London Brewed: a historical directory of the commercial brewers of London from circa 1650
By Brown, M.
Longfield, Kent: Brewery History Society
2015, Pp.420, £19.95

Without doubt this is the most comprehensive, detailed and thorough reference on the history of brewing in London ever published and deserves a place in the library of any student of beer history.

Picking up work started by the late Norman Barber, Mike Brown has provided at the very least the bare facts known about each brewing concern and, in many cases much more. Whitbread, for example, is explored over the course of seven densely packed A4 pages.

It is an exercise in the collation of facts with a focus on names, chronology, financial matters, barrelage and so on. While this does not exactly make for relaxing bedtime reading it is the kind of book (like Norman Barber’s Century of British Brewers) that will be pulled off the shelf to settle arguments and answer queries for years to come.

And browsing does reveal some entertaining nuggets such as the intriguing account of Robert Kreitner’s 1906 summons for selling Weissbier brewed without a licence, the beer being described in court as ‘similar to Plymouth white ale and 6% in strength’.

Brown has mined the now standard sources -- newspaper archives, books and genealogical records rendered accessible and searchable by digitisation projects -- as well as more obscure publications available only through specialist collections. Like Ian Mackey’s similarly monumental Twenty Five Years of New British Breweries from 1998, this book is somewhat marred by the absence of footnotes for each entry, or even a list of sources, although a note in the bibliography promises that notes will be provided online at a later date. This, we assume, was driven by the matter of space - the book is rather crowded as it is.

Applying the standard test of a reference book we looked up two breweries whose histories we know well. First, the Tottenham Lager Beer Brewery, the entry for which contains accurate basic information, an interesting anecdote or two, and a few details that were new to us. It is accompanied by an excellent photograph of the brewery itself that we had previously only seen in a local history book.

Then there is Godson, the first new London Brewer of the microbrewery boom of the 1970s. This entry we found functional but it fails to mention the name of the founder, Patrick Fitzpatrick. A slightly confusing note to ‘see entry’ sent us to the index which in turn directed us to p.136; we eventually found Mr Fitzpatrick on p.135 in the brief text on The Black Horse Brewery, as it was known in its first few
months and before relocating. Ideally, this would have all been under one entry with a cross-referencing note in one location or the other.

This hints at the book’s other shortcoming which is its rather crude design and occasionally chaotic organisation. This is an enthusiast’s project, aimed at other enthusiasts, and was apparently put together in a word processing package using plain sans serif fonts, almost like a fanzine. Page references in the index (based on a sample of ten or so) are often out of whack by a page or so which can be frustrating, and Whitbread is missing from the index altogether. Fortunately, the geographical ordering of the entries makes it easy to find most breweries if you know roughly where they were situated. Illustrations, though copious and well chosen, are often reproduced at a small size and sometimes appear to have been sourced from poor quality JPEGs presumably found online or sourced by email.

Quibbles aside, it is hard not to admire the dedication and thoroughness of the author, and to feel grateful to the Brewery History Society for enabling this kind of frankly uncommercial but nonetheless important project.

JESSICA BOAK AND RAY BAILEY

Ind Coope & Samuel Allsopp Breweries: The History of the Hand
By Webster, I.
Stroud: Amberley Publishing
2015 Pp.128, £12.99
ISBN 978 1 4456 3898 0

The known story of the Ind family, brewers of Romford, begins on 10 September 1749, when Robert Ind married Ann Ralph in the small village of Witton, or Wyton, about two miles outside Huntingdon. A little over four years later, on 2 January 1754, their son James was christened at St Ives in Huntingdonshire. By 1778 James had moved to Baldock, Hertfordshire, where he was working as a clerk, according to the Hertfordshire Militia ballot lists, and that December he married Mary Thurgood in Baldock.

Thurgood, also spelt Thorogood, Thoroughgood and a host of other variations, was a common name in East Hertfordshire, Essex and South Cambridgeshire. One member of the family was Robert Thurgood, a maltster (Baldock was a big malting town) who purchased property on the east side of Baldock High Street in 1734 that became the nucleus of a later brewery. Robert was certainly a brewer when he bought more property alongside his 1734 purchase in 1743. The Hertfordshire historian W Branch Johnson says Robert Thurgood’s father, whom he names as John, was a brewer when he acquired a mortgage on the Cock Inn a little further down the High Street in 1738 (Hertfordshire Inns Vol 1 p.33), and the Baldock historian Kate Westaway claimed that Mary Thurgood was the daughter of Robert. However, both these claims about family relationships must be wrong.

Instead, Robert Thurgood the brewer, who died in January 1775 aged 62, when he was described as ‘one of the most considerable brewers in the kingdom’, is almost certainly the Robert Thorogood christened at St Mary’s, Baldock on December 1 1713, son of Thomas Thurgood/Thorogood of Debden in south east Essex, born 1691, and his wife Mary. Robert had two brothers also christened at St Mary’s: Thomas, in June 1711, who appears to have later been a farmer in nearby Ashwell; and John, in January 1717, both under the spelling Thorogood. It was John Thurgood/Thorogood, who married Hannah Harris in Baldock in May 1758, and who was the father of Mary Thurgood, born in February 1759.

Robert, incidentally, appears to have had only one daughter, Sarah, born 1749. Mary Thurgood/Ind’s cousin, who married Thomas Clutterbuck of Clutterbuck’s brewery in Stanmore, Middlesex, in 1770. When Robert Thurgood died, he left his brewery, and...
other property, including a dozen public houses, to Sarah and Thomas’s first-born son, Robert Clutterbuck, who was then only two and a half years old. The brewery in Baldock was leased to and then eventually bought by the Pryors, another family of Baldock maltsters (some of whom went on to be partners in Truman Hanbury and Buxton, and also Pryor Reid in Hatfield) and eventually became Simpson’s brewery, finally acquired by Greene King. Sarah Thurgood/Clutterbuck is the five-times great-grandmother, through his mother, of David Cameron, making the Inds distant cousins of the Prime Minister.

There is evidence that Mary’s father John, who died in 1781 aged 64, was involved in the brewing trade, possibly with his brother Robert. A mortgage deed from 1763 now held at Hertfordshire Archives mentions ‘Robert Thurgood of Baldock, brewer’ and also "Thomas Thurgood of Ashwell, farmer, and John Thurgood of Baldock, brewer".

James Ind was still described as a brewer of Ashwell in the 1782 Militia ballot lists, but by 1784 he was being called a brewer of Baldock: his third child (of 10) was christened in Baldock in 1783. Whether James was brewing on his own account in the 1780s, or he was working for someone else, for example at his wife’s uncle’s old brewery, cannot be told. But he seems to have certainly started his own brewery by 1791, when he leased the Barley Mow pub in the nearby village of Clothall, and he is listed in the _Universal British Directory_ of 1794 as a farmer, maltster and brewer of Baldock. He is identified as the owner of a brewery and maltings in White Horse Street, Baldock in 1804, when he was involved in mortgage negotiations, and the documents imply that although the maltings were already there when Ind came to the property, he built the brewery himself.

James Ind, incidentally, has a younger brother called Robert, christened in 1756, who moved to Cambridge, where he evidently ran a millinery and drapery business. There were other Inds in Cambridge, several of whom were brewers: Edward Ind, ‘common brewer’, and one of the town’s aldermen, died in March 1808 aged 67; Robert Edward Burrell Ind was a brewer with an address given as Petty Cury in Cambridge in 1855; and Sarah Ind & Son were brewing on the north side of Earl Street, Cambridge in 1858.

Back in Baldock, James Ind’s eldest son Edward, christened in Ashwell in October 1779, moved to Romford in Essex, some six miles from his grandfather Thomas Thurgood’s home in Debden, where in 1799 he went into partnership with John Grosvenor to run the Star inn and brewery there. Eleven years later, in November 1810, James Ind died, aged 57, and with son Edward in Romford the brewery in Baldock passed to his only other son, James junior, born 1788. However, just nine months later, aged 23, James junior was killed in an accident:

Yesterday se’night as Mr James Ind, son of the late Mr. James Ind, of Baldock, Herts, was riding in a gig, the horse became restive, and threw him out, by which unfortunate accident he was killed on the spot, to the great grief of his disconsolate mother and surviving friends.

_Northampton Mercury_, 13 July 1811

James and his father are buried side-by-side in the churchyard at St. Mary’s, Baldock.

The brewery in White Horse Street and its 20 tied houses passed to Edward Ind, but he was busy building up his business in Romford, and he seems fairly quickly to have started leasing it to John Izard Pryor, now owners of Robert Thurgood’s old brewery in Baldock High Street. In 1815 Edward actually sold the White Horse Street brewery to Pryor. As part of the deal, Pryor had to pay each of James Ind senior’s six surviving daughters £800, settle a £5,000 mortgage on the brewery property and give Edward £2,200. James Ind senior had stipulated that his wife Mary should receive £100 a year until she died, and Edward Ind and his partner John Grosvenor agreed that this should be a charge on their own ‘newly erected’ brewhouse etc in Romford. If this was something John Pryor insisted on, he showed excellent foresight. Mary Ind lived on in the family home in White Horse Street for another 42 years, dying in 1857 aged 98. At her death, her descendents totalled an impressive 195.

The following year, in September 1816, Edward Ind and John Grosvenor dissolved the partnership of Ind and Grosvenor, brewers and maltsters, on Grosvenor’s retirement, and Ind took a new partner, John Smith.

By the early 1830s Ind and Smith were exporting their beer eastwards. On Saturday 7 December 1833 the
newspaper in New South Wales carried an advertisement from Lamb Buchanan & Co. of Castlereagh Street, Sydney offering for sale an assortment of goods including pickled salmon, ‘Scotch iron ploughs’, sherry, claret and rum - and ‘Ind and Smith’s pale ale, in hogsheads’. Four other brewers’ beers were also on sale: double brown stout and porter from Taylor’s of Limehouse, pale ale from Hodgson’s of Bow, strong ale from Ashby’s of Staines and Bass - significantly, not pale ale, but strong Burton ale. The following week the Hobart Town Courier in Tasmania was advertising ‘Ind & Smith’s India pale ale, and best brown stout, in hogsheads and in bottle’, part of a huge array of goods including ‘London clay pipes’, pint and quart imperial measures, clothing from hats to trousers, rum, port and madeira, all ‘just landed, in good order, by the barque Forth from London’. That the beer was named ‘India pale ale’ implies it was also on sale in India: Ind & Smith’s pale ale was certainly on sale in Calcutta in 1837 and in 1838 in Bombay Ind and Smith’s ale was selling at the same price as Bass, 65 rupees a hogshead, when Allsopps was 50 rupees and Hodgson’s 45.

The partnership of Ind & Smith was dissolved in April 1845 ‘by mutual consent’, when the partners were Edward Ind, his son Edmund Vipan Ind, John Smith, his son Henry Smith, and John Turner, John Smith’s son-in-law, who was the head brewer. John Smith, Henry Smith and Turner went off to join John Bird Fuller at the Griffin brewery in Chiswick: it seems an odd move for the Smiths and Turner to make, with no obvious motivation, but it may be that they felt they would be more in control at the Chiswick brewery, where John Bird Fuller, an investor rather than a brewer, had his estate in Neston Park, Wiltshire to look after. The Inds signed a new partnership with Octavius Coope, the 31-year-old third son of John Coope of Great Cumberland Place, Portman Square, London and Leyspring, Leyton, Essex, and his brother George, 21. Three years later, in June 1848, Edward Ind was dead, aged 69. The previous year Octavius Coope had attempted to do what many brewers had done before him and enter parliament, getting elected for the Conservative party in Great Yarmouth. But in February 1848 he was unseated on the grounds of ‘gross, systematic and extensive bribery’ during the election, and he did not finally become an MP until 1874.

While the Indian market was mostly for pale ale and porter, the Australian drinker, as implied by that ad for Bass Burton Ale from 1833, had a taste for the sweeter, darker, stronger beer as well, generally in the form of ‘No 3 Burton’, around 1080OG, often sold under the name Australian Ale. It appears that, to compete in the Australian market, Ind Coope started brewing their own version of Burton Ale. In 1855 Ind Coope had been advertising in the Liverpool Mercury its ‘Romford Pale Ale’ range, which included something called ‘NSW Australian Ale’ at 76 shillings a barrel, implying a huge OG, above 1100.

It looks as if the decision to acquire a branch brewery in Burton upon Trent in 1856, co-incidentally next door to Allsopp’s, was as much, if not more, to do with being able to brew a successful Burton Ale beer to export to Australia as to match Bass, Allsopp and the other Burton brewers at brewing India Pale Ales. In May 1857, when the first beers brewed by Ind Coope in Burton were just arriving in Australia, one of the local wholesalers took out an ad in the Melbourne Argus declaring:

Ind, Coope and Co’s No 3 Burton Ale - We beg to call the attention of consumers of Burton Ale to this new brand. Messers Ind, Coope and Co have long been celebrated for their brewing at Romford, and finding that the large Australian demand centered upon Burton, they have established a brewery there for the purpose of meeting the colonial taste.

You will find little or none of that in Ian Webster’s The History of the Hand, probably because this is a book that concentrates on the Burton end of things, with considerably more about the Allsopps and the post-1856 history of Ind Coope. The tale is skilfully told, though with the occasional regrettable repetition of myth, such as the idea that Hodgson’s brewery in Bow invented the beer that became known as India Pale Ale: recent research has found that pale ale was being exported to India from at least the 1740s, long before George Hodgson even started brewing. Webster also confuses Samuel Allsopp’s first brewing of IPA with the first brewing of the ‘new-style’ Burton Ale: both happened in 1822, prompted by the sudden imposition of heavy tariffs on British imports by Russia, which effectively ended the Burton brewers’ previously lucrative Baltic market, but it was the Burton ale Allsopp had problems selling in Liverpool until he persuaded the publicans there to let it mature, not, as Webster writes, the IPA. He
also writes that Allsopp’s was ‘probably’ the first brewery in the world to appoint a chemist, in 1845: but Truman’s in London had one, Robert Warington, who worked at the Brick Lane brewery from 1831 to 1839.

Where The History of the Hand is undoubtedly an invaluable addition to the literature is in its telling of the 20th century story of Ind Coope and Allsopp, not least the exposure of the drinking culture that dominated the brewery in Burton and, by implication, many other breweries as well. Stories of men drinking 24 Triple A’s (the barley wine descended from Allsopp’s Arctic Ale) before breakfast, of kegs of beer hidden in the inspection kit in the brewery garage, of teapots filled with beer for the mid-morning tea-break, of men drinking the ullage left in casks returning from pubs, will terrify a modern health and safety officer. It is also an excellent narrative of the final years of what was once, when the two neighbours in Burton merged in 1934, the largest brewing concern in the country, with 3,400 pubs.

The book also adds new details to the story of Ind Coope Burton Ale, the beer that, probably more than any other, fuelled the revival in sales of cask ale when it was introduced in 1976. Despite being called ‘Burton Ale’, it was, of course, an IPA, and based on ‘bottling Double Diamond’. The potential of bottled DD as a draught beer was revealed at a retirement party for an Ind Coope engineer in 1974, when a firkin of beer was served up that contained seven gallons of bottling DD and one of Triple A. It impressed production director Roy Moss, who was at the party to make a farewell speech, so much that a beer based on bottling DD, with the addition of dry-hopped Styrian Goldings, was developed as the premium draught beer Ind Coope had decided it needed to counter all these hairy young men from the Campaign for the Revitalisation of Ale with their ‘DD is K9P’ badges.

MARTYN CORNELL