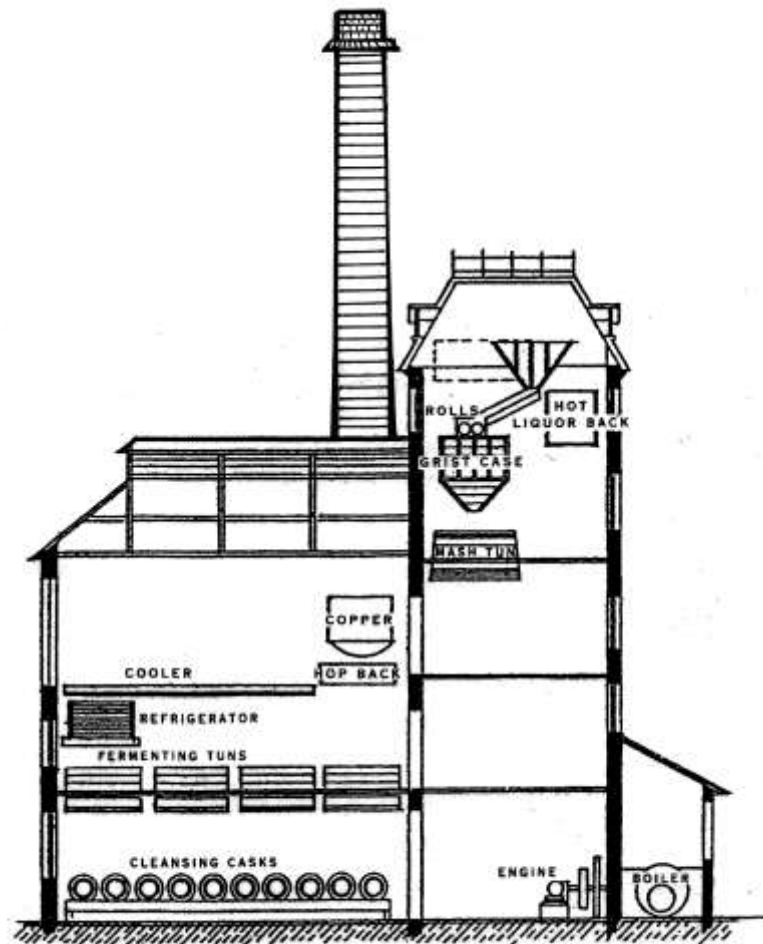


Branston Brewery

The history of a small village brewery: How it may have operated and the possible reasons for its demise – (including a short history of the families involved).

Paul Hickman



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Introduction

“There is no beverage so wholesome and invigorating as beer, nor any so generally palatable; it may, indeed, be justly considered as our national drink; and therefore to procure it cheap and good must be one of the most important points of domestic economy” (1).

For the greater part of their existence beer and ale have been the only liquid refreshments in Britain which were really safe to drink. Alcoholic drinks were primarily thirst quenchers. Furthermore, they were a dietary necessity for many men, women and children in this country, representing an important part of their daily food intake. Good beer and ale, sterilised in the making, may be contrasted with water which was often contaminated (up to about the year 1900), even in the countryside. So it was natural for people to rely on intoxicants, whose water had been pumped from deep wells; or on beverages whose water had been boiled (2).

In the eighteenth century an increasing population demanded ale and beer in greater quantities. Many breweries, at this time, grew into very large companies but a significant number remained local, supplying their products over a relatively small area. Furthermore, ale and beer were promoted as the drinks for the common man; which, by using barley and hops, also supported the farmer (**Figure 1**). Moreover, it was an attempt to reduce the sale of gin (the dire social consequences of which were little short of disastrous) (3).

Originally the term “ale” meant a fermented malt liquor made without hops, as opposed to beer which was made with hops. However, by the early eighteenth century ale and beer had become synonymous, both meaning a hopped fermented malt drink (4). This is borne out by Richard Bradley’s treatises. Writing in the 1720s he states: “All good ale was now made with some small mixture of hops”. In other words unhopped ale had more or less vanished (5).

During the middle of the nineteenth century beer consumption stood at an astonishing 22 gallons per person per year, or nearly half a pint a day for every man, woman and child. By 1900 production in Britain was around 40 million barrels per annum (6).

What follows is a brief history of the people involved in the story of Branston Brewery. It will examine how they might have operated the business, and the pitfalls that they may have encountered. It starts from the early years of the Kirton family up to the building of the brewery by William Kirton around 1862. The story then continues with the business being taken over by Alfred Healey, assisted by brewery manager Frederick Ryley, until its demise in 1896 and demolition in 1901.

Notes

- 1 An anonymous quote in *Domestic Brewing: A Handbook for Families*, 1840; (an instructional guide for domestic brewers), taken from Sambrook, Pamela (1996) *Country House Brewing in England 1500-1900*, p. 1.
- 2 Monckton, H.A. (1966) *A History of English Ale & Beer*, p. 7.
Lovett, Maurice (1996) *Brewing and Breweries*, p. 14.
Harrison, Brian (1971) *Drink and the Victorians. The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872*, p. 38.
- 3 Lovett, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
Ritchie, Berry (1992) *An Uncommon Brewer*, p. 39. (Tegg's engraving).
- 4 Cornell, Martyn (2003) *Beer. The Story of the Pint*, p. 297.
- 5 Corran, H.S. (1975) *A History of Brewing*, pp. 95-96.
- 6 Smith, Gavin D. (2004) *British Brewing*, p. 13.



Figure 1. Sir John Barleycorn, Miss Hop and their only child Master Porter.

This engraving, illustrating the close relationship between agriculture and beer, was published by Thomas Tegg c1800.

The Kirtons

“Her father was a country gentleman down in your part of the world, and was a brewer. I don’t know why it should be a crack thing to be a brewer, but it is indisputable that while you cannot possibly be genteel and bake, you may be as genteel as never was and brew. You see it every day”.

(Herbert Pocket to Pip, in *Great Expectations*) (1).

In Georgian Britain most gentlemen and farmers brewed their own ale of variable strength and goodness (2) (**Figure 2**). John Kirton, of Branston, was certainly a private domestic brewer as early as the mid eighteenth century, although he may have been operating a small-scale commercial brewing business as well. His will, of 1752, lists an outside beer house with brewing equipment; including a copper, a furnace pan and three brewing tubs (value £5-0-0); more than was possibly necessary for family consumption (3). Although this could possibly be accounted for if he brewed for his workforce.

Private country brewhouses were once extremely common. It is rare to find a country house of any size or age which has no record at all of the existence of one (4).

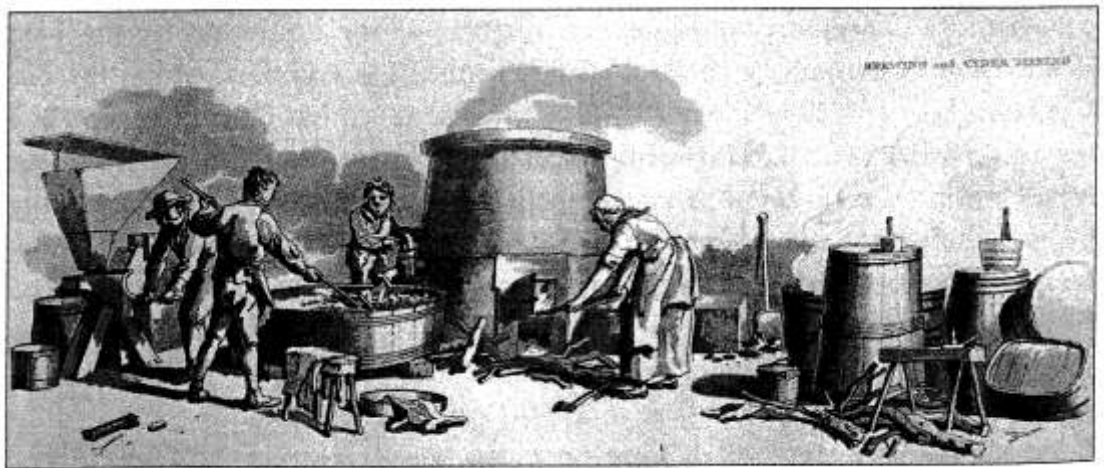


Figure 2. Domestic brewing (1808) (5).

Kirton’s building may have been separate from the house, as a fire precaution. However, brewhouses were frequently physically attached to the back of the house;

usually sited well away from both family and senior servants' quarters. Proximity to either a laundry or bakehouse seems to have been a common arrangement (6).

Private brewhouses of any size usually occupied the height of two substantial storeys. This was to allow water to be taken to the top of the building. From there it could be fed by gravity down into the copper, which was at the height of the ceiling of the lower room, enabling the copper to command the mash tun and coolers, again allowing the liquor to run by gravity. In turn the coolers were placed high enough to allow the beer to run freely into the fermenting tun. Moving large quantities of hot liquor around was a major problem, for the liquor had to be returned up to the copper level at least once. This was achieved either by using a hand pump or by being physically carried up narrow staircases or ladders in wooden pails (7) (**Figure 3**).

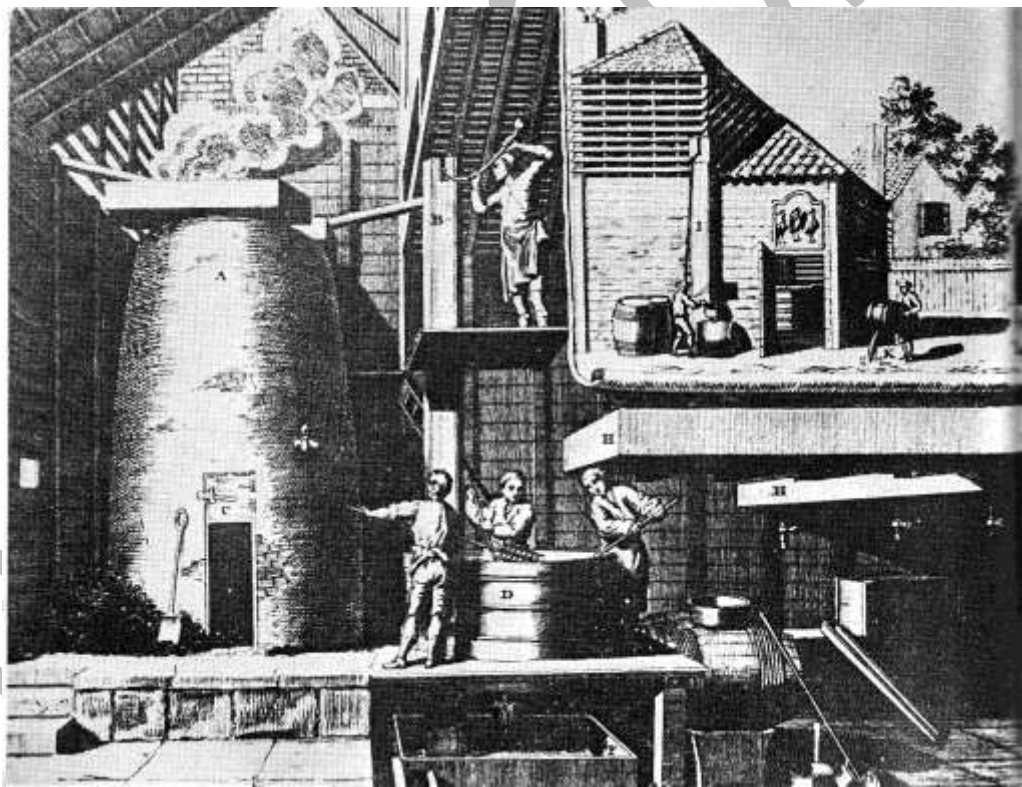


Figure 3. An eighteenth century English country brewery.

The following vessels are depicted:

A copper – a conical brick structure, with the copper pan let into the top.

A pump – to pump the wort up into the copper.

A furnace – below the copper.

The mash tub – wooden and circular. The workmen are wielding mashing oars.

To the right – coolers or cool backs, into which the wort is run or ladled after boiling in the copper (8).

It was John Kirton's great great grandson William, born at Canwick (near Lincoln) on May 4th 1828, who founded Branston Brewery (9).

Interestingly, there is no mention of a family brewing connection in the wills of John's eldest son, grandson or great grandson (10). If the Kirtons were running a commercial brewing enterprise they may have managed and run the business themselves or have employed an itinerant brewer (11). Much of the work was seasonal but the Kirtons would probably have redeployed their farm labourers to brewery related tasks during peak periods of production.

At the time of the 1841 Census William, aged 13, was at a private school in Aubourn, Lincolnshire (12). William's father, John Kirton, gentleman, died on October 18th 1844, aged 45; and was buried in Branston churchyard. William was only 16 when his father passed away, which may be part of the reason for the downward slide in the fortunes of the Kirton family. There were expensive family commitments to honour, including a legacy to Sarah, William's sister. Furthermore, other debts were hanging over from the will of his grandfather. William is recorded in the 1851 Branston Census Enumerator Book (CEB) as being a landed proprietor, living with his mother (Jane, an annuitant) and one general servant, at 6 Portland Place, Lincoln (13). Perhaps William was "between houses". He married Sarah J from the Parish of St. Martins, Lincoln; and had moved back to Branston by 1853, where he is recorded in the 1856 trade directory as owning his own farm.

William took on various parochial officer duties, including guardian of the poor in 1859, surveyor of the highways in 1863 and overseer in 1863 and 1864, indicating that he was a man of significant status in the community (14).

By the time of the 1861 Branston CEB William is described as a farmer occupying 30 acres, living with his wife Sarah and two sons in the present Old Rectory (Figure 4). They employed a governess, cook and housemaid (15). Three further children, another son and two daughters, were born in Branston (16). However, brewing was possibly "in the blood" as William decided to build a new maltkiln and brewery on the family land in Branston, around 1862. The *Lincoln Gazette* reported that this was looked upon favourably by the community as increasing the prosperity of the village.

“The large granary and stabling belonging to Mr. Kirton have been transformed into an extensive maltkiln, where many thousand quarters of barley may be malted during the season. The appliances in the interior of the building are all on the most scientific principles, and the process of malting is now in full operation. Mr. Kirton is also having erected a large brewery near to the maltkiln. We trust that the capital thus employed will prove remuneration to the enterprising proprietor, as by these spirited movements the prosperity of the village must be considerably increased, and a great amount of labour employed, from which all, more or less, must receive considerable advantage. Most cordially do we wish Mr. Kirton success in his spirited undertaking” (17).



Figure 4. The Old Rectory, Branston.

William had clearly been trying to raise capital, either for the building of the brewery and/or paying off will legacies and debts, as local papers reported him as selling off his entire estate at auctions, in 1860 and 1861 (18).

The brewery was certainly up and running by early 1863 as the following advertisement in the *Lincoln Gazette* demonstrates:

Kirton & Co., Branston Brewery, near Lincoln, respectfully beg to announce that they are now in a position to supply their celebrated ALES and superior STOUTS, at the following prices:-

	PER GALLON	
	s	d
K Ale	1	0
KK Ale	1	3
KKK Ale	1	4
L Ale	1	6
LL Ale	1	8
LLL Ale	2	0
S Stout	1	4
SS Stout	1	8
SSS Stout	2	0

In Casks of 9, 13, 18, 26 and 36 gallons each.

These Beers keep quite sound and are delivered in splendid condition direct from Branston, or from the Stores under the Butter Market, Lincoln, carriage paid, in casks of 13 gallons and upwards.

Fresh Yeast to be had at the Brewery.

Agent at Lincoln, Mr. WILLIAM PENNEY, No. 3 St. Swithin's Square, District Manager for the British Nation Assurance Company (19).

The *Lincoln Gazette* commented on the strength of Kirton's beer:

"We understand that a foolish fellow of Branston, while under the influence of "Sir John Barleycorn", went home and smashed about three shillings worth of his own crockery. Not content with this he thrashed his poor wife, and then, his revenge not being satisfied, he went into the yard, and pummelled his unoffending pig! Mr. Kirton must not brew such splendid beer, for such weak-headed fellows cannot stand it" (20).

The brewery was located on the High Street between the *Waggon & Horses* and the site of today's Home Guard Club. A contributory factor for this enterprise may have been that around this period, between the late 1850s and the late 1870s, consumption of alcohol increased sharply. This was partly due to the fact that hazardous to health

water supplies encouraged the drinking of weaker beers. This was before public health measures started to make an impact in the 1870s (21). Furthermore, there was a marked increase in wages, a good deal of which the working classes spent on alcohol. However, these factors would probably have had more of an impact in urban areas than in villages (22).

Private brewing, producing around a fifth of beer consumed in 1830, collapsed almost entirely in the next forty years. However, the output of the common brewer increased from eight million barrels in 1830 to almost 30 million by 1900 (23). Beer produced by private brewers declined sharply after the 1830 Beer Act, when beer duty (never paid on home brewed beer) was abolished. The chief economic incentive in domestic brewing disappeared overnight. With the sole tax now on malt, private brewers, unable to produce extraction rates comparable to those achieved by commercial brewers, were at a clear disadvantage (24).

Running a brewery was not without its hazards. One of Kirton's workers, John Goulding, crushed his hand in the brewery engine, and had to have one finger amputated (25). When William Kirton was superintending the steaming of some barrels, "he turned the tap with his foot to let in more steam, when the barrel at once exploded, and he was knocked down and severely cut and wounded in the limbs" (26). In March 1868 J. Chapman, while driving a Branston Brewery dray laden with empty barrels, near the St. Catherine's toll-bar, Lincoln, fell off the barrels on which he was seated and broke his arm near the shoulder (27).

Notes

- 1 Dickens, Charles (1983 – first published 1861) *Great Expectations*, Chapter 22, p. 203.
- 2 Gourvish, T.R. & Wilson, R.G. (1994) *The British Brewing Industry 1830-1980*, p. 64.
- 3 Lincoln Archives, ref. – LCC Admon. 1752/53.
- 4 Sambrook, Pamela (1996) *Country House Brewing in England 1500-1900*, p. 1.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 24 and pp. 26-27.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- 8 Corran, H.S. (1975) *A History of Brewing*, p. 34.
- 9 Brief Kirton family history.
John's son, Thomas Kirton, was born in 1741. He was a tenant of nine acres in 1782 (Lincoln Archives, ref. – TLE 19/1 page 4), but also owned land as well.

Thomas died on July 12th 1801, and was described as yeoman in his will. (Lincoln Archives, ref. – LCC Wills 1801/2/139).

William Kirton, born on February 12th 1761, in Washingborough, was the first of five children born to Thomas and Sarah. William also married a Sarah, from Washingborough, and they had four children. He is only recorded as being a farmer (not brewer) in the poll books of 1807, 1818 and 1823, and in the 1826 trade directory. (In 1807 he was a freeholder in Market Rasen, and in Heighington in 1818 and 1823). William and Sarah's second child, John Kirton was born in Branston on the 14th of November 1798. He married Tattershall born Jane. John's father William died on December 2nd 1840 in Branston. The 1841 Branston Census Enumerator Book, (and also the 1842 trade directory), records John Kirton, aged 40, as being a farmer, living with his wife Jane (35) and his brother Richard (35), also a farmer. (1841 Branston Census (651/4/25).

John and Jane's son, William, was born on May 4th 1828.

An unfortunate event is recorded in the papers regarding William's uncle Richard: *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, Thursday September 6th 1855, p.3.

"At Branston, Lincolnshire, Mr Richard Kirton, aged 53, a gentleman in comfortable circumstances, put an end to his existence by hanging himself with a wagon rope in the stable of his nephew, situate in that village".

More details appeared in the *Lincolnshire Times*, August 28th 1855, p. 5, col. 2.

"The deceased, it was stated, was considered a harmless man, but within the past fortnight had been unusually depressed and low in spirit, and had repeatedly stated to a neighbour that he was not only ill in body but his mind was affected. In 1851 the death of a sister caused him to be in a state of great excitement for nearly two months, but nothing unusual had been noticed in his manner since, except the late depression observed by only a few of the neighbours. On Saturday, at about two o'clock, he was found hanging in a stable quite dead. Verdict, "Temporary insanity".

- 10 Lincoln Archives, ref. – LCC Wills 1801/2/139.

Lincoln Archives, ref. – LCC Wills 1840/199.

- 11 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

- 12 1841 Aubourn Census (614/13/3).

- 13 1851 Lincoln Census (H0107/2105/232).

- 14 *Lincoln Gazette*: May 7th 1859, p.2, col. 5, April 11th 1863, p. 2, col. 6, April 18th 1863, p. 2, col. 6, December 5th 1863, p. 2, col. 4, December 19th 1863, p. 2, col. 5 and April 2nd 1864, p. 2, col. 6.

- 15 1861 Branston Census (RG9/2355/89).

William Kirton was a pioneer of new innovations. Along with the Hon. A.L.Melville they were the first to use gas lighting in the village.

Lincoln, Notts., and North Midland Times, June 1st 1858, p. 5, col. 1.

- 16 1871 Branston Census (RG10/3361/28).

- 17 *Lincoln Gazette*, April 19th 1862, p. 2, col. 5.

- 18 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, December 21st 1860, p.5, col.1 – farm auctioned.

Lincoln Times, February 26th 1861, p. 1, col. 3 – auction of livestock, farm implements, animal feed, a steam engine and a thrashing machine.

- 19 *Lincoln Gazette*, May 16th 1863, p. 1, col. 2. The following advert appeared in the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* between July and November 1863. (eg. July 31st, p. 1, col. 2):
The BRANSTON BREWERY – Office: 22 SILVER STREET; Stores: BUTTERY MARKET, LINCOLN. Ale (per gallon):

Family Beer 1s 0d,

Superior Ditto (B) 1s 2d,

Strong Ditto (BB) 1s 4d,

Best Ditto (BBB) 1s 6d.

Stocks of splendid LONDON STOUT kept at the Brewery and Lincoln Stores.

- 20 *Lincoln Gazette*, October 1st 1864, p. 2, col. 6.

- 21 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 36.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 25.
The term common brewer is used, as opposed to the publican or beerhouse brewer.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- 25 *Lincoln Gazette*, October 28th 1865, p. 2, col. 8 and November 11th 1865, p. 2, col. 7.
- 26 *Lincoln Gazette*, July 25th 1863, p. 3, col. 3.
- 27 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, March 13th 1868, p. 4, col. 6.
Lincoln Gazette, March 13th 1868, p. 2, col. 8.
This article names the drayman but wrongly gives the location of the accident as Newark.

The brewing processes

In the eighteenth century, and indeed until the second half of the nineteenth century, brewing was not an exact science (1). The Kirtons may well have studied the various publications that began to appear which explained some of the mysteries of brewing. Before 1750 little is known with any accuracy of the processes. The first serious works of real value were the editions of *The London and Country Brewer*, published anonymously between 1734 and 1759 (Figure 5). Michael Combrune in his *Essay on Brewing* and *Theory and Practice of Brewing*, both published in the 1860s, also covered much technical theory and explained the use of the thermometer. It was probably experimentation by brewers, based on the new publications available, which advanced scientific knowledge during the latter years of the eighteenth century (2).

Well into the nineteenth century there were still considerable gaps in scientific knowledge, even in the largest breweries, on questions such as yeast behaviour and the processes taking place in fermentation. Indeed, it was not until Pasteur visited Whitbread's brewery in 1871, and demonstrated the use of the microscope to examine yeast, that brewers began to understand the micro organisms that could spoil beer (3).

Branston Brewery had the advantage of being situated in the drier east of the country where all good malting barley was grown. Those brewers who produced malt as well as beer derived benefits from this duality of business (4). The main advantage for the brewer was one of quality control, having it malted under his own supervision. He also saved some of the 5 shillings a quarter of the commission charged by maltsters; although, of course, he had to account for fuel and labour charges when he himself made malt (5). William Kirton is first mentioned as being a brewer and also a maltster in the Morris Lincolnshire trade directory of 1863; and Alfred Healey in the 1871 Horncastle CEB, the first Lincolnshire reference for him (6). William Kirton would initially have grown his own barley but as output increased he, and later Healey, would have had to buy from local farmers. This may have seen them in competition with the larger breweries in Lincoln and Sleaford for the best quality barley.

T H E London *and* Country. B R E W E R.

Containing an Account,

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>I. Of the NATURE of the BARLEY-CORN, and of the proper SOILS and MANURES for the IMPROVEMENT thereof.</p> <p>II. Of making GOOD MALTS.</p> <p>III. To know GOOD from BAD MALTS.</p> <p>IV. Of the USE of the PALE, AMBER, and BROWN MALTS.</p> <p>V. Of the NATURE of several WATERS, and their USE in BREWING.</p> <p>VI. Of GRINDING MALTS.</p> <p>VII. Of BREWING in general.</p> <p>VIII. Of the LONDON METHOD of Brewing STOUT, BUTT-BEER, PALE, and BROWN ALES.</p> <p>IX. Of the COUNTRY or PRIVATE WAY of BREWING.</p> <p>X. Of the NATURE and USE of the HOP.</p> <p>XI. Of BOILING MALT-LIQUORS, and to Brew a Quantity of Drink in a little Room, and with a few Tubs.</p> <p>XII. Of FOXING or TAINTING</p> | <p>of MALT-LIQUORS ; their PREVENTION and CURE.</p> <p>XIII. Of FERMENTING and WORKING of BEERS and ALES, and the unwholesome PRACTICE of BEATING in the YEAST, detested.</p> <p>XIV. Of several ARTIFICIAL LEES for FEEDING, FINING, PRESERVING, and RELISHING MALT-LIQUORS.</p> <p>XV. Of several PERNICIOUS INGREDIENTS put into MALT-LIQUORS to increase their STRENGTH.</p> <p>XVI. Of the CELLAR or VAULT for keeping BEERS and ALES.</p> <p>XVII. Of SWEETENING and CLEANING CASKS.</p> <p>XVIII. Of BUNGING CASKS and CARRYING them to some DISTANCE.</p> <p>XIX. Of the AGE and STRENGTH of MALT-LIQUORS.</p> <p>XX. Of the PROFIT and PLEASURE of PRIVATE BREWING, and the CHARGE of BUYING MALT-LIQUORS.</p> |
|--|---|

To which is added,

A PHILOSOPHICAL ACCOUNT of Brewing Strong OCTOBER BEER.

By a Person formerly concerned in a Publick Brewhouse in London, but for Twenty Years past has resided in the Country.

P A R T I.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. ASTLEY ;

And Sold by R. BALDWIN, jun. at the *Rose* in
Pater-Noster-Row. MDCCCL.

Contents page of Part I of *The London and Country Brewer*,
1750 edition

Figure 5.

The 1750 edition of *The London and Country Brewer* runs to 332 pages of detailed instruction and admonition much more deeply considered than in any other treatise. The table of contents gives some idea of the topics discussed (7).

The job of turning grain starches into sugars is known as malting (8). Malt is made from barley in three stages: steeping, germinating and kilning. The barley is first steeped (soaked) in water for about 60 hours and then spread on floors or put into special boxes to allow germination to take place at controlled levels of temperature and humidity (**Figure 6**). This thick and even layer is known as “couch”. The couch was broken when the barley began to show signs of rootlet growth (“chitting”). This was a critical moment and one that had to be judged correctly. The temperature of the growing floor was also controlled with great care, done manually by turning and spreading the barley evenly on the floor with wooden shovels and forks. Wooden implements were chosen to avoid damage to the growing barley. For the same reason the maltster walked barefoot on the floor, or wore soft-soled shoes; for damaged barley was likely to become mouldy, and such infection could rapidly spread with disastrous results (9).

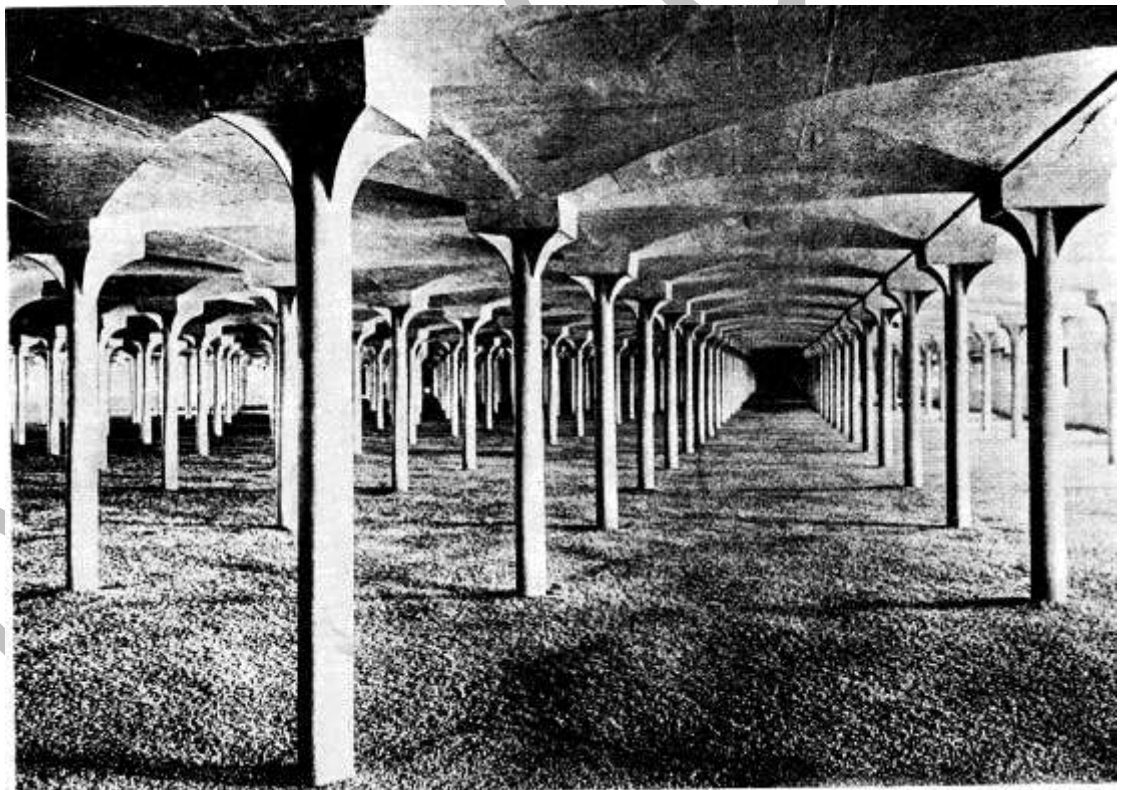


Figure 6. Floor maltings (10).

This process of “flooring” went on for about ten days during which time the floor was thinned-out, thickened-up, turned or ploughed, according to how the growth was proceeding (11). The malt was then dried in a kiln to stop further growth. During the germination process enzymes were released which changed the starch in the grain into sugar (12). How hot the maltster made the grain, and how long he roasted it, had a major effect on the flavour and colour of the final beer (13).

Traditional floor malting was an extremely space-consuming operation. Furthermore, in years such as 1885, when English barleys were of poor quality, stocks diminished. Given the space and right conditions, larger businesses could store large stocks for up to a year; something the smaller Branston Brewery may not have been able to do (14).

It is difficult to describe the manufacture of beer because practices amongst the thousands of brewers varied. However, whatever the scale of the brewing, the transformation of malt into beer had to pass through the same three key stages: mashing, boiling and fermentation (15).

At the brewery the malt would have been crushed in a mill, becoming grist. This was mixed or mashed with water at a carefully controlled temperature and then transferred to a tun (16). Up to the mid nineteenth century temperature as a concept was not yet common. The Kirtons would have judged the “degree of heat” needed for mashing as either the temperature at which a man may just see his reflection in the surface of the mashing liquor (before it became obscured by steam), or the temperature it is almost impossible to bear on the hand. There seems no reason to doubt that these rule of thumb ideas worked (17). Even though the thermometer had been invented by Fahrenheit in 1714 it was slow in being accepted as an essential tool for the brewer. Thermometers came into general use in brewing in the late 1780s, but there was no strict agreement about the precise temperature or duration of the mash seventy years later. Indeed, many brewers used a “blind” thermometer, with no numbers, and no scale other than marks at the brewer’s preferred temperatures for mashing, fermenting and so on. This way he kept his trade secrets from his rivals. Even in the 1880s Watney’s Brewery in London still used a thermometer marked with letters, not numbers, to hide the true reading from those without the code (18). However, there is

evidence that William Kirton was incorporating this technology in his brewing methods (19).

Washing the extract from the ground malt was achieved by two or three successive mashes of the same grains, producing progressively weaker wort (the sugar solution extracted from the malt). This was a laborious process, especially when carried out with the traditional mashing oars (20) (**Figure 7**).

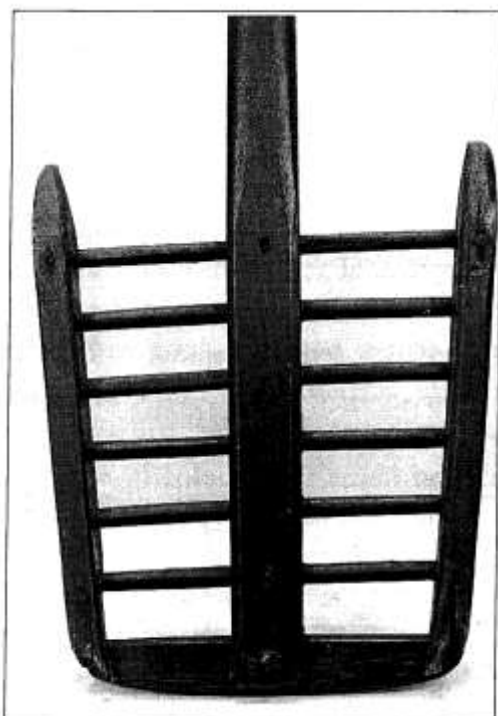


Figure 7. Head of a brewer's mashing oar.

One of the problems with mashing was the presence of hot spots in the mash. To avoid this it was essential to keep the mash moving for the first few minutes. The mash was first raked through and then stirred vigorously, a process which was sometimes called “rowing”. The implements used were known as “oars”, although the movement was more akin to an energetic paddling (21).

In the mid to late eighteenth century, when the Kirtons were brewing, the labour-consuming part of the brewing process was mashing, the stirring of the mash varying from half an hour to two hours. The first patent for mashing rakes, which did the job

mechanically, was not filed until 1787. It could be worked by hand, but was evidently visualised as being horse-powered and not imagined that it might be used with a steam engine, although it was at about the time the steam engine was appearing (22). It is not known if Kirton employed horse-powered machinery.

However, during the nineteenth century there was a torrent of technological progress, including the use of various sorts of mechanical devices for mixing the mash to improve extraction rates. One such was “Steel’s Masher”, patented in 1853 and which is still used, largely unchanged, up to the present day (**Figure 8**). This was a simple device consisting of a cylinder with rotating vanes inside it. Ground malt and hot water simultaneously admitted were rapidly mixed together before flowing readily into the mashing tun (23). Kirton had one in his brewery (24).

STEEL'S PATENT MASHING MACHINE.

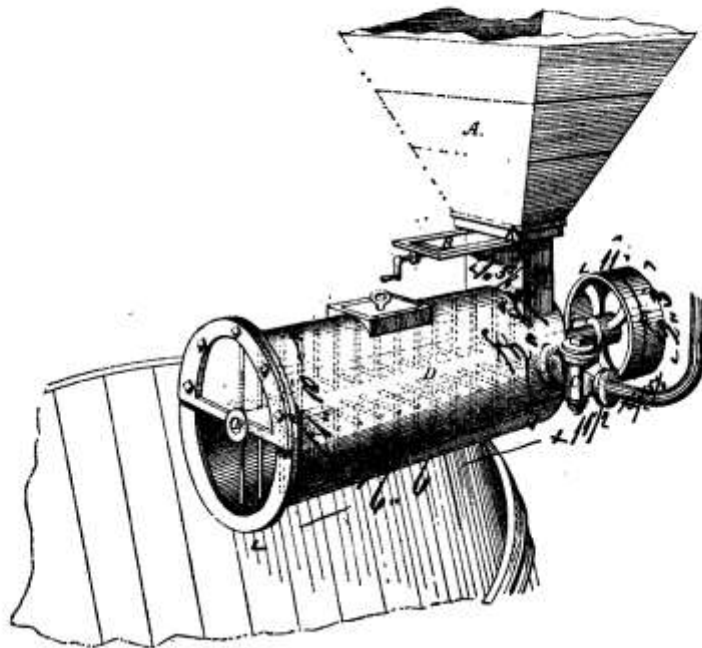


Figure 8. (25)

The invention of the steam engine provided the brewer with the means of mechanising his processes. When Whitbread installed one in its Chiswell Street Brewery in London in 1785, in order to pump water and grind malt, twenty four horses were rendered surplus to requirements by its introduction. The economics of

steam power made sense. Whitbread's Watt steam engine cost £1,000, and the patent royalty £63 per annum. By contrast, although the upkeep of the twenty four horses was estimated at £40 each per annum (26), unlike a horse, the steam engine could run for fourteen hours a day and would last for decades. (Some brewery steam engines remained in service for a century or more) (27). Early illustrations demonstrate how easy it would have been to interchange horse and steam power (28) (Figures 9 & 10).

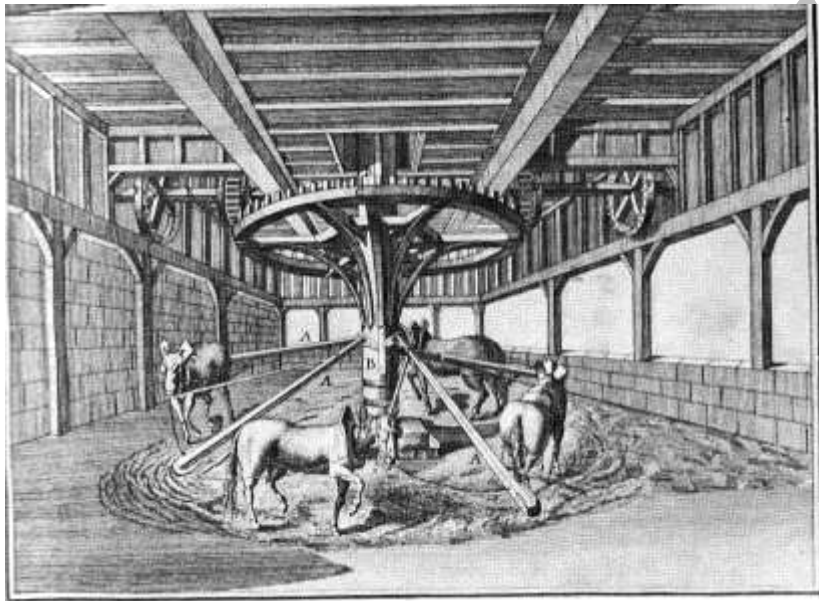


Figure 9. A French brewery – 1760.

The horse wheel operates the lifting gear for malt sacks and the grinding stones for crushing the malt (29).

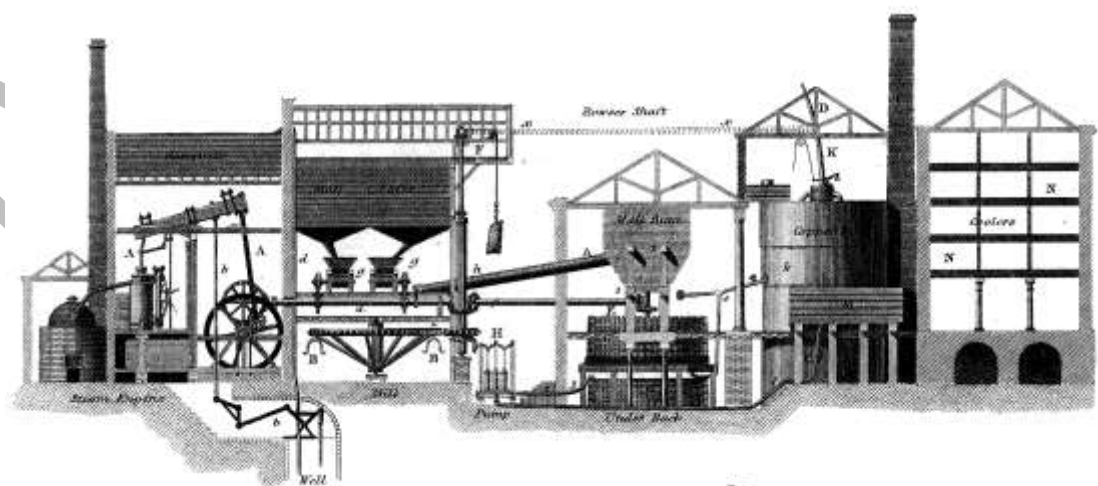


Figure 10. A London porter brewery – 1820.

A steam engine is turning a wheel that is almost identical with the one above. In the event of a breakdown of the engine the horses could still be used (30).

Although the size which it paid the brewer to install a steam engine is indeterminable, few brewers thought seriously about an engine until their annual production was well over 20,000 barrels (31). It is likely that William Kirton incorporated steam-powered machinery, such as mechanical rakes and mashing machines, in his new brewery from the beginning. There is evidence of coal being brought from Lincoln; and of a brewery worker losing a finger in the engine at the brewery (32). When the brewery was put up for sale in 1868, steam machinery was included in the lot (33).

After the necessary reaction in the mash tun the resultant sugar solution, or wort, was drawn off. At the same time hot water was sprayed evenly over the surface of the mash. This is known as “sparging” and continued throughout the period the wort was being run off. From the mash tun the wort was run into the “copper” where it was boiled with hops. In 1847 it became legal for the first time to mix sugars with wort and it is at this stage that they were usually added, contributing to the colour, flavour and body of different beers. They were generally dissolved in separate vessels and run into the copper together with the sweet wort (34). The boiling time controlled the strength of the beer (35). As well as imparting flavour, the addition of hops also preserved the beer and clarified the wort during brewing. Furthermore, hops were a helpful influence in the formation of the head on beer (36).

Another important technical advance was the saccharometer (hydrometer). It told how much fermentable material the wort, run off from the mash, contained. For the first time brewers could accurately gauge the amount of fermentable sugar they wrested from different maltsters, mashed at different temperatures for different times. Adoption of the saccharometer was helped by the introduction for excise purposes in 1782 of a new intermediate category of beer, taxed halfway between strong and small beer. This made it more important for the brewer to know the strength of his brews. Furthermore, an 80 per cent rise the same year in the tax on malt made it more important that he ensured he was buying the raw material that gave the best fermentable extract (37).

In domestic and very small breweries, possibly like the earliest one of John Kirton, there was only one copper which combined the tasks of heating the water for the mash, and receiving the wort from the tun so that it could be boiled with the hops.

The copper would originally have been heated by wood in a furnace, later replaced by coke and later still by anthracite. Coke produced a more even heat than wood and gave the maltster a greater degree of control over the colour and flavour of his product. The copper was an open vessel (**Figure 11**), and during boiling the brewhouse would have become filled with steam and the walls running with condensation (**38**).

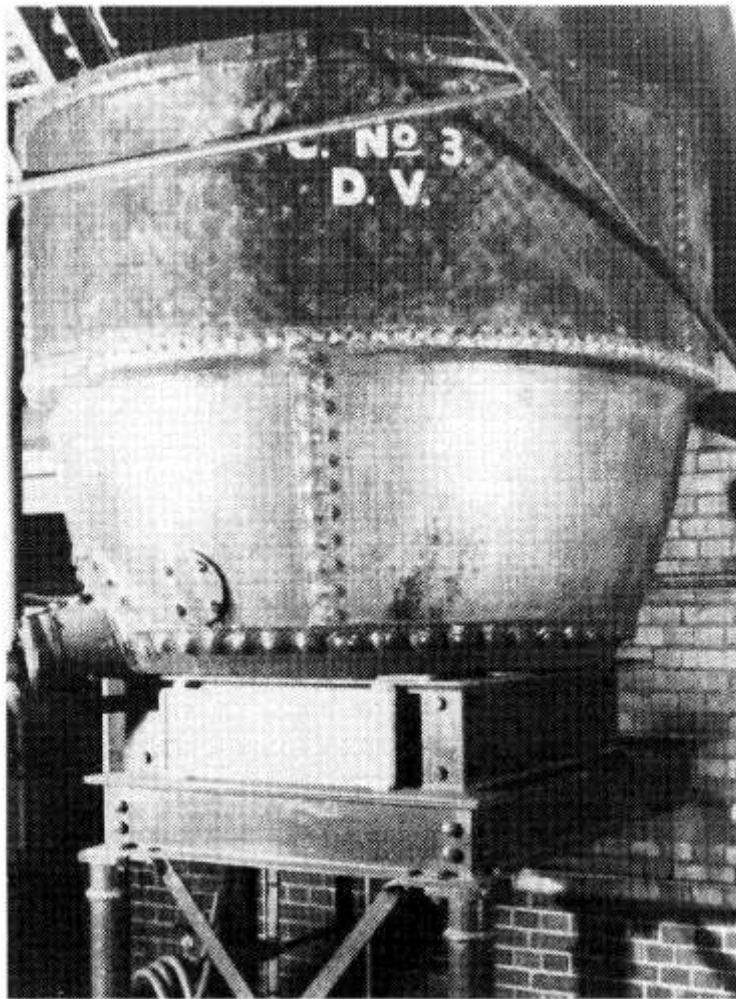


Figure 11.

An early open copper that may have been similar to that used by the Kirtons (**39**).

Some brewhouses had built in ventilation (**Figure 12**).



Figure 12.

The brewhouse at Painswick, Gloucestershire, showing the ventilation lantern on the ridge, with adjustable louvered sides (40).

When Kirton built his new brewery, around 1862, the copper would have been covered with a dome and heated by steam coils. This enabled the boil to take place under a small pressure, ensuring an extremely vigorous agitation of the wort and hops. A convex bottom to the copper was also crucial in achieving the correct rolling boil of the wort, and in draining all the liquor out of the copper through a tap. The steam was led out of the building through a chimney in the copper dome (41).

Spent hops were removed after boiling by filtering through a perforated vessel called the hopback. The wort was then cooled, run into a fermentation vessel and yeast added. It fed on the sugars in the wort to produce alcohol. Surplus yeast was skimmed off the surface. After some 4-8 days the beer was racked into casks (42).

Attemperation, the cooling of fermentations by circulating cold water through pipes immersed in the beer, gradually became standard practice in breweries and enabled brewers to continue their production throughout the hot summer months. At about the same time “refrigeration” of wort, which brought the temperature down rapidly to room temperature after the boil in the copper, was adopted by the brewing trade. This replaced the old method of running the boiled wort into coolers, shallow vessels no more than six or eight inches deep. The coolers were contained in a long room surrounded by louvered windows, which were opened to let the steam escape as the wort cooled. This was a potentially unhygienic and dangerous cooling method as the wort was exposed to infection at a particularly vulnerable stage of the process, especially in hot weather. Steam, slow to clear in hazy, hot weather, condensed on dust laden beams and fell back into the coolers, causing the worts to become acidic and setting up irregular fermentations.

A further problem was that it was always difficult to keep coolers watertight. Adjustable nuts and bolts were incorporated in their construction, which could be tightened in case of shrinkage or warping. Later, coolers were often lined with lead. An even greater problem though, than leaking wooden coolers, was the ever-present one of keeping them clean. A thorough “scouring” with cold water two or three times was the recommended method. Hot water was to be avoided at all costs as it would drive the infection in further. However, some brewers continued to use open coolers right into the twentieth century (43).

There is evidence from the inventory of items to be auctioned, following the dissolution of the partnership between Kirton and Baker, that Kirton used Moreton’s patent refrigerator (44). This was patented in 1862, and used a simple heat-exchange mechanism (**Figure 13**). Three systems were tried in the brewing industry. First, horizontal ones in which cold water passed through pipes over which flowed the hot wort in the opposite direction. Moreton’s refrigerator was the best model of this type and was widely used. Secondly, there were those in which the wort flowed in a film over the outside of pipes placed vertically; and thirdly, those in which the wort flowed inside the pipes and the water outside. There were acute cleaning problems with the first and third types, and by the late 1880s, the second type, with either flat or corrugated pipes on Baudelot’s or Lawrence’s patent, were most generally advocated.

Vertical, economic of space and water, they gave the wort an excellent aeration (45). Although Baudelot's refrigerator was suitable for most beers, brown stout was apt to foam considerably under the shock of falling several feet, even when cold; therefore some stout brewers were forced to discard it (46); and is possibly why Kirton chose Moreton's patent.

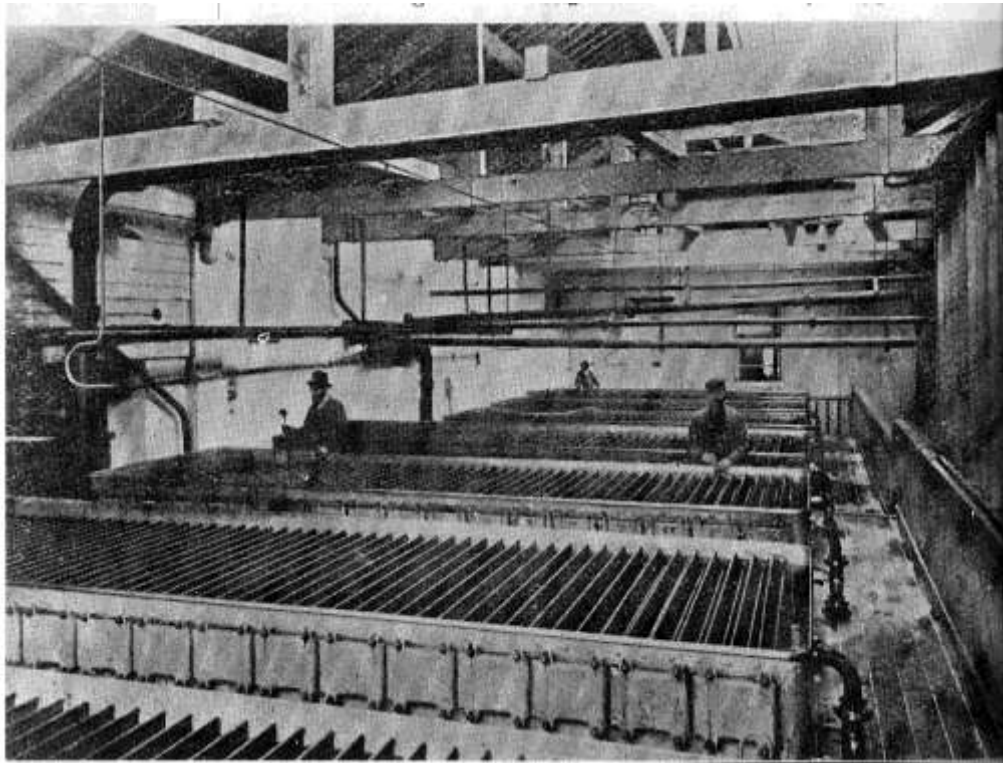


Figure 13. Moreton's patent refrigerator.

However, the brewing industry was unusual in that although science improved the means of production, the end-product was a question of taste rather than precise measurement. There was still a place for experience as well as science (47).

The waste products of the brewing process were recycled. Before brewing the malt was screened to remove the rootlets. Being very rich in nitrogenous materials they were fed to livestock; as were the barley husks removed from the wort. Spent hops were disposed of as hop manure (48). Excess yeast, skimmed off the working tuns, provided regular supplies for local bakers (49).

All vessels but the copper would probably initially have been made of wood. The mash tun was required to hold its heat and the insulating properties of wood assisted this (50). By the time of Kirton's new brewery it is likely that they would have still used wooden ones. The use of cast iron mash tuns, "coppers" and similar brewing vessels were patented in 1808 but the transition to metal vessels was slow. Indeed, even by 1889 many famous breweries were still operating with wooden mash tuns (51). Most brewers reckoned that it was worth having the copper actually made of copper as it took less fuel, lasted longer and was easier to clean than cast-iron versions. Furthermore, a copper vessel kept half its value as scrap metal (52).

Kirton was quite innovative for his time in that he had a patent bottling machine for filling glass pint and half pint bottles (53). The mass production of glass bottles only became possible after 1866, with the use of chilled iron moulds (54); although bottled beer seems to have been popular from the eighteenth century (55). Beer drunk from the barrel might be sparkling and gaseous at the outset, but after a few days use that sparkle would have been lost. The flat beer would then have to be mixed with fresh to liven the beer up. Whereas bottled beer had a high degree of carbonation which was achieved by allowing the beer to ferment in the bottle (56). However, if increasing amounts of beer were retailed in bottles in the course of the nineteenth century, the vast majority of beer was sold wholesale in traditional wooden casks (57).

Key to a successful brewing business was a plentiful supply of water. Apart from what was needed for brewing the beer, even larger quantities were necessary for washing out brewing vessels and casks. At the same time it was recognised that brewing with the wrong water could ruin the beer. However, in brewing, the heating and boiling of water before mashing, and the production of alcohol during fermentation, would remove the chief dangers of infection. For every barrel of beer produced, some fifteen or sixteen barrels of water were necessary (by 1900) to carry out the various brewing processes. Most brewers relied upon their own wells, at least for their brewing water, and indeed this was the case at Branston (58). What is more, Branston Brewery's water had "been proved by chemical analysis to be peculiarly adapted for brewing purposes" (59). Kirton's brewery also had a wooden storage tank, which held 2,000 gallons (60).

However, there was a deeper sense in which water might be “fit” for brewing. Certain districts, above all Burton on Trent, became famous for their ale on account of the local water. The extremely hard water, filtered through beds of gypsum to give a high content of Calcium Sulphate, allowed improved rates of extraction of the hop essences and a better conversion of sugars from the malt to alcohol during the fermentation process. Burton ales were acknowledged as being pre-eminent in quality, flavour, brilliance and soundness. Other brewers were concerned by this strong competition and were forced to act. So it was that by the 1870s breweries were “Burtonising” their waters, by adding Calcium Sulphate, to make tolerable imitations of Burton beers (61). A further problem was what to do with the contaminated waste water. In Branston the presence of the nearby village stream, “The Beck”, would have been fundamental to the choice of site for the discharge of waste products.

The nineteenth century brewer was an unusual entrepreneur; half agriculturist, half industrialist; on the one hand conservative and traditional, on the other forced along by the pace of industrial change which transformed Victorian Britain (62). For William Kirton to make the transition to successful commercial brewer he needed partners in order to build a new brewery to increase production. Something in the order of a 10 per cent return on capital, in addition to the 5 per cent interest upon it paid quarterly – and which they might have expected as a return from the safest investment – was the aim across the life of a partnership, good years compensating bad (63). Because there were tens of thousands of enterprises in the brewing industry in the nineteenth century it is difficult to generalise about entry into the industry and the way in which the typical brewery was managed by its owners. It was certainly not unusual for small common brewers before the 1880s to drift in and out of brewery partnerships with a frequency that defied the numerous trade directories of the day (64).

This was certainly the case with William. The first partnership, with Richard Lumley Clifton, is recorded in March 1864:

The house lately occupied by Mr. Calvert, builder, has, we hear, been taken by Mr. Clifton, of Timberland, who has joined Mr. Kirton in the management of his brewery. The Branston

Brewery is becoming famous, and the business is extending rapidly in every direction. We were much gratified by an inspection of the premises the other day, and at the extreme neatness and perfect order with which an extensive concern like this is carried on. The great increase of business has rendered additional cellar accommodation necessary, and, we understand, workmen will shortly commence operations with this end in view (65).

This partnership was soon dissolved in 1865 (66). Kirton formed another with Tom Baker but this did not last long either (ending in 1867) (67 and Appendix 1).

Many of the brewery contents were auctioned to pay off Baker (68 and Appendix 2). However, William Kirton was clearly confident of carrying on the business, as this advertisement was displayed directly under the one advertising the auction:

“MR. W. KIRTON, in tendering his thanks to the Public for past favours, begs to inform them that the partnership hitherto existing between himself and MR. BAKER, has been dissolved by mutual consent, and that in future the business will be carried on by himself, where he hopes to receive their liberal patronage as heretofore” (69).

William was successful in buying most of the auctioned items:

“The entire brewery plant of Messrs. Kirton and Baker was brought to the hammer on Wednesday by Mr. Dickinson, auctioneer of Lincoln. There was a fair attendance at the sale. A great portion of the effects were bought by Mr. Kirton, who is going to carry on the business on his own account. Some amusement was created when Mr. Baker, in the heat of the bidding, got a tremendous *cooler*. An “old hand” standing by thought if it was glazed it would make a capital cucumber frame” (70).

Another possible partnership with David Smith (senior), brewer from Branston, may have been the reason for Smith being declared bankrupt (71).

However, the brewery was not a viable concern and had to be sold shortly after. Possibly buying out Baker proved too costly! William Kirton was effectively declared bankrupt. Trustees were appointed to receive and pay all accounts due, and settle any claims or demands against the estate (72 and Appendix 3). William assigned all his property, credits and effects to Arthur Henry Leslie Melville (of Branston Hall), John Smith (provision merchant), and Robert Cook Odling (draper) (73 and Appendix 4). The Brewery, maltkiln, house and gardens etc. were put up for

both auction and for sale by contract throughout 1868, by the assignees under a Deed of Assignment for the benefit of creditors; without raising a bid (74 and Appendix 5). (There is no mention of any associated public houses for sale). William's household contents were auctioned off in July 1868 (75 and Appendix 5).

It is possible that the Trustees tried to keep the brewery running, as they attempted to find a buyer; but I have found no evidence of the brewery being advertised for sale during the period 1869-70. They certainly had trouble reclaiming debts (Appendix 6). By the time of the 1871 Census the malt kiln and brewery, with house and office, were uninhabited (76). However, living next door was John Smith, maltster. He had been living in the village for about a year. Also in the 1871 Branston CEB was William Smith, brewer, who had been residing in Branston for about three years (77).

The trustees seem to have made another effort to sell the brewery mid 1871, as the following advertisement appeared in the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*:

THE BRANSTON BREWERY, now at work, with a good connection. It consists of a 7 quarter Brewery with Cellars in the rock, Refrigerator with squares, Steam Machinery, Gas and every convenience.

There is a superior Dwelling-house and Garden, and a modern Maltkiln capable of steeping 34 quarters.

Apply on the premises, or to Mr. John Smith, grocer, High Street, Lincoln (78).

Presumably Alfred Healey bought the brewery around this time.

By 1870 William Kirton was in Lincoln, as his fourth son, was born around this period in the St. Marks Parish. William was advertising in the *Lincoln Gazette*, from February 1870, as being agent for the Babbington and Cinder Hill Coal Company, near Nottingham; living at 9 Tentercroft Street (79). However, by the time of the 1871 Census he was living in Grantley House, Spittlegate, Grantham, recorded as being a colliery agent (80). It was here that his fifth son was born c1872. William's mother died on August the 9th 1879 (aged 78) at Boston. Sometime in the 1870s William moved to Nottinghamshire. An 1876 trade directory records him as still being a colliery agent, living at 93 Queen's Walk, Nottingham. By the time of the 1881 Census the family had moved to Laburnum Grove, Beeston, Nottinghamshire,

having one general servant. William was recorded as being a colliery agent (mine sur. = surveyor?) (81). However, at the time of the 1891 Census William (62), still a colliery agent, is back living in Branston's High Street with his wife Jane (61), daughter Mary (27) and son Alec (18), a grocer's apprentice. William died on November 7th 1895, aged 68; and is buried in Branston churchyard (82).

Notes.

- 1 Corran, H.S. (1975) *A History of Brewing*, p. 183.
- 2 Lovett, Maurice (1996) *Brewing and Breweries*, p. 14.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- 4 Gourvish, T.R. & Wilson, R.G. (1994) *The British Brewing Industry 1830-1980*, p. 75.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 192.
- 6 1871 Horncastle Census (RG10/3381/22).
- 7 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
- 8 Cornell, Martyn (2003) *Beer. The Story of the Pint*, p. 295.
- 9 Monckton, H.A. (1966) *A History of English Ale & Beer*, pp. 13-14.
- 10 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
- 11 Monckton, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- 12 Lovett, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
- 13 Cornell, *op. cit.*, p. 295.
- 14 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-188.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- 16 Lovett, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
- 17 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
- 18 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
- 19 Cornell, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109.
- 20 *Lincoln Gazette*, January 17th 1868, p. 2, col. 1.
Thermometers were mentioned in the inventory of items to be auctioned.
- 21 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
- 22 Sambrook, Pamela (1996) *Country House Brewing in England 1500-1900*, pp. 62-63
- 23 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 120 and p. 124.
- 24 Lovett, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- 25 Corran, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-188.
- 26 *Lincoln Gazette*, January 17th 1868, p. 2, col. 1.
This is a reference in the sale of the brewery contents. (See Appendix 2).
- 27 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
- 28 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
- 29 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
- 30 Cornell, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
- 31 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 85.
- 34 Mathias, Peter (1959) *The Brewing Industry in England 1700-1830*, p. 81.

- 32 *Lincoln Gazette*, November 21st 1863, p. 2, col. 6.
This is a reference to two children stealing four stone of coal, the property of Mr. William Kirton. The load of coal had been brought from Lincoln by John Smith, a drayman in the employ of Mr. Kirton.
Lincoln Gazette, October 28th 1865, p. 2, col. 8 and
November 11th 1865, p. 2, col. 7.
John Goulding met with a severe accident in starting the engine at Branston Brewery, crushing his hand to such an extent as to render amputation of one finger necessary, which was performed by Mr. Braithwaite, surgeon, of Heighington.
- 33 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, April 3rd 1868, p. 6, col. 6.
- 34 Lovett, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
Monckton, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- 35 Lovett, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
- 36 Monckton, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.
- 37 Cornell, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
Lincoln Gazette, January 17th 1868, p. 2, col. 1.
A saccharometer was mentioned in the inventory of items to be auctioned, after the dissolution of the partnership between Kirton and Baker. (See Appendix 2).
- 38 Monckton, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20 and p. 146.
- 39 Lovett, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
- 40 Sambrook, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
- 41 Monckton, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
Sambrook, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.
- 42 Lovett, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
- 43 Monckton, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
Cornell, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
Sambrook, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
- 44 *Lincoln Gazette*, January 17th 1868, p. 2, col. 1. (See Appendix 2).
- 45 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.
- 46 Cornell, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
- 47 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
- 48 Monckton, *op. cit.*, p. 15, p. 19 and p. 21.
- 49 Mathias, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
Lincoln Gazette, May 16th 1863, p. 1, col. 2.
Kirton & Co. were advertising fresh yeast for sale.
- 50 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 186.
- 52 Sambrook, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
- 53 Dissolution of Kirton/Baker partnership – Inventory of items to be auctioned:
Lincoln Gazette, January 17th 1868, p. 2, col. 1.
Patent bottling machine (nearly new).
Lincoln Gazette, July 10th 1868, p. 5, col. 5.
150 dozen glass pint and half pint bottles, put in good order, ready for use.
- 54 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 231 and p. 234.
Cheap coloured glass was used initially as it was known that beer in aqua bottles acquired a bad odour and taste owing to the action of light.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p. 230.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 229 and p. 233.
The subsequent secondary fermentation inevitably gave rise to a deposit on the bottom of the bottle. This yeasty sediment would generally form a solid disc that was unaffected during pouring, though this was not always so.
Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 45 and p. 62.

As light beer became more popular brewers had to adapt their practices, enabling the production of low-cost, consistent (in uniformity of taste) bottled beer by chilling filtering and carbonating; which produced no sediment and retained no cloudiness.

- 57 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 200 and p. 639.
Types of Cask:- butt (108 gals.), puncheon (72 gals.), hogshead (54 gals.), tierce (42 gals.), barrel (36 gals.), kilderkin (18 gals.), firkin (9 gals.) and pin (4.5 gals.).
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 49.
Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
OS 25-inch plan of Branston (1887). (3-MARTIN/1/14, in Lincoln Archives).
This shows two pumps on the brewery land, indicating the presence of wells.
There may well have been more.
- 59 *The Lincoln, Rutland & Stamford Mercury*, May 22nd 1868, p. 7, col. 5.
- 60 *Lincoln Gazette*, January 17th 1868, p. 2, col. 1.
Inventory of items to be auctioned after dissolution of partnership between Kirton and Baker. (See Appendix 2).
- 61 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 50 and p. 83.
- 62 *Ibid.*, p. 179.
- 63 *Ibid.*, p. 212.
- 64 *Ibid.*, p. 226.
- 65 *Lincoln Gazette*, March 12th 1864, p. 2, col. 6.
- 66 *The Lincoln, Rutland & Stamford Mercury*, March 24th 1865, p. 5, col. 6.
Richard L. Clifton, brewer, from Timberland is mentioned in the trade directories (1861-66).
- 67 *The Lincoln, Rutland & Stamford Mercury*, Friday January 10th 1868, p.2, col.4.
- 68 *Lincoln Gazette*, January 17th 1868, p. 2, col. 1.
- 69 *Ibid.*, p. 2, col. 1.
- 70 *Lincoln Gazette*, January 24th 1868, p. 2, col. 8.
- 71 *The Standard*, Wednesday December 30th 1868, p.2.
The Leicester Chronicle & The Leicester Mercury, Saturday January 2nd 1869, p.7).
- 72 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, February 28th 1868, p. 5, col. 4, and p. 6, col. 7.
- 73 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, March 20th 1868, p. 2, col. 4.
- 74 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 1868 – April 3rd, p. 6, col. 6, May 22nd, p. 7, col. 5, June 12th, p. 5, col. 1, and June 26th, p. 1, col. 4.
- 75 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, July 17th 1868, p. 7, col. 1.
- 76 1871 Branston Census (RG10/3666/79).
- 77 1871 Branston Census (RG10/3366/63 and 79).
A measure of how long both brewery workers had been living in Branston can be gauged by the ages and place of birth of their children.
- 78 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, June 23rd 1871, p. 6, col. 7.
- 79 *Lincoln Gazette*, February 4th 1870, p. 2, col. 2.
Also agent for the sale of bricks, tiles, drainage and sanitary pipes, & c. manufactured by the same Company, and which can be supplied in any quantity on application to Mr. Kirton.
- 80 1871 Grantham Census (RG10/3361/28).
- 81 1881 Beeston, Notts. Census (RG11/3331/98).
- 82 1891 Branston Census (RG12/2588/24).

Alfred Healey

Kirton's brewery was sold to Alfred Healey. Trade directory and Census information show his varied other business interests in Horncastle, where he lived at Banovallum House (**Figures 14 & 15**), and Lincoln (1).



Figure 14. Banovallum House in 1866.



Figure 15. Banovallum House today (2).

Having moved away from the well established family brewing business in Hertfordshire, Alfred was obviously keen to expand his “empire”. When breweries came up for sale they were usually bought by established brewers, for they could borrow more easily to raise capital. Healey may have been able to draw upon the savings of the Hertfordshire brewery, or from friends willing to invest for a generous return. It was known for brewers who were expanding their business, and as owners of freehold property, to have raised a mortgage; or indeed, to have used capital from other business interests to fund new ventures (3). However, as will be shown later, Alfred Healey also left to make a fresh start elsewhere in the country as a result of losing a large amount of cash (£20,000) in a failed business venture; and owing money to creditors (4).

Healey must have acquired Branston Brewery soon after moving to Horncastle, as he is listed in the trade directories as a brewer and maltster at Branston Brewery between 1872 and 1896. Although I have not managed to find any evidence of this purchase, Alfred did buy the *Waggon and Horses* public house, Branston, at auction in October 1871 (5). It is therefore reasonable to assume that he would only have done so if he owned the adjoining brewery; presumably buying it shortly after it was advertised in June 1871 (6).

Alfred Healey was born in Watford, Hertfordshire in 1826, son of George and Elizabeth (7). He married Ellen, from Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, and they had 9 children (8). An 1855 trade directory records:

Healey, Alfred & Charles Frederick, (brothers), High Street, Great Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire, brewers and wine & spirit merchants.

Healey, C F, wine & spirit merchant, High Street, Watford.

Healeys were brewers in King Street, Watford, from 1851 until 1898, when they were taken over by Benskins and closed. Charles Frederick founded the company. He had been a wine & spirit merchant at 75 High Street, Watford from at least 1846. He died in 1863, after which the brewery and wine & spirit businesses were run by his widow Elizabeth Julie Healey. Healeys claimed that they produced the “original Watford Pale Ale” (9). Furthermore, the *Watford Observer* records:

“Most persons who have travelled on the continent will welcome the introduction of that refreshing yet, non-intoxicating beverage known as “lager-bier” into this country. Mr. Charles Healey of the King Street Brewery, having spent many months in Germany studying the system of brewing in that country, has succeeded in producing a light ale that would puzzle many to distinguish from the imported article” (10).

Up to the mid/late 1860s Alfred and his family lived in Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire where he had a large and lucrative business, until he lost £20,000, including a failed ironworks. He left there to be manager of the Birkenhead Brewery Company for 18 months, after which he came to Horncastle (with £2,000) (11). The 1871 Horncastle CEB records Alfred as living at 6 Manor House Street with his large family and a housemaid, a cook and a nursemaid. At this time he is recorded as being a maltster and brewer employing 16 men. His two eldest sons, Alfred Wild (19) and Herbert (16), are shown as being clerks to their father (12).

Alfred Healey senior’s business interests diversified, as the trade directory entries indicate. He also acquired several tied public houses, and in 1873 he was leasing the *City Arms*, situate on The Strait, Lincoln, together with the brewhouse (13). He was doing very well by 1881, being recorded in the census as a farmer of 300 acres, employing 5 labourers. The brewing and malting side of the business had expanded considerably as he now employed 42 men and 3 boys (14). His son, Alfred Wild Healey, was also actively involved with brewing and malting (15). However, by 1891 there is no mention of the farm. At this time Alfred’s youngest son, Sydney (32) was also recorded as being a maltster (16).

Alfred (senior) traded extensively from his wharf on his private cut, off the Horncastle Canal, near the Manor House (17). The 1872 trade directory records him operating a weekly carrier service to Lincoln and Boston. Alfred utilised the canal for his supply of coal and malt and for distributing brewery and other products. Beer was difficult to transport inland except by waterways before the coming of the railways (18). The 11 mile Horncastle Canal was opened in 1802 for a total cost of £45,000; with a fall of 84 feet. It was built to connect the town with the River Witham, and so with Lincoln, Boston and the sea (19). It was constructed to take boats up to 14 ½ feet wide, 72 feet long and up to 50 tons (20). Having his works on the Wharf was not without its

problems. The low-lying land was prone to flooding when there had been heavy rain (21).

Alfred had been acting as agent for the Threlfall Brewery Company's large Horncastle maltings at the railway station since the early 1880s (22). However, it appears that Threlfalls owned Healey's Horncastle and Branston malt kilns from at least 1882. The *Lincoln Gazette*, in June 1882, reported that the trustees of the late Mr. J.M.Threlfall, brewer of Liverpool and Manchester, treated their employees (numbering about 450 persons). Those employed at the Horncastle and Branston malt kilns first stayed at Worksop, then joined with workers there in travelling to Liverpool, where they met with workers from Liverpool and Manchester. All the employees enjoyed a trip down the River Mersey, after which an excellent dinner was served in a large marquee. Mr. Healey returned thanks for the employees of the several malt kilns. After dinner various sports and pastimes were provided. The Zoological Gardens adjoining were also thrown open free to the party (23).

It is possible the Alfred's son Herbert was active in the running of Branston Brewery, as the following notice indicates:

"The death of Mr. Healey, brewer and maltster, has cast a gloom over the village. The deceased, who was only 24 years of age, was courteous and affable to all classes, and was much respected" (24).

Occasionally there were "brushes" with the law. A heavy cart belonging to Messrs. Healey & Son was involved in an accident when it ran over the leg of a boy, seriously injuring him (25). Alfred, himself, was fined 7s 6d for keeping a dog without a licence (26).

Notes

1 Horncastle:

1871 Census – Brewer and maltster employing 16 men.

1872 Brewer & maltster; coke, coal, spirit, artificial manure and corn merchant; and carrier to Lincoln and Boston, and wharfinger, The Wharf, Banovallum House, Manor House Street.

1876 Corn & coal merchant, Manor House Street.

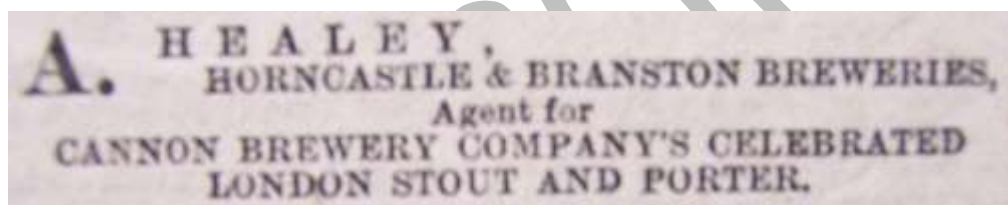
1881 Census – Farmer of 300 acres employing 5 labourers, & brewer and maltster employing 42 men and 3 boys. Alfred Wild Healey (son) – Maltster & brewer.

1882 Maltster, brewer & spirit merchant, corn, artificial manure and coal merchant, The Wharf.
 1885-1891 (Census) Alfred Healey & Son, brewers, maltsters, spirit & coal merchants, The Wharf.
 Alfred Healey living – Manor House Street.
 Alfred Wild Healey living – Chestnuts, 54 West Street.
 1892-1896 Alfred Healey & Son, brewers and maltsters, The Wharf.
 1882-1896 Agent for Threlfall Brewery Company.

Lincoln:

1877 A. Healey, maltster, Alfred Street.
 1882 Brewer, Corn Exchange, Anchor Street and Hall Yard, Waterside South.
 Agent for J.M. Threlfall (executors of) maltster, Corn Exchange; and Liverpool and Manchester.
 1882-1885 Maltster, Anchor Street and Corn Exchange.
 Healey & Robinson, maltsters, Corn Exchange.

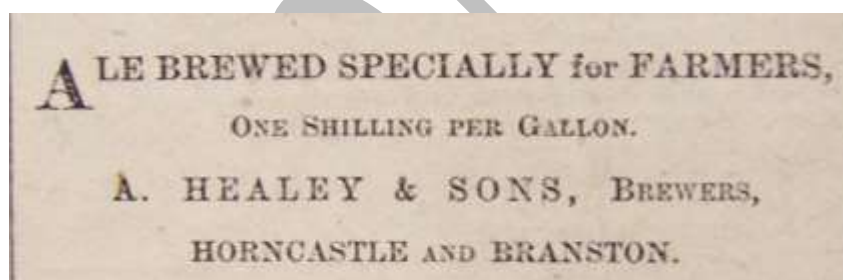
(1879 Agent for the Cannon Brewery Company).



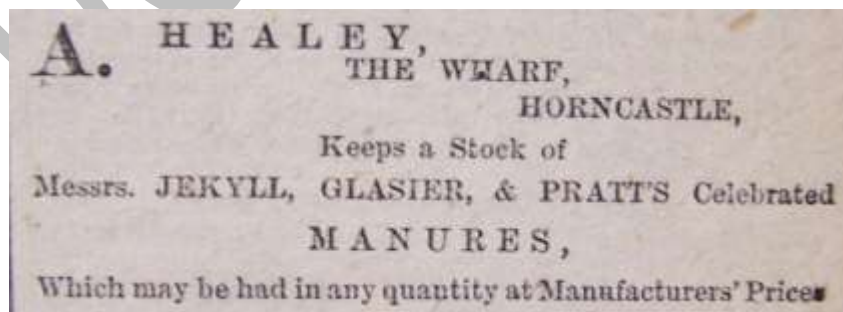
Lincoln Gazette, April 12th 1879, p. 1, col. 3.

- 2 www.lincstrust.org.uk/lwt/banovallum-house/index.php
- 3 Gourvish, T.R. & Wilson, R.G. (1994) *The British Brewing Industry 1830-1980*, p. 247.
- 4 *Lincoln Gazette*, June 20th 1896, p. 3, col. 7.
- 5 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, October 20th 1871, p. 5, col. 1.
- 6 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, June 23rd 1871, p. 6, col. 7.
- 7 <http://search.labs.familysearch.org>
- 8 1871 Horncastle Census (RG10/3381/22).
 1881 Horncastle Census (RG11/3248/112).
 (Alfred Wild born c1852, Ellen born c1854, Herbert born c1855,
 Jessie born c1857, Sydney born c1859, Ethel born c1860,
 Elizabeth born c1862, Gertrude and Mabel born c 1864).
- 9 www.watfordmuseum.org.uk/docs/camra_auction.doc (Item 113).
- 10 *Watford Observer*, June 14th 1879.
- 11 *Lincoln Gazette*, June 20th 1896, p. 3, col. 7.
 The reason he left Berkhamstead was because he lost £20,000 in six months. He paid £10,000 deposit on some ironworks which he took over on his own account, and lost the whole of his money there. He compounded with his creditors, and paid 5s in the £.
- 12 1871 Horncastle Census (RG10/3381/22).

- 13 For example:
Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, October 10th 1871, p. 5, col. 1. (The *Waggon and Horses*, Branston bought for £600).
Lincolnshire Chronicle, July 19th 1878, p. 7, col. 1. (The *King's Arms*, Martin Dales, for £1,160, coming with stables and other outbuildings, yard and garden, together 1,206 square yards).
 (See also Appendix 10).
 Lincoln Archives, ref. – Lincoln St Mark PAR/15/6/5/1/1, dated October 11th 1873. (This is the lease of the *City Arms*, Lincoln).
- 14 1881 Horncastle Census (RG11/3248/112).
 15 1881 Horncastle Census (RG11/3248/16).
 16 1891 Horncastle Census (RG12/2598/88).
 17 Clarke, J. N. (1990) *The Horncastle and Tattershall Canal*, p. 67 and p. 75.
 18 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
 19 Walter, James Conway (1998) *A History of Horncastle*, p. 126.
 Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
 20 Robinson, David N. (1983) *The Book of Horncastle & Woodhall Spa*, p. 14.
 21 *Lincoln Gazette*, February 9th 1884, p. 8, col. 3.
 “In Mr. Healey’s yard the men had to wade in order to get to the horses in the stables, following the heavy rains”.
 22 www.lincstrust.org.uk/lwt/banovallum-house/index.php
 23 *Lincoln Gazette*, June 24th 1882, p. 7, col. 6.
 24 *Lincoln Gazette*, March 8th 1879, p. 8, col. 1.
 25 *Lincoln Gazette*, November 29th 1884, p. 8, col. 4.
 26 *Lincoln Gazette*, March 13th 1886, p. 8, col. 3.



Lincoln Gazette, March 19th 1881, p. 2, col. 5.



Lincoln Gazette, May 21st 1881, p. 1, col. 6.

Frederick Ryley

As well as sound brewing knowledge, increasing mechanisation in the industry required a wide range of skills to keep buildings and workshops in order, maintain engines, machinery and boilers; and also ensure adequate water arrangements, drains and lighting etc.. To this effect Frederick C. Ryley was employed by Healey as brewery manager and practical brewer (1).

Frederick was born in Newborough, Staffordshire c1833. He married Emily, from Burton-on-Trent, where they had moved to by 1862 (2). Living in Burton-on-Trent suggests that Frederick had an earlier connection with the brewing industry before moving to Lincoln sometime between 1868-71 to work as brewery manager for John W. Marshall's brewery at 18 Waterside North, Lincoln. The 1871 Lincoln CEB records him, and his family, as living on the brewery premises (3).

Marshall had decided to retire, after some 26 years in the trade, and dispose of his entire brewing, malting, corn and coal business, along with 17 inns and beer houses. Adverts of the time give some indication of what a brewery consisted of. The property was to be sold as one lot, the sale date being October 1st 1875 at the Masonic Hall Lincoln. The auction lot was for the most part freehold, with a small part being copyhold and leasehold. If not sold in one lot, the properties were to be offered in lots (4 and Appendix 7).

In actuality this brewery, together with a malting, coal and corn business; along with all the inns and beer houses (with associated land and buildings), was sold as one lot to Benjamin John Wilson & William Cartwright for a sum approaching £12,000 (5).

The 1876 Lincoln trade directory records Frederick Ryley as being the manager of the brewing side of this new business. However, by 1879 Frederick had moved to Branston to become manager of Healey's brewery (6). The 1881 Branston CEB shows Frederick, Emily, their 3 daughters and son Charles (recorded as being an unemployed corn merchant) as living on the brewery premises. The family employed a general domestic servant at this time, who probably came with them from Lincoln when they moved to Branston. (Her place of birth, St. Swithins, Lincoln, suggests

this, as it is the same as their fourth child's place of birth) (7). Alfred Healey would have first met Frederick in 1871. This was when Alfred would have made enquiries about the sale of the *Waggon and Horses*; one of the lots of Marshall's first auction attempts at selling his brewery and associated public houses (8).

Brewing was a highly capital-intensive industry. Breweries themselves, however, were not large, direct employers of labour (9) (**Figure 16**). Moreover, small village breweries would only have employed a few permanent men. Kirton employed a work force of at least seven men in 1865 (10).



Figure 16. The workforce of a typical small Victorian brewery.

During Healey's time the 1881 Branston CEB records Frederick Ryley (brewery manager), Henry Holland and Frederick Waite (maltster's labourers), and Benjamin Hackney and Robert G Robinson (brewer's labourers); but Healey possibly took on extra labour at the busiest periods and laid them off when demand slackened (11). However, very little evidence has survived about the ordinary labourer employed in breweries (around this time), their conditions of employment, their pay or their precise functions. These labourers required only the range of skills to be found on the

farm or in the village. Above all, the need was for strong general labourers to manage the sacks of malt, to mash the ground malt (before the days of mashing machines), to clean out the utensils and the casks, to do the racking into barrels, and manhandle the casks into the stores or onto the drays – the “drawers off”, “stage-men” and “spare-men” (12).

Watney, in 1873, were paying their draymen, on average, c £89 per annum; although there were different classes according to task. However, this was probably a good deal higher than farm horsemen’s wages, and certainly a lot more than agricultural labourers earned. Draymen also received the traditional “tun” or “butt” money paid by publicans to them on delivery. By the turn of the twentieth century Barclay’s draymen were paid between 40s and 50s each week, plus “butt” money (no other firm matched their rates); whereas Watney Combe Reid’s five classes of draymen were paid between 24s and 43s (13). The wages of draymen were generous but they worked very long unregulated hours. The work was heavy and hazardous (14). Kirton’s largest barrels held 108 gallons, and would have weighed more than half a ton each when full (15). The other brewery workers did not fare so well. Customarily, the labourers’ rate appears to have been in the region of 2s above those of neighbouring agricultural workers (rates which varied considerably across Britain). A sixty hour week was normal in breweries in the 1860s (16). The wages bill of Lacon & Sons Brewery, in 1891, amounted to 3.85 per cent of the brewing costs. Similarly, those for the Bass Brewery were 3.91 per cent in 1908. However, labour costs were always far less significant than those of raw materials, distribution costs and excise duties (17).

Frederick does not appear to have stayed long as manager. The last reference that I have found is the 1882 trade directory. By the time of the 1891 Census Frederick was living in East Retford, Nottinghamshire, with his occupation recorded as brewer and manager (18). Branston Brewery house was shown as being unoccupied in the 1891 CEB. This census records James Hodson as being a brewer (ten years previous he was an agricultural labourer) with Benjamin Hackney as his brewer’s labourer (19).

Some young brewers received their practical instruction under the surveillance of their father but it became increasingly common practice for them to be sent, usually

for one or two years, to another brewery. We do not know if this is what happened with Alfred (junior) but it may have been the case with John Proctor, recorded in the Branston 1881 CEB, aged 17, as being a brewer's pupil to the brewery manager (Frederick Riley) boarding at the brewery house. It is likely, being born in Hertfordshire, that he was the son of a family friend of Healey (20). Such pupil fees made a significant contribution towards the accepting brewery. There was probably little that was systematic in the instruction given. Its main aspect was the exposition of brewing skills "at the copper-side", whilst other parts of the brewing business were acquired practically: the buying of barley, the making of malt, the judging of hops, the keeping of accounts and the understanding of every aspect of distribution. On completion of their training they would return to their family brewery (21).

There was a certain amount of paternalism exhibited by brewers. The larger breweries, in particular, allowed their workmen a beer ration during their breaks, usually 2-3 pints daily. Also, half stones of beef for the family and pounds of tea for the wife were regular Christmas gifts. Furthermore, the great feature of brewery life by the late nineteenth century was the annual brewery excursion. Moreover, Truman (in 1902) reckoned its package of beer allowances, regular all-year round work, sick pay, pensions, holidays, outings, "presents" and accident pay was worth 6s a week (22). There is evidence that this kind of paternalism was also exhibited by Branston Brewery, but to a lesser extent:

"On Thursday evening last, the men employed at the Branston Brewery and the Lincoln Maltkiln, together with their wives and friends, were invited by the respected manager, Mr. Riley (sic), to a knife and fork tea. An excellent spread was served by Mrs. Parker, of the *Waggon and Horses*, to which ample justice was done. After the removal of the cloth, the health of the bride, the second daughter of Mr. Alfred Healey, of Lincoln and Horncastle (lately married), and also that of the bridegroom, were drunk with enthusiasm, together with that of Mr. Riley (sic), and a very pleasant evening was spent" (23).

When another of Alfred's daughters got married, in 1886, he treated the whole of his Horncastle workforce, numbering 40, to an excellent supper at the *Flying Cocks* inn (24). Alfred is also recorded as keeping up the custom of presenting his workers gifts at Christmas (25).

Notes

- 1 1881 Branston Census (RG11/3236/83).
- 2 Their first child, Charles, was born in Newborough c1859.
The next two children were born in Burton-on-Trent – Harriet c1863 and Agnes c1868.
- 3 1871 Lincoln Census (RG10/3372/30).
By this time they had had a fourth child, Charlotte Ann (9 months old), born in St. Swithins, Lincoln
- 4 *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, September 17th 1875, p. 1, col. 1.
- 5 *The Lincoln, Rutland & Stamford Mercury*, October 8th 1875, p. 4, col. 7.
- 6 *Lincoln Gazette*, June 28th 1879, p. 2, col. 5.
- 7 1881 Branston Census (RG11/3236/83).
- 8 *The Lincoln, Rutland & Stamford Mercury*, October 8th 1871, p. 7, col. 1.
Particulars and conditions of sale may be had of Mr. F.C. Ryley, at the Brewery.
- 9 Gourvish, T.R. & Wilson, R.G. (1994) *The British Brewing Industry 1830-1980*, p. 196; and Figure 16 - Plate 8, between pp. 102-103.
- 10 *Lincoln Gazette*, November 11th 1865, p. 2, col. 7.
“John Goulding, brewery worker, was carried to his grave by six of his fellow-workmen of the firm, by whom he was much esteemed”.
- 11 Lovett, Maurice (1996) *Brewing and Breweries*, p. 18.
1881 Branston Census (RG11/3236 / 82, 83, 84, 87 and 90).
- 12 Mathias, Peter (1959) *The Brewing Industry in England 1700-1830*, pp. 35-36.
- 13 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143.
Read, Donald (1994) *The Age of Urban Democracy. England 1868-1914*, pp. 32-33.
Average weekly wage for men (1867):
Highly skilled (eg. watch makers, printers, ship workers) – 35s
Lower skilled – 21 to 25s
Unskilled – 12 to 20s
Agricultural labourers – 14s
About 1 in 7 of the total workforce (males and females) was highly skilled. About a third were lower skilled, and over half either unskilled, agricultural labourers or domestic servants.
- 14 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 130.
Lincoln Gazette, January 17th 1868, p. 2, col. 1.
Inventory of items to be auctioned after dissolution of partnership between Kirton and Baker. (See Appendix 2).
- 16 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 181, p. 197 and p. 605.
- 18 1891 East Retford Census (RG12/2638/27), Brewery Lane, Everton.
- 19 1891 Branston Census (RG12/2588/24 and 29).
1881 Branston Census (RG11/3236 /84).
- 20 1881 Branston Census (RG11/3236/83).
- 21 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.
- 23 *Lincoln Gazette*, January 17th 1880, p. 8, col. 1.
- 24 *Lincoln Gazette*, January 9th 1886, p. 8, col. 3. Marriage to Stephen Pegler of Retford.
- 25 *Lincoln Gazette*, December 31st 1892, p. 8, col. 1.
“SEASONABLE BENEVOLENCE. Innumerable instances of benevolence on the parts of the well-to-do have reached us from this locality. Employers of labour in many cases have presented to those in their service gifts in celebration of the festive season. Mr. Healey (and several others) have each conspicuously kept up the good old custom”.
Lincoln Gazette, December 28th 1895, p. 8, col. 1.

Possible reasons for the demise of Branston Brewery

All breweries had to contend with a number of factors that could, and did, influence profits. These included taxation on both raw materials and products, legislation, the ability to implement scientific innovations, the tied system, changes in the way beer and raw materials were transported and the rise of the temperance movement.

Taxation.

Apart from malt and hops, for brewers the other large item in the manufacturing costs of beer was the excise (taxed at different strengths). This could be as high as 33 per cent. All other costs were small (1). The importance of the brewing industry to Britain's economy can be seen in the revenue figures. By 1788 beer and malt tax contributed £3 million out of a total excise income of £6.75 million (2).

Duty for strong beer had remained constant at 8 shillings per barrel (1761-1801), being raised to 10 shillings in 1802. That for small beer was raised from 1 shilling 4 pence to 2 shillings in the same period (3). As was mentioned earlier, under the Beer Act of 1830 beer duty was abolished, so that any householder who paid rates could apply for an annual two guinea excise licence to sell beer and brew it on his premises (4).

The main reasons involved in the decision to abolish the beer duty were:

- that no scientific method existed for determining the strength of beer once it was fermented, so that fraud was possible.
- that beer had lost out to spirits and tea in the public estimation, and this was a way of promoting sales.

Consumption data:

Date	Population	Beer	Spirits	Tea
1722	6 million	6.1 million barrels	3 million gallons	0.37 million lbs
		(1 barrel per head)	(0.5 gallons per head)	(1oz per head)
1833	14 million	7.35 million barrels	12.38 million gallons	31.83 million lbs
		(0.5 barrels per head)	(0.9 gallons per head)	(2.3lbs per head)

- that the social effects of excessive spirit drinking, especially gin, were a powerful influence on the Governments decision (5).

Hogarth, a contemporary commentator on the social scene, accurately portrays the situation in his two engravings *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane* (1751) (**Figure 17**).



Figure 17. *Beer Street* *Gin Lane*

Beer Street depicts an air of prosperity where everybody thrives, with one notable exception – the pawnbroker, whose premises are in ruin. *Gin Lane* is the complete opposite. There is squalor, degradation and poverty; and only the pawnbroker flourishes.

On the simplest level, Hogarth portrays the inhabitants of *Beer Street* as happy and healthy, nourished by the native English ale, and those who live in *Gin Lane* as destroyed by their addiction to the foreign spirit of gin. *Gin Lane* shows shocking scenes of infanticide, starvation, madness, decay and suicide; while *Beer Street* depicts industry, health, bonhomie and thriving commerce.

Gin Lane depicts the squalor and despair of a community raised on gin. Desperation, death and decay pervade the scene. The only businesses that flourish are those which serve the gin industry: gin sellers, distillers (the aptly named Kilman), the pawnbroker where the avaricious Mr. Gripe greedily takes the vital possessions of the alcoholic residents of the street in return

for a few pennies to feed their habit (the carpenter offers his saw and the housewife her cooking utensils), and the undertaker, for whom Hogarth implies at least a handful of new customers from this scene alone.

The inhabitants of both *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane* are drinking rather than working, but in *Beer Street* the workers are resting after their labours – all those depicted are in their place of work or have their wares or the tools of their trade about them; while in *Gin Lane* the people drink instead of working (6).

Furthermore, another reason for abolishing the duty was that private domestic breweries could brew as much beer as they required without paying any, and it was the working classes, who were compelled to buy beer, who thus had to bear the brunt of the duty (7). Moreover, it was hoped that by allowing free trade in beer it would revive agriculture, which had been in a general depression in the late 1820s, with the price of cereals having dropped considerably (8).

The 1830 Beer Act effectively created a new type of public house, the beerhouse, which did not come within the surveillance of magistrates. Within eight years of the Act almost 46,000 beerhouses were licensed (9). I have found evidence for two Branston beerhouses. The first one to be opened in the village was recorded in 1862. In October 1865 William Kirton was fined for allowing drunkenness in his beerhouse, as the *Lincolnshire Chronicle* recounts:

“Mr. Kirton, landlord of a beer-house at Branston, was summoned for allowing drunkenness in his house. On the night of the 15th the offence was alleged to have taken place. Police constable Trollope was called in by the person in charge and requested to turn the delinquents out. Directly, however, the officer entered this order was countermanded by the same person who had given it. The row continued for some time after this. Mr. Kirton was sorry such a thing should have occurred. He was not there at the time. It was in charge of one Weaver. A fine of 40s, with 6s costs, was inflicted” (10).

However, even with competition in Branston, such as that of Kirton’s beerhouse, there is no hard evidence that the Act damaged the business of established brewers (11). Beerhouse producers who were meant to open up competition and lower beer prices did not produce more than 13.4 per cent of output at their peak in 1836.

Furthermore, most beerhouse keepers were incapable of producing a reliable beer. Moreover, they frequently had difficulty in finding even the minimal cost of a brewer's licence, still more in raising an adequate capital to buy a decent set of brewing utensils. By 1860 beerhouse keepers were producing less than 10 per cent of output. They became an easy prey for the common brewer, linked closely with him from the outset for supplies. When common brewers became more acquisitive for public houses after 1860 they easily picked off those beerhouses they wanted; their proprietors attracted by a good price (12). Beer duty was only reintroduced in 1880 (13).

The duty on hops was first imposed in 1711 (14). In the early eighteenth century, despite bad as well as good years, 1-2 acres of hops yielded more profit than 50 acres of arable land (15). This is probably why the Kirtons decided to grow their own hops down Paddock Lane (16). The excise duty on hops was gradually reduced in the first half of the nineteenth century, and abolished altogether in 1862 (17). William Kirton was obviously producing enough of his crop to advertise in the *Lincolnshire, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, in April 1862:

"Mr. Kirton respectfully announces to his Friends and the Public that he has now on hand a Stock of fine MALT and HOPS, of very superior quality; a trial order for which would be esteemed a favor" (sic). (18).

However, hops were an unusual crop because they were expensive both to establish and to maintain. Hop gardens had to be cultivated more intensively than any other farmed land. The ground had to be kept clean and well-manured (as hops need a rich soil). The young plants had to be tended for three years before the first harvest and then supported by a scaffolding of poles, wires and strings. Also, it required a large number of casual labourers for its brief harvest. Furthermore, capital costs were higher than for any other agricultural crop; and the plants only had a life of 15-30 years. Moreover, its output could be extremely variable as the crop was subject to wet weather, pests and the scourge of mildew and wilt which went largely unchecked before the late nineteenth century. Since profitability was so unpredictable, cultivation so concentrated and the crop so labour intensive, most brewers fought shy

of direct involvement (19). Could this have been a contributory factor in the demise of Kirton's brewery! Certainly by 1868 he was using Kent and Belgian hops (20).

As tastes changed there was a decrease in the hopping of beer. The amount of hops used was greatly reduced by 1900, possibly due to the failure of the hop crop in 1882, the enormous import of foreign hops and the consequent high price (21). Moreover, the character of beer depended for its flavour upon the character of the malt brewed rather than the variety and quality of hops used (22).

The malt tax had been in place since 1697 (23), but had become cumbersome and impractical by the mid nineteenth century, with its irksome rules. It was unpopular with farmers, maltsters and brewers alike. Furthermore, breweries were also exposed to the vagaries of the agricultural market. The price of hops and malt could vary considerably, especially in bad harvest years; the impact of which could be better absorbed by the larger breweries. In 1880 Gladstone repealed the malt duty (24).

However, for the first time in fifty years tax was imposed on beer. This, in effect, represented a hidden increase of almost a shilling a barrel on the old malt tax. What is more, the excise officers were allowed to calculate the tax to be paid either on the strength of the wort or on the amount of malt and sugar used, whichever gave the greater amount of money to the revenue. This penalised the less efficient small brewer, who used more malt per barrel than the larger brewers and thus found himself paying more tax per pint (25). Saccharometers (hydrometers) measured the amount of sugar present in a unit volume of unfermented wort, the average gravity being 1057. On each imperial barrel (36 gallons) of this, a duty of 6s-3d was levied. The tax rate varied up and down pro rata to the strength of the actual beer brewed. So a barrel of wort at a gravity of 1050 would pay 50/57 of the standard rate of duty. An allowance of 6 per cent for wastage was allowed, through loss by evaporation and by entrainment in pipes and on the sides of vessels (26).

Transport.

In the nineteenth century the delivery of beer was a complex and expensive operation for brewers. Branston Brewery would have depended upon a dray and drayman to distribute its products. John Smith was Kirton's drayman in 1863, and is recorded as

transporting coal and bricks; and undoubtedly brewery products (27). Also, drays, waggons, cart horses and equipment are mentioned in the items to be auctioned, after the dissolution of the partnership between Kirton and Baker (28). Then there would be associated workers such as a stableman and wheelwright. William Kirton may have deployed his own farm workers or, realistically, just relied on local tradesmen. He would certainly have needed a cooper, as the vast majority of nineteenth century beer was sold wholesale in traditional wooden casks; which had to be constructed and maintained. Furthermore, the test of a well-run brewery was the cleanliness and control of its casks. By the 1880s much of the former was done by steam washing machines. This was an essential process because good fresh casks were necessary in turning out good beer. Moreover, since they were expensive items, prone to theft, brewers had to devise effective control of them (29). All of which added to a brewer's costs. It has been estimated that the cost of maintaining a brewery horse matched the wages of the drayman himself (about 5s a day in 1892) (30).

For the vast majority of brewers the building up and maintaining of a network of outlets, usually over distances of not much more than a dozen miles, was at the heart of their business (31). Beer never improved with travel, all beers deteriorated from the condition in which they left the brewery. There was no wonder that publicans employed a battery of prescriptions to revive the contents of their cellars (32). Furthermore, high prices of materials and duties after 1803 had encouraged less reputable brewers and publicans alike to use a wide range of adulterants, not just to bring beer into condition. These included the use of bittering agents other than hops (to avoid the hop tax) and drugs to increase the intoxicating effect of the beer (thus saving on malt and the malt tax); giving the entire industry a bad name. The substances usually added included vitriol and copperas, liquorice, quassia and wormwood, coculus indicus and opium, grains of paradise, tobacco, chillies, coriander seeds, gentian root, caramel and saltpetre (33). Adulteration was a practice which did not disappear until the mid 1880s (34).

Condition was one reason that beer markets in Georgian England remained essentially local. The other reason, of course, was economic. To transport beer more than a few miles added greatly to the distribution costs (35). The ideal, easy market for a common brewer was one in which he possessed the trade of handily situated public

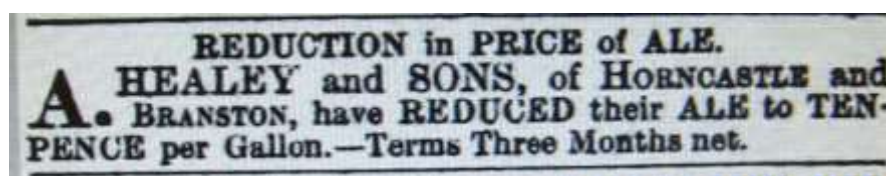
houses. It meant that he could distribute his beer cheaply and keep an eye on his outlets (36). There were three public houses in Branston in the nineteenth century: the *Waggon and Horses*, the *Plough* and the *Crown* (which closed around 1855). Kirton could not have supplied the *Plough*, owned by W.H.Brook's Waterside North Brewery, Lincoln (37); or the *Waggon and Horses*, which was owned by Marshall's St. Swithins Brewery, Lincoln, until it was bought in auction by Alfred Healey in 1871, for £600 (38). However, despite Kirton owning a beerhouse in Branston, the question has to be asked – Why would William Kirton want to build a brewery in Branston if he could not supply the local public houses? It is highly unlikely that his Branston beerhouse alone could justify this enterprise, so it is probable that he had similar outlets in nearby villages. The following article from the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, of 1863, demonstrates that he did own at least one local public house:

Mysterious Discovery of Human Remains. – A few days ago the workmen employed in repairing an old house known as the *Waggon and Horses*, on the road to Newark, in the parish of Skellingthorpe, discovered the remains of the bodies of three infants between the ceiling of the front bed-room and the floor of the garret over it. Nothing but the bones remained, and unfortunately they got mixed with the rubbish and were thrown away; nor was any information given to the police, as it is very desirable should be done in all such cases. How long a period has elapsed since the bodies were thus secreted no idea can be formed. The house has recently been purchased by Mr. Kirton, brewer, Branston, and it is undergoing a thorough repair.

Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, November 13th 1863, p. 5, col. 2.

During Healey's time, Branston Brewery, and the rented brewery near the *Lord Raglan* in Foundry Street, Horncastle, supplied the *Waggon and Horses*, the *Lord Raglan* and other tied village public houses in Martin Dales (the *King's Arms*), Welbourn (the *Joiner's Arms*), Tetford (the *White Hart*) and Hogsthorpe (the *Blue Bell*); and his beer houses in Horncastle (the *Cross Roads*) and Coningsby (the *Black Swan*). In addition Healey was also yearly tenant of the *George and Dragon* (Hagworthingham), the *City Arms* (Lincoln) and the *Carrier's Arms* (Langworth) (39). However, a small brewery, like that at Branston, would only have a limited number of possible outlets. Furthermore, being so close to Lincoln, the brewery

would have had to compete with the larger breweries there, like those of Marshall and Brook, who could possibly undercut prices. When Healey had taken over the brewery he may have subsidised it with income from his other business interests. By 1884 he had had to reduce the price of his ale to compete with other breweries.



Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, November 14th 1884, p. 1, col. 3.

The railway probably helped spell the death knell for Healey's business in Horncastle, together with the closure of the Horncastle Canal. The railway came to Horncastle in 1855 but did not bring about an immediate collapse of the canal as a viable means of transport. As has been mentioned earlier, Healey was successfully trading as late as 1872 (40). However, coal traffic to Horncastle ceased in 1876, and the last cargoes to and from Horncastle were in May 1878. The navigation finally closed on May 16th 1878 (41). Healey's wharfs and barges would have become virtually valueless. Railways opened up new business opportunities further a field. An account in the *Licensed Victuallers' Gazette*, in 1874, stated that something like 120,000 railway trucks were employed in the brewing business (42).

By the 1880s Alfred was acting as agent for the Threlfall Brewery Company's large maltings at the railway station. When he died in 1898 his son Sydney lived in Banovallum House for a short time. Then at the turn of the century Threlfalls took over the maltings in Manor House Street, and a new agent, George Speed JP, came to Banovallum House (43).

Technology.

The implications of the cost of new technology have already been discussed. However, as has already been mentioned, it seems likely that Branston Brewery did try to implement many of the new innovations to compete with the larger breweries; but possibly overstretched itself. New technology enabled bigger breweries to be more efficient and produce beer all year round. At the same time the smaller

breweries were becoming more susceptible to a take over as these larger businesses spread their “net” ever wider during the late nineteenth century, buying up the competition. For instance, from 1870 onwards all large breweries acquired ice machines, which enabled beer to be cooled to virtually any desired temperature at any season of the year. Until this time there had been a tendency not to brew during the summer months; the main brewing operations being carried on between October and May. This meant the carrying of large stocks of season-brewed beer for use in the summer, something which a small brewery, like that at Branston, was less well equipped to do. If a brewery did attempt to brew under warm climatic conditions, without adequate cooling, the beer was more liable to bacterial infection and “frets”, which rendered it sour or unpleasant to taste (44).

Temperance.

After the late 1870s beer consumption fell back from its all-time high of 42.1 gallons per head in 1876 to an average of 33.5 in the years 1880-1899. Real wages were increasing appreciably as a consequence of falling prices during the depression of the 1880s and 1890s. So even though money wages in many years did not advance at all, living standards of the entire working classes rose. But for the first time they did not spend this increase upon alcohol. This obviously worried brewers, especially the smaller ones (45). So why did consumption decrease?

The campaign against drink had begun as part of a general movement to improve social conditions (46). By 1834, in England and Wales, there were c 100,000 temperance movement members (47). By the mid 1840s there were estimates of 1.2 million (48). Furthermore, Dr. Frederick Lees, a leading supporter of the United Kingdom Alliance, estimated in 1888 that there were 5 million teetotallers in a population of 37 million (including children); although the Church of England Temperance Society advanced a more realistic total of 220,000 active members (49). Indeed, mass rallies were common in Lincolnshire. It was reported that upwards of 12,000 persons attended one at Thornton Abbey in July 1849 (50), about 6000 were present at the Lincoln Temperance Gala on July 30th 1852 (51) and about 15,000 attended the Fete in the Arboretum in June 1900 (52).

In addition, Temperance Societies also achieved strong support from Non-conformist and Methodist churches. The combined membership of the different Methodist branches was 8.15 per cent of the county's population by 1861. After this time the number of Methodist members continued to grow but not at the same pace; averaging 7.4 per cent between 1871-1900 (53). In Branston the first Wesleyan Chapel claimed to have an average attendance of 230 to their chief service each Sunday in 1850-51. This represented about 17.4 per cent of the village population (54). Furthermore, temperance became a major feature of the Liberal Party's programme in the late 19th century (55). However, most historians agree that the role of temperance propaganda, and the way the drink question was constantly kept before the public was not central to the decrease in drinking (56). There was still an almost universal belief that a daily glass of good beer or stout was an aid to good health and convalescence (57).

Reformers did not always understand that the public house was the poor man's club, where he sought congenial company away from the often grim, overcrowded housing conditions and unpleasant surroundings. The men folk, subject to long hours at work, found the public houses havens of comparative warmth and companionship (58). Even *The Times* acknowledged this line of argument:

"a man drinks, not only because his brute nature is strong and craves the stimulus, but because he has no other interests, and must do something; or because his home is uncomfortable and his life dull, and he needs some real enjoyment; or because he is fond of Company, and only wishes to be like the rest if drink is forcibly taken away some other pleasure will be sought which will not be more innocent" (59).

Furthermore, despite the efforts of the temperance movement the number of houses in Lincoln, for the sale of beer and spirits, grew from 150 in 1863 to 183 in 1869; one for every 25 families (60).

However, after 1880 conditions in the beer market did change. There were years of poor trade in the early and mid-1880s and in the early 1890s. The shift away from drink consumption can be attributed to several factors. The changing perception of beer, away from the old view that it induced strength and was medically beneficial, was important. Also, there were alternative ways of spending money. A whole range

of cheaper clothing and domestic articles were made available by improved retailing and distribution methods. Furthermore, a significant factor was that the price of beer remained unchanged. In comparison with foodstuffs, whose prices fell sharply in the 1880s and 1890s, it became relatively expensive. Moreover, hours of work began slowly to decrease and the working classes were increasingly able to enjoy the benefits of cheap travel and look beyond the pub for a variety of sporting and leisure activities (61). There were individuals, both inside and outside the temperance movement, who believed in attacking the drink problem by directly modifying the environment; and who could be described as “counter-attractionists” (62).

In Branston, in the mid to late nineteenth century, there were such counter-attractions provided. The rector, Peregrine Curtois, had established a free cricket club for the youths of the village as early as 1869, which had “affected order and quiet in the village” (63). There was a parish library and a Juvenile Oddfellows Society by 1878 (64). The cycling club, and the Branston and Mere Gardening Club, were formed in the early 1890s (65). Furthermore, there was a Coffee House and Reading Room established at the bottom of Lincoln Road, under the direction of Mr. Melville, Mr. Abel-Smith, the vicar and a committee of 12, who had a rota for regular visits. Villagers were allowed to play dominoes, billiards, darts and draughts at the Reading Room, but not ping-pong. It is not known how effective these innovations were in tempting people away from the public houses but the average attendance for the reading room was recorded as only 28 (66).

Branston’s population data for the second half of the nineteenth century indicates that there was little growth. Perhaps this was another factor in the brewery’s demise, as the population could not sustain the brewery business:

Branston’s population:

1851	1325	1861	1469	1871	1337	1881	1431	1891	1221
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(67).

Tied system.

The tied system slowly came into being in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Before this the common brewers did not wish, nor did they feel the need, to have their own tied outlets. First, because by custom and convenience it was traditional for retailers to obtain all their beer from the same brewer; and second, the brewers were unwilling to raise the capital to buy outlets, let alone take on the burden of administering them. Competition from larger breweries forced the small breweries into the public house property market to preserve their beer outlets. So it was that Alfred Healey purchased the *Waggon and Horses* at auction for £600; and as was mentioned earlier, other public houses and beer houses. The public benefited from this arrangement, as a reputable brewer would not condone in his own tied house the dilution and adulteration of beer which were common at this time (68). However, initially, common brewers were not keen to go outside their immediate neighbourhood to supply their beers because of the difficulties of high transport costs and the slow turn-round of casks (69).

The Wine and Beer House Act (1869) gave licensing justices the power to control all types of “on” and “off” licences. This slowed down the number of licences granted and increased the value of new and existing licensed premises considerably. The now dwindling number of outlets compelled the brewers to take an even greater interest in tying public houses. Brewers were realising that tied houses, at one time perhaps a nuisance, because they often represented a client who had failed to pay off a beer debt, were now a necessity. Every free house snapped up by and tied to your rival was one fewer outlet to which you could sell your own beer. Moreover, brewers were assisted in their efforts because prospective entrants to the trade found it difficult to raise the necessary capital and turned naturally to the brewers for loans; which were often granted in return for a tie on the supply of beer (70). By the 1890s prices of public houses were said to have risen 200-300 per cent on previous values, as brewers competed with each other for their purchase (71). The *Plough*, in Branston, (formerly owned by Brook’s Brewery) became tied to Halls of Ely sometime after 1892, when the trade directories record them as becoming established in Lincoln, at the Crown Brewery, Waterside South. The bigger breweries could stand this investment better than the smaller ones like Branston, so for brewers like Healey there was a diminishing supply of free-trade public houses, and therefore profit.

Notes

- 1 Gourvish, T.R. & Wilson, R.G. (1994) *The British Brewing Industry 1830-1980*, p. 182 and p.196.

Bass's accounts reveal that duties averaged between 12.5 and 15 per cent of total turnover in the period 1880-1914.

Lacon's (Great Yarmouth) brewing costs, 1890-91:

	Percentage of total Manufacturing costs
Malt	44
Hops	11
Sugar	1
Coal	2
Wages	5
Waste etc,	2
Other items	2
Excise	33

- 2 Corran, H.S. (1975) *A History of Brewing*, p. 177.
- 3 Monckton, H.A. (1966) *A History of English Ale & Beer*, p. 204.
- 4 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
- 5 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
- 6 www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gin_Lane
- 7 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
- 8 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 10 *Lincoln Gazette*, June 28th 1862, p. 2, col. 6. Letter to the Editor:
New Enterprise. A new "Tom and Jerry" was opened in this village on Saturday last, and any stranger passing through in the evening must have thought what a thirsty lot we were. The street was like a fair, pitchers and cans were produced in all directions, and many people thought that the new landlord was giving his beer away, but such was not the fact. However, they had come for "a drop of good beer", and the beer they would have, even though they did pay for it. They one and all said it was capital stuff, and to show their appreciation of its quality they lessened the new landlord's stock by three 18-gallons, which you must own is a capital start for the only beer-house in Branston.
Lincolnshire Chronicle, October 13th 1865, p. 5, col. 6.
(Because of the quality of the beer, mentioned, and the amount consumed, it is highly likely that that these two beerhouses were one and the same; supplied by the new brewery).
- 11 Cornell, Martyn (2003) *Beer. The Story of the Pint*, p. 168.
- 12 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- 13 Monckton, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
- 14 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 239.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 240.
- 16 Oral testimony passed down from Harry Tolley to the Cucksey family.
This is corroborated somewhat by the *LRSM* advert (see **18** below).
Hops can still be found growing wild today down Paddock Lane.
- 17 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
- 18 *The Lincoln, Rutland & Stamford Mercury*, April 25th 1862, p. 1, col. 2.
- 19 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185.
Mathias, Peter (1959) *The Brewing Industry in England 1700-1830*, p. 478.
- 20 *Lincoln Gazette*, January 17th 1868, p. 2, col. 1.
- 21 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

- 22 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
- 23 Monckton, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
- 24 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 175, p. 249 and pp. 266-267.
- 25 Cornell, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-175.
- 26 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 267.
Cornell, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
- 27 *Lincoln Gazette*, November 21st 1863, p. 2, col. 6.
- 28 *Lincoln Gazette*, January 17th 1868, p. 2, col. 1.
- 29 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 200 and p. 203.
- 30 *Ibid.*, pp. 141-143.
Dray horses were both impressive – Mann’s specimens were mostly 17 hands high – and expensive. In 1880 a good dray horse cost around £40; in the 1890s this had increased to between £80 and £100. The largest breweries had sums of £20,000 or more tied up in their horses alone; and with a replacement rate of at least 10% a year, depreciation was rapid. Moreover, feed was similarly expensive. Between 1832 and 1844 Truman’s horses cost on average £44 each year to keep. However, little expense was spared on two grounds. First, brewers’ drays were a form of advertisement. Second, the work itself was heavy. The old drays which had carried only three vast 108 gallon butts were replaced in the 1850s by ones capable of pulling twelve or twenty barrels each, the larger load weighing around 4 tons when full. The latter required two superb horses in peak condition to pull them.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 127.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 147.
- 33 Monckton, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.
Cornell, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125.
- 34 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 147.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 128.
- 37 *Lincoln Gazette*, April 21st 1860, p. 2, col. 6.
- 38 *The Lincoln, Rutland & Stamford Mercury*, September 22nd 1871, p. 7, col. 1.
For sale by auction: Marshall’s Brewery, St. Swithins, Lincoln and over 20 public houses; to include LOT 6 – A freehold public house, known as the *Waggon and Horses*, with slaughter house and premises adjoining, and 2 roods and 21 perches of land fronting the road from Branston to Lincoln.
The Lincoln, Rutland & Stamford Mercury, October 10th 1871, p. 5, col. 1.
LOT 6 was bought by Mr. Healey of Branston for £600. (The brewery and many of the public houses were not sold, not reaching their reserves. See Appendix 6 for when the rest of the lots were sold).
- 39 *Lincoln Gazette*, July 4th 1896, p. 1, col. 3.
- 40 Clarke, J. N. (1990) *The Horncastle and Tattershall Canal*, p. 67 and p. 73.
Walter, James Conway (1998) *A History of Horncastle*, p. 128.
- 41 Robinson, David N. (1983) *The Book of Horncastle & Woodhall Spa*, p. 15.
- 42 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.
- 43 www.lincstrust.org.uk/lwt/banovallum-house/index.php
- 44 Corran, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-224.
- 45 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 30 and pp. 37-38.
- 46 Longmate, Norman (1968) *The Water Drinkers*, p. 203.
- 47 *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.
Harrison, Brian (1971) *Drink and the Victorians. The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872*, p. 109.
- 48 *Ibid.*, p. 316.
- 49 Longmate, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240.

- 50 Russell, Rex (1987) *The Water Drinkers in Lindsey 1837-1860*, p. 18.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- 52 *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, June 30th 1900, p. 2, col. 5.
- 53 Ambler, R.W. (2000) *Churches, Chapels and the Parish Communities of Lincolnshire 1660-1900*, p. 133 and p. 135.
- 54 Branston History Group (2000) *Branston Remembered*, p. 23.
1851 Census population data.
- 55 Cook, Chris/Stevenson, John (1985) *The Longman Handbook of Modern British History 1714-1980*, p. 295.
- 56 Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-308.
- 57 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
- 58 Hill, Sir Francis (1974) *Victorian Lincoln*, p. 139.
Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
- 59 *The Times*, October 10th 1873, p. 9, col. 5.
- 60 *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, May 1st 1863 and April 2nd 1869.
- 61 Gourvish and Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39 and p. 207.
- 62 Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 290.
- 63 *Lincoln Gazette*, June 25th 1869, p. 2, col. 6..
- 64 *Lincoln Gazette*, May 31st 1879, p. 8, col. 1.
The parish library, under the patronage and management of some of the resident gentry, has now been established for one year.
Lincoln Gazette, June 21st 1879, p. 8, col. 1.
The society opened about a year ago, and now has 22 members. "We have no doubt when the villagers perceive the benefits to be derived from such societies the numbers will be largely increased".
- 65 Branston History Group, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
- 66 *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29.
Lincoln Gazette, September 21st 1867, p. 4, col. 4.
As early as 1867 a letter to the paper asked for the establishment of a reading-room, or mutual improvement society.
- 67 Branston Census population data.
- 68 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, October, 20th 1871, p. 5, col. 1.
Monckton, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.
- 69 *Ibid.*, p. 149.
- 70 *Ibid.*, p. 168 and p. 178.
Cornell, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
- 71 Corran, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

Epilogue

Alfred Wild Healey married Florence Amelia Hearn, from Minlingsby, Lincolnshire, and they had 6 children (1). Alfred Wild died, at an early age, on the 24th May 1896 in Horncastle, after a lingering illness (2). The small value of his personal estate, (£48 – 5s), suggests that all was not well with the family brewing business (3).

Alfred Healey's business interests in Lincoln had discontinued by 1889, and the last trade directory entry for him in Branston and Horncastle was in 1896. This coincided with the death of his son, Alfred Wild, in the same year, when it appears that the business was not doing very well. Alfred had to appear in court, as a bankrupt, and all of his business interests then ceased. His statement of affairs disclosed liabilities to unsecured creditors of £6,948-7s-8d, and assets of £3,201-8s-4d, the deficiency being £3,746-19s-4d. Although the business carried on under the name of Healey & Sons they were never partners. However, his son, Alfred Wild, kept the books and accounts for him, keeping him ignorant of the state of the business. Alfred (senior) blamed the failure of his business on the large sums his son took from the business. Very large sums paid for life insurance, large bank interests and depreciation in the value of property also contributed to the failure. At a meeting of Alfred's creditors it was suggested that it would be very desirable to sell the brewery as a going-concern (4 and Appendices 8 & 9). However, this proved not to be the case. Both of Healey's breweries and his public houses, beerhouses and other properties were put up for auction (5 and Appendix 10). However, there was only one offer of £5,000 for the lot, and so the property was therefore passed (6).

The various properties were then put up for auction separately. Firstly were the whole of the brewery effects; but these were withdrawn, having been sold by private contract to the mortgagees of the brewery (7). Next, three of the public houses, and a beerhouse, were put up for auction by Messrs. T.B.Richardson and Son on August 14th 1896. The *Waggon and Horses*, Branston was purchased by Mr. H.B.Kirkby of Lincoln for £800. The *King's Arms*, Martin Dales, was bought by Messrs. Warwick and Co., Newark for £1030. The *White Hart*, Tetford was withdrawn at £260; and an offer of £460 for the *Black Swan*, Coningsby was refused (8). The brewery effects

were again put up for auction, by order of the mortgagees (to include a wider range of effects) (9). The brewery building, house, outbuildings and gardens were auctioned as one lot on September 18th 1896 (10). However, this freehold estate was withdrawn at £1,000, bid by Mr. Dickinson (11); although he did eventually succeed in buying the property (see below).

Alfred left Horncastle around this time. He died in 1898 at Ellough, Suffolk. His obituary, in the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury* stated that he had moved there a year and a half previous. Also, “He was a member of the old Local Board of Horncastle and for several years a Guardian of the Poor. He also belonged to the Freemasons’ lodge. Of a generous and philanthropic disposition he was ever ready with his purse to respond to any appeal”. (12).

It is not known what role, if any, Alfred played in the running of the Watford brewery, both prior to him coming to Horncastle or during his time there. However, a connection is suggested, as Healey’s King Street Brewery was sold to the rapidly expanding Benskins Brewery in the same year as Alfred senior’s death. The sale also included 15 tied houses. The Healey family remained active in Benskins after the buy out (13). Healeys had previously, in the months prior to its acquisition, purchased the Victoria Brewery on St. Albans Road, Watford from the Chesham Brewery (14).

It has not yet been possible to ascertain what happened to Alfred senior’s tied properties after his death. Furthermore, whilst in the past breweries were bought for the continuing business they represented; now the breweries themselves were less valuable than their pubs (15). This was part of a trend throughout the nineteenth century. The numbers of breweries rapidly declined from almost 50,000 in 1840 (including small innkeeper breweries) to less than half that number by 1880, and by 1900 there were only just over 3,000 (16).

Mr. Dickinson advertised his plans for the Brewery property and adjoining house:

TO GENTLEMEN, ARCHITECTS, BUILDERS, TRADESMEN etc.

BRANSTON BREWERY and MALT KILN.

TO BE LET, the capital RESIDENCE, beautifully situated near the Church, containing Drawing and Dining-rooms, large kitchen, Pantries, eight Bedrooms, every convenience, and a good supply of pure water. , every convenience, and a good supply of pure water. , every convenience, and a good supply of pure water; will be put in thorough repair to suit a good tenant; rent £30.

The Brewery and Malt-kiln will be converted into Houses, Store-rooms or Shops, to suit tenants. There are some excellent cellars. The large Garden and Out-buildings will be Sold or Let. To view, apply to Mr. ABBOTT, on the premises.

For particulars, address Mr. C.B. DICKINSON, Lincoln (17).

A year later, in October 1901, the old Branston Brewery buildings were demolished and the site sold; as reported in the *Lincolnshire Chronicle*:

“The old stone buildings known as the malkiln, situate at the bottom of the hill, and for many years in possession of the Kirton family, are now in course of demolition. They were purchased a short time ago by Mr. C.S. Dickinson of Branston, who is going to replace the old buildings with houses and shops, which will be set back a little, and then give a wider road space at a dangerous turn” (18) (**Figure 18**).



Figure 18. The row of houses built by Mr. Cook on the old brewery site, Branston.

The felling of the Brewery chimney was quite an event, as was reported in the *Lincolnshire Echo*. (See Appendix 11).

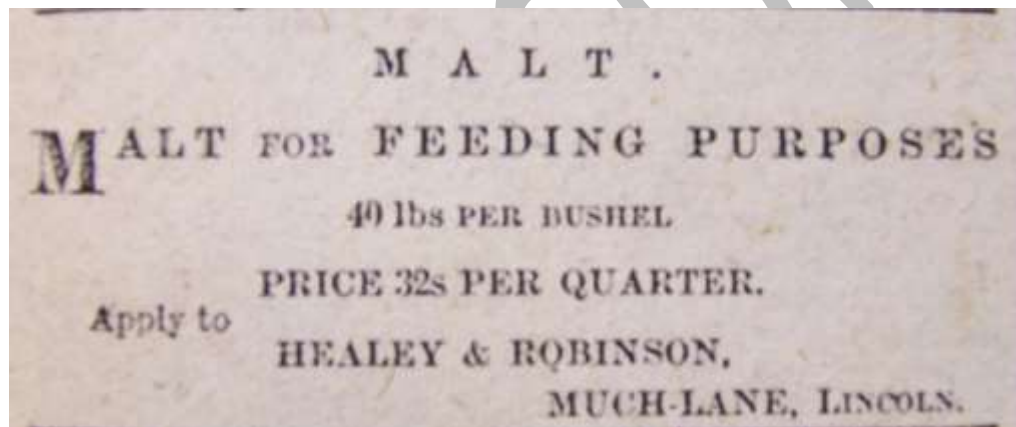
A malt kiln building has survived along with a former stable at the back of the Home Guard Club, the latter being a groom's house in 1868 (19).

Notes

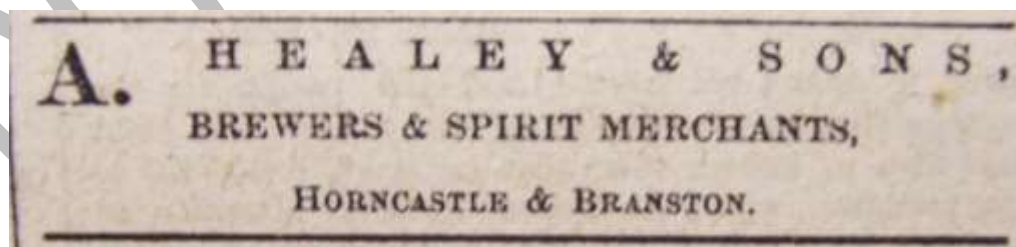
- 1 1891 Horncastle Census (RG12/2598/6).
Florence E. born c1877, Bertha V. born c1878, Alfred Hearn born c1880, Duncan born c1881, Richard G. born c1883 and Evangeline born c1891.
Alfred Wild's eldest son, Alfred Hearn, born July 13th, 1879, became one of Britain's leading high hurdlers in the early years of the nineteenth century. He won a silver medal at the 1906 Athens "interim" Olympic Games. (www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alfred_Healey).
- 2 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, May 29th 1896, p. 5, col. 2.
- 3 Lincoln Archives, ref. – LCC WILLS/1896/272. Administration of this will (dated November 12th 1894) of the effects of the Testator was granted at Lincoln on July 2nd 1896. A photocopy is in the possession of P. Hickman, sent by descendant Kirsty Healey.
- 4 *Lincoln Gazette*, June 13 1896, p. 8, col. 1 and June 20th 1896, p. 3, col. 7.
- 5 *Lincoln Gazette*, July 4th 1896, p. 1, col. 3.
- 6 *Lincoln Gazette*, July 11th 1896, p. 5, col. 8.
- 7 *Lincoln Gazette*, July 7th 1896, p. 1, col. 3.
Re. ALFRED HEALEY, in Bankruptcy. Branston, near Lincoln. Messrs. Richard Hall, Vickers & Shaw will sell by auction, upon the premises at Branston aforesaid, on Wednesday, the 5th day of August, 1896, by order of R.J.Ward, Esq., Official Receiver, the whole of the brewing effects, stocks of ale, horses, carts, and other effects belonging to Mr. Healey, The Brewery, Branston.
Lincoln Gazette, August 1st 1896, p. 1, col. 3.
- 8 *Lincoln Gazette*, August 8th 1896, p. 1, col. 3 and August 22nd 1896, p. 8, col. 5.
- 9 *Lincoln Gazette*, August 15th 1896, p. 1, col. 3.
Messrs. Richard Hall, Vickers and Shaw. Sale by auction, upon the premises of the Brewery at Branston, on Tuesday August the 18th (by order of the mortgagees), the following effects, comprising chestnut horse, brown horse, copper refrigerator, loose pump, sundry lengths of copper and iron spouting, saddle horse, several sets of harness, joiners' bench, vice and sundries, garden roller, water tubs, carriage jack, horse rugs, quantity of old copper and iron, and numerous sundries.
- 10 *Lincoln Gazette*, September 5th 1896, p. 1, col. 3.
By order of Mortgagees. Richard Hall, Vickers and Shaw will sell by auction, at the Central Sale Rooms, Bank Street, Lincoln, on Friday, September the 18th 1896, at 3.30 o'clock in the afternoon the following valuable and desirable Freehold Estate, comprising – All that 5-Quarter Brewery, together with the fixed plant, and also all that well and substantially built 30-Quarter Maltkiln, together with the office, stabling, coach-house, and other outbuildings, yard and garden belonging thereto, and also that very superior dwelling-house, adjoining the above, and containing ample accommodation for a family, together with the large pleasure and kitchen gardens, as now occupied by Mr. Briggs, at £24 *per annum*, and also all those stone-built stables, cart-sheds, piggeries, garden, & c., on the opposite side of the highway to the above properties, the whole containing about an acre (more or less). The gardens are well planted with fruit trees. Immediate possession can be had of all the above save the house and garden in front of the same – and of the house, & c., on the 11th October next.

Immediately after the above sale, the produce of the garden, on the opposite side of the road to the brewery, comprising apples, potatoes & c., will be sold by auction.

- 11 *Lincoln Gazette*, September 18th 1896, p. 3, col. 4.
- 12 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, May 13th 1898, p. 5, col. 3.
- 13 www.breweryhistory.com/Breweries/HertsWatfordBenskins.htm
Cornell, Martin (2002) *Benskins of Watford*, p. 12.
- 14 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benskins_Brewery
- 15 Cornell, Martyn (2003) *Beer. The Story of the Pint*, pp. 175-176.
- 16 Lovett, Maurice (1996) *Brewing and Breweries*, pp. 23-24.
- 17 *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, December 21st 1900, p. 1, col. 1.
- 18 *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, October 5th 1901, p. 8, col. 1.
- 19 Devereux-Quick, A.G. (1868). (Freehand plan of Branston Village),
Lincoln Archives, ref. – PAR 23/8.
The Rev. A.G. Devereux-Quick was curate at Branston Church between January 1868 and January 1869.
Lincoln Gazette, January 11th 1868, p. 3, col. 1; and January 23rd 1869, p. 4, col. 4.



Lincoln Gazette, December 3rd 1881, p. 3, col. 1.



Lincoln Gazette, March 11th 1882, p. 1, col. 5.

Appendix 1

BRANSTON BREWERY COMPANY.

We the undersigned, WILLIAM KIRTON and TOM BAKER, having by mutual consent this day DISSOLVED the PARTNERSHIP heretofore existing between us, have appointed Mr. RICHARD HALL, of the city of Lincoln, auctioneer, and Mr. JOHN PLUMTREE, of the same city, provision merchant, our Trustees, for the purpose of getting in all Debts due to, and paying all Claims due from, our said Firm.

This therefore is to give Notice to all Parties indebted to the said Firm to pay the amount of their debts on or before the 31st day of January, 1868, to either of the said Trustees, whose receipt alone shall be a full discharge for the same; and all Parties to whom the said Firm stands indebted are also requested to forward particulars of their respective Claims to such Trustees, in order that (if correct) they may be at once discharged.

No person hitherto in the employment of the Firm is authorised to receive money on their account, the affairs of the said Firm being entirely in the hands of the Trustees above named.

It is earnestly requested that all Barrels, Hampers, Bottles, and Sacks belonging to the Firm may be returned at once.

Lincoln, 31st Oct. 1867.

WILLIAM KIRTON

TOM BAKER

The Lincoln, Rutland & Stamford Mercury, January 10th 1868, p.2, col.4.

Appendix 2

BRANSTON BREWERY, near LINCOLN

MR. DICKINSON will OFFER for SALE by AUCTION, on TUESDAY, JANUARY 21st, 1868, in consequence of a Dissolution of Partnership between Messrs. KIRTON and BAKER, Brewers and Maltsters, such of the BREWERY PLANT and Effects as belongs to the said firm, comprising an excellent cooler, 21 ft. by 10ft. 6 in., a waft or fan, with iron carriage and brass fittings, Morton's (sic) patent refrigerator (nearly new), wood tank holding 2,000 gals., seven quarter mash tub, Steel's patent mashing apparatus, iron under-beck, wood hop beck with perforated iron bottom, Oxley's patent yeast press (nearly new), patent bottling machine (nearly new), working pump, 24-108 gal., 9-70 gal., 8-36 gal., 17-26 gal., 38-18 gal., 51-13 gal., 34-9 gal., 28-6 gal., corn barrels in excellent condition, barrel horses and other stillings, copper and pewter measures, 2 pull beer engines, siphons & c. Blowing machine, malt screens, malt quern, 2 weighing machines, 20 stone of weights, 2 balances, 423 six-strike sacks, 113 four-strike sacks. A quantity of Kent and Belgian hops, malt, oats, peas, and about five tons of prime hay. A light gig, Whitechapel, wagon with iron arms, dray with patent ditto, barrel dray, pony cart on springs, spring cart, 2 sets of gig harness, saddle and bridle, 3 sets of cart harness, 2 pair of traces, 2 sets long gears, 1 set of harrows, wood plough, 2-horse dray, patent chaff cutter, 2 cart horses, and one nag horse.

In office- An excellent knee-hole table with 21 drawers, Milner's patent fire-proof safe, saccharometer (sic), thermometers, Chubb's patent cash box, letter copying machine, office chairs, tables & c.

Sale to commence at 10 o'clock.

The Auctioneer respectfully requests an early attendance, in consequence of the great number of lots and the time of the year for a sale in the open.

Lincoln Gazette, January 17th 1868, p. 2, col. 1.

Appendix 3

BRANSTON BREWERY

We, the undersigned, Trustees appointed to receive and pay all accounts due to and from the late firm of KIRTON and BAKER, brewers, Branston, hereby give Notice to all Persons indebted to the said Firm to pay the amount of their respective Debts to one of us, on or before the 27th day of MARCH next; and that in default thereof we shall at once take legal proceedings for their recovery.

No private Debts due from either of the late Partners can be allowed as a set-off against the Claim of the Trustees of the late Firm.

It is requested that all casks, bottles, and hampers belonging to the late Firm may be at once sent to Mr. DICKINSON, auctioneer, the Strait, Lincoln, who is the only person authorised by us to receive the same.

RICHARD HALL
JOHN PLUMTREE

Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, February 28th 1868, p. 5, col. 4.

In the matter of the late PARTNERSHIP between Messieurs WILLIAM KIRTON and TOM BAKER, of Branston, in the county of Lincoln, Maltsters and Common Brewers.

NOTICE is hereby given, that all Persons having any Claims or Demands against the Estate and Effects of the late PARTNERSHIP are requested to deliver on or before the 25th day of March next particulars of such Claims or Demands to Mr. RICHARD HALL, of the city of Lincoln, auctioneer, or to Mr. JOHN PLUMTREE, of the same city, provision merchant (the Trustees); and Notice is hereby further given, that after the said 25th day of March next the said Richard Hall and John Plumtree will forthwith proceed to the final winding up and settlement of the said Partnership Accounts – Dated this 25th day of February, 1868. By order, HUGHES and SON
City Chambers, Lincoln. Solicitors for the Trustees.

Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, February 28th 1868, p. 6, col. 7.

Appendix 4

Re. WILLIAM KIRTONS ASSIGNMENT

NOTICE is hereby given, that by an indenture bearing date the 27th day of February, 1868, WILLIAM KIRTON, of Branston, in the county of Lincoln, maltster and brewer, did convey and assign all his real and personal Property, Credits and Effects whatsoever, unto ARTHUR HENRY LESLIE MELVILLE of Branston Hall, in the said county of Lincoln, Esquire; JOHN SMITH, of the city of Lincoln, provision merchant; and ROBERT COOK ODLING, of the said city of Lincoln, draper, upon trust to be applied and administered by them for the equal benefit of all the Creditors of the said William Kirton, in like manner as if the said William Kirton had at the date of the said Deed been adjudicated a Bankrupt.

And Notice is hereby further given, that the said Deed was duly executed by the said William Kirton on the day of its date, and the execution thereof by the said William Kirton, Arthur Henry Leslie Melville, John Smith, and Robert Cook Odling, is attested by CHARLES LEADBITTER HUGHES, solicitor, Lincoln. The said Deed now lies at our Offices in the city of Lincoln, for the perusal and execution of the Creditors of the said William Kirton.

HUGHES and SON Solicitors to the said Trustees.

Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, March 20th 1868, p. 2, col. 4.

Appendix 5

THE BRANSTON BREWERY for SALE by PRIVATE CONTRACT. It consists of a Seven-quarter Brewery, with Cellars in the rock, Refrigerator, with squares, Steam Machinery, and every convenience. It is four miles from Lincoln, in a populous village and neighbourhood, with an extensive business. The quality of Barley grown in the neighbourhood and of the water cannot be surpassed. There is a superior Dwelling house and Garden, and a modern Maltkiln, capable of malting 34 quarters. For further particulars apply to C.L.Hughes, Esq., solicitor, Lincoln; or to Mr. John Smith, grocer, Lincoln.

(Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, April 3rd 1868, p. 6, col. 6).

To be SOLD by AUCTION by Messrs. BROGDEN and SHEPHERD.
At the Saracen's Head Hotel, in Lincoln, on Friday the 5th day of June, 1868, at six o'clock in the Evening.

A First class BREWERY, known as the "BRANSTON BREWERY", well appointed with modern Engines, Plant, and suitable Appliances; together with a capital recently built 34 – Quarter Malt Kiln, adjoining the Brewery. Also, a substantially built and commodious DWELLING HOUSE, known as "Branston Villa", with coach house, offices, yard, and walled gardens thereto belonging; also a Cottage, conveniently situated close to the Brewery; also a well accustomed Tap room.

The above premises have gas fittings throughout, and are in good repair. The Property is Freehold and Tithe free, and is situate at BRANSTON, four miles from Lincoln. The water has been proved by chemical analysis to be peculiarly adapted for brewing purposes.

The Assignees under the Deed of Assignment for benefit of Creditors, recently executed by Mr. William Kirton, are prepared to sell at valuation, to a suitable purchaser, the Fixtures, Horses, Carts, Stock, & c., belonging to them, and to give introductions to the customers. Immediate possession may be had.

For a man of capital and practical knowledge of the trade the above Property is most desirable.

Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, May 22nd 1868, p. 7, col. 5.

To be SOLD by AUCTION by Mr. RICHARD HALL.
(Under an Assignment for the benefit of Creditors) upon the premises of Mr. WM. KIRTON, at Branston, on Tuesday the 21st day of July, 1868.

The whole of the superior HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE and Effects, including an excellent pianoforte, engravings, china, glass, plated articles, table and bed linen, blankets, and about 18 dozen of Wine; also a capital Gun, and a very useful Pony.

Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, July 17th 1868, p. 7, col. 1.

APPENDIX 6

arrangement his Honour assented.

Hall (Richard) and *Plumtree* (John), as trustees of Messrs. Kirton and Baker, brewers, of Branston, v. *Marshall* (Charles), plumber, of Lincoln.—Mr. John Hughes appeared for the plaintiffs, and Mr. Toynbee for the defendant.—Considerable legal argument ensued as to the *locus standi* of the plaintiffs, in which Mr. John Hughes (it being his first case in the court) displayed considerable ability, and ultimately, at Mr. Hughes' solicitation, his Honour consented that the names of Messrs. Kirton and Baker should be substituted as plaintiffs, instead of their trustees.—The amount of the claim, which was for beer supplied, did not transpire, but the defendant pleaded a set-off for work done, and after a great deal of argument between the two advocates, his Honour, considering that other cases of a similar nature were pending, ordered it to be adjourned to the October Court.

Kirton and Baker v. Fowler (Charles).—Mr. John Hughes appeared for the plaintiffs, and Mr. Toynbee for the defendants.—The plaintiffs, who were brewers at Branston, sought to recover (through their trustees) the sum of 13*l.* 7*s.*, for beer supplied to the defendant, who is a grocer at Lincoln.—The defendant pleaded a mutual settlement. In August of last year the defendant's account against Mr. Kirton, for groceries supplied, was twelve guineas, within a fraction, and he (defendant), in that month, sent the difference (14*s.* 11½*d.*) to Mr. Kirton. The partnership between Messrs. Kirton and Baker was dissolved in December last, and for the plaintiffs it was attempted to be shown that the defendant's account was simply against Mr. Kirton, and not the firm, and that Mr. Baker had nothing whatever to do with the alleged settlement in August last.—As there was another similar case to be brought before the court, his Honour reserved his judgment.

Hall (Richard) and *Plumtree* (John), as trustees of Messrs. Kirton and Baker, late brewers at Branston, v. *Lowe* (Septimus), surgeon, of Lincoln.—The claim in this case was for 42*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.*, for beer supplied, while on the other side a set-off for a far larger amount for medicine and attendance was pleaded.—Mr. J. Hughes (as in the other cases) appeared for the plaintiffs, and Mr. Chambers for the defendant.—The real merits of this case did not transpire, although a jury was summoned to decide between the parties.—Mr. Chambers objected to the plaint being taken out in the names of the trustees, who had no *locus standi* in the court, and he also objected to the application made by Mr. Hughes to amend the plaint by substituting the names of Messrs. Kirton and Baker for their trustees.—A long legal argument ensued upon this point, and ultimately the Judge decided in favour of Mr. Chambers, and nonsuited the plaintiffs, not only in this, but in the other previous cases in connection with the above firm.

Lincoln Gazette, August 15th 1868, p. 4, col. 4.

Verdict for defendant.—*Kirton and Baker v Lowe*. The real plaintiffs in this case were Messrs. Hall and Plumtree, the assignees of Kirton and Baker, late brewers, of Branston. The defendant is a medical gentleman of large practice in this city, and he was sued for 42*l*. 6*s*. 2*d*. for beer supplied, and for him Mr. Chambers appeared and pointed out that Mr. Kirton owed to the defendant for medical attendance a larger sum than that sued for.—After some discussion, the plaintiff's solicitor (Mr. John Hughes) and Mr. Plumtree consented to take a verdict for half the amount, as supposed to be due to Mr. Baker.—

Lincoln Gazette, October 17th 1868, p. 2, col. 5.

Kirton and Baker v. Howard.—Mr. Hughes appeared for the plaintiffs.—This was a claim for 4*l*. 4*s*. for beer supplied. The plaintiffs were lately brewers, at Branston, and the defendant is a cabinet-maker in this city. The debt was acknowledged, but a set off was claimed, Mr. Kirton owing 8*l*., and Mr. Baker 16*s*. 8*d*.. The Judge explained that an account against each individual partner could not act as a set off against an account owing to the firm, and the amount was therefore paid at once.

Lincoln Gazette, January 15th 1869, p. 3, col. 1.

Appendix 7

This valuable property has recently been put into thorough and complete repair and affords a desirable opportunity to parties wishing to embark in an extensive and profitable Brewing, Malting, Corn and Coal business, the trade of which is capable of great increase and development.

LOT 1. The old established brewery adjoining Saltergate and Waterside North. The property is freehold, with extensive frontage on the navigable River Witham, and is very valuable for building purposes. It was submitted for sale with valuable plant, new five horse powered steam engine and refrigerator, and mash tun, maltkiln (capable of steeping 100 quarters every 8 days), offices, granaries, stabling, cooper's workshop and coal yard with dwelling house, and the "Ship Inn" and buildings adjoining.

Each inn/beer house was to be auctioned separately.

LOT 2. The "Fox and Hounds", Lincoln.

LOT 3. The "Struggler", Lincoln; and three tenements adjoining in Westgate.

LOT 4. The "Red Lion", Wellingore.

LOT 5. The "Little Peacock", Boston, with homestead adjoining.

LOT 6. The "White Hart", Nettleham; with stable, croft and garden adjoining.

LOT 7. The "Plough", Swinderby, with yard, garden, orchard, stable and outbuildings.

LOT 8. The "Fox & Hounds", North Hykeham, with paddock.

LOT 9. The "Railway Hotel", Saxilby, and a piece of ground adjoining.

LOT 10. The "White Lion", Market Rasen.

LOT 11. The "Struggler", Eagle, with tenement and garden adjoining.

LOT 12. The "Hope & Anchor", Ferriby Sluice, at the entrance of the navigation from the River Humber to Brigg; with stabling, granary, coal yard and frontage to the harbour and navigation and the jetty and landing-place.

LOT 13. The "Ploughboy", Louth, with stable and outbuildings.

LOT 14. The "Lord Nelson (formerly "Bottle & Glass")", Fiskerton.

LOT 15. The "Cross Keys", North Clifton.

The purchaser of the entirety, or of Lot 1, as the case may be, will be entitled to the benefits of the tenancies of two public houses, one the "Yarborough Arms" in Great Church Lane, Gainsborough; and the other the "Plough" in Walcot, the exclusive right of supplying which with ale belongs to the proprietor.

Lincolnshire Chronicle - September 17th 1875, p.1, col.1.

Appendix 8

THE FAILURE OF A BREWER AND MALTSTER. The first meeting of the creditors of Alfred Healey, brewer and maltster of Branston and Horncastle, was held at the Official Receiver's Office, Lincoln, on the 5th inst., when a number of creditors were represented. The debtor's statement of affairs estimated the unsecured liabilities of £4,894 -0-10d; creditors fully secured, £9,827-13s-1d, and the value of the securities £10,950, giving a surplus of £1,122-6s-11d; creditors partly secured, £3,728-18s-10d, the value of the securities being £2,275, leaving a deficiency of £1,453-18s-10d; other bills drawn or endorsed, £449-14s; creditors for rent, £150-14s; total liabilities expected to rank for dividend, £6948-7s-8d. The assets are – cash, £17; stock-in-trade, £353; trade fixtures, £450; growing crops and tenant-right, £70; furniture £250; life policies, £50; rents due, £108-17s-6d; good book debts, £986-2s-11d; doubtful ditto, £91-5s-5d; bad ditto, £653-8s-1d; surplus from securities £1,122-6s-11d; total, £3,407-7s-4d; less preferential creditors, £205-19s; leaving net assets, £3,201-8s-4d, which shows a deficiency of £3,746-19s-4d.

The debtor attributes his failure to large sums of money drawn out of the business, bank interest, heavy insurance premiums, and depreciation in the value of property. Mr. J.T. Tweed suggested that it would be very desirable to sell the brewery as a going-concern, if possible, and this was concurred in by others present and by the Official Receiver. No other trustee being appointed, the winding-up of the estate will be left in the hands of the Official Receiver.

Lincoln Gazette, June 13th 1896, p. 8, col. 1.

Appendix 9

THE FAILURE OF A HORNCASTLE MALTSTER.

At the Lincoln Bankruptcy Court on Tuesday, before the Registrar (R. A. Stephen, Esq.), ALFRED HEALEY, of Horncastle and Branston, brewer and maltster, came up for his public examination. His statement of affairs disclosed liabilities to unsecured creditors £6,948 7s 8d, and assets £3,201 8s 4d, the deficiency being thus £3,746 19s 4d.—In reply to the OFFICIAL RECEIVER (Mr. R. J. Ward) the debtor stated he commenced business about 45 years ago at Watford as a grocer, with £500 capital. He stayed there about five or six years, and then went to Berkhamstead, where he remained about 15 years. He had a very large and lucrative business for many years. When he left there he went to Birkenhead, and was manager of the Birkenhead Brewery Company for 18 months, after which he came to Horncastle. The reason he left Berkhamstead was because he lost £20,000 in six months. He paid £10,000 deposit on some iron-works which he took over on his own account, and lost the whole of his money there. He compounded with his creditors, and paid 5s in the £. When he came to Horncastle he had £2,000. This would be about two years after his failure. He got the £2,000 from the Iron Company, which was an amount he invested over and above the £10,000. It was not borrowed money. At Horncastle he commenced business as a brewer and maltster and owner of public-houses. He never had a partner in the business, although it was for a good many years carried on under the name of Healey and Sons. He did not know why outsiders should think there was a partnership. It was merely complimentary to his son. All receipts and circulars bore the name of Alfred Healey only. His eldest son recently died. His son and a very valued clerk kept the books and accounts for him. Debtor was engaged for Messrs. Threlfall, and could not attend to the books himself. Not for many years had he had a financial statement. He did not know how he stood; he had a large income, and thought he was living well within it. For the last two years he had had difficulty in meeting his engagements, but not before. He was largely indebted to his bankers. His life was heavily insured, but all the policies were mortgaged up to their full present value. There would be a large sum in the event of death. These policies were not effected for the purpose of giving security. There might have been one to Mr. Hopkins, but all the rest were 30 or 40 years old. He did not remember having ever given them as security until he gave them to the bankers. The causes of his failure were the large sums his son took from the business, very large sums paid for life insurance, £300 or £400 a year; large interest at the Bank, and want of capital in his business during the last two years. He had two maltkilns, and was not

able to carry them on for want of money. He supposed he had some control over his son. He did not think he was drawing quite so much money as he was. Mr. Speed, the clerk, told him, and he remonstrated with his son. His son had a large family, and he appealed to debtor not to press him, and he would do better. He did not turn over a new leaf, and, as he had control of the money as it came in, he took it. He (debtor) could not say he was not aware of it, but his son took more than he thought he did.

The OFFICIAL RECEIVER: If your son was not a partner, why did you let him take it at all?—Debtor: He assisted in the management of the business, and I allowed him £400 a year.

Was the remuneration fixed at £400?—It was not exactly fixed, but I told him he was not to exceed that.

He did exceed it?—He went to £500.

Your heavy life premiums; you know what they came to?—Yes.

You had borrowed money on your policies, and were, therefore, bound to keep them up?—Yes.

The bank interest was only the ordinary banker's interest?—Yes, but I had overdrawn a very large amount.

You knew perfectly well what you were doing?—Yes.

It was no surprise to you?—No, but I thought I was getting enough to pay it.

In answer to further questions, the debtor said there was no charge on his fixtures or furniture, but there were mortgages and covering mortgages on his other property. He believed he was perfectly solvent. He did not feel pressure, and had a large income, besides a good malting business. He had not for five or six years had a balance-sheet made out. Prior to that time it was his custom to have one every year. He ceased because he could not get it made out. His son had all the accounts, and he could not give it.

The OFFICIAL RECEIVER: You had Mr. Speed?

—Debtor: My son would not make one out nor let him. Unfortunately, my son's habits were of a painful character for some years.—Proceeding, debtor stated that he had a farm, which he carried on for some years. He never kept separate accounts of that, but should think, looking at things now, it was a loss to him. He could not tell by any means what capital he had three years ago. He did not think twelve months ago that he was insolvent. He first became aware of it when he needed more capital, and found he had no means of getting it. He was employed to buy barley for Messrs. Threlfall, for which he had a very handsome salary. Separate books were kept for these transactions, receipts for everything were given to him in the name of Threlfall, and all passed through that firm's books. It was not possible that any debts incurred to his creditors for barley would be on account of Threlfalls. He had made a true disclosure of his property, and kept nothing back. He had given up everything.

—The examination was closed.

Appendix 10

SALES BY MESSRS.
RICHARD HALL, VICKERS AND SHAW
In Bankruptcy – Re. ALFRED HEALEY.
To BREWERS, MALTSTERS and OTHERS
VALUABLE FREEHOLD BREWERY, MALT KILN
and PUBLIC-HOUSES for SALE
BRANSTON, HORNCastle, MARTIN DALES
and other PLACES in the County of Lincoln.

MESSRS. RICHARD HALL, VICKERS & SHAW will SELL by AUCTION (unless previously Disposed of by Private Contract) at the CENTRAL SALEROOMS, BANK STREET, LINCOLN, on Friday the 10th day of JULY 1896 at Three o'clock in the Afternoon precisely, subject to the Common Form Conditions of Sale of the Lincolnshire Incorporated Law Society, and to such Special Conditions as shall be then produced and read, the following very Valuable and Desirable FREEHOLD BREWERY & PUBLIC-HOUSES.

In one Lot, with the Businesses connected therewith, as a going concern, which has been carried on for several years by Mr. A. HEALEY, viz:-

All that 5-Quarter BREWERY, with DWELLING HOUSE and Garden, Stables, and Outbuildings thereto belonging, together with the 30-Quarter MALT KILN, situate at Branston, in the County of Lincoln, together also with a large Garden next to the Cemetery and opposite the Brewery.

All that Fully Licensed PUBLIC-HOUSE, known as the Waggon and Horses, with the Slaughter-house, Stables and Outbuildings thereto adjoining and belonging situate at Branston, in the County of Lincoln, as now in the occupation of Mr. T. Hardy.

Also a large GARDEN, situate in the middle of the Village of Branston, and in the occupation of Mr. T. Hardy.

All that Fully Licensed PUBLIC-HOUSE, with Stables, Yard, Gardens and Paddock thereto adjoining and belonging, containing, with the sites of the buildings, one acre, two roods and 29 perches (more or less), and known as the Joiner's Arms, situate at Welbourn, in the County of Lincoln, as now in the occupation of Mr. J. E. Missin.

All that Fully Licensed PUBLIC-HOUSE, with the Garden, Stable, Granary and Outbuildings thereto adjoining and belonging, known as the King's Arms, situate at Martin Dales, in the County of Lincoln, as now in the occupation of Mrs. Kent.

All that Fully Licensed PUBLIC-HOUSE, with the Outbuildings and Stables thereto adjoining and belonging, known as the Lord Raglan, situate in Foundry Street, Horncastle, in the County of Lincoln, as late in the occupation of Mr. Richard Garner.

All that COTTAGE and TENEMENT adjoining the last-named Public-house and occupied therewith.

All that BREWERY near to the last-named Public-house, as now in the occupation of Alfred Hall, at a yearly rent of £12.

All that BEER-HOUSE, with the Outbuildings thereto adjoining and belonging, known as the Cross Roads, Horncastle, in the County of Lincoln, as now in the occupation of James Harrison, and also two Acres (more or less) of excellent GRASS LAND, adjoining the last-named Public-house, and occupied therewith.

All that Fully Licensed PUBLIC-HOUSE, with the large Garden and Outbuildings thereto adjoining and belonging, known as the White Hart, Tetford, in the County of Lincoln, as now in the occupation of Mr. D.F.Sutton; also a good COTTAGE adjoining and occupied therewith.

All that Fully Licensed PUBLIC-HOUSE, with the Outbuildings thereto adjoining and belonging, known as the Blue Bell, Hogsthorpe, in the County of Lincoln, as now in the occupation of Mr. G.H.Dawson.

All that BEER-HOUSE, with the Outbuildings thereto adjoining and belonging, known as the Black Swan, Coningsby, in the County of Lincoln, as now in the occupation of Mr. J.Johnson.

All that GRANARY, near to the last-named Public-house, as now in the occupation of Messrs. Sinclair and Son.

Also all that Garden, situate in Coningsby, in the County of Lincoln, as now in the occupation of Mrs. Lake.

Also all that COTTAGE, situate at Coningsby aforesaid, as now in the occupation of Mrs. Smith.

In addition to the above-named tied houses, Mr. Healey was yearly tenant of the GEORGE and DRAGON, Hagworthingham (fully licensed); the CITY ARMS, Lincoln (fully licensed); and the CARRIER'S ARMS, Langworth (beer-house); and it is thought that the tenancies of these may be secured by an intending purchaser.

Mr. Healey has for a considerable number of years carried on a very good private trade in beer brewed at Branston.

The whole or any part of the purchase money may be had on approved security.

For further particulars apply to the AUCTIONEERS, Bank Street, Lincoln; to R.J.Ward, Esq., the Official Receiver, at his office in Silver Street, Lincoln; or to us at our Offices in Saltergate.

TWEED, STEPHENS & DASHPER, Solicitors,
Lincoln, June 1896.

Lincoln Gazette, July 4th 1896, p. 1, col. 3.

Appendix 11

CHIMNEY FELLING AT BRANSTON. PULLING DOWN AN OLD BREWERY.

The felling of the large chimney at the Old Brewery, Branston, today created no little interest. The buildings of the Brewery being no longer in use, they are being pulled down to make room for the erection of new cottages and shops, which are being built by Mr. Cook, contractor, of Branston. The chimney, which is slightly apart from the other buildings, is a square one, its sides measured 7 ft. 6 in. at the bottom, and about 3 ft. at the top. The height is estimated at 60 feet.

The work of pulling the chimney down had been entrusted to Mr. Hallam, steeplejack, of Waddington and Lincoln, who had had a lifetime experience in the work. He had to work for a slight angle for the drop, having only a 4 ft. space in which to prevent the chimney crashing into some buildings close by. The work was done by jacks, and on the same principle as was adopted in the case of the recently felled chimney at Mr. Henley's brickyard on the West Common, Lincoln.

A large number of people were present to witness the chimney fall, and the feat was accomplished without a hitch. It made a beautiful fall, clearing the buildings well. The bricks kept together until close to the ground, when a crack appeared near the top. It reached the ground with a loud crash, the dust rising in clouds but this soon cleared, and many people rushed to see the remains, which for years had stood all kinds of weather.

An old man witnessed the destruction who had helped to build the chimney 40 years ago, and he told with pride how he had seen it erected and felled.

Lincolnshire Echo - October 25th 1901, p. 3, col. 3.

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