

## BURTON'S BREWING HERITAGE POST-1984: UPDATING THE VICTORIAN SOCIETY'S REPORT

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### Introduction

Burton-upon-Trent was a classic example of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century industrial boomtown, renowned for the quality of its fine ales and world-famous brewing brands including Bass, Allsopp and Worthington. A combination of good fortune, business dynamism and an emerging communications infrastructure helped it develop into the premier brewing centre of the Victorian age, with many fine examples of industrial-scale breweries, malt-houses and ancillary buildings standing alongside sumptuous offices and earlier Georgian townhouses. During the last 45 years, however, most of this rich industrial heritage has vanished, unceremoniously demolished through a combination of factors including technological development, commercial pressures, bureaucracy and the perceived need for change.

This paper assesses the state of Burton's surviving brewery heritage over the three decades following Julian Cooksey's 1984 landmark report for the Victorian Society. It identifies several examples of brewery building regeneration and adaptive re-use schemes within the town centre, contrasting their respective contributions to the overall townscape in terms of aesthetics, use of materials and respect for the historic environment/setting. Other buildings currently empty, under-utilised and/or 'at risk' from insensitive development are highlighted as future conservation 'opportunities' in helping secure those remaining elements of a vanishing industrial heritage. A historical account precedes the main discussion to underline the growth and vast scale of the town's brewing industry during the 'zenith' years of 1880-95, and how its combined infrastructure dictated subsequent development into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### Origins, growth and immortality

Brewing in Burton dates back to the 11<sup>th</sup> century with the founding of the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary & St. Modwen and an agrarian economy focused on its landed estates. The monks brewed ale for their own consumption, as well as for entertaining pilgrims visiting the nearby shrine of St. Modwen. Underhill (1941) quotes a specific reference to the 'furnishing of best beer' in his lucid account of 12<sup>th</sup> century monastic life from *History of Burton-upon-Trent*; an early indication of the special qualities of the gypsum-filtered well waters which would ultimately prove so decisive in the production of pale ales from the 1820s onwards.<sup>1</sup> Abbey transcriptions for 1368 record the name of one Hugh Crispe, a 'couper' and there is mention of an abbey tenant at Wetmore named 'Frawin' who may have been responsible for the in-house brewing process.<sup>2,3</sup> These medieval 'brewer monks' and the tenants who supplied them with malted barley and other materials sowed the fledgling seeds of an industry which would ultimately grow to dominate the town well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

King John awarded the abbey town a charter to hold a weekly market in 1200, followed by borough status in 1204. Increasing prosperity led to development of the settlement along the north bank of the River Trent towards the bridge crossing point, with the properties on High Street and the main east-west thoroughfare of Horninglow Street characterised by long, narrow 'burgage' plots. Following the dissolution of the abbey in 1540-45, the former monastic estate passed into secular control and brewing devolved to a small group of licensed victuallers authorised by the lord of the manor, Sir William Paget. County records for 1604 indicate that

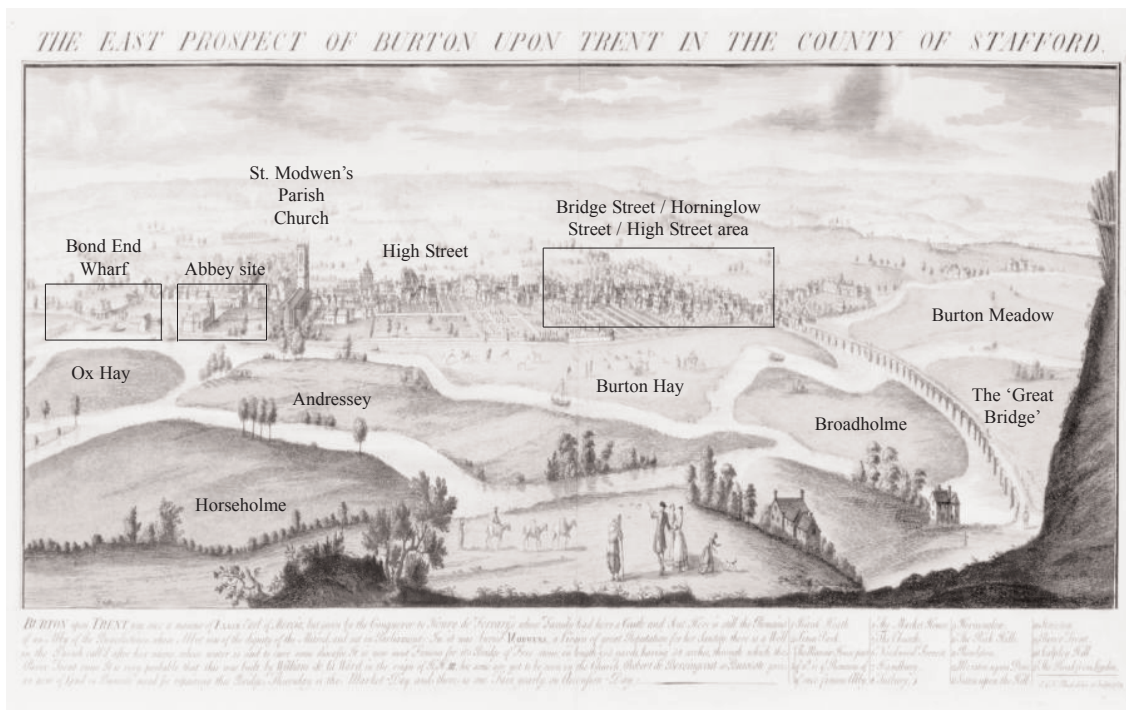


Figure 1. East prospect of Burton-upon-Trent by S. & N. Buck c.1732.(by permission of English Heritage. NMR ref. BB86\_03880).

there were 46 persons engaged in brewing within the town; for a recorded population of less than 2,000.<sup>4</sup> The reference by Bushnan (1853) to ‘esteemed’ Burton beers being available in London taverns c.1620 suggests that these ‘publican brewers’ were manufacturing a premium product with markets beyond the local area.<sup>5</sup>

The passing of the Trent Navigation Act of 1699 and subsequent opening to river traffic in 1712 extended the well-established merchant trade from Hull and Nottingham upstream to Burton. It became an important inland distribution centre for a wide range of commodities, notably potash, hemp, flax, timber from the Baltic ports and Russian iron. Entrepreneurial businessmen settled in the town, clearly recognising the reciprocal market opportunities for Burton beers and investing in the necessary equipment to produce them in larger volumes. Benjamin Printon established a small brewery near to the western end of the river bridge in 1708 and is widely credited as the town’s first ‘common brewer’.<sup>6</sup>

From 1720 onwards, there was a progressive increase in the number of small brewing establishments concentrat-

ed around the merchant area formed by High Street, Bridge Street and Horninglow Street. Buck’s prospect of the town from Stapenhill c.1732 clearly shows the massing of buildings with burgage plots running down to Burton Hay (Fig. 1). Owen (1978) underlines the freehold significance of this area for brewing development, as opposed to the Bond End wharf where leaseholders were required to pay a malt toll.<sup>7</sup> The opening of the Trent & Mersey canal in 1777 provided a major boost to the local economy and opened up a direct link to Liverpool with its extensive colonial market opportunities. Improved turnpike roads complemented the inland navigation system and regular communications between provincial centres became a reality.

Joseph Clay, Samuel Sketchley and Benjamin Wilson brewed almost exclusively for export through the Baltic trade routes, whilst others such as Charles Leeson focused on London and selective domestic markets. William Worthington and William Bass opened their respective brewing premises on High Street in 1760 and 1777. Five of the town’s 13 common brewers were ‘notable’ concerns producing on average between 2,000

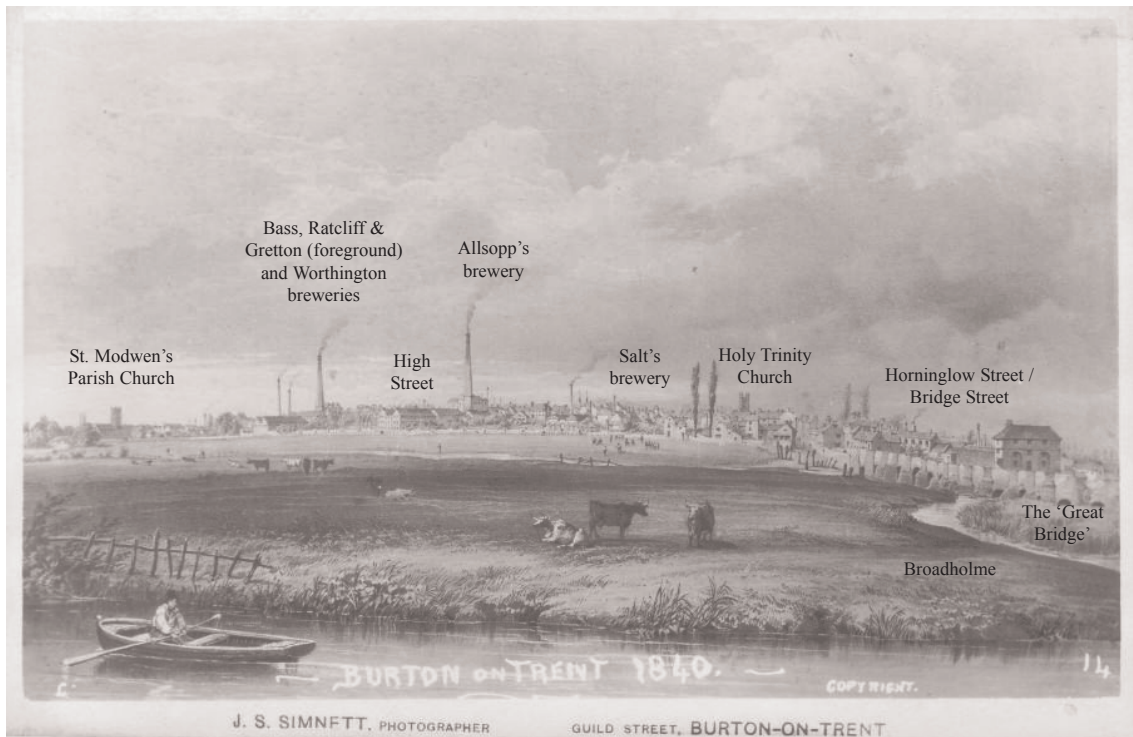


Figure 2. East prospect of Burton-upon-Trent c.1840 by K. Thomas (c.1880 photograph of original painting courtesy of J.S. Simnett; author's collection).

and 2,500 barrels per annum by 1790; at least 40% of the estimated 30,000 barrel output being for export to the Baltic.<sup>8</sup> The influential 'merchant brewers' brought wealth, prosperity and increased economic status to Burton, handing down successful family businesses to the next generation. Wilson (latterly Allsopp; Samuel Allsopp was Wilson's nephew), Bass and Worthington founded operations that would ultimately develop into household names producing beers of worldwide repute.

Economic depression and war in Europe created harsh trading conditions for the Burton brewers at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. With the virtual collapse of the Baltic trade in 1807, several of the smaller concerns ceased operations and the consolidated core of Allsopp, Bass & Ratcliff (partnership of 1796), Thomas Salt (an ex-maltster with Joseph Clay) and Worthington desperately sought to develop new markets. The breakthrough came in 1822 when the East India Company invited Samuel Allsopp to emulate a pale and bitter beer produced by

Hodgson's (one of the smaller London brewers) for export to India; a most intriguing tale of luck for the Burton brewers as recited by Cornell (2003).<sup>9</sup>

Burton's gypsum-filtered hard water supply being rich in calcium sulphate proved eminently suitable to brewing 'India Pale Ale' (or 'I.P.A.' as it eventually became known) and yielded a superior product with enhanced keeping properties. Bass & Ratcliff and Salt quickly followed Allsopp's lead and commenced brewing pale ale in 1823. Ten years later, Bass & Ratcliff had obtained 43% of the annual 12,000 barrel trade to India; compared to Allsopp's mere 12%. The growing reputation of Burton I.P.A. appears to have given it deserved status as a 'high fashion' beer for the domestic and export markets during the 1830s and 1840s.

The Industrial Revolution brought about parallel developments in technology and transportation that facilitated brewing on a larger scale to address mass-market

demand. Stationary steam engines allowed for mechanisation of traditional manual processes, notably bulk lifting, milling and mashing, as well as efficient pumping of well water and brewing ‘liquor’. Vertical integration of the sequential processes of mashing, boiling and cooling saw the emergence of multi-storey ‘tower’ brewhouses and co-located boiler plant. Fermentation and racking blocks, malthouses and ancillary buildings evolved to comparable proportions along horizontal lines.

By the 1840s, the Burton skyline had undergone quite dramatic changes to reflect this awakening of the industrial age (Fig. 2). Whilst still discernible, the burgage plots to the High Street properties have foregone their elegant Georgian gardens to make way for distinct and expanding brewing premises, characterised by tall, tapering brick chimney stacks. The town’s nine breweries produced a combined annual output of 60–70,000 barrels according to Owen (1978), with Bass, Ratcliff & Gretton and Allsopp accounting for almost 60% of this total.<sup>10</sup>

With the arrival of the Birmingham & Derby Junction (latterly Midland) Railway in 1839, Burton became an integral part of a rapidly evolving network offering (relatively) high speed, cost-effective and secure bulk freight transportation to major towns and cities. The significance of this quantum leap in communications to the brewers is reflected in a quadrupling of their cumulative output to 300,000 barrels per annum during the 1840s. Other railway companies were quick to realise the huge

revenue potential of the town’s premier industry and either built direct lines (North Staffordshire Railway, 1848) or acquired running powers over the Midland under the Burton-upon-Trent Railway Act of 1859 to access their own goods handling facilities, i.e. London & North Western Railway (1865) and Great Northern Railway (1878). From the late-1840s, Burton’s booming economic development saw it transformed from being a small provincial town into an industrial brewing centre of national significance.

The next 40 years witnessed growth on an unprecedented scale and established Burton as the undisputed premier brewing centre of the Victorian age. The brewing industry trebled in size every decade in terms of annual output and employment. From 18 brewers in 1851, the total number had risen to 32 by 1888, with annual output increasing ten-fold from 300,000 barrels to 3,025,000 barrels and 8,215 workers employed (representing 18% of the town’s population).<sup>11</sup>

Burgeoning demand posed major challenges for the larger brewers as they sought to increase production within the cramped confines of their High Street and Horninglow Street premises. Three new, industrial-scale breweries were built on land to the west of High Street within the emerging street grid formed by Station Street/Guild, Street/Union, Street/New Street and the Midland railway line; Bass Middle (White) Brewery (1853–58), and Bass New (Blue) Brewery (1863–64) supplementing the Bass Old (Red) Brewery of 1834



*Figure 3. The Bass ale stores and maltings complex at Shobnall shortly after completion of the initial seven ranges c.1875 (an extra range was added in 1891); view looking north-east towards town centre (Bass Old Brewery almost one mile distant) with tower of the new St. Paul’s church visible in the left distance (hand-painted engraving by W.C. Keene; author’s collection).*





Figure 4. Bass Middle (White) Brewery looking south towards Station Street c.1880; note 'blind arcading' comprising round headed arches on brick pilasters with stone imposts and chamfered lintels (reproduced from the Bass & Co. publication *A Glass of Pale Ale*; courtesy of C. Marchbanks).

(itself rebuilt 1866 and 1884-85). Allsopp's New Brewery (1859-60) occupied a single 20 acre plot alongside the railway line and laid claim to being the 'largest single brewery in the world' on completion. Large multi-floor maltings were erected adjacent to these breweries, Bass naming the 'Scutari' (1851-52) and 'Delhi' (1858-59) maltings after overseas military campaigns. Larger malt-ings were constructed to the north of Horninglow Street along Anderstaff Lane, notably the Bass Wetmore Maltings (1862-64) and Salt's Walsitch Maltings (1880). The vast malting complexes at Shobnall to the west of the town appeared between 1871 and 1879, with the seven interlinked Bass ranges and central engine house dominating the extensive Allsopp maltings nearby.

The Bass buildings were notably consistent in their architectural style during these phases of the brewer's

'indigenous expansion', with distinctive red brick 'blind arcaded' elevations, Welsh slate roofs and Hollington (Staffs.) sandstone dressings. Plausibly linked to the work of local architect/surveyor Robert Grace (who lived at 131 Station Street during the early 1860s), this in-house empirical Bass 'branding' was admirably continued throughout the tenure of the engineer William Canning from 1867 until 1890 and thence by his successor Herbert Couchman.<sup>12,13,14</sup> In contrast, Allsopp engaged the London architects Hunt & Stephenson to design their New Brewery, with construction under the supervision of the brewery engineer Robert Davison.

The practice of appointing specialist 'engineer architects' continued apace during the 1870s and 1880s, when an influx of London and provincial brewers commissioned new breweries in order to gain a share

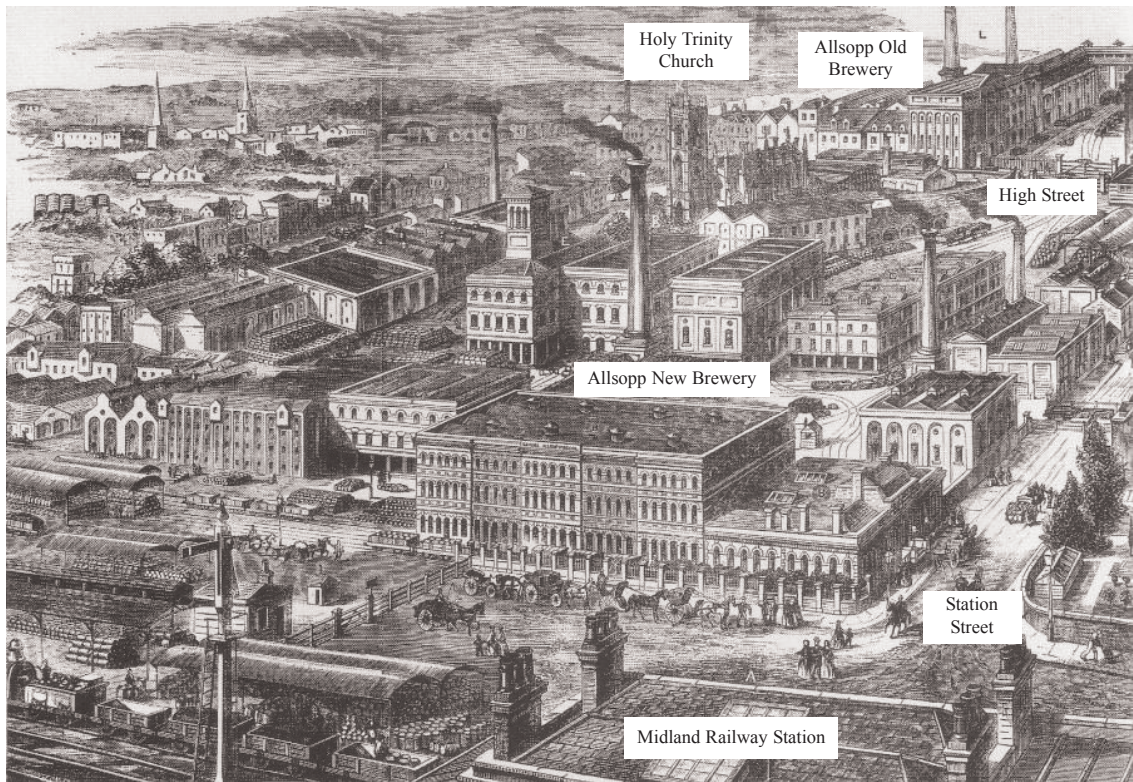


Figure 5. The 'Allsopp panorama' of Burton-upon-Trent from the Licensed Victuallers' Gazette of 7 June 1873; view looking east with Midland Railway station and main line at bottom, Allsopp New Brewery dominant, Allsopp Old Brewery in background and not one Bass building in sight! (image courtesy of The National Brewery Centre).

of the highly lucrative Burton I.P.A. markets. Notable examples included the Charrington & Co. Abbey Brewery (1872) and Mann, Crossman & Paulin's (later Marston & Thompson) Albion Brewery at Shobnall (1873-75), both by Martin & Hardy of Nottingham. J.A. Bindley's New Street brewery and maltings (1873-78) and Sykes Kimmersitch Brewery (later Everards), by John Breedon Everard (Leicester) were representative of bespoke small-to-medium sized breweries. Scamell & Colyer of London designed Truman, Hanbury & Buxton's impressive Black Eagle Brewery and maltings (1873-76) alongside the main railway immediately opposite Allsopp's New Brewery, and also the highly decorative Clarence Street Brewery and (octagonal) malthouse (1883) for The Trustees of the Late Peter Walker; arguably the most elegant late-Victorian brewery to grace any town. The noted brewery architect

William Bradford's contribution to the Burton skyline was confined to Worthington's Wetmore Road Maltings (1899) and Ind Coope & Co's. wines and spirits buildings (later Grant's of St. James') on Station Street (opposite the c.1856 brewery and bearing remarkable similarities in style).<sup>15</sup>

The logistical problems of transporting large volumes of beer and raw materials between the various premises were alleviated by the Midland Railway under an 1860 amendment of the 1859 Act; Parliamentary consent being granted to construct branch railways off the main line with associated level crossings to provide direct access to the breweries. Two branches were built initially, comprising the Guild Street Branch (1861-62) and the Hay Branch (1861-65) as documented by Shepherd (1996) and serving the northern part of the town includ-





*Figure 6. The Clarence Street Brewery of the Trustees of the Late Peter Walker as seen from the west c.1890 (© Staffordshire Newspapers Ltd.; author's collection).*

ing Wetmore.<sup>16</sup> The latter works included the new 26-arch Trent Bridge of 1864 and extended into the Hay Sidings to intersect the Guild Street Branch.

Since part of the 1860 Act authorised Allsopp to construct their own railway sidings off the Midland branches, a network of private lines began to develop between the New Brewery and Hawkins Lane area, characterised by sharp curves and additional level crossings to provide a circuitous link to the Old Brewery via the Old Cooperage and Saunders' Branch. By the time of William Molyneux's survey in 1869, Allsopp, Bass, Ind Coope & Co. and Worthington each operated private branches within the town centre using their own steam locomotives and a combined track total in excess of 32,000 yards.<sup>17</sup> The Midland obtained additional pow-

ers to construct the Shobnall (1873), Bond End (1874), Duke Street (1875) and New Street (1880) branches, introducing several extra level crossings and private sidings. These lines served the breweries and maltings to the south and west of the town centre, notably the premises of Bass (New Brewery/Delhi Maltings through route), J.A. Bindley, Charrington & Co., J. Eadie, Everards, S. Evershed and The Trustees of the Late Peter Walker, as well as the important Thornewill & Warham Iron Works and timber yards. In its ultimate form after 1878, Burton's industrial railway system extended over an area of four square miles, comprising almost 90 miles of track and 32 level crossings. Bass alone operated 16 miles as a private branch network and accounted for an average freight movement of 1,000 wagons daily.

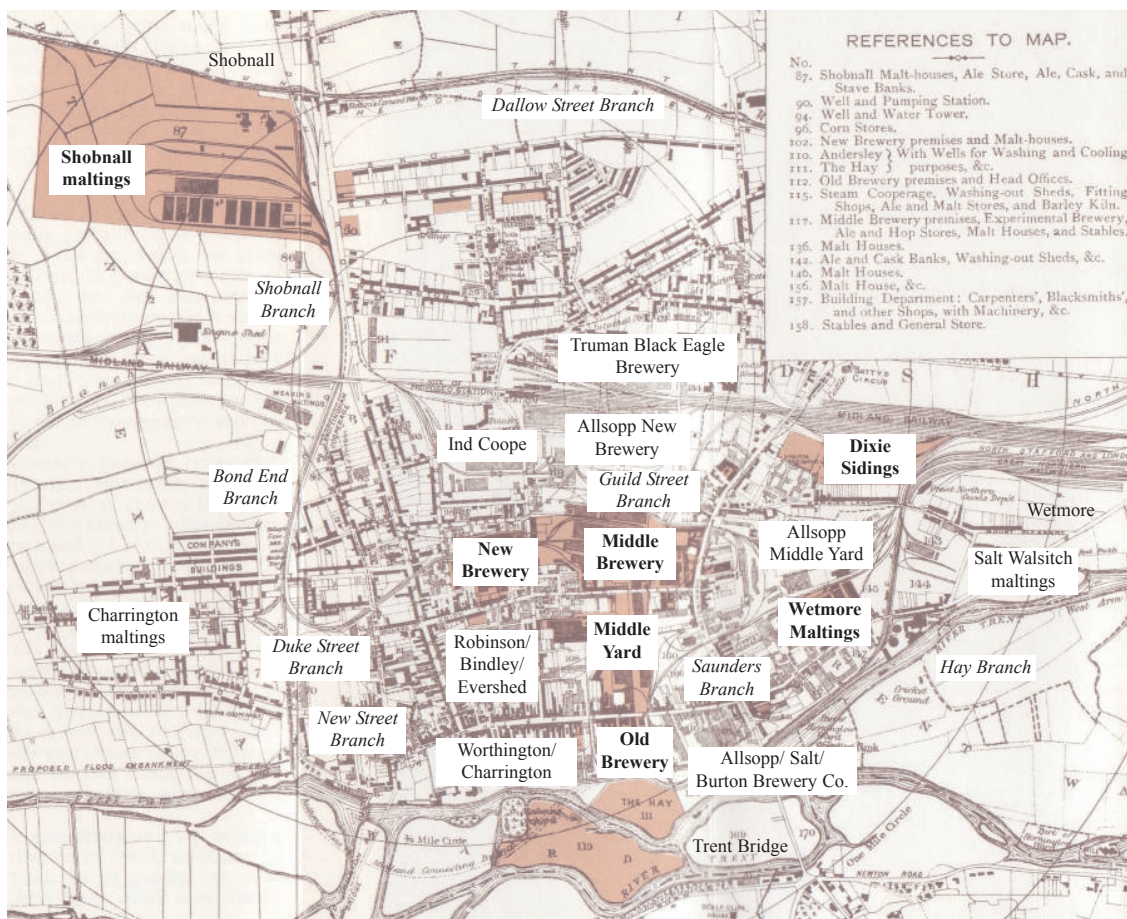


Figure 7. Map of Burton-upon-Trent c.1880 showing the extent of major brewery development and the industrial railway system (Bass premises in bold) (from an original survey map by J.A. Mason as reproduced in the Bass & Co. publication *A Glass of Pale Ale*; courtesy of C. Marchbanks).

During the ‘zenith’ years of 1880 through 1895, Burton was the undisputed brewing capital of the Victorian age, with 32 brewing companies operating a total of 36 breweries and several independent maltsters. Bass and Allsopp continued to dominate the industry and Bass’ annual output of almost 1,000,000 barrels justifiably made it the largest brewing concern in the world. The average production of a Burton brewery (i.e. 100,000 barrels per annum) was more than double that of the London brewers, yielding a cumulative annual production valued in excess of £8.6 million (equivalent to £4.5 billion using Retail Price Index analysis to 2009).<sup>18,19</sup> Brewing, malting, cooperages, storage and allied support industries accounted for almost one third of the total 1,500 acres comprising Burton’s three administrative

wards. The brewing industry’s total dominance over the town is evident from contemporary illustrations (see Figs. 8 & 9) and the scholarly accounts of ‘noted’ breweries produced by Alfred Barnard between 1888 and 1891.<sup>20</sup>

### Consolidation, decline and demolition in the 20<sup>th</sup> century

Burton’s phenomenal economic growth and prosperity reached its peak between 1900 and 1905. Declining beer sales, over-capacity and the rising costs of retail premises, brewing equipment and production posed serious challenges for the industry. Fierce competition within a flooded market led to several of the small-to-medium



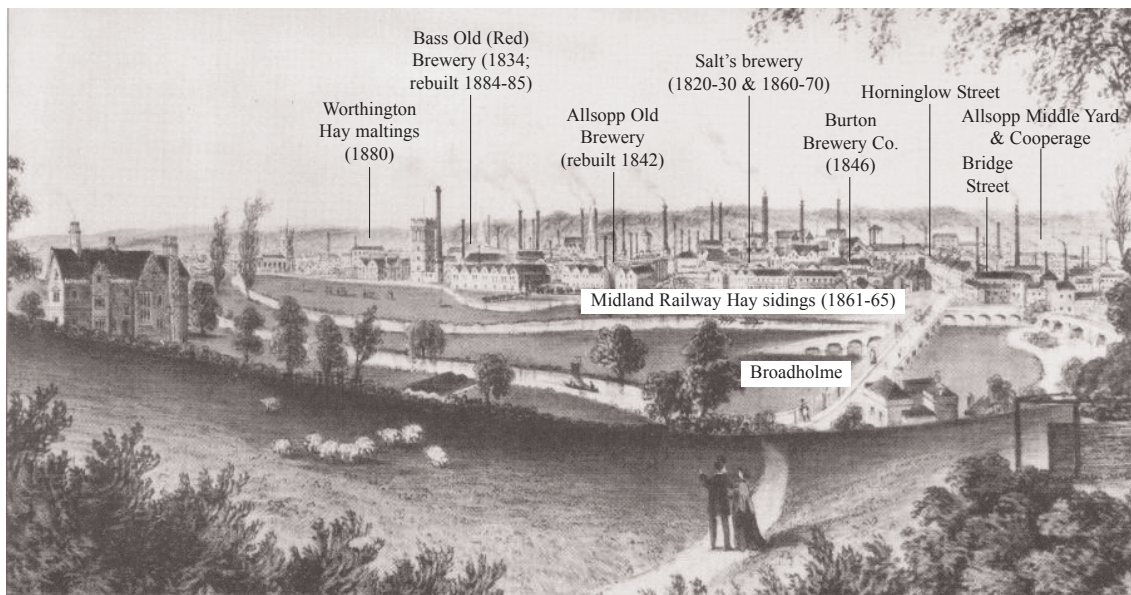


Figure 8. Burton-upon-Trent from the east in the 1880s; note the straight alignment of the new Trent Bridge of 1864 (the original 'Great Bridge' to its right), the railway sidings and the density of the brewery buildings, compared with the same view c.1840 (courtesy of B. Ward Collection).

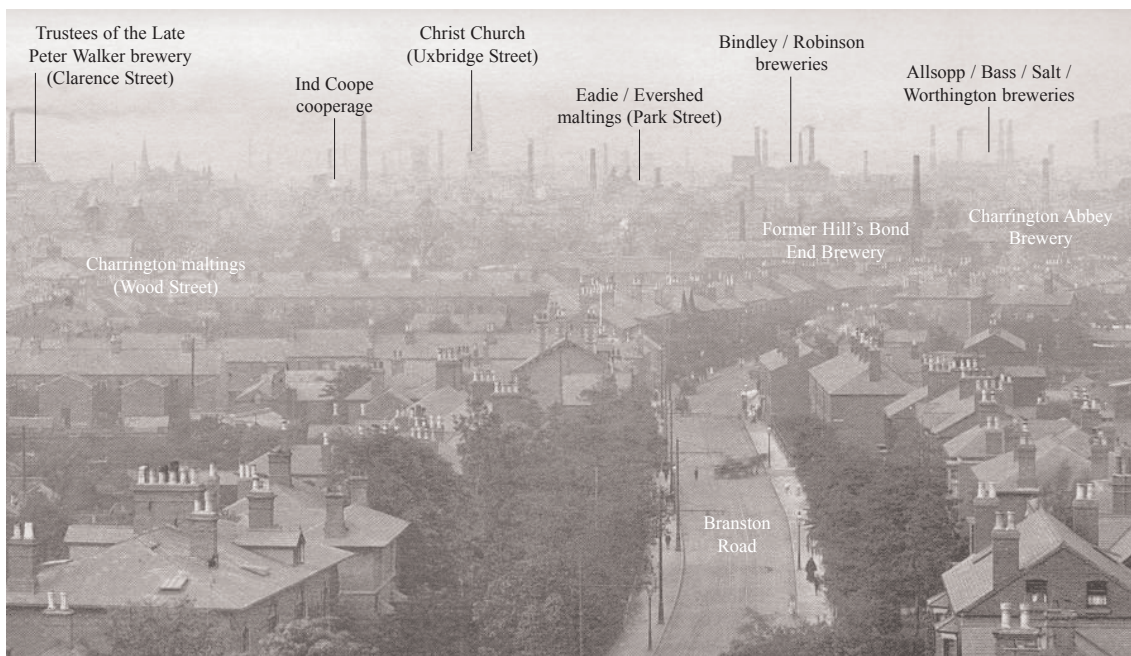


Figure 9. Burton-upon-Trent looking north towards the town centre in 1905 (slightly distorted perspective taken from tower of the newly-completed All Saints Church on Branston Road); note proliferation of brewery chimneys and smoke haze obscuring Allsopp, Bass and Truman breweries in middle distance (© The History Press; David Smith Collection).



*Figure 10. Brewery of Thomas Salt & Co. as seen from Burton Hay c.1889; note brick retaining wall to The Hay sidings and pair of small wheelbase tank locomotives for negotiating the tight curves of the private branch network (reproduction of Barnard engraving courtesy of Staffordshire County Council; Burton Family & Local History Centre).*

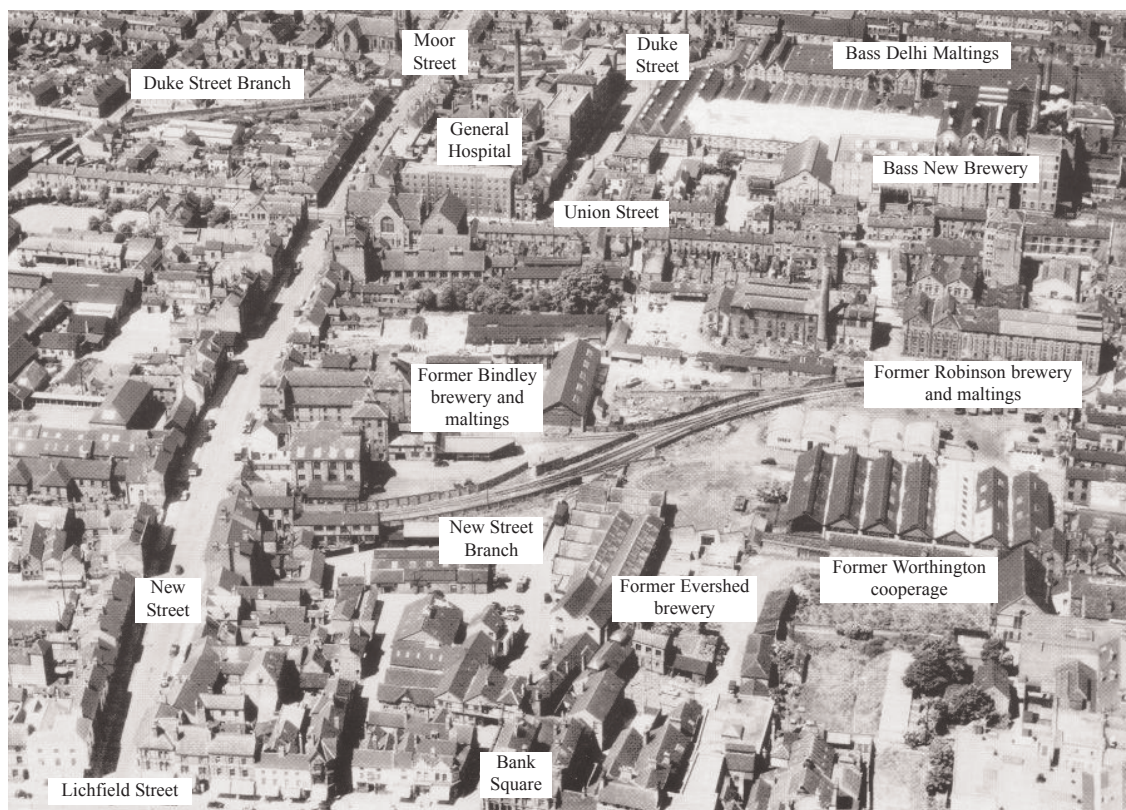
sized breweries becoming unviable and being acquired by the larger concerns or ceasing trading, e.g. Salt & Co. voluntary liquidation in 1906. The cumulative annual output of 3,500,000 million barrels for 1900 as estimated by Owen (1978) was actually achieved by 25 brewers; a reduction from the 32 brewers operating in the town during 1888 and reflecting the absolute dominance of Bass and Allsopp.<sup>21</sup>

By 1914 the number of brewers in Burton had fallen to 17 and several of the older premises along the lower High Street were no longer operational, notably the Burton Brewery Co., J. Nunneley and Salt's former brewery. Even the Allsopp Old Brewery closed following an unsuccessful diversification into lager production. Within the town centre area bounded by High Street, Station Street, Union Street and New Street, the Bindley and Robinson breweries stood redundant following their acquisition by Ind Coope & Co. in 1914 and 1920 respectively. Sydney Evershed's Angel

Brewery had transferred its production to the Albion Brewery at Shobnall following the merger with Marston & Thompson in 1905; Mann, Crossman and Paulin having returned to London in 1896. Charrington followed suite in 1926 and production at the Abbey Brewery in Lichfield Street ceased. All of these events underline the rationalisation of the town's dominant industry and the significance of redundant premises in defining the eventual re-development of the town centre from the early 1960s onwards.

Fluctuating markets and consumer tastes, the crippling effects of two world wars, Government intervention and industrial action all combined to progressively reduce the number of brewers and breweries into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Radical business reorganisation with further mergers and acquisitions yielded just five large-scale operations by 1950; Bass Worthington, Ind Coope & Allsopp, Truman, Hanbury & Buxton, Marston, Thompson & Evershed and Everards. Technological





*Figure 11. Aerial view of town centre from east c.1960; except for the hospital (1942) and c.1930 additions to the Bass New Brewery the scene appears relatively unchanged since the 1880s (aerial photography Copyright © Staffordshire County Council).*

advances and increased process efficiencies ultimately enabled the development of modern, high-output breweries with a significantly reduced footprint, characterised by arrays of tall ‘dual-purpose vessels’ or D.P.V.s because of their dual functionality for either fermentation or ale storage.

Malting followed a similar trend with Bass and Allied Breweries (the evolved corporate entity of Ind Coope, Ansells and Tetley Walker) both constructing state-of-the-art automated tower maltings during the early-1980s to supersede their traditional floor malting operations. The Bass ‘skyscraper’ still dominates the 21<sup>st</sup> century Burton skyline as icons of the multi-national Molson Coors conglomerate which now controls the town’s major brewing interests. The former Allied Breweries tower malting was demolished earlier this year.

Political factors and industrial action conspired to accelerate the decline of rail transportation in the post-1963 Beeching era and orchestrated the swift transition to bulk road haulage achieved between 1967-70, with the entire private branch network lying derelict by 1971. Sections of the former track bed today serve a useful purpose in providing much-needed relief roads for town centre traffic, e.g. Wharf Road Wetmore ‘bypass’ and Worthington Way following the alignment of the former Worthington yard to link High Street with Station Street. The route of the former Bond End Branch forms the access to the St. Peter’s Bridge; Burton’s second river crossing which opened in 1985. From a historic buildings standpoint, however, the brewer’s shift to road transportation had dramatic and damaging consequences since the vast majority of the Victorian breweries and maltings were designed and built





Figure 12. Bass No.15 (ex. Worthington No.4 Hudswell Clarke 0-4-0ST of 1901) with a train of grain hopper wagons alongside the Bass Middle Brewery Ale and Hop Stores shortly before closure of the Bass private rail system in 1967; built 1863-64 this impressive 50-bay 'blind arcaded' structure held ale barrels on the ground floor and basement levels, with hop 'pocket's above (author's collection).

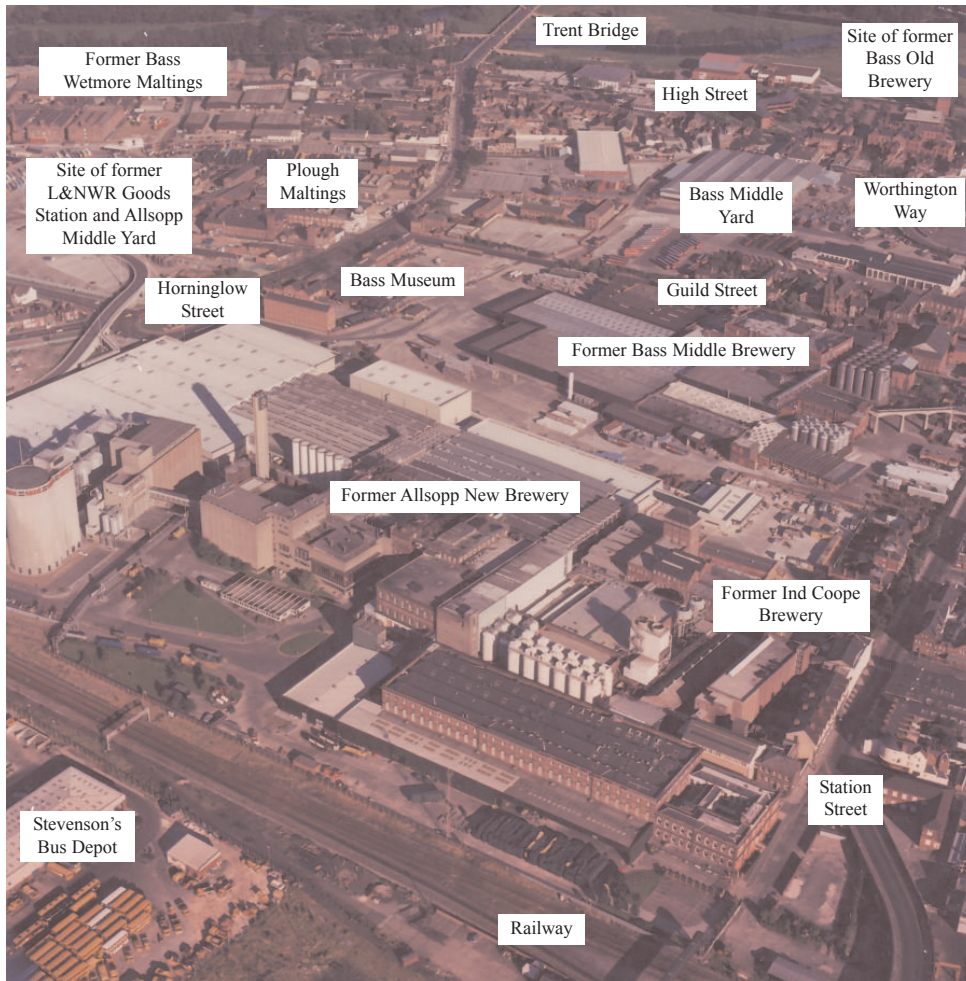


Figure 13. Aerial view of town centre from west c.1987 showing Allied Breweries plc Burton Brewery incorporating elements of the former Allsopp New Brewery alongside the modern brewhouse, D.P.V.s, keg plant and tower maltings; note emphasis on road transportation with Horninglow Street 'flyover' and extensive lorry parks in former Allsopp and Bass Middle Yard areas (courtesy of M. Jobson).

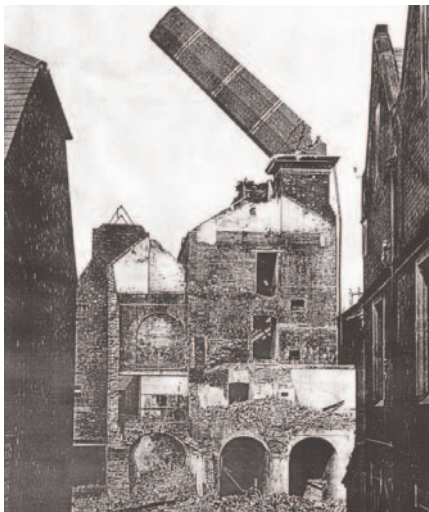


Figure 14. A collage of destruction highlighting Burton brewery building demolitions 1937-73 (clockwise from top-left); Allsopp Old Brewery 1937-38 (© Staffordshire Newspapers Ltd.); New Street after the demolition of Bindley's premises 1968 (© Staffordshire Newspapers Ltd.); Bass Delhi Maltings in Station Street during demolition 1965 (image courtesy of The National Brewery Centre); Final phase of the Bass Old Brewery demolitions 1973 (© Staffordshire Newspapers Ltd.); Worthington Hay Maltings 1973 (© Staffordshire Newspapers Ltd.); Malthouses Nos.1 & 2 at former Meakin / Worthington Crown Maltings on Anglesey Road c.1970; Burton Brewery Co. in High Street 1962 (courtesy of Magic Attic Archives / G. Nutt).





Figure 15. Transformation complete; an aerial view of the town centre looking east in 1992 highlighting the extent of redevelopment and car parking gained at the expense of the Victorian brewing heritage (see also Fig. 11) (© Crown copyright. NMR ref. 12297/80).

around a rail-centric infrastructure. Partial demolition and insensitive alterations were incurred in adapting these buildings to the needs of large articulated lorry movements within the relative confines of a brewery yard.

With the exception of the Allsopp Old Brewery (demolished 1937-38 and the site becoming Eatough's footwear factory in the 1950s) and the former Salt brewery (demolished 1956), the industrial landscape of Victorian Burton remained virtually unchanged for over 70 years. Post-war modernisation of brewing plant

and premises, coupled with a desire to improve the town's retail facilities and build modern shopping centres instigated the seeds of change for redevelopment. The period 1960 through 1984 witnessed an almost complete transformation of the town centre; 'destructive decades' during which an estimated 70% of the Victorian brewing heritage assets were lost in the pursuit of 'progress'.

On reflection, much of the resultant ad-hoc civic redevelopment of the town centre could have been sensitively integrated with selective regeneration of key



‘focal point’ heritage buildings, e.g. former Bindley malthouse with its distinctive decorative brick gable end fronting New Street, former Charrington’s Abbey Brewery adjoining the (surviving) Leopard Inn, Worthington Hay Maltings (cleared to make way for the new library), etc. At the time, though, the numerous redundant brewery buildings occupied prime real estate and held no cultural significance at all. They merely represented gloomy symbols of a disappearing past and contributed to the ‘dreary’ image noted by observers such as Pevsner (1974); an image from which the town desperately wished to escape.<sup>22</sup>

An overall lack of vision in formulating any holistic redevelopment policy or ‘masterplan’ for the town centre arguably made wholesale demolition the easiest and most cost-effective option for the brewers and developers alike. As Cooksey (1984) notes, the notion of retaining some of the brewery buildings which embodied Burton’s past character to help enhance and promote its future seems to have been completely ignored and/or totally misunderstood.<sup>23</sup> Regeneration of industrial heritage was, after all, gaining increased momentum in the early-1980s with successful mixed-use schemes such as Dean Clough Mills in Halifax and Salts Mill near Bradford; both derelict mill complexes from Yorkshire’s 19<sup>th</sup> century textile industry.<sup>24</sup>

Only the former merchant brewer’s townhouses survived the initial onslaught, afforded statutory protection through inclusion on the national heritage list in the early 1950s. No industrial heritage was listed in Burton until 1979, by which time it was too late to save the viable assets or prevent irreversible change to those historic elements still in production. Even listing did not prevent partial demolition of the Bass No.2 Brewery (former New Brewery) in 1985 and incremental loss of the entire Shobnall floor maltings complex over time (ironically, the listed Grade II malthouse No.7 at Shobnall still appeared on the statutory list in 2001 despite having been demolished some 20 years earlier).

By the mid-1990s, Burton’s post-industrial transition was virtually complete and its unique identity lost amidst a sea of tarmac and national retail chains. Refer to Appendix I for detailed lists and a town map highlighting those brewery buildings lost up to 1984.

## **The Victorian Society’s 1984 report: opportunities lost and gained**

Prompted by the widespread destruction and loss of a unique industrial heritage, the Victorian Society commissioned a detailed survey to establish the extent and condition of Burton’s surviving 19<sup>th</sup> century brewery buildings. Julian Cooksey’s comprehensive report revealed the full extent of an ‘awesome catalogue of destruction’ and was highly critical of the lacklustre attempts to safeguard what had hitherto been ‘a fascinating and varied collection of industrial archaeology in the most famous brewing town in history’.<sup>25</sup> The verdict on the brewer’s negative attitude to their buildings was deservedly scathing, with a suggestion that brewery offices were being ‘conveniently’ listed rather than the complete brewery entity.<sup>26</sup>

Cooksey noted that statutory listing appeared to offer scant protection in the case of industrial buildings if the applicant offered a ‘compelling’ argument for demolition and/or made repeated applications with minor variations. Bass certainly adopted the latter approach in eradicating the remaining two four-storey floor maltings (i.e. malthouses Nos. 1 & 2) of Canning’s original 1873 group at Shobnall post-1984, compounding criticism of their earlier ‘utter disregard for the town’s heritage’ over the demolition of malthouse No.7.<sup>27</sup> A similar pattern emerged in the case of several other buildings assessed by Cooksey which have subsequently been lost, notably:

- Former Bass Middle Yard boiler house; demolished 1986-87.
- Victorian water tower at former Bass Middle Brewery; demolished 1987-90?
- Former Bass New Brewery (with exception of original malt preparation/mashing ‘west’ range, ale store and later union rooms fronting Duke Street); demolished 1985.
- Victorian ‘calorifier’ (heat exchanger) tower within Bass No.1 Brewery (opposite site of the former Delhi Maltings); demolished 1987.

The real irony of Cooksey’s work is that it was set against the backdrop of perhaps the most outrageous and widely condemned episode of the whole demolition saga; the former Bass New Brewery or Bass No.2 Brewery as it was known after 1965. Despite reasoned

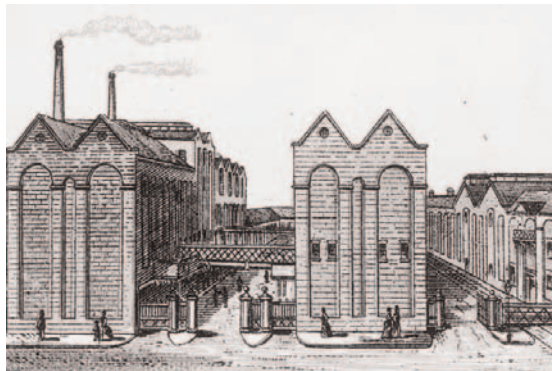


Figure 16. Bass New Brewery as illustrated by A. Barnard and J.N. Tresise in 1888-89 (top) and the scene today after extensive demolitions to make way for a new supermarket; the fine sandstone gate piers now front the car park entrance in Union Street (Tresise image courtesy of The History Press).

objections from national amenity groups at the public enquiry, questionable maintenance costs and the lack of any market valuation as to the sale of the brewery as a going concern, its substantial demolition was granted consent almost as the report went to press. The role of the local authority as co-applicants to the demolition provokes controversy even today, given the site's eventual c.1996 reincarnation as a large supermarket with 340 car parking spaces; achieved with complete loss of the Victorian shops and houses forming the corner frontages to Station Street/Union Street.

On a more positive note, some of Cooksey's recommendations for statutory listing were implemented in 1986:

- Former Everard Trent Brewery (Anglesey Road); listed Grade II.
- Victorian brewhouse to former Ind Coope & Co. brewery (situated within Molson Coors 'north' complex on Station Street); listed Grade II.

- Former fermentation block to Allsopp New Brewery (Molson Coors); listed Grade II.
- Former Bass Plough Maltings (Horninglow Street); listed Grade II.

Most of the Trent Brewery has been saved following conversion to residential apartments during 2005-06 as the first phase of the 'Burton Village' development, with a similar scheme currently ongoing for the former Allsopp tunner. The Ind Coope & Co. brewhouse is being preserved in a reasonable state of repair by its new owners and with no known plans for adaptive re-use.

The Plough Maltings are also intact but still seek a buyer for regeneration after more than five years on the market. Defective rainwater goods and roof coverings were evident when the building was last surveyed (2005) and urgent repairs recommended to arrest deterioration of the fabric. The current economic climate does not bode particularly well for the long-term future of



Figure 17. Former Everard Trent Brewery; the surrounding 'enabling development' maintains the brewhouse's principal site lines but a row of 19th century cottages in the yard (Caroline Terrace) were demolished mid-2005 (archive image c.1966 Copyright © Staffordshire County Council).

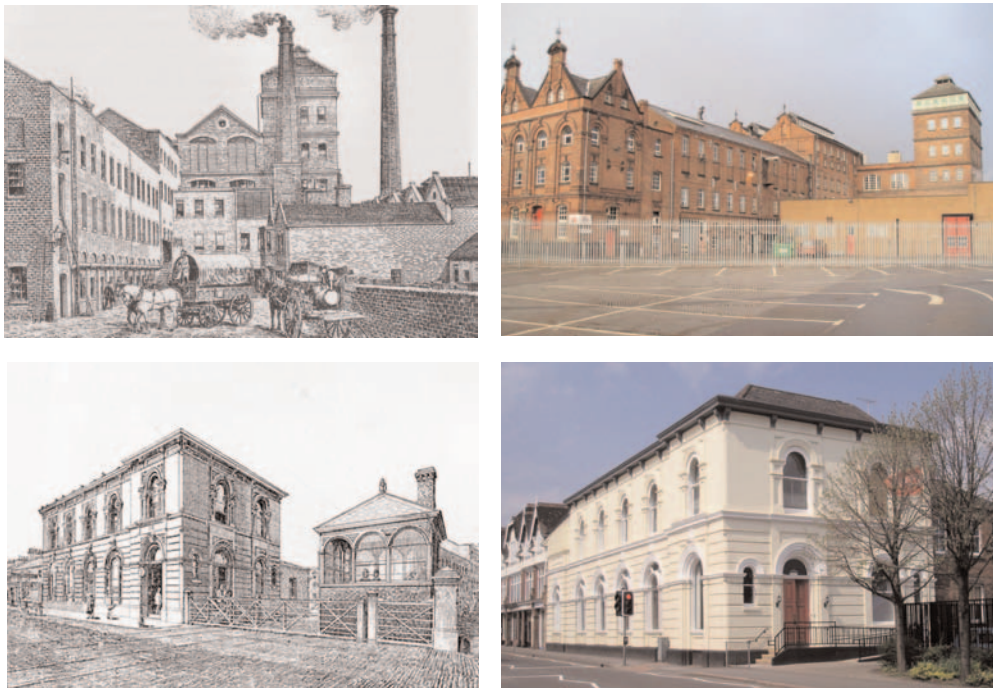


Figure 18. Former Ind Coope & Co. brewery and offices as drawn by A. Barnard in 1889 (left) and the buildings as they appear today, with the 1896-98 'Bradford-style' cross-gabled additions to the fermentation block (top-right). The elegant neo-classical style office block fronting Station Street still serves as offices and incorporates 'The Guildhall' hospitality suite (reproduction of Barnard engravings courtesy of Staffordshire County Council; Burton Family & Local History Centre).





Figure 19. Former Allsopp New Brewery fermentation block of 1859-60 as drawn by A. Barnard in 1889 (top) and as it appears today with works underway to convert the upper 'tunnery' floors into 74 residential apartments; the original single-storey office block frontage was added in 1864 and the complete building is listed Grade II (reproduction of Barnard engravings courtesy of Staffordshire County Council; Burton Family & Local History Centre).



Figure 20. The Plough Maltings looking east from Horninglow Street (top-left) and the reverse view of the kiln ranges from the former Allsopp Middle Yard/Old Cooperage (top right); built c.1899-1902 to the design of Bass engineer/architect Herbert Couchman and currently 'mothballed' pending sale, the group represent a significant regeneration opportunity provided that progressive deterioration of the building fabric can be minimised over the interim period.

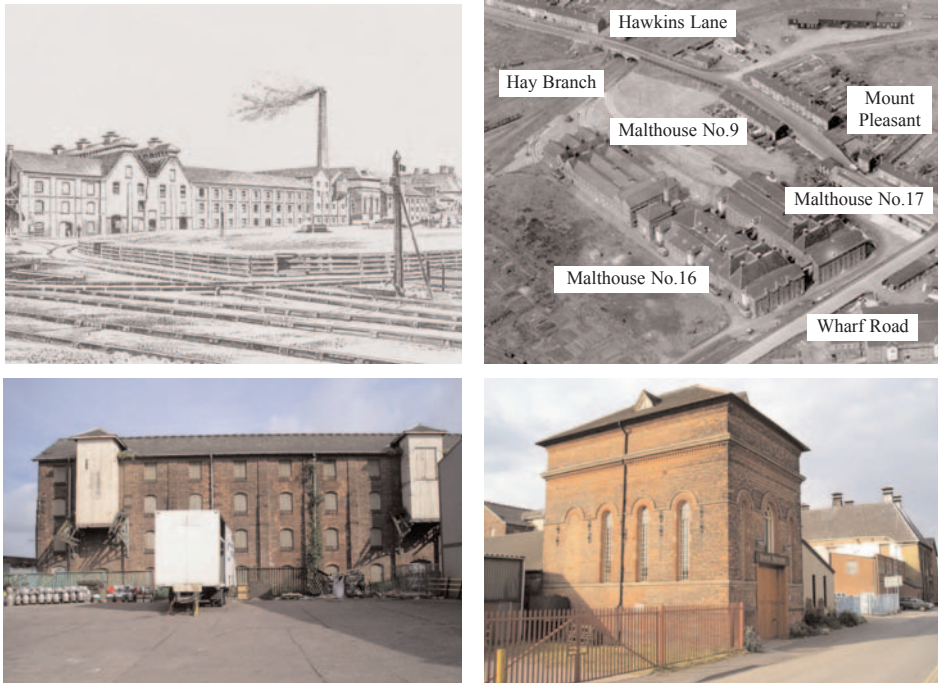


Figure 21. Former Salt & Co. Walsitch Maltings of 1880 as drawn by A. Barnard in 1889 (top-left) and an early-1960s aerial view; malthouse No.17 and the kiln range of malthouse No.16 survive in commercial use and the elegant engine house (architecturally a scaled-down version of the former brewhouse tower at Salt's High Street brewery) functions as a successful microbrewery (reproduction of Barnard engraving courtesy of Staffordshire County Council; Burton Family & Local History Centre; aerial image courtesy of The National Brewery Centre).



Figure 22. Former Crown Maltings of L. & G. Meakin built 1875-88 and acquired by Worthingtons in 1910; partially demolished during 1970, the surviving ranges are unlisted and vulnerable to unsympathetic alterations (archive images c.1966 Copyright © Staffordshire County Council).



Figure 23. The B. Grant & Co. wines and spirits stores of 1897 (latterly Grant's of St. James, the wines and spirits arm of Ind Coope & Co. and now renamed 'St. James Court') was designed by the eminent brewery architect, William Bradford, and is the town's sole surviving example of his work; recently converted into residential apartments with the addition of a new rear (subservient) range, the building retains its distinctive character and imposing facade to Station Street, despite the high density of poorly-designed enabling development and use of artificial materials (i.e. reconstituted stone) to the adjoining 'Grant's Yard' (Barnard's 1889 engraving shows the former Ind Coope & Co. brewery with the position of the subsequent Grant's building superimposed to the right of the ale stores loading dock) (reproduction of Barnard engraving courtesy of Staffordshire County Council; Burton Family & Local History Centre).

Burton's last surviving complete Victorian maltings and pioneer of the pneumatic 'drum' system that eventually revolutionised malt production. They constitute a significant group of buildings which warrant sensitive conversion in order to protect their integrity and compact setting.

Other buildings highlighted in Cooksey's report remain in beneficial, albeit unlisted:

- Former Salt & Co. Walsitch Maltings; currently in commercial use with the architecturally significant

engine house regenerated in 2000 to accommodate a thriving microbrewery.

- Former Meakin/Worthington Crown Maltings in Anglesey Road; currently in commercial use but much detail lost and increasingly vulnerable to unsympathetic alterations.
- Former Ind Coope & Co. wines and spirits stores in Station Street; future secured by recent conversion to apartments (St James' Court) albeit with high-density enabling development in former yard and adjacent cooperage areas (Grant's Yard).



English Heritage cite the ‘incompleteness’ of the Walsitch Maltings (due to the demolition of malthouse No.9 and over 50% of malthouse No.16 in the 1970s) as the principal reason for them not being afforded statutory protection. This is despite malthouse No.17 and the engine house surviving virtually intact and retaining highly distinctive architectural features, e.g. capped vents to kiln house louvers, deep timber ‘lucam’ hoists and buttressed column elevations. The interior plaster-work surfaces of the kiln house vents to malthouse No.16 are currently in a precarious condition due to timber decay of the supporting laths and pigeon infestation.

### **Regeneration and conservation of brewery buildings**

Brewery buildings present significant regeneration challenges because their distinctive form and spatial arrangements reflect the specific process functions for which they were designed. Breweries and maltings are essentially large, purpose-built machines with a higher degree of adaptation ‘inflexibility’ than, say, other contemporary Victorian industrial buildings such as a textile mill, warehouse or factory. The fact that most of the process equipment such as mash tuns, coppers and cooling trays were integrated during construction arguably gives brewery buildings the highest degree of inflexibility in terms of the ‘Earl’ yardstick, i.e. implying that their preservation as an ‘interesting object’ may often be the only alternative to demolition.<sup>28</sup>

Nonetheless, this does not mean that brewery buildings are ‘inadaptable’ for reuse. It just requires more thought, planning, innovation, care and financial resources to achieve a satisfactory end result. As Stratton (2000) rightly states, ‘conservation, almost by definition, involves reconciling a desire for continuity with the introduction of new uses, and purist preservation with needs to update the structure and image of a building’.<sup>29</sup> Conservation in practice means maintaining an appropriate balance between preservation and change, and meeting the needs of the local community whose lives and culture are to a large extent embodied in the character of their heritage. It also mandates equating the conservation and commercial interests to achieve mutually satisfactory and sustainable long-term benefits to all stakeholder groups.

Key technical challenges in the adaptive reuse of brewery buildings are summarised as follows:

- Substantial load bearing walls of red brick and engineering blue brick; often up to one metre thickness in pre-1870s buildings and constructed without damp proof courses.
- Non-uniformity of floor-to-ceiling heights; low headroom in maltings and varying or split-level storey heights in brewhouses and fermentation blocks.
- Window and door apertures designed to suit the raw materials handling and process requirements; not the natural lighting, ventilation and access needs of people.
- Diversity of traditional building materials including brick, stone, natural slate, timber roof trusses and floor structures, decorative terracotta, clay floor tiles, cast-iron supporting columns, wrought iron beams, steel girders (post-1880s) and reinforced concrete.
- Double-to-quadruple depth plan forms with multiple-span roof structures incorporating valley gutters; vulnerable rainwater ingress points with routine maintenance needs.
- High volume of horizontal and vertical intra- and inter-building services provisioning for process plant; steam, hot water, brewing liquor and raw materials handling.
- Environmental and health hazards posed by deleterious materials such as asbestos and chemical residues from plant cleaning systems.
- High potential fire risk during conversion due to explosive nature of grain dust within floor and ceiling structures.
- Achieving compliance with Building Regulations Approved Documents in respect of acoustic separation, ventilation, fire safety, access and energy conservation.

Victorian technological innovation occasionally reveals unexpected quirks to compound even the best-researched scheme. For example, the deep plan form of the former Allsopp New Brewery fermentation block incorporates a quadruple span roof whose load is supported down to the basement via multiple rows of cast-iron columns on each floor. Some of the columns perform a dual function in routing the rainwater downpipes from the valley gutters within the building core; a perpetual maintenance headache due to internal corrosion and rainwater penetration.



*Figure 24. Highlighting some of the challenges of brewery building regeneration (from top); cast-iron column spacing dictates floor plans and headroom at the former Allsopp New Brewer tannery; deep plan forms limit cross ventilation and natural lighting levels inside former Bass malthouse No.20 at Wetmore; irregular storey heights, complex roof structures and fragile sheet roof coverings at the Everard Trent Brewery c.2005; falling plasterwork inside one of the kiln houses at Walsitch Maltings (archive image from Illustrated London News 1867; author's collection).*



## Brewery building regeneration in Burton: the story so far

Despite the appalling losses to Burton's brewing heritage since 1960 and the scathing criticism of Cooksey's report, at least 61 buildings with known or inferred industry associations survive. Of these, 42 are listed buildings and many of the others are deemed worthy of listing on account of their architectural merit, historical associations and/or thematic contribution to the townscape. Table 1 summarises these buildings by function, with individual details and a location map provided in Appendix 2.

Building Type	Listed	Unlisted	Notes
Breweries	7	3	Marston's Albion Brewery now covered by dual entries in statutory list.
Malthouses	5	8	Former Charrington, Marston, Meakin/Worthington and Salt maltings unlisted.
Houses and offices	22	0	Predominantly listed c.1950s on architectural merit alone.
Ancillary buildings and structures	8	8	Unlisted category includes some sites with multiple buildings/structures.
Totals	42	19	31% of surviving brewing heritage is unlisted and potentially at risk.

*Table 1. Summary of Burton's surviving brewing heritage assets.*

The vast majority of the surviving brewing heritage assets remain in beneficial use, either in an industry-related role or through successful adaptation to a new use(s). The unenviable demolition record of the major brewers is somewhat alleviated by their instigating two prestigious schemes for community use of redundant buildings; the former Bass Museum of Brewing (now The National Brewing centre) in 1977 and the Brewhouse Arts 1989-90.

Regeneration of former malthouses gained momentum during the 1980s with the conversion of Bass malthouse No.20 at Wetmore into offices (1986-87) and the Ind

Coope & Co. Moor Street maltings (previously a bottling plant/warehousing) to form the IMEX Business Centre (1990). The former Bass malthouses Nos.16 & 17 at Wetmore have recently been converted into 'Wetmore Maltings', an office refurbishment scheme with planning consent for several new-build light industrial/commercial units ('The Malsters') within the two acre curtilage once occupied by the old Bass ale stores No.2.

The former Midland Grain Warehouse No.2 has been on the market since 2008 following the local authority's decision to sell its prestigious heritage offices after 25 years use by the regeneration and leisure departments. Suggestions that it will be converted into a hotel with a public cafe-bar are as yet unconfirmed, as too are the scope and implications of the inevitable internal reordering works needed to achieve such a conversion of this listed Grade II building.

Recent years have witnessed a growing trend in residential conversions. These schemes include the former Everard Trent Brewery, the Grant's building (St. James Court) and (ongoing) Allsopp New Brewery fermentation block as already highlighted, along with other smaller-scale schemes such as the former Boddington's Trent Bridge Brewery (1987-88) and 'The Malthouse' on Horninglow Street (2004-05). Anson Court adjacent the 'Bargates' junction of Horninglow Street and Wetmore Road represents the most sensitive scheme implemented to date, a mixed-use conversion of the former Greaves/Thompson brewery premises thought to date from the 1770s. Minimal adaptation of the historic buildings and boundary treatments, with subtle additions using contemporary materials has yielded a versatile heritage asset which retains the sense of place of the smaller brewery yard once such a familiar feature of the town.

Arguably, the last word in terms of successful brewery building regeneration must belong to the brewers, with two contrasting schemes at opposite ends of the production spectrum. The Burton Bridge Brewery founded in 1982 utilises a former two-storey malthouse of c.1823 for brewing and supplies traditional ales to its five tied houses; truly a common brewer in the 18<sup>th</sup> century context! Marston's Albion Brewery at Shobnall underwent a major capacity upgrade and refurbishment of brewing plant in 2004-05; achieved with minimal intervention of



Figure 25. A snapshot of some of Burton's successful cultural and commercial regeneration schemes achieved to date (from top); the Bass Museum of Brewing shortly after its opening in the company's bicentenary year (1977) showing the former Joiners Shop of 1866 which houses the main exhibits (top-left; image courtesy of The National Brewery Centre), a complete 104-cask Burton Union set saved from the Bass New Brewery (top-right) and an interior view of the raw materials exhibit (centre-left); the former Midland Railway Grain Warehouse No.2 on Derby Street (viewed from Station Bridge) represents a good example of conservation-led regeneration by East Staffs. Borough Council (centre-right); the former Bass malthouse No.20 at Wetmore Maltings now provides high-specification commercial offices with roomy entrance atria lit by innovative glazing of blind arched panels (bottom-left); former Ind Coope & Co. Moor Street maltings today as the IMEX Business Centre, the unfortunate loss of the kiln house roofs raising questions as to the tolerable loss of form for such conversions.





Figure 26. Two examples of residential conversion schemes, namely the former Trent Bridge Brewery of H. Boddington & Co. (top) and the former Wilson/Allsopp premises at 168-169 Horninglow Street (bottom); Boddington's brewery dates from the early-18th century and was operated by that company from 1870 until 1885 before its sale to Everards and eventual rescue from dereliction 1987-88 to become 'Trent Bridge House' (unfortunately felling the chimney stack and replacing period timber windows with unsympathetic double-glazed units); the complete regeneration of the former Wilson / Allsopp Regency townhouse and attached maltings provides luxury apartments within a highly distinctive listed building which was in a very poor condition c.2000 (Tresise image courtesy of The History Press).



Figure 27. Regeneration as a small brewery; The Burton Bridge Brewery at The Bridge Inn 2005 showing the upper floor of the converted malthouse which houses the malt store and copper (left) and the brewery yard (right) with the malthouse at rear (fermentation room in building to left).

the historic fabric and no discernible alteration to the highly distinctive form of the Victorian brewhouse.

### **Case Study 1: The Brewhouse**

Burton lacked a proper cultural centre for theatre, drama and the arts throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Largely due to the efforts of the Burton Civic Society (B.C.S.), the former union rooms of the Bass New Brewery fronting Duke Street were saved from demolition in 1985 and converted into a versatile mixed-use community centre during 1989-90. East Staffordshire Borough Council (E.S.B.C.) undertook most of the design work and oversaw the project, offering financial support to the Brewhouse Arts Trust until it became self-supporting in the mid-1990s.

The impressive two-storey 24 x 9 bay red brick building retains its triple-span roof structure and distinctive clerestory louvers. Bass supplied many salvaged and refurbished 6-over-6 sash windows, along with Hollington sandstone lintels and sills for the ground floor, since the buildings original use required only minimal natural lighting levels. The 'new' windows were sensitively inserted into the wall fabric and the existing door apertures broadened slightly to meet disabled access needs. A new brick and glass-roofed entrance porch was also added to the north elevation to permit level access.

Internally, the central core of the building was quite radically altered to allow incorporation of an auditorium with fully-retractable, tiered seating for up to 239 persons (233 raked seats with six wheelchair bays). The multi-span roof with its central valley gutters posed major problems when removing some of the cast-iron columns to insert a purpose-built structural frame; since every fourth column performed a dual load bearing and rainwater disposal function. Some columns required replacement due to internal corrosion and special polyethylene liners were fitted inside all 'downpipe' columns to mitigate potentially costly future maintenance upgrades.

The Brewhouse hosts a variety of functions in addition to the main auditorium and performance area. These include purpose music, dance, drama, art and graphics studios, together with some self-contained office units

and a ground floor cafe/bistro with seating for up to 80 persons. A broad spectrum of cultural events is hosted throughout the year, including exhibitions, themed workshops for local schools and live music promoting local talent. Burton (2006) agrees that the venue is now more popular in its revised community role than as the 'pure' arts centre as originally envisaged.<sup>30</sup> From its inception, the building was always intended to support mixed uses and to this end the 11 bays to the west end were converted into 19 ground floor apartments providing sheltered accommodation. For further information, visit the venue's website at <http://www.brewhouse.co.uk/venue.php>.

### **Case Study 2: Anson Court**

Occupying a compact plot set back from the north side of Horninglow Street, a small brewery is believed to have been established c.1774 by the merchant family John Davies Greaves & Son. Operations ceased in 1815 after the firm went bankrupt and the premises passed first to John Mason (brewing from c.1828 to 1835) before being acquired by John Thompson in 1849. Osborne (2010) notes that the brewery output increased steadily under the Thompson family's management, producing 20,000 barrels in 1888 with a workforce of 50 men.<sup>31</sup> The brewery ceased operations shortly after the merger with J. Marston & Son Ltd. (to form J. Marston, Thompson & Son Ltd.) with production moving to the larger Albion Brewery at Shobnall. Thereafter the premises were used for general storage and by the local upholstery firm of Heape & Wibberley through the 1960s and 1970s.

The buildings comprise a former malthouse range, ale stores, workshops and possibly an earlier brewhouse, forming a compact L-plan group around a yard and neatly enclosed from the street behind a row of 17<sup>th</sup> century houses. Materials include red brick for the elevations, blue engineering brick sills and timber framed windows in a diversity of sizes. The variety of roof pitches, eaves styles and distinctive coverings of blue/grey clay tiles define a character quite unlike the larger, purpose-built brewery buildings elsewhere in the town. The imposing wrought-iron gates with brick and stone entrance piers/gateways effectively 'guard' the privacy of the yard from Horninglow Street and help reinforce its unique setting.





Figure 28. The Brewhouse benefits from a town centre location in part of the former Bass New Brewery; view from Sainsbury's car park highlighting modified door/window apertures and porch (left) and looking west along length of range to Duke Street (right).



Figure 29. Interior views of The Brewhouse showing structural modifications underway in 1989 to form the central auditorium (top) and one of the smaller dance studios with bistro bar (bottom) (archive photograph Copyright © East Staffordshire Borough Council).



*Figure 30. Anson Court regeneration of the former Thompson & Son brewery premises (clockwise from top-left); view from Horninglow Street in 1965; an empty yard in 2006; sympathetic stairwell additions to former malthouse and restored gateway to Wetmore Road; an essentially unchanged view from Horninglow Street in 2011 (archive image Copyright © Staffordshire County Council).*

Following acquisition of the site by Norman Thacker/Ednaston Developments in the late-1980s, plans were drawn up by architects Acheson Warren Associates to regenerate the buildings as a small business centre. The three year rolling programme commenced in 1990 and included new three-storey stairwell additions to the block fronting the Wetmore Road entrance; the style and materials of which complement the historic buildings particularly well, without imposing on the overall proportions or massing of the group. The resounding success of the scheme is borne out in the high occupancy ratios achieved through to 2005, i.e. 100%, falling off to an average 90% in recent years.<sup>32</sup> Current tenants include B.T. Local Business, BluePoint I.T. recruitment, Citizens Advice Bureau, the White

Smile Clinic and Rushton Hickman (managing agents). Anson Court stands out as a benchmark study of what is achievable with redundant brewery buildings given sufficient vision, funding, courage and patience in delivering a quality end-result ahead of a ‘commodity’ solution. The £4 million scheme also includes several apartments and a restaurant. Purists may debate the loss of the exterior timber staircase and surface treatments to the yard but the overall scheme is well deserving of its 1992 (B.C.S.) and 1993 (E.S.B.C.) awards for design quality. For further information, visit the website at <http://www.anson-court.co.uk>.



### Case Study 3: Albion Brewery of Marston's plc.

Following Marston's acquisition by Wolverhampton & Dudley Breweries plc in 1999, planning commenced to upgrade the brewing plant and increase production capacity at the Albion Brewery. Various options were considered but ultimately the only realistic way to create what amounted to a new brewhouse was to adapt the three-storey 6 x 4-bay fermentation block adjoining the east elevation. The 'original' squares and Burton Union sets from this part of the building (believed to have been purchased from the Charrington Abbey Brewery on its closure in 1926) had already been superseded by new stainless steel variants in 1990 and relocated to a new purpose-built union 'hall' across the brewery yard.<sup>33</sup> This effectively freed the three floors of the Victorian fermentation block for new brewing equipment, provided that the necessary listed building consents could be obtained for removal of the intermediate floors and replacement with a free-standing structural steel frame.

Marston's/Wolverhampton & Dudley plc. worked closely with the local authority and English Heritage to devise a suitable methodology which allowed the internal strip-out, new steelwork and plant assembly to proceed without major intervention of the external building fabric. Two single-bay apertures were made into the north and east elevations of the fermentation block by piecemeal removal of the solid brick masonry (one metre thickness) under temporary supporting lintels; upper floors north elevation (bay 4) and ground floor east (bay 1). Two 15 tonne stainless steel mash tuns were delivered to site as half-sections, passed

through the upper aperture and then welded together on the steel frame so as to avoid any breach of the blind arcading greater than one bay width. The same approach was adopted for the new grist hoppers and mills; only the three 270-barrel capacity coppers were of a size that allowed them to be handled through the ground floor breach as complete assemblies. Some of the original upper cast-iron supporting columns remain in-situ, still supported by their counterparts from the first floor level but reinforced by girdled cast-concrete piers.

The complete project took over one year to plan and a further 11 months to implement on site. Sweeney (2005) estimates the overall cost at just over £2 million but on final completion in April 2005, the brewery's capacity had almost doubled to 400,000 barrel per annum.<sup>34</sup> The additional capacity is put to good use in brewing Bass ales (brand owned by Inbev and brewed under contract) alongside the flagship Pedigree bitter. Most importantly from the heritage standpoint, the 'minimal intervention' approach permitted an almost seamless reinstatement of the breached fabric using the original materials (recorded and numbered during the dismantling operation) and a famous Burton landmark remains in its original beneficial use as a brewery. Marston's set an example to the rest of the industry by adopting a conservation-led approach in retaining their existing brewery and its unquestioned 'brand' identity; even though it may have been slightly cheaper to build a new brewhouse elsewhere on the site. Viewed through the benefit of hindsight, it clearly poses serious questions about the real economic justifications for demolishing comparable Victorian breweries in the town only 30 years earlier.

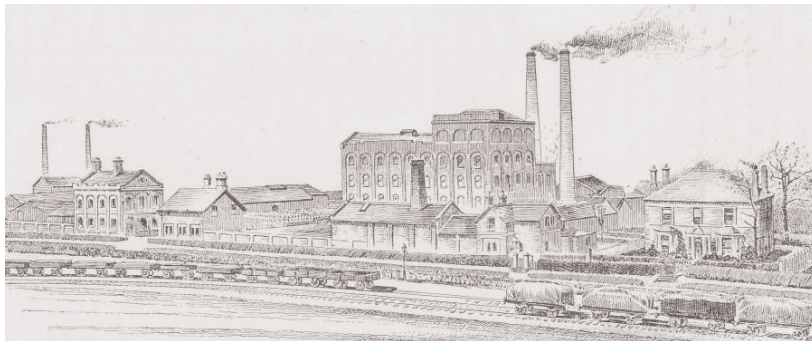


Figure 31. The Albion Brewery Shobnall as built for the London brewers Mann, Crossman & Paulin 1873-75 and drawn by A. Barnard in 1889 (reproduction courtesy of Staffordshire County Council; Burton Family & Local History Centre).



*Figure 32. Marston's brewhouse expansion project 2004-05 (clockwise from top-left): original floors removed; creating the north elevation breach in bay 4; manoeuvring a mash tun section through the breach; moving a complete copper through the ground floor breach in bay 1; reconstructed ground-floor breach after completion; new operational brewhouse showing the three coppers at first-floor level, mash tun with grist hopper above to left and the girdled cast-iron columns (all photographs Copyright © Marstons plc).*



## Future opportunities

A public opinion poll conducted as part of the author's research during 2005 revealed that over 70% of Burtonians interviewed felt that there had been too many brewery demolitions since the 1960s. Many agreed that the town's core identity had been eroded through the loss of important heritage assets and that on reflection, regeneration through adaptive reuse would have presented better options for retaining key elements of its unique industrial heritage.

Cooksey would no doubt be heartened to see that Burton ultimately responded to The Victorian Society's 1984 'wake up' call before it became too late. The past 25 years have witnessed a variety of schemes that have successfully restored several brewery heritage assets and returned them to alternative beneficial uses. Examples such as Anson Court, The Brewhouse and the former Wilson/Allsopp premises now known as 'The Malthouse' stand out as benchmarks for what is achievable using a conservation-led methodology.

Nevertheless, other surviving heritage assets are still potentially 'at risk' pending sale or unprotected by the statutory listing process. Continued vigilance is vital during periods of economic downturn to ensure that unlisted and/or vulnerable buildings such as the former Crown, Plough and Walsitch Maltings are routinely maintained and not subjected to inappropriate works.

All stakeholders therefore have a mutual responsibility in helping to define rigorous assessments of cultural significance for these assets, as a precursor to producing realistic and effective conservation management plans for their future.

Risk, vision, education and private sector investment ultimately hold the keys to managing use and change within the built environment. Burton's Victorian forefathers clearly recognised this in shaping the industry which made Burton world famous and we owe them a duty in safeguarding their rich legacy of industrial heritage for the benefit of future generations.

## Concluding remarks

Going forward into the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Burton's surviving brewing heritage still offers major opportunities for conservation-led regeneration in retaining several important historic buildings. The former Plough, Walsitch and Crown Maltings have already been highlighted. Most notable of the potential schemes is the c.1883 Goat Maltings of the former Clarence Street Brewery of The Trustees of the Late Peter Walker (refer to Fig. 6).

The brewery was demolished in 1976 but the maltings were protected by listing (Grade II) in 1979; the kiln house's unique five-storey octagonal form and octahe-



*Figure 33. The Goat Maltings at the former Clarence Street Brewery; as photographed by Rex Wailes in 1968 (left) and looking from the brewhouse of Everard's Trent Brewery in 2005 with the former office block to the left (archive image Copyright © English Heritage. NMR ref. 196/68/24A).*



Figure 34. The Goat Maltings as photographed during Dr Ray Anderson's heritage walk prior to the Brewery History Society / English Heritage 'Last Drop' conference held at the National Brewery Centre, Burton-upon-Trent on 12 March 2011; west elevation highlighting lucam and roof covering deterioration (left) and the restored former office building (right).

dral roof with cowl graced by an elegant copper 'goat' weathervane forming a dominant feature on the skyline. The maltings continued in use under Yeoman, Cherry & Curtis tenure for several years after the brewery ceased operations in the 1920s but are now given over to general storage. Planning consent for a residential conversion was granted five years ago but to date only the two-storey former office block has been restored (now apartments). The B.C.S. amongst other stakeholder groups are in support of the proposed residential scheme and we can only hope that its planned realisation alongside Phase 2 of the Burton Village development will proceed once the economic outlook improves. The entrance gateway and walled curtilage of the brewery yard are important features whose significance need to be recognised for retention in any future scheme.

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## Appendix 1: Brewing heritage asset losses to 1984

Brewer	Premises	Map Ref.	Fate	Year
Allied Breweries plc.	Former Allsopp New Cooperage (Station Street)	A 10	Demolished	1968; 1983
	Former Allsopp Shobnall Maltings	A11	Demolished	1978
	Former Allsopp Old Cooperage (off Horninglow Street)	A12	Demolished	1972
	Former Ind Coope brewery (Station Street)	I1	Partially demolished	1971
	Former Ind Coope cooperage (Station Street/Mosley Street)	I6	Demolished	1992
	Former T. Bindley & Co. brewery and maltings (New Street)	Q7	Demolished	1968
	Former T. Robinson & Co. brewery, malting, offices, stores and cooperage (Union Street)	R1, R2	Demolished	1968
	Former Truman, Hanbury & Buxton Black Eagle Brewery, maltings and stores (Derby Street)	P1, P2	Demolished	1975
Bass plc.	Old Brewery (High Street)	B1	Demolished	1969-73
	Middle Brewery (Guild Street/Station Street)	B2	Demolished	1958-66
	Scudari Maltings (Middle Brewery)	B4	Demolished	1964
	Delhi Maltings (New Brewery)	B5	Demolished	1965-66
	Malthouse No.21 at Wetmore Maltings	B8	Demolished after fire	1984
	Large Ale and Hop Stores (Middle Brewery)	B12	Demolished	1970-76
	Steam Cooperage and Middle Yard	B14, B15	Demolished	1965-84
	Shobnall Maltings	B16	Demolished	1979-85
	Former Burton Brewery Co. brewery, offices, maltings and stores (High Street)	D1	Demolished	1962
	Former Charrington & Co. Abbey Brewery, offices and stores (Lichfield Street)	M1	Demolished	1970
	Former J. Eadie & Co. brewery, stores and cooperage (Cross Street)	E1	Demolished	1963
	Former J. Eadie & Co./S. Evershed malting (Park Street)	E2, F2	Demolished	1981
	Former Worthington & Co. brewery and cooperage (High Street/Station Street)	W1	Demolished	1968
	Former Worthington & Co. Hay Maltings (High Street)	W2	Demolished	1973
	Former Worthington & Co. malt and barley stores (High Street)	W3	Destroyed by fire	1974
	Former Worthington & Co. maltings (Anderstaff Lane)	W4	Destroyed by fire	1977
	Former Allsopp Old Brewery, offices and stores (High Street)	A1	Demolished	1937-38; 1975
	Former Allsopp New Brewery and stores	A2	Partially demolished	1960s
	Malthouses Nos.2 & 3 at Allsopp New Brewery	A4	Destroyed by fire	1962
	Former Ind Coope hop store	I3	Destroyed by fire	1954

Table A1.1. Summary of major brewing heritage asset losses in Burton-on-Trent to 1984.



Brewer	Premises	Map Ref.	Fate	Year
John Bell	Brewery (Lichfield Street)	C1	Demolished	c.1960s
Carter & Scattergood	Brewery and maltings (Victoria Street)	X1	Demolished	c.1980s
Green & Clarkson	Brewery and maltings (Victoria Street)	Q9	Demolished	1973;1989
T. Cooper & Co.	Crescent Brewery, offices, stores and cooperage (Victoria Crescent)	L1	Demolished	1981
Dawson & Co.	Brewery (Moor Street)	Q10	Demolished	c.1960s
S. Evershed	Former Angel Brewery, offices, stores and cooperage (Bank Square off High Street)	F1	Demolished	1968
F. Heap	Brewery and malting (Victoria Street)	X2	Demolished	c.1960s
C. Hill & Son	Former Bond End Brewery, offices and stores (Lichfield Street)	H1	Demolished	c.1970s
J. Marston	Brewery, offices and stores (Horninglow Road North/Dover Road)	Q2	Demolished	c.1960s
L. & G. Meakin	Malthouses Nos.1 & 2 at Crown Maltings (Anglesey Road)	Z1	Demolished	c.1960s
J. Nunneley	Brewery, stores and cooperage (Bridge Street)	N1	Demolished	1963
J. Porter & Son	Maltings (Dale Street)	Q11	Demolished	1960
T. Salt & Co.	Former brewery, malting, offices and stores	S1	Demolished	1956
	Walsitch Maltings (Anderstaff Lane)	S2	Partially demolished	c.1970s
	Former cooperage and stores (Anderstaff Lane)	S3	Demolished	c.1970s
Sykes & Co.	Brewery (Wood Street)	X3	Demolished	c.1970s
A.B. Walker	Former brewery and stores (Shobnall Road)	Q3	Demolished	c.1980s
Trustees of the Late Peter Walker	Clarence Street Brewery	Q5	Demolished	1976

*Table A1.2. Summary of other brewing heritage asset losses in Burton-on-Trent to 1984.*

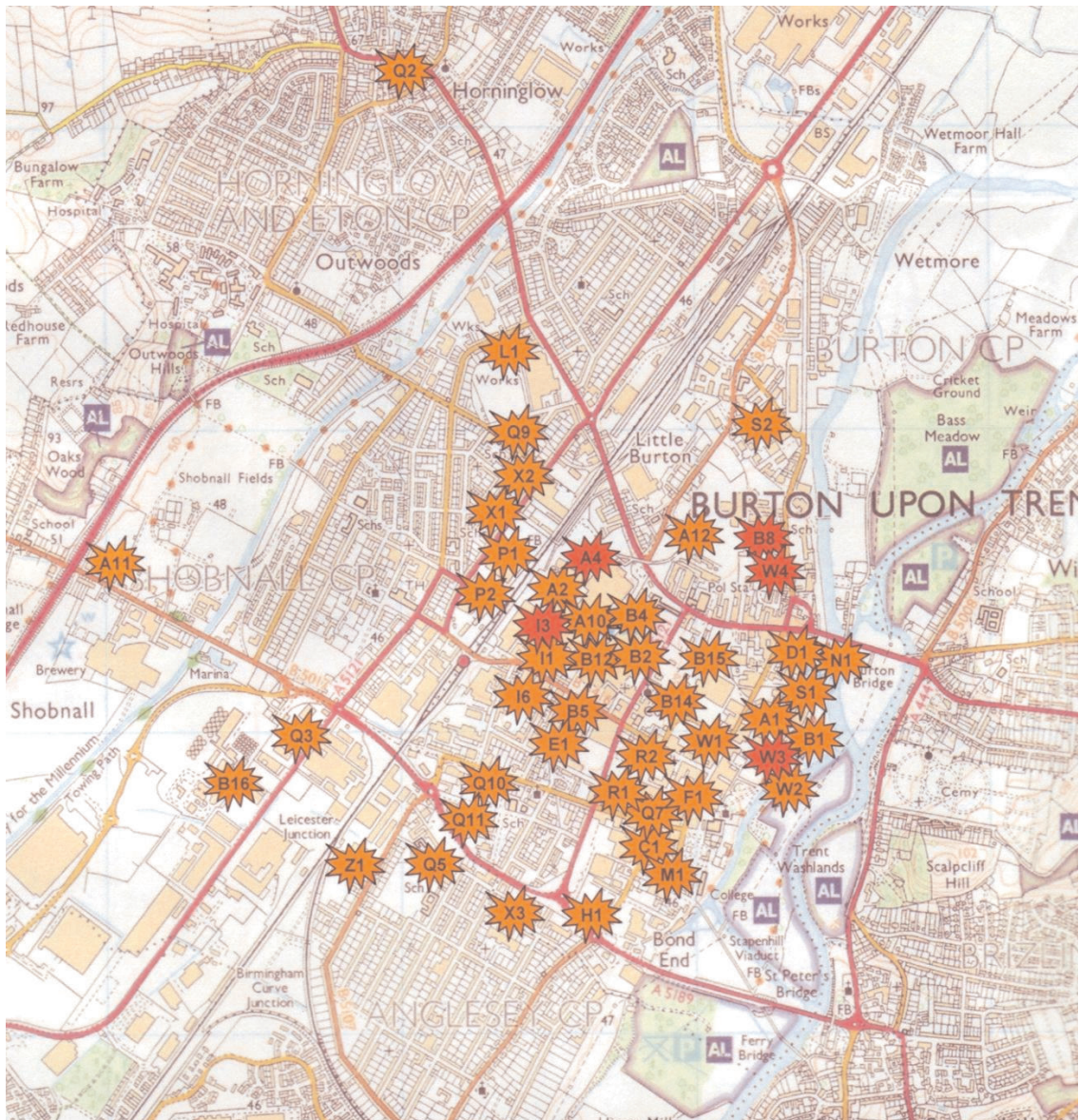


Figure A1.1. Brewery building losses in Burton to 1984; demolished buildings are highlighted in light grey (orange online) and those destroyed as a result of fire are shown in dark grey (red online - A4, B8, I3, W3 & W4) (Ordnance Survey Explorer™ map 245, 1:25,000 scale or 4 cm to 1 km; 2,5 inches to 1 mile, © Crown copyright 2004, All rights reserved).

## Appendix 2: Surviving Brewing Heritage Assets

Building/Structure	Location	Current use	National Heritage List No.	List status and date	Map Ref.
Former Everard's Trent Brewery/Heritage Brewery	Anglesey Road	Private residential (one cop- per preserved on site)	1374336	II 25/06/86	Q12
Former townhouse/ brewery of Joseph Nunneley at 22 Bridge Street	Bridge Street	Professional offices	1374353	II 24/03/50	N1
Maltings, office block and loading bay of the former Clarence Street Brewery of The Trustees of the Late Peter Walker	Clarence Street	Storage: pending residential conversion	1038723	II 22/06/79	Q5
Former Midland Railway grain ware- house No.2	Derby Street	Offices (vacant; pending con- version to new use)	1038724	II 22/06/79	5
Former Bass townhouse at 54-55 High Street	High Street	Professional offices	1038731	II 24/03/50	15
Former Bass townhouse at 56 High Street	High Street	Professional offices	1213665	II 22/06/79	16
Former Bass townhouse at 61-62 High Street	High Street	Professional offices	1038732	II 24/03/50	16
Former Bass townhouse at 136 High Stree	High Street	Offices/training facility (Molson Coors)	1374318	II 13/07/76	B1
Gate piers adjoining former Bass townhouse	High Street	Preserveed	1038736	II 13/07/76	B1
Former Bass offices at 138-144 High Street	High Street	Offices/storage	1288928	II 13/07/76	B1
Former Worthington offices at 147-148 High Street	High Street	Professional offices	1213774	II 22/06/79	17
Former Bass water tower to Old Brewery	High Street	Water tower	1038738	II 13/07/76	B1
Former Worthington townhouse/offices at 146 High Street	High Street	Professional offices	1374319	II 24/03/50 (amended 22/06/79)	W1
Former townhouse of Joseph Clay at 5 Horninglow Street	Horninglow Street	Clay House: business centre	1038739	II 22/06/79	6
Former malthouse and townhouse of Charles Leeson at 6-6A Horninglow Street	Horninglow Street	Commercial	1038689	II 24/08/83	7
Former Allsopp townhouse at 167 Horninglow Street	Horninglow Street	Private residential	1213881	II 22/06/79	8
Former Allsopp/Wilson malthouse and offices at 168-169 Horninglow Street	Horninglow Street	Private residential	1038742	II 22/06/79 (amended 30/07/86)	9
Former brewer's townhouse at 180 Horninglow Street	Horninglow Street	Professional offices	1038698	II 24/03/50	10
Former Sketchley/ Allsopp townhouse at 181 Horninglow Street	Horninglow Street	Private residential	1038699	II* 24/03/50 (amended 22/06/79)	11
Former brewer's townhouse at 183-184 Horninglow Street	Horninglow Street	Professional offices	1038700	II 22/06/79	12



Former Greaves/ Thompson brewery premises to rear of 183-184 Horninglow Street	Horninglow Street	Anson Court: business centre/ mixed use	1374343	II 22/06/79 (amended 30/07/86)	T2
Former Bass Plough Maltings	Horninglow Street	Vacant: pending sale	1374337	II 30/07/86	13
Former Bass Joiners shop and engineering workshops	Horninglow Street	Cultural/heritage (The National Brewing Centre)	1374321	II 22/06/79	14
Former Bell & Co. townhouse at 10 Lichfield Street	Lichfield Street	Private residential	1038706	II 24/03/50	C1
The Leopard Inn public house (adjacent site of former Charrington Brewery)	Lichfield Street/ Abbey Street	Public house	1038763	II 22/06/79	M2
Late-19th century pumping station for brewery waste	Meadow Lane, Clay Mills	Heritage museum (Claymills Pumping Engines Trust)	1038427	II 03/01/86 (amended 26/03/86)	1
Anchor Inn public house, 5 New Street	New Street	Public house	1214109	II 22/06/79	4
Marston's Albion Brewery	Shobnall Road	Brewery (Marston's)	1038692	II 30/07/86	Q6
Marston's Albion Brewery (central brewhouse tower)	Shobnall Road	Brewery (Marston's)	1038716	II 22/06/79	Q6
Marston's Albion Brewery offices	Shobnall Road	Offices (Marston's)	1038693	II 30/07/86	Q6
Former Marston's brewery workers cottages (model row of 12 dwellings) at 292-303 Shobnall Road	Shobnall Road	Private residential	1374338	II 30/07/86	Q6
Former offices and fermentation block/ 'tunnery' at Allsopp New Brewery	Station Street	Undergoing residential conversion by Optima (Cambridge) Ltd.	1038719	II 22/06/79 (amended 30/07/86)	A2
West range of former Bass New Brewery	Station Street	Brewery (Molson Coors)	1374350	II 22/06/79	B3
Former Ind Coope & Co. offices	Station Street	Offices and corporate hospitality (Molson Coors)	1374339	II 30/07/86	I1
Former Ind Coope & Co. brewhouse	Station Street	Storage (Molson Coors)	1374339	II 30/07/86	I1
Devonshire Arms public house at 86 Station Street	Station Street	Public house (Burton Bridge Brewery)	1374351	II 22/06/79	26
Former Bass brewery houses at 127-128 Station Street	Station Street	Private residential	1374372	II 22/06/79	2
Former Bass brewery house at 129 Station Street	Station Street	Private residential	1038680	II 22/06/79	2
Former Bass brewery houses at 130-131 Station Street	Station Street	Private residential	1038681	II 22/06/79	2
Former Bass brewery houses at 150-151 Station Street	Station Street	Private residential/ professional offices	1374373	II 22/06/79	3
Gate piers to former Bass New Brewery	Station Street/ Union Street	Preserved as two distinct sets; one set relocated to Union Street	1214249	II 22/06/79	B3
Former Bass malthouses Nos.16-20 at Wetmore Maltings	Wetmore Road	Warehousing and offices	1374335	II 22/06/79	B8

*Table A2.1. Summary of listed brewing heritage assets in Burton-on-Trent in 2011. For further information on individual statutory list entries and location maps, consult the English Heritage on-line database at: <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk>*

Building/Structure	Location	Current use	Significance	Map Ref.
Former Meakin/ Worthington Crown Maltings	Anglesey Road	Commercial / light industrial	Sole surviving example of large-scale back-to-back floor malthouse	Z2
Burton Bridge Inn and Burton Bridge Brewery	Bridge Street	Brewery	Restored malthouse of c.1823 believed to be second oldest surviving example in town (after Leeson's malthouse at 6-6A Horninglow Street)	18
Cooper's Tavern at 43 Cross Street	Cross Street	Public house (Joules Brewery)	Former Bass store for Bass Imperial Stout	27
Former Marston's warehouse/malthouse	Derby Stret	Commercial	Unidentified late-19th century building; further research required	21
The Alfred public house at 51 Derby Street	Derby Stret	Public house (Burton Bridge Brewery)	Brewery tap for former Truman, Hanbury & Buxton Black Eagle brewery from 1873	25
Former malthouse and adjacent brewery buildings on corner plot	Derby Street / Dallow Street / Horninglow Road	Commercial / retail	Unidentified brewery building group of likely mid-19th century origins (partly destroyed by fire in 2008); further research required	20
Former Marston's malthouse opposite site of original John Marston brewery	Horninglow Road North / Rolleston Road	Commercial / retail	Nominally intact example of an early-19th century malthouse	Q2
House with distinct 'tower' annex standing in front of Plough Maltings	Horninglow Street	Derelict	Possible late-18th century publican brewer; further research required	19
Former Thompson brewery adjacent Little Burton bridge	Horninglow Street	Professional	Incorporates remaining elements of c.1867 brewery	T1
Former Allsopp office building, engine shed and stores at Old Cooperage / Middle Yard	Horninglow Street / Hawkins Lane	Professional (vacant)	Ancillary buildings of various forms, including last surviving 'visible' section of former private branch railway system	A12
Former Ind Coope & Co. Moor Street Maltings	Moor Street	Business / commercial	Contains elements of original triple-storey blind arcading to west elevations	17
Former Allsopp 'Cuckoo' well on Shobnall Road Shobnall Recreation Ground	Shobnall Road	Redundant (building secured against unauthorised access)	Former steam engine and pumps for brewing water	23
Former Bass Shobnall Grange pumping station	Shobnall Road	Pumping Station (Molson Coors)	Largely intact example of c.1879 ancillary building retaining former Bass 'turkey red' paintwork to gable end bargeboards	24
Former B. Grant & Co. wines and spirits stores	Station Street	Private residential	Distinctive architectural style with terracotta embellishments; one surviving example of William Bradford's work in Burton	22
Former Bass gatehouse and adjoining gate piers at entrance to former Steam Cooperage / Middle Yard off Station Street	Station Street	Wyllie Mews: mixed use	Intact single-storey red brick ancillary building in part-original setting	B15
Former Trent Bridge Brewery of Henry Boddington & Co.	Trent Bridge	Residential (Orbit Housing)	Good example of a small 19th century tower brewery built on site of earlier premises	Q8
Great Northern public house	Wetmore Road	Public house (Burton Bridge Brewery)	c.1880 red brick building in simple decorative style commensurate with former Great Northern Railway structures in adjoining goods yard	28
Former Salt & Co. Walsitch Maltings	Wharf Road	Commercial (Tower Brewery in restored former engine house)	Unique square-capped vents to surviving kiln house; highly distinctive former engine house emulates brewhouse at former High Street brewery (demolished)	S2
Former Charrington Maltings	Wood Street	Warehousing / commercial	Good surviving example of buttressed column style of malthouse	M3

*Table A2.2. Summary of non-listed brewing heritage assets in Burton-on-Trent 2005-11; these are deemed worthy of 'local listing' by East Staffs. Borough Council pending addition to national list by English Heritage.*

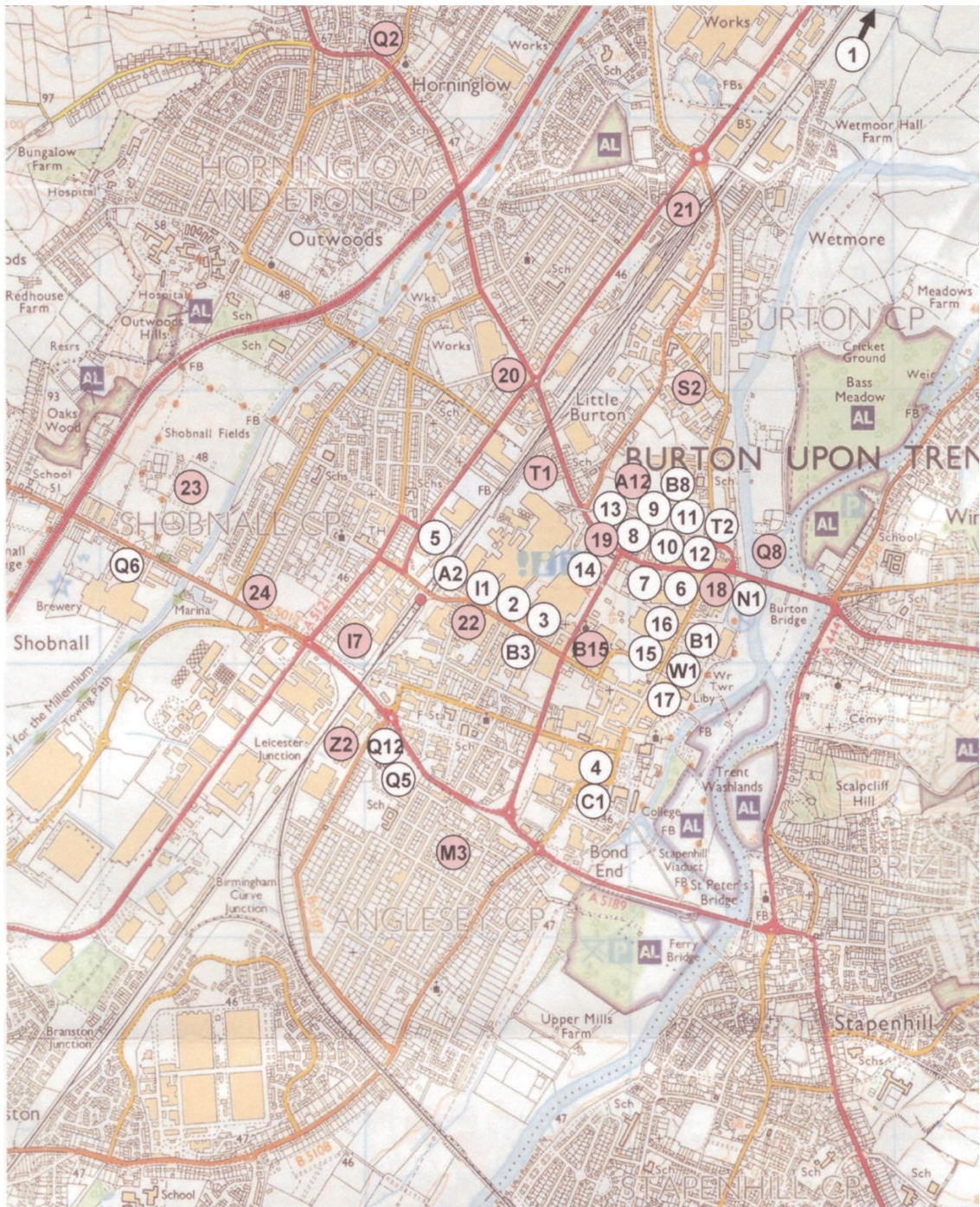


Figure A2.1. Burton's surviving brewing heritage in 2011; unlisted buildings are highlighted in grey (pink online) (Ordnance Survey Explorer™ map 245, 1:25,000 scale or 4 cm to 1 km; 2.5 inches to 1 mile), © Crown copyright 2004, All rights reserved).