

BOOK REVIEWS

Hoptopia: A World of Agriculture and Beer in Oregon's Willamette Valley

By Kopp, P.A.

Oakland, CA: University of California Press

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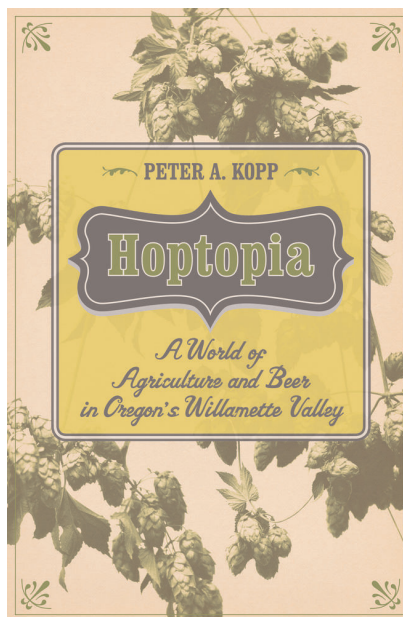
Nature contrived thousands of years ago to lay down volcanic and glacial soil up to a half-mile deep in Oregon's Willamette Valley, creating an agricultural vista long before the Lewis and Clark expedition arrived at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These days the valley is a leading producer of Christmas trees, hazelnuts, nursery stock, grass seed, berries, vegetables, grapes, and hops. Not surprisingly, many more words are written about its 500 wineries, and particularly the pinot noir wines they sell, than about hazelnuts. Likewise, although Willamette Valley farmers planted almost 350,000 acres with grass seed in 2016 and less than 8,000 with hops author Peter Kopp chose hops to represent how specialty crops 'redefined what it means to live in the agricultural utopia'.

Kopp introduces two important premises in the introduction to *Hoptopia: A World of Agriculture and Beer in Oregon's Willamette Valley*. One is that specialty crops offer a way to understand the identity of the places in which they grow. In this case, hops are the crop providing context and the Willamette Valley is the place.

The second is 'that the current revolution in craft beer is the product of a complex global history that converged in the hop fields of Oregon's Willamette Valley'. The valley provides context for understanding hops and, Kopp maintains, beer itself. 'The history that unfolded upon the region's environment integrated the rural and the urban, capital and labor, and economic, biological, and technological changes over time', he writes. 'All

offer a layered meaning about the nature of this place, and an explanation of why the beers of the craft beer revolution taste and smell as they do'.

These are ambitious theses to defend, and Kopp's approach is methodical, reflecting his interest in environmental history. He is an assistant professor at New Mexico State University, and his next book will be a biography of Fabián García, a New Mexico horticulturalist who hybridized chile and made it popular around the world. He didn't know what a hop plant looked like - which, in fact, is true of most people on earth - until about 10 years ago, when he was helping his father move into a home in the Willamette Valley and saw bins swinging on 18-foot high trellises for the first time. After a bit of research, and learning that the valley



once laid claim to being the ‘Hop Center of the World’, he decided to write a doctoral dissertation on the topic with the goal of using that as a launching point from which to write this book.

He begins with what he describes as a deep-time overview of the hop and its distant past. He is equally meticulous about presenting the origin story of the 150-mile long Willamette Valley before examining the establishment of agriculture and later hop farming. Oregon became the largest hop producing region in the United States in 1905, little more than three decades after farmers began cultivating the crop seriously. Kopp details how the industry became an industry, building the necessary agricultural and business infrastructure. Not surprisingly, the book has 58 pages of notes to support 195 pages of text. Kopp uses the notes not only to add information and cite sources, but to point to other work with a broader perspective. For instance, in a note to the second chapter he writes, ‘The story of a rising agricultural empire in the Willamette Valley is also the story of American Indian dispossession. For recent overview of how the arrival of Euro-American cultures affected regional tribes, see Laura Berg, ed., *The First Oregonians*’.

Because Oregon was at the center of American hop growing, flourishing even in the midst of Prohibition, in 1930 the United States Department of Agriculture and Oregon State in Corvallis formalized an existing hop research program. Initially research focused on finding ways to help curb the spread of downy mildew, and even after more attention was placed on breeding agronomically superior hybrids with interesting brewing characteristics the first Oregon-bred variety would not be released to the public until 1972.

Although the ninth chapter, titled Cascade, is only 20 pages long Kopp makes the importance of the hop research center clear. The first new variety released, Cascade, became a poster child for what was first called microbrewed beer in the United States in the 1980s and later craft beer. It was the first example of ‘New World’ hops, which contain bold, often fruity, aromas and flavors that for much of the centuries that came before were described as ‘un-hoplike’. In the years that followed, breeders at the USDA released other important varieties, some that outsold Cascade for a period although not now, including the first seedless variety.

To be clear, this is a book, not a doctoral thesis reinvented. It is full of engaging stories. A few examples:

* History is full of stories that portray hop picking as a family friendly event, a virtual picnic in the countryside. There are also plenty of accounts that illuminate the dark side, in which hours are long, working conditions are poor, and housing conditions are worse. Kopp includes both elements and adds interesting details. For instance, ‘workers averaged around one hundred to five hundred pounds of hops picked a day. At a rate of a penny per pound that meant average daily earnings of one dollar to five dollars. To provide context, during a six-day workweek in the 1920s an efficient hop picker could earn the equivalent of as much as two weeks’ or a month’s pay in a factory’.

* A prewar riot in the hop fields of Wheatland, California, “played a more localized role in the socio-cultural transformations of labor in the Pacific Coast hopyards.” Harvest had begun on the Durst Brothers Hop Ranch in 1913 when 2,500 workers mounted a protest against their living standards. A representative of the Industrial Workers of the World incited the crowd with a pro-labor speech and made a list of demands for the ranch owners. After the Durst family called for law enforcement a riot broke out that left four dead and many more injured.

* Oregon hop growing actually flourished during Prohibition itself as farmers served the global brewing market. But earlier, during the mid-1890s, members of the Oregon State Board of Horticulture shunned hop growers. They likened hop growing to the ill effects of alcoholic drinks. In a report in 1894, the board outlined how fruit growers were not of the same ilk as hop and grape growers. The report cited passage in the *Bible* warning against abuses of alcohol.

* Columbia River Brewing almost didn’t survive its first evening in business in Portland, the city at the north end of the Willamette Valley now so rich in breweries that it lays claim to the name Beervana. Portland’s first microbrewery had failed because of poor quality beer, but when Columbia River, which later became BridgePort Brewing, opened that was not an issue. They began their inaugural evening with 18 kegs of beer on hand. Among those cheering for the crowds to drink more was Bob Weisskirchen, a representative of the long-

established Blitz-Weinhard Brewery. 'He recognized the potential for economic failure, and thus less competition, if the crowd consumed more beer than the brewery was prepared to offer', Kopp writes. Weisskirchen called upon the crowd to 'drink up, we'll put them out of business'. But the brewery finished the evening with two kegs on hand.

Kopp explains at the outset that the title of his book, *Hoptopia*, is a nod to Portland's sobriquet 'Beervana' and the Willamette Valley's claim as an agricultural Eden from the mid-nineteenth century onward. Of course, there was and is some boosterism to characterizing the city and the valley in such a manner. However, his point is that to 'define *Hoptopia* is to define the Willamette Valley's hop and beer industries as the culmination' of local and global history. But even as Kopp was researching his book history was shifting. He writes, 'By the turn of the century, a majority of domestic brewers specifically sought out aroma hops grown in the Willamette Valley as opposed to other regions. The statistics spoke loudly, with the Oregon Hop Commission estimating that brewers used 70 percent of Willamette Valley hops domestically; in comparison around 70 percent of Yakima Valley hops were exported. These numbers emphasize that the Oregon industry had become a center of aroma hops'. Washington surpassed Oregon in hop production in the 1940s primarily because of its ability to supply hops valued first for their bittering qualities.

The Willamette Valley's maritime climate is well suited to growing hops of similar character to those from other long-standing hop-growing regions such as England, Germany, and the Czech Republic. However, what was an advantage for more than 100 years became less so as the twenty-first century moved into its second decade. American hop acreage has increased 70% in the last five years because of demand for bold, aromatic hops used in quantities that defy a 100-year trend of shrinking hopping rates. Cascade remains the best selling of these, but newer varieties developed by private breeding programs to the north, in Washington's Yakima Valley, sell at a premium price. Many brewers are of the opinion harsher weather in Washington, where the winters are colder and summer temperatures higher, result in hops that create the bolder aromas currently in vogue. Today hops valued for their aroma account for about 75% of production in Washington.

Oregon farmers have not been left behind. They harvested more than 7,500 acres in 2016, 75% more than five years before and the most since 1997. But something was left behind. Acreage of Willamette hops, once a signature variety for the valley, collapsed for a several reasons, but collapse it did - from almost 7,000 acres in 2007 to little more than 1,400 today. Such change in inevitable. *Hoptopia* puts it in perspective.

STAN HIERONYMUS
(<http://appellationbeer.com>)

Beer of Broadway Fame: The Piel Family and Their Brooklyn Brewery

By McCoy, A.W.

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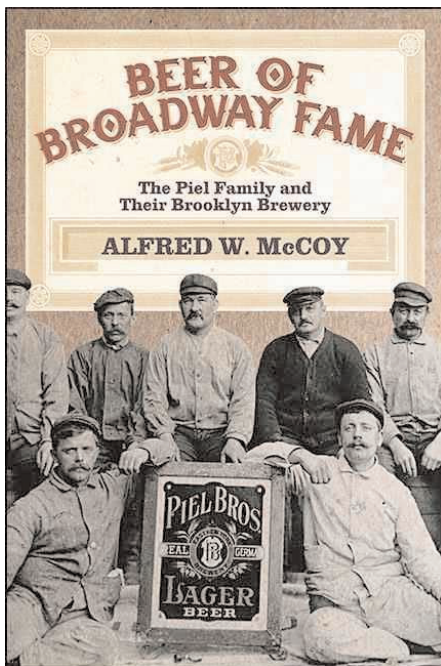
As an award-winning historian and Harrington Professor of History at University of Wisconsin-Madison, Alfred W. McCoy was the natural choice to document his family's history and their Piel Brothers Brewery. Though McCoy's expertise is in Southeast Asia, drug smuggling, torture, and state surveillance, he manages to capture gilded age Brooklyn and the immigrant families, like his, that populated it. Given his academic background, McCoy takes more than a few detours from the brewery to include tales of espionage from both World Wars, always allowing the family's story and its business to dictate the narrative. The history runs through the corporate and financial revolutions of the post-World War II era and into the 3rd and 4th generation Piel family members of the late 20th century.

The Piel's story in America began with their 1882 arrival to New York. Most immigrants came in the lowest 'steerage' class, but the middle-class Piel's came appropriately by 'saloon' class. By 1883, Gottfried and Michael Piel had purchased 'the old Lanzer Brewery' in East New York to start a 'modern and scientific' German brewery, the Piel Bros. Brewery. Gottfried operated the books while Michael, having trained in Dortmund, was the brewmaster. Michael's wife Maria cooked food for brewery patrons and Gottfried's wife Sophie invested some of her inheritance in the brewery. The formerly English style brewery was abandoned and reportedly

haunted after five suicides occurred on the site between 1856 and 1883.

The 1880s were a perfect time to begin a German lager brewing enterprise as the widely popular style swept through America. Despite the Brewery's paranormal liabilities, a large community surrounded it and the residents became crucial to the Piel Bros' success. Many thousands of Germans lived in Brooklyn and were eager to visit its bier gardens and saloons.

McCoy concedes that in the early stages of their business, the focus was on brewing and selling the beer so documentation is sparse. Yet he does outline how the Piel brewery distinguished itself from other larger and longer operated breweries. By focusing on the quality of its beer and food, the smallest of Brooklyn's breweries gained a loyal following. In addition to Michael's brewing skill, German and Czech hops were imported at great cost for the beer which was an all malt product. Where most breweries of the period expanded their reach through a system of 'tied house' saloons, Piel Bros. sold nearly all their product at the brewery or through delivery direct to the consumer.



The 'tied house' was common nationwide and usually involved a brewery having a stake in a saloon's mortgage or property ownership. As keg dispensing equipment was expensive, most saloons only had one beer on draft which would be that of the tied house patron. Since Piel Bros. lacked the capital to support tied houses, they sold few kegs to neighborhood saloons. The brewery became the only place to reliably get the German lager, adding to its cachet. Selling their quality bottled beer directly to consumers also became a very profitable enterprise by cutting out any additional middlemen in saloons or groceries. The Piel brothers continued to reinvest their profits back into the brewery, modernizing equipment, purchasing more land, and finally replacing the old Lanzer brewery house with a new four story brick structure in 1895.

As a smaller enterprise that bucked the traditional tied house system, Piel Bros. also avoided many other forces affecting New York's breweries, especially unions and temperance. Though massive battles occurred between brewery trade groups and labor unions, the small Piel Bros (by barrels produced and distribution footprint) avoided both of these groups. When the Brewery Workman's Union and the U.S. Brewers' Association alternately put pressure on the Piel Bros through boycotts or refusal to allow their lager to be transported through the city, the Piel simply sold more beer from their own brewery.

The temperance and anti-saloon movements also disrupted brewers in the United States. Many New York saloons were under pressure through boycotts and eventually blue law legislation banned alcohol sales on Sundays. The Piel Bros bier garden did much of their sales on weekends, including Sunday afternoons. In order to get around this law, they built several hotel rooms qualifying them for a registered hotel exemption to the law. Saloons across New York followed suit, though with less diligence towards following laws than the Piel. If these seedy saloon hotel rooms were habitable, it was usually by prostitutes.

In 1898, the family brewery arrived at another milestone indicative of the era, incorporation. Gottfried and Michael created a new corporation, incorporated under the laws of New York and capitalized at \$1 million. With the new cash came new brewery equipment including a large boiler, ice machine, and a Crown Cork

capping machine. With expanded production and especially expanded direct sales to customers of bottled beer, Piel Bros. profited greatly, paying Michael nearly \$500,000 between 1898 and 1902.

The new wealth allowed the Piel family to purchase new homes and estates. Michael Piel bought 460 acres of land and buildings on Lake Parlin, in Johnson Mountain Township, western Maine. The resort at Parlin, as well as the Brewery, became one of the unifying experiences for family members who all fondly spent summers with the extended family.

The positive era of large profits and Maine summers kept the family together as the Piel family experienced twin attacks in World War I's anti-German sentiment and Prohibition. Before Prohibition, Piel Bros began selling their beer to southern states as many New York saloons refused to carry the independent brewery. Though Prohibition would not reach nationwide until 1920, many southern states had bans in effect years before that. As these markets became dry through legislation, Piel Bros glimpsed the coming of Prohibition. Recognizing the potential future market, Henry and William Piel, sons of Michael, developed a near beer called 'Kovar' which successfully competed with other near beer products like Anheuser Busch's 'Bevo'. Though their near beer products were moderately successful, Piel Bros. did not have the large amounts of real estate holdings in tied houses that other breweries could rely on for operating capital. Prohibition gangsters like Legs Diamond and Louis Capone also harassed the family to brew illegal, full strength beer or pay protection.

While America's domestic policies threatened the family livelihood, international events threatened their place in society. As Germany battled France and England, the Piel family sided with the German Fatherland. This abruptly changed when the United States entered the war against Germany in 1917. Many Germans had property seized under the Alien Property Act including George Ehret's brewery and mansion. Ehret's brewery was the largest in Manhattan at that time. Though Piel Bros. publicly supported the war effort through Liberty Bond drives and other patriotic actions, many Americans were still weary. Some Piel family members were refused military commissions because of alleged pro-German statements. One of the family members, Mathilde Lange, even became an informant and spy for U.S. Military Intelligence,

informing on family and foreign agents alike. Between lingering anti-American suspicions and Prohibition's economic effects, the 1920s were a difficult time for the family.

With the repeal of Prohibition came another milestone for the Piel family as it updated its corporate structure to include only one family member, William Piel, and six outside directors. The move from family business to modern corporation is a continued theme in McCoy's narrative and echoes the greater managerial revolution in America. As Piel Bros had continued operating and distributing nationwide during Prohibition, it saw a unique opportunity to grow, to become one of the largest breweries in the country. After repeal it positioned itself with large firms like Anheuser-Busch and Schlitz that shipped kegs and bottles nationwide. Piel Bros no longer desired to be the small, quality focused family business selling virtually all its beer under one roof. By 1937 the brewery had expanded again, constructing a large two storey building for lagering and fermenting.

Yet, the pull of the family firm still existed. Stockholding family members insisted on high dividends when reinvested profits could provide better long-term health. The growth of New York competitor, Schaefer, illustrates this as it produced approximately 100,000 more barrels than Piel in 1932, but by 1942 this had risen to over 1.6 million barrels. Primary differences included fewer family stockholders siphoning off capital and more young executives with new ideas. As breweries like Anheuser-Busch, Schaeffer, and Pabst expanded with the end of WWII, Piel Bros continued to need capital to expand and try to keep up. It continued to turn to corporate finance and management. The 1950s saw its first non-Piel general manager and its first expansion by purchasing another brewery. Both would prove disastrous when general manager Henry Muessen purchased the Rubsam & Horrmann brewery in Staten Island. The outdated brewery equipment was virtually worthless and the R&H beers were even deemed 'unsanitary' by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. Instead of an inexpensive play at achieving a company-wide capacity of 2 million barrels, the new acquisition harmed the Piel brand by producing poor quality beer.

One way the brewery attempted to compete with the larger concerns was through increased and unique marketing. One of the most famous of these attempts

was a campaign including ‘Bert Harry Piel’ animated television commercials. This soft sell approach was revolutionary and gained a large following in the late 1950s. McCoy highlights a number of Piel’s successful advertising campaigns, but ultimately these did not turn the economic tide in Piel’s favor.

The gradual decline of the brewery accelerated when several batches of infected and poor quality Piel’s beer hit the market in 1960. Unable to overcome the national competition and their own quality control issues, the Piel Brothers brewery sold out to Indiana brewer Drewrys in 1962 for only \$6 million. The family put the proceeds of the sale into a new vehicle, the M&G Piel Securities mutual fund. This vehicle continues to bring the family together, albeit over stocks and bonds rather than beer.

Alfred McCoy is a masterful historian, and his 90 pages of notes and bibliography are a welcome addition for brewery scholars. Some of his discoveries, including the American spy, aunt Mathilde Lange, could only be

found by diligent and lengthy research. His expertise in Southeast Asia rather than brewery history is evident, though he provides a competent analysis of the brewery’s architecture, finance, marketing, and operation. Little is provided about the beer itself, other than its quality, some notable ingredients, and more on the light beer of the post-Prohibition era. But many brewery historians might be somewhat disappointed by the book in total. It is first and foremost a history of the Piel family with many divergences into individual family members’ histories- some interesting, some pedestrian. The final chapter follows the family after the brewery had been sold. McCoy attempts to be uncompromising in his exposure of the family history, which at times feels voyeuristic. The work won’t revolutionize the study of brewery history, but fills an important gap. The Piel Bros. Brewery holds an important place in American brewing and McCoy skillfully tells this story, with family skeletons alongside successes.

PETER CARR JONES AND MICHAEL STEIN
(<http://lostlagers.com>)

REVIEW ESSAY

Felix Calvert & Company: A Capital Brewing Company

By Richardson, P.

West Malling: Patricia Richardson

2015, pp.232, £15

ISBN 978 0 957 4465 19

In the middle of the 18th century, the Calvert family owned the two biggest breweries in London - and, by implication, the two biggest breweries in the world, since nowhere else had breweries as big as London did.

Despite this, today the Calverts are much less well known than their contemporaries among London’s other great porter brewers, such as Samuel Whitbread or Sir Benjamin Truman, both of whose breweries still stand, even if beer is no longer made in them, or Henry Thrale, whose brewery became Barclay Perkins. Partly this is because the Calvert name disappeared off the brewing

operations in 1860, partly because the company that remained, the City of London Brewery Ltd, rather than surviving into the modern era, instead sort-of-evaporated, transferring brewing to other sites, then selling its pubs off in chunks, before turning into a pure investment firm with big holdings in Allied Breweries and Bass Charrington, and finally losing its identity and independence. Partly this is because the physical evidence of both breweries has totally vanished. But one big reason for the Calverts’ current obscurity is the extreme difficulty involved in untangling the dense thicket that is their family tree, as the descendants of Felix, Thomas and Peter Calvert, the three sons of Felix Calverd (sic) the family’s 17th century patriarch, spread out and multiplied down the years.

The common habit of using the same first names down and across generations means that after the first Felix Calvert, or Calverd, was born in 1596, there were 12 Felix Calverts, seven William Calverts and seven Peter

Calverts in the 17th to 19th centuries. Thanks to cousin marriage, one Felix Calvert, 1729-1764, a partner in the Peacock brewhouse in Whitecross Street, on the northern edge of the City of London, had a father called Felix Calvert, and both his grandfathers were called Felix Calvert as well, while his great-grandfather's great-nephew, Felix Calvert 1735-1802 (who also had a son called Felix Calvert), was a partner in the rival Hour Glass brewhouse on Thames Street, by the river.

The result is that there has not been a book or article mentioning the Calverts and their breweries that does not have major facts wrong. One book from 2011 has six errors in one six-line paragraph. Another recent publication called a high-profile member of the clan, Sir William Calvert, 'the grandson of Thomas Calvert', adding: 'though there is some confusion in various books'. Ironically, Thomas was the one of the three sons of Felix Calverd that Sir William was not descended from: cousin marriage meant his father (another William) was the son of Felix junior while his mother Honor was the daughter of Felix junior's and Thomas's brother Peter. Another otherwise magisterial book on brewing history completely confuses the two breweries run by the Calverts, allocating production figures over almost 60 years for the Hour Glass brewhouse to the Peacock, and for the Peacock brewhouse to the Hour Glass. The Museum of London Archaeology managed to invent a completely fictitious member of the family, 'Henry', and get the date the family acquired the Hour Glass brewhouse totally wrong.

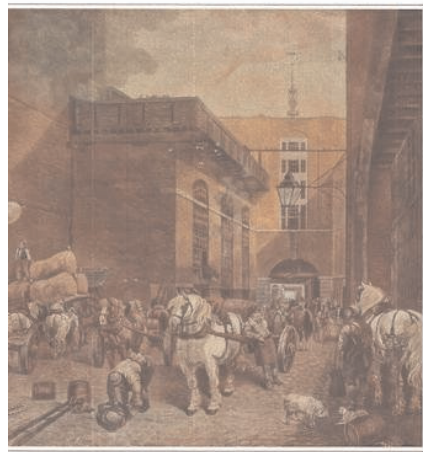
Hurrah and thrice hurrah, then, for Patricia Richardson - herself a tenth-generation descendant of Felix the patriarch - who has pulled apart all the different Calvert strands and produced a readable, illuminating and fascinating telling of what could more than easily have been an extremely confusing story. She has solved the problem of tracing all those Felixes, Williams, Peters and the rest by labelling the families of Felix Calverd's three sons A, B and C, and then numbering each new bearer of an old first name consecutively within the stream, so that, for example, Felix Calvert 1729-1764 of the Peacock brewery is Felix Calvert B3, his grandfathers are Felix Calvert B1 and C1 respectively, and his distant cousin at the Hour Glass brewery is Felix Calvert A4.

The first Felix Calvert, or Calverd, was born in 1596. When the Irish genealogist John Burke quizzed the fam-

ily in the 1830s he was told that Felix's father was 'the Reverend Mr Calverd, minister of Andover', and they were descended from the Calverds of Lancashire. It was certainly an ancient Lancashire name: Adam Calferd was in trouble for cutting down trees in Cockerham, Lancashire in 1363. But as Patricia Richardson says, no Reverend Mr Calverd of Andover can be identified. In addition, when the Calverts later took up grants of arms, they used variations on the distinctive black and gold stripes of George Calvert of North Yorkshire, who had become the first Baron Baltimore in 1625 (and whose arms can be seen on the Maryland state flag). Felix Calverd first pops up in 1619, when he married Susan Bett, or Betts, in the church at Gilston, right on the Herts-Essex border. The couple lived in Much Hadham, ten miles north of Gilston, in the early years of their marriage, later moving to nearby Little Hadham. He worked as a tallow chandler, and as well as the family home in Hertfordshire, he also had a house in Tooley Street, Southwark.

After the restoration of King Charles II in 1660, Felix's three sons, Felix junior, Thomas and Peter all became tax farmers, that is, they bought the right from the king to collect taxes on his behalf. Since much of the royal revenues came from the taxes on beer and ale, this undoubtedly brought the Calverd brothers into contact

FELIX CALVERT & COMPANY
A CAPITAL BREWING FAMILY



PATRICIA RICHARDSON

with very many brewers. But even before this, some time around 1657, Thomas Calverd, born 1624, had married Anne Ambrose, the daughter of William Ambrose, senior partner in the Peacock brewhouse in Whitecross Street, in the parish of St. Giles Without Cripplegate, on the City of London's northern edge, and become personally involved in the brewing trade.

The Peacock brewhouse dated from at least 1550, when it was held by James Pullen. It was one of three brewhouses listed in the parish in 1638, with its rent given as £20: for comparison, the other two, the Crown brewhouse in Redcross Street (later used by the Calverts as a store) and the Sunne brewhouse in Golding (or Golden) Lane, had rents of £30 and £20 respectively. Thomas was only at the brewery for eleven more years after his marriage to Anne Ambrose, for he died suddenly in 1668, aged 46, leaving four children aged six to one. His executors were his father-in-law, William Ambrose (who lived to be past 90, dying in 1698) and his brother Peter, who had been brought in as a partner in the brewhouse. Peter, too, died in his mid-40s, in 1676: the shares in the brewhouse owned Thomas and Peter went to their respective second sons, both called Felix, after both Thomas's and Peter's eldest sons died young.

Thomas's Felix - Felix Calvert B1 in Richardson's notation - was taken on at the Peacock brewhouse by his grandfather William Ambrose as an apprentice, aged 15, in 1680. However, after Ambrose died, the position of lead partner at the Peacock brewery went to another member of the extended family, Felix Feast. Thomas, Peter and Felix had a sister, Jane, who had married William Feast of Little Hadham, and then died in 1662. William had then remarried, and Felix Feast was his son, born in 1665. Feast was also Felix Calvert B1's brother-in-law, having married his half-sister Anne Cleeve (William Ambrose's grand-daughter) in 1695. Under Feast the brewery thrived: he was called 'a great Brewer in White Cross Street' in 1716, when he gave away 400 chaldron of coals - around 570 tons - to 'such poor people that he found were great Sufferers, and were hindered from Working by the hard Frost'. The Peacock pub, the brewery tap in Whitecross Street, was called a 'House of Humming Stingo' by Ned Ward in his London pub guide of circa 1718, the *Vade Mecum for Malt Worms*, and was kept by 'Feast's and Calvert's cooper'. (Calvert and Feast's brewery is also mentioned in Ward's follow-up, the *Guide for Malt-Worms*, as serv-

ing the Three Tuns in nearby Redcross Street.) Feast was heavily involved in City of London politics, as a Whig, where one of his main political opponents was Humphrey Parsons, the strongly Tory owner of another great London brewing concern, the Red Lion brewhouse at St. Katharine's, between the Tower of London and Wapping (later Hoare's). In 1723 Feast was elected one of the two Sheriffs of London, and, as was usual with sheriffs, he was knighted by the King, in January 1724. However, he had only weeks to enjoy his new title: the next month, on 22 February, he was 'seized with the Dead Palsy', dying two days later, aged 58.

Feast's son, Felix Feast junior, who was aged 19 or so when his father died, eventually became a partner in the Peacock brewery, according to Richardson. But it looks as if he left after a few years and started in business on his own, since in 1734 the *London Magazine* recorded the bankruptcy of 'Felix Feast, late of the Parish of St Luke [that is, Old Street], in the County of Middlesex, brewer'. However, he seems to have picked himself up again, since 'Felix Feast, brewer in Old Street' is recorded as dying in June 1764, and a London brewer called Feast made 9,611 barrels of beer in 1759/60. This looks to be the brewery on Dog Bar Lane, near the Old Doghouse Bar in the City Road, that William Feast, Felix Junior's brother, was at in 1781. William died in 1782, and the brewery was inherited by his nephew, Felix junior's son, Felix Feast III. In one of her rare errors, Richardson says that Felix Feast III 'does not appear to have been an active brewer', but he is recorded as having brewed a total of 17,678 barrels of beer in 1786, and when he died at Chingford Hatch in September 1790 he was described as 'an eminent brewer in the City Road, near the Old Doghouse Bar'.

After Felix Feast senior died, the head of the Peacock partnership devolved to Thomas Calverd's son Felix Calvert B1, who was also MP for Reading, and owned one country seat in Marcham, Berkshire and another in Albury, East Hertfordshire. Even in his late 60s he would ride from the brewery to his Berkshire home, and in January 1733, aged 68, he was held up by a highwayman in Maidenhead Thicket and robbed of his gold watch and all the money he was carrying. He died at his London home alongside the brewery in Whitecross Street in 1736, and newspapers at the time described him as 'a very great brewer ... worth £80,000', equivalent to more than £200 million today.

The Calverts continued as partners in the Peacock brewery, with cousins from the two junior lines having shares in the partnership: Felix Calvert B1's three sons Felix B2, Francis and Peter Calvert B1, and Felix B2's brother-in-law and second cousin Peter Calvert C3. The Calverts also had on board one non-family partner, William Seward, who had been originally hired by Felix B4, and who appears to have become what today would be called the managing director. Although he only had a one-24th share of the partnership, the brewery was still known while he was in charge as Calvert & Seward, and under him the Peacock grew to be easily the biggest brewery in London, producing, in 1759/60, just under 75,000 barrels of beer, almost a fifth more than its nearest rival, Samuel Whitbread's brewery in nearby Chiswell Street, on 63,400 barrels. Seward died in 1777, aged around 67, at his home in Colney Hatch, after twice being Master of the Brewers' Guild, in 1764-66.

Meanwhile the senior branch of the Calverts had gone into brewing themselves, around 60 years after Thomas Calvert married Anne Ambrose, when Felix Calvert A3 of Furneux Pelham Hall in East Hertfordshire, great-grandson of Felix the patriarch, married Christian Nicolson, daughter of Josias Nicolson of the Hour Glass Brewery, Thames Street, in 1716, when he was 23 years old. Josias Nicolson was descended from a line of Southwark brewers going back at least as far as William Mayhew, who died in 1612. Mayhew was another brewing MP, representing Southwark from 1610 until his death, and he ran at least three breweries in Southwark, including one each for ale and for beer in the parish of St Olave's. When he died he left his brewing operations to his son-in-law Michael Nicolson, which looks to have included a lease on the Red Lion brewery in Borough High Street. This Michael appears to have had three sons, Michael (or Michael) junior (who married Joane Brand in St Saviour's, Southwark, in 1616), Josias and Gabriel. Michael junior looks to have inherited the brewing operation, and when he died in 1646 the Red Lion brewhouse evidently passed to his brother Josias, who was certainly brewing at the Red Lion in 1670.

This Josias, 'of the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark, brewer', died in 1684. He gave instructions for his brewing interests to be sold, and after various legacies and bequests, all the rest was to go to his nephew, another Josias, son of Gabriel, 'when he shall be 22 years old'. That would have been about 1689: and Josias

junior seems to have used his inheritance to buy into the Hour Glass brewhouse, since he is described as a brewer 'of All Hallows the Great', the Hour Glass's parish, when he married Christian (or Christiana) Cholmley in September 1693, aged about 26. Christian, incidentally, was the daughter of another big Southwark brewer, John Cholmley of St Olave's, 'the King's brewer' (that is, a contract brewer for the army and navy) in 1681, and her brother, also called John, was one more Southwark brewer-MP, and owner, in the 1690s, of one of the biggest breweries in London.

After the Hour Glass brewery was rebuilt in 1885, the fascia fronting the Thames carried the boast: 'Established in 1580'. This was unnecessarily modest. In the records of the City of London an assignment dated February 1431 gives a list of brewing utensils in the custody of John Reynold, brewer, at the 'Heywharf' in 'Heywharflane', including two 'plumba' with covers, literally 'leads' but probably boiling coppers; two 'masshefattes', or mash tuns; three 'messhyngshovelis'; two 'yeltonnes' or gyle tuns, fermenting vessels; one 'clensyngfat', or cleansing vat, where fermentation would be finished off; a horse-mill with gear; two 'alegistes', barrels-stands; a 'growfat'; eight 'barells'; and 38 'kilderkyns'. (Some of the terminology - gyle, kilderkin - coming from Dutch suggests Reynold was a beer brewer rather than an ale brewer.) Excavations between 2005 and 2007 on the site by Museum of London Archaeology found evidence for a series of keyhole-shaped stone hearths/furnaces, most likely used for heating water for dyeing or brewing, and dating from the 15th to 16th century.

In 1598, John Stow, writing in his Survey of London, said of Haywharf Lane that it contained a 'great Brewhouse' formerly run by 'Henrie Campion Esquire, a Beerebrewer' and now in the possession of his son Abraham. Stow suggested the brewhouse had originally been built by 'one Pot', which has led some historians to identify it as the premises of Henry Pott, a Thames-side brewer from at least 1534. But although he was apparently leasing property in Haywharf Lane, the evidence suggests Pott was brewing (until shortly before the end of 1550) in Grantham Lane, later Brewer's Lane, five turnings further west along Thames Street from Haywharf Lane, in a 'bierbrewhouse' run in the early 16th century by Sir Ralph Dodmore, brewer and, later, mercer, and Lord Mayor of London in 1529.

According to Stow, Dodmore's brewery was still running in 1598.

Henry Campion, who was Elizabeth I's beer brewer, and chief supervisor on the royal butteries in the 1560s and 1570s, had been in Haywharf Lane since at least the time of Edward VI: 'Mr Campion, master' was a tenant in Haywharf Lane in 1552 when his landlord, the Clothworkers Company, ordered him to clean the lane at the back of his tenement, and Campion was certainly brewing there by 1563, since the London diarist Henry Machyn recorded that on 8 March that year 'ther was a mad [maid] dwellyng in Hay lane with master Campyon berbruar in grett Allalowes in Temes strett dyd falle owt of a wyndow and brake her neke'. (Campion's royal connection, incidentally, meant he enjoyed privileges other brewers could not: a letter was sent annually to the Lord Mayor of London ordering him not to nominate Elizabeth's servant Henry Campion, described as "the Queen's beer-brewer," to the office of sheriff during the coming year: being sheriff was an onerous and expensive job, and men would pay large sums to avoid having to do it when chosen.)

While the brewhouse may have initially used Thames water, at some point a well was dug deep into the water table below, which was 483 feet deep in 1889 and supplying water for brewing 'of the purest quality ... clear as crystal'. Famously, when water was being pumped from this well, the level of water in the deep well at Barclay Perkins' Anchor brewery across the Thames also went down, since both drew their water from the same underground lake. (In 1938 the well at the Hour Glass brewery was described as 'sealed up quite recently'.)

Henry Campion died in 1588, but the Campion family continued to have an interest in the Haywharf Lane brewery - indeed, Haywharf Lane became known as Campion Lane, and was eventually absorbed into the brewery. Abraham Campion, Henry's son, who was given a contract by the Earl of Leicester to continue supplying Elizabeth's court with beer, was still there in 1601, and was supplying the newly formed East India Company with 'beare' worth £646 15s for the four ships which set out for the Indies on the company's first every trading voyage. (It looks as if he continued to supply the court of James VI and I, since in 1611 he was petitioning the Earl of Salisbury, the Lord High Treasurer, for a

huge £7,277 12s 3d, 'the surplus of his accounts due from the King and Prince for the past three years'. He also supplied the Earl of Leicester's household, and in 1613 his executor was suing the Countess of Leicester for £400 owed for beer.)

Abraham was followed by his brother William, and William by William's son Richard, though it looks as if the brewery may have been let out to others in subsequent years. In 1666 the brewhouse was one of 16 breweries destroyed in the Great Fire of London. In 1668 Richard Campion struck a deal to lease the brewhouse grounds with John Hammond, for £32 a year and a £250 'fine', though there was some dispute over whether Campion or Hammond should rebuild the brewery buildings, which does not appear to have been settled until 1669, the year the brewhouse site was acquired by one Jonathan Elliott. By 1698 'Captain' Hammond was in a partnership at the brewery with Captain Henry Tate, and later William Tate was one of the partners in the Hour Glass concern with Josias Nicolson and Samuel Smith. Around 1719 'Nicholson and Tate' are mentioned by Ned Ward as suppliers to the Horse Shoe pub in Blowbladder Street (now part of Cheapside).

Josias's middle daughter, named Christian after her mother, was born in 1695. She was a great catch: newspapers in 1716 reported that 'Squire Calvert' of 'Hattfordshire' was 'married to Mr Nicholson's Daughter, a great Brewer in Thames Street, with whom he is to have £10,000 Portion', a sum equal to about £1.3 million today. Josias's great-grandparents, Michael Nicolson senior's parents, may be Richard and Awdrey Nicolson of Eastwick, the village in Hertfordshire next to Gilston, where his son-in-law Felix Calvert A3's great-grandparents were married, so there is a possible East Herts link between the two families.

In 1719 Felix and Christian had a son, one more Felix. In August 1728, however, the *London Journal* newspaper reported that 'Mr Felix Calvert, son of Mr Calvert of Hunsdon, a Youth of Nine Years old, who was at his grandfather's, Mr Nicholson [sic - the 'H' popped in and out regularly], at Clapham, being on Horseback, had the Misfortune to be thrown, and his Foot hanging in the Stirrup, was killed on the Spot'. This is one family member Patricia Richardson seems to have missed, probably because when Felix and Christian had a fourth son, in 1735, he, too, was named Felix.

Exactly when Felix A3 entered into the Hour Glass brewery business as a partner is unclear, though he was named in an Old Bailey court case in February 1731 when a man called Barnaby Perry of Allhallows the Great parish was found guilty of stealing 50 pounds of lead 'from the freehold of Messieurs Josiah Nicolson [sic] and Felix Calvert'. His youngest brother William A2, the later Lord Mayor and knight, married Martha, widow of Charles Malyn, brewer of Southwark, and daughter of Samuel Smith, one of Josias Nicolson's partners at the Hour Glass brewery in Thames Street, in 1732 and was reported at the time to have 'lately entered into partnership with Mr Nicolson and Company, Brewers, in Thames-street'. (Richardson has William marrying Mary only in 1749, but the *Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal* reports his marriage to 'Mrs Maylin, widow of - Maylin, late Water-Bailiff of this City' in its issue of 10 June 1732.)

Richardson also writes that William initially joined his cousin Felix Calvert B2 at the Peacock brewery, and only 'in later life, after his older brother's death' (ie after 1755) moved to the Hour Glass brewery. However, this appears to be totally wrong. All the evidence, from the newspaper report of his joining the Nicolson partnership in 1732 onwards, puts him only at the Hour Glass throughout his career, and actually running it as senior partner after Josias Nicolson retired (which possibly happened around 1743, when Nicolson bought Hunsdon Manor in East Hertfordshire, close to where his son-in-law and daughter lived at Furneux Pelham Hall). In December 1740 William was nominated to be deputy of Dowgate Ward, the city ward where the Hour Glass brewery stood. On 9 June 1744 the *London Evening Post* reported that

Yesterday morning, about one o'Clock, a Fire broke out in a Malt Warehouse in Coal-Harbour Lane, belonging to Sir William Calvert & Comp. Brewers, adjoining to the Brewhouse, which burned with great Fury above two hours, and consumed that with three others, in which were 4000 Quarters of Malt, besides a large Quantity of Hops &c, and very much damaged the Brewhouse, the Loss of which is computed at 15,000l.

'Coal-Harbour Lane' is Cole or Cold Harbour, the next lane east from Champion Lane, and the brewhouse involved was the Hour Glass. (The newspaper reported that the fire was put out 'with the assistance of some engines', and 'The Prince of Wales was present at the

Fire and gave great Encouragement to the Firemen and others to do their Duty'.)

William had an active political career: he was an Alderman from 1741, MP for the City of London from 1742 to 1754 and for the notorious 'rotten borough' of Old Sarum from 1754 to 1760 (one of six Calvert MPs), knighted in 1743, when he was one of the Sheriffs, and Lord Mayor of London in 1748. He seems to have been meant originally for a career in the church - he went to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, becoming a Fellow of the college in 1728 - but diverted instead into brewing. When he became Lord Mayor, a mocking ballad parodied him as 'Sir Billy Tinsel', and suggested that it was the 'hundreds a year' possessed by the 'buxom brisk widow' Mrs Malyn that had lured him from his ambition to be a bishop one day. For his arms, Sir William varied the Calvert black and gold stripes, with a shield that was 'paly bendy lozengy, or and sable'.

In 1748, the year of his mayoralty, Sir William at the Hour Glass brewhouse by the Thames and his second cousin Felix Calvert B2 at the Peacock, around three quarters of a mile away to the north, were the two biggest brewers in London, at around 53,000 to 55,000 barrels a year each. Of the other major porter brewers, Ralph Thrale at the Anchor brewhouse, Southwark, across the river from the Hour Glass, was making under 36,000 barrels a year, Benjamin Truman in Brick Lane just under 40,000 barrels and Lady Parsons at the Red Lion brewhouse in St Katharine's (widow of Alderman Humphrey Parsons), 39,000 barrels, while Samuel Whitbread was brewing, but still two years from buying the site in Chiswell Street where he made his fame and fortune.

In 1755 both Sir William's oldest brother Felix Calvert A3, Josias Nicolson's son-in-law, and their second cousin Felix Calvert B2 died. Felix B2 was described as 'the Senior Partner in the Peacock Brewhouse in White-cross Street' on his death in April, but when Felix A3 died a couple of months later, there was no mention of his brewing interests, underlining the idea that he was almost certainly merely a sleeping partner in the Hour Glass brewery. Sir William carried on running the Hour Glass brewery until his death in 1761, aged 57, while at the Peacock William Seward was joined by Felix Calvert B2's sons John B2, Felix B3 and Thomas B3. By 1759/60 the Peacock had pulled well ahead of all its London

rivals, with Calvert & Seward producing 74,734 barrels in 12 months, Samuel Whitbread 63,408, Benjamin Truman 60,140, Hope & Co of the White Lion brewery, Spitalfields, 55,306 barrels, and Sir William Calvert at the Hour Glass fifth with 52,785.

On Sir William's death, control of the Hour Glass concern went to William Calvert A4, the third son of Sir William's brother Felix A3, and Felix Calvert A4, the fourth son (and second to be called Felix - see above), since the oldest surviving son, Nicolson, was heavily involved in politics. It looks as if the Hour Glass had a rebuilding in 1772, since Alfred Barnard noted that year's date on 'several' of the brewery's walls when he visited in 1890. Around 1780 the brewery expanded to take over the site of Watermen's Hall on the river-front, the Watermen's Company moving elsewhere. By now Calvert's porter was being drunk all over the country, and across the Atlantic: in 1775, the Hour Glass brewery and its rival across the river, Henry Thrale's Anchor brewery in Southwark, each won government contracts to supply British troops in Boston with 5,000 butts of porter. William A4 died in 1778, after which the concern was called Felix Calvert & Co, with its partners including Robert Ladbroke, Felix's brother-in-law,

At the Peacock brewery, when William Seward died in 1777 he left his 30-year-old son, also William, £15,000, about £1.7 million today, as well as £2,000 each to his two daughters. William Seward junior, unsurprisingly, never worked: he became famous as an intellectual dilettante and anecdotalist, and friend of Dr Samuel Johnson and his circle. The Peacock continued with John Calvert B2 as senior partner, and by 1786 production was up more than 30% on 1760 to 94,000 barrels of strong beer a year. But it had slipped from its position as London's number one, while the Hour Glass, with Felix Calvert A4, Sir William's nephew, in charge, was the third largest in town, having more than doubled output to 118,000 barrels, though still behind Samuel Whitbread on 130,000 barrels and William Truman Read at the Black Eagle brewery in Brick Lane on 121,000 barrels. Six years later, in 1792, the Peacock brewery had slipped even more, with yearly output falling by 24,000 barrels, or 26%, to 69,000, while production at the Hour Glass brewery was up six per cent to 125,000 barrels, putting it second - though again well behind Samuel Whitbread, whose output had leapt almost 40% to 178,000 barrels of strong beer.

Over the next decade and a half, however, the two Calvert concerns each began to fall further behind their rivals, so that by 1800 the Hour Glass had fallen to sixth largest in the capital, on just over 74,000 barrels a year, and the Peacock was down to eighth place, on 45,500 barrels. In 1802 Felix A4, then aged 67, killed himself, putting a pistol to his head in a private room at a coffee house, Don Saltero's, in Chelsea after dining on two mutton chops and a pint of wine. Newspaper reports at the time described Felix as 'the celebrated opulent brewer'. The Hour Glass brewery carried on under his two middle sons, Robert and Charles, though it kept the name of Felix Calvert & Co.

Although the American writer James Peller Malcolm wrote of the Hour Glass Brewery in 1803 that 'Calvert's great brewhouse is another instance of opulence, industry and gain, but indescribable', Robert and Charles failed to halt the decline: by 1808 the Hour Glass was in eighth place among London's big brewers, with output having dropped to a little under 69,000 barrels a year, despite the takeover in 1806 of a smaller porter brewhouse, Thomas Stanley and John Cass's Star brewery in New Crane, Wapping, and the removal of all its plant to Thames Street. (This may have been prompted by a major fire Richardson says took place at the Hour Glass brewery in 1805: unfortunately the fire seems to have been missed by all the newspapers of the period.) The Peacock, meanwhile, was down to 12th place, on 32,000 barrels, just a third of what it had been brewing at its peak. (The table on p.551 of Peter Mathias's *Brewing Industry in England*, incidentally, appears to have reversed the production figures for the two Calvert breweries, certainly from at least 1786 onwards, leading Richardson to believe, understandably, that the Peacock was the larger of the two: newspaper accounts from the late 18th and early 19th centuries give the correct picture.)

The Calverts' answer was to merge the two breweries, with the Peacock brewhouse, by now run for many years by John Calvert B3, shutting some time after July 1809 (it was demolished soon after and a debtors' prison built on the site) and production moving to the Hour Glass brewery, run by John B3's fourth cousins, Robert and Charles Calvert (all three being great-great-grandsons of Felix Calvert the patriarch). Output at the Hour Glass brewery soared as a result, to almost 133,500 barrels in the 12 months to July 1810, putting it fourth on the porter brewers' league table (though still

far behind Barclay Perkins on almost 236,00 barrels and Meux Reid on 214,600). However, production slipped back to 108,000 barrels a year in 1812, and 100,000 in 1814, placing it sixth, and Calvert's continued to hover around sixth and seventh place in London's brewers' league table for the next 50 years (with the occasional rise, such as 1834, when with output at 140,000 barrels for the year, it was London's fifth biggest brewer, and fall, such as in 1850, when at 127,500 barrels it was eighth).

Richardson is very good on the lives of Robert and Charles Calvert, the mess that Charles left the brewery in when he died intestate in 1832, and the struggle his successors had to throw off the debts Charles Calvert had left the business with. Even in 1850 it was still producing 127,500 barrels a year, but it was down to eighth among London's brewers. Eventually, in 1858, the partners filed for bankruptcy, and in 1860 a new concern, the City of London Brewery Company, was incorporated to take over the Hour Glass brewery, the first big London brewing concern to become a limited company.

The Calverts continued to own shares in the operation, and Nicolson Blacker Calvert, Robert's and Charles's great-nephew, was company secretary until his death in 1873 aged 45, the last Calvert to be actively involved in the brewing business (his first name reflected his descent from the Nicolsons, brewers of Southwark in early Stuart times). The *Brewers' Guardian* recorded that when Nicolson Calvert's coffin left the brewery (where, presumably, he had been living in the house on the site) on its way to Furneux Pelham in Hertfordshire to be buried in the family vault, 'The whole of the staff of the counting-house, and all the men who could possibly be spared from their duties. spontaneously followed the hearse, and as the procession moved through a dense crowd of spectators in Thames-street, much feeling was displayed'.

The company was thriving enough to pay for a rebuilding of the brewery in 1883, designed by the London brewery architects Scamell & Collyer (who designed a new brewery of John Smith's of Tadcaster the same year). Production was now in two separate brewhouses, the West or old brewery, where the ales were brewed, and the new East Brewery, where production of the porters and stouts had been transferred. By now output had risen to an estimated 200,000 barrels a year, according to Gourvish and Wilson (*The British Brewing*

Industry 1830-1980, p.79), but the company's ranking had fallen to 10th. Another fiscal wobble in 1891 saw the firm reconstituted as the New City of London Brewery, though the 'New' was dropped from the name four years later. The previous year, 1894, the church next door to the brewery site, All Hallows the Great, which had already lost its tower in 1876 to allow Thames Street to be widened, was pulled down completely, and the site sold to the City of London Brewery for £13,100, which built a new counting house on the spot.

After this the City of London Brewery paid good dividends up to 1904-5, but they had gone into decline from 1899, and by 1909-10 it had stopped paying dividends completely. One of the problems, shareholders were told in 1905, was that in the 'trade boom' of the 1890s, when brewers were snatching up as many pubs as they could before their rivals could get them, the CoLB

invested in a large number of public houses in the East End, and for a time the investment proved satisfactory. By degrees, however, the character of the East End population changed. It now consists very largely of the foreign element, and these foreigners, whatever else they may drink, do not drink beer. The consequence is that many of the company's tied houses, which used to be very profitable, are much less so today.

The *Daily Mail* reported this as: 'Unrestricted alien immigration into the East End was mentioned at the City of London Brewery Company's meeting yesterday as one of the causes affecting their interests'.

Hoare & Co of the Red Lion brewery at St. Katharine's, to the east of the Tower of London, another former big porter brewery, was also struggling, and in 1911 a merger was suggested between the two firms. However, the City of London's debenture stock holders failed to vote by a sufficient majority for the deal. A new scheme was proposed the following year, in which the CoLB would buy half the Red Lion brewery site for £88,000, closing the Hour Glass brewery, and the two firms would run their tied estates separately. Once again, however, a group of debenture stock holders refused to vote in favour, and the second scheme fell through.

A large brewery in the heart of the City of London was now a complete anachronism, and in 1914 the City of London Brewery agreed with Stansfeld & Co of the Swan Brewery, Walham Green, Fulham to lease the

Swan Brewery for £3,000 a year, with the intention of transferring production to Fulham. Unfortunately the outbreak of the First World War halted those plans, and brewing continued at the Hour Glass brewery. The revival of the move from Thames Street was not announced until 1921, being completed in 1922, with the two-acre Hour Glass site left 'entirely empty', and brewing carried on at Fulham 'under the most modern conditions'. (The brewery tap, the Hour Glass pub, at 89 Upper Thames Street, remained open until at least 1938.)

Around this time the City of London Brewery was making four draught beers: a KK Burton, very typical of London breweries at the time, with an original gravity of just over 1051 and an alcohol by volume of 5.36%; a pale ale at 1045.5OG, abv 4.79, eight pence a pint; a porter, 1036OG, 3.54 abv, six pence a pint; and an X mild, 1033.7OG, 3.55 abv.

Two years earlier, in 1919 the City of London Brewery had acquired a controlling interest in Nalder & Collyer's Brewery Co in Croydon, paying £32 a share. The Croydon brewery continued brewing, and supplying its pubs. In 1926, meanwhile, the CoLB began a slow journey to extract itself from direct involvement in the brewery business. That year most of its own pubs were sold to Hoare's for £1.4m and 200,000 £1 shares. The Swan brewery in Fulham and another 50 pubs were put up for sale in 1928, but failed to find a buyer. Eventually the Romford brewer Ind Coope bought 25 of the pubs, while the brewery was closed and converted into a soft drinks factory.

In 1930 City of London finally brought out the minority shareholders in Nalder & Collyer, offering then £65 a share but being forced to pay, after a court case, £120 a share. A year later the City of London Brewery Co officially changed its name to the City of London Brewery Investment Trust. The company secretary was Henry Groom, who had joined the firm in 1876, and retired in 1933 after 38 years in the same job.

In April 1936 a deal was struck selling around 170 Nalder & Collyer's pubs, mostly in Surrey, Sussex and Kent, to what was now Ind Coope & Allsopp, for a little over £2.2m, much of it in Ind Coope shares. CoLB kept the Croydon brewery, though not for very long,

apparently, and a number of pubs, still run under the Nalder & Collyer name. By 1939 the City of London Brewery and Investment Trust was boasting that after Hoare's brewery had been acquired by its East London rival Charrington's, the CoLB was 'among the largest shareholders' in both Charrington's and Ind Coope & Allsopp.

The Hour Glass site, long used as warehousing, was hit and set on fire by German bombing in 1940 and again in May 1941, which left the brewery, and the former brewery tap, the Hour Glass pub at 89 Upper Thames Street, in ruins. The wrecked buildings were demolished in 1942: the hour glass that had been on the weather-vane at the top of the brewery clock tower was acquired by Adams' brewery in Halstead, Essex. Also in 1941, the Nalder & Collyer subsidiary had its name changed to Nalder's Brewery & Investment Trust Ltd, though it continued to run pubs: in October 1952 it put 22 licensed premises up for sale, all 'country properties ... being offered for sale because they are outside the range of the company's normal activities'. It was hoped they would fetch £200,000. In 1960, however, Nalder's went into voluntary liquidation, and it was wound up in 1962. The last pub holdings were apparently sold in 1968.

In 1970 the City of London Brewery Investment Trust became part of the investment firm Touche Remnant. The brewery takeovers of the 1960s meant that its original holdings in Ind Coope were, by 1972, a £3.1m stake in Allied Breweries, while the holding in Hoare's had become a £1.7m slice of another giant national brewer, Bass Charrington. It also owned shares in Scottish & Newcastle and Whitbread worth almost £1m. However, these were only a fraction of a total investment portfolio worth almost £39m, getting on for £1 billion today, that included investments in companies as diverse as Barclays Bank, ICI, Shell, General Electric and Hawker Siddeley. The name itself had become an anachronism, and in 1981 it was changed to 'City of London Investment Trust plc', almost severing links with beer that went back more than 400 years. City of London Investment Trust is still going today, as part of Henderson Global Investors, which acquired Touche Remnant in 1992.

MARTYN CORNELL