

THE RISE AND FALL OF BATH'S BREWERIES: 1736-1960

Mike Bone

The closure of Courage's Bristol brewery in 1999 and plans to close Usher's in Trowbridge have underlined the massive structural changes in the UK brewing industry and deprived the west country of two of its remaining large breweries. The closures are part of a long process of concentration in the industry that began in the nineteenth century and will no doubt bring more closures in the near future. This article traces the rise and subsequent history of brewing in Bath and its suburbs from the obscure beginnings of large-scale production in the early eighteenth century to 1960.

Whilst Bath's industrial history is no longer as neglected as it once was, the significance of its brewing trade has not been fully recognised by historians. Despite Ronald Wilcox's pioneering survey of the latter half of the eighteenth century, and the illustrated account of the public house in Bath and its tradition of small-scale brewing, entitled *Kegs and Ale*, very little has appeared on the substantial partnerships of the nineteenth century and on the three public companies that were formed towards the end of that century and the start of the twentieth.¹ This is surprising as the subject was not neglected by the compilers of some contemporary guides. *The Original Bath Guide* of 1815 referred to

... three or four very capital breweries in the city, where an extensive trade is carried on in porter, pale-beer, and ale, as well as supplying families with table-beer. There are also several other well-established Breweries upon a less scale, where a very wholesome beverage, strong and small, is also manufactured for private use; as well as several public-houses supplied with it.²

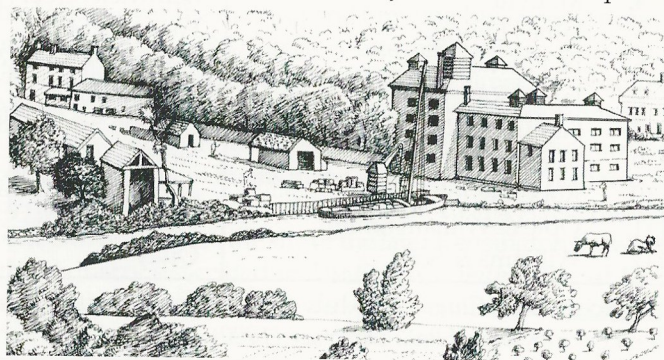
The Eighteenth Century: The Beginnings of Large-Scale Brewery Enterprise

Beer has long been an essential item in the national diet as well as a drink taken for pleasure, celebration and inebriation. The basic processes of mixing ('mashing') malted barley with hot water ('liquor') and fermenting this solution ('wort') with yeast ('barm') to brew 'ale' have remained unchanged, with the vital addition of boiling the wort with

hops. The introduction of hops to English brewing in the early fifteenth century facilitated a long process of change from 'domestic' brewing in the home, farm or institution to an industry based in public-houses and wholesale (or common) breweries. The new product was known as beer but the terms 'beer' and 'ale' have now lost their specific meanings. Malt was supplied from early times by specialist maltsters but many brewers also undertook production of this, their major raw material.

The addition of hops produced a beer that was clearer, cheaper to brew, easier to transport and kept longer. Subsequent growth in population and urbanisation provided the economic conditions for large-scale brewing enterprise, most notably in London. The spectacular growth of eighteenth-century Bath – with a population of 33,000 and investment in domestic building equal to fixed investment in the cotton textile industry by the end of that century³ – produced similar opportunities for brewing enterprise. Council minutes suggest that brewers and maltsters were prominent and wealthy figures at this time. The first detailed evidence of a large brewery comes from the autobiographical account of Richard Jones, clerk of works to the developer Ralph Allen: 'In 1736 built a long malt-house and brew-house, by the stone yard at the back of Claverton Street, which cost £256 and was rented by a company of gentlemen at £180 a year, and a great piggery the company was.' It is tempting to speculate that Jones was here using the word 'piggery' as a term of criticism but in this context it probably has a more traditional meaning, for after mashing the spent grains were used for stock-rearing. Jones named the members of this early partnership: Messrs Collins (a draper), Goulding, Rivers, Bevan, Penny and Robinson.⁴ We also have rare visual evidence of this early brewery (fig.1). Copplestone Warre Bampfylde's view of c.1750 shows a four-storey brewhouse tower with a roof ventilator and three-storey malthouse with its kiln chimneys. Details of the plant

1. Dolemead Brewery by Ralph Allen's stoneyard, taken from 'A View of Widcombe, Bath' by Copplestone Warre Bampfylde, c.1750. (Reproduced by courtesy of Mike Chapman)



appear in a sale notice in the *Bath Journal* of 19 March 1750. It included a 40 barrel copper, three rounds for washing (ie. fermenting) beer, a malt mill and wort pump. The maker of the mill and pump was James Padmore and this was 'so constructed as to grind and skreen (*sic*) Malt, and pump Wort up to the Cask into the Copper at one Time, with one Horse only'. The malthouse equipment included two lead cisterns, each of which would wet 12 quarters (Q) of barley – a capacity of 24 Q. The brewery seems to have been demolished soon after this.⁵

Occasional evidence from council minutes, corporation leases and newspaper advertisements suggests a quickening of growth in the industry towards the end of the eighteenth century when a number of breweries were established. Wilcox has linked these with the introduction of the brewing of 'Porter' (like stout but milder and weaker) which was the key product in the rise of the great London breweries. From 1783, national and local directories provide details of these firms. Directories, especially the earlier ones, are known to have weaknesses, but a comparison of Bath entries in early national directories with the announcement of a price rise by common brewers in 1793 in the local press produces a reasonable match. The twelve brewers in this notice are listed in Table 1. To these must be added the considerable number of public houses that brewed their own beer. Little information beyond the directory entries is

Table 1 **Common Brewers in Bath in 1793**
with location from 1792 or 1800 directory

Brewers	Location in 1792 or 1800 directory
1. J. D. Christinaz	Morford Street
2. William Clarke	Walcot
3. William Evans	opp. Dover Terrace (1800)
4. M. Evill	Bathwick Street (1800)
5. James Ewing	Westgate Street
6. D. Powney	Walcot (Powney & Evans)
7. James Racey	Walcot Street
8. Samuel & Richard Sainsbury	London Street (1800)
9. Sayce & Kelson	Northgate Street
10. Robert & John Smith	opp. Walcot Terrace (1800)
11. Opie & William Smith	Horse Street (ie Southgate Street)
12. Williams & Sons	Quay

Sources: *Bath Chronicle* 11 July 1793, *Universal British Directory* (1792) and *Robbins' Bath Directory* (1800).

available for many of these early concerns. Some were situated close to the centre of the old city in High Street and Westgate Street but much of the eighteenth-century expansion of the industry occurred outside the old walls. Opie Smith, brewer of Bathwick, took leases from the corporation for property in Southgate Street between 1783 and 1786, and took down one of the houses there to gain access to the street for his Anchor Brewery.⁶ Nearby, Williams & Sons had opened their brewery near Broad Quay in 1779 to brew ale and table beers 'equal to any brewed in Bristol'. By 1797 they were advertising porter and had taken a decked barge 'which secures the Goods from that Pilferage too frequently complained of on the river ...' to provide a link with their depot on the Grove in Bristol.⁷

Most of the new breweries were located on or close to the road to London as it passed through St Michael's and Walcot parishes. Closest to the old city was Sayce & Kelson's large Northgate Brewery of c.1770 – a source of annoyance to the council in 1798 when nuisance was caused 'by grains and waste being thrown into the river'.⁸ James Racey, who had brewed in Batheaston, had set up his business as brewer and coal merchant at 3 Ladymead by 1792. Joseph Sainsbury, later in partnership with John Acres, had established the London Brewery off London Street by 1800. On the opposite bank of the Avon, Evills & Co, who had taken over a malting and brewing business in the Market Place in 1766, had erected a 'new and commodious' brewery and malthouse in Bathwick Street in 1791.⁹ A number of large concerns were set up either side of the Walcot Turnpike or London Road. Warren & Clark had established a brewery here in 1780 with the 'principal design' of producing porter, but they also made use of the 'river water in its greatest purity' to make ale and table beer.¹⁰ Charles Harcourt Masters' map of 1794 shows the extensive 'porter brewery' at Lower East Hayes, opposite Piccadilly.

At least two other breweries were established nearby. In 1792, Robert and John Smith had taken over the malting and brewing business of Robert and Vernon Noake at Walcot.¹¹ The 1800 directory lists this business as opposite Walcot Terrace, which is the Walcot Brewery site. Richard Palmer had acquired the business of Aaron Bywater in 1781, but a notice to creditors advised of its sale by 1789.¹² It was taken by Powney and Evans, Powney announcing his recent 'connexion' with William Evans in the press notice.¹³ The partnership is not included in the 1800 directory but William Evans is listed there as brewing 'opposite Dover Terrace', the site of the later Kensington Brewery.

Thus by 1800 the industry described in *The Original Bath Guide* of 1815 had come into being. Some of these concerns would continue working, in some form or other, well into the next century. Others did not fare so well.

Consolidation and Change: The Early Nineteenth Century

The beginning of the new century brought a disaster and significant technological change for the city's breweries. On 8 March 1800 Williams' Brewery on Broad Quay was severely damaged by fire. The press reported financial losses estimated at £20,000 of which only up to £10,000 was covered by insurance. Part of the account in the *Bath Chronicle* captured the extent of these losses and the sublime spectacle of the disaster:

Saturday morning about 5 o'clock, a fire broke out in the Brewery of Messrs. Williams, on the Quay, which, in the short space of two hours, entirely consumed their very extensive premises, together with near 20,000 bushels of malt and barley, 1400 barrels of beer, etc. etc. Their storehouses on the opposite side had taken fire, and would unquestionably have shared the same fate with the brewery, had they not been saved by the very active and uncommon exertions of Mr. T. Williams. The neighbouring hills illuminated by the flames, and the immense body of fire thrown up when the malt-floor fell in, presented a scene awfully grand and impressive.

The fire occurred at a time of scarcity and unrest and was thought to be the work of an arsonist, as anonymous and threatening letters had been sent to the proprietors of other breweries. A massive reward of £500, and a pardon for all but the fire-setter, were offered by a combination of the city's brewers, the corporation and two insurance companies. The *Bath Journal*, however, was less alarmed at the cause of the fire, suggesting 'that it began at the malt-kiln, as no particulars for a certainty can be given where it originated.'¹⁴

Within a month, Messrs Williams were advertising for timber to rebuild the malthouse and brewery¹⁵ and planning to install one of the first brewery steam engines in the west of England. Henry Goodwyn of London was the first to install a steam engine from the partnership of Boulton & Watt in his Red Lion Brewery in 1784. The engineer John Rennie had worked in the London breweries and it was probably as a result of this, and of his work on the Kennet & Avon Canal in Bath, that he was to advise three of the city's leading brewers on the installation of Boulton & Watt engines in their breweries. Sayce & Kelson, aware that James Watt's patent was soon to expire, had already written to the Soho Foundry in September 1797, hoping for a good price on an engine for 'a small brewery'. Sayce & Kelson's 3hp engine was required to grind malt, work a mashing machine for a 40 Q tun, and operate liquor pumps. Engines of similar design and power were to be fitted in the breweries of William Clark and the Williams Brothers by 1801. By the beginning of the new century, the leading Bath breweries were therefore equipped with the latest technology of the time.¹⁶

The number of brewers and maltsters at work in the first half of the century is shown in Table 2. This suggests a steady growth in the number

Table 2 Numbers of Brewers & Maltsters in Bath from Directories 1805-1850							
Year	Brewers	Brewers & Maltsters	Maltsters	Total Brewers	Total Maltsters	Brewers First Entry	Brewers Last Entry
1805	10	3	1	13	4	6	3
1807	4	3	1	7	4	0	2
1809	6	4	0	10	4	2	3
1812	8	4	0	12	4	1	4
1819	11	4	3	15	7	8	3
1822	6	2	0	8	2	0	0
1823	8	4	0	12	4	0	2
1824	8	5	0	13	5	2	3
1826	18	4	2	22	6	13	9
1829	16	3	3	19	6	8	3
1830	19	9	9	28	18	9	9
1833	20	7	5	27	12	11	15
1837	22	8	7	30	15	21	10
1841	15	8	8	23	16	5	7
1842	9	8	9	17	17	3	4
1846	23	9	5	32	14	17	10
1848	16	7	6	23	13	9	4
1849	22	7	2	29	9	8	8
1850	25	9	0	34	9	12	9

Sources: J. Browne, *The New Bath Directory* (1805 & 1809),
 Holden's *Triennial Directory for 1805 and 1807*,
 Wood & Cunningham's *New Bath Directory* (1812),
 Gye's *Bath Directory* (1819 & 1822),
 Pigot & Co's *National Commercial Directory* (1822/3, 1830 & 1842),
 Keene's *Bath Directory* (1824, 1826 & 1829),
 Silverthorne's *Bath Directory* (1833, 1837, 1841 & 1846),
 Hunt's *Directory and Court Guide for the Cities of Bath, Bristol & Wells* (1848),
 Clark's *The Bath Annual Directory and Almanack* (1849),
 Erith's *Bath Annual Directory* (1850).

Note: The variation in numbers from year to year has much to do with the reliability of these early directories and whether they included such areas as Weston, Batheaston and Twerton in 'Bath'.

of brewers to the 1830s, a decline in the recession of the early 1840s, and recovery thereafter. The number of maltsters shown is almost certainly too low but the figures are interesting in that they suggest an increase of brewers who also made malt, with a decline in the number of independent maltsters. The final columns show first and last entries of brewers in directories. At first both are low, but entrants increase from thirteen in 1826 to twenty-one in 1837, and, after a decline in new entrants in the early 1840s, these recover to seventeen in 1846.

Whilst the numbers and identity of the brewers changed, many of the eighteenth-century breweries continued in operation, and sale details suggest considerable expansion in capacity and use of steam power in this period. Evills continued at their Bathwick Brewery until 1833 when Gray & Co took over. The partnership of Sayce & Kelson at the Northgate Brewery was superseded by that of Price, Clark, Bryant & Salmon by 1809, and later by another partnership involving Messrs Pinchin & Simms. The brewery and maltings expanded with the development of the Pelican malthouse to the north of the brewery and, around 1850, by the building of a bridge over the Avon to stores and a cooperage on the Bathwick bank of the river.¹⁷ James Racey's Brewery to the north of the cattle market is last listed in 1807 but malting continued at this site. The Walcot Brewery continued to be worked by the Smith family, who also brewed in Batheaston, until 1833. The directories and tithe maps of the early 1840s also show the development of breweries in the villages around Bath. Thomas Hine's Brewery and maltings at the *King William IV* in Combe Down is recorded in the 1840s and there are references to at least three breweries in Weston at the time, in addition to those in the pubs. Brewers are also recorded in Twerton, but this rapidly-expanding village was more noted for the maltings which provided the raw material for many of the Bath breweries.

New breweries were also built on the main roads out of Bath. John Hibbard had established his business as brewer and maltster at the Holloway Brewery by 1826. The Upper Bristol Road also saw brewery building in the early part of the nineteenth century. George Wilkinson & Co operated their Union Brewery here from 1812 to 1823, and brewer and bridge builder James Dredge was operating his Norfolk Brewery at Albion Place by 1826, close to the Victoria Suspension Bridge which he designed. Dredge's Brewery was taken over by Robert King & Co. When sold in 1854 this was described as a 20 Q plant with a 25 Q malthouse.¹⁸ A little further west was the Albion Brewery, first noted in the 1819 directory when operated by Richard Brooke, but it seems to

have started c.1808.¹⁹ This brewery also had a malthouse. The smaller St George's Brewery was also in operation nearby from 1837.

However, some of the large breweries established in the eighteenth century were to close during this period. Directories last record William Clark at Lower East Hayes in 1809. It is not clear what happened to this brewery but the Kensington Brewery seems to have been established to the west of this site soon after this. Opie Smith's Anchor Brewery in Southgate Street was carried on by this family until 1825, when Joseph and William Large took over.²⁰ The deed for the dissolution of this partnership in 1828 survives and provides a rare glimpse of the business arrangements of this period. The partners took on the brewery for £30,156 on a 5% mortgage. William Large invested £3,700 in a 40% stake. Thirteen public houses were retained as security by the mortgagee.²¹ By 1837 the business had returned to James G. Smith and was advertised for sale in 1843, its capabilities 'still as powerful as ever'. Its daily capacity was 250 bushels, and the plant included mash tuns of 30 Q and 12 Q and three coppers. The plant was driven by an 8hp high pressure steam engine and steam was used to heat liquor and scald casks. Attached was a malthouse of 80-90 Q 'of vast dimension' with four double floors, two kilns and storage space. A separate building and kiln was used for sweating (ie drying) and storing barley prior to malting.²² Despite all this equipment, the brewery did not continue as a going concern.

On Broad Quay, nearby, Williams Brothers' Brewery was offered for sale in 1849. At the time it was described as having 'an extensive Home and Private Connexion', a large Bristol and Welsh trade and ten inns or pubs. The brewery was of 20,000 barrels capacity and was powered by a 5hp steam engine. The malthouse of four floors is described variously as 50 or 60 Q. This brewery was not taken as a going concern, and subsequent sales notices advertised items of plant, stock and buildings. These included the firms 'Bath Beer and Porter Stores' in Redcliffe Street, Bristol, that were served by their barge *The Brothers* via the Floating Harbour.²³ It is not clear why these large breweries closed. Bath's population growth had slowed by the nineteenth century and the sale details of brewers hint at over-capacity in the industry. Advertisements in the local press also suggest heavy competition from brewers in other parts of the United Kingdom, including Bristol, the Midlands, Scotland, Ireland, Kent, Romford and London. This was particularly strong in the fashionable (and expensive) sparkling pale ales that were a speciality of Burton-upon-Trent brewers Bass and Allsopp. The opening of the Great Western Railway over its whole route by 1841 no doubt assisted competitors from London and Bristol.

Growth and Decline: Brewing from Mid-century to the First World War

In the years from the mid-nineteenth century to 1914, national *per capita* consumption of beer (ie men, women *and* children) rose from 29.5 gallons per year in 1850-54 to a peak of 40.5 gallons 1875-79 before slowly falling to 29.4 gallons in the immediate pre-war years of 1910-13. The reasons for this are partly economic, but also to do with changing patterns of working-class expenditure and culture. Alternatives to the pub included cheap mass-produced goods, the music hall, spectator sports and railway excursions to the seaside. The Temperance movement also had some effect in limiting consumption, and provided opposition to brewers in licensing issues where these were returned to local control after 1871. However, rising population and urbanisation enabled brewers to maintain levels of overall production and the late-Victorian years were a golden age for many in the trade.²⁴ The number of smaller breweries, however, declined as production was concentrated in larger units.

Information on overall trends in the industry in Bath is more reliable for this period. In Table 3, Part A (1852-1876/77) is based on local directories, and Part B (1877-1914) on the series of Kelly's national trade directories that began in 1877. Given the different bases of these figures it is difficult to establish trends, especially as the national directories show a considerable resurgence of numbers in the brewing industry in 1877, a year marked in the local directories as part of a continuing decline from a peak in 1870/1. This disparity may be due in part to differences in the area covered, although it must also be observed that the figures in Part B may have benefited from the attention shown to 'small brewers'. Their inclusion may be important not only as a boost to the overall numbers, but also as evidence of the continuing significance of small-scale brewers in Bath from 1877 to 1914. The inclusion of the small brewers may also explain in part the increase in the number of new entrants to the industry in 1877 (Part B). In contrast to the situation with brewers, the national directories show fewer maltsters in the mid-1870s than the local directories. They continued to decline thereafter.

The changing structure of the industry for this period can be seen in the summaries of excise statistics submitted each year to parliament. Data for the excise collection districts of 'Bath', with 'Bristol' for comparison, is shown in Table 4, Parts A and B. Again, caution is required in its interpretation. Excise districts changed from year to year and included a wider geographical area than that indicated by the name of the district.

Table 3

Numbers of Brewers & Maltsters in Bath from Directories 1852-1914

Part A

Year	Brewers	Brewers & Maltsters	Maltsters	Total Brewers	Total Maltsters	Brewers First Entry	Brewers Last Entry
1852	30	14	2	44	16	20	10
1854	35	15	3	50	18	22	6
1856	46	17	4	63	21	24	24
1858/9	40	14	3	54	17	12	8
1860/1	51	20	5	71	25	23	14
1862/3	51	17	5	68	22	14	11
1864/5	45	18	4	63	22	10	13
1866/7	52	16	5	68	21	15	12
1868/9	47	16	5	63	21	13	21
1870/1	60	13	5	73	18	23	20
1872/3	50	13	6	63	19	11	17
1874/5	53	13	7	66	20	15	16
1876/7	51	15	5	66	20	13	34

Part B

Year	Large Brewers	Small Brewers	Brewers & Maltsters	Maltsters	Total Brewers	Total Maltsters	Brewers First Entry	Brewers Last Entry
1877	9	102	7	3	118	10	86	43
1884	23	70	8	2	101	10	29	30
1887	13	69	7	2	89	9	20	33
1892	6	85	1	4	92	5	33	36
1895	6	62	1	2	69	3	11	15
1898	15	45	1	2	61	3	9	21
1902	10	29	2	3	41	5	2	10
1906	11	25	2	3	38	5	5	12
1910	3	17	1	4	21	5	8	5
1914	4	26	1	4	31	5	3	19

Sources: Vivian's *Directory for the City and Borough of Bath* (1852 & 1854), Robinson's *Bath Directory* (1856), Lewis's *The Post Office Bath Directory* (1858/9 -1876/7), Kelly's *Post Office Directory of Brewers, Maltsters, etc* (1877), Kelly's *Directory of the Wine & Spirit Trades, Brewers & Maltsters* (1884 -1914).

Notes: (1) Small brewers are defined as 'small brewers who brew the beer they sell'.
(2) Differences in figures from year to year may well reflect changes in methods of compilation. This is particularly apparent when comparing the 1876/7 'local' and 1877 'national' directories.

Table 4

Part A

**Brewing in Bath and Bristol Excise Collections by
Common Brewers, Licensed Victuallers and Beersellers,
in Selected Sessions**

Year	Excise Collection	Number of Common Brewers	Number of Licensed Victuallers	Licensed Victuallers Who Brew (Total & % of total)	Number of Beersellers	Beersellers Who Brew (Total & % of total)
1831	Bath Bristol	37 21	486 383	288 (59%) 94 (25%)	602 449	174 (29%) 94 (21%)
1858/9	Bath Bristol	49 31	702 694	412 (59%) 403 (58%)	477 1091	137 (29%) 218 (20%)
1878/9	Bath Bristol	64 18	737 621	317 (43%) 132 (21%)	478 1120	61 (13%) 26 (2%)
1898/9	Bath Bristol	50 34	1136 1257	107 (9%) 44 (4%)	611 1326	26 (5%) 8 (0.6%)

Source: House of Commons, *Account of Number of Persons in U.K. Licensed as Brewers and Victuallers*, 1831/2, XXXIV.27; 1858/9, LXIII.451; 1878/9, LXVII.49; 1898/9, LXVIII.79.

Notes: (1) Excise collections varied from year to year and do not mirror geographical areas or local government boundaries. The composition of the local collections can be found in such guides as J. Bateman, *The Excise Officer's Manual* (1840), pp.255-256.

(2) The three classes of brewers are the larger wholesale or 'common' brewers, licensed victuallers (ie publicans licensed to sell beer, wine and spirits), and beersellers (ie those licensed under the 1830 Act to sell beer only).

(3) These figures are first available for 1831. Subsequent figures for 1858/9, 1878/9, and 1898/9 have been selected to show changes at twenty-year intervals in the latter part of the century. The later figures were recorded from October of each year, and were published for the session of parliament in the following year, ie the return for 1858/9 was published in 1860. See Chadwick Healey, *Subject Catalogue of House of Commons Papers 1801-1900* Vol.II (1978), pp.55-57, for the complete list of returns available.

Table 4

Part B (Source and Notes as for Part A)

**Malt Consumed (in Bushels) by
Brewers in Bath and Bristol Excise Collections,
in Selected Sessions**

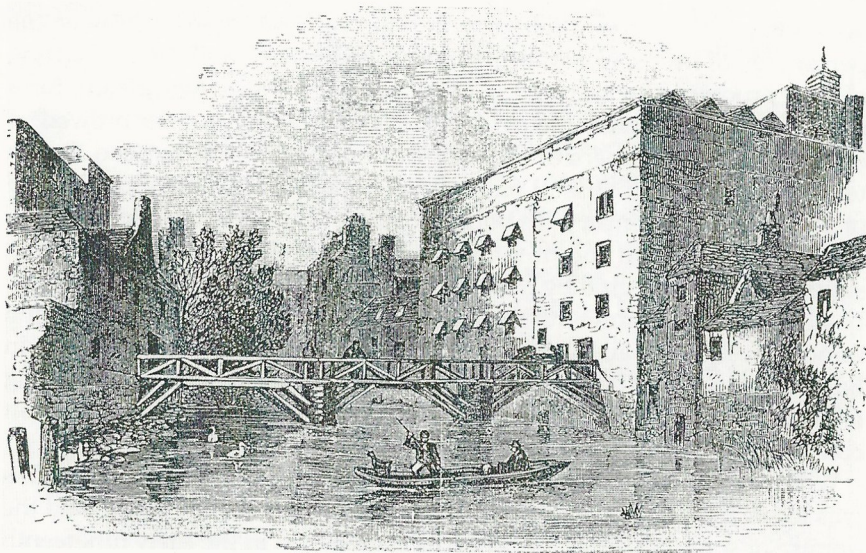
Year	Excise Collection	Bushels of Malt Consumed	Common Brewer (Total & % of total)	Licensed Victualler (Total & % of total)	Beersellers (Total & % of total)
1831	Bath Bristol	660470 441376	358756 (54%) 174892 (40%)	239018 (36%) 246827 (56%)	62696 (10%) 19657 (4%)
1858/9	Bath Bristol	756993 481402	396965 (52%) 262108 (55%)	296835 (39%) 178090 (37%)	63193 (9%) 41204 (8%)
1878/9	Bath Bristol	807689 685044	542858 (67%) 534456 (78%)	224895 (28%) 108185 (16%)	39906 (5%) 42403 (6%)
1898/9	Bath Bristol	853630 950734	755927 (89%) 906808 (95%)	79519 (9%) 40082 (4%)	18184 (2%) 3844 (1%)

In 1840, for example, 'Bath' included Chippenham, Frome, Marshfield and Trowbridge, while 'Bristol' included Nailsea and Wells. The figures do, however, show the numbers within the various classes of brewer, the percentage of licensees and beersellers who brewed, and the proportion of malt processed by each group. This last item is most significant, for it provides the only available evidence of the quantity of beer brewed as opposed to the numbers of each type of brewer. It will be seen that in terms of production, Bristol only pulled ahead of Bath towards the end of the nineteenth century. In both, the role of the common brewer grew in importance, with the brewing by licensed victuallers declining in significance, although they proved more resilient in Bath than in Bristol. Lastly, the information with regard to beersellers suggests their growing importance as a retail outlet, and declining significance as brewers. In Bath in particular, the proportion of their number engaged in brewing fell from nearly 30% in 1831/2 to 5% in 1898/9, and the quantity of malt consumed fell from 10% to 2% over the same period of time.

With regard to specific firms and breweries, the period from the 1850s was to see the end of the remaining eighteenth-century breweries and the demise of some of the larger concerns established in the early nineteenth century. In addition, some medium-sized businesses established in the early years of expansion were to finish trading before the First World War.

Among the earliest casualties were the breweries established along the Upper Bristol Road. The Albion Brewery was operated by a succession of partnerships who, according to sale advertisements in the 1850s, had enlarged and updated both premises and plant. The latter included two coppers of 20 and 30 barrels, an 18 Q mash tun, a refrigerator by London brewers' engineer Pontifex and two 4hp steam engines. By 1854, the occupiers Gray & Higginson had decided to convert the building into a malthouse.²⁵ The Norfolk Brewery was latterly operated by James Strange but had run into financial difficulties in the early 1860s. The lease and plant, then with a 10 Q mash tun and 4hp steam engine, was offered for sale in 1861.²⁶ The premises were later to become a mill. The smaller St George's Brewery continued until 1887 and it was then taken over by Cumberland & Green of Limpley Stoke.²⁷

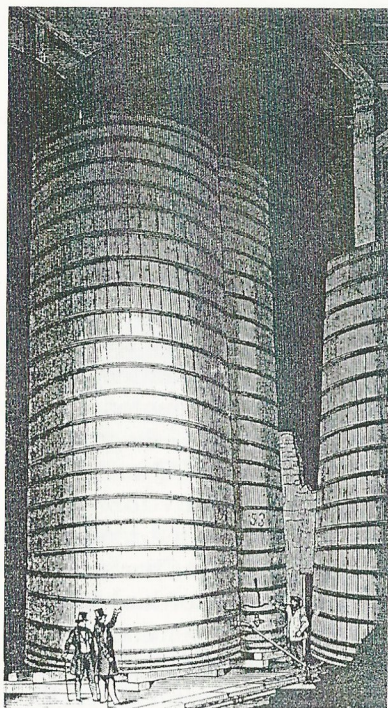
The major casualty of the 1860s was Bath's 'showpiece' concern, the Northgate Brewery (fig.2). It was to the Northgate Brewery that the enquiring tourist wanting more than Roman antiquities and genteel pursuits was directed by the writers of contemporary guides. In an illustrated account of such a visit in 1850 it was described as the largest old ale brewery in the Kingdom. The 'old' ale was stored in large vats for twelve months prior to despatch. Ninety vats were mentioned and their size moved the



2. Northgate Brewery, Bath, from *The Official Illustrated Guide to the Great Western Railway*, second edition, 1861.

anonymous author to uphold the establishment as an example to foreigners of the 'magnitude and perfection of one branch of commercial enterprise in our country' (fig.3).²⁸ The second edition of George Measom's guide to the Great Western Railway of 1861 also gives pride of place to this brewery in the section on the 'commercial aspect' of the city. Described as the largest brewery in the west of England, it had recently been considerably enlarged. In addition to its noted 'old' ales, its beers included stout, porter, mild and pale ales. These were sent to Wales, Cornwall, London and Liverpool.²⁹ In 1868, however, this major brewery, its plant, two malthouses and twenty-eight public houses were offered for sale not, as the auctioneer put it at the sale, 'in consequence of its being less lucrative, but because of the death of two of the partners and the indisposition of the third, a gentleman of large fortune, to carry it on'. Most of the public houses and the malthouses were sold quickly, but the brewery was not, and the sale of the plant took over nine business

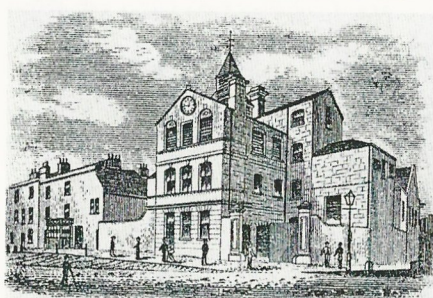
days in 1869. It included a 24hp high pressure steam engine, three steam boilers, four large coppers, sixteen fermentation vessels, sixty 'bell and bulge' store vats and about 2000 carriage casks. Much of the equipment had been provided by the leading London brewery engineers Pontifex & Co, and the vats by Messrs Carty, also of London. The 1868 sale showed that the company was using the 'Quay' malthouse of the former Williams' Brewery, now of 120 Q, and the 56 Q 'Pelican' house just to the north of the brewery.³⁰ Failure to find a buyer to take on the Northgate Brewery as a going concern was followed by the gradual disappearance of other long-standing breweries. Of the two large breweries in Batheaston, the Avondale Brewery near to the toll bridge was to continue under a number



3. View of the interior of Messrs George Pinchin & Company's New Vat Rooms at the Northgate Brewery, Bath, from the *Lady's Newspaper and Pictorial Times*, 19 October 1850. (Bath & North-East Somerset Library and Archive Service)

of partnerships during this period, and was to become the base for two of the area's public companies, but the Batheaston Brewery was to close. The latter, reputedly established in 1792, had been connected with some of the brewers in the city but was operated by the partnership of George Rawlison and Robert Pagden after 1851. In 1869 and 1870, the 11 Q brewery was offered for sale with two malthouses of 12 Q and 10 Q. The plant, which included a 5hp steam engine, was to be auctioned after the sale of the premises which were thought suitable for conversion into a malthouse or dwelling house.³¹ In Bath, Morgan Bracher had worked both the Portland and nearby Burlington breweries in the 1870s. The 12 Q Portland Brewery was put up for sale in 1873 with a nearly-new, 4hp high pressure steam engine and 'very superiorly made' dome-shaped copper. The Burlington Brewery had been operated by wine and spirit merchant George Edwards to 1870 when it was sold on the liquidation of his estate. The 8 Q steam brewery plant was taken by Bracher. It was again offered for sale by T. A. Pearce in 1878.³²

The 1880s saw the demise of the Walcot Brewery, operated by Baldwin & Co to 1877 and Charles King to 1887. King had purchased the brewery from C. Curtoys on his bankruptcy.³³ Sale notices of 1876 and 1879 include a 6hp vertical steam engine, a 20 Q mash tun and two adjoining malthouses of 48 Q and 14 Q.³⁴ Nearby, Sainsbury Brothers' London Brewery was finally sold and closed in 1901. It had a 10 Q brewing plant including a steam beam engine with egg-ended boiler and two sets of unions for the Burton system of fermentation. Sainsbury Brothers' wine and spirit business continued into recent times.³⁵ Other casualties of the early twentieth century were the Bear and Southstoke Breweries. Davis's Bear Brewery (fig.4) –



4. Davis's Bear Brewery, Wells Road, Bath, from *The Post Office Directory*, 1888-89. The brewery site was re-developed after its closure. The adjacent Bear Inn has been rebuilt on its historic site.

an extension of the ancient *Bear Inn* on the Wells road – is first noted in directories in 1852 but advertisements claim an earlier history. By 1888 this had an 8hp steam engine in 'recently erected' premises. It produced a range of old and mild beer, bitter ales and stout and supplied the *Bear Inn* and a pub in Walcot, as well as harvest and haying beers to local farmers. It closed as an 8 Q plant in 1902 when the lease expired. The last operator, William Howland,

had fallen foul of the Inland Revenue some five years earlier, when a late-night visit established the illicit addition of sugar candy to the wort and beer.³⁶ The Southstoke Pale Ale Brewery had been set up by the maltster Thomas Hunt in 1849, taking advantage of 'springs of the purest soft water'. This steam-operated brewery was taken over by Frederick Wainwright by 1854, and sold its ales in Bath via a tied house and a store in Chapel Row, Queen Square. In 1899, the brewery was bought by H. W. Treacher, formerly a brewer in Maldon, but previous business dealings caused his bankruptcy in 1901. Lemon & Co took over but the brewery was closed after 1906. It was demolished in the 1920s, but the arches that housed the drays and stores survive in this village.³⁷

As indicated in the tables, Bath also maintained a tradition of small-scale brewing in its pubs. Many of these businesses were short-lived but some pub-brewers went on to operate larger concerns and others, such as Matthew Stephens of the Trinity Brewery in James Street (1849-1877), were long-standing features of the local scene. William Ash of the *Shakespeare Inn* and Brewery in Old Orchard Street advertised his old and mild ales in 1884 as 'expressly for private families' with a traditional taste in beer. Other small brewers took advantage of fears as to the purity of beer around 1900 by advertising their 'Pure Beer' – Thomas Stride (of the Oxford Brewery and Burnt House Brewery in Odd Down) and Henry Rossiter (Royal Oak Brewery, Pulteney Road) included an analyst's report in their press adverts to confirm that their old and mild beers were brewed from malt and hops only.³⁸ Sale notices and surviving inventories show that many employed steam power and had installed up-to-date equipment.

It is difficult to pinpoint the precise reasons for the decline of large-scale brewing enterprise in Bath in this period. Certainly Bath did not enjoy the rapid growth of population and economy of the previous century but recent studies have shown that its economy sustained a wide range of reasonably well-paid occupations for the working people who constituted the bulk of the market for beer. Bath was, however, accessible to competition from national brewers who took advantage of the expanding rail network to increase market share. In addition, firms from a number of local brewing centres, such as Bristol, Bradford-on-Avon, Frome and Shepton Mallet, owned pubs in Bath and sold their ales in the town. Advertisements in the press and local directories show the extent of this competition. Bass's ales and Oakhill porter were 'constantly on draught' at Cooper's *Old Farm House* on Lansdown Road in 1857. Cater's Burton Ale Stores on Upper Borough Walls and the Market Place also provided Bass's Sparkling Dinner Ale, in addition to Rogers 'AK' bitter from Bristol. Bass's great rival,



5. Competition for Bath brewers: Bass and Allsopp's ales on sale at Tylee's City Wine Vaults in New Bond Street, from *The Post Office Directory*, 1888-89.

Allsopp & Sons, had opened their stores at Edgar Buildings in 1865, selling casks of 18 gallons and upwards at brewery prices (fig.5).³⁹ The Anglo-Bavarian Brewery of Shepton Mallet was particularly active in Bath and eventually took over the Walcot Brewery as a depot.

The opening of the Midland Railway station at Green Park in 1869 provided direct access from the East Midlands and Burton brewers in particular.

Nationally, brewers responded to competition by the purchase or leasing of pubs. Council minutes suggest that this was also a feature in Bath from the late eighteenth century. Sale details of Bath breweries, referred to earlier, show that many of the larger breweries owned or leased pubs. Reliable records are not available until after 1871, when local magistrates regained control of licensing, and these show that between that date and the first printed report of 1903, the number of fully-licensed houses with 'owner-occupiers' fell by almost 50%, whilst the number of houses owned or leased by brewers rose from some 12% to 62%. An analysis of these returns and further printed reports of 1912 and 1923 shows that The Bath Brewery Ltd owned by far the largest number of tied houses in this period. Its greatest competitor in this respect was the Oakhill Brewery with fifteen houses in 1923, as compared to The Bath Brewery Ltd's sixty-two houses. The figures for 1903-23 also show that the number of houses owned by The Bath Brewery Ltd in the city remained fairly constant over this period, as did those owned by its competitors.⁴⁰

Changes in Business Organisation: Amalgamation, Limited Companies and Takeovers

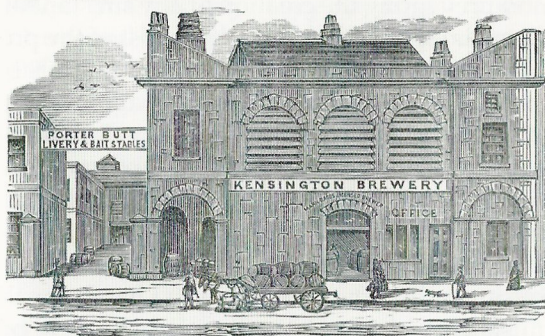
Changes in company law in the second half of the nineteenth century opened the way to expansion in the formation of limited liability

companies. In particular, the Companies Acts of 1856 and 1862 extended the benefits previously enjoyed by public utilities to private companies by a simple registration process and provision of basic information to the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies at Somerset House. As early as 23 April 1868, a proposal to form a 'Bath Brewery Company Ltd' appeared in the *Bath Chronicle*, stating that 'The Profits of a well-conducted Brewery are very large, and the reason for such an Establishment in Bath is proved by the enormous importation of Beer, Ale, and Porter from such places as distant as Burton, Scotland, Dublin, Cork, etc.' Nothing seems to have happened, but a small limited company, The Bath Malting Co Ltd, had been formed in the city by 1870, one of the earliest in the malt trade nationally.

At national level, the spectacular success of the Guinness flotation in 1886, and the need for brewers to attract wider sources of capital and ownership, led to two waves of brewery company formations in the late 1880s and 1890s.⁴¹ Often, these involved mergers and concentration of production to achieve economies of scale. Locally, Arnold, Perrett & Co of Wickwar had registered as a limited company in 1886, and this was followed by the extremely successful flotation of The Bristol Brewery, Georges & Co Ltd in 1888. It was not surprising that some of the relatively small breweries in and around Bath should seek to amalgamate and adopt this form of organisation, and a prospectus for 'The Bath Brewery Limited' appeared in the Bristol press on 24 June 1889. It stated:

It is remarkable that in a city of the importance of Bath there exists no large brewery ... and it is felt that a combination of the more important of these trades, together with a large addition in the number of licensed houses, cannot fail to cause a considerable saving in the expenses and an increase of profits.

The breweries concerned were Ashley's Morford Brewery, Mark Baggs's Kensington Brewery (fig.6), Gray & Co's Bathwick Brewery, John Hibbard's Holloway Brewery and Robinson & Morgan's Edgecombe Brewery at Weston, together with Cumberland & Green's Limpley Stoke Brewery. The

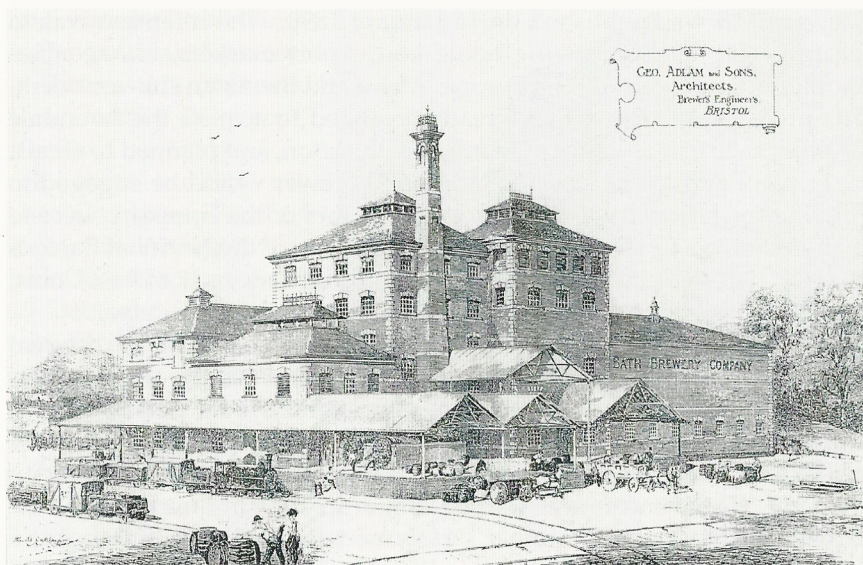


6. Baggs's Kensington Steam Brewery from *The Post Office Directory*, 1888-89.

latter had recently acquired the small Combe Down Brewery in Bath. The purchase price to the new company was £153,300, with stock, plant, assets and book debts of the constituent companies to be taken later at valuation, as was customary in the trade. The capital of the company was set at £220,000, comprising 120,000 in shares of £10 each, and £100,000 in debentures at 4½%, redeemable at £110 in July 1899. The shares were divided into 6,000 preference shares (6% cumulative) with equity capital of 6,000 ordinary shares.⁴² In 1891 the debenture capital was increased to £125,000 to fund purchase of property valued at £28,000.⁴³

Brewery incorporations tended to rely on debenture capital and the issue of cumulative preference shares, as these carried fixed interest payments that were often lower than dividends on ordinary shares. Debenture stock and preference shares were attractive to investors as they carried a prior claim on the profits and assets of a company, debentures being similar to a conventional mortgage in this respect and, with its large tied estate, a brewery company provided good security to debenture holders. This arrangement was also attractive to the brewers for the debenture and preference-share holders had no say in the running of the company, thus enabling brewers who converted their partnerships into limited liability companies to maintain control through the ownership of a majority of the ordinary shares or equity of the new company. However, if interest payments could not be met, the debenture holders could take over the company, as will be seen in another case in Bath, and although the holders of preference shares did not have this level of security, they were entitled to any cumulative or delayed dividends on their fixed-interest shares.⁴⁴

It was these fixed charges on the Bath Brewery Company that created financial problems by absorbing profits from trade, hampering investment and preventing the creation of any substantial reserve fund. Problems of financial structure and the high cost of the promotion (estimated to have been £30,000) were exacerbated by failures of management in the early years of the company. Brewing had been concentrated at the Bathwick Brewery which could not produce the quantities of good-quality beer expected by customers, and the company soon encountered financial difficulties.⁴⁵ At the stormy annual and extraordinary general meetings in 1894, the chairman, Walter Long MP, frankly admitted his own failings, and those of the board, when he confessed that he was not a man of business, that they had paid too much for the original businesses, had mistakenly delayed construction of a new brewery and failed to get to grips with a collection of inadequate and dispersed maltings. Long announced his intention to retire at the next ordinary meeting and



7. The Bath Brewery Ltd's New Brewery at Lower Weston, from *The Brewers' Journal*, 15 June 1898.

subsequently stepped down when he accepted government office. His place was taken by Hugh Clutterbuck of the Old Bank in Bath.⁴⁶ This extraordinary general meeting agreed to restructure capital and the years following these events were more positive as the company opened a new headquarters in Westgate Street in 1895 and announced that work had started on a new brewery, maltings and stabling at Lower Weston.⁴⁷ They had bought a site for a new brewery in Twerton when the company was formed but this lacked a suitable water supply. They also began in 1896 to buy up some of the debentures and borrowing powers were increased to £200,000 (formerly £150,000) to pay for the new brewery (opened in 1898, fig.7) and any houses that might come on to the market.⁴⁸ By the turn of the century trade had picked up and a record production of 31,913 barrels was achieved in 1900. However, the recession that affected trade across the country had its impact in Bath and production fell to 31,008 barrels in 1901, 30,722 in 1902 and 30,714 in 1903.⁴⁹ The directors were unable to recommend a dividend on ordinary shares after 1901 and by 1905 profits were insufficient to meet fixed interest charges.⁵⁰ Such were the difficulties that reporters were excluded from the 1906 annual meeting.⁵¹

The second of Bath's limited liability brewery companies was a much more ambitious venture. The prospectus for the English Lager Beer

Brewery Ltd was published on 16 January 1890. The intention was to supply lager to the growing home and export markets, via agencies throughout England, Wales, Europe, Africa and the Asian sub-continent. The projected company had already arranged to acquire the Avondale Brewery, a 20 Q malthouse and mill at Batheaston, and planned to erect a lager plant and ice factory. A continental brewer would be engaged to provide the necessary expertise. The directors of the company were to include Francis Crawshay JP, Deputy Chairman of the National Bank of Wales, Chard mill-owner J. B. Payne, and Alfred Perkins JP of East Court, Wells. James Humby of Batheaston was to be managing director.⁵²

Lager is brewed from varieties of malt, hops and yeast that are different from those used in traditional English beers, and the process involves 'bottom' fermentation at low temperature, and a long period of cold storage of the beer (ie lagering) prior to sale. Lager now holds over half of the UK beer market but it was still a minority taste in late-Victorian England. This venture was not the first of its type in the country – the pioneer producer was Younger's Holyrood Brewery in Edinburgh (in 1879), with other early ventures at Wrexham (1881), Tottenham (1882), and at Tennent's Well Park Brewery in Glasgow (1885). Of these, only Wrexham and Glasgow were to become successful commercial ventures.⁵³

The prospectus offered £100,000 in ordinary shares of £10 to the public and the prospects of profits of £30,000 (30% of nominal capital) on annual sales of 30,000 barrels. Only £35,080 of shares were allotted, but the company went ahead with its plans and the new brewery was formally opened in September 1891.⁵⁴ However, all was not well with the company, expected dividends failed to materialise, and the company's overdraft increased. An extraordinary general meeting in August 1893 agreed to wind up the company. The press report of the meeting shows negligent management, and a subsequent statement by the liquidator revealed that the promoter lacked sufficient capital to bring the venture to success and had attempted to make a substantial profit on the sale of the old brewery to the new company.⁵⁵ The liquidator advertised the brewery for sale in November 1893. The premises were described as having been 'constructed almost regardless of cost ...'. A further notice of sale by private treaty for a mere £6,000 was placed in 1894. It had cost £12,000 to erect the new building, to which must be added the cost of the site. It is not clear how much, if any, lager beer was brought to market.⁵⁶

The last of Bath's limited liability brewery companies was formed well after the second national wave of brewery company flotations and was an attempt to amalgamate a number of small retail breweries and pubs

and concentrate brewing in the Avondale Brewery at Batheaston, renamed the 'County Brewery' (fig.8).

Known locally as the 'Combine', Pearce, Reynolds, Withers & Co Ltd was incorporated on 19 December 1904 and issued its prospectus some four months later on 15 April 1905. Thomas A. Pearce, local brewer and pub-owner, was the prime mover.

The other directors of the company were William G. Reynolds of Keynsham, who owned or part-owned twelve pubs in Bath, and William Withers, owner of the *Larkhall Inn* and New Crown Brewery in Weston. The 15 Q Avondale Brewery, last worked with little success by C. P. Cobb, and thirty-eight licensed properties were valued at £112,240 with the addition of £20,000 for floating assets and £48,000 for goodwill. The financial structure of the company was £60,000 ordinary shares, £80,000 'A' debentures at 4% (which were not offered to the public) and £35,000 in 'B' debentures at 5%. Estimated net profits were £12,000, leaving a margin of £5,600, after fixed interest payment and fees, for distribution. The cost of the brewery and pubs (£151,000) was met by cash (£80,250), shares (£44,337) and 'B' debentures (£26,413). The 'A' debentures were to be held by the Law Guarantee and Trust Society Ltd. A relatively small number of £10 shares (2,067) and 'B' £50 debentures (1,720) were therefore offered to the public. The prospectus made it clear that the promoter was not making a profit from the promotion and preliminary expenses of £15,000 were stated. Despite these assurances, not all shares and debentures were taken up and most of the shares were held by the three directors and other vendors, with small numbers held, in the main, by those in the local brewing and malting trades.⁵⁷

The company began trading on 19 April 1905. Plans to rationalise brewing operations – twelve of the pubs had breweries according to the prospectus – went ahead with a sale of surplus plant in August of 1905.⁵⁸ But financial problems quickly arose and on 7 November 1905 the holders



8. The Avondale or County Brewery at Batheaston, home to the English Lager Beer Brewery Ltd and Pearce, Reynolds, Withers & Co Ltd. The building has now been converted into offices.

of the 'A' debentures, the Law Guarantee & Trust Society Ltd, took over the business and appointed an experienced brewer, Charles Gray, to run the brewery.⁵⁹ The press report of the first annual meeting of the company showed that by July 1905, cash receipts from the flotation of the company were £101,000, whilst payments of £99,726 left little for fixed interest payments and working capital. The company eventually passed into the hands of the receiver and these accounts show that the profit forecast was wildly optimistic for the difficult environment of the early twentieth-century brewing trade.⁶⁰

The brewery and twenty-three licensed properties were advertised for sale in London in early 1912 on the failure of the 'A' debenture holders, but the *Bath Chronicle* of 20 January 1912 reported that the whole, except the brewery and residence, had been disposed of privately to The Bath Brewery Ltd. As with other limited brewery companies in Bath, financial strategy was at fault, although in the case of 'the Combine', the situation was exacerbated by the fact that all of the 'A' debenture stock was in the hands of an external agency. The company had put their fate in the hands of others, and was powerless to prevent the takeover of the concern. But, in falling foul of a major recession in the trade, Pearce, Reynolds, Withers & Co were not alone, and it made sense at the time to take advantage of the availability of the Avondale Brewery in order to obtain economies of scale for the small businesses that constituted this company. By their acquisition of the licensed houses of 'the Combine', The Bath Brewery Ltd was following a similar strategy in the difficult years of bad trade before 1914. They were satisfied with the results, for their company report for 1913, whilst noting difficulties in increasing turnover, observed that this acquisition 'has been justified by the results of the working of the properties acquired'.⁶¹

The First World War brought increased duties, weaker beer, licensing restrictions and even state purchase (in the Carlisle area) for brewers to contend with. However, the trade as a whole did quite well from the war and the post-war boom. For The Bath Brewery Ltd this was short lived and it is not surprising that the sale of the company to a successful neighbour for £160,000 was agreed at an extraordinary meeting at the *Christopher Hotel* in Bath on 15 June 1923.⁶² The Bristol Brewery, Georges & Co Ltd thus gained the freehold brewery and maltings with 105 freehold and leasehold licensed premises. They were eventually to gain a near-monopoly in the region, with the acquisition of Bristol United Breweries in 1956, before themselves falling to Courage in 1961.

The End of an Era ... and a Fresh Start?

With the demise of The Bath Brewery Ltd, it was left to the smaller concerns and pub breweries that had survived the concentration of the industry over the years, to carry on brewing, but the steady decline in numbers continued as indicated in Table 5. Georges followed their purchase of The Bath Brewery Ltd and by 1924 had acquired the four licensed properties of George Biggs & Son.⁶³ Pointing's Brewery at Weston was last listed in Kelly's 1926 directory, as were Edward Palliser's Railway Brewery on the Lower Wells Road and the breweries of Louisa Phipps at the *Cleveland Arms* on Sydney Wharf and Eliza Shackell at the *Barley Mow*, Bathwick Street. Later, brewing was to end for Charles Rossiter at the *Crystal Palace* on Abbey Green (1935), William Rossiter at the Royal Oak Brewery, Summerlays Place (1939), Reginald Withers at the Ram Brewery, Claverton Buildings (1954) and William Romaine Withers at the *Long Acre Tavern*. This, the last public house brewery in the city, was taken over by Devizes brewers Wadworths in 1956.⁶⁴ The end of brewing at the *George & Dragon* at Batheaston in 1960 marks the end of the trade in the area, although malting was to continue to 1980 at the old Bath Brewery site in Lower Weston.

The compilation of an oral record has provided invaluable detail of the operation of two of the public house breweries that survived into the post-war era. An account of brewing at William Stride's *Burnt House Inn* and Brewery at Odd Down has shown that brewing ceased in 1946 – some sixteen years after the last directory reference. About 180 gallons of

Table 5 **Numbers of Brewers & Maltsters in Bath**
from Kelly's National Trade Directories 1914-1939

Year	Large Brewers	Small Brewers	Brewers & Maltsters	Maltsters	Total Brewers	Total Maltsters	Brewers First Entry	Brewers Last Entry
1914	4	26	1	4	31	5	3	19
1923	-	15	1	2	16	3	3	7
1926	-	12	-	2	12	2	1	6
1930	0	7	-	2	7	2	1	4
1935	1	4	-	2	4	2	1	1
1939	0	3	-	2	3	2	0	1

Source: *Kelly's Directory of the Wine & Spirit Trades, Brewers & Maltsters (1914-39)*

Note: The directories of 1923 and 1926 do not distinguish between 'large' (ie. common) and 'small' (ie. retail) brewers.

beer were made every three weeks or so, with malt from Baird's at Broad Quay in Bath, California hops, and coal from the nearby pit at Tunley. Most was sold on draught or delivered by horse and cart to local farmers, wholesalers and off-licences within a five- to six-mile radius. A strong winter ale was made and a small amount of 'Home Brewed' was bottled. Brewing finished when wartime shortages ceased and the copper needed to be replaced.⁶⁵ A record of brewing at the *George & Dragon*, Batheaston, has been provided by Ada Bevan. The Bevans grew their own barley at Duncombe Farm, Colerne. The malt was made to the rear of the pub by a maltster who walked from Colerne to tend the floor and kiln. Beer was then brewed in the adjoining brewhouse, 300 gallons at a time, with Farnham hops and yeast from Ushers of Trowbridge.⁶⁶

The end of brewing in Batheaston marks the end of the historic brewing industry in the Bath area. The overall pattern of development in and around the city is similar to the national picture, but differs in the early demise of large-scale brewing and the persistence of public-house brewing. The reasons for this seem to lie in the failure of the early partnerships to renew their drive, and the inability of Bath's brewers and financiers to take advantage of the changes in company law to exploit the business opportunities of the later nineteenth century. In addition, Bath was close to a number of brewing centres with good transport access to the city. The failure of large-scale enterprise, however, helped in the survival of the smaller breweries. This was sustained by customer loyalty, the support of the licensing magistrates for 'home-brewed' houses, the willingness of pub-brewers to adopt new technology, and the survival of independent maltsters to supply essential raw materials.⁶⁷ Recent years have seen a revival of brewing in Bath. 'Abbey Ales' started production in 1997 to the rear of the *Farmhouse* in Lansdown. Another new brewery, 'Bath Ales', does not brew in the city but has recently taken on the *Hop Pole* on Upper Bristol Road. The wheel has turned full circle with the return of the small producer. It is, however, extremely unlikely that the pattern of the past 250 years will be repeated.

Notes

- 1 Ronald Wilcox, 'Bath Breweries in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century', *A Second North Somerset Miscellany* (1971), pp.23-31 and Bath Industrial Heritage Centre, *Kegs & Ale: Bath and the Public House* (Bath, 1991).
- 2 Meyler & Son, *The Original Bath Guide* (Bath, 1815), p.110.
- 3 R. S. Neale, *Bath 1680-1850: A Social History or a Valley of Pleasure, yet a Sink of Iniquity* (1981), p.47.
- 4 Bath Central Library, *The Life of Richard Jones*, typescript, p.4.

- 5 Mike Chapman, *A Guide to the Estates of Ralph Allen around Bath: Based on His Map in the Bath Record Office* (Bath, 1996), p.4 and Trevor Fawcett, 'Mechanical Enterprise in Eighteenth-Century Bath', *BIAS Journal*, 30 (1997), p.8. At this time, a quarter was a fixed volume of malt. The capacity of a malthouse was measured by the quantity of barley that could be immersed or 'steeped' in water at the start of this process. Traditionally, this wetted barley would then be 'grown' on a floor and then dried in a kiln to produce malt. The size of a brewery was measured by the size of the mash tun or amount of malt that could be mashed in a day. One quarter of malt would produce about four standard barrels of beer of thirty-six gallons each.
- 6 Bath Record Office (BRO), Bath Corporation Leases, Lease of 10 Apr 1786 to Opie Smith.
- 7 *Bath Chronicle* 31 Aug 1797.
- 8 BRO, Bath Corporation Minute Books, 1 Oct 1798.
- 9 *Bath Chronicle* 6 Feb 1766 and 10 Feb 1791.
- 10 *Bath Chronicle* 30 Mar 1780.
- 11 *Bath Chronicle* 11 Oct 1792.
- 12 *Bath Chronicle* 15 Feb 1781 and 22 Oct 1789.
- 13 *Bath Chronicle* 4 Mar 1790.
- 14 *Bath Chronicle* 13 Mar 1800, *Bath Herald* 15 Mar 1800, and *Bath Journal* 10 Mar 1800. See also Steve Poole, 'Radicalism, Loyalism and the "Reign of Terror" in Bath, 1792-1804', *Bath History* III (Gloucester, 1990), pp.132-3.
- 15 *Bath Chronicle* 3 Apr 1800.
- 16 See Mike Bone, 'Boulton & Watt Steam Engines in Bristol and Bath', *BIAS Journal*, 28 (1995), pp.27-29 for further details and references to sources.
- 17 George Measom, *The Official Illustrated Guide to the Great Western Railway* (1861), pp.720-726 and BRO, Bath Corporation Leases, Pelican Inn, Walcot Street, 4 Aug 1806.
- 18 *Bath Chronicle* 4 Jul 1850 and *Exeter Flying Post* 30 Nov 1854. See also D. McQuillan, 'From Brewer to Bridge Builder: reflections on the life and work of James Dredge', *Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers, Civil Engineering*, 102 (1994), pp.34-42, and Douglas Hague, 'Victoria Bridge, Bath', *BIAS Journal*, 12 (1979) pp.27-28. Both articles focus on Dredge's bridge design.
- 19 *Bristol Mirror* 21 Jun 1823. The sale advertisement states that the premises were 'projected and completed ... about fifteen years since ...'
- 20 See A. J. Keevil, 'Barrack(s) Farm, Wellsway, Bath: the Estate and its Holders', in this volume, p.42.
- 21 Somerset Record Office, Deed of Dissolution of Copartnership between Messrs Joseph Large & William Stratton Large, 13 Oct 1828, DD/BR/SXI. See *Bath Chronicle* 6 Nov 1828 for notice of this dissolution.
- 22 *Bath Chronicle* 5 Jan 1843. J. G. Smith's bankruptcy was recorded in 1842.
- 23 *Bath Chronicle* 19 Jul 1849, 16 Aug 1849, 4 Oct 1849, 1 Nov 1849, 22 Nov 1849 (barge and stores in Bristol), 23 May 1850, 13 Jun 1850 and 23 Jan 1851.
- 24 T. R. Gourvish and R. G. Wilson, *The British Brewing Industry 1830-1980* (1994), pp.27-40.
- 25 *Bath Chronicle* 18 Jul 1850 and 14 Sep 1854.
- 26 *Bath Chronicle* 21 Nov 1861.

- 27 Courage Archive, Bristol, Conveyance of Properties to The Bath Brewery Ltd., 20 Aug 1889, 'Staines' Deeds.
- 28 Bath Central Library, 'Visit to a Brewery' from the *Lady's Newspaper and Pictorial Times* 19 Oct 1850, Hunt Collection, V, p.79.
- 29 George Measom, *op. cit.*, pp.720-721.
- 30 *Bath Chronicle* 9 Jul 1868 (preliminary notice of sale), 16 Jul 1868 and 13 Aug 1868 (sale details), 27 Aug 1868 (report of sale), 14 Jan 1869 (sale of plant), 19 Aug 1869 (sale of property in Grove Street) and 21 April 1870 (sale of parts of buildings). Technically, G. H. Simms had obtained a Decree in Chancery against G. Spencer and A. S. Bethel to take accounts and wind up the partnership. The capital of the partnership was £144,000 in 1851 (Courage Archive, Abstracts to Title of M. Baggs's Property, 1897, 'Staines' Deeds).
- 31 *Bath Chronicle* 16 Sep 1869 (est. 1792 note), *Bristol Mercury* 17 Sep 1870, and *Bath Chronicle* 22 Sep 1870.
- 32 *Bath Chronicle* 6 Mar 1873, 15 Feb 1877 and 12 Apr 1877 (Portland Brewery) and *Bath Chronicle* 28 Apr 1870, 13 Sep 1877 and 28 Nov 1878 (Burlington Brewery).
- 33 *Brewers' Journal* 15 Mar 1881, p.100 (bankruptcy of C. Curtoys).
- 34 *Bath Chronicle* 15 Jun 1876 and 15 Dec 1879.
- 35 *Bath Journal* 29 Jun 1901. Unions were a key component of the Burton-upon-Trent system of fermentation: the fermenting wort was placed in large barrels which discharged surplus yeast (and some liquid) into an overhead trough via pipes in the shape of a swan's neck. The system is still in use at the 'Marston's' plant in Burton. Sainsbury's old wine shop is closed but still survives, facing the top of Milsom Street in Bath.
- 36 *Brewers' Journal* 15 Apr 1899, pp.220-221 (Inland Revenue case) and *Bath Chronicle* 9 Aug 1888 and 20 Feb 1902 (sales notices).
- 37 *Bath Chronicle* 30 Aug 1849 (Hunt), 10 Nov 1853 (sale), 23 Mar 1854 (purchase by Wainwright). *Brewers' Journal* 15 Feb 1901, p.132 (H. W. Treacher's bankruptcy).
- 38 *Post Office Bath Directory* (1884-85), Commercial Directory, p.137, and *Bath Chronicle* 27 Dec 1900.
- 39 *Bath Chronicle* 12 Mar 1857 (Coopers), 30 Mar 1865 (Allsopp) and 6 Jan 1870 (Cater).
- 40 BRO, *Report to the Licensing Justices of the City of Bath* (1903, 1912, 1923). From 1871, the register of licences shows owners but does not date *changes* of ownership.
- 41 Gourvish and Wilson, *op.cit.*, pp.250-257.
- 42 *Bristol Times and Mirror* 24 Jun 1889 (Prospectus).
- 43 *Brewers' Journal* 15 Feb 1891, p.63.
- 44 Katherine Watson, 'Banks and Industrial Finance: the Experience of Brewers, 1880-1913', *Economic History Review*, Vol. XLIX (1996), pp.63-67.
- 45 *Bath Chronicle* 10 Nov 1892 (report of annual meeting).
- 46 *Brewers' Journal* 15 Mar 1894, p.136, and *Bath Chronicle* 15 Mar 1894 (report of scheme of reconstruction and meetings).
- 47 *Bath Chronicle* 7 Nov 1895.
- 48 *Brewers' Journal* 15 Oct 1896, pp.610-611, and *Bath Chronicle* 1 Oct 1896 (report of meeting).

- 49 *Bath Chronicle* 13 Oct 1904 (report of meeting).
- 50 *Brewers' Journal* 15 Nov 1905, pp.659-660.
- 51 *Bath Chronicle* 27 Sep 1906.
- 52 *Bristol Times and Mirror* 16 Jan 1890 (Prospectus).
- 53 Richard Wilson, 'The Introduction of Lager in Late-Victorian Britain' in Thomas Reiss ed., *A Special Brew: Essays in Honour of Kristof Glamann* (Odense, 1993), pp.198-204.
- 54 *Bath Chronicle* 1 Oct 1891.
- 55 *Bath Chronicle* 10 Aug 1893 (report of meeting), and *Brewers' Journal* 15 Nov 1893 (liquidator's circular).
- 56 *Bristol Times and Mirror* 4 & 11 Nov 1893, and *Bath Chronicle* 22 Feb 1894 (notices of sale).
- 57 *Bath Journal* 15 Apr 1905 and Public Record Office (PRO), BT31/10926/82929, Prospectus and Summary of Capital and Shares, 20 Dec 1905.
- 58 *Bath Chronicle* 10 Aug 1905 (sale notice of equipment).
- 59 PRO, *ibid*, Letter from Henry Mortimer (Company Secretary) to Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, 12 Oct 1906, and *Brewers' Journal* 15 Dec 1909, p.710 (obituary of Charles H. Gray).
- 60 *Bath Chronicle* 7 Dec 1905 (report of meeting) and PRO, *ibid*, Receiver's accounts.
- 61 *Bath Chronicle* 15 Nov 1913 (report of meeting).
- 62 *Bath Chronicle* 16 Jun 1923 (report of meeting).
- 63 Courage Archive, CA/C/1, Report of 37th General Meeting, 20 Nov 1924.
- 64 Dates of closures have been taken from directories and *The Brewery Manual* (annual publication).
- 65 Michael Jones, 'The Strides of Odd Down, Bath, Three Generations of Brewer Publicans', *Brewery History*, No. 71 (1993), pp.18-19.
- 66 Ada Bevan, 'Around the George and Dragon' in B. H. Willmott Dobie, *Village Life 1883-1940: Batheaston Remembers* (Batheaston, 1976), pp.15-16.
- 67 It is intended to provide a more detailed account of the history of the limited companies, and a detailed guide or gazetteer of maltings and brewery sites.

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