

JOHN BUDD, MALSTER OF CREWKERNE, SOMERSET

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Introduction

In two previous articles the books of two Somerset maltsters were investigated.¹ This third article adds to the information gained but has some differences. Both of the previous articles concerned maltsters whose businesses were close to the port of Bridgwater. The first was a working maltster who had a small farming interest secondary to his main occupation. The second was primarily a farmer whose rented farm included a malt-house and who employed a maltster. Neither of these seems to have had any family connection with malting before. The third maltster, John Budd, rented a much larger farm well away from the coast and close to the border with Dorset. He employed a maltster, but came from a long line of malting families.

The sales books of John Budd, maltster of Crewkerne, Somerset, are held with a collection of documents relating to the family in the Somerset Heritage Centre, under the reference DD/HKE. As well as background family details, these give details of sales of malt and hops, purchases of coal and culm and transport. The sales ledgers cover the period 1824 until 1856, and have 6,668 entries of sales.

Crewkerne is a large parish in the county of Somerset, on its southern border with Dorset. It lies on the main route between London and Exeter, with roads fanning out south into Dorset and north deeper into Somerset. Over the period of this article the market town was expanding. A population of 2,576 in 1801, had grown by 1831 to 3,789, with a sizable proportion living in the town itself. Although its economy was based on agriculture (as might be expected in a rural county), by the nineteenth century webbing and sailcloth manufacture

had become the dominant feature and took most of the labour force.²

The Budd Family

John Budd was born into a well-to-do, though not wealthy family. The earliest reference to the family in Crewkerne was in 1720 when a William Budd came to the Court Baron for land. He died in 1730, leaving the bulk of his assets to his brother Thomas (here called Thomas I), with property and lands in and around Crewkerne.³ The family expanded their wealth by marrying into several local well-heeled families. Thomas' own son, then known as Thomas the Younger (Thomas II), married Elizabeth French - the French family had been maltsters in Crewkerne since at least 1690.

The Carter Street malthouse seems to have come into the Budd family after Elizabeth French's mother, Joan, died (between 1753 and 1755) and left her estate to her three daughters. Thomas II appears to have bought out his other two sisters-in-law, taking on a mortgage of the Carter St. malthouse in 1765. He had already purchased the other French malthouse at the Crown Inn in South St, from his brother-in-law Samuel Bovet in 1756, just one year after Joan French's death. (See below under 'The site(s)').

Thomas III carried on the business, and his younger brother William was described as a maltster and dealer in hops in 1774. When Thomas III died Thomas IV was aged only 13 and the business was controlled by the boy's uncle William and possibly his youngest aunt Betty. (Betty had taken on a bond for £2,200 in the middle of 1787, a massive amount for an unmarried woman,

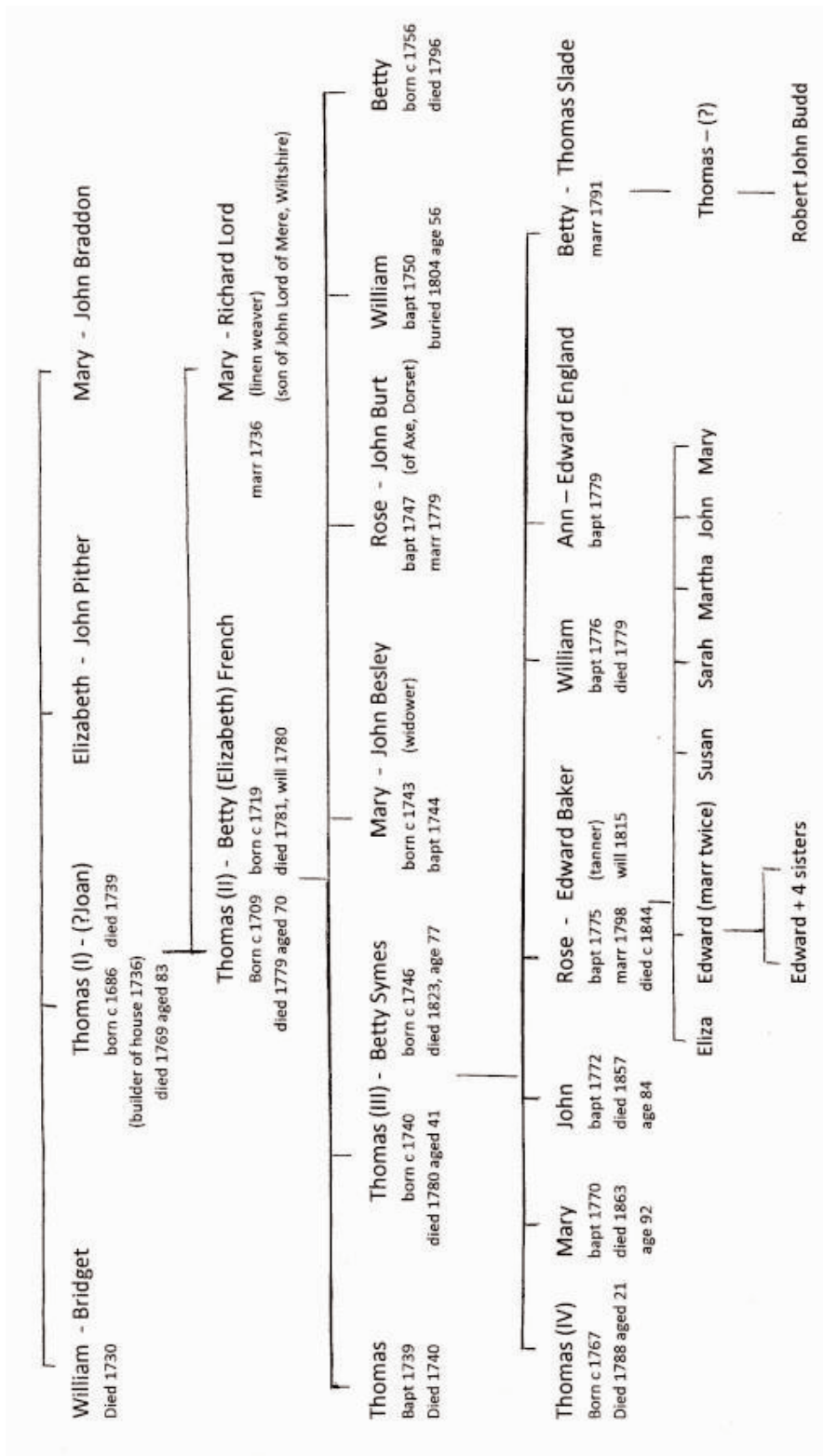


Figure 1. The Budd family tree.

especially should she fail to pay in time (by November of the same year), when it would rise to £4,400.⁴ Perhaps it was obvious that her nephew Thomas IV was already too ill to continue the business, and she needed to raise money to buy him or her brother out.) Thomas IV died in 1788, aged only 21.

Betty owned the malthouses after his death and was intent on continuing to run the business, with an employed maltster. In 1792 she advertised the lease of the two malthouses in Carter St. and South St., described as both being in her occupation. They were to be kept as malthouses as the floors, cisterns, and kilns were specifically mentioned to be kept in good repair. The malthouse in Carter St. adjoined her house, and she was to be able to make alterations to the malthouse so that her 'Dwellinghouse and Court may be more private and secure'.⁵ The lease was £20 per annum, and taken up by two men who were later brewers in the town. Betty was still described as a maltster in a directory of c.1794, but does not appear to have been involved then except as owner of the sites.⁶

Betty died in 1796, aged about 40. Her will gave a bequest of 1s 0d (£0.05) per week 'to my late maltster James Fowler for his life'. Although Betty willed that all her property, goods and furniture should be auctioned by her sister Mary Besley, she excluded 'the House and premises in which I live and the malthouse there' along with some specific lands. This was to be held by Mary (along with the proceeds of the auction after payment of legacies) in trust for Betty's nephew John - the only surviving son of Thomas III.⁷

John Budd

John Budd was born in 1772, the second son of Thomas Budd III and his wife Betty.⁸ In a deed of 1807 William Hussey leased the Parsonage House (further along Carter St and on the south side) to Betty Budd (widow of Thomas III) and her son John along with 234 acres of land. The estate that went with it was said to have been let to the Budd family since 1758.⁹

John never married, though he seems to have had a soft spot for children, especially his sisters' families. He helped his widowed sister Rose financially, he had put up money for a property for her son, rented a house to

her (and left it to her in his will), and gave her extra money for her grandson. When his nephew Thomas Slade died, John seems to have paid for his son Robert's education and boarding expenses out of his own purse. (Robert's full name was Robert John Budd Slade, clearly named after him, and this may have caused a special bond to grow up between them.) The second version of his will, written in 1842 when he was 70 years of age, made a bequest for the education and apprenticeship of his great-nephew Edward Baker 'now living with me during his minority' (although Edward's father was still alive). He was supportive of his sisters and their offspring, financially and in other ways, and was clearly held in affection in return.

The ledgers also show a perhaps philanthropic side to his character. He financially managed the Old Almshouses in Crewkerne, paying the eight residents whom he named in his ledger in 1845, and organising their coal. Although he was recompensed for this, he was paying a personal regular subscription of £5 towards the repair of the Old Almshouses. Shortly before he died John paid for Christmas Dinner for 150 people and soap for 40.

He was also deeply involved with something he called 'the Club'. This was at times referred to as the Swan Friendly Society, though he also seems to have been involved with a Christmas Dinner Club at which a ceremonial pillow was used.

John was conscious of his standing the Town. In 1816 the churchwardens removed and replaced the old pews and gallery in the church spending 'a large sum of money which would be burdensome to raise by rate', John subscribed six guineas (£6.30) for a new seat for himself and his family. In 1835 he paid a further nine guineas (£9.45) for the rights. Those attending the church would have been aware of his generosity towards the repairs, but also of his resultant right to the pew.

He got involved with improvements in the Town, doubtless seeing these as benefiting his business too: - in 1838 a three year subscription for lighting the town with gas (which had been installed in the town in 1837), and a donation towards the new main town drainage system in 1850 (enabling him to pay for a connection to it for his copyhold premises, the Swan Inn). In 1846 he mentioned depositing money for shares in a railway line.

(There were several schemes at the time which proposed linking Watchet Harbour to Bridport Harbour, and Exeter to each of London, Bristol, Yeovil, Bridport or Dorchester, all of which included branches to Crewkerne. The advantage such schemes might offer John is obvious, but which one in particular he invested in was not stated. In practice though, it seems that for maltsters the reverse was true - the availability of cheaper and more reliable supplies of malt via the rail network spelt the death-knell to those small rural maltsters who could not compete on price and quality. A station was finally opened at Crewkerne in 1860, when the London South Western Railway opened a line between Exeter and Yeovil. This was too late for John.)

John died on 20 May 1857, aged 84. He had evidently been ill, on and off, for a couple of years before, as his Day Book notes payments to a local Doctor for medicine. He had advertised in January 1857 that he was

going to give up his malting business. His executors noted a payment to John Pearce 'for sitting up with Mr Budd 1 night' - keeping vigil was then a common practice. (See under 'The site(s)' for the possible significance of this.) A tomb to him was erected in the local churchyard with 'iron railings and painting'. His final will had been originally written in 1848, with a codicil added in 1854. In it he left the bulk of his property and land, including the 'dwellinghouse in which I reside, with outhouses, yard, malthouse ...' to his unmarried sister Mary for life. Other property and land was left to his sister Rose Baker for life. Bequests of money from £200 upwards were left to nephews, nieces and their children, amounting to £2,600. The residue was left to niece Susan Baker and William Haggett Richards - another niece's husband. These last two, along with Mary Budd were the three named executors, though in practice they dealt with the majority. Although Mary knew most about John's affairs, she was by this date aged 86.



Figure 2. Tomb of John and Mary Budd at St Bartholomew's Church, Crewkerne. The inscription to Mary Budd can be made out, while that for John Budd is on the other side and difficult to read as it is in the shade. When originally erected it was painted and had iron railings. Photo: M. Miles.

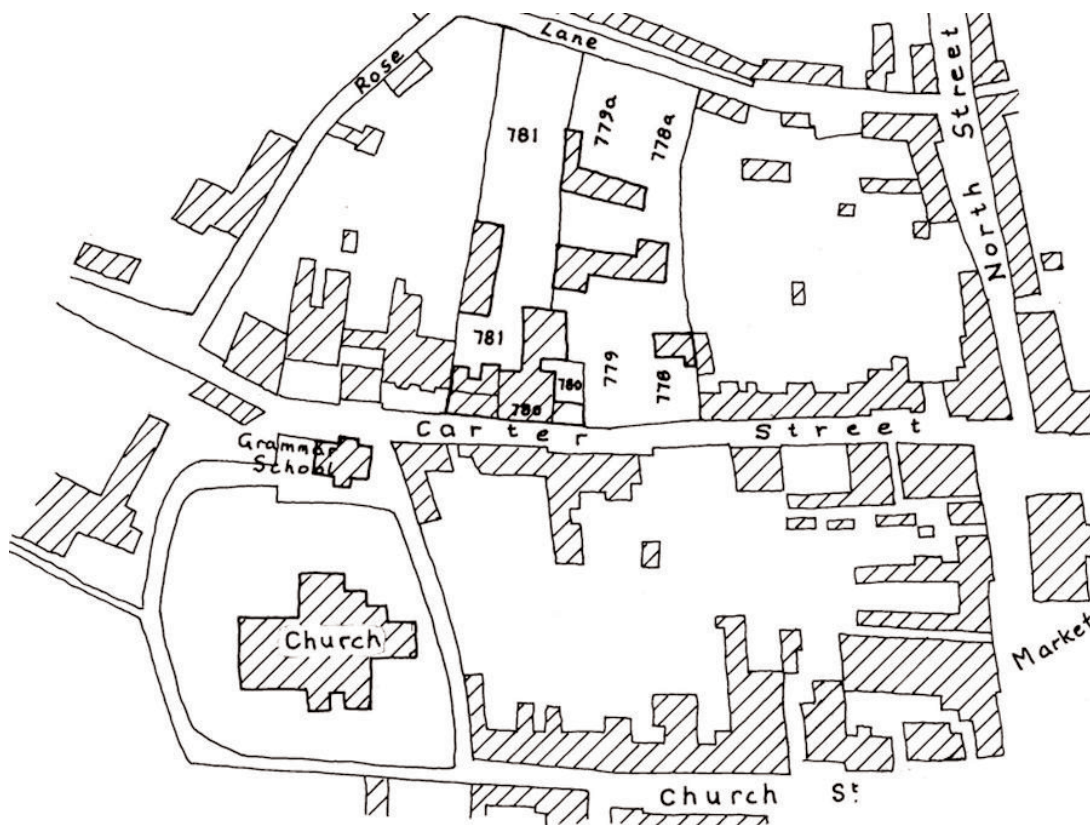


Figure 3: Based on the Tithe map of 1844, this shows John Budd's house and associated buildings in Carter St and their relationship to St. Bartholomew's Church. This property is marked with the relevant Apportionment numbers. His house was in the area marked 781. The malthouse is included with the farm buildings in the area to the right (779, 779a, 778 and 778a) but it is not known which it is. Two cottages on the roadside were owned by John Budd, one was occupied by John Pearce, who was possibly his maltster, the other by his sister Rose Baker. Woods 1841 map shows a formal garden in 781, (and extending behind the farm buildings in the areas 778a and 779a abutting Rose Lane), with the area to the right shown as a yard. A stereograph of 1854 shows the view across the buildings towards the church, but it is not possible to identify the malthouse amongst the farm buildings.

The accounts of his executors show the extent of his finances. In total he seems to have been worth almost £9,000, including investments, value of farming stock, rents and mortgage interest due, loans, and book debts. His household goods were worth £116, and his leasehold estates in Crewkerne and Misterton were valued at £3,023.

The site(s)

Two malthouses, one in South St and one behind John's house in Carter St., were owned at one time by the Budd family. However, the one run by John was that in Carter St.

The malthouse at South St. had been purchased by the Budd family from Samuel Bovet in 1756. In 1792 Betty Budd had advertised it to let along with the Carter St. malthouse. It was mentioned on a plan and Survey of the Manor of Crewkerne, surveyed by Samuel Donne in 1772 for William Hussey. The details of the premises and lands owned were updated in 1821 and mentions 'The several Houses Gardens &c the South side of South Street from William Stibys Malt House round to the meeting House ...'.¹⁰ The plan shows the Unitarian Chapel just round the corner in Hermitage St., with a set of properties going back round the corner and into South St. From it's position Stiby's malthouse is associated with the Crown. It was not included with William

Hussey's property, since it had been owned by the Budd family. (The surname is unusual, at the time confined to the area of Dorset just over the border. Since there are only two William Stibys known in the 18/19th centuries, it seems likely that this was the one born in Loders in 1760 and dying 1827. He had no children.)¹¹ There was no mention of it specifically again. It was not mentioned on any of John's wills, and it seems likely that it was sold in or shortly after 1796 as part of the rest of the estate of his aunt Betty, which would explain how Stiby came to own it.

As mentioned above, the Carter St. malthouse was first identifiably mentioned in relation to the Budd family in 1765. The best evidence of its whereabouts is on the 1841 Woods Map of the Town. On the latter buildings on the road frontage are shown (cottages mentioned in his will as being occupied by John Pearce and Jane Bennett), behind them a large house with a formal garden, and a yard to the east with three buildings back from the road. A malthouse here was still in existence in 1857 when mentioned in John's will, but has subsequently been demolished. For at least a short period of time 2 malthouses were at this site, but may not have been run con-currently (see next paragraph).

We know some detail of the malthouse(s). Until the 1792 lease there had been no glazing in the windows. (Doubtless there were wooden shutters to allow for temperature control as needed.) Betty Budd promised to remedy this with glass and lead under the terms of the lease. The floors, cisterns and kilns were to be kept in good repair by the tenants. In 1827 John had a lot of building work carried out, including buying 4,875 bricks and tiles from a local brick maker, and paying £86 to builder John Patch for 'new building work', including haulage of wood and lime. This may have been the new malthouse. In his original will of 1829 he mentioned the 'dwellinghouse in which I now live, with the Malthouse, new malthouse, outhouses, Gardens and appurtenances situate in Carter St ...'. It may have been the investment he had made which caused him to decide to write the will in the first place. In 1834 he made a specific mention of the address of Wyatt Parker & Co, Roman cement manufacturers, Bankside, Southwark, and noted 'cost on shipboard 18s (£0.90) per Barl of 5 bls'. Possibly John was considering a new floor for his malthouse. ('Roman cement' was made from natural nodules of chalk and clay from the Isle of Sheppy.

Parker's original patent had expired between 1810 and 1820, and this company went out of business in 1846, selling the plant to William Aspdin.) He had new slates for the malthouse in 1834, costing £12:16:0 (£12.80), perhaps representing a completely new roof. (In 1836 he purchased a further 100 dozen slates.) In 1835 new lead was put on the kiln chimney. He sold a local builder a 'lot (of) Ham Tile', perhaps the old kiln floor tiles, in 1836. It could be that he had replaced them with the more modern clay ones, or he had finally sold off the kiln tiles in his older malthouse. In 1832 he sold Josias French of Merriott three malt shovels for 10s 0d (£0.50), though it is not clear if these were new or second hand. In the same year he bought 'Malt Bruisers' (i.e. a malt mill) for £54:10:0 (£54.50), a huge investment. He evidently had problems with them, mentioning having them re-cut twice in 1834. He was still having problems with his malt mill in 1839 and made a special note of John Pontifex of London who was the 'Manufacturer of Malt Mills or Bruisers on a new Principle'. In 1835 he purchased a new half-bushel measure from London. Pest control was always a problem, and in 1841 he noted in his Memorandum Book a 'Receipt to kill Rats. Mixd ground Malt with oil of Carraway mixd together put it in a Trap where nothing but Rats can come to it'. There were several references to his malt sacks which seem to have held four bushels of malt (the sacks used on his farm held five bushels of grain).

It is unlikely that John was actually carrying out the malting himself. Given the other calls on his time, particularly managing his farm, regular attendance at local markets, constant arrangements to be made for repairs to buildings, and in writing up his books, it is difficult to think that he could have. He may well have taken the same course as his aunt Betty and employed a maltster from the outset. Certainly he employed a maltster towards the end. His Labour Book from 1852 until his death in 1857 mentions some weekly payments to a Charles Ferguson, maltster, and there is a single payment of 11 shillings (£0.55) for 6 days work at the malthouse to a John Paul (who was not a regular employee) in January 1854. However, one of his regular employees was John Pearce (who lived in one of his two cottages in front of his own house). Over the summer John noted what Pearce had been employed doing (reaping, mowing, etc. - all farm work). What Pearce was employed doing over the winter was not usually noted, except for the odd days he brewed for John. Yet over the winter he

worked a full 6 day week. Whatever work Pearce did John did not need to remind himself. Hints come from two references- in 1852 Pearce was paid for a 'week at Malting 10/-' (£0.50), and in 1854, (two weeks after Paul is mentioned at the malthouse), there is an entry for 'Jno Pearce 6 d(ays) malt, 12/-'. Was Pearce John's regular maltster? It would make a touching point of his vigil by his dead employer's body, but there is no confirmation.

One question about the malthouse is whether it was used solely for malt production. In 1829 John mentioned drying barley for local farmer Jeremiah Reader, presumably during a wet harvest. There is no other mention of using the malthouse to dry grain for anyone else, but it is evidence that his malthouse was not used exclusively for malt production. He may have used it to dry his own crops at times - but would not have needed to note this in his ledgers.

The books

The two ledgers were organised in double entry book-keeping, with debits on the left and credits on the right of each pair of open pages. Some pairs of pages were devoted to a single customer, but often two or more customers were listed on a pair of pages. Both books had an index indicating which pages the customer records were on. Usually a brief address for the customer was noted alongside the heading, and very occasionally an occupation (to aid John in recognising which individual was meant). These two books were used to prepare bills to send out to customers and contain 6,272 entries (excluding non-malt /hop purchases).

Two Day Books are simply date-order lists of what was supplied, to whom, and the cost. The entries in the earlier of these were simply for malt and/or hops, with no farming items. The majority of the entries in it were repeated in the later of the two ledgers (since they covered roughly the same period), with only the odd one per page not duplicated in the ledger. The unduplicated entries here amounted to an extra 396. These latter were often marked 'Paid', the inference being that it was a book kept at the malthouse in which customer purchases were noted at point of sale. It was therefore easy to pick out those which had not been paid for in cash immediately, and transfer them to the ledger then in use, for bill preparation. (The later Day Book had no malt

or hop sales recorded, and consisted mainly of farming items and receipt of deliveries, such as coal, to be credited against a customer's bill.) Customers paying cash immediately were usually making quite small purchases, but some reasonably sized purchases were paid in cash - e.g. Dutton Bonifas of the Kings Arms in Chard (£21). Since the earlier Day Book more or less equated in timescale to the second of the ledgers, a calculation shows that some 5% were not recorded in the ledger. This sort of ratio may therefore apply to the earlier ledger (i.e., the earlier ledger entries may be 'short' by about 5%).

The total number of relevant sales comes to 6,668 entries, excluding duplicates. The figures in 'Malt and Hop Sales' below is therefore based on this.

The entries in all books were mainly made by John Budd. However, some in the ledgers were made by his sister Mary. (Against one in 1832 is written 'Rec'd of Mr Pain ... by me Mary Budd' in a hand regularly seen in the books.) She acted like an office worker, regularly helping to work out accounts, send them out and receive payments. She was living with her brother, and took payment at the house when John was out. From the ledgers and Memo book, it seems that others paid John direct when catching up with him (e.g. Chard Fair in 1836). (The women of the family were well-educated. John's niece, Susan Baker often handled the money for her mother, and in his will John's land bequest to Rose's grandson Edward was to be administered by Susan if he were still a minor. He clearly felt that both she and his sister Mary were capable women.)

Most of the payments were in cash, with some cheques (the name of the bank usually noted) and a few Notes of Hand. One day in 1825 John took £30 in copper from his tenant, Stephen Goddin of the Swan. Even if this were all in pennies (then the largest denomination copper coin), it amounted to 7,200 coins. One can imagine the exchange when John showed reluctance to take the coins, with Stephen saying 'Well, do you want it or not?', while he grumbled and counted the cash out! Although the Swan was just across the road from the Bank, the physical amount must have presented a problem as well as a security risk, and after this it was noted that Goddin's (smaller) payments were made in copper and silver. In 1832 Ben Bishop of the White Lion gave him 1,080 half-penny coins. These two entries show the

problems with a 'cash only' economy, and it is easy to see why 'Notes of Hand' were in common use for large sums. Although cheques were treated at first with some suspicion as to their reliability, once these fears were overcome they would make a huge difference.

Quite often some payment was made in kind, such as barley and other farming items, or credited against a shop-keeper's bill with small amounts of cash on either side to balance out. Other items credited were bills from local tradesmen, these often related to work carried out on his behalf on the Swan. John's publican brewers frequently sold him back their spent grains from brewing (for use as pig/chicken feed) most especially from his Swan Inn tenants. One unusual reference came on 09/02/1840 when he credited Ben Bishop of the White Lion in Crewkerne for half a gallon of beer for 'police men'. This may relate to the wedding of Queen Victoria to Prince Albert on the following day.

Although John meticulously noted his own malt and hop purchases in the ledgers, there was no corresponding credit shown. This implies that he was not drawing up a yearly balance of his malting business to see annual profits/losses. While he seems to have sent out bills to most customers, they did not fall at the same time of year. He must have had a mental cut-off time for each customer to allow him to chase unpaid bills. Some were sent around the start of the new calendar year, some around the new financial year, others had more regular bills, and a few had ones lasting years. (The bills owed by John himself to Thomas Wilce accumulated from 1832 until 1855, and were still outstanding at John's death - an amount of over £454. They were offset against what Wilce owed John (£488), in bills for rent and farming items since at least 1832.) Although John made 'cut off' dates in his Day Book, these related to when he started selling new malt. For instance he started a new page on 20 December 1843, headed 'New Malt sent out at 7/-'. This set of pages ran until 4 December 1844, when he added up the various pages' malt sales in bushels and started a new page with 'New Malt sent at 7/6'. In turn, these pages ran until 12 Jan 1846, when he again totalled malt sales and started a new set with 'New Malt sent out at 8/-'. While the entries in this book did not amount to his total sales (some were only mentioned in the ledgers), they show that he was basing calculations on a season's malting, however long it took to sell that malt, regardless of variations in time-span.

In addition to his malt and hop sales, John kept notes of other sales he made in his books. These were of a farming nature, (e.g. straw, potatoes, etc, and of course, barley and seed barley) and of loans, rent, accounts as an executor of a will (e.g. Miss Ann Bovet in 1833), and payments of legacies, as well as payments to his sister Mary for her to run his household.

There were references to other books which have not survived, including a 'Malt Book' noted in 1834 when a bill for culm was mentioned as being entered in it. This probably recorded malt production - incoming barley and fuel, and dates of steeping, kilning, etc.

Malt and barley

At least two different malts were being produced. In sales to himself, John frequently mentioned Ale Malt and Beer malt (sometimes both separately on the same day), implying that they were two different malts. In addition, on 28 October 1832, he credited John Crocker for two separate payments describing the first as for Ale Malt and the second for Beer malt (rather than simply for malt - he would not have known what his customer intended to use them for). Both of these sales were charged for at a rate of 8s 0d (£0.40) per bushel, so it was not obvious from the pricing that they were different.

Possible further evidence for at least two different malts does however come from the prices charged. For instance, in 1827 from January onwards there are sales of malt at both 7s 6d and 8s 0d per bushel, and in 1832 when both 8s 6d and 8s 0d are charged from January until May when 7s 6d became a universal charge. These figures do not tie in with a cheaper rate for bulk purchases, nor do they seem to be prices for 'old' and 'new' malt, since this is not marked against the purchases (these are terms he did use to indicate when he had started selling the new malt). They do not seem to tie in with a dearer price for those who lived a distance away and might incur delivery costs. (In 1832 for instance, the first three customers charged the higher rate were local farmers and a local miller.) These appear to be two different products, related to the length of time and temperature in the kiln.

Against this must be set the fact that in his Day Book for 1842 -1856 John noted a single price at the top of each page. There was nothing here to indicate that there were

different types of malt on offer. When, during the course of a page, the price altered, this was confirmed at the top of the next as being the price he was charging. An example of the previous fluctuations is 1839. He started the year charging both 7s 6d and 8s 0d, with an occasional 7s 8d per bushel. By March he had settled on a price of 8s 0d generally, until September when he raised it to 9s 0d. In November the price rose again to 9s 6d, with one sale in October charged at 10s 0d (for his tenant in the Swan, who might have been expected to get a preferential rate). In contrast, from the Day Book, 1852 started with all prices at 6s 6d, rising to 7s 0d in February, 7s 6d in April, 8s 0d in August, and dropping back to 7s 6d in December - a much clearer arrangement. It seems most likely that he often charged the same price for the two malts, but that in the earlier years may have charged different prices at times. By the 1840's he had either settled on a single price whatever the type of malt, or perhaps now only produced one type.

There are two entries in March 1825 for 'Harvest' malt, both sales to himself, and he noted both times that he was using old hops with the malt. This was not a type of malt, but made from the new season's barley. So when he started malting in autumn 1824 he was still using up the previous harvest of barley from 1823. When that ran out in March 1825 he started on the 1824 crop. He may have been the first 'customer' to use it so that he could check the quality for himself.

New malt was mentioned on several occasions, mainly for sales in November 1830, December 1844, January 1846, February 1848, and December 1848. These first sales were to his tenants in the Swan Inn. It is likely that after 1825 he was letting his tenant try out the new malt first - either as an incentive, or to get feedback on quality before releasing it to the general public. The variation in dates shows that release of the new malt was dependant on how well the 'old' malt had sold. Furthermore, there does seem to have been a rise in charge around the time of the release of the new malt, but this appears to have been applied to malt described as 'old' as well as the new. (e.g. 04/12/1844 when sales of both 15 bushels of 'the last of the old' and 9 of new malt were made to Richard Corner, and charged at a standard 7s 6d per bushel.) Market forces were at play in the increases and decreases in charge - John had to be competitive, but he also had to cover costs when barley was in short supply.

The rate charged for malt was largely guided by the effects of the weather (see Table 1). There were years when the barley harvest was worse than normal, and this would have to be reflected in John's price, since he would have to pay relatively more to make up his own barley shortfall. Even if he claimed to make a superior product, he would need to remain competitive, and would have needed to keep a close eye on what his fellow maltsters were charging. An example of how this affected him is shown in one entry for May 1841. He sold William Curtis 40 bushels of malt at 7s 3d per bushel, but noted below the entry 'and if Malt does not hold its price then 10/- is to be deducted'. The price evidently did fall, and he did reduce the cost by the 10s 0d, meaning that his customer had saved 3d per bushel. This would undoubtedly have resulted in customer loyalty, Curtis feeling that he had been treated very fairly.

The smallest sale of malt came in 1837 when 1/8th of a peck of malt (1/32nd of a bushel) was sold to Mr Moon, a tailor in the town. This cost just 3d (£0.0125) and cannot have been for brewing purposes, perhaps it was for horse feed. Moon did not pay up front for it, having a bill prepared and paying for it a month later, and it was the only purchase he made. The largest single malt sale was for 250 bushels in August 1834. This was to a 'Mr Boner' (Bonner) of Axminster, Devon. When a further consignment of 125 bushels some three weeks later was delivered, Bonner refused to accept it, and John's delivery man was forced to leave it with Mr Richards, a local landowner. Richards bought 20 bushels himself, and the rest sold to Mr Aplin of the Hotel Inn, Axminster. Bonner paid for the malt he had received originally by cheque a month after its delivery. He was given the usual discount applied to larger sales (in this case £1:5:0 (£1.25)), and then John noted that he had abated him a further £1:5:0 on top, so the inference is that there had been some sort of complaint which John did not dispute. This is unlikely to be short measure, since when this sort of query arose elsewhere John noted rectifying it. It must have been about the quality of the malt itself, and may be the reason the second delivery was rejected.

An arrangement John came to with one farmer is of particular interest. In June 1833 he received 64 bushels of barley from John England. He was to turn this into malt for England, charging the 2s 8d (£0.13) per bushel Malt Tax which he was liable to pay, and 'I am to return 64 Bl of Malt increase I am to keep for my Labour mak

Year	Highest	Lowest
1824	8s 6d	8s 0d
1825	9s 0d	*8s 0d
1826	8s 6d	7s 6d
1827	8s 0d	7s 6d
1828	8s 0d	7s 0d
1829	9s 0d	*7s 0d
1830	9s 0d	*7s 4d
1831	9s 0d	*8s 0d
1832	8s 6d	*7s 6d
1833	8s 0d	*7s 0d
1834	7s 0d	*6s 6d
1835	^7s 0d	6s 6d
1836	8s 0d	6s 6d
1837	8s 0d	*7s 6d
1838	^8s 0d	7s 0d
1839	^9s 0d	7s 6d
1840	9s 6d	7s 6d
1841	8s 0d	*7s 0d
1842	7s 6d	*7s 0d
1843	7s 0d	6s 6d
1844	^8s 0d	7s 0d
1845	8s 0d	7s 6d
1846	8s 6d	7s 6d
1847	9s 6d	8s 0d
1848	8s 0d	*7s 6d
1849	8s 0d	7s 0d
1850	7s 0d	*7s 0d
1851	^7s 0d	6s 6d
1852	8s 0d	6s 6d
1853	8s 6d	7s 6d
1854	^^10s 0d	8s 6d
1855	^^10s 6d	9s 6d
1856	10s 6d	10s 0d

Table 1. Rate for Malt, per bushel.

** Single instances of a lower price charged to bulk purchasers or those buying the last of the old malt at a preferential rate have been ignored.*

^ Single instances of a slightly higher price charged have been ignored.

^^ There were sales to himself rated at 12s 0d per bushel - perhaps reflecting a batch of malt treated specially.

ing'. On the face of it, it looks as though he would have made a loss on this deal, since he would have inevitably finished up with less than he started with (due to loss of weight when barley is dried and the removal of dust, etc), but the weights are calculated by volume. A quarter of barley weighed 448lbs, but a quarter of malt weighed 336lbs, allowing for a loss of 25%. England was one of John's customers, buying malt for brewing and occasionally seed barley. Perhaps he had grown some specific variety, and wanted to see for himself how his good his barley was in the finished product. No mention is made of such an arrangement again - it was a one-off favour to a valued barley supplier.

The years with the highest malt sales were 1831, 1832 and 1839, the lowest years came from 1843 onwards, when perhaps his health was declining (see Table 2). After 1844 it dropped to below 2,000 bushels per annum. When these figures are compared to Samuel Burston of North Petherton in the county,¹² it can be seen that John's capacity must have been larger than Burston's as he outsold him in several years. Burston's highest year was 1843, when he sold 3,716 compared to John's 1,924 bushels, and his second in 1841, when he sold 3,002 bushels to John's 2,015. However, before this John had always had larger sales. John's malt and hop sales prior to 1841 may be approx 5% lower than actual, given that no Day book survives concurrent with the earlier ledger which would have shown those sales paid for immediately. (Malt sales between maltsters are discussed under 'Relations with other Maltsters' below.) There is no mention in any of the books of sales of screenings or malt dust, something that was sold by Samuel Burston.¹³ However he did sell screened malt as it is mentioned at various times.

Although John bought in barley from other farmers, he provided a large quantity of it himself, since the purchases mentioned would not have kept his malthouse supplied for the quantity of malt he was producing. He does note 'Chevalier' barley (bought in March 1835 from a farmer customer of his). This variety had only relatively recently been introduced (probably c1826), it had quickly become popular and was grown across the country. (Interestingly, Chevallier was revived recently for a special brew in 2013.¹⁴) The following year he noted that he had sold some 'Chevaler' barley to local farmer Josiah Higgins, so he was growing some of this variety for himself.

Year	Malt in bushels	Hops in pounds
1824	44.00	27.00
1825	2,962.50	1,128.12
1826	2,815.00	2,929.25
1827	2,835.00	969.50
1828	3,321.75	2,526.33
1829	2,457.75	1,575.00
1830	2,013.75	1,396.75
1831	4,935.00	3,444.00
1832	4,609.00	2052.50
1833	2,902.50	2,477.00
1834	2,978.00	3,531.75
1835	3,350.00	4,149.00
1836	3,144.50	2,612.00
1837	2,933.53	4,310.50
1838	3,228.50	5,006.00
1839	4,052.00	3,067.25
1840	3,066.50	2,346.25
1841	2,015.00	1,826.00
1842	2,240.06	1,918.75
1843	1,924.62	1,424.25
1844	2,005.63	1,914.50
1845	1,969.56	1,332.50
1846	1,849.00	1,185.89
1847	1,942.50	723.25
1848	1,696.75	660.25
1849	1,713.75	380.00
1850	1,244.25	752.50
1851	1,481.75	456.25
1852	1,133.50	349.50
1853	1,183.25	362.50
1854	588.75	146.75
1855	598.00	235.25
1856	363.50	157.00
Total	75,599.00	57,373.00

Hops

Dealing in hops was also a part of John's business. Some customers would wish to purchase their all their brewing needs at one place. Small rural maltsters seemed to supply hops as a useful 'add-on', bringing in a profit from the smaller home-brewers, but expecting commercial brewer and publican-brewer customers to source more economic supplies elsewhere. However, for John selling hops was a major part of his business. He regularly sold whole pockets of hops to some clients, including publican-brewers. His largest single sale was for four pockets of Farnham hops, amounting to 1,156lbs (10cwt 1qtr 8lbs) in weight. This was sold to Josias French, a common brewer and maltster at the Bell Inn at nearby Merriott, in October 1838. French also paid for 'carriage, portage and loading' amounting to an extra £1:18:6 (£1.93) on top of the cost of £77:8:2 (£77.41). This consignment had clearly been specially arranged with John. French was a regular hop customer of John's. His hop purchases are sometimes marked 'cost price', so John was not making a profit on some of the sales, simply doing a favour for another businessman, though it may have been that by 'bulking up' his own purchases John was able to get a better deal all round.

There are other customers who purchased whole or half pockets of hops at a time. (Some were pre-ordered, for instance in October 1828 he sold a half pocket of Farnham hops to William Phillips, noting that they were 'ordered before the Fair'.) Over the years John sold 116.5 pockets in this way, though this began to tail off in 1841. Quite a few of these bulk sales were made to his own tenant at the Swan in Crewkerne, and others were mainly made to other publican-brewers, other maltsters (e.g. Samuel Palmer of Hinton St. George, with whom he seems to have swapped malt and hops at various times), the occasional farmer and even a solicitor. In the main these were for a single, or half pocket, but six customers purchased between two and four at a time, and Robert Lyddon (a South Petherton maltster) made five separate purchases totalling 13 pockets in the ten years between 1834 and 1844. The sales between brewers and maltsters were often made on a cost basis, doubtless an arrangement that worked both ways, but John sometimes let publicans have the same terms for a large quantity. In these cases he also passed on the costs involved, carriage and commission.

Table 2. Sales of Malt and hops per annum, quantities.

The smallest purchase made from John was just 2oz (0.125lbs). It was made in 1825 by the Rev. John Allen, and is some of the evidence for dry-hopping which appears throughout the ledgers.

The books do not detail all John's hop purchases, only his sales. There is mention of pockets he purchased, but these are mainly in relation to bills from his carriers. In 1847, for example, John Slade charged him for carriage of hops weighing a total of 13cwt 0qtrs 17lbs which must have represented five or six pockets, but as John only sold one complete pocket of these, the rest were sold in dribs and drabs. Only a few individual purchases were noted with costs, so the only way most of his purchases can be identified is by studying the different growers mentioned in his sales (see below).

To provide some background for all this, in Hampshire Weyhill Hop Fair was held on the 12 October every year - an important date in the calendar for those wishing to buy hops in bulk. Hops from Farnham and Alton were gathered at Weyhill for sale in pockets which seem to have weighed around 2.5 cwt each. (Since at this date the hops were compressed into the sacking pockets by a man standing inside and carefully treading them down by foot, there could be some considerable difference based on the skill and weight of the man doing the treading. A hop press was invented in about 1850.)¹⁵ In 1865 (after the dates of John's activities) there were said to be 7,000 pockets of hops for sale at the Weyhill Hop Fair, which would have amounted to around some 900 tonnes.¹⁶

John had access to hops grown in several counties and purchased the majority from the four South Eastern counties of England - Hampshire, Surrey, Kent and Sussex, an area known as the Weald. Essex (which was still producing hops until 1887) was mentioned in four of his sales (1825, 1830), and again (1829) when two pockets were purchased by John from a local grocer. (As the named Essex sales amounted to only 28lbs, and at least a half pocket must have been purchased by John for the 1825 sales, the rest must have been sold without being noted against the customer, as were the majority of the two pockets he purchased in 1829.) There is no reference to hops from Somerset, or to specific varieties such as Goldings. (A single reference in 1827 to 6lbs of 'hops from Taunton' could just possibly be for Somerset grown hops, but the purchaser paid for them directly

rather than to John, so no cost is given, and as John was not buying from this source normally, he was not purchasing them for sale himself.) Looking at the purchases by John, the specific growers Pain (Farnham), Turner (Alton), and Pitman are mentioned. However, when selling to his customers John made note of quite a large number, presumably so that he could answer his customer's questions in the case of resupply or complaint. In the sales Farnhams, Alton, Sussex and 'Contry' (which appear to be from Hampshire and probably were the 'Country' hops mentioned by other maltsters) are noted, with a heavy bias towards Farnhams (and which John purchased every year). Of the many growers mentioned, his favourite was Pain's of Farnham. Other Farnham growers noted were Barrett, Crumps, Falkner, Fleming, Nash, Smithers, Steavins, West, and Willimore. In addition to these, Alton grower Chalcraft was mentioned, and other growers, 'Crandle', 'Honber' and 'H Wheller' were noted without a county (though the latter may be the same as the Wheeler noted once against 'Contry' hops). By the 1840's John was purchasing directly from Pain, and in the 1850's he also used a London hop merchants - Gibbons and Co of 253 High Street, Borough (from whom he made his last purchases of Alton, Sussex and Farnham hops).

John evidently spoke to others who knew the trade, as he noted in his Memorandum Book, 'best Growers of hop 1830 Mr Lamport, Mr Falkner, W P Pain and Mr Knight'. This gathering of other's experience and knowledge would have been essential to his trade.

Most of his hops were purchased through the Weyhill Fair some 66 miles (105km) from Crewkerne. There is mention of purchases there in 1819 and 1822 in his Memorandum Book, but the bulk of the evidence is in the later ledgers. Here he noted when people had ordered hop pockets before the Fair (e.g. Phillips in 1828), and also the costs of transport and commission. He had some arrangement with other maltsters and brewers such as Samuel Palmer with whom he agreed to determine the price after the Fair in 1848. He made the occasional purchase of a pocket through the Crewkerne Brewery Co, paying his share of the expenses at Weyhill (1825 and 1847). The logistics of these purchases shows how revolutionary the coming of the railway network must have been. Most of his purchases came via Andover, Salisbury, and Dorchester by carrier, and some may have come by boat (when portage and load-

ing are mentioned among the costs involved). In one case a pocket came from London in 1832, and had to be returned, at a cost of 12s 6d (£0.63) for carriage. (When one pocket was sent from Salisbury in 1835, it accompanied a half-bushel measure for John sent from London. His carrier charged him 8s0d (£0.40) for the two, but John charged his hop customer a total carriage of 8s 10d, which may have included some commission.) In another instance, five pockets weighing a total of 12 cwt, 1 qtr 16lbs came by carrier from Pain's of Farnham. Budd had useful connections, since one of the carriers called regularly at his copyhold premises the Swan Inn in Crewkerne.¹⁷ By the 1800's there was a substantial cheese fair held at Weyhill as well (also in October), with cheese from Somerset, and the West Country generally, so a carrier might make the journey one way with cheese, and return laden with hops, making a very economic arrangement.

The price of hops fluctuated somewhat. When there was a good harvest the prices were cheaper, and vice versa. John's ledgers help identify when these were from the prices he charged. The highest prices were attained in 1825 and 1826, when John sold for 6s 0d (£0.30) per lb, and went down to 1s 0d (£0.05) per lb - in several years (a sale to himself in 1851 of "old" hops for 6d per lb was exceptionally low, though there are a few other single sales only slightly higher, perhaps the cost here too related to the age of the hop). The price also varied according to the origin. Farnhams always seem to have attracted the higher price - doubtless because this was a reflection of what they had cost him. Ignoring the sales of 'old' hops, 'Contry' hops were always the cheapest, followed by Sussex then Essex, with Farnhams the dearest. John appears to have always had a choice for his customers of at least two, sometimes three. An example of the 'mark-up' he charged is shown in October 1841. He sold a pocket of Farnham hops to one customer at cost price, which worked out to 1s 10¾ d per lb, and a few days later another pocket to his tenant Richard Corner for 2s 0d per lb (not noted as cost price, but likely to be a preferential rate). Other customers, purchasing smaller amounts, were being charged 2s 6d per lb for Farnham hops, his standard charge until September 1842.

John's highest years for total sales of hops were 1837 and 1838, when a total of almost 10,000lbs was sold in the two years. The lowest sales occurred in 1827 and

from 1847 onwards, when he sold less than 1,000lbs p.a. (Again there must be the proviso that figures prior to 1841 may be approx 5% lower than actual.)

John made purchases of hop pockets every year. It might be thought that when harvests were good he would buy in larger quantities - taking advantage of the cheaper price. Common brewers did so, keeping an excess for use in years when they were more expensive, so helping to keep their beer competitively priced. As a result they sometimes held stocks of two or three years of age, though the bitterness would drop off over time. John's books do make reference to sales of old hops, always at a cheaper rate. He also makes it clear when he started selling the new hops, marking it against the sale. He mentions some 'old' Sussex hops in a sale in December 1840, and notes that these were 'growth of '39', so in fact they were only just over one year old. His turnover suggests that he purchased fresh hops every year, and that old stocks were soon turned over, rather than being held onto for two to three years. Again, it might be thought that his larger customers would buy in larger quantity in the cheaper years, but this is not borne out in his ledgers. In both 1847 and 1848, for example, a pocket of Farnham hops cost £5:12:0 (£5.60) per cwt, the cheapest rate mentioned, yet he only sold two complete pockets, both to his tenant at the Swan. Conversely, Josias French bought four pockets of Farnhams from him in 1838 when the cost was much higher, £7:10:0 (£7.50) per cwt, and in the winter of 1826 10 pockets were purchased by various people, six of them Farnhams at a rate of £8:8:0 (£8.40).

John also had a special arrangement with some customers about buying back unused hops. To give two examples, firstly in 1826 George Salter of Coombe Farm had a pocket from John, and sold him back half of it (126lbs weight), at a value of £12:12:0 (£12.60), to be taken in the equivalent value of malt. Secondly, in March 1834 the 'end (of) Contry hops' amounting to 48lbs was taken back from Emmanuel Hodges of the White Hart. This last had been sold at 1s 8d per lb, but was credited at 1s 6d per lb, John being well aware that the hops were now worth less. (Hodges was very shortly to be John's tenant at the Swan.) John knew that he had customers who would be happy to take the older hops at a cheaper rate (he himself was not averse to using them), particularly if they were Farnhams. It could well be that he encouraged certain customers to take a

whole pocket at a preferential rate, promising to buy back any unused after a certain period, providing that they were still useable. When hops were in short supply and commanding a high price, some customers would not be too picky about the age if the price was right.

Coal

It is possible to see the types of fuel John used from his books and loose bills sent by coal merchants, but not the full extent of his purchases. There are purchases of culm, coke and coal, the latter sometimes further defined as stone coal or Bullo coal. The anthracite from North Devon and North Cornwall was known as culm. Stone coal was hard anthracite which produced less smoke and soot than ordinary coal. Bullo coal refers to that which came from Bullo Pill in Gloucestershire. At the end of his malting career John made at least four purchases of it amounting to 140cwt in just 16 months (spanning 1855-1857). It cost 1s 0d (£0.05) per cwt, and was slightly cheaper than the coal he had been buying. (Bullo Pill was used to take coal and stone from the mines and quarries on the eastern side of the Forest of Dean. Much of the coal went by ship to Bridgwater.¹⁸ The reference is puzzling since no anthracite is known to have been mined in the Forest of Dean.¹⁹ The fact that it is so named implies transport by sea - if it had been by rail it would have been called Cinderford coal.)

John mentioned at least one bill for coal as being entered in his Malt book, so this book may have recorded his purchases specifically for malting. In addition, some of the coal may have been simply for his domestic use and his own brewing purposes, but the quantities mentioned at times must have included his malthouse needs. The largest recorded purchases were in 1832 and 1840, costing £23:6:5 (£23.32) and £24:14:4½ (£24.72) respectively. (In comparison, Thomas Hurman, a maltster at Cannington spent £15 on approx 300cwt in 1832.) Most of his coal was bought from merchants at Thorney and Langport (including Henry Lovibond). (Thorney was the furthest point that could be navigated up the River Parrett, but in reality, navigation above the port of Langport was restricted by the Bow Bridge there, meaning that goods for higher up had to be transhipped. Henry Lovibond built a small railway under one of the arches at Bow Bridge to help with this, but the biggest improvement came with the Parrett

Navigation Company works completed by the end of 1840. The major forces behind this latter scheme were the Stuckey and Bagehot families, who had banking and business interests in Langport, Bridgwater, Taunton and Bristol. The improvements (previously the horses drawing the barges had to jump fences along the river!) resulted in barges being able to get to Thorney at any stage of the tide. Despite the construction of the Durston to Yeovil railway line in 1853, the route was used by barges into the 1860's and even up to the 1920's).²⁰

In addition to these purchases, John also bought coal from a local baker, John Mills. One was recorded as weighing 42 cwt, costing £2:15:6 (£2.77). Another purchase amounted to £8:5:3 (£8.26), so must have been considerably larger and was noted as being for both coal and culm.

As well as John's purchases of coal for his own use, he occasionally supplied others. In 1825 he sold Robert Phelps, a local blacksmith, 4cwt of stone coal. In 1836 he noted a sale of ten tons of culm to a farmer of Misterton, and in 1843 supplied 1cwt of culm to a local cooper. In 1830 he 'found coals for brewing' for the Revd Richard Low, weighing 1cwt. He may have sold more than this - these were simply noted to be added to their malt and hop accounts.

Customers

A breakdown of the occupations of John's customers is shown in Table 3. Only 39 of the 586 customers mentioned were completely unidentifiable (6.66%). A few of these were simply identified in his books as coming from a particular place (e.g. 'Yeovil man'). For others, checks in directories, census, Alehouse Recognizances and local Heritage Centre catalogues, elicited no mention. However, even if they all fell within a single group, they would not affect the overall positioning of the figures for the groups. They are less likely to be in the 'associated trades', or tradesmen groups since these are well identified from directories and census.

There are some potential problems with occupation identification, since many tradesmen also had small pieces of land and were involved with agriculture on a minor basis. Where there is evidence of multiple occupations, it has been taken as those from directories or

Main occupation	Positive	Possible	Total
Agriculture/farming	174	18	192
Associated trades *	77	10	87
Independent	46	8	54
Professional	53	1	54
Tradesman	148	10	158
Other **	2	0	2
Total	500	47	547
Unknown	-	-	39

Table 3. Occupations

*These include, beerhouse keeper, brewer, maltster, innkeeper

**Officials - a Workhouse keeper and an Excise Officer.

Tradesmen include manufacturers.

census, since these would be what the person felt was their main occupation, rather than the fact that they may have bought or sold farming items. In addition, when writing their will, some would refer to themselves as ‘Gentleman’, although they were involved in manufacture or farming. In these cases the business identification has been used rather than ‘Independent’.

The groupings cannot be used to identify the wealthiest people. ‘Independent’ ranges from widows surviving on their husband’s legacy, to those who were considered landed gentry (e.g. Lord Hinton). Furthermore the group ‘Tradesmen’ covers a wide spectrum - from shoemakers, blacksmiths and carpenters, to the owners of manufactories. These latter were mainly involved in the local sail-cloth industry (said to have provided sails for Nelson), and would have been much more comfortably off than the humble shoemaker.

The largest single group were tradesmen, of whom 225 could be identified positively, and of these 77 were in ‘associated’ trades as publicans, brewers, maltsters and beerhouse keepers. The next largest group was those employed on the land - farmers, agricultural labourers and market gardeners. As a group in their own right, the associated tradesmen came third. (In this scenario the largest group were the agriculture workers, followed by tradesmen.) Bringing up the rear were the professional classes (e.g. vicars, surgeons, solicitors), those of inde-

pendent means, and the very small group of ‘other’ which comprised two officials - a workhouse keeper and an Excise man.

Sales-wise, the vast volume of John’s malt went to the ‘Associated’ tradesmen. His tenants had regular amounts, and some significant quantities went into Dorset, to brewers and publican brewers. (Dorset was ‘malt-hungry’ - William Marshall, writing in 1796 describes the agriculture of West Dorset as ‘strictly dairy farms’, with the arable crops of the interior as being chiefly wheat and oats, no beans, ‘and but little Barley’.)²¹ Among Budd’s brewer customers were Robert Bazley of Lyme Regis (45 bushels in 1842), and Thomas Cave of Yeovil (260 bushels in 1839)

No corn factors purchased Budd’s malt. This shows that he did not need to use them - his malt went to his regular customers, and so he did not have a surplus he wished to dispose of in bulk. (For comparison, see Samuel Burston of North Petherton, whose reliance on them may have contributed to a decline in local sales.)²²

Transport

Some aspects of transport have already been discussed under both ‘Hops’ and ‘Coal’ above. For the distribution of malt and hops to his customers John used vari-

ous people to deliver, a carrier, farmers, a butcher, a gardener, and even once by coal cart. (One wonders about the suitability of delivery by coal cart - it is only mentioned once.) As some of his customers lived some distance from him, he would have been keen to hear of others travelling that way so that he could come to an agreement with them. The carrier sometimes seems to have acted on his behalf, picking up the payments when making the delivery, as was often the case with Thomas Wheadon. (Wheadon seems to have travelled some considerable distances, including to Lyme Regis on several occasions.)

There could be problems with long-distance deliveries. On one occasion (1829) his carrier, J. Perne, lost a sack of malt (out of a total of 100 bushels - a load of 25 sacks) on the way to the George Inn at Charmouth, Dorset, and John had to replace it. He received ten shillings (£0.50) less for it 'but not by agreement', though he clearly felt it was better for customer relations to accept the deduction. He does not seem to have used Mr Perne's services again. The replacement was sent via Thomas Wheadon - a more reliable carrier.

John's sales of malt to Wales took place in 1839 and 1840, and were each for 20 bushels at a time. These involved a short sea voyage from the busy port of Bridgwater. All the Welsh sales were listed underneath a heading of 'by order Mr T Worry', and he seems to have made the payments to John. He lived at nearby Misterton, and must have been acting as an agent, filling ships with cargoes. The malt was sent by river via Langport to Bridgwater, and then by 'D M Lloyd, Mariner', the master of a ship plying trade between the port and Wales. Recipients included an ironmonger in Swansea and a landlady at Fishguard.

John had used the route via Thorney/Langport to Bridgwater for other ship deliveries. The previous year he had sent 20 bushels of malt and 10lbs of hops to T.H. England at Clifton, Bristol, via Langport and the Stuckey Shipping Company. The cost of the total freight had been borne by John. In 1831 he had sent malt to William Richards of Henbury, Bristol on two occasions: - the first time (12 bushels) carriage was paid to Bristol (so perhaps by road), but the second 20 bushels load was 'Freight paid to Bridgwater', therefore by sea. Richards moved to Axminster where subsequent sales were sent.

Relations with brewers and other maltsters

John had a good relationship with fellow maltsters. Whilst it might be expected that there would be competition between them, this seems to have surfaced mostly as pricing of their malt. There was buying and selling between maltsters, albeit on a small and occasional scale. In particular, with those smaller maltsters who did not have the contacts or opportunity to obtain hops direct from Weyhill, John's readiness to sell hops in quantity to them meant that both sides had a vested interest in cordial contact.

Looking first at maltsters, Robert Lyddon, of South Petherton²³ bought only hops from John, but these purchases ranged from three pockets of Pain hops, to a single pocket, totalling 13 pockets in all, and some smaller purchases of Sussex hops. Some of these were marked as being sold at cost price. In return John bought a pocket of Sussex hops from Lyddon in 1844, and took 100 bushels of malt from Lyddon in 1839 in part-payment of a bill. (Some of this malt was immediately passed on with a 6d per bushel mark-up.)

Samuel Palmer had a malthouse in Hinton St George from at least 1840.²⁴ He borrowed £100 from John in 1841, at 4.5% interest, finally repaying it in 1856. Sales of both malt and hops were made between the two, with John making more purchases of malt between 1849 and 1856. These appear to have coincided with John being ill, and went immediately to his Swan Inn tenant at the same price - he had to fulfil his obligation to his tenant. Furthermore, Palmer had let John have a discount. From 1849 John referred to him as 'Mr Palmer', rather than Samuel - something he usually reserved for the gentry, indicating respect.

A contrast was W.H. Rowsell of Crewkerne, noted by John as a maltster. There is no obvious sale of malt or hops either way. Rowsell purchased seed barley between 1839 and 1840, some marked as being soaked for sowing. However, 'pd Mr Rowsell end hop 01/10/1839 £4:16:0' may mean John made a purchase of hops from him. John also lent him £25 in that year. (William Patch Rowsell appears as a maltster at South St in Crewkerne in the General Directory of the County of Somerset in 1840, and must be the same person. His malthouse may be the one at the Crown which Betty Budd had leased out in 1792.)

Thomas Standfield, a maltster in Haselbury Plucknett, had the White Horse Inn there as well, brewing for his inn.²⁵ John bought 50 bushels of malt from him in 1856, as already noted this was at a time when he was ill and running down his business. Standfield did not buy from John.

All of these were in close proximity to John. Rowsell was in the same town, the rest within just 6 miles. So they were direct competitors.

Some of John's customers had other occupations combined with malting. Jesse Hopkins, at Bow Mills, Merriott, was a miller and maltster. He bought both malt and hops from John, but in quantities which suggest home brewing rather than for resale. John did buy malt from Hopkins though. In 1831 and 1832 he had a total of 300 bushels, in three separate amounts, and passed them on with a mark-up of between 6d (£0.025) and 1s 0d (£0.05) per bushel. Was John short on demand? In 1830 he had sold over 2,000 bushels, but in 1831 and 1832 he sold almost 5,000 and 4,600 respectively, so it could be that his own production had fallen a bit short of this increased custom (see '1830 Beer Act' below).

Henry Lovibond of Langport was a coal merchant who often provided John with coal/culm and occasionally tiles. He was also a maltster. He made just three purchases from John between 1834 and 1839. The first was for a half pocket of Farnham hops 'weighed at his house' in 1834, and John received a 'Cart load of coals' amounting to almost the same cost on the same day, though the bills were settled separately. Lovibond's two malt purchases were in 1839 when he bought 120 and 88 bushels. John never bought malt from Lovibond - it is likely that all the latter's production went either locally or was transported to Bridgwater along the river.

The final group were brewers in some way, several of whom combined this with malting.

Looking at the common brewers, Robt Bazley of Lyme Regis made five small purchases in 1842, totalling £15:15:0 (£15.75). He was a poor payer. Although the first 3 purchases were paid off by the end of the year, the fourth was paid in small instalments between 1844 and 1847. John took it to the County Court in 1855, putting it in the hands of Mr Lee, a solicitor customer of his. The court fees of 12s 0d (£0.60) were added to the bill

Bazley owed, but Lee's services cost John a further 10s 0d (£0.50). Bazley paid the bill but John had lost 10s 0d, the cost of his solicitor. John was evidently pleased with Mr Lee, as he gave him the final 8s 9d (£0.43) paid by Bazley in addition to what he had already paid him. In a similar vein, James Harcombe, brewer and maltster of Martock, made two purchases of malt from John in 1842, amounting to 75 bushels. Harcombe reputedly moved to Inverness in Scotland, but despite sending bills there, John never received payment.

In Yeovil Thomas Cave was a brewer, maltster and wine and spirit merchant in Princes St. His business was, through partnership with Joseph Brutton, to be the founding of the firm later to become Brutton Mitchell Toms. In 1839 he made two purchases of 130 bushels of malt from John. In return, John abated him almost £3 and took £3 worth of wine.

A different relationship existed with Samuel Lawrence of Merriott Brewery. He was always referred to by John as 'Mr Lawrence', so like Samuel Palmer, was held in respect. Lawrence did not buy malt or hops from John - John bought malt from Lawrence. His three direct purchases were in 1852 (21 bushels), 1853 (21 bushels) and 1856 (42 bushels). They went immediately to John's tenant at the Swan. Lawrence also supplied John with a further 205 bushels of malt in 1856 via the landlord of the Swan in Merriott, Samuel Pattermore. Payment was made direct to Lawrence, and some, if not all of the malt went to the Swan at Crewkerne. John was using Lawrence to fulfil his obligation to his tenant. (Pattermore himself had bought 151 bushels of malt and 94lbs of hops from John between 1850 and 1851.)

George Lumbard ran the Crown Inn at Ilminster and was also in Directories as a brewer and maltster. The floor of his malthouse collapsed in 1841, causing £100 worth of damage, but fortunately the maltster escaped via a window.²⁶ His purchases of malt and hops were made before this unfortunate event, between 1830 and 1840. Lumbard made 12 purchases of hops, in quantities between half and two pockets at a time, and noted as Farnham, Alton, 'Contry', Kent and old Sussex. Malt was bought (separately to the hops), on 14 occasions, the largest purchase being 80 bushels in 1833. Perhaps the malt sales made up a shortfall in Lumbard's own production. John bought gin and brandy from Lumbard, but no malt or hops. Lumbard was still malting until 1859.

Josias French of Merriott had the Bell Inn, and combined this with malting and being a common brewer from at least 1839, until 1859.²⁷ French made small purchases of malt and larger of hops from John between 1825 and 1852. The single largest hop purchase was in 1838 when four pockets (1,156lbs) of Farnhams were purchased from John. For the large hop purchases, carriage was often added, so French had ordered them specifically. The purchases were mostly noted as being Farnham hops, though others were mentioned. Three times the hops were charged at cost price. In 1832 French bought 3 malt shovels from John at a cost of £0:10:0 (£0.50). John did not have malt from French, but he did have hops. In 1835 he had a half pocket of Farnham's from French - this does not seem to be a 'return' as the previous pocket French had 6 months before, had been charged at £7:7:0 (£7.35) per cwt, whereas this was credited at £9:4:0 (£9.20) - John must have wanted them. Twice John took hops from French, which he replaced later with new hops. Again, John needed these hops. His relationship may be more than that of a business one. He usually referred to his customers with their Christian name or as 'Mr' if a member of the gentry, or someone he held in respect. However, he referred to Josias as 'Sias', a diminutive which might indicate a closer tie. Given that John's grandmother had been Elizabeth French, there is a possibility that Josias was a distant relative.

Looking at all these cases, it can be seen that there was an understanding between maltsters. They may have been competitors in the open market, but they were pragmatic enough to help each other out at times of difficulty. John's £25 loan to Rowsell may have been to help him out when cash-flow problems arose, for instance over the payment of Malt Tax up-front, something which John would have appreciated. Samuel Palmer's £100 loan, lasting for 14 years, can hardly have been in the same category. Several of the maltsters were hop customers of John's - his connections made him someone useful to know. However, he did not always capitalize on it, selling the hop pockets often at cost price plus carriage and commission. Presumably he had to be competitive with other hop dealers in the area, but it may also be that by 'bulking up' his own purchases at Weyhill he gained an advantage in other ways.

His relationships with brewers were a bit more difficult. Some got themselves into debt with him and were poor

payers (Bazley and Harcombe). Others were more reliable or useful as suppliers to John (Cave and Lawrence). Crewkerne had two breweries at this date; the Hermitage Brewery in Hermitage St., (run by Edward Budge and William Thomas Standfield), and Crewkerne Old Brewery (run around these dates by John Slade and John Evomy Norman, then Norman and George Jolliffe). John sold neither concern any malt or hops. He bought 21 bushels of malt from 'Budge &c' in January 1853, evidently to fulfil a demand, and it is not clear who of his many customers shortly after this date he sold it to. He was given a discount, and the rate he was charged came to just under 7s 0d per bushel. As he was selling at 7s 6d, he would have made a small profit on the deal.

John's dealings with the Crewkerne Old Brewery were soured by later events, and may have been the result of who he was dealing with. He made a couple of purchases of a pocket of hops through them, paying his share of the expenses, just as he charged some of his customers. 'Mr Evomy', (John Evomy Norman, who also had a brewery at Chard), paid John what he owed John Edwards (a carrier customer of John's) for the carriage of a pocket of hops which came via Salisbury in 1830. In 1838 John gave Mr Norman '£10 to buy hops at Wayhill (sic)'. As one of the hop purchases was via John Slade, it would seem that relations with both Slade and Norman were cordial. (John Slade may have been a relative of John's.) When a difficulty did arise (two of John's sheep were killed by a brewery dog in 1825, the 'deficiency to be made up by Party'), it was sorted out amicably enough. The company bought items from him - barley (200 bushels in 1837), reed and straw. They helped John by letting him have 67lbs of hops in late 1836 which he repaid in hops in February 1837. When the Jolliffe family became involved with the Brewery there was a sea-change in atmosphere. John Slade's daughter, Elizabeth, had married George Hilborne Jolliffe, and he and their son George Slade Jolliffe were to drive the business, along with Norman, to a new level in the later Crewkerne United Brewery Company. The Jolliffe men were ambitious, but perhaps in their enthusiasm for business and profit they did not appreciate how others might feel. The tale of the debt of John Love (see under 'Bad debts v Extended Credit' below) shows how deeply John felt about how he had been treated by the brewery. There is a sense of unfairness, sadness and hurt, as though he had expected more gentlemanly behaviour. Relations were strained, and apart from a pocket of hops

bought from John Slade in 1847, John did not have any further dealings with the company after.

Bad debts, v extended credit

The way in which John managed the debts owed him is perhaps typical of businessmen of the time. For those customers who ran businesses that he patronised he was happy to allow extended credit over several years, setting what he owed against their bills, so that little money actually changed hands. However, for other customers bills were regularly sent out as reminders to pay up. These tended to be customers who lived at a distance and so needed a closer eye kept on payments.

Some of his customers inevitably were unable to pay. In some cases they died and he was not able to recover the debt. This happened in the case of Mr Rossiter of Yeovil whose executors could not pay off his debts, and William Foss a publican of Charmouth (his trustees managed to pay part of the bill, but the final £36 had to be written off). The difficulty of finding out what was happening in distant towns is shown by correspondence he had with Henry Smith of Charmouth. Smith was purchasing flour from Richard Cannicott, a miller at Clapton, via John. He ran up a bill of £90, and in 1842 sent £10 'it would have been more but I had to pay my house rent', with a request to get a further ten sacks of flour. This was followed by a letter apologising for not reimbursing John as he had been ill for six weeks. The next year he wrote again to John advising him that another customer he had enquired about 'has left our place this long time and is in London'. This customer had owed John £11. He must have felt that it was worth extending the credit to Smith, since he could tell him what was happening in Charmouth, but his patience finally ran out in 1847, when he got his solicitor to draw up a Note of Hand for the £80, so that there was formal recognition of the debt. The usual rate of interest was 3½ to 4%, but in this case John insisted on 5%. The debt rumbled on until in 1853 John's solicitor (Sparks) sent a letter urging Smith not to drive John 'to extreme measures'. Finally some satisfaction was made in 1854.

Smith had also given John information about a cask he had lent the Rev Hatherell of Charmouth in 1842. This was noted in John's ledger to be charged at five shillings (£0.25) if not returned when empty of cider. The rest of

the bill was paid in 1843, but the cask was still outstanding. John wrote it off. The carriage would have cost him a further two shillings (£0.10), and he may have felt that the hassle in chasing it was not worthwhile. It was still listed in his ledger as a debt.

Vicars were usually seen as good for credit, due to their profession. However there could be difficulties. The Rev. John Allen who was master of the Free Grammar School in Crewkerne owed money, including to John, (perhaps he had died). Local auctioneer and valuer John Patch was called in, and John's debt was repaid in some cash and goods from his house.

In some cases John felt there was little point in pursuing a debt - Thomas Potter had 'been in the King's Bench', so clearly was unable to pay. One of his debtors was transported before he could take any action, and one had emigrated to America, both signs of the time. For others John took some action himself. As mentioned above, he took Robert Bazley of Lyme Regis to the County Court, using another customer, Mr Lee, who happened to be a solicitor there. One of his most unsuccessful attempts was over the debt of John Love, publican and butcher of Charmouth. Love owed John £185:10:0 (including a loan of £100). When things came to the crunch John agreed to pay some of the costs of advertising the house and for a solicitor to attend the sale. He noted sadly

1839 John Love gave me a third Security on the House but it turned out Mr Trenchards Mortgage and a second mortgage to the Brewery Company Crewkerne was somewhere about the value of it when put up for sale and the Brewery Concern paid off(f) Mr Trenchard and sold the House to some of their Concern or Family and JB had nothing.

He had to pay £3:3:0 (£3.15) for the advert and solicitors fees -good money after bad. Some debts had been fairly small, just a few pounds, and he could ride those out. However the larger debts his publican-brewers ran up must have been a concern for him, even with his relatively comfortable income. It was a fine balance to decide how good a person's credit was.

1830 Beer Act

In 1830 the Beer Act was passed, allowing any householder assessed for poor rate the right to open their

house as a beershop without needing to obtain a magistrate's licence. Beer and cider could be sold, on payment of a two guinea licence from the Excise, but no spirits. Intended to encourage consumers to turn from gin to beer, the Act resulted in an upsurge of beershops. Craftsmen, such as blacksmiths, bought the right so that their customers could have some refreshment while waiting. Since some of these beershop owners may have initially brewed their own beer, the Act potentially affected the sales of maltsters. Table 2 shows the total quantities of malt John sold in each year. There was an upsurge in sales in 1831 and 1832, (and John did buy in an extra 350 bushels of malt from two local maltsters in 1831 and 1832), but after this sales dropped back and did not reach over 4,000 bushels again, with the exception of 1839. A further indication can be seen in his sales of hops. Both malt and hop sales in 1831 were more than double those of 1830. This shows that the increase in sales was not down to publican brewers, who would be able to source more economic supplies of hops elsewhere. Rather it points to customers who needed both commodities. Of those identified as beer retailers/beershop keepers, only one started buying from John in 1831 (continuing until 1837), one made a small purchase before (1828, then a gap until 1835-9), the rest started taking malt/hops from 1837. This implies that the increased demand was from the craftsmen mentioned above.

John had a total of 48 'new' customers at the end of 1830, and in 1831. Some of these can be excluded as an effect of the Beer Act - vicars, farmers, five of independent means, manufacturers, millers, coal merchants, and the Excise Officer. five publicans were already at their house before 1830 or new tenants in known houses. 3 may have started out at this period as beerhouses later becoming public houses, so these are potentially as a result of the Beer Act. Of these, Richard Bridge of Forton is of interest as he purchased a total of 56 bushels of malt and 32lbs of hops in 1831; his purchases then dropped off considerably until he ceased buying in 1841. Seven were traders in some way. Plumber and glazier James Darby of Lyme Regis made just two purchases in 1831, but each was of 100 bushels of malt. Either he was selling it on to others, or he may have been running a beerhouse as well and was stocking up for the year. In addition to this were Kenway and Sons of Bridport, of unknown occupation. Over 1831/2 they bought a total of 753 bushels of malt, but no hops, and

ended by owing John over £55, a bad debt which was not paid, and which he unusually does not seem to have pursued. They must have been either brewers or at least publican brewers - the quantity of the purchase would seem rather high for a beerhouse.

So there is evidence that John's business did receive a fillip from the Beer Act, but it was short-lived. Beershop owners either bought in malt and brewed their own beer, or bought beer from brewers. From this they potentially expanded to become fully-licensed public houses, or went out of business. At the end of the decade there was another rise in John's sales of malt and hops, but this cannot have been down the Act.

Area covered

The vast majority of John's customers lived within a radius of 20 miles from Crewkerne. Of his 586 customers during the times of his ledgers, 8 were outside this area - 2 in Bristol, 1 in London, and the 5 sales made via Thomas Worry to Wales (see 'Transport' above). 159 of John's customers lived in the town of Crewkerne itself, amounting to over 27%.

The area covered ranged across the border with Dorset, down to Charmouth and Lyme Regis on the coast, and Cerne Abbas to the South East. It also crossed the border with Devon as far as Honiton some 18 miles to the South West. To the North East it reached Henstridge, near the Dorset border, almost 19 miles away. Langport, 11 miles to the North, was also the site of John's coal merchant, Henry Lovibond. To the North West and West the area shrank to just over eight miles (Broadway, where his nephew lived, and Combe St. Nicholas), this may well have been affected by the proximity of Taunton.

Apart from the Welsh sales, the other three sales made outside the 20 mile radius were made to William Richards of Henbury, Bristol (see above under 'Transport'), Thomas England of Clifton, Bristol and William Symes of London. Thomas England is a fairly common name, so it is difficult to make out his occupation. He made just one purchase, in 1838, and this was for 20 bushels of malt and 10lbs of hops. His purchase was taken to Langport where Stuckey's Shipping Company took it on to Bristol for 5s0d (£0.25) - John does not seem to have charged him the freight cost. (The

distance by road from Crewkerne to Clifton would have been some 56 miles.) William Symes can be identified, however. John very helpfully gave his full address - 80 Judd St., Brunswick Square, London. The 1952 book, *The Survey of London*, vol 24, chapter 7, which is about the Skinner's Company Estate, mentions prominent people who lived in their property. It lists Symes as a surgeon living there between 1825 and 1828. He appears in John's ledgers for three purchases made in 1825, 1826 and 1827, so neatly within the dates mentioned. Each purchase was for 20 bushels of malt and 12lbs of hops. He must have had some connection with Somerset or Dorset, and perhaps was a relative of Edward Symes of Barwick, Yeovil, another of John's customers, who passed on one payment for him to John. (A William Henry Symes, aged 50 was noted as the resident surgeon at the 'Licensed Madhouse' at Cranborne in Dorset on the 1841 census. It is possible that this is the same person, returning to be near where he grew up, but this has not been proved.) He may have been related to John in some way, through John's mother Betty Symes, and perhaps the person whose death ended the lease of the Swan from John Hussey (see 'Swan Inn and other pubs' below).

Looking at the numbers of malt customers he had in the various counties, 69% lived in Somerset, 24% in Dorset, and 5% in Devon. The rest were made up from those in Bristol, Wales and London, with just 5 of the 586 whose county of residence was unknown. 23% of John's malt sales went outside the county, 18% to Dorset and 5% to Devon (the sales to Bristol, Wales and London were not sufficient to make 1% between them). 20% of his hop sales were outside Somerset, 17% in Dorset and 3% in Devon.

John is known to have supplied a number of public houses. This is different to the number of publicans, since, over the years, he saw tenants come and go - for instance six different landlords at both the White Hart and the Swan in Crewkerne. It is no surprise that the largest number of houses were within a few miles of his malthouse. All fell within 19 miles. Eight were over 15 miles away, and all of these were in Dorset (again pointing to the 'malt-hungry' nature of that county). Some of these only purchased occasionally, such as William Foss of the Coach and Horses at Charmouth (16 miles by road) - however, Foss bought 120 bushels at a time, deliveries made by carrier. Others were rather more 'regular' customers, such as Charles and William

Randell of the Talbot Inn, Uplyme, (just within 15 miles by road). These two bought 1,509 bushels of malt in 81 purchases between 1838 and 1855, along with a half pocket of hops, all again delivered by carrier. John's wide sales network was due in no small part to good transport links via the carriers.

The White Hart and Swan Inn

John had direct involvement with two licenced premises in Crewkerne. One was the White Hart, first mentioned in his books in 1825. This may have been on copyhold, as it was leased to a succession of landlords, all of whom purchased malt and hops on a regular basis from John. (Copyholds were held for lives, usually two or three, and reverted when the last named person died.) In 1837 he suspected the tenant of reneging on his lease by buying in 'Brewery Beer', rather than brewing himself from John's malt and hops. (One of his tenants at the Swan was later to fall foul of the same restriction.) Between 1842 and 1852 the landlord was Charles Stembridge, but he did not purchase from John.²⁸ Either the copyhold had ceased, or, less likely, Stembridge had negotiated a lease from John which did not have a restrictive clause, and so purchased his needs elsewhere. The White Hart was an important customer for John - over 3,000 bushels of malt and nearly 2,000lbs of hops were purchased by its tenants in the 15 years between 1825 and 1840.

The other premises was the Swan Inn, which he held on copyhold from John Hussey. (The interest may have dated back to well before, as Thomas Budd III (John's father) advertised it to let in 1774.²⁹) One of the lives it was held for was William Symes (see 'Area Covered' above.). Symes died in 1860 and there is a note made by John's executors that as this was the last life the property now returned to Mr Hussey. The leases for the Swan were usually seven years, and as the earliest named tenant left in 1821, John must have held it since at least 1812/13.

A succession of tenants followed, some staying just the seven years, but others for longer. One (William Webb) had been John's tenant at the White Hart before moving to the larger Swan. He was charged £45 p.a. rent, but his successor only £35. The new tenant borrowed £300 from John to help with initial costs. A series of



Figure 4. Swan Inn, Crewkerne, in 2013. Photo: M. Miles.

improvements were made in the following year, John footing the bill. The next tenant, Richard Corner, came in 1841, at a rent of £40p.a., and also borrowed £300 from John, but was quickly able to pay some back. John paid out more on improvements. Evidently becoming tired of the constant expenses, John came to a special arrangement with him. In return for a reduction of £5pa in rent, Corner agreed 'he will lower his Beer to 5d per Quart which he has agreed to do also not to call on me for any Disbursements for the year'. The inevitable happened. There were no bills that year, but as soon as it was up a large amount of work needed doing, including a new porch in front of the Inn. John had meant Corner to fund anything that needed doing himself, but he had let it run down and then came back to his landlord for the necessary repairs! A water closet was installed in 1846, but John only paid £5 towards this new luxury. In 1844 Corner paid off the last of his bond. John was pleased enough with him to waive his right to a further seven year tenancy, and agreed to let Corner have it on a yearly basis after 1848.

This happy state of affairs did not last. In 1850 John found that Corner was infringing his lease. As he had suspected with the tenant at the White Hart before, Corner was selling beer that had not been made from John's malt. Corner took steps to pacify John, offering to pay the costs of a new lease, and damages for the breach of covenant 'as any fair man you may appoint would award you'. The lease was finally signed in 1853, but Corner may have been finding dealing with

John a bit too much. Sparks's bills show that John was questioning the bills that John Patch, his valuer, had sent. He insisted that they call on Patch to look at his books. The bill shows that Sparks had been 'engaged more than two hours' checking 'very minutely' the bills against Patch's books, only to find that Patch was substantially correct. Sparks advised John 'to settle the account with Mr Patch and not allow the matter to annoy you further'. The inference from Sparks was that they were beginning to feel that John was over-reacting to things, and perhaps becoming a bit tetchy in his dealings. (He was already ill on and off by this date, and he was in his eighties.) Corner decided to leave in 1855 and gave notice.

John's final tenant at the Swan was Charles Blake, a veterinary surgeon. (This would not be the sort of vet we know today - he would have been unqualified in the modern sense, and undoubtedly majored on horses and cattle.) John himself was unsure of him, and asked Sparks to check into his 'means and his ability to man the business'. Blake told them that he was able to deposit £400 by the following Saturday, and when they spoke to Corner about him, he told them that Blake had arranged to pay him £500 on valuation of the stock and security on any balance. Blake was obviously not short of cash. Corner continued at the Inn, presumably as an under-tenant of Blake's, with the malt and hop purchases noted as 'Corner for Blake'.

After John's death in 1857 there was some dispute about the state of repair of the Swan. Hussey's agent complained about it. A Crewkerne auctioneer and appraiser was called in to look at the Inn and estimate the cost of repairs. The work mainly comprised repainting, replacing broken windows, re-thatching the stable roof and general repairs on the main tiled roof. There then followed some discussion about responsibility for the costs. Corner contributed £12 of an estimated £52. Blake was offered the tenancy for an additional £10pa on top of the previous rent and promptly declined it. What happened about the tenancy after that is not known, but when William Symes died in 1860 the Swan reverted back to Mr Hussey and a further round of disagreements took place. Hussey was not happy with the 'Swan Delapidations' and got in a surveyor who estimated £159 to put things right. Sparks sent the case for counsel's opinion and they found for John's executors. They added that there was no doubt that

John had greatly improved and augmented the premises during his tenure. There is no further correspondence on the subject, so some sort of agreement was made.

The agreement he had with the tenant of the Swan meant that there was also an onus on John to ensure that he provided malt and hops. As he wound down his malting business he had to purchase in malt to supply Blake. (See above under ‘Relations with brewers and other maltsters’.) However, he also seems to have had other times when he bought in malt specifically for the Swan, 192 bushels in November and December 1849 and 63 bushels in November 1852. These too may have coincided with illness.

There were continual costs for John in repairing and upgrading his houses, and he needed to ensure he had good tenants, financially viable, and adhering to their leases. However, the restrictive covenants mean that they had to regularly buy from him. If the White Hart was an important customer for John, his bedrock was the Swan. In comparison, over the years 1826-1841 John sold over 14,000 bushels of malt and more than 10,000lbs of hops to his tenants there. In total his known sales to the Swan between 1826 and 1855 amount to almost 25,000 bushels of malt and 14,500lbs of hops. Having these houses was key to John’s business, and his mainstay.

Lifestyle

John’s landholdings and farming interests were an important part of his finances. He was constantly improving his portfolio, with extra parcels of land. The second version of his will dated 1842, makes reference to land owned in Misterton and across Crewkerne, some of the latter described as being ‘lately conveyed to me in Exchange by Mr Hussey’ (his landlord for other lands), as well as purchases from Earl Poulett.

John’s wealth was partly inherited and partly the result of his own labours and business acumen. (See Table 4 for his income from sales of malt and hops.) It enabled him to have a comfortable lifestyle. The inventory of his possessions at the time of his death shows that he had a five bed-roomed house. Amongst the contents were items which showed both his status and interests including a card table, pictures, several silver tableware items, and as well as a silver watch there was a gold watch

Year	Value malt £	Value hops £	Total £
1824	21.27	3.92	25.19
1825	1,226.74	180.11	1,406.85
1826	1,103.29	285.56	1,388.85
1827	1,107.33	88.52	1,195.85
1828	1,219.34	217.07	1,436.41
1829	984.12	174.78	1,158.90
1830	784.17	194.00	978.17
1831	2,032.44	368.55	2,400.99
1832	1,808.39	312.47	2,120.86
1833	1,029.24	294.60	1,323.84
1834	985.61	330.67	1,316.28
1835	1,123.73	353.84	1,477.57
1836	1,113.21	262.68	1,375.89
1837	1,122.51	351.14	1,473.65
1838	1,182.51	382.17	1,564.68
1839	1,662.87	259.20	1,922.07
1840	1,368.71	249.78	1,618.49
1841	745.65	239.66	985.31
1842	790.37	165.26	955.63
1843	653.12	120.42	773.54
1844	732.23	199.77	932.00
1845	752.09	138.36	890.45
1846	712.07	113.58	825.65
1847	861.32	54.57	915.89
1848	652.30	45.62	697.92
1849	637.58	29.83	667.41
1850	435.29	60.76	496.05
1851	492.64	35.75	528.39
1852	426.33	34.50	460.83
1853	459.16	38.05	497.21
1854	280.42	26.79	307.21
1855	304.22	24.98	329.20
1856	183.29	15.30	198.59
Total	28,993.56	5,652.26	34,645.82

Table 4. Malt and hops sales, value.

chain and seal. The whole was valued at just over £97. His books show him buying presents of silver items for family weddings. He kept himself abreast of both national and local news through newspapers, such as the *Western Flying Post* which he had on a regular basis and would have used for checking for debtors and bankrupts. As well as making his own beer and cider, he purchased sherry, gin, rum, shrub and brandy.

Two of his pictures were named. One was of Nelson, in a black and gilt frame. This would have had some significance for John, since he was related through his mother to Joseph Symes, who had served under Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar. (Joseph later attained the rank of Rear Admiral. In addition, Thomas Hardy, the captain of H.M.S. *Victory* at Trafalgar had been a pupil at Crewkerne Grammar School, so there were several connections.) The second named picture was of 'Cox Heath Camp'. This was the army's largest training camp which had been set up in 1756 in Kent. It had ended in 1815 after Waterloo, but there had been two famous reviews of it which had been engraved. The first was in 1778 when George III had visited, and the second in 1804 when the Duke of York had reviewed 10,000 men, (giving rise to the children's nursery rhyme, the Grand Old Duke of York). Whichever of these two John's picture had been, his choice of illustrations show a patriotic side to his character.

Conclusion

Although the ledgers and books do not cover the whole period that John ran the malting, they do give a good picture for the period 1825-1856. He was a businessman who ran both farming and malting enterprises successfully throughout his lifetime. He does not seem to have done the physical malting himself (he certainly employed someone at the latter end of his life), but he may have had experience of it early on. He did do some of the books, assisted by his sister Mary. Nevertheless, he saw malting as his main business, calling himself a maltster in Directories and on the census, rather than a gentleman farmer.

He seems to have had at least two different types of malt for sale. The rate he charged varied over the season, affected by the barley harvest, adjusted to be competitive, and occasionally reflecting the type of malt. He

made notes of when he started selling the new malt. These first sales tended to be to his own tenant at the Swan Inn. Doubtless he got useful feedback from them about the quality, which he could then use to pass on to other customers. The date these new supplies were released varied from December onwards, perhaps waiting for the 'old' supply to be almost exhausted. He does seem to have screened at least some malt, as it is mentioned a few times, but he did not sell screenings (used for animal fodder). He was keen to try out new strains of barley as the references to Chevallier shows. He did use his malthouse to dry barley, for another if not for himself. He had to ensure that it was in good repair, and his accounts note various repairs he had carried out. He had a new one built by 1829.

Dealing in hops was an important part of his trading. He earned a good mark-up on hop sales to small customers, and those customers he sold on to at cost price earned him favours in return. He bought much of his supply direct from the Weyhill Fair, though it is not clear if he ever went there himself. He did use carriers to transport his pockets of hops back the 66 miles to Crewkerne. Latterly he purchased some pockets direct from his preferred grower (Pain of Farnham), and finally used a hop merchant in London. He bought hops grown in Hampshire, Surrey, Kent, Sussex and Essex, and seems to have bought in new supplies every year, having a choice of hops for his customers. In addition he occasionally bought hops from others - for instance the purchases via the Crewkerne Old Brewery, where he paid his share of carriage and commission.

He appears to have had cordial relations with other maltsters, though they were technically competitors. John's contacts for hops made him a useful person to keep on good terms with. In return, when he gave up his malting, he was able to call on his fellow maltsters to supply the needs of his tenants. Some at least he held in great respect.

For fuel he used coal, particularly anthracite (culm) and coke. This may also have been augmented by wood from his farm. It is difficult to be precise about the quantities of coal, since he will have used some for brewing, and domestic use as well, and we know that he occasionally sold on some to others. The coal was usually bought from merchants at Thorney and

Langport, brought up the River Parrett, and then conveyed by horse and cart. The cost of fuel was often set against what the merchants owed him for malt.

He usually chased debts relentlessly, using his solicitor customers. For a few debts he seemed to be aware that he would not get paid, and wrote them off - but this was unusual. The case of John Love of Charmouth shows that he felt a deep sense of unfairness about his treatment by the Crewkerne Old Brewery. He pursued this debt to the bitter end, and it was bitter. Towards the end of his life he appears to have become even more litigious, to the apparent exasperation of his solicitor. Perhaps this was fuelled by his illness. He wanted what he saw as right and fair. He also appreciated the efforts some went to on his behalf, giving one solicitor the last amount he had been able to wrinkle out of a defaulting customer.

His relationships with his tenant publicans seem to have generally been good, but even here, especially towards the end of his life, problems arose. The impression is of someone who was becoming 'tetchy' in his old age. Nevertheless, having houses tied to him for malt and hops was a good, regular income, the cornerstone of his business. However, this came with its own set of problems, constant bills for maintenance and repairs, trying to ensure that any new tenants would be reliable, and making sure that they stuck to the terms of their lease. They took up a lot of time and energy.

John does not appear to have had problems in paying the Malt Tax. He meticulously added it in to his calculations for making malt from a customer's own barley, as if it were natural that he would pay it. Sited in a busy town, with other maltings nearby, and under the close watch of the local Excise Officer, it would be hard for him to avoid. (Paine, the Excise Officer, was one of his customers between 1831 and 1835, and the Inland Revenue Officer Edwin Restarick was stationed at John's Swan Inn in 1850.) Where smaller maltsters may have had problems with cash-flow (having to pay the tax up-front before sales could take place), John's other income seems to have cushioned him. His business may have benefitted from the 1830 Beer Act, but only briefly.

John's customer base was large, spreading a 20 mile radius and across the county borders into Dorset to the ports of Bridport and Lyme Regis, and Devon. This was

only made possible by Crewkerne's position on a main trading route and the use of carriers. One of these worked regularly out of the Swan Inn. In addition, he used his business contacts to facilitate transport. He was not averse to making sales to South Wales and Bristol, which involved transport along the River Parrett to the port at Bridgwater, but these were few (in both number and quantity sold) and most instigated by an agent. His customer in London would appear to have had some local connection, but detail of how the purchases were delivered was not given. The railway came to Crewkerne too late to influence his sales, but as a businessman he was interested in investing in something which might have a bearing on his trade.

The papers give a window into his lifestyle and character. His was a comfortable world, with his farming interests cushioning him. He was able to afford silver items, both for himself and as presents for his family. He did not marry, but was clearly close to certain members of his family - his siblings and their offspring. His youngest sister's grandchild was named after him, and he paid for his education and boarding expenses after the boy's father died. He took a very close interest in another widowed sister's grandchild, having him to live with him. He saw his duty to his family as of great importance, and went to great lengths to ensure that they were treated well and fairly after his death. He was genuinely fond of other children and also had a philanthropic side to his character. He also seems to have been patriotic - a relative had involvement with Nelson and the Battle of Trafalgar. He was aware of his standing in the local community, and was involved with schemes to help the town, especially since these might also benefit his business.

The run-down of his business seems to have commenced in 1854. By this time he was aged 82. He may have been ill at times, and probably less able to manage his affairs. Whilst he was employing a maltster, he may have found running both farming and malting businesses too much. It may be that there was also more competition locally, but his decision had little to do with loss of trade due to the railway, since it had not reached Crewkerne. In addition, his more distant customers at Bridport and Lyme Regis also did not get rail connection until 1857 and 1903 respectively. They did not therefore have better access to cheaper and/or better quality malt. (Indeed there is only one mention of a cus-

tomer possibly dissatisfied with his malt, and that was 1834, long before his 'retirement'.) A possible contributory factor may have been the increase in the Malt Tax. In 1840 this had risen from 2s 7d per bushel (13p), to 2s 8 ½ d (13.5p), but in 1855 it rose sharply to 4s 0d (20p). If his sales were declining already, it may have been the final straw. His sales in 1856 were very low - although they go into October, he was most likely selling the last season's malt. In January 1857 he placed the advert advising that he was giving up the trade, and he died in May, just 4 months later. It is unlikely his malthouse was getting out of repair - it was new in 1829, and constant repairs were mentioned. When years later a dispute arose over the state of repair of the Swan Inn, it was accepted that he had greatly improved and augmented it. He was well aware of the need to keep commercial premises up together. So the reasons may have been his age, ill-health and possibly the increase in the Malt Tax. He had no son, or apparently a nephew keen to take the malthouse on, so after his death it was not revived. There was no mention of it again. His family had benefitted from the malting trade for about 100 years, and through the French side, since at least 1690. Now, however, none of his family wished to continue it.

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