

THE ELLIS BREWERIES AT HELSTON AND HAYLE

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Introduction

Cornwall's industrial and mining heritage has recently become the focus of renewed attention through the creation of a World Heritage Site. Despite Cornwall being a hub of Britain's industrial revolution in mining and steam driven engines Cornish breweries do not appear to have mechanised early and few were purpose built. In 2010 an English Heritage survey focused on three Cornish breweries: the Blue Anchor at Helston one of the longest established working brewhouses; the Hayle steam brewery; and the St. Austell Brewery all of which are at least partly extant.¹ This paper outlines the commercial origins and histories of the Ellis breweries at Helston and Hayle. These breweries were both purpose built and, by the mid to late nineteenth century, were known simply as the 'Helston Brewery' and the 'Hayle Brewery'; they were two of an estimated ten large scale independent breweries operating in Cornwall by 1877. The Helston Brewery ceased production in the late nineteenth century and was subsequently converted to a flour mill. In 1934 Ellis & Co. at Hayle also ceased trading and transferred its premises and outlets to the St. Austell Brewery, with the Hayle Brewery site being used as a distribution depot and Chrissie Ellis becoming a paid director of the St. Austell Brewery.²

The Ellis family at Hayle and Helston

The Ellis family are known to have lived in west Cornwall since Elizabethan times. In the late eighteenth century John Ellis (1723-1812) traded as a merchant at Carnsew, near Hayle, as part of Harris, Ellis & Co. It was two of John Ellis' sons who established new businesses at Helston and Hayle: Thomas Ellis (1755-

1823), who was also a merchant at Carnsew, was a partner with his eldest son and cousin in the Helston partnership of Ellis, Medland & Co.; while Christopher 'Kit' Ellis (1790-1851) was a sole trader, merchant and brewer at Hayle. Thomas Ellis' son, John Ellis (1780-1841), lived at Helston where he established himself as a 'Common Brewer' and purpose built the Helston Brewery c.1840; while Kit Ellis' son, Christopher Ellis, expanded and consolidated the family business at Hayle and with his younger brother, John Frederick Ellis, was responsible for the 1870s mechanisation of the Hayle steam brewery.

The Ellis & Co. Brewery at Helston

Breweries and malthouses at Helston

In the *Domesday Book* Helston and the abbey at Bury St. Edmunds were the only two places to include references to beer or 'alemen'. At Bury St. Edmunds this is believed to identify their occupation within the abbey as brewers. However, it has been suggested that the 40 alemen at Helston may have paid their societal levies in beer, but were not necessarily brewers.

By 1732 at Helston *An Account of the Taverns, Brandy Shoppes and Alehouses in this Borough*³ found no less than 20 named public houses, eight more which were unnamed, and three brandy shops. In addition to the numerous public houses in Helston, most of which would have brewed their own beer, there is evidence of at least three malthouses in the eighteenth century market town. Leases refer firstly, in 1711, to 'the house and malthouse of _____ Johns' in Our Lady Street now Coinagehall Street;⁴ secondly, in the 1780s, to a malt-

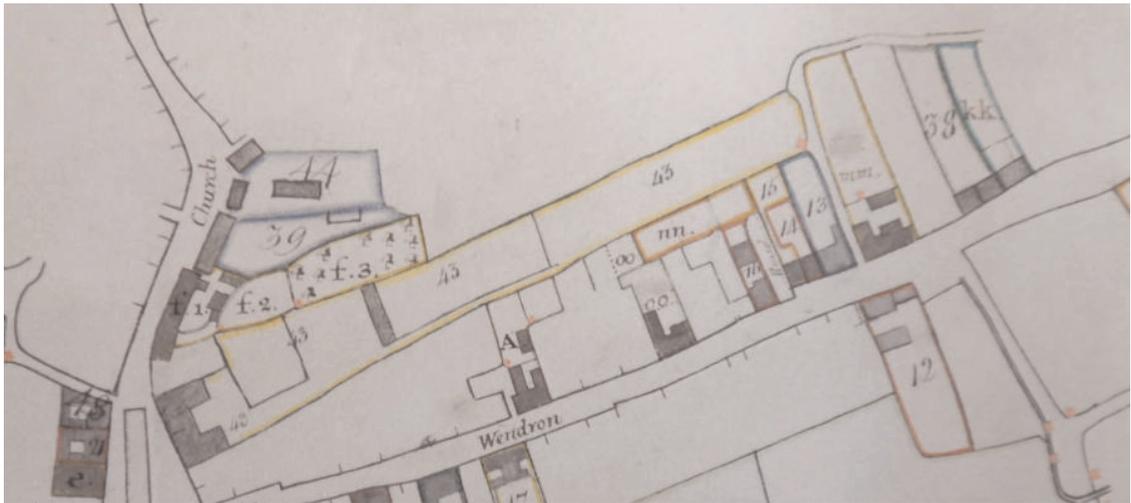


Figure 1. Church street brewery, 1786, labelled f1, f2 and f3.

Source: Cornwall Record Office (CRO): AD961/1. Reproduced courtesy of Cornwall Record Office.

house on St. Michael Street (now Church Street); and thirdly, in the 1790s, to another malthouse at Meneage Street. In 1801 John Borlase built a new malthouse behind two dwelling houses at the top of Wendron Street; and by the 1830s, if not before, there was also a further malthouse at the top of Church Street, opposite St. Michael's church.

The Church Street property was leased in the early 1730s to Thomas Wills who in 1766 assigned it to his son-in-law, James Thomas.⁵ Following the death of Thomas Wills (d.1776) a family property settlement was drawn up in 1780 in which Thomas Wills' daughter, Mrs Margaret Thomas, was assigned 'the garden and plots called Williams' garden plots, part of Alexander's tenement in St. Michael Street, Helston, with the dwelling house, malthouse and other buildings, now in the occupation of Margaret Thomas';⁶ this malthouse is shown on a 1786 map of John Rogers' land drawn by Alexander Law (Fig. 1).⁷

On this map the house on Church Street numbered f.1 was listed as 'Thomas's House, malthouse, stable and backlet', behind it f.2 was a garden and f.3 was an orchard; half a century later the tithe map shows these Church Street premises were occupied by John Ellis (1780-1841). Next door to Thomas' House the Church

Street premises, numbered 39, were a 'Plot, dwelling house and carpenter's shop near the one well, late Gourds' and the Church Street premises, numbered 44, were a 'Dwelling house, smith's shop, and plot near the one well, late Gourds'; a century later these premises had been altered substantially, but Grylls' rentals in 1877-91 listed the Helston Brewery as 'Gourds premises'.⁸ In 1786 the Market Place premises and land numbered 43 were a 'Dwelling House, Gardens & meadow near the Market House late Penberthys'; the 1783 *Bailey's Directory* for Helston listed Stephen Penberthy as a grocer and draper. It was this property which in the 1830s provided land for the new Market House and junction with Church Street at what is now Penrose Road.

The Meneage Street malthouse premises were described in a 1791 lease from John Passmore of Helston to the Duke of Leeds as a 'messuage or dwelling house, backside and garden in Meneage St, late occupation Peter Lobb with malthouse erected on part of premises, in occupation James Allen, William Penalerrick, William Williams, John Passmore'.⁹ In 1799 the Duke of Leeds leased the Meneage Street premises to Helston butcher, Peter Landeryou, on condition the malthouse was repaired;¹⁰ but by 1857, when this lease was surrendered, the premises were described as '4 unoccupied cottages, formerly a malthouse'.¹¹

At Helston, in 1801, John Borlase secured a licence to dig up the water course, known as 'town water', at the upper end of Wendron Street and to divert it into a field called Park Springey to use it for working wheels and engines, provided the watercourse was joined up again to the original channel.¹² After completing these works Borlase, in April 1802, advertised a 'malthouse with two small dwelling houses in front' to let on Wendron Street in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*. Borlase probably succeeded in letting these premises for seven years because they were next advertised in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, in May 1809, as a 'common brewery & malthouse' at the head of Wendron Street. The advertisement noted that 'The Brewery is well supplied with water having a stream constantly running to it'. It is unclear whether Borlase found a tenant in 1809 because in 1811 the same premises were advertised for sale in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*. Despite which, in 1838, the tithe apportionment book listed John Borlase as the owner of 221, 221a and 221b, and as occupier of one of the dwelling houses and the premises behind; these numbers refer to two dwelling houses at the upper end of Wendron Street with outhouses behind which are now 55 and 55A Wendron Street and both Grade II listed. The origin of the second malthouse on Church Street, opposite the church, has so far not been documented, but might possibly have been constructed or improved by John Ellis of Helston c.1807.

The Ellis and Medland trading partnership at Helston and Marazion

In the early 1800s a new trading partnership was established at Helston and Marazion comprising of Thomas Ellis (1755-1823), his eldest son and cousin, who were both named John Ellis, and Henry Medland. Both Thomas Ellis of Carnsew and his cousin John Ellis (1761-1809) of Lambessow were described in some documents as merchants while Henry Medland (1777-1839) and the younger John Ellis (1780-1841) were both described as common brewers and maltsters. It may have been the death of Thomas Ellis' father-in-law, John Freeman, in 1800, reputed to be a smuggler, which provided the additional resources to invest on behalf of his eldest son in a new business venture at Helston and Marazion.

It is not known precisely when this trading partnership commenced. Henry Medland married Jemima Penpraze

(1769-1836) at Helston in 1797 where their eldest daughter, Mary, was baptised later the same year. In 1800 Henry and Jemima Medland were living at Lelant, near Hayle, where their son, William 'Midlin', was baptised. It is possible that this is where Henry Medland became acquainted with Thomas Ellis and his family and that the new partnership provided an opportunity for the Medlands to return to live at Helston where 'Catherine' (1803), Elizabeth (1807) and Sophia (1809) Medland were later baptised.

When and where the younger John Ellis learned his trade as a brewer is not known. The earliest references to John Ellis' brewery at Helston relate to an excise investigation and case in 1804-5 which was noted in the journals of attorney Christopher Wallis. It is possible that John Ellis' brewery at Helston, which was the subject of this excise investigation, was associated with a public house. Perhaps their new business had rivals in Helston; or was of natural interest to local excise officers because of John Freeman's reputation as a large scale smuggler, and the notorious earlier smuggling activities of James Dunkin at Penzance whose brother, John Dunkin, was married to Thomas Ellis' sister, Elizabeth. By June 1804 excise officers were actively investigating John Ellis' brewery at Helston acting on 'information' and taking samples from the plant.¹³ The family quickly consulted Christopher Wallis who had meetings with brewer John Ellis, his father Thomas Ellis, and John Ellis of Lambessow. Wallis' journals do not refer to Henry Medland, but he indexed the case as relating to 'Ellis & three others', confirming that there was a fourth business partner at the time. It took 18 months to resolve the matter with Wallis in London regularly attending the Exchequer Office on his clients' behalf and discussing the case with Sir Christopher Hawkins who took up the case on the Ellis' behalf.¹⁴

In August 1805 Christopher Wallis recorded that a 'Supernumery Excise Officer' (sic) had visited the brewery at Helston again, this time leaving with a sample of powder used as a colourant.¹⁵ By September Wallis' journal confirmed that brewer John Ellis had been advised of three potential Excise charges: 'On mixing small beer with strong beer - on wetting malt improperly - on having an improper mixture or colouring in the Brewhouse'.¹⁶ A date of trial was fixed for 28 November 1805 at Westminster, one of four Exchequer cases that Wallis was dealing with at the time.

On 20 November Wallis was at his office in Helston preparing trial briefs for Westminster and reflecting on the cases 'being of great consequence to these defendants as the penalties to each am[oun]ts to upwards of ten thousand pounds'.¹⁷ Not an amount the Ellis family could afford in the year when Thomas Ellis' brother-in-law, John Dunkin, a spirit merchant in London, had gone bankrupt. Next day brewer John Ellis contacted Christopher Wallis to tell him that he had been informed by local excise supervisor, John Couch, that the Excise Board in Penzance had agreed to accept an earlier petition which had been made to settle for £200 plus costs. Wallis, perhaps scenting an imminent victory in court at Westminster, strongly advised the defendants not to accept 'as much expense had since incurred on both sides, notice of Trial having been given ... and all parties ready to set off for London'.¹⁸ But John Ellis, who had married Mary Lemon at Germoe parish church earlier that year and whose first child was expected in January, insisted on settling; Wallis grumbling as he completed the necessary paperwork 'very much against my advice'.¹⁹

The brewhouse which was the focus of the 1804-5 excise investigation was probably at the Helston Arms, a long established inn on Wendron Street. In 1732 the Helston Arms appeared in *An Account of the Taverns, Brandy Shoppes and Alehouses in this Borough* when William Remfrey (d.1755) was the proprietor. It is not impossible that the Remfreys may have continued to operate the Helston Arms for over 70 years until 1806. As well as being listed at the Helston Arms in *An Account of the Taverns, Brandy Shoppes and Alehouses in this Borough*, William Remfrey (d.1755) was referred to as a victualler on Wendron Street 20 years later in 1752;²⁰ while three generations of fathers and sons, William Remfrey (d.1755), John Remfrey (1726-86), and William Remfrey (1746-1806), lived at Helston. However, no evidence has been found to link John Remfrey or the younger William Remfrey to the Helston Arms which Sabine Baring-Gould described as kept by Capt Tobias Martin in 1796-1801.²¹ Martin's departure from the Helston Arms, as described by Baring-Gould, would fit well with the estimated time when Ellis and Medland began trading at Helston. By 1810 victualler William Hicks (d.1822) kept the Helston Arms and it was later managed by John Ellis' brother, James Ellis, who was described as a brewer when he married in 1817.

The Ellis and Medland partnership occupied premises at Marazion as well as at Helston. At Marazion there was one malthouse which is known to have been operated by Thomas Roberts until his death in 1797. Initially his son, also Thomas Roberts, continued the business but on 3 March 1804 he advertised for a buyer in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*:

TOWN OF MARAZION
FOR SALE

A Large MALT-HOUSE, in every respect convenient for the Malting business in an extensive line; and which, if not wanted for that purpose, may be converted into one or several good Dwellings. The situation affords a delightful prospect of Mounts Bay.

Any person inclined to treat for the above Premises, may apply to Thomas ROBERTS of the said town.

Marazion, Feb 28, 1804

On 17 March the same premises were advertised again in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* by Thomas Roberts together with a separate dwelling house, brewhouse and garden near the market at Marazion. In 1804 these premises failed to sell but it is possible that they were let by Thomas Roberts. On 4 May 1805 the same properties were included in a *Royal Cornwall Gazette* advertisement for an auction called by the assignees of Thomas Roberts who had now been declared bankrupt. The 1805 advertisement contained a positive commercial description of the premises as 'A capital MALT-HOUSE, with convenient Offices adjoining, a good Pump, a walled Garden, and a small Meadow; the nature of the holding will be explained at the time of sale'. It was possibly following the 1804 advertisement or 1805 auction that the malthouse was occupied by Ellis & Co.

In July 1806 the Ellis' partnership with Henry Medland was dissolved with this notice appearing in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* on 16 August and the *London Gazette* a week later:

Notice is hereby given, that the Partnership lately subsisting between Thomas Ellis, John Ellis, John Ellis the Younger, and Henry Medland, heretofore carrying on Trade as Common Brewers and Maltsters, at the Borough of Helston and Town of Marazion, in the County of Cornwall, was dissolved by

mutual Consent, so far as relates to The said Henry Medland, on the 28th Day of July 1806; and in future the said Business will be carried on by the said Thomas Ellis, John Ellis, and John Ellis the Younger, who will pay and receive all Debts due and owing to and from the said Partnership, in the regular Course of Trade. Witness our Hands, this 8th. Day of August 1806,

Thomas Ellis

Jno. Ellis

John Ellis, jun.

Henry Medland

This notice is consistent with the suggestion that the Ellis and Medland trading partnership operated from the malthouse at Marazion with their brewery at Helston possibly associated with a public house; as ‘Common Brewers’ sold most of the beer that they produced away from the brewery to publicans and other customers with a single public house or ‘tap’ at the brewery.

As ‘Thomas Ellis, John Ellis, and John Ellis the Younger’ were continuing to trade after Medland left the partnership this might suggest that they may have continued to occupy the premises used by the partnership at Marazion and Helston. This was probably the case at Marazion where in 1807 ‘Messrs Ellis & Co’ appears to have given notice at the malthouse when the premises were advertised in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* on 22 August:

MALTHOUSE IN MARAZION
TO BE LET

And entered upon at Michaelmas next.

A very desirable and convenient MALTHOUSE, with TWO GARDENS adjoining in Marazion, now in the occupation of Messrs Ellis & Co. The above premises are well situated with conveniency for the Malting Business, and are sufficiently large to carry on any other trade with it. Application to be made to Thomas WILLIAMS, maltster, in Marazion.

July 28th 1807

Medland & Co.

However, with premises such as a public house which might have been leased or owned and brought to the partnership by Henry Medland, it is likely that

Medland’s occupation might have continued after dissolution of the partnership with Ellis in August 1806. Subsequently, Henry Medland continued or started a Medland & Co. partnership as common brewers at Helston with members of his wife’s family. This Medland partnership was also short lived.

In October 1809 a notice in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* announced that the Medland & Co. partnership at Helston was dissolved ‘to be continued in future as PENPRASE & Co the same proprietors with the exception of H. Medland’. Together with victualler William Hicks and brewer William Penpraze, brewer Henry Medland paid a £100 bond for the unborn child of Alice Winnan a single woman at Helston on 8 December 1809.²² William Hicks was the keeper of the Helston Arms. Not long after this occurrence and the dissolution of Medland & Co. at Helston Henry Medland relocated to St. Austell.

Following Henry Medland’s departure a partly expired lease on the Helston Arms was advertised for sale in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* on 22 December 1810:

The remainder of a term of 99 years, determinable on the deaths of two young healthy lives, in all that old and well-established INN or PUBLIC HOUSE, with the Stable and other conveniences, behind the same, called by the name of the HELSTON ARMS, situate in the said borough of HELSTON, in the occupation of Mr William Hicks ... For viewing the premises, in Helston ... application may be made to the respective Tenants; and for further particulars, to Messrs Grylls, Borlase, and Scott, Attornies at Helston.

The same advertisement included a second Helston property, also the remainder of a 99 year lease on two young lives, which may also have been leased to Henry Medland. This was a ‘large and very convenient dwelling house, shops and premises situate in the centre of the market place of Helston’ occupied by Mr Penberthy and Elizabeth Paddy. This was probably the premises numbered 43 on the 1786 map of John Rogers’ properties at Helston, described as ‘Dwelling House, Gardens & meadow near the Market Place, late Penberthys’.

Henry Medland moved with his family to Tregonissey at St. Austell, where Mary Medland and ‘Caroline’

Medland both later married and Henry and Jemima Medland's youngest child, Roxanne Medland, was baptised. In 1824 Henry Medland 'common brewer' leased fields and an orchard at Pentewan for 21 years.²³ One year later Henry Medland had two men who had stolen a gallon of beer worth sixpence prosecuted.²⁴ When Jemima Medland died in 1836 the *West Briton* described Henry Medland as a 'brewer and maltster'; and when Henry Medland married for a second time in 1837, to Elizabeth Strick of Roche, he was also described as a maltster. It is possible that he was in partnership with his son as in 1839 and 1842 William Medland was described as a brewer of St. Austell in leases on two dwelling houses at Biscovey.²⁵

It is possible that Henry Medland and John Ellis continued to do business with each other long after their trading partnership was dissolved. An accounting notebook belonging to Henry Medland in the three years before he died listed three regular payments of £119 3s 7d received from 'Ellis' in September and November 1836 and January 1837, followed by a single payment to 'Ellis' of £120 1s 1d in February 1837.²⁶ These were significant sums of money at the time and could possibly relate to belatedly sorting out Helston property issues carried forward following the dissolution of the partnership and Medland's relocation to St. Austell and in anticipation of Ellis & Co.'s move to new premises.

John Ellis & Co.

Between 1807 and 1827 'Ellis & Co' were listed in Borough of Helston rentals as making what appears to have been a one-off payment of £308 in 1807 followed by annual payments of 1s a year 'For liberty of divert[in]g the Town Water'.²⁷ These were the only payments to be listed in this way in the Borough of Helston rentals. It appears that Ellis & Co. may have followed John Borlase's example and undertaken works to extend the water supply to their malthouse or brewery at Helston from 1807. The payments for diverting the town water continued to be listed in the same way in a series of Borough accounts up to 1827²⁸ and *Pigot's Directory* in 1823 listed John Ellis as a brewer and maltster at Church Street. It therefore seems likely that by 1807, following the dissolution of the partnership with Henry Medland and after vacating the Marazion malthouse, Ellis & Co. may have occupied premises at Church Street.

Both the £200 plus costs out of court settlement incurred as a result of the excise case, and the one off payment in 1807 to the Borough of Helston listed as paid by 'Messrs Ellis & Co', may help to explain the fact that John Ellis of Helston was carrying a family loan or business debt of over £300, which his father Thomas Ellis' will made arrangements to settle out of his estate before John Ellis of Helston received his inheritance. If the commercial investment in 1807 to consolidate trading activities at Helston and to develop the brewery or malthouse premises was planned in advance and funded partly by a family loan it may be one reason why the partnership with Henry Medland was dissolved in 1806.

One possibility is that John Ellis may have developed and occupied the malthouse at the top of Church Street, opposite the church, which by 1832 was owned by John Kendall. The 1786 map shows that someone named Remfrey occupied a house and land owned by Rogers at the top of Church Street; it is possible that there was a family connection between this Remfrey in 1786 and the 1730s landlord of the same name at the Helston Arms. This malthouse was at the edge of the early nineteenth century town and it is likely that supplying it with water would have involved extending or diverting the water supply.

Following the customs and excise investigation, and dissolution of the partnership with Henry Medland, John Ellis was evidently keen to carry forward his business on a sound footing. In 1810 he joined with other brewers to publish an advertisement in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* giving notice that anyone misappropriating brewers' casks would be prosecuted:

CAUTION

Against Stealing, Embezzling or Destroying BREWERS' CASKS

We the undersigned COMMON BREWERS of the County of Cornwall, having long suffered very heavy losses of Casks, think it right in this public manner to express our unanimous determination to prosecute all such persons as shall steal, embezzle or unlawfully detain our Casks, or in any manner apply them to their own private purposes with the utmost severity of the law. Dated Dec 4 1810.

Hingston & Co
Whitbread & Withers
Magor, Davey & Mitchell

John Ellis & Co
Thomas Lawrance
Stevens & Tregrethen
Hornblower & Co.

In 1817, when John Ellis' brother, James Ellis, married he was described as a 'brewer' - possibly employed by his brother - and in 1823 James Ellis was listed at the Helston Arms in *Pigot's Directory*. By 1830 James Ellis' brother-in-law, John Kendall, was listed at the Helston Arms in *Pigot's Directory*; and in 1838 John Kendall was listed in the tithe apportionment book as the leasehold owner of the Helston Arms (numbered 206), for which Rogers held the freehold, and which was occupied by Thomas Eva. As John Kendall was also the owner of the malthouse at the top of Church Street this confirms that historically it is possible that there was a connection between the premises which comprised the Helston Arms on Wendron Street, its brewhouse, and the malthouse at the top of Church Street.

In September 1809 John Ellis of Lambessow died and Thomas Ellis of Carnsew was one of the trustees appointed to manage his estate for his children's benefit. John Ellis of Lambessow's trustees withdrew from the Ellis & Co. partnership at Helston, who advertised in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* in a notice dated 27 April 1811 that:

Notice is hereby given that the partnership lately subsisting between the executors in trust of John Ellis late of Lambessow deceased, Thomas Ellis, and John Ellis of Helston, common brewers and maltsters, under the firm of John Ellis & Co was dissolved by mutual consent on the 31st day of January last And all persons indebted to the said co-partnership are requested to pay the amount of their respective debts to the said John Ellis who will pay all just demands incurred on account of the said co-partnership. And that the said Trades will in future be carried on by the said Thomas Ellis and John Ellis at Helston aforesaid, under the firm of Thomas and John Ellis. As witness their hands
Chr. Rowe
Thomas Ellis
John Ellis

Having separated his trading activities from Henry Medland, John Ellis became a respected member of the town and business community, and was made a freeman of Helston in 1813; the Ellis & Co. brewery at Helston continued in operation for over 70 years.

Ellis & Co. at Helston

It is possible that from 1807 John Ellis' brewery at Helston was located on Church Street, near the Market Place. The 1838 tithe map²⁹ and book for Helston



Figure 2 (left), Church street brewery, detail, 1786, labelled f1, f2 and f3. Figure 3 (right), Church Street Brewery, detail, 1838, labelled 5 and 5a.

Sources. 2a CRO: AD961/1. 2b Helston tithe map CRO: TM/84. Reproduced courtesy of Cornwall Record Office.

shows that the Church Street property occupied by John Ellis at that time was Thomas' eighteenth century malt-house.

Comparing the 1786 map (Fig. 2) with the 1838 title map (Fig 3), the premises on the corner of Church Street and what is now Penrose Road (numbered 5 and 5a) are readily identifiable on the 1786 map as 'Thomas's House, malthouse, stable and backlet' labelled f.1; behind which f.2 was a garden and f.3 was an orchard. However the footprint of the outhouse premises behind the dwelling house on Church Street was larger in 1838 than in 1786; and it may have been to these premises that John Ellis diverted the town water in 1807, when enlarging and redeveloping the outhouses behind the dwelling house.

In 1817, when John Ellis' brother, James Ellis (1789-1880), married Eliza Read at Helston parish church, he was described as a brewer indicating that he may now also have been employed at the Ellis family business with his brother John Ellis. In the following year Eliza Ellis died; and in 1821 widower James Ellis married Elizabeth Kendall, the daughter of John Kendall, who was a Helston banker. In the same year John Ellis secured a 14 year lease on part of Gwealhellis from Charles Grylls, which had previously been occupied by William Christophers who died and was buried at Helston in 1818.³⁰ In 1823 *Pigot's Directory* for Helston listed James Ellis as a spirit merchant and proprietor of the Helston Arms in Wendron Street where he had probably succeeded William Hicks (d.1822) who was described as keeper of the Helston Arms when his wife died in 1821. By 1838 James Ellis was occupying a house and premises on Meneage Street (numbered 141 and 141a) owned by Rogers and Silvester, probably the premises which were described in an 1840 advertisement as 'including stables, a carriage house, mowhay and hayloft'; and he leased what were probably also commercial premises on an ope off Meneage Street (numbered 164a) from the Duke of Leeds. James Ellis also leased a house on Wendron Street (numbered 212) from the Duke of Leeds, which was probably where he lived with his family, possibly at number 27 Wendron Street, which is Grade II listed.

The Helston historian, Spencer Toy, recorded the later recollections of local builder, William John Winn, who was born in 1847 that:

In my early boyhood days there were three breweries which did a large town & country trade, Ellis, Clarke, and Sleeman. Two of these were situate near the Churchyard, the remains of one north of it still standing, whilst I pulled down the other and on the site built seven cottages known as Sea View Terrace. Just before my birth there was another brewery which stood where the United Methodist Church now stands; this was also carried on by one of the Ellis family.

The Helston voters' list for 1832 showed that the younger John Kendall owned the freehold malthouse opposite St. Michael's Church which was later demolished by William Winn when Sea View Terrace was built. John Kendall was also listed as the owner and occupier of this malthouse in the 1838 title apportionment book. The series of Borough of Helston accounts showing payments by Ellis & Co. for diverting the water ends in 1827. It is possible that John Ellis may have developed and occupied the malthouse at the top of Church Street before it was occupied by the younger John Kendall (1809-73); however there is no direct evidence that John Ellis was associated with this malt-house.

Following the death of Thomas Ellis (1755-1823) his three adult sons, John, James, and Hannibal Ellis, entered into a number of land and business ventures which consolidated their families' finances, including some joint investments. In 1829 John Ellis brewer, James Ellis wine and spirit merchant, and Hannibal Ellis of St. Erth leased Lower Crane in Gwithian parish for 21 years to Thomas Bree for £12pa. In 1836 on 25 March John Ellis was party to a 21 year mining agreement at Trenweale in Breage where Thomas Ellis had leased land in 1791; and on 29 September John, James and Hannibal Ellis leased more land in the same area, which they assigned four years later to Robert Dunn, a Redruth draper.³¹ Also in 1836 when 15 local businessmen formed the Helston Joint Stock Banking Company 47 year old James Ellis became manager of the Helston Bank, a job in which he continued for the rest of his working life.³² James Ellis' brother-in-law, the younger John Kendall, was also described as a banker's clerk by the time of the 1841 census.

The changes made between 1786 and 1838 to the premises on Church Street, at the corner of what is now Brewery Lane, are of interest in relation to the development of the Ellis & Co. Brewery which. was accessed

through Brewery Lane. Next door to Thomas' house in 1786 the Church Street premises numbered 39 were a 'Plot, dwelling house and carpenter's shop near the one well, late Gourds'; and the Church Street premises numbered 44 were a 'Dwelling house, smith's shop, and plot near the one well, late Gourds'.³³

By 1838 the tithe map shows these properties had been redeveloped with new houses fronting onto Church Street and additional premises behind on both sides of the new Brewery Lane (numbered 6, 6a and 7, see Fig. 3) leading to the newly built malthouse (numbered 254). By 1838 the house at the corner of Brewery Lane (now number 5 Church Street) was occupied by a Penelope James; the 1841 census shows Penelope James living at Falmouth, although when she died in 1842 she was buried at Helston. In 1838 the premises behind number 5 Church Street, on what is now Brewery Lane, were occupied by confectioner William Penaluna; a veterinary surgeon, William Deeble, leased the house and premises on the other side of Brewery Lane which were also partly occupied by other commercial tenants.

On 22 October 1838 John Ellis secured a 99 year lease for another malthouse at St. Michael's (i.e. Church) Street Helston for £20 a year on the lives of three of his children.³⁴ The estimated three acres of land he leased from Rev. Richard Gervys Grylls included a

Newly-erected malthouse, stables, loft and coal-yard with appurtenances; also 2 fields formerly one field, afterwards divided into 3 fields formerly known as Park-and-one-house or Hill Close or Further Hither Hilly Ground in St. Michael's Street, Helston.

The tithe map includes the malthouse (numbered 254) and fields (numbered 253, 255 and 258) which John Ellis leased from Rev. Richard Gervys Grylls; these fields did not belong to John Rogers and so were not included on the 1786 map. In the years after the tithe map was drawn the Helston brewery was constructed on one of the fields John Ellis leased from Grylls and the Wesleyan Methodist Association built a chapel at the corner of Church Street with what is now Penrose Road (which was demolished in the early 1960s). With a 99 year lease it is likely that the investment to build the Helston Brewery was made by Ellis & Co. The new brewery appears to have been built by 1842 when

advertisements described below specifically referred enquiries to the 'Helston Brewery'.

The extent of the Ellis & Co. brewery's retail operations is not known. However it seems likely that the Church Street premises near the Market Place which Ellis & Co. occupied in 1838 might have included a beer shop. In 1838 there were three public houses in Church Street: the Red Lion (numbered 27), which was owned by Thomas Sleeman and occupied by George and Charlotte Perkins; the New Inn (numbered 10), which was part of the St. Aubyn estate, and occupied by Henry Allen; and the Six Bells (numbered 38), near the corner with Cross Street, which was owned by a Mrs Grace Robinson, and occupied by John Phillips and Peter Parish. In addition to the Church Street brewery premises in 1838 John Ellis and his family leased a 'house and premises' on Coinagehall Street from Miss Lydia Trevenen (numbered 71 and 71a). This was one of the town properties in between the Angel Inn and the Seven Stars and may have included a shop at the front, as well as the two orchards (numbered 398 and 399) and two other fields (numbered 400 and 401) behind.

Wine and spirit merchants at Helston

James Ellis' trade as a spirit merchant at Helston was established separately to Ellis & Co. The brothers' businesses may have complemented and supported each other if James Ellis' wine and spirit trade also helped to promote and market Ellis & Co. beer. In the 1820s-30s James Ellis purchased or leased several public houses which were no doubt also outlets for his spirits and wine. One of these was the Townsend Inn which James Ellis built with Henry Semmens. Another was the Cornish Mount at Germoe which was advertised in the West Briton as to let in April 1838:

Public House to Let.

To be LET, with possession at Midsummer next, all that Inn or PUBLIC HOUSE, situate in GERMoe Church-town, known by the sign of THE CORNISH MOUNT, Together with Stabling, and about 2 Acres of rick land adjoining, now in the occupation of Mr. Wm. TOLL. Apply, (if by letter post-paid), to Mr. Ellis, Spirit Merchant, who has, for SALE, prime South-ham Cider. Helston, April 24, 1838.

After being appointed as manager of the Helston Bank James Ellis initially continued to trade as a spirit merchant. However, in May 1839 he transferred these trading activities to James Clarke and Charles Read, who was the brother of James Ellis' first wife, Eliza (d.1818), with the following notice appearing in the *London Gazette* on 10 May:

This is to give notice, that by an indenture, bearing date the 4th day of May 1839, James Ellis, of the borough of Helston, in the county of Cornwall, Spirit Merchant, hath conveyed and assigned all his estate and effects whatsoever to Charles Read, of Helston aforesaid, Linen-Draper, and James Clarke, of the same place, Spirit Merchant, as trustees, upon trust, for the benefit of all the creditors of the said James Ellis; and that the said indenture was duly executed by the said James Ellis, and by the said Charles Read and James Clarke, on the said 4th day of May; and which indenture was witnessed by Frederick Hill, of Helston aforesaid, Solicitor,- Dated, Helston, 6th May 1839.

In March 1840 an auction was held at the Star Inn, Helston, to sell James Ellis' former business. This sale included: the Six Bells on Church Street, which was now occupied by Edmund Michell, the lease to the Blue Anchor (8 of 14 years remaining), which was occupied by James Geach, the lease to the Cornish Mount at Germoe (5 of 14 years remaining), the Miners Arms at Crowan, which was occupied by Henry Semmens, and the Townsend Inn, which was occupied by William Semmens. Additional there were: premises on Meneage Street including stables, a carriage house, mowhay and hayloft, and the debts due to James Ellis. A lease dated 6 March 1841 shows Read and Clarke subsequently leased the Townsend Arms, which was described as having been built by James Ellis and Henry Semmens, to William Semmens.³⁵

In September 1839 an advertisement in the *West Briton*, seeking to let the Six Bells on Church Street, invited people to contact either the occupier John Phillips or John Ellis. On that occasion John Ellis may have been acting as an agent but it is possible that in April 1840 he or his son Thomas Ellis purchased most of the leases and public house which were sold from his brother's former business. John Ellis may have been looking for additional customers for the newly built brewery; and also may have intended to diversify Ellis & Co. by adding trade as a wine and spirit merchant now that his

son, Thomas Ellis, was working for Ellis & Co. An advertisement seeking to let the Blue Anchor in October 1840 invited people to apply to John Ellis, and a similar advertisement in March 1842 referred them to the Helston Brewery. In May 1843 an advertisement to let the Six Bells also invited people to contact the Helston Brewery.

The 1841 census listed John Ellis' eldest son, 25 year old Thomas Ellis, as a brewer who the enumerator found living at home with his parents on Coinagehall Street. When John Ellis died later that year the *West Briton* reported his funeral:

At Helston, on Thursday, the 14th instant, Mr. John Ellis, brewer, aged 60 years. On Monday last, his funeral took place, when his remains were followed to their resting place by his devotedly affectionate family, whose loss is irreparable, and a long and mournful procession of his fellow townsmen, which included churchmen and dissenters, who concurred in paying the last tribute of respect to departed worth. The principal shops in the town were closed during the funeral.

Following John Ellis' death James Ellis' family and widow, Mary Ellis, and her family moved to live at Church Street where in the 1840s-60s they probably occupied the large house which was owned by the elder John Kendall. This house is near the Helston Brewery on the other side of the road from and north of Brewery Lane. In 1841 it had been a girls' school with boarders and it later became a vicarage before being used as a care home for boys in the early twentieth century.

It is unclear whether the new brewery buildings were completed before John Ellis' death. The development was substantial in the context of 1840s Helston and once the works were completed the Ellis & Co. brewery was generally known and referred to as the 'Helston Brewery'. In 1847 on 2 April the *West Briton* reported a robbery at the Helston Brewery:

ROBBERIES - Several robberies have been committed in the town and neighbourhood of Helston during the past week. On Wednesday night, a small shop at St. John's, near Helston, was broken into, and £8 in money and a quantity of tobacco taken away by the thieves; and on Saturday night last, the counting house of the Helston Brewery was entered through a back window, and £14 in money stolen. We regret

to learn that in both cases the guilty parties have escaped the hands of justice.

John Ellis' will appointed 'my brother Hannibal Ellis, my brother-in-law John Pool, and my good friend Thomas Rogers of Helston aforesaid solicitor' as trustees to manage his affairs including the legal power 'to carry on and continue my trade or business as a malster and common brewer'.³⁶ These three men were therefore involved in the management of the business until they renounced probate in favour of Thomas Ellis in 1858. As Hannibal Ellis and John Pool were resident at Hayle this arrangement may have helped to continue or establish working relationships between the family's two breweries. At Helston John Ellis' son, Thomas Ellis, continued the Helston Brewery business for the next 37 years.

It is possible that Thomas Ellis did not renew or retain the public house leases and premises which had been sold from James Ellis' former business in 1840, although he may have continued or acquired others. In December 1846 the *West Briton* reported a case in which Mary and Thomas Ellis went to court to demand payment of a former publican's debt:

Peter Temby, late of the parish of Camborne, arrested on the 23rd day of October last, at the suit of Mary Ellis, and Thomas Ellis, of Helston, brewers, for 35 Pounds 5 Shillings. Mr Bennett appeared for the prisoner, who was also unopposed. The insolvent had kept a public house at Camborne; is an old man, very infirm, and utterly illiterate, insomuch that the Commissioner had considerable difficulty in investigating and understanding his case. By the assistance, however of Mrs Ann Budge, an intelligent daughter of the insolvent, who was present, and afforded every explanation in her power, and also of a letter from Messrs Passingham and Simmons, solicitors, Truro, to Mr Bennett, containing the particulars of the sale of some leasehold property in Camborne which had lately belonged to the prisoner, and of the application of the proceeds, the Commissioner was at length, in some degree satisfied, and said, that though the case was one which creditors might have opposed, yet they did not; and as the whole amount of the debts was not very large, he should order the insolvent to be discharged forthwith.

This case is interesting because it shows Ellis & Co. possibly supplying public houses across a wide geographical area but with limited financial controls.

Some of the premises associated with the Helston Brewery while it was managed by Thomas Ellis also had known connections with the Ellis brewery at Hayle. As Christopher Ellis (1790-1851) at Hayle was primarily a wine and spirit merchant it is possible that following John Ellis' death the family intended to complement each others commercial activities in the Helston area. In 1843 an advertisement to let the Jolly Tinnars at St Hilary invited people to contact the Helston Brewery; and it was later one of the Hayle Brewery's houses. Margaret Eustice who owned the Blue Anchor died in 1846; in the later 1840s-80s the Blue Anchor seems to have changed landlord without published advertisements to let or for sale. An advertisement to let the Trevelyan Arms at Goldsithney in 1847 invited people to apply to the Helston Brewery; a previous tenant of this public house was sued in the same year by Christopher Ellis of the Hayle brewery for a bad debt. In 1848 and 1849 advertisements to let the Six Bells on Church Street made no reference to the Helston Brewery. By 1868 the Helston Brewery was given as the contact for the Fisherman's Arms at Porthleven.

Any mutual support between the Ellis family's commercial activities at Hayle and Helston did not prevent Thomas Ellis later extending Ellis & Co.'s activities to include trading as wine and spirit merchants. In the 1860s-70s, the Ellis brewery at Hayle acquired new customers, pubs and hotels, built on the Hayle Brewery site, and invested in new plant. It is unclear how far the Helston Brewery similarly extended its customer base but an April 1879 *West Briton* advertisement for the sale of the Helston Brewery business noted that 'Several public-houses are held in connection with the business, and may be had'. Although it is not impossible that Thomas Ellis might have updated or mechanised the Helston Brewery plant, on 5 June 1879 a further *West Briton* advertisement described the:

old and extensive BREWERY AND MALTING PREMISES situate in Church Street, Helston, with the Labourers' Cottages, Meadow, Gardens, Offices, Stables, Piggeries, Cattle and Carriage-houses, Fixtures, Plant and Appurtenances.

In the 1871 census, Thomas and Elizabeth's son, Arthur Ellis, was listed as a 'brewer's clerk' living with his parents at Coinagehall Street. Two years later an advertisement appeared in *Kelly's Directory* describing them as 'brewers, malsters, and wine merchants' of

Church Street, Helston, 'agents for Ind Coope & Co.'s India Pale Ales'.

Some years after James Ellis had retired the Helston Banking Company suspended business in December 1876 because it could no longer pay its creditors.³⁷ It is possible that this collapse may have had an impact on Ellis & Co., as Thomas Ellis was also a partner in the Helston Banking Company. Investors in the Helston Banking Company lost their savings; the perceived commercial risk of being associated with the bank's collapse was strong enough for 'Messrs C. and J.F. Ellis, Brewers, Hayle' to publish a disclaimer in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* on 23 February 1877 confirming that 'they NEVER WERE ASSOCIATED with the said Banking Company'. The 1878 *Harrods Directory* listed James Ellis as resident at Wendron Street in Helston; he died aged 90 and was buried at Helston parish church on 2 January 1880.

In March 1878 Thomas Ellis died. In reporting his sudden death at the age of 63 the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* described Thomas Ellis as an 'energetic and working manager of the Helston Brewery' who was also a keen huntsman, and made no mention of the Helston Banking Company. The *Harrods Directory* for 1878 listed Mrs Ellis as resident in Coinagehall Street; and Ellis & Co. brewers, maltsters, and wine & spirit merchants at Church Street. Thomas Ellis died without leaving a will and the probate of his estate, which was valued at less than £3,000, was secured by his widow, Elizabeth Furze Ellis, who may have facilitated the transfer of the Helston Brewery lease and sold Ellis & Co. as a going concern before relocating to Sussex.

Helston Brewery

When the 1851 census had been taken the entry for Thomas Ellis' family home on Coinagehall Street was next to that for Helston attorney, Thomas Rogers. This was the 'good friend' who John Ellis appointed as one of three trustees of his estate. Thomas Rogers' son, Henry Rogers (1826-97), who was also an attorney, was a successful and prosperous member of Helston's business community acquiring sufficient wealth to purchase Nansloe. It is possible that Henry Rogers purchased Ellis & Co. as a going concern to establish his son in business after he came of age in 1878. By the time of the

1881 census Henry Rogers' son, Herbert Leslie Rogers (1857-91), was listed as a brewer, maltster, wine and spirit merchant and, in 1883, Herbert Rogers was listed as the proprietor of the Helston brewery at Church Street in *Kelly's Directory*.

Thomas Ellis was one of three lives associated with John Ellis' 99 year leasehold of the malthouse and brewery land from Rev. Richard Gervys Grylls; the other lives named in this 1838 lease were two of Thomas Ellis' sisters: Mary Ellis, who later married a Richard Thomas and moved to London, and Matilda Ellis, who was living at Helston in 1878. A rental for the Grylls estate in 1877 listed Thomas Ellis as the tenant of 'Gourds premises'.³⁸ An 1895 deed,³⁹ by which Henry Rogers purchased the Helston Brewery premises, refers to an earlier deed dated '24 March 1878' by which his son Herbert Leslie Rogers leased the Helston Brewery from Shadwell Morley Grylls (1831-95) for 99 years on the life of his younger sister, Nora Beatrice Rogers.⁴⁰ No copy has been found of the 1878 lease to explain the terms under which the property may have been transferred to Herbert Leslie Rogers. However, it was Rogers and Son solicitors at Helston who were the agents for the proposed sale of Ellis and Co. and the Helston Brewery in April to June 1879; when the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* reported on 27 June that the property had failed to sell at auction. The 1881 census found Thomas Ellis' widow, Elizabeth Furze Ellis, living with her daughters at Hastings where she was described as a lodging house keeper. On 9 August 1883 the *Cornishman* described Elizabeth Ellis as 'being reduced in circumstances' when she received a charitable donation of £30 from 'the Masonic brotherhood'.

A late nineteenth century undated summary of the properties included in Rev. Richard Gervys Grylls' estate referred to

All that brewery, Stores, Sheds, fields or closes of land hereditaments and premises commonly called or known as the Helston brewery situate in the Borough of Helston in the County of Cornwall ... now in the occupation of Herbert Leslie Rogers and his Undertenants'.⁴¹

Three months after his father's death Arthur Ellis married Jane Masters at Paul parish church in June 1878. Initially Arthur Ellis continued to be employed at the Helston Brewery, writing on behalf of Ellis & Co. on 30

August 1878 to the then Mayor of Helston Frederick Vivian Hill to complain about the state of the lane to the brewery:

My mother has has (sic) been unable to visit the past week, owing to the lane being quite impassable: besides which it has been the causes of our losing customers, who would have come to us had it not been for the disgraceful state the lane is in, owing to the masons having closed the under-drains.⁴²

But Arthur Ellis' continuing employment at the Helston Brewery was to prove short lived. By 1881 Arthur and Jane Ellis had moved to Devonport where Arthur Ellis was described in the census as a 'traveller' (travelling salesman).

On 21 October 1881 Arthur Ellis was convicted and jailed for three months for obtaining money by false pretences in Devon. He was subsequently acquitted of a similar charge in Somerset on 1 November 1882. On 21 November 1894 Helston borough records show that the Mayor of Helston, F.V. Hill, declined on enquiry to provide a reference for Arthur Ellis who had applied for employment as a travelling salesman for Thomas Gaved's cigar factory in Liverpool.⁴³ Frederick Vivian Hill was one of the beneficiaries of Rev. Richard Gervys Grylls' estate and of the 1895 Helston Brewery sale to Henry Rogers.⁴⁴

The Helston Brewery buildings were demolished in 2008. At that time, Paul Stephens photographed the Helston Brewery and commissioned an historic building assessment by Eric Berry. This assessment suggests that alterations were made to the fabric of some of the Helston Brewery buildings to accommodate changing technology, and there were some twentieth century building alterations when the premises were used as a flour mill. The evidence of alterations to the Helston Brewery buildings could be associated with changes made by Herbert Leslie Rogers as proprietor, but the available evidence suggests rather that, following the unsuccessful marketing in 1879, the business and premises were run down while Rogers was proprietor. In business directories Ellis & Co. at Helston was listed for the last time in 1878 and the Helston Brewery in 1883. A rental for the Grylls estate listed Herbert L. Rogers as the tenant of 'Gourds premises Brewery' in 1889; alongside which there is a land stewardship note 'Rent refused thro' state of dilapidation pending completion of

repairs as arranged'.⁴⁵ Rogers owed £20 arrears when the rent was refused to enable repairs. By 1891, if not before, the Helston Brewery had closed and £60 rent arrears were then owed on 'Gourds premises Brewery'.⁴⁶ In the same year Herbert L. Rogers was listed in the census as a solicitor's clerk at Porthleven where he died later that year. Nevertheless four years later Henry Rogers was in a legal position to purchase the Helston Brewery premises as a sitting commercial tenant for £330 in 1895.⁴⁷

The Helston Brewery was the Ellis' first trading venture as brewers. By leasing the Church Street malthouse and fields from Rev. Richard Gervys Grylls in 1838 John Ellis was able to bequeath his son one of Helston's most pre-eminent breweries in substantial commercial premises which were newly built. Thomas Ellis appears to have run the Helston Brewery competently enough so that Ellis & Co. survived the economic downturn and depopulation caused by the contraction of Cornwall's mining industry; and he may have invested in improving the Helston Brewery premises. However, unlike his enterprising cousin, Christopher Ellis, who acquired new customers and retail premises as well as investing in new brewery plant at Hayle in the 1870s, Thomas Ellis left the Helston Brewery much less well placed to continue to operate after his death.

The Hayle brewery

Hayle grocers and merchants

In 1814 Christopher 'Kit' Ellis (1790-1851) began trading at Hayle as a grocer or victualler. He was listed in manor of Trelissick rentals in 1814-19 as an occupant of the commons and part of Carnsew at St. Erth⁴⁸ where his father, John Ellis, had traded and his elder brother, Thomas Ellis, was a merchant. The accounts for Kit Ellis' business commenced in 1814; with his mother Alice Ellis (1760-1857) included in these accounts as one of his trade customers, perhaps operating a retail outlet of her own. After the death of John Ellis (1723-1812) his widow, Alice Ellis, moved with their children from St. Erth to live at Phillack. When 24 year old Kit Ellis married Grace Toman in December 1814 he was described as of Phillack parish where their children were also baptised from 1815. Kit Ellis was a sole trader, but from the outset his enterprise may have had

the active support of other family members; and the trade he established from 1814 onwards continued in existence as a family business for 120 years until 1934.

Hayle in 1815 was the retrospective focus of an after dinner speech on 'the rise and progress of Hayle' given in October 1867 by Mr Hosken, a miller of Loggans, in which he recalled:

Hayle in 1815 - his father and grandfather having occupied before him the mill at Luggans. From Luggans to Mr Floyd's hotel [the Royal Standard inn] there were only two or three houses, and from Mr Floyd's corner to Mr Crotch's [the White Hart hotel] it was a kind of muddy and desolate strand, with no house all the way to Carnsew, just opposite the Foundry offices. Now there are 5,400 inhabitants; two large foundries whose manufactures go all over the world; a little fleet of merchant vessels, several steamers, and a large amount of trade and prosperity all created by the energy and enterprise of the men of the past and present generations.⁴⁹

The occasion for this address was a dinner held to mark the official opening of the Cornubia Hotel at Hayle which had been built at Copperhouse by Kit Ellis' son, Christopher Ellis (1831-1906). The Mr Hosken speaking that evening may have been Samuel Hosken or his father, William Hosken, although only the elder Mr Hosken was old enough to personally remember Hayle in 1815.

The description of Hayle's hotels and inns was understandable given Mr Hosken was speaking at the official opening of a new hotel, but it is worth considering why he chose to focus these reflections on what Hayle had been like 52 years previously in 1815. The brief newspaper report of what Mr Hosken said contains markers if not tributes to what is known about the Ellis' enterprises at Hayle: trading from 'Ellis's Carnsew', 'Mr Ellis' house' opposite the Foundry offices,⁵⁰ the family's investment in merchant vessels, and the move from St. Erth to Phillack by 1814. The Ellis family developed and operated the Hayle Brewery and there is a local history tradition that Kit Ellis located his business at the Bodriggy brewery from 1815. Most local histories of Hayle say that the brewery was acquired by Kit Ellis in 1815 when it was sold by a John Richards. However, as with John Ellis at Helston, Kit Ellis' commercial activities can be linked to several locations and more than one brewery premises during his first

20 years of trading and establishing himself in business; and the earliest known description of Kit Ellis as a brewer at Bodriggy was in 1834, after the trade and licensing restrictions were liberalised by the 1830 Beer Act.

On 28 January 1815 brewer John Richards transferred his business at Bodriggy to Richard Nicholls to be 'bargained and sold' in settlement of his debts. The goods and trade chattels surrendered by John Richards included the messuage, tenement and premises he occupied at Bodriggy plus:

one nag, one mare and their harnesses, one cart and wheels, a rack and manger, one waggon and wheels, four pigs, about four ton of hay, two beds and bedding, one dressing table, a chest and drawers, four tables, a dozen chairs, six spoons, a malt mill, a furnace, a boiler, a mash tub, an underback, a tun, all the horses and stills in the brewhouse, all casks, all puncheons, about ten bushels of malt, all his stock of beer, and all and every utensil in the said brewery.⁵¹

The brewhouse described was possibly behind what is now the Cornish Arms; and Richards' four tables and dozen chairs may indicate that people drank as well as purchased beer at his premises. The premises described have strong similarities with Borlase's brewery in 1802 at 55 and 55a Wendron Street in Helston: two dwelling houses with a brewery and maltings behind.

The John Richards who owned the Bodriggy brewery business until 1815 was almost certainly the John Richards who was later employed as an innkeeper and retail brewer at St. Ives. This John Richards married Wilmot Sickler (1786-1864) at Phillack parish church in 1807. Their first three children were baptised at Phillack in 1808-13 where John was described as a 'carpenter' at Copperhouse; it was not uncommon for innkeepers to also work at other trades. At the Bodriggy brewery John Richards probably worked with Thomas Richards who was described as a brewer at Bodriggy in Phillack parish registers. It is likely that there was a family connection between John Richards and Thomas Richards who may have been brothers; both men named their first sons 'Thomas' when they were baptised at Phillack parish church. John Richards and Thomas Richards also both left Phillack parish shortly after the Bodriggy brewery transfer to Nicholls.

No evidence has been identified of the Bodriggy brewery business being auctioned by Nicholls, who died in 1817, and only later records survive of leases within the Bodriggy estate of which the brewery and malthouse land formed part. W.H Pascoe's *History of the Cornish Copper Company* (1981) suggested that Richard Nicholls probably sold the business to Kit Ellis. There was a family relationship between Richard Nicholls (1737-1817) of Treglisson and Kit Ellis, one of whose great grandmothers had been born Charity Nicholls (1647-95). Kit Ellis' new business accounts from 1814 listed 'Mr Nicholls' as one of his regular customers. Phillack parish records from 1815 onwards confirm that the Ellis family were living at Bodriggy; where Kit Ellis was initially described in the baptism registers for 1815 and 1817 as a 'grocer'. Whether or not the Bodriggy brewery continued to produce beer after John Richards vacated the premises it is possible that the Ellis family lived in the dwelling houses which later became the Cornish Arms. This is where Alice Ellis kept a grocer's shop and her son, Kit Ellis, traded as a provisions merchant or victualler buying from the mainly inland coastal traders at Hayle and supplying a growing range of retail outlets across the district, including with wine and spirits. In later years Alice Ellis' eldest daughter, Mary Carbines, had a grocer's shop at Hayle.

There may have been a further Richards' family connection with Edward Richards, the keeper of the Phillack churchtown inn, two of whose daughters were baptised at Phillack in 1808 and 1813. It is possible that Edward Richards' trade had relied partly on the Bodriggy brewery and in October 1815 he also experienced a personal loss when his wife, Peggy (born Gilbert), died. By November 1816 the debts owed to Edward Richards were assigned to Penzance spirit merchant, Elias Magnus; and a notice warning that anyone who failed to pay these debts would be prosecuted appeared in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* on 10 January 1817:

NOTICE TO DEBTORS

All Persons indebted to EDW. RICHARDS of Phillack Church Town late innkeeper are desired to pay their respective Debts to Mr ELIAS MAGNUS of Penzance, spirit merchant, who is duly authorized by the said EDWARD RICHARDS and his principal Creditors to receive the same, or they will be prosecuted.
Dated November 27, 1816.

If these debts arose from Edward Richards distributing or retailing wine and spirits alongside keeping the inn at Phillack churchtown a further opportunity may have been created in the local market when he ceased trading provided that payments could be collected more reliably from customers.

A merchant at Bodriggy

By the 1820s Kit Ellis was engaged in a range of commercial transactions which echoed his family's earlier trading activities and opportunism at Carnsew and Penzance. The *Pigot's Directory* for 1823 did not include an entry for Kit Ellis, however in 1825-29 Phillack parish registers described Kit Ellis as a 'merchant' rather than a 'grocer', 'victualler', or 'brewer'. On 18 March 1826 Christopher Ellis purchased oats at Hayle from Thomas Pope Rosevear of Boscastle, which Peter Skidmore describes as follows:

The deal in which oats were sold to Christopher Ellis was considered to be a disaster by Rosevear, although this is not fully supported by the Ellis records. The Eleanor, of which a Captain Drew was the master, appeared unexpectedly in Hayle when Rosevear was visiting, having been sent without warning by Samuel Brown from Bude. Rosevear comments that he was 'employed all day in attempts to sell - but in vain - it is one of the most perplexing concerns I ever met with.' The following day, however he reports that he has sold the cargo to Ellis 'at a very heavy loss.' although the Ellis records show that the cargo, as declared for the payment of harbour dues, was one of 203 quarters and valued at £239 16s 2d, equivalent to 23s 7 1/2d per quarter. Ellis acted as an agent in the transaction for which he claimed expenses for discharge and a 5 per cent commission which reduced the realisation to £225 14s 8d and with further deductions of £17 5s 2d for freight charges the final net price was £208 9s 6d, equivalent to 20s 6 1/2d per quarter which still could hardly be described as being disastrous compared with other deals. It is not clear, however if Rosevear received full payment of the amount due. The Ellis record only shows one bill of £82 6s 6d being paid to him directly.⁵²

The 1830 Beer Act

It is unclear whether the business and premises transferred by John Richards in 1815 brought any trade or

retail customers with it. From the late 1820s Christopher Ellis began to identify himself and his trade more specifically as a wine and spirit merchant. Although Phillack parish registers in 1825-9 described Christopher Ellis as a ‘merchant’ by 1830 *Pigot’s Directory* listed him more specifically as a ‘spirit dealer’. The Beer Act of the same year was intended to boost consumption of beer rather than spirits; it enabled rates payers that served no spirits to sell beer without being licensed by magistrates provided an excise duty of two guineas was paid.

Some of the inns which were later established outlets for the Hayle brewery were on longstanding west Cornwall trading routes that historically had been linked to smuggling. In addition to the Ellis family’s commercial customers at Helston there were family connections with inns in the Hayle area. For example, Christopher Ellis’ cousin, Margaret Ellis, married Matthew Tremayne of the inn at Angarrack. From 1828 Christopher (listed in the first parish accounts entry as ‘Kit’) Ellis paid Phillack parish rates on land at Guilford⁵³ where, by 1842, the tithe apportionment book listed him as occupying several fields leased by a Mrs Mary Hartley. By the mid 1830s Kit Ellis leased or supplied several public houses and hotels in Phillack and neighbouring parishes: the Britannia Inn at Hayle, the Hayle Hotel at east Copperhouse, the Miners’ Arms at Guilford, and the Lanyon Arms at Gwinear; and he began to be described as a ‘brewer’ at Copperhouse.

The Hayle Hotel

After the Hayle Hotel was built on the turnpike road in 1824 by the vicar of Phillack, Rev. William Hockin, it was kept by W. Gilbert from May 1826⁵⁴ and then by Thomas R. Bawden from March 1828.⁵⁵ Phillack parish rates books show that the rates Kit Ellis paid at Guilford from 1828 had previously been paid by Thomas Bawden. The timing of this change indicates that it may have been associated with Bawden’s move into the Hayle Hotel; and the 1830 *Pigot’s Directory* listed Thomas Bawden at the Hayle Hotel. By July 1833 ‘Thomas Richard Bawden, formerly of Phillack, Innkeeper, and late of Redruth, Cornwall, Retailer of Beer and Eating House Keeper’ applied to the courts for relief as an insolvent debtor.⁵⁶

It is possible that Kit Ellis succeeded Thomas Bawden at the Hayle Hotel. In the early 1830s Kit and Grace Ellis may have lived with their children at the Hayle Hotel (later renamed Penmare and demolished in 2004). In 1831 the Phillack parish register described Kit Ellis for the first time as a ‘victualler’ at ‘Loggans’, possibly a reference to the Hayle Hotel. In the following year, when Kit Ellis was enfranchised as a leasehold property owner by the Reform Act, his ‘place of abode’ was listed as the Hayle Hotel; he was also described as having property tenanted by a ‘T. Bennetts’.

The younger Christopher Ellis was born in 1831 into a family with two elder brothers John Ellis (aged 16) and Thomas Ellis (aged 13), and two elder sisters Emily Ellis (aged 3) and Elizabeth Ellis (aged 2). By the early 1830s it is likely that Kit Ellis was helped in the business by his eldest sons John Ellis (who was 15 in 1830) and Thomas Ellis (who was fifteen in 1832); but both these sons died prematurely John Ellis in 1834 and Thomas Ellis in 1838. By May 1834 when Anna Maria Ellis was christened at Phillack parish church her father Kit Ellis was described as a ‘brewer’ but his residence was now listed again as ‘Bodriggy’ rather than ‘Loggans’.

Kit Ellis continued to hold the lease to the Hayle Hotel when it was next advertised for sale:⁵⁷

FOR SALE

Desirable Inn and Tavern in Phillack

To be SOLD by TENDER, subject to a conventionary rent of £2 12s 6d, all that excellent Stone-built INN and TAVERN

CALLED

THE HAYLE HOTEL

Now in the possession of Mr Christopher Ellis, whose term expires Michaelmas next.

This extensive and commodious Inn, is situate at the Eastern end of the populous trading village of Copperhouse, where there are large Factories, and on the great road leading from Penzance through Hayle to Camborne, Redruth, and Truro, and in a most flourishing mining neighbourhood.

The ground floor contains 3 Parlours, a Bar, Tap-Room, and Cellar, Kitchen, Back kitchen, Dairy, Pantry etc etc. On the first floor is a spacious Dining Room, 33 feet long, a large Club room, and 5 Bed-rooms. There are also five capital



Figure 4. Penmare Hotel, date unknown C20.

Attics. The Premises comprise a Garden, and a large walled Courtlage, within which is a Brewery, with very extensive Stabling, lock up Carriage House, Sheds, Piggery and other conveniences. The whole is in complete repair.

These desirable Premises are three quarters leasehold, determinable on 3 healthy young lives, and partly Freehold. One half the purchase money may remain on the security of the Premises.

To view the Premises apply to JAMES RICHARDS at the Hayle Hotel, and for further particulars to Mr WILLIAMS HOCKIN, solicitor, Penzance.

Mostly the premises leased or supplied by Kit Ellis in the 1830s had other occupants or tenants who were the licensees: James Donnithorne at the Britannia Inn, Benjamin Trewhella at the Miners' Arms, Joshua Eva at the Lanyon Arms. It is possible that the James Richards referred to in the 1836 advertisement of the Hayle Hotel lease was the current hotel keeper and by 1842 John Hambly occupied the Hayle Hotel.

The Bodriggy Brewery

It is possible that Kit Ellis acquired experience of brewing in the recently built outhouses of the Hayle Hotel

which included a brewhouse, although there is no evidence to suggest the Hayle Hotel brewery used anything other than traditional non-mechanised brewing methods. Kit Ellis' residence at the Hayle Hotel in the early 1830s may have been associated with development or redevelopment of the Bodriggy malthouse and/or dwelling houses at a time when his family was growing and he may have been looking to expand his business to provide employment for his two teenage sons. The earliest specific evidence that Kit Ellis leased commercial premises at Bodriggy is that on 19 January 1835 when he leased the Bodriggy malthouse with a dwelling house and orchard.⁵⁸ It is possible that, like the 1838 malthouse lease purchased by John Ellis at Helston, this Bodriggy lease was agreed following the building of a new malthouse (although buildings history of the Bodriggy malthouse estimated it to be an earlier construction c.1815-20); or that the lease was renewed to include a new life following the death of Kit and Grace Ellis' eldest son, John Ellis, in 1834. The malthouse lease was later held by the younger Christopher Ellis following his father's death.

It is possible that Kit Ellis opened a beershop at Bodriggy in the 1830s to complement his trade as a wine and spirit merchant, but the earliest description of a 'beer shop' which may have been at what is now the Cornish Arms was much later in the 1861 census. The

first census on 6 June 1841 found the Ellis family living at ‘Copperhouse’ probably at what is now the Cornish Arms which was originally two dwelling houses and gives Kit Ellis’ occupation as ‘spirit merchant’; the adjacent entry in the 1841 census was ‘innkeeper’ Robert Stevens who may have occupied the second dwelling house and kept a beershop. Also resident at Bodriggy was brewer Thomas Chegwin (1817-1894) who may have been employed at the Bodriggy brewery and his brother, Edward Chegwin, who later ran the Cornish Arms; both brothers in 1841 were living with their mother, Mary Chegwin, who had been widowed since 1824. At Bodriggy the 1841 census also listed maltster John Bice and his family; this entry was next to that for a John Huthnance and his family.

The premises listed as leased and occupied by Kit Ellis in the 1842 Phillack tithe book comprised the malthouse and yard (1241), the dwelling house (1242) next door to the malthouse on St. John’s Street, a garden (1245), and the dwelling house and garden (1253) which are now the Cornish Arms. The first three of these (1241, 1242 and 1245) were probably the ‘malthouse etc dwelling

house and orchard’ included in the 1835 lease; of the premises leased by Kit Ellis in 1842 only the dwelling house and garden on St. John’s Street (1242) was listed as tenanted by John Huthnance who had been listed next to maltster John Bice and his family in the 1841 census. The footprints of these numbered properties are shown on the Phillack tithe map (Fig. 5).

In 1842 the arable field numbered 1254, where the Hayle brewery was later built, was listed as occupied by William Vivian who lived at Bodriggy House. The same book confirmed that Kit Ellis also occupied land at Guilford (733, 740, and 744-746) where he was the tenant of a Mrs Mary Hartley; and five fields on the lane from Bodriggy to Penpol, known collectively as western croft (1332-1336 inclusive), and leased by a William Grenfell.

The fact that Kit Ellis was described as a brewer at Bodriggy from the mid 1830s and was listed in 1842 as occupying the dwelling house and garden at what is now the Cornish Arms suggests that the Ellis brewery was located there from at least the mid 1830s; and as no evidence has been found of another occupant of these premises in 1815-1834 it is reasonable to suggest that these were the premises where Kit Ellis traded at Phillack from 1815. The Phillack tithe map and book provides a snapshot of premises which were listed as inns and their occupiers. This included Crotch’s (i.e. the White Hart 1453), Floyd’s (the Royal Standard 1558), and the Britannia Inn (1695); the Hayle Hotel occupied by John Hambly (762); the Miners’ Arms at Guilford occupied by James Mildren (726); the inn at Angarrack (457) occupied by Joseph Hockin; and the inn at Phillack churchtown (1620) which was occupied by William Harvey. By 1842 Kit Ellis is known to have established links with at least four of these seven Phillack establishments as well as others in the wider district. Most if not all of these hotels and inns, as well as other premises serving beer, may have had brew-houses, but these were not listed in the tithe apportionment book.



Figure 5. Phillack tithe map detail showing the Bodriggy brewery and malthouse.

Source. CRO: TM/186. Reproduced courtesy of Cornwall Record Office.

In the 1830s-40s Kit Ellis’ business appears to have prospered. From the age of eight the younger Christopher Ellis attended Mr Barnes boarding shool on Voundervour Lane at Penzance. After leaving school Christopher Ellis was employed as his ‘father’s office clerk’ (1851 census); it is possible that the brewery

office on Sea Lane was built to accommodate this development in the business.

30 years after Edward Richards' debts had been assigned to Elias Magnus for collection Kit Ellis was appointed as an assignee to receive the debts owed to two former innkeepers who had applied to the Courts for relief as insolvent debtors. In May 1847 Kit Ellis was the assignee for the debts of William Tyack, a Ludgvan innkeeper who had died insolvent.⁵⁹ And in November the same year he was appointed assignee for Alice Uren;⁶⁰ Kit Ellis was one of Alice Uren's debtors who had taken her to court in July 1847 in pursuit of the money he was owed.

A series of civil court cases reported in the *West Briton* from 1847-51 illustrate some aspects of the organisation of Kit Ellis' business as a brewer and spirit merchant and show that he tenaciously pursued his business debtors; his son, an office clerk, Christopher Ellis, assisted in the preparation and presentation of these civil cases. In July 1847 the *West Briton* reported the first of these cases against Alice Uren who had kept the Trevelyan Arms at Goldsithney:

INSOLVENT DEBTORS At the County Court held at Bodmin, on Wednesday, before G.G. Kekewich, Esq., the case of Alice Uren, late of Perranuthnoe, widow, upon her petition and Schedule, filed in the Insolvent Debtors Court, was heard under an order of reference from that Court. Insolvent was arrested on the 12th of July last, at the suit of Christopher Ellis, beer and spirit merchant of Hayle, for £90 18s 4d. She had been an innkeeper, and her discharge was now opposed by Mr P. Wallis, on behalf of the detaining creditor. She was supported by Mr Bennett. The grounds of opposition were that no mention was made or account given in the schedule of certain leasehold property sold by the insolvent in the year 1843, and it was submitted on her behalf that the sale (if any), having taken place before the debts in the schedule were contracted, the opposing creditor could not be entitled to any such account. The court, appearing to be of the latter opinion, ordered the insolvent to be discharged forthwith.

Like the 1846 case brought by Mary and Thomas Ellis of Helston this court decision went against Kit Ellis whose next actions to recover outstanding debts were through the Stannary Court.

On 14 March 1851 a *West Briton* report of Stannary Court cases included four cases brought by Kit Ellis. Firstly, against William James who was also an innkeeper at Goldsithney of the Crown Inn:

Ellis v. James An undefended case, in which Mr. Roberts appeared for plaintiff, a brewer of Hayle. The action was to recover a sum of £31. 19s. 1d., the balance of an account for beer supplied to the defendant, an innkeeper. It appeared from the evidence of plaintiff's son, that the defendant was altogether indebted to plaintiff in the amount of £48 including £16 for rent; but the plaintiff had chosen to limit his claim to £31. 19s. the balance of an account for beer supplied; and for this amount the jury gave a verdict for plaintiff.

Secondly, against 'Hoskin' who cannot be identified with certainty from the newspaper report; however George Hosking and John Hosking were both listed as innkeepers at Ludgvan in the 1851 census where the Ellis brewery acquired the Old Inn:

Ellis v. Hoskin This was an undefended action by the same plaintiff against another innkeeper, for the recovery of £20, which it was stated was £8 less than was actually due. Verdict for plaintiff £20. These cases were proved by Francis Soddy, who served the summonses, and Christopher Ellis, the plaintiff's son and bookkeeper.

Thirdly, against Hugh Penhalligon who was listed as a farm labourer at Helston in the 1851 census:

Ellis v. Penhalligon Plaintiff was Mr. Christopher Ellis, of Hayle, spirit merchant; defendant, Mr. Hugh Penhalligon, of Helston. The action was brought for recovery of £50, balance of account for rent of dwelling house and premises, held from June, 1847, to November 1850. Verdict taken by consent for £35. Mr. Roberts for plaintiff.

Lastly, against 'Murley' of Gwinear; Richard Murley was listed as a grocer at Gwinear in the 1841 and 1851 censuses at Lanyon Vean where Christopher Ellis had leased the Lanyon Arms. In 1851 Ann Murley was also separately listed as a 'grocer and draper' at Gwinear: 'Ellis of Hayle, v. Murley, of Gwinear. Action brought for recovery of £30 for goods sold and delivered, Verdict taken by consent for £15.' These cases illustrated the Stannary Court's resolution of traders' debts and disputes which formed an important element of Cornwall's commercial environment for sole traders

and small businesses based on long standing traditions which upheld individual enterprise in the tin trade.

In November 1850, when Kit Ellis secured a seven year lease to the Farmers' Arms at Gwithian from Peter Curnow Veale for £20 a year, he was described as a 'brewer' at Copperhouse.⁶¹ One month later the *West Briton* reported that clothes and ducks had been stolen from Kit Ellis' premises:

HAYLE. This neighbourhood has been infested with a gang of depredators. On Monday night last, some ducks and wearing apparel were stolen from the premises of Mr Christopher Ellis, Copperhouse. A reward has been offered for the discovery of the offenders.

This may suggest that Kit Ellis continued to supply food as well as alcohol to his retail outlets and other customers. On 30 March 1851, shortly after the last of the Stannary court hearings, the census found Kit Ellis 'brewer and spirit merchant' at home in Copperhouse West with his wife, Grace Ellis, and their four youngest children. Edward Chegwin was living nearby and was described as a 'boiler maker's labourer', possibly already keeping a beershop at what became the Cornish Arms.

The historical evidence reveals that from 1814 Kit Ellis initially operated as a grocer or victualler and then in the 1820s as a general merchant before developing his business as a brewer, wine and spirit merchant including acquiring experience directly managing the Hayle Hotel in the early 1830s. Kit Ellis may have been responsible for building or rebuilding of the Bodriggy malthouse and for building the brewery office on Sea Lane. Kit Ellis may also have developed or redeveloped retail premises at the Bodriggy brewery in the 1830s which were then kept by innkeeper Robert Stevens at the time of the 1841 census. No direct evidence has been found of the Bodriggy brewery premises being transferred to, or occupied by, Kit Ellis in 1815-34; or that he occupied the field described as 'arable' in 1842 on which the Hayle steam brewery was built.

In addition to trading through the Britannia Inn at Hayle, the Hayle Hotel at east Copperhouse, the Miners' Arms at Guilford, the Farmers' Arms at Gwithian, and the Lanyon Arms at Gwinear, the Ellis family also appear to have had longstanding connections with the

inn at Relubbus, where the *West Briton* on 6 January 1843 reported: 'VALUABLE CANARY BIRD We are informed that Mr. Ellis, innkeeper, of Relubbus, had a canary bird sitting on Christmas day, for the fifth time during the year'. The 1847-51 court cases show that Kit Ellis traded with the Crown Inn and Trevelyan Arms at Goldsithney, and licensed premises with a landlord named Hosking, possibly at Ludgvan. As these are cases which went to court it is likely that by 1851 Kit Ellis had established a larger group of customers in the parishes surrounding Hayle which formed a viable trading legacy. The court cases established that the Ellis family would pursue unpaid commercial debts, which then proved less necessary after the younger Christopher Ellis became responsible for managing the business from 1851.

The family legacy of Christopher 'Kit' Ellis (1790-1851)

Kit Ellis died after a short illness on 17 May 1851. During his last illness a will was hastily drawn up on 30 April in the presence of his nephew Hannibal Ellis and witnessed by John Rescorla:

Instructions for the will of Christopher Ellis of Phillack brewer household furniture, stock in trade & debts & with leasehold policies of annuitants and all other personal estate to be held by wife Grace & son Christopher upon trust to pay debts & carry on present business for benefit of themselves & son John Frederick and daughters. After death of wife son Fred to come into partnership with Christopher taking his mother's share therein. But in case he shall have been put out into life & in a situation to provide for himself business shall remain to son Christopher. After death of wife if daughters shall continue with & form part of their brother's family they may do so but if they shall choose to separate from their brothers as the case may be then they shall have the rent of the leasehold dwelling house: & malthouse between them their brother or brothers who may be carrying on the business to have the use of those premises at a fair & reasonable rent to be paid by two parts one to be chosen by the brothers and the other by the daughters. But if the rent shall fail to procure £30 per annum then the son or sons in the business shall make up the rent to a sum equal to £30.⁶²

Kit Ellis' death occurred before that of his widowed mother, Alice Ellis, who had inherited all of her husband, John Ellis', estate including Pedan Ponds farm in

St. Erth. Censuses and the Phillack title map confirm that in the 1840s-50s Alice Ellis lived at Bodriggy in a cottage which she leased on St. John's Street, opposite the malthouse. In the 1851 census Alice Ellis was listed as a 'landholder'. However, Alice Ellis' ownership of Pedan Ponds farm at St. Erth was a lease on lives, including that of her son, and it is possible that the specific reference to 'leasehold policies of annuitants' in Kit Ellis' will was intended to prompt sound administration by the family after his death of his 91 year old mother's landholdings.

Whereas Alice Ellis was probably a retail trader after she was widowed at the age of 53 there is no evidence to suggest that Grace Ellis became actively involved in the family's commercial operations after being widowed at the same age. However, the terms of her deceased husband's will made Grace Ellis partly responsible for the future direction and running of the family business. From 1852 a separate lease for the dwelling houses, brewery and walled garden at Bodriggy was held by Grace Ellis. Given that these properties were occupied by Kit Ellis in 1842 it is likely that this lease was renewed following Christopher Ellis' death in 1851 and to reflect the instructions in his will; it provided a defined property share for John Frederick Ellis' future inheritance. Both the 1835 and 1852 leases were listed as current in an 1865 sale catalogue for 5/6 of the Bodriggy estate freehold.⁶³

In 1856 John Frederick Ellis married Celia Waters the nineteen year old daughter of Sampson and Peggy Waters. Fred Ellis and Celia Waters probably met when the Waters family were living at Bodriggy in the early 1850s where Celia and her younger sister Emily attended girls' boarding school at Angarrack; their father Sampson Waters was a mines agent living in Chile who was also an ardent Methodist and teetotaler. By 1856 an increasingly prosperous Sampson Waters had purchased White Hall on the road from Chacewater to Redruth which was in Kenwyn parish. When John Frederick Ellis married at Kenwyn parish church he was described as an 'accountant'; it is possible that on leaving school he had taken Christopher Ellis' former position as office clerk at the Bodriggy brewery. By 1861 the census found Fred and Celia Ellis living on St. John Street at Bodriggy where Fred Ellis was now described as an 'ale merchant' rather than accountant; they had two children with the domestic help of one house servant and a child's maid.

The family requirement to provide an income for Christopher and Fred Ellis' sisters was overtaken by events as Anna Ellis died in 1853 and Elizabeth Pearce in 1859, although Elizabeth Pearce left two young children and Grace Ellis cared for her orphaned grand-daughter. After Christopher Ellis married Barbara Curnow at Madron parish church in 1859 they lived with Grace Ellis and her two year old grand-daughter, Emily Pearce, in one of the two dwelling houses which later became the Cornish Arms; by 1861 Christopher and Barbara Ellis had one child and their household had the domestic help of one house servant.

It is possible that in the 1850s and early 1860s the younger Christopher Ellis reorganised the family's investments. The farm at Pedan Ponds was adjacent to the railway line and station at St. Erth which were developed in the early 1850s. When Pedan Ponds was sold has not been identified but it is clear that following Grace Ellis' death in 1864 Christopher Ellis had substantial funds available to build the Cornubia Hotel at Copperhouse at an estimated cost of £2,000 and he may also have leased or purchased the arable field where the Hayle Brewery was built.

The Copperhouse Brewery 1851-64

His father's unexpected death meant the younger Christopher Ellis assuming responsibility at the age of 19 for the brewery business at which he had worked for four years. In assuming responsibility for the business developed by his father it is likely that Christopher Ellis drew partly on commercial advice from his cousin, Hannibal Ellis, a merchant who was of Kit Ellis' generation and one of the executors of his own father's will. His brother, John Ellis, had established the Helston Brewery, for which Hannibal Ellis was a trustee in 1841-58. Hannibal Ellis was also socially well-established at Hayle having been actively involved in building the Copperhouse Methodist chapel in 1815, built his own house at Penpol in the 1830s, and in 1846 married for a second time to Anne Trevithick, the daughter of Richard Trevithick.

There are early signs that Christopher Ellis, as a 19 year old, may have found this experience challenging, but had already learned the importance of managing cash flow and was not afraid to innovate. It is possible that

Kit Ellis had employed Thomas Chegwin (1817-94) as a brewer and this arrangement may have continued; nevertheless initially the younger Christopher Ellis may have taken an interest in how best to manage the process and costs of brewing. In November 1851 Christopher Ellis purchased seven bushels of malt from William Nicholas at Lelant for £6 13s 0d; or 19s per bushel, paying by cheque in February 1852.⁶⁴ Controlling and spreading the cost of routine purchases remained an enduring interest for Christopher Ellis as a business manager; in 1868 he noted that at Truro market he had been able to purchase barley for 14s a bushel from Griggs and Arthur. Nevertheless the family continued to lease farmland and managing the farm was another of Christopher Ellis' responsibilities following his father's death.

A year after the death of Kit Ellis the Miners' Arms at Guilford burned down in July 1852. The *West Briton* on 9 July reported that the fire was suspected to be arson:

FIRE - On Sunday last, a fire broke out at the Miners' Arms, at Guilford, near Hayle. Between two and three o'clock in the morning the landlord was awoke from his slumber by the alarm given by an old invalid, and on getting up he had barely time to rescue his children, and to save a few articles of wearing apparel, before his home and all it contained became a prey to the devouring element. An attempt was made to burn the house on Monday week, but the fire was discovered before it had made much progress. It is supposed on this occasion to have been the work of an incendiary.

This was a shocking incident which also caused the sudden commercial loss of a brewery outlet which had been rented by Kit Ellis from Samuel Pick; and for many years after this incident the younger Christopher Ellis acted as an insurance agent at Hayle.

Despite or because of the way in which the lease on the Bodriggy brewery and dwelling houses had been renewed by Grace Ellis, Christopher Ellis' determined application to business started with the development of the Copperhouse Brewery so that by 1861 he was listed in the census as a 'Brewer employing three men'. In 1861 the second dwelling house, which was leased to generate income, was described in the census as a 'Beer Shop' occupied by boiler maker, Edward Chegwin, the brother of brewer, Thomas Chegwin. The younger Christopher Ellis appears to have brought greater

clarity to the organisation and running of the brewery business at Copperhouse.

Grace Ellis' death in November 1864 wrought changes in the commercial and working relationship between Christopher Ellis and his brother, Fred Ellis; as instructed by their father's will Fred Ellis inherited his mother's share of the business. Following their mother's death the relationship between the brothers, who were now business partners, changed. This may have been most challenging for Christopher Ellis who had in effect been sole proprietor for 13½ years when his mother died and the arrangements made in his father's will came into effect.

The Cornubia Hotel

In the mid 1860s, having apparently consolidated the Copperhouse Brewery as a commercial enterprise, Christopher Ellis embarked on plans to expand and diversify the business. He decided to open a new hotel at Copperhouse partly to cater for commercial travellers arriving at Hayle on trains and passenger steam boats from Bristol and elsewhere. This development constituted a substantial investment of an estimated £2,000 (equivalent to about £500,000 today); it was an interesting choice to make at a time when there was substantial commercial disinvestment in the east end of Hayle as the copper industry declined.

The Cornubia Hotel was built on 'Runnalls corner', at the junction of Church Street and Fore Street. The footprint of the dwelling house and yard shown on the 1842 Phillack tithe map was similar to the buildings footprint of the Cornubia Hotel. The land formed part of the Bodriggy estate and in 1842 the dwelling house and yard were leased and occupied by butcher, Sampson Runnalls (d.1854), who, by 1851, leased a second dwelling house with a shop to 24 year old grocer, George Bazeley. Sampson Runnalls' will also referred to 'new stores' behind the dwelling houses and shop including a smoke house, 'lard house' and pump house. His will set out arrangements for his two eldest sons to either occupy these premises on a subdivided basis or to take £50 to set up in business on their own. His eldest son, Henry Runnalls, subsequently opened a butcher's shop on Fore Street Redruth, but in 1865 was listed with his brother, Richard Runnalls, as lessee of the 'Shop,

houses etc' at Copperhouse. Sampson's widow, Elizabeth Runnalls, died in 1858 and by 1861 the Copperhouse premises were occupied by their second son, Richard Runnalls, whose sister and brother-in-law, James and Jane Edwards, now occupied the second dwelling and grocer's shop.

Richard Runnalls was declared bankrupt on 14 May 1863⁶⁵ and it may have been this event which enabled Christopher Ellis to lease or acquire Runnalls' corner. In 1865 5/6 of the Bodriggy estate freehold was auctioned, including Bodriggy House, Runnalls' 'Shop, houses etc' and the dwelling houses, brewery and malthouse leased by the Ellis family. Copies of the catalogue for this auction survive in the papers of Christopher Hawkins, but it is unclear whether a buyer was found. The new hotel encountered direct opposition which may not have been anticipated, when Christopher Ellis' application to licence the premises was refused by local magistrates when the hotel first opened in 1866; an appeal to the Quarter Sessions against this refusal was unsuccessful.

On 11 January 1867 Christopher Ellis announced in the *West Briton* that he would operate a new omnibus between the train station and the Cornubia Hotel:

CORNUBIA HOTEL

On and after 14th January I intend to run an OMNIBUS from the above Hotel to meet all trains arriving and departing to and from the Hayle Railway Station except the Sunday trains and the train leaving Penzance at 6.15am on weekdays.

Christopher Ellis offered a range of services to attract local customers as well as travellers to the Cornubia Hotel, including the omnibus and other local carriage services. At a time when local newspapers carried regular reports of economic distress in Cornwall the *West Briton* reported on 30 August 1867 that the new hotel had cost £2,000 to build and had now been granted a licence, partly because the point had been made that over 900 vessels annually entered the port of Hayle.

At the Cornubia Hotel Christopher Ellis recruited staff, partly from his nearest rival the Commercial Inn at Copperhouse; the ostler John Thomas and hotel manager and licensee William Lawrey both moved from the Commercial Inn to the Cornubia Hotel. Christopher

Ellis commercial investment and confidence in Hayle's future also found friendly support, not least from some of his deceased father's business acquaintances. In October an opening dinner was held to formally launch the Cornubia Hotel:

OPENING DINNER OF THE CORNUBIA HOTEL, HAYLE

- Mr Christopher Ellis, of Hayle Copperhouse, has recently constructed an hotel there, which affords excellent accommodation for families, commercial men, and visitors generally. He has provided excellent sitting and bedrooms, a comfortable commercial room, a large and spacious smoking room etc, and runs a 'bus to and fro to meet the train, so that Copperhouse keeps pace with many a larger place in its efforts to 'welcome the coming, speed the parting' guest. Mr Ellis having recently obtained his licensed victualler's certificate, his friends and customers to the number of 35, assembled on Friday last to open the house in a formal way, and to wish prosperity in a hearty manner to Mr and Mrs Ellis.⁶⁶

The dinner was presided over by Mr Roscorla of Penzance, probably John Roscorla who had witnessed Kit Ellis' will.

The after dinner speech welcomed the energy, enterprise and investment in Hayle's continuing prosperity which the Cornubia Hotel represented. However disinvestment continued as successive sales were held of the commercial premises and dwellings belonging to the Copperhouse Foundry. In July 1869 47/60 of the Copperhouse Foundry, including 140 dwelling houses and gardens and the Commercial Inn, were marketed with 911 years of a 999 year lease remaining.⁶⁷ Henry Harvey purchased some of the Hayle premises marketed by Sandys, Vivian & Co. including the Steam Packet Hotel.⁶⁸

It is unclear whether the after dinner speaker Mr Hosken of Loggans was William Hosken or his son Samuel Hosken. In the 1820s William Hosken had married Catherine Pick, the sister of Samuel Pick, and in 1873 the couple purchased the Hayle Hotel making it their private residence and renaming it Penmare House. Indirectly this move may have supported business at the Cornubia Hotel. On 16 February 1875 a further sale ordered by the Court of Chancery again auctioned the Copperhouse Foundry estate including 140 dwellings with the auction on this occasion being held at the Cornubia Hotel.⁶⁹

In the late 1860s Christopher Ellis operated a bus, carriage, and fly from the Cornubia Hotel while his brother, Fred Ellis, also had a gig. In 1910 the Cornubia was described as having four stables. John Thomas was employed as an ostler and it is clear that other employees were sometimes deployed as drivers or to help with changing and attending to the horses. As more than one vehicle might have been in use at one time it is likely that Christopher Ellis kept more than four horses for the Cornubia carriage services and may also have needed stabling for the horses of some hotel customers. In addition the brewery's distribution was by horse-drawn carts or waggons and it is likely that workhorses were used on the farm and possibly provided 'horsepower' for some processing tasks at the malthouse and brewery before steam mechanisation. The historic buildings report on the Hayle Brewery suggested that it may have been built on former stables. It is possible that Christopher Ellis first leased the field on Sea Lane to provide a paddock, stables and coach house in the late 1860s. It was redeveloped and brought into use as the Hayle Brewery premises and distribution depot after the Cornubia ceased providing an omnibus service to and from Hayle railway station.

In the late 1860s Christopher Ellis was a proactive member of Hayle's business community. He sought to build support and subscriptions for a new market house at Copperhouse which he viewed as important to local traders. Christopher Ellis also served as an elected member of the Phillack Local Board where he also sought to build support for improvements to some of the back lanes to make them carriage worthy and reduce reliance on toll roads and the costs of road transport.

C. & J.F. Ellis

Christopher Ellis combined building, developing and managing the new hotel business with continuing to run the Copperhouse Brewery. Whilst developing the Copperhouse Brewery business and then the Cornubia Hotel Christopher Ellis had apparently been able to sustain the customer base developed by his father and Ellis & Co. at Helston. By the late 1860s the Copperhouse Brewery managed and traded with inns, hotels and beer sellers at Hayle, Gwithian, Gwinear, Ludgvan, St. Hilary, Marazion, Goldsithney, Helston, Penzance, Lelant, and many other settlements, particularly in

Penwith. It is possible that Fred Ellis, while employed as 'ale merchant', may have called on taken orders and collected payments from customers of the Copperhouse Brewery, contributing to the continuance and development of these relationships by the early 1860s.

In 1861 Celia Ellis' widowed father, Sampson Waters, had married for a second time to 42 year old Susan Tremayne; they had no children. Sampson Waters' mining interests in Chile had made him a wealthy man. In 1863, he purchased Gyllyngdune at Falmouth for £10,000; his other local investments included £1,000 in Falmouth docks, and shares in the Falmouth Hotel. As a Wesleyan, he also donated to the building and upkeep of Chapels. When his son, John Waters, who had married Ellen Trebilcock at Phillack parish church in 1862, returned from Chile, John and Ellen Waters lived at White Hall. In 1866 Sampson Waters died and the following August Christopher Ellis' cousin and business mentor, Hannibal Ellis, also died.

Despite the demands of the Cornubia Hotel, Christopher Ellis was a peripatetic manager who recognised the importance of calling on customers to develop relationships and at premises to see the business' shopfront. He also applied himself as necessary to routine chores from decanting or getting change to account keeping. In the late 1860s Christopher Ellis directly managed some aspects of licensees' business such as getting change for William Richards, who kept the Falmouth Packet Inn at Roseudgeon, and Richard Bennetts, who kept the Jolly Tinnars at St. Hilary. Other aspects of tenancies could prove more difficult to manage. Following the death of innkeeper Benjamin Johns in 1867 his widow, Ann Johns, remained at the Lord Nelson in Relubbus. When Christopher Ellis called at Relubbus in March 1868 he found the Lord Nelson locked up, but despite taking legal action had difficulty evicting an unreliable tenant. Nevertheless his peripatetic approach at least meant he always knew what was happening at the business' shopfront.

It is evident that Christopher Ellis took satisfaction from his commercial achievements and increased family prosperity whether or not, he enjoyed the necessary tasks. Both brothers may have lacked aptitude for everyday onsite management of manufacturing at the Copperhouse brewery; from 1868 Christopher and Fred Ellis' maternal uncle, Thomas Toman was employed as

an office clerk and bookkeeper onsite at the brewery and was then actively involved in organising the cellars and casks by Christopher Ellis. Fred Ellis had a disdain for 'retail' and may not have understood his brother's willing participation in shopfront activities, but he was presumably content to earn his living as a 'brewer and wine and spirit merchant' as he was described in the 1871 census. Fred Ellis was a manufacturer and merchant, not a retailer, and he had other things on his mind, not least the perceived unfairness of his deceased and wealthy father-in-law Sampson Waters' provision for Fred Ellis' wife, Celia, and the other children from his first marriage.

Customers of the Hayle Brewery

From the late 1860s Christopher Ellis completed regular rounds meeting brewery customers and calling at leased premises: mostly riding on horseback to his destinations in rural Penwith and sometimes taking evening walks from Copperhouse to Phillack, Conner Downs, Marazion, Relubbus and Roseudgeon; occasionally taking the horse and cart to Penzance and beyond; and taking the train to Grampound Road, Truro or Chacewater where he sometimes made use of others' carriage services for his local journeys. From 1869 beer shops became less common after legislation made them subject to licensing by local magistrates, but Christopher Ellis brought in additional trade by widening and close-

ly working the geographical area their business covered and increasing the number of trade customers.

The Ellis brewery at Hayle managed some public houses and sold beer, wine and spirits to other innkeepers, retailers, and private customers. They had some well-established trade with outlets across west Cornwall, in the north coast mining area between Morvah and St. Just, as far west as Lands End, and along the south coast at Penzance, Marazion and St. Hilary. Other members of their wider family also traded with or were employed by the Ellis Brewery. In 1856-8 Christopher Ellis' brother-in-law, William Pearce, ran the Commercial Hotel at St. Just. Christopher Ellis' maternal cousin, Thomas H. Toman, was innkeeper of the First and Last inn at Sennen which may already have been owned by the Ellis brewery. In 1868 Barbara Ellis' brother, William Curnow, married and also found work and a home at the First and Last inn where they probably built the new house next door to the old inn:

Previously there had been some delays in completing repairs at the First and Last possibly associated with building of the new house so that Christopher Ellis regularly called on Thomas H. Toman who he appears to have found uncooperative. The building work was soon completed and in the early 1870s William Curnow moved to be licensee of the Rodney Inn at Helston. Any family tensions associated with the intervention of Christopher Ellis and William Curnow at Sennen may



Figure 6 (left). The First and Last inn, date unknown. Figure 7 (right). The First and Last inn, date unknown.

not have been fully resolved until Thomas H. Toman built the Lands End Hotel and his brother, Edwin Toman, became licensee of the First and Last.

In the late 1860s as Christopher Ellis managed his hotel business he also worked hard to expand the brewery sales rounds bringing in new customers adding new outlets and expanding their market reach east of Truro as far as Grampound Road. He was partly able to do this because Fred Ellis and later his uncle Thomas Toman were present onsite at the brewery and Fred Ellis also helped to manage the farm. It is possible that some of the Copperhouse brewery's outlets had longstanding trade connections with Ellis family enterprises which had developed since the eighteenth century; but the significant expansion in the 1860s-70s was deliberately planned and executed by Christopher Ellis despite the pressures on Cornwall's economy caused by disinvestment in Cornish copper and tin mines.

The Hayle steam brewery

The brewing industry had not been slow to take up steam power with mechanised production helping to meet demand in urban centres. Before the development of a clean water supply and tea as a beverage which everyone could afford small beer was the everyday drink of children as well as adults. The first brewery to install a Boulton and Watt steam engine was the Red Lion Brewhouse at Wapping in 1784. By 1789, Whitbreads had opened a fully automated brewery in London which used steam power to grind the malt; pump the water, mash and beer; agitate the mash tubs; and raise filled barrels from underground. It became a destination for sightseers.⁷⁰ Despite the fact that Hayle was a manufacturing centre associated with the early development of steam technology there is no evidence that the Copperhouse Brewery used anything other than traditional unmechanised production methods. However, in the early 1870s the brewery premises on Sea Lane in Hayle underwent substantial development. The *Royal Cornwall Gazette* reported on 8 March 1873: 'New Brewery - The extensive new brewery of Messrs C. and F.J. Ellis is now completed and in operation. New and improved methods have, it is said been introduced'; and in the late 1870s the Company purchased a steam-powered engine from Harvey & Co.⁷¹ The investment was based on the already expanded cus-

tomers group and sales round Christopher Ellis developed for the brewery.

By 1873 Christopher Ellis' family lived at Redessa House in Bodrigny; and by 1878 John Frederick's family lived at Riviere mansion. The *Harrods Directory* in 1878 was the first to refer to Hayle 'steam brewery'; the brothers' business being described as brewers, wine and spirit merchants. But by the time the *Harrods Directory* was published the business partnership between Christopher Ellis and John Frederick Ellis had been dissolved. Their decision was publicised in the *London Gazette* on 18 January 1878:

Notice is hereby given, that the Partnership heretofore subsisting between us the undersigned, Christopher Ellis and John Frederick Ellis, carrying on business as Brewers and Wine and Spirit Merchants, at Hayle, in the county of Cornwall, under the firm of C. and J.F.Ellis, has been dissolved as from the 28th day of December, 1877, by mutual consent - Witness our hands this 15th day of January, 1878. Chrisy Ellis. J.F.Ellis.

Both brothers continued to live at Hayle where John Frederick Ellis was listed in the 1881 census as a wine and spirit merchant; but by the late 1880s John Frederick and his family moved to Plymouth, although up to 1893 he continued to be listed at Hayle in trade directories. Christopher Ellis managed the Hayle Brewery. Dissolving the brothers' partnership opened the way for Christopher Ellis' eldest son, Chrissie Ellis (1860-1951), to take an active role in managing the Hayle Brewery; by the time of the 1881 census the latter was described as a brewer.

At the time of the 1881 census Christopher Ellis was resident at the Cornubia Hotel and described as a hotel keeper; he appears to have had difficulty finding a successor to William Lawrey as hotel licensee. Some employees who moved on from the Cornubia remained associated or continued to trade with Christopher Ellis. For example the ostler, John Thomas, who left the Copperhouse inn to work at the Cornubia, later became an innkeeper, moving first to the Angarrack inn, then to the Lanyon Arms at Gwinear, and then to the Royal Standard at Gwinear. Trusted licensees may have reduced the need for frequent visits to the Hayle Brewery outlets; but circumstances would always arise where direct management was the most practical

option. After Barbara Ellis' brother-in-law, Thomas James, died, his 20 year old daughter managed the Albert Vaults at Penzance. In 1883, Christopher Ellis was listed as the licensee of the Albert Vaults, 1 East Terrace, Market Jew Street, Penzance in *Kelly's Directory* (probably Chrissie Ellis rather than his father). In the 1880s, as part of his preparation for managing the Hayle Brewery, Chrissie Ellis visited the Southbroom Brewery in Wiltshire where he met his future wife and also developed lifelong commercial associations.

The Southbroom Brewery, Devizes, Wiltshire

Frederick Peter Humby, a brewer born at Charlton, Wiltshire in 1833, married Mary Ann at Devizes in 1855. In 1861 the census found Frederick and Mary Humby living with their three young children at Southbroom Place in the St. James district of Devizes, Wiltshire. Their home was near the 'Humby Southbroom Brewery' which is referred to in an 1861 advertisement.

The Humby Southbroom Brewery may not have prospered. By 1880 an advertisement in the *Kelly's Directory* for Devizes in Wiltshire confirmed that they had merged with another local company to form: 'Humby and Robbins. Wine and Spirit merchants. Pale ale, strong beer and porter brewers. Southbroom Brewery Devizes.' Mary Ann Humby died in 1881. The 1881 census found widower Frederick Peter Humby and his eldest daughter, 24 year old Rosanna, staying as guests at a brewery in Glamorgan; two of the younger children, 'brewer's son' Henry aged 16 and Edith aged ten, were at home with one servant at Southbroom Place where the family had lived in the 1850s-60s. In 1882 Frederick Peter Humby died.

It is possible that Chrissie Ellis was employed at the Southbroom Brewery sometime after the death of Peter Humby and before Henry Bertram Keitley (1858-1936) managed the Humby family's business. At the time of the 1881 census 23 year old Harry Bertram Keitley was living at Worton in Wiltshire where he was described as a salesman of ales, wine, and spirits. It seems likely that Harry Bertram Keitley met the Humby family into which he later married through his work; and that he was either employed by Humby and Robbins as a sales representative or offered to market their products. In

1884 Harry Bertram Keitley married Rosanna Sarah Humby and was probably involved in managing the Southbroom Brewery, possibly working alongside Chrissie Ellis with whom he maintained later business and personal connections. In the mid-1880s Devizes became home to its first purpose built brewery when the new Wadworth's Brewery opened in 1885. The Humby and Robbins Southbroom brewery may have found it difficult to remain in business alongside Wadworths, and appears to have been closed in the late 1880s.

In 1888 Chrissie Ellis married brewer's daughter, Lily Robbins, at Devizes. Shortly after the birth of their first baby, Gladys Lilian, the family moved to Cornwall.

After Rosanna Keitley died in 1886 Harry Keitley married Rosanna's younger sister, 18 year old Edith Mary Humby, at Marylebone in 1888. During his second marriage the Keitley family moved several times. Nevertheless Harry Bertram Keitley continued to be in contact with Chrissie Ellis on a partly commercial basis and attended the funeral of Christopher Ellis in 1906 at Phillack parish church.

The Hayle Brewery

By the late 1880s Christopher Ellis' hard work and business acumen had yielded substantial rewards. When Chrissie and Lily Ellis' eldest son, Frederick Robbins Ellis, was christened at Phillack parish church in 1891 their address was given as Bodriggy House. Christopher and Barbara Ellis had moved to Penpol where Barbara Ellis died in 1893.

Christopher Ellis (1831-1906) established a successful business which, with new mechanised brewery premises built on the other side of Sea Lane in the 1870s, remained in operation for another 60 years; acquiring many of the 30 properties and leases for public houses which transferred in 1934 to the St Austell Brewery. The 1901 census described 69 year old Christopher Ellis as a brewer. When Christopher Ellis died in 1906, his funeral at Phillack parish church was well attended by both family and business associates.

It is unclear how far Chrissie Ellis was a peripatetic manager. In 1903 the *West Briton* reported the Albert Vaults' licence had been renewed on condition that the

‘bottle and jug’ sales section was closed because it had become a ‘harbour for loose women’. Despite this licensing restriction under naval and military powers introduced in 1914 as Britain went to war the Albert Vaults at Penzance was one of the public houses closed by the Cornwall Compensation Authority.⁷²

A rates appeal in 1910 by two Hayle Brewery tied outlets provided an interesting snapshot of their trade. Both the Cornubia Hotel, managed by W.R. Oxford, and the White Hart Hotel, managed by Griffiths, were required to sell only ‘liquors, aerated water, cigars or cigarettes’ purchased from the Hayle Brewery at a ‘fair current market price’. The Cornubia was estimated to receive 50 customers a day by rail plus a large number of wagonette parties and excursions visiting the Hayle Towans; and to have purchased 190 barrels of beer at 4s each, 1,203 dozens of bottled ale and stout, 328 gallons of wine and spirits, plus minerals at 3d per dozen.⁷³ It was the file notes on this case which confirmed that the Cornubia had four stall stables which, in 1910, were leased to the White Hart Hotel, ran charabancs in the summer and had its own stabling and a yard for 15 horses and 4 cows.⁷⁴ Both outlets were valued by M.A. Body who considered the Cornubia had a higher rental value than was charged by the Hayle Brewery; but it is possible Chrissie Ellis purposefully charged lower rents to maximise the Hayle Brewery’s sales.

Chrissie Ellis managed the Hayle Brewery business until the 1930s. The economic slump of the later 1920s and early 1930s bit hard in Cornwall and by 1934 Ellis & Co. went into voluntary liquidation. The company’s assets, which by this time included 30 public houses, were merged with Walter Hicks & Co. who formed St. Austell Brewery Company in 1934; with Chrissie Ellis joining the Board of the St. Austell Brewery Company as a paid director.

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