that Portuguese wine imports were beginning to decline, and this pattern can be seen to continue in the later 1570's accounts, despite the stable relationship between England and Portugal over this period. This may mean a re-examination of the nature of Bristol and Portugal's wine trade and the belief that Bristol was relying on

²⁹⁷ Those who believed wine trade declined in this century include: Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, I, p.290; Vanes, *Documents*, p.12; Crawford, *Bristol's Wine Trade*, p.14. **Graph 2.1** shows imports slowly rising in 1580s and 1590s. As discussed in **Chapter Two**, this can be attributed to the tripling of wine prices which reduced the fiscal returns of smuggling.

²⁹⁸ Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade*, p.132; Sherborne, *Port of Bristol*, p.26.

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mainly Iberian imports in the later sixteenth century.²⁹⁹ Further ‘particular’ accounts need to be transcribed to confirm this pattern, and additional investigation is needed to find the underlying reasons.

Though illicit trade is impossible to fully quantify, it has been estimated in this thesis, through the examination of various contemporary evidence, that probably up to half of the wine imports after 1558 were imported illegally to Bristol. This undermines the ‘particular’ accounts and puts into question the reliability of conclusions that have been made about the nature of Bristol’s wine trade from custom data after this date. As such, the hypotheses that Bristol’s wine trade was declining in the sixteenth century, and the reasons for it, needs to be reconsidered.³⁰⁰ It is, therefore, difficult to determine the proportion of Continental wines imported to Bristol from the 1570-71 and 1573-74 accounts. This means it is difficult to ascertain if, by the second half of the sixteenth century, Bristol had come to rely more on Iberian imports than French.³⁰¹ Not only can it be seen in the later ‘particular’ accounts studied that the Portuguese imports were declining, but there were stronger fiscal incentives with the rise in custom duties on wine after 1558, for merchants to smuggle French wine as in Spanish, or falsely declare good wine as corrupt or ullaged. In light of this evidence of wine smuggling, Bristol’s custom accounts, both ‘enrolled’ and ‘particular’, which date from after 1558, should be treated with suspicion, and can never be taken on face value as indicators of the total imports of wine into Bristol in those years. This does not mean the ‘particular’ accounts after 1558

²⁹⁹ ‘Bristol specialized as a centre for the Spanish and Portuguese trade’: Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p.36.

³⁰⁰ Sacks, *Trade, Society and Politics*, I, p.290; Vanes, *Documents*, p.12; Crawford, *Bristol’s Wine Trade*, p.14.

³⁰¹ Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p.36.

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are valueless, however, for although there was significant wine smuggling occurring, they are a reflection of the circumstances.

Despite the fact that the surviving ‘particular’ accounts are only tax records, not indicators of the total wine trade in Bristol, the accounts do vary in their reliability over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially before and after the increase in incentives to smuggle wine in 1558. As long as readers of any studies of custom accounts are made aware of any limitations to the documents, and historians treat the accounts with caution, these ‘particular’ accounts are still rich resources that can give an overall impression of the nature of Bristol’s wine trade, both illegal and legal. This thesis has shown they are an invaluable source of information, divulging a wealth of detail about the provenance of wine, the origin of ships, as well as other data about merchants and seasonality.³⁰² Though they do not portray the total trade for all years, they do give a greater impression of Bristol and its wine trade over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than the ‘enrolled’ accounts.

Not all the ‘particular’ accounts survive, but there are still many that have never been transcribed.³⁰³ It is hoped that this work on four of these ‘particular’ accounts has shown the value of such documents, the wealth of detail that they can give, and the historical theories that need to be re-examined. This thesis will hopefully inspire further transcriptions and research into the nature of not only Bristol’s wine trade, legal and

³⁰² See **Appendix C**.

³⁰³ A project began in January 2006 at the University of Bristol, undertaken by Dr. Evan Jones and Miss Susan Flavin to transcribe and make available the transcriptions of a number of Bristol’s custom accounts online. The datasets can be seen at: <http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Ireland/datasets.htm>

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illegal, but will also lead to further studies and reassessments of other commodities and ports in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It may be that changing public taste and demand influenced the wine imports. Investigation into the retail trade in Bristol would be a natural continuation of this study of Bristol's wine trade.

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APPENDIX A: [II]- Summary of the Transcription of the 1479-80 'Particular' Account

Name and Origin of Ship	Date	Destination from	Wine [Tun]
<i>Barbara</i> of Fowey	12/11/1479	Bordeaux	24.75
<i>Cherit</i> of Hawe	19/11/1479	Chepstow	4.25
<i>Christopher</i> of Chepstow	22/11/1479	Chepstow	9
<i>Christopher</i> of Chepstow	08/06/1480	Chepstow	6.75
<i>Clement</i> of Worcester	19/11/1479	Chepstow	5.5
<i>David</i> of Tenby	06/03/1480	Tenby	2.5
<i>David</i> of Tenby	27/11/1479	Tenby	2.5
<i>David</i> of Tenby	08/02/1480	Tenby	0.5
<i>Flower</i> of Honfleur	18/11/1479	Bordeaux	51.916
<i>George</i> of Bristol	24/04/1480	Bordeaux	48.666
<i>Ive</i> of Bristol	16/11/1479	Bordeaux	71.082
<i>James</i> of Bayonne	18/11/1479	Bayonne	57.916
<i>James</i> of Bayonne	11/04/1480	Bayonne	29.5
<i>James</i> of Rochelle	28/10/1479	La Rochelle	33
<i>John</i> of Bristol	24/01/1480	Bordeaux	49.248
<i>Katerin</i> of Bristol	11/12/1479	Lisbon	55.75
<i>Katerin</i> of Milford Haven	14/02/1480	Milford Haven	1
<i>Leonard</i> of Bristol	30/11/1479	Bordeaux	51.25
<i>Magdalen</i> of Crozon	22/11/1479	Brittany	25.5
<i>Magrit</i> of Chepstow	08/02/1480	Chepstow	1
<i>Mary</i> of St Bride	28/10/1479	St Bride	0.5
<i>Mary Grace</i> of Bristol	29/12/1479	Lisbon	26
<i>Marie</i> of Bayonne	02/05/1480	Bayonne	78.75
<i>Marie</i> of Morlaix	12/06/1480	Bordeaux	1
<i>Marie Bird</i> of Bristol	30/11/1479	Bordeaux	103.332
<i>Mary Bridde</i> of Bristol	13/04/1480	Bordeaux	39.916
<i>Mary Hellvyn</i> of Plymouth	11/04/1480	Bordeaux	41.75
<i>Martin</i> of Harfleur	04/12/1479	Bordeaux	58.16
<i>Michael</i> of Bristol	08/03/1480	Seville	79.375
<i>Michael</i> of Milford Haven	21/06/1480	Chepstow	0.5
<i>Mighel</i> of Oporto	16/11/1479	Oporto	35
<i>Paul</i> of Chepstow	22/11/1479	Chepstow	3.75
<i>Seynt Spirit</i> of St Jean de Luz	11/04/1480	Bordeaux	45
<i>Seynt Spirit</i> of St Jean de Luz	25/01/1480	Bordeaux	41.25
<i>Seynt Spirit</i> of Fuenterrabia	29/12/1479	Bordeaux	22
<i>St John</i> of Portugalete	16/11/1479	Seville	81.5
<i>Trinity</i> of Bristol	04/03/1480	Lisbon	78
<i>Trinity</i> of Chepstow	29/05/1480	Chepstow	1
<i>Trinity</i> of Fuenterrabia	22/04/1480	Spain	36.5
TOTAL VOLUME OF WINE [TUN]			1305.361

Source: Carus-Wilson., *Overseas Trade*, pp.218-189.

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APPENDIX A: [III] – Summary of the Transcription of the 1516-17 ‘Particular’ Account

Name of Ship and Origin	Date	Destination from	Wine [Tun]
<i>Andrew</i> of Bewdley	05/03/1517	Chepstow	9.5
<i>Anne</i> of Chepstow	10/10/1516	Chepstow	2
<i>Anne</i> of Barrow	25/06/1517	Flanders	1
<i>Anne</i> of Penpoll	09/03/1517	Brittany	13
<i>Anthony</i> of Bristol	10/03/1517	Sanlúcar	71.75
<i>Anthony</i> of Bristol	19/08/1517	Sanlúcar	36.875
<i>Calvados</i> of Culard	09/03/1517	Lisbon	53
<i>Christopher</i> of Dartmouth	28/10/1516	Bordeaux	61.25
<i>Christopher</i> of Langney	21/11/1516	Cardiff	2.5
<i>Christopher</i> of Mathern	11/12/1516	Chepstow	5.25
<i>Christopher</i> of Cardiff	20/03/1517	Cardiff	1.75
<i>Christopher</i> of Cardiff	07/08/1517	Cardiff	3
<i>Edward</i> of Bristol	10/11/1516	Bordeaux	75.166
<i>Edward</i> of Bristol	27/04/1517	Bordeaux	59.416
<i>Elizabeth</i> of Milford Haven	13/03/1517	Ireland	0.25
<i>Frances</i> of St Pol de Lyon	27/10/1516	Bordeaux	29.5
<i>Frances</i> of Grandevilla	12/11/1516	Bordeaux	45.25
<i>Fyaker</i> of Penmark	29/01/1517	Bordeaux	94.75
<i>George</i> of Bristol	05/11/1516	Ireland	1.25
<i>George</i> of Bristol	05/03/1517	Carmarthen	1
<i>George</i> of Blunre	01/09/1517	Cardiff	0.5
<i>George</i> of Wicklow	09/12/1517	Ireland	0.5
<i>James</i> of Carmarthen	13/11/1516	Cardiff	2
<i>James</i> of Carmarthen	27/04/1517	Carmarthen	2.5
<i>James</i> of Tewkesbury	09/12/1516	Chepstow	12.5
<i>James</i> of Tewkesbury	05/03/1517	Chepstow	7.5
<i>James</i> of Portugalete	10/03/1517	Portugalete	19
<i>Jenet</i> of Kynprollantyne	20/11/1516	La Rochelle	8
<i>Jesus</i> of Bristol	09/11/1516	Bordeaux	127.625
<i>Jesus</i> of Bristol	10/11/1516	Bordeaux	36.5
<i>Jesus</i> of Bristol	02/05/1517	Bordeaux	56
<i>Jesus</i> of Cardiff	13/12/1516	Cardiff	1.5
<i>Jesus</i> of Cardiff	27/07/1517	Cardiff	2
<i>John</i> of St Ives	14/11/1516	Bordeaux	16
<i>John</i> of Gatcombe	27/11/1516	Chepstow	5.5
<i>John</i> of Tewkesbury	20/03/1517	Cardiff	6.5
<i>John Baptist</i> of Pasajes	17/02/1517	Sanlúcar	84.25
<i>John Baptist</i> of Newman	23/02/1517	Cardiff	1
<i>Kateryn</i> of Bristol	16/06/1517	Spain	0.5

Source: T.N.A., E122/21/2.

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Appendix A: [II] cont...

Name and Origin of Ship	Date	Destination from	Wine [Tun]
<i>Kateryn</i> of Chepstow	18/02/1517	Chepstow	8.665
<i>Kateryn</i> of Shire Hinton	10/11/1516	Ireland	0.75
<i>Kateryn</i> of Tewkesbury	13/11/1516	Wales	3.75
<i>Kateryn</i> of Youghal	09/03/1517	Ireland	0.75
<i>Kynborough</i> of Gatcombe	31/10/1516	Wales	4.5
<i>Laurence</i> of Penmark	07/03/1517	Bordeaux	47.15
<i>Laurence</i> of Penmark	23/05/1517	Brittany	0.25
<i>Mary</i> of Bewdley	11/03/1517	Chepstow	9
<i>Mary</i> of Bristol	21/07/1517	Ireland	3
<i>Mary</i> of Carmarthen	05/12/1516	Ireland	1
<i>Mary</i> of Penmark	26/09/1517	La Rochelle	24.25
<i>Mary</i> of Tenby	11/02/1517	Bordeaux	4.75
<i>Mary</i> of Tewkesbury	22/01/1517	Chepstow	8
<i>Mary</i> of Tewkesbury	05/03/1517	Chepstow	2
<i>Mary</i> of Pypole	30/09/1516	La Rochelle	8.75
<i>Mary Boshier</i> of Waterford	17/07/1517	Ireland	2.75
<i>Mary Christopher</i> of Bristol	03/01/1517	Sanlúcar	78
<i>Mary Christopher</i> of Bristol	27/04/1517	Bordeaux	63.5
<i>Mary Kateryn</i> of Bristol	03/02/1517	Sanlúcar	95.625
<i>Mary Kateryn</i> of Bristol	31/06/1517	Lisbon	0.5
<i>Mary Tower</i> of Bristol	29/01/1517	Sanlúcar	121.125
<i>Mary Walsingham</i> of Bristol	26/11/1516	Sanlúcar	44
<i>Margaret</i> of Carmarthen	12/05/1517	Carmarthen	2
<i>Margaret</i> of Gloucester	01/12/1516	Cardiff	5.75
<i>Margaret</i> of Morles	17/11/1516	Seville	31.5
<i>Matthew</i> of Bristol	10/11/1516	Bordeaux	95.5
<i>Magdalen</i> of Fuenterrabia	03/11/1516	Sanlúcar	81.75
<i>Magdalen</i> of Renteria	17/02/1517	Sanlúcar	98
<i>Magdalen</i> of Renteria	27/07/1517	Spain	0.25
<i>Magdalen</i> of Sandwich	12/06/1517	Ireland	2.5
<i>Mighell</i> of Bewdley	11/03/1517	Chepstow	3
<i>Mighell</i> of Gatcombe	22/01/1517	Chepstow	3.75
<i>Mighell</i> of Gatcombe	11/05/1517	Ireland	3
<i>Molre</i> of Bristol	29/08/1517	Cardiff	4
<i>Nicholas</i> of Drogheda	20/12/1516	Ireland	0.25
<i>Nicholas</i> of Milford Haven	16/03/1517	Ireland	0.5
<i>Nicholas</i> of Tewkesbury	12/12/1516	Cardiff	2
<i>Nicholas</i> of Tewkesbury	05/03/1517	Chepstow	9.5
<i>Nunny</i> of Penmark	20/11/1516	Bordeaux	89
<i>Patrick</i> of Youghal	04/06/1517	Ireland	5
<i>Patrick</i> of Youghal	09/03/1517	Ireland	0.5

Source: T.N.A., E122/21/2.

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APPENDIX A: [II] cont...

Name and Origin of Ship	Date	Destination from	Wine [Tun]
<i>Patrick</i> of Youghal	13/07/1517	Ireland	1
<i>Patrick</i> of Cork	09/03/1517	Ireland	0.5
<i>Patrick</i> of Waterford	16/05/1517	Ireland	8
<i>Peter</i> of Dartmouth	28/10/1516	Bordeaux	33.5
<i>Robert</i> of Tewkesbury	06/11/1516	Chepstow	6
<i>St John</i> of Calais	04/11/1516	Sanlúcar	31.5
<i>Santa Maria</i> of Renteria	05/03/1517	Sanlúcar	61.25
<i>Santa Maria</i> of Caudalers	09/03/1517	Lisbon	53.5
<i>St Mark</i> of Lisbon	12/03/1517	Lisbon	71.5
<i>St Sebastian</i> of Bristol	09/03/1517	Andalusia	99
<i>Sonday</i> of Waterford	11/03/1517	Ireland	1.75
<i>Sonday</i> of Waterford	22/05/1517	Ireland	0.25
<i>Sonday</i> of Waterford	17/07/1517	Ireland	0.75
<i>Sonday</i> of Cardiff	25/06/1517	Cardiff	3
<i>Trinity</i> of Bristol	03/02/1517	Sanlúcar	61.5
<i>Trinity</i> of Bristol	29/07/1517	Sanlúcar	37
<i>Trinity</i> of Huntley	16/04/1517	Ireland	1
<i>Trinity</i> of Milford Haven	09/03/1517	Ireland	0.5
<i>Trinity</i> of Chepstow	07/11/1516	Chepstow	0.5
<i>Trinity</i> of Chepstow	27/11/1516	Chepstow	5.75
<i>Trinity</i> of Chepstow	22/01/1517	Chepstow	0.25
<i>Trinity</i> of Chepstow	17/02/1517	Chepstow	3
<i>Trinity</i> of Chepstow	25/02/1517	Chepstow	5.25
<i>Trinity</i> of Chepstow	11/03/1517	Chepstow	1
<i>Trinity</i> of Chepstow	28/03/1517	Chepstow	2
<i>Trinity</i> of Chepstow	31/03/1517	Chepstow	1.25
<i>Trinity</i> of Chepstow	03/04/1517	Chepstow	2.5
<i>Trinity</i> of Chepstow	29/04/1517	Chepstow	6.5
<i>Trinity</i> of Chepstow	09/05/1517	Chepstow	1
<i>Veronica</i> of Fonterabia	02/03/1517	Sanlúcar	74.5
TOTAL VOLUME OF WINE: [TUN]			2500.147

	Ship Name and Origin	Date	Destination from	Volume [Tun]
CORRUPT WINE:	<i>Mary Tower</i> of Bristol	01/04/1517	Ireland	20

Source: T.N.A., E122/21/2.

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APPENDIX A: [III] – Summary of the Transcription of the 1570-71 ‘Particular’ Account.

Name, Origin and Tunnage of Ship	Date	Destination From/ Type of wine	GOOD Wine		CORRUPT Wine		LEAKED Wine	
			[Tun/%]#		[Tun/%]#		[Tun/%]#	
<i>Anne Galent</i> of Myllby * [40 tun]	22/01/1571	Bordeaux / Gascon	25	64%	8	21%	6	15%
<i>Black Moriyen</i> of Rye [200 tun]	18/04/1571	Gibraltar/ Sack	55	41%	55	41%	24	18%
<i>Elizabeth Jonas</i> of Villa Hull * [108 tun]	22/01/1571	Bordeaux/ Gascon	70	65%	20	18%	18	17%
<i>Fox</i> of Bristol [25 tun]	01/02/1571	Lisbon/ Muscatill	9	78%			2	22%
<i>Gladro</i> of St Valery [40 tun]	13/12/1570	Lisbon/ Sack	[7]	[67%]			3.5	33%
<i>Gladro</i> of St Valery [40 tun]	01/06/1571	Sanlúcar / Sack	9	67%			4.5	33%
<i>Grehound</i> of Bristol * [30 tun]	18/04/1571	St Malo/ Sack	6	86%			1	14%
<i>Homard</i> of Looe * [50 tun]	24/12/1570	Bordeaux/ Gascon	38	78%			11	22%
<i>Jaques</i> of Roscoff * [50 tun]	03/03/1571	Andalusia/ Spanish	35	70%	8	16%	7	14%
<i>Jesus</i> of Barnstaple [96 tun]	22/01/1571	Bordeaux/ Gascon	55.5	60%	16	17%	10	11%
<i>Jesus</i> of Bideford * [18 tun]	24/03/1571	Aquamonfery (Spain)/ Sack	8	52%	5.5	35%	2	13%
<i>John</i> of Roscoff * [57 tun]	12/02/1571	Andalusia/ Sack	18.5	44%	17	41%	6.5	15%

Source: T.N.A., E190/1128/15

- Percentage calculated from adding Good, Corrupt and Leaked.

* - Indicates ships that were carrying no other goods except wine.

The Wine Trade in Bristol in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

APPENDIX A: [III] cont...

Name, Origin and Tunnage of Ship	Date	Destination From/ Type of wine	GOOD Wine [Tun/%]#		CORRUPT Wine [Tun/%]#		LEAKED Wine [Tun/%]#	
<i>John of Penmark</i> * [40 tun]	12/02/1571	Andalusia/ Sack	8	21%	16.5	45%	12.5	34%
<i>Jonas of Hamborough</i> [220 tun]	18/04/1571	Sanlúcar / Sack + Spanish	167	84.3%	7	3.5%	14.5	12.2%
<i>Katherine of St Vincent</i> [74 tun]	09/02/1571	Sanlúcar / Spanish	42	76%			13	24%
<i>Katherine of Milford Haven</i> [51 tun]	26/02/1571	Bordeaux/ Gascon - [SANK]	7	13.3%				
<i>Lion of Roscoff</i> [90 tun]	22/01/1571	Sanlúcar / Sack	54	86%			8.5	14%
<i>Lyon of Roscoff</i> [80 tun]	12/07/1571	Sanlúcar / Sack	26	70%	8	21%	3.5	9%
<i>Marie of St Jean de Luz</i> [44 tun]	18/04/1571	Sanlúcar / Sack	7	87.5%			1	12.5%
<i>Marie Griffith of Bristol</i> * [46 tun]	23/01/1571	Bordeaux/ Gascon	15	33.4%	20	44.4%	10	22.2%
<i>Marie Tite of Plymouth</i> * [20 tun]	20/02/1571	Bordeaux/ Gascon	14	66.7%	3	14.3%	4	19%
<i>Michael of Newport</i> * [11 tun]	16/02/1571	Newport/ Gascon	6.75	84%	1.25	16%		
<i>Nicholas of Roscoff</i> * [140 tun]	19/02/1571	Andalusia/ Sack	75	70%	15.5	14%	17	16%
<i>Nicholas of Dartmouth</i> [30 tun]	15/03/1571	Nantes/ French	13.5	61.4%	4	18%	3	13.6%

Source: T.N.A., E190/1128/15

- Percentage calculated from adding Good, Corrupt and Leaked.

* - Indicates ships that were carrying no other goods except wine.

The Wine Trade in Bristol in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

APPENDIX A: [III] cont...

Name, Origin and Tonnage of Ship	Date	Destination From/ Type of wine	GOOD Wine [Tun/%]#		CORRUPT Wine [Tun/%]#		LEAKED Wine [Tun/%]#	
<i>Peter</i> of Yarmouth* [80 tun]	09/02/1571	Il de Oléron/ Gascon – [SANK]	[15]	[21.5%]	[40]	[57%]	[15]	[21.5%]
<i>Prymrose</i> of Bristol [90 tun]	05/02/1571	La Rochelle/ Rochelle	47	63.5%	14	19%	13	17.5%
<i>Samuel</i> of Bristol [27 tun]	14/12/1570	St Jean de Luz/ Sack	7	64%	4	36%		
<i>Saviour</i> of Northam [60 tun]	28/01/1571	Bordeaux/ Gascon	40	71%	10	18%	6	11%
<i>Saviour</i> of Northam [60 tun]	30/06/1571	La Rochelle/ French	9	64.3%	3	21.4%	2	14.3%
<i>Tiger</i> of Bristol [85 tun]	24/12/1570	La Rochelle/ Rochelle	4	50%			4	50%
<i>Tiger</i> of Bristol [90 tun]	13/06/1571	La Rochelle/ French	9	46%	7	35%	3.75	19%
TOTAL VOLUME OF WINE [TUN]:			902.25	(63.5%)	282.75	(20%)	235.75	(16.5%)

Source: T.N.A., E190/1128/15

- Percentage calculated from adding Good, Corrupt and Leaked

* - Indicates ships that were carrying no other goods except wine.

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APPENDIX A: [IV] – Summary of the Transcription of the 1573-74 ‘Particular’ Account

Name, Origin and Tunnage of Ship	Date	Destination from/ Type of Wine	GOOD wine [Tun/%]#		CORRUPT wine [Tun/%]#		LEAKED wine [Tun/%]#	
			Tun	%	Tun	%	Tun	%
<i>Androe</i> of London [700 tun]	13/04/1574	Sanlúcar/ Sack	1.5	100%				
		Sanlúcar/ Bastard	20	80%	2.5	10%	2.5	10%
<i>Bride</i> of Mowreholl* [36 tun]	30/06/1574	Bordeaux/ French	19	68%	4.5	16%	4.5	16%
<i>Cresant</i> of Pouslain [50 tun]	06/11/1573	Puerto de Santa Maria/ Sack	22	73.33%	4	13.33%	4	13.33%
<i>Delling</i> of Wadstow [40 tun]	28/11/1573	Bordeaux/ French	11	73.33%	2	13.33%	2	13.33%
<i>Dominike</i> of Bristol [140 tun]	09/03/1574	Andalusia/ Sack	5	83.33%	0.5	8.33%	0.5	8.33%
<i>Dragon</i> of Lynne * [37 tun]	17/12/1573	Puerto de Santa Maria/ Sack	27	73%	5	13.5%	5	13.5%
<i>Facon</i> of Bristol [50 tun]	02/03/1574	Bordeaux/ French + Gascon	35.5	75%	6.25	13%	5.75	12%
<i>George</i> of Gives * [18 tun]	09/03/1574	Nantes/ French	6.5	72%	1.25	14%	1.25	14%
<i>Grace of God</i> of Dartmouth * [83 tun]	20/01/1574	Cales [Mallorca]/ Sack	61.5	74%	10.75	13%	10.75	13%
<i>Grasshopper</i> of Bristol [25 tun]	09/03/1574	Andalusia/ Sack	1.75	70%	0.5	20%	0.25	10%
<i>Grasshopper</i> of Bristol [25 tun]	21/07/1574	La Rochelle/ French	3	60%	1	20%	1	20%

Source: T.N.A., E190/1129/3

- Percentage calculated from adding Good, Corrupt and Leaked.

* - Indicates ships that were carrying no other goods except wine.

The Wine Trade in Bristol in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

APPENDIX A: [IV] cont...

Name, Origin and Tunnage of Ship	Date	Destination from/ Type of Wine	GOOD wine [Tun/%]#		CORRUPT wine [Tun/%]#		LEAKED wine [Tun/%]#	
			Tun	%	Tun	%	Tun	%
<i>Hart</i> of Dartmouth* [26 tun]	05/06/1574	Madeira/ Madeira	18	69%	4	15.5%	4	15.5%
<i>Hoope</i> of Bristol [100 tun]	24/07/1574	La Rochelle/ Rochelle + French	10.25	59%	4.25	25%	2.75	16%
<i>Hope</i> of Bristol [100 tun]	13/04/1574	Sanlúcar/ Sack	19	63.3%	6	20%	5	16.7%
<i>Jesus</i> of Northam* [110 tun]	08/03/1574	Andalusia/ Sack	61.25	74%	11.75	14%	9.5	12%
<i>Jonas</i> of Apson [120 tun]	22/04/1574	Sanlúcar/ Sack	49	79%	6.5	10.5%	6.5	10.5%
<i>Marling</i> of Bristol* [20 tun]	10/12/1573	Ayamonta/ Bastard + Cutt	16.25	79.3%	2.5	12.2%	1.75	8.5%
<i>Merlin</i> of Bristol* [25 tun]	02/06/1574	Bordeaux/ French	18	75%	3	12.5%	3	12.5%
<i>Mihell</i> of Bedford* [47 tun]	22/01/1574	Puerto de Santa Maria/ Sack	35	74%	6	13%	6	13%
<i>Minikin</i> of Bristol [40 tun]	19/07/1574	La Rochelle/ French	7	65%	2	19%	1.75	16%
<i>Minion</i> of Lynne* [40 tun]	17/12/1573	Puerto de Santa Maria/ Sack	30	75%	5	12.5%	5	12.5%
<i>Minitim</i> of Bristol* [45 tun]	10/12/1573	Ayamonta/ Bastard + Cutt	32	73%	6	14%	6	14%
<i>Nightingale</i> of Bristol [30 tun]	19/07/1574	La Rochelle/ French	3	75%	0.5	12.5%	0.5	12.5%

Source: T.N.A., E190/1129/3

- Percentage calculated from adding Good, Corrupt and Leaked

* - Indicates ships that were carrying no other goods except wine.

The Wine Trade in Bristol in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

APPENDIX A: [IV] cont...

Name, Origin and Tonnage of Ship	Date	Destination from/ Type of Wine	GOOD wine [Tun/%]#		CORRUPT wine [Tun/%]#		LEAKED wine [Tun/%]#	
<i>Nightingale</i> of Newcastle [110 tun]	01/03/1574	Andalusia/ Sack	56.25	75%	10	13%	8.75	12%
<i>Nightingale</i> of Newcastle [110 tun]	14/05/1574	Burnethe [France]/ French	6	63%	2	21%	1.5	16%
<i>Pete</i> of Bristol [100 tun]	09/03/1574	Andalusia/ Sack	9	58%	3.5	22.6%	3	19.4%
<i>Primerose</i> of Bristol [100 tun]	28/12/1573	Sanlúcar/ Sack	30	72.3%	6	14.5%	5.5	13.2%
<i>Primerose</i> of Bristol [80 tun]	20/05/1574	Andalusia/ Wine + Sack	15.5	79.5%	2	10.25%	2	10.25%
<i>Speedwell</i> of Bristol * [25 tun]	23/12/1573	Ayamonta/ Bastard	9	75%	1.5	12.5%	1.5	12.5%
<i>Speedwell</i> of Bristol * [25 tun]	14/05/1574	Canary Isles/ Canary	6	75%	1	12.5%	1	12.5%
<i>Swallow</i> of Bristol [80 tun]	08/03/1574	Cales [Mallorca]/ Sack	34.25	74%	6.5	14%	5.75	12%
<i>Trinity</i> of Bristol * [36 tun]	13/03/1574	Bordeaux/ Gascon	32	100%				
TOTAL VOLUME OF WINE [TUN]			710.5	(74.2%)	128.25	(13.4%)	118.25	(12.4%)

Source: T.N.A., E190/1129/3

- Percentage calculated from adding Good, Corrupt and Leaked.

* - Indicates ships that were carrying no other goods except wine.

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APPENDIX B: Summary of John Smythe's Wine Imports into Bristol, 1539-1550

Folio	Name and Origin of Ship	Date	Destination From	Amount [Tun]
79l	<i>John Baptist</i> of unknown origin	Dec.1539	-	14
60r				1
79l	<i>Mary Christopher</i> of Bristol	Dec.1539	Andalusia	6
83l	<i>Trinity</i> of Bristol	Dec.1539	-	24.75
79l	<i>Saviour</i> of Bristol	Jan.1540	Andalusia	2
79l	<i>Katherine</i> of Barnstaple	Feb.1540	-	5
96l	<i>Margaret</i> of Minehead	Feb.1540	-	5
114l	<i>Jesus</i> of Bideford	Nov.1540	-	0.5
114l	<i>Jesus</i> of Bristol	Nov.1540	-	3
114l	<i>Margaret</i> of Bristol	Nov.1540	-	10
108l	<i>Primerose</i> of Bristol	Nov.1540	Bordeaux	5
108l	<i>Trinity</i> of Bristol	Nov.1540	Bordeaux	11
114l	<i>Brytton</i> of Bristol	Dec.1540	Andalusia	3.5
108l	<i>Christopher</i> of Dartmouth	Dec.1540	Bordeaux	10.25
114l	<i>Harry</i> of Bristol	Dec.1540	Andalusia	15
108l	<i>Jesus</i> of Bristol	Dec.1540	-	2
108l	<i>Jesus</i> of Torres	Dec.1540	Bordeaux	7
114l	<i>Mary Christopher</i> of Bristol	Dec.1540	-	4
144l	<i>An</i> of London	Nov.1541	Bordeaux	9.75
145l			Andalusia	1
145l	<i>Jesus</i> of Bristol	Nov.1541	Andalusia	6
144l	<i>Margaret</i> of Bristol	Nov.1541	Bordeaux	10.25
144l	<i>Margaret Bonaventure</i> of Plymouth	Nov.1541	Bordeaux	10.666
144l	<i>Mary Fortune</i> of Gloucester	Nov.1541	Bordeaux	10
118l	<i>Trinity</i> of Bristol	Nov.1541	-	16.5
145l	<i>Trinity</i> of Caerleon	Nov.1541	Andalusia	10
145l	<i>Mary Bonaventure</i> of Bristol	Dec.1541	Andalusia	8
145l	<i>Mary</i> of Penmarch	Dec.1541	Andalusia	4
145l	<i>Saviour</i> of Northam	Dec.1541	-	1
180l	<i>Mary Conception</i> of Bristol	Feb.1543	-	10
180l	<i>Trinity</i> of Bristol	Feb.1543	Andalusia	19.5
180l	Unknown ship of Portugal	March 1543	-	10
222l	<i>Santa Maria</i> of San Sebastian	May 1544	-	13.63
222l	<i>San John</i> of Pasajes	May 1544	-	13.63
90l	<i>Julian</i> of unknown origin	July 1544	-	2
90l	<i>Margaret</i> of Bristol	July 1544	-	1
90l	<i>Mary Bulleyne</i> of unknown origin	July 1544	-	3

Source: Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*; Jones, 'Bristol Shipping', App.2

The Wine Trade in Bristol in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

APPENDIX B: Summary of John Smythe's Wine Imports cont...

Folio	Name and Origin of Ship	Date	Destination From	Amount [Tun]
2021	<i>Santa Maria Misericordia</i> of Villa do Conde	July 1544	-	9
2291	<i>Sampson</i> of Enkhuizen	Feb. 1545	Andalusia	5.5
701	<i>Trinity</i> of Renteria	March 1545	Andalusia	7
2351	<i>Santa Maria</i> of Fuenterrabia	Nov. 1545	-	38.582
2551	<i>Harry</i> of Bristol	Jan. 1546	-	3
2551	<i>Katalyne</i> of Pasajes	Jan. 1546	-	6
2551	<i>Mary Conception</i> of Bristol	Jan. 1547	-	8.5
2551	<i>Magdalen Cutt</i> of unknown origin	Jan. 1547	-	0.5
2551	[<i>Santa Maria</i>] <i>Mysericordia</i> of Villa do Conde	Jan. 1547	-	35
2551	<i>Trinity</i> of Wales	Jan. 1547	-	5
2651	<i>Elizabeth</i> of Harwich	March 1547	Bordeaux	24.5
2551	<i>Saviour</i> of Renteria	May 1547	-	1.5
2761	<i>Mary Holland</i> of Dartmouth	Dec. 1547	-	31.332
2871	<i>Harry</i> of Bristol	Feb. 1548	Spain	5
2891	<i>Jesus</i> of San Sebastian	Feb. 1548	-	10
2871	<i>Mary Conception</i> of Bristol	Jan. 1549	Andalusia	14.5
2891	<i>Sancta Cruz</i> of unknown origin	Feb. 1549	-	5.75
2871	<i>Saviour</i> of Bristol	Feb. 1549	Spain	5
2511	<i>Hart</i> of Bristol	Dec. 1549	-	34
2591	<i>Mary</i> of Renteria	Dec. 1549	-	16.25
2511	<i>San John</i> of Renteria	Dec. 1549	-	5
TOTAL AMOUNT OF WINE [TUN]				565.34

Source: Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*; Jones 'Bristol Shipping', App.2.

Table B.1: Type of Wine Imported by Smythe

Type of Wine	Amount [Tun]
Bastard	37
Gascon	246.59
Hullock	1.5
Ossey	5
Sack	263.5
Teynt	4.5
Wine of Gibraltar	1.5
Wine	5.75
TOTAL	565.34

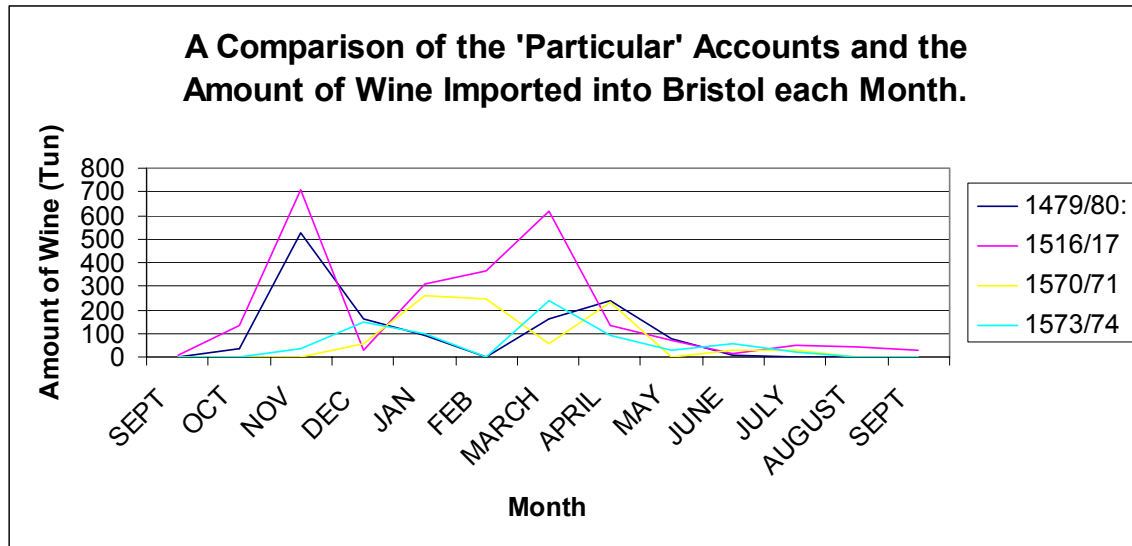
Source: Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*.

The Wine Trade in Bristol in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

APPENDIX C: Pattern of trade monthly from the ‘Particular’ Accounts of Bristol

Further analysis of the four ‘particular’ accounts has revealed that the monthly imports of wine into Bristol over each year corresponded to known trading patterns about the seasonality of the wine trade.³⁰⁴ **Graph C.1** shows the ships returning to Bristol from the Continent in November and December, and again in March and April. The new wine produced from the summer harvest and sold in the autumn fairs was known as ‘vintage’ wine. In the New Year the remaining wines were strained or ‘racked’ of their sediment [known as lees] and sold as more mature ‘racked’ wine in the spring.³⁰⁵

Graph C.1



Source: Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, pp.218-289; London, T.N.A., E122/21/2; E190/1128/15; E190/1129/3.

APPENDIX D: Comparison of the Value of the Wine Imports to the Value of the Total Imports into Bristol in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Table D.1

	1479-80	1516-17	1525-26	1542-43
Wine Imports (Tuns)	1305.361	2500.147	1503.2625	1071.625
Wine Value (£)	£5,215.75	£9,980.85	£6,049.1583	£4,246.50
Total Imports Value (£)*	£13,784.49	£20,551.68	£9,346.73	£9,482.78
% of Imports Wine	38%	49%	65%	45%

Source: Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, pp.218-289; T.N.A., E122/21/2; Bristol University, Datasets online (transcribed by Susan Flavin): <http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Ireland/datasets.htm>.

* This does include the imports from Ireland.

³⁰⁴ Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*, p.8; James, ‘Medieval Wine Dealer’, p.48.

³⁰⁵ Vanes, *Smythe's Ledger*, p.330.

The Wine Trade in Bristol in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

APPENDIX E: The Shipping of Wine into Bristol

The ‘particular’ accounts can be used to briefly deduce the extent of native and alien control of Bristol’s wine imports in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In the thirteenth century it has been assumed that about half of Bristol’s wine trade was in the hands of aliens, mainly Gascons.³⁰⁶ Henry VII’s Navigation Act of 1485, which prohibited French vessels from bringing French goods to England, was done to stimulate the growth of shipping in England, and it appears from **Table F.1** to have been effective.³⁰⁷ Analysis of the four ‘particular’ accounts shows that in both 1479-80 and 1516-17 shows that over half of the imports of wine into Bristol were brought in on English boats, with a variety of alien ships also carrying wine. With the increasing incentive for illicit trade after 1558, the later 1570-71 and 1573-74 ‘particular’ accounts may be unreliable and not completely show the total control of the shipping of wine. The ‘particular’ accounts cannot reveal how illegal wine was shipped, and it has also been claimed that some foreign ships were disguised to avoid the prohibitions during the Anglo-Spanish trade embargo [1569-1573] and later Anglo-Spanish war which may put in to question some of the data for shipping.³⁰⁸ Though the civil war in France and Anglo-Spanish trade embargo may have been the reason why in the latter half of the sixteenth century aliens played only a minor part in trade, this should be reassessed in the light of wine smuggling.³⁰⁹

Table E.1: The Origin of Ships and the amount of Wine they imported into Bristol taken from the ‘Particular’ Accounts.

Ships Origin	Net Wine [Tun] and Percentage Import [%]							
	1479-80		1516-17		1570-71		1573-74	
England	674.619	52%	1396.582	56%	345	38%	603	85%
France	396.492	30%	316.4	9%	281.5	31%	22	3%
Spain	140	11%	464.25	18.5%	-	-	-	-
Portugal	35	3%	71.5	3%	-	-	-	-
Wales	29.5	2%	69.665	3%	13.75	1.5%	-	-
Ireland	-	-	22	1%	-	-	-	-
Flemish [?]	-	-	-	-	167	19%	-	-
Unknown	29.75	5%	159.75	6.5%	95	10.5%	85.5	12%
TOTAL	1305.361	100%	2500.147	100%	902.25	100%	710.5	100%

Source: Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, pp.218-289; T.N.A., E122/21/2; E190/1128/15; E190/1129/3.

³⁰⁶ Crawford, *Bristol Wine Trade*, p.3.

³⁰⁷ James, *Studies in Medieval Wine*, p.49.

³⁰⁸ Croft, ‘Trading with the Enemy’ p.287.

³⁰⁹ Francis, *Wine Trade*, p.39.

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