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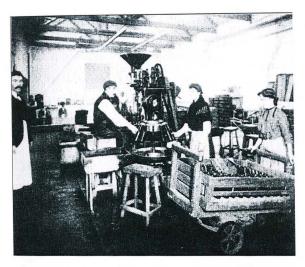
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The pull of lager

This advertisement is a reminder that lager took time to be established as a patriotic British rather than German product after Hugh Tennent introduced it in 1885.



Bottling lager for export at the Tennent's brewery, c1915.

Tennent's at war

As well as being an interesting reminder of the relatively basic bottling system of almost a century ago, this is one of a number of First World War photographs showing the role of women at work when so many of the male workforce were away fighting at the Front.

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A Celebration of Tennent's Lager

Lager became popular in Scotland long before it was accepted as a regular tipple in the pubs of England. Here is some of the story behind the brewery with a famous trade mark that paved the way when it pioneered lager production in Glasgow way back in the Victorian era.



Tennent's is not only a refreshing drink but is also an iconic brand of Scotland with its famous "T" trademark and has more than just an interesting history.

This article is an abbreviated version from more detailed research into the Tennent's history which stretches back as far as 1556, and will give a flavour of how the company progressed over the years. A more detailed write-up of the Tennent's history is in progress.

Another important reason for this article is that 2010 marks a milestone year for the Tennent's brand as it is 125 years since the first introduction of regular lager brewing in Scotland.

Many of you who watch television will be well aware of this fact due to the recent Tennent's TV advertisements, featuring a humorous "tongue in cheek" Hugh Tennent, the man responsible for brewing lager at that time.

The earliest record of the Tennent's name associated with brewing, can be traced back to 1556, however brewing in Glasgow, like Edinburgh, goes back even further when the monks of St Mungo founded a monastic community and built a church where St Columbia came to visit him.

St Mungo died in 603 and his tomb is in the lower church of the present Glasgow Cathedral. The Cathedral marks the birthplace of Glasgow and it was later than St Mungo became the patron Saint of the city.

Beside the Cathedral ran the Molendinar burn which flowed into the River Clyde and it was this stream that gave birth to Glasgow's first industry – **brewing.** The water was used by the monks to produce beer which at that time was safer to drink than water. In fact beer was part of the staple diet for many years in every household in the country.

The current Tennent's brewery, called Wellpark, is only a short walk from Glasgow Cathedral and as a company, is the oldest continuous business in Scotland.

The Tennent family had originally been, as the name suggests, tenant farmers from the parish of Cumbernauld. By the 16th century they had moved to farm the northern outskirts of Glasgow at an area which later became known as Easter Common. Besides farming, the family became gardeners, maltmen and brewers.

It is here that the story of Tennent's as brewers begins.



A Robert Tennent of the Drygate Foot Brewery was a member of the Incorporation of Maltmen in 1556, which is the earliest recorded date of the Tennent's name, and so the beginning of a famous brand not only in Glasgow, but in Scotland and eventually throughout the world.

One of Robert's sons, also called Robert, continued the family brewing tradition and it was at this time that the surrounding area become known

as "Wellpark" which derived its name from the nearby "Lady Well". At this time the water supply was either from rivers or streams or from a number of wells located throughout Glasgow. The Ladywell is an artesian spring noted on early city maps and can be reliably assumed to pre-date the city. The Ladywell was still in public use while most wells in Glasgow were closed, after fresh water piped from Loch Katrine transformed the city's health and sanitation in 1859. Today the Ladywell, although not in use, is commemorated by a small monument which is positioned behind the current brewery.

The Tennent family continued to be involved in brewing and two sons set up breweries at Gallowgate and Trongate, both situated on the Molendinar.

In 1740, two Tennent brothers, Hugh – a farmer from Easter Common – and Robert – an innkeeper – formed a brewing partnership of H&R Tennent, again brewing at the Drygate Brewery. The Pagans from Europe brought the word *dry*. This German word for priest coupled with *gate*, meaning walkway, hence it was designated the priest's road. This is yet another link of brewing in the lands that surrounded Glasgow Cathedral.

Robert was in fact an innkeeper of some note and owned the White Hart Inn, where he also brewed on the premises. In 1755 he sold the White Hart and built the famous Saracen's Head, a top class hotel in Glasgow. Many visitors of note stayed there, including Dr Johnson and poets Robert Burns and William Wordsworth. In 1788 it became the chief coaching station of the city, when the first London mail coach arrived.

Hugh, the farmer of Easter Common had several sons and two, John and Robert, took over the brewing business and formed the firm of J&R Tennent in 1769, brewing at the Drygate brewery and with their maltings at Montrose Street.

At that time, the Wellpark Brewery adjacent to Drygate was owned by a William McLehose, who also distilled on the site. It was from these premises that Bonnie Prince Charlie's army obtained refreshments over Christmas 1745 on their tactical retreat from England and city records state that "each and every man was refreshed and heartened by the brew at Wellpark".

At first John and Robert rented the Drygate premises, however business was good and in 1777 they were able to purchase the property. This

brewery was expanded in 1793 and again in 1797 absorbing the adjacent brewhouse of William McLehouse (which now adopted the name Wellpark) and the site now covered five acres in all.

In 1797 the first recorded instance of the export of Tennent's beers occurs, with the shipment leaving from the Clyde with consignments of ale to expatriate Scots in the Americas. These first exports were the strong "Scotch Ales", whose alcoholic strength allowed them to be transported on long sea voyages without deterioration.

Robert died in 1826 and John the year thereafter. Hugh Tennent, son of Robert, left the partnership of Middleton & Tennent to take charge of the brewery. This firm had been Havana merchants, trading in tobacco from the West Indies, and Hugh wasted no time in utilising his contacts around the world to take advantage of the Scotch Ale boom which was then taking place.

Through his former partner, now trading as William Middleton & Co, many a barrel of Tennent's Scotch Ale found its way to the West Indies and the Americas as return cargo on the tobacco ships. Hugh Tennent rose to become an eminent citizen of Glasgow and acquired a deserved reputation as a noted philanthropist, and Free Church supporter, giving generously for the erection and maintenance of churches, schools and houses of refuge, and assisting the needy and poor with donations and bursaries.

In his time, he served as a member of the Glasgow Town Council, as a Magistrate, as a Justice of the Peace and as a Poor Law Commissioner. In 1855 he retired and purchased the estate of Errol in the Carse of Gowrie, in Perthshire. During his retirement he voyaged abroad extensively on his 200 ton yacht, the "St Ursula" visiting places as far apart as New York, the Baltic, and Egypt. Hugh also visited Palestine where he constructed a church near Sidon which he named "Wellpark" after his beloved brewery.

Following Hugh Tennent's retirement, control of the brewery, through payment in instalments, passed to his fifth son, Charles Stewart Parker Tennent of Mount Vernon House in Glasgow.

Charles was a trained and skilful brewer as well as a good manager and continued to increase the export trade, while at the same time making the brewery more efficient. At the time of his death in 1864, J&R Tennent were the largest exporters of bottled beer in the world, selling to

markets as far apart as Melbourne, San Francisco, Mauritius and Calcutta. The brewery at that time could hold 80,000 barrels of beer in its cellars, in oak vessels ranging from hogsheads (54 gallons) to large stout vats of 600 barrel capacity. (1 barrel = 36 gallons).

Charles's untimely death left only a young daughter and two very young sons – Archibald Hay Tennent and Hugh Tennent. As a result the brewery was run by trustees until 1884.

Archibald came of age in 1882, but suffered very poor health, spending most of his time abroad. Two years later when Hugh also came of age, Archibald sold his share to him. Hugh himself, had never enjoyed great health either and had lately spent some years on the continent "taking the waters" in the company of his personal physician, Dr Wyllie Clarke.

When Hugh was in Bavaria in 1881-82, taking somewhat more than the waters, he acquired a taste for lager. On his return to Glasgow and when he took over the brewing business at Wellpark, he wasted no time in organising lager brewing, the first brews being produced in May 1885.

In that year Dr Wyllie Clarke was appointed Chief Executive and two continental brewers – Jacob Klinger, a German and Eric Westergaard, a Dane, were employed to produce the lager. (For interest, *lager* is German and means to store).

The early lager was so successful that Hugh decided to build a separate lager brewery on the Wellpark site in 1889. This enterprise earned the contempt of a local newspaper who hailed it as a "Madman's Dream".

Hugh was far from being a madman and proved to be very astute for his business dealings, for one so young. However Hugh did not live to see his great idea bearing fruit, as he died in 1890 at the tender age of 27 and was the last of the Tennents to be in direct control of the brewery.

The popularity of Tennent's Lager grew over the years and was enhanced by a number of brewing awards in the 1890's in the export market.

- a) First Degree of Merit Trinidad & Tobago (1890)
- b) Gold Medal Jamaica (1891)
- c) Highest Possible & Only Award of Honour Chicago (1893)

The fact that Tennent's Lager could bear favourable comparison with the best continental brewed lagers is borne out by the testimonial of a Mr Petersen, a master lager brewer from Schleswig- Holsten, who described sampling Tennent's Lager on a trip on the Nile, announcing it as "the best he had ever tasted".

The accolades for Tennent's beers have continued over the years and won the "British Supreme Champion Lager" in 1978 and Tennents Export Ale took Gold Medals at Brewex in 1983 and the 1985 Brewing Industry International Awards Competition, where Tennents Extra Lager also won a Gold Medal.

The flourishing export trade was interrupted by the Great War, but resumed soon after and Tennents quickly gained a position of prominence. The introduction of pasteurisation undoubtedly helped boost their reputation for good, long lasting beers. Apart from draught and bottled beer sold locally, both types were exported, with the barrels usually being for bottling abroad.

The 1930's saw the start of two developments at Wellpark:

- 1. In 1935 the cone-top can was introduced and Tennents produced a 12oz version of this for Pilsner Lager and other qualities for the export trade and was one of the first breweries in Europe to do so.
- In 1938 keg lager was introduced specially for sale on the Tennent's stand at the Empire Exhibition in Glasgow. Further development of the keg was temporarily halted by shortage of materials during the Second World War.

Both these developments were to have far-reaching effects within the brewing industry, with beer volumes increasing in both can and keg with technology advancements in the next 30 years.

In 1954 the Metal Box Co persuaded Tennents to re-launch a 12oz version on the export market, having improved the lining and produced a new flat-topped design. As before, Tennent's were one of the first breweries to use this can and this was quickly followed up with the introduction of a new size, a 16oz can that was also flat-topped.

The 16oz can was the result of a joint development between Metal Box and Tennent's, and so began a new development which other brewing companies were soon to emulate. However it was this early introduction

of this can by Tennent's that undoubtedly was one of the main reasons why Scotland's taste for lager was way ahead of the rest of Britain.

The can gave the beer business a boost and the means to market the product in a different way. The story of the famous girls on the Tennent's Lager cans – the so-called "Lager Lovellies" – is interesting as it came about, by accident.

At first the cans were decorated only by pictures of two glasses of lager depicting the original marketing concept of a "two glass" can. It was soon realised that there was sufficient room on the can to include a picture. As a result, 60 famous Scottish scenes or landmarks were introduced, followed by 20 English scenes.

In a view of Trafalgar Square a young lady was shown standing by the fountain. She was the model Ann Johansen, and the deluge of mail received by Tennents from all over the world enquiring about her, prompted them to run a series on "Tennent's Ann". This was the start of a tradition of girls on the cans and over the years a large number appeared. Tennents did produce over 1000 can designs, to the great frustration of collectors everywhere.

As lager in can was a great success, this was nothing compared to the keg. In 1963 Tennents took the then unusual step of selling lager in draught form. Despite wide spread criticism for the concept many were soon converted and the reputation for the quality of Tennent's Lager on draught spread rapidly, resulting in a phenomenal growth for the product.

During the 1960's there was a great deal of change within the brewing industry in the UK due to a large number of take-overs and mergers.

Tennent's was no exception and in 1960 the company acquired the following businesses:

Maclachlans Ltd – Castle Brewery in Edinburgh

Turners Ltd – Bottlers and distributors in Ayr

Westcon Ltd caterers in Ayr

However in 1963, Tennent's was taken over by Charrington United Breweries and in 1966 formally merged with United Caledonian

Breweries, Charrington's other Scottish holding, to form Tennent Caledonian Breweries. In 1967 Bass acquired Charrington to form Bass Charington. The then United Caledonian Breweries produced beer including some Tennent's Lager at Heriot Brewery in Edinburgh, the one-time home of Jeffrey's Edinburgh Lager, however this closed in the 1990's with production being transferred to Wellpark.

In 1997 a £10 million investment was completed with a new brewhouse and multipackers for the can line, giving greater flexibility to meet the demands of the market.

Bass Charrington, Tennent's parent company, was acquired by Interbrew in 2000. The company became InBev with the merger of Ambev in 2004 and 4 years later merged with Anheuser-Busch to form ABI.

In 2009 C&C (Cantrell & Cochrane), the Irish drinks business that owns Magner's, acquired Tennent's, and the start of a new era was ushered in.

Today the brewery site covers an area of 16 acres and packages both keg and can products, split 50:50 approx. The total annual production volume is 1.3 million barrels or 370 million pints.

The story of Tennent's is yet another Scottish success with the company being responsible for many of the developments we take for granted in the brewing industry today. So please raise a glass (Tennent's Lager of course) and drink to its continuing success.

This article has been prepared and based on a number of different sources, including an article on Tennent's that appeared in the Brewer magazine, several years ago. However there are plans to complete a much wider history of Tennent's which will be completed this year to mark the 125 years milestone of brewing lager in Scotland.

Key Dates in Tennent's history.

- 1556 Robert Tennent (b. 1530) was a member of the original Incorporation of Maltmen and is the earliest record of the Tennent's name at Drygate Foot Brewery (now known as Wellpark Brewery).
- 1740 H & R Tennent founded.

- 1769 Hugh Tennent's sons John and Robert continued the family business, trading as J & R Tennent. 1790's The Tennent's family purchased the neighbouring brewery of William McLehose and renamed the 5-acre site Wellpark Brewery. 1884 Hugh Tennent took control of the business. 1885 First to brew lager commercially in the UK 1891 New lager brewery built. 1924 First draught lager produced. 1935 First canned lager 1955 Tennent's launch the first 16oz flat-topped can in the UK. First cinema colour advertisements for Tennent's Lager 1958 Award-winning commercial TV campaign. 1963 Tennent's introduce keg lager. J & R Tennent acquired by Charrington United Breweries. 1966 Merged with United Caledonian Breweries (Charrington's other Scottish subsidiary) to form Tennent Caledonian Breweries. 1967 Charrington's merged with Bass to form the Bass Charrington Group. 1978 Tennent's winner of the British Supreme Champion Lager 1989 Start of the sponsorship of the Scottish Cup. 1994 T in the Park (Music Festival) was born and is growing stronger every year. 2000 Belgium brewer Interbrew took control of the business.
- 2004 The company became InBev with the merger of Interbrew and AMBEV
- 2008 Anheuser-Busch InBev (ABI) Group was formed.
- 2009 Cantrell & Cochrane (C&C) acquired the Tennent's business from ABI.
- 2010 Rangers & Celtic sponorship.
- 2010 Spoof version of Hugh Tennent in 125th anniversary lager adverting

John Martin

Melancholy deaths and tragic accidents: death and injury in 19th century breweries

Forbes Gibb examines old newspaper files and uncovers some gruesome 19th century stories of safety – or the lack of it – in the brewing industry

1. Introduction

The brewing industry of the nineteenth century was one in which the safety of the worker was often down to his, or her, common sense, experience and judgement. Although the Factories Act of 1833 had created the first Factory Inspectors they were primarily concerned with preventing injuries to children working in the textile industry. The scale of the Inspectors' task was immense: there were initially four to oversee in excess of three thousand mills. While this had risen to 35 inspectors and sub-inspectors by 1868, this was matched by changes to legislation which extended the Factories Act to nearly all workplaces. The situation was therefore one in which the ratio of Inspectors to workplaces was not in favour of the employee, and many employers would no doubt have felt that the risks of inspection were sufficiently low that other risks could be ignored.

Add to this the easy availability of alcohol, buildings that had not always been designed with brewing in mind, and a probable attitude of profit first and second, then the opportunity for accidents was, not unsurprisingly, significant.

This article looks at the brewery-related accidents that occurred between 1840 and 1869 as recorded in the Dundee Courier, a period which covers the introduction and extension of the Factories Act. In addition to local accidents the Courier also reported selected accidents from other parts of Scotland and the rest of the UK, although those from the outside dealt exclusively with stories involving fatalities. The accidents are divided into those which occurred in or around the brewery complex, and those which occurred in the wider environment.

2. Accidents in the brewery

The brewing process is fraught with potential dangers: unguarded machinery, noxious gases, boiling liquids and heavy objects can all cause death and injury, and the accidents that were recorded in the Dundee Courier fully demonstrate the risks that workers faced. These accidents are grouped below under seven categories: crushing (or similar pressure related effects), amputation, falls, explosions, fires, scalding and asphyxiation.

2.1 Crushing

Machinery was an important element of a brewery and was used to move heavy objects, power equipment, and process raw materials. However it was often unsupervised, unguarded or unfenced, and there was ample opportunity for clothing to be snagged or for limbs to be caught up in the workings. As the following accounts show it was not just workers who could be victims; members of the public were also at risk.

ALLOA. FATAL ACCIDENT AT A BREWERY - On Tuesday afternoon, while a respectable young woman named Fraser, who lived with her parents in Candle Street, was in Messrs Younger & Son's brewery about some business, her dress was caught by a upright shaft, when she was drawn in, and crushed between it and the wall so severely that she died within an hour afterwards. (13th April, 1866).

ARBROATH, FATAL ACCIDENT TO A BOY - A melancholy and fatal accident occurred on Friday evening, a few minutes before seven o'clock, to a boy named David Thomson, son of Henry Thomson, printer in the Guide office. The boy, who was between nine and ten years of age, had been amusing himself at the Newgate Brewery. When the accident occurred he was standing between the wall and the large wheel. The wheel was set in motion by his companion and as it revolved he was struck in the middle of his body by the spokes. The unfortunate child cried out but the other boys thought it was only in fun, and we understand that the wheel revolved five times, striking him on each occasion. He fell down, and someone ran to the house of his parents, who live within about one hundred yards of the spot where the accident occurred. The mother, as may be supposed, lost no time in coming to the spot to take home her boy. She lifted him up and carried him to the house. He was perfectly sensible at the time, and told his mother, who

supposed he had had a fall, what had happened. Dr Dewar was sent for, but on his arrival he found that nothing could be done. The poor child had been severely crushed internally, and about ten o'clock death put an end to his sufferings. (30th July, 1866).

GENERAL NEWS - A shocking accident occurred on Tuesday at Tunbridge Wells. A man named Taylor attempted to oil the machinery, while it was in motion, at Messrs Kelsey's brewery, and fell into a mash-tub, where he became so entangled in the machinery that for half an hour he was kept embedded in the seething grain, enduring the most intolerable agony. The machinery was removed and the poor fellow was taken to the infirmary, but he died very shortly afterwards. (11th October, 1866).

POUNDED TO DEATH BY AN ENGINE - A young man named Williamson, employed at the brewery of Messrs Garrett & Co., Rosehill, Liverpool, met with a sad fate on Wednesday night. By some means he fell upon the floor of the engine-house, and one of his legs being caught by the crank of the engine, he was drawn into the well and literally pounded to death before his dreadful position was discovered and the engine could be stopped. The jury returned a verdict of accidental death, without comments upon the fact that the crank was not fenced or guarded in any way. (22nd December, 1866).

2.2 Amputation

In addition to the brewing machinery there were other tools and pieces of equipment which could wound or kill a worker.

ACCIDENT – On Monday afternoon a rather serious accident occurred to a wheel wright of the name of Wallace; while engaged in sawing wood at the saw mill, in Messrs Wright and Currie's brewery in Methven Street, he had been pressing a block of wood upon the revolving saw, when somehow one of his hands was caught by it, and ere he was well aware of his loss, he saw his thumb lying before him. So suddenly was the amputation effected, that the unfortunate man experienced no pain in the moment of being deprived of a useful member – which we are sorry to say was cut off in a slanting direction reaching near to the wrist, and which it is feared will in a great measure for a long time impair his usual abilities in his trade.

The wound was dressed, we learn, by Dr Frew, and gives promise of soon healing. (12th July, 1848).

2.3 Falls

Workers could, and did, fall into vats and mash tuns (see scalding) or into machinery (see crushing). The falls described here relate to accidents where workmen fell and sustained bruises, fractures or other physical traumas. As suggested above falls may not have been unrelated to the availability of alcohol in the brewery, though poorly built and maintained structures would also have played their part.

ARBROATH. ACCIDENT - One day lately, Mr Hogg, slater, while employed in whitewashing Mr Ritchie's brewery, James Street, received rather a severe accident, by the ladder in which he was placed giving way, and falling to the ground. He was severely injured about the spine and arms, but we are glad to state that he is rapidly recovering. (28th April, 1852).

ARBROATH. FIRE - About four o'clock on Saturday morning a fire broke out in the premises of Mr Taylor, brewer, Newgate. Mr Taylor had let his kiln to dry a quantity of damaged flax, and the men in charge permitted the flax to take fire. The fire engine was obtained and the fire was shortly extinguished, but not before the roof of the kiln had fallen in. We regret to say that Mr Taylor, who was on a ladder on the roof throwing water on the flames, fell to the ground in consequence of the ladder slipping, and sustained some injuries, though not so severe as from the height he fell might be expected. One of the men in charge, named Bremner, was also hurt at the same time, more severely than Mr. Taylor. The premises are insured. (14th December, 1859).

SERIOUS SCAFFOLD ACCIDENT IN EDINBURGH - An accident of a serious nature happened on Saturday morning to a number of workmen engaged in the erection of Mr Simpson's brewery at the South Back of the Canongate. About seven o'clock, whilst a number of the masons and labourers employed upon the building were at work, the scaffolding on which they stood suddenly gave way, and the whole party were precipitated to the ground, falling a height of some thirty or forty feet. Seven of the workmen were more or less severely bruised by the accident, and four of them who were more seriously injured were removed to the Royal Infirmary, where their

injuries were properly attended to. The four who were taken there were James Connell, mason, residing in the West Port; Thomas Connor, labourer, Robertson's Close, High Street; John Colin, labourer, Canongate; and Patrick Curran, labourer, Trunk's Close, High Street. All the four, with the exception of Connell, are unmarried. They were in the employment of Samuel Hunter, builder. (10th September, 1866).

2.4 Explosions

Explosions were a much less common event but could occur where there were flammable materials, such as oil, or where there was a concentration of fine particles in an enclosed space, such as where grain was being milled. Although there were thankfully no injuries or fatalities connected with the explosion described below, the incident provides a good indication of how much havoc could be caused.

SCOTLAND - On Tuesday forenoon an explosion occurred at Mr G. Pendreigh's Abbeyhill Brewery, from the effects of which the roofs of two buildings were blown off. On investigation, the explosion was found to have occurred primarily in the mill-house. (5th July, 1866).

2.5 Fire

Although the end product was liquid, flammable materials and combustion were present in many parts of the brewing process. Fuel was needed to heat the liquor and mash, the malt kilns were used to dry malt and other materials, wooden casks and crates were used to store the beer, and, as indicated above, milling could produce explosive concentrations of dust. A number of fires were recorded but, thankfully, no injuries or deaths were sustained.

Fires took place at:

Witch Den Brewery, Brechin (2nd June 1852) Taylor's Newgate Brewery, Arbroath (14th December, 1859) Ballingall's Pleasance Brewery, Dundee (9th February, 1866) D.S. Ireland's Argyle Brewery, St Andrews (26th February, 1867) Summerhall Brewery, Edinburgh (5th October, 1869)

2.6 Scalding

Perhaps the most appalling type of accident was related to scalding (typically caused by immersion in the hot liquor). Most of these accidents were fatal as the burns sustained were severe and there was a limit to what contemporary medical science could achieve.

FORFAR. ACCIDENT - On Saturday afternoon Colin Taylor, a servant to Mr Mitchell, brewer, met with a severe accident, whereby he had his arm seriously burned. While he was stirring the hops in the boiler he missed his footing and nearly plunged into the copper among the boiling ale. Had it not been through his own activity in snatching hold of the side of the copper the accident might have proved more serious. (9th January, 1861).

MELANCHOLY DEATH OF MR CHARLES DICK, BREWER - On Wednesday afternoon, while Mr Charles Dick, brewer, Robertson's Close, Cowgate, was engaged in superintending the ale vats in his brewery, he missed his footing, and fell into a vat of boiling liquor. Two men who were close at hand succeeded in getting Mr Dick out of the vat, but although he was only a short time in it, the skin was scalded off the whole of his body, and he was otherwise severely injured. The unfortunate gentleman was at once removed to the house of the engineer of works, which adjoins the brewery, and medical aid was speedily procured. Every remedy that could prove of any avail was applied but the injuries which Mr Dick had sustained proved to be beyond remedy, as, after suffering intense agony for about four hours, he expired. (19th February, 1864).

FRIGHTFUL ACCIDENT. A MAN BOILED ALIVE - On Tuesday at Chesterfield, a young man, named Robert Bonsall, was engaged at the Scarsdale Brewery, Chesterfield, and had the care of the boiling beer in the vats. He was subject to fits, and it was supposed he was seized with one whilst sitting on the edge of the vat, and he fell into the scalding liquid. When picked out, almost directly after, he was dead, the flesh being boiled off his bones, and his body presenting a shocking spectacle. (6th July, 1866).

GENERAL NEWS - A man fell into a vat containing boiling water at a brewery in Liverpool the other day and was severely scalded. (22nd July, 1866).

2.7 Asphyxiation

The brewing process produces carbon dioxide and carbonic acid during the fermentation of saccharine fluids. These gases normally escape into the air but can also be trapped in the fermenting vessels and presented a deadly danger to workers cleaning or maintaining the equipment.

FATAL ACCIDENT FROM FOUL AIR - A melancholy accident took place on Thursday afternoon in the premises of Mr Charles Dick, brewer, Edinburgh, by which two men lost their lives and other three were placed in circumstances of the greatest danger. It appears that Mr Dick has three large stock tuns placed in his yard at the back of the counting-house, one of which had been emptied about a fortnight ago and required cleaning previous to being used again. It would seem that the deceased had neglected to take the usual precautions against foul air, for one of them named Bird, after having descended into the tun for the purpose of cleaning it, fell to the bottom in a state of insensibility. His companion went down almost immediately after having given the alarm, and was also suffocated. Mr Dick himself, and three of his men were at once on the spot, and the latter went down one by one with the view of rescuing their companions. Bird and Boyle were both dead before they could be drawn up. The other three men, through pulled out in a state of great exhaustion, are now out of danger. (19th April, 1854).

SCOTLAND - A man named Alexander Stivens, while engaged cleaning out a vat in Drybrough's brewery, in Edinburgh, on Friday was accidentally stifled by a quantity of foul air arising from some yeast in the bottom of the vessel. (16th November, 1863).

MAN SUFFOCATED IN A BREWER'S VAT - While Andrew McNeish, a workman in the employment of the Dalkeith Brewery Company, was engaged on Friday evening in cleaning a large vat which had been used in the fermentation of wort, he was suddenly overpowered by the carbonic gas that was emanating from the vat into which he had descended. The unfortunate man was quickly discovered by his fellow-workmen lying at the bottom of the vat, and was at once removed into the adjoining yard. He expired almost immediately after his removal. The deceased has been employed at the same brewery for upwards of twenty-five years. (12th June, 1865).

TERRIBLE ACCIDENT AT BRISTOL - Just as the inhabitants of Bristol were on Monday entering their Whitsunday festivities

an accident occurred by which two unfortunate men, both of them married and with young families, were hurled into eternity. The deceased were in the employ of the Montague Hotel brewery. At the brewery was a large beer vat which required to be cleansed. Spencer, it is said, put a candle into the vat, in order to ascertain whether he might venture into it. It is feared that, owing to his desire to get away for the holidays, he did not make a sufficient examination. He soon afterwards got into the piece, where he had not been long when Ambrose heard sounds which convinced him that the poor fellow had fallen under the suffocating influence of carbonic acid gas. Ambrose at once gave notice of what had happened, and returned to the cellar in which the vat stood, and got into the piece, for the purpose of pulling his fellow-workman out. He had no sooner entered the vat than the noxious gas overcame him, and he too fell victim to its deadly effects. They were got out as soon as possible, but were beyond the reach of medical aid. (13th June. 1867).

GENERAL NEWS – A Wexford brewer was suffocated by foul gas the other day in an empty fermenting tun, not having taken the precaution of testing it beforehand with a lighted candle. (14th January, 1869).

3. Accidents outside the brewery

All the accidents reported outside the brewery were related to the horses and carts used to deliver the beer. The numbers of horses, carts, cabs, etc., was considerable and the manure produced was a health and safety issue in its own right: the huge growth in the number of horses in industrialised towns in the nineteenth century is believed to have increased the levels of infant mortality from enteric diseases spread by flies which bred in the manure. The accidents reported here are grouped under four categories: drivers injured by their cart, members of the public injured by the cart, drivers falling from their cart, and injuries sustained indirectly from the cart or horse.

3.1 Drivers injured by their cart

The weight of the cart and its load could be considerable and a number of drivers were injured when their carts collided with, or ran over, them.

MONTROSE. NARROW ESCAPE – On Thursday evening, while the Lochside Brewery cart was proceeding homewards,

and when near the entrance to the Brechin turnpike road, the horse shyed and went over the footwalk, which, at the place in question, has a quick descent of four or five feet on the side furthest from the road. The cart and horse were turned completely over, falling on the man in charge, Alexander Ryrie, who, although for sometime under the weight, escaped strange to say, with only a few scratches. (11th August, 1852).

BRECHIN. SERIOUS ACCIDENT – Another accident occurred on Thursday last, whereby a man in the employment of Mr Smith, brewer, Laurencekirk, was much injured. It appears that after delivering beer here, he went to Aldbar for the same purpose, and when near the Stannochy Toll, in the act of jumping from the cart, where he had been seated, his feet got entangled with the reins, when he was thrown on the road, and, we believe, one of the wheels passed twice over his body. He was immediately conveyed to town, where every attention was paid him by Dr Mackie, under whose treatment he so far recovered as to suffer the fatigue of being conveyed home, and we are happy to hear he is gradually improving, although it is feared it will be some time before he will be able to resume his duties. (10th June, 1857).

BROUGHTY FERRY – On Saturday, while Robert Hendry, carter to Mr Gray, brewer, was at his usual employment, his foot slipped, so that he fell before his cart, the wheel of which passing over his leg, broke it below the knee. He is, we understand, doing well. (17th February, 1858).

ABERDEEN. ACCIDENT – On Thursday forenoon, a man in charge of a horse and brewer's dray, met with a serious accident in St Nicholas Street. The animal, which seemed to be a restive one, by cause became unmanageable, and the driver, while attempting to control it, was thrown down, the horse immediately starting off, when the wheels of the vehicle passed over the unfortunate man's back as he was lying prostrated. The dray was a heavy one, on which there were two casks at the time. The horse, although running at full speed, was soon afterwards stopped in Union Street; and the man, having been taken into the shop of Mr Thomson, Nether Kirkgate, was afterwards taken home in a cab, into which he was kindly lifted by some of Mr Thomson's workmen, he being unable to walk;

but the extent of his injuries we were unable to ascertain. (3rd March, 1865).

ARBROATH. ACCIDENT – On Wednesday forenoon, as a young man named David Gardner, in the employment of the Messrs Gray, brewers, Newgate, was driving his van along the road, past the farm of East Grange of Conon, about four miles out of the town, the horse turned sharply round at the corner leading to the farm, and ran the cart against a post, by which Gardner, who was sitting on the front of the cart at the time, had one of his legs severely crushed. Assistance was soon procured, and he was conveyed home in a cart. On reaching his own house, a medical man examined the limb, and found that, though some severe bruises had been sustained, yet no bones were broken. (22nd February, 1866).

A RUNAWAY HORSE – Yesterday afternoon, about four o'clock, a horse yoked in a cart, belonging to Messrs J. and W. Henderson, brewers, Constable Street, took fright when at the top of Hospital Wynd, and ran off. When it got to the foot of the wynd, the cart upset with a fearful crash, breaking a large number of bottles. The cart was in charge of a boy named William Low, who got his hand slightly cut in the accident. (31st July, 1866).

DEATH UNDER SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES - At a late hour last night information was conveyed to the Police Office by Mr Dick, brewer, Murraygate, who had driven in from the country, that one of the carters in the service of Mrs Paxton, ale merchant, South Lindsay Street, had been found dead on the Turnpike Road, nearly opposite the water reservoir. The man was discovered lying on the road by John Kelly, a baker, who resides in Longforgan, and who was going home on a visit to his parents. Though alive he was perfectly insensible, and his head bore several severe wounds from which his blood was flowing profusely. Kelly immediately aroused some of the neighbours near by, who proceeded to the spot, and while they did what they could to restore the apparently dving man, the tollkeeper proceeded to Mr Cobb's farm where, through one of the farm servants, he succeeded in procuring a horse and cart with the view of removing the unfortunate man to Dundee. Ere the arrival of the cart, however, the man had expired, and his lifeless body was driven to the Dundee Police Office. Here his

person was examined, and in one of his pockets was found the sun of £6 1s 6½d, and in his waistcoat pocket a silver watch. which was still going. At first it was supposed that he had been attacked and robbed, but this supposition was dispelled when the above sum and his watch were found upon him; and the conclusion they came to was that the man in all probability had fallen off the top of his cart, and that the wheels had passed over his body. He was identified at the Police Office by the manager of Mrs Paxton's establishment, and thereafter his body was removed to his house in Butterburn. His name is John Stewart and he left Dundee on Monday with a cart full of ale, porter, etc., to supply to customers in Letham and Arbroath, and last night he had evidently been on his way home, when the accident occurred which resulted in his untimely death, as the horse and cart were found in the centre of Dundee without any person in charge of them. The deceased was about forty years of age, and leaves a widow and a family of eight children to lament their sad bereavement. He had only been a short time in Mrs Paxton's services. (13rth February, 1867).

3.2 Members of the public injured by a cart

Carts also injured members of the public, and these accidents could prove costly. Injury to the employee was an internal matter, but knocking down a civilian could lead to legal action.

FORFAR. ACCIDENT – On Friday se'ennight, John Stewart, overseer or farm servant to Mr Mitchell, Haughs of Finhaven, was lodged in prison under the following circumstances, viz.: on 30th July last, Alex. White, carrier, Forfar, was employed by Mr James Morris, brewer there, to take a load of bottled beer in baskets, to the Hill Market of Kirriemuir, for the purposes of supplying his customers. As White was leaving the market in the evening with his load of empty bottles, and a boy of the name John Morris seated on the cart, the prisoner Stewart struck the horse violently and repeatedly with a walking stick which he carried, and so frightened the animal that he ran off with the cart, which coming in contact with a dyke was upset, and fell over the person of the boy John Morris, by which he was so severely wounded that his life is in danger. The case is undergoing a strict investigation. (12th August, 1845).

ACCIDENT – On Saturday evening, about seven o'clock, while a horse and cart, belonging to Messrs Dick and Fleming,

brewers, Murraygate, was under charge of David Paton, carter, the horse suddenly frightened and ran off down Meadow Entry. In its way it knocked down and ran over John Miller, labourer, one of the wheels passing over his right leg and left arm. The services of Dr Begg were immediately procured, and he reports that no serious injury has been sustained. (11th March, 1861).

ACCIDENT – Yesterday afternoon, as two young girls, aged respectively five and eight years, were crossing King Street together, they were knocked down by a brewer's cart, which was being driven down the street at a smart rein. They were immediately lifted from the ground by some persons who saw the occurrence, and taken to Mr Parker's surgery, where Dr Cowper was in attendance. Fortunately, the injuries inflicted were not of a serious nature. (31st October, 1863).

ABERDEEN. RECKLESS DRIVING – On Saturday, John Porter, van driver to Mr Stuart, brewer, Virginia Street, was brought before Baillie Adamson, charged with reckless driving in Gallowgate, whereby he had come in contact with and injured a child of thirteen years of age. He was fined 20s. (4th October, 1864).

ACCIDENT – Yesterday evening, between six and seven o'clock, a woman, named Jane Archer or Robertson, about 74 years of age, residing in Rattray's Pend, Bell Street, was passing along Mid Street, when she was run down by a brewer's cart, and severely cut on the back of the head and bruised about the shoulder. She was carried home and attended by Dr Coupar. (4th November, 1864).

A BREWER'S DRAYMAN COMMITTED FOR MANSLAUGHTER – An inquest was held at Mirkfield, near Manchester, on Tuesday night, relative to the death of a girl named Ada Hobson. Her parents live at Thornhill, but being on a visit to an uncle's at Priestfield, she went with him to Ravenswharf on Monday afternoon, and rode pannier fashion on a donkey. On returning a brewer's dray drawn by a pair of horses, and going at a fast rate on the wrong side of the road, came up making a great noise. It frightened the donkey, which began to trot, and the front wheel of the wagon caught the pannier and the girl fell to the ground, two wheels going over her chest and neck, killing her instantly. The jury returned a

verdict of manslaughter against Richard Heywood, the driver of the wagon. He had been called on to stop, but took no notion. (9th November, 1866).

ACCIDENT – Yesterday afternoon a serious accident happened at Meadowside to a woman named Willimina Hardie or Whytock. After she had stepped off the pavement, at the south corner of the Post Office, a brewer's cart passed by and knocked her down. The wheel passed over her legs, inflicting severe injuries. The cart was heavily laden, and owing to the sharp turn which was taken into Meadowside, the horse also fell immediately after the woman had been run over. (19th October, 1867).

3.3 Driver falling from his cart

Falls from a cart could lead to immediate injury, or as described above, could also be associated with injuries from the cart itself. The accidents described here relate to a simple fall from the cart.

DUNFERMLINE. CART ACCIDENT – On Saturday night, Daniel Nichol, a carter with Mr Brown, brewer, High Street, while proceeding to the field for grass was thrown off his seat by his horse shying, or rather taking a side bolt for the new grass. Daniel has been very seriously injured about the head, and still lies in a very precarious state. Being long on the road, he was well known in the trade, who feel a interest in his recovery. (14th June, 1861).

CARNOUSTIE. APPALLING INCIDENCE – On Tuesday last, while a brewer's cart was passing through the village, with the driver seated upon the top of it, and underneath him an innumerable quantity of bottles in crates, the axle of one of the wheels broke, and the whole, of course, fell over to one side. The driver was thrown with some force against a wall, and was slightly injured, and a quantity of quart bottles, filled with porter, were entirely smashed among the debris. (21st August, 1862).

LOCAL NEWS. ACCIDENT – On Saturday a boy, named James Parker, about nine years of age, son of Jane Low or Parker, a widow, residing in Nethergate, fell headlong from a brewer's cart in Scouringburn, and was severely injured. After Dr Gray had attended him he was taken home. (2nd October, 1865).

ACCIDENT – Yesterday afternoon, about five o'clock, the driver of one of the carts belonging to Mr Wills, brewer, Hilltown, while going his "rounds" in the Hawkhill, suddenly turned giddy, and fell of his cart, his head striking the curb stone. He was rendered insensible by the fall, but, by the help of a number of people, he was brought back to a state of consciousness in about a quarter of an hour. (13th April, 1867).

3.4 Other injuries

Just when a carter thinks he has escaped injury Lady Luck can hand him the black spot.

PERTH. SEVERE ACCIDENT - On Wednesday last a very severe accident happened to a porter employed in one of the breweries in the town. He had been delivering a cask or two of beer at an inn in the High Street, and getting his business finished in the house, went to the stable to see the ostler, an acquaintance. On passing some of the stalls to reach his friend. a horse struck at him with his hinds legs. Although the act of the horse was extremely sudden, the porter managed to escape the stroke of the animal, by a prodigious bound backward, but unfortunately only to sustain an injury probably as bad as the kick of the horse might have been. His left leg slid into a hole. and was snapped immediately asunder, between the ankle and the calf of the leg. He was immediately carried to his own house, where medical attendance was promptly procured. We are happy to learn that he is in a fair way of recovery. (19th June. 1850).

4. Summary

What do these stories tell us about the safety (or otherwise) of the Scottish brewing industry? The accidents described here are, after all, only a snapshot – a series of stories in the Dundee Courier which recorded a total of 16 fatalities, 20 severe injuries and 12 minor ones (see Table 1).

Table 1 Summary of accidents

	Fatalities	Severe	Minor
Forfarshire	2	9	8
Scotland	6	11	4
UK	8	0	0
Totals	16	20	12

It should be accepted that not all accidents in Forfarshire would have been reported (particularly minor ones), and some stories will have been missed when searching the paper. In addition, other Scottish accidents were reported selectively from outside of Forfarshire and concentrated on news from the east coast, while accidents which occurred outside of Scotland were only considered newsworthy if they involved fatalities.

The above figures should therefore be taken as absolute minimums and extrapolation should be done with care. However, some statements can be made with a degree of confidence. Firstly, the stories indicate that most accidents were caused by transport. Drivers appear to have been every bit as reckless as many of their modern counterparts: there were examples of hit and run drivers, road rage, cutting up, and probably driving under the influence.

Secondly, we can see from Table 2 that fatalities were associated with a fairly small set of causes, of which asphyxiation was the commonest.

Table 2 Causes of fatalities

Asphyxiation	7
Crushing	4
Scalding	3
Carts	2

Finally, Forfarshire was a county with features similar to other industrialising areas of Scotland: it had a large town with a harbour, growing trade links, many factories, an expanding urban population, and easy access to agricultural produce. If we assume that Forfarshire was therefore a fairly typical county then we can produce a very rough estimate of the level of accidents in Scotland as a whole. From figures of the population of Scotland at the time of the 1841, 1851 and 1861 censuses, the Scottish population was consistently about 15 times larger than that of Forfarshire. If, therefore, we take the Forfarshire figures and scale them up by a factor of 15 we can suggest that in the whole of Scotland at least one fatality, and four to five severe injuries would have been sustained per annum in the brewing industry during the period covered by these stories.

It would be interesting to hear from former brewery employees as to whether these types of accident, or their modern equivalents, still occurred in the 20th century.

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This modern logo is a reminder that the name of Tennent was associated with Glasgow brewing for a few centuries before Hugh Tennent delivered lager production in 1885, the other historic date that features in promotion for this brewery.

Note the continuity represented in the resemblance of the type face for the Tennent name to the lettering used on horse-drawn delivery drays pictured on the inside cover. The "S" without an apostrophe is a more recent development.



Purpose-designed research facilities are now provided for those who visit the University of Glasgow Archive Services. The £150,000 refurbishment funded by the Wolfson Foundation Library Programme includes a completely transformed search room and a useful, staffed, welcome and exhibition area, providing visitors with a friendly and comfortable place to discuss their research, find out about the collections held by the Service and view highlights of these collections on display.

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Scandal among the fermenting vessels:

These labels are innocent but they recall a huge scam that was carried out under the very noses of the Excise men. We examine the case that a judge described as "A deliberate, systematic and wicked fraud, carried out with great cunning".



Time for a pint:

SBAA supporters prove they are interested in the living story of today's breweries as well as the past history of the older ones. The group was pictured enjoying a refreshment pause after touring the Inveralmond Brewery. Les Hutcheon tells the tale.

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J & R Tennent's in the 19th. Century:the Marshall family's contribution in changing times.

One of the many treasures on display at the Scottish Brewing Archive Open Day in May of this year was a copy letterbook, written by James Marshall, a Trustee of J&R Tennent's, during his fact-finding tour of the Americas in late 1875 and early 1876. (Glasgow University Archive Service [GUAS] reference T3/1)

In 1985, David I. H. Johnstone, Head Brewer with Tennent Caledonian Breweries for many years, undertook the arduous task of manually transcribing James' letterbook, and added extensive explanatory notes on the brewing and business aspects of the correspondence (GUAS ref. T3/2). At that time, research in anything other than local archives was difficult, to say the least, so James, and his family background, remained largely unexplored. For the same reason, the availability of a second copy letter book, generously donated by David Iain MacLeod in 2000 (GUAS ref. DIM3/1), gave Ms. Wiebke Redlich little further personal information on James for her article in the SBA Journal in 2003.

In the meantime, with the unprecedented improvement of online archive catalogues and family history databases, it is now possible to put forward at least an outline of James Marshall's origins, and his family's connections with J&R Tennent's throughout the 19th Century. John Martin's article in the Autumn 2010 SBA Journal is an excellent up-to-date, but unfortunately necessarily brief, primer for the wider J&R Tennent's historical context, but for greater detail we must await the publication of his forthcoming Anniversary Company History.

James Marshall's Grandfather, also a James, was descended from a long line of Perthshire farmers and Maltmen, with at least three generations in the 18th. Century living at Pendreich Farm, near Bridge of Allan. In the 1790's, Grandfather James moved, by stages, to Glasgow, having married Margaret Spittal, from Thornhill, and they had six children, along the way.

In about 1816 Grandfather James began working for J&R Tennent's, and it can be confirmed that his youngest son, George Marshall, joined the Firm in 1822, aged just 11 years.

Grandfather James, and spouse Margaret, are last found in the 1841 Census living in Moore Street, some five minutes' walk from the gates of Wellpark. He was then aged 70 years and was still working as a Brewer.

After the deaths of John and Robert Tennent, Hugh, the eldest son of Robert, took control of the Brewery in about 1829. George Marshall must have made a good impression on Hugh as, by the time of the 1832 Post Office Directory, his address was given as Wellpark, in one of the houses reserved for the senior Brewery staff.

In 1833 George married Jean Alston, eldest daughter of Andrew Alston, a well-respected licensed victualler from Tollcross, and they had ten children, all born in Wellpark, over the following years. Their eldest son, James Marshall, was the one who, in time, was to become a notable trustee of J&R Tennent's, and his brother Andrew Alston Marshall, ten years his junior, was to join James in the firm of Tennent & Marshall in Liverpool. Their third son, George Alston Marshall, b. 1846, no doubt encouraged by Hugh Tennent to pursue studies in the Free Church College, was ordained Minister firstly in Bewcastle, in Cumbria. and then as the first Minister of the new Mount Park in Greenock. Their voungest son. Hugh Tennent Marshall, joined his brother James in business in London from about 1880. Of their six daughters there were two named Margaret who died young, and Anne, the eldest, who became a companion to her mother and helped to raise the younger children. Elizabeth became a career schoolteacher in Glasgow, Jane married Colin Campbell, who also moved to join James in London in the 1880s. Their youngest daughter, Christina Rainey Marshall, married the Rev. William Henderson, a Scot who had a ministry in Birkenhead. Cheshire, where Henderson Senior was partner in a shipstore business.

The Marshall children had, what many of us would consider to be, an idyllic childhood, growing up among the sights and sounds, and particularly the smells, of a busy Victorian brewery, with Hugh Tennent, and his family, as next-door neighbours and companions, at school and play.

Hugh Tennent had married Christian Rainey, daughter of the Rev. George Rainey, Minister of Criech, in 1804 and they had, with other children, William Middleton Tennent, b.1812, who accompanied members of the Edinburgh branch of the Tennent family to Australia in 1839. He married there, before his return to Scotland in the 1850's. His brother, Gilbert Rainey Tennent, b. 1814, became a Writer

and Prosecutor in the Sheriff Courts of Lanark. Hugh Tennent Junior, b. 1816, and Charles Stuart Parker Tennent, b. 1817, both joined the family business. Hugh Junior retired while in his 30's due to ill-health, and Charles Stuart Parker took over the brewery in 1855 when Hugh Senior retired.

Charles S. P. had entered his apprenticeship in Wellpark, as a brewer, in 1833 but, in 1839, the Head Brewer, Charles' instructor, left and Charles was suddenly responsible for all the operative departments of the business at the tender age of just 22. At that time, George Marshall, as Charles recounted later, had the entire charge of the office and was more than familiar with the minutiae of the bookkeeping and accounting, and Charles judged him to be a most excellent person, an opinion obviously based on the reliance he could place on George's advice and assistance.

George Marshall was soon promoted to Manager of the Brewery and, in February 1843, was entered as a Freeman in the Maltmen of Glasgow, as son-in-law of Andrew Alston (GUAS ref. T1). Andrew's sons Robert, William and John, and son-in-law James Rankin, also became Maltmen, so the Guild Dinners would have been very much family affairs.

By the 1851 Census, with his father as Manager and his Grandfather a Brewer, it is hardly surprising that George Marshall's eldest son James had taken to some aspect of the Craft as, aged 16, he was a clerk in the Brewery which, by that time, employed some 200 men.

Sadly, George Marshall died in February 1852, aged only 41 and, from the entry in the Wylie & Lockhead register (GUAS ref. HF57/6/2/1-225), he was buried in the Alston Lair in the Relief Chapel Cemetery in Tollcross. George's widow and eight children moved to accommodation in nearby Bellgrove Street, as Gilbert Rainey Tennent, Hugh's son, retired from his law practice to take over the Brewery manager's functions, and house.

When Hugh Tennent Senior retired in 1855, so as to concentrate on his sailing, his youngest son, Charles S.P., purchased the guardianship of the firm and was quickly seen to be equally, if not more, determined than his father to advance J&R Tennent's business at home and abroad.

James Marshall obviously continued to make more than satisfactory progress within the Firm as, in 1858, aged 24, he had sufficient means, and prospects, to marry Jean Bell Hamilton, daughter of Robert Hamilton, Calender Master in Glasgow who, according to the 1861 Census, employed 50 men and 17 boys in his Rutherglen works.

By about this time, the volume of J&R Tennent's exports was such that, although the London agency was in the more than capable hands of David Hill Young, originally a Scot, the *ad hoc* arrangement with a multiplicity of agents in Liverpool appeared to be proving less than satisfactory, and was costing the Firm too much in "breakages".

This was why, in 1859, James Marshall was entrusted with the task of setting up an agency in Liverpool with John Gemmill, a Scot, who had been a shipping agent in the Port for some years. They first appeared in Gore's Directory in 1860 in the form of "Gemmill and Marshall", with offices both in Old Hall Street and King Street but, with no specific mention of a J&R Tennent's agency, they were at liberty, and no doubt expected, to earn their keep between shipments from Glasgow.

James, and his new spouse Jean, took up residence in Parkfield, in Birkenhead, a 'planned' town designed by the Edinburgh architect J.G. Graham, which had become something of a Scottish 'colony' on the Wirral Peninsula. By the 1861 Census, Andrew Alston Marshall, James' younger brother, and Hector N. Tennent, son of William Middleton Tennent, had arrived from Glasgow to join the firm, and were living in James' house in Birkenhead. Andrew Riddell, a cooper with J&R Tennent's, also joined the team about this time, to do what was necessary to reduce the "breakage" losses.

The Gemmill & Marshall partnership didn't last too long, as it was dissolved on 15th. May, by notice in the London Gazette of the 1st Nov 1861. This was obviously due to John Gemmill's ill health, as he died toward the end of the same year.

Also on the 15th. of May James Marshall signed a Memorandum of Agreement (*GUAS ref. T1/3/1*) with William Middleton Tennent, to form Tennent & Marshall, to act as merchants in Liverpool for a period of three years, with offices in The Albany, 6 Old Hall Street, a building which still stands today as luxury apartments.

Charles Stuart Parker Tennent had suffered from poor health for some years and, as his children were mere infants at the time of his death in February of 1864, in his will he nominated as Trustees his father, Hugh Senior, and his brother, Hugh Junior, Major Robert Cumming of Cheltenham, James Neilson, brewer in Wellpark, Hugh Lyon Tennent, his cousin in Edinburgh and an Advocate, and James Marshall, whom he had known since childhood. His Trustees were empowered to either dispose of, or carry on, the running of J&R Tennent's, as they saw fit, until one of his children came of age. Fortunately for later thirsty generations, the Trustees decided to take up the challenge and continue Charles's sterling work.

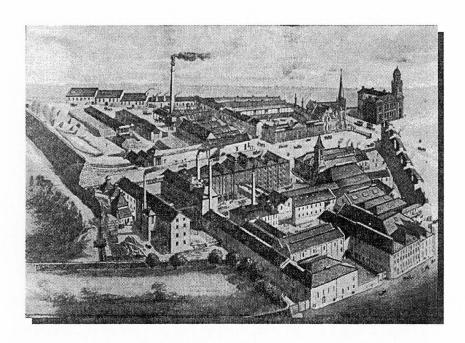
Sadly, within three months, the Trustees suffered the loss of one of their most valuable number with the death of Hugh Tennent Senior, while on a cruise off the coast of Southern Ireland on his yacht "St. Ursula". The lack of his presence on the Board, with his wealth of experience and business acumen, must have been keenly felt.

Of the three nominees who accepted Trusteeship of Charles S. P.'s estate it was James Marshall who was solemnly sworn and examined, and who deponed and signed Charles S.P.'s inventory on the 1st. of September 1864, in Glasgow Sheriff Court, for and on behalf of the two other Trustees, Hugh Lyon Tennent, Advocate and Sheriff Substitute of Renfrewshire at Greenock, and Major Robert Cumming, Cheltenham.

As James Marshall was patently the most qualified Trustee to take the helm of J&R Tennent's business in Glasgow, he gave notice in the London Gazette of the 11th. November 1864 that he had no further connection with "Tennent & Marshall" in Liverpool, and promptly moved to 6 Oakley Terrace, in Westercraigs, within walking distance of Wellpark.

Left to their own devices in Liverpool, James' departure appears to have caused something of a parting of the Tennent & Marshall ways as Andrew A. Marshall, James' brother, appears in the 1865 Gore's Directory with an adjacent, but separate, business address to the Tennent & Marshall office, where William M. Tennent, and his son Hector N,, continued to trade. In addition, Henry Marshall, a grocer from Birkenhead (not, apparently, related), was stated to be the home sales agent for J&R Tennent's, with stores in the same building as Andrew.

An early item on the J&R Tennent's Trustees' agenda was the completion of the design and construction of the Wellpark Institute.



Wellpark Brewery in the 1870's. The Wellpark Institute is at top right.

J&R Tennent's had long encouraged, and sponsored, the education of their employees, and local residents, with compulsory school attendance as a condition of employment for the boys who joined the Firm. (see Memorandum of Agreement, GUAS ref. T8/1/1) Over time, increasing pupil numbers meant that the Tennent's schools in Ladywell were inadequate, so firstly Hugh Senior, and then Charles S. P., worked on plans for purpose-built alternative accomodation on Duke St., to comprise of not only schools for boys and girls, but also a mission house and a workingmen's reading room and library.

In April of 1866 the Trustees successfully petitioned the Dean of Guild Court for permission to commence building the Institute, which was opened, and in use, the following year.

The former Wellpark Institute building, and adjoining Church, both now listed, were lately saved, and meticulously restored, by Glasgow Building Preservation Trust, and are enjoying a new lease of life as the Wellpark Kirkhaven Enterprise Centre.

Against a background of the "Panic of 1866", William M. Tennent, from his time spent in Australia, had retained some business interests in Melbourne which drew him into serious financial difficulties and he was declared bankrupt. He still managed, however, to continue to trade under the Tennent & Marshall banner.

In an effort to revive his J&R Tennent's agency, William M. wrote to the Trustees in late 1866 'expressing an interest' in being given credit for a small quantity of the Product. In the minutes of their meeting of the 8th. of January 1867 (GUAS ref. T1/6/8), the Trustees resolved to ask James Marshall for a written report on William M. Tennent's creditworthiness, which must have been at least reasonably favourable to his former business partner as William M., and son Hector N., continued to operate as "Tennent & Marshall" for some time.

By the following year, Henry Marshall, the grocer, had ceased acting as agent for J&R Tennent's and Andrew A. Marshall had set himself up as "Marshall & Co.", with an office in Moorfields, further distancing himself from the "Tennent & Marshall" office.

Andrew seems to have prospered because, by 1867, he was in a position to marry and move his residence to a pleasant country cottage on the Wirral and, two years later, in time for the birth of his first child, to an even more pleasant abode on the waterfront, overlooking the Rock Ferry ferry, across the Mersey from Liverpool.

In 1868 James Marshall, and spouse Jean, found time to move to a house called Sunnyside, on the sunny sylvan slopes of Partickhill and, on the 4th. of February 1869, 'by virtue of family descent and association', James was entered as Burgess and Guild Brother, qua Maltman of Glasgow (GUAS ref. T1).

Despite the best efforts of Andrew A. Marshall and William M. Tennent, home and foreign trade through Liverpool was obviously not performing, or earning, to the standards expected, a matter of no little concern to the Trustees in Glasgow. Matters reached such a stage that neither William M. Tennent, nor "Tennent & Marshall", appeared in the 1870 Gores' Directory, so family, and any other, loyalties were, seemingly, set aside and 'alternative arrangements' were put in train.

By the time of the 1871 Liverpool Census, Robert Munro had been sent from Wellpark to set up an agency dedicated solely to J&R Tennent's business, the first for the Firm. Munro obviously arrived just in

time to catch the pieces because William M. and Hector N. Tennent went bankrupt almost immediately, followed by Andrew A. Marshall later in the year, before his second child was six months old.

In Gore's Liverpool Street Directory of 1872, the first ever entry proclaiming an agency for "J&R Tennent's, Brewers in Glasgow", appeared, in bold type, with Robert Munro as agent, and with offices in Water Street, in the heart of the City's commercial district and, by the 1873 entry, with Robert Munro as 'Manager' of the Liverpool agency, there was the first mention of a London agents' office, in Lime Street, E.C.. This was the form the entry took in subsequent editions throughout the remainder of the decade.

Andrew A. Marshall, in the meantime, had managed to satisfy his creditors within a relatively short period and had moved house, and office. During the following four years he had two further children, and continued to appear in Gores' Directory, as a merchant, until his last entry in 1875, after which, to date, nothing further is known of him.

William M. and Hector N. Tennent took some four years to resolve their financial difficulties and did not appear in Gore's Directory again. Their efforts to emerge from their troubles would likely have been seriously hampered by the events, and the aftermath, of the "Panic of 1873", which caused Worldwide economic problems. Before making a financial recovery, William Middleton Tennent died in 1878, near Liverpool, aged 66 years, and his son, Hector N. Tennent, moved to London, where he died, in 1904, aged 62.

When the ranks of the Trustees were reduced by the untimely death, in 1874, of Hugh Lyon Tennent, Sheriff Substitute of Renfrewshire, his place on the Board was taken by Alexander A. Laird, Steamship owner and Agent, of Dumbarton.

James Marshall's fact-finding tour of the Americas seems to have been one of many, undertaken as an essential feature of J&R Tennent's innovative marketing and sales strategies throughout the 1870's. The actual purpose of these trips can easily be seen throughout the, regrettably one-sided, correspondence in the surviving copy letterbooks, written by James in late 1875 and early 1876. (GUAS refs. T1/1 and DIM3/1)

James, accompanied by Mrs. Marshall, was not only assessing the existing, and the potential for new, markets, but also scrupulously

analyzing the quality of J&R Tennent's, and competitors', products, and their suitability for the local climate, frequently in comparison with "German Beer", i. e. Lager. He also took time to evaluate the impact and extent of label piracy and counterfeit beers, and to register J&R Tennent's mark wherever he could. He gave character references for agents and negotiated with local officials at the highest level - all the while keeping close control of the day-to-day operations at Wellpark. He was frequently a "White Knight' on behalf of the Firm, as a matter of course, as in Buenos Aires, where he managed to sell, in 'impossible' market conditions, the local agent's stock of 25,000 barrels of Tennent's beer, amounting to some 3,500,000 bottles, which had been in store locally for years, so that fresh stocks could be shipped. David Johnstone's comment regarding this particular transaction was:- "The clearing of such large stocks, even at a loss, seems to be an incredible feat under the circumstances, fully justifying Marshall's extended stay in the area. He was obviously a man of great ability." (GUAS ref. T3/2)

James can also be seen as likely to be 'somewhat testy' with those who questioned his considered opinions or intentions, but he was more than willing to concede a point where superior knowledge or experience, logic, common sense or fair play came into the argument. He obviously worked to a set of solid, fundamental and traditional

customer-oriented business 'golden rules', letter written in 1875, that - "The thing is the Good Stuff, and Great Care and These made our business...". (GUAS ref. he had no time for any who didn't observe 'T', particularly when the non-observance

as stated in his old, old story, Cleanliness - DIM3/1), and them to the adversely

affected J&R Tennent's products. All this, long in advance of any form of 'how to succeed in business' hints and tips publications.

It is, then, not particularly surprising that, by all accounts, under the forward-thinking and pro-active stewardship of the Trustees, J&R Tennent's business went from strength to strength, the Brewery was greatly extended, the plant was modernised, and the products successfully promoted internationally. The Trustees even found time to register the now-familiar "T" trademark in 1876.

By about 1880, Hugh Tennent Tennent, Charles S. P. Tennent's younger son, although still a teenager, had begun to take an active part in the senior management of Wellpark. As he quickly proved himself to be a more than capable director of the Works, James Marshall found himself in the position of being able to step back somewhat from the

day-to-day, and so took over the London agency on the retirement of J&R Tennent's long-serving agent David H. Young. To complete the move, James sold his house in Glasgow and bought a house in Croydon, in Surrey.

Never one to be without a challenge, in his 'spare time' between attending to his J&R Tennent's agency, James commenced trading as the 'Foreign Bottle Manufacturing Co.', and brought his youngest brother Hugh Tennent Marshall, and his brother-in-law, Colin Campbell, from Glasgow to assist.

Throughout the 1880's, Grischotti, Fleming & Co., "and others", were suppliers of very large quantities of European-manufactured bottles to J&R Tennent's. (GUAS ref. T4/13/13) It has yet to be discovered if the 'Foreign Bottle Manufacturing Co.' was one of those "others".



Archibald Hay Tennent, eldest son of Charles S.P. Tennent, had assumed control of the Brewery from the Trustees in 1882, when he reached his majority but, because of ill health he sold his interest to Hugh Tennent Tennent, his younger brother, in 1884.

Little need be said here about Hugh T. Tennent's influence on the direction of the Firm and the landmark year of 1885 but, regrettably, he didn't live to see his far-sighted plans come to full fruition, as he died in 1890, the year before the new Lager brewery on the Wellpark site was completed.

From Kelly's Liverpool Directory of 1894, James W. Maxwell had taken over as Liverpool representative for J&R Tennent's, still with offices in Commercial Court, 17 Water Street and, by 1895, James Marshall had, apparently, ceased direct contact with the Brewery, as D. R. Clarke & Co. are shown as the London agents for J&R Tennent's, with offices at St. Mary Axe, E.C.

James' "Foreign Bottle Manufacturing Co" was, nonetheless, still thriving, by now having expanded into a much larger premises in Narrow Street, and with an additional address at London Wharf, West Ferry Road.

By the time James died, in May 1905, in Croydon, Surrey, aged 70, most of his immediate family had predeceased him, and the few remaining were far away in Scotland. When his wife Jean died in 1924,

aged 84, her funeral arrangements were undertaken by a friend. Apart from the two letter books already referred to, James Marshall's personal papers, if they survive, are proving very difficult to locate, but I have two very good reasons for persisting with the search.

Firstly, on a personal level, as James is my 2 times great-grand Uncle, I may find some indication of the final destination of his brother, Andrew Alston Marshall, my 2 times great-grandfather, who disappeared in 1875.

Secondly, in a wider context, David Johnstone makes the case for the influence James Marshall obviously had on the decision to change to Lager brewing in Wellpark.

David states, in his summary:- "I therefore suspect that it was Marshall who brought the news from the West Indies that Lager was posing a serious threat. It is a great pity that no subsequent copy books survive as a testament to the obvious contribution made to the Company by this formidable man." (GUAS ref. T3/2)

Alan Marshall.

Acknowledgements:-

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Many thanks also to archivists at Mitchell Archives, Watt Library Greenock, Stirling Archives, Stirling University Archives and Liverpool Record Office.

Much gratitude for the results of Internet searches by David Andrew Marshall, of Melbourne, who is Andrew Alston Marshall's other 2 times great-grandson.

Useful websites:-

www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk,

www.nls.uk, www.edina.ac.uk,

www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk,

www.findmypast.co.uk,

www.historicaldirectories.org,

http://newspapers.bl.uk.



A Good Dousing of the Thrapple

A report of the SBAA visit to Inveralmond Brewery presented as a pastiche in the style of Alfred Barnard by Les Hutcheon.

Inveralmond Brewery Perthshire

Fergus Clark Esq. (Managing Director)

Ken Duncan Esq. (Head Brewer)

Some eleven members of the SBAA mustered at the brewery premises a short distance off the A9 as the road takes the traveller off to the grandeur of the Highlands of Scotland and were warmly greeted by Fergus and Ken.

Most had made the journey northwards and had witnessed the barley in fields as they passed, cruelly flattened by particularly heavy rain. This barley being ripe and ready to crop, if only it had been dry enough to cut. Perhaps the combination of the flattened grain at this stage of its life cycle and the enthusiasm of our hosts for their product brings to mind the poem by Robert Burns entitled John Barleycorn. Here are a few stanzas to remind us of growth, harvest, malting to drinking the finished product.

But the cheerful Spring came kindly on, And show'rs began to fall: John Barleycorn got up again, And sore surpris'd them all. The sultry suns of Summer came, And he grew thick and strong; His head weel arm'd wi' pointed spears, That no one should do him wrong. They've taen a weapon, long and sharp, And cut him to the knee: Then ty'd him upon a cart, Like rogue for forgerie. They filled up some darksom pit With water to the brim, They heaved in John Barleycorn-There, let him sink or swim. They wasted o'r a scorching flame,

The marrow of his bones;
But a miller us'd him worst of all,
For he crush'd him between two stones.
And they hay taen his very heart's blood,
And drank it round and round;
And still the more and more they drank.
Their joy did more abound.
John Barleycorn was a hero bold,
Of noble enterprise;
For if you do but taste his blood,
'Twill make your courage rise.

The delegates of the Archive Association so keen to learn how the brewers of today carry out their craft listened with rapt attention whilst Fergus described his technical background and how the brewery had developed to this date. Having started on a smaller scale the move to the present premises was an interesting story in its self. Although not precisely contiguous the distance was sufficiently close to allow brewing to continue at both plants while the transfer took place. Perhaps more importantly the brewing liquor was from the same source – Loch Turret and abundant supply of water that was suitable for the highest class of ales.

After having satisfied our many questions Fergus and Ken conducted us to the spacious production area to commence our inspection of the equipment and the process. The party divided in two thus allowing more detailed explanation during our peregrinations of the establishment. Since we were all familiar with the principles of the brewing process we were privileged to learn much detail of how technical problems had been overcome. The information was conveyed with candour, humour and enthusiasm.

The equipment is all stainless steel. The mash is of a 30 barrel brew size from where the worts flow to a copper. A whirlpool effect is induced before cooling is expedited prior to adding the critical saccharomyces and onward to the conical fermenters where the progression from wort to beer takes place. The vessels are of appropriate size to match the brew length and all the equipment has been suitably crafted to suit the style of brewing. A notable observation was the attention to hygiene in particular to the internal sterility of the plant.

We left the bustle of the production area where casks were being prepared for filling and bent our steps back to the hospitality area.

Therein we were able to taste samples of the product and enjoy a glass of excellent beer. Our hosts had even provided hot pies to go with the pints to fortify us for our return journey.

On behalf of the group, Harvey thanked our generous hosts for an interesting explanation and view of the brewery as well as their hospitality. The more romantic members of the group were delighted to hear of Ken's forthcoming nuptials.

'Twill make a man forget his woe; 'Twill heighten all his joy: Then let us toast John Barleycorn, Each man a glass in hand; And may his great posterity Ne'er fail in old Scotland!



The visitors in the brewhouse.

Alfred Barnard visited and reported on his visits to some 162 distilleries. He also visited Noted Breweries of Great Britain and Ireland during the period 1889 to 1891. The detailed observations are of immense historic value. His descriptions also served as a travel book. For example when he visited the Abbey and Holyrood Breweries and Maltings of William Younger & Co. he also described his climb to the summit of Arthur's Seat. He frequently quoted verse when he considered it appropriate. He would have been astonished at the amount of information to be found concerning the Inveralmond Brewery, which is now available on the web.

www.inveralmond-brewery.co.uk/

The Edinburgh Beer Duty Fraud







Foreword:

It was during the SBAA Canongate tour of Breweries earlier this year, that our guide of the evening, Roger Preece mentioned the Beer Duty Fraud at Bells Brewery in Edinburgh. However, during the talk five different versions of the fraud were explained by different members of our group. So next day I decided to put the record straight.

John D. Martin

The following are extracts from the publication The Edinburgh Beer Duty Fraud researched by John Pink, who worked for Customs & Excise during his working career.

During a seven year period between the years 1926 to 1933 the **Edinburgh United Breweries Co**. carried out a beer duty fraud equivalent to over £1m in today's money value. It was the largest Excise fraud discovered between the two World Wars. The spectre of this fraud haunted the Customs & Excise (C&E) department for 60 years until the method of charging beer duty was changed radically in 1993.



The following are the reasons why it was such a shock and embarrassment to the C&E.

a) The magnitude of the fraud

- b) The length of time before being detected
- c) Occurred in one of Scotland's largest brewery
- d) Needed the collusion of all the brewing staff
- e) The brewery was only 400 yards from the Collectors office.

The lessons of the fraud were heavily underlined in future training of C&E Officers to such an extent that it never faded from the minds of Officers responsible for breweries.

The key dates and main events that took place:

24th Aug 1932 - fraud nearly uncovered by C&E

6th Dec 1933 - sacked brewery worker turns informant

25th Dec 1993 - Excise raided the brewery at 3am and found the evidence

March 1935 - High Court Trial of the Managing Director and Head Brewer

July 1935 - Brewing terminated

At the end of the High Court Trial, the Lord Justice-Clerk said, "A deliberate, systematic and wicked fraud, carried out with great cunning".

The Beer Duty Process:

Between 1880 and 1993 beer duty was charged by measuring the volume and specific gravity of wort collected in fermenting vessels prior to the start of the fermentation process.

In practice this meant that each fermenting vessel had to be officially calibrated so that brewers and Excise officers could determine the quantity it contained by "dipping" from a specific fixed point on the rim of the vessel. A marked dipstick (like a large ruler) was used to measure the depth and was used in conjunction with calibrated tables of that vessel to determine the volume of wort. Fermenting vessels varied greatly in size with large vessels containing many thousands of gallons.

The second part of the process was to measure the specific gravity of the worts with the use of a saacharometer. The actual specific gravity and the volume of wort in the vessel was then used to calculate the notional number of standard barrels of 36 galls at 1055 degrees of gravity that had been produced. After a deduction of 6% to allow for losses during the brewing and packaging process, duty was charged on the balance.

In 1929 the rate of duty was £5 and 3 shillings per standard barrel. The Duty was calculated for the month and paid to C&E on a specific day the following month.

The brewers legal obligations to HMC&E was to give 24hrs notice of brewing in the official brewing book held in a specifically agreed place.

The details of each brew had to be recorded separately. At or before the stated mashing time details of the materials to be used were recorded in the book. Within one hour of collection, the brewer had to declare the product description, the vessel number, the dip (quantity) and the original gravity.

The C&E officer would verify a proportion of the brewer's declaration for duty assessment. If the officer was not satisfied he would amend accordingly and notify the brewer of this. An under declaration of only 1 degree or incorrect measurement of the volume could result in a significant loss of revenue to C&E and the Government.

A brief history of Edinburgh United Breweries:

The company was formed in 1889 with the amalgamation of 4 Edinburgh breweries,

Robert Disher – The Edinburgh & Leith Brewery Robin McMillan & Co – The Summerhall Brewery D. Nicolson & Sons – The Palace Brewery George Ritchie – Bells Brewery

On its formation it became the 3rd biggest brewery in Scotland and its first chairman of the company was Sir W. Hamilton Dalrymple. At the outset, the firm was over capitalised and quickly ran into financial difficulties. No dividend was paid to shareholders during the period 1903-17 and the war time restrictions added to the company's problems. Brewing was stopped at both the Palace and Edinburgh & Leith Breweries in 1916 with production concentrated at the Bells Brewery.

By the mid 1920's the Managing Director William Lawrie and Head Brewer John Clark began to think of ways of avoiding the company becoming insolvent.

The fraud nearly detected in 1932:

With the benefit of hindsight the fraud could have been exposed in 1932. The C&E Officer William Cochrane entered the brewery just before

7:00am on Monday the 24th August 1932 and found the brewer illegally transferring wort to cask in the cellar. If this had been followed up by a retrospective materials check by comparing materials purchased with beer produced, all might have been revealed. As it was the company was let off with a £50 fine.

Account of the fraud:

A dismissed brewery workman "spilled the beans" in December 1933 about the 7 years beer duty fraud , he triggered the drama of its official discovery which required a covert 3:00am Christmas Day raid on the brewery by C&E Officers which also included the investigation into the Company books and accounts.

Information received from Peter Sinclair Head Cellar-man who had been sacked by the company in November 1933 and set in place a sequence of events.

22nd Dec. – The regular C&E Officer William Cochrane visited the brewery and found no notice to brew had been entered in the brewing book.

23rd Dec. – Between 11:00pm and midnight the Collector and 2 C&E Officers kept watch on the brewery from the street opposite.

24th Dec. – The watch continued outside until 3:30am at which time the Collector and the Officers entered the brewery, examined the brewery book at 3:55am and found no notice to brew and left, but continued to watch the premises from the street.

25th Dec. – At 3:00am the noise of a mash tun lid clanging and the smell of wort indicated the start of brewing. The Collector and C&E Officers again entered the brewery and discovered brewing in progress and examined the brewing book and found entries dated the 23rd Dec.

A search was made of the brewer's office and a brewer's private journal was discovered. Some of its entries were inconsistent with the brewing book and found that 18 brews had not been entered in the official brewing book.

You could say the game was up, although more work was required to unearth more evidence.

In view of the irregularities, Mr Pollard the C&E Collector called on the Chairman of the company early in Jan. 1934 and was asked to arrange the books and accounts at his disposal so that a complete investigation could be conducted. The Chairman said he would consult with the other Directors of the company and would let him know.

On the 11th Jan 1934 Mr Pollard called on the Procurator Fiscal and submitted the information he had gathered. A warrant was obtained authorising taking possession of the books and papers that would show the nature and extent of the evasion of Duty payments. On the same day Mr Pollard and a Detective Inspector visited the brewery. Mr Lawrie the Managing Director when asked to explain, said that he knew nothing about it and was all a great surprise to him and added that if there had been any irregularities they must have been entirely the action of the Head Brewer John Clark.

On the 13th Feb. 1934 the company was served with an immediate demand for £51901 17s 3d for the duty on un-entered brews plus the unpaid duty for Dec. 1933. As this Duty demand could not be paid all the brewing equipment, materials and movables belonging to the company were seized.

As a result all brewing came to a halt. A Rolls Royce thought to belong to the company was also seized while Mrs Lawrie was using it for shopping, however it was later returned, as it was not the property of the company.

At a hastily convened meeting of the Directors held at Bells Brewery on the 21st Feb. 1934, a statement was issued denying all knowledge of irregularities and stating that the company had insufficient liquid reserves to meet a payment of this magnitude and because the brewing equipment had been seized, no other course was left open to the company than to apply for a voluntary winding up under the terms of the 1929 Companies Act.

The Company's difficulties became public when the Edinburgh Evening Dispatch newspaper reported the appointment of a chartered accountant as Provisional Liquidator and who reached an agreement with C&E for the release of the brewing equipment and materials so that brewing could restart. Brewing continued until March 1935 with the income used to reduce the Duty underpayment.

Due to the seriousness of the fraud, the Managing Director and Head Brewer were charged with defrauding the C&E of £31,291 and a court case ensued in March 1935.

Court Case: The Crown versus William Lawrie and John Archibald Clark.

Mr Lawrie controlled the business side of the Company and Mr Clark was in charge of all brewing and entered the details in the brewing book.

Accountant's evidence for the crown:

- Purchased more brewing materials than entered in the official brewing book.
- 2. Sold more beer than it had paid duty on.
- 3. Defrauded the Customs & Excise of 331291 of beer duty.
- 4. Avoided a trading loss in the years 1931, 32 & 33

David Smith the assistant brewer gave evidence on the abstraction of worts to evade duty.

He said that the method of abstraction was to pipe beer from the Fermentation vessel and run off quantities either into yeast boxes or casks in the cellar.

Sometimes full casks were hidden under empty casks. After a day or two the worts were pumped back into the fermenting vessels after the "dip" had been taken by the C&E Officer and when there was very little risk of another "dip" being taken.

Smith was questioned about the book recording the illicit run brews. He explained that it was kept in a locked drawer in a table in Mr Lawries room. The book was compiled by Mr Clark, the Head Brewer, as it was not safe to keep it in the brewer's room. Smith said he received £5 for every illicit run brew and there were about 20 of these in a year.

Ernest Wiles, working brewer knew about the irregularities from 1929 onwards and added that he was told by Clark to give the C&E Officer suitable answers if questioned.

Joseph Tudor, an ex brewery worker said that during August 1933 he was employed as a watchman and when an illegal brew was run, he had to keep watch from an office window. If he saw anyone coming in who

he did not know, he was to press a buzzer which was connected to the brewer's room. The intention being that the person in the brewer's room would make an entry of the brew in the brewing book by the time the C&E Officer arrived in the brew house.

John Clark did not go into the witness box however his wife was called by his council as a witness.

Mrs Clark said that Mr Lawrie regularly phoned her husband from 1931 until Oct 1933 on Saturday nights and always between 10:00pm and midnight. Mrs Clark mentioned that in 1934 she had phoned Mr Lawrie as her husband was so agitated about "this business". Mr Lawrie had said that Mr Clark was not to worry himself and that the Excise had a lot to prove.

On the 14th March 1935, day 8 of the trial, the jury retired to consider their verdict and returned 20 minutes later to a crowded courtroom and the foreman announced that they unanimously found both the accused, guilty.

The defence lawyer Mr Connolly asked to be lenient as possible with Clark and pointed out that he had been unemployed since Feb 1934 when he was suspended and also explained that Clark had lost his right arm during the war. Mr Connolly further mentioned that in respect of losing his arm he had been receiving a pension of 28shillings a week, but on account of his conviction in this case he would lose that pension.

Both defendants were sentenced to imprisonment, Lawrie for 21 months and Clark for 12 months.

The C&E brewery procedures were radically strengthened to combat this type of fraud. The official books of every brewery had to be double checked by a Surveyor and a Collector plus a number of brewery visits made at weekends, also at night with cellars inspected as a matter of routine. This tightening up of Excise controls involved thousands of extra hours until the new method of "end product" duty was introduced in 1993.

The consequences of the Great Edinburgh Beer Duty Fraud were,

The prime informer remained unemployed and reputedly unrewarded. The recently retired C&E Collector – Mr Ryall lost part of his pension.

The brewery C&E Officer – Mr Cochrane who worked at the brewery lost salary or increment and was destined to spend much of his career as the Officer in charge of a beer warehouse.

The C&E Surveyor - Mr Dowswell was retired also loosing part of his pension.

Under a court order dated 25th March 1936, the Edinburgh United Breweries was formally wound up. The Bells Brewery itself was sold to Sir Donald Pollock and after being used during the 2nd World War as an air raid shelter, and a food store was gifted in 1946 to Edinburgh University where today it is a Sports Centre.

"United" beer as it was known, was widely regarded as amongst the finest with Dishers 10 Guinea Ale held in universal esteem which makes the Bells Brewery untimely end all the more sad.





The Campbell Hope & King brewery has long gone from Edinburgh's Cowgate but as this photo taken recently in a Brussels bar reveals, its name lives on in Belgium, complete with the "established 1710" claim in spite of the brew no longer coming from Scotland.



It may be half a century since the locust years in which so many famous Scottish breweries ceased to brew or changed their owners but there are still mementoes to be found of an earlier era. The promotional tag for "free Wi-Fi" would certainly have puzzled drinkers of Murray's ales, which continue to be so happily recalled in this window of The Black Bull in Lockerbie.



Up close and personable:

Inveralmond Brewery catches the eye with this pump clip for one of its ales in the Royal Macgregor pub in Edinburgh's Royal Mile.