

# THE RISE AND FALL OF THE BREWING INDUSTRY IN THE WELLS AREA: 18TH–20TH CENTURY

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## INTRODUCTION

Until well into the 19th century large amounts of beers of varying types and strengths were consumed. Most water supplies were polluted and alternatives were few and generally too expensive for the masses. In 1695 Gregory King reckoned that 28% of annual expenditure per head went on beer and ale. This vast consumption was met in three ways. Most gentry households, farmers employing appreciable labour and institutions such as colleges, hospitals and prisons brewed their own as did a fair number of more modest households. In 1700 this accounted for around half of output. Next, publican brewers in the majority of inns and alehouses produced enough for their own needs. Finally, there were specialist breweries then referred to as common brewers. These were unevenly spread. Beer was a bulky commodity sold at a low price. Its economics precluded long distance movement. As a result the stronghold of the common brewers was London with its large population and good water transport. The dominance of the common brewers in the London area was also aided by the combination of brewing and malting since the best malting barley was grown in the dry East and South-east. In contrast the South-west was a region of publican brewers.

From the mid 18th century the balance between these modes of production gradually shifted in favour of the common brewers. Population increases meant more demand and aided the economies of scale. Transport improved initially on inland waterways

and the new canals. Professional brewers could also offer more consistent and long-lasting products. In the London area the brewers were by 1800 beginning to tie in the retail outlets. They might buy or take long leases themselves but more commonly they gave loans to help publicans pay the large 'fine' due on taking a lease.

In 1830 the government intervened. This was a Conservative administration faced by the groundswell of opinion that would lead to the 1832 Reform Act. Apart from the fear of revolution they were concerned with the cost of living, the rising consumption of spirits and the need to break the hold of the brewers on sales in the Home Counties. As a result they permitted any householder who paid rates and could afford to pay two guineas for an excise license, to sell beer (but not spirits) from their premises. To compensate the brewers the beer duty of 10s per barrel was abolished.

The result was a huge expansion in the number of beerhouses. In Wells this writer has recorded 37 new and usually transitory outlets. In 1844 *Pigot's Directory* lists twelve inns or hotels, 14 taverns or public houses and ten beer retailers in Wells. *Slater's Directory* for 1852/3 has eight for the first category and 16 for each of the other two (disregarding its inclusion of facilities in neighbouring settlements). In the event the common brewers gained nationally as these small places rarely brewed their own beer. The rise of the railways also helped them compete across wider areas. These were their great days that lasted until the late 1870s when beer consumption per head peaked.<sup>1</sup>

## BREWING IN AND AROUND WELLS TO THE LATER 19TH CENTURY

There may have been specialist brewers in Wells before 1800. Certainly, the fluctuating trade companies of the town at times included separate companies for innkeepers and brewers. But records are few on all aspects of beer production in these years.<sup>2</sup> *Bailey's Directory* of 1784 lists no brewers in Wells compared with two in Bridgwater, two in Taunton and one each in Frome and Shepton Mallet. The earliest clearly documented brewery serving the area around Wells was founded at Oakhill in 1767. It was operated by Jordan and Billingsley in 1784. By around 1800 they had been replaced as partners by Jillard, Spencer & Co, who moved quickly into controlling retail outlets. The 1821 Corporation survey shows that they held the lease of the King's Head at 36, High Street. Then when the Corporation sold much of its estate in 1835, they purchased the freehold for £195 7s 0d. By mid-century they also leased the former White Horse at the western end of Southover which had been faced about to front the new Priory Road and renamed the Sherston Arms. They were responsible for substantial alterations there (and a further name change to the Railway Hotel) when the railways arrived just to the south.<sup>3</sup>

The first known brewery in the city with a reasonable (if intermittent) lifespan emerged by 1793. It was located behind the present day music school on Cathedral Green. This had been the medieval archdeacon's house but had passed to the Crown in the Reformation and then been sold in 1564. It was held by a number of gentry families until after the Restoration when Bishop Piers bought it for his family. They held it until the middle of the following century. It was then diverted to commercial use, first as the Wells Assembly Rooms. The owners were then the Sherston family who leased it to John Hayman. He is listed as a brewer in the *Universal British Directory* for 1793/4. The Lax family controlled the site from April 1800. John Lax senior seems to have put up the money while John junior ran the business. He is listed as a brewer in the *Somerset Directory* for 1822. In 1828 a deed description of the present day Wells and Mendip museum has its neighbouring building occupied by John Lax, brewer. However, the *London and Provincial Commercial Directory* for 1822/3 and *Pigot's Directory* of 1830 list him as a maltster. These commercial uses were suspended for a time. In 1841 John senior now aged 70 was living on the site with

his wife and three maid-servants. He described himself as 'independent'. However the 1839 to 1844 directories do not record brewing on the premises. In 1841 John junior was farming at East Horrington, and by 1851 he was living at Knapshill on the eastern edge of Wells and describing himself as 'landed proprietor'.

John Lax seems to have let the Cathedral Green premises to a solicitor but soon after he leased them to Francis Fry. Fry had held the Three Kings Inn, High Street, at the time of the 1841 and 1851 censuses while in the 1852/3 *Slater's Directory* he is listed both for the Three Kings and as a brewer in the Liberty. He was described as a maltster, innholder and corn factor when granted the lease. The Corporation's sewerage survey of 1859/60 describes the premises as a house, brewery and garden. The plan shows a massive range of outbuildings behind the house arranged around a central yard and occupying the full plot width of 30.5m and a depth of 42.7m. Fry lived at the site. He is usually described as a brewer and maltster in directories but the 1861 *Kelly's Directory* has him as a brewer and beer retailer. This entry also gives the name of the Old City Brewery. The 'old' element suggests a coining to distinguish it from newcomers. The census returns are slightly more varied. In the 1861 census he was a maltster and brewer but unusually no number of employees are mentioned though the list of occupants fills some of the gaps. His niece and nephew lived with him. Jane Cox is described as accountant while John Cox managed the brewery. A decade later Francis was not only a maltster and brewer but also farmed six acres. Jane is now described as 'keeping accounts' and John as brewer. Henry Reynolds, described as maltmaker, also lived in. Obviously the Fry family and their Cox relations, like the Berrymans considered below, traded in related fields. Charles Fry was a miller at Coxley in 1841. Then in 1851 he leased the West Street mill from the bishop. He is then described as a maltster, but subsequent census returns also describe him as a mealman and a factor.<sup>4</sup>

The changed circumstances after 1830 are demonstrated in *Robson's Directory* for 1839. The most obvious change is that a number of landlords at well-established inns were now offering beer for a wider sale and listed themselves as brewers. These were the publicans at the Mitre, Sadler Street, the Red Lion, Market Place and both the Fountain and Coach and Horses in St Thomas Street. But independent operations were also appearing. William

Bide had a brewery in what was then called Water Lane (now Broad Street see below) as did William and Charles Taylor in Queen Street, while G. Parker of East Wells is described as a spirit dealer and brewer. The 1841 census lists William Taylor, then aged 50 at present day 20 Queen Street as the head of a ten-person household mainly comprising his children and grandchildren plus William junior's wife, a maid and an apprentice brewer. William and his sons William, Thomas and Clement, aged 25, 20 and 10 respectively, were all described as brewers. Charles Taylor was living separately in High Street with his wife, daughter and three others. Aged 24 he was described as a maltster and brewer.

*Pigot's Directories* for 1842 and 1844 do not mention the publican brewers or Parker. They have variations in the names of the other two listings, Taylor and Son in Queen Street, and Bide and Berryman at St John's Bridge. The 1851 census shows the main Taylor household had split. No. 20 was left to William junior and his burgeoning family. He is distinguished as William B. Taylor (the B. stood for Bennett) and his occupation is given as brewer's clerk. William senior lived nearby with Thomas and an unrelated labourer. William senior is described as a maltster and brewer employing six and Thomas as a journeyman. In contrast Charles Taylor has vanished from the Wells records.

*Harrod's Directory* of 1851 adds William Broad and Richard Collins to our list of brewers while *Slater's* of 1852/3 has William Taylor in Queen Street and locates Richard Collins in Tor Lane. Broad was also the innkeeper at the Fountain and marks the last appearance of the publican brewer. Collins operated at 15 Tor Street, a property measuring only 6m by 24m. In the late 18th century, it was leased to a baker. He was followed by Henry Cook, maltster. In 1847 it was leased to William Collins. It was then described as comprising a dwellinghouse, a malthouse, a garden and a little yard. Richard may have adapted the malthouse for his brewery. *Harrod's Directory* of 1851, however, has both Richard Collins as a brewer and William Collins as a maltster. The census of that year has Richard as head of house and as a maltster and brewer employing two people. He also acted as the sheriff's officer and as deputy bailiff of the county court. His affairs had obviously undergone some dramatic change since 1841 when the census listed him as a yeoman at Beryl. His 75-year old father William lived at the opposite side of Wells and was described as a baker. Richard's household included his wife, two sons, a servant and

a maltster. The 1859/60 survey identifies the property as a house, malthouse and garden occupied by William Collins. *Kelly's Directory* of 1861 has Richard as both a brewer and maltster as does the 1861 census. One of his two employees was now his son Frederick described as a maltster's clerk. The malthouse could well have been a bakery before Cook's tenancy. Given the size of the site all must have been very limited operations. Nevertheless, Collins continued to work there into the late 1860s although he was now well past 60. In 1863 he took a lease in his own name and by 1866 he was operating as Collins and Sons.<sup>5</sup> By the 1871 Census the Collins family had gone, replaced by Robert Tyley, his wife, two children and a general servant. The Tyleys were recent migrants from Wookey where all the family down to the infant son had been born. Tyley is described as brewer and auctioneer. Then in *Morris' Directory* for 1872 Tyley is grandly described as brewer, maltster, hop dealer, auctioneer and appraiser of the Tor Street Brewery. Furthermore, he paid extra to have his entry in bold typeface. He appears once more in *Kelly's Directory* of 1875. He had then shifted to 7 St John Street and is listed as a brewer and auctioneer. He could only have occupied part of the site as there is a separate entry for the Rose and Crown. These premises are further discussed below.

The Berrymans were a well-established trading family in Wells. They were involved in a range of businesses such as wool sorting in a large building behind 29 and 31 High Street. But leading members are most frequently described as 'wine and spirit merchant'.<sup>6</sup> In addition they began to acquire some of the beerhouses and smaller inns of the city. Thus in the Corporation sale of 1835 William Chester Berryman junior bought the freehold of the Joiners' Arms (soon renamed the Red Ox) at 38 High Street (next to the King's Head) and the lease of the Bull's Head in old Wet Lane. Within a year he had sold the latter to the Turnpike Trustees who demolished it as part of the work to create modern Broad Street. Presumably the attraction was the possession of the inn sign that was moved to new premises at 5 Queen Street. The family firm of Berryman and Co is still listed as owning that site in the rate books 50 years later.<sup>7</sup> The 1851 census and some directories of that period such as *Slater's* of 1852/3 list William Chester Berryman as both a wine and spirit merchant and a maltster. The census adds that he employed nine people. However, it was another family member, Francis, who definitely moved into brewing. In 1844 he entered into a partnership with William Bide, a

Yeovil glover, to operate the Charlton Brewery at Shepton Mallet. This replaced the earlier operation in Wells. Bide, listed alone in 1839, seems to have been in partnership with Francis by 1841 when the census recorded Francis living in High Street with his brothers Charles and Frederick. Francis is described as a brewer and the other two as woolstaplers. Subsequently, the 1842 and 1844 directories list two brewers in Wells one being Bide and Berryman at St John's Bridge. Francis Berryman was aged about 27 in 1844 and is described as 'brewer and wine and spirit merchant of Wells'. Bide was very much the sleeping partner. Even prior to his partnership with Berryman he probably had no personal role in brewing as the 1841 census already lists him as a Yeovil glover. The 1851 census shows Francis living at Charlton sharing a household with his younger brother Frederick (and two servants). Francis is described as a maltster and brewer employing 19 men and Frederick as the brewery clerk. The Bide family withdrew from the enterprise in 1865 and Charles R. Burnell became the new partner in 1866.<sup>8</sup>

The earlier Bide and Berryman operation was probably located at 7 St John Street, now the Rose and Crown. Of the four properties adjacent to the bridge nos 4 and 5 were too small. No. 2 (the present day St John's Priory) was substantial but was in the hands of the Lovell family at this time. No. 7 was of suitable size and had substantial outbuildings. These are illustrated on the 1859/60 Corporation sewerage survey by which time it was a beerhouse called the Priory Tavern. It had probably been called the Wells City Brewery. Rate books only survive from the 1850s onwards but the earliest volumes identify the site as the City Brewery although the directories and census merely list the occupiers as beerhouse keepers or later beer retailers. By the 1860s the rating description is 'late city brewery'. A conveyance of 1870 notes that it possessed stables, a wagonhouse and a large cellar. It also records the change of name to the Rose and Crown and mentions that the former proprietor, Edward Goldsborough, had traded as the Wells City Brewery. This seems to be the site name without any actual brewing operation. Robert Tyley then operated briefly on the site. By that time the rating entries have been split although Tyley held both. Part is described as a house and premises and the rest as 'part of the late city brewery'.<sup>9</sup>

The 1859/60 Corporation sewerage survey plan clearly labels the present day No. 21 Tor Street as a brewery although none of the known breweries is

so marked. These premises then formed a single unit of tenure with the present day No. 20, and were in fact used by the Hoare family to manufacture vinegar. This is demonstrated by successive census and directory entries and by a run of leases from the Dean and Chapter. However, the vinegar house may have been adapted from an orthodox beer brewery established when No. 20 was the Turk's Head Inn in the 18th century.<sup>10</sup> The survey's register describes 8 New Street as 'late brewhouse'. The property is physically distinctive having a smaller frontage than its neighbours and a lower storey height but there is no other evidence that confirms this use. The few transactions concerning it and the abutments from its more copiously recorded neighbours all refer to it as a house.<sup>11</sup>

While Bide and Berryman left Wells for a larger site and other brewers came and went, the Taylor brewery in Queen Street presents a record of relative stability. The 1859 directory also lists William Taylor as a maltster. The 1859/60 Corporation sewerage survey indicates the two Taylor properties in the street. The present day No. 16 is described as a house and brewery owned by the late Thomas Taylor and in his occupation. Separated from it by a house with a slaughterhouse to the rear, the present day No. 20 is described as a house, malthouse and brewery owned by William Taylor and occupied by William Taylor and Son. The plan shows both plots substantially built up. No. 16 was then more built up than it appears on the first edition Ordnance Survey 1/2500 of 1886. No. 20 was similar to what it would be in 1886 (and today). The 1861 census confirms that William B. Taylor is the only family member living in the street. He was now selling the beer and is listed as a commercial traveller. The 1861 directory names the enterprise as The Queen's Cross Brewery. In the 1866 directory the proprietor is named as William Bennett Taylor, perhaps to show that the younger generation was in charge or perhaps to distinguish him from two other William Taylors trading in Wells. He is described then as a beer, ale and porter brewer and maltster. Porter was the traditional English brew, dark, heavy and strong. Ale signified the newer lighter and clearer products pioneered at Burton-on-Trent. These looked much better in the glass tankards that replaced pewter pots. The 1872 directory adds hop dealer to his description and gives his address as 20 Queen Street.

One more brewery entered the Wells market in 1862 when Arthur Green, common brewer of Holcombe, leased the Christopher or New Inn, 35

High Street, from the Vicars Choral. Arthur was a member of the family firm John Ashman Green and Brothers that operated the Holcombe Brewery.<sup>12</sup> Earlier, in the 1840s they had operated as Emanuel Green and Sons but this had been updated by 1859.

#### LATER 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

The results of the boom years can be seen in the 1881 census. The Berryman brothers still lived at Charlton but occupied separate houses. Francis is now described as employing 46 men and a boy while Frederick has advanced to master brewer. However, circumstances had changed to the industry's disadvantage. Opposition in the form of the temperance movement was now strong and well organised. In Wells they went beyond meetings and 'the pledge'. They bought and closed public houses or set up temperance hotels and coffee taverns as opposition.<sup>13</sup>

This explains the end of the Old City Brewery. When Fry died in 1888 the site was bought and conveyed to the Theological College to create a far more appropriate use by the cathedral. However, it seems that Fry did less and less in his last years. In the 1881 census he is only noted as a maltster and his Cox relations and residential staff (apart from domestic servants) have gone. He does not appear in *Kelly's Directory* of 1883 or in any subsequent issue. By the time of the 1886 Ordnance Survey map the outbuildings were gone although two walls across the site indicated their former footprint. Taylor's Queen's Cross Brewery followed soon after. In 1881 it still employed six people as it had done in 1851. This may reflect the cramped site that had not allowed growth. It did appear in the 1883 directory but not later in the decade. The rate books indicate its end. William Taylor paid the rates for the Queen's Cross Brewery in 1886 but in 1887 neither he nor the brewery are mentioned in the return for Queen Street.<sup>14</sup> In 1891 he was living in retirement at Easton. Brewing in the City of Wells had come to an end.

There were other changes. Gladstone reformed and tightened the licensing laws in the 1870s so it became difficult to create new premises. There were now other places, and other products, to attract leisure spending. Soft drinks, more affordable tea and coffee as well as improved public supplies of pure water all hit beer consumption. Public houses were also challenged as centres of male working class culture.

Money and time might be spent instead on watching the professional sports of cricket and football, on playing amateur sports and on railway and charabanc excursions. As beer consumption fell the individual breweries tried to safeguard their trade by acquiring more and more public houses. When most had been bought the next stage was to acquire other breweries and their chains of outlets. This was expensive so the old family firms and partnerships became limited liability companies. Most did not issue large numbers of ordinary shares as this threatened family control, but they could raise money by issuing preference or debenture shares.<sup>15</sup>

The firms serving Wells from the surrounding area all followed this route. By 1887 Jillard, Spencer and Co must have had full possession of the Crown because the owner, Archdeacon Fitzgerald, agreed to them undertaking substantial rebuilding at the rear. Two years later Oakhill Brewery Co. Ltd was registered to acquire the business for £180,000. They had already taken a new lease of the Crown under the Oakhill name.<sup>16</sup>

Meanwhile in 1888 Holcombe Brewery Ltd had been registered. It did not last long, and was purchased by George Henry Thatcher, the owner of the North Brewery, Welton. Then, in 1896, Thatcher's Breweries Ltd was registered to take over the two operations. By 1898 Thatcher's had the leasehold of the Royal Oak, then the Crown's neighbour although today the site is incorporated into the eastern portion of the Crown. In 1901 Thatcher's took over Welton Old Brewery. The company name changed to Welton Breweries Ltd and the Holcombe operation was closed.<sup>17</sup>

In 1888 Messrs Robert and Francis Berryman and Francis Burnell purchased the freehold of the Somerset public house at 11 St Thomas Street, from St John's Hospital in Bath. They became a limited liability company in 1894 as Berryman, Burnell and Co Ltd, and that name changed to Charlton Brewery Co Ltd in 1902.<sup>18</sup>

After 1906 things got even worse. The new Liberal government increased the tax burden, a trend that has continued ever since. The last mention of the Royal Oak in a directory is in that year, while the public house at 11 St Thomas Street is not mentioned after 1910. They had ceased to be viable. In 1913 the St Thomas Street site was sold to the Corporation, who owned the adjoining properties. During World War I, Prime Minister Lloyd George introduced drastic changes to licensing. Opening hours were restricted to lunch times and evenings, to stop

interference with vital war work. Many public houses were forced out of business.

The downward spiral continued after World War I. The rise of the cinema provided a new popular leisure activity, and brewery mergers accelerated. The Welton Brewery went first, taken over by Bristol Brewery Georges and Co Ltd in 1918. In contrast Oakhill Brewery was initially able to expand, taking over Coombs Breweries Ltd of Radstock in 1922. In 1925 it was acquired by Bristol United Breweries Ltd, who also took over Charlton Brewery in 1937. Subsequently Bristol United Brewery was acquired by Bristol Brewery Georges and Co in 1956. Five years later any regional identity was lost when they in turn were bought by Courage. This completed the cycle to ever larger and more remote conglomerates.<sup>19</sup> This trend provoked reactions. The first was to the brewing giants' bland and often weak and fizzy beers. It led to the rise of so-called micro-breweries. These small local operations were often family concerns or partnerships with five advertising in the area today. Secondly, the state intervened. Monopoly legislation was used to separate major breweries from the public houses. Brewing now resembles earlier periods, but the retail sector is very different with the rise firstly of the supermarkets and more recently of specialist pub chains as major vendors.

## CONCLUSIONS

This study illustrates at local level the trends outlined in the introduction to Richmond and Turton's *The British Brewing Industry* (see note 1), but it also reveals how volatile the situation was from 1830 to 1890. There was constant change as small concerns appeared, changed hands and disappeared. Furthermore, Wells was not exceptional. Directories show similar activity elsewhere in Somerset and further afield. If anything, Wells may have been quieter than other places given the depressed state of its economy.<sup>20</sup>

This situation underlines a gap in the coverage of *The British Brewing Industry*. It is an invaluable work, but based on the records of the later brewing giants. It omits those enterprises which were not taken over as these grew. Smaller breweries that failed or were abandoned must be sought instead in directories, census returns and local documents. It is clear that even before 1880 smaller concerns could fail. The reasons were many. Two common factors

were the availability of other lucrative uses for the site, and a weakness in the family firm. Members of a new generation might already have their own careers and have no interest in brewing.

There is also a lesson for those studying vernacular architecture and industrial archaeology in this evidence of the abundance of former brewing activities. There is likely to be surviving physical evidence. In the earlier period any survivals may be located in domestic properties or be associated with traditional inns. Later, in the 19th century, documentary, structural or archaeological evidence of the large number of small common brewers, many of whom were also engaged in malting, remains largely unrecorded.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Wilson, R., 1990 'The British brewing industry since 1750', in L. Richmond and A. Turton *The British Brewing Industry: a guide to historical records*, Manchester, 1–4; Scrase, A.J., 1984 'Wells inns', *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, 31, 379, 391–5; Scrase, A.J., 1987 'Wells inns', *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, 32, 574–5.
- <sup>2</sup> Wilson 'The British brewing industry', 2; Mathias, P., 1990 'Brewing archives: their nature and use', in Richmond and Turton *The British Brewing Industry*, 23–31; Clark, P., 1983 *The English Alehouse*, London, 265–7; Holmes, T.S., 1908 *Wells and Glastonbury*, London, 97; Scrase, A.J. 2006 *Wells: a small city*, Stroud, 80, 89–90.
- <sup>3</sup> Richmond and Turton *The British Brewing Industry*, 257; Scrase, A.J., 1988 'Municipal reform, Wells Corporation and its estates', *Southern History*, 10, 129–41; Somerset Record Office (S.R.O.) D/P/wls 6/1.
- <sup>4</sup> Wells Cathedral Archives (W.C.A.) VI/24; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1563–6* no. 423 p103; Bailey, D.S., 1982 *Canonical Houses of Wells*, Gloucester, 126–7; Reid, R.D., 1961/2 'The Museum House' *Report of Wells Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 8–9; Hasler, J., 2001 'The Piers family of Wells', *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, 35, 4, 7–8; S.R.O. DD/CC 13415, DD/CC 31526 pp 54, 310.
- <sup>5</sup> W.C.A. ADD 4184, 4234; S.R.O. DD/CC 112530, 114080 vol. II, pp 7, 151.
- <sup>6</sup> Compare S.R.O. DD/X/WRC 2/2 and W.C.A.

- Vicars' leases E478, F486.
- <sup>7</sup> Wells Town Hall Archives (W.T.H.) 57/72, 57/76, 3G5; S.R.O. D/T/WEL 42, 49.
- <sup>8</sup> Richmond and Turton, *The British Brewing Industry*, 97.
- <sup>9</sup> For No. 2 S.R.O. D/T/WEL 49; successive census returns; a transcript of the deeds made by the late R.D. Reid. The 1870 conveyance of No. 7 was noted when it was offered for sale on the internet. For rate books W.T.H. 3G3, 3G5.
- <sup>10</sup> S.R.O. DD/CC 112512-29, 278196-8, DD/TD Box 21/29.
- <sup>11</sup> For the property S.R.O. DD/FS box 53, DD/SAS SE24, DD/SAS c/238 (54). For the neighbours S.R.O. DD/WM 17; W.T.H. 1041/2, 1041/5, 1041/11, 1041/15, 1041/17.
- <sup>12</sup> W.C.A. Vicars' lease F303; Richmond and Turton *The British Brewing Industry*, 358.
- <sup>13</sup> Hooper, L., 2000 'The demon drink' *History Round Wells*, 1, 17–31.
- <sup>14</sup> W.T.H. 3G5.
- <sup>15</sup> Wilson 'The British Brewing Industry since 1750', 5–13.
- <sup>16</sup> W.T.H. 131/1, 131/7-8, 131/10-13; W.C.A. VI/1; Richmond and Turton *The British Brewing Industry*, 257–8.
- <sup>17</sup> W.T.H. 131/1; W.C.A. VI/1; Richmond and Turton *The British Brewing Industry*, 358–9.
- <sup>18</sup> W.T.H. 658; Richmond and Turton *The British Brewing Industry*, 97.
- <sup>19</sup> Richmond and Turton *The British Brewing Industry*, 81–3, 97, 257, 359.
- <sup>20</sup> Wilson 'The British Brewing Industry since 1750', 1–22; Scrase *Wells: a small city*, 125–42; for some parallel events in Sussex and Southampton see Scrase A.J., 2009 'Scrases and the drinks industry' *Sussex Family Historian*, 18(6), 306–10.