

**Venting Smoke:**

**The Trade and Consumption of Tobacco in Early Modern England and Wales, c.1625-1685**

Alexander G. Taylor

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Sheffield  
Faculty of Arts and Humanities  
Department of History

# Abstract

This thesis explores the trade and consumption of tobacco in seventeenth-century England and Wales (1625-1685). The period under study constitutes the moment when tobacco became a widely available commodity, bringing about huge ramifications for early modern England and beyond. After production in England’s American and West Indian colonies, tobacco was shipped to Europe where it was distributed to manufacturers, inland suppliers and retailers, before ‘vented’ to its users. Paramount to this lifecycle was consumption – above all else in rituals of sociability – which provided the means for continued investment and expansion in the trade. As a result of extensive involvement in its overseas traffic, tobacco became an affordable, everyday commodity, the first ‘exotic’ stimulant to enter the quotidian diets of early modern English men and women.

The thesis responds to two broader historiographical traditions, namely the early modern ‘Atlantic world’ and the so-called ‘consumer revolution’. It also taps into more recent inroads made into the history of ‘intoxicants’. Tobacco provided one of the strongest links that ordinary men and women had with the wider world whereas its consumption was a novel form of commodified intoxication that became permanently assimilated into daily life. However, little work has previously focused on the domestic side of the tobacco trade; even less attention has been given to linking up local practices of consumption and production with international patterns of commerce. In responding to these defects, the thesis emphasises the role of non-London ports, the eclectic involvement of dealers, the illegal economy, domestic economic development, and the significance of tobacco consumption as a driving force for commercial expansion. On a broader level, the thesis questions the usefulness of certain historiographical concepts – be they the early modern ‘Atlantic world’ or ‘consumer revolution’ – in analysing economic, social and cultural change in the seventeenth century.

Vent:

2. a. To discharge, eject, cast or pour out (liquid, smoke, etc.)

7. a. trans. To sell or vend (commodities or goods); to dispose of by sale.

Very common from c1600 to c1670.

*Oxford English Dictionary*

*For Wilf*

**Contents**

[Abstract iii](#_Toc519668877)

[Acknowledgements xi](#_Toc519668878)

[Figures and Tables xii](#_Toc519668879)

[Abbreviations xiii](#_Toc519668880)

[Introduction - 1 -](#_Toc519668881)

[ii. Early Modern Worlds - 5 -](#_Toc519668882)

[iv. Venting Smoke - 22 -](#_Toc519668883)

[Chapter One London and the Outports: The Transformation of the Tobacco Import Trade - 29 -](#_Toc519668884)

[i. Quantities and Prices - 31 -](#_Toc519668885)

[ii.London - 41 -](#_Toc519668886)

[iii.The Outports - 47 -](#_Toc519668887)

[iv.Bristol - 59 -](#_Toc519668888)

[v. Conclusion - 71 -](#_Toc519668889)

[Chapter Two Merchants and Mariners: Practices and Participation in the Colonial Tobacco Trade - 73 -](#_Toc519668890)

[i. Production - 75 -](#_Toc519668891)

[ii. Modes of Transaction - 84 -](#_Toc519668892)

[iii. Risks - 93 -](#_Toc519668893)

[iv. Participation at Bristol - 101 -](#_Toc519668894)

[v. Mariners - 114 -](#_Toc519668895)

[vi. Conclusion - 122 -](#_Toc519668896)

[Chapter Three Regulation and Limitations: The Illicit Tobacco Trade - 125 -](#_Toc519668897)

[i.Regulation - 127 -](#_Toc519668898)

[ii. Inter-Imperial Trade - 135 -](#_Toc519668899)

[iii. Direct Smuggling - 141 -](#_Toc519668900)

[iv.Customs Fraud - 153 -](#_Toc519668901)

[v. Domestic Cultivation - 166 -](#_Toc519668902)

[vi. Conclusion - 175 -](#_Toc519668903)

[Chapter Four Manufacture and Distribution: The Circulation of Tobacco - 178 -](#_Toc519668904)

[i. Techniques - 181 -](#_Toc519668905)

[ii. Practitioners - 190 -](#_Toc519668906)

[iii. Overseas Re-Exports - 200 -](#_Toc519668907)

[iv. Inland Distribution - 206 -](#_Toc519668908)

[v. Conclusion - 227 -](#_Toc519668909)

[Chapter Five Retail and Consumption: Tobacco Retailing and Social Practices - 229 -](#_Toc519668910)

[i. Retail Practices - 231 -](#_Toc519668911)

[ii. Illegal Retailing - 242 -](#_Toc519668912)

[iii. Taste and Consumers - 257 -](#_Toc519668913)

[iv. Sailors and Sociability - 268 -](#_Toc519668914)

[v. Conclusion - 280 -](#_Toc519668915)

[Conclusion - 283 -](#_Toc519668916)

[Bibliography - 290 -](#_Toc519668917)

# Acknowledgements

This thesis has benefited from the support of a multitude of individuals, without whom it would have been impossible to complete. First and foremost, I am indebted to the expertise, patience and inspiration of my primary supervisor, Phil Withington, who encouraged me to undertake post-graduate research in the first place, endorsed my efforts as time went on and who was always on hand to provide productive feedback. I am also thankful to my secondary supervisor, Tom Leng for his suggestions and general support. More broadly, staff, fellow PGRs and friends at the University of Sheffield have provided much support, including Beky Hasnip and Kate Davison in providing general advice, Julia Hillner and Benjamin Ziemann for their constructive criticisms at my confirmation review and Harry Mawdsley, Gareth Roddy and Will Finlay for day-to-day conversations. Above all else, I have been extremely privileged in receiving a three-year scholarship from the Wolfson Foundation; indeed, this thesis was only made possible through the generous stipend and research allowance that the scholarship provides and for which I will be forever grateful.

Undertaking doctoral research is a challengingly but enjoyable experience. Although there is a danger of becoming drawn in to one narrow part of our nation’s past, I have benefited enormously from conversations with others working on similar projects, including at conferences and workshops and especially to my paper respondents (in particular, the IHR’s ‘economic and social history of the early modern world’). Special thanks in this regard go to Lauren Working, Misha Ewen and the *Intoxicants and Early Modernity* project team: James Brown, Angela McShane and Tim Wales. Additionally, I am extremely grateful for the opportunity of working with the project in the summer months between my second and third years. I am further indebted to Crosby Stevens for granting me access to copies of the Cavendish accounts. Crosby also introduced me to James Cartland, to whom I am grateful for allowing me to view his tobacco-pipe collection in Ashbourne. Huge thanks also go to Ste Knox, who provided excellent IT and data management support. In contrast to the personae in my thesis, I have benefited from the rapid correspondence that email allows. In particular, correspondence with Peter Taylor, Richard Stone, Jonathan Harlow, Fiona Pogson and Mark Hailwood were extremely constructive. Fiona also kindly provided me with a printed copy of the Earl of Strafford’s accounts at the time of their publication, Richard shared copies of his port books for Bristol and Mark’s generosity came in several transcriptions of depositions. Worthy acknowledgement also goes to the hard-working and helpful staff at The National Archives, British Library, Bristol Archives (in particular, ‘Wax’), Cornwall Record Office, Gloucestershire Archives and North Devon Record Office. These trips were made so much easier due to the generosity of family and friends letting me stay at their homes, including Steph Taylor, James Ashworth, James Dallyn, Alex Frew and James Shields.

Finally, my greatest appreciation goes to those closest to my heart: first, my parents for instilling a passion for history and learning, for reading over drafts of the thesis and for providing an excellent (and cheap!) childcare service. And second, to Kat for her enduring support, positive encouragement, humour and warmth, as well as for putting up with everything tobacco-related ever since I embarked on this project all these moons ago.

# Figures and Tables

**Figures**

Figure 1.1. *Estimated Colonial Tobacco Imports to England, 1616-1640*

Figure 1.2. *Tobacco Imports to England, 1640-1686*

Figure 1.3. *Yearly Averages for Tobacco Planter Prices in the Chesapeake, 1618-1660*   
Figure 1.4. *Tobacco Imports to Bristol per Hogshead and Roll, 1654-55–1684-85*

Figure 1.5. *Estimates of Tobacco Imports to Bristol (lbs.), 1654-55–1684-55*

Figure 3.1. *Colonial Tobacco Duties, 1660–1685*

Figure 3.2. *Smuggling Routes: South-West England and South Wales, 1630s-1650s*

Figure 3.3. *‘Bulk’ Tobacco Imported to Bristol, 1663-64–1684-85*

Figure 4.1. *Distribution of Tobacco Retail Licences, Issued March 1634–September 1635*

**Tables**

Table 1.1. *Imports of Tobacco to England per port, 1627-28*

Table. 1.2. *Imports of Tobacco to England per port, 1682*

Table. 1.3 *Number of Ships Unloading Tobacco at Bristol, 1654-55–1684-85*

Table 2.1. *Tobacco Importers to Bristol, 1654-55–1684-85*

Table 2.2. *Occupations of Tobacco Importers to Bristol, 1654-55–1684-85*

Table 3.1. *Members of the Bristol Society of Merchant Venturers Accused of Tobacco Fraud, 1670s–1680s*

Table 4.1. *Tobacco Manufacturers Admitted as Freemen, Bristol 1640-1689*

Table 4.2. *Tobacco Retail Serial-Licensees Holding More Than Five Licences Apiece, England and Wales, March 1634–September 1635*

Table 4.3. *Tobacco Transported by River from Bristol to Gloucester, 1656-1685*

Table 5.1. *Annual Rent Spent on Tobacco Retail Licences by Incorporated Borough, 1634–1635*

# Abbreviations

BA – Bristol Archives (formerly Bristol Record Office)

BL – British Library

CRO – Cornwall Record Office, Truro

*EcHR* – *The Economic History Review*

E – Exchequer record series

*IEM* - *Intoxicants and Early Modernity project*, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank)

PA – Parliamentary Archives, Westminster

SP – State Papers record series

TNA – The National Archives, Kew

# Introduction

Immediately after his shipwrecking, Daniel Defoe’s Robinson Crusoe surveys his surroundings. After praising God for his deliverance ashore a desert island, Crusoe soon laments his present condition. Principally, the castaway deplores the scarcity of his possessions. His dire straits are emphasised when Defoe writes, ‘In a word, I had nothing about me but a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a little tobacco in a box’. And yet it is these few possessions that tide over the castaway for his first night on the island. With the knife he fashions himself a cudgel in case of attack; as for the tobacco, a little of this he places in his mouth in order ‘to prevent hunger’. After finding fresh water, Crusoe then spends his night in the safety of a tree with branches barbed with thorns. He thus survives his first twenty-four hours on the island due to his own resolve but aided by his ingestion of tobacco, or what earlier writers commonly knew as the ‘holy herb’.[[1]](#footnote-1)

Crusoe’s fictitious life roughly correlates with the chronological scope of this thesis. Although first published in 1719, Defoe sets *Robinson Crusoe* firmly in the seventeenth century. In the first line of the book, the eponymous mariner tells us that he was born in 1632 and on the 30th of September 1659, days after being washed ashore on the island, Robinson begins his ‘journal’. There, the castaway spends almost thirty years, departing the isle at the end of 1686 and returning to England the following summer.[[2]](#footnote-2) As in some of Defoe’s later novels, most notably in *Moll Flanders*, tobacco is a conspicuous feature in *Robinson Crusoe*.[[3]](#footnote-3) Prior to his shipwrecking, Crusoe inhabits a Portuguese colony in Brazil. In his third year on the plantation, the colonist ‘planted some tobacco.’[[4]](#footnote-4) Assisted by a servant, a slave and a consignment of goods sent from a London merchant, Crusoe soon thrives on his plot of land, going on ‘with great success in my plantation; I raised fifty great rolls of tobacco on my own ground...and these fifty rolls, being each of above a 100 wt, were well cur’d, and laid by against the return of the fleet from Lisbon’.[[5]](#footnote-5) However, despite ‘beginning to thrive and prosper very well upon my plantation’, Crusoe soon grows despondent.[[6]](#footnote-6) Consequently, he is receptive to a project hatched by some of his fellow planters to embark on a slaving voyage to the west coast of Africa, to exchange ‘beads, bits of glass, shells and odd trifles’ in return for slaves to work on the Portuguese tobacco and sugar plantations in Brazil.[[7]](#footnote-7) It is this ill-fated voyage in which the ship is caught in a tempest, resulting in Crusoe’s existence on the island. Thereafter, the plant continues to hold some importance in the narrative. After falling ill several months into his marooning, Crusoe self-medicates with rum and tobacco, two rolls of which survive in a sea chest.[[8]](#footnote-8) On surveying the island, he discovers a ‘great deal of tobacco, green, and growing to a great and very strong stalk’.[[9]](#footnote-9) And in the absence of a tobacco-pipe, Crusoe finds a ‘contrivance’ for smoking tobacco, before making his own: ‘and tho’ it was a very ugly, clumsy thing when it was done, and only burnt red, like other earthen ware, yet as it was hard and firm, and would draw the smoke, I was exceedingly comforted with it, for I had been always used to smoke’.[[10]](#footnote-10) Depicted as an accustomed smoker, the consumption of tobacco in a makeshift device offers consolation to the mariner for the ‘eight and twenty years’ he spends on the island. Indeed, when a body of another young sailor is washed ashore whose pockets contain two Spanish coins and a tobacco-pipe, the latter is to the castaway ‘of ten times more value than the first.’[[11]](#footnote-11)

Defoe’s references to tobacco in *Robinson Crusoe* draw together the commodity’s two principal manifestations in the early modern period: for trade and for consumption. When Crusoe is in Brazil, tobacco is cultivated, cured and manufactured into rolls, ready for export on the European market; while spending his life on the ‘Island of Despair’, tobacco offers Crusoe comfort. After providing him with a foundation for wealth when a colonist, tobacco becomes a medicine and a source of solace when a castaway. Not only is tobacco pervasive in Defoe’s account, it is described in a matter-of-fact way, with the impression that readers would have been very familiar with the plant in their own lives.

This thesis explores the two manifestations of tobacco revealed in *Robinson Crusoe* – as something for trade and for consumption. Through surveying the period between 1625 and 1685, I explore the traffic of tobacco, both across the Atlantic and within early modern England and Wales, ending with the commodity’s consumption. In doing so, I show how the uptake of tobacco pipe-smoking as a new form of commodified intoxication powered national and international trading networks and connected the early modern consumer to an expanding commercial world. While ostensibly something which was unnecessary – an idle luxury or a mere commodity, as well as of course something that was highly addictive – tobacco carried profound significance in terms of economy, society and culture, providing a means for the expansion of colonialism abroad and rituals of sociability at home.

Through focusing solely on tobacco, this thesis combines strands of social, economic and cultural history. According to David Hancock, economic historians often fail to grasp the cultural significance of historical changes; similarly, cultural historians frequently ignore the commercial aspects of their chosen subject. Instead, ‘a history that focuses on a single commodity can highlight more easily the linkages among economic roles: producers produced for consumers, and consumers consumed what producers produced for them; distributors tried to serve these two masters and took a little off the top for their effort’.[[12]](#footnote-12) Commodity history thus presents a holistic interpretation of the past, encompassing production, distribution and consumption, and is mindful of the multiple histories that are entangled within the lifecycle of a single commodity. Through appreciating the traffic and production of tobacco, we can understand what consumers were imbibing; likewise, a comprehension of consumer practices goes some way in explaining how techniques in production and trade evolved and were adjusted by its practitioners.

During the imaginary life of Robinson Crusoe, vast changes were wrought to the trade and consumption of tobacco, a development that came into fruition during Defoe’s own early life. Between 1625 and 1685, the colonial tobacco trade greatly expanded, prompting the commodity’s widespread consumption throughout English – and much of European – society. However, although underscoring the ubiquity of tobacco at the turn of the century, as well as highlighting several of its known cultural representations, the use of tobacco as a literary prop in *Robinson Crusoe* also raises several questions, chiefly with regards to the socio-economics of tobacco within the period in which the tale is set.

To begin with, prior to his shipwrecking, the eponymous hero is a coloniser in Portuguese-controlled Brazil, somewhere famed in the seventeenth century for its superior tobacco. At the same time, English-speaking settlers were increasingly producing greater quantities on commercial plantations in the West Indies and the North American mainland. How did England’s overseas tobacco trade develop between the pre-civil war period and the decades after the Restoration? Can we quantify how much tobacco was making its way onto the shores of the British Isles, which ports were involved, and how this changed over time? Who were the participants of the tobacco trade and how was the trade organised? What risks did these participants face? Moreover, Crusoe is shipwrecked on a fictional island, although it is explicitly mentioned as being ‘near the mouth of the great river of Oronoque [Orinoco]’, and therefore located within the Caribbean.[[13]](#footnote-13) This archipelago was at the periphery of England’s expanding global system of trade, which in turn was increasingly dominated by a self-confident central government for which tobacco held fiscal potential. What rules did successive regimes enforce to maximise their gains from the traffic of tobacco? What techniques were used to circumvent state regulation on the tobacco trade and what effects did illicit trade practices have? Finally, until he meets his ‘Man Friday’, Crusoe is famously alone on the island; however, the uptake of tobacco consumption can largely be explained due to it being a sociable practice. Turning to the internal economy of early modern England and Wales, then, how did the domestic tobacco trade operate at this time and what was its relationship to the overseas colonial trade? How was tobacco turned into a vendible commodity and who undertook these processes? How was tobacco sold, retailed, vended and vented? Why did early modern people smoke, or rather as it was termed at the time, ‘drink’, tobacco and what cultural practices drove these rituals?

It is these questions that this thesis seeks to address. Chiefly, the thesis emphasises economic developments outside of London, the extent to which tobacco connected consumers to the wider world, and the importance of tobacco ‘drinking’ as a form of commodified intoxication conducive to seventeenth-century sociability. In doing so, the thesis argues that the uptake of tobacco as a widespread and meaningful consumption practice denoted a new commercialized form of intoxication which tied domestic consumption and consumers to new industries and international trade patterns. Through venting smoke, society was enmeshed in global trading structures that brought this novel exotic good – albeit in a wholly commodified format – into the lives of ordinary men and women.

## ii. Early Modern Worlds

Interest in the early modern trade and consumption of tobacco has attracted scholars since the late nineteenth century. More pertinently, this thesis taps into two areas of recent historiography concerning tobacco and the early modern period more broadly: the ‘Atlantic world’ and the early modern ‘consumer revolution’. A strong association is also made with the burgeoning field of the history of ‘intoxicants’. In doing so, the thesis responds to early modern historiography in the spheres of economic, social and cultural history.

The nineteenth century witnessed a proliferation of literature concerning the ‘holy herb’.[[14]](#footnote-14) For example, F. W. Fairholt’s account encompassed several strands of the plant’s history to quench the Victorian reader’s interest, albeit bound in more of an amateur tradition that Matthew Hilton has lately identified as being part of a ‘bourgeois-liberal context of smoking’.[[15]](#footnote-15) Coupled with a series of periodical articles, this tradition ‘provided a body of knowledge about tobacco, presented as a worthwhile area for general public readership and interest’ at a time when the briar pipe was a symbol of individuality and independence.[[16]](#footnote-16) After the turn of the century, G. L. Apperson published the first ‘social history’ of tobacco consumption through the ages, still within the ‘bourgeois-liberal context’ identified by Hilton.[[17]](#footnote-17) On more academic footing, George Louis Beer explored tobacco’s role in the formation of England’s colonial enterprise in the western Atlantic, highlighting many facets that later ‘Atlantic world’ historians would go on to embellish.[[18]](#footnote-18) C. M. MacInnes’s subsequent monograph remains a solid overview of tobacco in the seventeenth century and condenses many of the more accessible sources relating to the subject while Stanley Gray and V. J. Wyckoff published incomplete figures on the tobacco trade from a selection of the customs port books, figures which are still useful today.[[19]](#footnote-19) Providing insights into sixteenth-century printed literature on tobacco drawn from the Arents Tobacco Collection held at the New York Public Library, Sarah Dickson’s 1954 monograph remains useful for modern scholars.[[20]](#footnote-20) Using the same collection, Jerome E. Book published five volumes on the plant’s literary history.[[21]](#footnote-21)

More recent academic interest in tobacco has focused on its role in shaping developments outside of early modern England. After Europeans first encountered tobacco, as Marcy Norton and Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert have shown, early explorers and sailors bartered tobacco from indigenous people.[[22]](#footnote-22) By the 1580s, the first commercial tobacco plantations in the Caribbean and Central and South America were established by Spanish and Portuguese settlers – notably on the island of Trinidad and along the mouth of the Orinoco river in modern-day Venezuela, which preceded the more famous English colonies on the North American mainland and which provided the setting for the beginning of *Robinson Crusoe*. As Joyce Lorimer has explored, much of the tobacco that made its way to English ports for the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries did so in modest quantities and through irregular or illicit networks.[[23]](#footnote-23) However, as is well known, English colonists to the north began to emulate the success of Spanish tobacco production following the establishment of the Virginia Company in 1606.[[24]](#footnote-24) Alison Games and others have shown that rather than cultivating tobacco, the company’s original intention was to establish a trading post with Native Americans whereby colonists could exchange European goods for valuable minerals, animal skins and wood.[[25]](#footnote-25) However, after a number of setbacks, high rates of mortality and beset by financial difficulties, the settlers soon discovered a convenient and profitable means for their survival: growing and exporting tobacco.

John Rolfe’s successful cultivation of seeds sourced from the Spanish colony of Trinidad in 1611, or so the conventional narrative goes, resulted in Virginia’s first shipment of colonial tobacco to London the following year.[[26]](#footnote-26) In fact, tobacco production had actually taken place on the English colony of Bermuda one year earlier and as Michael Jarvis has recently shown, the island consistently produced more tobacco than its mainland neighbour until 1625.[[27]](#footnote-27) By the late 1610s, tobacco cultivation had gained an important foothold in both the Virginian and Bermudan economies. In Virginia, attempts to diversify crop production and King Opechancanough’s massacre of colonists in 1622 only slowed down what was already an upward trend.[[28]](#footnote-28) Before its dissolution in 1624, the Virginia Company controlled this small, if growing, commerce by setting quotas on production and prices and monopolising the trade to and from the Chesapeake. Thereafter, various colonial scholars have examined the transformative changes to the Chesapeake (including Maryland) that ensued after the company’s demise.[[29]](#footnote-29) Of note is Russell Menard’s interpretation of a ‘boom and bust’ model of the Chesapeake tobacco economy, which analyses the cycles of tobacco production in the seventeenth century and the tumbling prices that planters received for their crop.[[30]](#footnote-30) Edmund Morgan, amongst others, likewise charted the economic and social development of Virginia and Lorena S. Walsh has emphasised the importance of Chesapeake planters and the management of their plantations.[[31]](#footnote-31) Both Morgan and Walsh as well as John Combs analyse the steady transition from a workforce primarily based on indentured servants prior to 1685 to a slave-based society thereafter.[[32]](#footnote-32)

With respects to tobacco exports from the Americas, and to colonial commerce more generally, participation was relatively widespread. As several historians have remarked, after 1624, there was very limited company control over the tobacco industry and the principle of ‘free trade’ prevailed.[[33]](#footnote-33) This situation contrasted with trade to continental Europe or the East Indies, which was ‘largely conducted by a limited number of merchants, since not only were continental markets narrow and highly constrained but for trade to flourish they required specialised knowledge and access to established credit networks.’[[34]](#footnote-34) By contrast, the large number of contact points on both sides of the Atlantic and the requirement for high levels of long-term investment meant there were more opportunities for different traders to participate. In turn, this marked a ‘restructuring’ in international commerce ‘away from the old company organisations in favour of traders, individually or in private firms, who were most able to use their resources to advance in this new market environment.’[[35]](#footnote-35) For Robert Brenner, this restructuring ushered in the rise of so-called ‘new’ merchants involved in settling overseas and trading to London during the 1630s and 1640s. These individuals came from outside the traditional ranks of the mercantile elite and often combined marketing services either side of the Atlantic.[[36]](#footnote-36) Although only utilising a two-year sample, David Harris Sacks chartered a similar phenomenon for mid-century Bristol, asserting that the direct involvement of shop-keepers, sailors and artisans in the colonial trade ‘represented the very image of disorder’ to the city’s established merchant corporation, ‘a dark vision – to them, a nightmare – of a bustling, disorderly world of small men advanced beyond their stations.’[[37]](#footnote-37)

In order to differentiate their pedigree from imperialist or nationalist connotations, most modern colonial scholars, have, over the past two decades or so, rebranded themselves as historians of the ‘Atlantic world’ – an area of historiography which ‘has been one of the most rapidly growing fields in recent decades’.[[38]](#footnote-38) According to Bernard Bailyn, the chief strength of Atlantic world studies for understanding overseas developments has been to break down national boundaries, envisaging the Atlantic region as a ‘coherent whole’.[[39]](#footnote-39) The broad frontiers of expanding European states were porous, allowing the circulation of goods and people with less friction than assumed in earlier, narrowly focused histories of trading corporations, colonies or single nation states. Tobacco’s place within the ‘Atlantic world’ is obvious enough. Tobacco was the first cash crop that was commercially produced in almost every Atlantic colony established by English settlers in the first half of the seventeenth century. With perhaps the exception of sugar, no other colonial grocery did so much to transform economies either side of the Atlantic Ocean. Even so, Atlantic World histories are still heavily focused on Europe and North America.[[40]](#footnote-40) Far less has been written on tobacco production outside of mainland North America, including Bermuda, as well as England’s Caribbean settlements that initially produced tobacco before switching to sugar around the middle of the century.[[41]](#footnote-41) Moreover, in amongst colonial history and more recent Atlantic world studies of tobacco, readers are often left wondering at what the rebounding effects of colonisation and tobacco production were, asides from implicit changes to European consumption habits. Few Atlanticists have joined up the dots between English and colonial history, when they do it is usually only to signify the one-way traffic of settlers to the New World.[[42]](#footnote-42) By contrast, scholars working within the tradition of the so-called early modern ‘consumer revolution’ have shed light on the repercussions of colonial expansion and tobacco production overseas on early modern society in the British Isles.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, the emergence of a ‘consumer revolution’ school identified the early modern period as the moment when north-west Europe and mainland North America first became ‘consumer’ societies.[[43]](#footnote-43) Responding to economic narratives that emphasised overarching structures of production, scholars in this tradition instead emphasised the role of the consumer as creative or having agency.[[44]](#footnote-44) Thus, initial studies built on earlier scholarship regarding changes to the early modern economy, such as ‘proto’-industrialization, but argued that the biggest change to society came in consumer attitudes and practices rather than manufacturing or industrial methods. The historiography tends to view Europe as ‘introduced’ to new goods at some point during the ‘long’ eighteenth century (which, confusingly, can apparently mean anytime beginning in the mid-seventeenth century), transforming cultural practices and consumer markets that were necessary for later industrialisation to occur.[[45]](#footnote-45) In amongst all of this was the classic economic problem of ‘supply and demand’, with economists (and economic historians) generally favouring the former and sociologists (and social and cultural historians) supporting the latter. One of the most influential figures in this school has been Jan de Vries. De Vries focused on the household as an economic unit, of which the reallocation of productive resources (time) ‘increased *both* the supply of market-oriented, money-earning activities *and* the demand for goods offered in the marketplace.’[[46]](#footnote-46) By understanding the early modern economy in this way, argued de Vries, historians ‘can sidestep the chicken-and-egg question of the primacy of supply or demand by focusing on a single set of decisions that simultaneously determines both’, decisions ‘affecting production and consumption’ that were collectively (though unequally) undertaken by members of each household.[[47]](#footnote-47)

Along with its association with the eighteenth century, the consumer revolution is traditionally predicated on the role of metropolitan London. While emphasising the importance of consumption, the consumer revolution school frequently emulates economic history in so far as consumption patterns are based on the flow of new commodities, with the bulk of trade going to and from the capital. It follows that the traffic of goods mirrored their cultural assimilation, with higher rates of consumption in the metropolis and surrounding areas, before new goods slowly spread to provincial towns and the countryside.[[48]](#footnote-48) The economic importance of London’s tobacco trade, for instance, has been well documented by historians, particularly for the period after 1660.[[49]](#footnote-49) Less has been written about the tobacco import trade to England and Wales prior to the Restoration period, although Robert Brenner certainly appreciated the political significance of the pre-civil war tobacco trade and the early development of the West Indies and Virginia.[[50]](#footnote-50) For example, Nuala Zahedieh, David Hussey and B.W.E. Alford all emphasised the tobacco ‘spin-off’ trades but commenced their analyses in or after the late seventeenth century, succeeding the initial growth in tobacco imports.[[51]](#footnote-51) Nancy Cox noted that ‘of the new products, tobacco made the most demands on the retail tradesman’, with shop-keepers undertaking manufacturing stages themselves to meet consumer requirements.[[52]](#footnote-52) Most strikingly, Ralph Davis identified the decades after 1660 as the crucial moment in England’s commercial history, placing tobacco alongside sugar in a principal role for driving change, principally with regards to the re-export trades.[[53]](#footnote-53) However, more than anyone else Jacob M. Price underscored the significance of London’s tobacco trade during the latter seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[[54]](#footnote-54) One of Price’s most influential articles, co-authored with Paul G. E. Clemens, charted a ‘revolution in scale’ for the London import trade during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Notwithstanding the ‘free trade’ aspect of colonial commerce, Price and Clemens revealed a significant increase in the quantities of tobacco imported to London controlled by fewer and fewer participants, as profit margins became ever tighter following the increase in customs duties after 1685. With regards to direct tobacco imports into non-London ports – the so-call ‘outports’ – the historiography is less established, again especially prior to the final quarter of the seventeenth century. J.V. Beckett, Robert Nash and Paul Clemens, for example, all examined on the traffic of tobacco to Whitehaven, Liverpool and Glasgow but only to highlight the importance of those outports from the late seventeenth century onwards.[[55]](#footnote-55) On the other hand, Sacks and more recently Richard Stone have both analysed seventeenth-century Bristol’s transatlantic trades, while some local historians have provided earlier instances of overseas tobacco trading to outports in Devon and Cornwall.[[56]](#footnote-56) Older, and much neglected, figures provided by Gray and Wyckoff and Neville Williams also show direct tobacco imports to ports outside of the capital either side of the British Civil Wars, although, as with Sacks and Stone, these scholars failed to analyse the corresponding internal trading structures and tobacco consumption.[[57]](#footnote-57)

Another problem of using economic quantitative data for locating a ‘consumer revolution’ is that the illicit trade is often downplayed, again meaning that availability is only calculated on official trade figures. While early modern European states certainly profited through taxing the traffic of new commodities, tobacco also reached consumers via illegal means. By its very nature, illicit activity is something hidden from many historical records. Nonetheless, economic and social historians are increasingly seeing the role that the illegal, ‘extralegal’ or ‘informal’ trade played in the broader economy of early modern England and beyond, deploying modern economic and sociological conceptual terms.[[58]](#footnote-58) Evan Jones, for instance, shows how the illicit economy was fundamental to Bristol’s export trade in the sixteenth century, whereas Williams posited smuggling in the seventeenth century as ‘a recognised profession’.[[59]](#footnote-59) Despite noting that ‘since merchants engaged in underhand trade were bent on covering up their tracks, the history of smuggling is naturally poorly documented’, Williams hinted at the potential for tobacco smuggling and indicated the usefulness of records held by the Exchequer.[[60]](#footnote-60) W.B. Stephens’s recent examination of a customs surveyor’s inspection of the ‘western ports’ during the 1680s is a welcome addition to the field in this regard, while Wim Klooster, Victor Enthoven and Christian Koot, amongst others, have recently highlighted the extent of illicit ‘inter-imperial’ trade in the Atlantic world.[[61]](#footnote-61)

However, historians still interpret tobacco smuggling into England and Wales as only becoming a serious issue after 1685, when new taxation prompted traders to find novel ways to avoid them.[[62]](#footnote-62) According to Price, following the increase in the nominal duty on tobacco during this year, ‘up went the inducement to fraud and with it the will to commit fraud.’[[63]](#footnote-63) Studies by Nash and Clemens also focused their efforts on corrupt practices in the late seventeenth centuries onwards, tying the success of northern ports such as Liverpool to their merchants’ proclivity to engage in unlawful practices.[[64]](#footnote-64) More generally, academic and popular historians alike have fêted the eighteenth century as the ‘golden age’ of smuggling when increased taxes on a plethora of foreign goods made higher risk strategies to circumvent them more worthwhile. Whether scholars have identified smuggling with a form of ‘social crime’ or as something symptomatic of pre-modern ‘corruption’, the outcome of associating smuggling as a relatively late development has been to underplay illicit trade in earlier and in many respects more important phases of history.[[65]](#footnote-65)

Notwithstanding issues concerning illicit trade, the outports and a long eighteenth-century consumer revolution in European society, some historians of consumption are still aware that tobacco was consumed *en masse* in large swathes of Europe many decades before other exotic groceries. Carole Shammas, for instance, places the ‘mass-consumption’ of tobacco in England at some point in the middle of the seventeenth century, although concedes that it could have occurred earlier ‘if full information in imports and domestic production were available’, whereas Sarah Pennell argues that the pattern of tobacco diffusion ‘does not conform to the interpretive frameworks beloved of historians of consumption’.[[66]](#footnote-66) Indeed, the early significance of tobacco retailing is apparent in an article by Maurice Beresford regarding the crown’s project to license tobacco retailers during the 1630s.[[67]](#footnote-67) Building on Beresford’s work, Anthony Rowley’s thesis argues for a ‘mixed economy of small and large-scale tobacco trading supplying smokers in all comers of England’ by the middle of that decade.[[68]](#footnote-68) De Vries, too, remarks that tobacco ‘followed a somewhat different pattern from that for the other major tropical commodities’, encountering ‘consumer acceptance much more quickly’.[[69]](#footnote-69) And in his ground-breaking study of the extensive use of credit in early modern society, Craig Muldrew remarked how the rapid increase of tobacco imports into seventeenth-century England demonstrate just how early moderns were exposed to ‘opportunities of trade and profit’ and, resonating with one of the premises of this thesis, that its consumption ‘provided the impetus for the development of the North American colonies’ in the first place.[[70]](#footnote-70) However, although many historians recognise the significance – and uniqueness – of tobacco decades before other foreign stimulants reached European shores on any significant commercial scale, there is still some uncertainty regarding the precise moment when tobacco became universal as well as what tobacco’s early introduction means for eighteenth-century consumer revolution.[[71]](#footnote-71) ‘The uptake of tobacco’, according to Pennell, ‘is still relatively marginal in most standard accounts of early modern English consumption.’[[72]](#footnote-72)

Historians of consumption have nevertheless provided several explanations for why tobacco became a global commodity in the early modern period. Earlier theories, for instance, assumed that tobacco’s conquest of the world was inevitable due to nicotine’s inherent addictiveness; the later uptake of tea and coffee were explained in a similar way.[[73]](#footnote-73) This functional ‘biological determinist’ approach has also been incorporated into analyses that viewed tobacco consumption amongst the labouring poor of early modern Europe as a means to cope with the hardships of early modern life.[[74]](#footnote-74) Tobacco’s declining price and increasing availability transformed it into a substance that ‘provided the sole relief in a dreary life and a necessary dietary component’ for the ‘labouring classes’.[[75]](#footnote-75) Paradoxically, historians have also associated smoking tobacco with male elites and metropolitan groups largely due to their habitation in centres of overseas commerce, sociability and fashion, as well as the identification of tobacco with medicine. Certainly, fashionable printed texts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries debated the plant’s efficacy as a ‘medical panacea’. Using a range of writing, chiefly by the Spanish physician Nicolas Monardes, Goodman claims ‘it was tobacco’s avowed and advertised therapeutic value that made it acceptable in many diverse cultures’, particularly among the more affluent and educated classes.[[76]](#footnote-76) Undergoing a process of ‘Europeanization’ or ‘commodity indigenization’ that also accounts for the appropriation of other ‘soft drugs’, Goodman sees tobacco as something that was transformed into a respectable commodity of consumption.[[77]](#footnote-77) Following its consumption amongst elites, tobacco’s subsequent consumption amongst the middling and ‘poorer’ sorts was evidence of ‘social emulation’ within a system of capitalism – a process long ago coined by Thorstein Veblen and familiar to historians of consumption, luxury and fashion.[[78]](#footnote-78) According to such scholars, once tobacco and other goods were ‘Europeanized’ and were consumed by social elites, demand was created among other groups. Eager to gain social prestige, middling and then lower classes adopted the practice of smoking or drinking tea, following the commodities’ increased availability and sudden cheapness.[[79]](#footnote-79)

A more recent approach for explaining the uptake of tobacco in European society has been to emphasise the cross-over of knowledge and rituals of the plant between indigenous cultures in America and those in Europe. As Goodman proposes, it was tobacco’s association with American healing rituals that helps explain ‘how tobacco became incorporated into the European *materia medica*’ and that ‘offering tobacco to newcomers from across the waters was a reflection of the significance of the plant in engaging social contact’.[[80]](#footnote-80) However, Goodman still urges that tobacco became ‘Europeanized’, transformed from Native American rituals into a European framework. By contrast, Norton, has shown similarities of non-medical European tobacco consumption practices with indigenous rituals, noting that all the forms of imbibing tobacco practised by Native Americans – smoking, snuffing and chewing – were copied by Spaniard colonists and then by Europeans back home.[[81]](#footnote-81) From direct engagement with indigenous groups overseas, explorers and sailors from the New World transposed the same ‘sets of practices, habits, and tastes’ onto consumption patterns in Europe, with sailors providing a particularly crucial ‘vector for the diffusion of tobacco’. [[82]](#footnote-82) Most productively in terms of the role of seafarers, Beverley Lemire has emphasised ‘proximity to sea routes’ in shaping consumer practices, inviting us to ‘rethink assumptions about consumer practice and material culture that presumes plentiful consumer goods in the metropole and declining access as one moves away from London, especially among plebeian buyers.’[[83]](#footnote-83) Through viewing mariners as ‘agents of cultural change’, Lemire thus raises questions regarding the hierarchical-based social emulation explanation for the transmission of tobacco in early modern England.

As Goodman correctly concedes, tobacco ‘was grafted on to European culture by several different agents operating contemporaneously’.[[84]](#footnote-84) However, the problem with all the above approaches is that they are too generic and provide a one-size fits all model for the appropriation of tobacco – as with other overseas ‘soft drugs’ – in all corners of the world.[[85]](#footnote-85) Indeed, tobacco consumption did not emerge within a vacuum and this raises considerations regarding why tobacco was consumed in the first place. In particular, the above interpretations do not appreciate the growing significance of alcohol in early modern English and Welsh society at precisely the moment that tobacco was gaining widespread acceptance.

Sharing some similarities with the consumer revolution school is scholarly interest in the history of alcohol and drugs, or what Phil Withington has persuasively categorized as ‘intoxicants’.[[86]](#footnote-86) Introducing the terms, Withington writes that the concepts of intoxicants and intoxication avoid the modern ‘ideological connotations of drugs’.[[87]](#footnote-87) The uptake of foreign groceries – the most part containing addictive chemical compounds that induce a mild altered state of mind – can be considered intoxicants. However, during the same decades that parts of Europe ‘took to soft drugs’ (beginning with tobacco) there was also an increase in the traffic and consumption of ‘old’ intoxicants (wine, ale and beer). New intoxicants did not replace alcoholic inebriation. In England in any case, innovations in distilling led to the expansion of strong-strength spirits; advances in brewing methods, such as the use of hops, led to the commercial production of beer; and the overall circulation of these alcohols increased.[[88]](#footnote-88) As the recent *Intoxicants Project* shows, the traffic, consumption and material culture of a whole range of colonial goods and alcoholic beverages multiplied between the end of the sixteenth and late eighteenth centuries.[[89]](#footnote-89) Consequently, Withington upholds that early modern England had ‘an economy and culture of intoxicants…[and] the consumption of one commodity, like tobacco, could encourage the consumption of others, like wine, beer, or ale’.[[90]](#footnote-90)

Building on earlier publications by Keith Wrightson and Peter Clark, several early modern historians have in recent years turned to the history of the alehouse – the principal venue for the non-elite consumption of intoxicants.[[91]](#footnote-91) As de Vries writes ‘perhaps because [tobacco consumption] could readily be introduced into existing tavern life, spread broadly soon after its early–seventeenth-century introduction to Europe.’ However, these historians have done little to link the traffic of tobacco with its consumption. Other historians of the early modern alehouse, moreover, have neglected to incorporate tobacco within this cultural space. Most strikingly, Mark Hailwood’s monograph on the early modern alehouse – what Peter Clark described as the ‘the main sales point’ for tobacco – mentions the commodity only on four occasions, each time only in passing.[[92]](#footnote-92) This oversight comes despite Hailwood’s use of a Dutch ‘tavern scene’ by David Teniers the Younger on the front cover of the book’s 2014 edition, an image which places the consumption of tobacco in white clay-pipes at the centre of the subject’s activity, alongside drinking and the playing of cards. Notwithstanding Hailwood’s omission to include tobacco in his analysis, he focuses only on the early modern concept of ‘good fellowship’ as a form of sociability involving alcohol. This social practice denoted a ‘widespread, meaningful, and potent form of social bonding in early modern England’ which ‘configured sociable and recreational drinking as a positive activity’.[[93]](#footnote-93) However, tobacco consumption reveals that various forms of sociability in fact existed in early modern England. Tobacco was certainly consumed in rituals of ‘making merry’ or simply in ‘company’.[[94]](#footnote-94) The consumption of intoxicants likewise took place in the context of friends, family and households, as well as amongst non-kin.[[95]](#footnote-95) Configuring everyday consumption habits of tobacco and alcohol as a less romantic practice of ‘good fellowship’ and a more normalised everyday ritual, historians may uncover what Muldrew has identified as ‘credit’: a socio-cultural economic notion embedded in a western European Christian-humanist tradition that was contingent on the interconnectedness of personality or character (‘creditworthiness’) and financial competency, and which was constantly revaluated through face-to-face dealings, personal networks and public reputation.[[96]](#footnote-96)

That the trade and consumption of tobacco in early modern England and the wider world has intersected these and other historiographical fields is testament to the commodity’s huge significance during the period. We will soon see how a fresh study specifically aimed at the commodity’s early history may cause us to reconsider some previous studies. Moreover, a study on tobacco in the seventeenth century, as a novel intoxicative commodity of consumption, also taps into current-day issues relating to drugs, regulation and health. During the sixty-year period that this thesis is concerned with, there was an unprecedented increase in the amount of tobacco imported into England and mainland Europe and a corresponding increase in domestic consumption. By contrast, in recent years, Europe has experienced an overall decrease in tobacco consumption. Between 1974 and 2016, the proportion of all people in the UK aged 16 and over who smoke has dropped from almost 50 per cent to 16 per cent.[[97]](#footnote-97) Even in the twenty years up to 2013, the number of cigarettes annually cleared in the UK by the HMRC more than halved from 95 billion to 40 billion. At the same time, although revenue from tobacco has increased over the same period (tobacco duty increased from £4.7 billion to almost £10 billion), tobacco’s value as a total of HMRC revenue has dipped from 3.8 per cent to 2.1 per cent.[[98]](#footnote-98)

While western tobacco consumption in the twenty-first century is largely on the decrease, tobacco still holds importance in the media and public debates regarding health, regulation and revenue. Moreover, there are many other psychoactive ‘drugs’, or rather ‘intoxicants’, that continue to typify the characteristics of diverse cultures. For example, despite a fall in per capita consumption levels in the inter-war years, the amount of alcohol consumed per capita in the UK has increased year on year for the past six decades, particularly in terms of wines and spirits.[[99]](#footnote-99) On top of the enduring attraction of beer, wine and spirits, the criminalisation and corresponding rise in the use of prohibited drugs that began during the twentieth century continues today. The legalisation of cannabis in many western countries and its widespread and effectively decriminalised consumption in the UK suggests that the diversity of intoxicants is on the rise. Cocaine, and other ‘party drugs’ such as MDMA, ketamine and MCAT persist in the West as in the expanding Asian economies, fuelling a global trade. Synthetic substitutes of these are frequently manufactured to circumvent state legislation. More problematically, ‘hard drugs’ continue to plague developed and developing nations: in the twenty-first century, new powerful opioid derivatives such as fentanyl are quickly surpassing the older consumption of heroin and methamphetamines. Global trafficking routes continue to evolve and adapt to changing circumstances (witness the rise of drug sales on the ‘dark web’ internet), notwithstanding the billions of pounds multiple nations states have pumped into the ‘war on drugs’.[[100]](#footnote-100) On a national scale, contemporary newspapers report how UK gangs control the distribution of drugs within cities and the countryside.[[101]](#footnote-101) Finally, legal stimulants – tea, coffee and caffeine-based drinks – are more popular than ever. Even nicotine has re-emerged in the form of ‘e-cigarettes’ or vaporisers, along with state-sponsored alternatives to tobacco such as nicotine patches, sprays and gum, which if not considered as ‘polite’ modes of consuming nicotine, then are certainly believed to be less harmful.[[102]](#footnote-102) The burgeoning of state-endorsed, legal pharmaceutical drugs – be they powerful opioids or non-prescription painkillers – is a whole other area of discussion in the economy of intoxicants. Drugs, or rather, intoxicants, then, are central to the modern human experience and have been for millennia.[[103]](#footnote-103) In short, Europe has always – and will continue to do so – consumed a range of intoxicating substances, many of which are novel, powerful and extremely popular. In the seventeenth century, the novel intoxicant of choice was tobacco.

## iv. Venting Smoke

Building on previous scholarship, this present thesis reassesses the world of tobacco in the seventeenth century. It begins with the overseas colonial tobacco trade and moves onto the manufacture, distribution and retailing of tobacco and ends with the commodity’s consumption. The first two chapters provide an economic focus on the international trade of tobacco, both in terms of statistical analysis and economic practices; the third and fourth chapters deliver insights into socio-economics of the respective illegal and domestic tobacco trades; the fifth chapter integrates a socio-cultural perspective into the overall thesis by turning to tobacco retailing and consumption. A number of different methodologies, utilising a range of manuscript and printed sources are comprised in what follows, with the focus shifting between transatlantic, national and local scales of analysis. Several arguments are made. Each of these generally corresponds to a respective chapter. Taken together, these arguments respond to the areas of broader historiographical significance outlined above.

Economic studies of tobacco in early modern England and Wales – as with early modern history more generally – usually either end or begin in 1642 or 1660, years of political, economic and social turbulence, and hence discontinuity. In contrast, England’s colonial tobacco trade indicates there was in fact much continuity between events either side of the mid-seventeenth ‘crisis’, denoting a steady long-term pattern of economic growth and the rapid uptake of a new cultural habit. Moreover, 1625 and 1685 both serve as convenient markers for the tobacco trade. Asides from both being years of dynastic change, the start date coincides with the dissolution of the Virginia Company, the principal trading organisation to England’s first colony that produced tobacco on a commercial scale. Tobacco was already known in early modern England and Wales by then. However, as the ensuing chapters will explore, the years around 1630 were a turning point for the trade and consumption of tobacco, with imports to England sky-rocketing, prices tumbling and consumption rapidly expanding. The traffic of colonial tobacco was marked by widespread participation and although, the trade had grown to something that was more predictable by the 1660s, it continued to expand. The thesis ends with the introduction of the ‘new impost’, a substantial increase in the tax on tobacco. According to Price, the instigation of the new impost was, ‘next to the introduction of snuff and the American Revolution, probably the event of the greatest lasting importance in the history of the tobacco trade.’[[104]](#footnote-104) After this date, the tobacco trade underwent a second transformation, with larger merchants dominating a trade that was falling into fewer and fewer hands. Just as importantly, domestic consumption had largely bottomed out by 1685, with increases in consumption *per capita* not increasing again until the invention of the mass-produced cigarette in the late nineteenth century.[[105]](#footnote-105) This thesis thus deals with the crucial six decades in which tobacco first became extensively consumed in early modern England and Wales – a space of only one or two generations but which had profound and long-lasting consequences for state and society.

To show this, the first chapter explores what is known about quantities of tobacco reaching England and Wales during the seventeenth century. I demonstrate that many ‘outports’, particularly in southwest England, were crucial to the colonial tobacco trade from 1625 onwards. As soon as the Virginia Company was disbanded and the commercial viability of tobacco realised, non-metropolitan traders flocked to the tobacco-producing colonies. In order to demonstrate the extent of this pattern, this chapter first critiques the available quantitative data for tobacco imports to England and re-interprets figures for the prices at which colonial tobacco was sold. I then turn to individual ports involved in the tobacco trade. Here, I have utilised a scattering of port books, particularly for ports in south-west England. These records list the quantities of goods imported and exported into early modern England and Wales and were compiled in order to levy import duties on commodities. My original intention was to put these records to more use; however, due to the poor quality and frailty of these records, many were inaccessible during research for this thesis.[[106]](#footnote-106) There do, however, exist some previous works where comparisons of port books have been made which, along with other source material, show a clear pattern of direct imports to southwest England, alongside the trade to London. In the chapter’s final section, I use similar records to the port books held at the Bristol Archives known as the ‘wharfage books’. Because these records survive for consecutive years, I have been able to plot a year-by-year series of direct tobacco imports in order to produce the first uninterrupted series of tobacco imports to a seventeenth-century provincial port and raising the possibility for work of a similar kind.

The second chapter explores how the traffic of tobacco across the Atlantic Ocean involved a large group of different traders operating from multiple ports, from wealthy merchants to the common seaman. These participants constituted what can be termed a ‘transatlantic tobacco network’. Knowing how this network was structured, what risks were involved in the tobacco trade, and who participated in it are all fundamental to understanding the broader socio-economics of the trade. In the second chapter, then, I reconsider how the tobacco trade operated on a day-to-day basis during the phase of rapid expansion outlined in chapter one. This analysis partly draws upon printed texts and secondary sources. However, here, as in later chapters, I utilise court depositions, a fuller discussion of which is given below. In the final two sections of this chapter I turn again to the Bristol wharfage books in conjunction with the recently transcribed Bristol burgess books in order to identify the number of importers and to calculate levels of participation based on the quantities of tobacco each imported. In particular, I emphasise the role of mariners within the transatlantic tobacco network. Although many small-scale traders ranging from middling shop-keepers to non-burgesses rubbed shoulders with a few larger magnates, shipmasters and other sailors were crucial participants in the networks that structured the trade. Sailors acted as brokers between planters and merchants but were also active investors in the trade themselves. The function of sailors in the tobacco trade raises ideas regarding the circulation of tobacco consumption, a point which is picked up in the final chapter.

The third central argument in this thesis is centred around the role that illegal practices in the tobacco trade played, both for meeting consumer demand and for further stimulating the market. The conventional narrative regarding the widespread emergence of smuggling only after 1685 needs reassessing because the illicit trade was fundamental both to the widespread consumption of tobacco and the overall condition of the tobacco economy for many decades earlier. Instead, the widespread consumption of tobacco was hastened by an increase in illicit imports from 1625 onwards, which hastened a fall in tobacco prices and increased availability. After outlining how the tobacco trade was regulated by the state, this chapter explores four areas of illicit commerce: inter-imperial trade, direct smuggling, customs fraud, and domestic tobacco cultivation. Methodologically, this chapter heavily utilises court records, principally those kept by the Court of Exchequer as well as those held at the Bristol Archives, along with state and treasury papers relating to the tobacco trade. Court records are most useful when depositions or sworn witness statements survive, which offer the closest to what scholars have long termed ‘history from below’. However, court depositions come with a number of caveats including questions over reliability, truthful reporting and misrepresentation. Foremost among the difficulties that come in interpreting court depositions is the ‘dark figure’ of crime, with cases of illicit trading only being uncovered in a deposition after a full-scale investigation and the interrogation of witnesses had occurred. Thus, the numbers of illegal practices are only ever a fraction of an unknown quantity, although clues elsewhere may give some indication to the true scale of smuggling and customs fraud. Although one should be mindful of the dark figure of crime, the available evidence suggests that there was a high incidence of customs fraud and direct smuggling in southwest England and south Wales. Such a phenomenon is understandable in light of patterns of the official trade. There was thus much cross-over between the formal and informal trades, and this had an impact on the broader economy, making tobacco more available and affordable for the seventeenth-century consumer. I conclude by suggesting that views over ‘illegality’ were contested in this period, enabling the illicit market in tobacco to flourish.

Chapter four principally examines what happened to tobacco after it arrived in early modern England or Wales. The multiple stages of production that took place after importation demonstrate how cured tobacco leaves were transformed into a manufactured commodity of consumption, removed from their origins both in terms of materiality and pre-manufactured cultural understanding. By viewing a roll of tobacco or a packet of cut and dried tobacco as a plant-based artefact, I show how tobacco underwent a process of commodification prior to its consumption. The second half of this chapter focuses on the organisation of the re-export and internal tobacco trades. Both of these trades were integrated, competitive, and responsive to consumers. The sources used in this chapter range between probate inventories, court depositions, port books and state papers. Probate inventories are indispensable for denoting the material culture of tobacco, particularly the tools and equipment used in the manufacturing process required to turn imported raw tobacco leaves into a vendible commodity. I have also exploited an account book compiled by the ‘receiver-general of fines and rents for licences for selling tobacco’, which shows the distribution of licensed retailers in the mid-1630s and thus the concentration of areas where tobacco was sold in the earlier part of the period. Linking with previous chapters, I analyse an array of individuals who constituted the transatlantic tobacco network, but this time turning to those people who facilitated the manufacture of the plant into a vendible commodity and its distribution into the domestic economy. In doing so, I contend that the high numbers of tobacco importers revealed in chapter two was mirrored by the large numbers of tobacco manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers conducting their operations on various-sized scales. The people involved in the domestic traffic of tobacco constituted the varied supply chains that connected overseas tobacco producers with the consumer. However, rather than a one-way process, there instead emerged a circuitous dialogue which enabled consumer preferences regarding taste and price to inform the strategies of suppliers. Price increases that resulted from overland transportation and several stages of processing were mitigated by innovations in manufacturing methods and England’s relatively comprehensive internal transport system.

The fifth and final chapter argues for socio-cultural practices as an impetus to economic development, in this case, tobacco consumption as the primary stimulus for the expansion of the tobacco trade as outlined in the previous chapters. Although it is possible that there were pockets of high consumption rates (cities, port towns, and south-west England), tobacco was consumed extensively throughout the whole country by the 1630s at the latest. Although precise figures of consumption for the early modern period can never be known, I present evidence for widespread consumption during this decade. In particular, court depositions shed considerable light on the everyday practices pertaining to the consumption of tobacco. Importantly, the widespread consumption of tobacco during the seventeenth century was irrevocably significant for driving a trade that not only transformed internal networks, but also those which spanned the Atlantic Ocean. Rather than viewing the relatively sudden and widespread consumption of tobacco amongst a large part of the populace as a consequence of increased productivity and better trade networks, increased productivity and trade (both legal and illegal forms) were instead the outcome of widespread and considerable consumer demand for tobacco. In turn, this interpretation fastens the act of consumption – for the most parts in rituals of sociability – to the economy of early modern England and the wider world. Although the structure of this thesis places consumption as an end-point, the tobacco trade was not one-way traffic, with planters and traders providing tobacco to a passive and invariable consumer base. On the contrary, money and credit flowed the opposite way; so too, importantly, did consumers’ requirements and expectations. Demand stimulated trade, demand that was in turn fuelled by early modern sociability and shared rituals of consumption. The near-universality of the consumption of tobacco encouraged the commodification of tobacco, in turn defining the seventeenth century as a time of commercialization in its ‘economy of intoxication’.

# Chapter One London and the Outports: The Transformation of the Tobacco Import Trade

When writing about English commercial development between 1660 and 1700, the economic historian, Ralph Davis, observed that what was ‘hardly foreshadowed before the Civil War, was the growth of a re-export trade mainly in American or Eastern products’.[[107]](#footnote-107) Of these foreign goods, tobacco was the second most valuable for overseas traders and the most valuable for the emerging fiscal-military state. In further highlighting the importance of London’s tobacco import trade, other scholars have since followed in Davis’s footsteps. For example, Nuala Zahedieh focuses on London’s colonial trades during the second half of the seventeenth century, a period in which the city ‘established itself as the capital and commercial hub of a thriving Atlantic empire’.[[108]](#footnote-108) Not only did tobacco imports lead to the emergence of a number of spin-off industries; demand for English manufactures in the plantation societies caused the capital’s pre-existing domestic industries to expand.

While highly influential, Davis’s account is problematic in two respects. The focus on events only after 1660 and the neglect of non-London ports (the so-called outports) generates a distorted picture for when, where and how tobacco was trafficked to early modern England and Wales. Tobacco imports did not suddenly become significant at the Restoration, nor was the rest of the country located in some sort of trafficking vacuum distinct from the capital. Although other, mainly colonial, scholars have charted earlier developments resulting from the dissolution of the Virginia Company (1624), insufficient attention has been paid to linking up pre- and post-civil war trade.[[109]](#footnote-109) In part, these chronological and geographical distortions are due to limitations of data. The figures used by historians for calculating the extent of the tobacco trade are incomplete and are certainly an under-valuation, usually only displaying the capital’s trade in a few select years. Elsewhere, port books can be useful, of which some local historians have analysed.[[110]](#footnote-110) However, these records are likewise incomplete and many are in a poor condition or lost. To date, there is no satisfactory consecutive series concerning direct seventeenth-century tobacco imports for a single port, let alone for all of them. Historians are thus left with incomplete and skewed data for the overseas tobacco trade during the seventeenth century, despite evidence elsewhere for significant and widespread domestic consumption during the second quarter of the century onwards.[[111]](#footnote-111)

This chapter addresses these defects by delving deeper into what is known about the extent of tobacco imports across early modern England between 1625 and 1685. In doing so, the chapter links up the tobacco import trade either side of the British Civil Wars and reappraises the role of the outports, particularly in southwest England and south Wales. It first gives consideration to the available evidence for the national growth of the tobacco import trade. Although complete figures of national imports cannot be supplied, plummeting prices received for colonial tobacco from as early as 1630 suggest that the commodity was readily available in the pre-civil war period, in turn implying higher imports than official data shows. The chapter then turns to the role of individual ports, paying attention first to London and then to the outports. From the beginning of the period, direct imports of tobacco were concentrated in London *and* ports in southwest England. The south-western focus was bolstered during the middle of the seventeenth century, following the rise of Bristol in the tobacco trade, and was only eclipsed during the 1680s when more northerly ports overtook their southerly rivals. In light of previous incomplete data, the chapter finally provides a quantitative case study for the port of Bristol, supplying consecutive figures for tobacco imports to the city over a thirty-year period beginning in the mid-1650s. In so doing it suggests that, given the paucity of national data, local case-studies of ports provide a more likely way to reconstruct the full extent of the tobacco trade before the later seventeenth century.

For now, the main conclusion to be drawn from the following analysis is the significance of England’s southwest ports in the tobacco trade alongside that of the capital. The incidence of direct tobacco imports to southwest England from the 1620s onwards facilitated greater growth in the transatlantic tobacco trade and had long-lasting ramifications for internal trade, as well as for the cultural practice of tobacco smoking within early modern England and Wales.

## i. Quantities and Prices

Historians have long noted that the principal feature of the tobacco trade to England and Wales between 1625 and 1685 was its extraordinary level of growth, with available evidence suggesting that official tobacco imports increased by 20,000 per cent at the least between 1625 and 1685.[[112]](#footnote-112) However, caution should be applied when using these figures, which are an undervaluation. The inverse correlation in the growth of tobacco imports – falling tobacco prices in the colonial economy – instead suggests that colonial tobacco was widely available on the domestic market soon after the dissolution of the Virginia Company. Thereafter, post-Restoration increases in growth further integrated a pattern which had already been established, demonstrating commercial continuity between either side of the British Civil Wars.

During its existence the Virginia Company had a monopoly over all colonial imports of tobacco. However, although fraught with financial difficulties from its beginning, heightened political infighting during the early 1620s resulted in the company’s dissolution by 1624, permanently altering how the transatlantic tobacco trade functioned and was organised.[[113]](#footnote-113) With the termination of the Virginia Company, more land was allocated to prospective tobacco planters and opportunities were opened up for numerous individuals to enter the trade. With more land devoted to tobacco production and the influx of middling traders outside of the ranks of a traditional mercantile elite and company control, Virginian tobacco exports more than quadrupled between 1625 and 1630 and tripled over the next ten years. After 1625, as Robert Brenner has written, ‘free trade became the rule in American commerce’.[[114]](#footnote-114)

In addition to increased tobacco production in Virginia and Bermuda, supplementary colonies for cultivating the plant were established in the years succeeding the Virginia Company’s dissolution. To the south of Virginia, Lord Baltimore (Cecilius Calvert) was granted a patent to govern Maryland as a proprietary colony in 1632. Seeing the success of their neighbours, the colonists here turned to tobacco cultivation as the primary source of income. Moreover, colonies established in the Lesser Antilles island chain (St Christopher in 1624, Barbados in 1627, Nevis in 1628 and Montserrat and Antigua both in 1632) all produced significant quantities of tobacco during the 1630s.[[115]](#footnote-115) Between 1637 and 1640, for instance, St Christopher and Barbados produced around one-sixth of all tobacco imported into England.[[116]](#footnote-116) Although there were complaints of the poor quality of West Indian tobacco, it was only in the 1640s that planters on the Caribbean islands began to turn to sugar cultivation as a more profitable enterprise, with tobacco still produced in the English West Indies some thirty or forty years later.[[117]](#footnote-117)

The success at colonisation and tobacco production in the above regions resulted in an unprecedented increase in tobacco imports into England and Wales.

Figure 1.1. *Recorded Colonial Tobacco Imports to England, 1616-1640*

*Sources*: (for 1616-1631) Neville Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade in the Reign of Charles I’, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 65 (1957), pp. 403–49; (for 1634 and 1637-1640) Jacob Price in ‘Series Z: colonial and pre-federal statistics’, within US Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States colonial times to 1970*, pt. 2 (Washington, 1976), pp. 1152–1200. The original manuscript for for 1637-1640 is from ‘Tabulation of English tobacco imports’ from the Earl of Norwich (Lord George Goring)’s accounts, BL, Additional Manuscripts 35865/247. This is also transcribed in Vere Langford Oliver (ed.), *Caribbeana,* vol. III (London, 1914), pp. 197-198).

Using data compiled from a number of somewhat dated secondary sources, we can see an impressive increase in recorded tobacco imports into early modern England and Wales (fig. 1.1). The graph includes tobacco imports from all English-owned colonies and shows the extraordinary increase in the trade between 1616 and 1640, particularly that occurring after 1634. However, there are a number of limitations with interpreting the data as an absolute representation of the tobacco trade. Tobacco imports from colonies belonging to Spain or other European nations are not included; there are four incomplete years for trade to London in the 1630s; the data presented here does not include tobacco that entered England illicitly, nor that which was unlawfully cultivated in England.[[118]](#footnote-118) Most strikingly, there is no information for the outports after 1631, a serious omission considering the increasing volumes of tobacco that several of these ports imported and which can be partially reconstructed through using alternative sources. For instance, depositional evidence attests to at least 70,000 lbs. of tobacco appraised in Bristol in 1638, a figure only slightly lower than that for all of the outports eight years earlier.[[119]](#footnote-119) While it is difficult to provide data for the outports as a whole, tobacco imports to a number of outports were hugely significant during the pre-civil war period and laid the foundations for successive developments. The information supplied in fig. 1.1 therefore has some severe shortcomings; after 1631, the graph is entirely unrepresentative of the tobacco trade to the outports and thus can only be interpreted as the bare minimum amount of tobacco that reached England’s shores during this period.

A second graph can be produced for the period after 1640. During the 1640s, domestic strife and international warfare certainly affected shipping and the regularity of transatlantic commerce. Dutch merchants rapidly asserted their dominance in the Chesapeake, taking advantage of their peace with Spain, the dearth of English shipping and increased colonial tobacco output.[[120]](#footnote-120) For a brief period, colonists refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the pro-Parliament regime. English growers, too, conscious that consumers’ supplies were weakened, sought to shoulder in on the tobacco market.[[121]](#footnote-121) Fig 1.2 nevertheless shows that the twenty years or so between the outbreak of civil war and the reinstatement of the Stuart dynasty saw further expansion in the overseas tobacco trade and continued growth in tobacco imports to England. The second year for which data is given for London, 1663, shows a huge rise compared to 1640. Thereafter, the city’s growth in the number of tobacco imports was further aided by constitutional stability and, apart from two additional wars with the Dutch, international peace. More strikingly, the outports also experienced a colossal increase in their number of tobacco imports. By the 1680s total annual imports to the outports were greater than the total trade to London. Put together, the cumulative imports to the whole of England and Wales reached twenty-eight million lbs. in 1686, a fourteen-fold increase from 1640 and 200-fold increase from 1625.

Figure 1.2. *Tobacco Imports to England, 1640-1686*

*Sources*: Jacob Price in ‘Series Z: Colonial and Pre-federal Statistics’, within US Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States colonial times to 1970*, pt. 2 (Washington, 1976), pp. 1152–1200; (for 1640) Stanley Gray and V. J. Wyckoff, ‘The International Tobacco Trade in the Seventeenth Century’, *Southern Economic Journal*, 7 (1940), pp. 1-26; (for 1663 onwards, London) TNA, CO 388/2 ff.7,13; (for 1669, outports) from BL, Lonsdale MS; (for 1682-1686) BL, Sloane MS.1815 ff.34-37 (based on an average).

Despite the undeniable increase in tobacco imports between 1640 and 1685 shown in fig. 1.2, the graph contains a number of limitations. First, the figures are compiled from several sources collated by Jacob Price during the 1970s that should not be read as definitive. In particular, those between 1682 and 1686 were based on annual expected averages contained in the Sloane manuscripts held at the British Library rather than actual quantities based on customs returns. Second, and as with the first graph, many years are missing, particularly between 1640 and 1663, as well as for the outports in general. Moreover, the re-export trade was in the ascendancy after 1660; by the 1680s, as much as 50 per cent of total tobacco imports were re-exported overseas.[[122]](#footnote-122) Finally, as in fig. 1.1. the graph does not include figures for illegal tobacco imports and is limited in its treatment of the outports.

While figures for tobacco imports to England during the seventeenth century are incomplete, the undeniable increase in growth inversely coincided with another fundamental pattern: a fall in tobacco prices. In terms of consumption, prices are perhaps more important than quantities of imports because they indicate availability and suggest a relationship between supply and demand. Providing a range of planter prices for unprocessed tobacco in Virginia and Maryland between 1618 and 1660, Russell Menard has shown how the average price of tobacco per lb. decreased rapidly over time (fig. 1.3).[[123]](#footnote-123)

Figure 1.3. *Yearly Averages for Tobacco Planter Prices in the Chesapeake, 1618-1660*

*Source*: Menard, ‘A Note’ (1976); a later list of planter prices is given in Menard, ‘Farm Prices of Maryland Tobacco, 1659-1710’, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LXVIII (1973), pp. 80-85. Both lists are in his ‘The Chesapeake Tobacco Industry, 1617-1730: An Interpretation’, *Research in Economic History*, 5 (1980), pp. 109-177.

Although the speed of decrease varied, the general pattern in the prices paid for colonial tobacco is obvious: a sudden slump in 1630 followed by a series of smaller reductions succeeding the odd recovery year. For instance, whereas in the early 1620s planters received well over a shilling for every lb. of tobacco they produced, by the early 1630s they saw some prices plummet to an average of just 4d. per lb., or in some cases, as low as a penny per lb.[[124]](#footnote-124) Thereafter, prices stayed low and, although Menard describes a series of ‘boom and bust’ in the Chesapeake plantation economy, fluctuations for the remainder of the century were far less pronounced.[[125]](#footnote-125) As Jarvis has shown, the fall in tobacco prices also affected Bermudan varieties, which fell from 2s. 6d. per lb. in 1622 to a penny per lb. in 1630 and remained low thereafter.[[126]](#footnote-126)

Historians have posited a number of factors for the fall in plantation prices. Menard states that increased efficiency in plantation methods, falling risks and freight charges and an overall increase in the predictability of the trade all played a significant role in reducing plantation costs and thus the low prices at which they were willing to sell their crop.[[127]](#footnote-127) However, while these factors certainly enabled the price of colonial tobacco to fall, it seems just as plausible that many of these cost-saving innovations were developed in order to compensate for tobacco’s tumbling wholesale price on the domestic market as imports increased. As more and more tobacco was imported to England and elsewhere, wholesale and retail prices fell. Generally, the wholesale value of tobacco steadily decreased over the course of the seventeenth century, albeit marked by some fluctuations. However, as with plantation prices, the largest slump in the wholesale price of tobacco came during the early 1630s. For instance, in 1632, an agent-wholesaler reported that during the previous winter ‘the best sort’ of Virginia tobacco had sold in London for no more than 6d. per lb. ‘clear of all charges’. Once freight (which came to 2d. per lb.) and other costs had been accounted for, it was not worth the trader to import the tobacco and pay the 4d. per lb. customs duties. Consequently, many traders who had trafficked colonial tobacco to London kept ‘the same in the custom house and never fetch[ed] it away, because it would not yield so much as would pay for freight, custom, and other charges’.[[128]](#footnote-128) Although wholesale prices slightly improved in the middle 1630s, prices dropped again in the 1640s, and once more in the 1650s.[[129]](#footnote-129) In December 1657 it was reported that ‘good Virginia Tobacco...did yeeld in Bristol’ just 2.5.d. per lb. ‘cleere of charge’, with the price of a hogshead ranging between seven and nine pounds sterling.[[130]](#footnote-130) While for the rest of the century prices seem to have stayed above the low amount encountered in 1657, tobacco never really sold wholesale above 5d. per lb. thereafter. In 1660, one consignment of tobacco sold for between 3.5 d. and 4.5d. per lb;[[131]](#footnote-131) in the 1670s, it was reported that merchants commonly received 4d. or 4.5d. per lb. for their imported tobacco;[[132]](#footnote-132) while the merchant, Thomas Speed, recorded sales during the early 1680s of around 4d. per lb.[[133]](#footnote-133)

Of course, English wholesale prices were higher than the prices received by planters. Moreover, once import duties and other fees were accounted for and once tobacco leaves had been rolled or shredded into a vendible commodity, prices rose again. However, all wholesale as well as retail prices were inextricably linked within the transatlantic market. An abundance of tobacco on the domestic market led to competition between sellers. If consumers and retailers were not prepared to pay high prices for tobacco as a result of the emergence of cheaper rival suppliers, wholesalers suffered a profit loss unless they too offered less money to importers and overseas traders. In turn, the overseas trader sought to purchase tobacco from the planter for cheaper rates rather than suffer personal loss of finance. Hence, the knock-on effect of extensive imports and cheaper tobacco on the domestic market was a reduction on the prices that overseas traders were willing to pay planters.

In some respects, the fall in tobacco prices during the seventeenth century is more important than the incomplete figures for imports. Because the data for tobacco imports are fraught with issues, a comprehension of the slump in prices is just as useful for assessing the general availability of tobacco in early modern England and Wales. Within a few years after the dissolution of the Virginia Company, tobacco exports had grown to such a level that the price bottomed out. Therefore, the low plantation prices for tobacco from 1630 onwards are extremely informative for estimating availability and even consumption levels. The market was subject to successive fluctuations thereafter, but the planter price of tobacco never achieved levels that would have made the commodity inaccessible for a broad range of consumers.

As Ralph Davis wrote in terms of economic development after 1660, ‘vast new sources of demand were being opened up in England and Europe – demand created by sudden cheapness when these English plantation goods brought in a collapse in prices which introduced the middle classes and the poor to novel habits of consumption’.[[134]](#footnote-134) However, while figures are incomplete, we can instead interpret the growth of the tobacco trade as something which was established by the 1630s. The slump in wholesale planter price at the beginning of this decade suggests that extensive demand for tobacco was apparent at least thirty years before the period that Davis had in mind, even among ‘the middle classes and the poor’. As we will see in the final chapter to this thesis, tobacco consumers from the 1630s are known to have been extremely diverse in terms of social status and wealth, suggesting that demand for the commodity was indeed extensive and had been made possible due to the rapid decline in retail prices in that decade. The 1630s certainly seems to be the one where ‘tobacco-mania’ gripped both sides of the Atlantic and the prices received by planters fits what is known about the domestic wholesale and retail trades in England and Wales at the same time.[[135]](#footnote-135)

## ii.London

Previous studies on the seventeenth century tobacco trade have focused on London at the expense of the outports. The remainder of this chapter turns to the available evidence to assess how much this is warranted. While the capital commanded the greatest share of direct tobacco imports for the duration of the period, the trade to the outports was not insignificant. By contrast, the substantial traffic of tobacco to southwest England since the pre-civil war period raises important considerations concerning the economy of the provinces and even the uptake of tobacco consumption as a cultural practice.

Methodologically, assessing the proportion of the tobacco trade to all ports in a given year (synchronically) is usually impossible, owing to the fact that there are almost no years for which information survives for every port in England and Wales during the seventeenth century. For instance, overseas port books – records created by local customs officers and listing the import and export of taxed goods – do not survive for every port in any single year. Similarly, there exist few ports where a continuous series of records survive to enable a detailed, comparable analysis over time (diachronically*)*. Most seventeenth-century port books are intermittent, showing only the occasional year; others are in too poor a condition to be released by the archive.[[136]](#footnote-136)

Notwithstanding methodological difficulties, two tables can be produced which show the breakdown of trade for years at either ends of the period under discussion. These give an impression of how the tobacco trade was shared between different ports. The first table derives from the only – and thus unique – port book of the period that dealt exclusively with tobacco and which details fourteen ports at which tobacco was entered.[[137]](#footnote-137) The second table was created by using a combination of extracts from the Sloane manuscripts held at the British Library (for the total) and rough figures transcribed some time ago by Gray and Wyckoff, who used multiple, if incomplete, port books (for individual ports). [[138]](#footnote-138) It should be made clear that neither table is complete, as is evident in the omission of a number of important outports. As with figs 1.1 and 1.2, the tables should also be read with the usual caveats concerning illicit trade.

Table 1.1. *Imports of tobacco to England per port, 1627-28*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Port** | **Tobacco (lbs.)** | **% of total** |
| London | 478,047 | 73 % |
| Southampton | 65,652 | 10 % |
| Plymouth | 26,525 | 4 % |
| Dartmouth | 18,345 | 3 % |
| Barnstaple | 16,965 | 3 % |
| St Ives | 13,894 | 2 % |
| Dover | 13,457 | 2 % |
| Bristol | 8,850 | 1 % |
| Fowey | 8,050 | 1 % |
| Weymouth | 4,002 | 1 % |
| Yarmouth | 314 | 0 % |
| Sandwich | 300 | 0 % |
| Exeter | 300 | 0 % |
| Lyme | 70 | 0 % |
| **Total** | **654,771** | **100 %** |

*Sources*: Table 1.1. calculated from Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, pp. 420, 445-449; TNA, E 190/32/8.

Table 1.2. all ports calculated from Gray and Wyckoff, ‘International Tobacco Trade’, p. 22. Total based on BL Sloane MS.1815 ff.34-37 (an average).

Table. 1.2. *Imports of tobacco to England per port, 1682*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Port** | **Tobacco (lbs.)** | **% of total** |
| London | 12,592,000 | 48 % |
| Bristol | 3,057,000 | 12 % |
| Southampton-Cowes | 1,919,000 | 7 % |
| Plymouth | 799,000 | 3 % |
| Hull | 505,000 | 2 % |
| Liverpool | 100,000 - 499,000 | <2 % |
| Bideford | 100,000 - 499,000 | <2 % |
| Falmouth | 100,000 - 499,000 | <2 % |
| Dover | 100,000 - 499,000 | <2 % |
| Exeter | 100,000 - 499,000 | <2 % |
| Barnstaple | 100,000 - 499,000 | <2 % |
| Poole | 100,000 - 499,000 | <2 % |
| Dartmouth | 1,000 - 99,000 | <1 % |
| Weymouth | 1,000 - 99,000 | <1 % |
| Lyme Regis | 1,000 - 99,000 | <1 % |
| Poulton | 1,000 - 99,000 | <1 % |
| Fowey | 1,000 - 99,000 | <1 % |
| Swansea | 1,000 - 99,000 | <1 % |
| Lancaster | 1,000 - 99,000 | <1 % |
| Other (shortfall) | 3,000,000-5,000,000 | 12-19 % |
| **Total** | **26,000,000** | **100 %** |

As the two tables show, a considerable proportion of all tobacco imports to England and Wales arrived in London both during the 1620s and the 1680s. Although levels of tobacco imports varied from port to port, the evidence points toward London’s dominance in the trade for the period 1625-1685. Indeed, on the eve of the English Civil War the capital was consistently importing in excess of one million lbs. of tobacco per annum and London remained the principal port for the tobacco trade to England throughout the entirety of the period. On the other hand, trade to the outports was not insignificant. As we will see below, tobacco imports to provincial ports increased significantly, especially during the 1630s and thereafter.

There were a number of factors which contributed to London’s dominance in the tobacco import trade. To begin with, the Thames is a tidal and highly navigable river. In the early modern period, the Thames permitted the navigation of large ships, visible in the 1633 edition of John Stow’s map of London.[[139]](#footnote-139) Seagoing ships were accompanied by custom boats and lighters; sometimes part or the entire cargo of the ship was offloaded onto these smaller vessels before being taken ashore. As early as 1624, tobacco was ordered to be brought to Customhouse Quay on the north bank of the Thames, halfway between London Bridge and the Tower of London. Here consignments were sealed by the king’s commissioners in order to mark their origin and, more importantly, to distinguish legitimate imports from contraband.[[140]](#footnote-140)

Moreover, the metropolis was the cockpit of early settlement and trade in the Chesapeake, Bermuda and the West Indies during the pre-Civil War period. City merchants dominated the early colonisation ventures in the western Atlantic. Most merchant subscribers to the original Virginia Company were Londoners or had links to the capital.[[141]](#footnote-141) These ‘old’ merchants were London-based and were connected to other overseas trading corporations established in London such as the East India and Levant companies. After the dissolution of the Virginia Company, the leadership of the colonial trades altered drastically. According to Robert Brenner, a group of closely-related, London-based colonial merchants dominated the tobacco trade during the 1630s, exploiting the vacuum created by the dissolution of the Virginia Company and the reluctance of traditional merchants to invest in the uncertain and potentially long-term investment American trades. These so-called ‘new’ merchants, who included shop-keepers, shipmasters and planters, came from outside the privileged and established overseas trading companies.[[142]](#footnote-142) Some of the ‘new’ merchants were closely allied to the ruling elite of Virginia – those who were the largest landowners and who sat as councillors.[[143]](#footnote-143) It was these councillors who, in 1632, granted three ‘new’ merchants – Maurice Thomson, William Tucker and Thomas Stone – ‘the sole right to market the entire Virginian tobacco crop for the following three years’.[[144]](#footnote-144) During the 1640s and 1650s, the ‘new’ merchants went on to dominate political life both in London and overseas, assisted greatly by the profits made from tobacco and sugar.

Owing to their proximity to the seats of state power, London merchants were influential in shaping the crown’s policy towards the tobacco trade. London-based trading organisations typically received monopoly privileges for overseas trade from the crown, as indeed had been the case for the Virginia Company until its demise.[[145]](#footnote-145) Even after, London-based merchants still enjoyed a theoretical monopoly that stated all direct imports of tobacco were to go to London. Multiple royal proclamations published between 1625 and 1639 stated the crown’s policy, such as that of March 1625 which required all tobacco to be imported only to ‘Our port of London’.[[146]](#footnote-146)

From the middle of the seventeenth century, London’s tobacco trade underwent what Jacob Price and Paul Clemens have labelled a ‘revolution’ in scale.[[147]](#footnote-147) This ‘revolution’ was due to two factors: the significant growth in tobacco imports and the increase in the average amount of tobacco that each trader imported. Between 1627 and 1628, total imports of tobacco to London were around half a million lbs. The total number of tobacco importers including at least nine partnerships was 272, each individual or company importing on average 1,850 lbs. of tobacco.[[148]](#footnote-148) Over the course of the century, the number of traders decreased in proportion to the quantities that each imported. Whereas in 1640 the average amount of tobacco that an individual imported to London had almost doubled from twelve years earlier to around 3,400 lbs. (346 importers), in 1672 the average had grown to 18,000 lbs. (580 importers). Four years later, 60 importers (ten per cent of total) controlled 70 per cent of the London import market; whereas in 1686, the total number of importers almost halved to 292, forty of whom held an 85 per cent stake of the import market. In this year, the average amount of tobacco handled by each individual or firm was almost 50,000 lbs. The leading firms were each responsible for importing over a million pounds of tobacco in a single year – twice as much as the entirety of the tobacco traders in 1627-28 had cumulatively imported.[[149]](#footnote-149) Declining prices made smaller investments increasingly unprofitable; over time, the only option was to increase the scale of operations.

London’s dominance in the tobacco import trade was also sustained by its ability to supply the plantations with much of their needs. The capital was at the hub of an international finance network which allowed it to source manufactured goods, provisions and labour from multiple sources within and without early modern England. Direct exports from London to the tobacco-producing colonies comprised textiles, clothing, metal-ware and manufactured goods, which together ‘accounted for 90 per cent of the value of London’s direct exports to the plantations’.[[150]](#footnote-150) The city and its surrounding area supplied most of these manufactured goods; however, merchandises could also be sourced from outlying parts of the country due to London’s role as a central hub for domestic trade. The growing market for such products overseas transformed manufactories within the capital, diversified its industry and created employment. By contrast, most foodstuffs were obtained after each ship left London, requiring layovers at either West Country or Irish ports. Since the 1630s at the latest, London merchants maintained connections with merchants across multiple Irish ports. Similarly, wine was sourced from agents outside the capital, principally from the East Atlantic islands, notably from Madeira.[[151]](#footnote-151) In terms of labour, London merchants financed the export of indentured servants from both the capital and Ireland whereas the purchasing of slaves from West Africa was also bankrolled by London merchants.[[152]](#footnote-152) The ability of London to furnish colonists with goods, foodstuffs and labour sustained the corresponding tobacco import trade to the capital.

London led the way when it came to commercial expansion overseas and this is seen in the tobacco trade. As shown above, the capital accounted for almost three quarters of tobacco imports in 1627-28 and 60 per cent in 1669.[[153]](#footnote-153) At the same time, the Restoration period also saw renewed fears amongst London tobacco merchants regarding the rise of the tobacco trade to the ‘outports’, that is those ports other than the capital.[[154]](#footnote-154) By 1682, London’s share had fallen to under 50 per cent and, while London’s trade was never at risk of elimination, over half of official tobacco imports was controlled by the outports by the latter end of the period.[[155]](#footnote-155) It is these, hitherto largely neglected ports, that we turn to now.

## iii.The Outports

Aside from London, other ports traded directly with the tobacco-producing colonies between 1625 and 1685. Although the capital’s monopoly over tobacco imports imposed limits on this commerce prior to 1640, concessions were made in the form of what can be termed as an import-by-licence system, permitting direct trade to many non-London ports. After 1640, outports were unbridled by central legislation, prompting increased investment from traders inhabiting numerous localities. The highest rates of direct tobacco imports outside of London were to ports in southwest England and south Wales, helped by their proximity to the tobacco-producing colonies and the fact that even London-based traders used these ports as layovers to take on board fresh provisions or equipment for their vessels.

There is some ambiguity in the historical records regarding the tobacco trade to England’s outports during 1620s and 1630s. On the one hand, royal proclamation restricted tobacco imports to London.[[156]](#footnote-156) Several pieces of correspondence during this period confirm this pro-monopoly stance. First, in April 1635, the Secretary of State recorded how the *Russell*, carrying tobacco, was ‘driven into Bristol (as is pretended) by tempest, [and] desired to be discharged there’. The Privy Council ordered the *Russell* to be sent to London fully laden with its cargo, ‘otherwise the gentlemen in the country will fill themselves with that tobacco to the prejudice of his Majesty’s lessees licensed here’.[[157]](#footnote-157) The ‘lessees licensed here’ referred to the London merchants who had successfully bid for contracts to import tobacco to the capital; the ‘gentlemen of the country’ denoted Bristol’s prominent mercantile elite who would benefit from the ship’s valuable cargo. Four years earlier, the Privy Council ordered that Virginia tobacco imported into the western ports of Ilfracombe and Barnstaple was to be brought into the custody of the vice-admiral of Devon, Sir James Bagg, and transported to London, either overland or by sea, ‘taking care that none be imbezelled’.[[158]](#footnote-158) A similar warrant was ordered for tobacco landed in Plymouth and subsequent letters were sent to state officials which reiterated the crown’s policy.[[159]](#footnote-159) Finally, in 1638, customs officials ordered several consignments of tobacco to be sent to London after local customs officers in the South Wales port of Aberthaw ruled that it was unlawful for the tobacco to be unloaded there. This roundabout trip came at a substantial expense to the chief merchant of the venture.[[160]](#footnote-160)

On the other hand, multiple port books and numerous court depositions attest to a vibrant tobacco import trade during the 1620s and 1630s which clearly contradicted successive royal proclamations. This was because, despite the harsh ruling of the royal proclamations, the importation of tobacco to the outports was permitted via warrants or special licences, providing correct protocol was observed. For instance, the Lord High Treasurer in the latter 1630s, William Juxon, granted at least two special licences of exemption to privileged merchants trading to Bristol. The first was issued to the future royalist, Richard Lock, a prominent Bristol merchant and member of the city’s coveted Society of Merchant Venturers. Dated November 1637, Lock’s licence permitted him to trade with St Christopher (St Kitts) and placed no limit on the amount of tobacco that the merchant was allowed to import to Bristol. The second licence granted one William Pennoyer to import tobacco from Barbados into Bristol. Pennoyer’s warrant was for Barbados tobacco and, unlike Lock’s, was capped at 9,000 lbs.[[161]](#footnote-161)

Licences for the import of tobacco like those granted at Bristol in the late 1630s clarify how the outports were legitimately able to get around royal legislation that theoretically banned tobacco imports to those places. Indeed, it appears that concessions had been previously granted to other merchants, allowing them to import tobacco elsewhere. For instance, Ralph Merrifield, a London ship-owner, was granted a warrant to import 4,000 lbs. of Caribbean tobacco in 1626; another warrant permitted Captain Warner to import 9,500 lbs. of tobacco the year previously.[[162]](#footnote-162) Although the ports were unspecified in both of these examples, it seems unlikely that they would have been granted for London owing to the non-restriction of tobacco imports to the capital. Additional examples include tobacco landed in Falmouth in 1635, which was done ‘by warrant from the farmers of the customes’;[[163]](#footnote-163) another comes from 1637, when one Welsh merchant travelled to London in order ‘procure a licence from the Lords of his Mats Councell’ for importing tobacco to the tiny port of Aberthaw.[[164]](#footnote-164) By 1639, Charles I conceded in a fresh proclamation that tobacco was not to be imported to places outside London – except with ‘speciall warrant to be obtained from Our Lord high Treasurer of England for the time being in that behalf.’[[165]](#footnote-165)

The justification for permitting tobacco imports to places outside of London under special licence was outlined in earlier correspondence between the Privy Council and the customs farmers. In March 1628, just two months after the prohibition of direct imports to the non-London ports was reiterated in a royal proclamation, the customs farmers petitioned the Privy Council regarding several ships that had recently arrived in Southampton. The shipmasters were threatening to transport their cargoes of tobacco overseas unless they were allowed to enter them to the port. Consequently, the Lord Treasurer, James Ley, gave the customs officers directions to ‘suffer them to discharge, and to giue libertie to all other Shipps, that shall arriue hereafter furnished with Tobacco, from Virginia and the Summer-Islandes, thereby to prevent the preiudice, which otherwyse may growe to his Majestie by the losse of the aforesayd Custome and impost.’[[166]](#footnote-166) As the instruction reveals, concessions were granted in order to avoid the entire loss of import duties had the shipmaster trafficked the tobacco to a rival European power.

As a result of the import-by-licence system, England’s southern ports received a significant proportion of total tobacco imports during the pre-Civil War era. As Table 1.1 revealed, Southampton and Portsmouth were principal locations for the tobacco trade outside of the capital during the 1620s and 1630s, principally because these ports largely relied on the traffic of ships *en route* to London. For example, at least seven London importers in 1627-28 also entered tobacco at Southampton.[[167]](#footnote-167) Unrestricted by central legislation after 1640, the same port undertook ample trade with Virginia and West Indies, despite the turmoil of the British Civil Wars and as indicated by depositions taken in front the town’s mayor during the 1640s and 1650s.[[168]](#footnote-168) By the 1660s, Southampton and Portsmouth were each importing in excess of 100,000 lbs. of tobacco per annum.[[169]](#footnote-169)

Although much tobacco found its way into England through Portsmouth and Southampton, the tobacco trade seems to have increasingly been more important for the outports further west. Of the thirteen outports which imported tobacco between 1627 and 1628, nine of these were situated in the southwestern counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset and Gloucestershire.[[170]](#footnote-170) Especially for Cornwall, these cases may be somewhat surprising considering that there was not a particularly large or wealthy population, urban or otherwise, for the commodity’s consumption. Nonetheless, the annual average number of ships trading with eight Cornish ports to the West Indies or North America grew from five in 1635-41 to seventeen in 1665-68, and to twenty-one in 1687-88.[[171]](#footnote-171) Falmouth was probably the largest Cornish port where tobacco was imported. The town derived its name from the Fal Estuary, a deep-water haven through which ocean-going vessels could pass with relative ease, making the port a principal replenishing dock for outbound ships.[[172]](#footnote-172) Importantly, the port also provided inbound vessels with safety and provisions on their return leg to London or elsewhere and, at such times, tobacco could be exchanged. For example, in 1635, two officers confirmed that passengers aboard the London ship, the *Mary and Elizabeth*, ‘made their entry of certayne tobacco there landed into the officers handes & keeping’ while the ship took on board new sails, presumably owing to damage at sea.[[173]](#footnote-173) Other ships which conveyed tobacco to Falmouth during this decade included the Cornish-owned *Blessing* of Falmouth, which conducted trade with Jamestown, and the *William* of Saltash, which entered Falmouth in 1631 carrying tobacco from St. Christopher.[[174]](#footnote-174) Tobacco was also almost certainly imported to the nearby town of Penryn during the 1630s. The settlement was situated just four miles upriver from Falmouth, resulting in some competition between the two towns regarding maritime trade. In 1630, at least three ships from St Christopher were docked at Penryn, although the searcher’s port book did not specify the commodities unloaded.[[175]](#footnote-175) By 1640, Penryn’s standing was overtaken by Falmouth; however, other smaller Cornish ports continued to trade with the West Indies and North America, importing tobacco direct from the colonies. Such ports included Fowey, Penzance, Helford, Looe, Mount’s Bay, St Ives and Padstow.[[176]](#footnote-176) In September 1643, for example, a barque containing tobacco arrived in Padstow after the shipmaster ‘had hurd that county to be in peace and wholly subject to the King.’[[177]](#footnote-177)As elsewhere, Cornwall’s tobacco imports grew rapidly over the next few decades, following the abolition of licences required for legal tobacco imports. During the 1660s, the governor of St Mawes castle – at the mouth of the Fal Estuary – was able to capitalise on the tobacco trade and used his position to purchase tobacco from sailors aboard incoming ships.[[178]](#footnote-178) By the 1680s, Falmouth imported over one million lbs. of tobacco annually, which was as much as London’s annual tobacco imports some forty years earlier.[[179]](#footnote-179)

Significant quantities of tobacco were likewise imported into Cornwall’s neighbouring county, Devon. Aside from Portsmouth, the largest importing centre for tobacco outside of London prior to the outbreak of civil war was Plymouth. In 1627, ships docked in Plymouth had returned from Virginia as well as Newfoundland and the East Indies.[[180]](#footnote-180) Due to its ties to the New World, Plymouth was the third largest port for tobacco in 1627-28.[[181]](#footnote-181) Although incomplete, subsequent port books show similar total tobacco imports: 18,000 lbs. in 1629 and over 24,000 lbs. in 1631, although these are certainly under-valuations.[[182]](#footnote-182) A key figure in the Plymouth tobacco trade was Abraham Jennens, a merchant who exported West Country wheatmeal, beef, and butter to Virginia in return for tobacco. In 1629, Jennens imported eighty-four hogsheads, twenty-one butts and one puncheon of tobacco; when later questioned by commissioners over his role in the tobacco trade, Jennes acknowledged that ‘he hath received divers p[ar]cells of tobacco upon his owne adventures brought home in his owne shippe or ships’.[[183]](#footnote-183) The merchant also imported clay tobacco pipes from London, showing that he had a financial interest in the implements used to smoke the leaf, as well as its overseas traffic.[[184]](#footnote-184) Other importers to Plymouth during this decade included mariners, planters and domestic wholesalers, a pattern which continued after the Restoration. [[185]](#footnote-185) By 1668, the West Country port imported 1.3 million lbs. of tobacco.[[186]](#footnote-186)

Further east along the south coast, Dartmouth, Exeter, Lyme, Weymouth and Poole also imported significant amounts of tobacco, particularly after 1660.[[187]](#footnote-187) Tobacco imports to Exeter, for instance, increased tenfold between 1666 and 1686.[[188]](#footnote-188) In north Devon, tobacco likewise made its way direct from the colonies. The principal ports here were Barnstaple and Bideford which had imported tobacco since the pre-civil war period. In the former, the major tobacco merchant, John Delbridge, was a member of the Somers Island and Virginia companies. Also mayor and MP for Barnstaple, Delbridge was known as the “free trader” due to his disregard of London’s monopoly during the 1620s and 1630s, sending ‘divers tymes small shipps both to Virginia and Bermudas’ laid full with provisions in exchange for tobacco and possibly without licence.[[189]](#footnote-189) His tobacco imports led to a hearing before the Somers Island Company and his estrangement from the Privy Council. Despite the strictures against Delbridge, tobacco continued to be imported to Barnstaple over the succeeding years and into the late 1630s. Surviving port books on the eve of the English Civil War show that higher-than-ever levels were imported to the port; the last recorded vessel before the outbreak of war, the *Greyhound*, imported some 20,000 lbs. of tobacco.[[190]](#footnote-190) Tobacco imports to Barnstaple continued thereafter despite the silting up of the Taw, the river upon which the inland port was situated.[[191]](#footnote-191) By now, however, the nearby town of Bideford was capitalising on the ‘increasing prosperity’ of tobacco.[[192]](#footnote-192) By 1673, empty tobacco hogsheads were such a frequent sight in Bideford that a Quarter Session court ordered them to be put out on the streets for the collection of the town’s rubbish and ‘stinking dunghills’.[[193]](#footnote-193)

To the east along the Somerset coast existed several other ports that imported tobacco direct from overseas. For instance, Bridgwater imported over 170,000 lbs. in 1670 and direct imports were also made to Minehead.[[194]](#footnote-194) However, it is unknown if these towns were directly involved in the colonial trade prior to 1640. By contrast, the ‘creek’ of Aberthaw in South Wales received multiple shipments of tobacco during the 1630s, leading to a dispute with local agents of the customs farmers and even the forced referral of some tobacco to the capital. Lying directly across the Severn Estuary from Minehead, Aberthaw had strong economic and cultural links with southwest England.[[195]](#footnote-195) Between 1636 and 1639, one local merchant, Thomas Spencer, financed several direct voyages to St Christopher, doing ‘much conduce to the increase of his Ma[jes]t[ie]s custom and navigation and mariners, and also to the goods, improvement of the plantation of tobacco in that island’.[[196]](#footnote-196) Spencer owned or part-owned at least three ships involved in the West Indian tobacco trade; he had also obtained a licence from the Privy Council to exempt him from London’s import monopoly, enabling him and others to enter at least one shipment which amounted to more than £700 in import duties and another consignment, in 1641, totalling £440. These sums would have equated to 28,000 lbs. and 42,240 lbs. of tobacco, respectively, the import duties being lowered after 1640.[[197]](#footnote-197) Although the exact quantities of tobacco imported from all of Spencer’s ships over the four years are not known (and how much was instead rerouted to London), one vessel allegedly trafficked around 160,000 lbs. of tobacco; another contained 120,000 lbs.[[198]](#footnote-198) After 1642, tobacco continued to be imported into south Welsh ports, commonly from vessels *en route* to the emerging tobacco entrepot of Bristol, and thereby mimicking the London-bound pattern of trade along the south coast of England. For instance, at least two Bristol tobacco ships passed through the Severn Estuary in September 1648, offloading some of their cargo of Barbados tobacco at Cardiff and Newport.[[199]](#footnote-199) Thereafter, tobacco imports to a number of Welsh ports followed the pattern of growth experienced by much of England: in 1682, for example, Swansea imported as much as 100,000 lbs.[[200]](#footnote-200)

Although outside the parameters of this thesis, tobacco likewise grew to be of commercial significance across the Irish Sea, with direct trade between Ireland and the tobacco-producing colonies beginning in the pre-civil war period. Not only did English as well as Dutch vessels use Irish ports as bases for taking on provisions and servants, Hugh Kearney claims that ‘there is also some evidence of direct Irish trade in cattle with Virginia for tobacco and it is significant that there was so large an amount of tobacco stored in ‘magazines’ of the tobacco monopoly, which [the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Thomas] Wentworth had set up’.[[201]](#footnote-201) Although much tobacco consumed in Ireland was actually re-exported from England, the Lord Deputy’s tobacco monopoly was probably behind his financial interest in a voyage of the *St Patrick* of Dublin to St Christopher in August 1640.[[202]](#footnote-202) Around the same time, tough sentences were imposed on merchants who sought to circumvent the monopoly.[[203]](#footnote-203) After Wentworth’s rule, Ireland’s colonial trades were largely unrestricted and tobacco was directly imported to Ireland from the Leeward Islands and the Chesapeake.[[204]](#footnote-204) According to Thomas Truxes, ‘Galway, Cork, Kinsale, Dublin, Belfast, and Derry all shared in this trade, but the main centers of activity were ports in the west and south of Ireland, places with early and well-established links with the West Indies’.[[205]](#footnote-205) In 1665, some one million lbs. of tobacco were imported into Ireland direct from overseas.[[206]](#footnote-206) Direct Irish-American trade, including the direct import of ‘enumerated’ colonial goods to Ireland remained unrestricted until 1671, when amendments to the navigation laws barred direct imports. Even after this date, however, ‘weak customs enforcement’ contributed to significant tobacco imports to the western isle.[[207]](#footnote-207)

The significance of the colonial tobacco trade to southwest England (as with the western British Isles, more generally) contrasted with other coastal areas, in particular England’s eastern and northern coasts. Small quantities were directly imported to Boston, Lincolnshire, during the 1620s and tiny amounts entered Great Yarmouth in 1628, both of which were possibly sourced from Dutch traders.[[208]](#footnote-208) However, it was far more common for dealers in the eastern ports to obtain their tobacco from London, principally via the coastal trade, for the duration of the seventeenth century.[[209]](#footnote-209) Moreover, few northern ports directly imported tobacco until after the middle of the century. A shipment of tobacco was recorded at Chester 1644, although this was tobacco which had been re-exported from Dublin, thereby indicating no direct link between the Cheshire county town and the tobacco-producing colonies.[[210]](#footnote-210) Instead, and as with East Anglia, consumers in Cheshire and Lancashire accessed their tobacco through using coastal and overland trading routes from London and the West Country.[[211]](#footnote-211)

During the last three decades of the century, however, northerly ports began to import noticeable and growing amounts of tobacco direct from the colonies, circumventing London’s dominance. Although in 1671 it was claimed that ‘there is not above two shipps from Virginia that comes to Yorke [Hull] and one to Newcastle’[[212]](#footnote-212), 236,000 lbs. of tobacco were directly imported to Hull the previous year, an amount which was certainly possible from two large vessels. Twelve years later, double this amount was recorded.[[213]](#footnote-213) Newcastle, too, imported significant quantities of tobacco by the middle 1670s. More striking were the ports in the north-west of England. Liverpool reportedly received its first shipment of tobacco direct from Virginia in 1670 and thereafter began to import significant quantities.[[214]](#footnote-214) The Mersey town imported around 400,000 lbs. annually during the later 1670s, a figure which trebled to over 1.2 million lbs. in 1686.[[215]](#footnote-215) Liverpool became the largest importing centre for tobacco after London and Bristol, eventually surpassing the latter of these around the turn of the century.[[216]](#footnote-216) Further north, Whitehaven in Cumberland experienced rapid growth in the tobacco trade after 1680. Glasgow merchants who established links with the colonies as early as 1665 used Whitehaven as a permitted base to conduct their trade, predominately in the re-export business to continental Europe and beyond.[[217]](#footnote-217)

However, of all the outports, northern ports only increased in significance during the final decade concerned with which this thesis is concerned. Prior to the Restoration era, these places did not import any tobacco direct from overseas. Until the latter 1670s, therefore, the overwhelming majority of tobacco imported to the outports were those in southwest England and south Wales. Why was this the case?

First, since the days of the Virginia Company, western traders had shown interest in the colonisation of the Americas. Although company men were primarily London-based, notable subscribers came from throughout the country, particularly amongst the gentry and in the West Country. Earlier ventures to the ‘New World’ had been part-financed by West Country merchants and the region was a prime recruitment ground for seafarers and settlers to overseas colonies, suggesting that transatlantic cultural (as well as economic) connections were stronger in the southwest than in other parts of early modern England.[[218]](#footnote-218) Second, as previously mentioned, City merchants utilised western ports, along with those in Ireland, as places to provision ships before the long ocean crossing; the same ships used the same ports for replenishing their provisions on return. In early 1670, for example, a London-bound ship, the *Wheatsheaf*, arrived in Plymouth laden with tobacco, one incidence amongst many hundreds, if not thousands, of previous comparable voyages.[[219]](#footnote-219) Returning ships sought fresh provisions as they made their way along the south coast; ships damaged from a long crossing or depleted of victuals required longer layovers at ports in order to repair and replenish; accordingly, there were many opportunities for trade. Cornish and Devon ports were therefore important for victualing London’s Atlantic-bound ships and conducted a thriving trade on the ships’ return.[[220]](#footnote-220) Consequently, although West Country traders did not always have the same levels of capital to finance the same number of voyages as their London counterparts, they were able to piggyback on the capital’s trade and import significant quantities of tobacco. Even if victuals had not been provided in the southwest, London-bound tobacco ships had to first pass the western counties and, for seafarers, this part of the country was their first sight of land after many weeks, if not months, at sea. Third, and perhaps most importantly, ports in this broad region of the British Isles owed much of their involvement in the tobacco trade due to their geographical proximity to the tobacco-producing colonies. Shipping times were shorter for vessels stopping in Cornwall, Devon and Ireland than for other, more easterly ports, including London. While the capital was an entrepot for much tobacco consumed in England, logistically and financially it did not make much sense for tobacco destined for markets in the southwest to be conveyed first to London before being transported back westwards. It was the geographical proximity of southwest England which made ports in those places important provisioning bases. Finally, traders in the southwest of England were particularly well-placed for engaging in illicit trade. Although much unlawful commerce left no trace on the historical record, the incidence of contraband tobacco in the southwest of England suggests that there was a symbiotic relationship between the official and unofficial trades: money saved from smuggling could finance subsequent lawful voyages to Virginia or the West Indies. We will deal with the issue of illicit trade in chapter three; for the remainder of this current chapter, we turn to the principal outport involved in the seventeenth-century tobacco trade.

## iv.Bristol

Bristol epitomised the involvement of the south-western outports in the seventeenth-century tobacco trade. With a population of around 20,000 in 1650, Bristol was the third largest city in seventeenth-century England and the country’s second largest port.[[221]](#footnote-221) The city was built on the intersection of two rivers, the Avon and the Frome, the former of which was served by a tidal current that, as with the Thames, could take ocean-going ships from the Severn Estuary up to the city’s quays. Failing navigation, cargo was unloaded onto lighters and brought piecemeal into the city.[[222]](#footnote-222) Using depositions alongside data collected from the Bristol wharfage books, this section first looks at evidence for Bristol’s early seventeenth-century tobacco trade, before providing a continuous series of tobacco imports over a thirty-year period beginning in the mid-1650s. Not only did Bristol’s colonial tobacco trade utilise a substantial proportion of the city’s shipping, but tobacco imports grew rapidly from the middle of the century, reaching a peak in the mid to late 1670s.

Since the days of the Virginia Company, Bristol merchants had part-financed voyages from the city to the fledging colony, including in 1606 and 1607.[[223]](#footnote-223) However, no tobacco was produced in the struggling settlement at this time. In any case, the company was stringent in imposing the rule that all tobacco had to be brought to London prior to redistribution. Later ships which embarked from the western ports to the colony included the *Margaret* and the *Supply,* the latter which was part-financed by the Gloucestershire gentleman, William Tracy. Both ships contained provisions and planters for the ‘Berkeley hundred’, so named after the Vale of Berkeley in Gloucestershire and the lords who inhabited that seat.[[224]](#footnote-224) Moreover, some members of the Virginia Company hailed from Bristol. Patrick McGrath identified fourteen Bristol merchants and common councillors who subscribed to the Virginia Company as shareholders, including Robert Aldworth, Thomas Colston, Giles Elbridge, Humphrey Hooke, John Lock, Martin Pring, Gabriel Sherman and Robert Yeamans.[[225]](#footnote-225)

Soon after the company’s demise, some tobacco was imported into Bristol as a result of prize ships taken in the Anglo-Spanish war (1625-30). The Royal Navy commonly hired merchant shipping for conflicts at sea but ship-owners in the western port also fitted out sections of the merchant fleet as privateering vessels, receiving letters of marque enabling them to do so legally.[[226]](#footnote-226) For example, over fifty ships were commissioned as privateers between 1625 and 1630, leading to the capture of over 120 prize ships.[[227]](#footnote-227) Tobacco was amongst the many prizes aboard these captured ships when they were brought into Bristol by sailors and ship-owners who split the proceeds according to shares of the vessel and customary employment rights.[[228]](#footnote-228) For instance, the ‘*Fortune* of Lincombe [Lynmouth?]’, imported 400 chests of tobacco and sugar, weighing at least 500 lbs. apiece, which had been taken from a Flemish vessel. Another ship unloaded tobacco inside eight chests and pre-prepared in thirty rolls, amongst barrels of sugar and animal hides. The vast majority of the prize tobacco was Spanish or Brazilian ‘verinas’ tobacco and fetched lucrative prices when put for sale in the port.[[229]](#footnote-229)

As early as 1625, the London-based Bermuda Company complained of a Bristol vessel ‘taking the pryme of our marketts’, returning from the island colony (somewhat doubtfully) ‘wth as much tobacco as of that kind furnished halfe this kingdome for one whole yeare’.[[230]](#footnote-230) While imports to the American mainland were also made easier after 1625, up until the mid-1650s it is difficult to offer precise figures regarding the overseas tobacco trade to Bristol. Principally, only three overseas port books survive for the city between 1624 and 1660 and what evidence there is from these records shows only limited amounts of tobacco imported into Bristol during the 1620s and 1630s, especially when compared to some other, smaller outports. For instance, the import of just over 6,000 lbs of tobacco between December 1627 and May 1628, done so by some of the city’s foremost merchants and consisting mainly of ‘Brazell’ tobacco, was smaller than that imported into St Ives during the same timespan.[[231]](#footnote-231) This figure had grown from just under 5,000 lbs. in 1624/5 and from an even smaller figure in 1623.[[232]](#footnote-232) Indeed, up until 1631, McGrath contends that Bristol’s enterprises in the western Atlantic was ‘the work of a very small number of men and that it was very modest.’[[233]](#footnote-233)

However, other evidence aside from the port books suggests that Bristol increasingly became more involved in the tobacco trade, especially after 1630. First, the port had the highest number of licensed tobacco retailers than any other city during the 1630s, London excepted, indicating that the city was supplied with an abundance of tobacco.[[234]](#footnote-234) Although it is not known from where these retailers sourced their tobacco, correspondence and court depositions attest to the import of tobacco direct from overseas into Bristol. In 1636, the Privy Council sanctioned 14,000 lbs. of tobacco to be lawfully entered into the same city after the ship it was aboard sprang a leak and the tobacco became ‘almost quite spoyled with salt water.’[[235]](#footnote-235) Two years earlier, the merchant Richard Lock financed a voyage to the tobacco-producing colony of St Christopher by hiring and freighting the *Margaret* of Bristol for a twelve-month voyage. Given that Lock was later granted a licence from the Lord Treasurer, William Juxon, to import tobacco from the Caribbean, it is possible that this earlier venture to St Christopher was also sanctioned by the central state.[[236]](#footnote-236) Moreover, at least three ships were docked in Bristol during the winter of 1637/38, from which as much as 100,000 lbs. of tobacco was sold to the ‘new’ merchant, William Pennoyer, with the collusion of the local agent to the customs farmers.[[237]](#footnote-237) Signifying the emergence of transatlantic ties between Bristol citizens and colonial tobacco planters, the civic authorities reported emigration to the tobacco-producing colonies during the 1630s. In 1634 and 1635, for instance, the city’s quarter sessions heard how the father of a bastard child had gone to the Caribbean island of St Christopher; similarly, one apprentice had ‘unlawfully deported from his master’s service and gone to St. Christophers’, as had one Raphe Turnhill.[[238]](#footnote-238) Finally, Bristolians were heavily involved in illegal tobacco trading to the western port during the pre-civil war period, a neglected aspect of the city’s economy which is explored in-depth in chapter three.

Despite some evidence that Bristol imported substantial amounts of tobacco during the 1630s, it was the 1640s that marked the decisive shift in Bristol’s tobacco trade. Unperturbed by royal proclamation and possibly facilitated by the ongoing constitutional and military upheavals, the western port participated in the trade in earnest. For example, in 1643, the Royalist newspaper *Mercurius Aulicus* reported that ‘Certain news is now brought hither, that the ship called *Charles* of Gloucester, is safely come into Bristol well loaded with tobacco from the West Indies’.[[239]](#footnote-239) Between July 1643 and September 1645, duties from Bristol’s tobacco imports went to the king rather than Parliament, which was perhaps a contributory factor to the growth of tobacco trade to the western city and a reversal of the Charles I’s discriminatory stance regarding direct trade to the outports.[[240]](#footnote-240) In 1649, over 100,000 lbs. of tobacco were imported into the city during the second quarter of the year alone.[[241]](#footnote-241) Depositions, too, show that Bristol-built ships were active in the tobacco trade during the 1640s, despite the on-going conflict that enveloped the early modern England and her colonies. For instance, at least two Bristol tobacco ships passed through the Severn Estuary in September 1648, offloading some of their cargo of Barbados tobacco at Welsh ports before arriving home.[[242]](#footnote-242) Moreover, depositions taken in front of the mayor of Bristol from 1643, in what is thought to have been a subsidiary court to the High Court of the Admiralty, prove particularly illuminating in the absence of official trade records during the civil wars and Interregnum periods and complement additional sources when the trade records commence.[[243]](#footnote-243) This body of valuable sources, known as the Bristol deposition books, is first worth analysing before we turn to later, quantitative data.

To begin with, many witnesses brought before the mayor’s court during this period were mariners, individuals who were not just responsible for navigating ships to the colonies but who were also active tobacco traders themselves.[[244]](#footnote-244) Secondly, the deponents in the mayor’s book show the involvement of at least five colonies in the tobacco trade. Several sailors described their voyages to Virginia to take on cargoes of tobacco whilst a shipwright, James Lassolds, pointed towards the cultivation and export of tobacco from Barbados.[[245]](#footnote-245) Another mariner showed that the island colony of Nevis was exporting tobacco to Bristol during the 1640s; and a merchant from Somerset described how his ship, the *Anne* of Bristol, was taken by Prince Rupert after conducting trade in Montserrat and Antigua.[[246]](#footnote-246) Robert Glass, a planter resident in Barbados, revealed that tobacco was being produced in the nearby colony of St Christopher (St Kitts) after reporting the loading of tobacco rolls aboard yet another Bristol ship in 1645.[[247]](#footnote-247) Two other ships, the *Mary* of ‘Accamacke’, Virginia, and the *John* of Maryland, appear to have been constructed in the colonies, even at this relatively early date.[[248]](#footnote-248) Already by the late-1640s, Bristol’s connections to the New World spanned several colonies across the Caribbean and Chesapeake.

Bristol was not unaffected by the British Civil Wars: the city was twice besieged and leadership of the city likewise changed hands on two occasions.[[249]](#footnote-249) Whereas the conflicts were on the whole detrimental to the short-term development of the tobacco import trade to England, it seems some Bristol tobacco ships were still in operation. Moreover, there are grounds for arguing that the disruption of the 1640s created opportunities for merchants outside of London, with Bristol briefly serving the Royalist cause as its chief port.[[250]](#footnote-250) Indeed, it is possible that the tobacco trade to Bristol was encouraged during royalist control of the city because of the king’s loss of London and the custom duties that derived from this valuable import.[[251]](#footnote-251) During this time, contact with colonists abroad were established and direct tobacco imports ensued. Thereafter, colonial traders exploited the city’s location in the west of England, its relative proximity to the tobacco-producing colonies in comparison to London and the region’s expanding base of domestic consumers. Certainly, Bristol citizens active during the Protectorate and Restoration governments capitalised on the expanding opportunities presented both overseas and at home that had been established during the mid-century disturbance.

The first time that we can say with any certainty that tobacco imports were economically and socially significant for Bristol is in September 1654. This month marks the first point at which trade accounts kept by Bristol’s Society of Merchant Venturers (SMV) survive: the Bristol wharfage books.[[252]](#footnote-252) Similar to the centrally held port books, the wharfage books were compiled in order to chart the extent of trade into and out of the city. Primarily, the records list all entries of ‘goods inwards’, i.e. every consignment or cargo that was imported to the city from overseas. Although these accounts are known to have been in existence before 1654-55, this year comes at the start of an extant continuous series which runs uninterrupted until 1694. Compiled in much the same way as the port books, the wharfage books were created in order to collect a local civic tax – wharfage – which was based on every ton of goods imported into the city for the maintenance of the harbour and the payment of its quayside operatives. For tobacco, the wharfage amounted to 2d. per hogshead; accordingly, only the number of receptacles were record, not the exact weights. From 1606 onwards, the Bristol Society of Merchant Venturers was charged with collecting the wharfage duties, which subsequently became the society’s main source of income.[[253]](#footnote-253)

The wharfage books show that multiple ships were involved in the tobacco trade to Bristol. Table 1.3. shows the amount of shipping devoted to tobacco by sampling data taken every five years.

Table. 1.3 *Number of ships unloading tobacco in Bristol, 1654-55 – 1684-85*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Ship’s last port of call | | |
| **Year** | **Virginia** | **West Indies** | **Total** |
| 1654-55 | 11 | 17 | 28 |
| 1659-60 | 13 | 8 | 21 |
| 1664-65\* | 24 | 6 | 30 |
| 1669-70\* | 33 | 2 | 35 |
| 1674-75\* | 57 | 3 | 60 |
| 1679-80\* | 26 | 0 | 26 |
| 1684-85\* | 25 | 3 | 28 |

*Source*: BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12. \* = estimated last port of call based on mode of tobacco imports.

In the first year analysed, more ships imported tobacco into Bristol from the West Indies than Virginia. Thereafter, total shipping from Virginia outpaced ships importing tobacco from the West Indies, the former hitting a peak in the mid-1670s and the latter averaging just two ships over the final three years analysed. Over the entire thirty-year period, there was an average of thirty-three ships involved in the tobacco trade and, while the number of ships increased after 1660, by 1684-85 the numbers had returned to the same levels as in the mid-1650s. The 1670s were certainly a time of extensive voyages to the Chesapeake; indeed, in 1671, the MP for Bristol, Sir John Knight, claimed that the tobacco trade employed ‘half the ships in Bristol’.[[254]](#footnote-254) Patrick McGrath’s calculations during the 1950s were less dramatic, although he showed that around ten per cent of shipping was devoted to the Virginia tobacco trade by the late 1670s.[[255]](#footnote-255) Despite the difference between these two estimates, it is undeniable that a sizeable proportion of Bristol’s shipping was employed for colonial tobacco.

On average, each ship imported more than two hundred tobacco hogsheads, which were each divided between several investors or freighters.[[256]](#footnote-256) However, ship sizes varied, consequently the amount of tobacco imported from each vessel likewise varied, between under one hundred and in excess of five hundred hogsheads apiece. Accordingly, the number of ships engaged in the tobacco trade is not of primary importance when assessing the volume of total trade. Instead, we can use the wharfage books to ascertain the quantities of tobacco imported into Bristol by adding together every instance of tobacco which was imported into Bristol between 1654-55 and 1684-85. Accordingly, fig. 1.4 is the most comprehensive data-set of the tobacco trade to a seventeenth-century provincial port.

Figure 1.4. *Tobacco imports to Bristol per Hogshead and Roll, 1654-55–1684-85*

*Source*: BA, SMV/7/1/1/1-12.

We see from fig. 1.4 that 1654-55 was the only year for which more tobacco rolls were imported into Bristol than hogsheads. Thereafter, the number of hogsheads consistently exceeded the number of rolls before the record of the latter ends after 1669-70. This is significant because tobacco rolls were predominately produced across the island settlements in the West Indies, whereas tobacco packed into hogsheads was mainly done on the North American mainland. Accordingly, the fall in the number of tobacco rolls indicates the decline in West Indian tobacco imports, corroborating what is thought to be a switch towards sugar production during the 1650s on most of the Caribbean islands.[[257]](#footnote-257) Nevertheless, the data shows that the English consumer was just as accustomed to West Indian as they were Chesapeake tobacco much of the 1650s and 1660s.

The wharfage books do not record the precise weights of tobacco. This makes an accurate comparison with the port books tricky, although the next graph shows how the number of hogsheads and rolls imported to Bristol can be converted into a unit of weight. A full discussion on weights and packing methods is given in the next chapter but it is worth stating here that because freight was charged by the hogshead rather than weight, there was a considerable incentive to pack as much tobacco as possible into each container. Even so, the weight of hogsheads and rolls varied considerably. In what follows, I have estimated the average weight of a hogshead to be 350 lbs. and a roll to be 50 lbs. (fig 1.5; for convenience’s sake I have left out the much less frequent designations of ‘bag’, ‘chest’, etc). These are conservative estimations based on contemporary evidence; however, because the average hogshead was heavier in 1685 than 1655 due to better technologies in packing, the data in fig. 1.5 is slightly skewed in favour of the earlier sample years.[[258]](#footnote-258)

Figure 1.5. *Estimates of Tobacco Imports to Bristol (lbs.), 1654-55–1684-55*

*Source*: BA, SMV/7/1/1/1-12.

As with Figures 1.1 and 1.2, the tobacco imports to Bristol as recorded in the wharfage books should be taken only as the minimum number of actual imports due to the lack of quantitative records for the illicit trade. While the wharfage fee was a trivial sum for a tobacco importer to pay compared to customs duties (which after 1662 was 2d. per hogshead in contrast to 2d. per lb.), there was still an incentive for traders to circumvent civic as well as central legislation of the tobacco trade. Nevertheless, the two graphs represent the most accurate figures for tobacco imports to Bristol between 1654-55 and 1684-85 to date, with a yearly average over the whole period of 2.6 million lbs. In the first year provided, the amount of tobacco was far higher than any suggestive figures for Bristol during the pre-civil war period. The high amount indicates that there was considerable growth during the 1640s and early 1650s, corroborating the depositional evidence for these decades provided above. Although there were some notable fluctuations and reductions on previous years, total tobacco imports thereafter generally increased until the mid to late 1670s, reaching a peak of some 4.4 million lbs. in 1675-76. After 1679, imports tapered off somewhat, bucking the general trend of the previous twenty years. Although better packing methods meant that the average hogshead carried more in 1680 than it did in 1660, the most likely explanation for this decline is the emergence of other, more northerly, ports in the tobacco trade, most notably Liverpool. As Paul Clemens has argued, Liverpool was able to compete with outports like Bristol because of its ‘location, the ease with which traditional short-haul undertakings could be integrated with newer branches of commerce, the wealth and population of its hinterland, and the enterprise of the town’s merchant class.’[[259]](#footnote-259) As we saw earlier, tobacco imports to Liverpool topped one million lbs. by the mid-1680s and, while this was half that of Bristol’s, the gap was closed thereafter.

One way to assess the economic significance of Bristol’s tobacco import trade is to consider it as a proportion of national tobacco imports. For example, in 1668-69, official total tobacco imports to England were around fifteen million lbs., meaning Bristol’s proportion was 20 per cent of the national total and 50 per cent of the total tobacco trade to the outports. By this date, if not earlier, Bristol traders had capitalised on the city’s Atlantic facing position as well their superior financial resources compared to smaller western ports. In 1672, Bristol’s share in the tobacco trade increased slightly to 23 per cent of national total and 54 per cent of all tobacco imported to the outports, despite national total tobacco imports exceeding seventeen million lbs. By 1682, however, national imports had grown to over twenty million lbs. whereas Bristol’s imports slumped to pre-1670 levels. Consequently, by the early 1680s, Bristol’s share in the tobacco trade fell to 11 per cent of the national total and 26 per cent of outports’ total.[[260]](#footnote-260) As a proportion of total tobacco imports, then, Bristol’s tobacco trade during the Restoration era was highly significant. For a short period, the city imported nearly one-quarter of all tobacco to England and over half of all tobacco that was handled by the outports. Tobacco imported by traders to Bristol thus captured a substantial share of the domestic market.

## v. Conclusion

The period 1625-1685 was one of extraordinary – and unprecedented – growth in the traffic of tobacco to England and Wales, a transformation noted by Craig Muldrew as the principal ‘example which demonstrates just how responsive members of [early modern] society were to the opportunities of trade and profit’.[[261]](#footnote-261) While impressive, the figures which historians have traditionally used to chart this growth are problematic and certainly an understatement; nevertheless, evidence undoubtedly suggests a clear rise in the amount of tobacco arriving into England over the course of the century. Axiomatic to this growth was a corresponding slump in the international price of tobacco, the most striking fall occurring at the beginning of the 1630s. Such a drop in prices is indicative of the increased availability of tobacco as well as falling costs of production and distribution. It is hard to overstate the ramifications of both the increase in tobacco imports and the corresponding decline in price. These two developments underpinned the tobacco trade for the remainder of the seventeenth century.

During the principal stage in the growth of the tobacco trade between the demise of the Virginia Company and the ascension of James II, London and the West Country ports were the foci of expansion. Rather than a trade centred solely on London, we see that many ports, some far from the capital, hastened the growth in the tobacco trade. This is an important finding for at least two reasons. Not only have previous scholars unsatisfactorily appreciated this pattern, the role of the south-western outports in the colonial tobacco trade had economic, social and cultural ramifications, principally regarding the manufacturing and distribution trades and the retail and consumption of tobacco. We will return to these ramifications in later chapters but if economic flows of exchange overlapped with cultural ones, then the diffusion of smoking habits needs to be rethought. Rather than tobacco consumption necessarily originating in the metropolis and spreading outwards into the provinces, there were in fact multiple entry points for the cultural assimilation of tobacco, which mirrored the commodity’s traffic.

Finally, although something of a late starter, Bristol rapidly asserted its dominance as the principal outport trading to the tobacco-producing colonies. As the year-by-year series of tobacco imports to Bristol shows, the city expanded its annual intake of tobacco from the mid-1650s, peaking some twenty years later. Moreover, the methodology developed in the final part of this chapter could be adopted for other ports, where relevant evidence survives. By constructing a complete series of imports, while still acknowledging the incidence of illicit trade, we can gain a clearer picture of the extent of growth in the tobacco trade. The next chapter turns to the everyday practices of the colonial import trade in order to present a fuller discussion of the practicalities of importing tobacco and to analyse the people who participated.

# Chapter Two Merchants and Mariners: Practices and Participation in the Colonial Tobacco Trade

In 1679, two Bristol merchants petitioned the House of Lords. Along with three other traders, the men sought redress against the widow of a sixth merchant. All merchants had been part-owners of the Bristol ship, the *Rainbow*, which had conducted multiple voyages to Virginia some twenty years earlier. The particulars of the disagreement – and that it was still smouldering decades later – is unimportant for our present purposes. However, documents produced during the dispute indicate how the colonial tobacco trade was typically practised and who participated in it around the middle of the century, during a rapid period of the trade’s expansion. For instance, we know that after arriving in Virginia, provisions such as salt and manufactured goods were exchanged for hogsheads containing cured tobacco leaves and loaded aboard the *Rainbow*, before the vessel headed home. We also know that the vessel’s six owners leased part of the ship’s freight to second-party investors (who differed from year to year), indicating that each voyage was a shared enterprise with multiple interests. Additionally, we know that there were various risks involved in the voyage, with part of the *Rainbow’s* return cargo in 1657 becoming damaged and the net profits reduced. Finally, we know that the ship’s owners and freighters imported varying levels of tobacco and comprised a range of different occupations. Notably, it was the shipmaster, Lewis Reade, who imported the greatest amount of the ship’s cargo, ‘besides the portage allowed to the seamen’.[[262]](#footnote-262)

The multiple voyages of the *Rainbow* provide insights into how the tobacco trade functioned on a year-to-year basis during the seventeenth century. Every voyage involved in the tobacco trade was predicated on at least four considerations: the plant’s successful production in the colonies, a workable system between multiple interests, the mitigation of inherent risks involved in trafficking a perishable commodity thousands of miles across one side of the Atlantic to another, and the participation of a large number of individuals. Importantly, the gross increase in the volume of tobacco imports charted in chapter one developed in tandem with the expansion of a complex transatlantic network, involving numerous individuals through which manufactured goods and provisions travelled one way and tobacco travelled the other.

This chapter moves beyond the available statistical data examined in chapter one by turning to the nuts and bolts of how the transatlantic tobacco trade was practised and who participated in it. Several themes emerge. First, cultivation, curing and packing methods developed across multiple colonies, with an overall improvement in efficiency and move towards standardization. Second, a number of different modes of transaction emerged within what can be termed the transatlantic tobacco network; these structured how commerce operated between participants and were based around the circulation of credit. Third, the tobacco trade contained numerous perils, but as the volume of traffic grew and the trade became more predictable, there was a corresponding decline in risks and a rise in how to alleviate danger based around issues of trust. Finally, the colonial tobacco trade was characterised by a large amount of mixed participation. Although it is impossible to chart the activity of every participant or ‘node’ in the transatlantic tobacco network, by focusing on importers to a single port – Bristol – we can analyse the extent to which different individuals were involved in the commodity’s traffic. In particular, shipmasters and other seafarers played a hugely significant role, not just as hired labour, but also as active investors in the tobacco trade. The final section therefore focuses solely on the role of mariners in the tobacco trade, underscoring their direct involvement in the economics of the trade and raising possibilities for how smoking tobacco was introduced to parts of seventeenth-century England.

In exploring these themes, I chart several developments that contributed to the growth of the tobacco trade as well as the commodity’s corresponding fall in price. The principal argument is centred around the trade’s participatory style of commerce, something which has already been noted by historians but not fully substantiated.[[263]](#footnote-263) Demand for tobacco within early modern England and Wales and the lack of an effective corporate structure to organise trade contributed to the wholesale involvement of numerous individuals from a range of different trade and artisanal backgrounds who could exploit internal networks for the simultaneous export of English goods and import of colonial tobacco. Such involvement mirrored the inland tobacco trades and, indeed, the commodity’s very consumption, which, as we see in later chapters, was a socially far-reaching practice.

## i. Production

Tobacco cultivation was labour intensive and, over the course of the seventeenth century, required increasing numbers of workers. As colonial historians have shown, local and adopted custom led to variations in curing and packing methods across the different colonies where tobacco was produced. Several stages were required before tobacco could be loaded aboard ship; however, tobacco still arrived in England in only a semi-manufactured state, with additional processes required after importation. Over time, colonial processing and packaging practices were improved in order to extend the durability and marketability of tobacco, as well as to increase the amount that could be stowed aboard each ship. The general trend over the course of the century was one towards greater uniformity and increased efficiency in methods.

The cultivation, harvesting, curing and packing of tobacco was a labour intensive industry. In 1649, one writer complained how ‘tobacco, being once in the ground, is never out of hand till in the hogs-heads’.[[264]](#footnote-264) Moreover, the demands of production took its toll on workers: during ‘the moneths of June, July and August, being the very height of summer, the poore servant goes daily through the rowes of tobacco stooping to worme it, and being over-heated he is struck with a calenture of feaver and so perisheth: This hath been the losse of divers men.’[[265]](#footnote-265) To enable such a rapid increase in production, then, it was necessary that the population of the colonies also increased. In the Chesapeake, the population stood at 8,000 in 1644, and rose to over 25,000 in 1662 and 60,000 by 1682.[[266]](#footnote-266) In the English West Indies, the population rose to around 60,000 by the middle of the century.[[267]](#footnote-267) Falling mortality rates, owing to the improved ability of new settlers to overcome ‘seasoning’ and their ability to defend themselves from indigenous attacks, contributed to colonial population growth. However, the fundamental factor in population growth was migration, both voluntary and forced. Mass-migration to the Americas commenced in the late 1620s, with London exporting as many as 5,000 settlers in 1635 alone.[[268]](#footnote-268) After London, Bristol was amongst the foremost ports for settlers to the ‘New World’, usually in the form of indentured servants, exporting over 10,000 men and women to the overseas colonies between 1654 and 1679.[[269]](#footnote-269) Many servants were also obtained from Ireland.[[270]](#footnote-270) Collectively, some 355,000 Europeans and 250,000 enslaved Africans migrated to English American mainland and Caribbean during the seventeenth century.[[271]](#footnote-271) European settlers included voluntary migrants, who had paid their own passage as a free merchant or planter; other emigrants had signed up as indentured servants and were sold into service to a master, normally a plantation-owner to whom each servant served for a specified number of years.[[272]](#footnote-272) On arrival, indentured servants and slaves were typically sold and exchanged for colonial produce, there being little else a planter could offer. In Barbados, servants recruited from Kinsale during the 1630s were each exchanged for around 500 lbs. of tobacco.[[273]](#footnote-273)

After 1640, there was a growing increase in the use of slaves for the production of tobacco. While the uptake of African slavery was initially more noticeable in the West Indies, this development coincided with the region’s turn to sugar as a staple crop and a decline in European emigration to those parts.[[274]](#footnote-274) However, African slaves were also increasingly used in the Chesapeake, especially after the Restoration. In 1671, there were around 2,000 black slaves inhabiting Virginia, the majority concentrated in the hands of the planter-elites. Most elite planters had slaves by 1650s. Twenty years later, almost 90 per cent of officeholders’ inventories show the possession of slaves.[[275]](#footnote-275) Between 1670 and 1700, as John Coombs contends, there emerged ‘the colony’s first fully enslaved labor forces and the extension of slaveholding to a sizable percentage of nonelite Virginians for the first time.’[[276]](#footnote-276) Within the transatlantic tobacco trade, a whole sub-industry developed around the shipping of people in return for the proceeds of their labour; men and women were used as a commodity of exchange to fuel the incessant demand for tobacco production. As a result of increased labour – indentured and enslaved – the productivity of the tobacco colonies increased.

Diasporas of English and Irish indentured servants, prisoners of war and African slaves to the western Atlantic are testament to the vast workforce that growing tobacco required. The tobacco trade was a seasonal enterprise, dependent on the annual cultivation and harvesting of the plant. Tobacco seeds were typically sown in nurseries or in raised beds during March and April, the seedlings transplanted into well-fertilised fields around midsummer and spaced at least three inches apart in ‘little hillocks in distant rowes.’[[277]](#footnote-277) The established plants required weeding at least twice in a season, watering every day and were ‘topped’ as soon as flower buds (‘suckers’ or ‘knobbes’) appeared. By removing these buds, growth was concentrated into the leaves.[[278]](#footnote-278) Harvesting occurred around September. The tobacco leaves were stripped from the stalk of the plant by hand and taken to special outhouses for drying and curing. This process first involved tying the leaves in bunches and then hanging them towards the rafters so that the moisture could be drawn out from them into the air. Over-drying caused the leaves to become brittle and break; at the same time, autumnal weather brought on dampness that caused them to go rotten. Care, therefore, was taken to keep the moisture content at the necessary level. An additional stage in curing sometimes required the leaves to be heated in order to cause fermentation and to darken their colour.[[279]](#footnote-279)

As well as an increase in available labour, producing tobacco became more efficient as time progressed. Knowledge of how properly to raise the crop improved, better techniques were adapted and new strains were developed. According to Russell Menard, the amount one planter could produce in a year ‘approximately doubled between the 1630s and the 1650s’.[[280]](#footnote-280) Menard has attributed this ‘sharp increase in output per worker’ to improvements in cultivation, transplanting and cutting methods.[[281]](#footnote-281) Additionally, more land was devoted to tobacco cultivation. Although the West Indies turned to sugar production from the 1640s onwards, there was an expansion in land used for tobacco production on the American mainland, including to places outside of the tidewater zones. This led to some variation in the types of tobacco being produced. On the one hand, ‘oronoco’ tobacco was grown in the northern Chesapeake (Maryland); on the other hand, ‘sweet-scented’ varieties were produced in the southern Chesapeake (Virginia).[[282]](#footnote-282) Each strain had different marketable qualities in the ‘old world’, with sweet-scented being the choice of English consumers and oronoco being more suited to mainland European markets.

After several weeks or even months of curing, tobacco was prepared and packaged for export. Semi-processing preserved the tobacco leaves during the voyage and storage after importation. Loose, uncured tobacco leaves were likely to perish during the months between harvesting and consumption. By the same token, tobacco that was fully dried and shredded prior to overseas transportation would also not survive for a long time; consequently, these stages took place after import.[[283]](#footnote-283) Tobacco was also moistened before overseas transit. A 1638 merchant self-help book stated, ‘some [commodities] are observed to be best preserved by moisture and no ayre, as *Tobacco*, civet, muske, verdigrace, and such like’, although the cured leaves frequented dried during the voyage, resulting in a slightly lighter cargo on import.[[284]](#footnote-284) The outcome of preservative packing methods, on top of curing and treating, was that the tobacco that arrived in Europe was distinctive from the plants that had been consumed by indigenous societies for millennia. Fresh, green leaves were replaced by dark, cured and semi-processed varieties.[[285]](#footnote-285) Tobacco was on its journey towards commodification.

The mode of packing – and thus the materiality of exported tobacco – depended on where the plant was grown and the practices developed by the planters living there. Generally, tobacco arrived in England either made up into roll or packed in a hogshead. Other references in archival records refer to ‘pudding’ and ‘cane’ tobacco, which I have interpreted as being largely the same as roll tobacco. Contemporaries also referred to a small roll as a ‘prick’.[[286]](#footnote-286) Processing tobacco leaves into a ‘roll’ was the mode of packing preferred by growers in the West Indies but was also something that sailors or passengers could do to pass the time on-board ship on the return voyage from Virginia or to use up any excess crop.[[287]](#footnote-287) The process denoted the procedure of tying cured tobacco leaves together, spinning the strand around two cross-sticks, sometimes known as ‘windmills’, and binding the same with cord or a greased covering.[[288]](#footnote-288) Usually, the tobacco leaves were stripped, pressed together and steeped in a liquid preservative before being spun. Advising English tobacco growers, ‘C.T.’ recommended against mixing ‘with Melrosarum, and other trumpery’; however, the author acknowledged that the practice was widespread both at home and overseas, for purposes of taste as well as preservation.[[289]](#footnote-289) Once a roll of West Indian tobacco had been purchased by a trader and was destined for export, the initials of the owner were customarily carved onto the ends of the cross-sticks.[[290]](#footnote-290) A roll of West Indian tobacco weighed anywhere between ten and one hundred lbs. For example, deponents described tobacco rolls imported into Bristol from St Christopher in the mid-1630s as weighing between twenty and one hundred lbs. apiece, while around ten years later the merchant John Knight sold sixty-five rolls of Barbados tobacco weighing an average of 84 lbs.[[291]](#footnote-291) Other times, trade accounts specify between ‘hand’, ‘small’, ‘large’ and ‘great’ rolls.[[292]](#footnote-292)

Rolls may have not conformed to any standardised weight measurement but they were straightforward to produce, easy to handle, and suitable for quick transportation. The manufacture of rolls was a technique developed from the early inhabitants of Spanish and Portuguese America. When Defoe writes about Crusoe’s settlement of Portuguese territory, it is ‘fifty great rolls of tobacco’ that the mariner produces for export.[[293]](#footnote-293) The knowledge of roll manufacture within English-owned plantations was spread by mariners and colonists, as well as by slaves. The first Africans to arrive from pre-existing Spanish tobacco plantations on the island of Bermuda, for example, taught the English colonists techniques for growing, curing and rolling tobacco.[[294]](#footnote-294) However, despite cross-over of knowledge between the European powers in the New World, Spanish roll tobacco retained the distinctive name of ‘potacoe’ throughout the seventeenth century and may have been treated with different preservatives.[[295]](#footnote-295) In C. T.’s diatribe against Spanish tobacco, potacoes were ‘noynted and slubbered over with a kinde of juyce, or syrope, made of saltwater, of the dregges or filth of sugar, called *Malasses*, of black honey, Guiana pepper, and leeze of Wine; to which in some places they adde a red berry called *Anotte*, and other tawniberries, with which the Indians paint their bodies, and their beds.’[[296]](#footnote-296) Again, although adulteration was conceivably done so in order to extend the shelf-life of roll tobacco, the author alleged that this was also done ‘to give it colour and glosse, to make it the more merchantable, and to give one and the same countenance to all their rotten, withered, & groundleaves, which they wrappe up in the middle of their wreathes, covering them over on the outside with one that is good’.[[297]](#footnote-297) In order to combat the same problems befalling English consumers, royal proclamations specified that colonists only export tobacco which was ‘good and merchantable and well made up into rolle without stalkes, or other bad and corrupt stuffe’, although the inclusion of additives was almost certainly retained for the practical reason of having to export and transport a perishable commodity many miles across the ocean.[[298]](#footnote-298)

A related mode of packing into rolls was tobacco that was imported as ‘bulk’. In its simplest sense, bulk tobacco denoted tobacco that was ‘unprised’, i.e. not packaged in a hogshead or barrel. Bulk was a legal term for any tobacco that was put loose aboard ship or that which was tied in a bundle, package, bag, or roll.[[299]](#footnote-299) In 1627-28, tobacco arrived into London in casks, boxes, firkins, butts, pipes, rundles and terces, and the sheer number of different receptacles used to transport tobacco indicates the irregularity within which the trade operated, particularly before 1630.[[300]](#footnote-300) However, despite the increased uniformity in the manner of packing tobacco after this date, bulk tobacco retained an important function for planters and sailors. It was easily stashed between hogsheads or in personal sea chests and used up any spare leaves that had not yet been processed. Conveniently for mariners, bulk tobacco did not pay freight charges. Eventually, because bulk tobacco made it easier for a ship’s company to engage in smuggling, the practice was outlawed in 1699.[[301]](#footnote-301)

After 1640, the most common way to pack tobacco was to do so in wooden casks, customarily called hogsheads, although barrels, firkins and kilderkins also appear in the historical record.[[302]](#footnote-302) Whereas early colonists in the Chesapeake initially made tobacco into rolls, during the 1620s it became customary to prize (pack) tobacco into hogsheads. Over time, tobacco hogsheads outnumbered tobacco rolls or tobacco packed as bulk, indicating both the decline of West Indian tobacco from the middle seventeenth century and an increasingly standardised model of trade. Knowledge of how to manufacture hogsheads was learnt from coopers and other European tradesmen; coopers occasionally appear as tobacco importers in trade records, indicating their direct involvement in trafficking the commodity.[[303]](#footnote-303) In contrast to the making of tobacco rolls, prizing tobacco required more processing stages after importation, although some planters still stripped tobacco leaves from their central stem or membrane prior to being casked (‘stemming’).[[304]](#footnote-304) Cured leaves were tied together into small bunches (‘hands’) which were then packed in interlocking layers into the hogsheads, applying pressure throughout in order to make the most of the available space.[[305]](#footnote-305) After prising, hogsheads were sealed, then customarily marked with the owner’s initials. The hogsheads were prohibited from prizing open until arrival at port (known as ‘breaking bulk’) to limit embezzlement.

Tobacco hogsheads weighed different amounts but generally increased over time. For instance, in 1651, a consignment of thirty-one Virginia tobacco hogsheads imported to Amsterdam weighed between 330 lbs. and 425 lbs.[[306]](#footnote-306) Further to this, contemporaries differentiated between ‘gross’ and ‘neat’ weights; the former designating the entire weight of the hogshead, including the casing, staves, hoops and lid and which could account for up to 20 per cent of the gross weight; the latter indicating purely the tobacco itself and hence that which was consumed. In commercial transactions, the difference in weight, known as the ‘tare’, was deducted from the gross weight of each hogshead or was paid back as a rebate after sale.[[307]](#footnote-307) By 1670, eighty lbs. tare was granted for Virginian hogsheads weighing less than 500 lbs., whereas ninety lbs. was granted for hogsheads weighing above 500 lbs. (up to 16 per cent).[[308]](#footnote-308) In 1660, John Machen of Bristol sold twenty-eight hogsheads, weighing a gross weight of 10,851 lbs. from which 1,960 lbs (18 per cent of the gross) was deducted as ‘tare’; consequently, the average ‘neat’ weight of each hogshead (that liable to pay customs duties) was 317 lbs.[[309]](#footnote-309) Similarly, in the same year, William Ball imported two hogsheads which together ‘did containe about seven hundred pounds weight’.[[310]](#footnote-310) Hogsheads were generally heavier twenty years later, due largely to better packing methods. In the early 1680s, Thomas Speed recorded neat weights of tobacco hogsheads ranging between 361 lbs. and 418 lbs.[[311]](#footnote-311) Around the same time, William Fitzhugh reckoned his hogsheads to weigh 460 lbs. at the least.[[312]](#footnote-312)

With proper packing, more tobacco could be put aboard a ship when prized in hogsheads rather than packed in roll. Improvements in coopering techniques, such as the development of the screw-press to pack hogsheads more tightly, meant that more tobacco could be transported aboard the same-sized ships. Although gross hogshead weights varied, the average weight doubled from about 200 lbs. in the 1630s to over 400 lbs. in the 1680s.[[313]](#footnote-313) In turn, improvements in techniques contributed to declining freight rates – the money that ship-owners charged for conveying tobacco from the colonies to England. Because freight was levied on volume, not weight, better packing methods meant more tobacco could be transported at the same cost. Menard has shown that figures for freight charges, specifically for colonial tobacco, decreased from 3d. per lb. in 1620 to a penny or under by 1680. The most dramatic fall came in the late 1620s and early 1630s, which Menard argues came as a result of the first uniform utilization of tobacco hogsheads in the Chesapeake as opposed to *ad hoc* roll or ‘bulk’ packing methods, and the subsequent greater quantities that could be transported.[[314]](#footnote-314)

With competent packing, tobacco usually survived the Atlantic crossing well. During the processes of curing and packing, the plant was transformed into commodity, a shift from indigenous uses in consumption. Moreover, the triumph of hogsheads over tobacco rolls, particularly after 1650, signified the increasing efficiency and uniformity with which the tobacco trade was operating. The comparatively basic packing methods contrasted with products like wine, where according to at least one scholar, even decent cooperage could mean deterioration during transit.[[315]](#footnote-315) Thus, as more and more tobacco was efficiently packed, more tobacco was likely to survive the crossing and both the risks and costs of shipping reduced. Underlying these improvements in technological practice were transatlantic trade partnerships and agreements.

## ii.Modes of Transaction

The two-way traffic of goods to the Americas and tobacco to early modern England and Wales required the working partnership of multiple agents operating within the Atlantic world. Generally speaking, there were three main participants involved in every lb. of tobacco that arrived at the quayside: the planter who grew it, the shipmaster who transported it, and the merchant who imported it. Similarly, the colonial trade can be divided into two broad models which signify how these individuals were connected to one another: as shared enterprises known as joint-adventures, which sometimes involved the employment of agents in the colonies, or as part of a consignment or commission merchandizing ‘system’, which relied on the planter having an agent present in an English port. These modes of transaction tied together multiple parties and established social networks across the Atlantic Ocean, facilitating the export of high-demand manufactured goods and the import of tobacco. Lubricating these networks was the extension and circulation of credit.

The variability of trading structures in the tobacco trade was due to three factors which made the early modern transatlantic trade distinct from other types of international commerce during the early modern period. First, there was little company control over the tobacco industry. Apart from tobacco exports from Bermuda (which declined in relative terms after 1630), ‘free trade’ within the English state’s national monopoly of navigation prevailed in the tobacco trade.[[316]](#footnote-316) Second, a large number of individuals inhabited the tobacco-producing colonies, many of whom who traded on their own account; this was a result of extensive European emigration to the Chesapeake and West Indies. Land ownership, while tending towards increased homogenization throughout the seventeenth century, was remarkably diffused and enabled independent trading from a large number of farmers and entrepreneurs. Small-scale planters jostled side by side with their socially superior plantation magnates. Third, tobacco was predominately sourced from colonists who broadly shared the same language, culture, customs and even family as the seamen, domestic tobacco traders and consumers in England and Wales. Until the end of the seventeenth century, the majority of settlers to the Chesapeake and West Indies came from the British Isles. These settlers often undertook both the production and marketing of tobacco, doing away with extensive trade with indigenous groups for their survival.[[317]](#footnote-317)

These three factors contrasted with trade to continental Europe or the East Indies. Such enterprises were commonly controlled by a monopolistic trading organisation (the East Indies Company or Merchant Venturers, for example) where smaller numbers of agents operated in lands where foreign languages, customs and specific demand for particular commodities limited access to the market.[[318]](#footnote-318) By contrast, the large number of contact points on both sides of the Atlantic – unhindered by monopoly – meant there were greater opportunities for a wide pool of adventurers to forge an endless variety of different trading networks. Beginning with English exports, the remainder of this section will outline how the structure of the transatlantic tobacco trade varied between its participants. It should be remembered that although no monopoly or private interest dominated, the tobacco trade was not ‘free’ in the sense that any person, from any walk of life and with any size investment, could traffic tobacco into England. Participation in the tobacco trade was contingent on capital and credit, as well as on mercantile and maritime personal networks.

Planters across the western Atlantic were in continual demand for manufactured goods, provisions and labour – the majority of which were obtained from the Old World. Partnerships between domestic traders and planters indicate the necessity for these essentials, with the proceeds of the ensuing tobacco imports being shared between each partner.[[319]](#footnote-319) On an intended voyage to Virginia in 1636, the *Abraham*, was loaded with no fewer than fifty individual items ranging from soap and linen to guns and spoons.[[320]](#footnote-320) A year earlier, William Cavendish received money for ‘lockram, shoes, canvas, etc sent to the tenants’ in Bermuda, whereas Richard Stone has documented 157 different types of goods sent to the plantation colonies from Bristol during the 1670s, with cloth and clothing constituting the highest value of exports and comprising other commodities such as soap, candles, nails and tobacco-pipes, as well as the indiscriminate category listed as ‘wares’.[[321]](#footnote-321) Most items were sourced locally to the port from which they were exported. For instance, Bristol’s broad hinterland served its export market; the same networks required for obtaining goods for export could thus be utilised for the subsequent distribution of imported tobacco. On top of material provisions, labour was also exported from the British Isles in the form of indentured servants, with the servants themselves and the cost of their passage commonly paid in tobacco.[[322]](#footnote-322) Profits made from tobacco imports were used to purchase additional goods to reinvest or expand tobacco production on the plantation. As long as merchants, sailors or other domestic traders could supply colonists with most of their needs, settlers could focus on tobacco production.

Many ship-owners used their vessels to engage in the colonial tobacco trade themselves; others built or purchased ships with the explicit purpose of trafficking colonial tobacco.[[323]](#footnote-323) Ship-owners could own all the tobacco aboard their vessel, undertaking a greater risk in the venture but with the potential of attaining higher profit margins. Alternatively, parts or all of the freight aboard ships were leased to additional parties, significantly expanding the number of those who could trade in tobacco outside of the ship-owning community. Frequently, there was a mixture of freight belonging to the ship-owners and freighters, with the ship-owner(s) often holding a majority share as the ‘chief freighter(s)’.[[324]](#footnote-324) Non-ship-owners paid for the freight of exported goods and imported tobacco, usually calculated by the ton, which in turn was assessed at four hogsheads, regardless of weight.[[325]](#footnote-325) If parts or all of a ship were leased for freight, its owners received a secure income from the lease while the freighters undertook the sale of tobacco and were exposed to market fluctuations. Generally, each tobacco ship contained several hundred hogsheads, of which anywhere between five and fifty investors held a share. Turning to the example of Bristol, all tobacco unloaded from a single ship was on average divided between nine or ten importers between 1654-55 and 1684-85.[[326]](#footnote-326) At times, the total number of importers could be far greater. In 1675, for instance, forty-three individuals imported tobacco from aboard the *Robert and Hester*.[[327]](#footnote-327) Very rarely did a sole trader invest in a voyage alone, as this carried huge financial risk. An early voyage by one Bristol merchant ended in failure, resulting in huge loss to the merchant, shouldered only by himself.[[328]](#footnote-328)

The principal trading structure for transatlantic commerce made possible through selling freight were ‘joint ventures’. As the name suggests, this mode of transaction consisted of a partnership aboard a single ship. K. G. Davies terms such voyages as an ‘*ad hoc’* or speculative adventure.[[329]](#footnote-329) Many investors like Thomas Larkham, a Devonian vicar and apothecary, speculated only in a ‘single’ joint-venture as opposed to becoming entangled in a ‘continuous’ joint-venture, whereby profits were reinvested in successive voyages.[[330]](#footnote-330) However, it seems unlikely that voyages were ever entirely speculative. Rather, those entrusted with each consignment had a connection with a particular planter or planters, while acknowledging that opportunity for additional trade could change. Mariners, for example, were particularly open to changing circumstances in their own private ventures.[[331]](#footnote-331) Within the joint-venture model, outbound goods were usually entrusted to an agent, factor or ship’s husband. This individual was sometimes the shipmaster or a member of the ship’s company; other times they were a separate specified agent. Around the middle of the century, the owners of the *Rainbow* appointed one William Stafford, a merchant, to be husband of the ship; similarly, the seafarer, Thomas Anthony, went aboard the *Abraham* as Matthew Cradock’s factor, while the Bristol merchant, Thomas Heathcott, used a local grocer for his ‘factor or agent’.[[332]](#footnote-332) These individuals undertook the responsibility of collecting duties owed for freight and the sales of goods in return for tobacco, taking a commission for doing so. Stafford, for instance, was to receive ‘all freights and profits wch should be brought home upon the account of all the owners in a voyage to Virginia and to make accompts of all the ship’s receipts & disbursements & to proportion & to pay the neat profit of her voyage amongst the owners according to their shares and interests.’[[333]](#footnote-333) On other occasions, an importing merchant travelled to the colonies himself in order to make direct transactions or to establish connections with suppliers, face-to-face. For instance, in 1651, the Bristol merchant Thomas Yate was present in St Christopher in order to loan ‘severall goods & merchandizes’ to a resident planter.[[334]](#footnote-334) Several years later, William Yeamans, another merchant, ‘sold certen quantities of shoos’ to planters on Antigua, although these examples may equally indicate that merchants combined their role of factor with private trade.[[335]](#footnote-335) While direct involvement amongst the mercantile community came with the advantage of cutting out the middleman, it also carried its own risks.

Alternatively, importers could utilise an agent resident in the colonies to undertake sales of European goods in return for tobacco. This practice has been defined by some as a separate trading model, although it shared many similarities to the joint-venture mode of trade.[[336]](#footnote-336) As before, the domestic merchant or trader – not the tobacco planter – undertook the risk associated with both the transport of outbound commodities and inbound tobacco. The model could also be expanded through the selling of freight. However, instead of entrusting the shipmaster or a supercargo to strike the best deal for tobacco in return for exported provisions, the merchandising aspects were undertaken by the resident agent who sometimes owned a storehouse in the colonies, enabling goods to be stocked and then sold, as and when market conditions necessitated.[[337]](#footnote-337)

A distinct trade model to the joint-venture model was commonly known as the consignment or commission merchandising mode of commerce. By putting the risk of transporting tobacco onto the planter rather than the domestic trader, commission merchandising was an inversion of the joint-venture model. Essentially, the main instance of sale between planter and domestic trader took place in England and not in the colonies, although the same ships could be used to transport tobacco that had been traded via the consignment and joint-venture models. According to Davies, the commission system first developed in the sugar trade during the late seventeenth century.[[338]](#footnote-338) However, there are several reasons for extending the development of the consignment model of commerce to the beginning of the colonial tobacco trade.

To begin with, during the early stages of the colonial tobacco trade, and certainly by the 1630s, planters commonly imported their own tobacco into England. For instance, a syndicate of Virginian planters brought in thirty casks of ‘leafe tobacco’ to Plymouth in 1631, alongside larger quantities of tobacco imported by domestic traders.[[339]](#footnote-339) Similarly, in London during the same decade, customs farmers described tobacco that had been placed into warehouses as belonging to merchants *and* planters, indicating that it was common for colonists to be the tobacco’s owners during its transit.[[340]](#footnote-340) As Brenner has shown, Maurice Thomson and other merchant-planters travelled across the Atlantic on multiple occasions in order to carry out their business. Planters were also present with their year’s harvest aboard ships in South Wales and Bristol around the same time, while in Plymouth during the 1650s two planters from Nevis ‘came to an accompt of reconinges’ with one Richard Harris.[[341]](#footnote-341) As with some merchants who conducted business in the colonies, transatlantic travel was not uncommon for planters. Planters who undertook the export and import sides of the tobacco trade consequently negated the problem of physical absence and were thus able to mitigate some of the risks associated with trust.

It only took one step further within this planter-led trade model of trade for colonists to consign their tobacco to an agent in an English port. This consignee then either imported the planter’s tobacco and conducted the subsequent wholesale and marketing dealings on their behalf or sold the tobacco to a wholesaler prior to importation. Either way, the consignee was paid a commission for doing so. For planters who remained in the colonies, experienced tobacco merchants were the obvious choice to import tobacco on commission, although mariners and shipmasters were also frequently entrusted to import a planters’ yearly harvest. Depositional evidence from 1660 shows that at least one importer in Bristol was an agent to a Virginian planter whereas Warren Billings has provided evidence of Virginian planters consigning tobacco to Dutch merchants from 1651 onwards.[[342]](#footnote-342) William Stout of Lancaster likewise imported tobacco ‘to enter and pay duty’ for his ‘next door neighbour’.[[343]](#footnote-343) Later in the period, the Virginia planter, William Fitzhugh, used multiple vessels for transporting separate consignments and had close working relationships with several shipmasters. Fitzhugh seems to have initiated dealings with merchants after hearing their character and creditworthiness from shipmasters or others present in Virginia. The merchant imported the tobacco for Fitzhugh and sold it for the best rates that he could get. In return, bills could be sent home or traded for provisions, usually specified by Fitzhugh. The planter was likewise in regular correspondence with trusted shipmasters, assigning them with tobacco consignments and bills of exchange or requesting them to bring provisions, clothing and servants to Virginia.[[344]](#footnote-344) Larger plantation-owners like Fitzhugh, especially those in the Chesapeake whose estates were situated at favourable locations adjacent to one of the many tidal rivers, might also agree with smaller planters to market their tobacco to merchants on commission and thus acted as commission-agents too. Indeed, Fitzhugh seems to have consigned a mixture of tobacco grown on his plantations as well as that produced by smaller planters.[[345]](#footnote-345) Evidence from Bristol shows that the merchant, Thomas Speed, acted on commission for at least two tobacco planters (Lawrence Washington and Malachy Peale), taking between £2.5 and £3 per cent commission. Domestic traders included Thomas Day and Richard Crump who sometimes purchased the tobacco ‘unsight and unseene’ and ‘cleare of all charges’, meaning that they and not Speed undertook the responsibility of paying customs and other fees.[[346]](#footnote-346)

Any one of these trade models may have also included another phenomenon within the tobacco trade: pre-import sales. These transactions occurred prior to importation and the payment of import duties, either at the quayside or on shipboard. Such pre-import transactions were made ‘at the mast’ because they were typically conducted while the tobacco was still aboard ship or as it rested on the quayside, many of which would have been brimming with traders eager for a quick sale. Sales before tobacco was officially imported were sought particularly from sailors and planters, although domestic merchants sometimes sold already purchased tobacco to an additional seller.[[347]](#footnote-347) In the 1680s, Fitzhugh instructed a Bristol sea captain to sell several tobacco hogsheads ‘at the Mast according to your phrase there, the money that it produces keep in your hands till my farther order’.[[348]](#footnote-348) In this way, the purchaser rather than the freighter handled all issues relating to the import duties, including the debenture certificate (tax rebate) if the tobacco was subsequently re-exported. It also increased the number of individuals engaged in the tobacco trade and who had a direct financial interest at stake.

The various modes of transaction tied together different participants in the tobacco trade. These models generally denoted transitory partnerships that respected the individual property and financial interest of each participant. In modern economic and social network theory, each individual could be considered a ‘node’ who was connected to other traders through the joint-sharing of freight, as well as to the ship-owners, mariners and planters.[[349]](#footnote-349) The joint-venture model, for instance, signified the shared investing of goods aboard a ship to be ‘adventured’ overseas in return for tobacco that the traders imported on the ship’s homecoming, whereas the consignment model required importers to handle the traffic of a third party’s tobacco. Coursing through these transatlantic networks was credit. As Craig Muldrew has shown, credit – both in a monetary and characteristic sense – was essential to the maintenance of social relations in early modern England.[[350]](#footnote-350) The same dual meaning of credit can be extended beyond the parameters of the British Isles: transatlantic credit was integral for facilitating the tobacco import trade and maintaining international social networks. On an outbound voyage, freighters exported manufactured goods and provisions to the tobacco-producing colonies. In whichever trade model tobacco was trafficked, these goods were commonly sold to tobacco planters on credit who repaid the domestic merchant with tobacco. An important condition of entry into the tobacco trade, therefore, was having goods or access to goods to exchange for the leaf or, more frequently, to loan on credit to planters.

Tobacco importers frequently issued bonds to colonists in order to legally bind planters into contractual arrangements, several of which survive in depositional form at the Bristol Archives. For example, in 1655, one planter, Anthony Fulgeham, purchased provisions on credit from Giles Gough, a Bristol ‘whittawer’ (leather worker), in return for five hogsheads of Virginian tobacco ‘cleere of charge’.[[351]](#footnote-351) Gough also supplied goods to Henry Joyce, another planter in Virginia, whereas five years later Fulgeham was bound in another contract, this time for receiving goods totalling £15 from a Bristol grocer, John Hopkins.[[352]](#footnote-352) Sometimes the amount owed to the English merchant was specified in tobacco lb. weight: the planters Nathaniel Read, Thomas Bennet and Jane Phillips, for instance, were bound to send almost 5,000 lbs. tobacco to the Bristol merchant, William Crabb, in return for his advance of goods.[[353]](#footnote-353) At other times, the specified bond was in pounds sterling: Theophilius Hone, a Virginia planter, entered several different bonds ranging from £4 upwards with a mercer, John Machen.[[354]](#footnote-354) In 1656, Henry Joyce delivered a bond for the payment of ten hogsheads of ‘large sweete Tobacco containing 30 & 500’ or the sum of £19 5s. to the soap boiler, Nathaniel King, denoting that either payment was deemed acceptable.[[355]](#footnote-355)

The extension of domestic credit was essential to the production of tobacco overseas and demonstrates the financial risk that many traders undertook. Through the acquisition of credit, tobacco planters were tied to an endless cycle of debt: European-made goods were required to produce tobacco and prosper; in turn, planters had little else to return than tobacco. As planters sought to service their overseas debts and acquire greater wealth, tobacco production increased. Moreover, for adventurers willing to loan goods on credit, it may well have been a year or more before they saw the proceeds of their investment. One final restraint on an individual to enter the tobacco trade, therefore, was not only having access to capital investment, but also the entrepreneurial spirit to speculate on the ‘adventure’ of goods overseas and over a length of time. Speculation could well pay off, but it also came with risks.

## iii. Risks

Along with growing demand for tobacco in England and Wales, the simultaneous growth in tobacco imports and the fall in tobacco prices reflected decreased risks in the tobacco trade and, consequently, increased confidence among traders. Increased assurance in the tobacco trade was a result of reduced uncertainty in producing, transporting and marketing of tobacco, increased safety in trans-Atlantic commerce and the development of better mechanisms for alleviating any remaining risks. Finally, along with improved methods for mitigating risk, came improved techniques for transferring risk through maritime insurance policies. As trade, and the predictability of trade, improved, so did the buoyancy of the home market and the confidence of its participants.

Amongst the greatest perils at sea was capture. During times of war, merchant vessels were liable for capture as lawful prize. England was at war with the Dutch United Provinces on three occasions in the second half of the century (1652-54, 1665-67, 1672-74), Spain during the latter 1650s (1655-60) and France and Spain in the late 1620s. Added to its internal conflicts during the 1640s, these wars impaired English shipping and tobacco ships were included in the many vessels captured during such hostilities. Over 500 tobacco hogsheads belonging to the London merchant, Thomas Sandys, were among the goods aboard one ship taken by the Dutch in 1665.[[356]](#footnote-356) At least three Bristol ships were captured in the same year.[[357]](#footnote-357) These conflicts were undoubtedly a hindrance to shipping and thus mitigated the growth in tobacco imports to some degree. Piracy was also a threat and the colonies themselves could seem very lawless places, particularly in the pre-civil war period. According to a printed account by John Taylor, a tobacco ship returning to Plymouth from Virginia in 1640 was ‘within two Leagues neere to the Lizzard…on the West part of the mount in Cornewall [when it was] assaulted furiously by 3 Turkish Pirats (or men of war) where there was a most Bloody and cruell bickering.’[[358]](#footnote-358) According to Taylor, the vessel, which was armed with five working cannons, was able to fight off the attack despite several attempts by the ‘Mahometans’ to board the ship. During the 1620s and 1630s, corsairs from the Barbary states were particularly active around the southwest of England and in the English Channel. In 1625, ‘Turkish pirates’ captured Lundy island and several prisoners along the north Cornish and Devon coast. The Plymouth mariner, Walter Jago, had the misfortune of having tobacco aboard a ship captured by Barbary corsairs during the 1630s, while Edmund Morgan has argued that tobacco ships leaving the Chesapeake each year attracted similar attention among European ‘pyrates’ that the Spanish treasure fleets enticed from English privateers a century earlier.[[359]](#footnote-359)

Despite successive, albeit brief, wars with the Dutch and ‘almost continual war with one of the Barbary states’, most of the second half of the seventeenth century up to 1685 was relatively peaceful, especially when compared to the previous decades and the protracted wars with France which followed the Glorious Revolution.[[360]](#footnote-360) In mainland Europe, 1648 marked the end of the Thirty Year’s War, accounted as amongst the most destructive of humankind’s conflicts;[[361]](#footnote-361) in the British Isles, peace in England, Scotland and Wales was restored in the same year (peace in Ireland came later). Even during the Anglo-Dutch wars, convoy systems were quickly developed which facilitated the annual incursion of colonial tobacco;[[362]](#footnote-362) moreover, each conflict did not last more than two or three years. Therefore, the long-term impact of England’s seventeenth-century conflicts did not halt the growth of the tobacco trade. In general, safer seas after 1650 contributed to cheaper freight charges, as the risks involved in each voyage were lower and financiers’ confidence in the market increased.

Whereas in the early seventeenth century the Atlantic crossing was still relatively ‘unfamiliar and hazardous’, over time the haul became more certain and less risky.[[363]](#footnote-363) By the middle of the century, the return leg from Virginia typically took four to six weeks. One contemporary during the early 1670s wrote that it had taken the ship he was aboard ‘but twenty-one days from sight of Virginia to sight of England’.[[364]](#footnote-364) On sighting land, however, this particular voyage would have taken several more days, especially if the ship was destined for London and had to sail the full length of the English Channel and around the Isle of Thanet. Moreover, due to prevailing winds, outbound journeys from England to either the Chesapeake or the West Indies took longer.[[365]](#footnote-365) On top of this, some trips were shuttle or direct voyages, with ships only alighting at one colony;[[366]](#footnote-366) other passages were multilateral or circuitous, with vessels loading and unloading goods at two or more colonies.[[367]](#footnote-367) In the West Indies, it was common practice for ships to alight at a number of isles within the island chains. Often a ship’s voyage also comprised European ports, including islands on the eastern Atlantic such as Madeira, as well as ports in Ireland. In 1634, one voyage from Bristol was scheduled layovers in Youghal (Ireland) and Madeira, before arriving in St Christopher.[[368]](#footnote-368) In the Chesapeake, moreover, it was customary for ships to spend several weeks or months, going from quay to quay to complement their cargoes; other voyages included an island or more in the West Indies and the Chesapeake.[[369]](#footnote-369) A complaint of traders was that Virginia did not have a small number of select townships where all merchandise could be transported to overland or by river prior to lading. Instead, vessels sailed to multiple destinations within the colony and boats were sent from the ships to go upriver in order to reach multiple plantations.[[370]](#footnote-370) Even so, ladings of a matter of days could work, providing there were few planters to deal with.[[371]](#footnote-371) Lading times may have declined in the Chesapeake after June 1680, when agents of the crown successfully persuaded the Virginia Assembly to pass an act for establishing a tobacco warehouse in every county where planters would deposit their tobacco, saving ships from sailing to a greater number of places.[[372]](#footnote-372)

The tobacco trade was predicated on seasonality, with shipping only able to bring tobacco to Europe after harvesting and curing had taken place in the autumn.[[373]](#footnote-373) According to a guide for aspiring planters and adventurers, ‘the ordinary time of [sailing to Virginia], is about September, or October, which times ships have made choice of in respect the crop of tobacco will be ready for their homeward fraught, which is alwayes in, or about December, and so they lade, and return in February, March, or April.’[[374]](#footnote-374) However, some ships began to arrive in the Caribbean tobacco colonies as early as October, indicating that curing and packing could be completed before Christmas and that the ships had left England in August or September.[[375]](#footnote-375) Early arrival could mean better prices, a quicker turn around and higher prices in English ports. However, too hasty an arrival also encouraged premature and poorer harvests or a few months wasted time at port, with mariners still requiring payment.[[376]](#footnote-376)

Perils during the curing and transport stages could substantially alter the quality of tobacco. For instance, in 1660 John Machen imported sixteen hogsheads into Bristol, the ‘most p[ar]t of it rotten.’[[377]](#footnote-377) Natural causes or human error could cause damage to tobacco, as a number of depositions from resulting legal disputes reveal. For example, during the early 1650s it was disputed whether a damaged shipload of tobacco that arrived in Bristol was due to the sailors’ packing methods or the ‘tear and treat’ of the sea.[[378]](#footnote-378) In the late 1630s, Joseph Hawes of London petitioned the House of Lords over the damage done to his consignment of Barbados tobacco as a result, or so he claimed, of a leaky barge used by the customs service to unload the tobacco from Hawes’s ship.[[379]](#footnote-379) Decayed or unwholesome tobacco was sometimes still put to sale in England, indicating that there was a market for damaged tobacco, whereas the ever-present possibility of damaged tobacco opened up an avenue for fraud.[[380]](#footnote-380)

Another risk derived from entrusting those placed in charge of a consignment of goods, normally a shipmaster or a merchant’s agent. Such risks were manifest for Richard Lock of Bristol who, in 1634, lost £400 worth of goods on top of a ship he had freighted for a voyage to St Christopher after the shipmaster did ‘fraudulently and deciptfully sell away the said ship and goods…and did after viciously consume and spend the proceed[s]...in riotous company by exorbitant and dissolute courses.’[[381]](#footnote-381) This risk was prevalent throughout the century: in the early 1680s, a legal warrant was issued to bring back and return another Bristol ship belonging to several domestic traders after it went absent in North America.[[382]](#footnote-382) These two cases were perhaps unusual but they demonstrate the issues of trust and credit that every overseas trader must have worried about from time to time, if not continually during the months that the ships were away. Complete absconding amongst shipmasters or agents may have been uncommon but smaller contrivances amongst middlemen to exploit their positions were more frequent.[[383]](#footnote-383) An agent could simply be inadequate for the job delegated him (agents were always male); an agent could die; or a member of a ship’s company might incompetently pack provisions or tobacco aboard a merchant’s ship.[[384]](#footnote-384) Domestic merchants who loaned goods on credit to a planter or merchant seeking to set up in the New World did not always get it paid back.[[385]](#footnote-385) Correspondence between planters, shipmasters and merchants convey the enduring problems that came with distance, the physical absence from one’s commercial interests and the constant concern over whether an agent was swindling their associate.[[386]](#footnote-386)

Despite increased predictability in trans-Atlantic shipping over time, there were still incessant dangers in transporting a perishable good several thousand miles across the open ocean. However, there were innumerable ways to mitigate risk, including, as we have seen, the competent curing and packing of tobacco. Furthermore, ships leaving Virginia tended to leave after the worst of the winter weather had passed but before the teredo worm attacked their hulls and fever struck their crews.[[387]](#footnote-387) Most large-scale tobacco traders also placed consignments aboard multiple ships. Through utilising multiple vessels, a single merchant could maximise the amount of tobacco they imported as well as increase the chances that part of his or her investment would return in a sound condition; multiple consignments aboard multiple ships was an insurance policy against misfortune.[[388]](#footnote-388)

To overcome problems of distance, a number of precautions were developed. First, family connections may have helped with representing a merchant’s interest in the colonies. Indeed, family was the principal ‘trust network’ for most traders, who ‘turned first to kin networks to structure their associations and cement the necessary bonds.’[[389]](#footnote-389) Along with family connections, trust networks could also derive from place of origin, occupation, religion and political sympathies.[[390]](#footnote-390) For instance, over two-thirds of the biggest colonial merchants operating from London in 1686 had spent a period in the colonies, usually after their apprenticeships. Spending time abroad was no gap-year for aspiring merchants: living and working in an overseas colony allowed them to return to England ‘with capital, valuable connections, and a special insight into the dangers of colonial commerce which helped them to build up both their independent and commission trade.’[[391]](#footnote-391) To this can be added additional bonds along religious or place of origin lines. Furthermore, apprentices or employees maintained links with a master, past or present; as did perhaps individuals who simply had some past association such as cohabitating the same settlement. Any of these bonds simultaneously established trading networks and fostered trust.

Essentially, for the tobacco trade to benefit its traders, trust had to be established between suppliers, whether between planters, shipmasters or merchants. Speaking of the transatlantic wine trade, David Hancock suggests that, over time, trust was effected through ‘interpersonal affiliation, expressions of shared values and norms (usually articulated through transoceanic communication), and histories of consensus and repeated performance over extended periods along supplier and customer networks.’[[392]](#footnote-392) Much of how trust was fostered in the colonial tobacco trade, therefore, was not purposefully structured but was the outcome of personal acquaintance and practice over time. However, often habits of trade were not enough. Instead, financial commitment was required, as well as updates on ‘all aspects of a voyage’, ‘more frequent and better accounting’ and ‘a more meticulous insuring of their own cargoes and ships’.[[393]](#footnote-393) For the seventeenth century tobacco trade, trust too hinged on the continual supply of information for each voyage, a share of the financial risk and, increasingly, the use of marine insurance.

Almost all precautions taken in the overseas tobacco trade can be classed as risk mitigation. According to Adrian Leonard, contemporaries were well aware of the difference between ‘uncertainty’ and ‘risk’. Whereas uncertainty was unquantifiable, risk could be calculated and subsequently transferred into a monetary payment to an under-writer or insurer. Concomitant to the identification of risk as opposed to uncertainty, therefore, was the rise of insurance policies. Before the seventeenth century, merchants frequently conducted voyages uninsured. According to Leonard, the incentive to insure ‘changed over the course of the seventeenth century, when a revolution in the pricing of marine insurance made the product much more affordable.’[[394]](#footnote-394) The cost of marine insurance declined due to various factors: the number of insurance policies being taken out; falling commodity prices; risk diversification; supply of insurance policies; and institutional impacts. While Leonard points out the difference between risk mitigation and risk transferal, it was through mitigating risk that the cost of insurance policies decreased. It is also important to note that improved risk mitigation (such as placing consignments aboard multiple vessels) also reduced the prices of insurance policies.

Other risks to the colonial tobacco trade declined during the first few decades of the seventeenth century, such as the threat of indigenous attacks, poor knowledge concerning the ‘technology of tobacco culture and the plant’s sensitivities to soil quality, climate and disease’.[[395]](#footnote-395) Moreover, Russell Menard makes an important point concerning risk in the tobacco trade and its effect on declining tobacco prices. In the early seventeenth century, during times when the trade was uncertain, high returns were deemed necessary in order to factor in the undertaking of such an uncertain and potentially disastrous voyage. However, as overall risks decreased and knowledge of how to produce the plant efficiently increased, high returns were no longer deemed as an essential outcome of trade. Participants in the trade could settle for less because they were not undertaking so risky a venture. These ‘falling expectations’ facilitated an overall price reduction in the wholesale price of tobacco because traders were taking a more-calculated, and less uncertain, risk.[[396]](#footnote-396) Returning to the trade models that constituted the transatlantic tobacco network, there was an increased willingness to extend credit overseas as risks declined, increasing the overall investment in the trade.

## iv. Participation at Bristol

Due to the ‘free trade’ aspect of colonial commerce and hastened by decreased risks over time, the tobacco trade encouraged widespread and diverse participation. Nowhere better is this discerned than in Bristol, the second largest port for tobacco imports during the second half of the seventeenth century. What follows is based on an in-depth analysis of the Bristol wharfage books between 1654-55 and 1684-55, with a sample year being selected every five years.[[397]](#footnote-397) From the resulting seven sample years, I have recorded every instance or consignment of tobacco imported into the city and counted the number of unique tobacco importers to the city. Doing this allows us to analyse the types of importers based on quantities of tobacco that each imported, their gender and occupation. As is shown, importers were varied in terms of the quantities that each trafficked and their occupations, with merchants, soap-boilers, mariners and those working in the clothing or textile trades most commonly involved.

The Bristol wharfage books reveal that the cumulative number of tobacco importers to the western city for all seven sample years was 1,767. Because around one-quarter of importers appear in multiple years, the total number of unique importers (the separate individuals who I have identified) to Bristol in the sample was 1,202. Notwithstanding the fact that many more importers have been omitted due to sampling methods, all of these individuals had an active interest in the tobacco trade and would have made up a noticeable proportion of the city’s adult inhabitants. For example, David Harris Sacks estimated the total Bristol population during the early 1670s at 16,000. The 414 total tobacco importers in 1669-70 alone were therefore almost three per cent of the city’s population and possibly five per cent of the adult population.[[398]](#footnote-398) Furthermore, the high number of unique importers who imported tobacco to outports such as Bristol may have been overlooked in other studies of the tobacco trade. Sacks recorded 461 individuals who imported tobacco *and* sugar over a two-year period but did not indicate how many of these only imported tobacco.[[399]](#footnote-399) Moreover, Susan Hillier calculated that there were just 174 individuals involved in the Virginia trade to all of the outports for the period up to 1660, and Brenner’s analysis of some one hundred ‘new’ London merchants over a similar period is evidently only a small proportion of the total number of traders involved in trafficking tobacco in the decades either side of the middle of the century.[[400]](#footnote-400)

Indication is also given to the extent to which traders were involved in continual investments in the tobacco trade. Of the 1,202 unique tobacco importers to Bristol, just 291 (24.4 per cent) entered tobacco in two or more of the sample years. We can breakdown these figures further. Of these 291 ‘continuous-adventurers’, 176 appear in two years, fifty-eight in three years, thirty-five in four years, thirteen in five years and seven in six years. Just two importers – Peter Wraxall and Richard Pope – imported tobacco across all seven sample years.[[401]](#footnote-401) As a general rule, medium- and large-scale importers (over ten hogsheads in a single year) were more likely to import tobacco in multiple years than importers of small amounts (fewer than ten hogsheads in a single year). For example, apart from the first two sample years, Wraxall annually imported over sixty hogsheads; in fact, over 85 per cent of the largest importers in any single year appeared in another sample year. Of course, importers who entered tobacco in multiple years during a shorter period than five years or who did not import tobacco in a year either ending in 0 or 5 would have escaped the five-year sampling process. These provisos aside, the relatively small proportion of continuous-adventurers is instructive for how the tobacco trade to Bristol operated. Many tobacco importers were not usually tied to long-term continuous investment in the colonising project; instead, one-off investments as ‘single adventurers’ were more frequent. At the same time, those who imported tobacco in multiple years tended to do so in large quantities, and thus held a disproportionate share of the import market.[[402]](#footnote-402)

Principally, the wharfage books demonstrate that there was a huge range in the amount of tobacco that each trader imported in each season. Table 2.1. shows the breakdown of the tobacco trade between its many participants and gauges whether there was any real change over time. A similar methodology is employed by Price and Clemens for London tobacco importers between 1675 and 1775; likewise, Kenneth Morgan provided comparable data for eighteenth-century Bristol merchants.[[403]](#footnote-403) However, a few of caveats should be kept in mind.

Firstly, tobacco importers frequently entered multiple consignments from different vessels at different times and even registered a single consignment from a single vessel in several stages. For instance, in 1674-75 James Wall made four entries from aboard two ships whilst Edward Fielding, who was the largest importer for that same year, made eleven entries from six vessels, one of which consisted of 2,000 lbs. of bulk tobacco. In fact, during the same sample year, which was typical of all other years, just under half of all importers entered tobacco on more than one occasion.[[404]](#footnote-404) Because importers frequently appeared on more than one occasion in a single year, I have added together all instances of importers that share the same name.

Secondly, I have assumed that repeated names were indeed the same individual, although I acknowledge that in a few instances individuals with the same names may have been incorrectly yoked together. Moreover, partnerships accounted for a number of entries in most years, although the number of such partnerships were not as high as one might expect.[[405]](#footnote-405) The scribe of the wharfage books indicated partnerships through listing two or more names together, for example, ‘John and Thomas Duddlestone’; or by writing one individual’s name with the suffix, ‘& comp[any]’. Where partnerships have been recorded, I have treated the partnership itself as a separate ‘unique importer’, regardless of its participants’ roles as separate tobacco importers elsewhere. Thus, ‘John and Thomas Duddlestone’ is produced separately to ‘John Duddlestone’ and ‘Thomas Duddlestone’; similarly, the entry for ‘Charles Harford and company’ is distinct from ‘Charles Harford’.

Somewhat less frequently, the wharfage books indicate when one individual entered tobacco on behalf of another party, for instance, ‘John Harris for R. Gotly’.[[406]](#footnote-406) In this case, the importer was probably acting on commission for the other named individual. In these rare instances where commission merchandising was recorded, both names have been treated as a single ‘unique importer’. However, it is likely that many more incidences of commission merchandising went on than the wharfage books alone indicate, in particular on behalf of tobacco planters during the latter part of the period.[[407]](#footnote-407) Even so, regardless of whether tobacco was imported on commission or otherwise, the named importer as in the wharfage books still shows the commercial activity of that particular individual.

The final caveat is that the total amount of tobacco entered each year is shown in weight (lbs.) and thus uses the same calculation methods used elsewhere in this thesis. Hogsheads are assumed to have weighed 350 lbs. and rolls 50 lbs., although the weight of each container varied substantially and increased over time. These particular figures are conservative estimations, particularly for the latter part of the period, thus actual quantities are likely to be slightly higher especially in the latter sample years. To overcome this problem, table 2.1. also specifies the total number of hogsheads that importers in each category imported.

Table 2.1. *Tobacco importers to Bristol, 1654-55–1684-85*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Year** | **1654-55** | | | **1659-60** | | | **1664-65** | | | **1669-70** | | | **1674-75** | | | **1679-80** | | | **1684-85** | | |
| **Group** | No. | Hds | % Hds | No. | Hds | % Hds | No. | Hds | % Hds | No. | Hds | % Hds | No. | Hds | % Hds | No. | Hds | % Hds | No. | Hds | % Hds |
| **35,000 lbs.<** | 6 | 715 | 21 % | 2 | 251 | 10 % | 18 | 3307 | 50 % | 19 | 3242 | 38 % | 26 | 4924 | 49 % | 20 | 3352 | 46 % | 12 | 2452 | 44 % |
| **3,500 lbs.<**  **< 35,000 lbs.** | 104 | 2464 | 72 % | 71 | 2013 | 82 % | 92 | 3099 | 47 % | 125 | 4380 | 52 % | 131 | 4426 | 44 % | 108 | 3416 | 47 % | 64 | 2907 | 52 % |
| **< 3,500 lbs.** | 83 | 224 | 7 % | 39 | 188 | 8 % | 63 | 219 | 3 % | 260 | 832 | 10 % | 227 | 675 | 7 % | 161 | 522 | 7 % | 142 | 223 | 4 % |
| **Totals** | 193 | 3403 | 100 % | 112 | 2452 | 100 % | 173 | 6625 | 100 % | 404 | 8454 | 100 % | 384 | 10025 | 100 % | 289 | 7290 | 100 % | 218 | 5582 | 100 % |

*Source:* BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12.

*Notes*: All weights are estimates based on the number of hogsheads, rolls and bulk tobacco imported by each trader using the same estimations for weights as above: one hogshead @ 350 lbs. and one roll @ 50 lbs. Therefore, the ‘Over 35,000 lbs.’ group comprises those individuals who imported more than 100 hogsheads or more than 700 rolls, inclusive; the middle group comprises those who imported between 10 and 100 hogsheads or between 70 and 700 rolls; the final group comprises those who imported less than 10 hogsheads or less than 70 rolls. The first column for each year lists the number of importers in each of these groups. The second column lists the number of hogsheads (only) that that group collectively imported whilst the final column calculates this same number as a percentage to the total number of hogsheads imported in that year.

Table 2.1 shows how the tobacco import trade to the city was structured between its many participants. To begin with, large-scale importers were always in a minority: only between two and ten per cent of total participants imported more than 35,000 lbs. in each sample year. Nonetheless, these importers accounted for up to half of all hogsheads imported. Second, during the first three sample years, medium-sized importers were in an overall majority (53-63 per cent); however, from 1669-70 onwards, the category with the highest proportion were small-sized importers (56-65 per cent). Third then, the number of importers who entered under 3,500 lbs. in a single year was noticeably higher in the last four sample years than in the earlier period, suggesting an increase in participation amongst individuals with limited capital. At the same time, small-scale importers collectively catered for no more than ten per cent of all hogsheads imported in any single sample year. The findings presented here suggest that the tobacco trade to Bristol was characterised by an increasingly wide base of participation in which the largest importers held a substantial share of the market, although never an overall majority. The increase in the proportion of traders who imported relatively small amounts of tobacco contrasts with Price and Clemens’s findings for London, where smaller importers were slowly squeezed out of the tobacco trade over the course of the second half of the seventeenth century.[[408]](#footnote-408) Instead, Bristol’s seventeenth-century tobacco trade constituted a broad and growing degree of participation amongst importers who, we could infer, had different aspirations, capital and personal contacts.

The evidence here confirms work by David Harris Sacks who suggests that the barriers to Bristol’s transatlantic commerce were comparatively low. Sacks describes the relatively small requirements needed to access the colonial as opposed to European or East Indies trades.[[409]](#footnote-409) Men, women, citizens and non-citizens all participated in importing tobacco and sugar, as did a diverse range of different occupations. With the absence of a trade monopoly, it was relatively easy to invest in colonial groceries, especially if one had ready access to the provisions or manufactured goods that were in high-demand in the tobacco colonies, as well as proximity to the corresponding markets in Bristol and elsewhere for venting colonial goods. However, while his general claims are warranted, Sacks only focuses on the first two years that the wharfage books commenced (1654-56);[[410]](#footnote-410) he consequently does not fully do justice to the socio-economics of the city’s tobacco trade over a broader period. Moreover, Sacks included all transatlantic commerce, rather than just tobacco. Using a broader data-set than Sacks and focusing on tobacco only, the remainder of this section underscores the extent of different people involved in the tobacco import trade to Bristol.

To begin with, the trading activities of importers are only a fraction of individuals who co-habited in household economic units. The listed importers in the wharfage books were usually those who commanded the senior role in a household, which comprised husbands, wives, children, servants and apprentices – all of whom who contributed to collective pooling of resources.[[411]](#footnote-411) Despite this, exactly fifty women (4.2 per cent of total unique importers) still imported tobacco to Bristol across the seven sample years. These included small-scale importers such as Alice Morgan, Joan Allen and Mary White, who each imported fewer than five hogsheads of Virginian tobacco on one occasion.[[412]](#footnote-412) However, there were also some substantial female importers who were kin of notable male merchants of the time. These included Bethua Speed, an importer of fifty-four hogsheads from three different ships in 1675,[[413]](#footnote-413) and Ann Yeamans, who imported a similar amount from five ships in 1655, along with twenty-four rolls of West Indian tobacco.[[414]](#footnote-414) Sharing surnames with prominent merchant families of the time, Bethua Speed was Ann Yeamans’s sister, who married her mother’s brother-in-law, John Speed, in 1658. The fact that Bethua retained her own name in her trading activities during her marriage with John suggests that she exercised a high degree of autonomy within household matter.[[415]](#footnote-415) The largest female importer in a single year was one Eleanor Legg, who entered 97 hogsheads from two ships in 1669-70. Only one female importer, Sarah Seward, appears in multiple accounting years (1654-55 and 1659-60).

An overall majority of tobacco importers to Bristol were nevertheless enfranchised freemen or citizens. Bristol freemen usually signified those who had undertaken an apprenticeship to an existing burgess. However, enfranchisement via patrimony (son of a freeman) was also possible, as was marriage (to the widow of a deceased freeman) and redemption (payment of money to the corporation of Bristol). As Phil Withington has remarked, civic status came with respectability, prestige, legal rights and political obligations, although evidently in Bristol it was not a prerequisite to import tobacco.[[416]](#footnote-416) Of the 1,202 unique tobacco importers to Bristol derived from the seven sample years, 774 (65 per cent) appear in the Bristol burgess books.[[417]](#footnote-417) The remaining 428 (35 per cent) are absent from these records. Non-free status did not prohibit an individual from importing tobacco, which is most obvious in the case of female importers: women could not attain free status in the Corporation of Bristol but nevertheless could trade on their own account.

There were several reasons why male inhabitants may not have taken up civic freedom. Non-conformist sects such as the Society of Friends (Quakers) prohibited the swearing of oaths which were necessary to attain free status. One of the largest tobacco importers during three of the years sampled, Edward Martindale, did not take the civic oath because of his commitment to the Society of Friends.[[418]](#footnote-418) Economic considerations may also have played a role. Existing apprentices or those who had never formally completed their apprenticeship may have still managed to invest in and import small amounts of tobacco. Similarly, many mariners may not have been ‘free’ owing to their peripatetic lifestyles but could import tobacco nonetheless. For example, there is no record of one William Sayers in the Bristol burgess books despite his importation of two hogsheads of tobacco in 1675 (recorded in the wharfage books as a ‘prest seaman’).[[419]](#footnote-419) Finally, a proportion of the sampled importers were non-Bristol inhabitants, either residing in another, possibly peripheral, location to Bristol, or settled as planters in the colonies. For example, the Virginian planter, Henry Joyce, imported twenty hogsheads from the *Virginia Merchant* in 1654-55.[[420]](#footnote-420)

Of the 776 tobacco importers who were burgesses, there are 537 who we can determine their occupation with some degree of confidence through using the *Index to the Bristol Burgess Books*.[[421]](#footnote-421) These records list each freeman’s name, the date of their freedom, how they obtained their civic status and, importantly with regards to the ensuing discussion, their trade. It has been impossible to determine occupations when names are either listed without their trade or where there appear multiple names with that match the suitable dates. For instance, there are over twelve seventeenth-century entries for ‘John Brown’, a substantial importer in 1674-75, making any precise determination of his occupation impossible.[[422]](#footnote-422) In the majority of cases, I have ignored all instances of importers who appear in the burgess books on more than one occasion. The exceptions are when the given dates make it improbable that an importer could be a particular burgess or when evidence obtained elsewhere indicates that an importer was indeed a certain freeman. From the sample of 537 known tobacco importers, we can gauge the occupational breakdown of those involved in the tobacco trade to Bristol (table 2.2.).

Table 2.2. *Occupations of known tobacco importers to Bristol, 1654-55–1684-85*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Occupation/ trade** | **Number** | **% importers** | **% tobacco** | **% 2+ years** |
| Mariner | 96 | 17.9 % | 20.5 % | 23 % |
| Clothing/ textile trades | 87 | 16.8 % | 15.5 % | 32 % |
| Merchant | 67 | 12.5 % | 21.1 % | 45 % |
| Soap boiler | 63 | 12.1 % | 21.4 % | 35 % |
| Cooper | 40 | 7.5 % | 3.7 % | 25 % |
| Grocer | 32 | 6.0 % | 3.5 % | 33 % |
| (Barber) Surgeon | 21 | 3.9 % | 1.6 % | 29 % |
| Shipwright | 17 | 3.2 % | 2.1 % | 35 % |
| (Black) Smith | 12 | 2.2 % | 0.2 % | 8 % |
| Apothecary | 9 | 1.7 % | 0.8 % | 22 % |
| Gentleman | 6 | 1.1 % | 1.3 % | 17 % |
| Carpenter | 6 | 1.1 % | 0.1 % | 0 |
| Tobacco manufacturer | 6 | 1.1 % | ? | ? |
| Vintner | 6 | 1.1 % | 0.2 % | 0 |
| Brewer | 4 | 0.7 % | 0.4 % | 25 % |
| Ironmonger | 4 | 0.7 % | 0.2 % | 25 % |
| Pewterer | 4 | 0.7 % | 0.2 % | 25 % |
| Rope maker | 4 | 0.7 % | 0.2 % | 25 % |
| Tanner | 3 | 0.6 % | 0.1 % | 0 |
| Captain (military) | 3 | 0.6 % | 0.1 % | 0 |
| Painter | 3 | 0.6 % | 0.1 % | 0 |
| Other | 44 | 8.2 % | 6.7 % |  |
| TOTAL | 537 | 100 % | 100 % | n/a |

*Sources*: BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12; John B. Watts, *Index to the Bristol Burgess Books*, 1–21: *1557–1995* (Bristol, 2005).

*Notes*: ‘Clothing/ textile trades’ consists of the following occupations: bodice makers (2), broad, carpet or silk weavers (8), clothiers (4), cloth workers (3) linen and woollen drapers (21), flax dressers (2), glovers (2), haberdashers (2), mercers (20), point makers (1), shoemakers/cordwainers (5), stocking makers (1), tailors (17), whittawers (2) and worsted combers (1).

‘Other’ consists of 33 separate trades of two or fewer individuals.

‘% tobacco’ determines the approximate total number of hogsheads imported by that occupational category as a proportion of total hogsheads imported. From the samples taken, the total number of imported hogsheads = 30,111.

‘% 2+ years’ designates the proportion of importers within each occupational group who appear two or more times in any of the seven sample years and bears no reflection on other trades.

The above sample of over five hundred known tobacco importers shows that individuals from a range of different occupations trafficked tobacco to Bristol during the second half of the seventeenth century. Mariners were the largest occupational group of tobacco importers to Bristol over the thirty-year period; as we will see in the next section, this was due to several significant factors. Seafarers aside, merchants and manufacturers made up the vast majority of tobacco importers, with merchants, soap-boilers and those in the clothing or cloth trades being the highest occupational categories. It is possible that many individuals in the table were likewise shopkeepers or traders associated with retailing.[[423]](#footnote-423) If such is the case, the table thus shows that shopkeepers and manufacturers who could not afford financing an entire ship could manage to pay for modest investments through purchasing freight and ‘adventuring’ commodities overseas, while not usually binding them to a protracted series of obligations.

An approximate indication of the amount of tobacco that each occupational category imported can be seen in the fourth column in table 2.2. The occupational categories of mariners, merchants and soap-boilers each handled around one-fifth of the total quantity of tobacco imported to Bristol over the seven sample years. The final column roughly indicates the extent of continuous activity in the tobacco trade by calculating the proportion of each occupation who appear in multiple sample years. However, as stated earlier, we do not know if traders imported tobacco outside of the seven years that were sampled. Even so, merchants were most closely associated with multiple investments (continuous adventures), with almost one-half appearing in two or more sample years. The same activity was true for around one-third of soap-boilers, grocers, shipwrights and those in the clothing or textile trades. Only around one-quarter of mariners and coopers appear in multiple years.

We can also appreciate the significance of each occupational category by looking at the twenty largest importers for each sample year, most of whom who generally each imported more than 35,000 lbs. per annum. Although here there are some names that do not appear in the burgess books, merchants make up one-quarter of the largest importers (25 per cent), followed by soap-boilers (16 per cent). Despite being the occupational category with the greatest number of importers, mariners only feature in the top twenty largest importers on nine occasions (six per cent), suggesting that the typical mariner imported only medium or small quantities of tobacco. Amongst the largest tobacco importers were the well-heeled members of the Society of Merchant Venturers: Richard Deane, Thomas Yate, John Speed and Stephen Watts.[[424]](#footnote-424) Likewise, soap-boilers Richard and John Pope, Edward Fielding and Richard Crump imported amongst the highest levels of tobacco during this period, as did William Bullock, shipwright, William Crabb, weaver, John Duddlestone, bodice-maker, and the two mariners, Gabriel Deane and John Luff.[[425]](#footnote-425) Non-burgesses who can be accounted as among the chief tobacco importers at some point during the period include Richard Gotley and Edward Martindale, both of whom were Quakers.[[426]](#footnote-426)

Unsurprisingly, the largest tobacco importers to Bristol generally maintained the largest number of personal contacts, both overseas and at home. We can gain a glimpse at importers’ social and economic networks through counting the number of ships that each imported tobacco from and thus the number of partnerships that each was involved in a single trading season to the tobacco-producing colonies. Of course, these connections are only a small fraction of each importer’s actual social network, which would have included other commercial enterprises, family and kin relations and political, religious or voluntary associations. Nonetheless, using 1674-75 as our sample year, the four largest tobacco importers – Edward Fielding, Stephen Watts, Richard Crump and Samuel Parker – each imported tobacco from five or more ships, with the second largest importer in that year, Stephen Watts, utilising fourteen vessels.[[427]](#footnote-427) By contrast, the one hundred or so smallest importers, each who imported fewer than ten hogsheads, typically shared a network with fellow importers from only a single vessel.[[428]](#footnote-428)

Bristol’s tobacco import trade was characterised by widespread participation amongst a range of different occupations. Different occupations worked in partnership with one another; investors aboard Bristol-based ships were mixed and did not conform to the same occupations or guild. Importers from the *Rainbow* during the 1650s, for instance, consisted of merchants, soap boilers, a mercer, a clothier, a weaver and a fishmonger.[[429]](#footnote-429) These traders capitalised on a number of developments in the tobacco trade including improved demand, falling freight prices, declining risks and better safeguards. As the trade grew to some level of predictability and risks declined, a wide array of tradespeople were attracted to invest because they could ‘adventure’ goods that were in demand in the tobacco-producing colonies in return for tobacco and re-sell the commodity in England and Wales. Indeed, such widespread involvement amongst manufacturers indicates the extent to which Bristol’s tobacco trade was sustained by its export trade to the colonies. The variety of Bristol tobacco importers existed because many of these tradesmen produced the varied goods that were in high demand in the tobacco-producing colonies or had the capital to source these within the city’s hinterland. With increased numbers of settlers inhabiting the tobacco-producing colonies, more goods were needed to support them, which numerous Bristol citizens could deliver on credit.[[430]](#footnote-430) Although this conclusion bears similarities to Sacks’s findings, some nuance is shown in the fact that merchants were still the third largest occupational category who collectively imported the most tobacco into Bristol. Per individual, moreover, merchants tended to import more tobacco than other traders and were most likely to be involved in multiple voyages across different years.

Further research on other outports, particularly in the south-west, is needed to ascertain how far this pattern of widespread participation was true during the seventeenth century. Certainly, Bristol’s breakdown of trade differed to London’s, which underwent a process of consolidation and even a ‘revolution’ in scale during the second half of the century. Other south-west ports may not have imported tobacco on the same scale as Bristol but trading communities were more analogous to Bristol than London, where bigger merchants with greater capital increasingly came to dominate. It is likely that the less wealthy ‘mere merchants’ in the outports were unable to finance whole voyages themselves and so relied on extensive involvement amongst the wider community. Many West Country merchants undertook both wholesale and retail trades and are known to have imported relatively small levels of tobacco per trader. Impartial records for one ship, the *Returne* of Plymouth, show the quantity of 5,200 lbs. of Virginia tobacco imported between five separate importers in 1631, one of which consisted of a ‘company’.[[431]](#footnote-431) A petition three years later shows a further four individuals from Plymouth involved in the trade, who had freighted one ship for a voyage to St Christopher and back.[[432]](#footnote-432) In Barnstaple, 1,700 lbs. of tobacco aboard the *Charles* was divided between three traders.[[433]](#footnote-433) In other records, planters and mariners, on top of domestic merchants and traders, are accounted amongst the manifold tobacco importers who operated in the seventeenth century.

Until more in-depth research is done on other outports in the west of England, it is hard to know precisely how far the ‘Bristol model’ of high participation prevailed. What perhaps put Bristol apart from other outports was its well-connected hinterland, surpassed only by London, that allowed the convenient procurement of goods for export and a corresponding distribution network for its tobacco imports. As we will see in later chapters, Bristol was well-placed for supplying consumers with tobacco, due to its proximity to the Midland, South Wales and southwest markets.[[434]](#footnote-434) Many merchants, retailers and artisans who engaged in overseas tobacco trade had corresponding social and economic networks within early modern and England. To a large extent, their dealings in tobacco were an extension of their more traditional trade associations. For the remainder of this chapter, we turn to the occupational category most closely associated with the colonial tobacco trade.

## v. Mariners

This final section gives separate attention to the special role of sailors in the colonial tobacco trade. Previous historiography has not painted mariners in too positive a light in terms of developing the trade. In the days of the Virginia Company, according to Edmund Morgan, shipmasters ‘got the greater part of the tobacco that should have been enriching the colonists and the shareholders of the Company’ – a contributory factor for the company’s demise.[[435]](#footnote-435) Sacks argues that in Bristol around the middle of the century, ‘the seafaring population represented a potential threat to the principles and practices of the traditional merchant.’[[436]](#footnote-436) Sacks downplays the direct involvement of mariners in the colonial trades and insists that mariners and other members of the shipping community only imported colonial goods on behalf of planters and other non-burgesses, doing so illicitly through the ‘colouring’ of their goods.[[437]](#footnote-437)

However, shipmasters were not habitually predisposed to dishonesty nor were mariners only involved in illegal transactions. Rather, most shipmasters needed to maintain a creditworthy image in order to continue conveying goods to and from the colonies and the ordinary seaman undertook a large amount of trade on their own behalf. In all of this, mariners provided an essential and dynamic service to participants on either side of the Atlantic while being able to exploit their position as intermediaries between colonisation projects overseas and the marketing of tobacco in England. More broadly, the direct involvement of sailors in the tobacco trade prompts us to consider how practices relating to the commodity’s consumption likewise spread.

Mariners underpinned the social, legal and financial networks that were essential for the day-to-day operation of the transatlantic tobacco trade. Since the sixteenth century, the ordinary seaman had loaded goods aboard ship when in Europe, unloaded them in exchange for tobacco when in the Americas and, after taking care to ensure the safe passage of the cargo on its return, subsequently unloaded the tobacco and other colonial produce on the ship’s return at homeport.[[438]](#footnote-438) During the next century, mayoral depositions held at the Bristol archives show the quotidian practices in which sailors were involved. For example, in the mid-1640s, five West Country sailors were ordered to go in a boat to collect forty rolls of tobacco laying three miles inland; ten years later, and on the other side of the Atlantic, one mariner aboard the *Rainbow* deposed how he had brought ashore two hogsheads of tobacco which he personally ‘digged out of ye ballast of ye said ship in ye bottome of ye hold’.[[439]](#footnote-439) Other seafarers manufactured tobacco leaves into rolls to pass the time on a long-haul voyage.[[440]](#footnote-440)

Beyond their seafaring duties, mariners provided the crucial social and economic link between domestic wholesalers and planters. Importantly, most shipmasters brokered the sale of goods adventured overseas by domestic traders and frequently imported tobacco on commission for planters. The Virginia planter, William Fitzhugh, for instance, sometimes used shipmasters to import tobacco on his behalf.[[441]](#footnote-441) Every successful voyage required a sound working partnership between a merchant, planter and shipmaster. Even though senior and non-senior mariners were paid in wages or by commission, certain roles were reimbursed in tobacco. For example, the shipmaster William Hort was paid 900 lbs. of tobacco for transporting an indentured servant to Virginia.[[442]](#footnote-442) Other servants were privately traded and put to sale for a straight swap with tobacco after arriving at a plantation and it is well-known that tobacco served as a currency in the colonial Chesapeake, as in the West Indies, for much of the period.

Although shipmasters enjoyed wages or a commission on the sale of tobacco during each voyage, they were also active participants in the trade, as private venturers themselves.[[443]](#footnote-443) To begin with, shipmasters and other senior members of crew frequently purchased freight or owned shares in ships. As Brenner has observed, several London-based ‘new merchants’ (Maurice Thomson, William Tucker and Thomas Warner) all began their careers as ship captains, before setting up as merchants, occasionally embarking on additional voyages in order to better manage or extend their businesses.[[444]](#footnote-444) Such senior mariners were not limited to trafficking tobacco aboard ships that they worked on and many exploited their overseas connections for extensive trade in later life. Walter Jago, a mariner from Plymouth, adventured in several ships and prosperous Bristol mariners imported tobacco from multiple vessels over prolonged periods of time, becoming merchants and stockpiling extensive levels of tobacco for domestic re-selling. Some shipmasters even acquired extensive tracts of land in the New World. London-based mariners such as Toby Felgate, John Hurleston, Jeremy Blackman and Peter Andrews took advantage of the colonising prospects in the Chesapeake following the demise of the Virginia Company.[[445]](#footnote-445) Along with outlaying capital and conducting private trade on the return leg to England, shipmasters were also able to take advantage of the Virginia ‘headright’ system, whereby freighters were granted a set number of acres for every indentured servant that they brought to the colony.[[446]](#footnote-446) A similar pattern emerged in the West Indies.[[447]](#footnote-447)

Due to their central position in the transatlantic tobacco network, most sailors were also able to exercise a considerable degree of personal trade, a form of economic agency amongst seamen that Richard Blakemore has recently labelled the ‘venture economy’.[[448]](#footnote-448) As shown in table 2.2, the most frequent occupation to import tobacco to Bristol between 1654-55 and 1684-85 were mariners. Although other occupations may well have designated men who had embarked on a voyage to a tobacco-producing colony as part of the ship’s company, the mariners listed in table 2.2 collectively accounted for around one-fifth of the total tobacco imported to the western city.[[449]](#footnote-449) It is unknown how much of this was done so on commission and how much was personal trade, although based on depositional evidence there was certainly a combination of the two. The large quantities of tobacco hogsheads that mariners imported indicate a strong commitment to the enterprise and that they had even purchased freight or shares aboard ship.[[450]](#footnote-450)

Amongst the maritime community, shipmasters held the lion’s share of tobacco imports.[[451]](#footnote-451) We know from the Chancery Court case cited in the opening to this chapter that the master of the *Rainbow*, Lewis Reade, leased a substantial quantity of the ship’s total freight capacity in partnership with a domestic trader in 1657. Two years earlier, Reade imported 95 hogsheads into Bristol, making him the sixth largest tobacco importer in that year. Most of this tobacco came from the *Rainbow*, asides from eight hogsheads imported that were imported from another vessel, indicating Reade’s interest in multiple ships. The most illustrious tobacco careers of Bristol mariners, however, were those of Gabriel Deane and John Luff. Deane appears as a tobacco importer in the first five wharfage books sampled; Luff in four books. Together, these two individuals imported at least one thousand hogsheads (c. 350,000 lbs. of tobacco) and were amongst the largest importers in a single year, putting them in the same league as Bristol’s pre-eminent tobacco merchants. In fact, Deane and Luff were part of a broader trend of seafarers-cum-merchants which shows the frequent cross-over between merchants and mariners in the transatlantic tobacco trade that Brenner has shown for London.[[452]](#footnote-452) In 1665, for example, Deane was admitted into Bristol’s Society of Merchant Venturers and he also had an interest in the sugar and soap manufacturing trades[[453]](#footnote-453) Clearly, mariners like Deane had begun their careers at sea but in later life conducted the majority of their mercantile operations on shore, exploiting their connections they had forged when abroad and at sea.

Although shipmasters were in a league of their own when it came to trade amongst the maritime community, their direct involvement in the colonial tobacco trade was replicated throughout each ship’s company and sailors of all stripes conducted private trade. Of course, there was a marked distinction between shipmasters, other senior crew members and standard mariners, despite some opportunity to progress through the ranks.[[454]](#footnote-454) When in his 20s, Peter Wraxall went aboard a ship as boatswain during a voyage to Virginia in the 1640s; by 1651 he had become master of another vessel, the *Bull*.[[455]](#footnote-455) While serving as a boatswain, Wraxall was a witness to an agreement made between another mariner and a planter ‘for the delivery and payment of 250 lbs of Virginia tobacco in leaf within a sufficient cask’ in return for goods.[[456]](#footnote-456) From 1654-55, Wraxall himself regularly imported tobacco, indicating his close and durable ties with colonists.[[457]](#footnote-457) Other senior mariners at some point in time likewise imported extensive levels of tobacco. During the 1650s, a master’s mate sold a servant in Antigua; in the 1640s, the ship’s carpenter of the Bristol ship, the *Jonathan*, had loose tobacco ‘between the decks’, some of which was ‘forced in…more than he ought’.[[458]](#footnote-458) Moreover, once a voyage had been undertaken, mariners of all ranks could forge extensive connections with tobacco planters, exploiting these networks on subsequent trips. Showing the committed obligations between planters and sailors, in 1656 the wife of a deceased mariner requested a fellow mariner to collect debts owing to her husband totalling over 500 lbs. of tobacco.[[459]](#footnote-459)

All members of a ship’s company could conduct their own private trade as part of their permitted customary allowance of cargo aboard ship, known as ‘portage’.[[460]](#footnote-460) Because tobacco was accessible, cheap, marketable and the easiest obtainable commodity that could be purchased in the Chesapeake – indeed, as something which served as currency – even the lowliest sailor could invest in a quantity of tobacco on such a voyage. The crew frequently owned substantial amounts of tobacco trafficked over the ocean asides from what was retained by the merchant, planter or shipmaster. The master of the *Rainbow* noted that around five hundred hosgheads had been purchased as freight, on top of ‘the portage allowed to the seamen’.[[461]](#footnote-461) This privilege enabled the lowliest sailor to undertake a substantial degree of private trading, although more senior members of the company were granted larger amounts.[[462]](#footnote-462) William Springett, a ship’s surgeon, was offered ‘three pounds and tenn shillings to furnish his cheste’ on the outbound voyage along with ‘sixe hundred pounds of Tobacco for portlage’ on the return as an incentive to jump ship and sail aboard a different vessel to Virginia.[[463]](#footnote-463) As a result of portage, all mariners could conduct a degree of private trading, visible in a number of depositions. In Antigua during the 1650s, the ship’s company sold ‘some other goods’ in exchange for tobacco. In 1654, two mariners, one of whom was the boatswain, exchanged a ‘certain parcels of goods’ with two Barbados planters for tobacco and sugar; two decades later, William Sayers, a ‘prest seaman’, imported two hogsheads of tobacco into Bristol.[[464]](#footnote-464)

Notwithstanding Sayers’s consignment, most tobacco that the common sailor carried was designated as ‘bulk’ because it was not accounted as amongst the ship’s freight. Bulk tobacco retained an important role throughout the seventeenth century, mainly for ships’ companies and traders who were conscious to use up every available space aboard ship and who could pass the time aboard ship on the return leg by processing cured leaves into rolls. As well as in cabins, additional tobacco could be stashed in the hold between hogsheads, as the *Jonathan’s* carpenter did on a voyage during the 1640s.[[465]](#footnote-465) In 1671, it was reported that up to 30,000 lbs. of tobacco could be packed as bulk on each tobacco ship, free of freight and sometimes even of customs.[[466]](#footnote-466) These practices survived up until bulk tobacco’s eventual prohibition in 1699. The Lancashire ironmonger, William Stout, surmised that if a ship could carry two hundred hogsheads, a quantity weighing the equivalent of fifty hogsheads could be transported as bulk – one-fifth of the ship’s total load.[[467]](#footnote-467) Bulk tobacco thus provided an important source for domestic wholesalers and was abundant on the home market.

Many sailors evidently chose to import or enter the tobacco themselves, before making subsequent sales.[[468]](#footnote-468) However, pre-custom sales were prominent among sailors, who preferred a quick sale without the trouble of storage and customs officers. Bristol mariners who had captured tobacco during conflict with Spain in the late 1620s, for instance, sold their shares in tobacco and other prizes to local merchants and corrupt customs officials.[[469]](#footnote-469) More routinely, small-scale pre-custom sales were particularly important for mariners receiving fresh victuals after weeks, if not months, at sea. In Plymouth during the early 1680s, a local customs official was sympathetic to the practice of ‘poor seamen’ who bartered ‘hands of tobacco’ for beer and brandy when boatmen rowed out to the ships, indicating the first contact mariners experienced when arriving at port and underscoring an important bilateral trade in intoxicants.[[470]](#footnote-470) Throughout much of southwest England, as in London, similar trading practices contributed to the diffusion of much tobacco outside or on the peripheries of official mercantile channels.[[471]](#footnote-471) Finally, judging from the Bristol wharfage books, it seems some traders specialised in purchasing large quantities of bulk tobacco from groups of sailors before undertaking the sole responsibility of importation himself. Large quantities of bulk tobacco imported by mariners may equally have indicated pre-custom sales amongst the ship’s company or the clubbing together of their personal stash under one importer for convenience. In September 1674-75, mariner Mark Chappell imported 3,000 lbs. from a single ship. On an even bigger scale, large-scale tobacco merchants, Richard Crump and Stephen Watts, imported 30,000 lbs. and 22,000 lbs., respectively, in the same year.[[472]](#footnote-472) It is likely that such quantities were purchased from the ship’s company prior to importation in order to save each seamen the inconveniency of importation themselves.

According to Sacks, mariners conducted little trade themselves but imported tobacco and sugar on behalf of planters and other non-burgesses, doing so illicitly through ‘colouring’ their goods. The colonial trade of mariners – as with non-members of the Bristol Society of Merchant Venturers – apparently presented a ‘nightmarish vision’ to the mercantile elite. Certainly, the pattern of trade marked a departure from conventional channels of commerce as evidenced in the European trades.[[473]](#footnote-473) However, the co-operation of Society of Merchant Venturer merchants with mariners and domestic traders and the huge economic boom that the tobacco trade brought for the city suggest that Sack’s claims are unwarranted. Commission merchandising was not unlawful in this period and it seems unlikely that mariners were responsible for the widespread ‘colouring’ of goods or that this was the only type of trade that mariners could undertake. Indeed, some mariners, like Richard Deane, became members of the Society. While there is evidence elsewhere that sailors were involved in the illicit trade, they were clearly happy to engage in legitimate commerce all the same. Mariners played the pivotal role in facilitating the extraordinary growth in tobacco imports to Bristol, as indeed elsewhere. It is worth reiterating here that the city’s Society of Merchant Venturers received a fee for every hogshead, barrel or bundle imported into the city; the fact that mariners significantly contributed to the funds of the society and the city more broadly suggests that merchants in no way viewed mariners as a hostile force, but rather as a social group necessary for success.

Finally, the incidence of sailors’ direct involvement of the tobacco trade provides food for thought regarding the cultural dissemination of tobacco-smoking. Since the late sixteenth century, sailors were associated with tobacco consumption and are known to have brought their cultural practices onto land.[[474]](#footnote-474) Admiralty regulations from the middle of the century, for instance, stated that sailors were prohibited from smoking tobacco between the decks, less a fire was accidentally started; this precaution, however, did not forbid smoking above the deck and the fact that the legislation survives suggests that tobacco consumption was common amongst mariners.[[475]](#footnote-475) The final chapter of this thesis discusses the association of tobacco and seafarers in more detail but as the evidence of sailors as traffickers of the commodity shows, it should be no surprise that this social group were dual conveyers of both tobacco and the practices associated with its consumption. Although tobacco consumption had established itself as a widespread habit in England and Wales by the second half of the seventeenth century, the association between seamen and tobacco – visible in their active marketing of the commodity – persisted and even grew as the trade developed.

## vi. Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the structures of the colonial tobacco trade during the seventeenth century. We have seen how the trade could be organised in one of several different models of commerce, that risks declined over time, and that there was a significant degree of participation amongst domestic traders, particularly amongst those in the west of England. More acutely, the role of mariners in importing tobacco to Bristol shows how the colonial trade was predicated on social networks in which shipmasters and other seafarers were fundamental.

Envisioning the traffic of tobacco as part of a transatlantic tobacco network, several themes stand out. To begin with, the colonial tobacco trade contrasted with other early modern trades such as that with Europe or the East Indies. Principally, in a market where English-speaking participants inhabited both sides of the Atlantic and where all manner of manufactured goods and provisions were required in return for tobacco, it was impossible to restrict the trade in the hands of a few monopolists. While this is something which has been noted by some scholars, previous estimations have not done justice to the full extent of participation.[[476]](#footnote-476) The tobacco trade was defined by its relatively participatory style of commerce and the variable terms of arrangements between its participants. At the same time, the trade was not ‘free’ in the sense that anyone could participate. In terms of access to the trade, social networks were crucial; having connections was as important has having the capital, or credit, to invest. Credit itself was extended westwards, enabling the production of tobacco overseas. Second, there was a decline in risks and a greater uniformity or efficiency of trade over time. Again these developments have been commented on by colonial and economic historians, as have the trust mechanisms that developed within the transatlantic tobacco network.[[477]](#footnote-477) However, it is worth reiterating that increased uniformity and efficiency went hand-in-hand with the increased sizes of operations, signifying a trade that became increasingly commercialized over time.

Due to the distinctiveness of transatlantic trade, many individuals could traffic tobacco. Demand for every conceivable type of commodity produced in England meant that men and women working in manufacturing and retail trades could participate, alongside more traditional merchants. In Bristol, over 1,200 individuals were involved in the tobacco trade over a thirty-year period, with around a quarter of these operating in multiple years. There was a huge range in the quantities that each trader annually imported. Generally, the top ten per cent of the largest importers commanded just under half of the import market, which was supplemented by many medium-sized and smaller entries. Further research is needed to ascertain how far widespread participation like that revealed for Bristol prevailed in other ports which contrasted with London’s tendency toward homogenization in the second half of the century. However, it is likely that other southwestern ports followed a pattern more similar to Bristol’s.

Finally, the function of mariners in trafficking tobacco was central to both the economics of the trade and the commodity’s domestic consumption. As Marcy Norton has written for early modern Spain, ‘a critical aspect of mariners as a vector for the diffusion of tobacco lies in their role as a bridge between consumers and distributors.’[[478]](#footnote-478) Sailors were the central component in England’s seventeenth-century transatlantic tobacco trade, too, linking producers, suppliers and consumers. As the evidence in this section has revealed, sailors were also commonly distributors of tobacco, which indicates they had a direct financial interest in the traffic and consumption of the commodity. Rather than detrimental to trade, the centrality of sailors was crucial to the functioning of the transatlantic tobacco network: this broad group of individuals had direct contact with colonists and tobacco planters on the one hand, and distributors and consumers, on the other. We will see in chapter five how sailors were important for popularising tobacco consumption habits in early modern England and Wales, particularly in the pre-civil war period. The next chapter now turns the role of the illegal economy.

# Chapter Three Regulation and Limitations: The Illicit Tobacco Trade

In February 1635, a London-bound tobacco ship from St Christopher (St Kitts) sailed into the Cornish port of Falmouth. A warrant from the customs farmers permitted part of its cargo to be unloaded at the port while the crew replenished their supplies in preparation for the final leg to London. Some days after arriving at Falmouth a boat from St. Goran, a fishing village ten miles west along the south Cornish coast, delivered two sails and a smaller boat for the ship’s use. After conveying the supplies, the shipmaster entreated the boatmen to spend the night in Falmouth. Waiting in the port all the next day, the master then invited the boatmen aboard the vessel the following evening. There a consignment of tobacco, consisting of ‘about fowerscore & fowerteen roles’ and unbeknown to the customs service, was put aboard the boat. The boatmen then brought the tobacco ashore at St. Goran, stashing it in a pilchard cellar at around one or two o clock in the morning. Some weeks later, the authorities discovered the tobacco in its hiding place. However, after the tobacco was seized by ‘his majesty’s’ customs officers and placed under lock and key, another night-time operation saw the locks smashed open, the tobacco rolls recaptured and the contraband carried away by a gang using packhorses.[[479]](#footnote-479)

The above case is a striking example of how tobacco smuggling operated during the seventeenth century. A substantial quantity of tobacco was successfully ‘run’ ashore at a small and relatively remote location on the south Cornish coast. Although the customs service managed to seize the contraband, the illicit traders ultimately prevailed, making off with the tobacco in the early hours of the morning. Despite this and other pieces of similar evidence, scholars have downplayed the extent of the illicit tobacco trade prior to 1685. Goodman, for instance, claims that ‘most authorities seem to agree that [tobacco] smuggling did not become a very serious problem until towards the end of seventeenth century when customs duties rose’, following the introduction of the new impost in 1685 and the ban of bulk tobacco in 1699.[[480]](#footnote-480) Instead, this chapter demonstrates that the sixty years preceding the new impost were in fact host to high levels of illicit tobacco trafficking, something which is potentially problematic both to the early modern state and for historians attempting to quantify tobacco imports.

This chapter briefly analyses the theory of seventeenth-century tobacco regulation before showing how this frequently played out in practice. By and large, much tobacco destined for domestic consumption arrived into England entirely lawfully and had the correct amount of customs duties paid for it. As shown in the previous chapters, this trade was varied in terms of where and by whom the tobacco was imported; generally, however, imports were concentrated in London and the south-west of England, with sailors playing a significant role both as freighters and importers. While it is notoriously problematic to quantify the ‘stealing of the king’s customs’, this chapter examines the various illicit channels through which tobacco entered early modern England.[[481]](#footnote-481) The basic premise is that tobacco was a high-taxed commodity throughout the period and that this created an incentive for individuals involved in the official tobacco trade to circumvent legitimate channels of commerce. Simultaneously, demand for tobacco – fuelled by its popularity in everyday drinking rituals and other uses – created a competitive market where suppliers sought to make savings through tax avoidance. Such tax avoidance could be achieved in several ways: often through direct smuggling, as occurred in St. Goran; but also through bribing customs officers to lessen the amount of customs duties that an importer paid. Colonial tobacco also entered unlawful transnational supply networks and the plant was even illicitly grown in England. All of these methods were aimed at avoiding import duties.

While other chapters of this thesis make use of similar material, it is important here to outline the sources utilised in this chapter. Principally, the evidence for illegal trading is qualitative, being drawn from depositional material with additional cases derived from the state papers. Depositions were usually created by a court when investigating an alleged misdemeanour or criminal offence. Because illicit trade involved the circumvention of duties, the Court of the Exchequer provided an important forum for the cases identified in this thesis. Such cases were either initiated by customs officers or rival merchants. For instance, during the 1630s a wholesale investigation of smuggling in Bristol was recommended to the Court of Exchequer by the port’s customer, John Dowle.[[482]](#footnote-482) There were also counter-cases against customs officers involving the seizure of tobacco but which likewise reveal methods of customs avoidance. Additional examples are taken from an analysis the Bristol ‘deposition books’, two volumes of which have been published with a further three volumes held in the Bristol Archives and which were probably collected for a subsidiary to the Admiralty Court (which hold similar sources).[[483]](#footnote-483) Two drawbacks come with interpreting court depositions. First, a legal process had to be initiated before depositions were taken. Many accusations would not have led to a full-scale investigation and of course many infractions would have gone unreported (the so-called ‘dark figure’ of crime). Therefore, depositions are only ever a small proportion of total cases and are not entirely representative of the distribution of illicit trade, either geographically or chronologically. Second, depositions raises obvious issues of misrepresentation and truthfulness as well as of how the courts shaped what people said. Examinant or deponents were issued with a list of questions (‘interrogatories’) to which they replied (the deposition or statement), in turn fashioning the finished outcome. Deponents were selected for their presumed knowledge of a case, although this varied considerably, as did their relationship to the examiner who were usually, but not always, of a senior social rank.

As elsewhere in this thesis, this chapter also utilises evidence derived from the state papers, a huge body of material that consists of letters, notes and memoranda compiled by agents operating on behalf of or connected to seventeenth-century central government. Long accessible in calendar format and now available as an online resource, the state papers are a valuable tool for interpreting a range of historical themes. The content they convey is varied, shedding light on issues pertaining to early modern governance and finance but they can also be insightful of more quotidian aspects of early modern life, society, economy and culture. For instance, and as we saw in earlier chapters, the state papers make frequent references to tobacco ships whereas in this chapter they are principally used in allegations of illicit trading. It is also possible to trace some of the issues facing the early modern state over time, for example the rise and fall of domestic tobacco cultivation during the seventeenth century, as we will see below. Furthermore, when used in conjunction with other sources such as court depositions, it is possible to identify examples that have arisen both in the state papers and elsewhere. However, the state papers come with a number of limitations. The level of detail they contain is extremely varied. Some references can be very brief and provide little context. Some themes are given in much detail for a particular moment in time but scant detail elsewhere, giving an impression of varied concern but not necessarily accurately depicting themes. Moreover, and as with court depositions, the state papers do not contain an exhaustive list of any single issue. Extensive as they are, the state papers say more about how ‘the state’ gathered, retained and reported information rather than providing an objective narration of the past. Ultimately, any study cannot rely solely on the state papers as the varied methods used for collecting information means that they do not convey accurate patterns over time. Instead, this chapter uses state paper material in conjunction with depositional and legal material obtained elsewhere.

Reservations over sources aside, this chapter makes a number of points. First, there always remained an economic incentive to unlawfully traffic tobacco. Although the techniques employed to circumvent import duties responded to legislation, there always remained advantages for a trader to avoid import duties. Second, unlawful trafficking was part of the repertoire of some principal legitimate tobacco importers. The illicit trade involved wealthy merchants and shipmasters, as well as mariners, local boatmen and labourers; there was also often a symbiotic relationship between the official and unofficial economies. Third, illegal activity was concentrated in the southwest of England. While this claim is only substantiated on the available sources, the prevalence of smuggling and the cultivation of tobacco in the West Country match what was demonstrated in chapter one concerning the geographical pattern of official imports. Finally, this chapter makes a suggestion that is analysed more fully in the final two chapters: that illegally imported tobacco was sold alongside legitimate imports, contributing to cheap, widely accessible tobacco on the domestic tobacco market. We start however, with the rules that the early modern state imposed on the tobacco trade.

## i.Regulation

There were a number of restrictions on the seventeenth-century tobacco trade. Primarily, these constraints were enforced to generate revenue for the central government, whether for king or parliament. Although changes were apparent between 1625 and 1685, there was a generally consistent principal adopted by successive governments regarding the perceived need to tax tobacco; what changed were the means to collect the taxes. Whereas taxes were generally higher prior to 1660, the tax hike in 1685 marked a break with the previous twenty-five years and hence serves as a convenient end point for this thesis.

As argued by Price, tobacco was ‘a special product that could bear unusual rates of taxation levels of taxation’.[[484]](#footnote-484) For Edmund Morgan, ‘no other colonial product yielded so much revenue’.[[485]](#footnote-485) Morgan estimated that during the 1660s, tobacco generated about £77,000 per annum; this was roughly 25 per cent of England’s custom revenue and five per cent of total state income.[[486]](#footnote-486) Evidence from the early Stuart era suggests that even under ‘the relatively medieval system of public finance’, considerable revenue was still derived from tobacco.[[487]](#footnote-487) In 1636, notes from the Privy Council calculated the total revenue derived from tobacco to be £42,000, approximately 16 per cent of customs duties and, as in the 1660s, just over five per cent of total revenue.[[488]](#footnote-488) How was this achieved?

For the period 1625-1641, tobacco was taxed twice on importation. As with all imported foreign goods, tobacco was subject to a five per cent *ad valorem* tax known fully as the ‘custom and subsidy of poundage’, which was usually abbreviated to ‘the customs’ or ‘the subsidy’. This standard import tax had its roots in the medieval period and was based on the total value of a particular commodity. The value of each commodity was determined by the Book of Rates in order to achieve the desired amount that five per cent would yield. Consequently, the apparent value in the Book of Rates frequently bore little resemblance to many commodities’ actual market value, tobacco included.[[489]](#footnote-489) In addition to the tobacco customs or subsidy, the early Stuart kings charged an additional tax: the imposition or impost.[[490]](#footnote-490) This tax was justified by the royal prerogative and did not require Parliamentary approval. Although levied as a flat rate on the weight rather than value of tobacco, the effective revenue gained from every lb. of tobacco was evenly shared between the subsidy and the impost.

Through these two means, tobacco imports could generate much revenue for the English state. On accession to the English throne, James I raised the total tax on tobacco by 4,000 per cent from 2d. to 82d. per lb.[[491]](#footnote-491) However, this high rate was lowered multiple times during the king’s reign. A couple of years after the dissolution of the Virginia Company, the total tobacco import duties were lowered again, to 8d. per lb., largely to reflect the declining price of the plant. As prices began to drop further, in 1635 Charles I decreased the tax again, effectively charging 4d. per lb. for Virginian and 6d. per lb. for West Indian tobacco. Every lb. of Spanish tobacco, by contrast, was charged two shillings.[[492]](#footnote-492)

Twelve royal proclamations concerning tobacco were published between 1624 and 1642.[[493]](#footnote-493) These decrees reveal a fairly coherent stance towards the commodity and encompassed restrictions on ‘foreign’ (namely, Spanish) tobacco, inter-imperial trade, domestic cultivation and locations for where colonial tobacco could be imported. During this period, contracts were also introduced for limiting the amounts of colonial tobacco imported into England and throughout the 1630s, the state ‘experimented with a nominal tobacco monopoly’.[[494]](#footnote-494) In 1632, for instance, a syndicate led by Maurice Thomson, William Tucker and Thomas Stone was granted a contract – approved by both the Virginia Council and the Privy Council – to import all Virginian tobacco for three years.[[495]](#footnote-495) Four years later, the royal courtier, Lord George Goring, was awarded his patent of ‘pre-emption’ over all tobacco imports, including the collection of the subsidy and impost. Goring was already one of the chief farmers of the Great Customs farm (the customs on tobacco were separate to the duties on other commodities), as well as holding patents for several domestic monopolies, including that for licensing tobacco retailers.[[496]](#footnote-496) The logic behind the tobacco monopolies was to keep the price of tobacco at artificially high levels and to restrict the number of retailers, ostensibly to discourage widespread consumption but really to generate revenue.[[497]](#footnote-497) Following the Virginia Company’s reversion to a royal monopoly in 1624, these contracts also marked the crown’s attempts at outsourcing its prerogative over colonial imports to competing groups of merchants. However, although the tobacco commissioners were to work alongside the customs farmers in collecting customs duties and seizing illicitly trafficked tobacco, there were limits on the effectiveness of the contracts.

Goring’s patent for collecting the tobacco impost and farming the customs duties came with power (alongside the Lord Treasurer) for issuing special warrants for the import of tobacco to the outports. As we saw in chapter one, these warrants facilitated the influx of tobacco to a number of outports, particularly in southwest England. However, tobacco importers at these places were often forced to sell their tobacco for low prices to Goring’s local agents, or pay excessive customs duties, far higher than those imposed by the king. The agents then sold their acquired tobacco to licensed wholesalers or retailers, individuals who in turn had been issued their licences by Goring’s commissioners, the so-called ‘Tobacco Office’.[[498]](#footnote-498) Failure to do so, resulted in confiscation of the tobacco.[[499]](#footnote-499) Accordingly, such an arrangement constituted the closest that England every got to a European-style tobacco monopoly, akin to that which emerged in Spain during the same decade and which later developed in France.[[500]](#footnote-500) For London alone, Goring collected an average of £86,640 per annum from the tobacco subsidy and impost over a three year-period (1637, 1638, 1639).[[501]](#footnote-501) Rent for retail licences was, at the very least, worth an additional £10,000 annually.[[502]](#footnote-502)

Goring’s attempts at monopolising the tobacco trade shared some similarities with the short-lived tobacco monopoly enforced by Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford, in Ireland. Although receiving a salary as Lord Deputy of Ireland, Wentworth’s main income came from the Irish Customs Farm and, after 1637, a separate monopoly over tobacco imports. Monopolists were granted the sole rights to import tobacco to Ireland; merchants outside the system were required to pay exorbitant fees over and above the required customs duties. Wentworth’s tobacco was stored in ‘magazines’ in at least four Irish ports, the acquisition of which had been part-financed by Charles I. At least £86,000 was tied up in the venture, although Hugh Kearney’s conclusion that the monopoly was a ‘disastrous failure’ overlooks the fact that the Long Parliament viewed Strafford as privately benefiting from the expense of the public good.[[503]](#footnote-503) As with Goring’s English tobacco contracts, it is likely that the monopoly was extremely lucrative. In any case, the fact that Strafford was subsequently executed after the recalling of Parliament while Goring outlived both Charles I and the Restoration makes an interesting contrast of fortune.[[504]](#footnote-504)

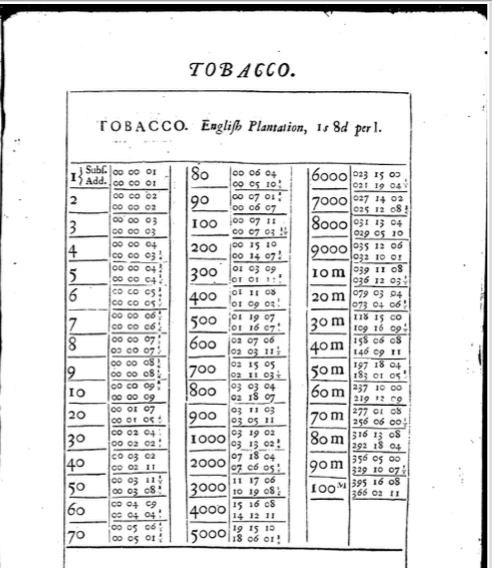
The perceived abuse of monopoly as tax was a major cause of Parliamentary discontent against Charles. The resulting political pressure and eventual overthrow of the king resulted in a transformation in the ways that tax was levied on tobacco during the 1640s. In 1641, a Parliamentary commission reported how many merchants complained about paying ‘excessive customes farre beyond the value of their goods or enter bond for the payment of such unreasonable customes’, following receipt of multiple petitions from merchants and adventurers involved in the tobacco trade.[[505]](#footnote-505) The agents of the customs farmers had even seized tobacco from some merchants who had refused to pay the duties.[[506]](#footnote-506) Siding with the merchants, by August the Royal Prerogative over the taxation of all imported goods was superseded by Parliamentary sovereignty, dismantling the tobacco impost and opening the way for a number of equity court cases against agents of the Goring-led tobacco customs farmers.[[507]](#footnote-507) All impositions were declared illegal and the subsidy of tonnage and poundage was brought under Parliamentary control.[[508]](#footnote-508) Around the same time, Goring’s apparatus for issuing licences for retailing tobacco was also terminated. These two actions meant that Parliament had successfully challenged the king’s fiscal policy towards tobacco, as with Charles’s economic strategy more generally. Thereafter, tobacco was only charged 2d. per lb. in custom duties until March 1644 when Parliament again halved the customs on tobacco, altering the Book of Rates to do so.[[509]](#footnote-509) Parliament finally ruled that the customs farmers were to return, impost-free, any confiscated tobacco belonging to merchants or other ‘proprietors’.[[510]](#footnote-510)

Despite a reduction in customs duties, the total revenue derived from tobacco increased during the 1640s and 1650s. This was due to greater quantities of imports but also to the introduction of a new tax: the excise. Although the excise was a tax on inland production, tobacco – a foreign good – was the very first commodity to be listed in Parliament’s September 1643 ordinance introducing the novel tax.[[511]](#footnote-511) The excise was paid by the ‘ingrosser’ or ‘first buyer thereof, [not] the Merchant or Importer’, although there is evidence that it remained practical for the importer to pay all charges on importation.[[512]](#footnote-512) Despite tobacco being imported from overseas, there was still logic in taxing the commodity via the excise because its production into a vendible commodity took place in England. This system also had the added advantage of having two departments responsible for levying taxes on a single commodity, meaning that each could check the integrity of the other in collecting the correct duties, theoretically safeguarding against fraud. One assessment put the total excise collected from tobacco in 1654-5 at £33,349, although some key ports, including Bristol, are not included in this figure.[[513]](#footnote-513)

Other policies established by Charles I’s regulations were given renewed impetus after 1642. First, Spanish tobacco continued to be heavily taxed and second, restrictions on inter-imperial commerce were re-codified by the Navigation Acts, the first of which was passed by Parliament in 1651. These laws encompassed all aspects of foreign trade and were designed to encourage the development of English shipping. As with some other colonial commodities, tobacco became ‘enumerated’, meaning that it was only to be transported to England in English ships manned by a majority of English sailors. Crucially, tobacco was the only enumerated commodity exported form seventeenth-century North America, underscoring its pre-eminence in the eyes of the state. As under Charles I, outbound merchants or shipmasters had to enter ‘heavy bond’, vouchsafing that they would return to England. Further acts followed and, along with the *Act for Preventing Frauds*, tightened controls on the traffic of English colonial tobacco in foreigners’ hands.[[514]](#footnote-514) Owing to the state’s authority over the traffic of tobacco, each navigation act provided a legislative plank between imperial expansion and overseas trade. Further research is certainly needed here, but the navigation acts also had ramifications for domestic consumption, principally in helping to fashion consumer choice and taste.

The Interregnum government’s fiscal tobacco policy carried on much the same after 1660, although with some significant changes. As with fiscal policy in general, the Restoration period saw the ‘adoption and acclimatization’ of the Interregnum’s stance towards tobacco. [[515]](#footnote-515) However, historians generally view the navigation act of 1651 as over-ambitious while those passed under Charles II proved more realistic.[[516]](#footnote-516) Change also came after 1660 when the excise on all imported goods, tobacco included, was relinquished. In place, and on top of the original penny subsidy, a new additional duty of one penny meant that every lb. of tobacco still paid the same as it had done so during the latter Interregnum period. Towards the end of the period, the effective 2d. per lb. tax on colonial was thus approximate to the plantation value of tobacco prior to export, although over half of this could be ‘drawn-back’ on re-exported tobacco, that is repaid to the exporter.[[517]](#footnote-517) Moreover, the removal of the tobacco excise also meant that the duties became the sole reserve of the customs service, removing the safeguard whereby excisemen could check on customs officers and *vice versa*. Of other significance was the prohibition upon Ireland engaging in most forms of direct colonial trade. Prior to 1670, Ireland was largely unrestricted in directly importing tobacco and other colonial goods; after this date (except between 1680-85), all colonial goods had to be imported to an English port first, before being reshipped to the western isle.[[518]](#footnote-518) Almost concurrently, the customs farmers were replaced by customs commissioners for the final time. Rather than syndicates of businessmen, the customs commissioners were state officials directly answerable to the growing Treasury department, which in turn was monitored by Parliament.[[519]](#footnote-519)

Figure 3.1. *Colonial Tobacco Duties, 1660-1685*



*Source*: ‘The general table of all commodities comprehended in the Book of Rates’in *Index Vectigalium* (London 1670), unpaginated.

*Note*s: the two charges (subsidy and additional duty) were five per cent of tobacco’s value as determined in the 1660 Book of Rates (1s. 8d. per lb.). Together, the duties were closer to tobacco’s actual wholesale market value rather than this hypothetical figure. Each large number represents the weight; the smaller figures denote the taxable import duties.

In addition to the customs and the impost or excise placed on tobacco that were present at any one time between 1625 and 1685, additional duties were imposed by the state’s agents. On importation, customs officers were accustomed to taking fees. The fees that the customs farmers exacted during the 1670s are outlined in a printed manual for customs officer, the *Index Vectigalium*. The total number of the various fees and their purpose was complex. Generally, fees were included for the drawing up of warrants, certificates and debentures; the entering of each shipper’s consignment into the port books; and the administering of merchants’ oaths.[[520]](#footnote-520) Such fees were legitimately imposed, many were ordained by Parliament and continued during years when the customs were directly administered by central government. By and large, more fees were payable to higher ranking customs officer, enabling the greatest maximisation of profits. As well as granting access to fees, office-holding also gave access to more dubious forms of revenue. However, many practices clearly overstepped the line in terms of what was considered unlawful and some members of the customs service were clearly receptive to increasing their own private gain at the expense of the king’s or the public purse. During the late 1630s under Goring’s leadership, local agents demanded extortionate sums. By way of penalty for failing to sell their tobacco to the local agent, owners in Bristol were liable to pay 20d. per lb. in import duties.[[521]](#footnote-521)

On the one hand, the stance taken by the central state regarding tobacco was successful: around five per cent of national state revenue derived from tobacco in both the 1630s and Restoration period, although further research is required to ascertain more precise figures for the Interregnum period. Even under Lord Goring’s much-maligned monopoly, however, a significant amount of revenue was generated from tobacco.[[522]](#footnote-522) On the other hand, tobacco was also a commodity around which a vast illegal trade had sprung up, chiefly in order to circumvent the payment of import duties that were invariably levied between 1625 and 1685. The broader illicit trade can be divided into four areas: inter-imperial trade, direct smuggling customs fraud and domestic cultivation.

## ii. Inter-Imperial Trade

Inter-imperial trade designates the unlawful trafficking of goods from English-owned colonies to non-English states. Although this commerce did not directly affect the English consumer, it is important to understand its significance. This is because a number of historians have recently argued that the illicit colonial trade with other European powers, principally with the United Provinces, were ‘vital’ to the early development of Virginia and other tobacco-producing colonies.[[523]](#footnote-523) Whereas this section is not aimed at refuting this claim, we will see later that English traders were just as competent in evading aspects of state tobacco regulation and that we should not look only at the colonies to appreciate the significance of the illicit tobacco trade.

The ‘mercantilist’ policy under Charles I, which was re-codified by the navigation acts, was primarily aimed at barring Dutch traders from profiting from overseas commerce.[[524]](#footnote-524) The main issue at stake was that Dutch traders who bought colonial goods from English colonists circumvented the English import trade and deprived the crown of revenue. However, despite the deliberate policy on behalf of successive English governments, Anglo-Dutch connections in the colonies thrived throughout the earlier part of the period and persisted well into the 1660s. Although historians have long appreciated the role of the Dutch in the early tobacco trade, several recent scholars have shown how their trade with Virginia proliferated from 1630, reaching a peak in the 1640s.[[525]](#footnote-525) This Dutch connection was due largely to the their close ties with the ruling Virginian elite, including councillors, burgesses, commissioners, and ‘numerous well-heeled independent merchant-planters.’[[526]](#footnote-526)

A deposition supplied to the Bristol mayor in the mid-1650s describes the fluidity of Anglo-Dutch connections in the Atlantic world, and not just in Virginia. Some years earlier, in early 1634, the Bristol merchant, Richard Lock, entrusted a local cooper with a hired ship and £400 of goods to lead a voyage to the West Indies. However, the cooper sold the ship and its goods when he arrived at St. Christopher’s. In a subsequent letter sent to Lock, the cooper-turned-shipmaster (and now turned colonist) stated that he was aboard *The Hope* of Flushing, close to the Caribbean island. Flushing (Vlissingen) was one of the foremost seaports in the Dutch Republic and many ships originating from the town were active in inter-Atlantic trade. It seems the cooper had close ties with Dutch traders and it is likely that ‘£400 at least which was tied up in tobacco elsewhere’ was later sold to these merchants, despite royal proclamations prohibiting such trade.[[527]](#footnote-527) Not only does this example demonstrate the pitfalls for stay-at-home merchants and raise issues over trust, but it displays the apparent opportunities for dealers of different nations, especially the Dutch, raised by English mercantile investment overseas.

According to a number of historians, there were several advantages for English planters or shipmasters to trade with the Dutch. Generally, Low Country traders paid a higher price for tobacco than English importers could afford because the United Provinces enforced lower tobacco duties.[[528]](#footnote-528) Further reductions in price came from the early development of a consignment model of trade, whereby tobacco was first shipped to the Dutch colony of New Netherland (to the north of the Chesapeake), then on to Amsterdam or Rotterdam. European manufactured goods were sent the other way for their subsequent redistribution in the New World; goods sent to the colonies did so duty-free.[[529]](#footnote-529) In addition, Low Country merchants were willing to lend more credit to planters over longer periods due to superior banking techniques.[[530]](#footnote-530) In many ways, Dutch trade with English colonists merely extended the United Provinces’ long tradition of trading with European colonisers around the globe, which stemmed back to the sixteenth century and which was largely due to their increasing maritime superiority and ‘free trade’ ideology.[[531]](#footnote-531) In this respect, there was nothing unique about English colonial tobacco, only that the tobacco plantation colonies created additional opportunities for Dutch traders.

The heyday of Anglo-Dutch colonial trade was reached during the 1640s. In 1643, owing to the colonists’ advantages for trading with the Dutch and the outbreak of civil war in England, the pro-royalist Virginia Assembly passed an act explicitly permitting trade with Dutch ships.[[532]](#footnote-532) This was in reaction to the political situation at home and London merchants’ overwhelming support for the Parliamentary cause. Despite Parliament’s attempts to suppress Dutch commerce, Dutch traders exploited loopholes in the law which included the hiring of English ships, captains and crewmen.[[533]](#footnote-533) Over the next six years, one estimate put the number of Amsterdam and Rotterdam vessels that traded with Virginia at thirty-three.[[534]](#footnote-534) Docked in Virginia during Christmas 1648 were as many Dutch vessels as English.[[535]](#footnote-535) Into the 1650s, the state papers show Dutch and English ships *en route* to the Low Countries which were seized by royal navy captains and the frequency of these seizures suggests that actual volume of Dutch traffic was higher.[[536]](#footnote-536) Indeed, Wim Klooster has suggested that during the late 1650s and into the 1660s, Dutch shipping deprived the English treasury of an estimated £10,000 per annum.[[537]](#footnote-537)

Following the third Anglo-Dutch war (1672-74), Dutch trade with English colonies decreased. Moreover, Zahedieh suggests that the navigation acts were increasingly adhered to because the system was largely favourable to English merchants.[[538]](#footnote-538) Reduced duties on re-exported tobacco retained its competitiveness on the European market. Moreover, as we will see in the next two sections, English merchants were well-versed in avoiding duties on tobacco imported into England, further incentivising adherence to the navigation acts or at least its mercantilist aspects. Even so, official treasury records for the years 1681-1685 show the persistence of a small number of ships importing tobacco directly into the Low Countries.[[539]](#footnote-539) As with records from the state papers thirty years earlier, it is likely that these ships represented only the tip of what was a much larger iceberg. Indeed, even in 1686, William Fitzhugh of Virginia hatched a plan with Liverpool merchants for a ‘quick and speedy Dutch trade’ consisting of a whole shipload of tobacco to be taken to the Low Countries without prior stoppage at an English port.[[540]](#footnote-540) ‘Quick and speedy’ was undoubtedly a euphemism for illicit trade and inter-imperial trade with the United Provinces thus remained an issue after the reign of Charles II.

Colonists who traded with the Dutch were not alone in violating state legislation. During the 1670s, another threat faced by the state came from traders who imported tobacco directly into Ireland, a trade which was prohibited during this decade.[[541]](#footnote-541) This ruling came a year after the English customs service was taken out of the Customs Farm and was permanently established as a public commission answerable to the Treasury department. However, the different ways that tobacco import duties were collected in England and Ireland made direct imports to Ireland preferable to re-exports, as per the navigation acts.[[542]](#footnote-542) In 1676, London’s principal tobacco merchants petitioned the crown regarding the direct import of tobacco to Ireland and presented numerous grievances regarding the Irish tobacco trade.[[543]](#footnote-543) Not only were English merchants at risk, or so the petitioners claimed, so too were English tobacco manufacturers. Faced by the same threat, Bristol’s Society of Merchant Adventurers shared the Londoners’ concerns.[[544]](#footnote-544) Supporting the London and Bristol merchants, the Privy Council declared that Ireland was but a colony ‘purchased and settled by the blood and treasure of England.’[[545]](#footnote-545) In July 1672, a Treasury surveyor was sent to Ireland to investigate abuses relating to the Irish custom farmers and direct tobacco imports to Ireland.[[546]](#footnote-546) Although the reports of the findings are unknown, other records from the Treasury show that a number of ships, including English-owned vessels, were seized on suspicion of directly importing to Ireland.[[547]](#footnote-547) As with illicit Dutch trade, the level of such trade to Ireland was higher than these confiscations would suggest, owing to the dark figure of crime.

Customs avoidance in Ireland was in fact nothing new in the 1670s. In December 1639, under the stewardship of the Earl of Strafford, seven men were convicted and ritually punished for illegally trafficking and distributing tobacco in Ireland. These individuals had landed 2,500 lbs. of tobacco under cover of darkness into Skerries, a port situated some 20 miles north of Dublin. The men then clandestinely transported the cargo to Drogheda using a horse and cart and stored the tobacco in a garden belonging to one of the smuggler’s fathers. Four other men were indicted for their part in vending several quantities of this tobacco.[[548]](#footnote-548) All but one of the individuals were fined between £500 and £1,000 each. They were then pilloried on market day at four different towns across eastern Ireland, accompanied ‘wth a paper on everie of their heades wherein are to bee written in capitall l[et]tres these wordes for contempt of the Proclamacion concerning Tobaccoe.’ In addition, the traffickers were made to publicly apologise to the Irish customs farmers, headed by Wentworth. Finally, five of the men were publicly whipped, again in several towns along the eastern coast of Ireland, in order that the punishment ‘bee a warning for others to take example by.’[[549]](#footnote-549) In an age where the detection of crime was poor, the deterrence of criminal acts through severe public punishments was deemed an effective practice.[[550]](#footnote-550)

The anxiety that tobacco was being imported elsewhere than into English and Welsh ports during the seventeenth century was shared by merchants and state officials alike. Traders were threatened by the loss of trade and the state by the loss of revenue. However, merchants and central government did not necessarily share the same interests. Consequently, just as Dutch merchants could circumvent import duties, so too could English traders. This fact may lead us to question the significance of inter-imperial commerce and the effects this had for early colonists. Seventeenth-century English tobacco traders were just as adept in finding ways around central state legislation as their foreign counterparts. It is these practices that we turn to now.

## iii. Direct Smuggling

Direct smuggling, or what contemporaries more commonly referred to as ‘running’, designated the bringing ashore of goods outside the purview of the customs service, usually at a remote location or under cover of darkness. This type of illicit trade conforms to the classic image of smuggling, often only associated with tobacco after 1685 and especially in the eighteenth century, when the circumvention of higher import duties made high-risk ventures worthwhile. In contrast to the claims of several scholars, however, direct tobacco smuggling was widespread long before this date.[[551]](#footnote-551) In particular, tobacco running was especially prevalent prior to 1660, as a result of higher import duties which rivalled those of the eighteenth century. Although caution must be applied when attributing regional smuggling patterns, a trove of examples derive from southwest England, suggesting that this area was particularly susceptible to the running of tobacco. If this pattern is correct, it would match what is known regarding official trade routes outlined in chapter one and suggest that there was a symbiotic relationship between lawful and unlawful trading.

Tobacco smuggling was prevalent in seventeenth-century England and Wales. Notwithstanding the ‘dark figure’ of crime, surviving Court of Exchequer cases of tobacco smuggling are centred on two areas: London and the Thames Estuary, and a broad swathe of land encompassing southwest England and south Wales, including the Bristol Channel. For instance, a bundle of Court of Exchequer interrogatories and their corresponding depositions pertaining to tobacco smuggling in the pre-civil war era held at The National Archives and simply entitled ‘Tobacco, Seizures’ contains seven distinct cases. Four of these relate to tobacco smuggling within the Thames Estuary; two pertain to southwest England (south Devon and Somerset); the final concerns the seizure of unspecified ‘certain goods’ which were landed in Havant (Hampshire) and conveyed overland to Croydon (Surrey), then a town situated ten miles south of the City of London.[[552]](#footnote-552) Along with this bundle, two Court of the Exchequer cases concern tobacco smuggling in Cornwall during the 1630s.[[553]](#footnote-553) Multiple incidents of direct smuggling in the Bristol Channel (along with quayside customs fraud) survive in the bundle entitled ‘Port of Bristol, Inquisitions as to unlawful exports and imports, as to negligences and misdemeanours committed by Customs officers and as to French and Spanish ships brought into the port, by way of reprisals, during the late hostilities’.[[554]](#footnote-554) Later evidence comes from the Bristol Deposition Books, a letter-book kept by a customs officer in south-east Wales, and the Calendars of Treasury Books.[[555]](#footnote-555) The latter list several examples of tobacco that was discharged after seizure, thereby indicating that levels of seizure were higher.[[556]](#footnote-556) Finally, a report produced by the customs surveyor, William Culliford, which primarily uncovered cases of customs fraud, also exposed the running of tobacco across multiple counties in the southwest.

The finding that there existed numerous cases of tobacco smuggling in southwest England and the Thames Estuary area does not preclude the existence of similar examples in other parts of the country. Depositions from Yorkshire show that town-folk unlawfully purchased tobacco from mariners along the Humber and smuggling may well have occurred in north-west England, following the increase in tobacco imports there during the final quarter of the century.[[557]](#footnote-557) Indeed, that there are fewer cases could suggest that smugglers were better at covering their tracks in these places. Further research is certainly needed on mapping the extent of regional smuggling patterns of tobacco. One way would be examining the High Court of Admiralty papers, although the ‘criminal’ trials the court heard predominately consisted of piracy and other more serious offences.[[558]](#footnote-558) For now, this section takes a largely chronological approach to analyse existing depositions relating to smuggling.

A number of techniques were employed to facilitate the running of tobacco in seventeenth-century England. Along the Thames Estuary, river barges or coastal trading ships not associated with the tobacco trade were used in order to conceal illicit tobacco imports. During the 1630s, for instance, agents of the customs farmers seized tobacco from several ‘hoys’ manned by sailors from the small port of Leigh, situated on the north shore of the Thames Estuary, in Essex.[[559]](#footnote-559) These small vessels had transported tobacco direct to St Katharine’s Quay in east London, after having received tobacco from aboard a ship that was anchored near Leigh. The ship allegedly was from Hamburg, possibly indicating that the tobacco was not of the growth of the English colonies.[[560]](#footnote-560) The captain’s daughter had conveyed several rolls to one of the hoys a week previously; her brother was likewise implicated in the scheme.[[561]](#footnote-561) Around the same time, fifteen tobacco barrels were delivered onto a Newcastle coastal barge. This vessel was involved in the coal trade between Newcastle and London and, as with the Essex hoys, the ship would not have been suspected of carrying tobacco. On this occasion the contraband’s transferral from one ship to the other occurred in sight of Shoeburyness, another village positioned on the Essex coastline at the mouth of the Thames. As the coal ship was nearing the capital, the barrels were taken out, placed in a wherry (a small barge) and then run ashore at Ratcliff.[[562]](#footnote-562)

It is probable that tobacco landed in the eastern parts of London was consumed by the local population or trafficked into the city itself for further distribution. Indeed, it was widely beleived that mariners smuggled tobacco into London to sell to local dealers. As early as 1625, a body of London ‘apothecaries, grocers, and other retailers of tobacco’ sent a petition to the king. Complaining about the lack of regulation for the retailing of tobacco in London, the petitioners alleged how it was common practice for sundry ‘lewd persons [to] barter with mariners for stolen and uncustomed tobacco.’[[563]](#footnote-563) Whereas petitions like these were somewhat hyperbolic, other examples show how ‘uncustomed’ tobacco was indeed ‘stolen’ into the city.

Certainly, the central government sought to eliminate illicit tobacco imports. Three years prior to the apothecaries’ and grocers’ petition, the attorney-general presented eighteen tobacco traders, most of whom were based in London and several who can be identified as prominent colonial merchants, to the Court of Star Chamber.[[564]](#footnote-564) The Attorney-General made clear that the men had ‘cunninglye’ transported tobacco into the London area by ‘landing it in obscure creekes & unusuall places for lading and unladinge of commoditye.’[[565]](#footnote-565) It is unknown which ‘obscure creekes’, if any, were identified, whether in close proximity to London or further afield. Either way, smuggled contraband was stored in the homes of respectable traders and violence was occasionally used to prevent raids on suspected caches. In a related Star Chamber case, two brothers, Samuel and John Warner, who owned a grocery business in Bucklersbury, were brought before the court after they attacked and ‘greavouslie wounded divers’ customs officials who had been granted warrants to search their shop for contraband tobacco.[[566]](#footnote-566) The brothers locked the officers in a cellar to their shop and ignited ‘certaine infectious noysome drugges’ that were stored there. The officers, on inhaling and choking on the fumes, attempted to exit via the cellar steps but encountered the Warners’ men who proceeded to force the officers back down the stairs.

Providing evidence in the form of ‘informations’ submitted to the Court of Exchequer, Neville Williams reasons that tobacco smuggling was potentially extensive under Charles I because of the ‘unrelenting opposition of London merchants to the whole system of import and export duties, levied at this time without Parliamentary authority’.[[567]](#footnote-567) Because of frequent tensions during the pre-civil war era between the crown and sections of the mercantile community – tensions that heighted during Charles I’s Personal Rule – tobacco smuggling was conceivably widespread. During this era, relatively high import duties, along with declining wholesale prices and hostility against the crown and its privileged customs farmers, created an economic incentive to smuggle tobacco that was closely intertwined with popular political unrest. By 1640, when tensions between colonial merchants and the pro-royalist customs farmers were reaching tipping point, a number of London merchants and planters were bold enough to seize tobacco that the customs farmers had placed in warehouses until the impositions were paid.[[568]](#footnote-568)

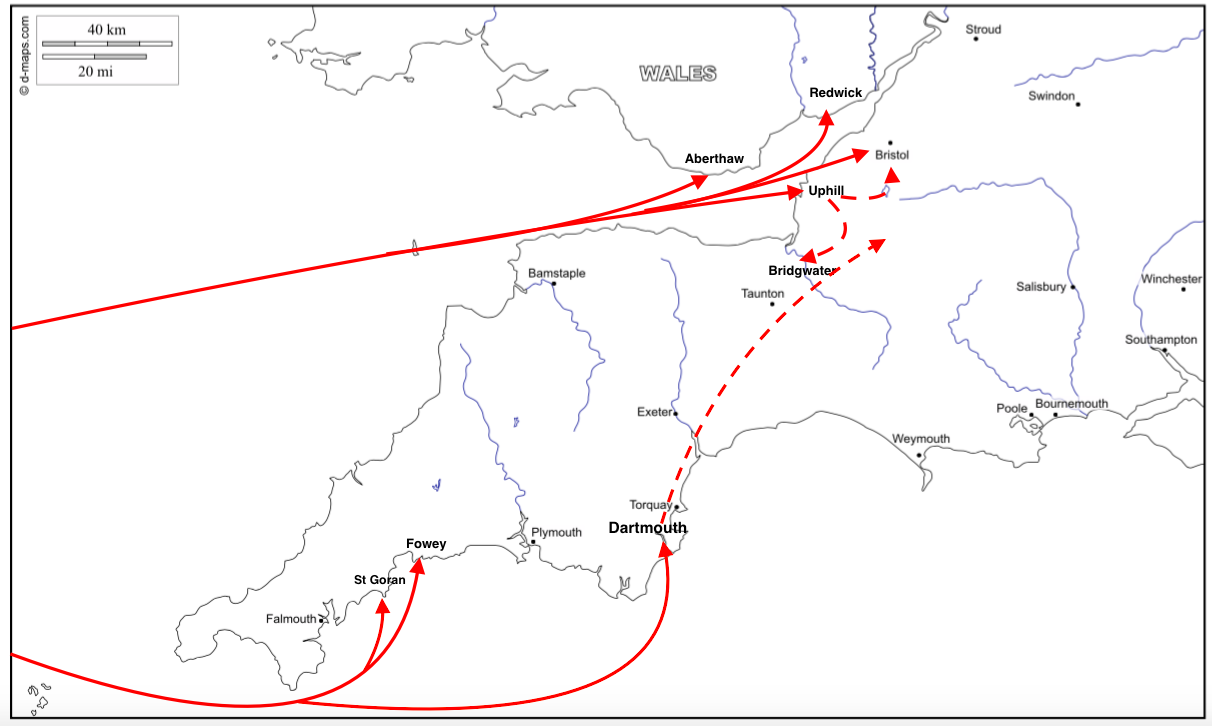
London was certainly one major, if not the foremost, location for illegal imported tobacco. However, much of the available evidence for seventeenth-century tobacco smuggling comes from the west of England. For example, inquiries undertaken at Bristol during the 1630s reveal practices of direct tobacco smuggling in the southwest. A Court of the Exchequer inquisition appointed local men as commissioners to inquire into a range of ‘negligences and misdemeanours’ involving many different types of commodities, but tobacco features prominently in the ensuing depositions. For instance, one sailor related to the commissioners how he had ‘heard from one that came from the *Rainbow,* called John Trippett, that he and William Snell brought up in a boate of the said Snells from the said ship lying in Hungroad wthin this twelve months, five hogsheads of tobacco’. The sailor reported ‘that the tobacco was [then] put into the house of John Gayners at Rown[h]am.’[[569]](#footnote-569) Here, tobacco was conveyed from a ship resting at anchor several miles from the main quays, at the point where the river Avon entered the Severn Estuary (Hungroad). The tobacco was then run ashore custom-free using small boats, at a location outside of the city of Bristol. Rownham was a hamlet on the river Avon to the west of Bristol and somewhere all city-bound ships would pass through.

In the same collection of depositions, another deponent claimed that Spanish tobacco – along with Spanish wool and salt – was illicitly imported.[[570]](#footnote-570) A further eight hogsheads of colonial tobacco, apparently of ‘very good value’, were concealed and unlawfully smuggled without payment of duties, whereas during a winter’s night in 1635, several boats were used to smuggle into the city what was, according to one witness, *forty tons* of roll tobacco – an amount that easily could have been a ship’s entire cargo.[[571]](#footnote-571) In this last example, a tobacco planter from St Christopher had traversed the Atlantic to ensure that the tobacco was successfully – and clandestinely – brought ashore. During these earlier stages of the colonial trade, it appears that tobacco planters sometimes directly marketed their own tobacco to domestic traders. The planter in question, James Painter, had contacts with at least two Bristol freemen: the merchant, Thomas Heathcott and a brewer, ‘Mr Yeoman’. Each boatload of tobacco was received by Painter at Yeoman’s house in ‘Redcliffe Backs’, the quays to the south of the city. From there, the tobacco was taken to Heathcott’s premises.[[572]](#footnote-572)

A comparable case occurring a year earlier involved one ‘Captaine Neason’. According to Neason’s maid, the shipmaster had ‘newlie come home from St Christophers’ and had employed local boatmen to bring ashore seven tons of tobacco out of Neason’s ship ‘wch then lay towards Mynehead’.[[573]](#footnote-573) In yet another case from the 1630s, tobacco was landed at Uphill, a village on a fairly obscure stretch of the Somerset coast. The rolls of tobacco were then hidden in an outhouse before being distributed overland to Bristol and Bridgwater. One carrier transported ‘sixteene or seaventeene’ horse loads to the Red Lion in Bristol, where they met with the ship’s captain, ‘Captaine Welshe’, and one ‘Mr Whitton’.[[574]](#footnote-574) In both these examples, the deponents stressed the role of the shipmasters, indicating the pivotal role that these senior mariners played in the illicit tobacco trade. It is possible that captains Neason and Welshe were not merely freighters of contraband but active agents in the colonisation of the West Indies.

Owing to a full-scale investigation, illicit tobacco imports into Bristol during the 1630s seem to be extremely prevalent and partly explains how consumers both within the city and in its hinterland accessed colonial tobacco. Such unlawful activity in the Severn Estuary continued during the next decade. For instance, Bristol mariners illegally brought ashore tobacco at Redwick, an equally remote location on the Welsh side of the ‘Severn Sea’. The local customs officer seized ‘34 great rolls and 14 hand rolls of Barbathoes tobaccoes’ totalling ‘about 2,000lbs.’[[575]](#footnote-575) Around the same time, sailors aboard a royal navy frigate anchored in the Severn Estuary bribed customs officers to smuggle several rolls of tobacco aboard a customs lighter; an additional seizure of contraband tobacco was made at Axbridge (Somerset).[[576]](#footnote-576)

Figure 3.2. *Smuggling routes: South-West England and South Wales, 1630s-1650s*



These relatively early cases of tobacco smuggling were not rare instances, nor was the Severn Estuary unique in this respect. Indeed, the fact that evidence survives for smuggling – a practice that was intended to be secretive – is all the more revealing. The opening to this chapter revealed how a quantity of tobacco was run ashore near the fishing village of St Goran on the south coast of Cornwall in the 1630s.[[577]](#footnote-577) One seizure of supposedly unlawfully landed tobacco was made along the same stretch of the southern Cornish coastline, at Fowey, and investigations into contraband imports were launched further along the coast into Devon, at Dartmouth, during the same decade.[[578]](#footnote-578) It is likely that in accordance with later popular imagination Cornwall was a hotspot for tobacco smuggling, owing to the Duchy’s geographical proximity to the tobacco-producing colonies, its geographical remoteness from London and its function as a provisioning centre for inbound ships from overseas.[[579]](#footnote-579)

Despite the somewhat lower import duties in Charles II’s reign, cases of direct smuggling continued after 1660. Whilst tobacco wholesale prices remained low, the economic incentive to circumvent import duties through running tobacco remained. One indication of direct tobacco smuggling during Charles II’s reign was a proposal to ban ‘bulk’ tobacco in 1671. As a number of the above examples indicate, loosely stowed rolls or packages of tobacco (collectively known as bulk) were commonly favoured by the smuggler. Due to their size and weight, rolls were easier to handle than hogsheads, which, by 1660, weighed in excess of 300 lbs. Tobacco processed into a roll after cultivation – either in the colonies or aboard a ship – was easier to slip outside official import channels whereas tobacco packed in heavy casks was harder to manoeuvre and hide. According to the anonymous writer of the proposal to ban bulk tobacco imports, ‘because roll made up in Virginia or on shipboard is more portable then leafe [i.e. in cask]’, the prohibition would prevent ‘all manner of frauds’.[[580]](#footnote-580) The proposal was predicated on the assumption that each shipmaster brought in 10,000 lbs. to 15,000 lbs. in bulk ‘for which he payes noe fraight and very seldome one penny dutie to the king.’ Likewise, the ship’s company paid ‘little or noe duties to his Maties’, despite collectively possessing as many bags and bundles as the captain.[[581]](#footnote-581) Apparently, such activity was widely practised in the outports but rarely in London. As we have seen, however, tobacco smuggling in the Thames Estuary occurred in the pre-civil war period and there is no reason why this should have stopped after 1660. Certainly, the impression of direct smuggling in the London area continued after the Restoration. In 1670, the running of goods into London remained prevalent enough for the lexicographer Thomas Blount to define ‘smuglers’ as ‘stealers of Customs; well known upon the Thames’.[[582]](#footnote-582) During the same decade, at least one London customs officer was suspended for attempting to secretly convey two bags of ‘leaf tobacco’ from a lighter to which he had been appointed.[[583]](#footnote-583) Other cases included violence against customs officers operating in the Downs, an area of sea off the east Kent coast that merchant ships commonly anchored at before entering the Thames Estuary.[[584]](#footnote-584)

The Treasury Papers reveal a scattering of smuggling cases in southwest England during the Restoration period. Notably, in 1672 the Treasury Lords wrote to the governors of Virginia, Barbados and Jamaica notifying them that six Bristol ships had left port ‘on pretence of doing some coastal trade’ but were suspected of sailing to the plantations ‘without having given bond by law as required.’[[585]](#footnote-585) If successful, the ships would have been able to traffic tobacco and sugar back to Bristol with no record, enabling their goods to be run ashore. Certainly, at least four of the ship names can be identified as ones involved in the official tobacco trade to Bristol.[[586]](#footnote-586)

More substantial evidence for direct tobacco smuggling in southwest England during the later Stuart era comes from the report compiled by the customs surveyor, William Culliford. In the early 1680s, Culliford conducted a survey of the western ports, taking several months to visit ports in South Wales and Gloucestershire, before heading west along the north side of the Severn Estuary into Cornwall, and then east along the south coast of England as far as Poole (Dorset).[[587]](#footnote-587) Although he perceived quayside customs fraud a greater threat, Culliford still uncovered cases of tobacco running. In Bristol, for instance, one officer was woken in the night after being posted to a Virginia vessel in September 1679. On stirring, he saw a bag of tobacco being conveyed from the ship by two of his colleagues. The same officer also admitted that the following April he gave consent to the running ashore of above 500 lbs. of tobacco from aboard the *Blackamore*.[[588]](#footnote-588) Earlier in April, another officer claimed that eighteen bundles of tobacco had been shifted from another ship. Indicative of corruption that went to the top of the local customs service, the surveyor of Bristol had previously removed this particular officer from his post after he declined to accept £3 to permit tobacco to be brought ashore clandestinely.[[589]](#footnote-589)

In fact, Culliford’s report revealed cases of tobacco being run ashore at most of the ports he visited. For example, a Virginian vessel that arrived at Teignmouth (south Devon) remained virtually unguarded for over a week.[[590]](#footnote-590) Teignmouth was designated as a ‘creek’, which meant that legally it could not receive direct imports of overseas goods, tobacco included. However, when a riding surveyor came to the port in April 1682, he found the ship’s crew unloading hogshead staves onto boats, seemingly in preparation for running tobacco ashore in smaller, manageable packages. Further along the south coast, at Poole (Dorset), direct tobacco smuggling continued. Here, seven hogsheads and a considerable portion of bulk tobacco were run ashore when three of the officers posted to the ship slipped away for an hour and a half in a local alehouse.[[591]](#footnote-591) Culliford’s report also showed tobacco running in Plymouth (Devon), where cases included contraband tobacco being run from anchored Virginian vessels into the port and its surrounding area; at Falmouth (Cornwall), where bribes were ‘openly negotiated’ with local officers before tobacco was run ashore while the officers drank punch on the deck; and at Penryn (Cornwall), a port where direct tobacco smuggling had occurred since the late sixteenth century.[[592]](#footnote-592) Cornwall provided amongst the most serious instances of tobacco smuggling but the north Devon coast was also susceptible to the ‘odd instance’ of Virginian tobacco being run ashore.[[593]](#footnote-593)

Although it is impossible to quantify the amount of smuggled tobacco arriving into early modern England from depositional evidence alone, there may be other ways of estimating the extent of smuggling. In particular, clues from the Bristol wharfage books possibly indicate yearly fluctuations in the levels of direct smuggling to that port. As analysed in chapter one, the wharfage books recorded every instance of tobacco imported into Bristol. Usually, the accounts list only the receptacles used to carry tobacco, typically hogsheads and rolls. Around the same time that the number of rolls stop being recorded, the scribe listed ‘bulk’ tobacco instead, recording each consignment in lb. weight. This measurement included rolls but also tobacco that came in other packages, bundles or chests. Crucially, after 1663-64 – the first year that bulk tobacco is recorded in this way – there were huge fluctuations in the amount of bulk tobacco recorded in each year. The gaps in the data thus indicate that in some years a lot of bulk tobacco was recorded and thereby paid import duties, whereas in other years, very little or no bulk tobacco was ‘entered’, resulting in lower levels of customs duties. Such discrepancies raise the possibility that in years when small amounts of bulk tobacco were recorded, bulk tobacco was instead brought ashore illicitly. Indeed, as described above, the smuggler favoured bulk tobacco for its manoeuvrability. On this reasoning, fig. 3.3 suggests that greater numbers of bulk tobacco were directly smuggled during the 1660s and then again in the early 1680s, with as much as 200,000 lbs. smuggled from one year to the next. The high levels of directly smuggled tobacco certainly fit the impression given in Culliford’s report during the same period and the depositions that the customs surveyor collected at Bristol.

Figure 3.3. *‘Bulk’ Tobacco Imported to Bristol, 1663-64–1684-85*

*Source*: BA, SMV, 7/1/1/2-12.

Individuals who directly smuggled tobacco into early modern England and Wales came from a wide-range of backgrounds. It was often done opportunistically, usually by mariners aboard a ship and sometimes at the shipmaster’s instigation. Local boatmen and labourers were also commonly contracted to do the manual work of physically bringing the tobacco ashore. As we have already seen, sailors often had a direct interest in colonial commerce, importing tobacco on their own account or receiving a commission when they acted on behalf of a planter or merchant. Even the ordinary sailor was customarily permitted an amount of tobacco as ‘portage’. Consequently, sailors were frequently cited for supplying domestic traders with custom-free tobacco. However, such projects were sometimes co-ordinated by more influential citizens and large-scale merchants or shipmasters were usually implicated in smuggling cases. For instance, William Fitzherbert, Richard Vickris and Thomas Heathcott were prosperous members of Bristol’s Society of Merchant Venturers who, as we saw above, were implicated in smuggling projects before 1640.[[594]](#footnote-594) In the second half of the seventeenth century, Culliford noted close ties between smugglers and merchants in the far west of England, men who were often the same individuals.[[595]](#footnote-595) Ultimately, illicit traffickers constituted a broad stratum of individuals but were frequently overseen by some of the tobacco trade’s biggest players. We will see in the next section just how intertwined some of the principal seventeenth-century tobacco importers were with other types of illicit practices.

Direct tobacco smuggling was certainly prevalent in the seventeenth century, preceding the eighteenth-century era of high taxation that prompted the ‘golden age’ of smuggling. What is more, the evidence presented in this section suggests that there was a particular focus for direct illegal imports to the southwest of England, as well as the Thames Estuary. Although constrained by the availability of evidence, the popularity of southwest England for smuggling is plausible for three reasons. First, in part as a result of the region’s geographical proximity to the tobacco-producing colonies, much of the *legal* or official tobacco trade was conducted to the southwest of England. There was therefore an abundance of lawful traders in the southwest who, from time to time, tried their luck at direct smuggling in order to mitigate costs. The Bristol Channel, for instance, provided ample opportunities for mariners and merchants to offload part of the cargo while each vessel made its (often slow) journey towards the city of Bristol. Second, tobacco ships bound to the two principal ports during the period – London and Bristol – always had to pass along the southwest coastline prior to arriving at their destination. For vessels returning from the American colonies, the first sight of the English mainland would have been one of the western counties; after several weeks or even months at sea, fresh provisions were required, prompting anchorage at one of the many Cornish or Devon ports. During these stopovers, a multitude of small-scale exchanges between locals and ship crew presumably took place. However, much larger illicit transactions could also occur. This was perhaps best exemplified by the introductory anecdote when mariners aboard a London-bound ship unlawfully smuggled almost one hundred rolls of tobacco as the ship was docked and replenished its supplies at Falmouth. Countless other cases no doubt existed but, due to the nature of the topic, they have escaped historical record.

Finally, the south-west of England – especially Cornwall and Devon – was an intensely maritime region. There was a higher than national density of seafarers based in Cornwall and Devon; mariners for shipping tobacco were commonly recruited from this region and colonists were frequently shipped out from the West Country ports.[[596]](#footnote-596) Sailors were not only important for providing the manpower for overseas trade; they also conducted a significant degree of private trade. Combined with the traffic of ships passing the coastlines each year and the need for provisioning at West Country ports, sailors could utilise their on-land social networks to carry out small levels of private trade which, collectively, greatly augmented the amount of tobacco entering the regional economy.

## iv.Customs Fraud

The extent of direct tobacco smuggling was matched, if not superseded, by customs fraud, a practice usually undertaken through bribing customs officers, either to circumvent a certain restriction or to save the importer from paying the full amount of import duties. Historians have shown that such underhand dealings in the tobacco trade were prevalent since the 1670s and that sectors of the Customs Service, more generally, were largely corrupt.[[597]](#footnote-597) In particular, W. B. Stephens’ recent analysis of William Culliford’s survey demonstrates how tobacco fraud was endemic in multiple western ports and that the customs service was riddled with corruption.[[598]](#footnote-598) However, although increasing in severity after 1640 due to closer ties between colonial merchants and customs personnel, customs fraud went back to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The widespread incidence of corruption nevertheless raises questions over the extent to which contemporaries viewed such practices as ‘corrupt’ or whether changing attitudes over the course of the seventeenth century instead meant that there was increased condemnation against ‘corrupt’ practices.

Tobacco customs fraud was apparent from the early seventeenth century. In 1605, a dispute emerged between the merchant, John Eldred, and the newly appointed tobacco customs farmers. According to several testimonies, Eldred had secretively offered £50 to a servant of the customs farmers so that he could import a quantity of Spanish tobacco, customs-free, into the port of Plymouth. Although no more was later heard of this case, Eldred was probably chastised for his dealings – lest a precedent arose.[[599]](#footnote-599) Tobacco customs fraud was thus known at the ascension of Charles I, although the problem became more widespread as the levels of imports grew. One practice specific to times of war revolved around the lawful capturing of ships and their cargoes (what were designated as prizes) and the subsequent ‘entering’ of these bounties into English ports. In the 1620s, myriad prizes were captured following war with Spain and France. In Bristol, for instance, some 124 prize ships were brought into the port containing diverse goods such sugar, ginger, jewels, coin and so on, as well as tobacco. Following concerns that import duties were being avoided on entry into the port, a Court of the Exchequer commission was appointed to inquire into how accurate the appraisement of these goods had been. The collector of the customs farmers in Bristol had earlier, in 1627, written to Edward Nicholas concerning several vessels that had brought in captured ships and prizes, many of which contained tobacco.[[600]](#footnote-600) It was particularly important to correctly appraise tobacco because of the potential loss to the crown that resulted from negligence. When local merchants and mariners were questioned about the prize goods, they claimed that all duties on them had been paid. However, the impression inferred from the depositions is less certain. For instance, one officer felt it necessary still to declare to the commissioners that ‘there was no deceit or fraud at any time used wth this examinant’s privitite or consent’. [[601]](#footnote-601) Another officer admitted that while he had not received any ‘gift, money or reward to deceive his matie’, he nonetheless ‘did many times receive fees’, sometimes up to ten pounds, from merchants and ship-owners.[[602]](#footnote-602) The line between fees and gifts was perhaps somewhat blurred and, while it was standard practice to receive payment for collecting customs duties, one could assume that an officer who had accepted a handsome ‘fee’ would be less concerned with imposing the full amount of import duties.[[603]](#footnote-603) In any case, there were clearly suspicious circumstances surrounding the payment of custom duties on prize ships brought into Bristol. Indeed, according to the customer of Bristol, John Dowle, ‘many ships have brought in goods of reprisal of great value but which have not been answered for unto his Maties accomt’. Dowle reckoned that around sixteen or seventeen entire ships had imported goods wholly concealed, while many more ships’ cargoes were severely undervalued.[[604]](#footnote-604)

Tobacco frauds in the outports persisted throughout the 1630s, largely as a result of the prohibitive policy towards tobacco imports and London’s theoretical monopoly over the trade. As described in the chapter one, special licences or warrants were granted to favoured merchants trading to the outports, permitting them to import tobacco. However, this was a practice that was open to abuse. Brian Rogers, the ‘chief collector for the farmers for the customs’ at Bristol, and William Pennoyer, one of the merchants privileged with a warrant to import tobacco to the western port, were both accused of forcing merchants and sailors to sell their tobacco at prices as low as ‘seven farthings’, before reselling the same to domestic wholesalers.[[605]](#footnote-605) Effectively, the charges levelled at Rogers and Pennoyer amounted to forestalling. Around two years after the alleged incidents, a king’s waiter of the Bristol customs house, Miles Lavington, initiated a lawsuit against the two men, following the recalling of Parliament and the termination of Lord Goring’s contract over farming the import duties.[[606]](#footnote-606) In the ensuing Court of Exchequer proceedings, Lavington alleged that the Lord Treasurer’s and customs farmers’ warrants were forged, permitting Pennoyer to import more tobacco than was allowed in his actual licence and enabling him to monopolise tobacco imports from at least four different ships.[[607]](#footnote-607) As well as showing the propensity for fraud, the court case underscores the tensions between different components of the customs service under Charles I. The structure of the Customs Farms, headed by Lord Goring, pitted the farmers’ agents against the other, apparently more scrupulous, king’s officers, such as Lavington.

An entry in the corresponding Bristol port book dated 14th December 1638 recorded tobacco from two ships, along with ‘more certaine rowles resting in the warehouse’ as belonging to ‘ye patentees of London’, denoting Goring and his associates. Underneath the entry the scribe of the port book had written a memorandum ‘that these former p[arce]lls of tobacco [were] landed without lawfull order & much more is omitted in this accompt; in regard whereof I stand not chargeable in this accompt’.[[608]](#footnote-608) Clearly the scribe – who may well had been Lavington himself – was not benefiting financially from this misdemeanour and sought to distance himself from Rogers’s transgression. Indeed, witnesses later claimed that Lavington was hindered by Rogers and Pennoyer in seizing the tobacco which had been ‘landed without warrant from the custome howse’. Later, the two men ‘did resist and oppose’ Lavington’s attempts to appraise the tobacco, despite his deliverance of a writ issued ‘out of ‘his Mats Court of Exch[e]q[ue]r’ and a warrant ‘under the hand and seal of the Lord High Treasurer of England’ empowering him to proceed. Thus, Lavington’s subsequent lawsuit may well have been conducted out of a sense of service to restoring the king’s customs; it equally may have been to settle old scores with the fallen from favour agents of the customs farmers; either way the rules and structure of the state created myriad opportunities to bring tobacco ashore via fraudulent means.

It is likely that similar instances of collusion between tobacco importers and customs officials were frequently practised at a number of different outports during the 1620s and 1630s. For example, in 1632 Captain and later Admiral Pennington reported several allegations of ‘frauds committed upon the customs by ships laden with tobacco’ at Plymouth.[[609]](#footnote-609) Curiously the same town’s inward port book for the year 1630 is partly defaced and contains the phrase ‘thus far false wrytten’, denoting the modification of certain entries.[[610]](#footnote-610) Furthermore, John Delbridge’s unlicensed Bermudan tobacco imports to Barnstaple were almost certainly tolerated by local agents of the customs farmers before provoking the central authorities into action, leading to his appearance before the Privy Council.[[611]](#footnote-611) In 1631, the Barnstaple customs officers certified how it had been necessary to unload tobacco belonging to Delbridge because the bark it was aboard was damaged and the tobacco thus ‘likely to perish if not cared for’.[[612]](#footnote-612) While such a story was entirely conceivable owing to conditions at sea, such a judgement was easy to make for local customs officials some two hundred miles away from the capital. In another case, at Aberthaw in south Wales, tobacco importers had tobacco confiscated after they refused to pay the customs officers’ fee, despite the procurement of an import licence from the Lord Treasurer.[[613]](#footnote-613)

After 1640, the theoretical prohibition of tobacco imports to non-London ports was lifted indefinitely; even so, new opportunities for customs fraud were created. Successive wars with Spain and the United Provinces raised the possibility of further fraud from prize ships.[[614]](#footnote-614) In 1657, for instance, two London ‘prize officers’ offered money to the master and company of a ship to ‘hold their peace’ concerning nine rolls of Spanish tobacco that the officers embezzled ashore.[[615]](#footnote-615) Around twenty years later, the Collector of the Customs in Fowey (Cornwall) was censured for improperly demanding considerable sums of money for the entry of a prize tobacco ship as well as his for ‘religion [and] fraudulent dealings [more] generally’.[[616]](#footnote-616) From the mid-1640s, moreover, leading colonial merchants maintained close ties with factions of the Customs Service, increasing the likelihood of bribes and collusion.[[617]](#footnote-617) In 1656, one Bristol customs officer claimed to have uncovered three cases of fraud in the city.[[618]](#footnote-618) The officer-turned-informant, William Warren, alleged that a group of his fellow officers had misrepresented the true weight of a tobacco consignment. Warren reported that the officers recorded only half the weight of what was, to his reckoning, the tobacco’s true amount, thereby reducing the payable custom duty. Further to this allegation, his superiors had previously prevented Warren from weighing a second tobacco consignment, a move that Warren strongly suspected was designed to prevent him from discovering fraud. In a third incident, Warren claimed that another officer had failed to charge the custom on twenty-eight hogsheads because the importer had declared that the tobacco was spoiled. However, after speaking to servants belonging to both the importer and purchaser, Warren discovered that the tobacco was in fact very ‘commendable’ and that it had sold for ‘the price of good tobacco’, at £9 per hogshead.[[619]](#footnote-619) Customs fraud was also prevalent in Southampton. Following one allegation, three mariners were obliged to depose to the town’s quarter sessions in 1649 that ‘noe part of the tobacco’ from the *Prosperous*, a ship they had been posted aboard, was ‘imbeziled, or lessened while it was in theire custodye but was safely delivered without alteracion or diminucion’.[[620]](#footnote-620)

Tobacco customs fraud showed no signs of disappearing at the Restoration. Indeed, available evidence suggests that it became a bigger problem than direct smuggling during the 1660s through to the 1680s, due largely to reduced import duties.[[621]](#footnote-621) Cases of customs fraud involving tobacco were uncovered at Great Yarmouth in 1666 while the merchant and ironmonger, William Stout, later remarked how ‘if but 1lb. appeared [damaged] we got 10lb allowed’.[[622]](#footnote-622) Indeed, the Treasury calendars make regular references to a collection of customs surveys conducted throughout the 1670s, indicating that there was a campaign to drive fraudulent trade practices from the outports during this decade.[[623]](#footnote-623) However, the capital, too, was not immune from corrupt practices. One entry from the Port of London Searchers’ Minute Book ordered that ‘whereas great Frauds are committed in the shipping of certificate goods especially tobacco, the searchers are hereby required to be very careful in the examining of them & to see that stalks or unsound tobacco be not shipped off Instead of Merchantable tobacco’. Care was to be taken ‘that the casks be duly weighed & that they do see them not only put into Lighters & boats but that they are actually put on board the respective ships & vessels on which they are entered & that they daily visit the ship in that the said tobacco be not landed againe.[[624]](#footnote-624) The entry related to two types of fraud: the false claiming of a ‘drawback’ or debenture and the ‘relanding’ of ostensibly re-exported tobacco. Nonetheless, the minute book reveals that even in London (the largest centre for tobacco imports) customs fraud was an ever-present problem. Indeed, in the next century ‘a number of prominent merchants’ in the city were indicted for participating ‘in blatantly corrupt practices’, and it is likely that these practices were not unprecedented.[[625]](#footnote-625)

Despite the role of London merchants, the perceived loss of customs revenue from tobacco frauds occurring in the outports prompted William Culliford’s survey of the western counties during the early 1680s.[[626]](#footnote-626) Culliford discovered numerous cases of customs officials under-weighing tobacco in return for a backhander from the importer. In Bristol alone, at least thirty merchants and shipmasters were implicated in colluding with officers to have their official tobacco figures reduced. Sixteen ships were involved. One officer confessed that he had altered the figures on several hogsheads aboard the *Concord*, reducing the weight of each hogshead by 100 or 150 lbs., perhaps as much as 50 per cent of the hogsheads.[[627]](#footnote-627) Additionally, Culliford discovered frauds in the tobacco re-export trade. As revealed in the London Searchers’ Minute Book, these cases consisted of having *more* tobacco recorded on traders’ accounts than was actually exported, thereby permitting the re-exporter to claim a higher ‘debenture’ certificate (i.e. the tax rebate that was allowable on re-exported tobacco and that could be redeemed from the customs department). A third fraud consisted of ostensibly re-exported tobacco being relanded at another location in England or Wales, effectively meaning that low-taxed tobacco destined for the foreign market was instead consumed at home.[[628]](#footnote-628) As a result of these various avenues for evading import duties, it was widely believed that customs fraud was a more serious problem than direct smuggling. Indeed, it was written in the customs officer manual, the *Index Vectigalium* (1670), that ‘the aggregate sum (if rightly taken) of those multiplied small dubious connived-at transgressions…withdraws more from his Majesties Revenues, and adds more of violation of the established laws, then the gross transgressions of downright smugling (as the Modern phrases is) or (as anciently called) custom stealing.’[[629]](#footnote-629)

Henry Colchester, a Bristol customs officer, described how tobacco import frauds in the western city worked. In July 1679, Colchester and a more senior officer were appointed to discharge the *Bristol Merchant*. When entering the weights of tobacco belonging to sixteen merchants, the two officers recorded over 20,000 lbs. of tobacco less than the actual weight of the merchants’ tobacco. A separate piece of paper recorded the weights saved for each merchant. They ranged from 140 lbs. belonging to one Thomas Brewerton, to over 3,000 lbs. for a William Smith. In total, the actual customs shortfall amounted to around £170. For their complicity, Colchester claimed that he and Harper received £3 16s. for every thousand weight of tobacco they saved the merchant from paying. This sum was the ‘moiety’, or half of what the thousand pounds of tobacco would have paid for custom. The officer(s) therefore received 50 per cent of the custom saved; the importer retained the remainder. In total, Colchester and Harper were paid around £85 between them. This was easy money to make from aboard a single ship in a single season.[[630]](#footnote-630)

Culliford soon discovered that tobacco frauds were by no means limited to Bristol. Poole and Plymouth were also notorious hotspots for camouflaging tobacco imports. In Poole, connivance between merchants and officers went right to the top of the local customs service. The senior customs officials (the surveyor, collector and king’s searcher), along with their deputies, were all apparently well-connected with local tobacco merchants. The tobacco import frauds in Poole commonly involved any one of these officers granting considerable allowances for tobacco that was supposedly damaged.[[631]](#footnote-631) In this way, between one-third and one-half of all tobacco unloaded from several ships was cleared of paying duties. In Plymouth, well-heeled merchants were similarly implicated in the majority of large-scale import frauds. When the port’s surveyor brought allegations to the attention of the port’s collector, Timothy Hamlyn, the collector disregarded all the accusations. Further allegations of misrepresenting the true weights of tobacco occurred in the Somerset ports of Bridgwater, Minehead and Watchet, as well as in the Devon headport of Exeter and the Cornish ports of Fowey and Penzance.[[632]](#footnote-632) Several of these cases also involved the connivance of merchants and officers to declare whole consignments as damaged. Indeed, the entering of wholesome tobacco as damaged (and hence not liable for payment of full customs) continued for the remainder of the century and into the eighteenth century.[[633]](#footnote-633)

Customs fraud was part of the repertoire of the leading legitimate tobacco importers in early modern England. Contrary to the claims of Sacks, who only comments on the role of sailors in ‘colouring’ goods belonging to non-burgesses, the illicit economy encompassed a much broader set of citizens, including some of the most well-heeled company merchants and common councillors. During the 1620s and 1630s, it was merchants among Bristol’s elite who were indicted for the false appraisement of prize goods.[[634]](#footnote-634) Moreover, a closer investigation of Culliford’s report on Bristol shows that the majority of those accused of fraud were large-scale tobacco importers. In all, sixty-seven Bristolians were accused of fraud pertaining to the tobacco trade. All of those accused of fraud were male and at least seven were current or future members of Bristol’s civic elite – those merchants who sat in the forty-three-strong Common Council.[[635]](#footnote-635) Moreover, around fifteen of the importers were either existing or future members of the Society of Merchant Venturers. The total number of this trading organisation never exceeded one hundred at any one time, meaning a noticeable proportion of Society members were implicated in fraudulent tobacco schemes. Furthermore, the fact that five of these individuals were not members at the time they were accused of fraud but would go on to become members within a couple of years suggests that historical association with fraud posed no restriction to the society’s membership.

Despite the high number of council and Merchant Venturer members who were accused of fraud, the majority of fraudulent traders were nevertheless members of neither institution; of the sixty-seven individuals implicated in fraudulent tobacco dealings, forty can be identified as members of neither group. However, one common thread regarding tobacco importers accused of fraud can be established by looking at the quantities of tobacco that those individuals typically imported each year. Indeed, some of the largest tobacco importers came from outside the Society of Merchant Venturers and the Common Council. By returning to the wharfage books, we can see that forty-eight out of the accused fraudulent merchants imported over ten hogsheads in a single year, with twenty-three of these importing over one hundred hogsheads.[[636]](#footnote-636) These included Edward Fielding, the largest importer in 1674-75, who was accused of short entering several consignments of tobacco, for bribing customs officers to do so and for being implicated in a continuous fraud with one particular officer over several years, if not decades.[[637]](#footnote-637) Richard Crump, who was indicted on at least one occasion for colluding with officers to have tobacco subtracted from his accounts, imported amongst the largest quantities of tobacco to Bristol between 1654 and 1670 and was later knighted and admitted into the Society of Merchant Venturers.[[638]](#footnote-638) And Thomas Speed who imported 170 hogsheads in 1674-75, conspired with Richard Gotley, a fellow Quaker and the second largest tobacco importer in 1684-85, to pay customs officers £25 in order to have their accounts lessened aboard the *Victory* in June 1679.[[639]](#footnote-639) Looking at this data the other way around, of the top ten importers for three sample years (1674-75, 1679-80 and 1684-85), all but a handful were implicated in tobacco import frauds on at least one occasion. There was thus a strong relationship between large amounts of tobacco imported and a willingness to engage in underhand dealings. Those who commanded the Bristol tobacco trade in terms of the volume of tobacco they shipped were most likely to employ fraudulent techniques to evade customs duties. Put simply: extensive involvement in the lawful trade of tobacco was related to customs fraud.

Tobacco customs fraud used the very same channels – location, personnel, labour – as the legal trade. Because of this, there are strong grounds for viewing the official trade as something that was supplemented by illicit trade. There was thus a much convergence between the ‘official’ and ‘unofficial’ tobacco trades, with illicit imports giving traders an edge over commercial rivals due to the money saved through customs evasion. After importation, tobacco was wholesaled in ‘composite lots’, with legal and illegal varieties mixed together, meaning that ‘the fraudulent importer was therefore placed in a position where he could sell more tobacco at a lower price.’[[640]](#footnote-640) Certainly by the early eighteenth century, as Robert Nash and Paul Clemens have both shown, customs fraud was prevalent in the tobacco trade to ports in the north-west of the British Isles and was a significant factor in how some ports were able to outcompete merchant rivals in other parts of the country.[[641]](#footnote-641) However, whereas Nash and Clemens focus on the northern ports (Liverpool, Whitehaven and Glasgow) and are predominately concerned with events after 1685, the evidence presented in this section suggests that during the sixty-year period before this date it was merchants in the southwest of England who were primarily engaged in tobacco customs fraud. To some extent, the southwest focus is due to the available sources: during the same time that Culliford surveyed the western ports another customs surveyor was sent to the north but the records for this survey do not survive. However, outside London the southwest was the principal region for direct colonial tobacco imports, with Bristol the largest tobacco outport for the majority of the second half of the seventeenth century. The incidence of customs fraud in places like Bristol correlate with what is known about the official trade. As with cases of direct smuggling, customs fraud was inextricably linked to entirely lawful channels of commerce.

Such underhand practices were alluded to in a parliamentary proposal from 1671.[[642]](#footnote-642) Although the text contained much hyperbole, the writer speculated that there was no profit to make in the tobacco trade, except through customs evasion. The industry was tight because:

‘the merchant bought his tobacco in Virginia the last yeere for ½ per pound, his losse of tear, treat, shrinking and hazard of the sea may well be reckoned ½ more, unto which if he add three halfe pence for fraight and pettie charges it makes 2.5d., and to this add 2d. to his Matie, his tobacco stands him in 4.5d. per pound and this he sold for 4d. or 4.5d. per pound’[[643]](#footnote-643)

These prices were similar to actual first-purchaser sales made during this time; certainly, therefore, there is much truth in this passage. Importantly, the writer then asked the reader: ‘where is his [the merchant’s] proffitt[,] frauds excepted[?]’.[[644]](#footnote-644) It was consequently a widely held belief that merchants were only able to turn over a profit through engaging in illicit practices. To put this another way, it was only through illicit trade that merchants were able to sell tobacco at the low prices indicated in the above passage – prices that were passed on to domestic wholesalers and retailers.

The travails of large-scale tobacco importers in connivance with customs officers raise issues over the contested nature of illegality and crime in early modern England. It is certainly questionable whether the participants of fraud considered their practices fraudulent. Similarly, by the Restoration period it seems that the biggest players in the tobacco trade were likewise involved in fraudulent practices but do not indicate that they viewed such practices as illegal. Indeed, William Stout claimed that in Lancashire during the latter 1670s it was ‘not accounted of as a crime to bribe the officers of the customs, or [to] defraud the king of his custom’.[[645]](#footnote-645) It appears the same held true for southwest England, too.

## v. Domestic Cultivation

An illicit practice within the tobacco economy that entirely avoided the need to evade import duties through direct smuggling or customs fraud was domestic cultivation. Home cultivation persisted throughout the century despite its official prohibition as early as December 1619, reminding us that not all tobacco consumed in early modern England was produced overseas. However, in contrast to smuggling, the state’s eventual ability to suppress domestic planting by 1690 can be accounted a success. Even so, the persistence of English-grown tobacco, particularly in the middle of the century, contributed to the persistence of contraband tobacco in the domestic tobacco market. Moreover, the concentration of cultivation in Gloucestershire draws us once again to the viewing the southwest of England as a region which had an unusually strong culture of tobacco.

The beginning of domestic tobacco cultivation has been succinctly traced by Joan Thirsk.[[646]](#footnote-646) Following the prohibition of home-grown tobacco, a Chancery Court case was launched against two London-based entrepreneurs. These individuals – Henry Somerscales and John Stratford – had previously signed agreements before the practice had been outlawed, binding them to pay considerable sums to several landlords for renting land in Winchcombe, Gloucestershire, on which to grow tobacco. The land was rented from Gloucestershire gentry, in particular Thomas Lorenge, Giles Broadway, Timothy Gates and Sir John Tracy. Somerscales and Stratford employed cultivators to work the land and retained business contacts in London who purchased and subsequently marketed their home-grown tobacco. For example, Stratford’s membership of the London Salter’s company provided contacts for the subsequent distribution and manufacturing of tobacco in the capital. From the ensuing court depositions that developed between the entrepreneurs and landowners, Thirsk calculates that the expected profits made on each acre of land varied between £25 and £100.[[647]](#footnote-647) In 1619, a case determining the extent of tithes payable to the parish of Winchombe reported that Somerscales’s tobacco harvest from two acres was worth £1,000. Stratford, who also rented two acres from Henry Barkedale to grow the crop, had since had his tobacco ‘cutt, made up into rowles or parcells & converted to his owne use’ and achieved an apparent turnover of £500 per acre.[[648]](#footnote-648) Evidently, the parish was keen to claim its ten per cent tithe dues.

Thirsk only briefly charts the extent of domestic tobacco cultivation after 1620. Somerscales and Stratford do not reappear in her analysis but the practice of growing tobacco persisted, eventually spreading out from north Gloucestershire and into over twenty counties in England and Wales.[[649]](#footnote-649) In 1631, Charles I’s ministers received concrete evidence of unlawful domestic cultivation. William King, a messenger of the king who had been sent to Gloucestershire to investigate the matter and to “displant” any tobacco he saw growing there, had allegedly ‘received many great affronts in divers[e] places’ across the county.[[650]](#footnote-650) By 1638, domestic cultivation led to a Court of the Star Chamber legal case in which over sixty defendants were tried and a subsequent trial in the Chancery three years later.[[651]](#footnote-651) Local church courts also indicated illicit activity. When, in 1638, Elizabeth Cowley was questioned by the same church court over her knowledge of domestic tobacco cultivation in Winchcombe, she replied: ‘neither doth this deponent believe that she is bound by lawe to confesse [n]or acknowledge that she did sett or plante any tobacco within the parishe of Winchcombe and likeable places thereof’.[[652]](#footnote-652) Just as the 1640s were the heyday of the colonial Anglo-Dutch tobacco trade, the breakdown of central government administration over provincial areas conceivably contributed to an increased uptake in domestically grown tobacco. One report suggested that English domestic tobacco output during the 1650s equalled the number of imports from the Chesapeake and that nearly 30,000 acres ‘might have been under tobacco cultivation’.[[653]](#footnote-653) On top of commercial-size plantations, contemporaries may well have turned to small-scale home growing of the plant. The 1654 edition of a self-help gardening publication, *The Country-Mans Recreation*, includes a section on the ‘sowing, planting and transplanting of tabaco’, much in the tradition of ‘C.T.’s earlier publication.[[654]](#footnote-654) Notwithstanding legislation that permitted small amounts of tobacco to be grown in private gardens, by the mid-1650s the Protectorate government was faced with a full-scale problem that surmounted that which had troubled Charles I.

While tobacco cultivation was not limited to the county, Thirsk’s arguments for Gloucestershire being the hotspot for domestic tobacco cultivation stems from her characterisation of certain areas within the county as ‘not in the congenial environment of deferential village society, where the gentry were acknowledged leaders’.[[655]](#footnote-655) Instead, the Vale of Tewkesbury and western Cotswolds were ‘in a less propitious countryside, on the damp, ill-drained lands of river floodplains and in marshland, where [the gentry] lived alongside tough peasant communities endeavouring to get a living from their pastures and meadows.’[[656]](#footnote-656) There was a high incidence of free-holders and a certain ‘impermanence of power’ in the western Cotswolds. While Thirsk’s analysis certainly has much merit, there are further points to be made concerning the location of domestic cultivation. First, Winchcombe and the surrounding area was a strategic location in terms transport links to the populous Midlands and London markets, where there inhabited a lucrative consumer base and where direct sales to a plethora of dealers could be made.[[657]](#footnote-657) Second, there was a link between the north Gloucestershire tobacco planters and the colonial trade, seen by patterns of emigration to the Chesapeake and West Indies, including an early project involving local Gloucestershire gentry such as William Tracy to populate the infamous ‘Berkeley Hundred’.[[658]](#footnote-658) Third and finally, domestic cultivation in Gloucestershire tied into a more general southwest ‘tobacco culture’, as reconstructed elsewhere in this thesis. North Gloucestershire is certainly at the most northern limit of what constitutes southwest England or the ‘West Country’. However, it was no coincidence that extensive tobacco imports were made in the Severn Estuary, perhaps a day’s ride away from Winchcombe. Tobacco – as a commodity of trade and material for consumption – was well-known in Gloucestershire during the first couple of decades of the seventeenth century, which helps explain the ready uptake of cultivation during the 1620s and the persistence in growing it thereafter.

The subsequent drama over attempts to eradicate tobacco cultivation in the West Country can be pieced together in the state papers and calendars of the Treasury papers.[[659]](#footnote-659) In 1651, a new ordinance reinforced the ban on domestic cultivation. This ordinance was supported by ‘divers[e] merchants and others of London trading to Virginia and other foreign plantations’.[[660]](#footnote-660) However, following a petition from over one hundred planters from Gloucestershire ‘and places adiacent’, the Council ordered a repeal of the prohibition months later, providing the excise liable for colonial imports was paid on the English tobacco.[[661]](#footnote-661) Nevertheless, a fresh ordinance was passed the following year, confirming the state’s intention to eradicate the practice and, in June 1654, the Council of State sent letters to execute the ordinance to destroy the tobacco in that county.[[662]](#footnote-662) By now, however, the planters were ready. Inhabitants of Winchcombe and other areas assembled with an ‘armed force of horse and foot’, an uprising that was ‘reflexive upon the honour of the supreme power’, detrimental to the ‘publique good of the Commonwealth’, and ‘hazardous to the publique peace.’[[663]](#footnote-663) Even so, resistance in favour of local tobacco growers persisted for the rest of the decade. In July 1658, one eyewitness described how thirty-five dragoons arrived in Cheltenham early in the morning ‘and here found a multitude of all together; weaponed gardinge the hieway and ther fieldes of tobacco’. After a standoff (and despite the soldiers ‘wth ther pistoll charges and cockt’), two hundred more volunteers from Winchcombe joined the crowd. The correspondent alleged that there was so much tobacco in Cheltenham that ‘I thinke that 10 men cannot destroy it in 4 dayes.’ This was despite the dragoons having all the soldiers that were to be had in the county – ‘except some of the countey troop that are dealers and planters in the vale.’[[664]](#footnote-664)

During the Restoration period, a fresh Act of Parliament prohibited domestic tobacco cultivation and the Privy Council resumed its efforts to stamp out the practice. In May 1662, the secretary of state wrote to the Sherriff of Gloucestershire to execute the commands formerly given him.[[665]](#footnote-665) In the same year, Samuel Hartlib endorsed the commands of those sent to destroy planted tobacco and urged offenders to be punished with severity, owing principally to the behest of the merchants trading in the international market of tobacco, the health of the American plantations, the navigation laws, and the effects on the customs.[[666]](#footnote-666) Thereafter, the evidence of tobacco cultivation go a little quiet in the state papers but the story can be picked up in Treasury calendars. According to these records, pronounced efforts to destroy tobacco cultivation were made in the late 1660s through to the late 1670s, culminating in an absence of references after 1677 despite evidence that the practice had spread to other counties across the Midlands, Wales and even Yorkshire.[[667]](#footnote-667) Samuel Pepys, too, recorded a brief description of the Lifeguards’ efforts to ‘spoil the tobacco’ around Winchcombe in September 1667.[[668]](#footnote-668) Ten years later, it appears that soldiers were no longer used although the Treasury was still sending letters to Justices of the Peace concerning tobacco planting and rewarding agents who had successfully prosecuted against offenders in court.[[669]](#footnote-669) No references appear the following year which perhaps indicates the termination of tobacco planting on any significant commercial scale. 1677 also marks the final entry in the state papers relating to domestic tobacco cultivation, referring to the surveyor general of the customs, Mr Giles Dunstar, who confirmed the completion of his orders to destroy plants.[[670]](#footnote-670) Even so, MacInnes has shown instances of tobacco cultivation and the prosecution of growers across multiple counties after 1685. As late as 1697, the chief prosecutor of illegal planters, Giles Dowle, was still requesting payment for his efforts.[[671]](#footnote-671)

Price has attributed the eventual decline of tobacco cultivation to the administrative effort and growing influence and increased efficiency of the Treasury.[[672]](#footnote-672) Although increased efficiency of central government departments were responsible for eradicating much domestically-grown tobacco, London and Bristol based colonial tobacco importers were a powerful lobby group in pressing for repeated statutes and proclamations against domestic cultivation. Indeed, in 1663, the Bristol Society of Merchant Venturers appointed seven individuals – Mr Alderman Creswicke, Mr Alderman Knight, Mr Richard Streamer, Mr John Jackson, Mr John Knight, Mr William Lysons, and Mr Charles Williams – to take steps for joining with London-based merchants in petitioning the king for a new proclamation against the business.[[673]](#footnote-673) With the possible exceptions of Alderman Creswicke and Charles Williams, all of these Society of Merchant Venturer members were tobacco importers and so had a shared interest in stamping out rival tobacco grown fewer than fifty miles to the north, in rural Gloucestershire.[[674]](#footnote-674) In addition, one Thomas Jefferies was reimbursed £5 ‘for his pains taken in destroying’ English-grown tobacco and a supplementary levy of 6d. per hogshead was imposed on imported tobacco to fund the Bristol merchants’ campaign.[[675]](#footnote-675) The interest of Bristol (as well as London) tobacco merchants in bankrolling campaigns to eradicate domestic growing in England points towards early modern conceptions of the law. Many of these overseas traders had no scruples in engaging in customs fraud or direct smuggling; on the contrary, merchant venturers benefited from the evasion of import duties. At the same time, when illegal behaviour worked against them, such merchants were ready to appropriate the law in their favour. Corruption, it seems again, was a contested concept.

Despite the attention of Bristol’s Society of Merchant Venturers, London tobacco merchants, the Treasury, Privy Council and multiple courts, the length of time in eradicating domestic tobacco cultivation was due to the unwillingness of local government in the tobacco-growing regions. There is evidence that local elites protected growers and that office-holding ‘middling’ sorts were active planters themselves.[[676]](#footnote-676) In 1636, a letter was sent by the Council to Sir John Tracy, his brother Sir Richard Tracy, and the bailiffs of Tewksbury, regarding further investigations in the area. Apparently, tobacco continued to be grown in no small quantity throughout Gloucestershire and the planters ‘threaten mischief to those that hinder or offer to destroy the said tobacco’.[[677]](#footnote-677) Although the office holders were required to stamp out any tobacco cultivation and to bind anyone over who attempted to resist their authority, little evidence survives of them fulfilling these duties. On the contrary, tobacco had been growing on their land.[[678]](#footnote-678) Another clue into the inadequacy – or collusion – of local elites for suppressing domestic tobacco cultivation comes from a memorandum at the Bristol Society of Merchant Venturers court in 1664. In it, the society authorised several of its members to commence some sort of proceeding against the ex-High Sherriff of Gloucestershire, Sir Humphrey Hooke, and his undersheriff, Philip Dorney. Over £300 had been paid to Hooke for the ‘distruccion of the Englishe Tobaccoe’ but this did not result in eradication. Suspecting deliberate prevention of the eradication programme, the Society recommended ‘accions or suites either in Common lawe or Channcery’ if Hooke and Dorney could not provide an adequate response.[[679]](#footnote-679)

Eventually, local courts proved more willing to punish individuals who planted tobacco. From the 1670s, Gloucester Quarter Sessions Court order books record fines for planting tobacco. The same court also indicted office-holders who failed to execute its order to destroy tobacco crops and the corresponding court books in neighbouring Warwickshire contain similar commands.[[680]](#footnote-680) The Quarter Sessions Court last order for the destruction of the crop came in 1690.[[681]](#footnote-681) Even so, the practice had persisted for many decades. In *The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, Tobacco,* published in 1682, the author wrote that tobacco was still grown in Gloucestershire and other western counties, despite ‘his majesty sending every year a Troop of Horse to destroy it, lest the Trade of our *American* Plantations should be incommoded thereby.’ The author went on to state that many ‘London Apothecaries make use of *English Tobacco* in their shops, notwithstanding the vulgar Opinion that this Herb is a native of America, and foreign to Europe’.[[682]](#footnote-682) Clearly, pockets of domestic cultivation persisted but the concerted campaigns against the practice ultimately prevailed.

In amongst the narrative of tobacco cultivation and its subsequent eradication, the voice of the planter is rarely heard. Indeed, towards the end of her analysis Thirsk asks ‘who were the assiduous growers of tobacco in the years 1620 and 1690’?[[683]](#footnote-683) One answer to this question can be found in the ‘particular of Sir William Whitmore’ where it was written that during the 1660s the manors of Winchcombe and Charingworth were home to over ‘twoe thousand beggars of all sorts whose former subsistence was cheefely in planting tobacko w[hi]ch is now prohibbited by the State whereby they are utterly disabled to subsist or pay anything at all’.[[684]](#footnote-684) This may well have been an exaggeration – both in numbers and in the planters’ condition – but it is clear that there was a widely held belief amongst the ‘better sorts’ in rural Gloucestershire that tobacco production was an effective form of poor relief, especially for those who were unable to contribute in other ways. We could assume, therefore, that it was only poor labourers who engaged in domestic tobacco cultivation. While customs fraud was committed disproportionally by large-scale tobacco importers, domestic tobacco cultivation was something that plebeian labourers undertook and could even perhaps be considered a ‘social crime’.[[685]](#footnote-685)

At the same time, many planters seem to have been more affluent than Sir William Whitmore’s ‘particular’ suggests. Indeed, the two thousand ‘beggars’ had been reduced to their present condition as a result of the prohibition of tobacco growing. Moreover, Thirsk emphasised how the local landholding elite in Gloucestershire were sympathetic to the tobacco planters and indeed benefited from high rents that they extracted.[[686]](#footnote-686) As stated, the success of tobacco cultivation relied on the collusion of with wealthy landowners, country gentry and local office-holders. Further to this, in the 1650s a petition was sent to the Council of State by ‘divers poor people’, the tobacco planters in and around Winchcombe.[[687]](#footnote-687) All but five of the 109 signatories signed their own names. These literacy rates were far higher than the national average at this time. Lawrence Stone, for example, calculated that on the eve of the civil war, the national literacy rate was somewhere between 30 and 50 per cent.[[688]](#footnote-688) The overwhelming majority of signatories – and thus the principal tobacco growers – were therefore literate, indicating that they were educated and perhaps drawn from the ‘middling’ ranks of Gloucestershire society. Thirsk has also shown that ten of the growers on the petition contributed to the 1641-42 subsidy, ‘which did not fall on poor men’, and twenty-five were subsequently hearth tax payers.[[689]](#footnote-689) Likewise, the wills of some of these individuals show that many were local property holders of some respectable standing. John Thorne, for example, left his daughter all of his ‘dwelling house and garden’; Robert Newman was a yeoman worth nearly £100 at death; another ‘poor’ tobacco grower was described in his will as a member of the gentry and John Batsford left both his house in Winchcombe as well as five other houses in the parish of Stepney – prime real estate proximate to the expanding capital at the time.[[690]](#footnote-690).

## vi. Conclusion

State regulation was relatively successful at raising considerable revenue from tobacco. No less than five per cent of the total state revenue accrued from tobacco at any one point after 1630, due to a fluctuating medley of subsidies, impositions, excises, prohibitions and licences. The downside of successfully levied taxes on tobacco was that there persisted an economic incentive to unlawfully traffic tobacco throughout the seventeenth century, whether through smuggling, customs fraud or growing the crop domestically. Not only were foreign merchants adept at entering into direct trade with tobacco growers in the Chesapeake or West Indies, illegal tobacco imports into England and Wales were part of the day-to-day trading strategies of numerous English tobacco importers. Furthermore, illicit practices went far beyond the ‘colouring of goods’ amongst mariners that Sacks made so much of for Bristol. Illegal trading encompassed shipmasters, company merchants and English farmers, just as much as the ordinary sailor.[[691]](#footnote-691)

The most obvious ramification regarding illicit trade is that official trade records should not be taken at face value when it comes to quantifying trade. As chapter one revealed, tobacco imports to England grew substantially over the course of the period studied in this thesis. Whereas those figures are not entirely misleading for describing general patterns, they nonetheless should still be read only as an approximate guide to how the tobacco import trade transpired. As Jones has written in his study of sixteenth-century illicit trade, we should not disregard such sources as erroneous: ‘It is simply necessary to be aware of their limitations and, in particular, to recognise the goods that are likely to be under-recorded because of smuggling.’[[692]](#footnote-692) A high level of under-valuation certainly seems likely for the seventeenth-century tobacco trade. It follows from this that the prevalence of unofficial tobacco imports contributed to buoyancy on the domestic market. In a market of abundant importers and competing wholesalers, some of the money saved through the evasion of import duties was passed on to wholesalers and, ultimately, to consumers. Wholesale tobacco prices varied considerably during the seventeenth century; however, the principal trend between 1625 and 1685 was steady decline. The incidence of contraband tobacco inflated the total amount of tobacco on the domestic market and deflated wholesale prices. Contraband tobacco was sold on the same domestic market as that imported legitimately and savings made through the illicit trade bolstered an importer’s position to supply wholesalers with cheaper tobacco.

An additional finding concerning illegal activity in the tobacco trade was its concentration in a broad area of southwest England. Smugglers operated in Cornwall and the Severn Estuary; customs fraud was frequently committed along the quays of West Country ports; and illegal tobacco cultivation was undertaken in the Gloucestershire countryside. Such activity matches what is known about the official tobacco trade and so such a convergence is perhaps unsurprising: the unofficial trade complemented the official trade and *vice versa*. Beyond the high incidence of illegal tobacco trading, is the idea of an idiosyncratic west country ‘tobacco culture’, more generally, that became established before the middle of the century. Certainly, tobacco smuggling on the Cornish coast and within the Severn Estuary was frequent by the 1630s and Gloucestershire planters were accustomed to the plant’s unlawful cultivation by the 1620s.

Importantly, the foregoing examination revealed that illicit trafficking was part of the repertoire of some principal legitimate tobacco importers. Some ‘frauds’ indicate that many unlawful imports were normal practices, raising the question whether merchants and officers alike viewed their behaviour as illicit. Well-heeled merchants were frequently implicated in direct smuggling schemes and it was the largest tobacco importers who, at key ports, were principally involved in colluding with customs officers to alter their official figures or to permit the import of contraband cargo. Participants in the illegal tobacco trade had recourse to different elements of the law. The economic advantages of illicit trade have been explored in greater detail by other historians. In particular, Jones concludes his recent work by listing three ways that illicit trade promoted the Bristol’s economic development in the sixteenth century. First, it provided profitable trading opportunities, even economic survival. Second, contraband helped merchants to ‘maintain or increase their control of the city’s trade’. And third, illicit exports ‘encouraged investment in the shipping industry by the city’s merchants’.[[693]](#footnote-693) It is possible that the evidence presented in this chapter likewise supported economic development. Partly as a consequence of the high incidence of wealthy traders involved in illicit commerce, the incidence of illegal tobacco imports helps explain how and why places first developed, and then sustained, trade. Illicit imports in the earlier part of the period formed networks and trade links that were essential for the development of the tobacco trade in the second half of the century.

Crucially, the practices chartered in this chapter show that there were contested notions of what constituted ‘illegality’, and ‘fraud’ in early modern England. Legal and political channels were often used to justify involvement and the same could be used discriminately to clamp down on one aspect of the illegal economy. The various components that constituted political, financial and legal power in early modern England were used as a repository for which to both justify and condemn practices of smuggling, fraud and domestic cultivation. Most notably, tobacco merchants in Bristol pulled their financial resources together, petitioned parliament and the king, and used law courts in order to assist in eradicating domestic cultivation in north Gloucestershire. At the same time, many of these merchants had no scruples in bribing customs officers to fiddle their accounts of imported tobacco and threatened legal action against over-zealous customs officers. Accordingly, a substantial grey area existed in which the traffic of tobacco operated and which enabled the trade to flourish.

# Chapter Four Manufacture and Distribution: The Circulation of Tobacco

Nathaniel Cale was a Bristol soap-boiler and politically active citizen in his native city during the 1620s and 1630s. A royalist who was removed from public office during the 1644 parliamentary purge, Cale returned to public office in 1660 and served as the city’s mayor two years later.[[694]](#footnote-694) Despite his credentials in the soap manufacturing trade, Cale was also a wholesaler, distributor, commission-agent, manufacturer and retailer for another important commodity: tobacco. Cales’s career, which can partially be pieced together using published and manuscript materials, provides some insights into the subsequent lifecycle of tobacco after its importation into early modern England. Although Cale had only limited interest in overseas shipping, he purchased tobacco wholesale in vast quantities and developed an expansive retail ‘empire’ across the southwest of England during the mid-1630s, oversaw the delivery of tobacco to other cities via coastal routes, and was cited at least once for participating in the illicit tobacco trade.[[695]](#footnote-695) Although no evidence of his manufacturing operations survive, it is probable that Cale employed people to undertake some of the processing stages of tobacco, before it was distributed to a coterie of retailers stretching from Bristol to places as far east as Twyford in Berkshire, north to Cirencester in Gloucestershire and south to Shepton Mallet in Somerset.[[696]](#footnote-696)

Due to his region-wide interest in the domestic tobacco trade, Cale’s career sheds light on a multitude of other tobacco manufacturers, suppliers and retailers in early modern England and Wales. Little has been previously researched regarding the seventeenth-century inland tobacco trade, how it was structured and what kinds of people participated in it. Instead, most work on the early modern tobacco trade focuses on overseas trade, colonial developments and the development of the state, largely due to the availability of archival records. As J. A. Chartres noted several decades ago, ‘because overseas trade has generated a copious, if problematical, volume of statistical materials, historians may have been led to look more closely at the external account than the over-all balance of the economy would warrant.’[[697]](#footnote-697) By contrast, the domestic wholesale, manufacturing and retail trades, including of tobacco, have largely been ignored. One exception is Anthony Rowley’s 2003 thesis.[[698]](#footnote-698) Rowley focuses on the 1630s, a decade which witnessed the first and only attempt to centrally-license all retailers during the early modern period. He builds on the work of several historians such as Nancy Cox, J. A. Chartres and T. S. Willan, who have all attempted to explain the significance of domestic economic practices in the early modern period and who, to a limited extent, incorporate tobacco into their analyses.[[699]](#footnote-699) However, while providing many insights into distribution practices, Rowley ends his analysis in 1642, a moment which was midway through a crucial phase in the development of the trade. As such, Rowley’s analysis remains a ‘snapshot of the structure of the tobacco trade in England before the Civil War’, precisely at the moment in which tobacco became a widespread and readily available commodity of consumption.[[700]](#footnote-700) By contrast, this present chapter offers a fuller description of the domestic wholesale tobacco trade in the sixty-year period during which official imports to England and Wales grew by at least 20,000 per cent.[[701]](#footnote-701) In doing so, the chapter links up the years either side of the mid-century crisis and considers the period as one of internal economic continuity as much as it was of constitutional discontinuity. During these decades, techniques in manufacturing imported leaf tobacco into a vendible commodity were perfected and internal networks of distribution became entrenched.

The first two sections look at the practices relating to the manufacture or processing of tobacco into a vendible commodity and shows how multiple stages and variations in this process led to increased specialization in the manufacture of the commodity. Manufactured as opposed to leaf tobacco prolonged the shelf-life of tobacco. Consequently, longer-lasting tobacco on the market facilitated all year-round consumption, enabling the wholesale and retail trades to pull away from the seasonal cycle that characterised tobacco cultivation and the overseas import trade. Along with longevity, the taste, appearance, smell and overall quality of tobacco was substantially altered as a consequence of the manufacturing process, and led to variations in the finished product, which, along with price, gave consumers choice. Although manufactured tobacco put a premium on the price of the commodity, improvements in processing methods and a growing specialisation of the industry contributed to falling prices over the long-term.

The third section of the chapter briefly examines the re-export trade whereas the fourth section analyses internal distribution networks. Here, I show that tobacco reached retailers and consumers throughout the country due to well-entrenched transport networks extending from multiple ports. Moreover, the widespread involvement in the overseas tobacco trade was replicated in the inland trade. Importers and wholesalers constituted a large network through which tobacco was distributed along many different channels. These distributive practices were essential components in the chain between producer and consumer and allowed a circuitous dialogue of supply and demand to develop. The amounts, types, prices and quality of tobacco that were simultaneously marketed to and required by the consumer were transmitted through these intermediary stages of exchange, ultimately linking transatlantic commodity networks with rituals of consumption.

## i. Techniques

Through multiple stages of manufacture, tobacco was transformed into a vendible commodity. Norton has termed this process as ‘commodifying across the Atlantic’.[[702]](#footnote-702) However, although she notes the crucial difference between ‘homegrown green tobacco [and] dried, cured varieties shipped from the Indies’, Norton does not elaborate on the processes involved in achieving this transformation.[[703]](#footnote-703) By contrast, this section illuminates the necessary stages required for widespread tobacco consumption during the course of the seventeenth century. Methods for processing tobacco were developed for practical and marketing reasons, primarily to extend the commodity’s shelf-life and enable long-distance carriage. However, processed tobacco also had to cater for how the consumer expected it to look, taste and to feel. Variation in techniques contributed to wide range in the end-product, which simultaneously catered for and shaped consumer expectations. By enabling the commodity to last much longer, manufactured tobacco broke free of the natural, seasonal pattern of cultivation and overseas transport. Ultimately, the manufacture of cured tobacco leaves transformed the plant into a physical, man-made artefact, and it was through these processing techniques that the final stages of commodification took place.

Until 1685, tobacco was principally manufactured into either roll or cut varieties. Chewing tobacco, made into a *brique* or plug, also existed and snuff was certainly manufactured and consumed in the seventeenth century.[[704]](#footnote-704) Judging from sources, snuff or ‘sneezing tobacco’ was particularly popular in Ireland and grew in popularity in England during the Restoration era.[[705]](#footnote-705) Snuff was relatively cost-efficient because it used the stalks or stems of tobacco leaves that otherwise were discarded or mixed with lower-quality smoking tobacco.[[706]](#footnote-706) However, it was only in the eighteenth century that snuff become fashionable and commercially significant, on a par with smoked varieties of tobacco.[[707]](#footnote-707) Snuff therefore is not presently of central importance for this thesis. Instead, most depositional evidence confirms the manufacture and conveyance of roll and cut tobacco and most relevant inventories attest to the tools that were used in the processing of tobacco into either of these forms. Both these types of manufactured tobacco were extensively consumed via smoking. This section proceeds with the manufacture of rolls.

As noted earlier in this thesis, tobacco rolls were primarily exported from the West Indies in some considerable quantities until the 1660s.[[708]](#footnote-708) Although the quantities of imported rolls declined over time, they were manufactured in England since the beginning of the seventeenth century and, following the expansion of imports of Chesapeake leaf tobacco in hogsheads beginning c.1630, domestic production increased rapidly. Whereas a roll still had to be shredded before smoking, manufacturing into roll considerably extended the durability of tobacco, enabling re-exports and long-distance overland transport.[[709]](#footnote-709) In Aberthaw during the late 1630s, tobacco seized by customs officers and kept aboard ship ‘were but leaves made up and so were the sooner subject to turne to dirt in a small time’.[[710]](#footnote-710) By contrast, manufactured roll tobacco could last much longer.

For tobacco that arrived in a hogshead, the first process was to extract the cured leaves from their container. This was done through prizing open the wooden staves of the hogshead, usually so that the container could be used again. The net weight of the tobacco could then be calculated, both for the accounts of the custom (and excise) service and for the first purchaser. After unpacking, the solid mass of tobacco leaves were cut into a succession of circular cakes. Because leaves often dried during transit, they were then moistened in order that the individual leaves could be pulled apart and if not done so in the colonies, each leaf was sometimes stripped (‘stemmed’) from its central membrane.[[711]](#footnote-711) Tobacco stalks frequently emerge in the records, indicating that they were a by-product of the process undertaken within England.[[712]](#footnote-712) As a naval administrator, Samuel Pepys was involved in an experiment to source tobacco stalks for cannon wadding.[[713]](#footnote-713) However, the main use for tobacco stalks was either for snuff or in the illicit economy.[[714]](#footnote-714)

After stemming, ‘liquoring’ could take place. Liquoring involved steeping stripped tobacco leaves in a liquid in order to help preserve them for longer and to make the leaves more pliable to work with. Using additives may well also have been for taste or appearance; it also augmented the weight of tobacco, increasing a manufacturer’s sales.[[715]](#footnote-715) It seems that adding substances to tobacco leaves during processing was standard practice but one that was initially contested. In 1615, the anonymous writer of *An Advice How to Plant Tobacco* *in England* advised against ‘slubber[ing]’ but nonetheless conceded how shopkeepers stocked tobacco that had been ‘noynted and slubbered over with a kinde of juyce, or syrope’. Seven years later, William Carpenter and Edmund Atwood of Gloucestershire contracted to purchase from the Virginia colonist, William Tracy, 280 lbs. of tobacco, along with twenty gallons of unknown tobacco ‘liquor…for the curinge and makeinge of the said…tobacco saleable’. However, for reasons unknown, the liquor was not delivered and consequently the tobacco ‘could not be cured or made good and saleable’.[[716]](#footnote-716) According to Carpenter and Atwood, the tobacco was unsaleable due to the absence of this vital, albeit unspecified, component. Most tellingly, probate inventories belonging to those who undertook the manufacturing stages include tubs, troughs and other broad, low-bottomed containers, used for the soaking of tobacco leaves.[[717]](#footnote-717) In addition, by 1689 the customs commissioners reported how roll tobacco contained differing amounts of additives, stating ‘that there are principally two sorts of rolled tobacco: one that is bright and fair made up with very little moisture, the other very dark coloured and mixed with a great quantity of syrups and liquors.’[[718]](#footnote-718)

The ingredients that were added to tobacco likewise varied. Oil was perhaps the principal additive. Certainly, in the eighteenth century ‘a variety of substances, in particular olive oil, were added to give [tobacco leaves] stretch for spinning’, along with ‘molasses and wine or rum’, but it was widely known long before this that tobacco was ‘best preserved by moisture and no ayre’.[[719]](#footnote-719) Moreover, the high incidence of seventeenth-century Bristol soap-boilers who were also tobacco importers possibly indicates their dual role as importers of oil, a product likewise used in the soap manufacturing trade.[[720]](#footnote-720) In 1644, Thomas Hancock, a ‘citizen and soap-maker of Bristol’, sold a ‘parcell of tobacco’ alongside train oil (made from whale blubber) to one Daniel Brigdale of Shrewsbury, further indicating that tobacco required oil in subsequent manufacturing stages.[[721]](#footnote-721) It is evident that some additives were deemed permissible in order to assist with preservation, taste and appearance, as well as something that may have aided the rolling process. The outcome was increased variation in the finished product as each manufacturer developed their own formulae and techniques.

Following whatever type of ‘liquoring’ had taken place, the tobacco leaves could then be rolled or spun. As for the eighteenth century, a spindle, bobbin or hand-wheel was often all that was required for this stage; although smaller rolls could conceivably be made by hand.[[722]](#footnote-722) Some rolls contained a blend of different leaves, according to the manufacturers choice and availability of stock. After rolling, tobacco roll was pressed by placing in a heavy standing press for several days. Probate inventories of individuals who manufactured tobacco show frequent references to ‘tobacco presses’ or presses with ‘iron scrues’, such as those belonging to John Wale, James Everett and John Neeve of Bristol.[[723]](#footnote-723) David Phelps, a specialist Bristol ‘tobacco roller’, had a dedicated workroom containing several ‘standing’ presses and an additional standing press for ‘pressing square role’, along with wheels, boards and a sledgehammer.[[724]](#footnote-724) In 1666, a ‘Tobacco screws and press’ was shipped up the River Severn from Bristol to Gloucester, indicating the establishment of a tobacco rolling works there.[[725]](#footnote-725)

The second principal way for manufacturing cured tobacco leaves was to immediately cut or shred the tobacco leaves. As with roll tobacco, this generally required tobacco leaves to be first extracted from their container, ‘stemmed’, ‘liquored’ and pressed into a compact mass using a special press, before it was cut into fibres of varying thickness. Contemporaries referred to ‘beating and cutting’ tobacco, as Henry Right did in Daventry during the 1630s, suggesting here that the leaves were compressed together in a different way to using a press.[[726]](#footnote-726) As numerous probate inventories also indicate, cutting or shredding tobacco could be performed by hand. For instance, John Keene, a Bristol anchor-smith, possessed ‘two hand sawes and One Tobaccoe knife’ on his death in 1675, while most specialist tobacco-manufacturers in the same city owned various hand-knives, cutting boards and pestle and mortars.[[727]](#footnote-727) On the other hand, many of these same individuals also owned, by the Restoration era, more specialist equipment. For example, the ‘tobacco-cutters’, James Everett and Henry Tripwick, both owned ‘Two Engines for cutting tobacco’ along with their presses and dryers.[[728]](#footnote-728) John Bassett, a tobacconist’ owned ‘one tobacco ingine’ and William Temple had two ‘engine rooms’ with multiple engines ‘to cutt tobacco’.[[729]](#footnote-729) Exactly how these ‘engines’ operated is unknown, but it is most likely that they were hand-powered. Howsoever they functioned, the use of ‘ingines’ by around 1660 backdates a number of previous histories on the tobacco trade that assumed that such mechanical devices were a late eighteenth-century invention. For example, B.W.E. Alford’s assertion that tobacco shredding was originally ‘a hand process done by women and girls, but in the 1780s a cutting machine was introduced’, clearly needs rethinking.[[730]](#footnote-730) Indeed, as early as 1671 a proposal was put forward to prohibit the cutting of tobacco except by the use of engines operated by a member of a newly-formed Corporation of tobacco manufacturers.[[731]](#footnote-731) Although the proposal was not successful, less than twenty-five years later the political economist John Cary stated how ‘tobacco is cut by engines instead of knives’ and used the machine as an example of one then conventional improvement in manufacturing.[[732]](#footnote-732) As with the general triumph of packing colonial tobacco into hogsheads rather than rolls, the use of machinery to manufacture tobacco – a mechanical innovation – points towards increased efficiency in the tobacco trade.

In contrast to tobacco made up into a roll, shredded tobacco was less likely to survive well over long distances. Even so, various additives could be used before the leaves were cut which extended the product’s durability through fixing the moisture content. Consequently, shredded or ‘coarse’ tobacco could still be transported many miles and even re-exported short distances overseas.[[733]](#footnote-733) As with roll tobacco, humectants were used for cut tobacco, causing tobacco leaves to moisten and ferment and extending the shelf-life of the product. Although treated less heavily than roll tobacco, liquoring also altered the taste, texture and appearance of cut tobacco. However, because cut tobacco had been moistened or treated with additives, it usually had to be dried before consumption. Specialist equipment indeed existed for drying tobacco – the appraisers of Martin Bishop’s 1622 probate inventory distinguished between his ‘two tobacco pans’ and ‘a dripping pan’ and multiple inventories list metal tobacco ‘dryers’.[[734]](#footnote-734) On the other hand, one may have simply dried tobacco ‘upon a frypan’.[[735]](#footnote-735)

Packing methods were also applied to prolong the duration that shredded as well as roll tobacco could last for fit consumption. Under the early Stuarts, lawfully peddled tobacco was distinguished from contraband by being wrapped in paper and marked with a different seal depending on the tobacco’s origin.[[736]](#footnote-736) Licensed dealers in Warwickshire issued retailers with pre-prepared packets which could be sold individually to consumers.[[737]](#footnote-737) However, illicit dealers still utilised their own unsealed packets and papers. In neighbouring Northamptonshire, ‘unsealed paper[s]’ were supplied by retailers for as little as 1d., two dealers even disguising larger packets of contraband tobacco as onion seed.[[738]](#footnote-738) Larger quantities of tobacco roll were commonly wrapped in greased paper or bound with cord in order to augment longevity. Interestingly, two contemporary satirists lampooned the practice of wrapping tobacco in pages of ‘the better sorts of books’.[[739]](#footnote-739) The extent of investment in packaging tobacco is seen in an account kept by Thomas Wentworth’s servant in Ireland which includes an entry totalling over £28 for ‘thread, wax, past board etc for sealing tobacco’ for use in the Lord Deputy’s tobacco monopoly.[[740]](#footnote-740) Wentworth’s stipulation that all imported tobacco ‘should bee made up into Rolls, and the same sealed with two Seales by himselfe appointed, one at each end of the Roll’ was confirmed in parliament’s attack against Strafford, published in 1641.[[741]](#footnote-741) After this date, the termination of state-control on lawful retailing in England, Wales and Ireland may have contributed to the emergence of different packaging methods and techniques in marketing. Certainly, the use of packaging outside of a state monopoly allowed the emergence of branding and advertising, although more research is needed to ascertain how much was new in the last quarter of the century, when, according to Catherine Molineux, ‘tobacconists and other tradespeople began commissioning local artisans to engrave or etch trade cards, billheads, and....tobacco papers, or wrappers.’[[742]](#footnote-742) Lorena Walsh, for instance, has provided examples of four later seventeenth-century tobacco papers, branded with the manufacturers’ names and containing images of Native Americans, African slaves and ships.[[743]](#footnote-743)

Manufactured tobacco considerably extended the lifespan of tobacco leaves as well as increasing the amount of tobacco that could be sold.[[744]](#footnote-744) One London tobacco roller was reported to have produced rolls that could last for up to twelve years.[[745]](#footnote-745) However, the expectations of the consumer meant that manufacturers had to ensure that the end-product was not unpalatable, inferior or inconsistent. Over time, improvements in processing tobacco leaf ultimately had a long-term effect on the availability and price of tobacco. Not only did the use of ‘engines’ and other specialist equipment bring down production costs, with roll tobacco being able to last over a couple of years, but wholesalers could overcome the seasonal nature of the import trade. Sales of manufactured tobacco could take place at any time of year and stock was less likely to perish. A wholesaler could sit on his product for much longer while still affording to make cheaper sales, in the knowledge that subsequent stock would last.

Despite the uptake of some specialised and conventional tools and equipment for processing tobacco, the various procedures in the industry led to variation in the finished product. Roll and cut tobacco were the two broad categories available on the retail market but they can be sub-divided according to types (shape, size, weight), the additives used, the quality or blend of the leaf and the expertise of the manufacturer. Variation came according to practical necessities of the trade (storage, transportation, durability, cost) and was offset by what was demanded or expected from the consumer (appearance, taste, smell, price). For cut tobacco, variation was apparent in the size or thickness of the cut. Retailers made a distinction between ‘small’ and ‘broad’ cut tobacco: a fine and uniform cut evidently indicated slightly more quality whereas coarse and unevenly shredded tobacco denoted a slightly cheaper product.[[746]](#footnote-746) Similarly, a huge variety of different types of rolls had also emerged by 1685. Within the ‘two sorts of rolled tobacco’ identified by customs commissioners at the time of the Glorious Revolution, roll tobacco could be altered in an almost infinite number of ways, with terms like ‘pigtail’, ‘[w]reath’ and ‘carrotte’ designating certain styles that a manufacture could perform.[[747]](#footnote-747) Depositions, too, show rolls weighing anywhere between several lbs. and several hundred lbs., indicating vast variations in size.[[748]](#footnote-748) On top of these set varieties, different manufacturers may well have developed their own styles, resulting in different shaped and various sized rolls, balls, plugs, twists, pricks, cords and so forth. Indeed, according to Jacob Price talking of the French tobacco trade at the turn of the eighteenth century, there were ‘literally dozens of varieties of prepared tobacco known to the trade’.[[749]](#footnote-749) As well as manufacturing methods, variation was also the result of the leaf quality, where it originated from and whether it was blended.[[750]](#footnote-750) Any variety of tobacco could be graded and blended. On the one hand, a manufacturer may have sought to mask inferior leaf with a better quality variety.[[751]](#footnote-751) On the other hand, the highest graded leaves could be kept together: ‘best Virginia tobacco’ became a commonplace descriptor for premium sweet-scented tobacco which was made from a blend of the best quality leaf, and shopkeepers stocked second and third grade tobacco, allegedly originating from the same colony.[[752]](#footnote-752)

Tobacco underwent multiple processes of drying, curing, moistening, rolling, storing, shredding, packaging and further drying prior to consumption. Although tobacco leaves were a natural product, these stages suggest that the tobacco consumed in England was very much removed from its organic, ‘New World’ origins. Even semantically, tobacco was frequently transformed, with contemporaries commonly referring to different types of the finished product. The end-product was a manufactured, physical artefact: a commodity of consumption. This transformation altered not just the materiality of tobacco, but also its associated cultural meanings. This chapter now turns to the people who undertook the manufacturing processes and emphasises how new occupations were created as a result of the industry.

## ii. Practitioners

The manufacture of tobacco was undertaken by a variety of social groups. While many manufacturing stages could be undertaken by non-specialists, there was an increasing tendency towards specialisation and expertise as the century unfolded, particularly in London and the south-western outports. The skills and knowledge required for manufacturing tobacco underwent an important transformation during the seventeenth century. Over time, increased specialisation in mainly port but also some inland settlements led to improved efficiency in manufacturing techniques and negated some of the costs associated with processing tobacco.

Rolling and cutting tobacco were skills that had to be learnt from an experienced practitioner. Because rolls were initially produced throughout the Caribbean, the Chesapeake and on Bermuda, the knowledge of their manufacture in England was therefore most likely spread by planters and sailors who had in turn learnt from Native Americans and African slaves.[[753]](#footnote-753) Sailors, returning planters and merchant-agents who shipped tobacco to England brought back with them the expertise of how to successfully manufacture tobacco into rolls, developing and fine-tuning certain practices and techniques – there are also references to sailors processing tobacco leaves into roll when aboard ship.[[754]](#footnote-754) The increase in the use of hogsheads for leaf tobacco increased the necessity for a large-scale domestic manufacturing industry and, through the apprentice system, manufacturers adapted skills and passed on knowledge to others. For example, in 1660, Thomas Osborne came to Bideford (Devon) to live with his brother in order to learn how ‘to make up leaf tobacco’ and in Lancashire during early 1680s, William Stout’s apprentice days were spent learning about the ‘making up’ of tobacco.[[755]](#footnote-755) Knowledge of what ingredients to use in the fermentation or ‘liquoring’ stage was also required, so much so that two manufacturers who had purchased raw tobacco without this vital ingredient were prepared to take the seller to court.[[756]](#footnote-756) Experimentation, too, played a considerable role. Over time, tobacco manufacturers honed their skills and built up considerable reputations. According to Zahedieh, a tobacco roll ‘combined different grades of tobacco and the flavour and durability of the product depended heavily on the skill of the manufacturer and his own special (often secret) recipe which allowed some…to build elevated reputations.’[[757]](#footnote-757) Just as planters strove to market their produce successfully to importers, manufacturers entreated wholesalers and retailers to value their roll or cut tobacco as ‘special good’ or ‘the best role possible’.[[758]](#footnote-758)

Although skills had to be learnt, many individuals engaged in tobacco manufacturing were non-specialist or *ad hoc* workers, particularly before 1650. In the 1630s, Henry Right, a Northamptonshire carrier who delivered tobacco to his employer’s customers, had ‘diverse times & often bin at Martine Wigston[’]s house in Daventry...and hath there beaten and cutt tobacco for him the said Martyn’.[[759]](#footnote-759) Likewise, a victualler living in Hull ‘rolled’ tobacco for one Christopher Dales.[[760]](#footnote-760) Ben Jonson’s Ursula or ‘pig-woman’ in *Bartholomew Fair* was a vendor of tobacco who blended it with additives herself, satirising that the processes were undertaken by the female retailer.[[761]](#footnote-761) From other sources, it is clear that many provincial retailers cut and blended tobacco and made up packets or small rolls for direct retail. In the 1670s and 1680s, for instance, Stout prepared packets of tobacco; the grocer and ironmonger later also employed his own spinner to produce tobacco rolls in his shop.[[762]](#footnote-762) In addition, retailer probate inventories suggest other shopkeepers undertook the cutting and packing of tobacco, if not the manufacture of rolls. On his death in 1665, Benjamin Marshall of Lincoln owned hammers, knives, boards, sieves and pans for shredding tobacco.[[763]](#footnote-763) Twenty years later, Margaret Bowles, a widow, simply owned ‘a board to cutt tobacco on’ while Samuel James of Uffculme (Devon) possessed a quantity of both roll and cut tobacco, indicating that he intended to process the roll into cut tobacco himself.[[764]](#footnote-764)

Mercers and grocers were amongst the most common occupations involved in processing tobacco, who also signify a shift towards a more specialist enterprise during the second half of the seventeenth century. At Exeter in 1683, Priscilla Dixson was apprenticed to the grocer William Clarke and his wife Margaret for the ‘rolling, cutting and twisting’ of tobacco.[[765]](#footnote-765) In the Somerset port of Bridgwater, the mercer George Balch had presses and ‘engens’ valued at over £28 and ‘several sorts of cutt leafe and role tobacco’ priced at £381, indicating that some tradesmen ostensibly involved in other occupations seem to have engaged in the manufacturing as well as the wholesaling of tobacco as their mainstay, if not sole, enterprise.[[766]](#footnote-766) Balch’s probate inventory also indicates that while inland retailers undertook some processes themselves, specialist groups, particularly in port settlements, undertook much larger tobacco manufacturing operations. In Barnstaple (Devon), William Gribble was an established manufacturer and retailer who marketed his ‘best Virginia tobacco’ through the issuing of branded wrappers, one of which is a rare survival of the seventeenth century.[[767]](#footnote-767) Some port towns attracted migrants from adjacent counties and inland settlements to work in the tobacco manufacturing industry. In 1660, Thomas Osborne of Sherborne (Dorset) moved in with his brother in Bideford (Devon) to learn ‘living in the way of husbandry or making of tobacco’.[[768]](#footnote-768)

Port towns across the country were sites of intense tobacco manufacture. In London and Middlesex, tobacco manufacturers flourished, as they did in the ports of Chester and Cardiff.[[769]](#footnote-769) In Bridgwater (Somerset), the mercer, George Balch, had a warehouse devoted to manufacturing tobacco, containing ‘several presses, engenes, tubbs, boxes and other things belonging to the cutting of tobacco.’[[770]](#footnote-770) In Padstow (Cornwall), another mercer owned a ‘tobacco scrue & implements thereunto’ in a room above his shop, whereas in Sunderland (Durham) in 1632, one Ralph Wells owned a ‘broken tobacco dryer’.[[771]](#footnote-771) Manufacturers were especially conspicuous in Bristol, as evident from both the number of specialist occupations (below) and equipment listed in probate inventories. Bristol soap-boilers were particularly well-suited in sourcing the materials for tobacco manufacturing as both tobacco and soap required oil during the ‘liquoring’ stage. During the Restoration era Thomas Northall of St Thomas owned a ‘tobacco pres & bords’ along with considerable quantities of both tobacco and soap, as well as additional implements for the processing and weighing of both commodities.[[772]](#footnote-772) Similarly, the soap-boilers Roger Slade, John Birkin and Daniel Roach owned substantial amounts of manufactured tobacco on their deaths.[[773]](#footnote-773)

Although we have seen that an individual’s trade title was not necessarily an indication that they specialised in tobacco processing, one way to see an increase in the specialization of tobacco manufacturing is by looking at occupations specifically designating the tobacco-manufacturing trades. For example, the inland towns of Yeovil and Somerton (Somerset) each had a resident ‘tobacco cutter’ with the addition of at least one apprentice apiece, as did those port settlements mentioned above.[[774]](#footnote-774) More strikingly, table 4.1 shows the increase in the number of tobacco manufacturers admitted to the freedom of Bristol, the second largest port for tobacco during the period, and is some indication of the growth of the tobacco industry at that time.

Table 4.1. *Tobacco Manufacturers Admitted as Freemen, Bristol 1640-1689*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Decade** | **Cutter** | **Roller** | **Tobacconist** | **Total** |
| 1640-9 | 1 | - | 1 | 2 |
| 1650-9 | 3 | 1 | - | 4 |
| 1660-9 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 18 |
| 1670-9 | 6 | 15 | 11 | 32 |
| 1680-9 | 10 | 24 | 21 | 55 |
| **TOTAL** | **27** | **47** | **37** | **111** |

*Source*: John B. Watts (ed.), *Index to the Bristol Burgess Books, 1–21: 1557–1995* (Bristol, 2005).

Between 1640 and 1690 – a period in which official tobacco imports to Bristol significantly expanded, hitting a peak of over four million lbs. per annum during the 1670s – the number of tobacco manufacturers admitted to the freedom of the city likewise increased, totalling above one hundred over a fifty-year period. To this list could be added the seventy or so tobacco-pipe makers also admitted as freemen to Bristol during the same period, a spin-off industry of the tobacco trade.[[775]](#footnote-775) Moreover, the figures could be multiplied in order to give a national impression of the number of tobacco manufacturers, according to the amount of tobacco that other ports imported. Owing to London’s size and its prominence in the tobacco trade, for example, the number of its citizen tobacco manufacturers may well have been at least four times greater than Bristol’s in order to process the vast quantities of leaf tobacco arriving at the city’s quays every year.[[776]](#footnote-776) In addition, the actual number of people engaged in manufacturing tobacco would have been far higher than the number of citizen tobacco manufacturers because each manufacturer would have employed apprentices and other individuals to work in the industry. By the 1680s, for example, the London ‘role-maker’ John Linton alone employed over one hundred workers and Zahedieh has estimated that the whole tobacco manufacturing industry would have employed two or three thousand workers.[[777]](#footnote-777) The scale of the tobacco roll-manufacturing industry was high enough for Bristol and London merchants to complain that a deduction in the debentures allowed on re-exported tobacco threatened the loss of an industry which employed ‘many hundreds of poor people, men, women, and children’.[[778]](#footnote-778)

As table 4.1 shows, three trades were included in this calculation, although in reality each calling overlapped. For instance, probate inventories of tobacco cutters list equipment used for rolling tobacco and *vice versa*.[[779]](#footnote-779) Similarly, the meaning of tobacconist was mutable. During the second half of the century, ‘tobacconist’ almost certainly meant manufacturer and wholesaler rather than the modern meaning of retailer, but as already stated, retailers frequently took on the manufacturing processes.[[780]](#footnote-780) Some of these manufacturers also imported tobacco into Bristol, indicating that they had invested in multiple stages of the tobacco trade and sought to circumvent merchant middlemen.[[781]](#footnote-781) More commonly, manufacturers were employed by tobacco importers or wholesalers in a kind of putting-out arrangement. Some large-scale tobacco importers contracted manufacturers to process their tobacco or directly employed people to do so on their behalf. As early as 1628, one London worker was paid 4d. per lb. ‘for the making up of 12,057 lbs. of tobacco’.[[782]](#footnote-782) Around the same time, a Bristol linen draper and a yeoman, ‘beinge one wch useth to make up tobacco’, spent thirty-one days ‘making up’ rolls of Brazilian tobacco on behalf of a merchant and part-owner of a privateering vessel. One of the men was able to produce three rolls each day and received £10 for his month’s work.[[783]](#footnote-783) In 1653, one of Bristol’s largest tobacco importers, the soap-boiler Richard Crump, sold both roll and cut tobacco, indicating that Crump’s import business was supplemented by a manufacturing interest which he either sub-contracted to specialist manufacturers or employed workers directly to perform.[[784]](#footnote-784) A similar case could be made for another soap-boiler, Edward Fielding, who was Bristol’s foremost tobacco importer during the 1670s and who supplied manufactured ‘pigtaile’ and ‘[w]reath’ tobacco to provincial wholesalers.[[785]](#footnote-785) As in the pre-civil war period, large-scale importers in the second half of the century frequently employed increasingly specialist manufacturers to convert tobacco leaves from hogsheads into rolls or cut tobacco, fit for the retail market.[[786]](#footnote-786)

The equipment used for manufacturing tobacco was not hugely expensive. An ‘engine’ for cutting tobacco may have cost only up to £3 or £4. John Bassett possessed one ‘tobacco ingine’ worth £2 10s. on his death.[[787]](#footnote-787) Henry Tripwick had two engines, together ‘with the ‘app[ur]tenance’, valued at the same price.[[788]](#footnote-788) However, most tools were often appraised together. Richard Baber had two tobacco presses and six tobacco wheels (for rolling) for £4.[[789]](#footnote-789) David Phelps had one new wheel and three old ones appraised at just 7s. Though a later example, Henry Evans, a tobacco cutter, had his unspecified ‘working tools’ appraised only at £1 5s.[[790]](#footnote-790) Despite the relative cheapness for obtaining the necessary tools, the economic, social, and political standing of tobacco manufacturing households were somewhere in the middle of society. From a sample of 17 tobacco manufacturers from Bristol, the average appraised wealth at their death was just over £80.[[791]](#footnote-791) Using probate inventories, the total wealth of these heads of households ranged between £20 8s. 4d. (John Bevan) and £349 9s. 1d. (Henry Tripwick).[[792]](#footnote-792) Tripwick must have been a fairly prominent citizen because his will was proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury rather than by local church courts, although his will is apparently the only one of a Bristol tobacco manufacturer to be held there.[[793]](#footnote-793) Of course, once we include wholesalers like Fielding and Crump, the net is substantially widened. These individuals imported raw tobacco leaves and traded in manufactured tobacco and so clearly had much input in the manufacturing stages, if not quite directly undertaking these themselves. Tobacco-manufacturers, while engaged in an honest and potentially lucrative occupation, were a peg or two below the larger merchant and wholesaler magnates whose tobacco they processed.

As with overseas trade, networks within the tobacco manufacturing trade were structured around familial and apprentice links. The Bristol tobacco roller, William Temple (admitted in 1668), was an apprentice to Thomas Foster, a glover who imported tobacco on at least one occasion.[[794]](#footnote-794) James Everett (Everard), tobacco cutter, gained the freedom of Bristol by marrying the widow of the ‘rough mason’, Nathaniel Belsher (Belcher/ Belchier).[[795]](#footnote-795) Belsher’s two sons, Joseph and Samuel, were also tobacco cutters, indicating a link with their step-father’s trade; they were admitted as freemen approximately two and eight years after their mother’s marriage to Everett, respectively.[[796]](#footnote-796) In turn, Samuel Belsher had at least three apprentices trained in the tobacco industry: Samuel Holliday, Joseph Lewis and George Martin.[[797]](#footnote-797) A fourth Belsher, Francis, also had a son, John, trained as a tobacco cutter.[[798]](#footnote-798) Finally, at least four Bristol tobacco importers between 1655 and 1685 shared this same unusual surname, perhaps indicating further links within the tobacco trade.[[799]](#footnote-799) Knowledge was fostered and developed within these close-knit networks and the admission of tobacco manufacturers as Bristol freemen suggests a degree of civic supervision over the trade.

While supervision may have existed at the local level, there was certainly only minimal central government involvement over the tobacco manufacturing industry. This came despite repeated attempts to introduce some sort of national, or at least London-based, organisation. For instance, in 1619, a grant was given for an office of ‘garbling [of] tobacco’, valued at £100 per annum.[[800]](#footnote-800) There were likewise repeated attempts to impose regulation on the tobacco manufacturing industry during the 1620s, 1630s and 1640s.[[801]](#footnote-801) In 1639, Charles I granted a letters patent to one Archibald Hay and others for the incorporation of a ‘Company of Tobacco-workers of Westminster’ as long as it did not impinge on Lord Goring’s regulation over tobacco retail licences or customs duties.[[802]](#footnote-802) The same patent was debated by parliament towards the end of 1640;[[803]](#footnote-803) four years later, another petition appealed for the ‘the incorporation of the honest dealing workmen of tobacco, freemen of London’, although there is no evidence that this company was ever created.[[804]](#footnote-804) A final attempt came in 1671, but this was probably more wishful thinking amongst a couple of projectors than anything that gained much traction.[[805]](#footnote-805) This anonymous project revealed a grandiose plan to centrally control all tobacco manufacturing operation in the capital but smacked of the monopolistic tendencies that had plagued the early Stuarts. As a consequence of unsuccessful proposals and short-lived projects, the tobacco manufacturing industry essentially remained deregulated, at least as far as the central state was concerned, contrasting with several continental nations. For instance, France’s tobacco monopoly incorporated the manufacturing stages, with operations undertaken in several *départements* and headed by the tobacco customs farmers.[[806]](#footnote-806)

The deregulation of the tobacco manufacture trade meant that prices could not be fixed by an independent regulator. Of course, prices of manufactured tobacco were higher than leaf tobacco sold immediately after importation, and distribution further inland likewise led to higher amounts.[[807]](#footnote-807) However, along with an increase in the volume of trade, deregulation facilitated a decline in tobacco wholesale prices between 1625 and 1685. From thirty-five instances collected from the second half of the 1630s, the mean price of tobacco sold on the English wholesale market was 25d. per lb.[[808]](#footnote-808) Twenty years later, Richard Crump’s sales to a Welsh retailer in 1653 saw cut tobacco sold at 18d. per lb. and roll tobacco for 14d. per lb.[[809]](#footnote-809) Other wholesale prices come from Lewis Tremayne’s almanac in the early 1660s, who recorded tobacco prices of between 11d. and 13d. (aside from 60 lbs. that were delivered to his sister for just 3d. per lb.).[[810]](#footnote-810) In addition, manufactured tobacco in post-1650 probate inventories (which were apparently calculated as wholesale) could be as high as 22d. per lb., although most inventories sampled show prices in pence in single figures.[[811]](#footnote-811) In 1663, a quantity of cut tobacco appraised in Thomas Northall’s probate inventory was valued at just 2d. per lb.[[812]](#footnote-812) While the overall increase of supply – both via lawful and illegal means – was primarily responsible for tobacco’s decline in price, further price reductions were facilitated by improvements in manufacturing techniques and increased specialisation amongst the industry’s practitioners.

Specialised tobacco manufacturers like those at Bristol, as well as other tradesmen who evidently devoted a large part of their energies to processing tobacco, had a long-term effect on the domestic tobacco trade. Whilst manufactured tobacco put a premium on the commodity (in that roll or cut tobacco cost more than leaf tobacco), increased specialisation led to better efficiency over time and the mass circulation of standardised, albeit highly varied, formats of tobacco. A growing process of division of labour separated many manufacturers from retailers and importers, as a distinct occupation. Of course, some large-scale importers like Fielding and Crump certainly supplied manufactured tobacco by wholesale; however, it is likely that the manufacturing operations were out-sourced to specialised manufacturers or undertaken by specialist workers within the firm, something that was certainly done since the 1620s, if not earlier. Large-scale operations where division of labour prevailed led to cheaper manufactured tobacco on the domestic market. When added to the increasing use of ‘engines’ and other specialised equipment, manufacturing costs were reduced and the finished product made cheaper. Over time, increased efficiencies that resulted from the rise of tobacco rollers and cutters as established trades and the use of machinery contributed to cheaper manufacturing processes which had a net effect on the wholesale and retail price of tobacco.[[813]](#footnote-813) Moreover, and as with wholesalers, manufacturers’ intermediary position between the consumer and importing merchant, if not the planter himself, enabled them to transmit knowledge concerning demand one way and apply the same expertise in the manufacture of what was required.

## iii. Overseas Re-Exports

External and internal distribution networks were essential for conveying tobacco to consumers. The whole tobacco trade hinged upon the successful functioning of supply chains between importation and consumption. Along with the increase in tobacco imports, the seventeenth century was also host to a growth in the number of tobacco re-exports: that is, tobacco that was shipped to foreign markets after its importation into England. Although this development eventually led to London rivalling Amsterdam as Europe’s chief entrepot in the international tobacco trade, the re-export trade had its roots during the pre-civil war, indicating that the industry was not driven by a surplus of tobacco on the internal market but by demand overseas.

A number of historians have shown the significance of tobacco re-exports after 1660. Using data supplied by Russell Menard and Jacob Price, Nuala Zahedieh has revealed that between the Restoration and the year following the introduction of the new imposition in 1685, the amount of re-exported tobacco almost quadrupled. Whereas in 1663 the amount of retained tobacco was twice that which was re-exported, by 1686 the quantities were the same.[[814]](#footnote-814) Thereafter, the amount of re-exported tobacco grew at a faster rate than retained tobacco and, by the end of the seventeenth century, England re-exported twenty-five million lbs. out of thirty-eight million lbs. (almost two-thirds). For Ralph Davis, it was England’s ‘burgeoning re-export trade’ which fuelled its demand for increased tobacco imports.[[815]](#footnote-815)

The Navigation Acts, the first of which was passed by Parliament in 1651 (with subsequent statutes ratified in 1660 and 1663), codified the rules concerning English colonial trade. These laws encompassed all aspects of foreign trade and were designed to encourage the development of English shipping, colonisation abroad and industry at home. Prohibitions against direct trade to Ireland were in force during the 1670s. However, prior to this decade, as well as between 1680 and 1685, Ireland largely escaped the full-force of the Navigation Acts and direct colonial imports were permitted.[[816]](#footnote-816) Merchants or shipmasters had to enter ‘heavy bond’, vouchsafing that they would return to England. Along with the *Act for Preventing Frauds and Regulating Abuses in his Majesties Customs* (1662), controls on the traffic of tobacco were tightened.[[817]](#footnote-817) However, since the reign of Charles I, the direct trade between the colonies and ‘foreigners’, otherwise known as inter-imperial trade, had been prohibited. All tobacco that was produced in an English colony was to be brought to England only, even if its ultimate destination was overseas. In order to enforce this policy, shipmasters had been likewise forced to enter bonds on leaving their homeport which pledged that they would return to England.

There were limits to the Navigation Acts. As we saw in the previous chapter, Dutch merchants were able to circumvent the rulings and continue to traffic Chesapeake tobacco into Amsterdam via illicit channels as well as through ‘legal loopholes’, even as late as the 1680s.[[818]](#footnote-818) Still, there is widespread agreement amongst scholars that the Navigation Acts were, on the whole, a success. Because the acts benefited both public and private interests (at the expense of foreign nation states) and because a rebate was paid on re-exported tobacco, there was not a huge incentive for an English merchant trading to foreign markets to circumvent them.[[819]](#footnote-819) Within the national monopoly of the navigation acts, importers of colonial goods to England and the apparatus of state benefited enormously. The Navigation Acts also encouraged industry within England and Wales. Although a proposal to do so was never enforced by statute, colonial tobacco was commonly processed at an English port, before re-exported for consumption overseas.[[820]](#footnote-820) As later correspondence between the Lords of the Treasury and the Commissioners of the Customs emphasised, tobacco manufactured before exportation increased domestic industry and contributed to local employment.[[821]](#footnote-821)

The re-export trade worked through merchants or other traders importing tobacco as normal and paying full import duties. The importer then had a year in which to export the tobacco and received a proportion of the import duties previously paid for doing so. Money was rarely given to the re-exporter. Instead, a certificate known as a debenture was granted that was, in effect, a bill and therefore source of credit from the customs service. Conversely, the importer could sell tobacco to another tradesperson who, as long as they also exported the tobacco within a year since it was imported, received the debenture. A rebate on imports had been granted to re-exporters since the 1630s but because the duties were still high during this decade, direct illicit imports to the Low Countries or elsewhere were more competitive. After 1651, however, conditions for overseas traders were somewhat improved, following the repayment of a proportion of the import duties on re-exported tobacco. By 1660, merchants could ‘draw back’ 75 per cent of import duties (1.5 d.), thereby encouraging navigation and decreasing the incentive for inter-imperial trade, while maintaining some revenue for the state. Because it was the exporter and not the original importer who received the debenture, sometimes re-exports were written in the importer’s name so that the importer still received the rebate. In 1665, Immanuel Mussaphia, an agent to a German merchant, purchased over one hundred Virginia tobacco hogsheads from two Bristol merchants, before they were re-exported, still in the English merchants’ names, a practice which was ‘according to the custom of England’.[[822]](#footnote-822) Failure to enter the right name on exported tobacco meant that another party was entitled to claim the drawback. In 1683, the London merchant, John Farrington, complained how he had been defrauded £100 after imported tobacco he had paid duties on was subsequently re-exported by other two other merchants who claimed ‘the impost due on the exportac[i]on thereof & refuse[d] to pay the same’ back to Farrington.[[823]](#footnote-823)

The quantities of tobacco re-exported from England increased over time. However, there were differences, in both amounts and destinations. For instance, by the 1680s Falmouth re-exported nine-tenths of the one million lbs. or so of tobacco it annually imported.[[824]](#footnote-824) Around the same time, it became commonplace amongst London tobacco merchants to save costs on shipping their cargoes into the capital by redirecting their imports to the south coast of England (in particular, Cowes on the isle of Wight), before re-exporting the tobacco to Rotterdam or Amsterdam.[[825]](#footnote-825) North-eastern ports, such as Newcastle and Hull, were conveniently located for re-exports to northern Europe over the North Sea while by the late seventeenth century, merchants in Liverpool and Whitehaven were becoming specialists in the re-export trade to continental Europe and Ireland.[[826]](#footnote-826) On the other hand, the majority of tobacco imported to Bristol was retained for the home market. Despite exporting perhaps up to 40 per cent of its gross imports towards the end of the century, this was half the proportion of the quantities of tobacco imported to Liverpool and Whitehaven at the same time.[[827]](#footnote-827)

Destinations for re-exported tobacco varied. Holland was the principal recipient of re-exported English colonial tobacco; around 1700, the United Provinces retained two-thirds of England’s tobacco re-export market.[[828]](#footnote-828) Even so, there were increasing amounts of tobacco re-exported to France, Spain, Germany, Sweden and even Russia, tobacco imports to the latter of these countries could be done so only illicitly until 1696.[[829]](#footnote-829) As early as 1662, tobacco was exported from Hull to Stockholm.[[830]](#footnote-830) Further afield, the East Indies Company purchased tobacco to supply consumers in expanding markets in India and Iran, undertaking processing stages on the Indian sub-continent before the Mughal emperor conceded to the full-scale production and the growth of India’s own tobacco export industry.[[831]](#footnote-831) However, it was England’s western colony which became the second largest recipient of re-exported English colonial tobacco. In 1665, some 1.8 million lbs. of tobacco were imported to Ireland, of which one-third came from England.[[832]](#footnote-832) Six years later, however, new legislation stopped direct trade by prohibiting the import of colonial goods into Ireland and meaning that all of Ireland’s colonial tobacco had to come from England, at least officially. During the 1670s, Bristol was the largest port that supplied Ireland with colonial tobacco and many of the city’s principal tobacco importers were involved in this traffic.[[833]](#footnote-833) Even during the years when tobacco could legally be imported direct to Ireland, it seems some tobacco was still re-exported from England. Large consignments were sent to Ireland by Bristol merchants, soap-boilers and grocers. In 1661-62 around 50,000 lbs. of tobacco was re-exported from Bristol, the majority of which went to Ireland and a proportion of which was ‘decayed’. Some tobacco was also sent to France and Spain, as well as 5,000 lbs. of decayed tobacco to Tangier.[[834]](#footnote-834) As early as 1653, Bristol also exported tobacco to Marseille in southern France, anticipating a pattern of trade that developed after the late seventeenth century.[[835]](#footnote-835) Indeed, by 1677, Bristol shipped over 7,000 lbs. to Morlaix, northern Britany, where English colonial tobacco was gaining a foothold on the French market and which was contributing to the disproportionately higher consumption levels of tobacco in France’s northern, coastal regions.[[836]](#footnote-836)

Although the historiographical focus of tobacco re-exports has been on the post-Restoration period, such trade occurred earlier. For instance, tobacco was shipped to the Low Countries from English ports during the 1620s and 1630s. In March 1630, over twenty hogsheads of Virginia tobacco aboard two Dutch ships were transported from Plymouth to Amsterdam and Middleburg.[[837]](#footnote-837) The Cornish merchant, Richard Hill, also trafficked tobacco to Amsterdam in the early 1640s as a lawful means to circumvent the Navigation Acts.[[838]](#footnote-838) Moreover, tobacco re-exports were made to Ireland from a number of western ports during the 1630s including Liverpool, Chester, Barnstaple, Aberthaw and Plymouth.[[839]](#footnote-839) Tobacco shipped from Liverpool and Chester to a number of Irish ports, which had first been sent from London and Plymouth, amounted to over 14,000 lbs. in 1632 and considerably more in 1641.[[840]](#footnote-840) During the late 1630s, tobacco lawfully imported to Ireland supplied most of Thomas Wentworth’s tobacco monopoly, despite some evidence that the earl sought to import tobacco direct from the West Indies.[[841]](#footnote-841)

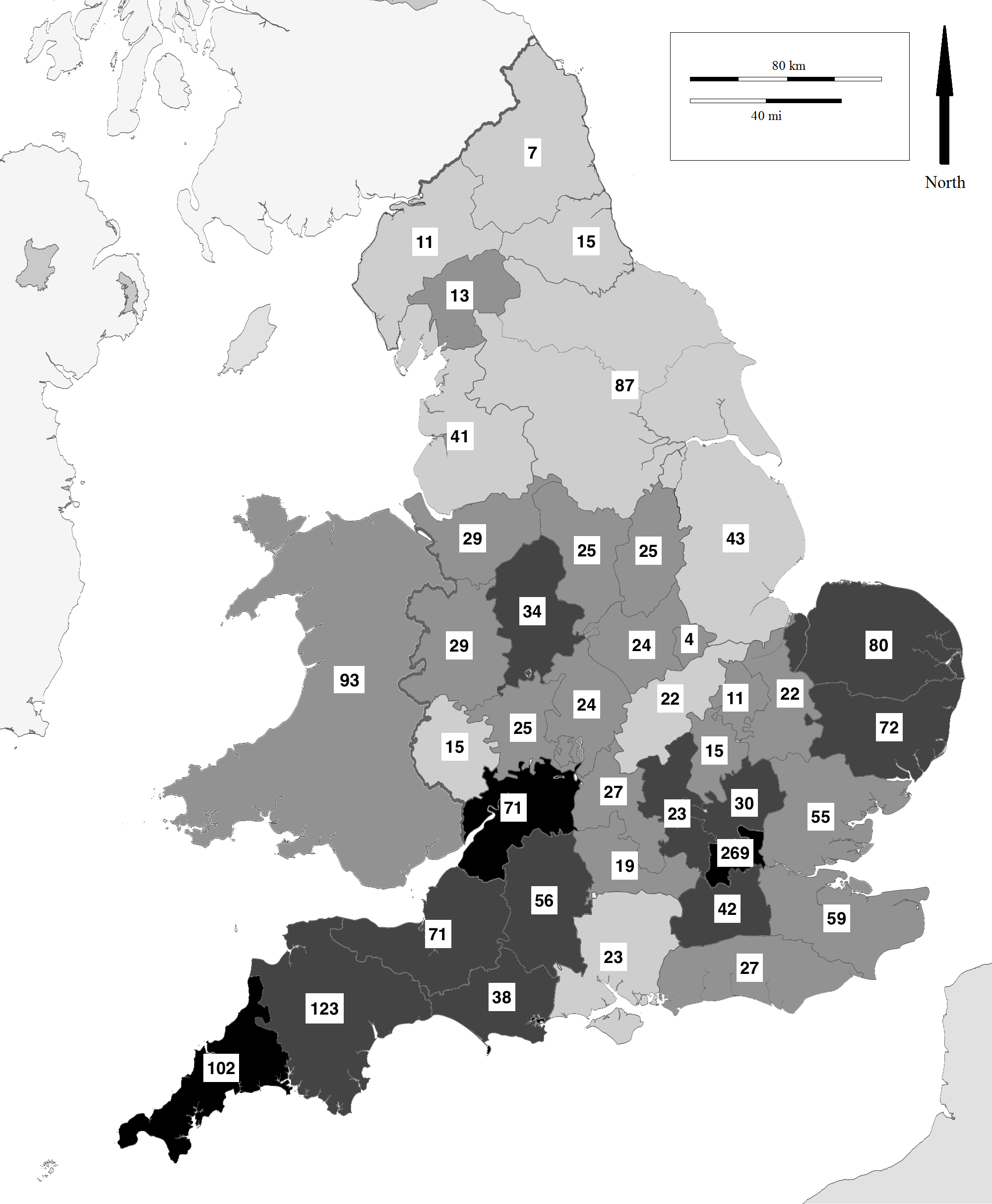
The incidence of re-exports prior to 1660 show that the re-export trade did not develop as a consequence of oversupply on the English market; instead, markets had been sought since the rapid increase of imports, beginning in the 1620s and 1630s. Thereafter, the tobacco re-export trade was important for the development of global networks. Beginning in the pre-civil war period, the re-export trade grew in economic significance throughout the duration of the seventeenth century, as with the growth in the trade of colonial goods more generally. Tobacco re-exports enhanced early modern England’s connections to non-colonial nations, linking the proceeds of colonialism with other European powers and beyond. English colonial tobacco eventually surpassed the output of tobacco produced in the Spanish Americas; some contemporaries even claimed that the quality of Chesapeake varieties rivalled that produced in the Spanish colonies.[[842]](#footnote-842) However, the zenith of intra-European and American tobacco trades came only after the turn of the century, following the huge expansion of Chesapeake tobacco which supplied France’s tobacco monopoly via British intermediaries, and which was consequently available on the market in eighteenth-century France.[[843]](#footnote-843) Despite the growing importance of tobacco re-exports, the majority of tobacco imported into England before 1685 was destined for domestic consumption, contributing to a growth in domestic trade and the strengthening of networks within early modern England. It is this crucial albeit much neglected traffic that the final section of this chapter now turns to.

## iv. Inland Distribution

Despite the fact that the majority of tobacco imported before 1685 stayed and was consumed in England, the traffic of tobacco within England and Wales has been overlooked by historians. Where there has been some prior attention on the internal tobacco trade, it has focused on the role of London as ‘being at the hub of a national transport system’, ignoring the corresponding function of the outports as well as the relatively early nationwide distribution of wholesalers.[[844]](#footnote-844) By contrast, this section first analyses an account book compiled in the mid-1630s to show just how widely distributed tobacco dealers were in the pre-civil war period and how their businesses operated. Using a variety of court depositions, probate inventories and coastal port books, the section then demonstrates how the internal distribution of tobacco was hastened by a large number of importers operating from a multiplicity of ports who each handled consignments direct from the colonies and supplied inland retailers. Although imports to London and Bristol catered for much domestic consumption, multiple ports linked with inland transport networks, enabling far-reaching availability and rapid distribution throughout the country. Wholesalers, county chapmen and retailers were connected in a complex internal tobacco market which tied the early modern consumer to an expanding world of exotic commodified consumption.

After importation, tobacco was distributed to a number of different wholesalers, middlemen and retailers before the commodity could be peddled to the consumer. Because the number of tobacco importers was high, there were innumerable inland trading networks which joined consumers to overseas traffickers, ranging in scale and complexity. One early indicator for the distribution of tobacco comes from an account book compiled by the ‘receiver-general of fines and rents for licences for selling tobacco’, William Carne. Carne compiled the accounts between 1634 and 1635 in order to keep a record of which traders had paid for the privilege of retailing tobacco within a particular jurisdiction. The accounts were subsequently part of the first-ever project to license tobacco retailers, first enacted by royal proclamation towards the end of 1633, and show the total number of licensed tobacco ‘retailers’ in England and Wales during the mid-1630s (fig. 4.1).[[845]](#footnote-845) Containing approximately 1,300 individuals who had purchased almost 2,000 licences, Carne’s account book legitimated each licensee’s privilege to retail tobacco within a specific jurisdiction. Because each tobacco retail licensee had a source(s) from where to obtain their tobacco, the distribution of licences (both in absolute terms and in proportion to county population levels) is indicative of inland trafficking networks.

Figure 4.1. *Distribution of Tobacco Retail Licences, Issued March 1634–September 1635*



*Source:* TNA, E 122/218/25; reproduced from Alexander G. Taylor, ‘Tobacco Retail Licences and State Formation in Early Modern England’, *EcHR* (forthcoming, 2018), p. 8.

*Notes:* Numbers indicate number of licences in each county (total = 1,801).

Shades indicate licence density per county population, as follows: black, 1:<1,500; dark grey, 1:2,000–2,500; mid grey, 1:2,500–4,000; light grey, 1:4,000<.

Fig. 4.1 shows that there were retailers in every county within England and Wales, providing a clear indication of just how extensive the domestic tobacco trade had developed by 1635. However, licences for retailing tobacco were concentrated in three main areas: London and its environs, East Anglia and, significantly, southwest England. As shown in chapters one and two, London and southwest England were the major zones for where direct tobacco imports from the colonies arrived and as we saw in chapter three, illegal activity was also particularly prevalent in these areas. It thus seems likely that the prevalence of licensees in and around these particular areas was due to extensive direct tobacco imports – whether done so legally or illegally – and the subsequent availability of the commodity in those places. This pattern may also be suggestive for the regional consumption levels of tobacco in the pre-civil war period – although, as we will soon see, Carne’s account is not a definitive record of total tobacco retailers in the kingdom at this time.[[846]](#footnote-846)

Most licensees purchased their tobacco from importers, either direct or indirectly. Nathaniel Cale, the Bristol soap-boiler and mayor discussed at the beginning of this chapter, sourced some of his tobacco from agents of the tobacco commissioners, as well as from ship-owners in transactions of captured prize tobacco.[[847]](#footnote-847) London licensee, Thomas Lavender likewise purchased tobacco from importers.[[848]](#footnote-848) However, there is also evidence to suggest that some licensees were also overseas traders and importers of tobacco. Cale, for instance, had a direct interest in the overseas and domestic tobacco trade, owing to a petition sent to the king which permitted the import of tobacco from a ship apparently damaged by a storm, of which Cale was a signatory. The two other signatories included Miles Callowhill, another Bristol licensee.[[849]](#footnote-849) Other licensees appear as tobacco importers in the port books, indicating that they combined overseas merchandising with their retail businesses and thus maintained a vertical slice over the tobacco industry. For instance, Edward Hurd, a London ironmonger who owned multiple licences in the Midlands, imported tobacco to the capital that was then distributed to his retail outlets further north.[[850]](#footnote-850) John Richards and Reynold Streamer imported large quantities of tobacco to Plymouth while together holding seventeen licences across the southwest and at least two importers to Southampton owned retail licences in nearby townships, disproving assumptions made by Anthony Rowley that all tobacco vended by licensees had to be sourced from London before the 1640s.[[851]](#footnote-851) In fact, approximately thirty names from the port book of 1627-28 match up with licensees and possibly many more licensees would correlate with importers in subsequent port books, when quantities of imports increased.[[852]](#footnote-852) Some of these importers to London, like Hurd, held licences in provincial areas; other importers held licences within or adjacent to the capital, such as those owned by the ‘new’ merchant Thomas Stone (Cateaten Street) as well as James Hay (Bucklersbury), Reynold Parker (Marke Lane) and Gabriel Bonnery (Snow Hill).[[853]](#footnote-853)

Most tobacco licensees were retailers within one or two jurisdictions. Almost 1,000 individuals held a single licence granting them access to retail tobacco in either one or two locations. However, approximately 366 licence-holders clearly had grander aspirations and instead purchased multiple licences over a number of jurisdictions.[[854]](#footnote-854) One individual who owned eleven retail licences was Nathaniel Cale. The soap-boiler held his licences in relatively close proximity to each other across Gloucestershire and Somerset.[[855]](#footnote-855) As the involvement of Cale and others in the tobacco retail licensing project shows, there apparently was no limit in the number of licences that an individual could purchase. In fact, although seventy-three per cent (998) of licensees owned a single licence, the remaining twenty-seven per cent (366) were ‘serial’ tobacco retail licensees, owning multiple licences. Of this second group, there existed twenty individuals who purchased more than five licences apiece (table 4.2.).[[856]](#footnote-856) As with the distribution of licences, there was a tendency for serial-licensees to own their tobacco retail licences in southwest England. This pattern indicates that competition to access lucrative tobacco consumers was fiercer in the southwest than in other regions, suggesting again there was something special about the West Country with regards to the tobacco economy.

Table 4.2. *Tobacco Retail Serial-Licensees Holding Above Five Licences Apiece, England and Wales, March 1634 – September 1635*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Licensee** | **Licences** | **Annual Rent paid** | **Counties where licences held** |
| Matthew Sharrock | 29 | £189 | Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, Wiltshire, London |
| John Wilcocks | 21 | £173 | Devon, Cornwall |
| Richard Edwards | 17 | £77 | North Wales, Lancashire, Cheshire |
| Henry Broadnap | 16 | £155 | Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire |
| John Richards | 16 | £145 | Devon, Somerset, Gloucestershire |
| Nathaniel Cale | 11 | £83 | Somerset, Gloucestershire, Berkshire |
| John Norsworthy | 9 | £57 | Cornwall |
| Edward Hurd | 8 | £53 10s. | Staffordshire, Shropshire, Middlesex |
| Thomas Smith\* | 8 | £49 | Yorkshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Gloucestershire, Hampshire |
| Thomas Towson | 8 | £32 | Yorkshire, Cumberland, Lancashire, Westmorland |
| Francis Norsworthy | 7 | £32 | Cornwall |
| Henry Stone | 8 | £54 | Cornwall, Devon |
| James Hill | 7 | £41 15s. | Cornwall, Devon |
| John Hurd | 7 | £46 | Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Wiltshire |
| Thomas Stedman | 7 | £11 10s. | Norfolk, Suffolk |
| Elizabeth Munds | 6 | £14 6s. | Essex |
| Jeremy Turpin | 6 | £46 | Hertfordshire, Middlesex, |
| John Machet | 6 | £19 | Norfolk |
| John Spry | 6 | £19 | Cornwall, Sussex |
| Nathaniel Richards | 6 | £43 10s. | Devon, Dorset, Somerset |
| Total | 210 | £1,342 | - |

*Source*: TNA, E 122/218/25; reproduced from. Taylor, ‘Tobacco Retail Licences’.

*Notes*: \*Thomas Smith, owing to the common name and the widely dispersed licences, was probably at least two different individuals.

It is worth making a few brief observations regarding the social characteristics of these serial-licensees, in particular those who owned their licenses in south-west England. We have already met Nathaniel Cale and have touched on Edward Hurd and John Richards, however the individual with the highest number of licences was Matthew Sharrock, a London vintner who held one licence in the city and all of the others in the West Country. Sharrock’s will shows him leaving money to the poor in the parish of Creed in mid-Cornwall, indicating that that he had personal as well as commercial ties to the Duchy.[[857]](#footnote-857) Correspondence shows that Sharrock conducted business in Truro; as a vintner, he was connected to merchants in that part of the country.[[858]](#footnote-858) However, no evidence has come to light that Sharrock was involved in the tobacco import trade, suggesting that he purchased his tobacco from either the tobacco ‘commissioners’ or from importers, either from those in Cornish ports or London. The second largest licensee, John Wilcocks, owned all of his licences in Devon and Cornwall and possibly had a kinsman living in America.[[859]](#footnote-859) Along with Henry Stone and two other tobacco licensees, Wilcocks petitioned the Privy Council in 1633 requesting the importation of a shipload of St Christopher’s tobacco into Plymouth. Contrary to Sharrock, these licensees were actively involved in tobacco retailing and overseas trafficking.[[860]](#footnote-860) Three prominent Cornish merchants, Francis, John and Edward Norsworthy, together owned nineteen licences.[[861]](#footnote-861) Edward Norsworthy, moreover, was married to the daughter of yet another Cornish tobacco licensee and overseas merchant, Richard Hill. Finally, the only female serial-licensee, Elizabeth Munds, owned all of her licences on the other side of the country, in Essex. Munds, was the daughter of grocer Richard Munds, the tobacco retail licensee for Chelmsford and it is likely that, as with some of the Cornish licensees, the two operated in partnership.[[862]](#footnote-862)

Judging by the annual sums that each of these serial-licensees tendered, it is safe to assume that they were all relatively wealthy ‘middling’ tradespeople.[[863]](#footnote-863) Importantly, such sums attest to the perceived economic viability of tobacco in England and Wales at this time. Equally, several tobacco retail licensees, both amongst those who owned one and more than one licence, held public office during the project’s duration and thereafter. An exhaustive study of all 1,000 or so licensees has yet to be undertaken, although a few examples show some association between political power and the possession of a tobacco retail licence. Along with Cale, for instance, at least five of Bristol’s licensees sat as grand juries in the city’s quarter session courts during the 1630s;[[864]](#footnote-864) three others remained on the city’s common council after Parliament’s purge in 1643.[[865]](#footnote-865) Elsewhere, the serial-licensee, Edward Norsworthy, served as a Justice of the Peace for Cornwall, sheriff, and Commissioner for Security during the 1650s;[[866]](#footnote-866) London licensees, John Warner and Thomas Stone, performed political duties in the Interregnum government and one of the Leicester licensees held multiple public officers during the late Caroline and Interregnum regimes.[[867]](#footnote-867) Where an obvious overlap between possession of a public office and licence did not exist, close ties were established with pre-existing office-holders, be they town mayors, bailiffs, or justices of the peace, as well as the project’s central administrators in Whitehall and the London law courts.[[868]](#footnote-868) It is true that in some towns licensees were condemned for not being local freemen and came into conflict with pre-existing local political structures.[[869]](#footnote-869) However we can conclude that, as Withington has also argued, political and legal power often went hand-in-hand with the traffic of valuable intoxicants, like tobacco.[[870]](#footnote-870) It was alliances between licensees and local political interests that largely explains the relative success of the tobacco retail licensing project prior to its rapid demise after 1640.[[871]](#footnote-871)

The incidence of serial-licensees affirms that many of those who owned tobacco retail licences were not retailers *per se*, but middlemen who had acquired rights to retail tobacco within a number of jurisdictions. Here a slight confusion arises in discussing the scheme as a tobacco *retail* project. In actual fact, many licensed ‘retailers’ were wholesalers, authorised dealers or even importers, who, owing to the scale of their operations and political clout, sub-let parts of their franchise to other individuals. Due to their spread of licences it would have been impossible for licensees to physically retail tobacco across multiple locations. Instead, individuals commonly known as ‘deputies’ were used ‘to sell tobacco under them’.[[872]](#footnote-872) Licensees are known to have supplied deputies with tobacco as well as extracting rent from them, sometimes causing allegations of unfairness from other tradespeople. The Grocers Company of London, for instance, alleged that ‘diverse that have licence upon such fines & rent are not tradesmen but…make great benefit thereof by oppressing poore tradesmen whome they aucthorise by colour thereof’.[[873]](#footnote-873) Notwithstanding the grocers’ complaint, multiple depositions attest to this practice and even additional layers of sub-deputation. William Clarke of Egloshayle (Cornwall), for example, was appointed to retail tobacco by Thomas Blake, ‘his ma[jes]tie[‘s] patentee’ for retailing tobacco in that parish.[[874]](#footnote-874) In York and Hull, there were over a hundred deputy retailers who were listed by deponents when commissioners investigated allegations of illicit dealing.[[875]](#footnote-875) In Stepney, to the east of the city of London, licensees filled in and signed blank printed documents setting out what rates their deputies owed them. Here, tobacco was widely available and so rent was perhaps more desirable than merely supplying the retailer with tobacco to sell.[[876]](#footnote-876) However, agreements between licensees and retailers were often more *ad hoc* than the signed contracts in Stepney suggest. Frequently, an unlicensed retailer claimed authority after having purchased tobacco from a licensee or asserted that they had given the licensed retailer ‘satisfaction’.[[877]](#footnote-877) Peddlers in rural north Yorkshire obtained their tobacco from licensed retailers in York, Ripon, Beadle and Richmond and resold the same to a base of consumers.[[878]](#footnote-878) It is not clear if these licensees supplied the retailers with tobacco or if they merely extracted ‘rent’ from retailers; the licensees may have done both. Elsewhere, licensed wholesalers attempted to flood the market with their tobacco by supplying retailers with their stock. In rural Warwickshire, retailers purchased tobacco from the licensee for Stratford-upon-Avon, John Courts, who permitted them ‘eighteen to the dossen beinge sixe pence in the shillinge profitt’, sometimes via an intermediary.[[879]](#footnote-879) A similar arrangement was in force in Daventry where the licensee, John Spurdans, allowed ‘14 pappers of tobacco the dossen’, indicating that the wholesaler prepared packages before distributing them to retailers.[[880]](#footnote-880) Throughout the country, there were various agreements and partnerships negotiated between those who were authorised by the king’s licence to ostensibly retail tobacco and those who undertook the actual day-to-day business of tobacco retailing. Through deputation, the number of authorised dealers was far greater than would appear from the map of licensees in fig. 4.1.

Following the implementation of the nationwide tobacco retail licensing project in 1634, the historical record for the plant’s wholesale (as well as retail) practices during the 1630s is remarkably rich. As well as providing much-needed revenue for Charles I’s government, the administration of the project reveals that tobacco distribution was fast becoming big business and that there were powerful ties being forged between domestic distributors, retailers and overseas traders, as well as between bases of economic and political power. As Rowley argues in his thesis, the distribution of tobacco vending licences shows a mixed economy of larger magnates and smaller retailers who supplied a substantial proportion of the English population with their daily smoke.[[881]](#footnote-881) Licensees tapped into the overseas tobacco trade, either directly or indirectly, and utilised a number of key ports through which the commodity was brought into the kingdom and trafficked it towards new, expanding and highly lucrative retail markets. Despite these growing markets and the relative elasticity in the consumer demand for tobacco, competition could be fierce as wholesalers sought to command ever greater shares of the internal economy.

Succeeding the overthrow of Charles I’s government, the licensing scheme was scrapped. Between 1649 and 1662, state revenue from the domestic tobacco trade instead derived only from a tobacco excise and although the idea was raised by a parliamentary commission during the 1670s and again the 1684, a return to a tobacco retail licensing scheme remained unlikely.[[882]](#footnote-882) Even though after 1640 there was no central legislation around the tobacco retail trade that created such a rich cache of documents as during the 1630s, a number of different sources, including court depositions, coastal port books and probate inventories, illustrate how tobacco wholesaling operated for other years of the century. Combining these types of evidence from both the pre-civil war and post-civil war periods, we now turn to the considerations and variations in the domestic tobacco wholesale trade for the period between 1625 and 1685 as a whole.

Whether they sought to delay sales or were waiting for a convenient moment to process their tobacco themselves, a common concern for tobacco importers was storage. Unmanufactured tobacco leaf was liable to damage or deterioration the longer it rested prior to being processed or cost vast sums to store. The Bristol merchant Thomas Speed paid ‘celleridge’ on eighteen tobacco hogsheads for a total of 112 weeks, indicating the possible length of time that tobacco could be preserved for when properly cured and packed.[[883]](#footnote-883) At the other end of the market, the mariner Thomas Ryder placed twelve rolls of tobacco in the cellar of an inn (‘*The ship on the quay*’) where a servant of the house, Mary Smyth, ‘warranted that it would be safe’ and who Ryder ‘promised...honest content for its being there’.[[884]](#footnote-884) Contrary to Smyth’s vouchsafing, Ryder’s tobacco was presumably stolen, as revealed in the subsequent deposition. Indeed, several other depositions taken at Bristol and elsewhere during this period concern the theft of tobacco as it rested in a storehouse.[[885]](#footnote-885)

One way to avoid the cost, trouble or risks associated with storage was to sell tobacco immediately or soon after importation. First purchasers were commonly referred to as ‘tobacconists’: wholesalers who specialised in the manufacture of tobacco, its distribution to retailers, or a combination of both.[[886]](#footnote-886) In some instances, tobacco was sold ‘unseen’, while the ship was still at sea or, as with re-exported tobacco, on shipboard, with the purchaser agreeing to undertake the cost and practicalities of importation. In 1656, John Wright sold forty tobacco hogsheads to two ‘tobacco sellars’ before the ship arrived, on credit, with the amount to be paid after 12 months.[[887]](#footnote-887) Some wholesale transactions were facilitated by agents experienced in the tobacco trade. In 1638, for example, Nathaniel Cale acted as an intermediary for the sale of 180 rolls of French colonial tobacco to two London tobacconists. Cale held a key to the storehouse in which the tobacco was located and acted as a broker between the parties when the purchasers ‘did take excepcions to the said tobacco’.[[888]](#footnote-888) Commission sales were apparent in London since the 1620s and continued throughout the century.[[889]](#footnote-889) As we have already seen, importing merchants and shipmasters frequently acted on commission for tobacco planters or other domestic traders, selling hogsheads to local dealers and specialised manufacturers before or soon after importation and purchasing goods with the proceeds to send back to the tobacco planter. For example, this form of ‘commission-merchandising’ was undertaken by the Bristol mercer, John Machen, who in 1660 sold thirty hogsheads to two local manufacturer-wholesalers on behalf of a Virginia planter, taking a fee for doing so.[[890]](#footnote-890)

For tobacco destined for consumption inland, additional distribution was required. Interior settlements did not have the benefit of tobacco importers on their doorstep; instead, contact with port towns was necessary. The decision to traffic tobacco either along the coast or along inland waterways and roads was no doubt a question of geography, costs and practicalities. Firstly, coastal transport accounted for the bulk of trade to other ports and was typified by larger shipments than overland consignments. Most notably, London’s influence in the domestic tobacco trade is best seen in the amount of tobacco traded out by coastal transport, particularly after 1660. By 1683, for instance, over three million lbs. of tobacco were shipped from London to other English ports and tobacco played a substantial role in the ‘threefold’ increase in London’s outward coastal trade over the preceding decades.[[891]](#footnote-891) The recent *Intoxicants and Early Modernity* project has used London’s eastern tobacco trade to a few key ports in East Anglia, principally Great Yarmouth and King’s Lynn, as one of its case studies.[[892]](#footnote-892) A full analysis of the data has yet to be undertaken, but as might be expected, the rate of traffic from London to East Anglia increased substantially over each decade from 1630 onwards. Although these Norfolk ports were substantial sites of consumption themselves, they were also secondary distributive and manufactory centres for tobacco inland. In a similar way, tobacco was also coasted from London to port towns in Yorkshire, Cheshire and Lancashire.[[893]](#footnote-893) Depositional evidence from Yorkshire in the 1630s, for instance, attests to the fairs at Howden and Beverly where London wholesalers sold tobacco to Yorkshire retailers.[[894]](#footnote-894) Similarly, in 1671 it was reported that ‘from Hull comes many shipps laden wth leade to London and many of them are laden back againe with tobacco especially against the faires which faires doe conveniently and sufficiently furnish all the North and Newcastle by the cole shipps.’[[895]](#footnote-895) Internal commerce – in this case, the coal trade – provided the means for the distribution of foreign imports.

However, as we saw in chapter one, London was not the sole entrepot for tobacco. A multitude of outports imported tobacco throughout the period, particularly those located in south-west England, and there is even evidence of a coastal tobacco trade directed *towards* the capital.[[896]](#footnote-896) Foremost of the outports after 1640 was Bristol, whose coastal trade mirrored that of the capital. As with the River Thames, ‘the Bristol Channel was a major commercial highway’ along which ‘a fleet of coastal craft, ketches, coal hoys, trows, barges, woodbushes and open boats plied a kaleidoscope of goods ranging from the mundane to the exotic.’[[897]](#footnote-897) During the pre-civil war period, the coastal shuttling of tobacco was prevalent throughout the Severn Estuary, along the Devon, Somerset and South Wales coastlines.[[898]](#footnote-898) Throughout the period, Barnstaple and Bideford used the Estuary as a conduit for the re-exportation of colonial tobacco. However, after the middle of the seventeenth century Bristol increasingly dominated this traffic. In 1649, the amount of tobacco that sent coastwise from Bristol totalled 9,500 lbs., 134 rolls, 3 hogsheads, 2 barrels and one kilderkin. By 1680, as much as 1.7 million lbs. of tobacco was transported from the western city to other parts of the country.[[899]](#footnote-899) Consignments were sent west into Somerset, north into Wales and north-east into Gloucestershire (table 4.3.).[[900]](#footnote-900) Along with London, the south-west region provided north-western ports such as Chester and Liverpool with most of their tobacco, even into the 1670s.[[901]](#footnote-901)

Table 4.3. *Tobacco Transported by River from Bristol to Gloucester, 1656-1685*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Year** | **Quantity (lbs.)** |
| **1656** | 3,814 |
| **1657** | 3,960 |
| **1666** | 206 stalks /stems |
| **1673** | (c. 34,500) |
| **1674** | (c. 63,300) |
| **1675** | (c. 14,400) |
| **1679** | 71,368 |
| **1680** | 121,904 |
| **1681** | 124,107 |
| **1682** | 92,513 |
| **1683** | 274,212 |
| **1684** | 197,652 |
| **1685** | 57,992 |

M.D.G. Wanklyn, P. Wakelin, D. Hussey, G. Milne, ‘Gloucester Port Books, 1575-1765’ (1996) [data collection]. UK Data Service. SN: 3218, <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-3218-1>.

The Thames and the Severn were London’s and Bristol’s respective lifelines for distributing all manner of goods to places further afield and for facilitating the flow of domestic commodities in return. On top of these, there were also many other, smaller distributive networks based around any of the outports that directly received tobacco. In the Severn Estuary, Barnstaple, Bideford and Bridgwater were important centres for the distribution of tobacco; along the south coast, Falmouth, Plymouth and Exeter all played an important role. Secondary redistributive centres, such as Hull, Great Yarmouth and Liverpool provided additional inland trade networks once tobacco was shipped coastwise from London or the West Country.

Although coastal counties may have had an earlier as well as more regular influx of tobacco within their domestic economies, the colonial import was extensively distributed to inland counties. Inland transportation could be done in one of two ways. First, tobacco transported along inland waterways moved seamlessly from coastal traffic. River conveyance was economical for transporting bulky goods, such as large shipments of tobacco before they were broken down into smaller parcels and packages. For the same cost, much larger quantities of tobacco could be carried by water than on land.[[902]](#footnote-902) The coastal traffic of tobacco from London to Yorkshire relied the Humber Estuary and the River Ouse, the latter providing York with much of its capacity to trade.[[903]](#footnote-903) Likewise, the River Severn and its tributaries provided a convenient inland watercourse for trafficking all manner of goods, tobacco included, beyond the port of Gloucester. Accordingly, the Severn was ‘navigable above Shrewsbury, the Stratford Avon to within sight of Warwick, the Stour served the Staffordshire iron and coal industries and brought water communication close to Birmingham, the Salwarp served the Droitwich salt works, and the Wye was navigable to Hereford and the Lugg to Leominster.’[[904]](#footnote-904) These tried and tested routes were exploited by proponents of the tobacco trade. Bristol tobacco wholesalers, for instance, dispatched their goods upriver to Shrewsbury from at least the 1640s onwards and bargemen continued to convey tobacco to Worcester during the 1690s.[[905]](#footnote-905) Moreover, from the higher reaches of these rivers, tobacco originally imported at Bristol could be dispatched further, using overland routes. Correspondence from one Bristol soap-boiler, Edward Fielding, confirms he supplied tobacco to dealers as far north as Chester.[[906]](#footnote-906)

The second method for transporting tobacco inland was by road. Despite Willan’s assurance that ‘water carriage by river was infinitely cheaper than land carriage by road’, overland conveyance was not impractical, especially considering tobacco’s relatively low weight to value ratio and the preponderance of road networks that connected early modern settlements to one another.[[907]](#footnote-907) According to J. A. Chartres, seventeenth-century road conditions were ‘sufficiently good to permit the running of a complex network of scheduled public carrying services’. Indeed, Chartres shows that the number of weekly ‘carrier services’ from London increased from 272 (in 1637) to 372 (in 1682), an increase of 36.5 per cent.[[908]](#footnote-908) Goods were transported either by packhorse or wagon. The business of ‘road carrying was characterized by individual or small partnership enterprise, often with single carriers operating regular services on a co-operative basis.’[[909]](#footnote-909) Increasingly regular and reliable transport services in early modern England and Wales contributed to well-managed trade networks including, for our purposes, the more organised distribution of tobacco.

While it is possible that many retailers in the Midlands sourced their tobacco via weekly services, goods were also transported privately.[[910]](#footnote-910) Furthermore, Chartres’s figures for the growth of ‘carrier services’ are for London only and, as he acknowledges, ‘inter-provincial traffic flows’ are not known. It is unknown how many carrier services operated from the principal tobacco ports such as Bristol or Plymouth as well as secondary ports such as King Lynn’s or Hull, which received tobacco from London via the coastal trade.[[911]](#footnote-911) In 1633, Nathaniel Cale received Portuguese or ‘varina’ tobacco imported at Dartmouth and which was transported overland via packhorse to Bath, some 100 miles away. This particular example indicates how much tobacco could typically be carried by each beast of burden, showing that 600 lbs. (272 kg.) was transported by two horses.[[912]](#footnote-912) The carrier was paid £4 10s. for undertaking this assignment, again suggestive of the economics of inland distribution. In the same decade, overland carriers managed to transport 1,500 lbs. of goods (suspected to be tobacco) the seventy or so miles from Havant (Hampshire) to Croydon (Surrey) in just ‘two hard days journey’.[[913]](#footnote-913)

In the early 1670s, one commentator described the hierarchy of the internal tobacco trade, ranging from the overseas merchant to the provincial shopkeeper. The writer hypothesised the prices that tobacco traded at: ‘if the tobacconist in London gives the merchant 7.5d. or 8.5d. per pound it will stand him on 11.5d. or 12.5d. and a third of a ½ per pound cutt and if soe he may well afford to sell it to the shoppkeeper in the outports or country wholesale chapman for 14d. or 15d. per pound and get sufficiently by it.’[[914]](#footnote-914) While the procedure did not always work quite so straightforward as this passage suggests, tobacco was still usually broken down and part-manufactured by the ‘tobacconist’, before being sent out from the major importing centres to shopkeepers or the ‘country wholesale chapman’, who then either sold smaller amounts to retailers or retailed the tobacco themselves to consumers. Inland provincial markets were centres for tobacco redistribution to rural areas once tobacco had been sent there by wholesale from the main tobacco ports and conveyed by provincial wholesalers. Edward Fielding’s contacts with dealers in Shrewsbury and Chester fitted this model of trade and so too did the activities of another Bristol soap-boiler, Richard Crump, who supplied manufactured tobacco to at least one retailer across the Severn Estuary in Caerleon (Monmouthshire).[[915]](#footnote-915)

At the same time, itinerant sellers also facilitated the diffusion of tobacco into rural areas, shouldering in on the trade of the larger tobacco magnates. These dealers had contacts with importers or wholesalers in a major importing centre and contracted to purchase a quantity which they then broke up into smaller amounts which could then be sold to retailers in provincial areas. Several deponents during the 1630s made reference to (illicit) carriers, peddlers and others who ‘went up and down the country’ selling tobacco, commonly for immediate consumption but also frequently as wholesale. In the case of the latter, the individuals were county or regional wholesalers who dealt in large quantities, purchasing from the overseas merchant or trader and reselling either direct to retailers or to additional middle-men. To take one Cornish town as an example, Anthony Illary of St Columb Major purchased thirteen ‘prickes’ of tobacco weighing around six lbs. ‘or thereabouts’ from a ‘stranger’. [[916]](#footnote-916) Illary, who was a mercer, also purchased 40 lbs. from one of Bristol’s licensees. A widow and alehouse-keeper from the same Cornish parish, Jane Haycrast, was visited by three individuals all offering to sell her tobacco for resale on her premises, some of which she exchanged for beer.[[917]](#footnote-917) Visiting wholesalers who crucial to the tobacco economy. In Northamptonshire, too, multiple retailers deposed how they purchased tobacco from individuals hailing from Buckinghamshire and elsewhere who ‘doth commonly vent & sell tobacco contrary to proclamation & doth carry tobacco up & down the country.’[[918]](#footnote-918) In north Yorkshire, Samuel Hutton was just one peddler amongst many who sold tobacco ‘all aboute the cuntrey’.[[919]](#footnote-919) Around thirty years later, one Richard Harby of Egremont in Cumberland alleged to practise the trade of a shopkeeper and ‘wandering tobacco seller’. Harby had connections with Bristol ‘where hee doth use to buy tobacco’ before distributing it around the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, indicating the western port’s influence in the north of England during the Restoration period. One of Harby’s links with Bristol may have been a nephew who ‘had formerly beene a planter of or dealer in tobacco behind ye seas’.[[920]](#footnote-920)

As with colonial transactions, credit was involved in the internal tobacco trade. Richard Crump’s purveyor in Caerleon accrued debts of over £6 and Edward Fielding took a contact in Shrewsbury to court for non-payment of debts accrued from tobacco and soap.[[921]](#footnote-921) These importing-merchants may well have extended credit both to planters and to inland wholesalers. In the 1630s, it is entirely possible that licensees supplied their deputies with tobacco on credit; indeed, this was a business stratagem developed by some unlicensed dealers. Finally, the issuing of trading tokens around this time could provide some clues to the extension of credit amongst tobacco wholesalers. Although under-researched, many trade tokens contain images of tobacco rolls and tobacco pipes, perhaps indicating that dealers of tobacco were involved in lending tobacco that could be purchased back with their own issued currency.[[922]](#footnote-922)

Despite the regular trucking of tobacco into the Midlands and north England, and the nationwide familiarity with tobacco, there were still regions where the tobacco economy was more pronounced. As a general rule, the maritime counties of Cornwall and Devon which both bordered the ‘Severn Sea’ to the north and the English Channel to the south, were particularly well-endowed for direct tobacco imports from overseas. Cornwall, particularly, was a special case when it came to inland distribution. Within the Duchy it was never more than day’s travel from the coast, which enabled a rapid diffusion of tobacco inland from its many ports, including through informal means.[[923]](#footnote-923) To take one example, Lewis Tremayne was the colonel and governor of St Mawe’s castle (near Famouth) during the 1660s and was engaged in small and medium sized wholesale dealings that may give an indication of how other transactions were commonly undertaken.[[924]](#footnote-924) In one year, Tremayne shifted over 824 lbs. of tobacco (along with as much, if not more, sugar) to over twenty retailers, six of whom were female, living in places including Truro and St Columb Major – approximately ten and twenty miles, respectively, from St Mawe’s castle.[[925]](#footnote-925) There is no firm evidence in his accounts from where Tremayne obtained his tobacco, but his position as governor of St Mawe’s certainty would have given him access to sailors and passengers aboard ships that commonly utilised ports in the Fal Estuary as a provisioning base. Indeed, the garrisons at nearby Pendennis and Plymouth castles had frequently supplied unlicensed retailers in the 1630s, indicating that forts were a popular way in for tobacco to enter the economy.[[926]](#footnote-926)

The above examples go some way to showing the connectivity between the ‘New World’ and the interior of early modern England. Although tobacco had long been a common sight in coastal areas and around major ports, the incidence of the inland trade attests to the commodity’s growing significance in the interior of early modern England and the ramifications that colonising processes abroad had for economic and social change at home. However, such a process was not one-way traffic. Provisions and manufactured goods were absorbed into ports such as London and Bristol for export to the colonies; in return, tobacco was disseminated out throughout the country. The same roads, waterways and coastal shipping lanes that distributed tobacco from the ports were used for the conveyance of goods destined for the Chesapeake or West Indies. In the 1640s, for instance, John Knight of Bristol exchanged a large quantity of tobacco for Welsh butter to a retailer in Newport, butter which could be used in the provisioning trades to the tobacco-producing colonies.[[927]](#footnote-927) Within this reciprocal set-up, wholesalers and middlemen acted as brokers, and provided the bridge between producer and consumer. As well as aiming to make a profit, these middlemen communicated knowledge to consumers and promoted certain types of tobacco, themes that we turn to in the final chapter.

## v. Conclusion

This chapter has analysed what happened to tobacco after it arrived in early modern England and Wales. The multiple stages of production that took place after import show how the plant was transformed into a manufactured commodity of consumption. An array of individuals facilitated the manufacture of the plant into a vendible commodity and its distribution overseas or within the domestic economy, mirroring the high numbers of tobacco importers revealed in chapter two. Price increases that resulted from several stages of processing and overland transportation were mitigated by innovations in methods over time and the multiplicity of ports that directly imported tobacco from overseas.

The manufacture of tobacco after its importation into England constituted a process of commodification and commercialisation. Multiple stages were necessary, and included the use of additives, specialist equipment and the division of labour. This specialization led to increased efficiency in methods and a lowering of production costs. Several conclusions stand out from this. First, the multiple types of manufactured tobacco – in terms of quality or form, for instance – prompted variation on the domestic market. The next chapter explores the idea of variation further by analysing retail practices. But it remains to be said here that there was a substantial degree of product diversity in seventeenth-century England and Wales. Second, the huge increase in tobacco imports prompted an expansion in the domestic economy, creating new jobs and employment in its manufacture. The so-called ‘spin-off’ industries that the tobacco trade created have not previously gone unnoticed by historians, but it is worth reiterating here that the relative novelty of tobacco during the seventeenth century came not just in cultural practice but in economic practice, too.[[928]](#footnote-928) Finally, during manufacturing, tobacco was transformed into a manufactured commodity of consumption, far removed from its origins both in terms of materiality and cultural understandings. Along with inroads made in the distribution of tobacco, the idea of tobacco as commodity speaks much about the seventeenth century as a time of increased commercialization.

Overseas re-exports of tobacco enhanced early modern England’s connections to the wider world, linking the proceeds of colonialism with trade and consumption patterns that transcended multiple sovereign states and localities across continents. Moreover, the inland distribution of tobacco was well-entrenched, in turn stimulating demand among communities that were far away from major ports where tobacco entered the country. The circulation of tobacco was helped by its low weight to value ratio, but it is conceivable that more tobacco abounded in places closer to the main centres of traffic and production. Revealingly, the 1630s are the first time we can see a nationwide system developing, involving over 1,000 wholesaler ‘licensees’ and a far greater, though unknown, number of ‘deputy’ retailers. Because similar data does not survive for later decades, we can surmise that either the number of retailers and middle-men distributors increased as the amount of tobacco entering the country increased, or that the volume of traffic controlled by each wholesaler and retailer grew. Either way, relatively good transport routes – both overland and via England’s many waterways – linked wholesalers, retailers and consumers with the port towns, enabling distributors to match expanding consumer demand. Rather than all tobacco being sourced from London, consumers could access tobacco from ports nearer by, particularly in southwest England. In amongst all this, the wholesale tobacco trade was both competitive – in that there was a high participation of dealers and a mixed economy of large and small suppliers that somewhat mirrored the import trade – and which was responsive: there was two-way traffic between participants in the transatlantic tobacco network, linking importers to wholesalers, retailers and consumers, and allowing consumer demand to drive further increases in trade.

# Chapter Five Retail and Consumption: Tobacco Retailing and Social Practices

In July 1636 a thirty-year old labourer, Richard Rogers, was at ‘the Bell’ in Weedon Bec, Northamptonshire, where the alehouse-keeper ‘did sett a box of tobacco before [Rogers] and fild him three or forre pipes.’ Eager for more, the landlord’s wife sold Rogers ‘two pennyworth out of a glasse wch shee tooke out of a cubboard’. The unnamed wife then told Rogers that ‘shee would have sold him better tobacco if her man was at home for, said shee, my man hath the keye of the ostry that I can come by now better’; even so, the tobacco had ‘cost forre shillings a pound at London.’ Some days later, Rogers was present in the ‘Crowne’ in nearby Brackley and, ‘calling for a jugge of beare and two pipes of tobacco the tapster of the house brought him the beare and two pipes of tobacco ready fild but not in a sealed paper and tooke a groat [4d.] of him for the same.’ Finally, Rogers had also lately visited ‘the house of William Ellestons in Welford’, whose wife sold tobacco to Rogers which was ‘ready fild in a pipe and not in a sealed paper and tooke three pence of him for two pots of ale and the said pipe of tobacco’.[[929]](#footnote-929)

Rogers’s deposition, which was taken in front of county commissioners appointed by the Court of Exchequer, illustrates several important aspects of the retail and consumption of tobacco in early modern England. First, the narration indicates that tobacco retailing was a well-established practice by the mid-1630s. Retailers in central England were able to source tobacco wholesale from London or the West Country and peddle the same in a variety of different settings. Second, Rogers’s testimony reveals that the tobacco retail trade had something of an illicit character. The 1630s were a time of high import duties and a relatively successful centralised retail licence system. However, the multiple references to ‘unsealed papers’ indicate that there were limits to state regulation. Third, diversity of supply was linked to the corresponding issues of quality, taste, cost and availability. The first landlord’s wife said she had ‘better’ tobacco locked away although noted the London price of the sold tobacco as a means to pledge its worth. A pipe-full of tobacco cost a penny or less for immediate consumption and ‘two pennyworth[s]’ of an unspecified quantity could be sold for later smoking. The fact that Rogers – a labourer – was able to afford tobacco on multiple occasions suggests that tobacco consumption was a popular habit which may have attracted a wide-base of consumers. Finally, tobacco had a strong association with alcohol and thus also with the fraternal implications that the consumption of alcohol entailed. The three stories that Rogers related to the commissioners were in public venues where beer and ale were also sold and it was in venues like these that Rogers and countless other ordinary early modern folk communally consumed tobacco.[[930]](#footnote-930)

This chapter explores the themes that are encapsulated in Rogers’s deposition. Prevalence, illegality, taste and sociability were all essential components in the seventeenth-century trade and consumption of tobacco and each of these themes roughly constitute what follows. To begin with, retail practices were varied; they demonstrate differences between quantities, locations and vendors and constituted a vital link between consumers and suppliers. Second, retail sales encompassed illicit transactions, again something that was inextricably linked to wholesale trading but which has been overlooked in previous studies. Illegality played a significant role in bringing down the overall price of tobacco on the domestic market and increasing its availability. Third, different suppliers meant that there was variation in the types of tobacco on the market, which were predicated largely around issues of quality, taste and price. A degree of market segmentation meant that a wide-base of consumers were able to access tobacco, as early as the 1630s. Finally, and in amongst these processes, was tobacco’s relationship to sociability. Whereas there is evidence that sailors helped transmit the cultural spread of tobacco ‘drinking’ and that some maritime regions, in particular the south-west of England, were particularly susceptible to the habit, a more universal concept of early modern sociability best explains the meaning behind tobacco consumption. Sociability was especially apparent when tobacco was consumed within ‘company’ and alongside alcohol.[[931]](#footnote-931) Through tobacco’s applicability in a variety of social settings – above all else, a setting which also involved the consumption of alcohol – an extensive and largely inclusive culture of tobacco consumption was nurtured.

In analysing the retail and consumption of tobacco, we arrive at the final stage of the commodity’s lifecycle. From its cultivation, harvesting and curing in the Chesapeake or the West Indies, the plant had been prized, packed, shipped, unpacked, unprized, treated, rolled, cut and packaged. Only after these stages was the commodity sold to consumers, placed within the bowl of a clay-pipe, consumed by fire and the smoke inhaled. During this journey, myriad sales had been made, linking planters with merchants, wholesalers, manufacturers, retailers and consumers. However, although the structure of this thesis places consumption as an end-point, the tobacco trade was not one-way traffic, with planters and traders providing tobacco to a passive and invariable consumer base. Money or credit flowed the opposite way and so too did consumers’ requirements and expectations regarding taste, appearance and price. Without a doubt, demand stimulated trade, demand that was in turn fuelled by early modern sociability. In this way, there were manifold dialogues between producers and consumers that shaped the way that the tobacco trade operated, the prices at which tobacco retailed and the quality of the product on the domestic market. What follows keeps this reciprocal relationship in mind.

## i. Retail Practices

After being distributed to vendors but prior to its consumption, tobacco was retailed. Although this could be relatively straightforward, there were marked variations in retail practices. Combining evidence collected from a range of depositions from the 1630s with archival records from later in the century, this section systematises how tobacco was retailed by analysing the size of individual sales, the locations in which retail sales took place and the social characteristics of retailers. While in no way uniform, there was something of a bias towards small-scale purchases made in public spaces, including those where alcohol was also served. Retailers were enmeshed in economic and social networks that encompassed wholesalers and importers, on the one hand, and consumers or ‘drinkers’, on the other.

Probate inventories are important records for indicating how retailers may have conducted their operations.[[932]](#footnote-932) However, such records are limited. For instance, listed prices for tobacco seem always to have been given for wholesale as opposed to retail rates, whereas locations of sales did not necessarily occur in the room in which goods were listed. More revealing in these regards are a collection of depositions collected during the 1630s, ostensibly for unearthing illicit retail practices but which in actual fact also revealed many legal transactions.[[933]](#footnote-933) Together, the authorised and unauthorised instances of retailing can both be interpreted as normal or normative tobacco retail practices of which there was a wide degree of variation. Combined with probate inventories, we can unearth the varied ways that tobacco was ‘vented’, which characterised English and Welsh society between 1625 and 1685.

The quantity of tobacco retailed to individual consumers varied during the seventeenth century. There was no standardised retail amount and there was a distinction between sales for immediate or for later consumption. Although during the 1630s deponents made references to tobacco in excess of nine lbs. as having been sold ‘by retail’, anything more than one lb. was a considerable amount to be purchasing for personal consumption.[[934]](#footnote-934) One lb. (over half a kilogram) would have been a substantial amount for one person to smoke alone, even over the space of several weeks. The frequent sales of this quantity may denote that tobacco was frequently consumed in company, whether with friends, family or work-based associates. Transactions above one lb. would rarely have been for immediate consumption; subsequently, I have ignored all transactions above this amount in the following analysis.

Retail sales instead ranged downwards from one lb. to several ounces, one ounce (28g, which is about the size of a modern-day pouch of rolling tobacco), half ounce, quarter ounce or even the ‘pennyworth’, ‘two pennyworth’ and so forth. For example, in 1638 Thomas Hodge of York sold one ounce to an unnamed ‘female customer’.[[935]](#footnote-935) At around the same time, Elizabeth Wigston of Daventry and her sister-in-law did routinely ‘sell, vent and utter tobacco by the ounce’, on top of their larger wholesale transactions.[[936]](#footnote-936) In Carmarthen, Alice Camel sold tobacco to Abraham Jenkin ‘by the pennyworth, ownce and half ownce at severall tymes’ and Nicholas Heydon, a chapman from Whitchurch (Devon) commonly sold tobacco ‘by the pennyworth, the ounce and the like’. [[937]](#footnote-937) Many more examples could be given. Retail sales evidently destined for immediate consumption were indicated by the incidence of ready-filled clay pipes. In Brackley (Northamptonshire), Edward Skelding took tobacco ‘out of his cubboard and put the said tobacco into his box and filled the tobacco into pipes’, before doling them out to his clients.[[938]](#footnote-938) If a consumer wanted to smoke an amount later, they could purchase a ‘pennyworth’ or larger amount wrapped in paper. It is known that wholesalers sometimes supplied retailers with pre-prepared packets of ‘cut and dried’ tobacco, possibly weighing up to several ounces or a lb.[[939]](#footnote-939) Other times, the retailer prepared packets themselves, sometimes both cutting and packaging the product.[[940]](#footnote-940) Alternatively, the consumer opted to purchase small rolls, ‘twists’ or ‘pigtails’, as visible in a number of shop-keeper’s probate inventories but which had probably been formerly processed by a specialist manufacturer.[[941]](#footnote-941) The desired quantity for each smoke could then be cut off and prepared by the consumer themselves. Retailers thus peddled tobacco in a variety of different media or formats. Connected to this, consumers possessed their own latten-boxes, pouches and glasses in which tobacco could be placed in after purchase.[[942]](#footnote-942) Other consumers utilised scraps of paper. One ‘fellow’ accused of stealing a silver tankard from a London victualing-house in 1679 was identified after he left his tobacco in a piece of paper at the crime scene made from a petition that he had signed.[[943]](#footnote-943)

Additional evidence shows the cumulative quantities that provincial retailers sold. A kinsman of the licensed retailer for Tavistock (Devon) purchased over 1,000 lbs. of tobacco over a period of three years in the early 1630s, which he and his wife ‘retayled the same out againe’, the equivalent of six lbs. a week.[[944]](#footnote-944) John Foote of Breage (Cornwall) asserted that his wife ‘hath most commonly vented about one quarter of a pound in a fortnight or three weeks’, while multiple retailers in the north Yorkshire parishes around Topcliffe and Easingwold during the same decade claimed to peddle a larger amount, somewhere between half an ounce and one lb. weekly.[[945]](#footnote-945) Later in the century, quantities of tobacco in shopkeepers’ probate inventories could contain up to and above 500 lbs. and tobacco was literally stocked by the cask as well as in boxes.[[946]](#footnote-946) Typically, then, tobacco retailers may not have shifted huge quantities on a day-to-day basis but they cumulatively turned over a considerable amount, owing to a regular and growing base of habituated users.

There were a variety of places in which tobacco was vended, both within the private and public realms. First, and as with some wholesale transactions, peddlers and carriers brought tobacco to sell by retail direct to the buyer’s house. For instance, in Moreton Pinkney (Northamptonshire), Thomas Banks and his servant sold tobacco by the quarter ounce to a number of consumers in their private homes. One purchaser, Edward Barker, was visited by ‘three or foure’ chapmen selling tobacco, one of whom had travelled from the neighbouring county of Buckinghamshire, indicating the distances some peddlers journeyed across the country to make sales.[[947]](#footnote-947) Tobacco was also frequently ‘vented’ at the seller’s house, which again was usually a private setting. During Cornwall’s pilchard-fishing season, Susan Treglown sold ‘small quantities’ of tobacco in her house in St Keverne, although in other examples travel was sometimes necessary, with orders for tobacco made within towns and parishes, and servants, carriers or younger family members usually contracted for delivering small parcels of tobacco between neighbours or from one parish to another.[[948]](#footnote-948) According to one deponent in Sulgrave (Warwickshire), whenever any gentlemen came to their house they commonly sent for one Thomas Briggs who sold tobacco to them.[[949]](#footnote-949) In the town of Carmarthen (South Wales), John Morgan ‘was sent as a messenger by one James Roberts…and called to one Margaret Allen (who drawed ale and beere under the said Richard Evans) for a peny worth of tobackoe’ and returned to Roberts with the tobacco.[[950]](#footnote-950)

Although some sales were certainly made in ostensibly private settings, these dwellings frequently doubled up as shops. In the early modern period, sites of business were often an extension of someone’s personal dwelling, thereby blurring the lines between the private and the public. Shops, unsurprisingly, were major locations for purchasing tobacco by retail. In urban centres as in more rural locations, there was no shortage of shops that stocked tobacco; one recent study of village shop probate inventories from 1660-1690 has shown that nearly half listed tobacco amongst their other wares, a finding which is foreshadowed in pre-civil war depositions.[[951]](#footnote-951) For example, in 1636 one Francis Cowper purchased two ounces from Elizabeth Markendale in her husband’s mercers shop in Barnard Castle (Durham). Cowper paid for the tobacco, then went to market to do ‘his other occasions’ then came back to collect his purchase.[[952]](#footnote-952) Similarly, during the same decade, William Rowledge came to an ironmonger’s house in order to purchase tobacco from the mistress. Prior to the purchase, Rowledge had been offered a pipe-full to taste.[[953]](#footnote-953) Another customer of the same shop had visited in order to purchase a sieve but returned home with packets of tobacco.[[954]](#footnote-954)

While private dwellings sometimes operated as shops, some sales were made in distinctly public places, such as in markets and at fairs. For instance, John Wilcocks and his servant peddled tobacco by retail at Bodmin market (Cornwall), as did ‘widow Watson’ at York’s Thursday market.[[955]](#footnote-955) At another Cornish settlement, Richard Caddenbury set up ‘a standinge or stale…at a fayre then holden’ whereas similar schemes were adopted by John Dowghty in Norfolk and even by one unlicensed dealer residing near Hampton Court, causing some controversy.[[956]](#footnote-956) Disputes also arose at fairs in Nottinghamshire and Kent, where tobacco retail licensees from London and their deputies who had traditionally frequented the fairs came into conflict with the locally licensed tobacco retailers.[[957]](#footnote-957) Fairs and markets were also sites for wholesale tobacco transactions; sellers frequently made both types of sales and it was not always obvious who was strictly a retailer and who was a wholesaler. Either way, although retail sales were frequently made in private spaces, there was sometimes a public spectacle of tobacco retailing, which was closely intertwined with its consumption.

Most frequently, sales of tobacco were made in the foremost site of sociability in the early modern period, the public house. Inns, taverns and alehouses constituted a ‘victualling hierarchy’ but all attracted a diverse clientele and, throughout the duration of the period concerned with in this thesis habitually provided tobacco to their customers.[[958]](#footnote-958) Although during the 1630s, royal proclamations stated that no tobacco licence holder was to be a purveyor of alcohol, several licensed retailers were the proprietors of inns, such as the tobacco retail licensee of Tewkesbury, Thomas Crumpe, and one of the licensees for Chester, Richard Thorpe (Thropp).[[959]](#footnote-959) The individual who held the most licences for retailing tobacco, Matthew Sharrock, was a vintner by trade and it is entirely plausible that he supplied both wine and tobacco to his coterie of retailers in south-west England mentioned in the previous chapter.[[960]](#footnote-960)

Further to this, at least fifty deponents from the counties of Yorkshire, Northamptonshire, Cornwall, Devon and Carmarthenshire during the same decade made reference to the purchasing of tobacco in places that also retailed alcohol.[[961]](#footnote-961) In no less than six alehouses in the parish of Northam, Devon, one husbandman ‘drank both beer and tobacco’ in several sittings over the course of several days.[[962]](#footnote-962) At the other end of the country, in several North Yorkshire parishes, tipplers and innkeepers frequently ‘vented’ tobacco to patrons who ‘bought their drinke’.[[963]](#footnote-963) As this chapter’s opening deposition revealed, tobacco was also widely available in a range of Northamptonshire public houses. Tobacco was also commonly listed in probate inventories belonging to proprietors of public houses, such as Thomas Collier, innkeeper of the ‘Swan’ in Bristol who possessed ‘halfe a hundred of tobacco’ as well as ‘two tabacco sledges’ on his death in 1647, and Margaret Bowles, a widow and alehouse-keeper from Marlborough, Wiltshire, who stocked tobacco amongst her wares in 1686.[[964]](#footnote-964) Finally, in Plymouth during the early 1680s, alehouses – such as the ‘Boatswain & Call’ and the ‘Rose’ – were common places where contraband tobacco was brought ashore and hidden.[[965]](#footnote-965)

In short, tobacco was well-accommodated in the early modern English inn, alehouse and tavern. Of course, that tobacco was retailed in locations that served alcohol is not a new finding, as historians have long discussed.[[966]](#footnote-966) Some years ago, Peter Clark suggested that the alehouse was ‘a principal retail outlet’ and even ‘the main sales point’ for tobacco; similarly, Withington has shown that of 126 tobacco retailers in the city of York in 1640, 110 (88 per cent) also sold alcohol.[[967]](#footnote-967) Alehouses, inns and taverns were frequently sites of spectacle and conspicuous consumption as well as spaces where social ties could be formed and maintained through the shared consumption of food, drink and tobacco.

On top of traditional venues, the latter half of the seventeenth century saw the emergence of additional establishments which served tobacco. Contemporaries made reference to specific ‘tobacco-houses’, which cannot have greatly differed from some alehouses and which subsequently have received scant attention from historians.[[968]](#footnote-968) Much better known was the emergence of the coffeehouse, a site which we are told generated public discourse and civil behaviour.[[969]](#footnote-969) Although scholars are ready to identify the sober effects of coffee with the emergence of new scientific thinking and rational thought, the ‘Arabian berry’ was not the only substance consumed there. William Peart’s Lincoln coffeehouse, for instance, stocked tobacco, along with beer and cider on his death in 1681.[[970]](#footnote-970) In the same year, Bristol’s Grand Jury presented ‘John Kimbar’s coffee-house and tippling-house near the Tolsey’. The proprietor allegedly had ‘a newly made door opposite to St. Ewin’s principal church door, whereby divers dissolute and idle persons sitting tippling and smoking in the coffee-house at the time of divine service with derision and contempt look on those at their devotions in the said church and by their talking, tippling, and tobacco taking interrupt those at church and greatly scandalize them.’[[971]](#footnote-971)

Along with location, the characteristics of tobacco retailers varied in terms of gender and occupation. Overwhelmingly, the majority of licensed retailers during the 1630s were male. Out of nearly 2,000 licences sold in 1634 and 1635, only twenty-seven were allotted to women, six of which went to one female and meaning that under two per cent of tobacco licensees were women.[[972]](#footnote-972) However, licences were granted to the heads of households who, in the case of married couples were always male, thereby obscuring the many women who sold tobacco under a licence in the name of their husband. Moreover, many of these licensees were more accurately wholesalers or middlemen who purchased tobacco wholesale from importers and parcelled the same out to actual retailers. By contrast, the evidence derived from the 1630s commissions into *unlicensed* retailing reveal a somewhat more balanced spread between male and female retailers. From a sample of 290 separate retailers taken from eight counties during the 1630s, 32 per cent were female and 63 per cent male.[[973]](#footnote-973) The remaining five per cent referred to husband and wife partnerships, e.g. ‘John Foote and his wife’. In some cases when a male retailer was questioned, he put the responsibility on his wife, indicating that the retail business was under the woman’s domain.[[974]](#footnote-974) As well as husband and wife partnerships, tobacco was also typically sold by members of the extended family: children, siblings and servants. Multiple deponents made reference to tobacco that was retailed by servants, agents, tapsters and maids.[[975]](#footnote-975) As we saw with those private dwellings which doubled up as shops, the employment of the extended family shows just how the business of tobacco retailing was incorporated within the ‘household economy’.[[976]](#footnote-976)

In terms of occupation, no single trade monopolised the tobacco retail industry, although occupations that designated retailing of some description were in a majority. ‘Tobacconist’ had not yet acquired its modern meaning of tobacco retailer and principally meant tobacco manufacturer or specialist wholesaler. Specialist ‘tobacco-men’, ‘tobacco-sellers’ and their cognates certainly existed throughout the early modern period. In Sir John Melton’s satirical *Astrologaster*, for example, the convergence of Venus with the constellation of Taurus was a specific celestial indication for the trade of ‘tobacco-men’.[[977]](#footnote-977) However, a variety of different kinds of tradespeople dealt in tobacco. As formerly discussed, many tobacco retailers were vendors of alcohol, whether alehouse-keepers, victuallers, innkeepers or vintners. In addition, retailers involved in the clothing and textile trades were commonly dealers of tobacco, as were grocers, apothecaries, ironmongers, merchants, soap-boilers, brewers and sailors, on top of an assortment of travelling chapmen, carriers and itinerant peddlers. During the 1630s, Bristol’s licensed tobacco retailers consisted of three mercers, two linen drapers, three soap-boilers, two grocers and one mariner.[[978]](#footnote-978) York’s licensees included at least three merchants, three mercers, one grocer, and one apothecary.[[979]](#footnote-979) Mercers also featured in Leicester’s list of licensed tobacco retailers, whereas a vintner, innkeeper and Bristol soap-boiler constituted the licensees in the city of Wells.[[980]](#footnote-980) More disparately, in terms of *unlicensed* tobacco retailers during the same decade, no fewer than forty different occupations were represented, ranging from ‘gentleman’ and ‘merchant’ to ‘husbandman’ and ‘chapman’.[[981]](#footnote-981) In St Ives (Cornwall), witnesses accused a local fisherman of illegally retailing tobacco and in North Devon the household of another seafarer engaged in tobacco vending.[[982]](#footnote-982) As the historian Nancy Cox has written, ‘retailers often dealt in a variety of goods well outside what might be expected from their designated trades’ – tobacco was no exception.[[983]](#footnote-983)

The incidence of merchants who were also tobacco retailers underscores the hazards that come with attempting to separate wholesalers from retailers in the early modern period. In some port towns, importers of tobacco may well have also undertaken the retail side of the industry, too. During the 1640s, several London shop-keepers were tobacco importers and between 1655 and 1685, approximately one-quarter of tobacco importers to Bristol worked in the clothing, textile, grocery or apothecary trades.[[984]](#footnote-984) Presumably many of these importers also owned shops from which they retailed all or part of their tobacco. Such importers included John Wale, a mercer based in St Werbugh’s parish, whose 1663 inventory lists various quantities of ‘stick roll’, ‘prest’ and cut tobacco in his shop, along with tobacco manufacturing equipment, indicating that he undertook all aspects of the domestic tobacco industry as well as its importation.[[985]](#footnote-985) Other Bristol probate inventories attest to the stockpiling of tobacco for resale amongst mariners. For instance, in 1680, Benjamin James had a cask of ‘cutt and dry’ tobacco, along with ten hogsheads of leaf, resting in his parlour on his death.[[986]](#footnote-986) Overall, the impression of the tobacco trade in Restoration Bristol is a trade that lacked clear boundaries between wholesale and retail transactions and personnel: many retailers in Bristol were able to source tobacco direct from the colonies, circumventing conventional distribution networks and muddying the waters between overseas merchant and domestic retailer.[[987]](#footnote-987) As the lawyer, Roger North, observed in Bristol in 1670, ‘all men that are dealers, even in shop trades, launch into adventures by sea, chiefly to the West India plantations and Spain. A poor shopkeeper that sells candles will have a bale of stockings, or a piece of stuff, for Nevis, or Virginia, &c.’[[988]](#footnote-988)

All tobacco retailers were part of an intricate web that encompassed the wholesale and overseas tobacco trades. Although the main reason for the high incidence of retailing occupations involved in tobacco retailing was the incredible and increasing amount of demand, tobacco was a relatively easy commodity to source for retailers who already had connections with ports or major distribution centres and who likewise had the necessary outlets to retail the same. Shopkeepers and purveyors of alcohol were already part of pre-existing internal and even international trade networks and tobacco flowed through the same channels that connected the provincial trader with dealers inhabiting ports. As we saw in the previous chapter, many retailers during the 1630s operated under the jurisdiction of a ‘licensee’, someone who had acquired the rights to retail tobacco within a specified jurisdiction or jurisdictions by purchasing a special licence and who commonly supplied the retailer with tobacco. After 1640, it is likely that similar arrangements were still in place, although there was no legal requirement for retailers to purchase their tobacco from a single wholesaler or pay them rent. In 1671, it was reported that there were ‘great numbers of men and women which carrie tobacco about both city and country, some at theire backs, some upon horses, and sells it at inns, alehouses and to petty or pedlinge shopkeepers in the country.’[[989]](#footnote-989) It is also known that provincial retailers frequently stocked tobacco, demonstrating that this perishable commodity was in constant circulation.[[990]](#footnote-990) Provincial dealers were able to tap into pre-existing networks to source tobacco, whether this was through an itinerant dealer or an urban wholesaler, and the ‘holy herb’ could be acquired from the same places where retailers obtained other foreign or manufactured goods. In this way, retailers were immersed in the social and economic networks that ultimately connected the country consumer to the transatlantic world.

## ii. Illegal Retailing

Unlawful tobacco retail sales took place ever since the widespread smuggling of the commodity in the early seventeenth century. During the crown’s attempts at licensing tobacco retailers during the 1630s, further restrictions were placed on what was considered lawful retailing, which ironically opened up additional avenues for illegal trading. Various components of the early modern state were mobilised to enforce the crown’s policy, resulting in a rich repository of information regarding illicit retailing, the means people used to circumvent the legislation and the existence of various grey areas. After 1640, there was no return to a national licensing system, although as in the 1620s, much of the tobacco that made its way to retailers was likewise traded unlawfully, having either evaded customs duties or having been domestically cultivated. Overall, illegality in the internal tobacco trade and the incidence of contraband throughout the period contributed to increased availability and decreased prices on the domestic market.

Beginning in the 1620s, growing levels of legitimately imported tobacco were augmented by a rise in contraband varieties. As we saw in chapter three, sailors, shipmasters, planters and prosperous merchants were all accused of dealing in smuggled tobacco.[[991]](#footnote-991) For instance, during the 1630s, one Bristol merchant, Thomas Heathcott, apparently ‘conveyed to his hands...12 tonns of tobacco’ which ‘his wife did sell sum p[ar]cells thereof for 18d. & 20d. per pound’.[[992]](#footnote-992) Tobacco was also extensively smuggled along the Thames Estuary and sailors likewise peddled tobacco to retailers on the Humber.[[993]](#footnote-993) Finally, tobacco was illicitly grown in England. Although the centre of cultivation was in Gloucestershire, a private informer reported to the Privy Council in 1631 that planters ‘having gathered their tobacco, daily bring it to London by secret ways, and sell it for Virginia and Bermudas tobacco’.[[994]](#footnote-994) Later that decade, deponents reported how domestically-grown tobacco was sold to dealers in Worcester, whereas some years earlier, one grower from Winchcombe (Gloucestershire) deposed how he had journeyed through the Midlands, ‘selling tobacco at alehouses and collecting payment for previous deliveries’, typically carrying 30 lbs. on himself at a time.[[995]](#footnote-995) Contraband tobacco was certainly prevalent during the rapid increase of tobacco imports preceding the British Civil Wars.

In part to rectify the defect in government revenue accruing from tobacco customs evasion, the Caroline state embarked on a project to centrally license all tobacco retailers. By lessening the burden that traders had to pay on importation, it was hoped there would be a smaller incentive for engaging in customs evasion. Moreover, specially appointed commissioners could monitor retailers and their sales. Although ostensibly a means to reduce consumption levels, the tobacco licensing project was in reality a revenue-raising device. Before it disintegrated in the early 1640s owing to the changed political climate, the scheme was somewhat successful, both in terms of the geographical spread of licensees and the income it raised for the central state. In total, almost £10,000 was annually expended on ‘rent’ for the first 1,801 tobacco retail licences issued in 1634 and 1635, with roughly this same amount once more being outlaid on the ‘fines’ required for the initial acquisition of licences.[[996]](#footnote-996) The rent for individual licences typically ranged between £2 and £10 pounds and were generally higher in urban places. In a few cases, an individual bid £50 or more for retail rights for an entire township.[[997]](#footnote-997) An additional 792 licences were allotted between 1636 and 1640, although some of these replaced pre-existing ones, since made void.[[998]](#footnote-998) Clearly, the tobacco retail licensing scheme was big business for many participants and a potentially lucrative project for the state.

Table 5.1. *Annual Rent Spent on Tobacco Retail Licences by Incorporated Borough, 1634-1635*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Settlement** | **County** | **Number of licences** | **Total annual rent (£)** |
| London\* | - | 142 | 1,336 |
| Bristol\* | Gloucestershire | 16 | 160 |
| Exeter\* | Devon | 1 | 133 |
| Plymouth\* | Devon | 8 | 100 |
| Norwich | Norfolk | 8 | 80 |
| Colchester\* | Essex | 1 | 66.6 |
| Great Yarmouth\* | Norfolk | 13 | 65 |
| Cambridge | Cambridgeshire | 8 | 60 |
| Salisbury | Wiltshire | 7 | 56 |
| Canterbury | Kent | 5 | 50 |
| Newcastle\* | Northumberland | 5 | 50 |
| Oxford | Oxfordshire | 5 | 50 |
| Worcester | Worcestershire | 1 | 50 |
| Nottingham | Nottinghamshire | 7 | 46 |
| Chester\* | Cheshire | 6 | 40 |
| Leicester | Leicestershire | 5 | 40 |
| King's Lynn\* | Norfolk | 6 | 40 |
| Shrewsbury | Shropshire | 1 | 40 |
| Coventry | Warwickshire | 1 | 40 |
| York | Yorkshire | 12 | 40 |
| 34 towns | - | 90 | 20-39 |
| 57 towns | - | 92 | 10-19 |
| 56 towns | - | 66 | 0-9 |
| **All incorporated boroughs** | - | **508** | **4,434** |
| **Non-incorporated boroughs** | - | **1,293** | **4,914** |
| **TOTAL** | **-** | **1,801** | **9,348** |

*Source*: TNA, E 122/218/25; Martin Weinbaum (ed.), *British borough charters, 1307–1660* (Cambridge, 1943).

*Notes*: Ports indicated by asterix.

Because licensed tobacco retailers invested considerable sums of money to obtain and subsequently maintain their licences, there were large interests at stake in the adequate enforcement of the project. The upshot of this was nationwide policing of the tobacco retail economy. By royal proclamation, all ‘justices of the peace, and all maiors, bayliffes, and head officers’ were to ‘make diligent enquirie of those that shall presume to doe against this command’, while warrants granted to king’s messengers commanded them ‘to give attendance upon the commissioners for examining abuses committed by refractory persons in retailing tobacco without licence, and to take such persons into custody, and keep them until discharged.’[[999]](#footnote-999) As early as 1636, the Privy Council issued additional blank warrants, granting officers stop and search powers to use against ‘divers vagrant pedlars and some interloping persons [who] carry tobacco up and down in their packs’ and who were to be ‘punished as rogues and vagabonds.’[[1000]](#footnote-1000) Likewise, licensees, commissioners and agents of a newly appointed ‘tobacco office’ headed by Lord George Goring were all empowered to apprehend suspected unlicensed retailers and provide information on their activities.

As a result of state surveillance in administering and policing the tobacco retail licence project, records were created in order to build up evidence against unlicensed sellers. Consequently, the historian is left with a rich repository of illegal and semi-legal retail practices for this decade. In particular, the Court of the Exchequer has left a detailed imprint of how the tobacco retail licensing project played out at the local level, following the court’s commissioning of eighteen (known) inquiries into unlicensed retailing across twelve counties between June 1636 and November 1639.[[1001]](#footnote-1001) Commissioners were local men, usually pre-existing office-holders, and there is some evidence that a few were economically or personally connected to licensed retailers. For instance, one of the commissioners for York, Richard Webber, sold 80 lbs. of tobacco to a townsman two months prior to taking down depositions while in Devon, Peter Ely was a gentleman, commissioner and tobacco wholesaler.[[1002]](#footnote-1002) Furthermore, four commissioners for Cornwall (John Sharrock, George Spry, William Grosse, and John Blake) shared surnames with four prominent Cornish licensees (Matthew Sharrock, John Spry, Edward Grosse, and Thomas Blake), possibly indicating kinship links.[[1003]](#footnote-1003) In Banbury (Oxfordshire) one of the commissioners was one of two licensees for that town.[[1004]](#footnote-1004) The commissioners presided over the proceedings, which were generally held in an inn or private dwelling in a market town. Witnesses – many if not all of whom were suspected unlicensed retailers – had formerly been ordered to attend the proceedings and may have been obliged to travel many miles to do so. One by one, each ‘deponent’ was sworn in before the commissioners, before giving a statement in response to a set of questions concerning unlicensed tobacco retailing.

Although numerous accusations of illicit vending were made across ten counties, these were not equivalent to conviction rates. The commissioners’ discoveries ranged between cases where retailers peddled small amounts in alehouses (by the pennyworth and so on) to instances involving much larger amounts, including from wholesalers who were attempting to furnish retailers with contraband.[[1005]](#footnote-1005) Elsewhere, deponents revealed whether tobacco was supplied in pipes ‘ready fil[le]d’ or brought over in unsealed packets or boxes, signifying that lawfully vended tobacco was to be sealed by the king’s commissioners.[[1006]](#footnote-1006) Multiple deponents within the same parish commonly supplied the same names of unlicensed dealers. Some indication was also given as to where retailers sourced their tobacco. In Kingston-Upon-Hull, retailers peddled tobacco purchased from sailors, newly arrived in the port.[[1007]](#footnote-1007) One innkeeper acquired as much as 40 lbs. of tobacco from ‘the servants & officers belonging to his Mats shipp’, which he subsequently retailed on his premises.[[1008]](#footnote-1008) The more serious cases of illicit dealing involved traders who were in the business of supplying multiple retailers with large amounts of contraband, commonly giving the tobacco on credit and receiving payment once the retailer had sold it all, before advancing another amount in order to start the cycle again.[[1009]](#footnote-1009) This was the business strategy of Martin Wigston of Daventry, who also told one retailer that if he ‘would buy tobacco of him and be ruled by him he might gett fortie pounds per annum by selling the same by carrynge it up and downe the contye where he the said Martin would direct him.’[[1010]](#footnote-1010) In a similar way, Abel Skirret sold tobacco to retailers in south Devon, promising to ‘bear them out’ owing to his positon as servant to Sir Francis Glanville, a former Justice of the Peace, Deputy Lieutenant and Member of Parliament.[[1011]](#footnote-1011)

There is a temptation to assume that all sales revealed by deponents to the commissioners were illicit. However, many unlicensed retailers were still often acting with some degree of legal authority. Unlicensed retailers may have had patronage from an office-holder, as with Abel Skirret, or may even have felt that their own nomination as a parish constable or town bailiff gave them sufficient authority to trade in tobacco regardless.[[1012]](#footnote-1012) When calls manifested for the licensing system to be overturned in 1640, unlicensed sellers asserted that urban citizenship or the practice of common law was justification enough for retailing tobacco, notwithstanding the intrusion of centrally-enforced licences.[[1013]](#footnote-1013) Another case in point regarding the ‘legality’ of unlicensed retailing was the high incidence of deputy retailers, noted in the previous chapter. On top of what could be considered as formal deputies, there were countless unlicensed retailers who claimed some authority from a licensee or office-holder, with many retailers claiming they had given the local licensee ‘satysfaction for ye same’.[[1014]](#footnote-1014) Less legally certain, however, were those retailers who assumed that tobacco purchased wholesale from a licensee gave them a carte blanche for retailing the tobacco in whatever parish they wished even if this contravened another licensee’s privilege.

Despite the presence of numerous ‘deputy’ retailers lurking in amongst the archival records, there were still many clandestine sales which lacked any legal backing. In Tavistock, one yeoman, Richard Cudlopp, made transactions in his home but urged his customers to ‘keepe it verie private, for that he said he coulde not justifie the sellinge of tobacco in Tavistocke’.[[1015]](#footnote-1015) However, at other times, Cudlopp exploited a legal loophole in the tobacco retail licensing project by entreating his customers to travel from the town of Tavistock to pick up their tobacco in a nearby rural parish after agreeing and bargaining on a sale in the town. Cudlopp held a licence to retail tobacco in South Sydenham and so sales could there be made legally according to the proclamation. The retailer saved money on the acquisition of his licence which cost £2 per annum rent instead of the £6 16s. required for the larger settlement of Tavistock. Cudlopp was one of several retailers who developed this same strategy to circumvent the royal proclamation.[[1016]](#footnote-1016) In each of these cases, the seller was unlicensed to retail tobacco in their home parish where they stocked tobacco in their private homes but nothing restricted them from trading outside of their parish’s boundaries, especially if, like Cudlopp, they had obtained retail rights in a neighbouring parish. In the Norfolk parish of New Buckenham, the pick-up location was a calving shed situated but forty yards beyond the parish boundary and which was rented by an unlicensed retailer who had purposely converted it for tobacco transactions. The dealer directed his servants and ‘agents’, as well as ‘little children wch usually go to scole’, to deliver tobacco to his customers at the cow shed, who then presumably went back into New Buckenham to smoke their purchases.[[1017]](#footnote-1017) Due to the known emergence of this practice in at least three distinct places around the country, this loophole may well have somewhat undermined the efficacy of the tobacco retail licences in other areas, too.

Another loophole was exploited through victuallers ‘giving’ their tobacco away. John Dowghty of New Buckenham employed this practice, with one deponent claiming that Dowghty’s customers ‘usually have tobacco given to them and pay only for beer’.[[1018]](#footnote-1018) In Yorkshire, the tactic was put to widespread use when the county commissioners chaired proceedings. Across multiple parishes in the far north of the county, no fewer than twenty tipplers and victuallers reported to commissioners that they bought small quantities of tobacco on a weekly basis which they gave ‘away to those that vend [their] drink’.[[1019]](#footnote-1019) Apparently mindful of such schemes, in the summer of 1634 the Privy Council reported that retailers in Middlesex sold tobacco ‘*under pretence* of giving away the same’.[[1020]](#footnote-1020)

Contraband tobacco was certainly easily obtainable on the domestic market during the 1630s and there were many ways that unlicensed retailers circumvented the crown’s proclamation. To a large extent, such activity contributed to cheaper and more accessible tobacco on the domestic market. While it may be difficult to ascertain precise figures for the cost of illegal varieties of tobacco, wholesalers who dealt in contraband certainly claimed to offer cheaper prices and even proffered ‘special deals’ for retailers. For instance, Martin Wigston of Daventry issued ‘20 papers of tobacco to the dozen’, rather than the licensee’s fourteen and in Cornwall, multiple wholesalers offered tobacco to various alehouse-keepers at cheaper rates than the local licensee.[[1021]](#footnote-1021) The existence of unlicensed sellers may also have negated the impact of monopolistic licensees who sought to rack up the prices of tobacco. Around the country, travelling peddlers and carriers furnished victuallers with cheaper tobacco than licensed retailers offered. In turn, retailers were able to keep prices low for their consumers.[[1022]](#footnote-1022) Certainly by the mid-1630s, tobacco was retailed cheaply enough for ordinary people to habitually engage in its consumption. This was a trend assisted by illicit retailing.

Despite the cheap tobacco that was being peddled by the mid-1630s, tobacco retailing could be highly profitable for illicit retailers and suppliers. Many retailers shifted several lbs. weekly and, for those who ran an ale or victualing house, cheap tobacco brought in valuable custom. No doubt arising as a consequence of tobacco’s lucrativeness, several commissioners appointed to investigate unlicensed retailing encountered a degree of animosity from suspected dealers. At the most minor level, some deponents claimed no knowledge of unlicensed dealing, although it is impossible to determine if the deponent was being truthful or not from the depositions alone. For example, the commission at Banbury (Oxfordshire) yielded only one deponent who claimed to have any knowledge of what could be considered as contrary to the licensing project, despite some fourteen individuals being sworn.[[1023]](#footnote-1023) A slightly higher level of contempt was the non-appearance before the commissioners, despite a summoning by a local office-holder, normally a parish constable, to attend, or a refusal to take an oath in the commissioners’ presence.[[1024]](#footnote-1024) At Banbury, one individual refused to appear before the commissioners, four refused to take an oath, while officers from three north Yorkshire parishes reported that seventeen parishioners had refused to attend summons. One of these, Eleanor Clarke, informed the constable that ‘if the commissioners have any bussnes they should come to her’.[[1025]](#footnote-1025) Most of the inquiries generated lists showing the individuals who had refused to appear before the commissioners or who had refused to take oath, although these cases were generally the gravest issues that commissioners encountered.[[1026]](#footnote-1026)

The one exception to commissioners’ relatively peaceful encounters was in Cornwall. Here, one local constable claimed that he knew over one hundred unlicensed retailers but not a single name; a dealer asserted that he would sell tobacco ‘in spite of the pattentees teeth’; and in Helston, commissioners were interrupted when a local yeoman burst into the room on successive occasions demanding that ‘the daye was past and that the commyssioners ought not to examine by night’.[[1027]](#footnote-1027) On top of such problems encountered by the Court of Exchequer commissioners, the tobacco office alleged they had encountered contempt in dealing with offenders and the Privy Council likewise received complaints from messengers who had been hindered in their duties for arresting suspected dealers.[[1028]](#footnote-1028) The Council also received a number of petitions direct from licensed retailers, complaining of the lack of adherence to the project in their jurisdiction.[[1029]](#footnote-1029)

The exclusion of unlicensed individuals from a lucrative enterprise no doubt provoked many dealers but they were not the only ones involved in mendacious behaviour. Many licensed sellers also behaved unscrupulously, with some exploiting their privileged positions. In South Yorkshire, it was reported how John Bailye of Wombwell, licensee for Darfield and Wath, ‘doth sell and vent naughtye tobacco at unreasonable rates’ and had extorted money from unlicensed retailers ‘by color or warrantes from his Mates commissioners in that behalf.’[[1030]](#footnote-1030) A similar case was related in Newington Butts (Surrey), where the tobacco commissioners reported that the local licensee, Thomas Brewer, had sold tobacco ‘at the rate of 16s. per lb. not worth 6s., at the rate of 14s. not worth 2s., and at 6s. not worth 6d.’[[1031]](#footnote-1031) Moreover, one of the last references to the tobacco retail licensing project comes from a ‘teller of the Exchequer’ in 1641, soon after the project collapsed. Responding to licensees’ request for the repayment of the money they had paid for their licences, the teller refused the request and noted that the licensed retailers had ‘cozened and abused the country…by excessive prices and base tobacco’.[[1032]](#footnote-1032) Clearly, many licensees behaved no less dishonestly than the unlicensed vendor, which goes some way to explaining why the project rapidly fell apart after 1640.

The frail, albeit viable, architecture of the tobacco retail licensing project becomes apparent once we look at the legal arguments made against it. Prior to 1640, a number of lawsuits were directed against licensed retailers, primarily regarding accusations of false imprisonment resulting from unlicensed dealing.[[1033]](#footnote-1033) After 1640, Parliament received multiple petitions from ‘poor’ retailers, who had been ‘utterly undone’ by unscrupulous licensees.[[1034]](#footnote-1034) The petitioners related how licensees had charged exorbitant rates for their tobacco and, more broadly, asserted that the tobacco project conflicted with civic charters of incorporation and parliamentary statutes. Several petitioners were ‘freemen’ and ‘free burgesses’ and claimed that they were lawfully entitled to vend tobacco, irrespective of a licence.[[1035]](#footnote-1035) Other petitioners made note of how the licences was contrary to common law, the 1629 Petition of Right, and Magna Carta.[[1036]](#footnote-1036) In this way, the tobacco retail licensing project became entangled with the political tensions of the time: Charles I’s rule without parliament had prompted a number of extra-parliamentary fiscal policies including various monopolies which, as most historians agree, proved unpopular.[[1037]](#footnote-1037)

As with cases of smuggling and domestic cultivation, unlicensed retailers claimed recourse to the law, whether through exploitation of legal loopholes, common law or civic rights. Early modern people had access to different, sometimes contradictory components of ‘the law’, which might complicate our understanding of legal and illegal retailing in this decade but also go a long way for explaining *why* the ‘illicit’ tobacco trade was so widespread.[[1038]](#footnote-1038) Licensees utilised the royal prerogative, unlicensed retailers claimed recourse to common law and parliament, and both sides sought redress in the Court of the Exchequer and other courts of equity. Thus, on one level, we see that tobacco was a hotly contested issue and one where the boundaries between legal and illegal commerce fluctuated depending on which authority one utilised. On another level, the drama over tobacco retail licences provides a lens in which to see the plurality of power and social relations in 1630s England and Wales and that ‘the law’ was no straightforward thing.

No tobacco retail licensing project was seriously considered after 1640, largely due to the legal difficulties that eventually became apparent in enforcing one. However, illegality in the tobacco retail market continued, primarily through the evasion of import duties through customs fraud, direct smuggling and domestic cultivation. If anything, contrivances between merchants and customs officers, made on the quaysides of England’s principal ports, grew as the century wore on. Fraudulent merchants at Bristol during the latter part of the period – such as those indicted in front of William Culliford in 1681 – included the likes of Edward Fielding, Richard Crump and Thomas Speed, individuals who we know supplied domestic wholesalers and retailers.[[1039]](#footnote-1039) Due to the size of the tobacco trade, which multiplied by a factor of at least ten between 1640 and 1680, the level of fraud was likewise augmented on a scale that was wholly new to the customs service and agents of the state.[[1040]](#footnote-1040) On top of customs fraud, small-scale pilfering amongst mariners also grew after 1640, owing to seafarers’ traditional privilege of portage and their custom of shipping ‘bulk’ tobacco. Sailors in the Severn Estuary, for instance, brought tobacco ashore into Bristol and other settlements during the late 1640s.[[1041]](#footnote-1041) The illegal trade of home-grown tobacco also contributed to contraband reaching consumers after 1640. In the 1650s, it was claimed that Gloucester and other towns no longer had commodities to exchange for tobacco imported through London and Bristol. This depression was due mainly to the dearth of labour otherwise employed in tobacco cultivation but also, presumably, because of the influx of domestically grown varieties in those towns.[[1042]](#footnote-1042)

After either being smuggled from overseas or cultivated in England, contraband tobacco was frequently mixed with legitimate varieties. London dealers apparently mixed English-grown tobacco with colonial varieties ‘for rappers’, a technique practised in Holland.[[1043]](#footnote-1043) Conceivably, the same was also true for illicitly imported tobacco. Because customs fraud sort only to lessen the amount of duties payable on a consignment of otherwise legitimately-imported tobacco (rather than completely circumventing them), contraband tobacco was already merged with legitimately imported tobacco as it was rubber-stamped by collusive customs officials. A hogshead of tobacco which escaped payment of 50 per cent of its duties remained in the storehouse among other, legitimately imported barrels. Even in cases of directly smuggled tobacco, there may well have been opportunities to merge what had been brought ashore illicitly with a trader’s official imports in order to conceal its unlawful entry.[[1044]](#footnote-1044) There was therefore often no obvious ‘black market’ or ‘shadow economy’ as such; successful smugglers and fraudulent merchants were able to blend illicit varieties with lawfully imported tobacco.

Underhand techniques used in the manufacturing of tobacco again show how lawfully imported tobacco was adulterated with contraband. One apparent ‘cheate’ was to pass off ordinary Virginia tobacco for the more expensive Spanish variety; another was to bulk-up tobacco with ‘unwholesome ingredients’.[[1045]](#footnote-1045) Although there were some commonly accepted additives in the tobacco manufacturing industry, the inclusion of foreign matter in the manufacture of tobacco opened up an additional avenue for fraud. At best, certain additives were deemed unnecessary; at worst, they were deemed reprehensible and liable for chastisement. In 1644 a petition signed by ‘merchants, grocers and others dealing in tobacco’ certified how a number of London tobacco manufacturers had mixed tobacco leaves with stalks, ‘drosse’ and other ‘poisonous and unwholesome ingredients.’ The petition revealed how Mr Lovell of Michael’s Lane had mixed leaf tobacco with ‘ponderous ingredients’ in order to increase its weight by 75 per cent whereas others had used ‘ox livers’ and ‘rotten stuff the testificant knoweth not’ to do the same. Meanwhile, Francis Wade of Southwark had mixed ground tobacco stalks with starch and ‘dyers liquor’ made from copperas and perfumed with ‘the oyle from spike’; Mr Howgreaves of Aldermanbury used black dyer’s liquor; and four others had apparently mixed starch, coal dust and glue with their tobacco.[[1046]](#footnote-1046) In the 1670s, ‘birchen leaves’ and tobacco stalks (the central membrane from which the two sides of the leaf were stripped) were apparently passed off as ‘best Virginia’.[[1047]](#footnote-1047)

Of course, and as during the 1630s, foul-play was called from both sides. One printed anecdote from the 1650s shows the unlawful seizure of tobacco on two occasions suspected as illegally imported into Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The tobacco’s owners, Elizabeth Lumsdel and Isabel Orde, were accosted by merchants who confiscated forty pounds and a roll of tobacco, respectively, ‘by order from the magistrates’ of the Northumberland town, despite the tobacco having already paid ‘all duties of excise, custome or toul’. Orde’s situation worsened after she ‘in passion called [the merchants] Robbing Rascals’, resulting in her husband’s appearance in court. As with retailers in 1630s, both women had recourse to petition but here attained mixed results.[[1048]](#footnote-1048) More successful were the importing merchants who had greater capital to issue counter-claims against customs officers.[[1049]](#footnote-1049)

Unlicensed retailing, smuggling, domestic cultivation and adulteration were the various ways in which the internal illicit trade operated. However, all three strands of illegality had the same fundamental effect on the broader tobacco economy of a reduction in tobacco retail prices. On top of increased official imports and an overall glut on the market by 1630, illicit trade further drove down the wholesale and retail prices of tobacco. Of course, contemporaries were well aware of this impact: the same writer who commented on the profusion of adulterated tobacco in the 1670s remarked how the net effect of illegal dealing was ‘to keepe downe the price of Tobacco.’[[1050]](#footnote-1050) The illicit tobacco trade thus increased the amount of tobacco in circulation *and* reduced the overall retail price of tobacco. In doing, so illegal trading facilitated affordable tobacco to enter the pipes of English consumers. Just how cheap tobacco became over the course of the period, along with the varied products that were available on the domestic market and its accessibility, are topics explored in the next section.

## iii. Taste and Consumers

It may be inconceivable to modern readers that tobacco mixed with birch leaves, coal dust or ox livers could have escaped the notice of consumers, although witness the additives that are smoked in cigarettes today and some credence can be given to the early moderns who ingested such matter.[[1051]](#footnote-1051) Either way, the issue of adulterated tobacco in this period raises important considerations regarding quality, taste and price. Tobacco on the domestic market varied widely, contributing to the emergence of market segmentation and the widespread availability of low-priced varieties supplemented by higher grades. Low prices during the 1630s signify that this was a decade of widespread tobacco consumption. Consumers were varied, but were more densely concentrated in areas where tobacco was more readily available. While this included the major ports, cities, and market towns, there is also evidence that suggests the whole of southwest England had a higher-than-average rate of consumption.

Most tobacco consumed in Europe came from the same family, *Nicotiana tabacum* but varied in perceived quality according to the location of its origin. Spanish American and Brazilian tobacco was accounted the finest, followed by Virginian, West Indian and, finally, European-grown, including that cultivated in England or Wales. Barbados tobacco was often ‘accompted the worst’ tobacco produced in the New World while tobacco grown in England may have even have belonged to the separate species, *Nicotiana rustica*.[[1052]](#footnote-1052) Indeed, one writer commented that the leaves of English-grown tobacco were smaller than ‘that which grows in the Indies’ and that it is ‘a sorry crop in conclusion, it being generally stiled by the name of mundungos’.[[1053]](#footnote-1053) However, even if it had been just as good as that produced overseas, central government was quick to denounce its ‘unwholesomeness’ and England’s unsuitability for its cultivation.[[1054]](#footnote-1054) The apparent success of Dutch and German tobacco – nations which had similar climates to England – suggests that English-grown tobacco was certainly palatable as well as commercially viable.[[1055]](#footnote-1055)

Within these tobacco varieties, sub-categories existed based on the skill of the planter and the grade of the crop. Transport time and conditions at sea likewise altered the condition of tobacco. As we have already seen, each variety was altered further as a result of the manufacturing stages, the skill of the manufacturer and the additives used during this process. After processing, competent storage and the duration of time between processing and consumption could likewise alter the product. Of course, location of origin, transport, manufacture and storage all affected both the perceived and real quality of tobacco. ‘Decayed’ or ‘corrupt’ tobacco listed in trade records and probate inventories, such as John James of St Ives who possessed two small rolls of ‘decayed tobaccoe’ on his death in the mid-1640s, indicate that quality was affected by these factors.[[1056]](#footnote-1056) In a later wholesale transaction, John Machen of Bristol sold thirty hogsheads ‘which being verry bad the deponent sold to the best advantage he could’.[[1057]](#footnote-1057) A number of court cases between merchants and customs officers or sailors concerning damage to cargo indicate that ‘corrupt’, ‘rotten’ or ‘decayed’ tobacco was still put to sale on the domestic market, whereas port books specify if tobacco was corrupted so that the merchant could obtain a rebate on import duties.[[1058]](#footnote-1058) Because a customs rebate was paid on tobacco in a deteriorated state, such terminology suggests there was a legal vocabulary for assessing the quality of imported tobacco in order to account for the payment of import duties. By contrast, the standard description of mid-range and above tobacco was ‘good’ and ‘ordinary’, such as in Bristol during the 1650s where a hogshead of ‘good tobacco’ was valued at £9 or a lb. or sold ‘at the mast’ for 2.5 d.[[1059]](#footnote-1059) Contemporaries also used the terms ‘sound and good’ and ‘well-conditioned’ to describe acceptable hogsheads and rolls unloaded from ships.[[1060]](#footnote-1060)

Whereas many examples indicate that there was an official acknowledgement of poorly conditioned tobacco, at other times consumers and suppliers contested the quality of tobacco put for sale, thus raising the issue of subjectivity. Consumers in the 1630s, for instance, related how there was often inferior or even unpalatable tobacco on the market. One Robert Colitte of Northamptonshire bought ‘a paper of tobacco for which he paid a penny [but] findinge fault with the same tobacco the said hostes answered she bought it of carriers and twas the best shee could gett’.[[1061]](#footnote-1061) The same retailer claimed that the tobacco belonging to the local licensed retailer ‘was base tobacco and that he did not sell above two pipes for a penny’.[[1062]](#footnote-1062) Similarly, a tapster working in a local Tewkesbury inn reported that the licensee’s tobacco was ‘old vermine tobacco’.[[1063]](#footnote-1063) Yorkshire jurors alleged that one licensee sold ‘naughtye tobacco’ while the word ‘mundungus’, originally meaning offal, became synonymous with bad quality tobacco by the middle of the seventeenth century.[[1064]](#footnote-1064) Retailers and wholesalers simultaneously relayed information regarding consumer demand, tastes and expectations back to suppliers. In Daventry, one retailer purchased tobacco wholesale but which ‘was soe very bad that this deponent could make noe mony of it againe’, indicating that he may well have reconsidered his supplier thereafter.[[1065]](#footnote-1065) Equally, the knowledge of ‘good’ tobacco was relayed back to purveyors. Through this communication, retailers gained knowledge of what types of tobacco sold well and at what prices; they subsequently transmitted this information back to dealers, importers and ultimately planters.

The above examples indicate both a wide degree of subjectivity in determining the quality of tobacco and the competition in the market between different retailers. Conversely, tobacco could be rated as ‘good’, ‘excellent’ and ‘the best’. During the 1620s and early 1630s, the secretary of state, Edward Nicholas, was in correspondence with the admiral, Captain John Pennington, and frequently thanked Pennington for the ‘good’ tobacco sent to him. In 1631, Nicholas requested that when Pennington next ‘meets with a piece of good tobacco [he] would be glad to taste of it’.[[1066]](#footnote-1066) Other times, superlatives were used to designate what were perceived as better varieties. In December 1647, Richard Edgcumbe wrote to ­­a kinsman, enclosing a small quantity of tobacco within the letter. Edgcumbe finished his correspondence stating how this was ‘a tast of the best tobacco hereabouts’.[[1067]](#footnote-1067) In 1672, Abraham Adams on behalf of one of Bristol’s foremost tobacco importers, Edward Fielding, sent a dealer in Chester one hogshead of ‘the best role tobacco’, urging the correspondent how it was ‘special good’.[[1068]](#footnote-1068) More formally, ‘best Virginia’ was a common description of the better quality of Chesapeake tobacco and is apparent in a number of seventeenth-century probate inventories as well as in shop advertisements and papers, such as that marketed by William Gribble of Barnstaple.[[1069]](#footnote-1069) ‘Best Virginia’ was the closest the period came to a recognised type of colonial tobacco, although branding remained the preserve of the manufacturer. The tobacco industry was broad enough for distinctions to emerge, with ‘large sweet’ or ‘sweet-scented’ Virginia remaining at the upper end of Chesapeake tobacco from the 1650s onwards.[[1070]](#footnote-1070)

Variation – whether real or imagined – indicates that an important cultural distinction was developing in the seventeenth-century tobacco trade: taste. Although the emergence of ‘taste’ in European society is usually associated with the eighteenth century, subjectivity, discretion and distinction was certainly prevalent much earlier.[[1071]](#footnote-1071) Although legal definitions arose in order to clarify procedure regarding taxation, the rating of tobacco was commonly subjective and something that had to be learnt. Indeed, in the above letter Edgcumbe desired his correspondent to ‘tast’ the tobacco in order to make a sale. The same occurred in Devon when Richard Cudlopp showed tobacco to one deponent ‘and gave him tast therof’.[[1072]](#footnote-1072) There were clearly cases where other issues asides from an objective understanding of ‘quality’ were brought into consideration, considerations that tied in notions of social differentiation. More ‘superior’ tobacco was associated with elites – certainly the price of non-colonial Spanish and Brazilian tobacco made it possible for wealthy consumers to purchase – whereas mid-range colonial or English-grown tobacco catered for the popular market.[[1073]](#footnote-1073) Following on from what sociologists remind us, elite groups who had more capital, credit as well as greater ‘cultural capital’ presumably had a more dominant role in the fashioning of taste and the consumption of ‘better’ quality goods, whereas popular groups had less agency in both these regards. One example shows how taste, the varieties of tobacco and the ensuing difference in price could be exploited. The ‘cheate’ was through offering a ‘gent or shopkeeper’ to taste a sample of ‘excellent Spanish’, before ‘by a sleight of hand’, selling a roll of ‘ordinary Virginia’ in its place. Alternatively, an amount of ‘best Virginia’ could be placed ‘at one end of a pound of cutt stalkes and when people tastes it finds it to be best Virginia, not perceiving the cheate gives them 18d. or 2s. a pound for these stalkes’.[[1074]](#footnote-1074) Learning about the taste of tobacco – as well as how to avoid deceits – was clearly paramount to the universal institution of smoking.

Inextricable from the understanding of taste in the tobacco retail market was price. Colonial scholars have long noted a fall in the plantation and wholesale price of tobacco between 1630 and 1680.[[1075]](#footnote-1075) However, the corresponding decline in retail prices has yet to be quantified, especially between 1625 and the early 1630s, the years which colonial planters saw their prices per lb. drop from shillings to pence. For example, the single retail price of 12s. 3d. per lb. in 1633 given long ago by Thorold Rogers was for the far more expensive ‘Spanish’ variety and is too high to represent English colonial retail prices at that time.[[1076]](#footnote-1076) However, the cost of tobacco retailed to consumers hugely varied and was determined by a range of factors, including the quality of the tobacco, the size of transaction, the condition of the market and even the final reckoning agreed between retailer and consumer. As with wholesale prices, tobacco retail prices were extremely varied and it is impossible to offer any definitive conclusion as to how much colonial tobacco cost the average consumer in seventeenth-century England, let alone in a single decade. For example, commissioners in Newington Butts during the 1630s valued tobacco belonging to just one retailer as being between six pence and six shillings per lb.; the retailer himself had apparently sold the same tobacco at prices ranging from six to *sixteen* shillings per lb.[[1077]](#footnote-1077)

Despite variations in the perceived and actual quality within and between different tobacco varieties, a sample of twenty-nine examples derived from depositions taken from across seven counties during the 1630s show that colonial tobacco commonly retailed at under four shillings per lb. These examples ranged between two and eight shillings and averaged 3s. 5d. (41d.) per lb.[[1078]](#footnote-1078) Most of these prices came from unlicensed retailers. Although objections to the high price of tobacco were made against some licensed retailers, most did not attract complaints, indicating retail prices that were closer to those offered by unlicensed retailers.[[1079]](#footnote-1079) Moreover, as shown earlier, tobacco was commonly sold in smaller quantities than a lb. An ounce could cost as little as 4d. or even 2d. (if as much as a shilling) and, as stated earlier, ‘pennyworths’, ‘two pennyworths’ and so on were also frequently vended.[[1080]](#footnote-1080) After 1640, prices of colonial tobacco were even cheaper and do not seem to have risen much above three shillings per lb. In 1654, the Middletons of Yorkshire purchased tobacco in York for three shillings per lb. and ten years later, Samuel Pepys gave 2s. 6d. as the going rate for colonial tobacco.[[1081]](#footnote-1081) The same price was given in Cambridge in 1681.[[1082]](#footnote-1082) Two shillings was apparently a good price to pay for ‘best Virginian’ in 1671 whereas in Cornwall a decade later, tobacco was being purchased for 7d. per lb. in quantities no larger than a lb. – barely more than the wholesale price once import duties had been accounted for.[[1083]](#footnote-1083) In the markets of northwest England, too, tobacco allegedly sold for 6d. per lb. during the early 1680s, a price ‘which caused a great consumption’.[[1084]](#footnote-1084) Of course, ‘Spanish’ tobacco continued to sell for at least two or three times as much, owing to higher taxation.[[1085]](#footnote-1085) Nevertheless, the entire period after 1630 was a marked contrast to before, or the days of the Virginia Company, when tobacco frequently retailed at above ten shillings per lb.[[1086]](#footnote-1086) There was therefore a rather sudden slump in retail prices c. 1630 and, as later evidence shows, prices stayed low, on average decreasing by several more pence up until 1685. In this way, early modern domestic retail prices correlated with the pattern of colonial farm prices over the same period and the expansion of the wholesale trade.[[1087]](#footnote-1087)

Prices of tobacco from around 1630 onwards easily placed the commodity within reach of ‘ordinary’ (non-elite) people. In Bristol in 1654, the daily wages for workmen in the construction industry as laid out by the city’s quarter sessions were as follows: 20d. for master masons, tilers and carpenters; 16d. for journeymen; 14d. for apprentices two or more years into their apprenticeships; and 12d. per day for labourers and ‘strong boies’.[[1088]](#footnote-1088) Thus, the fact that even a young, unskilled labourer could in theory purchase an ounce of tobacco (perhaps a week’s worth for a heavy smoker) for less than half a day’s work is highly revealing in terms of the accessibility of the commodity during the 1630s. Moreover, many retail sales were made on credit, owing to the general scarcity of coin that typified the early modern period. Wholesalers provided tobacco to retailers on credit and retailers in turn extended this to consumers. Abraham Sutcliffe, a yeoman from Allerton, Yorkshire, died in 1641 with debts which included 4s. for ½ lb. of (presumably Spanish) tobacco ‘to the Appotiker’.[[1089]](#footnote-1089) As also perhaps with wholesale transactions, it is possible that the relatively high incidence of trade tokens that contained imagery of tobacco rolls, pipes and smokers – and which were issued for ½ d. and ¼ d. – were a form of credit that retailers as well as wholesalers issued.[[1090]](#footnote-1090) The fact that tobacco could be sold on credit further increased the purchasing power of ordinary men and women.

How widespread was the consumption of tobacco between 1625 and 1685? Carole Shammas suggests that tobacco became ‘mass-consumed’ around the middle of the century but could have occurred earlier ‘if full information in imports and domestic production were available’.[[1091]](#footnote-1091) Full information may never be known, but through using incomplete trade figures, Shammas shows that quantities of tobacco imported into the country had by 1670 reached sufficient levels to ensure that more than 25 per cent of the population could consume tobacco on a daily basis (her own criteria for determining when a commodity becomes ‘mass-consumed’).[[1092]](#footnote-1092) However, by her own admission, the figures that Shammas uses for the pre-Civil War period are not inclusive of illicit imports nor do they include official figures to the outports.[[1093]](#footnote-1093) From what we know about the illicit tobacco trade, Shammas’s estimation is an extremely conservative calculation. By contrast, the evidence of prices – if not quantities – shows that tobacco was widely accessible long before this date and certainly by the 1630s.

Equally, the occupations of known tobacco consumers show that there was a diverse pattern of consumption, especially amongst adult males. Sailors and soldiers have long been cited as important consumers of tobacco, the latter in particular responsible for spreading the habit during the British Civil Wars (and in Europe, the Thirty Years’ War).[[1094]](#footnote-1094) An anonymous writer observed in 1654 that ‘physicians terme [tobacco] a hearbe of Mars, and…all the souldiers so generally approve of it, that scarce one of a hundred can be well long without it’, while the English physician, Thomas Willis, ascribed the perceived effects of tobacco as being ‘not only necessary but profitable for soldiers and mariners; for that it renders them both fearless of any dangers, and patient of hunger, cold, and labour.’[[1095]](#footnote-1095) As a number of deponents in Cornwall revealed, tobacco could be obtained from castles and other garrisons where soldiers were based.[[1096]](#footnote-1096) As well as with soldiers and mariners, tobacco consumption was popular amongst elite groups, gentlemen, professionals and ‘middling sorts’. Money was spent on tobacco at civic events, for example in Shrewsbury in 1673 for the ‘mayor’s feast’.[[1097]](#footnote-1097) Tobacco was likewise expended when the High Court of Admiralty sat at Looe (Cornwall) and gentlemen frequently appear as consumers in the 1630s Court of Exchequer depositions.[[1098]](#footnote-1098) However, its low-price also made tobacco consumption a routine habit amongst the ‘poorer sort’ or ‘labouring classes’. In the same year that dignitaries revelled at the Shrewsbury mayoral feast, twenty labourers working on the foundations of the town’s ‘Welsh Bridge’ were part paid in tobacco, along with bread, beer and brandy.[[1099]](#footnote-1099) In the late 1630s, one Devon husbandman was able to habitually consume tobacco alongside beer and ale in a number of alehouses in his parish and in the same year, labourers in Carmarthen were amongst the clientele who drank and smoked in tobacco-retail outlets.[[1100]](#footnote-1100) In between these two extremes – between the ‘better’ and the ‘poorer’ sorts – artisans, journeymen, yeomen and victuallers are all known to have consumed tobacco. The depositions of tobacco consumers collected by the Court of the Exchequer reads like a roll-call of known early modern artisanal and middling occupations.

Although previous scholars have asserted that tobacco-smoking was undertaken exclusively by men during the early modern period, depositions from the 1630s show that women also regularly partook in the habit.[[1101]](#footnote-1101) In 1637, one deponent reported how tobacco had been purchased by ‘Emme Taylors man for her use’.[[1102]](#footnote-1102) In Milton Abbot (Devon), Anne Lacey deposed that her daughter had purchased a quarter of a lb., which ‘she saith she hath parte thereof used for her own drinkinge, and parte retaile’.[[1103]](#footnote-1103) Similarly, in nearby Tavistock, Abigail Langford stated how ‘her maide did buy of John Barnes in Tavistocke either a quarter or two quarters of tobacco which...parte whereof she saith she retailed out againe and the residue they used themselves for there owne drinkinge.[[1104]](#footnote-1104) Additional examples could be given, confirming that women were both purveyors and consumers of tobacco. Perhaps only from ‘above’ was female pipe-smoking seen as abnormal. In 1678, the recorder of the Old Bailey denounced ‘those women, that have the impudence to smoke tobacco, and gussle in al[e] houses’;[[1105]](#footnote-1105) similarly, the traveller, Celia Fiennes, observed Cornwall’s ‘custome...which is a universall smoaking, both men women and children have all their pipes of tobacco in their mouths and soe sit round the fire smoaking’.[[1106]](#footnote-1106) Fienne’s observation of Cornish women denotes the disapproval towards female tobacco consumption amongst elite, metropolitan groups but at the same time it underscores tobacco’s ubiquity among popular groups, particularly in the far western county.[[1107]](#footnote-1107)

Although Fiennes noted ‘universall smoaking’ in Cornwall, there is at present no definitive method to calculate regional tobacco consumption figures for early modern England and Wales. Even so, previous scholars have generally assumed that consumption was greater in London and other urban spaces owing to their role as centres of trade and fashion.[[1108]](#footnote-1108) These assumptions are well-founded: in 1635, London and Middlesex had 269 licensed tobacco retailers, approximately 15 per cent of the national total, and many more deputised or unlicensed retailers peddled the abundance of tobacco annually unloaded from the Thames.[[1109]](#footnote-1109) However, for a number of reasons, Cornwall in particular and the West Country in general may also have had higher rates of consumption than in other parts of the country. For instance, as shown in chapter one, direct tobacco imports from overseas were higher in southwest England, London excepted, suggesting that more tobacco was available in the local economy. The West Country was also a prime recruiting ground for mariners – an occupational group who are known to have diffused the habit of smoking throughout early modern England and the wider world.[[1110]](#footnote-1110) Cornwall’s particular peculiarity with regards to tobacco is apparent in multiple wills and probate inventories, especially prior to the middle of the century. One survey of Jacobean Cornish shopkeepers’ inventories between 1604 and 1626 found that over a quarter contained tobacco.[[1111]](#footnote-1111) In their more expansive analysis of Cornish probate inventories (not restricted to shopkeepers), Mark Overton et al. showed that in the first half of the seventeenth century, 14 per cent contained tobacco. This compared to zero in Kent, another maritime but also wealthier county than Cornwall.[[1112]](#footnote-1112) Ordinary Cornish folk possessed tobacco or tobacco-related paraphernalia on their death. For example, ten shillings’ worth of tobacco were in the estate of a fisherman, Peter Jago, in 1628 and that of Walter Dennys, a yeoman, included a ‘tobacco pann’.[[1113]](#footnote-1113) Cornish probate inventories also include tobacco planters, indicating that Cornwall was a destination after transatlantic travel: in 1635, one planter bequeathed 100 lbs. of tobacco to the parish church of Padstow.[[1114]](#footnote-1114)

There is, finally, a comparison to make between Cornwall and the French *generalite* of Brittany, another European ‘Celtic fringe’ and maritime locality. Based on the official quantities of the commodity that France’s tobacco monopoly distributed to each region (discounting illicit trade), Price has shown that Brittany was the *generalite* with the highest levels of tobacco consumption during the 1670s. As with Cornwall, this north-western province had an important maritime-based economy, and shared some economic and cultural ties with Cornwall.[[1115]](#footnote-1115) Geographically speaking, Cornwall and Brittany are two distinct peninsulas that jut outwards into the Atlantic Ocean, both possessing a plethora of ports along their lengthy coastlines. The same precise figures that Price obtained for France cannot be provided for England but William Carne’s list of licensed retailers from the 1630s shows a much higher density of retailers in southwest England, with Cornwall possessing the highest number of licences per capita than any other county, London and Middlesex included. Cornwall and Devon both had over one hundred licensees, the only counties to have so asides from the capital.[[1116]](#footnote-1116) As Mark Stoyle has written, Cornwall in the seventeenth century was still constitutionally, ethnically and even linguistically distinct from other parts of England.[[1117]](#footnote-1117) Higher-than-average per capita consumption levels of tobacco would suggest that the Duchy was perhaps dietetically unique, too.

Cornwall’s experience with tobacco says something about southwest England as a whole and may prompt us to think about how new commodities spread during the early modern period. Along with London and other major port towns, the western counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset and Gloucestershire may have had higher-than-average consumption rates. Such an explanation would account for the high density of licensed tobacco retailers in these places and fits with the pattern of tobacco imports outside of London for the majority of the century, outlined in chapter one.[[1118]](#footnote-1118) Seventeenth-century transport links were sufficient enough to facilitate the diffusion of tobacco throughout even some of the remotest parts of the country and consumers were certainly prevalent in rural parishes in the North Ridings of Yorkshire and in county Durham during the 1630s.[[1119]](#footnote-1119) It thus seems likely that variation and the low-cost of ordinary tobacco made it a widespread commodity throughout the country prior to the middle of the century but that overall consumption levels were greater in the western counties, where there was an greater availability of tobacco, more economic experience with the commodity and less cultural stigma against ‘drinking smoke’. Crucial to the uptake of tobacco were the prevalence of sailors and its association with sociability, the final aspects of this thesis that we turn to now.

## iv. Sailors and Sociability

The apparent universality of tobacco consumption in some parts of the country begs the question: why did early modern people smoke? As a social habit, tobacco consumption is learned behaviour, however this only reconfigures the question onto who taught early modern people to smoke.[[1120]](#footnote-1120) Jordan Goodman rightly contends that the habit of tobacco-smoking ‘was grafted on to European culture by several different agents operating contemporaneously’.[[1121]](#footnote-1121) These ‘agents’ comprised, on the one hand, elite courtiers and publicisers, predominately within a learned medical context and, on the other, sailors and traders. The latter group have traditionally been given less credence than the former in previous studies and is what the first part of this section addresses. Similarly, attention to tobacco’s role within a medical paradigm has failed to convey the nationwide uptake of tobacco through practices of sociability.[[1122]](#footnote-1122) By contrast, sociability was the motor which created demand for tobacco and which in turn fuelled the trade. Cultural practice thus powered the economic processes chartered throughout this thesis.

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were host to an impassioned debate in printed media over tobacco’s perceived virtues and its use as medicine and sustenance.[[1123]](#footnote-1123) Although works were published in both Latin and the vernacular, treatises on tobacco were generally aimed at a learned audience. Although the debate had largely fizzled out unresolved by 1625, there emerged out of the discourse a common acceptance that tobacco, used in moderation, was a panacea to cure multiple illnesses (including syphilis and the plague) and a means to alleviate thirst or hunger.[[1124]](#footnote-1124) Identified within the humoural or Galenic medical theory of the time, tobacco’s properties as ‘hot and dry in the second degree’ led to theorists citing the plant as beneficial for the body.[[1125]](#footnote-1125) Throughout the seventeenth century, there was an abundance of generic self-help medical books and herbals citing tobacco as a cure, either through smoking or through using tobacco-leaves in ointments or unguents. To take one example of a cure for the common cold, the nose ‘is opened….by the smoke of tobacco only taken at mouth, and make it go out at the nose.’[[1126]](#footnote-1126) Defoe was well-aware of these beliefs when he styled Robinson Crusoe curing himself through a concoction of rum stepped in tobacco leaves and staving off hunger through chewing a sprig of the same.[[1127]](#footnote-1127) Moreover, its appearance in alehouses and inns – places of victualling – is perhaps also testament to tobacco’s perceived nourishing qualities, whether as a supplement or alternative to food.[[1128]](#footnote-1128) A well-known poem by Samuel Rowlands praised tobacco as a ‘frugal’ diet and antidote to gluttony.[[1129]](#footnote-1129)

Using the consumption-as-medicine paradigm, some scholars have grouped tobacco with other exotic commodities in order to explain why Europeans took to consuming new mildly stimulating goods or ‘soft drugs’ over the course of the early modern period. For example, coffee went through a similar process of acclimatization or ‘commodity indigenization’ into the European diet, albeit some sixty or seventy years behind tobacco; tea followed thereafter.[[1130]](#footnote-1130) In amongst this process of assimilation was the association of new goods with elite culture. Descriptions of tobacco – on the pages of ‘high culture’ printed texts – resonated with elite individuals, urban places and fashion. From elite circles, so the usual narrative goes, tobacco filtered down the social ladder and entered popular culture. James Walvin, for instance, claims ‘initially, then, tobacco was a sign of prosperity and standing, but it quickly passed from the upper to middling reaches of English life’, while Carole Shammas asks ‘when did usage of the various grocery products spread beyond the elite and the citizens of the metropolis’?[[1131]](#footnote-1131) The assumption therefore, is that tobacco consumption was initially an elite and urbane practice, which, only after this cultural practice had been debated and defined, spread into rural and popular society.

However, evidence alongside printed sources presents a parallel narrative to the uptake of tobacco consumption in popular society. Principally, this was due to the role that sailors and other non-elite occupational groups played both in trafficking tobacco and in spreading the social practices pertaining to its consumption.

Mariners have long been associated with introducing new habits, fashions and ‘material practices’ to Europe from overseas, including tobacco consumption.[[1132]](#footnote-1132) Almost every account of sixteenth-century Native Americans included their ritual of tobacco smoking which they shared with early European explorers and seamen who in turn brought the custom back home with them.[[1133]](#footnote-1133) In one of the first botanicals published in London which mentioned tobacco, long before the main dates concerned with in this thesis, the Flemish botanist, Matthias de l’Obel, described sailors as ‘carrying small tubes...[which] they light with fire, and opening their mouths wide and breathing in, they suck in as much smoke as they can’.[[1134]](#footnote-1134) Observers remarked on the same habit amongst sailors on the Iberian Peninsula and in the Dutch Republic, with mariners identified ‘as the vanguard of consumers in Europe.’[[1135]](#footnote-1135) Within a global context, Beverly Lemire has lately focused on the role of sailors during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, specifically in spreading the habit of smoking from their early encounters with Amerindians to ports around the world; Norton has provided evidence for seafarers disseminating tobacco in the Spanish Atlantic.[[1136]](#footnote-1136) Because sailors sought to ease fatigue or hunger after a lengthy voyage and since they ‘habitually binged when opportunity allowed’, tobacco ‘took root within a distinctive maritime community that was instrumental in new imperial and global contests.’ Consequently, by the end of the sixteenth century, ‘the tobacco pipe and the tobacco quid were soon emblematic of nautical men’ across the globe.[[1137]](#footnote-1137)

Although the start date of this thesis comes several decades after tobacco’s first use amongst sailors, Lemire’s global focus can be narrowed down, specifically to England and Wales during the period in which the tobacco trade started gathering pace after the successful commercial cultivation of tobacco in the Chesapeake and English West Indies. Mariners were integral to the colonial tobacco trade, not just as salaried labourers, but as active investors, agents and marketers. For instance, as we have seen in chapter two, the most numerous tobacco importers to Bristol were mariners and who were fundamental to colonisation projects in the western Atlantic. All members of a ship’s company were also entitled to the perquisite of portage on each voyage, enabling them to undertake a substantial degree of private trading and, unsurprisingly, in transatlantic voyages to the Americas sailors invested in tobacco.[[1138]](#footnote-1138) In addition, sailors and shipmasters were frequently cited as engaging in illicit trading that contributed further to the spread of tobacco, particularly of cheap, freight-fee and ‘uncustomed’ varieties that would have catered for the popular market.[[1139]](#footnote-1139) Some sailors and their extended families even vended tobacco direct to consumers.[[1140]](#footnote-1140) Small and large-scale transgressions of this kind increased the amount of tobacco on the domestic market and heightened mariners’ role in disseminating the commodity to the local populace in English or Welsh ports and the surrounding areas.

Inextricable from sailors’ trade in tobacco were their consumption practices. As indicated above, the association between mariners and tobacco had already been forged by the end of the sixteenth century. However, this image was strengthened following the increase in transatlantic trade after 1625. Sailors who listed for voyages to Virginia and the West Indies had direct contact with planters and thus ensured they had abundant supplies of tobacco that they could smoke; but there was a broad association of tobacco with seafarers of all stripes, on land and at sea. The deposition of Walter Jago, a Plymouth mariner, principally regards his role in supplying tobacco wholesale to licensees but he also stated how he had purchased tobacco for his personal consumption.[[1141]](#footnote-1141) Similarly, a ‘sea man’ was amongst consumers who bought tobacco from local retailers in Penzance.[[1142]](#footnote-1142) Another Cornish retailer deposed how she sold tobacco to workers during pilchard-fishing season and there is evidence from probate inventories of at least one Cornish fisherman who possessed tobacco on his death.[[1143]](#footnote-1143) Moreover, a set of instructions given to the flag commanders of the Interregnum government in December 1653 shows that sailors commonly smoked tobacco when aboard ship. Shipmasters were to bring to trial mariners involved in misdemeanours, including the accidental starting of fire ‘by the miscarriage of lights [or] taking tobacco’.[[1144]](#footnote-1144) Five days later, a note was added to the same document that ‘No tobacco to be taken between the decks...or in the hold or cabins’. Mariners were entitled to smoke tobacco aboard ship but only above the main deck.[[1145]](#footnote-1145)

As Lemire has written, mariners were agents of ‘cultural change...whose amphibious lives enabled them to shape plebeian consumer patterns on shore, expanding material networks and defining new trends among their peers’.[[1146]](#footnote-1146) Drinking or ‘merry-making’ was common enough among sailors and it is possible that many recreational rituals involving smoking were learnt directly from sailors.[[1147]](#footnote-1147) The sheer prevalence of seafarers at any one time in major ports like London, Bristol and Hull would have brought their maritime cultural habits onto land, along with the spoils of their commerce. Arriving in Bristol, Thomas Ryder brought ashore several rolls of tobacco before storing them in the cellar of an inn, ‘the Ship on the Quay’ for safekeeping, bringing him into contact with the maidservant of the inn as well as its many patrons.[[1148]](#footnote-1148) On the south Devon coast, tobacco was stashed in local alehouses frequented by seafarers and lands-people alike while some mariners established their own outlets for retailing the commodity to their clients.[[1149]](#footnote-1149) During the early 1680s, William Culliford found numerous cases of illicit trade in the southwest which had been facilitated through drinking bouts between shipmasters, local customs officers and merchants, indicating a close fraternity amongst higher-ranking officials through which overseas habits could also be brought ashore and which was replicated amongst more ordinary seamen.[[1150]](#footnote-1150) Sailors were thus traffickers, promoters and consumers of tobacco who were vital for the dissemination of the plant into popular society, both as a physical artefact and its consumption.

Other depositions show the close bonds between sailors and other occupations in port towns, through which cultural practices – such as tobacco smoking – could be shared. Two mariners were ‘present in company…[at] the Lambe Taverne in Tucker street in Bristol’, alongside their wives, lovers and a local glover.[[1151]](#footnote-1151) In the same city, three seamen were ‘at the howse of Mary Elliott’ when was one attacked by two other men who entered the alehouse.[[1152]](#footnote-1152) Obviously, points of contact with planters and mariners were more pronounced in some areas than others, principally coastal areas and port towns. The eastern suburbs of London and the surrounding area was a prime recruitment for mariners. So too were Devon and Cornwall, maritime counties which had a higher than average density of seafarers.[[1153]](#footnote-1153) Sailors were present at ‘a house of one John Pearse’ in Padstow when ‘one Mr George Beere’ issued a slanderous speech against the state.[[1154]](#footnote-1154) To sailors’ joint traffic and consumption of tobacco could be added the role of tobacco planters, some of whom hailing from a maritime background and maintaining close ties with seafarers as well as domestic merchants.[[1155]](#footnote-1155) In the first half of the seventeenth century, planters commonly traversed the ocean, personally marketing their own tobacco, such as one planter who bequeathed tobacco to Padstow parish church in 1635 and another who hired Bristol boatmen to bring ashore rolls of tobacco from a barque he was then aboard.[[1156]](#footnote-1156) Three Barbados planters and a local grocer arrived in a tavern on Bristol High Street on New Year’s Day in 1655, ‘before the setting of the sun & stayed there till after the sun had set’.[[1157]](#footnote-1157) Moreover, the fact that large numbers of planters and mariners deposed evidence to the Bristol’s mayor between 1640 and 1660 is clearly proof of their presence in England, where they shared public spaces and participated in cultural practices with the city’s citizens.[[1158]](#footnote-1158) The same was true for other port towns, including, Plymouth, Southampton and in North Devon.[[1159]](#footnote-1159)

Although there was a tendency for higher rates of tobacco consumption in areas which had a pronounced maritime culture, the diffusion of tobacco throughout early modern England owed itself to the more universal factor of sociability. Tobacco was used in a variety of different social settings and for a number of different functions. In King’s Lynn in 1653, for instance, tobacco-pipes were smoked in order to seal a deal on the sale of wool.[[1160]](#footnote-1160) Tobacco could also be given as a gift, a symbolic practice, which according to Norton, shared similarities to Native American rituals and which had been mediated by sailors and explorers.[[1161]](#footnote-1161) Moreover, tobacco could be used to facilitate work, as a welcome break or to improve stamina – this function is revealed in tobacco sales during pilchard-fishing season and as payment for work undertaken by labourers.[[1162]](#footnote-1162)

Above all else, and concomitant to any of the aforementioned purposes, tobacco was consumed recreationally in ‘company’ and frequently alongside alcohol. According to Phil Withington, company denoted a ‘joining or fastening together’ and was synonymous with ‘fellowship’ or ‘companionship’.[[1163]](#footnote-1163) Thus, rituals done so in company denoted a form of social bonding or coming together. Asides from signifying formal bodies, societies or institutions such as the company of a ship’s crew or a trading corporation, company also ‘denoted habitual and voluntary association’, as well as those encounters which were ‘accidental, occasional or transitory’.[[1164]](#footnote-1164) In terms of tobacco, consumption in ‘company’ mainly fell into the latter of these categories, although it could also occur in the other two, especially with regards to the company of sailors who, as we have just seen, were particularly ardent smokers. In each category, consumption in company was contingent on familiar and well-known rituals while relating to the specificity of a particular time and space.

Deponents from the Court of Exchequer commissions frequently and explicitly mentioned that tobacco was consumed in ‘company’. For example, Meverel Cradock was ‘at the house of one James Clarke of Carmarthen in company with other persons where he saw divers persons paie for beere and tobackoe, and did paie himselfe for the same.’ Cradock was also ‘divers tymes at the house of one Henry Tremyles within Carmarthen, where he saw many ^company^ call for beere and tobackoe and sawe the ^said^ company paie for the same and did soe likewise himselfe’.[[1165]](#footnote-1165) In the Midlands, Ralph Adams was at an alehouse in Daventry ‘with other companye & they had two pipes of tobacco brought them’.[[1166]](#footnote-1166) Similarly, Christopher Coleman related to commissioners investigating illicit dealing how one retailer sold tobacco ‘for some company’ at his house in Sulgrave.[[1167]](#footnote-1167) Finally, Thomas Bollard was at an inn ‘with other companie’ where they consumed beer and ‘about tenne pipes of tobacco’.[[1168]](#footnote-1168) From the company of a ship to the company of an alehouse, tobacco had traversed the economic and cultural practices of trade and sociability.

The numerous deponents who made reference to tobacco being consumed in ‘company’ during the 1630s designated smoking as a social practice. Within the broader conception of early modern ‘company’, moreover, tobacco consumption entailed more specific cultural conventions. As a number of historians and anthropologists have recently shown, public drinking is rarely ever drinking for drinking’s sake, but is imbued with cultural and social significance.[[1169]](#footnote-1169) The same is also true for tobacco ‘drinking’, which in the early modern period was frequently undertaken alongside the consumption of alcoholic beverages. One significance for intoxication is revealed in the common understanding of ‘good fellowship’. According to Mark Hailwood, the concept of ‘good fellowship – a practice centred on recreational drinking in alehouses – was a widespread, meaningful, and potent form of social bonding in early modern England’.[[1170]](#footnote-1170) Good fellowship transcended social ranks and ‘configured sociable and recreational drinking as a positive activity’; it often valorised excessive drinking but equally encouraged certain values such as ‘hard work, political loyalty, self-control, courage, patriarchal prowess, even defiance of patriarchal values.’[[1171]](#footnote-1171) Thus, seemingly non-meaningful instances of intoxication was of implicit cultural and social significance. Indeed, printed texts of the period, such as those identified by the Edwardian writer, G. L. Apperson, both celebrated and attacked the association of tobacco with good fellowship.[[1172]](#footnote-1172) James I, for instance, lamented how smoking ‘is become in place of a cure, a point of good fellowship, and he that will refuse to take a pipe of tobacco among his fellowes...is accounted peevish and no good company.’[[1173]](#footnote-1173)

Despite the applicability of good fellowship in printed sources, depositional evidence from the 1630s attests to less romantic, more normative forms of sociability that tobacco consumption entailed. To begin with, tobacco was certainly consumed alongside alcohol and in public spaces where drink was also vended, as noted in the first section to this chapter. For instance, in Daventry, John Mercerter and James Bastley consumed five pipes’ worth of tobacco and three jugs of beer in one tavern, before drinking a further jug of beer and smoking a tobacco pipe at ‘the howse of Richard Howse’.[[1174]](#footnote-1174) At the ‘house of Francis Younger’ in the same town, Simon Jusley ‘dranke a jugge or two of beare & tooke 3 or 5 pipes of tobacco there.[[1175]](#footnote-1175) In Tewkesbury, tobacco was ‘taken or spent’ in one Thomas Sweeper’s alehouse-cum-wine shop, whereas across north Yorksire, ‘tipplers’ frequently gave tobacco away to customers who purchased their drink.[[1176]](#footnote-1176) In rural Norfolk, tobacco was ‘diverse tymes’ taken ‘by the pipe freely’ alongside beer, which could both be consumed on or off premises.[[1177]](#footnote-1177)

These depositions indicate the joint consumption of tobacco and alcohol in a non-elite public setting, signifying the presence of multiple individuals. The appearance of tobacco (much of it illegally obtained) alongside alcohol could suggest that the commodity was used to strengthen camaraderie between different individuals. Personal ties were cemented through the usage of the same pipe between multiple users and the purchasing of successive ‘rounds’ of beer and tobacco between participants. However, the joint consumption of alcohol and tobacco could also denote business transactions or the reinforcement of trade partnerships. The first example above denoted two mercers drinking together. Other examples from Northamptonshire included a cloth-worker who hailed from Leicestershire and another individual from Cheshire, indicating that travel had been involved, almost certainly for commercial purposes.[[1178]](#footnote-1178) Tobacco and alcohol were thus not just consumed in rituals of ‘good fellowship’, but both served a crucial component in the daily lives of ordinary men and women.

Integral to sociability was tobacco consumption amongst individuals who had shared interests or social networks. Additional depositions give an indication of the social relations between those who smoked tobacco together, highlighting the fraternal implications that tobacco consumption signified, such as shared occupations or social rank. Two labourers and possible kinsmen were at an alehouse in Carmarthen where pennyworths of tobacco passed hands while a North Devonshire husbandman mingled with sailors, victuallers and ‘divers persons wthin the parishe of Northam’ who peddled also him the tobacco.[[1179]](#footnote-1179) At the same time, sociability cemented social bonds between members of different social ranks. In Carmarthen, the local gentry consumed tobacco and beer alongside their socially inferiors.[[1180]](#footnote-1180) Revealingly, the joint consumption of tobacco often represented close and intimate bonds. Multiple deponents consumed tobacco amongst family, such as Robert Bell and his brother who smoked together at a house in New Buckenham.[[1181]](#footnote-1181) Other times, small amounts were given to friends. Jane Haycrast, a widow from St Columb Major (Cornwall) who sold beer, told commissioners that she ‘freely disposed [tobacco] at several tymes amongst her family & friends which came to her howse’.[[1182]](#footnote-1182) Likewise, Richard Howse, an alehousekeeper in Daventry, gave tobacco to his ‘freinds’; so too did the Devonian deponents, John Bennet, John Barons, Oliver Maynard, Robert Tucker and Judith Lyer, who ‘drank’ the tobacco with their friends.[[1183]](#footnote-1183) As Naomi Tadmor has explained, friendship carried a multi-faceted meaning during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, designating kin and non-kin, but ultimately denoting ‘major social relationships’.[[1184]](#footnote-1184) Tobacco consumption amongst friends and family helped maintain these networks and equally, such relationships could hasten consumption.

Whether done in rituals of good fellowship, amongst family or friends, tobacco consumption was a social – and sociable – practice. Embedded in rituals of sociability, the group consumption of tobacco (and frequently alongside alcohol) strengthened and maintained social bonds amongst non-elites. It was tobacco’s association with sociability and force of habit that made it a useful commodity for offering comfort when someone was alone, too, notwithstanding its addictive properties. Tobacco consumption, moreover, was integral to the health benefits of sociability. Historians who place early modern tobacco consumption within a medical framework have risked missing the broader picture of classifying the practice within a social context that was inclusive of good health.[[1185]](#footnote-1185) According to Francis Bacon, sociability enabled ‘the flow of emotions to “ease and discharge...swellings of the heart.”’[[1186]](#footnote-1186) Thus, health was not seen as something distinct from sociability but sociability was understood to improve health, and *vice versa*. These holistic characteristics of tobacco had been previously debated by Jacobean writers, ever since James I’s *Counterblaste*.[[1187]](#footnote-1187) A few years later, the Edinburgh physician William Barclay alleged how tobacco ‘is the only medicament in the world ordained by nature to entertain good companie: insomuch that it worketh never so well as when it is given from man to man, as a pledge of friendshippe and amitie.’[[1188]](#footnote-1188) The Court of the Exchequer depositions therefore show the application of these cultural constructions of tobacco and sociability in practice, far away from courtly society but amid the practices of everyday life among the ‘middling’ and ‘ordinary’ sorts.

Hailwood states that good fellowship was a ‘widespread, meaningful, and potent form of social bonding in early modern England’.[[1189]](#footnote-1189) Whereas there were other forms of sociability in early modern society, tobacco was increasingly integral to this social practice, especially after 1630 when the traffic of tobacco (both legal and illegal) was sufficient enough to cater for a wide-base of consumers. Taking Hailwood’s argument about good fellowship one step further, we can also flip the standard economic argument around by stating that the rituals involved in all kinds of sociability stimulated trade rather than trade itself creating demand.[[1190]](#footnote-1190) Sociability required objects – tankards, jugs and tobacco-pipes, for instance – as well as the materials consumed from these – that is, a range of alcoholic beverages and any variety of manufactured tobacco leaf. As we have seen throughout this thesis, tobacco underwent a number of stages between its cultivation and consumption and tobacco became commodified during its manufacture, transforming it into a physical artefact, before finally being ‘vented’ by the retailer and then again by the consumer. Tobacco consumption – a practice that was never the preserve of elites but was instead facilitated by certain occupational groups, such as sailors – was particularly conducive to stimulating demand in the intoxicant and thus also the plant’s transatlantic traffic, manufacture, distribution and retail.

## v. Conclusion

Small-scale and everyday instances of tobacco retail and consumption – such as those deposed by Richard Rogers cited at the beginning of this chapter – both provided the end-point and purpose of larger-scale transactions in overseas and wholesale tobacco trade outlined in the previous chapters of this thesis. Retail practices were varied, different types of retailers and other tradespeople could engage in tobacco retailing as both a side-line and main enterprise. Competition between retailers was compounded by the fact that the illicit trade was well-integrated at every level of the economy, contributing to increased availability and affordability. Early and somewhat successful attempts to state regulate the tobacco retail trade highlighted how entrenched the illegal and informal trades were in the lawful aspects of the market. In amongst all this were the expectations of the consumer and how these fed back to suppliers. A circuitous dialogue emerged through which tobacco was sold to consumers, one way, and knowledge concerning variation, taste and price travelled the other way. By the 1630s there emerged a variegated segmented tobacco market, encompassing different strains, types, and qualities. Knowledge of what constituted ‘good’ or ‘bad’ tobacco was shared between consumers and suppliers within this varied market; likewise, a range of prices intersected the market, but generally, a fall in retail prices beginning around 1630 made tobacco a widely available and affordable commodity. By the 1630s, tobacco was a widespread commodity of consumption amongst a broad milieu of early modern society.

Because the transatlantic and internal tobacco trades constituted two-way traffic, the increase in the quantity of tobacco entering England and Wales was in response to the demand of tobacco amongst consumers. Suppliers sought to match this expanding demand, which in turn fuelled the expansion of tobacco cultivation overseas, manufacture at home and cost-saving measures in trade and production. Understanding why there was demand for tobacco can be shown in two ways: sailors and sociability. Although there were other reasons why people smoked (for example, medical reasons, its addictiveness or to escape the hardships of life), the initial consumption of tobacco in early modern England had been facilitated through sailors and was hastened as an extensive practice by joint, sociable consumption done so in ‘company’. The importance of mariners may suggest that some maritime regions – for instance, Cornwall – had higher rates of consumption than in other areas. However, consuming in company ensured that the ‘drinking smoke’ was a sociable and hence learnt practice that could pass from individual to individual, facilitating nationwide consumption and demand for tobacco.

# Conclusion

Nearing the denouement of *Robinson Crusoe*, tobacco makes an additional appearance. The hero’s deliverance from the island comes in the form of a ship bound for England. After a drama between the ship’s captain and some mutinous members of its company, there is a final flurry of activity as Crusoe and Man Friday help take back control of the ship and its sailors. Grateful for his assistance, the shipmaster brings Crusoe a bundle of gifts, immediately prior to boarding the vessel home. The fictional year is 1686.

‘When we had talked a while, the captain told me he had brought me some little refreshment, such as the ship afforded...First, he had brought me a case of bottles full of excellent cordial waters, six large bottles of Madera wine; the bottles held two q[u]arts a-piece; two pounds of excellent good tobacco, twelve good pieces of the ship’s beef, and six pieces of pork, with a bag of pease, and about a hundred-weight of bisket.’[[1191]](#footnote-1191)

Most pleasing of all, Crusoe receives clean garments from the captain, and is clothed ‘from head to foot’.[[1192]](#footnote-1192) However, amongst these items of clothing and the other provisions, tobacco is featured as an essential component to life’s little necessities. Along with food, wine and clothing, the commodity is deemed important for survival and for one’s personal comfort, worthy of a gift from one individual to another. Intriguingly, tobacco is the only item in the list which contains two adjectives (excellent and good). Perhaps this denotes something special about tobacco or was a normative way to described the commodity. In any case, the passage underscores the centrality of tobacco in the imagination of society in the early eighteenth century.

This thesis has chartered how tobacco became so important. Between 1625 to 1685, vast changes were wrought to England and Wales, comprising constitutional upheavals, economic transformation, and social adjustment. Coinciding – and in certain respects instrumental – to many of these developments, was the vast increase in the traffic of tobacco, an increase in participation in overseas commerce, the creation of an expansive illicit economy, the expansion of new industries and inland trafficking routes, and the uptake of tobacco consumption as a widespread social and cultural habit.

Official records for the tobacco import trade to England and Wales show a 200-fold increase from some 132,000 lbs. in 1625 to 28,000,000 lbs. in 1685. Transpiring at the same time was a slump in the wholesale price of tobacco both on the English and colonial market, with the largest plummet occurring during the early 1630s. In terms of this traffic of tobacco, however, this thesis has argued that previous data is problematic and should only be seen as an approximate guide to actual trends. Particularly for the pre-civil war period, earlier studies have given London too much attention. While the capital was certainly the most important port for the traffic of tobacco during the seventeenth century, it has been shown that other ports have not been given their due consideration, at least in a unified manner as that presented above. By contrast, a string of ports, particularly in southwest England and south Wales, imported tobacco direct from overseas, democratizing colonial traffic to the British Isles. During Charles I’s reign, restrictions on trade could be overcome through the issuing of special licences, permitting the import of tobacco to those places. After 1640, legislation did not discriminate against traders in the outports and even Irish traders found legal means to get around the subsequent parliamentary navigation acts. Crucially, outports in southwest England were conveniently located as provisioning bases for London-bound tobacco ships and sailors and ‘passengers’ engaged in small to medium sized transactions, exchanging tobacco for necessary provisions and goods, or taking on board equipment required for fixing vessels after damage at sea. Other ports were directly engaged in overseas traffic themselves. Falmouth, Plymouth and Barnstaple stand out as the most important West Country ports engaged in the tobacco trade before the British Civil Wars; thereafter, Bristol came into its own. While the western city has long been celebrated as significant in the late seventeenth-century tobacco trade, through quantifying the number of imports year-on year the thesis has given more precision to this interpretation. Although caveats of illegal trade should apply, there is further scope for similar detailed research for other southwestern outports, where evidence survives.

Concurrent with the huge increase of tobacco imports during this period, was the establishment of multiple and varied models of commerce within a broader transatlantic tobacco network. In order to transport a perishable commodity many miles across the Atlantic, agreements were put in place between planters, merchants, other domestic traders and sailors. Generally, most tobacco arrived in one of two modes of transaction: as part of a ‘joint-venture’, whereby domestic merchants took the responsibility of shipping tobacco to England, or as a ‘consignment’, in which tobacco planters shouldered a greater risk, consigning their annual crop to domestic merchants, shipmasters or traders in English ports. A decline in risks over time encouraged the level of participation in the tobacco trade, which by the second half of the century had grown to unprecedented levels, both in London and the outports. Although one type of importer cannot be viewed as typical, a few larger-scale traders commanded a significant share of the market, while a multitude of other, smaller importers accounted for the rest. Those attracted to the trade were extremely varied, with men, women and those who came outside of traditional mercantile institutions. In particular, retailers in Bristol could circumvent merchants’ pretensions over a monopoly of overseas trade while contributing to the city’s coffers. Moreover, those involved in the shipping industry could exploit their central position within the transatlantic tobacco network. Most importantly, mariners played a hugely significant role, not just as salaried labourers who undertook work issued them by profit-hungry merchants, but as active participants, investors and dealers in the tobacco trade themselves.

This thesis has also demonstrated how the illicit tobacco trade was not the product of the introduction of the ‘new impost’ in 1685 and has also complicated and historicised what we mean by ‘illegal’. Different components of an illegal economy encompassed smuggling, customs fraud and domestic cultivation many decades before this date. As with the official tobacco trade, there were concentrated levels of illicit activity in the southwest of England, where Cornish fishermen and Bristol merchants ran tobacco ashore and fiddled customs accounts, stretching north into Gloucestershire, where parishioners illegally cultivated the crop. To a large extent, the cause of these features of illegal tobacco trading was due to the illicit economy’s relationship with the legal economy. There was cross-over between lawful and unlawful channels of commerce, with the same ships and individuals being involved in both and involving some notable participants. For example, in Bristol there was a correlation between large-scale tobacco importers and the likelihood of engaging in customs fraud. Likewise, domestically-grown tobacco was disguised as colonial varieties and growers in Gloucestershire relied on the complicity of local elites to facilitate their practice. Legal and political channels were often used to justify involvement and the same could be used discriminately to clamp down on one aspect of the illegal economy: fraudulent tobacco merchants in Bristol, for instance, still played every card they could to eradicate domestic cultivation to the north of the city. To these observations could be added the possibility that illegal trading, especially customs fraud, was necessary for large-scale tobacco dealers to succeed and that the illegal tobacco sector, more generally, provided a significant boost for the economy.

Howsoever tobacco entered the domestic market, its production and distribution of signified the growing commercialisation of early modern society. After import, cured tobacco leaves underwent a series of stages including moistening, rolling, cutting and drying, leading to distinct variations in the finished product. The manufacturing trade also denoted increased specialisation, with the emergence of occupations designated as tobacco manufacturers and households which clearly invested their principal resources into the production of vendible tobacco. Here there were some similarities to the overseas trade, in that larger wholesalers, some of whom were importers themselves, operated alongside many other, smaller distributors and county retailers. Tobacco was distributed directly from traders in a port town or was mediated by itinerant chapmen and peddlers. By the mid-1630s we can discern a nationwide demand for tobacco and the entry of large-scale wholesalers which England’s transport links were sufficient to cater for, bringing tobacco to retailers via coastal trade, inland waterways and overland roads. The distribution trade denotes the connectivity between the ‘New World’ and the interior of early modern England within a broader ‘transatlantic tobacco network’. Central to this network, was the two-way transmission of information. Tobacco travelled one way; consumer knowledge concerning taste and prices travelled the other way, influencing the production and distribution components of the trade.

Consumer demand, above all else fuelled by sociable practices in the consumption of tobacco, drove the processes described in the foregoing chapters. Tobacco was commonly retailed alongside alcohol in alehouses, taverns and inns. The ingress of contraband tobacco made its way into the supplies of retailers and the pipes of consumers, meaning that greater levels of tobacco were sold on the domestic market than has been previously acknowledged by historians of consumption. There was widespread variation in tobacco available on the retail market, contributing to ideas of taste, quality, price and market segmentation. A discourse of tobacco’s variants – above all else, that tobacco could be judged ‘good’ or ‘bad’ – travelled both ways in the internal distributive network, reaching suppliers and importers. Consumers were highly varied; by the 1630s at the latest tobacco ‘drinkers’ encompassed, men, women, labourers and others well below elites and the ‘middling sorts’. Owing to economic activity and the distribution of authorised dealers in southwest England, this region of the country may have had higher consumption rates than on average, with the Duchy of Cornwall especially standing out. Sailors were particularly important for disseminating the cultural practice of tobacco ‘drinking’ as well as the physical artefact of the commodity, providing another factor for why maritime regions, such as Cornwall and Devon, were more likely to have higher than national average consumption rates. More universally, however, tobacco was consumed for sociable, recreational reasons, mainly in ‘company’ and frequently alongside alcohol. In turn, the economy (of tobacco) was driven by consumption.

There are, finally, at least two historiographical lessons to be learned from this multifaceted history of tobacco. First, through venting smoke, early modern England became enmeshed within a much wider world. Tobacco provided a means for quotidian trade and consumption habits to enter a wholly novel phase, whereby widely available commodities originated from overseas but were transformed by a number of intermediaries. Thus through this one commodity, we can appreciate the broader, joined-up picture of early modern ‘globalisation’ and how consumption practices at home impinged on commercial development overseas, in particular within the ‘Atlantic world’. That tobacco was ‘vented’ twice – in that it was both sold and smoked – encapsulates the commercial and cultural changes that occurred in England, Wales and the wider world during this period. At the same time, the thesis suggests that more attention should be given to the ‘local’ in ‘transatlantic’ or ‘global’ histories. Most strikingly, this is seen in the incidence of economic and cultural activity pertaining to tobacco in southwest England. The southwest was a maritime region of the country that was more receptive to foreign influences, which in turn were mediated by seafarers; the region was also situated alongside the shipping lanes of homebound vessels returning from the tobacco-producing colonies and provided multiple bases for replenishing ships. The upshot of this was a more-pronounced culture of tobacco trading (legal and illegal) and its consumption compared to other parts of the country. As much as those who identify with the ‘Atlantic world’, this finding speaks to scholars of the ‘consumer revolution’ school, many of whom assume that new consumer goods were initially appropriated by elites and those living in the metropolis before the traffic and consumption of those goods spread outwards to the provinces, over time. Cultural practices, much like the flow of goods, were not necessarily predicated on the capital nor were they exclusively ‘elite’ phenomena prior to ‘popular’ usage.[[1193]](#footnote-1193)

More generally, the widespread use of tobacco by the second quarter of the seventeenth century poses questions for changing consumer practices and the extent to which the gradual assimilation of new goods can be considered a consumer ‘revolution’. This study has replied to Sara Pennell’s observation that tobacco plays a ‘relatively marginal’ role ‘in most standard accounts of early modern English consumption.’[[1194]](#footnote-1194) By contrast, the seventeenth-century tobacco trade had the hallmarks of a commercialized and consumer-driven industry in that it was highly commodified, reflected notions of taste and was part of international trading networks. This set tobacco consumption in seventeenth-century England apart from indigenous, Native American uses of the plant. Although Norton has pointed towards the sociality of tobacco use in Amerindian cultures that then spread to Europe via sailor and explorer intermediaries, there was a considerable journey – geographically and chronologically – between the early encounters in between Europeans and Native Americans and the consumption of manufactured tobacco alongside alcohol in the English alehouses during the 1630s and after. As a plant-based artefact, tobacco was consumed in a commodified form, its materiality distinct from the Americas. As importantly, while tobacco was consumed sociably in the New World, its association with alcohol and the alehouse was a distinctively European, if not English, cultural trope. In amongst all this was a process which De Vries has identified as involving the restructuring of a household’s resources towards both supply and demand.[[1195]](#footnote-1195) Time and energy spent on marketing and manufacturing tobacco simultaneously increased consumer demand. Consequently, the thesis casts doubt over the usefulness of the term ‘consumer revolution’. Certainly, the legal and illegal tobacco trades meant that the consumption of tobacco was a widespread practice by the 1630s at the latest, however innumerable changes to the diets of early moderns were to come over the next one hundred years and more. Instead, the early uptake of tobacco suggests that scholars should be less concerned with labelling their chosen epoch as a ‘revolution’ than with analysing the socio-economics of how new commodities are distributed and gain widespread acceptance. In this way, the thesis calls for greater attention to be given to ‘commodity history’, for better understanding social, economic and cultural change.

# Bibliography

**Unpublished primary sources**

**Bristol Archives**

1668/24

1668/40

1673/41

1678/12

1682/49

1685/26

1686/6

1687/9

1688/31

1690/35

1694/46

1711/33

1714/16

38169/HAF/12/10

AC/WO/9/9

JQS/M/3/1, frame 19

JQS/M/3/1, frames 5, 18, 28 and 35

JQS/M/3/1, frames 5, 18, 28 and 35

JQS/M/4/2, frame 38

JX/1/1-6

JX/1/3

JX/1/4

SMV/7/1/1/1-12

**British Library**

BL, Additional Manuscripts 35865/247, ‘Tabulation of English tobacco imports’ from the Earl of Norwich (Lord George Goring)’s accounts,

BL, Harley MS 1238, ‘A certificate mencioned in the petition and certificate annexed of the abuses used by some persons in the working of Tobacco’; ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’; ‘Wee whose names are hereunto subscribed, merchants, Grocers and others dealing in tobacco…’.

BL, Additional Manuscripts 35865/247

BL, Lansdowne MS 1215.

BL, Sloane 1815

**Cornwall Record Office**

AP/B/155

AP/D/434

AP/F/76

AP/H/895

AP/J/343

AP/J/468

AP/J/520

AP/S/1553

AR/12/37

BU/348

FS/3/786

ME/2821

RO/8855

T/1285

X 155/369

**Gloucester Archives**

1697/214

1687/257

1688/208

D45E1/10.

GDR/B4/3/1342-1343.

GDR/B4/3/1349.

Q/Sib

Q/SO

**Parliamentary Archives**

HL/PO/JO/10/1/113

HL/PO/JO/10/1/387/132

HL/PO/JO/10/1/43

HL/PO/JO/10/1/49

HL/PO/JO/10/1/53

HL/PO/JO/10/1/57

HL/PO/JO/10/4/5

HL/PO/JO/10/4/8

**The National Archives (TNA)**

C 8/48/82

C10/484/71

C2/JasI/C6/41

CUST 102/197

E 1031/10, 14

E 1031/20

E 122/218/25

E 133/160/60

E 134/14Chas1/Mich7

E 134/15and16Chas1/Hil21

E 134/17Chas1/Mich29

E 134/17Chas1/Mich31

E 134/18ChasI/Trin1

E 134/22and23Chas1/Hil2

E 134/23Chas1/East3

E 157/18, 19, 25

E 178/ 5315

E 178/ 5557

E 178/5239

E 178/5284

E 178/5315

E 178/5319

E 178/5534

E 178/5557

E 178/5594

E 178/5793

E 178/5932

E 178/5933

E 190/1031/10

E 190/1031/20

E 190/1031/5

E 190/1032/13

E 190/1032/5

E 190/1038/8

E 190/1046/4

E 190/1135/1

E 190/1135/7

E 190/1135/9

E 190/1136/10

E 190/1136/11

E 190/1136/2

E 190/1240/6

E 190/32/8

E 190/948/10

E 190/948/9

E 190/951/5

E134/18ChasI/Trin1

PROB 11/183/84

PROB 11/353/55

PROB 11/404/77

PROB 4/289

PROB 4/875

SP 14/111 f.171

SP 14/141, f.131

SP 14/141, f.139

SP 14/28 f.246

SP 16/14 f.16

SP 16/146 f.88

SP 16/188 f.92

SP 16/199 f.26

SP 16/199 f.64

SP 16/201 f.2

SP 16/201 f.75

SP 16/205 f.59

SP 16/210 f.21

SP 16/264 f.36

SP 16/264 f.51

SP 16/270 f.136

SP 16/272 f.171

SP 16/273 f.103

SP 16/273 f.166

SP 16/279 f.162

SP 16/279 f.163

SP 16/279 f.165

SP 16/279 f.166

SP 16/279 f.167

SP 16/283, f.21

SP 16/283, f.87

SP 16/285 f.20.

SP 16/298 f.17

SP 16/299 f.180

SP 16/302

SP 16/304 f.43

SP 16/307 f.155

SP 16/307 f.156

SP 16/313 f.39

SP 16/313 f.93

SP 16/326 f.13

SP 16/326 f.148

SP 16/343 f.120

SP 16/353 f.72

SP 16/367 f.191

SP 16/371 f.69

SP 16/374 f.98

SP 16/377 f.21

SP 16/400 f.82

SP 16/403 f.22

SP 16/403, f.42

SP 16/409 f.273

SP 16/420 f.299-300

SP 16/424 f.80

SP 16/438 f.155

SP 16/438 f.157

SP 16/443 f.10

SP 16/448 f.156

SP 16/449 f.67, 70

SP 16/451 f.199

SP 16/472, f.26

SP 16/485 f.234

SP 16/529 f.19

SP 16/534 f.225

SP 16/80 f.138

SP 16/80 f.173

SP 18/168 f.70

SP 18/179 f.10

SP 18/181 f.41

SP 18/182 f.87

SP 18/42 f.124

SP 18/42 f.157

SP 18/47 f.7

SP 18/70, f.85

SP 18/72 f.161

SP 18/98 f.265

SP 18/98 f.29

SP 25/75 f.375

SP 29/118 f.54-56

SP 29/126 ff.56, 141, 167, 190

SP 29/129 f.29

SP 29/141/2 f.1

SP 29/146 f. 87, 90

SP 29/152 f. 51-54

SP 29/177 f.210

SP 29/179 f.156

SP 29/234 f.323

SP 29/274 f.145

SP 29/277 f.236

SP 29/287/1 f.8

SP 29/328 f.94

SP 29/332 f.297

SP 29/381 f.102

SP 29/385 f.106

SP 29/391 f.135

SP 29/396 f.215

SP 29/415 f.272

SP 29/441 f.160

SP 29/442 f.276

SP 29/449 f.116

SP 29/52 f.191

SP 29/67 f.50

SP 29/76 f.8

SP 44/1 f.51.

SP 44/14 f.2

SP 46/100 f.173

SP 63/319 f. 488

SP29/391 f.135

STAC 8/31/10

T 64/139-140

**Misc. Archives**

Chatsworth Archives, CS 26/3/17

Cheshire Archives, ZTCB.

Chester Archives, QCI/12/27

Chester Archives, ZA/F/46c/81

Devon Archives and Local Studies Service, 51/1/16/15

Devon Record Office, QS/4/Box 66/Epiphany 1661/9-10

Essex Record Office, D/ABW/58/68

National Library of Wales, LL/1701/23

National Library of Wales, SA/1687/182

North Devon Record Office, 1064Q/SQ/1

Sheffield Archives, WWM/Str P/24-25/208

Shropshire Archives, Mayor’s Accounts, XSB/D/1/3/23, 25, 32, 33 34, 43.

Shropshire Archives, Mayor’s Accounts, XSB/D/1/3/33

Shropshire Archives, WB/F/2/2/33/5/26

Somerset Record Office, D\P\ham.h/19/7/1

Somerset Record Office, Q/SR/33/3.

Somerset Record Office, Q/SR/82/52

**Printed Primary sources**

Alsop, George, *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land* (1666)

Anon., *Act for Preventing Frauds and Regulating Abuses in his Majesties Customs,* 14 Car 2. cap. 11 (1662), republished in Anon., *Index Vectigalium* (London, 1670)

Anon., *Act for Preventing Frauds*, 14 Car 2. cap. 11, republished in Anon., *Index Vectigalium* (1670)

Anon., *Acts of 22 and 23 Charles II for regulating Plantation Trade* (1672)

Anon., *An Ordinance for the Regulating of the rates on the customes and Excise of Tobacco* (London, 1644)

Anon., *An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament: For the Leavying of Moneys, by way of Excise, or, New-Impost* (London, 1643)

Anon., *Index Vectigalium* (London, 1670)

Anon., *Roaring Dick of Dover: or the joviall good fellow of Kent, that ne’r is willing to give over, till all his money be spent* (London, 1632)

Anon., *The Country-Mans Physician* (London, 1680)

Anon., *The Rates of Marchandizes as they are set downe in the* *Booke of Rates* (London, 1623)

Armitage, David (ed.), *The Free Sea: Hugo Grotius*, trans. Richard Hakluyt (Indianapolis, 2004)

Barclay, William, *Nepenthes* (Edinburgh, 1614)

Beavan, Alfred, (ed.), *Bristol Lists: Municipal and Miscellaneous* (Bristol, 1899)

Bestall, J. M. and D. V. Fowkes (eds), *Chesterfield Wills and Inventories, 1604-1650* (Chesterfield, 2001)

Billings, Warren (ed.), *Old Dominion in the seventeenth century: a documentary history of Virginia, 1606-1700* (Chapel Hill, 2007)

Blount, Thomas, *Glossographia*, 3rd edition (London, 1670)

Bosworth, Jose et al. (eds), *The Middleton Papers: the financial problems of a Yorkshire recusant family in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (2010)

Brears, Peter C. D. (ed.), *Yorkshire Probate Inventories, 1542-1689* (Kendal, 1972)

Briggs, Joan et al. (eds), *Sunderland Wills and Inventories, 1601-1650* (Woodbridge, 2010)

Brooks, F.W. (ed.), *The First Order Book of the Hull Trinity House, 1632-1665* (1942)

Bruce, John (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Charles I, Mar 1625-Dec 1626* vol. 1*, Mar 1625-Dec 1626* (London, 1858)

Bruce, John and William Douglas Hamilton (eds), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Charles I*, vol. 13, *Sept 1638-Mar 1639* (London, 1871)

Bullock, William, *Virginia Impartially Examined, And Left To Publick View, To Be Considered By All Iudicious And Honest Men* (London, 1649)

By the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (14/3/1638)

By the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (25/3/1639)

By the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (25/3/1639)

By the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (25/3/1639)

By the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (29/9/1624)

by the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (London, 14/3/1638)

by the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (London, 19/5/1634)

by the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (London, 25/3/1639)

by the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (London, 25/3/1639)

By the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (London, 29/9/1624)

By the King, *A Proclamation For Preuenting Of The Abuses Growing By The Vnordered Retailing Of Tobacco* (London, 13/10/1633)

By the King, *A Proclamation for the ordering of Tobacco* (9/8/1627)

by the King, *A Proclamation for the Utter Prohibiting the Importation and Use of all Tobacco, which is not of the Proper Growth of the Colonies of Virginia and the Summer Islands, or One of Them* (London, 2/3/25)

By the King, A Proclamation Touching the Sealing of Tobacco (13/3/1627)

By the King, *A Proclamation Touching Tobacco* (17/2/1627)

by the King, *A Proclamation Touching Tobacco* (London, 17/2/1627)

By the Mayor, *To the aldermen of the ward of [blank] Forasmuch as the Lords day, commonly called Sunday, is of late much broken and prophaned, by a disorderly sort of people, in frequenting tavernes, alehouses, and the like* (London, 1643)

C. T., *An Advice How to Plant Tobacco in England* (London, 1615)

Cary, John, *An Essay on the State of England in relation to its Trade, its Poor, and its Taxes for carrying on the present War against France* (Bristol, 1695)

Chamberlayne, John, *The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, Tobacco: In Four Several Sections; With A Tract of Elder and Juniper Berries...Collected from The Writings of the Best Physicians and Modern Travellers* (London, 1682)

Culpeper, Nicholas, *The English Physitian Enlarged* (London, 1661)

Davis, Richard Beale (ed.), *William Fitzhugh and his Chesapeake World, 1676-1701: The Fitzhugh Letters and Other Documents* (Chapel Hill, 1963)

Defoe, Daniel, *The Fortune and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders &c.* (New York, 1903)

Defoe, Daniel, *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner* (London, 1719), p. 54. A freely available version of what was the second of three editions published in the first year it went to press can be found online at <https://archive.org/details/lifeandstranges04defogoog> [accessed 20/5/2018]

Dekker, Thomas and Thomas Middleton, *The Roaring Girle, Or Moll Cut-Purse As it hath lately beene acted on the Fortune-stage by the Prince his Players* (London, 1611)

Dickson (ed.), *Tobacco, a Catalogue of the Books, Manuscripts and Engravings Acquired Since 1942 in the Arents Tobacco Collection at the New York Public Library,* part V, 1620-1632 (New York, 1961), VI, 1632-1650 (1961) and VII (New York, 1962); Perry Hugh O’Neil, *Tobacco, a catalogue*, part VIII, 1673-1687, (New York, 1967). All parts can be accessed online at <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009150405> [accessed 9/5/2018]

Edwards, Dorothy and Christine M. Newman (eds), *Northallerton Wills and Inventories, 1666-1719* (Woodbridge, 2016)

Gardiner, Ralph, *Englands Grievance Discovered* (London, 1655)

George, Edwin and Stella (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories*, Part 1*: 1542-1650* (Bristol, 2002)

George, Edwin and Stella (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories,* Part 2: *1657-1689* (Bristol, 2005)

Grant, W. L. and James Munro (eds), *Acts of Privy Council, Colonial Series,* vol. I, *1613-1680* (London, 1908)

Gray, Todd (ed.), *Devon Household Accounts, 1627-59,* Part II*, Henry Fifth Earl of Bath and Rachel, Countess of Bath, 1637-1655* (Exeter, 1996)

Harland, J. (ed.), *Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster, Wholesale and Retail Grocer and Ironmonger, a Member of the Society of Friends* (London, 1851)

Harlow, Jonathan, *The Ledger of Thomas Speed, 1681-1690* (Bristol, 2011)

*Harry Hangman's Honour: or, Gloucester-shire hangman's request to the smoakers or tobacconists in London* (London, 1655) (‘ye use mixture and composition, compounding *English* with *Virginia, Virginia* with *Spanish*’)*.*

Hasler, Joan and Anthony Nott, eds., *Wells Convocation Act Books, 1589–1665*, pts. 1 and 2 (Taunton, 2004), pp. 570-572, 658.

Hening, W. W. (ed.), *The Statutes at Large; Being A Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From The First Session of the Legislature, In The Year 1619*, volume II (New York, 1823)

Henning, B. D., ed., *The House of Commons, 1660–1690* (1983)

Hinton, R. W. K. (ed.), *The Port Books of Boston, 1601-40*, (Lincoln, 1956)

Johnson, H. C. (ed.), *Warwick County Records* VIII: QS records, 182-90 (1953), pp. 61, 134.

Johnston, J. A. (ed*.*), *Probate Inventories of Lincoln Citizens, 1661-1714* (Woodbridge, 1991)

Jonson, Ben, *The Workes of Beniamin Ionson. Containing these playes, viz. 1 Bartholomew Fayre…* (London, 1641)

King James I, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (London, 1604)

Kingsbury, Susan Myra (ed.), *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols (Washington, 1906-1935)

Kirkman, Francis, *The English Rogue continued, in the life of Meriton Latroon* (London, 1668)

Larkin, James F. (ed.), *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. 2: Royal Proclamations of King Charles I 1625-1646* (Oxford, 1983)

Latham, R. C. (ed.), *Bristol Charters 1509-1899* (Bristol, 1947)

Lefroy, John Henry (ed.), *Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands, 1511-1687,* vol. I (London, 1877)

Lewes, Robert, *The Merchants Map of Commerce* (London, 1638)

Lister, John (ed.), *West Riding Sessions Records, vol. II* (The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1915)

Lye, J. V. (ed.), *Acts of Privy Council of England,* vol.43, *1627-1628* (London, 1940)

Matthews, Harold Evan (ed.), *Proceedings and Enrolments of the Company of Soapmakers, 1562-1642* (Bristol, 1950)

Melton, Sir John, *Astrologaster, or, The figure-caster Rather the arraignment of artlesse astrologers, and fortune- tellers, that cheat many ignorant people vnder the pretence of foretelling things to come, of telling things that are past, finding out things that are lost, expounding dreames, calculating deaths and natiuities, once againe brought to the barre* (London, 1620)

Morris, Christopher (ed.), *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes, 1685-c.1712* (London, 1982)

Morris, Christopher (ed.), *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes, 1685-c.1712* (London, 1982)

Mortimer, Russell (ed.), *Minute Book of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends of Bristol, 1667-1686* (Gateshead, 1971)

North, Roger, *The Lives of the Norths*, vol. I (London, 1826)

Nott, H. E. (ed.), *The Deposition Books of Bristol*, vol. I, *1643-1647* (Bristol, 1935)

Nott, H. E. and Elizabeth Ralph (eds), *The Deposition Books of Bristol,* vol. II, *1650-1654* (Bristol, 1948)

O’Callaghan, E. B., *Calendar of historical manuscripts in the office of the secretary of state, part I Dutch manuscripts 1630-1664*, (Albany, 1865)

Oliver, Vere Langford (ed.), *Caribbeana*, vol. III (London, 1914)

Palmer, June (ed.), *The Letter Book of Thomas Hill: Westcountry Mercantile Affairs and the Wider World* (Exeter, 2008)

Parliament, House of Commons, *Depositions and Articles Against Thomas Earle of Strafford* (London, 1641).

Pogson, Fiona (ed.), ‘Financial Accounts of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, and Sir George Radcliffe, 1639-1640’, *Analecta Hibernica*, 48 (2017)

Preston, William E. (ed.), *Wills proved in the court of the manor of Crosley, Bingley, Cottingley and Pudsey, in co. York, with inventories and abstracts of bonds* (Leeds, 1929)

Redington, Joseph (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, vol. 1, *1556-1696* (London, 1868)

Shaw, William A. (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vols I-VII (London, 1908)

Siraut, Mary (ed.), *Somerset Wills* (Taunton, 2003)

Smith, William, *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty and to the Right Honourable, the Lords and Others for Your Majesties Most Honourable Privy Councel, An Essay For Recovery of Trade* (London, 1661)

Stocks, Helen (ed.), *Records of the borough of Leicester; being a series of extracts from the archives of the Corporation of Leicester. Vol, 4, 1603-1688* (Cambridge, 1923)

Taylor, John, *A Common Whore* (London, 1622)

Taylor, John, *A Valorous And Perillous Sea-Fight Fought With Three Turkish Ships…* (London, 1640)

Thirsk, Joan and J. P. Cooper (eds), *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents* (London, 1972)

Thomson, Sheila D. (ed.), *The Book of Examinations and Depositions Before the Mayor and Justices of Southampton, 1648-1663* (Stroud, 1994)

Tinling, Marion (ed.), *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia, 1684-1776*, vol. I (Charlottesville, 1977)

Tomkis, Thomas, *Lingua: Or the Combat of the Tongue* (1607): tobacco was a ‘firme knot of good fellowship, adamant of company’

Vaisey, D. G. (ed.), *Probate Inventories of Lichfield and District, 1568-1680* (1969)

Watts, John B. (ed.), *Index to the Bristol Burgess Books*, 1–21: *1557–1995* (Bristol, 2005)

Williams, Lorelei and Sally Thomson (eds), *Marlborough* *Probate Inventories, 1591-1775* (Chippenham, 2007)

Willis, Thomas, *Pharmaceutice rationalis: or, an exercitation of the operations of medicines in humane bodies. Shewing the signs, causes, and cures of most distempers incident thereunto* (London, 1679)

**Secondary sources**

Alford, B. W. E., *W.D. and H.O. Wills and the Development of the Tobacco Industry, 1786-1965* (London, 1973)

Amery, P. F. S. et al., *Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries, vol. I* (Exeter, 1901)

Andrews, Kenneth, *Ship, Money and Politics: Seafaring and Naval Enterprise in the Reign of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1991)

Apperson, G. L., *The Social History of Smoking* (London, 1914)

Armitage, David and Michael J. Braddick (eds), *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, 2 edn. (Basingstoke, 2009)

Ashworth, William J., *Customs and Excise: Trade, Production, and Consumption in England, 1640-85* (Oxford, 2003)

Bailyn, Bernard and Patricia L. Denault (eds), *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830* (Cambridge MA, 2009)

Bailyn, Bernard, ‘Preface’ in David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (eds), *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, 2 edn. (Basingstoke, 2009)

Bailyn, Bernard, *Atlantic History: Concepts and Contours* (2005); April Hatfield Lee, *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, 2004)

Beckett, J. V., *Coal and Tobacco: The Lowthers and the Economic Development of West Cumberland, 1660-1760* (New York, 1981)

Beer, G. L., *Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660* (New York, 1908)

Benson, John, *The Rise of Consumer Society in Britain, 1880–1980* (New York, 1994)

Beresford, Maurice, ‘The Beginning of Retail Tobacco Licences, 1632-41’, in *Time and Place: Collected Essays* (1984), pp. 227-242

Berg, Maxine, and Helen Clifford (eds), *Consumers and Luxury in Europe 1650-1850* (Manchester, 1999)

Berg, Maxine, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (2005)

Blakemore, Richard, ‘Pieces of Eight, Pieces of Eight: Seamen’s Earnings and the Venture Economy of Early Modern Seafaring’, *EcHR*, 70, 4 (2017), pp. 1153-1184

Blakemore, Richard, ‘The changing fortunes of Atlantic history’, *The English historical review*, 131, 551 (2016), pp. 851-868

Boulton, Jeremy, ‘London 1540-1700’ in Peter Clark (ed.), *Cambridge Urban History,* vol. II*, 1540-1840* (Cambridge, 2000)

Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA, 1984)

Bradburn and Coombs (eds), *Early Modern Virginia*; John McCusker and Kenneth Morgan (eds), *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge, 2001)

Bradburn, Douglas and John C. Coombs, ‘Smoke and Mirrors: Reinterpreting the Society and Economy of the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake’, *Atlantic Studies*, 3, 2 (2006), pp. 131-157

Braddick, Michael, *The Nerves of State: Taxation and the Financing of the English State, 1558–1714* (Manchester, 1996), p. 10

Brenner, Robert, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London’s Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (London, 1993)

Brewer, John and Roy Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (1993)

Brewer, John, *The Sinews of Power. War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (London, 1989)

Brooks, Christopher, *Law, Politics and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2008)

Brooks, Jerome E., *Tobacco: Its History Illustrated by The Books, Manuscripts and Engravings in the Library of George Arents, Jr.,* 5 vols. (New York, 1937-1952)

Brown, James, ‘The Landscape of Drink: Inns, Taverns and Alehouses in Early Modern Southampton’, unpublished PhD thesis, univ. of Warwick (2007)

Bucholz, R. O., ‘Venality at Court: Some Preliminary Thoughts on the Sale of Household Office, 1660–1800’, *Historical Research*, 91, 251 (2018)

Chandaman, C. D., *The English Public Revenue, 1660-1688* (Oxford, 1975)

Chartres, ‘Food Consumption and Internal Trade’ in A. L. Bier and Roger Finlay (eds), *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London, 1986)

Chartres, ‘Road Carrying in England in the Seventeenth Century: Myth and Reality’, *EcHR*,30,1(1977), pp. 73-94

Chartres, J. A., *Internal Trade in England, 1500-1700* (London, 1977)

Chartres, John, ‘No English Calvados? English Distillers and the Cider Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’ in John Chartres and David Hey (eds), *English Rural Society, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 313-342

Clark, Peter, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200-1830* (Harlow, 1983)

Clemens, Paul G. E., ‘The Rise of Liverpool, 1665-1750’, *EcHR*, 2, xxix (1976), pp. 211-225

Cole, W. A., ‘Rejoinder: The Arithmetic of Eighteenth-Century Smuggling’, *EchR*, 28 (1975), pp. 44-49

Cole, W. A., ‘Trends in Eighteenth-century smuggling’, *EcHR*, 10 (1958), pp. 395-410

Coombs, John, ‘A New Chronology for the Rise of Slavery in Early Virginia’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 68, 3 (2011), pp. 332-360

Courtwright, David, *Forces of Habit: Drugs and the Making of the Modern World* (Harvard, 2001)

Cowan, Brian, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, 2005)

Cox, Nancy and Karin Dannehl, *Perceptions of Retailing in early modern England* (Aldershot, 2007)

Cox, Nancy, *The Complete Tradesman: a Study of Retailing, 1550-1820* (Aldershot, 2000)

Craven, Wesley Frank, *The Virginia Company of London, 1606-1624* (Williamsburg, 1957)

Cunningham, Jessica, ‘Craft and culture: the design, production and consumption of silver in Ireland in the seventeenth century’, unpublished Ph.D thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth (2016)

D’Sena, Peter, ‘Perquisites and Casual Labour on the London Wharfside in the Eighteenth Century’, *London Journal*, 14 (1989)

Damer Powel, J. W., *Bristol Privateers and Ships of War* (Bristol, 1930)

Davies, K. G., ‘The Origins of the Commission System in the West India Trade: The Alexander Prize Essay’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 2 (1952), pp. 89-107.

Davis, Ralph, ‘English Foreign Trade, 1660-1700’ in W. E. Minchinton (ed.), *The Growth of English Overseas Trade in the 17th and 18th centuries* (Bungay, 1969), pp. 78-95

Davis, Ralph, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Newton Abbot, 1962)

De Munck, Bert, ‘One counter and your own account: Redefining illicit labour in early modern Antwerp’, *Urban History*, 37, 1 (2010), pp. 26-44

Dickson, Sarah, *Panacea Or Precious Bane: Tobacco in Sixteenth Century Literature* (New York, 1954)

Douglas, Mary and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (New York, 1979)

Douglas, Mary, *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology* (Cambridge, 1991)

Dunn, Richard S., *Sugar and Slaves: the Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (New York, 1972)

Elliott, J. H., *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven, 2006)

Enthoven, Victor and Wim Klooster, ‘The Rise and Fall of the Virginia-Dutch Connection in the C17th’ in Douglas Bradburn and John C. Coombs (eds), *Early Modern Virginia: Reconsidering the Old Dominion* (Virginia, 2011)

Fairholt, F. W., *Tobacco; its History and its Associations; Including an Account of the Plant and its Manufacture; with its Modes of Use in all Ages and Countries* (London, 1859)

Games, Alison, ‘Migration’ in David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (eds), *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, 2 edn. (Basingstoke, 2009)

Games, Alison, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge MA, 1999)

Games, Alison, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford, 2008)

Gokhale, B. G., ‘Tobacco in Seventeenth-Century India’, *Agricultural History*, 48, 4 (1974), pp. 484-492

Goodman, Jordan, ‘Excitantia; or how Enlightenment Europe took to soft drugs’ in Goodman, Paul Lovejoy, and Andrew Sherratt, (eds), *Consuming Habits: Global and Historical Perspectives on How Cultures Define Drugs* (Abingdon, 2nd edn., 2007), pp. 158–77

Goodman, Jordan, *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence* (London, 1993)

Grant, Alison and Peter Christie, *The Book of Bideford: the Development of a Devonian Market Town* (Wellington, 1987)

Grant, Alison, ‘Breaking the Mould: North Devon maritime enterprise, 1560-1640’ in Todd Gray, Margery M. Rowe and Audrey Erskine (eds), *Tudor and Stuart Devon: The Common Estate and Government. Essays Presented to Joyce Youings* (Exeter, 1992), pp. 119-140

Grant, Alison, ‘Devon shipping, trade and ports, 1600-1689’ in M. Duffy, *The New Maritime History of Devon* (Exeter, 1992)

Grant, Alison, *Atlantic Adventurer: John Delbridge of Barnstaple, 1564-1639* (1996)

Gray, Stanley and V. J. Wyckoff, ‘The International Tobacco Trade in the Seventeenth Century’, *Southern Economic Journal*, 7 (1940), pp. 1–26

Gray, Todd (ed.), *Early Stuart Mariners and Shipping: the Maritime Surveys of Devon and Cornwall, 1619-35* (Exeter, 1990)

Hailwood, Mark and Deborah Toner (eds), *Biographies of Drink: A Case Study Approach to our Historical Relationship with Alcohol* (Cambridge, 2015)

Hailwood, Mark, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship in early modern England* (Woodbridge, 2014)

Hancock, David, *Oceans of Wine*: *Madeira and the Emergence of American Trade and Taste* (Ann Arbor, 2009)

Harlow, Jonathan, ‘The Life and Times of Thomas Speed’, unpublished PhD thesis, univ. of Bristol (2008)

Harlow, Vincent T., *A History of Barbados, 1625-1685* (Oxford, 1926)

Harper, Lawrence, ‘The Effect of the Navigation Acts on the Thirteen Colonies’ in H. N. Scheiber (ed.), *United States Economic History* (New York, 1964)

Hicks, Robert, *Voyage to Jamestown: Practical Navigation in the Age of Discovery* (Annapolis, 2011)

Hilton, Matthew, *Smoking in British Popular Culture, 1800-2000* (Manchester, 2000)

Hinton, ‘Dutch Entrepot Trade at Boston, Lincs, 1600-40’, *EcHR*, 2, 9 (1956-7)

Hoffman, Philip R., ‘In defence of Corporate Liberties: early modern guilds and the problem of illicit artisan work’, *Urban History*, 34, 1 (2007) pp. 76-88

Horn, James, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill, 1994)

Hughes, Jason, *Learning to Smoke: Tobacco Use in the West* (2003)

Hussey, David, *Coastal and River Trade in Pre-Industrial England: Bristol and its Region, 1680-1730* (Exeter, 2000)

Israel, Jonathan, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1685-1740* (Oxford, 1989)

Jardine, Lisa, *Worldly Goods. A New History of the Renaissance* (London, 1996)

Jarvis, Michael, *In the Eye of All Trade:* *Bermuda, Bermudians and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680-1783* (Chapel Hill, 2010)

Jones, Evan T., *Inside the Illicit Economy: Reconstructing the Smugglers’ Trade of Sixteenth-Century Bristol* (Farnham, 2012)

Jones, Jeanne, *Stratford-Upon-Avon Inventories, 1538-1699*, vol. II, *1626-1699* (Bristol, 2003)

Jonsson, Fedrik Albritton, ‘Natural History and Improvement: the case of tobacco’ in Philip Stern and Carl Wennerlind (eds), *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and its Empire* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 117-133.

Kearney, Hugh, *Strafford in Ireland, 1633-41: A Study in Absolutism* (Cambridge, 2009)

Klooster, Wim, ‘Inter-Imperial Smuggling in the Americas, 1600-1800’ in Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault (eds), *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830* (Cambridge MA, 2009), pp. 141-180

Knights, Mark, ‘Parliament, Print and Corruption in Later Stuart Britain’, *Parliamentary History*, 26, 1 (2007)

Koot, Christian, *Empire at the Periphery: British Colonists, Anglo-Dutch Trade, and the Development of the British Atlantic, 1621-1713* (New York, 2011)

Kwass, Michael, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground* (Cambridge, Mass., 2014)

Latimer, John, *Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century* (Bristol 1900)

Lea, John, ‘Social crime revisited’, *Theoretical Criminology*, 3, 3 (1999), pp. 307-325

Lemire, Beverley, ‘“Men of the World”: British Mariners, Consumer Practice, and Material Culture in an Era of Global Trade, c. 1660–1800’, *Journal of British Studies*, 54 (2015), pp. 288–319

Leng, Thomas, ‘Commercial conflict and regulation in the discourse of trade in seventeenth-century trade’, *The Historical Journal*, 48, 4 (2005), pp. 933–954

Leonard, A. B., ‘The Pricing Revolution in Marine Insurance’ (unpublished working paper)

Lorimer, Joyce, ‘The English contraband tobacco trade from Trinidad and Guiana, 1590-1617’ in Kenneth Andrews et al., *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480-1650* (Liverpool, 1978)

Lynch, John, ‘Bristol Shipping and Royalist naval power during the English Civil War’, *The Mariner’s Mirror*, 84, 3 (1998), pp. 260-267

Lynch, John, *For King & Parliament:* *Bristol and the Civil War* (Stroud, 1999)

MacInnes, C. M., *The Early English Tobacco Trade* (London, 1926)

Mancall, Peter C., *The Atlantic World and Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 2007)

Mancall, Peter, ‘Tales tobacco told in sixteenth-century Europe’, *Environmental History*, 9, 4 (2004), pp. 648-678

Martines, Lauro, ‘The Renaissance and the Birth of Consumer Society’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 51, 1 (1998), 193-203

Mascall, Leonard, Reginald Scot et al., *The Country-Mans Recreation* (London, 1654), pp. 129-135

Matthee, Rudi, ‘Exotic Substances: The Introduction and Global Spread of Tobacco, Coffee, Cocoa, Tea, and Distilled Liquor, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,’ in Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (eds), *Drugs and Narcotics in History* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 24-51, pp. 46-7

Matthee, Rudi, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500–1900* (Princeton, 2005), pp. 117–-143

McCartney, Martha, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers, 1607-1635: a Biographical Dictionary* (Baltimore, 2007),

McGrath, Patrick, ‘Bristol and America, 1480-1631’ in Andrews et al., *Westward Enterprise*, p. 98.

McGrath, Patrick, *Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth-Century Bristol* (Bristol, 1955)

McGrath, Patrick, *Records Relating to the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century* (Bristol, 1952)

McKendrick, Neil, John Brewer, J. Plumb, (eds), *The Birth of a Consumer Society. The Commercialization of eighteenth-century England* (Bloomington, 1982)

Menard, ‘The Chesapeake Tobacco Industry, 1617–1730: An Interpretation’, *Research in Economic History*, 5 (1980), pp. 109–77

Menard, Russell, ‘A Note on Chesapeake Tobacco Prices, 1618–1660’, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 84 (1976), pp. 401–10;

Minchinton, W. E., ‘Bristol – Metropolis of the West in the Eighteenth Century’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, (1953), pp. 69-89

Mintz, Sidney W., *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1985)

Molineux, Catherine, ‘Pleasures of the Smoke: “Black Virginians” in Georgian London’s Tobacco Shops’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3, 64, 2 (2007)

Morgan, ‘The first American Boom: Virginia 1618 to 1630’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3, 28, 2 (1971), pp. 169-198

Morgan, Edmund, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975)

Morgan, Kenneth, *Bristol and the Atlantic trade in the eighteenth century* (Trowbridge, 1993), p. 58

Mui, Hoh-Cheung and Lorna H. Mui, ‘Smuggling and the British Tea Trade before 1784’, *The American Historical Review*, 74, 1 (1968), pp. 44-73

Muldrew, Craig, *The Economy of Obligation: the Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998)

Nash, Robert C., ‘Irish Atlantic trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’, *William & Mary Quarterly*, 42 (1985), pp. 329-56

Nash, Robert C., ‘The English and Scottish Tobacco Trades in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Legal and Illegal Trade’, *EcHR*, 35, 3 (1982), pp. 354-372

Norri, Juhani, *Dictionary of Medical Vocabulary, 1375-1550* (Oxon, 2016)

North, Christine, ‘Fustians, Figs and Frankincense: Jacobean Shop Inventories for Cornwall’, *Journal of the royal institution of Cornwall,* new series II, vol. II, part 2 (1995), pp. 32-77

Norton, Marcy and Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, ‘The Multinational Commodification of Tobacco, 1492-1650: An Iberian Perspective’ in Peter C. Mancall (ed.), *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624,* (Chapel Hill, 2007), pp. 251-273

Ormrod, David, *The Rise of Commercial Empires: England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650-1770* (Cambridge, 2003)

Overton, Mark, et al., *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750* (London, 2004).

Peck, Linda Levy, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (London, 1991)

Pennell, Sara, ‘Material Culture in Seventeenth-Century ‘Britain’’ in Frank Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 64-84

Peter Clark ‘The alehouse and the alternative society’, in D. Pennington and K. Thomas, eds., *Puritans and revolutionaries: essays in seventeenth-century history presented to Christopher Hill* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 47–72

Pettigrew, William A., ‘Corporate Constitutionalism and the Dialogue between the Global and Local in Seventeenth-Century English History’, *Itinerario*, 39, 3 (2016)

Pincus, Steve, ‘“Coffee Politicians Does Create”: Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 67, 4 (1995), pp. 807-834

Platt, Richard, *Smuggling in the British Isles: a History* (Stroud 2007) and website, <http://www.smuggling.co.uk> [accessed 1/3/2017]

Price, Jacob M. and Paul G. E. Clemens, ‘A Revolution in Scale in Overseas Trade: British Firms in the Chesapeake Trade, 1675-1775’, *Journal of Economic History*, XLVIII, 1. (1987), pp. 1-45

Price, Jacob M., ‘The Tobacco Trade and the Treasury, 1685-1733: British Mercantilism in its Fiscal Aspects’, 2 vols, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard (1957);

Price, Jacob M., ‘Tobacco Use and Tobacco Taxation: A Battle of Interests in Early Modern Europe’ in Goodman et al. (eds), *Consuming Habits*, pp. 165-185;

Price, Jacob M., *France and the Chesapeake: a history of the French tobacco monopoly, 1674-1791, and of its relationship to the British and American tobacco trades*, 2 vols (Ann Arbor, 1973)

Price, Jacob M., *Perry of London: a Family and a firm on the seaborne frontier, 1615-1753* (Cambridge MA, 1993)

Price, Jacob M., *The Tobacco Adventure to Russia: Enterprise, Politics, and Diplomacy in the Quest for a Northern Market for English Colonial Tobacco, 1676– 1722* (Philadelphia, 1961)

Price, Jacob M., *Tobacco in Atlantic Trade: the Chesapeake, London and Glasgow 1675-1775* (Aldershot, 1996)

Rabb, Theodore K., *Enterprise and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England, 1575-1630* (Cambridge, MA, 1967)

Rabinoff, Michael et al., ‘Pharmacological and Chemical Effects of Cigarette Additives’, *American Journal of Public Health*, 97, 11 (2007), pp. 1981-1991

Ramsay, G. D., ‘The Smuggler’s Trade: A Neglected Aspect of English Commercial Development’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5, 2 (1952), pp. 131-57

Richard, Pares, *Merchants and planters*, EcHR supplement, 4 (Cambridge, 1970)

Rive, Alfred, ‘A Brief History of Regulation and Taxation of Tobacco in England, c. 1604-1642’ (1926)

Roberts, Benjamin B., *Sex and Drugs Before Rock ‘n’ Roll: Youth Culture and Masculinity During Holland’s Golden Age* (Amsterdam, 2017)

Roberts, Stephen K. (ed.), *The Letter-Booke of John Byrd, Customs Collector in South-East Wales, 1648-80* (Cardiff, 1999)

Roessingh, H. K., ‘Tobacco Growing in Holland in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Case Study of the Innovative Spirit of Dutch Peasants’, *The Low Countries History Yearbook 1978*, pp. 18-50

Romaniello, Matthew P., ‘Through the filter of tobacco: the limits of global trade in the early modern world’, *Comparative studies in society and history*, 49, 4 (2007), pp. 914-937

Rowley, Anthony, ‘How England Learned to Smoke: the Introduction, Spread and Establishment of Tobacco Pipe Smoking in England before 1640’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of York (2003)

Rublack, Ulinka, ‘Fluxes: the Early Modern Body and the Emotions’, *History Workshop Journal*, 53, 1 (2002), pp. 1-16, 3

Rule, John, ‘Social Crime in the Rural South in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries’, in John Rule and Roger Wells, *Crime, Protest and Popular Politics in Southern England, 1740–1850* (London, 1997)

Sacks, David Harris and Michael Lynch, ‘Ports 1540-1700’ in Peter Clark (ed.), *Cambridge Urban History,* vol. II*, 1540-1840* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 377-424

Sacks, David Harris, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700* (London, 1993), p. 263, 267

Schivelbusch, Wolfgang, *Tastes of Paradise: a Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants* (New York, 1992)

Sharpe, J. A., ‘Civility, Civilizing Processes and the End of Public Punishment in England’, in P. Burke, B. Harrison and P. Slack (eds), *Civil Histories* (2000), pp. 215-230, pp. 223-228

Sharpe, J. A., *Crime in Seventeenth-Century England: A County Study* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 145-146.

Sharpe, Kevin, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 120-126.

Sherratt, Andrew, ‘Introduction: Peculiar Substances’ in Goodman et al. (eds), *Consuming Habits*, pp. 1-10

Souden, David, ‘‘Rogues, Whores and Vagabonds’? Indentured Servant Emigrants to North America, and the Case of Mid-Seventeenth-Century Bristol’, *Social History*, 3, 1 (1978), pp. 23-41

Steele, Ian K., *The English Atlantic: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York, 1986)

Stephens, W. B., *Seventeenth-Century Exeter: A Study of Industrial and Commercial Development, 1625-1688* (Exeter, 1958)

Stephens, W. B., *The Seventeenth-Century Customs Service Surveyed: William Culliford’s Investigations of the Western Ports, 1682-84* (Farnham, 2012)

Stern, Philip and Carl Wennerlind (eds), *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and its Empire* (Oxford, 2014)

Stobart, Jon and Lucy Bailey, ‘Retail Revolution and the Village Shop, c. 1660–1860’, *EcHR*, early view (2017), pp. 1-25

Stone, Lawrence, ‘Literacy and Education in England 1640–1900’, *Past and Present*, 42, 1 (1969), pp. 69-139

Stone, Richard, ‘The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century’, unpublished PhD thesis, univ. of Bristol (2013)

Stoyle, Mark, *Soldiers and Strangers: An Ethnic History of the English Civil War* (New Haven, 2005)

Stoyle, Mark, *West Britons: Cornish Identities and the Early Modern British State* (Exeter, 2002)

Tadmor, Naomi, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2001)

Taylor, Alexander G., ‘Tobacco Retail Licences and State Formation in Early Modern England’, *EcHR* (forthcoming, 2018)

Thirsk, Joan, ‘New Crops and their Diffusion: Tobacco-Growing in Seventeenth-Century England’, in *The Rural Economy of England: Collected Essays* (London, 1984), pp. 259–86

Thirsk, Joan, *Economic Policy and Projects: the Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1978)

Tinder, Barrie and Jeff Cox (eds), *Yeomen and Colliers in Telford: Probate Inventories for Dawley, Lilleshall, Wellington and Wrockwardine, 1660-1750* (Chichester, 1980), pp. 314-321

Tlusty, Anne, *Bacchus and Civic Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany* (Charlottesville, 2001)

Trentmann, Frank (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2012)

Truxes, Thomas, *Irish-American trade, 1660-1783* (Cambridge, 1988)

Unger, R.W., ‘Technical Change in the Brewing Industry in Germany, the Low Countries, and England in the Late Middle Ages’, *Journal of European Economic History*, 21 (1992), pp. 286-292

Unger, Richard W., *Beer in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Philadelphia, 2004)

Van Den Heuvel, Danielle, ‘Policing peddlers: The prosecution of illegal street trade in eighteenth-century Dutch towns’, *Historical Journal*, 58, 2, pp. 367-392

Veblen, Thorstein, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions*; Werner Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism*, W. R. Dittmar, trans. (Ann Arbor, 1967)

Vries, Jan de, *The Industrious Revolution:* *Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge, 2008)

Wainwright, Tom, *Narconomics: How to Run a Drug Cartel* (London, 2017)

Walsh, Lorena S., ‘Summing the Parts: Implications for Estimating Chesapeake Output and Income Subregionally’, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3, 56, 1 (1999)

Walsh, Lorena S., *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, & Profit: Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607-1763* (Chapel Hill, 2010)

Walvin, James, *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste, 1660-1800* (Basingstoke, 1997)

Warmington, Andrew, *Civil War, Interregnum and Restoration in Gloucestershire, 1640-1672* (Woodbridge, 1997)

Warner, Jessica, *Craze: Gin and Debauchery in an Age of Reason* (London, 2003)

Wasserman, Stanley and Katherine Faust, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications* (Cambridge, 1994)

Weatherill, Lorna, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (2nd ed. 1996)

Whetter, James, ‘Cornish Trade in the 17th Century’, *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, IV, 4 (Truro, 1964), pp. 388-413

Whetter, James, *Cornwall in the 17th Century* (Padstow, 1974)

Willan, *River Navigation in England, 1600-1750* (London, 1964)

Willan, T. S., *The Inland Trade: Studies in English Internal Trade in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Manchester, 1976)

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

Willan, *The English Coasting Trade, 1660-1750* (Manchester, 1967)

Williams, M. I., ‘Aberthaw: the port of the vale’ in S. Williams (ed.), *Saints and Sailing Ships,* The Vale series, 4 (Cowbridge, 1962)

Williams, Neville, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade in the Reign of Charles I’, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 65 (1957), pp. 403–49

Williams, Neville, *Seven Centuries of Smuggling* (London, 1959)

Williamson, George C., *Trade Tokens Issued in The Seventeenth Century in England, Wales and Ireland by Corporations, Merchants, Tradesmen, etc.* (London, 1891)

Wilson, Peter, *Europe’s Tragedy: a history of the Thirty Years War* (London, 2009)

Winslow, Carl, ‘Sussex Smugglers’ in Douglas Hay Peter Linebaugh and E. P. Thomson, *Albion’s Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 1975), pp. 119-166

Withington, Phil, ‘Company and Sociability in Early Modern England’, *Social History*, 32, 3 (2007), pp. 291-307.

Withington, Phil, ‘Intoxicants and Society in Early Modern England’, *Historical Journal*, 54 (2001), pp. 631–657.

Withington, Phil, ‘Intoxicants and the Early Modern City’, in S. Hindle, A. Shepard, and J. Walter, eds., *Remaking English Society: Social Relations and Social Change in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 135-162

Withington, Phil, *The Politics of Commonwealth: Citizens and Freemen in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2005)

Wrightson, Keith, ‘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)

Wrightson, Keith, *Earthly Necessities. Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (Newhaven, 2000)

Zahedieh, Nuala, ‘Economy’ in Armitage and Braddick (eds), *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, 2 edn. (Basingstoke, 2009)

Zahedieh, Nuala, *The Capital and the Colonies*: *London and the Atlantic Economy, 1660-1700* (Cambridge, 2010)

**Internet Sources**

Data from HM Revenue & Customs, ‘Tobacco Factsheet November 2013’, <https://www.uktradeinfo.com/.../Statistical%20Factsheets/Tobacco_Factsheet_2013.xls> [accessed 29/6/2018]

Data from the Office for National Statistics, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/healthandsocialcare/healthandlifeexpectancies/bulletins/adultsmokinghabitsingreatbritain/2016#smoking-habits-in-great-britain-using-data-from-the-opinions-and-lifestyle-survey-1974-to-2016-adults-aged-16-and-over> [accessed 28/3/2018

Gyford, Phil (ed.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (online recourse), <https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1667/09/19/> [accessed 29/6/2018]

History of Parliament online, entry for Francis Glanville (1582-1639), of Kilworthy: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/glanville-francis-1582-1639> [accessed 15/2/2018].

*Intoxicants and Early Modernity* project, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank) [accessed 1/3/2018].

John Stow’s map of London via *MoEML* project, <https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/map.htm> [accessed 13/6/2018]

McNeill, Ann et al., *Evidence Review of E-Cigarettes and Heated Tobacco Products 2018. A Report Commissioned by Public Health England* (London, 2018), <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/684963/Evidence_review_of_e-cigarettes_and_heated_tobacco_products_2018.pdf>

*Old Bailey Proceedings Online*([www.oldbaileyonline.org](http://www.oldbaileyonline.org), version 8.0, 13 July 2018)

*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> [accessed 29/6/2018]

*Oxford English Dictionary* online, <http://www.oed.com/> [accessed 29/6/2018]

Parliamentary health committee on alcohol (2010), <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200910/cmselect/cmhealth/151/15106.htm> [accessed 29/6/2018]

The *Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/may/12/rise-in-drug-arrests-among-teenagers-prompts-county-lines-concerns> [accessed 13/5/2018]

Wanklyn, M.D.G., P. Wakelin, D. Hussey, G. Milne, ‘Gloucester Port Books, 1575-1765’ (1996) [data collection]. UK Data Service. SN: 3218, <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-3218-1> [accessed 29/6/2018]

1. Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner* (London, 1719), p. 54. A freely available version of what was the second of three editions published in the first year it went to press can be found online at <https://archive.org/details/lifeandstranges04defogoog> [accessed 20/5/2018]. Later, abridged, editions do not contain all the references mentioned here. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. *Ibid*., p. 330. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Daniel Defoe, *The Fortune and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders &c.* (New York, 1903), for instance, pp. 169, 184, 200, 208. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (London, 1719), p. 39. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. *Ibid*., pp. 42. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. *Ibid*., p. 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. *Ibid*., p. 46. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. *Ibid*., p. 109-111. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. *Ibid*., p. 115. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. *Ibid*., p. 127, 170. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. *Ibid*., p. 223. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. David Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*: *Madeira and the Emergence of American Trade and Taste* (Ann Arbor, 2009), xiv-xv. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, title page. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Matthew Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture, 1800-2000* (Manchester, 2000). [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. F. W. Fairholt, *Tobacco; its History and its Associations; Including an Account of the Plant and its Manufacture; with its Modes of Use in all Ages and Countries* (London, 1859); Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*, p. 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. G. L. Apperson, *The Social History of Smoking* (London, 1914); Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture*, p. 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. G. L. Beer, *Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660* (New York, 1908). [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. C. M. MacInnes, *The Early English Tobacco Trade* (London, 1926); Stanley Gray and V. J. Wyckoff, ‘The International Tobacco Trade in the Seventeenth Century’, *Southern Economic Journal*, 7 (1940), pp. 1–26); see also Alfred Rive, ‘A Brief History of Regulation and Taxation of Tobacco in England, c. 1604-1642’ (1926). [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Sarah Dickson, *Panacea Or Precious Bane: Tobacco in Sixteenth Century Literature* (New York, 1954); Dickson (ed.), *Tobacco, a Catalogue of the Books, Manuscripts and Engravings Acquired Since 1942 in the Arents Tobacco Collection at the New York Public Library,* part V, 1620-1632 (New York, 1961), VI, 1632-1650 (1961) and VII (New York, 1962); Perry Hugh O’Neil, *Tobacco, a catalogue*, part VIII, 1673-1687, (New York, 1967). All parts can be accessed online at <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009150405> [accessed 9/5/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Jerome E. Brooks, *Tobacco: Its History Illustrated by The Books, Manuscripts and Engravings in the Library of George Arents, Jr.,* 5 vols. (New York, 1937-1952). [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Marcy Norton and Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, ‘The Multinational Commodification of Tobacco, 1492-1650: An Iberian Perspective’ in Peter C. Mancall (ed.), *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624,* (Chapel Hill, 2007), pp. 251-273, p. 254. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Joyce Lorimer, ‘The English contraband tobacco trade from Trinidad and Guiana, 1590-1617’ in Kenneth Andrews et al., *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480-1650* (Liverpool, 1978); Norton and Studnicki-Gizbert, ‘Multinational Commodification of Tobacco’. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Wesley Frank Craven, *The Virginia Company of London, 1606-1624* (Williamsburg, 1957), p. 33; Susan Myra Kingsbury (ed.), *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols (Washington, 1906-1935); Lorena S. Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, & Profit: Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607-1763* (Chapel Hill, 2010), p. 38. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 117-146. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. *Ibid*., pp. 138-140. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Michael Jarvis, *In the Eye of All Trade:* *Bermuda, Bermudians and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680-1783* (Chapel Hill, 2010), pp. 17-18, 27-28. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Games, *Web of Empire*, pp. 138-141. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. The literature of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake is vast, the following I have found most useful: Russell Menard, ‘A Note on Chesapeake Tobacco Prices, 1618–1660’, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 84 (1976), pp. 401–10; Menard, ‘The Chesapeake Tobacco Industry, 1617–1730: an Interpretation’, *Research in Economic History*, 5 (1980), pp. 109–77; Warren Billings (ed.), *Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: a Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689* (Chapel Hill, 1975); Lorena S. Walsh, ‘Summing the Parts: Implications for Estimating Chesapeake Output and Income Subregionally’, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3, 56, 1 (1999); Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, & Profit* (Chapel Hill, 2010); Douglas Bradburn and John C. Coombs, ‘Smoke and Mirrors: Reinterpreting the Society and Economy of the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake’, *Atlantic Studies*, 3, 2 (2006), pp. 131-157; Edmund Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975). [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’; see also Bradburn and Coombs, ‘Smoke and Mirrors’; Bradburn and Coombs (eds), *Early Modern Virginia: Reconsidering the Old Dominion* (Virginia, 2011); Coombs, ‘A New Chronology for the Rise of Slavery in Early Virginia’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 68, 3 (2011), pp. 332-360, 355. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*; Walsh, *Motives of Honor.* [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Morgan, *American slavery, American freedom* (New York, 1975); Walsh, *Motives of Honor*; see also Coombs, ‘A New Chronology’; Coombs, ‘A New Chronology’, pp. 332-360. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Nuala Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*: *London and the Atlantic Economy, 1660-1700* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 41-42. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. David Harris Sacks and Michael Lynch, ‘Ports 1540-1700’ in Peter Clark (ed.), *Cambridge Urban History,* vol. II*, 1540-1840* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 377-424, 409. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Sacks and Lynch, ‘Ports 1540-1700’, p. 409. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London’s Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (London, 1993). [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. David Harris Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450-1700* (London, 1993), p. 263, 267. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Richard Blakemore, ‘The changing fortunes of Atlantic history’, *The English historical review*, 131, 551 (2016), pp. 851-868, 851; Peter C. Mancall, *The Atlantic World and Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 2007); Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concepts and Contours* (2005); April Hatfield Lee, *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, 2004); Christian Koot, *Empire at the Periphery: British Colonists, Anglo-Dutch Trade, and the Development of the British Atlantic, 1621-1713* (New York, 2011); Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault (eds), *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830* (Cambridge MA, 2009); Bradburn and Coombs (eds), *Early Modern Virginia*; John McCusker and Kenneth Morgan (eds), *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge, 2001); David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (eds), *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, 2 edn. (Basingstoke, 2009); J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven, 2006); Alison Games,*Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge MA, 1999). [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Bernard Bailyn, ‘Preface’ in David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (eds), *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, 2 edn. (Basingstoke, 2009), p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. For example, Lee, *Atlantic Virginia*. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Jarvis, *In the Eye of All Trade*, chapter one; Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: the Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (New York, 1972). [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill, 1994); Lee, *Atlantic Virginia*. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, J. Plumb, (eds), *The Birth of a Consumer Society. The Commercialization of eighteenth-century England* (Bloomington, 1982); John Brewer and Roy Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (1993); Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: the Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1978); Frank Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2012); Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (2nd ed. 1996); Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (New York, 1979); Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution:* *Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge, 2008). [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. De Vries, *Industrious Revolution*, pp. 5-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. James Walvin, *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste, 1660-1800* (Basingstoke, 1997); Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (2005); Berg and Helen Clifford (eds), *Consumers and Luxury in Europe 1650-1850* (Manchester University Press, 1999); Jordan Goodman, ‘Excitantia; or how Enlightenment Europe took to soft drugs’ in Goodman, Paul Lovejoy, and Andrew Sherratt, (eds), *Consuming Habits: Global and Historical Perspectives on How Cultures Define Drugs* (Abingdon, 2nd edn., 2007), pp. 158–77; Cox, *The Complete Tradesman*; Jon Stobart and Lucy Bailey, ‘Retail Revolution and the Village Shop, c. 1660–1860’, *EcHR*, early view (2017), pp. 1-25; Earlier consumer revolutions have been identified for the Renaissance, for example see Lauro Martines, ‘The Renaissance and the Birth of Consumer Society’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 51, 1 (1998), 193-203; Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods. A New History of the Renaissance* (London, 1996); and later consumer revolutions for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for example see John Benson, *The Rise of Consumer Society in Britain, 1880–1980* (New York, 1994). [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. De Vries, *Industrious Revolution*, p. 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. De Vries, *Industrious Revolution*, p.10. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. See especially Shammas, *Pre-Industrial Consumer*, pp. 78-81. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Older works in which tobacco features prominently include Beer, *Origins of the British Colonial System*; Richard Pares, *Merchants and Planters*, EcHR supplement, 4 (Cambridge, 1970); Kenneth Andrews et al., *Westward Enterprise*; see also Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*; MacInnes, *Early English Tobacco Trade*; other earlier publications on the regulation of tobacco include Rive, ‘Brief History’; Fairholt, *Tobacco*; Gray and Wyckoff, ‘International Tobacco Trade’; Rive, ‘Brief History’ (1926). [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*; Pares, *Merchants and Planters*; Kenneth Andrews, *Ship, Money and Politics: Seafaring and Naval Enterprise in the Reign of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1991). [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*; David Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade in Pre-Industrial England: Bristol and its Region, 1680-1730* (Exeter, 2000); B. W. E. Alford, *W.D. and H.O. Wills and the Development of the Tobacco Industry, 1786-1965* (London, 1973). [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Nancy Cox, *The Complete Tradesman: a Study of Retailing, 1550-1820* (Aldershot, 2000); see also Nancy Cox and Karin Dannehl, *Perceptions of Retailing in early modern England* (Aldershot, 2007). [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Ralph Davis, ‘English Foreign Trade, 1660-1700’ in W. E. Minchinton (ed.), *The Growth of English Overseas Trade in the 17th and 18th centuries* (Bungay, 1969), pp. 78-95. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Jacob M. Price, ‘The Tobacco Trade and the Treasury, 1685-1733: British Mercantilism in its Fiscal Aspects’, 2 vols, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard (1957); Price, *Tobacco in Atlantic Trade: the Chesapeake, London and Glasgow 1675-1775* (Aldershot, 1996); Price, *Perry of London: a Family and a firm on the seaborne frontier, 1615-1753* (Cambridge MA, 1993); Price, *France and the Chesapeake: a history of the French tobacco monopoly, 1674-1791, and of its relationship to the British and American tobacco trades*, 2 vols (Ann Arbor, 1973); Price, ‘Tobacco Use and Tobacco Taxation: A Battle of Interests in Early Modern Europe’ in Goodman et al. (eds), *Consuming Habits*, pp. 165-185; Jacob M. Price and Paul G. E. Clemens, ‘A Revolution in Scale in Overseas Trade: British Firms in the Chesapeake Trade, 1675-1775’, *Journal of Economic History*, XLVIII, 1. (1987), pp. 1-45; Price, *The Tobacco Adventure to Russia: Enterprise, Politics, and Diplomacy in the Quest for a Northern Market for English Colonial Tobacco, 1676– 1722* (Philadelphia, 1961). [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. J. V. Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco: The Lowthers and the Economic Development of West Cumberland, 1660-1760* (New York, 1981); Robert C. Nash, ‘The English and Scottish Tobacco Trades in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Legal and Illegal Trade’, *EcHR*, 35, 3 (1982), pp. 354-372; Paul G. E. Clemens, ‘The Rise of Liverpool, 1665-1750’, *EcHR*, 2, xxix (1976), pp. 211-225; Price and Clemens, ‘A Revolution in Scale in Overseas Trade: British Firms in the Chesapeake Trade, 1675-1775’, *Journal of Economic History*, XLVIII, 1. (1987), pp. 1-45. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Sacks, *Widening Gate*, pp. 251-329; Jonathan Harlow, ‘The Life and Times of Thomas Speed’, unpublished PhD thesis, univ. of Bristol (2008); Richard Stone, ‘The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century’, unpublished PhD thesis, univ. of Bristol (2013); June Palmer (ed.), *The Letter Book of Thomas Hill: Westcountry Mercantile Affairs and the Wider World* (Exeter, 2008); Alison Grant, ‘Breaking the Mould: North Devon maritime enterprise, 1560-1640’ in Todd Gray, Margery M. Rowe and Audrey Erskine (eds), *Tudor and Stuart Devon: The Common Estate and Government. Essays Presented to Joyce Youings* (Exeter, 1992), pp. 119-140; Alison Grant, ‘Devon shipping, trade and ports, 1600-1689’ in M. Duffy, *The New Maritime History of Devon* (Exeter, 1992); Alison Grant, *Atlantic Adventurer: John Delbridge of Barnstaple, 1564-1639*; James Whetter, ‘Cornish Trade in the 17th Century’, *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, IV, 4 (Truro, 1964), pp. 388-413; Whetter, *Cornwall in the 17th Century* (Padstow, 1974); M. I. Williams, ‘Aberthaw: the port of the vale’ in S. Williams (ed.), *Saints and Sailing Ships,* The Vale series, 4 (Cowbridge, 1962); W. B. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Exeter: a Study of Industrial and Commercial Development, 1625-1688* (Exeter, 1958). [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Gray and Wyckoff, ‘International Tobacco Trade’, pp. 1–26; Neville Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade in the Reign of Charles I’, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 65 (1957), pp. 403–49. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. William J. Ashworth, *Customs and Excise: Trade, Production, and Consumption in England, 1640-85* (Oxford, 2003); Philip R. Hoffman, ‘In defence of Corporate Liberties: early modern guilds and the problem of illicit artisan work’, *Urban History*, 34, 1 (2007) pp. 76-88; Bert De Munck ‘One counter and your own account: Redefining illicit labour in early modern Antwerp’, *Urban History*, 37, 1 (2010), pp. 26-44; Danielle Van Den Heuvel, ‘Policing peddlers: The prosecution of illegal street trade in eighteenth-century Dutch towns’, *Historical Journal*, 58, 2, pp. 367-392. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Evan T. Jones, *Inside the Illicit Economy: Reconstructing the Smugglers’ Trade of Sixteenth-Century Bristol* (Farnham, 2012); Neville Williams, *Seven Centuries of Smuggling* (London, 1959), ch. III ‘A recognised profession, 1603-1713’; see also G. D. Ramsay, ‘The Smuggler’s Trade: A Neglected Aspect of English Commercial Development’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5, 2 (1952), pp. 131-57. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, pp. 410-412. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. W. B. Stephens, *The Seventeenth-Century Customs Service Surveyed: William Culliford’s Investigations of the Western Ports, 1682-84* (Farnham, 2012); Victor Enthoven and Wim Klooster, ‘The Rise and Fall of the Virginia-Dutch Connection in the C17th’ in Bradburn and Coombs (eds), *Early Modern Virginia*; Wim Klooster, ‘Inter-Imperial Smuggling in the Americas, 1600-1800’ in Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault (eds), *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830* (Cambridge MA, 2009), pp. 141-180; Koot, *Empire at the Periphery*. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Price, ‘Tobacco Trade and the Treasury’, pp. 193, 312, 899-901; Goodman *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence* (London, 1993), pp. 60, 220-221; Nash, ‘English and Scottish Tobacco Trades’; Clemens, ‘Rise of Liverpool’. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Price, ‘Tobacco Trade and the Treasury’, p. 312. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Nash, ‘English and Scottish Tobacco Trades’; Clemens, ‘Rise of Liverpool’. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. John Lea, ‘Social crime revisited’, *Theoretical Criminology*, 3, 3 (1999), pp. 307-325; Carl Winslow, ‘Sussex Smugglers’ in Douglas Hay Peter Linebaugh and E. P. Thomson, *Albion’s Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 1975), pp. 119-166; W. A. Cole, ‘Trends in Eighteenth-century smuggling’, *EcHR*, 10 (1958), pp. 395-410; Cole, ‘Rejoinder: The Arithmetic of Eighteenth-Century Smuggling’, *EchR*, 28 (1975), 44-49; Peter D’Sena ‘Perquisites and Casual Labour on the London Wharfside in the Eighteenth Century’, *London Journal*, 14 (1989); William Ashworth, *Customs and Excise:* *Trade, Production, and Consumption in England, 1640–1845* (Oxford, 2003), part III ‘An impolite and commercial people: the common economy’; Michael Kwass, *Contraband: Louis Mandrin and the Making of a Global Underground* (Cambridge, Mass., 2014); Hoh-Cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, ‘Smuggling and the British Tea Trade before 1784’, *The American Historical Review*, 74, 1 (1968), pp. 44-73; John Rule, ‘Social Crime in the Rural South in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries’, in John Rule and Roger Wells, *Crime, Protest and Popular Politics in Southern England, 1740–1850* (London, 1997); for a popular history on smuggling in general see Richard Platt, *Smuggling in the British Isles: a History* (Stroud 2007), <http://www.smuggling.co.uk> [accessed 1/3/2017]. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Shammas, *Pre-Industrial Consumer*, p. 79; Sara Pennell, ‘Material Culture in Seventeenth-Century ‘Britain’’ in Frank Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 64-84. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Maurice Beresford, ‘The Beginning of Retail Tobacco Licences, 1632-41’, in *Time and Place: Collected Essays* (1984), pp. 227-242. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Anthony Rowley, ‘How England Learned to Smoke: the Introduction, Spread and Establishment of Tobacco Pipe Smoking in England before 1640’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of York (2003). [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. De Vries, *Industrious Revolution*, p. 157. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: the Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 54, 58; for domestic consumption as an impetus to foreign trade see also Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities. Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (Newhaven, 2000), p. 181. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship*. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Pennell, ‘Material Culture’, p. 74. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Goodman, ‘Excitantia’, p. 127. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. David Courtwright, *Forces of Habit: Drugs and the Making of the Modern World* (Harvard, 2001). [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Rudi Matthee, ‘Exotic Substances: The Introduction and Global Spread of Tobacco, Coffee, Cocoa, Tea, and Distilled Liquor, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,’ in Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (eds), *Drugs and Narcotics in History* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 24-51, pp. 46-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Goodman, ‘Excitantia’, p. 126; Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, pp. 41-42. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions*; Werner Sombart, *Luxury and Capitalism*, W. R. Dittmar, trans. (Ann Arbor, 1967); Withington, ‘Intoxicants and Society’, pp. 634-635; Goodman, ‘Excitantia’; Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: a Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants* (New York, 1992) pp. 148-149; Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, 2005); Steve Pincus, ‘“Coffee Politicians Does Create”: Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 67, 4 (1995), pp. 807-834; Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1985); Matthee, ‘Exotic Substances’. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Davis, ‘English Foreign Trade’, p. 80; Walvin, *Fruits of Empire*, p. 71; Shammas, *Pre-Industrial Consumer*, p. 78. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, pp. 41-42. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Norton, *Sacred Gifts*, pp. 9, 167-172; Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 49. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Norton, *Sacred Gifts*, p. 167. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Beverley Lemire, ‘“Men of the World”: British Mariners, Consumer Practice, and Material Culture in an Era of Global Trade, c. 1660–1800’, *Journal of British Studies*, 54 (2015), pp. 288–319. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 49. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Goodman, ‘Excitantia’. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. Phil Withington, ‘Intoxicants and Society in Early Modern England’, *Historical Journal*, 54 (2001), pp. 631–657. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Withington, ‘Intoxicants and Society’, p. 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. John Chartres, ‘No English Calvados? English Distillers and the Cider Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’ in John Chartres and David Hey (eds), *English Rural Society, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 313-342; Jessica Warner, *Craze: Gin and Debauchery in an Age of Reason* (London, 2003); Richard W. Unger, *Beer in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Philadelphia, 2004); Unger, ‘Technical Change in the Brewing Industry in Germany, the Low Countries, and England in the Late Middle Ages’, *Journal of European Economic History*, 21 (1992), pp. 286-292. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. *Intoxicants and Early Modernity project*, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank) [accessed 1/3/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. Withington, ‘Intoxicants and Society’, p. 637. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. Keith 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); Peter Clark ‘The alehouse and the alternative society’, in D. Pennington and K. Thomas, eds., *Puritans and revolutionaries: essays in seventeenth-century history presented to Christopher Hill* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 47–72.; Peter Clark, *The English alehouse: a social history, 1200-1830* (Harlow, 1983). [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. Mark Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship in early modern England* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 56, 165, 197, 199-200; Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: a Social History, 1200-1830* (Harlow, 1983), pp. 134, 228. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship*, p. 223. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. Phil Withington, ‘Company and Sociability in Early Modern England’, *Social History*, 32, 3 (2007), pp. 291-307. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2001). [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation.* [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. Data from the Office for National Statistics,

    <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/healthandsocialcare/healthandlifeexpectancies/bulletins/adultsmokinghabitsingreatbritain/2016#smoking-habits-in-great-britain-using-data-from-the-opinions-and-lifestyle-survey-1974-to-2016-adults-aged-16-and-over> [accessed 28/3/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. Data from HM Revenue & Customs, ‘Tobacco Factsheet November 2013’,

    <https://www.uktradeinfo.com/.../Statistical%20Factsheets/Tobacco_Factsheet_2013.xls>

    [accessed 28/3/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. See the latest published parliamentary health committee on alcohol (2010) via

    <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200910/cmselect/cmhealth/151/15106.htm>

    [accessed 20/4/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. For an up-to-date survey of how the modern drug trade operates, see Tom Wainwright, *Narconomics: How to Run a Drug Cartel* (London, 2017). [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. For instance, the *Guardian* has recently reported a rise in teenage drug dealers involved in so-called ‘county lines drug dealing’ see <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/may/12/rise-in-drug-arrests-among-teenagers-prompts-county-lines-concerns> [accessed 13/5/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Ann McNeill et al., *Evidence Review of E-Cigarettes and Heated Tobacco Products 2018. A Report Commissioned by Public Health England* (London, 2018),

     <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/684963/Evidence_review_of_e-cigarettes_and_heated_tobacco_products_2018.pdf>

     [accessed 13/5/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Andrew Sherratt, ‘Introduction: Peculiar Substances’ in Goodman et al. (eds), *Consuming Habits*, pp. 1-10. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. Price, ‘Tobacco Trade and the Treasury’, p. 32. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, pp. 71-72; de Vries, *Industrious Revolution*, p. 157. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Port books series that were unavailable to view (but at the time of completion of this thesis are now available) include: E 190/946, 950-954, 956, 964, 1029, 1030, 1033-1036, 1086-1092 (comprising the south-western ‘headports’ of Exeter, Barnstaple, Plymouth and Bridgwater). At the time of researching, the team at the *Intoxicants and Early Modernity* project were conducting a thorough analysis of those books for the north-west (Liverpool and Chester) and east (Great Yarmouth and King’s Lynn) of England, *Intoxicants and Early Modernity* project, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank) [accessed 1/3/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. Davis, ‘English Foreign Trade’. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. For instance, Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, chs III and IV; Games, *Web of Empire*, pp. 117-146; Morgan, *American slavery, American freedom*, ch. six: ‘boom’; Morgan, ‘The first American Boom: Virginia 1618 to 1630’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3, 28, 2 (1971), pp. 169-198; Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. James Whetter, ‘Cornish Trade’; Palmer (ed.), *Letter Book of Thomas Hill*; Grant, ‘Breaking the Mould’; see also Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. Chapter five; cf. Shammas, *Pre-Industrial Consumer*, pp. 78-81. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. Based on figures of 131,800 lbs. and 28,000,000 lbs., see figs 1.1 and 1.2, below. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 102. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. *Ibid*., p. 105. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, p. 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. *Ibid*., p.53. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. *Ibid*., p.53; TNA, SP 29/277 f.236; TNA, SP 29/385 f.106; BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. Chapter three; Joan Thirsk, ‘New Crops and their Diffusion: Tobacco-Growing in Seventeenth-Century England’, in *The Rural Economy of England: Collected Essays* (London, 1984), pp. 259–86. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. Deposition of John Tuck, TNA, E 134/22and23Chas1/Hil2. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. Koot, *Empire at the Periphery*; Klooster, ‘Inter-Imperial Smuggling’; Enthoven and Klooster, ‘Rise and Fall’. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Thirsk, ‘New Crops’. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Davis, ‘English Foreign Trade’; Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, p. 199. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. Menard, ‘A Note’; see also Edmund Morgan, *American slavery, American freedom,* chapter six: ‘boom’; Morgan, ‘The First American Boom: Virginia 1618 to 1630’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3, 28, 2 (1971), pp. 169-198. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. Menard, ‘A Note’ (1976). [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. Menard, ‘A Note’ (1976); Menard, ‘Farm Prices of Maryland Tobacco, 1659-1710’, (1973), pp. 80-85; Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. Jarvis, *In the Eye of All Trade*, pp. 39-40. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. Deposition of Barnaby Cutts in Joan Thirsk and J. P. Cooper (eds), *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents* (London, 1972), pp. 348-349. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. For example, the William Cavendish’s accounts for 1636 show tobacco sold for 3d. per lb. in 1632-33 but 9d. 1/8 per lb., ‘All customs and charges being paid’, Chatsworth Archives, CS 26/3/17; pre-custom prices of between 1.75d. and 2.5d. per lb. were recorded in Bristol in 1638, see depositions of Robert Neason and John Bush, TNA, E 134/17Chas1/Mich29. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. Deposition of John Band, BA, JX/1/4; depositions of Nicholas Tovy and John Read, BA, JX/1/4; depositions of George Peter, William Warren, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Deposition of John Machen, BA, JX/1/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. Jonathan Harlow, *The Ledger of Thomas Speed, 1681-1690* (Bristol, 2011), pp. 31, 47, 73, 100, 191, 261; similarly, William Stout reported pre-custom prices of 2d. per lb. during the same period, making post-import prices of 4d., J. Harland, (ed.), *Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster, Wholesale and Retail Grocer and Ironmonger, a Member of the Society of Friends* (London, 1851), p. 13; Robert Nash gives a higher figure of 5.5d. for the wholesale price of tobacco in 1683 and 1684, see Nash, ‘English and Scottish Tobacco Trades’, p. 369. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. Davis, ‘English Foreign Trade’, p. 80. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. See chapters four and five. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. The following port books were unavailable at the time of researching for this thesis but have since become available: TNA, E 190/946, 950-954, 956, 964, 1029, 1030, 1033-1036, 1086-1092 (comprising the south-western ‘headports’ of Exeter, Barnstaple, Plymouth and Bridgwater). [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. TNA, E 190/32/8; transcribed and analysed in Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’. [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. BL, Sloane 1815; Gray and Wyckoff, ‘International Tobacco Trade’, p. 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. Commonly known as the ‘Agas map’, John Stow’s map of London has been digitised by the *MoEML* project and is freely available online, <https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/map.htm> [accessed 13/6/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. By the King, *A Proclamation concerning Tobacco* (London, 29/9/1624). [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. Theodore K. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England, 1575-1630* (Cambridge, MA, 1967); Craven, *Virginia Company*. [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 155. Brenner defines a ‘new’ merchant as someone who was either a member of an American colonial partnership and/ or was an importer of more than 10,000 lbs. of tobacco in the years leading up to the civil war, as recorded in the port books for the years 1627-28, 1630, 1633, 1634 and 1640. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, Table 4.1, p. 183. [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. *Ibid*., p. 143. [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. *Ibid*., pp. 130-133. [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. Craven, *Virginia Company*, p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. By the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (London, 29/9/1624); by the King, *A Proclamation for the Utter Prohibiting the Importation and Use of all Tobacco, which is not of the Proper Growth of the Colonies of Virginia and the Summer Islands, or One of Them* (London, 2/3/25); by the King, *A Proclamation Touching Tobacco* (London, 17/2/1627); by the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (London, 19/5/1634); by the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (London, 14/3/1638); by the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (London, 25/3/1639). [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. Price and Clemens, ‘Revolution in Scale’. [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, pp. 421-445. [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. Price and Clemens, ‘Revolution in Scale’, pp. 9-10 [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, p. 257. [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, pp. 252-256; Nash, ‘Irish Atlantic trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’, *William & Mary Quarterly*, 42 (1985), pp. 329-56; Thomas Truxes, *Irish-American trade, 1660-1783* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 14-15; Andrews, *Ship, Money and Politics*, pp. 86-87, 94-102; Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*. [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, pp. 240-252. [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. See Table 1.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. See Table 1.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. By the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (London, 29/9/1624); by the King, *A Proclamation for the Utter Prohibiting the Importation and Use of all Tobacco, which is not of the Proper Growth of the Colonies of Virginia and the Summer Islands, or one of them* (London, 2/3/25); by the King, *A Proclamation Touching Tobacco* (London, 17/2/1627); by the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (London, 19/5/1634); by the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (London, 14/3/1638); by the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (London, 25/3/1639). [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. TNA, SP 16/285 f.20. [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. W. L. Grant and James Munro (eds), *Acts of Privy Council, Colonial Series,* vol. I, *1613-1680* (London, 1908), pp. 161-162. [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. Grant and Munro (eds), *Acts of Privy Council, Colonial Series,* vol. I, pp. 269-270. [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. TNA, E 134/22and23Chas1/Hil2. [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
161. 4th interrogatory for the plaintiff and deposition of Anthony Harrison, TNA, E 134/17Chas1/Mich29. [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
162. John Bruce (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Charles I, Mar 1625-Dec 1626* vol. 1*, Mar 1625-Dec 1626* (London, 1858), pp. 156, 574. [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
163. Depositions of Thomas Swaley and Richard Frickman, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
164. 2nd interrogatory and depositions of Pierce Deere, Henry Rees, George Savour and Adeodatus Spencer, TNA, E 134/22and23Chas1/Hil2. [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
165. By the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (25/3/1639). [↑](#footnote-ref-165)
166. J. V. Lye (ed.), *Acts of Privy Council of England,* vol.43, *1627-1628* (London, 1940), p. 349; Grant and Munro (eds), *Acts of Privy Council, Colonial Series,* vol. I, pp. 123-124. [↑](#footnote-ref-166)
167. Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, pp. 421-446, 448. These were John Cheeseman, John Taylor, Richard Lowther, Richard Pulford, Richard Stephens, Toby Felgate and William Barker. [↑](#footnote-ref-167)
168. Sheila D. Thomson (ed.), *The Book of Examinations and Depositions Before the Mayor and Justices of Southampton, 1648-1663* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 3, 19, 52-53, 92-99, 113-117, 118-120, 142-144, 154, 157-159, 161-165. [↑](#footnote-ref-168)
169. Gray and Wyckoff, ‘International Tobacco Trade’, pp. 20-22. [↑](#footnote-ref-169)
170. Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, pp. 445-449; TNA, E 190/32/8. [↑](#footnote-ref-170)
171. James Whetter, ‘Cornish Trade’, p. 395. [↑](#footnote-ref-171)
172. Palmer (ed.), *Letter Book of Thomas Hill*, pp. xv-xvi; Steele, *English Atlantic*, p. 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-172)
173. Deposition of Thomas Swaley, TNA, E 178/5239; this reference is also listed as TNA, E 134/17Chas1/Mich31; in 1676, the *Elizabeth* of Plymouth came into Falmouth, TNA, SP 29/385 f.106. [↑](#footnote-ref-173)
174. Palmer (ed.), *Letter Book of Thomas Hill*, pp. xxiii; TNA, SP 16/201 f.75. [↑](#footnote-ref-174)
175. TNA, E 190/1032/5. [↑](#footnote-ref-175)
176. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*, pp. 165-166, 181, 187-188; Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, pp. 448-449; TNA, E 190/32/8; Palmer (ed.), *Letter Book of Thomas Hill*, p. xxiv; TNA, SP 29/277 f.236; TNA, E 190/1031/9,19; William A. Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books,* vol. IV, *1672-75*, p. 352. [↑](#footnote-ref-176)
177. Deposition of William Palmer in H. E. Nott (ed.), *The Deposition Books of Bristol*, vol. I, *1643-1647* (Bristol, 1935),p. 65. [↑](#footnote-ref-177)
178. CRO, T/1285. [↑](#footnote-ref-178)
179. Whetter, ‘Cornish Trade’, pp. 403, 408; Whetter, *Cornwall*, p. 148. [↑](#footnote-ref-179)
180. TNA, E 190/1031/5. [↑](#footnote-ref-180)
181. Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, 448-449; TNA, E 190/32/8. [↑](#footnote-ref-181)
182. TNA, E 190/1031/20; TNA, E 190/1032/13. [↑](#footnote-ref-182)
183. TNA, E 190/1031/20. [↑](#footnote-ref-183)
184. TNA, E 190/1031/20; E 190/1031/10. [↑](#footnote-ref-184)
185. TNA, E 190/1031/20; E 190/1031/10. [↑](#footnote-ref-185)
186. Gray and Wyckoff, ‘International Tobacco Trade’, pp, 20, 22; E 190/1038/8; TNA, E 190/1046/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-186)
187. Gray and Wyckoff, ‘International Tobacco Trade’, pp. 19-22; Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, p. 447; Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Exeter*, p. 116; Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*, pp. 94-96, 106-107, 116-120. [↑](#footnote-ref-187)
188. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Exeter*, p. 116. [↑](#footnote-ref-188)
189. John Henry Lefroy (ed.), *Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands, 1511-1687,* vol. I (London, 1877), pp. 443-447. [↑](#footnote-ref-189)
190. Grant, ‘Breaking the Mould’, pp. 119-140; see also, Grant, *Atlantic Adventurer*; TNA, E 190/948/10; TNA, E 190/948/9; TNA, E 190/951/5. [↑](#footnote-ref-190)
191. TNA, SP 29/332 f.297. [↑](#footnote-ref-191)
192. Palmer (ed.), *Letter Book of Thomas Hill*, p. xxvi; Alison Grant and Peter Christie, *The Book of Bideford: the Development of a Devonian Market Town* (Wellington, 1987). [↑](#footnote-ref-192)
193. North Devon Record Office, 1064Q/SQ/1. [↑](#footnote-ref-193)
194. Gray and Wyckoff, ‘International Tobacco Trade’, p. 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-194)
195. Stephen K. Roberts (ed.), *The Letter-Booke of John Byrd, Customs Collector in South-East Wales, 1648-80* (Cardiff, 1999). [↑](#footnote-ref-195)
196. First interrogatory and depositions of William Younge, Robert Mayoe and John Bird, TNA, E 134/22and23Chas1/Hil2. [↑](#footnote-ref-196)
197. Deposition of John Bird, TNA, E 134/22and23Chas1/Hil2; see also Roberts (ed.), *Letter-Booke of John Byrd*; Williams, ‘Aberthaw’. [↑](#footnote-ref-197)
198. TNA, E 134/22and23Chas1/Hil2. [↑](#footnote-ref-198)
199. Roberts (ed.), *Letter-Booke of John Byrd*, pp. 7, 9-10. [↑](#footnote-ref-199)
200. Gray and Wyckoff, ‘International Tobacco Trade’, p. 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-200)
201. Hugh Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland, 1633-41: A Study in Absolutism* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 137. [↑](#footnote-ref-201)
202. Fiona Pogson (ed.), ‘Financial Accounts of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, and Sir George Radcliffe, 1639-1640’, *Analecta Hibernica*, 48 (2017), pp. 96, 115. [↑](#footnote-ref-202)
203. Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Collections, WWM/Str P/24-25/208. [↑](#footnote-ref-203)
204. Truxes, *Irish-American Trade*, pp. 14-15, 21-22. [↑](#footnote-ref-204)
205. Truxes, *Irish-American Trade*, p. 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-205)
206. TNA, SP 63/319 f. 488. [↑](#footnote-ref-206)
207. Truxes, *Irish-American Trade*, pp. 9-10, 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-207)
208. Rowley, ‘How England Learned to Smoke’, p. 362; R. W. K. Hinton, *The Port Books of Boston, 1601-40*, (Lincoln, 1956), pp. 189, 235; Hinton, ‘Dutch Entrepot Trade at Boston, Lincs, 1600-40’, *EcHR*, 2, 9 (1956-7); Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, p. 448. [↑](#footnote-ref-208)
209. *Intoxicants and Early Modernity project*, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank), TNA, E 190/490/10; TNA, E 190/492/6; TNA, E 190/436/3; TNA, E 190/505/11 [accessed 13/7/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-209)
210. Cheshire Archives, ZTCB. [↑](#footnote-ref-210)
211. *IEM* project, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank), TNA, E 190/1336/12; TNA, E 190/1337/6; TNA, E 190/1340/2, 3 [accessed 13/7/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-211)
212. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-212)
213. Gray and Wyckoff, ‘International Tobacco Trade’, p. 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-213)
214. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-214)
215. Price and Clemens, ‘Revolution in Scale’, pp. 28-29; Clemens, ‘Rise of Liverpool’. [↑](#footnote-ref-215)
216. Harland, (ed.), *Autobiography of William Stout*, p. 35; Clemens, ‘Rise of Liverpool’, pp. 211-212. [↑](#footnote-ref-216)
217. Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco*, p. 105. Direct imports to Scotland nonetheless grew steadily from the late seventeenth century, although prior to the act of union in 1707, this trade was considered contraband, Nash, ‘English and Scottish Tobacco Trades’, pp. 363-364. [↑](#footnote-ref-217)
218. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire*; Todd Gray (ed.), *Early Stuart Mariners and Shipping: the Maritime Surveys of Devon and Cornwall, 1619-35* (Exeter, 1990), pp. 22-27, xiv, xxii. [↑](#footnote-ref-218)
219. TNA, SP 29/274 f.145; see also TNA, SP 29/177 f.210; TNA, SP 29/179 f.156; TNA, SP 29/234 f.323. [↑](#footnote-ref-219)
220. Palmer (ed.), *Letter Book of Thomas Hill*, p. xv-xvi. [↑](#footnote-ref-220)
221. David Ormrod, *The Rise of Commercial Empires: England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650-1770* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-221)
222. For a ‘hypothetical voyage narrative’ of a ship from Bristol to Virginia in the early seventeenth century, see Robert Hicks, *Voyage to Jamestown: Practical Navigation in the Age of Discovery* (Annapolis, 2011). [↑](#footnote-ref-222)
223. Patrick McGrath, ‘Bristol and America, 1480-1631’ in Andrews et al., *Westward Enterprise*, p. 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-223)
224. Martha McCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers, 1607-1635: a Biographical Dictionary* (Baltimore, 2007), pp. 293-294, 767; Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, pp. 78-80. [↑](#footnote-ref-224)
225. Identified through cross-referencing Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire*, ‘Appendix: the list of names’, pp. 224-410; and Patrick McGrath, *Records Relating to the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century* (Bristol, 1952), *passim*.; McGrath ‘Bristol and America’, p. 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-225)
226. Sixteen Bristol ships or barques were hired by the royal navy in Buckingham’s 1628 expedition to the Isle of Re, which had been pressed by William Buxton, J. W. Damer Powel, *Bristol Privateers and Ships of War* (Bristol, 1930), p. 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-226)
227. Powel, *Bristol Privateers* (Bristol, 1930), pp. 69-85; TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-227)
228. TNA, E 178/5319, for example, see the depositions of John Gane, John Floyd and John Drayton. [↑](#footnote-ref-228)
229. Depositions of Gabriel Sherman, Nathaniel Cale and Richard Gardner, TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-229)
230. Lefroy (ed.), *Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands, 1511-1687,* vol. I (London, 1877), p. 357. [↑](#footnote-ref-230)
231. Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, pp. 447-448. [↑](#footnote-ref-231)
232. Stone, ‘Overseas Trade’, p. 123; TNA, E 190/1135/1, 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-232)
233. McGrath, ‘Bristol and America’, p. 102. [↑](#footnote-ref-233)
234. TNA, E 122/218/25; see below, Table 5.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-234)
235. Grant and Munro (eds), *Acts of Privy Council, Colonial Series,* vol. I, p. 212. [↑](#footnote-ref-235)
236. Deposition of Thomas Wickham in H. E. Nott and Elizabeth Ralph (eds), *The Deposition Books of Bristol,* vol. II, *1650-1654* (Bristol, 1948), pp. 187-190. [↑](#footnote-ref-236)
237. TNA, E 134/17Chas1/Mich29; TNA, E 190/1136/10. [↑](#footnote-ref-237)
238. BA, JQS/M/3/1, frames 5, 18, 28 and 35. [↑](#footnote-ref-238)
239. Quoted in John Lynch, ‘Bristol Shipping and Royalist naval power during the English Civil War’, *The Mariner’s Mirror*, 84, 3 (1998), pp. 260-267, p. 263. [↑](#footnote-ref-239)
240. Roberts (ed.), *Letter-Booke of John Byrd*. [↑](#footnote-ref-240)
241. Gray and Wyckoff, ‘International Tobacco Trade’, p. 20; TNA, E 122/232/2. [↑](#footnote-ref-241)
242. Roberts (ed.), *Letter-Booke of John Byrd*, pp. 7, 9-10. [↑](#footnote-ref-242)
243. The bulk of the first two volumes of the mayor’s ‘deposition books’ (1643-1647; 1650-1654) were transcribed over seventy year ago by H. E. Nott and Elizabeth Ralph. For the subsequent four volumes, the original manuscripts or facsimile microfiches have been consulted. See H. E. Nott (ed.), *The Deposition Books of Bristol*, vol. I, *1643-1647* (Bristol, 1935); H. E. Nott and Elizabeth Ralph (eds), *The Deposition Books of Bristol,* vol. II, *1650-1654* (Bristol, 1948); BA, JX/1/1-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-243)
244. Depositions of John Cole and Richard Ryder in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books,* vol. II, pp. 59-61. [↑](#footnote-ref-244)
245. Depositions of Richard Payton, James Lassolds, Peter Wraxall and William Barwicke in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I, pp. 92, 98, 108, 134-135; depositions of George Bond, George Maggs and William Chapple in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II,pp. 20-21, 67-68, 104. [↑](#footnote-ref-245)
246. Depositions of John Cole and John Isaack in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II, pp. 59-61, 115. [↑](#footnote-ref-246)
247. Deposition of Robert Glass in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I, pp. 191-192; see also depositions of Matthias Jones and Ralph Husbands in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I,pp. 214-215. [↑](#footnote-ref-247)
248. Deposition of William Palmer in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I,p. 65; deposition of John Isaack in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II, p. 115. [↑](#footnote-ref-248)
249. John Lynch, *For King & Parliament:* *Bristol and the Civil War* (Stroud, 1999). [↑](#footnote-ref-249)
250. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-250)
251. Roberts (ed.), *Letter-Booke of John Byrd*, p. xvii. [↑](#footnote-ref-251)
252. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1. [↑](#footnote-ref-252)
253. Harlow, ‘Thomas Speed’, p. 172. [↑](#footnote-ref-253)
254. Price, ‘The Tobacco Trade and the Treasury’, p. 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-254)
255. McGrath, *Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth-Century Bristol* (Bristol, 1955), p. 281. [↑](#footnote-ref-255)
256. Based on an average of thirty-three tobacco ships and 2.6 million lbs. of tobacco annually imported into Bristol, 1654-55-1684-85, BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-256)
257. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*. [↑](#footnote-ref-257)
258. Depositions of Thomas Robins, John Hall, John Butler, John Lane and Patrick Neason, TNA, E 178/5319; deposition of John Knight in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Book*, vol. I, pp. 115-116; deposition of John Machen, BA, JX/1/4; deposition of William Ball, BA, JX/1/5; Harlow (ed.), *Ledger of Thomas Speed*, pp. 40, 191, 261, 341, 407; Richard Beale Davis (ed.), *William Fitzhugh and his Chesapeake World, 1676-1701: The Fitzhugh Letters and Other Documents* (Chapel Hill, 1963); Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’, pp. 146-147; see chapter two. [↑](#footnote-ref-258)
259. Clemens, ‘Rise of Liverpool’, pp. 211-212. [↑](#footnote-ref-259)
260. See Table 1.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-260)
261. Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*, pp. 58-59. [↑](#footnote-ref-261)
262. PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/387/132; BA, JX/1/3; BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-262)
263. For example, Sacks, *Widening Gate*, pp. 258-267. [↑](#footnote-ref-263)
264. William Bullock, *Virginia Impartially Examined, And Left To Publick View, To Be Considered By All Iudicious And Honest Men* (London, 1649), p. 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-264)
265. *Ibid*., p. 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-265)
266. Edmund Morgan, *American slavery, American freedom*, pp. 180, 404; Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’, p. 118; see also, John McCusker and Russell Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill, 1985). [↑](#footnote-ref-266)
267. Table 3.3 in Alison Games, ‘Migration’ in David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (eds), *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, 2 edn. (Basingstoke, 2009), p. 64. [↑](#footnote-ref-267)
268. Games,*Migration and the Origins*, p. 20. [↑](#footnote-ref-268)
269. Stone, ‘Overseas Trade’, pp. 176-178; Souden, ‘‘Rogues, Whores and Vagabonds’?’, pp. 36-37; statement of John Gonninge, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-269)
270. Andrews, *Ship, Money and Politics*, p. 94-102; Truxes, *Irish-American Trade*, p. 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-270)
271. Table 2.1 in Nuala Zahedieh, ‘Economy’ in Armitage and Braddick (eds), *British Atlantic World*, p. 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-271)
272. Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, pp. 39-43; David Souden, ‘‘Rogues, Whores and Vagabonds’? Indentured Servant Emigrants to North America, and the Case of Mid-Seventeenth-Century Bristol’, *Social History*, 3, 1 (1978), pp. 23-41, 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-272)
273. Andrews, *Ship, Money and Politics*, pp. 94-102. [↑](#footnote-ref-273)
274. Souden, ‘‘Rogues, Whores and Vagabonds’?’; Horn, *Adapting to a New World*; Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*. [↑](#footnote-ref-274)
275. Coombs ‘A New Chronology’, p. 355. [↑](#footnote-ref-275)
276. Coombs, ‘A New Chronology’, p. 360. [↑](#footnote-ref-276)
277. George Alsop, *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land* (1666), p. 50. [↑](#footnote-ref-277)
278. Alsop, *A Character*, p. 51; C. T., *An Advice How to Plant Tobacco in England* (London, 1615); Warren Billings (ed.), *Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: a Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1700* (2007), pp. 210-211. [↑](#footnote-ref-278)
279. ‘C. T.’ states that after curing, the leaves were to be heated, ‘like unto the heate of an oven after the bread drawne’. C. T., *An Advice*, unpaginated text. [↑](#footnote-ref-279)
280. Menard, ‘A Note’, p. 404. [↑](#footnote-ref-280)
281. Menard, ‘A Note’, p. 404. [↑](#footnote-ref-281)
282. Walsh, ‘Summing the Parts’; Coombs, ‘A New Chronology’, pp. 335-336. [↑](#footnote-ref-282)
283. See chapter four. [↑](#footnote-ref-283)
284. Robert Lewes, *The Merchants Map of Commerce* (London, 1638), p. 44. [↑](#footnote-ref-284)
285. Norton, *Sacred Gifts*, p. 143. [↑](#footnote-ref-285)
286. For example, deposition of Anthony Illary, TNA, E 178/5239; see also the Oxford English Dictionary’s definition: ‘A small roll (of tobacco). Now chiefly *hist.* Cf. *prick tobacco*.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-286)
287. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-287)
288. Deposition of Robert Glass in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I, pp. 191-192. [↑](#footnote-ref-288)
289. C.T., *An Advice* (London, 1615), unpaginated text. ‘Mel rosarum’ was made through mixing honey with juices extracted from the rose plant, Juhani Norri, *Dictionary of Medical Vocabulary, 1375-1550* (Oxon, 2016), p. 658. [↑](#footnote-ref-289)
290. Deposition of Robert Glass in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I, pp. 191-192. [↑](#footnote-ref-290)
291. Depositions of Thomas Robins, John Hall, John Butler, John Lane and Patrick Neason, TNA, E 178/5319; deposition of John Knight in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Book*, vol. I, pp. 115-116. [↑](#footnote-ref-291)
292. For example, BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-292)
293. Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, p. 42. [↑](#footnote-ref-293)
294. Jarvis, *In the Eye of All Trade*, pp. 26-27. [↑](#footnote-ref-294)
295. Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. I, p. 34. [↑](#footnote-ref-295)
296. C.T., *An Advice* (London, 1615), unpaginated text. [↑](#footnote-ref-296)
297. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-297)
298. By the King, *A Proclamation concerning Tobacco* (London, 29/9/1624). [↑](#footnote-ref-298)
299. Price and Clemens, ‘Revolution in Scale’, p. 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-299)
300. Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, pp. 421-445. [↑](#footnote-ref-300)
301. Price and Clemens, ‘Revolution in Scale’, p. 17; and see chapter three. [↑](#footnote-ref-301)
302. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12; TNA, E 190/1136/11. [↑](#footnote-ref-302)
303. See below, Table 2.1; deposition of Thomas Wickham of Bristol, in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II,pp. 187-190. [↑](#footnote-ref-303)
304. Davis (ed.), *William Fitzhugh*, p. 22; and see chapter five. [↑](#footnote-ref-304)
305. Fairholt, *Tobacco*, pp. 301-302. [↑](#footnote-ref-305)
306. Claims of hogsheads each weighing 400lbs. and ‘halfe a hundred weight’ were made in 1671, ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238; Billings (ed.), *Old Dominion*, pp. 220-221. [↑](#footnote-ref-306)
307. John Machen sold 28 hogsheads weighing a gross weight of 10,851 lbs. from which was deducted 1,960 lbs (or 18 per cent of total) as ‘tare’, Deposition of John Machen, BA, JX/1/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-307)
308. *Index Vectigalium* (London, 1670). Roll tobacco was likewise subject to a rebate, at six lbs. per stick. [↑](#footnote-ref-308)
309. Deposition of John Machen, BA, JX/1/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-309)
310. Deposition of William Ball, BA, JX/1/5. [↑](#footnote-ref-310)
311. Harlow (ed.), *Ledger of Thomas Speed*, pp. 40, 191, 261, 341, 407. [↑](#footnote-ref-311)
312. Davis (ed.), *William Fitzhugh*. [↑](#footnote-ref-312)
313. Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’, pp. 146-147; ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238; Billings (ed.), *Old Dominion*, pp. 220-221; deposition of John Machen, BA, JX/1/4; deposition of William Ball, BA, JX/1/5; Harlow (ed.), *Ledger of Thomas Speed*, pp. 40, 191, 261, 341, 407; Davis (ed.), *William Fitzhugh*. [↑](#footnote-ref-313)
314. Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’, pp. 146-149. [↑](#footnote-ref-314)
315. Harlow, ‘Thomas Speed’, p. 187. [↑](#footnote-ref-315)
316. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, pp. 41-42. [↑](#footnote-ref-316)
317. Sacks, *Widening Gate*, pp. 261-267. [↑](#footnote-ref-317)
318. William A Pettigrew, ‘Corporate Constitutionalism and the Dialogue between the Global and Local in

     Seventeenth-Century English History’, *Itinerario*, 39, 3 (2016). [↑](#footnote-ref-318)
319. Pares, *Merchants and Planters*, pp. 52-55. [↑](#footnote-ref-319)
320. Andrews, *Ship, Money and Politics*, p. 94. [↑](#footnote-ref-320)
321. Chatsworth Archives, CS 26/3/17. My gratitude goes to Crosby Stevens for sending me facsimiles of the Cavendish’s accounts; Stone, ‘Overseas Trade’, pp. 172, 295-299. [↑](#footnote-ref-321)
322. Stone, ‘Overseas Trade’, pp. 176-178; Souden, ‘‘Rogues, Whores and Vagabonds’?’, pp. 36-37; statement of John Gonninge, BA, JX/1/3; Andrews, *Ship, Money and Politics*, p. 94-102; Truxes, *Irish-American Trade*, p. 14; deposition of Edward Harris, BA, JX/1/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-322)
323. Seventeenth-century Bristol ships included names such as *Virginia Merchant*, *Virginia Planter* and *Maryland Merchant*, see BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-323)
324. Kenneth Andrews, *Ship, Money and Politics*, p. 92; TNA, E 134/23Chas1/East3 and E 134/22and23Chas1/Hil2; PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/387/132; deposition of Thomas Wickham in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II,pp. 187-190. [↑](#footnote-ref-324)
325. Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’, p. 146. [↑](#footnote-ref-325)
326. Calculated from BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12; for London, see Sutton, ‘Virginia Trade’, pp. 264-65, 294; Price and Clemens, ‘Revolution in Scale’, p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-326)
327. BA, SMV/7/1/1/6. [↑](#footnote-ref-327)
328. Deposition of Thomas Wickham in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II,pp. 187-190. [↑](#footnote-ref-328)
329. K. G. Davies, ‘The Origins of the Commission System in the West India Trade: The Alexander Prize Essay’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 2 (1952), pp. 89-107. [↑](#footnote-ref-329)
330. Price and Clemens, ‘Revolution in Scale’, p. 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-330)
331. On the James River in May 1655, the shipmaster of the *Robert* refused to lade any more tobacco aboard the ship, the vessel being fully laden and thus indicating that additional trade was at least attempted, deposition of Arthur Allen, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-331)
332. Andrews, *Ship, Money and Politics* p. 90; deposition of Lawrence Hurston in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I,pp. 99-100. [↑](#footnote-ref-332)
333. PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/387/132. [↑](#footnote-ref-333)
334. Deposition of Thomas Yate, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-334)
335. Deposition of Thomas White, BA, JX/1/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-335)
336. Davies, ‘Origins of the Commission System’. [↑](#footnote-ref-336)
337. Deposition of Robert Glass, pp. 191-192; Price and Clemens, ‘Revolution in Scale’, p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-337)
338. Davies, ‘Origins of the Commission System’. [↑](#footnote-ref-338)
339. TNA, E 190/1032/13. [↑](#footnote-ref-339)
340. PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/113. [↑](#footnote-ref-340)
341. TNA, E 134/23Chas1/East3; TNA, E 134/22and23Chas1/Hil2; TNA, E 134/17Chas1/Mich29; deposition of Edward Parker, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-341)
342. Deposition of John Machen, Bristol, BA, JX/1/4; Billings (ed.), *Old Dominion*, pp. 220-222. [↑](#footnote-ref-342)
343. Harland (ed.), *Autobiography of William Stout*, p. 34. [↑](#footnote-ref-343)
344. Davis (ed.), *William Fitzhugh*, pp. 18-24, 79-84, 86-87, 89-92, 180-183. See also, Marion Tinling (ed.), *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia, 1684-1776*, vol. I (Charlottesville, 1977), *passim*. [↑](#footnote-ref-344)
345. Davis (ed.), *William Fitzhugh*, pp. 21-22. [↑](#footnote-ref-345)
346. Harlow (ed.), *Ledger of Thomas Speed*, pp. 50-54, 72-73, 260-261, 340-341, 406-407. [↑](#footnote-ref-346)
347. TNA, E 134/17Chas1/Mich29; TNA, E 178/5319; TNA, E 134/22and23Chas1/Hil2; Price and Clemens, ‘Revolution in Scale’, p. 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-347)
348. Davis (ed.), *William Fitzhugh*, p. 340. [↑](#footnote-ref-348)
349. Stanley Wasserman and Katherine Faust, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications* (Cambridge, 1994), ch. 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-349)
350. Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*. [↑](#footnote-ref-350)
351. Obligations of Anthony Fulgeham and Henry Joyce, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-351)
352. Obligations of Anthony Fulgeham and Henry Joyce, BA, JX/1/3; depositions of John Pursult and Richard Bragfield, BA, JX/1/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-352)
353. Deposition of Peter Codner, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-353)
354. Deposition of John Machen, BA, JX/1/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-354)
355. Deposition of Paul Romney, BA, JX/1/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-355)
356. Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. V, p. 999. [↑](#footnote-ref-356)
357. Depositions of Sir William Cann, William Davis, John Tuck and others, BA, JX/1/5. [↑](#footnote-ref-357)
358. John Taylor, *A Valorous And Perillous Sea-Fight Fought With Three Turkish Ships…* (London, 1640). [↑](#footnote-ref-358)
359. TNA, E 178/5239; Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, pp. 198-200. [↑](#footnote-ref-359)
360. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, p. 177. [↑](#footnote-ref-360)
361. Peter Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy: a history of the Thirty Years War* (London, 2009). [↑](#footnote-ref-361)
362. McGrath, *Society of Merchant Venturers*, pp. 176, 192-194. [↑](#footnote-ref-362)
363. Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’, p. 143. [↑](#footnote-ref-363)
364. TNA, SP 29/287/1 f.8. The tone of the correspondence indicates that this was an unusually quick passage. [↑](#footnote-ref-364)
365. For shipping times, see Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York, 1986). [↑](#footnote-ref-365)
366. In 1655, for instance, the *Virginia Merchant* was bound on a voyage from Bristol to Virginia ‘and from thence directly backe’, see ‘Condition of obligation’, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-366)
367. Kenneth Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic trade in the eighteenth century* (Trowbridge, 1993), p. 58. [↑](#footnote-ref-367)
368. Deposition of Thomas Wickham in H.E. Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*,vol. II, pp. 187-190. [↑](#footnote-ref-368)
369. Thomson (ed.), *Book of Examinations and Depositions*, pp. 92-99. [↑](#footnote-ref-369)
370. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*. [↑](#footnote-ref-370)
371. Davis (ed.), *William Fitzhugh*, p. 180. [↑](#footnote-ref-371)
372. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, p. 283; W. W. Hening, *The Statutes at Large; Being A Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From The First Session of the Legislature, In The Year 1619*, volume II (New York, 1823), pp. 471-478; Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’ (1980), p. 149. [↑](#footnote-ref-372)
373. Steele, *English Atlantic*, pp. 41-42. [↑](#footnote-ref-373)
374. William Bullock, *Virginia impartially examined, and left to publick view, to be considered by all iudicious and honest men* (London, 1649), p. 46. [↑](#footnote-ref-374)
375. Alsop, *A Character*; Fitzhugh, pp. 180-183. [↑](#footnote-ref-375)
376. The writer of one proposal claimed that ‘The planters when they see shipps arrive, cutt downe theire tobacco before tis thorow ripe, to great prejudice both of the king and alsoe of the merchant because it will not keepe and proves badd’, see ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-376)
377. BA, JX/1/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-377)
378. Depositions of Edward Gibbs and Samuel Bonier, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-378)
379. PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/43. [↑](#footnote-ref-379)
380. Deposition of William Warren, BA, JX/1/3; Harland (ed.), *Autobiography of William Stout*, p. 34. [↑](#footnote-ref-380)
381. Deposition of Thomas Wickham in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II,pp. 187-190. [↑](#footnote-ref-381)
382. BA, AC/WO/9/9. [↑](#footnote-ref-382)
383. For example, Thomson (ed.), *Book of Examinations and Depositions*, pp. 92-99; deposition of Robert Glass in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I,pp. 191-192. [↑](#footnote-ref-383)
384. Richard Collins, described as a merchant, died while resident in Virginia. He had previously been entrusted with £27 18s. 5d. of goods to ‘make returne of the proceeds thereof’, BA, JX/1/5; deposition of Edward Gibbs, BA, JX/1/3; deposition of Lawrence Hurston in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*,vol. I,pp. 99-100. [↑](#footnote-ref-384)
385. In 1664, one deponent reported how one ‘William Lane then of Bristol, merchant, and now resident in Virginia’ had failed to pay back £20 worth of provisions that one John Tindale, a mercer, had lent him five years previously, deposition of Nathaniel Driver BA, JX/1/5. [↑](#footnote-ref-385)
386. Davis (ed.), *William Fitzhugh*. [↑](#footnote-ref-386)
387. Steele, p. 42. [↑](#footnote-ref-387)
388. Spreading one’s tobacco across multiple ships may not always have been intended, however, see deposition of Lawrence Hurston in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*,vol. I,pp. 99-100. [↑](#footnote-ref-388)
389. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, p. 106; see also Palmer (ed.), *Letter Book of Thomas Hill*. [↑](#footnote-ref-389)
390. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, pp. 106-113. [↑](#footnote-ref-390)
391. *Ibid*., p. 91. [↑](#footnote-ref-391)
392. Hancock, *Oceans of Wine*, p. 180. [↑](#footnote-ref-392)
393. *Ibid*., p. 180. [↑](#footnote-ref-393)
394. A. B. Leonard, ‘The Pricing Revolution in Marine Insurance’ (unpublished working paper). [↑](#footnote-ref-394)
395. Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’ (1980), p. 143. [↑](#footnote-ref-395)
396. *Ibid*., p. 143. [↑](#footnote-ref-396)
397. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-397)
398. Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 353. [↑](#footnote-ref-398)
399. Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 258. [↑](#footnote-ref-399)
400. Susan Hillier referenced in Price and Clemens, ‘Revolution in Scale’, pp. 3-4; Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*. [↑](#footnote-ref-400)
401. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-401)
402. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-402)
403. Price and Clemens, ‘Revolution in Scale’, p. 11; Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade*. [↑](#footnote-ref-403)
404. BA, SMV/7/1/1/6. [↑](#footnote-ref-404)
405. The highest number of partnerships was nine (in 1669-70); the mean number of partnerships across all seven sample years was four, BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-405)
406. I have counted no more than ten instances over all the years sampled of this occurrence. [↑](#footnote-ref-406)
407. BA, SMV/1/1/2; for example, deposition of John Machen, Bristol, BA, JX/1/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-407)
408. Price and Clemens, ‘Revolution in Scale’, p. 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-408)
409. Sacks, *Widening Gate*, pp. 251-267; Sacks and Lynch, ‘Ports 1540-1700’. [↑](#footnote-ref-409)
410. Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 258. [↑](#footnote-ref-410)
411. De Vries, *Industrious Revolution*. [↑](#footnote-ref-411)
412. BA, SMV/7/1/1/4, 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-412)
413. BA, SMV/7/1/1/6. [↑](#footnote-ref-413)
414. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1. Ann Yeamans was the daughter of Ann and Robert Yeamans. A member of the Society of Merchant Venturers since 1628, Robert Yeamans was amongst the most powerful of mercantile families in early Stuart Bristol before his execution in 1643 over his suspected involvement in a royalist plot to takeover the city during the English Civil War. See Harlow, ‘Thomas Speed’, pp. 12-13. [↑](#footnote-ref-414)
415. Harlow, ‘Thomas Speed’. [↑](#footnote-ref-415)
416. Phil Withington, *The Politics of Commonwealth: Citizens and Freemen in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2005). [↑](#footnote-ref-416)
417. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12; John B. Watts (ed.), *Index to the Bristol Burgess Books*, 1–21: *1557–1995* (Bristol, 2005). [↑](#footnote-ref-417)
418. BA, SMV/7/1/1/4, 6, 7; Russell Mortimer (ed.), *Minute Book of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends of Bristol, 1667-1686* (Gateshead, 1971), *passim*. [↑](#footnote-ref-418)
419. BA, SMV/7/1/1/6. [↑](#footnote-ref-419)
420. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1; deposition of Paul Romney, BA, JX/1/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-420)
421. Watts (ed.), *Bristol Burgess Books*. [↑](#footnote-ref-421)
422. BA, SMV/7/1/1/6; Watts (ed.), *Bristol Burgess Books*. [↑](#footnote-ref-422)
423. Roger North, *The Lives of the Norths*, vol. I (London, 1826), p. 250. [↑](#footnote-ref-423)
424. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12; McGrath, *Society of Merchant Venturers*, *passim*. [↑](#footnote-ref-424)
425. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12; Watts (ed.), *Bristol Burgess Books*. For Bullock, see BA, 44912; was Bullock (or his father with the same name) the author of William Bullock, *Virginia impartially examined, and left to publick view, to be considered by all iudicious and honest men* (London, 1649)? [↑](#footnote-ref-425)
426. BA, SMV/7/1/1/4, 6, 7; Mortimer (ed.), *Society of Friends*, passim, esp. pp. 201, 209. [↑](#footnote-ref-426)
427. BA, SMV/7/1/1/6. [↑](#footnote-ref-427)
428. BA, SMV/7/1/1/6. [↑](#footnote-ref-428)
429. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1; Watts (ed.), *Bristol Burgess Books*. [↑](#footnote-ref-429)
430. Depositions of Thomas Yate, Peter Codner, Anthony Fulgeham and Henry Joyce, BA, JX/1/3; depositions of Paul Romney, John Pursult and Richard Bragfield, BA, JX/1/4; depositions of Nathaniel Driver and Walter Stephens, BA, JX/1/5. [↑](#footnote-ref-430)
431. TNA, E 190/1032/13. [↑](#footnote-ref-431)
432. TNA, SP 16/264 f.51. [↑](#footnote-ref-432)
433. Grant, ‘Breaking the Mould’. [↑](#footnote-ref-433)
434. Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade*. [↑](#footnote-ref-434)
435. Morgan, ‘The First American Boom’, p. 181. [↑](#footnote-ref-435)
436. Sacks*, Widening Gate*, p. 261. [↑](#footnote-ref-436)
437. Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 261-263. [↑](#footnote-ref-437)
438. Lee, *Atlantic Virginia*; Norton, *Sacred Gifts*, p. 157. [↑](#footnote-ref-438)
439. Depositions of Richard Payton and Thomas Colscoll in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I, p. 92; deposition of Samuel Bonier, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-439)
440. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-440)
441. Davis (ed.), *William Fitzhugh*, pp. 83-84, 90. [↑](#footnote-ref-441)
442. Deposition of Edward Harris, BA, JX/1/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-442)
443. For sailors’ wages see Richard Blakemore, ‘Pieces of Eight, Pieces of Eight: Seamen’s Earnings and the Venture Economy of Early Modern Seafaring’, *EcHR*, 70, 4 (2017), pp. 1153-1184, 1155-1168; Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Newton Abbot, 1962), pp. 113, 126-127. [↑](#footnote-ref-443)
444. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 118-120, 125. [↑](#footnote-ref-444)
445. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-445)
446. Martha McCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers, 1607-1635: a Biographical Dictionary* (Baltimore, 2007); Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*. [↑](#footnote-ref-446)
447. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*; Pares, *Merchants and Planters*, pp. 52-55. [↑](#footnote-ref-447)
448. Blakemore, ‘Pieces of Eight’. [↑](#footnote-ref-448)
449. Deposition of George Maggs in Nott and Ralph, *Deposition Books*, vol. II, pp. 67-68. A ship’s surgeon is also specified in one of the wharfage books, BA, SMV/1/1/1/2. [↑](#footnote-ref-449)
450. BA, SMV/7/1/1/4, 6, 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-450)
451. The Bristol burgess books do not indicate whether a mariner had become a shipmaster and they could well be listed as a different occupation, for example see deposition of Thomas Wickham of Bristol, in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II,pp. 187-190. [↑](#footnote-ref-451)
452. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution* (London, 1993). [↑](#footnote-ref-452)
453. Depositions of John Locke, Gabriel Deane, John Dunning, ‘all Bristol merchants’, BA, JX/1/3; Patrick McGrath, *Society of Merchant Venturers*, pp. 246, 249. [↑](#footnote-ref-453)
454. Blakemore, ‘Pieces of Eight’. [↑](#footnote-ref-454)
455. Deposition of Peter Wraxall in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I, p. 108; depositions of Richard Williams and others in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II,pp. 70-73. [↑](#footnote-ref-455)
456. Deposition of Peter Wraxall in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I, p. 108. [↑](#footnote-ref-456)
457. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-457)
458. Deposition of Lawrence Hurston in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I, pp. 99-100. [↑](#footnote-ref-458)
459. Deposition of Francis Parsons, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-459)
460. For a comparison with Spanish mariners, see Norton, *Sacred Gifts*, pp. 156-158. [↑](#footnote-ref-460)
461. Deposition of John Jones, PA HL/PO/JO/10/1/387/132. [↑](#footnote-ref-461)
462. Blakemore, ‘Pieces of Eight’. In 1656, for instance, one mariner was sent by the wife of a deceased sailor to recover a debt of over 500 lbs. of tobacco, the result of private trading, deposition of Francis Parsons, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-462)
463. Deposition of George Maggs in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I,pp. 67-68. [↑](#footnote-ref-463)
464. Depositions of John Turvin and Mary Palmer, BA, JX/1/3; BA, SMV 7/1/1/6. [↑](#footnote-ref-464)
465. Deposition of Lawrence Hurston in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books* vol. I,pp. 99-100. [↑](#footnote-ref-465)
466. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238; earlier, in the 1630s, two senior seamen aboard the *Truelove* had stowed 200 lbs. of tobacco in loose leaf along with ‘two great rolls’. Andrews, *Ship, Money and Politics*, p. 102. [↑](#footnote-ref-466)
467. Harland (ed.), *Autobiography of William Stout*, p. 35. [↑](#footnote-ref-467)
468. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12; table 2.2; depositions of John Cole and Richard Ryder in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II, pp. 59-61. [↑](#footnote-ref-468)
469. Depositions of Henry Weaver, John Gane and others, TNA, E 178/5319; depositions of Robert Neason and John Bushe, TNA, E 134/17Chas1/Mich29. [↑](#footnote-ref-469)
470. Answer of Hugh Piper, TNA, T 64/140. [↑](#footnote-ref-470)
471. See chapter three for specific instances of illicit trade. [↑](#footnote-ref-471)
472. BA, SMV/1/1/1/6. [↑](#footnote-ref-472)
473. Sacks, *Widening Gate*, pp. 261-263. [↑](#footnote-ref-473)
474. Norton and Studnicki-Gizbert, ‘Multinational Commodification of Tobacco’,pp. 251-273, 254; Lemire, *Global Trade*, pp. 198-200. [↑](#footnote-ref-474)
475. TNA, SP 18/42 f.124; TNA, SP 18/42 f.157. [↑](#footnote-ref-475)
476. Sacks and Lynch, ‘Ports 1540-1700’. [↑](#footnote-ref-476)
477. Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’ (1980). [↑](#footnote-ref-477)
478. Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts*, p. 157. [↑](#footnote-ref-478)
479. Depositions of Stephen Burlace, Edward Reep and Thomas Williams, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-479)
480. Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, pp. 60, 220-221; Nash, ‘English and Scottish Tobacco Trades’, 357-359; Clemens, ‘Rise of Liverpool’; Price, ‘Tobacco Trade and the Treasury’, pp. 193, 312, 899-901; Ashworth, *Customs and Excise*, pp. 170-174. [↑](#footnote-ref-480)
481. For one recent study which quantifies the sixteenth-century illicit trade in Bristol see Jones, *Illicit Economy*. [↑](#footnote-ref-481)
482. See TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-482)
483. BA, JX/1/3-5; Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books* vol. I; Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II. [↑](#footnote-ref-483)
484. Price, ‘Tobacco Trade and the Treasury’, p. 33; Price, ‘Tobacco Use and Tobacco Taxation’, pp. 165-185. [↑](#footnote-ref-484)
485. Morgan, *American slavery, American freedom*, p. 198. [↑](#footnote-ref-485)
486. Morgan, *American slavery, American freedom*, pp. 193-194. [↑](#footnote-ref-486)
487. C. D. Chandaman, *The English Public Revenue, 1660-1688* (Oxford, 1975), p. 1 [↑](#footnote-ref-487)
488. Beer, *Origins of the British Colonial* System, p. 171; TNA, SP 16/326 f.13; Michael Braddick, *The Nerves of State: Taxation and the Financing of the English State, 1558–1714* (Manchester, 1996), p. 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-488)
489. The Book of Rates was first introduced in the mid-sixteenth century but was adjusted multiple times in the seventeenth century. A good discussion of the books is in Stone ‘Overseas Trade’, pp. 21-27, 109-114, 145-149; see also T.S. Willan (ed.), *A Tudor Book of Rates* (Manchester, 1962). [↑](#footnote-ref-489)
490. Port books show that the impost and customs were collected together, for example, TNA, E 190/1032/13. [↑](#footnote-ref-490)
491. Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 148. [↑](#footnote-ref-491)
492. Goodman, *Tobacco* *in History*, pp. 148-150; *Book of Rates* (London, 1635). [↑](#footnote-ref-492)
493. James F. Larkin (ed.), *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. 2: Royal Proclamations of King Charles I 1625-1646* (Oxford, 1983), nos. 6, 63, 66, 73, 144, 173, 179, 184, 257, 282, 284, 291. [↑](#footnote-ref-493)
494. Price, *France and the Chesapeake*, p. 17; Beer, *Origins of the British Colonial System*, ch. VI. [↑](#footnote-ref-494)
495. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 127-128, 131; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, entry for Maurice Thomson. [↑](#footnote-ref-495)
496. Beresford, ‘Retail Tobacco Licences’, p. 234; Alexander G. Taylor, ‘Tobacco Retail Licences and State Formation in Early Modern England’, *EcHR* (forthcoming, 2018), pp. 18-19; and Rowley, ‘How England Learned to Smoke’, ch. 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-496)
497. By the King, *A Proclamation Touching Tobacco* (17/2/1627); By the King, A Proclamation Touching the Sealing of Tobacco (13/3/1627); By the King, *A Proclamation for the ordering of Tobacco* (9/8/1627); By the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (14/3/1638); By the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (25/3/1639). [↑](#footnote-ref-497)
498. Depositions of Nathaniel Cale, Robert Neason, John Bush and others, TNA, E 134/17Chas1/Mich29; By the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (25/3/1639); For reference to the Tobacco Office, which had its headquarters on Tower Street (London), see TNA, SP 16/448 f.156. [↑](#footnote-ref-498)
499. TNA, E 134/22and23Chas1/Hil2. [↑](#footnote-ref-499)
500. Norton, *Sacred Gifts*, pp. 201-228; Price, *France and the Chesapeake.* [↑](#footnote-ref-500)
501. ‘Tabulation of English tobacco imports’ from the Earl of Norwich (Lord George Goring)’s accounts, BL, Additional Manuscripts 35865/247. This is also transcribed in Vere Langford Oliver (ed.), *Caribbeana*, vol. III (London, 1914), pp. 197-198. [↑](#footnote-ref-501)
502. TNA, E 122/218/25; TNA, SP 16/326 f. 13; Taylor, ‘Tobacco Retail Licences’, pp. 14-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-502)
503. Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*,pp. 181-183. [↑](#footnote-ref-503)
504. TNA, SP 29/67 f.50. [↑](#footnote-ref-504)
505. PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/113. [↑](#footnote-ref-505)
506. HL/PO/JO/10/1/43. [↑](#footnote-ref-506)
507. TNA, E 134/17Chas1/Mich29; TNA, E134/18ChasI/Trin1; TNA, E 134/22and23Chas1/Hil2; Depositions of Richard Westmaine and Peter Hendra, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-507)
508. HL/PO/JO/10/1/57. [↑](#footnote-ref-508)
509. The reduction was in part owing to ‘the disturbance of Trade in foraign parts’, *An Ordinance for the Regulating of the rates on the customes and Excise of Tobacco* (London, 1644). Colonial tobacco was rated at 1s. 8d. per lb. As under Charles I, because every lb. of tobacco paid five per cent of this valuation, the subsidy effectively meant that an importer paid a penny per every lb. of tobacco imported. [↑](#footnote-ref-509)
510. PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/113. [↑](#footnote-ref-510)
511. *An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament: For the Leavying of Moneys, by way of Excise, or, New-Impost* (London, 1643). [↑](#footnote-ref-511)
512. Deposition of John Machen, BA, JX/1/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-512)
513. BL, Lansdowne MS 1215. [↑](#footnote-ref-513)
514. *Act for Preventing Frauds and Regulating Abuses in his Majesties Customs,* 14 Car 2. cap. 11 (1662); republished in Anon., *Index Vectigalium* (London, 1670); Lawrence Harper, ‘The Effect of the Navigation Acts on the Thirteen Colonies’ in H. N. Scheiber (ed.), *United States Economic History* (New York, 1964); Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*, pp. 36-38. [↑](#footnote-ref-514)
515. Braddick, *Nerves of State*, 99. [↑](#footnote-ref-515)
516. Nuala Zahedieh, private correspondence 26th November 2018. [↑](#footnote-ref-516)
517. By this point, tobacco rarely fetched above 6d. per lb. after import, indicating that the import duties represented between 33 and 50 per cent of the commodity’s total value, MacInnes, *Early English Tobacco Trade*, p. 161; *Book of Rates* (London, 1661). [↑](#footnote-ref-517)
518. Truxes, *Irish-American Trade*, pp. 7, 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-518)
519. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*. [↑](#footnote-ref-519)
520. *Index Vectigalium*, pp. 57-59. [↑](#footnote-ref-520)
521. 13th interrogatory and depositions of Anthony Harrison, Richard Goodyeare, Robert Neason and John Bush, TNA, E 134/17Chas1/Mich29. [↑](#footnote-ref-521)
522. BL, Additional Manuscripts 35865/247; Oliver (ed.), *Caribbeana*, vol. III (London, 1914), pp. 197-198; TNA, SP 16/326 f. 13; Taylor, ‘Tobacco Retail Licences’, pp. 14-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-522)
523. Koot, *Empire at the Periphery*; Enthoven and Klooster, ‘Rise and Fall’. [↑](#footnote-ref-523)
524. For a recent discussion on the varied meanings of mercantilism see Philip Stern and Carl Wennerlind (eds), *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and its Empire* (Oxford, 2014). [↑](#footnote-ref-524)
525. Older works which appreciated the role of the Anglo-Dutch tobacco trade include Beer, *Origins of the British Colonial System*, pp. 220-240, 356-358, 372-399; Pares, *Merchants and Planters*, pp. 26-27; Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’ (1980), p. 152. [↑](#footnote-ref-525)
526. Enthoven and Klooster, ‘Rise and Fall’, p. 103. [↑](#footnote-ref-526)
527. Deposition of Thomas Wickham of Bristol, in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II,pp. 187-190.For further information on Richard Lock, including his loss of other ships to both Parliamentary and Royalist forces, see ‘The misfortunes of Richard Locke in the Civil War’ in McGrath, *Merchants and Merchandise*, pp. 150-155; TNA, SP Ireland 63/301, no. 38; McGrath, *Society of Merchant Venturers*, p. xxiv. [↑](#footnote-ref-527)
528. This was why, as early as 1631, one ship captain intended to bypass London and import tobacco into the Low Countries after only anchoring at Plymouth, TNA, SP 16/188 f.92. [↑](#footnote-ref-528)
529. Koot, *Empire at the Periphery*, pp. 75-76. [↑](#footnote-ref-529)
530. Pares, *Merchants and Planters*, p. 27; Jonathan Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1685-1740* (Oxford, 1989). [↑](#footnote-ref-530)
531. Ormrod, *Rise of Commercial Empires*; Hugo Grotius in *Mare Liberum*, or ‘freedom of the sea’, outlined the legal underpinning behind Dutch traders’ free trade principles, David Armitage (ed.), *The Free Sea: Hugo Grotius*, trans. Richard Hakluyt (Indianapolis, 2004), pp. 1-62. [↑](#footnote-ref-531)
532. Koot, *Empire at the Periphery*, p. 73. [↑](#footnote-ref-532)
533. Enthoven and Klooster, ‘Rise and Fall’, p. 112. [↑](#footnote-ref-533)
534. Koot, *Empire at the Periphery*, p. 73. [↑](#footnote-ref-534)
535. Enthoven and Klooster, ‘Rise and Fall’, p. 99. [↑](#footnote-ref-535)
536. TNA, SP 16/273 f.103; TNA, SP 16/264 f.36; TNA, SP 18/47 f.7; TNA, SP 18/179 f.10; TNA, SP 18/181 f.41; TNA, SP 16/403 f.22; TNA, SP 16/201 f.2; TNA, SP 16/201 f.75; TNA, SP 16/210 f.21; TNA, SP 16/371 f.69. [↑](#footnote-ref-536)
537. Klooster, ‘Inter-Imperial Smuggling’, p. 158; see also Vincent T. Harlow, *A History of Barbados, 1625-1685* (Oxford, 1926), p. 263. [↑](#footnote-ref-537)
538. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, pp. 40-41. [↑](#footnote-ref-538)
539. Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books, vol. VI*, pp. 965, 1119 and 1342. [↑](#footnote-ref-539)
540. Davis (ed.), *William Fitzhugh*, pp. 180-183. [↑](#footnote-ref-540)
541. Acts of 22 and 23 Charles II (1672) for regulating Plantation Trade. [↑](#footnote-ref-541)
542. ‘Reasons in support of the statement in the petition of the merchants to the King and Council that his Majesty loses 12,000*l. per annum* in the ½ *d. per lb.* on the tobacco sent from England to Ireland.’, TNA, SP29/391 f.135. [↑](#footnote-ref-542)
543. TNA, SP 29/391 f.135. [↑](#footnote-ref-543)
544. McGrath, *Society of Merchant Venturers*, p. 250; TNA, SP 29/381 f.102. [↑](#footnote-ref-544)
545. TNA, SP 29/391 f.135. [↑](#footnote-ref-545)
546. Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. III, pp. 1280 and 1101. [↑](#footnote-ref-546)
547. Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. III, pp. 1280, 1343 and 1351; Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. IV, p. 746; Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. V, pp.188 and 1407; Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. VI, pp. 327, 840, 907-8, 947, 1014, 1189, 1270, 1340, 1359, 1368, 1404, 1459 and 1525; Joseph Redington (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, vol. 1, *1556-1696* (London, 1868), pp. 147, 342. [↑](#footnote-ref-547)
548. Sheffield Archives, WWM/Str P/24-25/208. [↑](#footnote-ref-548)
549. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-549)
550. For public punishments in early modern England see J. A. Sharpe, ‘Civility, Civilizing Processes and the End of Public Punishment in England’, in P. Burke, B. Harrison and P. Slack (eds), *Civil Histories* (2000), pp. 215-230, pp. 223-228; and J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in Seventeenth-Century England: A County Study* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 145-146. [↑](#footnote-ref-550)
551. Price, ‘Tobacco Trade and the Treasury’, p. 193; Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 60; Ashworth, *Customs and Excise*, pp. 170-174; Nash, ‘English and Scottish Tobacco Trades’, 357-359; Clemens, ‘Rise of Liverpool’. [↑](#footnote-ref-551)
552. TNA, E 133/160/60. [↑](#footnote-ref-552)
553. Both these cases are in TNA, E 178/5239 but one is listed as TNA, E 134/17Chas1/Mich31. [↑](#footnote-ref-553)
554. TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-554)
555. BA, JX/1/3-5; Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books* vol. I; Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II; Roberts (ed.), *Letter-Booke of John Byrd*. [↑](#footnote-ref-555)
556. Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books, vol. I 1660-1667*, pp. 34, 54, 56, 167, 420, 429, 456, 505, 626; Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books, vol.III, parts I and II*, pp. 958, 1120, 1232, 1351; Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books, vol. IV, 1672-75*, pp. 529, 746, 857; Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books, vol. V in two parts, 1676-1679*, p. 792. [↑](#footnote-ref-556)
557. Depositions of William Smith, Robert Winter and others TNA, E/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-557)
558. TNA, HCA 1; see, for example, TNA’s online guide for these records,

     <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/high-court-admiralty-records/> [accessed 27/6/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-558)
559. Deposition of John Maundre, TNA, E 133/160/60. [↑](#footnote-ref-559)
560. Deposition John Maundre TNA, E 133/160/60. Ships from Hamburg commonly imported Spanish tobacco, Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, pp. 409, 417, 421-423, 427, 429, 432, 434. [↑](#footnote-ref-560)
561. Deposition of Rowland Langram, TNA, E 133/160/60. [↑](#footnote-ref-561)
562. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-562)
563. TNA, SP 16/14 f.16. [↑](#footnote-ref-563)
564. TNA, STAC 8/31/10. Those involved included Thomas Warner and the Plymouth merchant, Abraham Jennens. [↑](#footnote-ref-564)
565. TNA, STAC 8/31/10. [↑](#footnote-ref-565)
566. For Samuel and John Warner see Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 134, 90n, 182, 310. [↑](#footnote-ref-566)
567. Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, pp. 410-411; Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p.327. [↑](#footnote-ref-567)
568. PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/113; depositions of Robert Peasley and Daniel Bouchier, TNA, E133/160/60. [↑](#footnote-ref-568)
569. Deposition of John Evans, TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-569)
570. Unnamed deponent, TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-570)
571. Unnamed deponent and depositions of Thomas Robins, John Hall, John Butler, John Lane, Patrick Neason, William Evans, Edward Iles and William Brutton, TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-571)
572. Depositions of Thomas Robins, John Hall, John Butler, John Lane, Patrick Neason, William Evans, Edward Iles and William Brutton, TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-572)
573. Deposition of William Evans, TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-573)
574. Depositions of Lawrence Kaynes and Walter Patience, TNA, E 178/5319; deposition of Walter Patience, TNA, E133/160/60. [↑](#footnote-ref-574)
575. Roberts (ed.), *Letter-Booke of John Byrd*, pp. 30-32. [↑](#footnote-ref-575)
576. Depositions of John Fisher and John Waile in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I,p. 215. [↑](#footnote-ref-576)
577. Depositions of Stephen Burlace, Edward Reep and Thomas Williams, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-577)
578. Depositions of Richard Westmaine and Peter Hendra, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-578)
579. Palmer (ed.), *Letter book of Thomas Hill*. [↑](#footnote-ref-579)
580. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-580)
581. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-581)
582. Thomas Blount, *Glossographia*, 3rd edition (London, 1670), p. 596. [↑](#footnote-ref-582)
583. Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. V, p. 792. [↑](#footnote-ref-583)
584. Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books,* vol. III, parts I and II*, 1669-72*, pp. 958, 1120, 1232. [↑](#footnote-ref-584)
585. Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. III, parts I and II, *1669-72*, p. 1232. [↑](#footnote-ref-585)
586. For example, the *Robert and Hester*, *Exchange, Thomas and Benjamin* and *Saphire* all imported tobacco to Bristol; the *Saphire* was later cited as a ship used in the fraudulent import of tobacco, SMV/7/1/1/6; TNA, T 64/139. [↑](#footnote-ref-586)
587. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*. [↑](#footnote-ref-587)
588. Deposition of John Gorway, TNA T 64/139. [↑](#footnote-ref-588)
589. Deposition of Edward Sawyer, TNA, T 64/139. [↑](#footnote-ref-589)
590. Informations of Ralph Merson and William Taply, TNA T 64/140; Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*, p. 120. [↑](#footnote-ref-590)
591. Informations of William Vincent, TNA T 64/140. [↑](#footnote-ref-591)
592. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*, pp. 135-144, 179-181. [↑](#footnote-ref-592)
593. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*, p. 67. [↑](#footnote-ref-593)
594. Depositions of TNA, E 178/5319; McGrath, *Merchant Venturers*, passim. [↑](#footnote-ref-594)
595. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*, pp. 135-139, 174-183. [↑](#footnote-ref-595)
596. Gray (ed.), *Early Stuart Mariners*; Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, pp. 80-81; BA, JQS/M/3/1, frames 5, 18, 28 and 35; TNA, E 157/18, 19, 25 (‘Registers of licences to pass beyond the seas’). [↑](#footnote-ref-596)
597. Jacob Price, ‘Tobacco Trade and Treasury’, 513-604; Nash, ‘English and Scottish Tobacco Trades’; Clemens, ‘Rise of Liverpool’; Ashworth, *Customs and Excise*, pp. 158-162. [↑](#footnote-ref-597)
598. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*. [↑](#footnote-ref-598)
599. TNA, SP 14/28 f.246. [↑](#footnote-ref-599)
600. TNA, E 178/5319; TNA, SP 16/80 f.138; TNA, SP 16/80 f.173. In December 1635, the Privy Council received a petition from the ‘Marchantes, Owners and Victuallers of Shipping, Captaines and Mariners of your Maiesties Cittie of Bristol and thereaboutes’, contesting the commission, McGrath *Society of Merchant Venturers*, pp. 238-239; TNA, SP 16/302. [↑](#footnote-ref-600)
601. Deposition of William Bond, TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-601)
602. Deposition of William Penny, TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-602)
603. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*, p. 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-603)
604. Deposition of John Dowle, TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-604)
605. Deposition of Robert Neason, John Bush and others, TNA, E 134/17Chas1/Mich29. [↑](#footnote-ref-605)
606. TNA, E 134/17Chas1/Mich29; TNA, E 134/18ChasI/Trin1. [↑](#footnote-ref-606)
607. TNA, E 134/17Chas1/Mich29; TNA, E 190/1136/10. [↑](#footnote-ref-607)
608. TNA, E 190/1136/10. [↑](#footnote-ref-608)
609. TNA, SP 16/210 f.21. [↑](#footnote-ref-609)
610. TNA, E 1031/20. [↑](#footnote-ref-610)
611. Grant, ‘Breaking the Mould’; Grant, *Atlantic Adventurer*. [↑](#footnote-ref-611)
612. TNA, SP 16/199 f.26. [↑](#footnote-ref-612)
613. TNA, E 134/23Chas1/East3 and E 134/22and23Chas1/Hil2. [↑](#footnote-ref-613)
614. For calendar references to prize tobacco, see Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. III, p. 1299; Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. IV pp. 352, 529; for the more detailed ‘Records of the Instance and Prize Courts’ and ‘Records of the High Court of Appeals for Prizes’ see TNA, HCA 2-48. [↑](#footnote-ref-614)
615. TNA, SP 18/168 f.70; see also TNA, SP 29/146 f. 87, 90. [↑](#footnote-ref-615)
616. Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. IV p. 352. [↑](#footnote-ref-616)
617. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*, p. 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-617)
618. Oath of William Warren, BA, JX/1/3; this deposition is also part transcribed in McGrath, *Merchants and Merchandise*, pp. 216-217. [↑](#footnote-ref-618)
619. Oath of William Warren, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-619)
620. Depositions of Zacharias Latter, John Fowler and William Somers in Thomson (ed.), *Book of Examinations and Depositions*, p. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-620)
621. Price, ‘Tobacco Trade and the Treasury’, p. 627; Clemens, ‘Rise of Liverpool’; Nash, ‘English and Scottish Tobacco Trades’. [↑](#footnote-ref-621)
622. TNA, SP 29/146 f. 87, 90; Harland, (ed.), *Autobiography of William Stout*, p. 34. [↑](#footnote-ref-622)
623. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*, pp. 5-6; Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. V, p. 504; Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. VI, pp. 51, 294, 303-4, 631, 728; Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. VII, pp. 629, 715, 903, 1018, 1302, 1340-1. [↑](#footnote-ref-623)
624. TNA, CUST 102/197; Ashworth, *Customs and Excise*, p. 140. [↑](#footnote-ref-624)
625. For instance, imported tobacco hogsheads were devalued in London by as much as five per cent, Robert C. Nash, ‘English and Scottish Tobacco Trades’, p. 360. [↑](#footnote-ref-625)
626. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*. [↑](#footnote-ref-626)
627. Information of Henry Colchester, TNA T 64/139. [↑](#footnote-ref-627)
628. Roberts (ed.), *Letter-Booke of John Byrd*, p. 47. [↑](#footnote-ref-628)
629. Anon., *Index Vectigalium* (1670), p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-629)
630. Information of Henry Colchester, TNA T 64/139. [↑](#footnote-ref-630)
631. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*, p. 94. [↑](#footnote-ref-631)
632. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*, pp. 70, 117-119, 165-166, 187-188. [↑](#footnote-ref-632)
633. Nash, ‘English and Scottish Tobacco Trades’, p. 357; Price, ‘Tobacco Trade and the Treasury’, p. 256; Clemens, ‘Rise of Liverpool’, p. 215. At Bristol in 1692 a huge fraud was uncovered from aboard two ships that had been used in fraudulent practices during the 1670s. The individuals involved were again amongst the largest tobacco importers during the 1670s and 1680s. See McGrath, *Merchants and Merchandise*, p. 211; Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*, pp. 53-54. [↑](#footnote-ref-633)
634. See above; Deposition of William Penny and others, TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-634)
635. TNA, T 64/139; R. C. Latham (ed.), *Bristol Charters 1509-1899* (Bristol, 1947), pp. 178-182; Mortimer (ed.), *Society of Friends*; Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*, pp. 44-45. These were William Swymmer, Sir William Crabb, Robert Dowding, Sir Richard Crump, George Hart, Thomas Harris and Charles Jones. [↑](#footnote-ref-635)
636. TNA, T 64/139, pp. 12-45; SMV 7/1/1/7; SMV 7/1/1/12. [↑](#footnote-ref-636)
637. BA, SMV/7/1/1/6; TNA, T 64/139. [↑](#footnote-ref-637)
638. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1-4; TNA, T 64/139; McGrath, *Society of Merchant Venturers*, p. 33. [↑](#footnote-ref-638)
639. BA, SMV/7/1/1/6, 12; TNA, T 64/139. [↑](#footnote-ref-639)
640. Nash, ‘English and Scottish Tobacco Trades’. [↑](#footnote-ref-640)
641. Nash, ‘English and Scottish Tobacco Trades’; Clemens, ‘Rise of Liverpool’. [↑](#footnote-ref-641)
642. Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-642)
643. *Ibid.* [↑](#footnote-ref-643)
644. *Ibid.* [↑](#footnote-ref-644)
645. TNA, SP 29/146 f. 87, 90; Harland, (ed.), *Autobiography of William Stout*, pp. 69. [↑](#footnote-ref-645)
646. Thirsk, ‘New Crops’; see also MacInnes, *Early English Tobacco Trade*, ch. IV; Fedrik Albritton Jonsson, ‘Natural History and Improvement: the case of tobacco’ in Philip Stern and Carl Wennerlind (eds), *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and its Empire* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 117-133. [↑](#footnote-ref-646)
647. Several examples are given, with varying rental costs and prices for tobacco ranging between 2s. and 18s. in Thirsk, ‘New Crops’, pp. 269-271. [↑](#footnote-ref-647)
648. Gloucester Archives, GDR/B4/3/1342-1343. [↑](#footnote-ref-648)
649. Thirsk, ‘New Crops’, pp. 279-283. [↑](#footnote-ref-649)
650. TNA, SP 16/205 f.59. [↑](#footnote-ref-650)
651. TNA, C 8/48/82. [↑](#footnote-ref-651)
652. Gloucester Archives, GDR/B4/3/1349. [↑](#footnote-ref-652)
653. Gregory King quoted in Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, p. 208. According to Zahedieh, this amount was ‘0.5 per cent of that total arable acreage suggested by King.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-653)
654. Leonard Mascall, Reginald Scot et al., *The Country-Mans Recreation* (London, 1654), pp. 129-135. [↑](#footnote-ref-654)
655. Thirsk, ‘New Crops’, p. 264. [↑](#footnote-ref-655)
656. Thirsk, ‘New Crops’, p. 264. [↑](#footnote-ref-656)
657. See chapters four and five. [↑](#footnote-ref-657)
658. Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, pp. 78-81. William Tracy’s interest in the cultivation and marketing of tobacco in Virginia is seen in the complaint of William Carpenter and Edmund Atwood, TNA, C2/JasI/C6/41. [↑](#footnote-ref-658)
659. MacInnes, *Early English Tobacco Trade*, pp. 93-129; Price, ‘Tobacco Trade and the Treasury’, pp. 118-189; see also Andrew Warmington, *Civil War, Interregnum and Restoration in Gloucestershire, 1640-1672* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 128-135 [↑](#footnote-ref-659)
660. TNA, SP 18/98 f.265. [↑](#footnote-ref-660)
661. TNA, SP 18/72 f.161. [↑](#footnote-ref-661)
662. TNA, SP 25/75 f.375; TNA, SP 25/75 f.375. [↑](#footnote-ref-662)
663. TNA, SP 25/75 f.375. [↑](#footnote-ref-663)
664. TNA, SP 18/182 f.87. [↑](#footnote-ref-664)
665. TNA, SP 44/1 f.51. [↑](#footnote-ref-665)
666. TNA, SP 44/14 f.2; TNA, SP 29/76 f.8. [↑](#footnote-ref-666)
667. Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. II, pp. 42, 59, 225, 356, 375, 521, 592; Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. III, pp. 428, 433, 475, 679, 998, 1025, 1101, 1232, 1314; Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. IV, pp. 482-3, 593, 858; Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. V, pp. 330, 346, 256, 484, 486, 588, 660, 702, 777, 906, 908, 1378, 1417; MacInnes, *Early English Tobacco Trade*, pp. 117-125. [↑](#footnote-ref-667)
668. Phil Gyford (ed.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (online recourse),

     <https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1667/09/19/> [accessed 29/6/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-668)
669. Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. V, pp. 906, 1417. [↑](#footnote-ref-669)
670. TNA, SP 29/396 f.215. [↑](#footnote-ref-670)
671. MacInnes, *Early English Tobacco Trade*, pp. 119-124. [↑](#footnote-ref-671)
672. Price, ‘Tobacco Trade and the Treasury’, pp. 118-189. [↑](#footnote-ref-672)
673. McGrath, *Society of Merchant Venturers*, pp. 243-246. [↑](#footnote-ref-673)
674. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-674)
675. McGrath, *Society of Merchant Venturers*, pp. 245-246; MacInnes, *Early English Tobacco Trade*, pp. 94-129. [↑](#footnote-ref-675)
676. Thirsk, ‘New Crops’, pp. 278-279, 281-283; Price, ‘Tobacco Trade and Treasury’ 142-151; MacInnes, *Early English Tobacco Trade*, pp. 114-116, 124. [↑](#footnote-ref-676)
677. SP 16/326 f.148. [↑](#footnote-ref-677)
678. Thirsk, ‘New Crops’, p. 282. [↑](#footnote-ref-678)
679. BA, 38169/HAF/12/10; see also McGrath, *Society of Merchant Venturers*, pp. 245-246. [↑](#footnote-ref-679)
680. Gloucester Archives, Q/SO; Gloucester Archives, Q/Sib; H. C. Johnson (ed.), *Warwick County Records* VIII: QS records, 182-90 (1953), pp. 61, 134. [↑](#footnote-ref-680)
681. Thirsk, ‘New Crops’. [↑](#footnote-ref-681)
682. John Chamberlayne, *The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, Tobacco: In Four Several Sections; With A Tract of Elder and Juniper Berries...Collected from The Writings of the Best Physicians and Modern Travellers* (London, 1682); MacInnes, *Early English Tobacco Trade*, pp. 124-125. [↑](#footnote-ref-682)
683. Thirsk, ‘New Crops’, p. 281. [↑](#footnote-ref-683)
684. Gloucester Archives, D45E1/10. [↑](#footnote-ref-684)
685. John Rule, ‘Social Crime in the Rural South in the Eighteenth and Early 19th Century’, S*outhern History*, 1 (1979), pp. 35-53. [↑](#footnote-ref-685)
686. Thirsk, ‘New Crops’, pp. 281-283. [↑](#footnote-ref-686)
687. TNA, SP 18/72 f.161. [↑](#footnote-ref-687)
688. Lawrence Stone, ‘Literacy and Education in England 1640–1900’, *Past and Present*, 42, 1 (1969), pp. 69-139. [↑](#footnote-ref-688)
689. Thirsk, ‘New Crops’, pp. 282-283. [↑](#footnote-ref-689)
690. Gloucester Archives, 1697/214; 1687/257; 1688/208. [↑](#footnote-ref-690)
691. Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 262. [↑](#footnote-ref-691)
692. Jones, *Illicit Economy*,pp. 223-224. [↑](#footnote-ref-692)
693. Jones, *Illicit Economy*, p. 216. [↑](#footnote-ref-693)
694. Born around 1600 and apprenticed to one Mr Henry Yeate some years later, Cale was admitted into the Company of Soapmakers in December 1623, became a Bristol freeman two months later, master of the Company of Soapmakers in 1636 and a member of the Bristol common council in 1643, see Harold Evan Matthews (ed.), *Proceedings and Enrolments of the Company of Soapmakers, 1562-1642* (Bristol, 1950), pp. 8, 150, 204; Alfred Beavan, (ed.), *Bristol Lists: Municipal and Miscellaneous* (Bristol, 1899), p. 198; Watts (ed.), *Bristol Burgess Books*, 2, 135, 10; TNA, SP 29/52 f.191; John Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century* (Bristol 1900), pp. 152-153. [↑](#footnote-ref-694)
695. Grant and Munro (eds), *Acts of Privy Council, Colonial Series,* vol. I, p. 212; McGrath, *Society of Merchant Venturers*, p. 193; deposition of Nathaniel Cale, TNA, E 134/17Chas1/Mich29; TNA, E 122/218/25; depositions of Nathaniel Cale, Roger Richards and William Parkwood, TNA, E 134/15and16Chas1/Hil21; deposition of Richard Lomley, TNA, E 133/160/60. [↑](#footnote-ref-695)
696. TNA, E 122/218/25. [↑](#footnote-ref-696)
697. J. A. Chartres, *Internal Trade in England, 1500-1700* (London 1977), pp. 9-10; see also Chartres, ‘Road Carrying in England in the Seventeenth Century: Myth and Reality’, *EcHR*, 30,1, pp. 73-94; Chartres, ‘Food Consumption and Internal Trade’ in A. L. Bier and Roger Finlay (eds), *London 1500-1700: the Making of the Metropolis* (London, 1986). [↑](#footnote-ref-697)
698. Rowley, ‘How England Learned to Smoke’, ch. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-698)
699. Cox, *Complete Tradesman*; Chartres, *Internal Trade*; Chartres, ‘Road Carrying’;Chartres, ‘Food Consumption’; T. S. Willan, *The Inland Trade: Studies in English Internal Trade in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Manchester, 1976), ch. III; Willan, *The English Coasting Trade, 1660-1750* (Manchester, 1967); Willan, *River Navigation in England, 1600-1750* (London, 1964). [↑](#footnote-ref-699)
700. Rowley, ‘How England Learned to Smoke’, p. 332. [↑](#footnote-ref-700)
701. Based on figures of 131,800 lbs. for 1625 and 28,000,000 lbs. for 1686. See figs 1.1 and 1.2 in chapter one. [↑](#footnote-ref-701)
702. Norton, *Sacred Gifts*, ch. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-702)
703. *Ibid*., p. 143. [↑](#footnote-ref-703)
704. Price, *France and the Chesapeake*, pp. 189-190. [↑](#footnote-ref-704)
705. Deposition of Nicholas Matthew, TNA, E 178/5239; TNA, E 190/1240/6; *IEM* project, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank), TNA, E 190/1336/11 [accessed 1/3/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-705)
706. Alford, *W.D. and H.O Wills*, p. 9; for evidence of a seventeenth-century ‘stem mill’ used in the manufacture of snuff see BA, 1685/26. [↑](#footnote-ref-706)
707. Goodman, *Tobacco in History*; Alford, *W.D. and H.O Wills*, pp. 9-11. [↑](#footnote-ref-707)
708. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-708)
709. In 1672, Edward Fielding sent roll tobacco from Bristol to Chester, a distance of over 150 miles, see TNA, SP 29/328, f.94. [↑](#footnote-ref-709)
710. TNA, E 134/22and23Chas1/Hil2. [↑](#footnote-ref-710)
711. Sometimes stemming was undertaken in the colonies, By the King, *A Proclamation Concerning Tobacco* (29/9/1624); Davis (ed.), *William Fitzhugh*, p. 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-711)
712. In 1666, for instance, 206 lbs. of tobacco stalks were shipped from Bristol to Gloucester, see M.D.G. Wanklyn, P. Wakelin, D. Hussey, G. Milne, ‘Gloucester Port Books, 1575-1765’ (1996) [data collection]. UK Data Service. SN: 3218, <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-3218-1>. [↑](#footnote-ref-712)
713. See TNA, SP 29/118 f.54-56; TNA, SP 29/449 f.116; TNA, SP 29/126 ff.56, 141, 167, 190; TNA, SP 29/129 f.29; TNA, SP 29/141/2 f.1. [↑](#footnote-ref-713)
714. ‘A certificate mencioned in the petition and certificate annexed of the abuses used by some persons in the working of Tobacco’ and ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238; Alford, *W.D. and H.O. Wills*, p. 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-714)
715. Alford, *W.D. and H.O. Wills*, pp. 8-9; Harland (ed.), *Autobiography of William Stout*, pp. 34-35. [↑](#footnote-ref-715)
716. Complaint of William Carpenter and Edmund Atwood, TNA, C2/JasI/C6/41. [↑](#footnote-ref-716)
717. By 1700, Benjamin Wright of Wellington (Shropshire) had a ‘flatter trofe [trough] to dress tobacco’, Barrie Tinder and Jeff Cox (eds), *Yeomen and Colliers in Telford: Probate Inventories for Dawley, Lilleshall, Wellington and Wrockwardine, 1660-1750* (Chichester, 1980), pp. 314-321; other, earlier examples include, Ellen Stretton in J. M. Bestall and D. V. Fowkes (eds), *Chesterfield Wills and Inventories, 1604-1650* (Chesterfield, 2001), pp. 228-231; Margaret Bowles in Lorelei Williams and Sally Thomson (eds), *Marlborough* *Probate Inventories, 1591-1775* (Chippenham, 2007), p. 179; George Balch in Mary Siraut (ed.), *Somerset Wills* (Taunton, 2003), pp. 16-19; Samuel Holliday, BA, 1685/26; Edward Phippes, BA, 1711/33; John Neeve, BA, 1668/40; John Woory, BA, 1673/41. [↑](#footnote-ref-717)
718. Redington (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Papers,* volume 1, p. 51. [↑](#footnote-ref-718)
719. Alford, *W.D. and H.O. Wills*, p. 9; Robert Lewes, *The Merchants Map of Commerce* (London, 1638), p. 44. [↑](#footnote-ref-719)
720. See chapter two. [↑](#footnote-ref-720)
721. Deposition of Thomas Hancock in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books of Bristol*,vol. I,p. 69. [↑](#footnote-ref-721)
722. Bristol probate inventories containing wheels for rolling tobacco, with as many as eight apiece, include the following: David Phelps, BA, 1690/35; John Woory, BA, 1673/41; William Temple in Edwin and Stella George (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories,* Part 2: *1657-1689* (Bristol, 2005), pp. 174-5; Samuel Holliday, BA, 1685/26; and Richard Baber, BA, 1678/12. [↑](#footnote-ref-722)
723. George and George (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories,* Part 2, pp. 20-22, 66-67; BA, 1668/40. [↑](#footnote-ref-723)
724. BA, 1690/35. [↑](#footnote-ref-724)
725. M.D.G. Wanklyn, P. Wakelin, D. Hussey, G. Milne, ‘Gloucester Port Books, 1575-1765’ (1996) [data collection]. UK Data Service. SN: 3218, <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-3218-1>. [↑](#footnote-ref-725)
726. Deposition of Henry Right, TNA, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-726)
727. George and George (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories,* Part 2,pp. 69-74; John Basset owned ‘one morter and pesteal to beat tobacco in’, BA, 1686/6; see also TNA, PROB 11/353/55. [↑](#footnote-ref-727)
728. George and George (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories*, Part 2, pp. 66-67; TNA, PROB 11/353/55. [↑](#footnote-ref-728)
729. BA, 1686/6; George and George (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories,* Part 2, pp. 174-175. [↑](#footnote-ref-729)
730. Alford, *W.D. and H.O. Wills*, p. 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-730)
731. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-731)
732. John Cary, *An Essay on the State of England in relation to its Trade, its Poor, and its Taxes for carrying on the present War against France* (Bristol, 1695), pp. 143-150 in Thirsk and Cooper (eds), *Economic Documents*, p. 322. [↑](#footnote-ref-732)
733. *IEM* project, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank), TNA, E 190/1334/18; TNA, E 190/1334/25 [accessed 1/3/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-733)
734. Martin Bishop, CRO, AP/B/555; Walter Dennys, CRO, AP/D/434; Digory French, CRO AP/F/76; Ralph Wells in Joan Briggs et al. (eds), *Sunderland Wills and Inventories, 1601-1650* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 114-129; John Wale and James Everett in George and George (eds), *Bristol Probate inventories*, Part 2, pp. 20-22, 66-67; John Prickett, BA, 1694/46; and Samuel Holliday, BA, 1685/26. [↑](#footnote-ref-734)
735. Deposition of William Knighte, Somerset Record Office, Q/SR/33/3. My sincerest thanks to Mark Hailwood for providing me with this reference. [↑](#footnote-ref-735)
736. By the King, *A Proclamation Touching Tobacco* (London, 17/2/1627). [↑](#footnote-ref-736)
737. Deposition of <unknown> Hoxford, TNA, E 178/ 5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-737)
738. Depositions of Thomas Whitlock, Robert Collitte, Henry Harvey, Thomas Bollard and John Merceter, TNA, E 178/ 5557; 3rd interrogatory and deposition of John Wade, TNA, E 134/14Chas1/Mich7. [↑](#footnote-ref-738)
739. Francis Kirkman, *The English Rogue continued, in the life of Meriton Latroon* (London, 1668), p. A2; John Taylor, *A Common Whore* (London, 1622), unpaginated text. [↑](#footnote-ref-739)
740. Fiona Pogson (ed.), ‘Financial Accounts’, pp. 97, 123. [↑](#footnote-ref-740)
741. Parliament, House of Commons, *Depositions and Articles Against Thomas Earle of Strafford* (London, 1641). [↑](#footnote-ref-741)
742. Catherine Molineux, ‘Pleasures of the Smoke: “Black Virginians” in Georgian London’s Tobacco Shops’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3, 64, 2 (Apr., 2007), pp. 327- 376, 343. [↑](#footnote-ref-742)
743. Walsh, *Motives of Honor*, pp. 355-356. [↑](#footnote-ref-743)
744. In nineteenth-century USA, it was reported that tobacco made into rolls could last for ‘several years, and be continually improving, as it always grows milder’, Fairholt, *Tobacco*, p. 311. [↑](#footnote-ref-744)
745. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, p. 202. [↑](#footnote-ref-745)
746. *IEM* project, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank), Thomas Moreton, Chester Record Office [accessed 1/3/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-746)
747. Redington (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Papers,* volume 1, p. 51; ‘Pudding’, ‘cane’ and ‘ball’ tobacco were an earlier descriptor for roll tobacco produced in the colonies and appear more frequently near the beginning of the seventeenth century: for example, Robert Bennett, CRO, AP/B/155; Anon., *The Rates of Marchandizes as they are set downe in the* *Booke of Rates* (London, 1623), unpaginated; ‘pigtaile’ and ‘Barbados reath’ was sold by Edward Fielding of Bristol to Cadwallader Jones of Chester in 1672, TNA, SP 29/328, f.94; for specific variations see *IEM* project, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank), John Burges, Lancashire Record Office WCW and Thomas Moreton, Chester Record Office [accessed 1/3/2018]; John Wale, in George and George (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories*, Part 2, pp. 20-22; David Phelps, BA, 1690/35; George Balch in Siraut (ed.), *Somerset Wills*, pp. 16-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-747)
748. Deposition of William Walker, BA, JX/1/3; deposition of John Knight, Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*,vol. I,pp. 115-116. [↑](#footnote-ref-748)
749. Jacob Price, *France and the Chesapeake*, pp. 189-190; also see Alford, *W.D. and H.O. Wills* p. 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-749)
750. See chapter five. [↑](#footnote-ref-750)
751. H. K. Roessingh, ‘Tobacco Growing in Holland in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Case Study of the Innovative Spirit of Dutch Peasants’, *The Low Countries History Yearbook 1978*, pp. 18-50. [↑](#footnote-ref-751)
752. Benjamin Marshall in J. A. Johnston (ed*.*), *Probate Inventories of Lincoln Citizens, 1661-1714* (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 9-21; Samuel Newboult in D. G. Vaisey (ed.), *Probate Inventories of Lichfield and District, 1568-1680* (1969), pp. 155-161; John Webster in Peter C. D. Brears (ed.), *Yorkshire Probate Inventories, 1542-1689* (Kendal, 1972), pp. 139-143; John Wale in George and George (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories*, Part 2, pp. 20-22; George Wilson in Dorothy Edwards and Christine M. Newman (eds), *Northallerton Wills and Inventories, 1666-1719* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 8-11; *IEM* project, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank), James Beeston and Thomas Hutton, Norfolk Record Office, ANW 23/4/137, ANW 23/3/33 [accessed 1/3/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-752)
753. Jarvis, *In the Eye of All Trade*, pp. 26-27. [↑](#footnote-ref-753)
754. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-754)
755. Devon Record Office, QS/4/Box 66/Epiphany 1661/9-10. My sincerest thanks to Mark Hailwood for providing me with this reference; Harland, (ed.), *Autobiography of William Stout*, pp. 12-13. [↑](#footnote-ref-755)
756. The complaint of William Carpenter and Edmund Atwood, TNA, C2/JasI/C6/41. [↑](#footnote-ref-756)
757. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, p. 202. [↑](#footnote-ref-757)
758. TNA, SP 29/328, f.94. [↑](#footnote-ref-758)
759. TNA, E. 178/ 5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-759)
760. Deposition of William Dixon, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-760)
761. Ben Jonson, *The Workes of Beniamin Ionson. Containing these playes, viz. 1 Bartholomew Fayre…* (London, 1641), p. 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-761)
762. Harland (ed.), *Autobiography of William Stout*, p.12-13; Nancy Cox, *Complete Tradesman*, p. 217. [↑](#footnote-ref-762)
763. Benjamin Marshall in Johnston (ed.), *Probate Inventories*, pp. 9-21. [↑](#footnote-ref-763)
764. Margaret Bowles in Williams Sally Thomson (eds), *Marlborough* *Probate Inventories*, p. 179; Samuel James in Peter Wyatt (ed.), *The Uffculme Wills and Inventories 16th to 18th Centuries* (1997), pp. 137-139. [↑](#footnote-ref-764)
765. Devon Archives and Local Studies Service, 51/1/16/15. [↑](#footnote-ref-765)
766. Siraut (ed.), *Somerset Wills*, pp. 16-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-766)
767. Walsh, *Motives of Honor*, pp. 355-356; see also

     <https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/slide_player?mets_filename=sld3840mets.xml> (courtesy of The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation). For the eighteenth century, tobacco wrappers, papers and business cards survive extensively, see Molineaux, ‘Pleasures of the Smoke’. [↑](#footnote-ref-767)
768. Devon Record Office, QS/4/Box 66/Epiphany 1661/9-10. My sincerest thanks to Mark Hailwood for providing me with this reference. [↑](#footnote-ref-768)
769. A search on The National Archives website reveals a number of tobacco-cutters in Middlesex, for instance, TNA, PROB 4/875; TNA, PROB 4/289; TNA, PROB 11/404/77; as well as at Chester, see Chester Archives, ZA/F/46c/81; Chester Archives, QCI/12/27; and Cardiff, Samuel Challoner, tobacco roller, bond and inventory, Cardiff 1701 – LL/1701/23. [↑](#footnote-ref-769)
770. Siraut (ed.), *Somerset Wills*, pp. 16-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-770)
771. CRO, AP/S/1553; Joan Briggs et al. (eds), *Sunderland Wills*, pp. 114-129. [↑](#footnote-ref-771)
772. Although his occupation is not listed in the inventory, a Thomas Northall was admitted freedom to Bristol as a soap-boiler in 1656, Watts (ed.), *Bristol Burgess Books*, 3A/46.1/5. [↑](#footnote-ref-772)
773. Edwin and Stella George (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories*, Part 1*: 1542-1650* (Bristol, 2002), pp. 108-110; George and George (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories*,Part 2, pp. 49-50, 142-145. [↑](#footnote-ref-773)
774. Somerset Record Office, D\P\ham.h/19/7/1; Somerset Record Office, Q/SR/82/52. My sincerest thanks to Mark Hailwood for providing me with this reference. [↑](#footnote-ref-774)
775. Watts (ed.), *Bristol Burgess Books*. [↑](#footnote-ref-775)
776. In 1682, London’s tobacco imports (12.5m lbs.) were approximately four times higher than Bristol’s (3m lbs.). One could assume that the capital’s tobacco manufacturers were of a similar ratio. See table 1.2 in chapter one. [↑](#footnote-ref-776)
777. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, p. 202. [↑](#footnote-ref-777)
778. Redington (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, volume 1,p. 51. [↑](#footnote-ref-778)
779. For example, Samuel Holliday, 1685/26; William Temple in George and George (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories*, Part 2: *1657-1689* (Bristol, 2005), pp. 174-175. Temple had in fact entered the freedom of Bristol as a roller but his probate inventory listed him as a cutter. [↑](#footnote-ref-779)
780. Prior to the middle of the century, ‘tobacconist’ more commonly referred to a smoker; it is unknown why there was a change in the word’s meaning. [↑](#footnote-ref-780)
781. By comparing names of tobacco manufacturers with the Bristol wharfage books (BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12), the following correlates have been found: John Belshire/Belcher/Belsher, admitted as a tobacco cutter in 1669, imported 1 hogshead in 1669-70 and 8 in 1674-75; William Tovy, admitted freedom as a tobacco roller in 1663, imported 2 hogsheads in 1674-75; Christopher Patch, admitted in August 1669, imported 2 hogsheads in June 1670; John Wallin/ Wallis, admitted as roller in 1680, imported 4 hogsheads in 1684-85; Thomas Whittock admitted as a tobacco roller in 1683, imported 15 hogsheads in 1679-80 and 4 hogsheads, 3 barrels and 1,400 lbs in bulk 1684-85. There are more correlates than these but it is unknown if these matches are instead other freemen with the same name. [↑](#footnote-ref-781)
782. TNA, SP 16/529 f.19. [↑](#footnote-ref-782)
783. Deposition of George Grant[?], TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-783)
784. Deposition of William Walker, BA, JX/1/3. The manufactured tobacco was valued higher than the roll tobacco, indicating the mark-up once additional processing had taken place. [↑](#footnote-ref-784)
785. TNA, SP 29/328, f.94. [↑](#footnote-ref-785)
786. Deposition of George Grant[?], TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-786)
787. BA, 1686/6. [↑](#footnote-ref-787)
788. TNA, PROB 11/353/55. [↑](#footnote-ref-788)
789. BA, 1678/12. [↑](#footnote-ref-789)
790. BA, 1714/16. [↑](#footnote-ref-790)
791. George and George (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories*, Part 2, pp. 19-22, 66-67, 101-103, 174-175; TNA, PROB 11/353/55; BA, 1668/24, 1685/26, 1694/46, 1678/12, 1686/6, 1687/9, 1688/31, 1686/9, 1668/40, 1690/35, 1682/49. [↑](#footnote-ref-791)
792. BA, 1686/9; TNA, PROB 11/353/55. [↑](#footnote-ref-792)
793. I have found no record of Henry Tripwick in Watts (ed.), *Bristol Burgess Books;* Beavan, *Bristol Lists*; McGrath, *Society of Merchant Venturers*; McGrath, *Merchants and Merchandise*; nor Mortimer (ed.), *Society of Friends*. ‘Tripwick’ is almost certainly a mistranscription in the TNA catalogue, possibly of ‘Creswick’, a well-known Bristol name at the time. [↑](#footnote-ref-793)
794. Watts (ed.), *Bristol Burgess Books*, 3B/ 92, 7/1/1668. [↑](#footnote-ref-794)
795. *Ibid*., 3B, 73, 17/7/1666. [↑](#footnote-ref-795)
796. *Ibid*., 3B, 95, 4/3/1668; 3B, 188, 29/6/1674. [↑](#footnote-ref-796)
797. *Ibid*., 3B, 404, 13/11/1682, 4, 17, 10/9/1690, 4, 24, 3/12/1690. [↑](#footnote-ref-797)
798. *Ibid*., 3B, 120, 6/8/1669. [↑](#footnote-ref-798)
799. BA, SMV/7/1/1/1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-799)
800. TNA, SP 14/141, f.131. [↑](#footnote-ref-800)
801. TNA, SP 14/141, f.139; TNA, SP 16/283, f.21; TNA, SP 16/283, f.87; TNA, SP 16/403, f.42. [↑](#footnote-ref-801)
802. TNA, SP 16/403, f.42. [↑](#footnote-ref-802)
803. TNA, SP 16/472, f.26. [↑](#footnote-ref-803)
804. ‘Wee whose names are hereunto subscribed, merchants, Grocers and others dealing in tobacco…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-804)
805. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-805)
806. Jacob Price, *France and the Chesapeake*, pp. 189-194. [↑](#footnote-ref-806)
807. For a sale in Waterford (Ireland) of 2,000 lbs. of ‘rotten’ tobacco priced at 7.2d. per lb. see deposition of Robert Tunbridge, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-807)
808. Collected from depositions contained in: TNA, E 178/5284; TNA, E 178/5793; TNA, E 178/5315;

     TNA, E 178/5557; TNA, E 178/5239); TNA, E 178/5239); TNA, E 178/5933. [↑](#footnote-ref-808)
809. Deposition of William Walker, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-809)
810. CRO, T/1285. [↑](#footnote-ref-810)
811. For example, George and George (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories*, Part 2, pp. 20-22, 101-103, 113-115; Wyatt (ed.), *Uffculme Wills*, pp. 137-139; Edwards and Newman (eds), *Northallerton Wills*, pp. 8-11; Johnston (ed.), *Probate Inventories*, pp. 9-21; Tinder Jeff Cox (eds), *Yeomen and Colliers*, pp. 314-321. [↑](#footnote-ref-811)
812. George and George (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories*, Part 2, pp. 19-20. [↑](#footnote-ref-812)
813. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, p. 205. [↑](#footnote-ref-813)
814. *Ibid*., p. 199; Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’ (1980), pp. 113, 137, 141; Price, *Tobacco Adventure*, pp. 5-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-814)
815. Davis, ‘English Foreign Trade’, p. 80. [↑](#footnote-ref-815)
816. Tuxes, *Irish trade*, pp. 7, 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-816)
817. *Act for Preventing Frauds*, 14 Car 2. cap. 11; republished in Anon., *Index Vectigalium* (1670). [↑](#footnote-ref-817)
818. Enthoven and Klooster, ‘Rise and Fall’, p. 111. [↑](#footnote-ref-818)
819. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, pp. 40-41; Ormrod, *Rise of Commercial Empires*; Thomas Leng, ‘Commercial conflict and regulation in the discourse of trade in seventeenth-century trade’, *The Historical Journal*, 48, 4 (2005), pp. 933–954. [↑](#footnote-ref-819)
820. TNA, SP 18/70, f.85; ‘Proposals humbly offered to honrble House of Commons’ in BL, Harley 1238, (undated). This document includes the proposal: ‘7. That no tobacco shall be sold...or be shipt offe to Ireland or the plantations till it be first manufactured by cutting or rowleing here.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-820)
821. Redington (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, volume 1,p. 51. [↑](#footnote-ref-821)
822. Depositions of William Willett, James Speed and Immanuel Mussaphia, BA, JX/1/5. [↑](#footnote-ref-822)
823. TNA, C10/484/71. My sincerest thanks to Mabel Winter for sending me her transcription of this court case. [↑](#footnote-ref-823)
824. Whetter, ‘Cornish Trade’, pp. 403, 408; Whetter, *Cornwall*, p. 148. [↑](#footnote-ref-824)
825. Zahedieh, *The Capital and the colonies*, p. 209; Price and Clemens, ‘Revolution in Scale’, pp. 14-16. [↑](#footnote-ref-825)
826. Gray and Wyckoff, ‘International Tobacco Trade’, pp. 21-22; Clemens, ‘Rise of Liverpool’, pp. 217-218; Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco*, pp. 106-108; Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade*, p. 88. [↑](#footnote-ref-826)
827. Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade*, pp. 88, 197. [↑](#footnote-ref-827)
828. Zahedieh, *The Capital and the colonies*, p. 209. [↑](#footnote-ref-828)
829. Price, *Tobacco Adventure*; Matthew P. Romaniello, ‘Through the Filter of Tobacco: The Limits of Global Trade in the Early Modern World’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 49, 4 (2007), pp. 914-937. [↑](#footnote-ref-829)
830. F.W. Brooks (ed.), *The First Order Book of the Hull Trinity House, 1632-1665* (1942), p. 157. [↑](#footnote-ref-830)
831. Romaniello, ‘Through the Filter of Tobacco’, p. 918; B. G. Gokhale, ‘Tobacco in Seventeenth-Century India’, *Agricultural History*, 48, 4 (1974), pp. 484-492; Rudi Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500–1900* (Princeton, 2005), pp. 117–-143. [↑](#footnote-ref-831)
832. TNA, SP 63/319 f.488. [↑](#footnote-ref-832)
833. TNA, SP 29/381 f.102. Brinkworth and Duddlestone deposed to the mayor of Bristol, Sir Robert Cann, how they were ‘forced to pay at the Custom House 2½d. a lb. for the said tobacco, and that they had never before had to pay more than 1½d. a lb. for tobacco brought from England’ to Ireland. [↑](#footnote-ref-833)
834. TNA, E 190/1240/6; my sincerest thanks to Richard Stone for providing me with his transcribed data-set of this source. [↑](#footnote-ref-834)
835. Deposition of Edward Dyer in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II, p. 129. [↑](#footnote-ref-835)
836. Price, *France and the Chesapeake*, pp. 191-192. [↑](#footnote-ref-836)
837. TNA, E 190/1031/20; see also E 190/1032/13. [↑](#footnote-ref-837)
838. CRO, RO/8855. [↑](#footnote-ref-838)
839. *IEM* project, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank), TNA, E 190/1335/12, TNA, E 190/1334/18, TNA, E 190/1334/25 [accessed 1/3/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-839)
840. Calculated from using the *IEM* project database, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank), TNA, E 190/1334/18, TNA, E 190/1334/25 [accessed 1/3/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-840)
841. Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, pp. 137, 181-183; Pogson (ed.), ‘Financial Accounts’. [↑](#footnote-ref-841)
842. For example, William Smith, *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty and to the Right Honourable, the Lords and Others for Your Majesties Most Honourable Privy Councel, An Essay For Recovery of Trade* (London, 1661), p. 45. [↑](#footnote-ref-842)
843. Price, *France and the Chesapeake.* For instance, around 90 per cent of the French monopoly’s tobacco purchases were made in Britain between the 1720s and 1770s (p. xxi). [↑](#footnote-ref-843)
844. Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, p. 205; exceptions include Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade*, pp. 84-90; Willan, *English Coasting Trade*, pp. 108, 121, 144; Willan, *Inland Trade*, pp. 82-83; Cox, *Complete Tradesman*, pp. 217-220. [↑](#footnote-ref-844)
845. Taylor, ‘Tobacco Retail Licences’, pp. 6-8; see also Beresford, ‘Retail Tobacco Licences’, pp. 236-238; Rowley, ‘How England Learned to Smoke’, ch. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-845)
846. See chapter five. Beresford also notes this pattern, Beresford, ‘Retail Tobacco Licences’, p. 238. [↑](#footnote-ref-846)
847. Deposition of Nathaniel Cale, TNA, E 134/17Chas1/Mich29; deposition of Nathaniel Cale, TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-847)
848. Depositions of Nathaniel Cale, Roger Richards and William Parkwood in E 134/15and16Chas1/Hil21; TNA, E 122/218/25. [↑](#footnote-ref-848)
849. Grant and Munro (eds), *Acts of Privy Council, Colonial Series,* vol. I, p. 212. [↑](#footnote-ref-849)
850. TNA, E 122/218/25; Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’ pp. 425, 427, 429; TNA SP 16/409 f.273. [↑](#footnote-ref-850)
851. TNA, E 122/218/25; Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, pp. 442, 449; TNA, E 190/32/8; Rowley, ‘How England Learned to Smoke’, pp. 357-358. [↑](#footnote-ref-851)
852. TNA, E 122/218/25; Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, pp. 421-449. [↑](#footnote-ref-852)
853. TNA, E 122/218/25; Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, pp. 421-445; for Stone, Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 127, 129, 131-134, 14-146, 155, 163, 182-186, 195; for James Hay[es], a ‘merchant ‘trading in tobacco’, SP 16/529 f.19. [↑](#footnote-ref-853)
854. TNA, E 122/218/25. [↑](#footnote-ref-854)
855. TNA, E 122/218/25. Cale’s tobacco retail licences were held in Bristol, Britton (= Filton?), Chipping Sodbury, Cirencester, Slimbridge, Bath, Bedminster, Keynsham, Shepton Mallet and Wells. An eleventh licence was held for the Berkshire town of Twyford [↑](#footnote-ref-855)
856. TNA, E 122/218/25. [↑](#footnote-ref-856)
857. TNA, PROB 11/183/84. [↑](#footnote-ref-857)
858. CRO, BU/348. [↑](#footnote-ref-858)
859. A John Wilcocks was active in New Netherland during the 1640s. Judging by his age in 1647 (33) he is unlikely to be the same John Wilcocks as the tobacco patentee but was possibly a kinsman, see P. F. S. Amery et al., *Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries, vol. I* (Exeter, 1901), pp. 102-103; E. B. O’Callaghan, *Calendar of historical manuscripts in the office of the secretary of state, part I Dutch manuscripts 1630-1664*, (Albany, 1865), pp. 29, 33, 39, 40, 42, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 101, 103, 104. [↑](#footnote-ref-859)
860. TNA, SP 16/264 f.51. [↑](#footnote-ref-860)
861. Palmer, (ed.), Letter book of Thomas Hill, pp. xix, xxiii; Whetter, ‘Cornish trade’, p. 412. [↑](#footnote-ref-861)
862. Essex Record Office, D/ABW/58/68. [↑](#footnote-ref-862)
863. See chapter five for the cost of the tobacco retail licences. [↑](#footnote-ref-863)
864. BA, JQS/M/3/1, frame 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-864)
865. Beavan, *Bristol Lists*, p. 198. [↑](#footnote-ref-865)
866. Henning, B. D., ed., *The House of Commons, 1660–1690* (1983). [↑](#footnote-ref-866)
867. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 127, 310, 402; Helen Stocks (ed.), *Records of the Borough of Leicester; being a series of extracts from the archives of the Corporation of Leicester*, vol., 4, *1603-1688* (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 599–605. [↑](#footnote-ref-867)
868. Taylor, ‘Tobacco Retail Licences’, pp. 11-14. [↑](#footnote-ref-868)
869. TNA, SP 16/449 f.67, 70; TNA, SP 16/272 f.171; TNA, SP 16/273 f.166; TNA, SP 16/279 f.163; depositions of James Perrow and Jane Haycrast and memorandum, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-869)
870. Withington, ‘Intoxicants and the city’, pp. [↑](#footnote-ref-870)
871. Taylor, ‘Tobacco Retail Licences’, pp. 3-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-871)
872. PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/43. [↑](#footnote-ref-872)
873. PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/43; PA, HL/PO/JO/10/4/8. [↑](#footnote-ref-873)
874. Deposition of William Clarke, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-874)
875. TNA, E 178/5793. Many of these deputy retailers have been identified as ratepayers, Withington, ‘Intoxicants and the city’, pp. 152-153. [↑](#footnote-ref-875)
876. TNA, SP 16/374 f.98. This contract shows that Peter Boddam paid a fine of 30s. and quarterly rent of 7s. 6d. to the local licensees for the privilege of retailing tobacco in Upper Shadwell. [↑](#footnote-ref-876)
877. Depositions of Humphrey Sloggett, William Clarke and William Beaford, TNA, E 178/5239; deposition of William Gibson, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-877)
878. Depositions of Isobel Lowell, George Dickson, John White, Brian Corby, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-878)
879. Depositions of Margaret Irons, Eleanor Milles and Judith Cornish, TNA, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-879)
880. Deposition of Jonathan Webb, TNA, E 134/14Chas1/Mich7. [↑](#footnote-ref-880)
881. Rowley, ‘How England Learned to Smoke’, ch. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-881)
882. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238; Price, ‘Tobacco Trade and the Treasury’, ch. 1; TNA, SP 29/442 f.276. [↑](#footnote-ref-882)
883. Harlow (ed.), *Ledger of Thomas Speed*, p. 140. [↑](#footnote-ref-883)
884. Depositions of John Cole and Richard Ryder in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II, pp. 59-61. [↑](#footnote-ref-884)
885. Depositions of Nicholas Tovy and John Read, BA, JX/1/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-885)
886. For instance, see ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-886)
887. Deposition of George Peter, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-887)
888. Depositions of Nathaniel Cale, Roger Richards and William Parkwood in TNA, E 134/15and16Chas1/Hil21. Lavender held a retail licence in London, TNA, E 122/218/25. [↑](#footnote-ref-888)
889. Chatsworth Archives, CS 26/3/17; deposition of Barnaby Cutts in Thirsk and Cooper (eds), *Economic Documents*, pp. 348-349. [↑](#footnote-ref-889)
890. Deposition of John Machen, BA, JX/1/4; McGrath, *Merchants and Merchandise*, p.183; two decades later, Thomas Speed frequently sold tobacco on commission to wholesalers, Harlow (ed.), *Ledger of Thomas Speed*, pp. 50-54, 72-73, 260-261, 340-341, 406-407; the Chesapeake planter, William Fitzhugh, also favoured commission-merchandising in his transactions, see Davis (ed.), *William Fitzhugh*, pp. [↑](#footnote-ref-890)
891. Willan, *English Coasting Trade*, pp. 121, 144. Zahedieh’s sample year of 1686 (one year after the introduction of the new impost) shows that almost three-quarter of outbound coastal cargoes contained tobacco, Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, p. 205. [↑](#footnote-ref-891)
892. *IEM* project, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank), TNA, E 190/490/10; TNA, E 190/492/6; TNA, E 190/436/3; TNA, E 190/505/11 [accessed 1/3/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-892)
893. *IEM* project, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank), TNA, E 190/1336/12; TNA, E 190/1337/6; TNA, E 190/1340/2, 3 [accessed 1/3/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-893)
894. Depositions of William Butman/ Bateman and John Stephenson, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-894)
895. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-895)
896. CRO, FS/3/786; TNA, E 134/15and16Chas1/Hil21; TNA, E, 1031/10, 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-896)
897. Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade*, p. 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-897)
898. See, for example, TNA, E 190/1135/1; TNA, E 190/1135/7; E 190/1135/9; E 190/1136/2; E 190/1136/4; Willan, *English Coasting Trade*, p. 108; TNA, E 190/1136/11. [↑](#footnote-ref-898)
899. Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade*, p. 197. [↑](#footnote-ref-899)
900. TNA, E 190/1136/7. See also Willan, *English Coasting Trade*, p. 108; deposition of John Knight in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*,vol. I,pp. 115-116; Shaw (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Books,* vol. I, *1660-1667*, p. 626. [↑](#footnote-ref-900)
901. *IEM* project, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank), TNA, E 190/1336/12; TNA, E 190/1337/6; TNA, E 190/1340/2, 3 [accessed 13/7/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-901)
902. Willan, *River Navigation*, pp. 114-130 [↑](#footnote-ref-902)
903. Depositions of William Butman/ Bateman and John Stephenson, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-903)
904. W. E. Minchinton, ‘Bristol – Metropolis of the West in the Eighteenth Century’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, (1953), pp. 69-89, 71. [↑](#footnote-ref-904)
905. Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*,vol. I,p. 69; Shropshire Archives, WB/F/2/2/33/5/26. David Hussey shows paintings of trows navigating the River Severn as far north as Ironbridge, Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade*, p. xxi; Thirsk and Cooper, *Economic Documents*, pp. 419-420. [↑](#footnote-ref-905)
906. TNA, SP 29/328 f.94; TNA, SP 29/441 f.160. [↑](#footnote-ref-906)
907. Willan, *River Navigation*, p. 119. [↑](#footnote-ref-907)
908. Chartres, ‘Road Carrying’, pp. 77-78. [↑](#footnote-ref-908)
909. *Ibid*., pp. 87, 81. [↑](#footnote-ref-909)
910. Deposition of George Blea, TNA, E 178/5594; deposition of Richard Rogers, TNA, E, 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-910)
911. Chartres, ‘Road Carrying’, p. 88. [↑](#footnote-ref-911)
912. Depositions of Richard Ball and Richard Lomley, TNA, E 133/160/60. [↑](#footnote-ref-912)
913. Deposition of Richard Pinke, TNA, E 133/160/60. [↑](#footnote-ref-913)
914. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-914)
915. TNA, SP 29/328, f.94; Deposition of William Walker, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-915)
916. Deposition of Anthony Illary, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-916)
917. Deposition of Jane Haycrast, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-917)
918. Depositions of Henry Right, Thomas Briggs, Edward Barker, Robert Colitte, Eleanor Miles and Katherine Barker, TNA, E 178/ 5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-918)
919. Depositions of Robert Bentlye, Dorothy Thompson, Ann Clark, Bridgett Mansfield, John Robinson, Joane Agbrigg and Elizabeth Mansfield, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-919)
920. TNA, SP 29/152 f. 51-54. [↑](#footnote-ref-920)
921. TNA, SP 29/328, f.94; Deposition of William Walker, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-921)
922. For instance, see George C. Williamson, *Trade Tokens Issued in The Seventeenth Century in England, Wales and Ireland by Corporations, Merchants, Tradesmen, etc.* (London, 1891), passim. [↑](#footnote-ref-922)
923. The average breadth of Cornwall is twenty-two miles meaning that one is never more than eleven miles from the sea. See <http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/CON>, citing *Bartholomew’s Gazetteer* (1887); Willan, *River Navigation*, p. vi. [↑](#footnote-ref-923)
924. CRO, T/1285. [↑](#footnote-ref-924)
925. One customer was Tremayne’s own wife. Craig Muldrew suggests that separate husband and wife credit accounts ‘demonstrates that [the husband] conceived the cash and credit [the wife] used to look after her household responsibilities to be under her propriety, and not his, despite her lack of legal right to it.’ Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*, p. 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-925)
926. Further east along the south coast, it was reported in 1629 that ‘a parcel of tobacco’ was hidden at Hurst castle (Southampton), TNA, SP 16/146 f.88. [↑](#footnote-ref-926)
927. Deposition of John Knight in Nott, *Deposition Books*, vol. I. [↑](#footnote-ref-927)
928. Hussey, *Coastal and River Trade*, pp. xiii, 84-90; Zahedieh, *Capital and the Colonies*, pp. 202-205. [↑](#footnote-ref-928)
929. Depositions of Richard Rogers and Robert Colitte, TNA, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-929)
930. *Ibid.* [↑](#footnote-ref-930)
931. Withington, ‘Company and Sociability’; Withington, ‘Intoxicants and the Early Modern City’; Withington, ‘Intoxicants and Society’, p. 637. [↑](#footnote-ref-931)
932. Amongst the most important and sizeable studies on early modern probate inventories are Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture*; Mark Overton, et al., *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750* (London, 2004). [↑](#footnote-ref-932)
933. These depositions are taken from the following bundles: TNA, E 178/5239; TNA, E 178/5284; TNA, E 178/5315; TNA, E 178/5319; TNA, E 178/5534; TNA, E 178/5557; TNA, E 178/5594; TNA, E 178/5793; TNA, E 178/5932; TNA, E 178/5933. [↑](#footnote-ref-933)
934. Deposition of Matthew Leonard, TNA, E 178/5933. [↑](#footnote-ref-934)
935. Deposition of William Smith, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-935)
936. Deposition of William Rowledge, TNA, E 178/5557; depositions of James Wade, William Rowledge and John Russell, TNA, E 134/14Chas1/Mich7. [↑](#footnote-ref-936)
937. Deposition of Abraham Jenkin, TNA, E 178/5932-3; deposition of Nicholas Heydon, TNA, E 178/5239 [↑](#footnote-ref-937)
938. Deposition of Thomas Whitlock, TNA, E 178/ 5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-938)
939. Deposition of Jonathan Webb, TNA, E 134/14Chas1/Mich7; [↑](#footnote-ref-939)
940. Harland (ed.), *Autobiography of William Stout*, pp. 12-13; deposition of James Pettifor, TNA, E 134/14Chas1/Mich7. [↑](#footnote-ref-940)
941. ‘Pigtaile’ and ‘Barbados reath’ was sold by Edward Fielding of Bristol to Cadwallader Jones of Chester in 1672, TNA, SP 29/328, f.94; Thomas Moreton stocked ‘pig tails’ along with cut and leaf tobacco *IEM* project, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank), Chester Record Office [accessed 1/3/2018]; John Burges stocked ‘small twist’ as well as cut and dried tobacco, *IEM* project, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank), Lancashire Record Office WCW [accessed 1/3/2018]; John Wale, 1663, stocked ‘stick rolls’ and ‘prest’ tobacco, George and George (eds), *Bristol Probate inventories*, Part 2, pp. 20-22; George Balch of Bridgwater produced and sold ‘several sorts of cutt leafe and role tobacco’, Siraut (ed.), *Somerset Wills*, pp. 16-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-941)
942. Todd Gray (ed.), *Devon Household Accounts, 1627-59,* Part II*, Henry Fifth Earl of Bath and Rachel, Countess of Bath, 1637-1655* (Exeter, 1996), p. 163; ‘latten tobacco boxes’, ‘tobacco glasses’ and ‘glasses for tobacco’ are also in the probate inventories of Robert Wales, James Beeston, John Burges and Thomas Hutton, see *IEM* project, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank), Norfolk Record Office, DN/INV 53B/120, ANW 23/4/137, ANW 23/3/33, Lancashire Record Office WCW, [accessed 1/3/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-942)
943. *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*(www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, 13 July 2018), December 1679, trial of Fellow (t16791210-1). [↑](#footnote-ref-943)
944. Deposition of Richard Doidge, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-944)
945. Deposition of John Foote, TNA, E 178/5239; depositions of James Farmer, Stephen Slater, Margaret Clawson, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-945)
946. For instance, the 1665 probate of Benjamin Marshall in Johnston (ed.), *Probate Inventories*, pp. 9-21. [↑](#footnote-ref-946)
947. Deposition of Edward Barker, TNA, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-947)
948. Deposition of Susan Treglown, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-948)
949. Deposition of the wife of Christopher Coleman, TNA, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-949)
950. Deposition of John Morgan, TNA, E 178/5932-5933. [↑](#footnote-ref-950)
951. Stobart and Bailey, ‘Retail Revolution’, p. 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-951)
952. Deposition of Francis Cowper, TNA, E 178/5284. [↑](#footnote-ref-952)
953. Deposition of William Rowledge, TNA, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-953)
954. Deposition of Jonathan Webb, TNA, E 134/14Chas1/Mich7. [↑](#footnote-ref-954)
955. Deposition of Nicholas Braben, TNA, E 178/5239; deposition of Charles Beane, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-955)
956. Deposition of John Fetherstone, TNA, E 178/5239; deposition of Janes Ostler, TNA, E 178/5534; TNA, SP 16/279 f.166; TNA, SP 16/279 f.167. [↑](#footnote-ref-956)
957. TNA, SP 16/298 f.17; TNA, SP 16/451 f.199. [↑](#footnote-ref-957)
958. James Brown, ‘The Landscape of Drink: Inns, Taverns and Alehouses in Early Modern Southampton’, unpublished PhD thesis, univ. of Warwick (2007), pp. iii, 4, 27, 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-958)
959. TNA, E 122/218/25; TNA, E 178/ 5315; *IEM* project, [www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants](http://www.dhi.ac.uk/intoxicants" \t "_blank), Chester Record Office, WS/1642 [accessed 1/3/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-959)
960. TNA, E 122/218/25; TNA, PROB 11/183,84. [↑](#footnote-ref-960)
961. TNA, E 178/5793; TNA, E 178/5557; E 178/5239; TNA, E 178/5932-5933. [↑](#footnote-ref-961)
962. Deposition of Lawrence Burgess, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-962)
963. For example, depositions of Matthew Gibb, Elizabeth Cundell and Ann Clark, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-963)
964. George and George (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories*, Part 2, pp. 159-162; Williams and Thomson (eds), *Marlborough Probate Inventories*, p. 179; see also Ellen Stretton in Bestall and Fowkes (eds), *Chesterfield Wills*, pp. 228-231; and Richard Whiting in Jeanne Jones, *Stratford-Upon-Avon Inventories, 1538-1699*, vol. II, *1626-1699* (Bristol, 2003), pp. 25-27. [↑](#footnote-ref-964)
965. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*; deposition of Elizabeth Evans, TNA, T 64/140. [↑](#footnote-ref-965)
966. Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200-1830* (Harlow, 1983), pp. 85, 125, 134-135, 138, 148, 156, 228; Withington, ‘Intoxicants and Society’; Withington, ‘Intoxicants and the Early Modern City’; Brown, ‘Landscape of Drink’, pp. 120-121, 254; Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship*, pp. 165, 197, 199-200; Rowley, ‘How England Learned to Smoke’, ch. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-966)
967. Clark, *English Alehouse*, pp. 134, 228; Withington, Intoxicants and the early modern city’, p. 151. [↑](#footnote-ref-967)
968. For example, By the Mayor, *To the aldermen of the ward of [blank] Forasmuch as the Lords day, commonly called Sunday, is of late much broken and prophaned, by a disorderly sort of people, in frequenting tavernes, alehouses, and the like* (London, 1643). [↑](#footnote-ref-968)
969. Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, 2005); Steve Pincus, ‘“Coffee Politicians Does Create”: Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 67, 4 (1995), pp. 807-834. [↑](#footnote-ref-969)
970. Johnston (ed.), *Probate Inventories*, pp. 79-81. [↑](#footnote-ref-970)
971. TNA, SP 29/415 f.272. [↑](#footnote-ref-971)
972. TNA, E 122/218/25. [↑](#footnote-ref-972)
973. TNA, E 178/5239; TNA, E 178/5284; TNA, E 178/5315; TNA, E 178/5319; TNA, E 178/5534; TNA, E 178/5557; TNA, E 178/5793; TNA, E 178/5933. [↑](#footnote-ref-973)
974. Deposition of Thomas Allanson, TNA, E 178/5284; depositions of William Gibson, Brian Corby, Francis Simpson, Roger Watkinson and Christopher Shaw, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-974)
975. Depositions of Jane Ostler, Henry Panton and Anne Parson, TNA, E 178/5534; depositions of Nicholas Seale, John Stephenson, TNA, E 178/5793; depositions of John Chandler, Margaret Hughes and Henry Tracy, TNA, E 178/5315. [↑](#footnote-ref-975)
976. De Vries, *Industrious Revolution*. [↑](#footnote-ref-976)
977. For example, probate of Thomas Evans, tobacco seller, Crickheath, Salop, 1687, The National Library of Wales, SA/1687/182; Sir John Melton, *Astrologaster, or, The figure-caster Rather the arraignment of artlesse astrologers, and fortune- tellers, that cheat many ignorant people vnder the pretence of foretelling things to come, of telling things that are past, finding out things that are lost, expounding dreames, calculating deaths and natiuities, once againe brought to the barre* (London, 1620). [↑](#footnote-ref-977)
978. These were Walter Stephens, Miles Callowhill, Nathaniel Cale, Richard Gardner, Thomas Deane, George Hart, Francis Gleed, Thomas Philpot, Simon Lewis, Fabian Hill, John Thurston and Thomas Pearce. Five other licensees have not been identified. TNA, E 122/218/25; Watts (ed.) *Bristol Burgess Books*; Taylor, ‘Tobacco Retail Licences’, p. 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-978)
979. TNA, E 122/218/25; TNA, E 178/5793; Rowley, ‘How England Learned to Smoke’, pp. 293-294. [↑](#footnote-ref-979)
980. TNA, E 122/218/25; Helen Stocks (ed.), *Records of the borough of Leicester; being a series of extracts from the archives of the Corporation of Leicester. Vol, 4, 1603-1688* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 268; Joan Hasler and Anthony Nott, eds., *Wells Convocation Act Books, 1589–1665*, pts. 1 and 2 (Taunton, 2004), pp. 570-572, 658. [↑](#footnote-ref-980)
981. TNA, E 178/5239; TNA, E 178/5284; TNA, E 178/5315; TNA, E 178/5319; TNA, E 178/5534; TNA, E 178/5557; TNA, E 178/5793; TNA, E 178/5933. [↑](#footnote-ref-981)
982. Depositions of Richard Louis alias Jones, Lawrence Burgesse and Richard Barnehouse, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-982)
983. Nancy Cox, *Complete Tradesman*, p. 182. [↑](#footnote-ref-983)
984. TNA, E 122/218/25; Williams, ‘England’s Tobacco Trade’, pp. 421-445; Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 127, 129, 131-134, 14-146, 155, 163, 182-186, 195; See Table 2.2. [↑](#footnote-ref-984)
985. Inventory of John Wale in George and George (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories*, Part 2, pp. 20-22. [↑](#footnote-ref-985)
986. George and George (eds), *Bristol Probate Inventories*, Part 2, pp. 33-35, 113-115; depositions of John Cole and Richard Ryder in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II,pp. 59-61. [↑](#footnote-ref-986)
987. Sacks, *Widening Gate*, pp. 258-267. [↑](#footnote-ref-987)
988. Roger North quoted in Sacks, *Widening Gate*, p. 263; and in Price and Clemens, ‘Revolution in Scale’, p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-988)
989. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-989)
990. Stobart and Bailey, ‘Retail Revolution’, p. 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-990)
991. See chapter three. [↑](#footnote-ref-991)
992. Deposition of William Evans, TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-992)
993. Depositions of Thomas Partridge, Alexander Colwell, James Markes, Alexander Rye and Thomas Mitchel, TNA, E 133/160/60; TNA SP 16/14 f.16; STAC 8/31/10; depositions of William Smith, Robert Winter and Thomas Hogge, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-993)
994. TNA, SP 16/205 f.59. [↑](#footnote-ref-994)
995. Deposition of Thomas Bircke, TNA, E 178/5315; Clarke, *English Alehouse*, pp. 134-135. [↑](#footnote-ref-995)
996. TNA, E 122/218/25; TNA, SP 16/326 f. 13; Taylor, ‘Tobacco Retail Licences’, pp. 14-19. [↑](#footnote-ref-996)
997. TNA, E 122/218/25. [↑](#footnote-ref-997)
998. Beresford, ‘Retail Tobacco Licences’, pp. 236-237. [↑](#footnote-ref-998)
999. By the King, *A Proclamation For Preuenting Of The Abuses Growing By The Vnordered Retailing Of Tobacco* (London, 13/10/1633); John Bruce and William Douglas Hamilton (eds), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Charles I*, vol. 13, *Sept 1638-Mar 1639* (London, 1871), p. 187. [↑](#footnote-ref-999)
1000. Redington (ed.), *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, volume 1,pp. 3-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-1000)
1001. Beresford, ‘Retail Tobacco Licences’, p. 231-233, 238. The depositions accruing from these eighteen inquiries can be found in the following bundles: TNA, E 178/5239; TNA, E 178/5284; TNA, E 178/5315; TNA, E 178/5319; TNA, E 178/5534; TNA, E 178/5557; TNA, E 178/5594; TNA, E 178/5793; TNA, E 178/5932; TNA, E 178/5933. [↑](#footnote-ref-1001)
1002. Deposition of John Bowes, TNA, E 178/5793; depositions of Elizabeth Heydon and Valentine Coke, TNA, E 178/5239; Taylor, ‘Tobacco Retail Licences’, p. 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-1002)
1003. TNA, E 178/5239; TNA, E 122/218/25; Taylor, ‘Tobacco Retail Licences’, p. 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-1003)
1004. TNA, E 178/5594. This was one Anthony Hall. [↑](#footnote-ref-1004)
1005. For example, deposition of Meverel Craddock, TNA, E 178/5932-5933; deposition of Simon Jusley, TNA, E 178/5557; deposition of Margaret Hughes, TNA, E 178/5315; depositions of John Nelder, Henry Right and Jonathan Webb, TNA, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-1005)
1006. Depositions of Henry Harvey, Richard Rogers, Simon Jusley, Jonathan Webb, Raph Addams, Emma Bennet, Thomas Whitlock and Robert Colite, TNA, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-1006)
1007. Depositions of William Smith, Robert Winter, Thomas Hogge and Nicholas Bowler, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-1007)
1008. Deposition of William Smith, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-1008)
1009. Deposition of Jonathan Webb, TNA, E 178/5557; deposition of Jonathan Webb, TNA, E 134/14Chas1/Mich7. [↑](#footnote-ref-1009)
1010. Deposition of John Nelder, TNA, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-1010)
1011. Depositions of Nicholas and Elizabeth Heydon, TNA, E 178/5239; History of Parliament online, entry for Francis Glanville (1582-1639), of Kilworthy:

      <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/glanville-francis-1582-1639> [accessed 15/2/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-1011)
1012. TNA, SP 16/400 f.82; PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/53. [↑](#footnote-ref-1012)
1013. PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/43; PA, HL/PO/JO/10/4/5; PA, HL/PO/JO/10/4/8; PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/49; PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/53. [↑](#footnote-ref-1013)
1014. For example, depositions of Cuthbert Prostwood, Anne Dawson and Thomas Calverley, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-1014)
1015. Deposition of Oliver Maynard, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1015)
1016. Depositions of Robert Freezer, Thomas Page, Anne Parson, Henry Panton and Elizabeth Person, TNA, E 178/5534; Deposition of James Fetti, TNA, E 178/5557; Beresford, ‘Retail Tobacco Licences’, p. 233. [↑](#footnote-ref-1016)
1017. Depositions of Anne Parson and Elizabeth Person, TNA, E 178/5534; Beresford, ‘Retail Tobacco Licences’, p. 233. [↑](#footnote-ref-1017)
1018. Deposition of William Sherman, TNA, E 178/5534. [↑](#footnote-ref-1018)
1019. For example, depositions of James Farmer, Elizabeth Cundell and Ann Clark, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-1019)
1020. TNA, SP 16/270 f.136. [↑](#footnote-ref-1020)
1021. Deposition of Jonathan Webb, TNA, E 134/14Chas1/Mich7; deposition of Jonathan Webb, TNA, E 178/5557. Wigston also offered 50 lbs. of tobacco for 14d. per lb. to John Nelder if he ‘thought he could doe any good of it’, while employing carriers to take tobacco to the neighbouring town of Guilsborough. Depositions of John Nelder and Henry Right, TNA, E 178/ 5557; Depostion of Nichoals Heydon, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1021)
1022. Depositions of Robert Bentlye, Dorothy Thompson, Ann Clark, Bridgett Mansfield, John Robinson, Joane Agbrigg, Elizabeth Mansfield, TNA, E 178/5793; Depositions of Henry Right, Thomas Briggs, Edward Barker, Robert Colitte, Eleanor Miles and Katherine Barker, TNA, E 178/ 5557; by the King, *A Proclamation concerning Tobacco* (25/3/1639). [↑](#footnote-ref-1022)
1023. TNA, E 178/5594. [↑](#footnote-ref-1023)
1024. *Ibid*. [↑](#footnote-ref-1024)
1025. Depositions of Richard Danby, William Robinson, John Thornton and John Fassett, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-1025)
1026. *Ibid*.; TNA, E 178/5594; TNA, E 178/ 5557; TNA, E.178/5932-5933; E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1026)
1027. Depositions of James Perrow and Jane Haycrast and memorandum, TNA, E 178/5239; Taylor, ‘Tobacco Retail Licences’, p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-1027)
1028. TNA, SP 16/273 f.166; TNA, SP 16/307 f.156; TNA, SP 16/438 f.157. [↑](#footnote-ref-1028)
1029. TNA, SP 16/270 f.136; TNA, SP 16/279 f.166; TNA, SP 16/279 f.165; TNA, SP 16/279 f.167; TNA, SP 16/298 f.17; TNA, SP 16/367 f.191; TNA, SP 16/377 f.21; TNA, SP 16/400 f.82; TNA, SP 16/420 f.299-300; TNA, SP 16/438 f.155; TNA, SP 16/443 f.10. [↑](#footnote-ref-1029)
1030. John Lister (ed.), *West Riding Sessions Records, vol. II* (The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1915), p. 198. [↑](#footnote-ref-1030)
1031. TNA, SP 16/424 f.80. [↑](#footnote-ref-1031)
1032. TNA, SP 16/485 f.234. [↑](#footnote-ref-1032)
1033. TNA, SP 16/279 f.162; TNA, SP 16/400 f.82; TNA, SP 16/438 f.155. [↑](#footnote-ref-1033)
1034. Beresford, ‘Retail Tobacco Licences’, p. 241; PA, HL/PO/JO/10/4/5; PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/53; PA, HL/PO/JO/10/4/8; PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/43; PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/49; TNA, SP 16/449, fo. 67; TNA, SP 16/449, fo. 70. [↑](#footnote-ref-1034)
1035. PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/43; PA, HL/PO/JO/10/4/5; PA, HL/PO/JO/10/4/8; TNA, SP 16/449, fo. 67; TNA, SP 16/449, fo. 70 [↑](#footnote-ref-1035)
1036. HL/PO/JO/10/1/53; PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/49; TNA, SP 16/449, fo. 67. [↑](#footnote-ref-1036)
1037. Braddick, *Nerves of State*, pp. 77-79; Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 120-126. [↑](#footnote-ref-1037)
1038. Christopher Brooks, *Law, Politics and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2008), ch. 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-1038)
1039. See chapter two; TNA, SP 29/328, f.94; deposition of William Walker, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-1039)
1040. Assuming national imports of two million lbs. in 1640 and twenty-two lbs. in 1680, see chapter one. [↑](#footnote-ref-1040)
1041. Roberts (ed.), *Letter-Booke of John Byrd*, pp. 30-32; depositions of John Fisher and John Waile in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*,vol. I, p. 215. [↑](#footnote-ref-1041)
1042. TNA, SP 18/98, f.29. [↑](#footnote-ref-1042)
1043. TNA, SP 18/98, f.29; see also the anonymously published, *Harry Hangman's Honour: or, Gloucester-shire hangman's request to the smoakers or tobacconists in London* (London, 1655) (‘ye use mixture and composition, compounding *English* with *Virginia, Virginia* with *Spanish*’)*.* [↑](#footnote-ref-1043)
1044. Depositions of William Smith, Robert Winter, Thomas Hogge and Nicholas Bowler, TNA, E 178/5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-1044)
1045. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-1045)
1046. Petition of ‘merchants, grocers and others dealing in tobacco’ in BL Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-1046)
1047. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-1047)
1048. Ralph Gardiner, *Englands Grievance Discovered* (London, 1655), pp. 99-100. [↑](#footnote-ref-1048)
1049. Stephens. [↑](#footnote-ref-1049)
1050. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-1050)
1051. Michael Rabinoff et al., ‘Pharmacological and Chemical Effects of Cigarette Additives’, *American Journal of Public Health*, 97, 11 (2007), pp. 1981-1991. [↑](#footnote-ref-1051)
1052. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, p.53. Sarah Dickson, compiler of the Arents Tobacco Collection, interprets Nicholas Culpeper’s description of two-foot tobacco plants in England as ‘referring, of course, to *nicotiana rusitca*’; Sarah Dickson, *Tobacco*, part VII; Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physitian Enlarged* (London, 1661). [↑](#footnote-ref-1052)
1053. Leonard Mascall, Reginald Scot et al., *The Country-Mans Recreation* (London, 1654), pp. 129, 132. [↑](#footnote-ref-1053)
1054. ‘TNA, SP 14/111 f.171; TNA, SP 18/98 f.29. [↑](#footnote-ref-1054)
1055. Roessingh, ‘Tobacco Growing’. [↑](#footnote-ref-1055)
1056. CRO, AP/J/520. [↑](#footnote-ref-1056)
1057. Deposition of John Machen, BA, JX/1/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-1057)
1058. Depositions of Robert Tunbridge, John Nagle and Edward Gibbes, BA, JX/1/3; PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/43; TNA, E 190/1032/13; Deposition of Edward Dyer in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II, p. 129. [↑](#footnote-ref-1058)
1059. Oath of William Warren, BA, JX/1/3; deposition of John Band, BA, JX/1/4. [↑](#footnote-ref-1059)
1060. Oath of William Warren, BA, JX/1/3; Obligation of Anthony Fulgeham and Henry Joyce, BA, JX/1/3; deposition of William Palmer in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I, p. 66. [↑](#footnote-ref-1060)
1061. Deposition of Robert Colitte, TNA, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-1061)
1062. Deposition of Richard Rogers, TNA, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-1062)
1063. Deposition of John Chandler, TNA, E 178/5315. [↑](#footnote-ref-1063)
1064. John Lister (ed.), *West Riding Sessions Records*, vol. II (The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1915), p. 198; Leonard Mascall, Reginald Scot et al., *The country-mans recreation* (London, 1654), pp. 129, 132; the Oxford English Dictionary gives two definitions of ‘mundungus: 1. offal, refuse. 2. Tobacco of poor quality; bad-smelling tobacco.’ OED online

      <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/123767?redirectedFrom=mundungos#eid> [accessed 9/5/2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-1064)
1065. Deposition of James Fetti, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-1065)
1066. TNA, SP 16/199 f.64. [↑](#footnote-ref-1066)
1067. CRO, ME/2821. [↑](#footnote-ref-1067)
1068. TNA, SP 29/328, f.94. See above. [↑](#footnote-ref-1068)
1069. Vaisey (ed.), *Probate Inventories*, pp. 155-161; Brears (ed.), *Yorkshire Probate Inventories*, pp. 139-143; Edwards and Newman (eds), *Northallerton Wills*, pp. 8-11; Johnston (ed.), *Probate Inventories*, pp. 9-21; Walsh, *Motives of Honor*, pp. 355-356. [↑](#footnote-ref-1069)
1070. Deposition of Paul Romney, BA, JX/1/4; for the different economic subregions within the Chesapeake, some of which produced ‘sweet-scented’ tobacco see Walsh, *Motives of Honor*, pp. 210-215, 348-356. [↑](#footnote-ref-1070)
1071. Walvin, *Fruits of Empire*; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA, 1984). [↑](#footnote-ref-1071)
1072. Deposition of Oliver Maynard, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1072)
1073. Bourdieu, *Distinction*. [↑](#footnote-ref-1073)
1074. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238. [↑](#footnote-ref-1074)
1075. Menard, ‘A Note’; Menard, ‘Farm Prices’; Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’. [↑](#footnote-ref-1075)
1076. Rogers, *History of agriculture* vol. V.*,* p. 467. [↑](#footnote-ref-1076)
1077. TNA, SP 16/424 f.80. [↑](#footnote-ref-1077)
1078. TNA, E 178/5239; TNA, E 178/5284; TNA, E 178/5315; TNA, E 178/5319; TNA, E 178/5534; TNA, E 178/5557; TNA, E 178/5594; TNA, E 178/5793; TNA, E 178/5932; TNA, E 178/5933. [↑](#footnote-ref-1078)
1079. John Lister (ed.), *West Riding Sessions Records*, vol. II (The Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1915), p. 198; TNA, SP 16/424 f.80. [↑](#footnote-ref-1079)
1080. For example, deposition of John Russell, TNA, E 134/14Chas1/Mich7. [↑](#footnote-ref-1080)
1081. Jose Bosworth et al. (eds), *The Middleton Papers: the financial problems of a Yorkshire recusant family in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (2010), pp. 88-90, 93, 101-102, 106; Thorold Rogers, vo. V., p. 467. [↑](#footnote-ref-1081)
1082. Thorold Rogers, vo. V., p. 467. [↑](#footnote-ref-1082)
1083. ‘Virginian Tobacco, if well managed…’ in BL, Harley MS 1238; CRO, AR/12/37. [↑](#footnote-ref-1083)
1084. Harland (ed.), *Autobiography of William Stout*, p. 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-1084)
1085. During the 1640s, the earl of Bath paid up to 9s. for ½ lb. of Spanish tobacco, see Gray (ed.), *Devon Household* Accounts, pp. 113-167; in 1654, Sir Richard Wingfield owed money for 5 ½ lbs. of Spanish tobacco valued at 7 shillings per lb., see TNA, SP 46/100 f.173. [↑](#footnote-ref-1085)
1086. MacInnes, *Early English Tobacco Trade*, p. 35. [↑](#footnote-ref-1086)
1087. Menard, ‘Chesapeake Tobacco Industry’. [↑](#footnote-ref-1087)
1088. BA, JQS/M/4/2, frame 38. [↑](#footnote-ref-1088)
1089. William E. Preston (ed.), *Wills proved in the court of the manor of Crosley, Bingley, Cottingley and Pudsey, in co. York, with inventories and abstracts of bonds* (Leeds, 1929), pp. 120-124. [↑](#footnote-ref-1089)
1090. For instance, see Williamson, *Trade Tokens*, passim. [↑](#footnote-ref-1090)
1091. Shammas, *Pre-Industrial Consumer*, pp. 78-79. [↑](#footnote-ref-1091)
1092. *Ibid*., pp. 78. [↑](#footnote-ref-1092)
1093. *Ibid*., pp. 79-81. [↑](#footnote-ref-1093)
1094. Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. [↑](#footnote-ref-1094)
1095. Leonard Mascall, Reginald Scot et al., *The country-mans recreation* (London, 1654), p. 132; Thomas Willis, *Pharmaceutice rationalis: or, an exercitation of the operations of medicines in humane bodies. Shewing the signs, causes, and cures of most distempers incident thereunto* (London, 1679), p. 152. [↑](#footnote-ref-1095)
1096. Depositions of Tristram <unknown>, Susan <unknown>, Thomas Hacker, James Legoe, Alice Legoe, James Tremarke, Thomas Roch, James Pascowe, George Collews and George Kinge, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1096)
1097. Shropshire Archives, Mayor’s Accounts, XSB/D/1/3/23, 25, 32, 33 34, 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-1097)
1098. CRO, X 155/369; depositions of William Whatledge and Henry Tracy, TNA, E 178/5315; depositions of John Batman, Rees Morgan and Rowland Morgan, Rees ap Rees and Meverell Cradocke, TNA, E.178/5933. [↑](#footnote-ref-1098)
1099. Shropshire Archives, Mayor’s Accounts, XSB/D/1/3/33. [↑](#footnote-ref-1099)
1100. Deposition of Lawrence Burgess, TNA, E 178/5239; Deposition of William Morgan, TNA, E.178/5933. [↑](#footnote-ref-1100)
1101. For example, Shammas, *Pre-Industrial Consumer*, p. 81. [↑](#footnote-ref-1101)
1102. Deposition of William Edgcombe, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1102)
1103. Deposition of Anne Lacey, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1103)
1104. Deposition of Abigail Langford and Agnes Edmonds, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1104)
1105. *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, 13 July 2018), December 1678 (16781211). [↑](#footnote-ref-1105)
1106. Christopher Morris (ed.), *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes, 1685-c.1712* (London, 1982) p. 204. [↑](#footnote-ref-1106)
1107. Apperson makes a similar point regarding female consumption in the west of England, and cites ten examples of literary and actual female smokers from around the country, including the infamous ‘Moll Cutpurse’, who took to the stage in the early 1600s, Apperson, *Social History of Smoking*, ch. XIII; Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton, *The Roaring Girle, Or Moll Cut-Purse As it hath lately beene acted on the Fortune-stage by the Prince his Players* (London, 1611). [↑](#footnote-ref-1107)
1108. Beresford, ‘Retail Tobacco Licences’, p. 238; Shammas, *Pre-Industrial Consumer*, pp. 78-83; Jeremy Boulton, ‘London 1540-1700’ in Clark (ed.), *Cambridge Urban History*, p. 235. [↑](#footnote-ref-1108)
1109. TNA, E 122/218/25. [↑](#footnote-ref-1109)
1110. Lemire, *Global Trade*, ch. 5, esp. pp. 198-201. [↑](#footnote-ref-1110)
1111. Christine North, ‘Fustians, Figs and Frankincense: Jacobean Shop Inventories for Cornwall’, *Journal of the royal institution of Cornwall,* new series II, vol. II, part 2 (1995), pp. 32-77. The sample size was twenty-six. [↑](#footnote-ref-1111)
1112. Overton et al., *Production and Consumption*, p. 117, Table 5.6. In the second half of the century, Kent had caught up with the western county: between 1650-99, the number of inventories containing tobacco for Kent and Cornwall were 38 and 29 per cent, respectively. [↑](#footnote-ref-1112)
1113. CRO, AP/J/343. [↑](#footnote-ref-1113)
1114. CRO, AP/H/895; CRO, AP/J/468. [↑](#footnote-ref-1114)
1115. Price, *France and Chesapeake*, p. 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-1115)
1116. TNA, E 122/218/25. [↑](#footnote-ref-1116)
1117. Mark Stoyle, *West Britons: Cornish Identities and the Early Modern British State* (Exeter, 2002); Stoyle, *Soldiers and Strangers: An Ethnic History of the English Civil War* (New Haven, 2005). [↑](#footnote-ref-1117)
1118. TNA, E 122/218/25; see Fig. 4. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-1118)
1119. See chapter four; TNA, E 178/5793; TNA, E 178/5284. [↑](#footnote-ref-1119)
1120. Jason Hughes, *Learning to Smoke: Tobacco Use in the West* (2003). [↑](#footnote-ref-1120)
1121. Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 49. [↑](#footnote-ref-1121)
1122. Exceptions: Hughes, *Learning to Smoke*; Withington, ‘Company and Sociability’; Withington, ‘Intoxicants and the Early Modern City’; Withington, ‘Intoxicants and Society’. [↑](#footnote-ref-1122)
1123. Peter Mancall, ‘Tales tobacco told in sixteenth-century Europe’, *Environmental History*, 9, 4 (2004), pp. 648-678; Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*; Benjamin B. Roberts, *Sex and Drugs Before Rock ‘n’ Roll: Youth Culture and Masculinity During Holland’s Golden Age* (Amsterdam, 2017), pp. 176-178. [↑](#footnote-ref-1123)
1124. Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, pp. 43-49, 75-77. [↑](#footnote-ref-1124)
1125. Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 76. [↑](#footnote-ref-1125)
1126. Anon., *The Country-Mans Physician* (London, 1680), p. 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-1126)
1127. Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (London, 1719), pp. 109-111. [↑](#footnote-ref-1127)
1128. In the mid-1630s, tobacco aboard several English ships was captured by privateers on the grounds that tobacco was victuals, and therefore was lawful prize. However, the ship-owners asserted that this was ‘contrary to the opinion of divines, lawyers, and physicians’, see TNA SP 16/534 f.225; also, TNA, SP 16/299 f.180; TNA, SP 16/304 f.43; TNA, SP 16/307 f.155; TNA, SP 16/313 f.39; TNA, SP 16/313 f.93; TNA, SP 16/343 f.120; TNA, SP 16/353 f.72. [↑](#footnote-ref-1128)
1129. Samuel Rowlands quoted in MacInnes, *Early English Tobacco Trade*, p. 49. [↑](#footnote-ref-1129)
1130. Goodman, ‘Excitantia’; Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 41. [↑](#footnote-ref-1130)
1131. Walvin, *Fruits of Empire*, p. 71; Shammas, *Pre-Industrial Consumer*, pp. 78-83. [↑](#footnote-ref-1131)
1132. Lemire, ‘“Men of the World”’, pp. 288, 296. [↑](#footnote-ref-1132)
1133. Norton, *Sacred Gifts*, pp. 156-158; Norton and Studnicki-Gizbert, ‘Multinational Commodification of Tobacco’, p. 254. [↑](#footnote-ref-1133)
1134. Matthias de l’Obel quoted in Goodman, *Tobacco in History*, p. 47, 49; and Dickson, *Panacea or Precious Bane*, pp. 44-45. [↑](#footnote-ref-1134)
1135. Norton, *Sacred Gifts* p. 157; Roberts, *Sex and Drugs*, pp. 178-179. [↑](#footnote-ref-1135)
1136. Lemire, *Global Trade*, ch. 5, esp. pp. 198-201; see also Norton and Studnicki-Gizbert, ‘Multinational Commodification of Tobacco; Norton, *Sacred Gifts* pp. 156-158. [↑](#footnote-ref-1136)
1137. Lemire, *Global Trade*, p. 199. [↑](#footnote-ref-1137)
1138. Deposition of Edward Harris, BA, JX/1/4; deposition of George Maggs in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II,pp. 67-68; Blakemore, ‘Pieces of Eight’; depositions of Baldwin Clarke and Abraham Jennens, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1138)
1139. Roberts (ed.), *Letter-Booke of John Byrd,* pp. 30, 32; depositions of John Fisher and John Waile in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I, p. 215; deposition of John Gorway, TNA, T 64/139. [↑](#footnote-ref-1139)
1140. Depositions of Richard Louis alias Jones, Lawrence Burgesse and Richard Barnehouse, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1140)
1141. Deposition of Walter Jago, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1141)
1142. Deposition of Ellen Avery, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1142)
1143. Deposition of Susan Treglown, TNA, E 178/5239; CRO, AP/J/343. [↑](#footnote-ref-1143)
1144. TNA, SP 18/42 f.124. [↑](#footnote-ref-1144)
1145. TNA, SP 18/42 f.157. [↑](#footnote-ref-1145)
1146. Lemire, ‘“Men of the World”’, p. 290; Norton, *Sacred Gifts* pp. 156-158. [↑](#footnote-ref-1146)
1147. In 1665, the master’s mate of the Bristol ship *Alexander* was held responsible for its loss after he was aboard another ship ‘upon occasion of merryment’, deposition of Hugh Everard, BA, JX/1/5. [↑](#footnote-ref-1147)
1148. Depositions of John Cole and Richard Ryder in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II, pp. 59-61. [↑](#footnote-ref-1148)
1149. Depositions of Richard Louis alias Jones, Lawrence Burgesse and Richard Barnehouse, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1149)
1150. Stephens, *Seventeenth-Century Customs Service*, pp. 95-100; TNA, T 64/140; Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship*, p. 41. [↑](#footnote-ref-1150)
1151. Deposition of Daniel Huggins in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I, pp. 105-106. [↑](#footnote-ref-1151)
1152. Depositions of Ralph Baily and Thomas Harris in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I, p. 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-1152)
1153. Gray (ed.), *Early Stuart Mariners*. [↑](#footnote-ref-1153)
1154. Deposition of John Binam in Nott and Ralph (eds), *Deposition Books*, vol. II,p. 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-1154)
1155. Pares, *Merchants and Planters*; Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 104-105, 118-120. [↑](#footnote-ref-1155)
1156. CRO, AP/H/895; deposition of Thomas Robins, TNA, E 178/5319. [↑](#footnote-ref-1156)
1157. Depositions of John Carbell, Christopher Jones and Thomas Rycroft, BA, JX/1/3. [↑](#footnote-ref-1157)
1158. Depositions of Robert Glass, Peter Wraxall and Simon Clark in Nott (ed.), *Deposition Books*, vol. I, pp. 191-192 108, 217; depositions of George Bond, Richard Ryder, Richard Williams, Sebastian Penientell, William Chapple, James Vawer, John Fisher, George Jones, James Smith, William Slowly, James Andrews, James Berkin and Thomas Wickham, pp. 20-21, 59-61, 70-73, 104, 140, 144-145, 187-190; depositions of Edward Parker, John Nagle, Edward Daniel, Edward Gibbes, John Jones, Samuel Bonier, Francis Parsons and Humphry Diggins, BA, JX/1/3; depositions of John Band, Edward Harris, Nicholas Tovy and John Read, BA, JX/1/4; depositions of William Ball, John Cowne, William Smith and Hugh Eveard, BA, JX/1/5. [↑](#footnote-ref-1158)
1159. Deposition of Walter Jago, TNA, E 178/5239; depositions of Zacharias Latter, John Fowler, William Somers, William Wisdale, Henry Chessle in Thomson (ed.), *Book of Examinations and Depositions*, pp. 7, 71-72; deposition of Richard Barnehouse, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1159)
1160. Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation* p. 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-1160)
1161. Norton, *Sacred Gifts* pp. 167-172. [↑](#footnote-ref-1161)
1162. Deposition of Susan Treglown, TNA, E 178/5239; Shropshire Archives, Mayor’s Accounts, XSB/D/1/3/33. [↑](#footnote-ref-1162)
1163. Phil Withington, ‘Company and Sociability in Early Modern England’, *Social History*, 32, 3 (2007), pp. 291-307, 297. [↑](#footnote-ref-1163)
1164. Withington, ‘Company and Sociability’, p. 297. [↑](#footnote-ref-1164)
1165. Deposition of Meverel Cradock, TNA, E 178/5932. [↑](#footnote-ref-1165)
1166. Deposition of Ralph Adams, TNA, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-1166)
1167. Deposition of Christopher Coleman, TNA, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-1167)
1168. Deposition of Thomas Bollard, TNA, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-1168)
1169. For example, Anne Tlusty, *Bacchus and Civic Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany* (Charlottesville, 2001); Brown, ‘Landscape of Drink’, pp. 120-121, 254; Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship*; Mary Douglas, *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology* (Cambridge, 1991); Hailwood and Deborah Toner (eds), *Biographies of Drink: A Case Study Approach to our Historical Relationship with Alcohol* (Cambridge, 2015). [↑](#footnote-ref-1169)
1170. Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship*, p. 223. [↑](#footnote-ref-1170)
1171. Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship*, p. 168. [↑](#footnote-ref-1171)
1172. Apperson cites King James, John Marston, Gerrard Winstanley and Samuel Pepys as figures who identified tobacco with good fellowship, Apperson, S*ocial History of Smoking*; see also Anon., *Roaring Dick of Dover: or the joviall good fellow of Kent, that ne’r is willing to give over, till all his money be spent* (London, 1632). [↑](#footnote-ref-1172)
1173. King James, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (London, 1604). [↑](#footnote-ref-1173)
1174. Depositions of John Mercerter and James Bastley, TNA, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-1174)
1175. Deposition of Simon Jusley, TNA, E 178/5557. [↑](#footnote-ref-1175)
1176. Deposition of Margaret Hughes, TNA, E. 178/ 5315; depositions of Matthew Gibb, John Carnaby, Isabel Priest, Thomas Rowell, Dorothy Thompson and Bridgett Mansfield, TNA, E 178/ 5793. [↑](#footnote-ref-1176)
1177. Deposition of William Sherman, TNA, E 178/5534. [↑](#footnote-ref-1177)
1178. Depositions of Symon Juseley and Robert Colitte, TNA, E 178/5557 [↑](#footnote-ref-1178)
1179. Depositions of William Morgan and John Morgan, TNA, E 178/5933; deposition of Lawrence Burgesse, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1179)
1180. Depositions of John Batman, Rees Morgan and Meverell Craddock, TNA, E 178/5932. [↑](#footnote-ref-1180)
1181. Deposition of William Sherman, TNA, E 178/5534. [↑](#footnote-ref-1181)
1182. Deposition of Jane Haycrast, TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1182)
1183. Depositions of TNA, E 178/5239. [↑](#footnote-ref-1183)
1184. Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 171. [↑](#footnote-ref-1184)
1185. Rowley, ‘How England learned to Smoke’, p. 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-1185)
1186. Ulinka Rublack, ‘Fluxes: the Early Modern Body and the Emotions’, *History Workshop Journal*, 53, 1 (2002), pp. 1-16, 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-1186)
1187. James I, *A Counterblaste to tobacco*. [↑](#footnote-ref-1187)
1188. William Barclay, *Nepenthes* (1614). See also Thomas Tomkis, *Lingua: Or the Combat of the Tongue* (1607): tobacco was a ‘firme knot of good fellowship, adamant of company’. [↑](#footnote-ref-1188)
1189. Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship*, p. 223. [↑](#footnote-ref-1189)
1190. For example, Davis, ‘English Foreign Trade’. [↑](#footnote-ref-1190)
1191. Daniel Defoe, *The life and strange surprizing adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, mariner* (London, 1719), p. 325. [↑](#footnote-ref-1191)
1192. *Ibid*, p. 325. [↑](#footnote-ref-1192)
1193. Beverley Lemire, ‘“Men of the World”’. [↑](#footnote-ref-1193)
1194. Pennell, ‘Material Culture’, p. 74. [↑](#footnote-ref-1194)
1195. De Vries, *Industrious Revolution*, p. 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-1195)