

‘Serve ye markitt as need shall require & thende darth maye be avoided’: How Hull’s merchants stabilised the city’s grain market in the subsistence crises of the 1580s and 1590s.

Felicity Wood – PhD English (Water Cultures)

The University of Hull - sponsored by Leverhulme Trust and hosted by the Energy & Environment Institute at The University of Hull.

TRANSHISTORICAL ANXIETIES

- Global climate warming
- International economy and market network
- Food access, availability and security
- Localized, sustainable and fair supply chains
- Equality of food rights.
- Shared experience

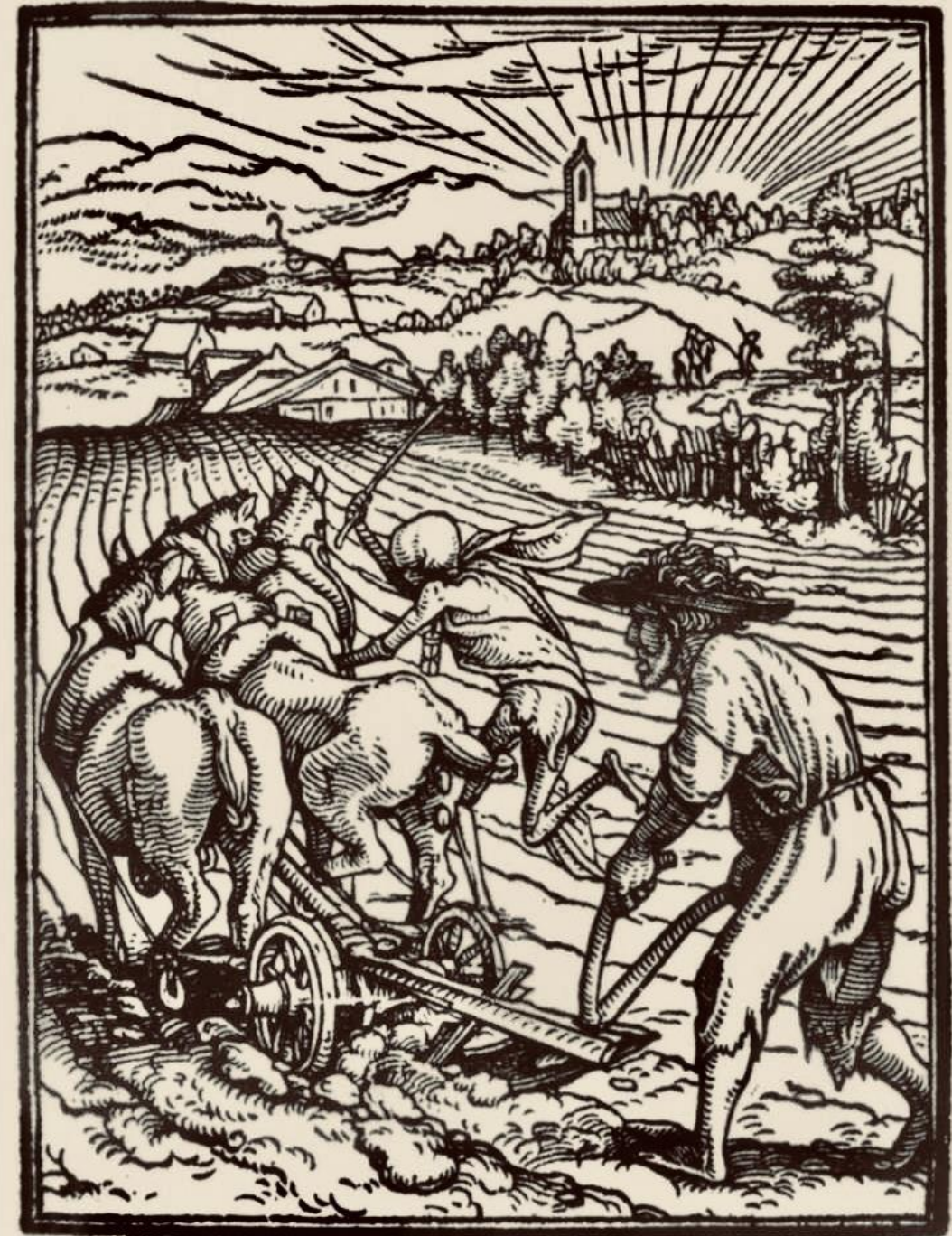


CLIMATE SENSITIVE ENGLAND

“What happened was immediately dependent on the weather; one county may be enjoying a surplus when the next has a serious dearth [...] One cannot overestimate the directness and the simplicity of the condition of things then: bad weather and a bad harvest meant starving people” (*The England of Elizabeth*, 1950:106).

“[it] is evident from a comparison of weather and harvest records that what the peasants feared most was a mild but very wet winter, continuing into a cool rainy spring” ... “sudden freaks of nature: June frost, the violent hailstorm, the sudden deluge that submerged the meadows as hay was being gathered.” (*The Culture of the English People*, 1994: 174)

“for the majority of the Tudor population their daily task was to extract sustenance from the earth, rivers, forests and seas around them...” (*Tudor England: A History*, 2022:9)



'Peasant's dance of death' by Hans Holbein the Younger, (1523- 1525)

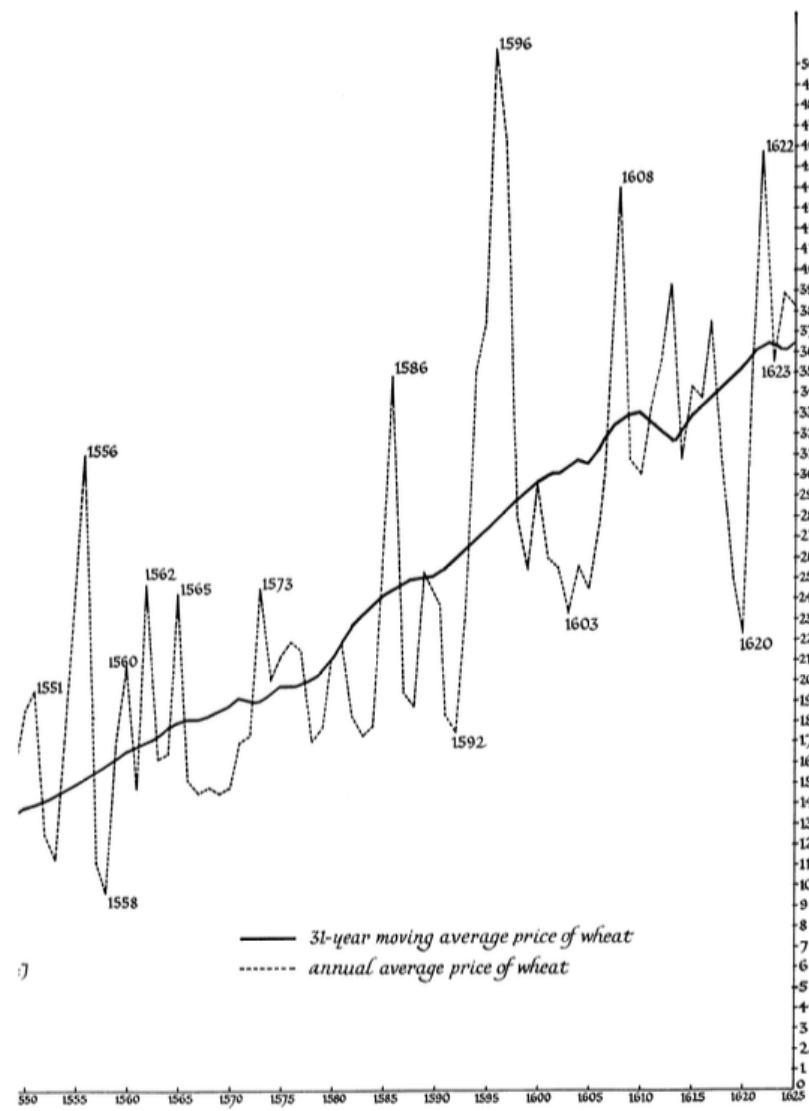


FIG. I
FLUCTUATIONS 1480-1625

DEARTH MEASURES

- Orders and measures issued by Elizabeth's Government.
- Maintain food security and accessibility
- Ensure the flow of grain within the market network
 - specific focus on London.
- Management, control and manipulation
- Effective organized approach to manage and secure the supply of grain to everyday people.

Orders deuifed by
the especiall commandement of
the Queenes Maiestie, for the
reliefe and stay of the present
dearth of Graine within
the Realme:

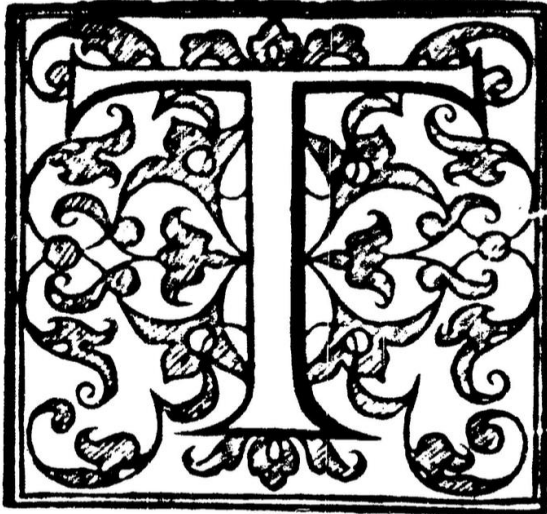
Sent from the Court at Greene-
wich abroad into the Realme, the
second day of Ianuarie, 1586.
In the 29. yere of her Maiesties
reigne, by her Maiesties
Prinse Counsell.



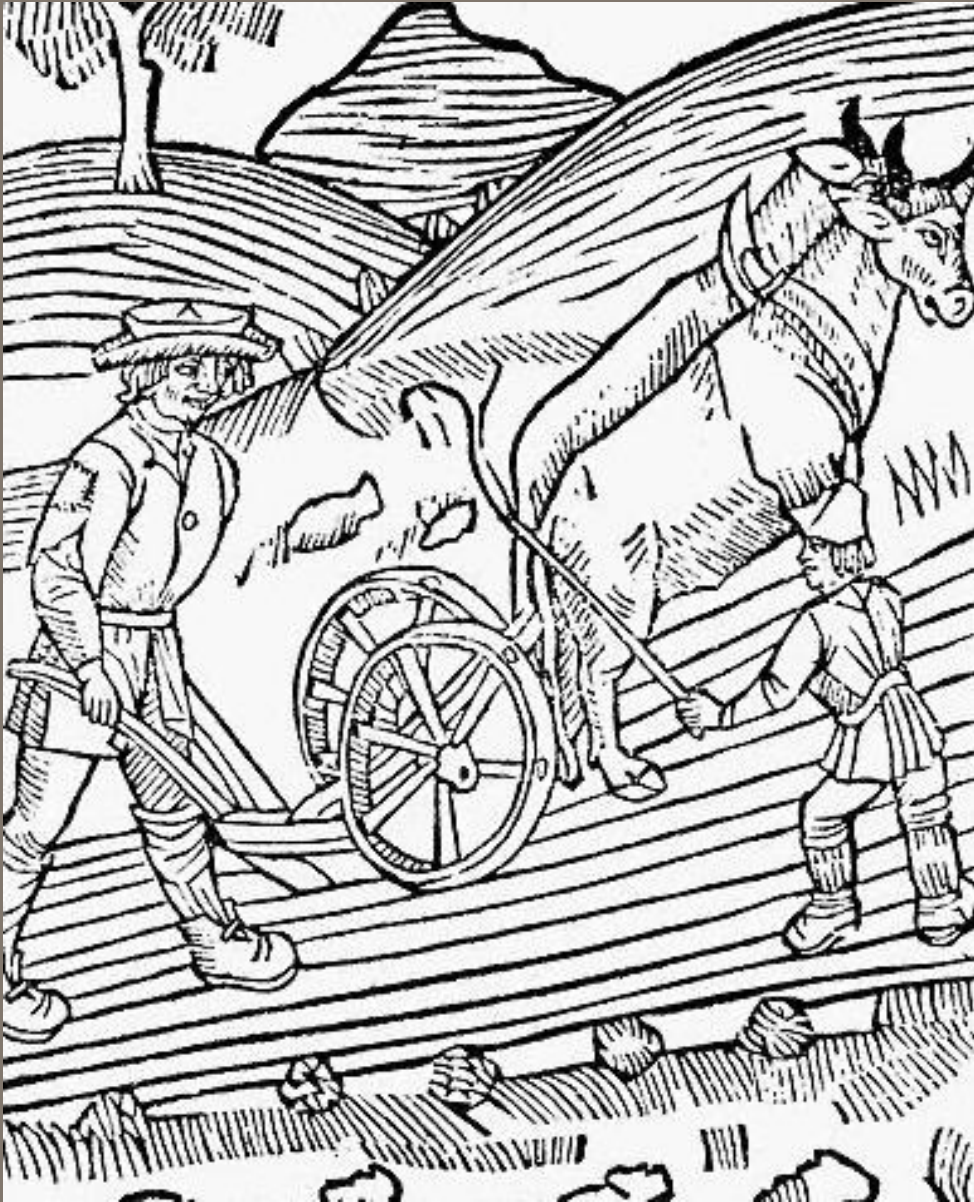
Imprinted at London by Christopher
Barker, Printer to the Queenes most
excellent Maiestie,
1586.

By the Queene.

A Proclamation for the dearth of Corne.



TH^E Queenes Maiestie hearing by report out of sundry Countreies in the Realme, of the unreasonable encrease of prices of Graine, to the griefe of her poozer sort of people that haue no liuing by Tillage: And though the sellers of Corne, as rich Farmers, and Ingrossers, do pretend to raise the prices by colour of the vnseasonableness of this Sommer: yet that being no iust cause to raise the prices of their olde Corne of the last yeeres growth, but that the Farmers and Ingrossers of Corne, of meere couetousnesse haue bereylately, euen within two moneths, most vncharitably haunced by their prices, not tollerable to be suffered. For remedie whereof, to the reliefe of the great multitude of her pooze louing Subjects, lacking Corne for their foode, and also for reformation of many other abuses committed by such couetous and vncharitable persons, being boide of all naturall compassion towards their neighbours: Her Maiestie calling to her remembrance the good orders by her Maiesties commaundement published the last yeere, especially for the staye of the dearth of Corne, to be executed by the Sherifes and Iustices of Peace in euery Countie of her Realme, the good obseruation whereof would remedie these disorders of the yll and wealthy sort, and to the reliefe of the good and needie: Doeth therefore charge and straightly commaund all her Sherifes and Iustices of Peace, and other principall Officers in



HULL'S POSITION WITHIN THE MARKET NETWORK



HULL EARLY
PROVISIONS OF
FOOD(1580s)

16 Decemb^r
1586

L. 68



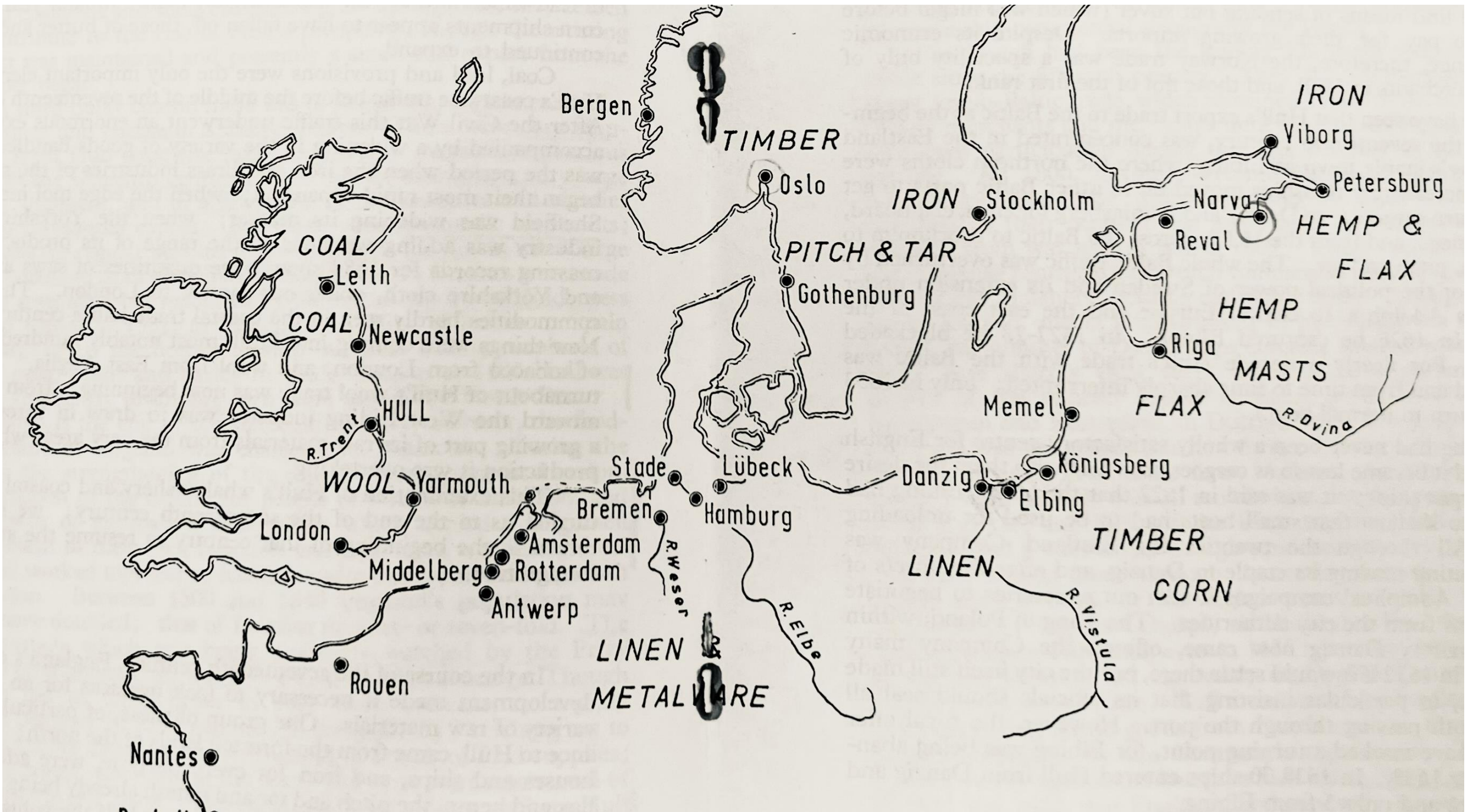
I am yours to understand that the poorer sort of
men in your towne, and the poor husbandmen
of the countie are generally distressed for want of
corne: And that to your very good wisedome
in some sort to relieve them, I would wishe
you to cause a survey to be made of the corne
remayning in your towne in the hands of
merchants, and upon view thereof to
deale with the said merchants hands in such
effectual sort, that they will be contented to
serve the poore of your sayd towne with corne
at a reasonable rate and if those in your towne
being sufficiently provided for, the aboute
you may likewise be furnished at lyke
reasonable prices.

J. H. Anstys
Mayor

4

Major's address
at Hall

“there may be some meanes be found in some sort to relieve them, I would wishe you to cause survey to be made of the corne remayning within your towne in the merchants hands, and upon view thereof to deale with the said merchants hands in such effectual sort, that they will be contented to serve the poore of your sayd towne with corne at a reasonable rate and if those in your towne being sufficiently provided for, the aboute you may likewise be furnished at lyke reasonable prices.” (BRL/68)



Bergen

TIMBER

Oslo

IRON

Stockholm

IRON

Viborg

Petersburg

Narva

HEMP & FLAX

Reval

HEMP

Riga

MASTS

FLAX

Memel

R. Dvina

Königsberg

TIMBER

CORN

LINEN

Elbing

Danzig

Lübeck

Hamburg

R. Elbe

LINEN & METALWARE

Stade

Bremen

Amsterdam

Rotterdam

Antwerp

R. Weser

WOOL

Yarmouth

London

Middelberg

Rouen

Nantes

COAL

Leith

COAL

Newcastle

HULL

R. Trent

Yarmouth



HULL'S
INTERNATIONAL
TRADE (1590s)

L. 118
L. 118



After my Elthre Comendments received. I understand
 that there are certaine shippes of Danzick Copeman
 Harben Scotland and Hollande that of late have brought
 Corne to the port of Hull and ther prohibited the same
 for the releafe of the inhabitants of that towne
 of the whole Countrey in wantinge, and that they
 have beynne freighted by merchantes there for Danzick
 to returne with more Corne. I am verie well pleased
 that the said shippes shall passe on their voyage
 in regard of the beynne freighted for the benefit of the
 whole Countrey, And I desire your grace to will that
 you require your grace to stand in the late restriction from
 the City of Hull that you suffer all these shippes
 of the places abovesaid to be freighted with the said
 Corne to be releafed and to passe on their voyage
 without any further charge, And so doe bid
 you & shalbe faine well, from my house at Hull
 the 13 of Maye 1597

Your loving friend

Richard

A REQUEST “that ships containing corn would be allowed into the port’s haven excused from the restraints laid on. Certain “ shippes of Danzick, Copen-Harben. Scotland and Holland that of last had brought corne to the port of Hull” to relieve “the inhabitants of that towne”, were to passe on their voyage without the restrictions of foregin trade so that they may “ return with more corne” and be “freighted bountiful of corne” (BRL/118)

Item it is remembred and fully agreed by the said Mayor and Aldermen
John Crapman Mayor, William Smith, L. Thomas, Robert Dalton,
John Vinton, Anthonie Gole, John Lister, Edward Cooke, Aldermen in the
year 1598, that in the year 1598, the 21st day of April the
year aforesaid, the prices of white rye doth daily increase
in the market, and likely to growe to excessive prices, for the better
reliefe of the poorer sort of people here, and to supply their present
necessities, and partly to staine their exclamation in that behalf, a
reasonable quantitie of white rye, shall be shipped out of every
port from the parte beyond the seas, (shall be taken out of every shipp or vessel
at the discretion of the Mayor, and according as such shippes or vessels shall be
in burthen, and the said rye, so to be taken from tyme to tyme during
the dearth and scarcitie, shall be prized and valued by the said Mayor
at some indifferent under rate, lesse then the market, so that the said
and owners thereof may have a competent & moderate gain, not excessive
for such small quantitie in such sort to be taken, and the same rye to
be sold from tyme to tyme to the poorer people, by mette, bushell or pecke,
and the said owners thereof, to be answered the monie arising thereon according
by the Mayor, &c.

“That forasmuch as the prices of corne doth dailye increase in the market and likely to growe to excessive prices. For the better reliefe of the poorer sort of people here, in so much as to supply their present necessitie and partly to staie their [exclamation on their] behalfe & a reasonable quantite of white rie which shall be shipped hither unto this port from the porte beyond the seas & shallbe taken out of every such shipp or vessel at the discrecion of the Mayor, and according as such shippes or vessels shallbe in [brethren] And the said rie for to be taken from tyme to tyme during this dearth and scarcetie shallbe prized and halved by the said maior at some indifferent under rate lesse than the markette for the inhabitants [of the towne] therefore may have a competent & moderate gain of , not excessive for such small quantitie I such port to be taken. And the same rie to be sold from time to time and the poore people by mette, bushell or pecke” (C BRB/2/305b)



HULL'S INTERNAL TRADE

178

For as muche as the hiege waies to this towne are of laite
 greatly decayed on every side the saime, and growen to
 be so fowel and especially on Holderness side that hardly
 any loden horses can gitt to this towne. By meanes
 whereof it is greatly to be doubled that corne will in this
 markitt growne is be very deare [...] it is though a good
 idea that some corne & especially wheate & rye be
 bought & provided with save ye markitt as nede shall
 require & thende darthe may be avoided & the scarcitie
 provided for as much as reasonably may be."

To be repaired at Lofors next
 M^r W^m Dutton Surveyor
 George Lofors

Fforasmuch as the highe waies to this towne are of laite
 greatly decayed on every side the saime, and growen to
 be so fowel and especially on Holderness side that hardly
 any loden horses can gitt to this towne. By meanes
 whereof it is greatly to be doubled that corne will in this
 markitt growne is be very deare [...] it is though a good
 idea that some corne & especially wheate & rye be
 bought & provided with save ye markitt as nede shall
 require & thende darthe may be avoided & the scarcitie
 provided for as much as reasonably may be."

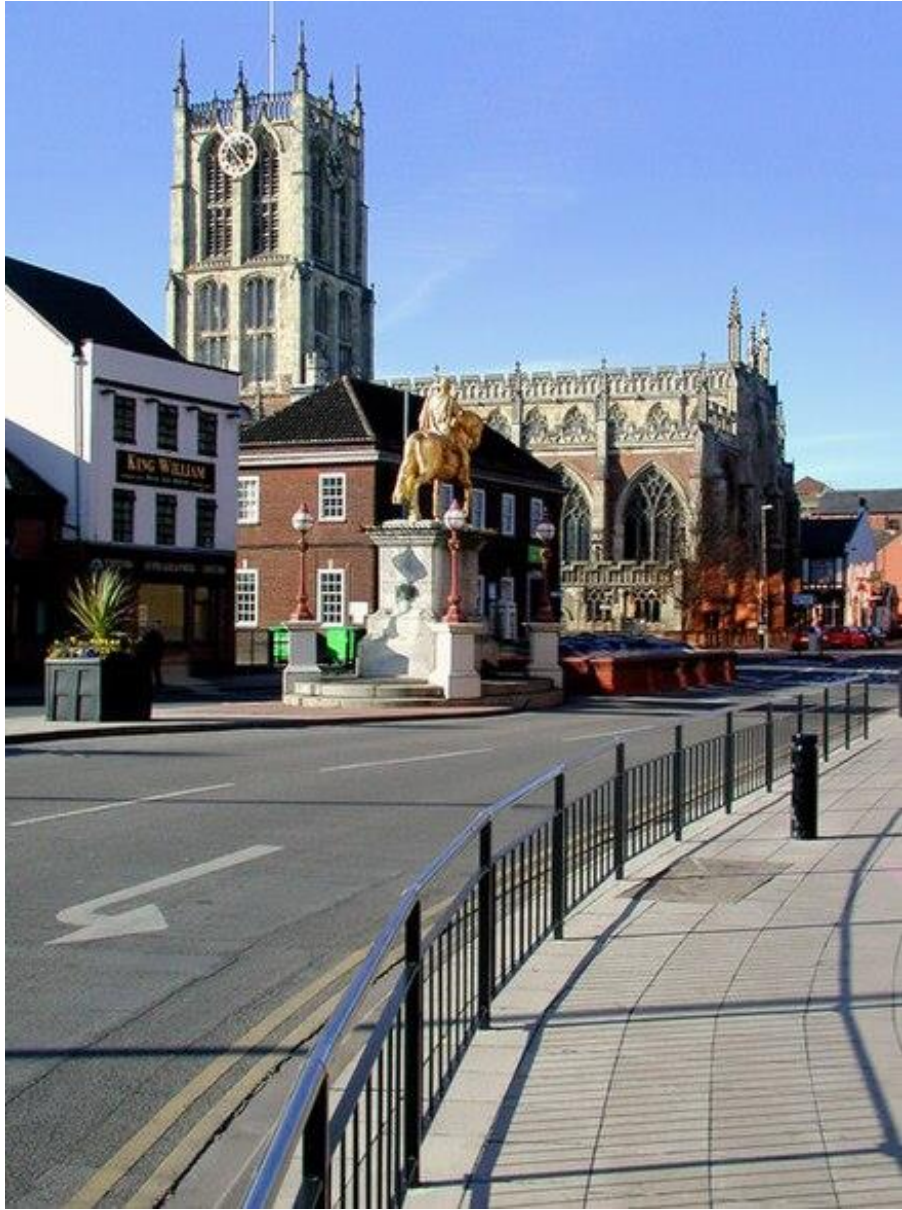
(C BRB/2/178)



THE FAIR AND FREE MARKET



Speed's plan of Hull 1610, available at HCC readers room



Holy Trinity Church and gilded statue of William of Orange, Kingston upon Hull, by Mark Dunn.



Market Place, Hull. Artist unknown. 1770-1804. Held at V&A



THE FAIR AND
FREE MARKET:
REGULATING
THE MARKET

Market Woman with Fruit, Vegetables and Poultry, Pieter Aertsen (1564).

For the better accomplishment of the contents of
the said order the Mayor and Aldermen did appoint
William Marry, John Brown, Fuller, William Roper, and
Thomas Strongly, diligently to search by night and day
for any person who should buy or sell any
great quantity of corn or butter in the
market, and to make presentment thereof
to the Mayor and Aldermen.

Item the Mayor and Aldermen being informed
that the said order was not observed, and
that a great quantity of corn and butter
was bought in the market by means
of the said order, and that the price
thereof was very dear, they appointed
Antony Bownsall and John Bell to see
that no man should buy above two
mettes of corn in the market in one
day, and that no man should buy any
great quantity of butter in the market
for his own provision, and that the
price thereof should be sufficient for
his own provision.

“the said maior and aldermen being informed that [several] psons did engrose and gitt into their custody great quantitie of corne and butter where for the worth [that] they bought in ye markkit by means wherof bothe corne and butter dothe growe [...] very deare”,
“have appointed Antony Bownsall and John Bell to see yt no man upon one markitt day doe buy above two mettes of corne in the markitt and they present all such as by any great quantitie of butter in the markitt”
“sufficient for their own provision is be spent in their howses”

(C BRB/2/111b).



The quarter of wheete. A fattynge of wheete. A fattynge of wheete. A fattynge of wheete.

The quarter of wheete at. ix. ounces and viii. ounces q̄r. viii. s. ii. d. ob. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye.

The quarter of wheete at. ix. s. i. d. ob. viii. s. i. d. ob. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye.

The quarter of wheete at. ix. s. ii. d. ob. viii. s. ii. d. ob. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye.

The quarter of wheete at. ix. s. iii. d. ob. viii. s. iii. d. ob. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye.

The quarter of wheete at. ix. s. ii. d. ob. viii. s. ii. d. ob. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye.



A halfe peny whete lofe. A halfe peny wheten lofe. A peny wheten lofe. A halfe peny houtholde lofe.

xxvii. s. ii. d. ob. viii. s. ii. d. ob. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye.

xxviii. s. iii. d. ob. viii. s. iii. d. ob. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye.

xxix. s. ii. d. ob. viii. s. ii. d. ob. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye.

xxx. s. i. d. ob. viii. s. i. d. ob. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye.

xxxi. s. ii. d. ob. viii. s. ii. d. ob. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye. A half and ii. d. vi. and, ob. troye.

to preferre for andis *xxij* s. d.
 The firste the wharke of the wharke for the wharke beinge
 the wharke of the wharke beinge or havinge to be bought
 the wharke of the wharke beinge or havinge to be bought
 the wharke of the wharke beinge or havinge to be bought
 the wharke of the wharke beinge or havinge to be bought
 the wharke of the wharke beinge or havinge to be bought

malgato bread	} shall be sold for	13. ounce
malgato or booted bread		19. ounce
brood bread		25. ounce

The firste part of the said bakeris shall have the wharke of the wharke
 the wharke of the wharke beinge or havinge to be bought
 the wharke of the wharke beinge or havinge to be bought
 the wharke of the wharke beinge or havinge to be bought

The firste part of the said bakeris shall have the wharke of the wharke
 the wharke of the wharke beinge or havinge to be bought
 the wharke of the wharke beinge or havinge to be bought
 the wharke of the wharke beinge or havinge to be bought

The firste part of the said bakeris shall have the wharke of the wharke
 the wharke of the wharke beinge or havinge to be bought
 the wharke of the wharke beinge or havinge to be bought
 the wharke of the wharke beinge or havinge to be bought

“The size of bread, the wheate being xxxiis. the quarter” and subsequently that “wheat bread should weigh 13 ounces, Wheaten or Bowled bred should weigh 19 ounce, and Brown bread 25 ounce.”

“shall hereafter bake and sell any two penny bread, but i.d. or loaves upon paine every such ii.d. lofes or greater then that quantity hereby lymitted”

“That the said bakeris shall once within one forniht or as corn shall ryse and fall of pryce [meet with the mayor] for the tyme being. And of him to receive the weight that they shall observe in making of their bread accordygne [to] the pryce that the corne shall then be at.” (C BRG/2 /254)



“misrule by daie and night, carde, dice & other unlawfull games there practiced, drunkenness and often times worse [proved] unthrifitie expences caused”

“the witness of povertie within this towne, and ill spending of good time, the wastfull consuming of victuals and corne chiefly, by meanes whereof the same are in it growne & held up with excessive prices, with the great detriment of the corne wealth, private damage of manie and no small impediment to the performance of good lawes”

“no pson or psons of what estate or condition should he or they being burgesses or inhabitante within this towne, or the libertites thereof shall hereafter, during the time of darth at the least, go or resort into anie alehouse or other drinking house, and there to drinke either beere or ale”

(C BRG/2/304)



FAIRS, MARKETS AND TAXES

^{for the death of Edward the 4th}
 m^r. Thomas full mai^r m^r c
 in the 20th year of the reign of Edward the 4th
 by the said full mai^r m^r c was granted to the
 said full mai^r m^r c that he should have and enjoy
 the said fair above said to be paid to the said m^r c
 the said full mai^r m^r c
 in all the said years above said to be paid to the said m^r c
 to pay to him accordingly.

The 20th day of October the year above said
 of the said full mai^r m^r c giving two times of robes brought
 from London which he would have passed by the way
 by virtue of the said full mai^r m^r c and delivered said and not suffered to be so conveyed
 upon the said full mai^r m^r c
 to be at the said full mai^r m^r c
 for to arise straight upon the said full mai^r m^r c
 fine was permitted.

The said day and gave Thomas woodward of the
 fields in road of Davie street was bound to the mai^r and
 burgesses of the said full mai^r m^r c that neither he nor his
 shall hereafter vend or cause to be vendid by the way
 of fowls and merchandise called quack wares
 nor bond is taken of the said mai^r and burgesses above said.

It was a bond of Andrew Barber taken to the
 Queen in the 20th year of the reign of Edward the 4th
 that he should not vend or cause to be vendid
 malt nor wheat nor barley in the said full mai^r m^r c
 nor in any other place within the said full mai^r m^r c
 nor in any other place within the said full mai^r m^r c
 nor in any other place within the said full mai^r m^r c

m^r. That on Friday the 20th day of October the year above said
 the fair granted to the town by the said full mai^r m^r c was in open
 market about 21 of the clock in the forenoon in the presence of
 the said mai^r and burgesses of the said full mai^r m^r c
 being proclaimed as follows.

We found it very pleased the most excellent ma^r his for
 the good of the town, as well towards the amendment
 of the state of all and every the inhabitants thereof, and the
 better and speedier repairing, & building again of the
 said town.

fin 26

fair proclaimed



said, then next following. That we have fore to give notice
 thereof, to all our male lying subjects that the said fair
 is now to be kept accordingly to begin the 21st day
 of September next, and to be continued for 20 years
 from hence next following, and so after that year the
 sum of the said above said of God's gift to the town
 that all manner of the said above said, to buy or sell
 at the said fair, and any wares, maner and goods, for the
 or other thing may at that time, repair and come together
 at their pleasures, without impediment or hindrance of any
 in that respect.

And whereas also, there is granted to this corporation, two
 market daies, weekly save to be taken, the one on Thursday
 the other on Friday every week, etc. And that all manner of
 toll, of all sort of victuals or other things belonging
 to any such fair or market, shall from time to time be
 assigned to the use of the town by the Officers, for such
 purpose to be appointed. These are likewise, to give
 knowledge hereof, to every person to the end, that none here
 after may invade the governance herein, but willingly render
 and give due fine toll, duties, & dues as shall lawfully
 in that behalf, be demanded of them or any of them,
 concerning the same, without compulsion, or constraint and
 waite, to be extended towards any. And that no person
 do hereafter make paves or sales, of any town or other place
 brought to this market, before the market bell be rung
 upon the first time thereof. etc.

no respect to the

The 20th day of October being Sunday in the
 year above said, in the morning the said full mai^r m^r c
 made, as follows. viz:

It somewhat good to the town next in mai^r and
 the town the 20th day of October the order was published
 in the time of the said full mai^r m^r c against the
 to delay the same or other thing should be
 now be rendered, as well for the same, as for
 and in charge, by the justice of the peace, but being
 in the year above said, as also because it is found, to be
 not a little beneficial to the good of the town
 usually, & beneficially obtainable, to the
 taking away of man's disorder, and
 to the quietness of the town, and the
 by means thereof. And therefore in the year above said

Any person presenting their wares to sell were to “willingly render and paie all such tolls, duties & dues as shall lawfully in that behalfe to be demanded of them, concerning the same, without complication or constraint anie waies will be extended towarded anie” and once again the audible sanction of the market bell is included as “no person doe hereafter make shewe or sale of anie corne or other grain brought to this market before the market bell be ronge upon the forfaiture thereof.” (C BRG/2/316)

These are therefore to give notice therof with all her majestie loving subjects that the said fair is here to be kept accordingly, and to begin the xjith day of September next, and to be continued for xv daies from thence next following. And so after that yearly during the daies aforesaid, if God permit to the intent that all manner of person that are disposed to buy or sell at the said fair anie wears, merchandises, horse, cattell, or other things may at that time repair and come hither at their pleasures without impeachment or hinderance of any in that respect. (C BRG/2/315b - 316)

In Hull’s fair “all manner of toll, of all sort of victuals or other things belonging to anie such fair or market, shall from tyme to tyme be recyved with the use of this towne, by the officers for such purpose to be appointed”(C BRG/2/316b).



“ all manner of tolls and dues of all, and all manner of merchandise, victuals, and other things whatsoever, from time to time sold and brought within the aforesaid markets and fair, or either of them, with the customs, usages, profits, commodities and emoluments whatsoever, belonging, appertaining, occurring, happening, or arising at such markets, marts, fairs and courts of piepowder “ (Boyle, 116)



THE BENCH, INFRASTRUCTURE AND LEGACIES

I have of the acquittance to the Lo. of Stanbore
and the said Stanbore knight

To all people to whom this present writething shall come the Mayor and Burgeses of the Burrough of
Lingston upon Hull send greeting and sheweth that as above said Corne knowe to be at the said
Burgeses Lawe and received at the same of the right Ho. John Lord Stanbore and as the said
Lingston of the said last will and testament the said some of the said Burgeses and every one
of the said Burgeses for the said Burgeses doo as the said Burgeses doo fully and
wold do as the said Burgeses doo and the said Burgeses doo as the said Burgeses doo
Administrate for ever by the said Burgeses and the said Mayor and Burgeses for the said Burgeses
doo as the said Burgeses doo and the said Mayor and Burgeses for the said Burgeses
of the said Burgeses doo as the said Burgeses doo and the said Mayor and Burgeses for the said Burgeses
will and shal employ the said some of the said Burgeses and the said Mayor and Burgeses for the said Burgeses
to the said Burgeses doo as the said Burgeses doo and the said Mayor and Burgeses for the said Burgeses
after by the said Burgeses doo as the said Burgeses doo and the said Mayor and Burgeses for the said Burgeses
testament of the said Burgeses doo as the said Burgeses doo and the said Mayor and Burgeses for the said Burgeses
for the said Burgeses doo as the said Burgeses doo and the said Mayor and Burgeses for the said Burgeses

one hundred and threescore pounds in monie
which he willed should by therein maior and
his brethren their good advice or other honest
psons be yerely at the beginning of the yere
employed to buy corne for the use of the poore
of the saide towne that they might have the
said corne for monie so that the saide towne
loose not by it and that the same should be
every yearely for ever provided always that if
they will not so due the citey of Yorke to have
the side money to imploy it for their poor
accordingly [...] (C BRB/3/4)



FINAL REMARKS



‘A New Charge Given’ (1595) London: Available Online <https://www.proquest.com/books/new-charge-giuen-queenes-commandement-all/docview/2240945262/se-2>

Allison K.J. (ed) (1969) 'Markets and fairs', in *A History of the County of York East Riding: Volume 1, the City of Kingston Upon Hull*. Available Online: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/east/vol1/pp407-412>.

Allison, K.J. (ed) (1969) *A History of the County of York East Riding: Volume 1, the City of Kingston Upon Hull*. Available Online: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/east/vol1>

FOB. *History of bread – Medieval Times*. Available Online: <https://shorturl.at/y8X0D>

Ljungqvist, F.C. et al. (2022) The significance of climate variability on early modern European grain prices in *Cliometrica*, 16, 29-77. Available online: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11698-021-00224-7>

Mann, M. E. (2002) *The Little Ice Age*. Available Online: http://www.meteo.psu.edu/holocene/public_html/shared/articles/littleiceage.pdf

Taylor, M. (2017) *Charters: The Making of Hull*. Available Online: <https://www.hullhistorycentre.org.uk/research/research-guides/PDF/charters-the-making-of-hull.pdf>

Tawney, R.H. (1912) *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*. Project Gutenberg. Available online: <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/40336/pg40336-images.html>

Ross, A.S.C (1956) ‘The Assize of Bread’ in *The Economic History Review*, Vol.9. No. 2. Pp. 332-342. Available Online: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2591750>



Appleby, A. (1978) *Famine In Tudor and Stuart England*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Boyle, J.R. *Charters and letters patent granted to Kingston-upon-Hull*. Hull: Harland & Son.

Chartes, A. 1977. *Internal Trade in England 1500-1700*. Macmillan Press: London.

Chartes, A. 1986. Food Consumption and internal trade. In: Finlay, R.&, A. L. Beier . (ed.) *London 1500 - 1700: The Making of the Metropolis*. London: Longman.

Collet, D. & Schuh, M. (2018) Introduction. In Collet, D.& Schuh, M. (eds.) *Famines During the 'Little Ice Age': Socionatural Entanglements in Premodern Societies*. London: Springer

Davis, R. (1964) *The Trade and Shipping of Hull. 1500 -1700*. Guisborough: Stokeld & Sons Ltd.

Dietz, B. 1986. Overseas trade and metropolitan growth. In: Finlay, R & A. L. Beier. (ed.) *London 1500 - 1700: The Making of the Metropolis*. London: Longman.

Fagan, B. (2010) *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History 1300-1850*. Cambridge: Basic Books.

Fraser, E.D.G. & Rimas, A. (2010) *Empires of Food: Feast, Famine, and the Rise and Fall of Civilizations*. London: Random House Publishers.

Gillet, E. & MacMahon, A. (1980) *A History of Hull*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gras, N.S. (1915) *The Evolution of the English Corn Market*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Hinde, A. (2003) *England's Population: A History Since the Domesday Survey*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Hoskins, W.G. 1964. Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1480 - 1619 in *The Agricultural History Review*, 12, 1, 28-46.

Hoskins, W.G. 1968. Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History, 1620-1759 in *The Agricultural History Review*, 16, 1, 15-31.

Overton M. 1996. *Agricultural Revolution in England: The transformation of the agrarian economy 1500 -1850*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Rowse, A.L. (1950) *The England of Elizabeth*. Suffolk: Richard clay and company, Ltd.

Sharp, B. (2016) *Famine and Scarcity in Late Medieval and Early Modern England: The Regulation of Grain Marketing 1256-1631*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Talyor, H. (2023) 'Paternalism and the politics of 'toll corn' in early modern England'. In *Social History*, 48:2, 214-231, DOI: 10.1080/03071022.2023.2179743