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Flora E Wilson

**The Development of the Hop Trade and its
Impact on the Alehouse Economy of
Seventeenth Century Bristol**

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History Undergraduate Dissertation 2014

The Development of the Hop Trade and its Impact on the Alehouse Economy of Seventeenth Century Bristol

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Introduction:

The introduction of hops into English agriculture had a profound effect upon consumption patterns in England as preference moved from unhopped ale to beer. This transition changed not only what was being brewed but who was brewing as the start-up costs for brewing beer were far higher than those of brewing ale.¹ Ale brewing had for many years been a source of income for the poor, especially in times of financial crisis when brewing could supplement their regular income. Whilst this study will look at alehouse regulation in the seventeenth century to gain insight into the health of alehouse economy, the first act concerning the sale of ale dated from 1266, this was the Assize of Bread and Ale which regulated the sale of bread and ale, the first licencing act was passed in 1552 and regulated who could sell ale.² This increased regulation shows the growing importance of alehouses and ale in the economy of medieval and early modern England.

Hops were being grown in England from the sixteenth century and in 1602 these English hops can be seen as being distinguished from Flemish ones for the first time when they were being sold in Cambridge and by 1665 hops were recorded as being grown in fourteen counties in England.³ Hops were, and still are, a very volatile crop, and as a result harvests varied greatly from year to year. Despite this it is still possible to see a clear upward trend in

¹ P. Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830* (Harlow, 1983), 97

² J. Hunter, 'English Inns, Taverns, Alehouses and Brandy Shops: The Legislative Framework, 1495-1797', in Kümin and Tlustý (eds.), *The World Tavern* (Aldershot, 2002), 65

³ J.E.T. Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England: From the Year after the Oxford Parliament (1259) to the Commencement of the Continental War (1793): Volume 5* (Oxford, 1887), 290; R. Filmer, *Hops and Hop Picking* (Buckinghamshire, 1998), 65

the price of hops in the seventeenth century which makes this an interesting period in which to study the trade of English hops (see Appendix 2).⁴

The introduction of hops into England had a huge economic and social impact, brewing became a commercialised business and the status of the brewer greatly improved. In the seventeenth century brewers often held positions of power in local city corporations, Bristol was no exception to this with 5.83% of the members of the Common Council being identified as brewers between 1605 and 1642.⁵ The growing popularity of hopped beer also changed the nature of poor relief as it became increasingly difficult for the poor to supplement their income through the sale of ale and therefore they became more likely to rely on poor relief in times of hardship. Hence it is important to look at the impact of the hop trade and alehouse economy in Bristol as it allows a study of alehouse economy on a local scale and contributes to the social and economic history of the City. Incorporating the study of the hop trade with the level of alehouse activity also allows the overseas trade of Bristol to be linked to the small scale industries of the City in a way that has not yet been attempted.

Bristol has been selected as the site of this study as it was arguably the second most important city in terms of trade in England after London, though some historians such as W.B. Stephens would question this.⁶ Furthermore, Bristol's population was expanding and therefore it is likely that its demand for ale and beer would have risen alongside this.

Additionally, the majority of Bristol's hop trade took the form of export to Ireland, trade to

⁴ Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, 290

⁵ D.H. Sacks, 'The Corporate Town and the English State: Bristol's "Little Businesses" 1625-1641', *Past and Present*, vol.110 (1986), 89

⁶ J. Lynch, *For King and Parliament: Bristol and the Civil War* (Stroud, 1999), 177; W.B. Stephens, 'Trade Trends at Bristol 1600-1700', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol.93 (1974), 160

Ireland is particularly interesting in the seventeenth century as this was a time in which Ireland was developing hugely economically, this can be seen in the dramatic expansion of its' port towns and increase in markets and fairs.⁷

The seventeenth century is an interesting period in which to study economic history as it has been referred to as the time in which modern economic history emerged.⁸ It is also a period in which there was heavy legislation concerning alehouses, in the first decade of the century alone four acts were passed in attempts to better suppress alehouses.⁹ Therefore, this study of the link between the hop trade and the economic performance of alehouses in Bristol will contribute to the expanding field of drinking studies, the field of trade in Bristol, and early modern economic history on a wider scale.

This study will also contribute to the political history of Bristol. Alehouses were one of the few places in which groups could gather and have often been seen either as sites of political and social dissent or alternatively as sites of surveillance through which authorities could reinforce social and political control, in either role they are an important subject of study.¹⁰ Furthermore, drinking itself was a highly politicised activity and in the Civil War the number of alehouses can be seen to expand on a national level despite opposition to them.¹¹ It will be of importance to establish if such patterns applied to Bristol, and such a study will reveal more about the role of drinking in and after the Civil War. It will also contribute to the historical knowledge of Bristol politics more generally by looking at enforcement of legislation and prosecution.

⁷ R. Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish Economy, 1500-1700* (Dublin, 1998), 28

⁸ Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, ix

⁹ Hunter, 'English Inns', 68

¹⁰ M. Hailwood, 'Alehouses, Popular Politics and Plebeian Agency in Early Modern England', in F. Williamson (ed.), *Locating Agency: Space, Power and Popular Politics* (Newcastle, 2010), 52

¹¹ P. Withington, 'Intoxicants and the Early Modern City', in Hindle, Shepard and Walter (eds.), *Remaking Society* (Woodbridge, 2013), 161

As there is existing literature related to Bristol trade and alehouse economy in general, this study needs to be placed within a wider historiographical framework. In doing so the research will be situated into a wider context and thus the importance of this study in a range of historical fields will be highlighted.

In terms of alehouses and alehouse economy there has been no specific study of alehouses in Bristol for the seventeenth century. However, research has been carried out by Patrick McGrath and Mary E. Williams on alehouses in eighteenth century Bristol.¹² This though only addresses the names and locations of alehouses and does not consider their social, economic or political implications. A study of seventeenth century alehouses is of interest as this period has been identified as a pivotal point in the commercial history of Bristol as it shifted from its medieval trade with Europe to the transatlantic trade of later periods, the seventeenth century thus laid the foundations for the 'golden years' of trade that the city experienced in the eighteenth century.¹³ A study of the alehouse economy and the hop trade will provide further insight into the transition of the City's role as a trading centre with a European focus to one with a transatlantic one.

Studying the regulation surrounding alehouses is of importance as it is a part of a wider system of regulation through which people tried to protect their trades. In controlling the trade of intoxicants, control was also being exerted over the social implications of their sale and over who profited from this.¹⁴ The dramas surrounding the alehouse in the early modern city has been identified by Phil Withington as a part of a 'economy of intoxication' in which producers, consumers, wholesalers and retailers all lived within close proximity

¹² P. McGrath and M.E. Williams (eds.), *Bristol Inns and Alehouses in the Mid-Eighteenth Century* (Bristol, 1979)

¹³ R. Stone, 'The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century', (PhD Thesis, University of Bristol, 2012), 1

¹⁴ Withington, 'Intoxicants', 155

and where various forms of authority tried to gain control over this economy.¹⁵ As there was such concern over who profited from the trade of ale and alehouses, it is an interesting exercise to look at trade and licencing in one study as they encapsulate many of the same concerns for the citizens of seventeenth century Bristol: trade, profit and social order. This study will show what was important to the population of seventeenth century Bristol, why they were regulating alehouses, how and with what success.

The regulation of alehouses has been identified by S.K. Roberts as a field through which centralised government and local government fought for control.¹⁶ Through the present study it can be observed whether alehouse regulation was an arena through which Bristol tried to exert its' political independence. Mark Hailwood also addresses alehouses as sites of control in his study 'Alehouses, Popular Politics and Plebeian Agency in Early Modern England', in this he addresses the debate over whether alehouses were sites of political resistance and "alternative society" or "sites of surveillance" through which the general population was closely observed.¹⁷ Whilst Hailwood does not directly answer this debate he does highlight how this places the alehouse and the licencing system into a wider context of 'politics of custom' in which people defended what they viewed as their right to sell ale.¹⁸

The mechanisms through which government tried to exert control over alehouses and the sale of ale have been studied by Judith Hunter. Hunter provides a useful account of the licencing system and legislation surrounding alehouses and uses this to establish what activities were occurring in alehouses through what was being forbidden.¹⁹ Peter Clark also

¹⁵ Withington, 'Intoxicants', 140

¹⁶ S.K. Roberts, 'Alehouses, Brewing, and Government Under the Early Stuarts', *Southern History*, vol.2 (1980), 45

¹⁷ Hailwood, 'Alehouses', 52

¹⁸ Hailwood, 'Alehouses', 67

¹⁹ Hunter, 'English Inns', 65-82

looks at what was happening in alehouses and uses this to argue that alehouses should not be categorised as purely for necessity, he demonstrates how they were often sites where more affluent tradesmen and labourers drank and where bargains and deals were celebrated.²⁰ Keith Wrightson has studied alehouse legislation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in doing so he has noted that licences were limited to maintain alehouses at a level where they served the needs of the local poor and travellers and nothing more.²¹ However, Wrightson focuses on rural alehouses and whether this can be applied to their urban counterparts is debatable. Phil Withington, in his study of urban alehouses which focuses primarily on York, believes that these urban sites do not sit easily in the history of alehouses provided by studies of rural communities.²² Withington observes the relationship between growing trade and alehouse regulation by looking at the size of inns and their placement within the city and identifies their role as sites of sanctuary from the harsh realities of urban life and as a target of local authorities.²³ These examples demonstrate that a study of alehouses and legislation surrounding them can reveal much about society at the time in terms of popular culture and politics and also highlights the economic importance of alehouses. This field is in need of expansion as highlighted by Alan Everitt in 1973 when he bemoaned the deficiencies in the study of inns and alehouses and how these were often romanticised and overly focussed on cultural aspects.²⁴ A study of the alehouse economy of Bristol in the seventeenth century will add to the historiography that

²⁰ Clark, *English Alehouse*, 114

²¹ K. Wrightson, 'Alehouses, Order and Reformation in Rural England, 1590-1660', in Eileen Yeo and Stephen Yeo (eds.), *Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590-1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure* (Brighton, 1981), 2

²² Withington, 'Intoxicants', 140

²³ Withington, 'Intoxicants', 143

²⁴ A. Everitt, *The English Urban Inns, 1560-1760* (London, 1973), 91

is increasingly questioning the poor and rural nature of the early modern alehouse and in turn lifting them out of a purely cultural realm.

It is not only alehouses that are important in looking at alehouse economy but brewing, both Keith Wrightson and Peter Clark have studied this. Wrightson focused on the role of the alehouse and brewing in the domestic economy of the poor which whilst important is less so in the seventeenth century as this small scale brewing industry began to decline as competition from commercial brewers increased.²⁵ Clark looks at this diminishing role of ale brewing for the poor as tastes turned to beer and observes the cross over between alehouse culture and trade though he fails to develop this theme.²⁶ This bridge linking alehouses and trade still needs to be firmly established, thus a study of the hop trade and alehouses in Bristol would be a significant contribution to this.

Studies of seventeenth century trade have tended to focus on the development of the transatlantic trade, though W.B. Stephens has produced a more general study that spans the century providing a general account of trade levels.²⁷ Richard Stone has provided a study that encompasses the overseas trade of Bristol as a whole. This work is of great use when establishing the state of trade in Bristol in the seventeenth century but does not carry out a specific commodity study. Stone's work also demonstrates the advances made in the study of trade with the development of computer technology, he highlights how this has made it possible to synthesise large amounts of data from sources, such as Port Books, in a way which was not previously possible.²⁸ This has revolutionised the way in which historians can study trade and allows far more detailed studies to be carried out. Stone has also

²⁵ Wrightson, 'Alehouses'

²⁶ Clark, *English Alehouse*, 96, 114

²⁷ Stephens, 'Trade Trends', 156-161

²⁸ Stone, 'Overseas Trade', 15

identified that in 1671-1672 hops were the single most important commodity being exported to Ireland.²⁹ Due to this importance of the export trade to Ireland, a detailed study of the hop trade would be an important addition to the historiography of the Bristol-Ireland trade in the seventeenth century.

This study will provide answers to some of the gaps identified in the existing historiography of Bristol's trade and alehouse economy. To achieve this, the nature of the hop trade will be explored through studying where hops were being traded and how frequently. The beer trade will also be taken into account as beer was the primary product of hops and the levels of its trade can be used as an indicator of the health of the brewing industry in Bristol. To do this Port Books and Wharfage Books from the period will be studied.³⁰ Port Books are records that were kept by customs officials and submitted to the Exchequer every year. They contain a wealth of information related to trade including the type of commodity, the duty paid, its weight, number or volume, the owner, the ship on which the goods were transported, her master, homeport and immediate port of origin or destination and usually her tonnage.³¹

Unfortunately, Port Books do not provide a continuous run of data as for a long time they were stored in poor conditions and some have been destroyed as they were not deemed worthy of preservation.³² However, from 1606 Wharfage duty was paid on goods being imported and exported from Bristol, this duty was collected and recorded by the Society of Merchant Venturers. Wharfage Books are very similar in layout to Port Books and a

²⁹ Stone, 'Overseas Trade', 241

³⁰ TNA PRO E190/1132/11; 1133/11; 1136/3; 1134/10; 1134/11; 1136/1; 1136/8, BRO SMV/7/1/1/2, TNA PRO E190/1240/6; 1138/1, BRO SMV/7/1/1/12; 7/1/1/20

³¹ Stone, 'Overseas Trade', 8

³² Stone, 'Overseas Trade', 9

continuous run survives from 1654 to 1694, thus they can be used to fill in gaps in Port Book records. Unfortunately, the level of detail in these declines over the period and they are often more import than export focused so they are not as useful as Port Books for this study. However, they remain a valuable source where Port Books are not available.

The health of the alehouse economy will be established by looking at the level of licit and illicit alehouse trade where this can be established using court records. To look at the level of licit trade the Registers to Alehouse Keepers: Sessions Volumes, including Special Sessions Proceedings will be studied to provide a sample of data on the number of licenced alehouses in Bristol in the seventeenth century.³³ However, these records only run from 1653 so cannot be used to study the first half of the century and the records for 1664-1665 have been missing since 1927. It has been well established that illicit sale of alcohol was rife in the period, so the Convictions and Presentments Register will be studied to establish how many alehouse related offences, such as selling ale or beer without licence or keeping a disorderly house, were recorded.³⁴ Though this record is only available from 1676 onwards it is of such relevance to this study that it would be foolish to disregard it. To establish the alehouse economy in the first half of the century, the Quarter Sessions Minute and Doggett Books will be addressed to look for alehouse related offences as these records run across the whole of the century.³⁵

It needs to be noted that the records being used can be difficult to interpret as they were not set out in a standardised way and so are often very poorly organised. The handwriting is also often difficult to decipher and many of the documents have been water damaged. Thus

³³ BRO JQS/AK/2; JQS/AK/4; JQS/AK/5

³⁴ BRO JQS/C/1

³⁵ BRO FCJQS/M/1/3; FCJQS/M/2/1; FCJQS/M/3/1; FCJQS/M/3/6; FCJQS/M/4/1; FCJQS/M/4/6; FCJQS/M/6/5; FCJQS/M/6/6

the data extracted from these documents needs to be treated with caution and be used to provide estimations rather than solid figures. However, these figures will still provide a good impression of the health of the alehouse economy as a whole. It also needs to be acknowledged that since two of the records relating to alehouse economy are dealing with illicit trade, only those that got caught were recorded and thus it is not a full representation of this trade. Furthermore, the vigilance of authorities in enforcing alehouse regulation is likely to have varied and factors that may have influenced this such as religious and social unrest need to be acknowledged.

The data collected from these records has been inserted into a series of graphs and tables to allow easier analysis of the data collected. This has allowed comparisons to be drawn between the level of alehouse trade and the trade in hops and beer to see if there was correlation between the two. This has then been placed into an overall picture of the period to account for the influence of other factors such as war, rebellion and poor harvest. To not consider these factors could result in over simplification of data gathered and would thus result in poor interpretation of the data.

The structure of this study will take the following format: Chapter 1 will explore the development of the hop and beer trades over the course of the century; Chapter 2 will look at the alehouse economy of Bristol; and finally the conclusion will draw the previous two chapters together to establish relationships between the hop trade and the alehouse economy in seventeenth century Bristol, these findings will then be placed into a wider historical and historiographical context.

This study of the hop trade and its impact on the alehouse economy of seventeenth century Bristol will make a significant contribution to the history of Bristol trade in the seventeenth

century and will provide a new case study for research on seventeenth century alehouses. It will also begin to bridge the gap between these two fields of history and show how they can be interlinked to gain a better overall understanding of the period.

Chapter 1: The Development of the Hop and Beer Trade:

To observe the development of the hop and beer trades in the seventeenth century, Port and Wharfage Books have been studied to understand the ways in which these were changing. To establish the health of the trades, the number of imports and exports have been taken into account but not volume or value as many of the documents used do not provide these details or they would have to be calculated in such a way that the scope of this study does not allow. However, the market value of hops over the period has been possible to establish with the use of James E. Thorold Roger's study of agricultural prices, as seen in Figure 1.³⁶ This shows a general increase in prices, with a slight dip in decennial averages between the 1650s and 1670s, and the general waxes and wanes to be expected of such a volatile crop.³⁷

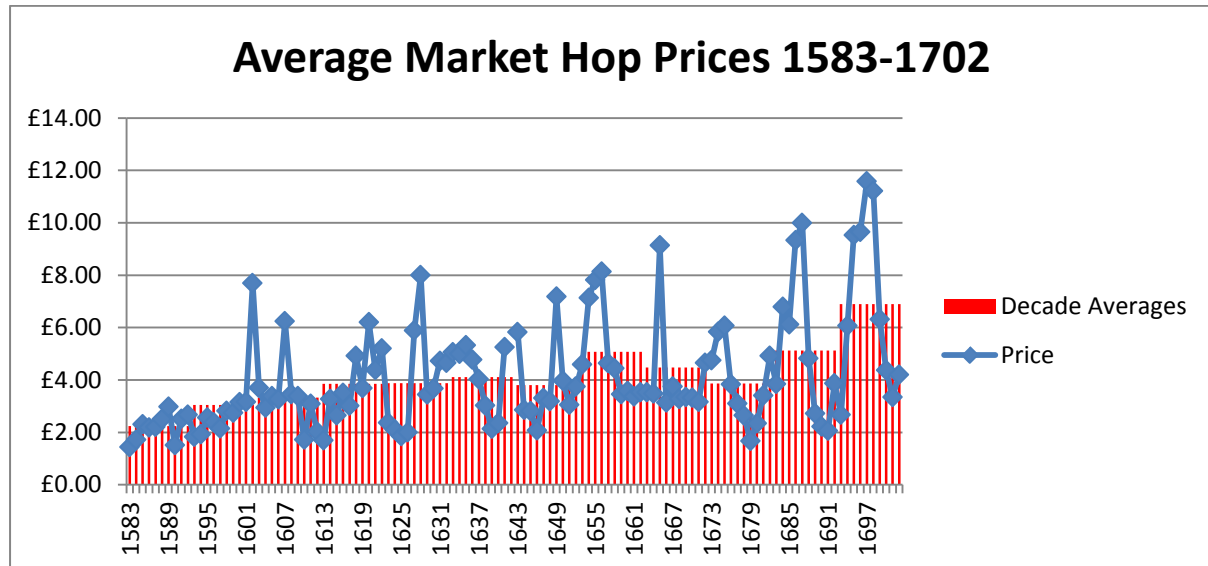


Figure 1: Average Market Price for Hops³⁸

³⁶ Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, 301-2

³⁷ Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, 290

³⁸ See Appendix 2

Whilst the figures for the market value of hops in the period will not be the same as the trade value, these values provide a reflection of the domestic value of the hops being exported overseas and thus it can be reasonably assumed that the value of hops being exported in the period was increasing in a similar way.

As noted in the introduction, in studying the hop trade through analysis of Port and Wharfage Books the trade of beer has also been taken into account. This has been done as the ability to trade beer was an important development that came with the introduction of hops to England. Previous to this it would not have been possible to trade ale abroad as it would spoil before reaching its destination. As this was such an important development that resulted from the introduction of hops, to not acknowledge this trade would be to ignore the full impact of hops on the economy and trade of England.

Due to the nature of sources being used it has not been possible to provide a continuous run of data for the period, this though does not invalidate the study. In a period in which few records survive and in which the levels of administrative detail were extremely varied, any sources that are usable can be utilised to reveal a good deal of information.³⁹ As such, a sampling technique has been employed to try and gain a representative sample of data from across the period by trying to collect data from around one year studied per decade. The years that have been sampled has been reliant on when sources were available and in what form, for example it has not been possible to analyse Port Book data from the 1640s due to the disruption of the Civil War that meant non survived from these years and in some years the records were of such poor quality that they could not be used for this study as the data produced from them would be likely to be too unreliable. This has resulted in data sets

³⁹ Stone, 'Overseas Trade', 20

being gathered from 11 years spread across the period, these are a combination of Port Books and Wharfage Books which reflect both the import and export trade. The table below shows the years that have been covered, whether they are Port or Wharfage Books and whether they contain information on imports or exports:

Year	Type of Account	Import/Export
1600-1	Port Book	Export
1611-12	Port Book	Export
1618-19	Port Book	Export
1620-21	Port Book	Export and Import
1628-29	Port Book	Export
1636-37	Port Book	Export
1654-55	Wharfage Book	Import
1661-62	Port Book	Export
1671-71	Port Book	Export
1684-85	Wharfage Book	Import
1692-93	Wharfage Book	Export and Import

Table 1: Port and Wharfage Books Accessed ⁴⁰

To analyse any trends in the overseas trade of hops and beer in Bristol, each year will be assessed individually to identify changes as they occur and to account for any factors that may have affected these yearly figures. Following this the overall pattern of trade will be assessed to establish developments that occurred over the century. To aid this graphs have been produced to demonstrate long term patterns in the hop and beer trade, as seen in Figures 2 and 3. It needs to be reiterated that these figures represent the number of times the commodities appear in the records and not their volume or value.

⁴⁰ TNA PRO E190/1132/11; 1133/11; 1136/3; 1134/10; 1134/11; 1136/1; 1136/8, BRO SMV/7/1/1/2, TNA PRO E190/1240/6; 1138/1, BRO SMV/7/1/1/12; 7/1/1/20

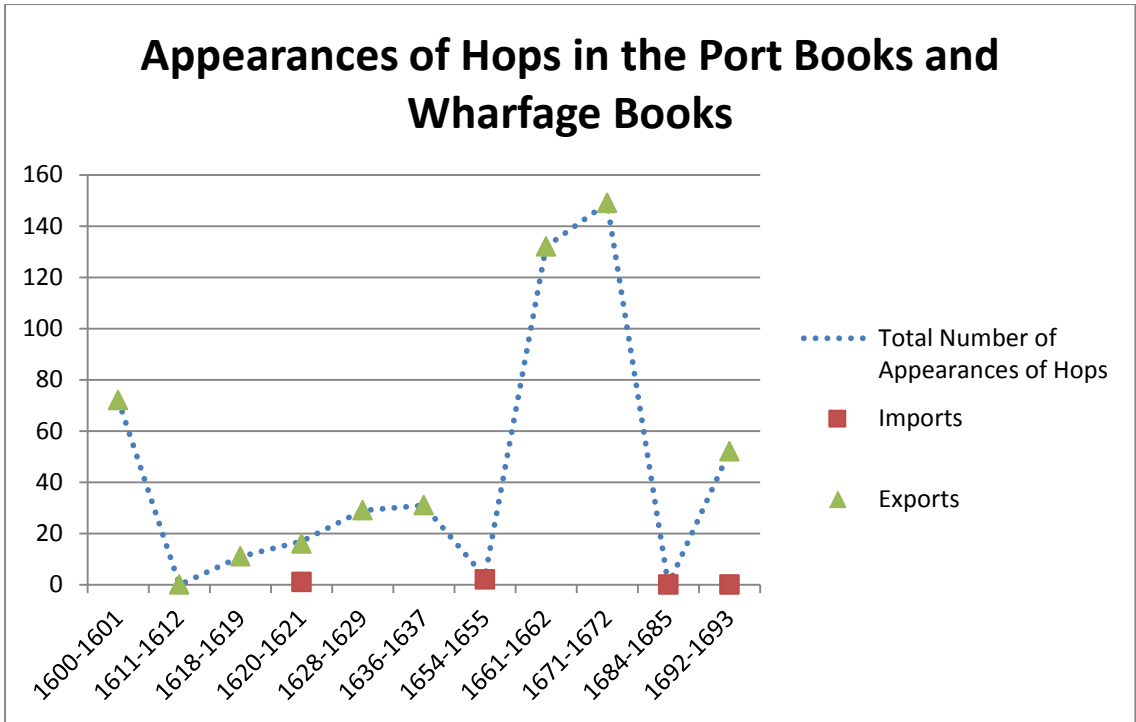


Figure 2: Hop Trade Graph⁴¹

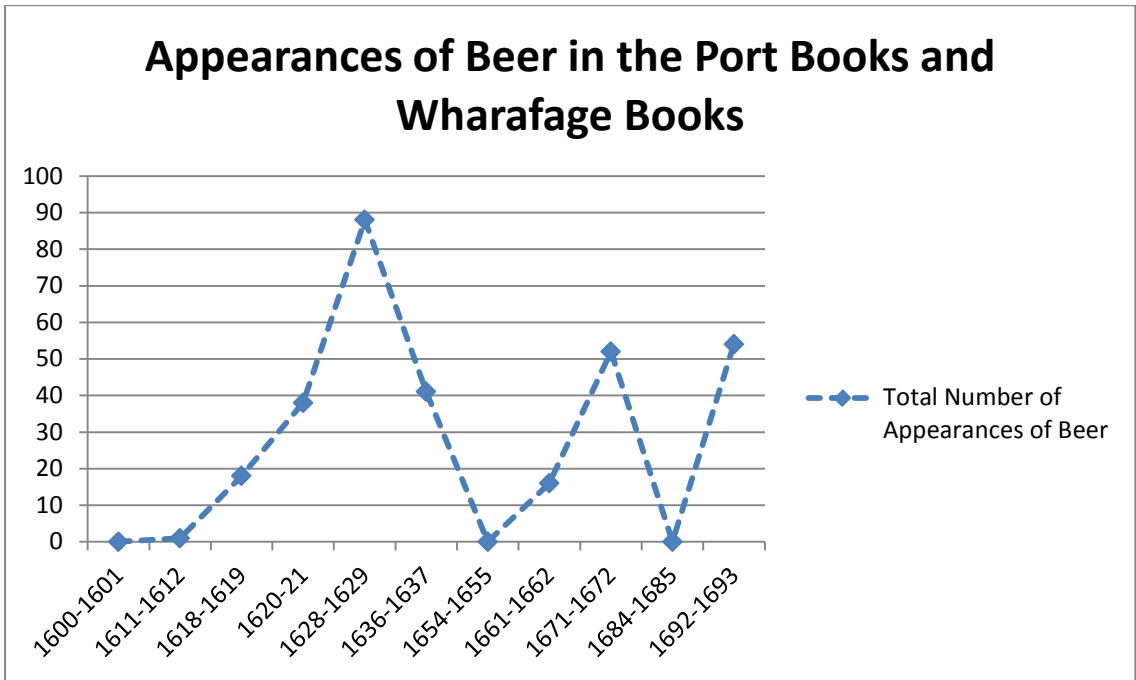


Figure 3: Beer Trade Graph⁴²

In the 1600-1601 Port Books there were no cases of beer being exported, this is most likely due to the brewing industry not being established enough in England for there to be enough

⁴¹ See Appendix 1
⁴² See Appendix 1

of a surplus to allow an overseas export trade from Bristol.⁴³ There were however 72 cases of hops being exported all of which were destined for Ireland. This is the highest level of hop trade that is seen in the records studied until 1661-1662. It is not clear why the hop trade was so successful in this year but in the 1602 hops were being distinguished as English rather than Flemish, hence the high level of hop trade at this time could be the result of the firm establishment of hops as an agricultural product in England around this time⁴⁴ The high level of trade may also have been the result of merchants trying to develop alternative avenues of trade due to the devastation that the 1585-1604 Anglo-Spanish War wreaked on Bristol's trade.⁴⁵

In 1611-1612 the hop and beer trade seem to have been very inactive.⁴⁶ There were no cases of hop exports and only one beer export was recorded. It is likely to have been part of the wider pattern of decline in Bristol's trade noted by W.B Stephens which started around 1610 and did not show signs of recovery until the 1630s.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the beer trade is likely to have still been in its early stages of development which would account for the low levels of beer trade. However, it needs to be remembered that these results may not be representative of the hop trade in this period as a whole, hops were and still are an extremely volatile and capricious crop and it could be the case that the 1611-1612 Port Book represents a year in which the hop crop failed and hence there was not the surplus of hops available for export overseas. Such crop failure is particularly plausible in this period as

⁴³ TNA PRO E190/1132/11, for reference hereafter please refer to Appendix 1

⁴⁴ Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, 290

⁴⁵ Stephens, 'Trade Trends', 156

⁴⁶ TNA PRO E190/1133/11, for reference hereafter please refer to Appendix 1

⁴⁷ Stephens, 'Trade Trends', 157

proper soil treatment and treatment of the plant had not yet been developed and so the crop would have been more prone to failure.⁴⁸

The export account for 1618-1619 represents an increase in both the hop and beer trades with hops increasing to 11 exports and beer to 18.⁴⁹ The 11 hop exports were destined for Ireland. However, the beer exports were not only going to Ireland but there was also 1 shipment to Spain and 5 to Portugal. This indicates that a market for beer imported from England was developing in the Mediterranean and that Bristol's Spanish trade seems to be recovering after periods of unrest earlier in the century. The level of hop exports seen in this year marks the beginning of an upward trend in the number of shipments of the crop leaving Bristol.

For 1620-1621 both the import and the export records have been studied for beer and hops.⁵⁰ These records show that hops were imported to Bristol in this year, as this is the first year in which import records have been used for this study it is hard to know whether the hop imports being observed were typical in Bristol's trade. The hops were imported from Amsterdam, this shows that though there was a high level of hop trade and production in England there was evidently still some demand for imported hops. This may be due to foreign hops often having a lower market value than English ones so they may have been preferred in some cases.⁵¹ There were however no beer imports in any of the records used for this study; this indicates that Bristol was self-reliant, or at least mostly self-reliant, in terms of beer in the seventeenth century. This implies a healthy and well developed brewing industry in the area, though it needs to be noted that not all beer being exported

⁴⁸ Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, 290

⁴⁹ TNA PRO E190/1136/3, for reference hereafter please refer to Appendix 1

⁵⁰ TNA PRO E190/1134/10;1134/11, for reference here after please refer to Appendix 1

⁵¹ Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, 291

from Bristol would necessarily have been brewed in the City. There were 16 cases of hops being exported in this year, all of which were destined for Ireland and 38 cases of beer exports of which 5 were destined for Portugal and the rest for Ireland, once again indicating a healthy brewing industry.

The export records of 1628-1629 have revealed this to be the peak year in terms of beer shipments for Bristol and is the first year in which beer was exported to France with 1 shipment going to La Rochelle and 1 to Bayon. These exports to France are somewhat surprising as there was an Anglo-French war 1627-1629, it seems however that this did not disrupt the Bristol-French trade too negatively implying that the merchants of Bristol were more concerned with their business than national politics.⁵² The other 86 were all destined for Ireland, this shows that the Irish trade was still flourishing. For this year there were 29 hop exports all of which were again to Ireland.

1636-1637 was the year in which Bristol's export trade to Ireland peaked, accounting for 42% of the city's export trade and with a value of £20,600.⁵³ The export account for this year shows that the overseas hop trade was beginning to expand with 1 shipment to Glasgow, 1 to the Canaries and the other 29 all being destined for Ireland.⁵⁴ The beer trade was also showing expansion in terms of trading destination with, as well as 38 shipments to Ireland, 1 shipment to Glasgow, 1 to Bordeaux and 1 to Cadiz. Though this was a very successful year for the Irish export trade it represents neither the peak for hops nor beer in the records studied.

⁵² TNA PRO E190/1136/1, for reference hereafter please refer to Appendix 1

⁵³ Stone, 'Overseas Trade', 87

⁵⁴ TNA PRO E190/1136/8, for reference hereafter please refer to Appendix 1

Due to the Civil Wars impact on Bristol, no records have survived from the 1640s, the next record used for this study is from 1654-1655 and is the first Wharfage Book to be used.⁵⁵ As Wharfage Books have a higher focus on import rather than export trade this could explain why there were no exports of hops or beer recorded and only 2 records of hop imports. There is another appearance of hops recorded in the Wharfage book which has been entered on the hop trade graph (see Figure 2) but it is unclear whether this was an import or export and where it's origin or destination were. In this year another example can be seen of hops coming into Bristol from the Netherlands and 1 import from Ireland. The seeming lack of trade in this year may not only be accounted for due to the import focus of the Wharfage Book. It should also be taken into account that in the 1650s there were recurring cases of plague in Ireland and as both the hop and beer trade were focused here this could have impacted on the trade figures seen.⁵⁶ This hypothesis needs to be dealt with caution, especially as in terms of the hop trade there is a increase in imports which could be representative of overall growth in the trade or could be the result of a poor domestic hop crop which could have impacted on both the beer and hop trade if there was not enough to export.

The 1661-1662 export account is the first year in which shipments to the West Indies and North Africa can be seen with 2 shipments of beer to Barbados, 2 to Nevis and 2 to Tangiere, this presumably refers to Tangier in Morocco which was granted to Charles II in 1662 as part of a dowry and remained an English town until 1684. There were also 4 shipments to Spain, 1 to France and 5 to Ireland. Whilst this shows expansion in the number of destinations that beer is being exported the Irish trade seems to be diminishing.

⁵⁵ BRO SMV/7/1/1/2, for reference hereafter please refer to Appendix 1

⁵⁶ Gillespie, *Transformation*, 40

However, this impression is countered by the fact that the hop trade peaked in this period with 132 cases of export all of which were destined to Youghall, Ireland. This implies that the Bristol-Ireland trade was still very successful. This seems surprising considering that this was a period of famine in England and thus export of such commodities is likely to have been unpopular.⁵⁷

1671-1672 is an interesting year in terms of the export for both hops and beer, Richard Stone has identified this as the year in which hops were the single most important commodity being exported to Ireland from Bristol accounting for 17% of this trade, it is also the year in which the number of hop exports peak with 149 accounts of hops being exported.⁵⁸ Furthermore, it is the first year used in this study in which hops and beer were being exported to Virginia demonstrating the opening up of the North American trade for Bristol. Out of the 149 exports of hops there was 1 shipment to Antego, 1 to Scotland, 1 (unusually) to Newfoundland, 5 to Virginia and the rest to Ireland. Of the 52 beer exports there was a large variety of destinations including Ireland, Antego, Nevis, Barbados, Bilbao and Cadiz in Spain, Portugal, Jamaica, Tangier and Virginia. This variety of destinations for the hop and beer exports and the retention of its original markets strongly indicate a stable level of hop production in England and a thriving brewing industry if such levels of overseas trade were both possible and sustainable.

Unfortunately, after this point Wharfage Books were the only useable source and for the 1684-1685 account only information on imports was available.⁵⁹ However, whilst this cannot be used as a good indication of the state of the hop and beer trade, it does reveal

⁵⁷ Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, vi

⁵⁸ Stone, 'Overseas Trade', 241

⁵⁹ BRO SMV/7/1/1/12, for reference hereafter please refer to Appendix 1

that both of these remained primarily export rather than import based commodities for Bristol and that the brewing industry in England seems to have been at such a level that it was self-sustainable and could even supply parts of Europe, Africa, the West Indies and the New World. Whilst there being no beer imports fits with the general trend, the complete lack of hop imports, which was not always the case in other years, implies that this may have been a particularly good year for hop production, at least in Southwest England, as no hop imports seem to have been required.

The 1692-1693 Wharfage Book contained information on both imports and exports for Bristol.⁶⁰ These records show that once again neither hops nor beer were being imported and that there were 52 exports of hops and 54 of beer. Unfortunately, the level of detail in the Wharfage Books declined gradually over time and thus it has not possible to gain any more information on where these exports were destined. It appears that by the end of the seventeenth century the only details that were recorded meticulously in the Wharfage Books were those required to extract Wharfage duty and nothing more.

Tables for the exact import and export figures for hops and beer can be found in Appendix 1. This shows that for hops, whilst import levels remained very low or non-existent through the seventeenth century, the export trade though showing an initial decline, was expanding. The figures show a peak in 1671-1672 but this is most likely an illusion as the records used prior and after this were Wharfage Books rather than Port Books, with the exception of 1661-1662, and thus the records were less detailed and more import focused. This seems to indicate that the hop trade developed into an important trade for Bristol in the seventeenth century. This is also reflected in the beer trade and from the records used this seems to

⁶⁰ BRO SMV/7/1/1/20, for reference hereafter please refer to Appendix 1

have been export based and seems to, in terms of number of shipments, peak in 1628-1629 though levels remained healthy throughout the period. Since these results do not account for value or volume, when the figures in terms of number of shipments seems to drop later in the period, this could be due to larger amounts of beer and hops being shipped further on larger vessels rather than an actual drop in trade levels. Thus, the figures from both the beer and hop trade seem to reflect a healthy and well developed brewing industry and level of domestic hop production in and around Bristol which allowed the expansion of both the hop and beer trades. Both trades also showed expansion in the number of destinations to which the commodities were being traded, especially after 1661-1662 when trade was occurring outside of the European market. The impact of these observations on Bristol in terms of alehouse economy now needs to be assessed to gain a broader impression of the impact of the hop trade on the City.

Chapter 2: The Alehouse Economy of Bristol:

To study the alehouse economy of Bristol, a range of sources have been used to gain an impression of its condition. These have comprised of a range of court records to both show the level of licit and illicit trade related to alehouse activity such as granting of licences, selling of ale or beer without licence and keeping a disorderly house. Unfortunately, only one of these documents, the Quarter Sessions Minute and Doggett Books, spans the whole of the seventeenth century.⁶¹ As this is such a large document, it has been sampled so approximately one year every decade has been studied to find alehouse related offences. The years that were sampled were chosen primarily by the years in which records were in a good enough condition to be used. The Register of Licences to Alehouse Keepers has also been used to study the development of the licit alehouse economy.⁶² Though this document only starts in 1653 it provides a useful account of the alehouse economy in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, it is the only record used in this study that details the licit alehouse economy of Bristol. Due to it being such a large source base the decision was taken to sample this record, to create these samples three wards were chosen to try and construct a representative sample of Bristol's licences, the wards chosen were St Michael's, All Saint's and St Stephen's as these varied both in size and location and so represent patterns in varying locations of the City. In terms of the years from which samples were taken, this depended both on the legibility of the records and when records for all three wards were decipherable. In this document a great deal of the accounts proved unusable due to a combination of water damage and varying levels of organisation and

⁶¹ BRO FCJQS/M/1/3; FCJQS/M/2/1; FCJQS/M/3/1; FCJQS/M/3/6; FCJQS/M/4/1; FCJQS/M/4/6; FCJQS/M/6/5; FCJQS/M/6/6

⁶² BRO JQS/AK/2; JQS/AK/4; JQS/AK/5

legibility as is unfortunately common in documents from this period. However, the samples that were possible to use have provided valuable information for this study and thus the records as a whole should not be discounted. The third and final set of records being used to study the alehouse economy of seventeenth century Bristol is the Convictions and Presentments Register which spans from 1676-1700, from this a sample has been taken every four years to look for records of alehouse related offences.⁶³ Alehouse related offences are any of those in which alehouses and brewing are mentioned, this often takes the form of brewing ale or beer without licence or running a disorderly house.

To begin with the Quarter Sessions Minute and Doggett Books will be assessed.⁶⁴ As seen from Figure 4, the level of alehouse related cases remained fairly low, though there was a slight general increase across the period:

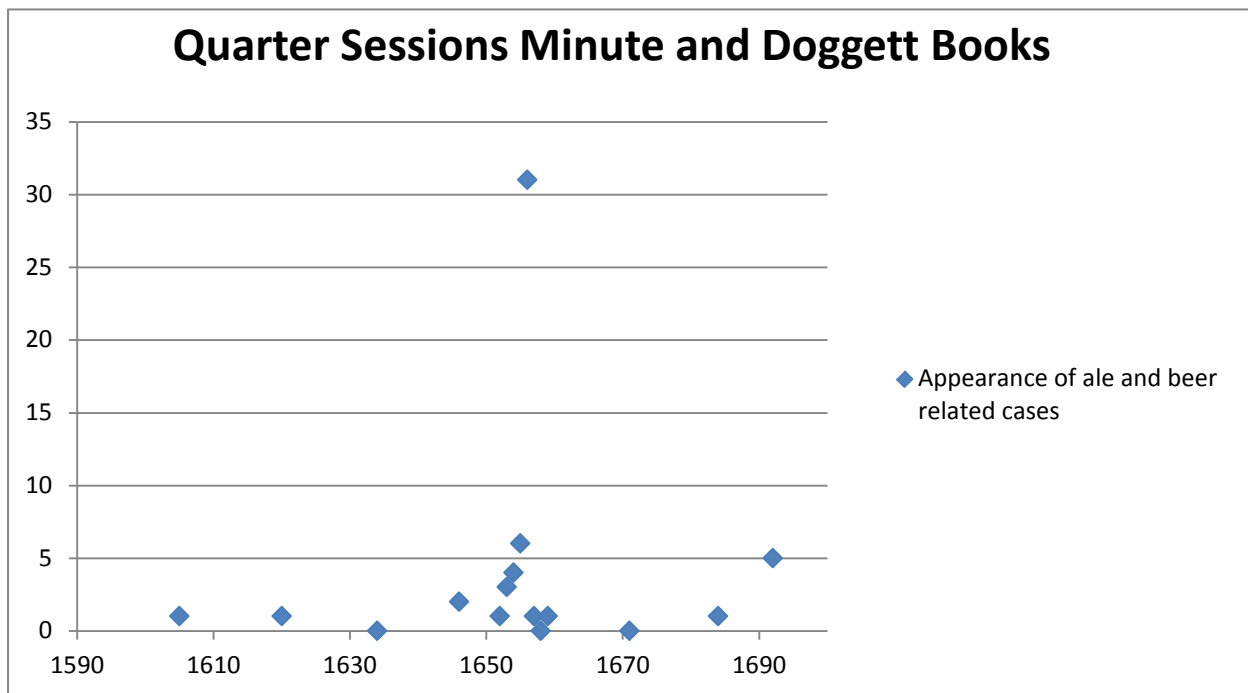


Figure 4: Quarter Sessions Minute and Doggett Books⁶⁵

⁶³ BRO JQS/C/1

⁶⁴ BRO FCJQS/M/1/3; FCJQS/M/2/1; FCJQS/M/3/1; FCJQS/M/3/6; FCJQS/M/4/1; FCJQS/M/4/6; FCJQS/M/6/5; FCJQS/M/6/6, for reference hereafter please refer to Appendix 3

As seen in Figure 4, there was a particular concentration in bringing alehouse offences to court from 1652-1659. There were an additional 11 offences than those recorded on the graph but it was not clear in these cases which year was being referred to so the decision was taken not to insert them into the graph. The increased level of prosecution in this period may have been due to hostility towards alehouses and those who frequented them being roused during dearth in 1648, this was blamed on drunkards amongst others and the suppression of alehouses was called for.⁶⁶ Furthermore, there was real social anxiety related to alehouses and drinking in general in this period and the concentration of cases at this time may be a reflection of genuine concern about such issues in Bristol. This seems especially plausible as it was soon after the upheaval of the Civil War which lasted from 1642-1651, during this time it may not have been possible to address these concerns and the build-up of these may be what is being seen during these following years. Additionally, a general increase in the number of alehouses during the Civil War had been noted by Phil Withington, the increased levels of prosecution seen in the 1650s may have been the result of local authorities' attempts to counter this trend.⁶⁷ Apart from this time, the trend for alehouse related cases shows only very minor increase. For a break down these figures please refer to Appendix 3.

The Register of Licences to Alehouse Keepers shows a sporadic upward trend in the number of licences granted to people to keep alehouses across the period 1653-1700 as seen in Figure 5.⁶⁸ Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain any figures from the 1680s due to

⁶⁵ See Appendix 3

⁶⁶ J. Cooper, 'Social and Economic Policies Under the Commonwealth', in G.E. Aylmer (ed.), *The Interregnum: The Quest for Settlement 1646-1660* (London, 1972), 127

⁶⁷ Withington, 'Intoxicants', 161

⁶⁸ BRO JQS/AK/2; JQS/AK/4; JQS/AK/5, for reference hereafter please refer to Appendix 3

severe water damage to the records which meant that large amounts of it were unusable.

The results from the data obtained can be seen below in Figure 5:

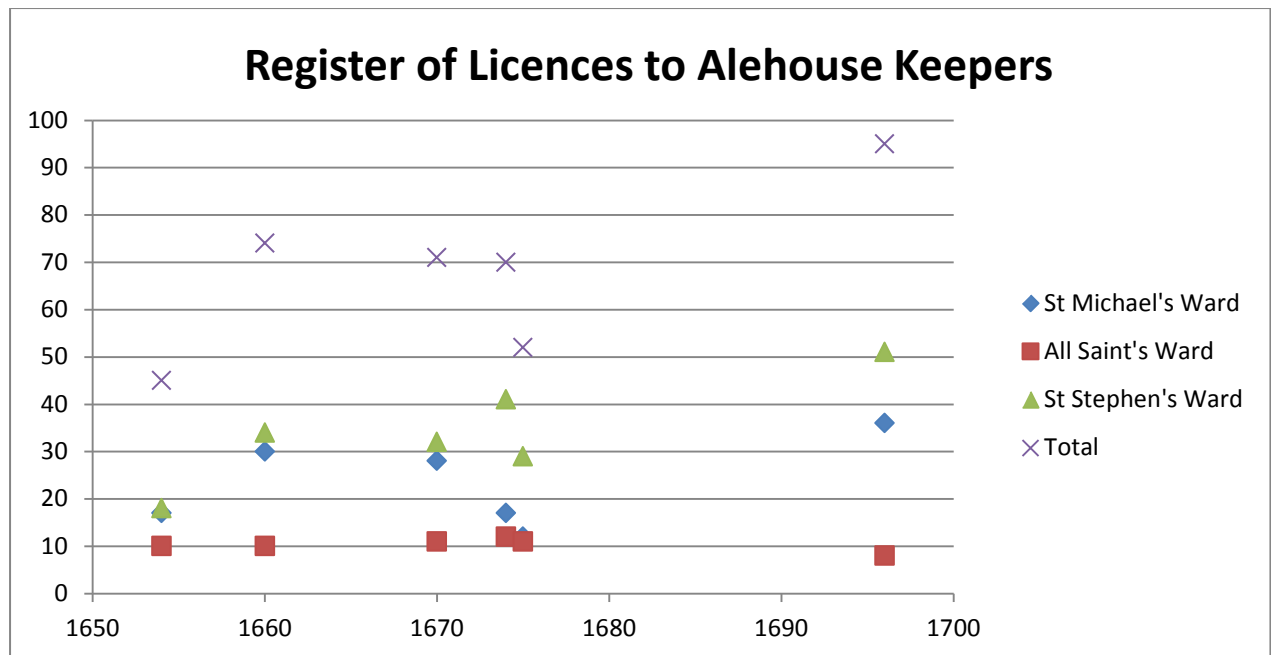


Figure 5: Register of Licences to Alehouse Keepers⁶⁹

These results show that whilst the number of licences in St Michael's and St Stephen's showed a general upward trend, those for All Saint's remained at a fairly stable level. This was most likely due to All Saint's ward being considerably smaller than the other two, thus even if there was an increased demand for alehouses across the period there may simply have not been enough space for more within the geographical boundaries of this ward.

These wards were chosen to demonstrate trends in different parts of the City to try to gain a representative overview of the number of licences being granted. St Michael's was on the edge of Bristol and the records indicate that the trends happening there were similar to those of the City centre. Being on the outskirts of Bristol, St Michael's ward has been chosen as an example of alehouse levels out of the commercial heart of the City, this was also a relatively large ward; St Stephen's was chosen as it was in the centre of the commercial hub

⁶⁹ See Appendix 3

of the City next to the harbour and was once again a large ward, and All Saint's was chosen as it was another central ward but a smaller one to see if these smaller wards showed a same pattern of growth in terms of alehouse economy.

The general upward trend in the number of licences being granted indicates that the alehouse economy of Bristol was steadily improving across the period in terms of licenced trade and that there was both demand for drinking establishments, the beer or ale to sell in them and furthermore, that the authorities supported them enough to grant an increased number of licences across the period. It is interesting that in 1690 there is continued growth in terms of the number of licences being granted despite Excise Acts substantially increasing the tax on beer and ale, this indicates that although taxes may have been high there were still profits to be made from selling beer and ale on the licit market.⁷⁰ This also supports Patrick McGrath's theory that Bristol was not a puritan city, if it were it would be likely that the number of licences would not have increased so much over the period as alehouses would have faced a higher level of opposition.⁷¹ For more detailed information on the number of licences being granted please refer to Appendix 3.

The sampling method used for the Convictions and Presentments Register was to study the document every four years from when the records started in 1676 until 1700 to look for alehouse related offences.⁷² Figure 6 demonstrates that there was a steady but steep decline from 112 offences in 1676 to just 1 in 1696, in 1700 this rises back up to 10 but it cannot be said if this is due to a general upward trend beginning or an anomaly.

⁷⁰ Hunter, 'English Inns', 76

⁷¹ P. McGrath, *Bristol and the Civil*, Bristol Historical Association pamphlet no.50 (Bristol, 1981), 46

⁷² BRO JQS/c/1, for reference hereafter please refer to Appendix 3

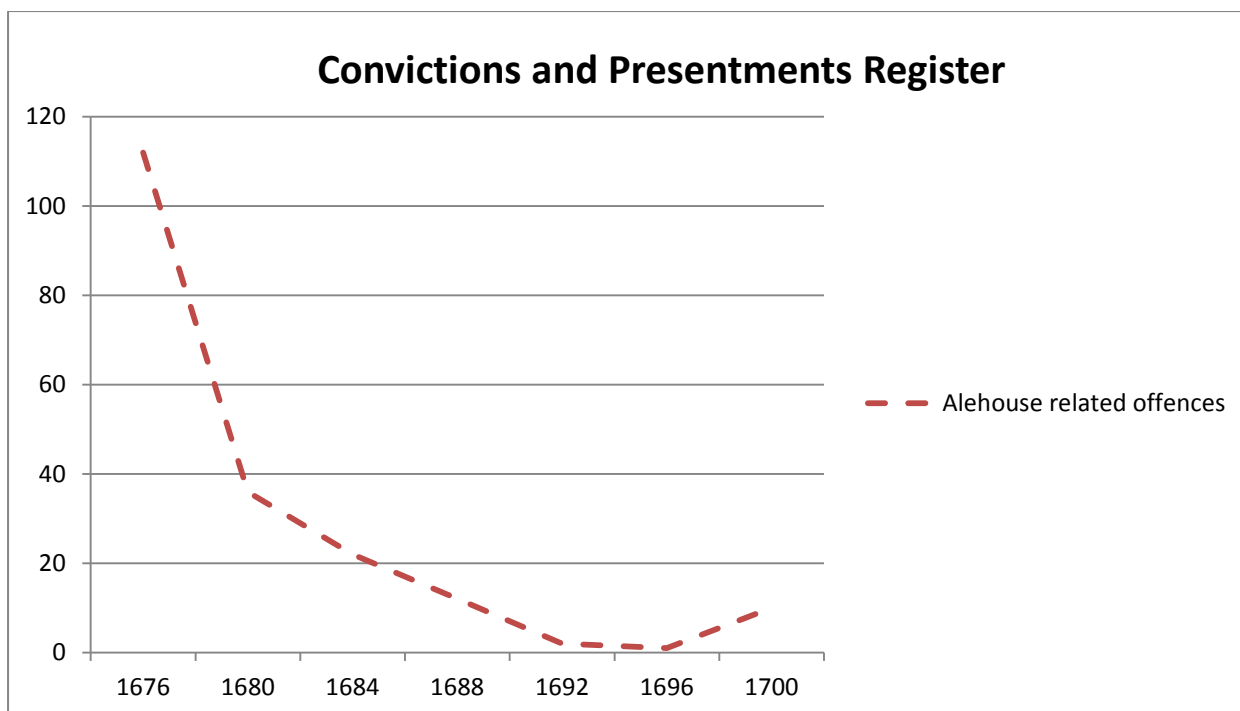


Figure 6: Convictions and Presentments Register 1676-1700⁷³

This decline indicates that either there were fewer offences related to alehouses or that the authorities were less inclined to prosecute when cases emerged. It is likely that there would have been a decline in illicit brewing and sale of ale as tastes changed to the more palatable taste of beer, the poor could not afford to brew this due to high set up costs but it was sold at the same price as ale so would have been just as accessible for consumption.⁷⁴

The overall pattern of the alehouse economy from the three sources studied indicates that prosecutions for the illicit trade seemed to remain at a relatively even level throughout the period with spats of prosecution such as in the 1650s with a seeming decline at the end of the century. This indicates that the illicit alehouse economy did not dramatically increase in the seventeenth century. However, the number of licenced alehouses increased across the

⁷³ See Appendix 3

⁷⁴ Clark, *English Alehouse*, 97 ; P. Clark, 'The Alehouse and Alternative Society', in Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas (eds.), *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth Century History Presented to Christopher Hill* (Oxford, 1978), 52; J. Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol: A History of the Drink Question in England* (Manchester, 2009), 10

century, this is likely to have been due to the increase in the City's population in the period which went from around 12,000 to around 20,000, and the increasingly commercialised nature of the brewing industry.⁷⁵ As the population grew, the residents of the City would have required more alehouses to support their daily needs and as the City became increasingly commercialised and its trade expanded it would have needed more alehouses to support the needs of those traveling there for business. The relationship between the overseas hop and beer trades and the alehouse economy now needs to be investigated to see if any links can be established between the two and the results then need to be placed into a wider historical and historiographical framework.

⁷⁵ Stephens, 'Trade Trends', 161

Conclusion:

This study is of importance as the relationship between the hop trade of Bristol and its alehouse economy is a unique way in which to survey the economic and trade health of the City in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the licencing systems that controlled these businesses, or at least attempted to, were part of a wider picture of trade control and protection.⁷⁶ This control was of particular importance for intoxicants due to the potentially problematic social consequences of their sale and trade, and the profitability of this emerging business was not missed by Bristol's elite and has been reflected in the court records used in this study.⁷⁷ As previously noted, between 1605 and 1642 5.83% of the members of the Bristol Common Council were brewers, whilst this figure was not as high as the number of merchants on the Council which stood at 46.67%, it still shows that this was an influential occupation in the City and that the status of the brewer in Bristol, along with the rest of England, had changed with them emerging as powerful citizens.⁷⁸

The figures that have been produced by this study for the hop and beer trade have strongly indicated that these trades expanded over the period. Although at points the number of shipments declined, the number of destinations of export increased indicating an expanding and developing market for both English hops and beer. Furthermore, these were commodities associated with the export as opposed to the import trade, this indicates that the alehouse economy in terms of brewing was healthy in Bristol as there was a surplus of beer to export, this in turn implies that there was a healthy level of hop production which is

⁷⁶ Withington, 'Intoxicants', 155

⁷⁷ Withington, 'Intoxicants', 155

⁷⁸ Sacks, 'Corporate Town', 89

supported by the fact that there were only 3 cases of hops being imported into the City in the records used for this study.

The expansion in the hop and beer trades is mirrored by a corresponding expansion in the alehouse economy. This is indicated in the court records studied, in particular the Registers to Alehouse Keepers which shows an indisputable increase in the number of licences being granted across the period. This increase points to an expanding alehouse economy and strongly indicates that Bristol as a city was tolerant towards alehouses in a period where their presence could create social discord. It is particularly interesting when this is looked at in terms of percentage increase in comparison to percentage increase of the population of Bristol. Whilst in just 47 years the number of licences granted to alehouses in the three wards studied increased by 111%, the population of Bristol increased by 67% across the whole of the seventeenth century. These figures provide evidence countering the view of Keith Wrightson that the number of alehouses was limited to the amount needed serve the local poor and travellers.⁷⁹ It seems that in Bristol, the number of alehouses was increasing far beyond that that was needed by the local poor as there is such disparity between population increase and increase in the licences granted. This also allows a potential link to be drawn between trade and alehouse economy as the increased trade levels seen across the period are likely to have brought more travellers to Bristol to engage in trade, this is likely to have in turn contributed to the increase in the licit alehouse trade as there would have been increased demand for their services. Furthermore, this adds to the research that has been emerging in recent years that challenges the poor and rural image of the early modern alehouse that has been prevalent in much of the existing historiography in this field.

⁷⁹ Wrightson, 'Alehouses', 2

Whilst the number of licences granted to alehouse keepers has shown a clear increase alongside the expansion of the hop and beer trade, it is not so clear if there was a corresponding link between the rates of prosecution for alehouse related cases and expansion of these trades. The Quarter Sessions Minute and Doggett Books shows that there was a generalised increase in the number of prosecutions for alehouse related cases which could be a demonstration of either increased concern about alehouse related activity in general, or an increasing level of prosecution as the industry became more commercialised and local brewers were more active in protecting their trade, or finally that there was simply more illicit alehouse activity occurring in Bristol. It is difficult from the details in the Quarter Sessions Minute and Doggett Books to establish which was most likely but considering that within it there were petitions from brewers, such as in 1663 when a brewer by the name of Henry Dighton(?) petitioned against the amount of duty that he was ordered to pay on his beer, it seems that brewers would be willing to go to court to defend their trade. This is demonstrative of a trade that was highly protected and had the power and resources to defend itself in court rather than being the domain of the poor.⁸⁰

The potentially most interesting result from the Quarter Sessions Minute and Doggett Books is the high level of alehouse related prosecutions between 1652 and 1659, in this period there were 58 alehouse related offences with 31 in 1656 alone.⁸¹ Considering that the Civil War ended in 1651, this seems to be a strong indication that there was a high level of social anxiety in relation to alehouses and drinking which was reflected in attempts by local authorities to control these and that the number of alehouses in Bristol increased in the Civil War. This adds strength to Phil Withington's hypothesis that the number of alehouses

⁸⁰ BRO JQS/M/4/1

⁸¹ See Appendix 3 for detailed information on these figures

increased across England in the Civil War despite increasingly fierce opposition to them.⁸²

This is further supported by the low level of licences granted in 1654 which was, at 45, lower than any of the other years studied, this indicates a reluctance from authorities to grant licences. This reluctance could potentially be due to attempts to regain control and authority over the industry before allowing licit expansion. This all strongly supports the belief that the Civil War increased the number of alehouses in England and that in Bristol at least this increase continued in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

The continual demonstration of alehouse regulation across seventeenth century Bristol suggests that it was something over which local authorities expressed continued concern. The relatively constant level of prosecution seen in the Quarter Sessions Minute and Doggett Books, apart from in the 1650s, indicates that authorities were engaged in a constant effort to regulate and control the alehouse economy of the City and that this was self-directed by the City's authorities. The Convictions and Presentments Register however shows a steep decline in alehouse related cases from when the records begin in 1676 and 1700. It is difficult to establish why this was the case but it may have been that as ale became less popular and beer was more expensive to brew fewer people had the resources to carry out this business whether legally or otherwise. The alehouse economy was also very healthy in Bristol in this period and it may have been the case that self-regulation of the industry was well established and so less cases related to alehouses ended up in court. It seems that alehouses in seventeenth century Bristol were being well regulated and that these were not rural poor establishments, once again this questions the rural, poor and romanticised nature of some studies of the alehouse in early modern England. These Bristol

⁸² Withington, 'Intoxicants', 161

alehouses seem to be anything but, and were in fact part of a well regulated and booming urban economy.

The Civil War was not the only war to effect Bristol in the period and nor was it the only one in which Bristol demonstrated its independent nature. The hop and beer trade results show that even in times of social and political turmoil across the country as a whole, Bristol maintained its business and trade interests as well as it could, even if this meant trading with the enemy such as in 1627-1628 when beer was exported to Bayon and La Rochelle despite England and France being at war. This suggests that whilst Bristol would demonstrate an outward show of support to the Crown, in some cases business had to come first once again highlighting the high level of autonomy that the City had.

This dissertation has shown that the hop and beer trade mirrored the development of Bristol's trade seen in the seventeenth century as a whole as it moved from that of the medieval period to its 'golden years' of trade in the eighteenth century. It maintained and developed old trading avenues such as that with Ireland and Europe whilst expanding into North Africa, the West Indies and North America. This shows the first glimpses of the triangular trade that was to define the City's trade in later years. Whilst the link between this trade development and the alehouse economy is not always directly clear, it is undeniable that both were developing and expanding in this period and undoubtedly as the City's fortunes as a trading centre became so positive, the alehouse economy would have developed and expanded in turn as there was more wealth, trade and people in the City. Thus it can be concluded that as the hop trade developed it impacted positively on the alehouse economy of seventeenth century Bristol as both expanded and flourished.

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Appendices:

Appendix 1:

The below tables are for a quick reference point in relation to the results obtained from Port and Wharfage Books used in this study. **Figure 2** and **Figure 3** have been produced from these results and references for all of the data used can be found in the table below.

Please Note for the tables below, blank spaces are left where it was not possible to obtain a figure as opposed to where it could be verified that there were no hop or beer exports in which case a result of 0 has been recorded.

Year	Reference	Imports	Exports	Total
1600-1601	TNA PRO E190/1132/11		72	72
1611-1612	TNA PRO E190/1133/11		0	0
1618-1619	TNA PRO E190/1136/3		11	11
1620-1621	TNA PRO E190/1134/10-11	1	16	17
1628-1629	TNA PRO E190/1136/1		29	29
1636-1637	TNA PRO E190/1136/8		31	31
1654-1655	BRO SMV/7/1/1/2	2		2
1661-1662	TNA PRO E190/1240/6		132	132
1671-1672	TNA PRO E190/1138/1		149	149
1684-1685	BRO SMV/7/1/1/12	0		0
1692-1693	BRO SMV/7/1/1/20	0	52	52

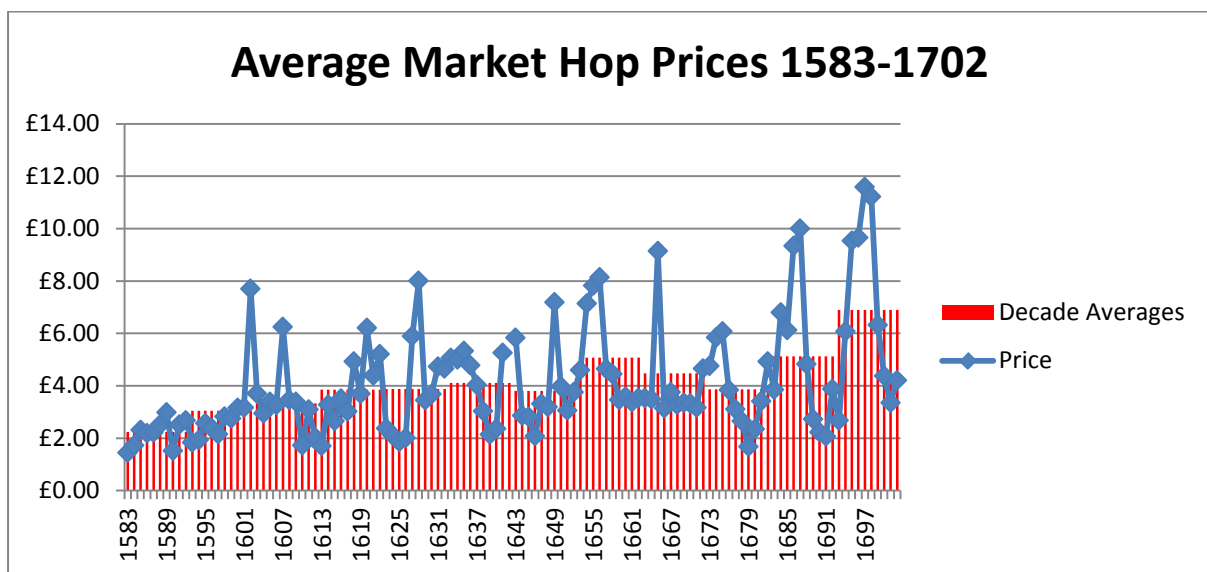
Table 2: Hop Export Figures

Year	Reference	Imports	Exports	Total
1600-1601	TNA PRO E190/1132/11		0	0
1611-1612	TNA PRO E190/1133/11		1	1
1618-1619	TNA PRO E190/1136/3		18	18
1620-1621	TNA PRO E190/1134/10-11	0	38	38
1628-1629	TNA PRO E190/1136/1		88	88
1636-1637	TNA PRO E190/1136/8		41	41
1654-1655	BRO SMV/7/1/1/2	0		0
1661-1662	TNA PRO E190/1240/6		16	16
1671-1672	TNA PRO E190/1138/1		52	52
1684-1685	BRO SMV/7/1/1/12	0		0
1692-1693	BRO SMV/7/1/1/20	0	54	54

Table 3: Beer Export Figures

Appendix 2:

Figure 1: All data for the below table and graph were obtained from J.E.T Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England: From the Year after the Oxford Parliament (1259) to the Commencement of the Continental War (1793): Volume 5* (Oxford, 1887), 301-302:



Average Price of Hops			
Year	s.	d.	£ MOD
1583	28	11	£1.45
1584	34	5	£1.72
1585	46	1	£2.30
1586	43	8.5	£2.19
1587	44	4	£2.22
1588	50	1.5	£2.51
1589	59	6.5	£2.98
1590	30	4.75	£1.52
1591	50	2.75	£2.51
1592	53	6	£2.68
1593	36	7	£1.83
1594	38	7.5	£1.93
1595	51	5	£2.57
1596	47	8	£2.38
1597	43	0	£2.15
1598	56	5	£2.82
1599	55	0	£2.75
1600	63	1	£3.15
1601	63	4	£3.17
1602	153	11	£7.70
1603	74	0	£3.70
1604	58	11	£2.95
1605	67	8	£3.38
1606	65	4.25	£3.27
1607	124	11	£6.25
1608	69	3	£3.46
1609	67	7	£3.38
1610	34	6	£1.73
1611	61	8.5	£3.09
1612	40	8	£2.03
1613	34	0	£1.70

1614	65	5.75	£3.27
1615	53	0	£2.65
1616	70	0	£3.50
1617	60	5.5	£3.02
1618	98	5.5	£4.92
1619	73	10	£3.69
1620	124	1	£6.20
1621	87	9	£4.39
1622	104	0	£5.20
1623	47	6	£2.38
1624	42	0	£2.10
1625	37	2	£1.86
1626	40	0.75	£2.00
1627	117	8.5	£5.89
1628	160	2	£8.01
1629	69	0	£3.45
1630	73	7	£3.68
1631	94	8	£4.73
1632	93	0	£4.65
1633	101	3	£5.06
1634	100	0	£5.00
1635	106	6.5	£5.33
1636	95	5	£4.77
1637	80	8	£4.03
1638	60	7.5	£3.03
1639	42	8.5	£2.14
1640	47	3	£2.36
1641	105	0	£5.25
1642			
1643	116	8	£5.83
1644	57	3	£2.86
1645	56	2	£2.81
1646	41	5.25	£2.07
1647	66	1.5	£3.31
1648	63	9	£3.19

1649	143	7	£7.18
1650	79	3.5	£3.96
1651	61	2	£3.06
1652	75	0	£3.75
1653	91	10.5	£4.59
1654	142	7	£7.13
1655	156	6	£7.83
1656	162	7.5	£8.13
1657	92	9	£4.64
1658	89	0	£4.45
1659	69	1	£3.45
1660	71	6.75	£3.58
1661	67	6	£3.38
1662	70	8	£3.53
1663	70	6	£3.53
1664	69	7	£3.48
1665	182	9	£9.14
1666	62	9	£3.14
1667	75	0	£3.75
1668	65	6	£3.28
1669	66	11	£3.35
1670	66	6.5	£3.33
1671	63	4.5	£3.17
1672	93	1	£4.65
1673	95	1	£4.75
1674	116	11	£5.85
1675	121	5	£6.07
1676	76	7.5	£3.83
1677	62	0	£3.10
1678	53	0	£2.65
1679	33	6.5	£1.68
1680	46	10	£2.34
1681	68	1	£3.40
1682	98	7	£4.93
1683	76	11	£3.85

1684	135	9	£6.79
1685	122	5.5	£6.12
1686	186	8	£9.33
1687	199	11	£10.00
1688	96	7	£4.83
1689	54	7	£2.73
1690	44	5	£2.22
1691	41	3.5	£2.06
1692	77	4	£3.87
1693	53	5.5	£2.67
1694	121	4	£6.07
1695	190	8.5	£9.54
1696	193	0	£9.65
1697	231	9	£11.59
1698	224	4	£11.22
1699	126	3	£6.31
1700	87	6.75	£4.38
1701	67	0	£3.35
1702	84	1	£4.20

Appendix 3:

The below tables are for a quick reference point in relation to the results obtained from Quarter Sessions Minute and Doggett Books, Register to Licence Alehouse Keepers and the Convictions and Presentments Register used in this study. **Figure 4, Figure 5 and Figure 6** have been produced from these results and references for all of the data used can be found in the table below.

Figure 4: Quarter Sessions Minute and Doggett Books:

Year	Reference	Number of Alehouse Related Cases
1605	BRO JQS/M/1/3	1
1620	BRO JQS/M/2/1	2
1634	BRO JQS/M/3/1	0
1646	BRO JQS/M/3/6	2
1652	BRO JQS/M/4/1	1
1653	BRO JQS/M/4/1	3
1654	BRO JQS/M/4/1	4
1655	BRO JQS/M/4/1	6
1656	BRO JQS/M/4/1	31
1657	BRO JQS/M/4/1	1
1658	BRO JQS/M/4/1	0
1659	BRO JQS/M/4/1	1
1671	BRO JQS/M/4/6	0
1684	BRO JQS/M/6/5	1
1692	BRO JQS/M/6/6	5

Between the years 1652-1659 there were a further 11 alehouse related cases but it was not possible to confirm which years these related to so they have been omitted from the table.

Figure 5: Registers to Alehouse Keepers: Sessions volumes, Including Special Sessions

Proceedings:

Year	Reference	St Michael's	All Saint's	St Stephen's	TOTAL
1654	BRO JQS/AK/2	17	10	18	45
1660	BRO JQS/AK/2	30	10	34	74
1670	BRO JQS/AK/4	28	11	32	71
1674	BRO JQS/AK/4	17	12	41	70
1675	BRO JQS/AK/4	12	11	29	52
1696	BRO JQS/AK/5	36	8	51	95

Figure 6: Convictions and Presentments Register:

Year	Reference	Number of Alehouse Related Cases
1676	BRO JQS/C/1	112
1680	BRO JQS/C/1	36
1684	BRO JQS/C/1	22
1688	BRO JQS/C/1	12
1692	BRO JQS/C/1	2
1696	BRO JQS/C/1	1
1700	BRO JQS/C/1	10