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Writing for the Journal of the Scottish Brewing Archive Association

We welcome articles on any aspect of the Scottish brewing industry and these should be sent to the Journal Editor, Allan McLean at:

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Editorial

Allan P. McLean reflects on connections between trains and beer

Aromas from two sources caught my imagination as a youngster. Plumes of steam connected them.

One heady scent emerged from the combination of coal dust, smoke, warm lubricating oil, damp steam – and sulphur! – that could be sensed when close up to a steam locomotive. Another wafted around the air in parts of Edinburgh, when a sweet sense of warm malt hung in the air, mixed occasionally with a whiff of hops.

Wisps of steam could be seen from school, some from trains moving in and out of Waverley station, others drifting from the breweries that nestled around the Canongate and clustered at the foot of the Royal Mile.

By the age of 12, I was calling at breweries to find out more about that greatest of Edinburgh industries at closer quarters, always revelling in the smell of beer – which seemed so attractive when fresh. At other times, the railway beckoned.

The lure of steam on the railway was partly because that historic form of locomotion was soon to disappear. What I did not know about the breweries I witnessed in 1959 was that so many of them were soon to die too. Perhaps I would have been even more interested, had I but realised.

These thoughts about links between transport and brewing come to mind, reading the fascinating article by John Martin in this issue about Campbell, Hope & King, whose Argyle Brewery in Edinburgh's Cowgate survived longer than others but not as long as some.

I knew James King as a one-time leading light in the Rail Action Group, East of Scotland (RAGES, who promote rail travel in East Lothian) and later as the Scottish director of Passenger Focus, the statutory consumer organisation. He was also on the board for British Transport Police. Until reading John's article, I had not fully appreciated that James also had a family connection to that famous brewery. A moment for reflection, recalling what a sad loss James's premature death represented. On a more positive tack, there is another transport link with beer in this issue. The revelation that a fascinating collection of historic brewery model road vehicles has been created is an interesting indication of how the Scottish Brewing Archive can prove to be hugely useful in sometimes unexpected ways.

There are other connections between beer and transport. Some are to be found within these pages. Others are for another day.

Enjoy!

Allan P. McLean

The Real Canny Scot

Neil Lawrence finds history in cans

I would call myself a beer can collector – we have not risen to the dizzy heights of having a name assigned to our hobby such as "tegestology", the proper name for beer mat collectors. My name is Neil Lawrence and I've just turned 50, I live in Edinburgh and am now just scratching the surface of Edinburgh's diverse brewing history; more of that later.



In the beginning

Some of you may wonder how you get into collecting beer cans in the first place. My route into the hobby was interesting, controversial and completely by chance. At the tender age of 15 a school friend hit on a superb way of getting around the problem of underage drinking: during the summer he had been involved in a school exchange to America and the father of the family he stayed with collected beer cans.

On returning to Scotland he decided to start a collection of his own as he wanted to produce both an innovative decoration and talking point in his bedroom. Initially he picked up cans from buckets and in the streets but then asked his mother to get him a few different ones from the local supermarket. Bingo – she actually gave a 15-year-old full cans of beer without blinking an eye; news of this quickly spread throughout my year at school and before long there were more than 30 collectors all taking advantage of their parents who were probably pleased that their teenage sons were finally taking an interest in something.

Within weeks "Beer Can" parties were all the rage. You turned up with new cans that you had in your collection, swapped different ones and of course emptied them in the process. A couple of parties did get out of hand but it was never put down to the collecting element.

Over the next couple of years the 30 reduced to about 10 serious collectors who competed to see who could amass the biggest collection. By the time I left school at 18, I was only one of two collectors left; between us we had plucked the best cans from the other collections as they gave up. The final blow came when he signed up to join the RAF and decided to give me his collection, which I was amazed to get but proved to be a logistical problem as I had to move 400-odd cans across Edinburgh.

Last man standing

The next problem I had was where to go to improve the collection, which at this stage involved every can I could get hold of from anywhere in the world. By chance I saw an advert in the Exchange & Mart advertising a "Canvension" taking place in London organised by the British Beer Can Collecting Society. I jumped on the train and soon found a range of other collectors existed, including two others from Scotland.

We had a great time and the day after I visited a couple of the collectors as they were London-based. I joined the Society and soon was expanding my collection with cans not available in Scotland – the English collectors were glad to receive the boxes of Scottish cans that they were not able to get hold of down south.

Within a couple of years my collection had reached well over 2,000 cans and due to space restrictions at my mother's house I took the decision to specialise in British cans only, so all of the foreign cans went into the attic where they still reside to this day. Many Canvensions and numerous trips south later, and mainly again due to lack of space, I now took the decision to specialise in Scottish related cans only – which is how my collection continues today. The collection currently stands at 1,185 different cans with a database listing a mind-boggling 2,300 different Scottish cans.

Research

Canning in the UK started in 1935 with the Felinfoel Brewery in Wales and moved to Scotland in 1936 with J. & R. Tennent being the first to can beer in the early cone-top cans.

John Jeffrey, McEwan's, Maclachlans, Steel Coulson and George Younger all produced cans in the 1930s before production virtually stopped because of WW2.

Tennent's started the ball rolling again in the 1950s with the new style flat top 16 oz cans, and we have never looked back since. The basic design has remained the same, although we have moved on from using "church keys" to punch holes in the cans to ring-pulls and now zip tops. The size of cans has varied little from the 10, 12 and 16 oz sizes now replaced by 250, 330, 440, 500 ml and 5 litre sizes. Materials have gone from sturdy tin-plate to



paper thin aluminium which proves to be very fragile when empty – a real problem for the collector who always wants his cans in pristine condition.

Part of my full-time job is being Archivist to Edinburgh City Council's Housing Department's Archive looking after 70,000 record drawings and associated materials, which also involves doing a lot of research into the history of our housing stock.

This has helped me greatly in the quest to catalogue all Scottish beer cans. There are a great number of Scottish Breweries that have canned beer, the main ones being:

Ballingall & Son Ltd. Belhaven Brewing Co. Ltd. Blair & Co. (Alloa) Ltd. Brewdog Caledonian Brewing Co. Ltd. Drybrough & Co. Ltd. George Younger & Son Ltd. I. & R. Tennent Ltd. James Aitken & Co. (Falkirk) Ltd. John Jeffrey & Co. Ltd. Lorimer & Clark Ltd. Maclachlans Ltd. Robert Younger Ltd. Scottish Brewers Ltd. Scottish & Newcastle Breweries. Steel, Coulson & Co. Ltd. **Tennent Caledonian Breweries** Thomas & James Bernard Ltd. Thomas Usher & Son Ltd. United Caledonian Breweries Ltd. William McEwan & Co. Ltd. William Murray & Co. Ltd. William Younger & Co. Ltd.



Many current or recent breweries are linked to the above list in one way or another: Carlsberg-Tetley Scotland Ltd., Scottish Courage Ltd., Heineken UK Ltd., Kronenbourg, and McEwan's Brewing Company. Numerous supermarket own brands that have been produced in Scotland can also be added to the list.

Further research

On the quest to find older cans, I have diversified my collecting. Many of the early cans used the existing brewery bottle labels and I now have a fair collection of beer labels from Edinburgh Breweries – another of my pet hobbies is researching the breweries.

In my day job I run a digital mapping service for my department and have

traced many of the Edinburgh Brewery locations over the years they were active and also by the variety of different brewers that plied their trade from the breweries – this is such a big and complex task that I will be doing it for many years to come. Recently the National Library of Scotland scanned their collection of old Trade and Post Office directories and this is proving to be a great tool for progressing this project.

Another interest is Edinburgh pubs – I have designed a pictorial database that has 894 different historical pub locations, of which only 492 are current. The database includes picture or map locations of each bar together with former names of the bars – for instance I currently have 14 former names listed for Iglu in Jamaica Stree. Again this is an ongoing project as bars are opening and closing on a regular basis and it's sometimes difficult keeping up with new additions although I somehow manage to find the time to try out new pubs as I find them. While I don't have a particular favourite bar as there are so many good ones I currently spend a lot of time in the Diggers, Cloisters, Brewdog, Brauhaus and Red Squirrel as they all have great beers on offer.

Website

As part of a training course I was on in 2002 I set up my can-collecting website - and what else was I to call the site other than www.cannyscot.com! That has grown ever since and now incorporates a range from the different collections that I have. It helps collectors around the world keep up to date with the latest Scottish cans as well as allowing them to trace the history and development of our canning history through pictures and old newspaper articles.

Over the years it has allowed me to reach collectors around the world and we have together generated a better list of cans produced by Scottish breweries; the Tennent's Scottish Series is an example of this. I receive a great deal of enquiries every day from all over the world. Questions range from "how much is a can worth" to "my Gran says she used to be one of the Lager Lovelies, can you confirm this". I also get a lot of positive feedback from people with similar collections or who are doing research into something they have seen on the site.



Scottish beer trays can also be found on my site – you will find pictures of 242 Scottish trays with about another 25 waiting to be uploaded once I find the time. Most of the trays are in my own collection but many images have been supplied by keen collectors and the Brewery Archive as they are all keen to see the diversity of different trays in one location.

Cans again

The can collection does take up a lot of space - and the weather here in Scotland is not best suited to old metal cans – so my collection is mainly in storage, wrapped up against the aging process. I do have an extensive virtual collection and use this on almost a daily basis to answer questions and provide images of cans as requested. My cans have appeared in lots of TV shows, on a record cover and in books around the world. I have even provided paper sleeves for people having 1970s parties where they covered up current Tennent's lager cans with their favourite lovelies of yesteryear.

I am a keen real ale drinker and have been pleased in recent years that so many of the Scottish Micro-Breweries have produced 5 litre mini-kegs, although I have had to limit myself on how many of these cans I have as they take up far too much room; I have a great time emptying the contents as well. Takes me back to my youth and the old party cans we used to enjoy.

Favourites

To a certain extent my favourite can is the next one to arrive in my collection, but the best can in my collection is my late 1930s McEwan's India Pale Ale cone top can. I wouldn't part with that can easily as I grew up next to the McEwan's Brewery in Fountainbridge and it will always be best.

There are a few runners up: the original Younger of Alloa SweetHeart Stout can featuring a picture of actress Venetia Stevenson which still has the same basic picture on the cans after some 54 years – surely some sort of record. Any of the old 1950s flat top cans are in there, Blair's Stag Ale, "Wee Murray" Pale Ale, Younger's Double Century Ale



or anything by Jeffrey's, Maclachlans, Aitken's and Bernard's are worthy contenders.

I have seen examples of all of the above cans but I am still looking for a can from Ballingall's in Dundee. A few books mention that they canned some of their beer but I have so far never seen an actual can or even a picture or advertisement for one, so please provide me with some proof of their existence if you have it.

Beer

Absolutely love the stuff – I never tire of trying new and obscure brews, and I have started listing them on Untappd (a Facebook for beer drinkers). I must admit to liking dark beers and Scotland has a great tradition of porters and stouts, my current favourites being Black Isle Organic Porter and Stewart's Coconut Porter followed closely by Orkney Dark Island

Conclusion

It's very funny to think that something that started out as way of underage drinking has led to a life-long hobby, many new friends around the world, a connection to the Scottish Brewing Archive Association and a continuation of the quest to find the Scottish cans that I have not seen before.

Campbell, Hope & King: Brewers of Distinction *John D. Martin* is inspired to explore the story of a far-famed Edinburgh brewing business

Foreword

Last year I was contacted by Anne Balfour who explained she was researching the history of the Campbell, Hope & King (CH&K) brewery in Edinburgh. Anne went on to explain that she was a personal friend of James King who was terminally ill and wished to write a book on the King family history from the 1800s onwards. Although James King never worked for the brewery his father John Howard King was a director and briefly chairman of CH&K, prior to the takeover by Whitbread. James

King's great grandfather was John Connel King and the first chairman of CH&K in 1896.

When assisting Anne with her research I thought it an idea to prepare this article on the CH&K brewery. A few weeks after Anne had contacted me, Bill Brown (fellow colleague and SBAA member) and myself took it upon ourselves to examine what was left of the buildings of the CH&K brewery site. Later Bill arranged a meeting with Edinburgh University and we were given a tour of the inside of the old maltings building, now being used by the University.



The beginning

The origins of the famous Campbell, Hope & King brewery of Edinburgh is steeped in history and reputedly can be traced back to 1710. The company was rightly proud of its 260 years of brewing tradition and not only

became one of Edinburgh's famous breweries but grew a great reputation for beer quality in Scotland, England and abroad.

Brewing in Edinburgh can be traced back to the 12th century when the monks at Holyrood Abbey were brewing beer. To begin with, brewing was very much a domestic trade and by 1530 there were 288 brewers in old Edinburgh, which was one for every 40 people living in the city at that time. In 1596 the Fellowship and Society of Brewers was formed which was the earliest commercial incorporation of a trade in Scotland.

To give a better perspective of the time period, the following lists just a few examples of events that occurred in the 1700s in Edinburgh when Archibald Campbell was beginning to establish himself as a quality brewer of note.

1707	The Treaty of Union between Scotland and England.
1729	Edinburgh's first infirmary is opened.
1745	Prince Charles Edward Stuart enters the city.
1749	A stagecoach service starts between Edinburgh and
	Glasgow.
1767	Construction of the Edinburgh New Town begins.

The brewing of Campbell's beer began in Campbell's Close at 109 Cowgate and they specialised in brewing porter, not only for consumption in Edinburgh but also for transport to Glasgow by horse-drawn wagon. This was quite an achievement as of course there were no HGVs or trains in those days, the Edinburgh & Glasgow Railway not opening until 1842, two decades after the cities were linked by canal barges.

The beers were of great quality and in 1755-56, Archibald Campbell received a silver medal and two silver Quaichs from the Brewers Society of Edinburgh for his Porter. Around this time Archibald Campbell acquired a house at 145 Cowgate and his previous address was renamed West Campbell Close. In these days it was common practice that a Close was named after the person living in the tenement.

This former site was later to be occupied by a number of brewing companies, David Aikman, J. & T. Ushers and W. & J. Raeburn before being sold to Heriot Watt College in 1900.

In 1773 the Edinburgh Directory records that brewer Alexander Campbell (presumably the son of the brewery founder) was based at 145 Cowgate. Nearby was Tailors Hall, which was later to have a long association with brewing.

By 1799 the Post Office Directory lists Campbell & Young, brewers, at 145 Cowgate and a year later Archibald Campbell, (presumably the grandson of the founder) offered to purchase Tailors Hall and from 1801 the brewery was known as the "Argyle Brewery". However the partnership between Campbell and Young did not last long and was dissolved in 1810.

Tailors Hall

The Tailors Hall is one of Edinburgh's oldest buildings and was built for the Incorporation of Tailors in 1621. It was here that 300 church ministers drafted the National Covenant in 1638. This document was drawn up to disapproval the express of interference of King Charles I in the affairs of the Scottish Church. Following the execution of Charles in 1649, the building was



used by Oliver Cromwell's regime to administer the forfeited estates of Scottish Royalists.

By 1733 Tailors Hall was converted to a theatre and attracted great crowds to some of the best entertainment in Edinburgh. It was this reputation that drew the three Mackinnon sisters in 1741, gracing the stage with their singing, dancing and beauty and today gives the name to the Public House – The Three Sisters.

The building was eventually sold to the Argyle Brewery and was used as a grain store. Later the middle floor was made into a canteen for the brewery work force serving breakfast and lunches each day as well as for the night shift workers, albeit there were only 4 in total. Today the Tailors Hall has been converted into a hotel.

One of the brewery wells is situated outside Tailors Hall, which you can still see today, although it has not been used since the brewery closed. The well is 210 feet deep with a bore down to a depth of 703 feet. The well water had an electric pump submerged at the bottom of the well and was operated from the pump house in Tailors Hall, pumping water to all the tanks in the brewery, with the highest being Barns Tank at the top of the brewery maltings.

Quality always sells

The reputation of Campbell's beers grew to such an extent over the years that in 1837 they were appointed "Purveyors of Ales to his Majesty the King" (William IV). This began an association that lasted many years with the company being granted Royal Warrants by King Edward VII in 1901 and the Prince of Wales in 1903. The company became brewers to the King in 1940 and 1941-42. The 1941 warrant was amended after the King's death in 1952 to allow the the company to use wording "Bv appointment to the late King George VI" and was included on beer labels.

There are no records of the company having a registered trademark for their beers, instead the company was given permission to use the Royal Coat of Arms which was used when advertising and also appeared on their beer labels.

Louis Pasteur the famous chemist and microbiologist visited the brewery in 1871, following a visit to the William Younger brewery a short distance away which formed part of his tour of many other breweries throughout the country.





Campbell's beers were renowned for the quality of their Strong ales in particular and became very popular in Belgium. As a result, Scotch Ale was dispatched to Libotte Brewery near Brussels on a regular basis and over a period of many years. The beer was transported by ship in hogsheads (54 galls) from Leith and then bottled in Belgium.

The Argyle Brewery did not have any bottling facilities on site and as a result relied on George Mackay, a local brewer, to bottle their products. The bottling was then



undertaken by Belhaven Brewery (Dudgeon & Co.) of Dunbar, when Mackay's closed in 1958 and also by one or two other companies. Although CH&K made its name with its Strong Ales, it also produced a range of other products including Pale Ale and Stout.

The years of expansion

In 1896 Campbell's merged with Hope & King, a wine and spirits merchants from Glasgow and together formed a Limited Liability company. In the same the vear company acquired A.E. Skinner, a wine and spirits merchant in Elgin. It became well known as spirits а merchant and particularly as a whisky bottler in the north east of Scotland and in 1937 built a new bottling plant for beers



and spirits in Elgin. The firm also built a large bonded warehouse and had a duty paid warehouse in the town and established its regional office above its wine and spirits shop.

In 1925 the company acquired the South Western Brewery of Newton Stewart along with its six tied public houses. It was important for brewing companies to have a chain of tied houses, thereby allowing them a ready market to sell their products. That brewery was closed soon after the takeover and the premises used as a warehouse depot to serve customers in the southwest area of Scotland.

CH&K had an extensive transport fleet that delivered to customers throughout Scotland and during the peak production months, additional vehicles had to be hired, such was the demand.



The beginning of the end

Ever since the formation of CH&K it was the King family that ran the company, occupying many of the senior positions. However an interesting turn of events occurred in 1939 when CH&K acquired the William Whitelaw brewing business of Fisherrow, Musselburgh, which was established in 1795, though this did not include the brewery itself.

Following discussions with CH&K, James Holmes Taylor the Managing Director of William Whitelaw's, closed the brewery and transferred its trade to the Argyle Brewery in exchange for a place on the CH&K board, a decision the company may have regretted in years to come. J.H. Taylor's son also joined the business.

The end

The company continued to prosper and acquired other tied house outlets. J.H. Taylor eventually became Chairman in 1962 and his son J.H. Taylor junior became a director. John Howard King had proposed J.H. Taylor as Chairman and General Manager and in return he was proposed as Managing Director with J.H. Taylor junior appointed as assistant M.D. For the next few years J.H. Taylor and eventually also his son started to quietly amass shares in CH&K. In 1963 John Howard King was temporarily removed from office due to ill health and J.H. Taylor Junior was appointed M.D. The father and son now had controlling interest of the company in more ways than one.

In 1965 Whitbread, who were looking for a foothold in Scotland, acquired a stake in the CH&K business and then two years later took a controlling interest. Initially Whitbread did have plans to modernise the site and install bottling and keg packaging lines. However these plans for expansion were eventually shelved as Edinburgh Council had imposed tight planning restrictions. As a direct result of this, Whitbread opened discussions with Edinburgh University, who had previously been granted an option on the Argyle Brewery site. Following these discussions the decision was taken to close the brewery.

The CH&K closure created a great uproar in Edinburgh in particular and was a great disappointment to many Scottish beer drinkers. Many people blamed Whitbread for the decision to close the brewery and they in turn denied they had any plans for closure and blamed Edinburgh University, who had an option on the site. Planning permission was not granted for the expansion of the Argyle Brewery and as a result Whitbread turned its attention away from Scotland and sold the tied houses to Drybroughs and Ushers. The money raised by the sale of CH&K was used by Whitbread to purchase Strongs brewery at Romsey in Hampshire. AB-InBev was still brewing Campbell's Scotch Ale in Belgium a few years ago, however it is no longer on their web site brand portfolio and as a result the last connection with a great Scottish brewery seems to have disappeared (*a bottle of Campbell's Ale, in all probability one of the last, was seen on sale in Brussels in September 2011 - Ed.*).

The following information consists of extracts from the CH&K records held by Glasgow University Archive Services. Robert Clark, who worked in the brewery from 1960 to 1966, wrote that:

There were three working yards in operation: the top yard off Chambers Street was used to load full barrels and kegs onto lorries.

The washing-shed yard off Guthrie Street was for unloading empties. Tailors Hall yard was an empty barrel storage area.

The head brewer was a Tom Ferguson who took over, following the death of Mr. Bonaly.

John Chisolm – Managing Director worked up to his death aged 88 years.

John Howard King took over briefly for about 8 months.

James H. Taylor became Chairman and was the person responsible for selling to Whitbread.

Scott Robertson was Company Secretary but died soon after the takeover (possibly broken hearted, having worked in the brewery since he was a boy).

There were about 100 people employed in the brewery.

Tom Ferguson was Head Brewer, Director and Managing Director at CH&K and he wrote that:

CH&K supplied Pale Ale to Holyrood Palace, conditioned in cask and bottled by George Mackay's who operated a brewery near by. The beer was best between the 2nd and 14th week after a 3-month waiting period.

Golden Ale 70/- had sugar candy added, and was very light tasting.

Sweet Stout was discontinued in the mid-1950s as sales dropped below 200 barrels per week.

J.H. Taylor, a miner's son from Fife, ran a company known as Taylor Transport and was also an owner of several public houses in the Glasgow area. Taylor acquired the brewery of William Whitelaw's in Musselburgh. His selling off, of the William Whitelaw brewery and over 20 public houses was part of a deal that got him a seat on the CH&K board: "Taylor bought up CH&K shares via astute use of factors". In 1962 Taylor was the chairman and then had 53% of all the shares.

The archives also record that John Howard King died in 1974, aged 60, and that Tom Ferguson joined Scottish & Newcastle Breweries where his father had been head brewer 30 years before. I can only assume that James H. Taylor and his son enjoyed the financial proceeds they received from Whitbread, when they sold their shares.

Footnote

It is with great sadness to say that a few months after meeting Anne she informed me that James King (60) had passed away, but not before reading the book that Anne wrote on his family history entitled "Les Rois" – The Kings of Scotland. This article, in a very small way, pays tribute to the dedication of Anne in writing the history of the King family, which gave me great impetus to conduct my own research into this very famous Edinburgh brewery.

To the reader

If you have any memories of Campbell, Hope & King and its beers, it would be good to hear from you.

Scottish Brewing Model Trucks

George Douglas talks to GUAS about his passion for model trucks

Earlier this year George Douglas and George Lyall visited Glasgow University Archive Service for the first time, to view the Scottish Brewing Archive records. Their main interest was in Scottish & Newcastle (S & N) Breweries and looked at the in-house magazines and photographs. George Lyall was a long-distance lorry driver for S&N and George Douglas's hobby is making models of Scottish brewery transport vehicles.



George Douglas is a very keen and long-term model maker from Edinburgh and has for many years now been making models of Britishbuilt commercial vehicles in authentic Scottish operators' liveries. His favourites are replicas of those run by the constituent companies of S&N (McEwans & Youngers). George's father-in-law, after leaving the army, was employed by Wm. McEwan's and worked at the Fountain Brewery until he retired in 1966. The models are made at 4 mm scale (1:76) – the same scale as OO gauge model railways – and are produced by various means: by super-detailing purchased die-casts, building white metal kits, plastic kits, scratch building, or a mixture of all of these. The models are hand-painted and lettered or have waterslide transfers created on a PC and then printed on special paper.



As far as McEwans, Youngers, Scottish Brewers and S&N are concerned, there were a good many different types of prototype vehicles in their fleet and a great number of subtle variations in bodywork and paintwork with the search continuing for photographic evidence of these in colour.

The models go on show at various events such as Truckfest Scotland at Ingliston in August and at model railway exhibitions. His replicas create considerable interest at these events and to quote George "Nostalgia is alive and well!" George is in the process of making a model of a specialised Bedford that S&N used for their airport catering services while also continuing to add tankers and flatbed vehicles to his collection. George has a number of black and white photographs of Edinburgh brewery vehicles but is unable to complete the models, as he is unsure of the colours they were painted. The company vehicles he seeks help with, are as follows:

John Aitchison T. & J. Bernard Robert Deuchar Drybroughs John Fowler Lorimers G. Mackay Maclachlans Murrays Steel Coulson Thomas Usher

If anyone can help with this, please contact George. His contact details are:

1 West Catherine Place Edinburgh EH12 5HZ Tel: 0131 337 7158

The Glasgow University Archive Services have added, "It is fascinating to see the varied projects for which readers use the archives held here".

We would like to thank George Douglas for providing this information about his project and wish him the best of luck with his model-making.

The Wellshot Brewery in Cambuslang

Forbes Gibb looks at the life and times of the other Hugh Tennent

Introduction

A recent advertising campaign featuring Hugh Tennent of Tennent's lager fame, and a direct descendent of one of the founders of J. & R. Tennent, has rightly highlighted his contribution to the Scottish brewing industry. But one of his cousins also had an impact on the brewing industry: Hugh Tennent (no shortage of Hughs in this story), who established the Wellshot Brewery in Cambuslang. Despite his link to one of the major brewing families of Scotland, as Donnachie (1979) points out, relatively little is known about this brewery. This short paper will attempt to fill in some of the gaps.

The early life of Hugh Tennent

The history of the more famous Wellpark Brewery is well known. In brief, the brothers John and Robert Tennent opened a public brewery and distillery during the 1770s near Glasgow Cathedral. When Robert died in 1826, followed by John the year after, Hugh Tennent (the eldest son of Robert) took control of the business. Two of Hugh's sons were Charles Stewart Parker Tennent (who took control of the Wellpark Brewery in 1855), and William Middleton Tennent, whose son Hugh founded the Wellshot Brewery. William Middleton Tennent was born in 1812 in Errol, Perthshire but eventually moved to Hobart Town, Tasmania where he married Wilhelmina Simson, in 1840, and where their son Hugh was born in 1842. By 1845 William had acquired a licence to sell wines and spirits, but then moved to Melbourne to become an auctioneer.

He then decided to relocate the family to Scotland and by the time of the 1861 census they were living at 115 Douglas Street, Blythswood, Glasgow, and Hugh, aged 19, was already described as a brewer. It seems likely that he was learning his trade at the Wellpark Brewery as this was the address he provided in 1869 on a birth certificate for an illegitimate daughter, Hughetta Ellen Tennent, whom he had fathered with Ellen Clarke (of which more later). By the time of the next census, in 1871, Hugh was living

at 15 Roselea Drive, Dennistoun, with one domestic servant, Helen Munro, in a tenement flat that was very close to the Wellpark Brewery. Although he is still listed at this address in the 1872-73 Glasgow Post Office Directory, he had already put in motion plans to establish his own brewery in Cambuslang ¹.

Hugh Tennent's business in Cambuslang

In 1872 Hugh feued about two acres of land from a Mr Buchanan of Wellshot, on which he built the Wellshot Brewery (Anon, 1872) near the Eastfield Burn (see Figure 1).

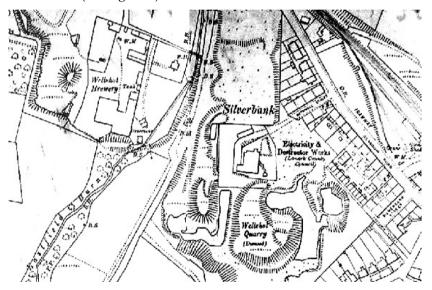


Figure 1. Ordnance Survey map of 1912 showing the brewery site.

Most of the estimated £40,000 needed to build and stock the business was provided by Thomas Houldsworth (Anon, 1889a), in all likelihood a member of the enterprising Houldsworth family who had founded cotton-

¹ This was not the first brewing facility in the town; James Corsbie is recorded as having a brewhouse in 1697, as is the local minister. The brewhouse at the Church of Cambuslang was still in existence in 1810 (Wilson, 1929).

spinning companies in Glasgow and Manchester before concentrating on ironworks and establishing the Anderston Foundry in Cheapside Street, Glasgow. In 1873 the firm advertised for a few good hands by application to Mr Gray (Anon, 1873) and in 1875 for a washing-yard man (Anon, 1875a).

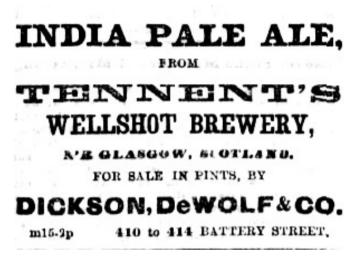


Figure 2. Advert for Tennent's India Pale Ale in the Daily Alta California (Anon, 1875b).

Hugh appears to have had ambitious plans as, at an early stage, he had already entered the export market and his products were being offered in California in 1875, and Australia in 1879 (see figures 2 and 3), the latter perhaps through family connections from their time in Melbourne.

However, Thomas Houldsworth died in 1876 and, as he had left no instructions concerning his loan, the trustees of his estate called in the debt. Hugh was able to restructure the debt with assistance from, amongst others, Richard Kidston, an iron merchant, and obtained a line of credit for £14,000 from the Clydesdale Bank. In return for this assistance Hugh was obliged to provide security in the form of a disposition and assignation to his guarantors conveying the brewery and his interest in his father's estate. Although this provided the breathing space in which to continue his business this arrangement was to prove problematic in later years.

FOR SALE, by the undersigned — Burke's Stout in quarts and pints

Bass's triangle Ale in do. do.

Tennent's Wellshot Brewery Ale in pints

All in prime condition

Bright Brothers.

Figure 3. Advert for Tennent's Wellshot Brewery Ale in the Melbourne Argus (Anon, 1879a).

Over the next few years we find evidence of Hugh being involved in a number of typical commercial, social and public activities. In 1877 he found himself on the other side of the debtor's table when he was appointed a commissioner ² for the sequestered estate of Charles Maitland, a former tailor and clothier (Anon, 1877). In 1879 he wrote a strong defence of a decision by the School Board to resist attempts by temperance activists to impose *The temperance lesson-book*, by Dr W.B. Richardson, on all teachers (Anon, 1879b). In 1880 he chaired the South Side Wine, Spirit and Beer Trade Festival and received, perhaps not unsurprisingly, a rousing reception to a further attack on temperance fundamentalists (Anon, 1880). He was a member of the No.50 District Loyal Orange Lodge, though he was unable to attend its first annual soiree and concert (Anon, 1881).

The business would also appear to be of a substantial nature as the 1881 census states that he employed thirty men and seven boys at the Wellshot Brewery. In 1882 the firm was represented again at the South Side Wine, Spirit and Beer Trade Festival, this time by A. Mitchell and John White

² Creditors have the right to appoint from amongst themselves a commissioner or commissioners to represent their interests.

(Anon, 1882). However the rising price of hops and other materials, and *"heavy calls of a private nature"* created financial difficulties for Hugh and he was obliged to sign a trust-deed which was used, or abused, by the trustee, John C. McCall, to authorise the sale of the whole of the brewery assets to his creditors (Anon, 1889a). The company then became known as Hugh Tennent & Co. and Hugh continued to work for the business until 1887 when he finally severed his connection and focused on being a wine and spirit merchant. The business then became known as the Wellshot Brewery Company.

Hugh Tennent's complicated personal life

What, then, were these heavy calls of a private nature? They were probably connected to two complications in his personal circumstances: his father's seemingly precarious financial situation, and his own love life. After William Middleton Tennent had relocated his family from Melbourne to Scotland, he then moved to Liverpool, where he set up business as a merchant with his son Hector Norman Tennent.

The firm was initially known as Tennent, Marshall and Co, then simply as Tennent and Co. (Anon, 1871), and operated from offices in Albany Buildings, Old Hall Street. We know from his father Hugh's will that this move had taken place by 1864 and that William owed him a staggering £10,959 - 5s -5d (plus interest) equivalent to around £690,000 in today's terms. It may be that Hugh had felt obliged to provide some financial assistance to his father to support the setting up of the business in Liverpool, and the drain on his finances would, in all probability, have increased when William was finally declared bankrupt in 1871 (Anon, 1871).

Linking Hugh to his father's Liverpool firm also sheds light on Hugh's marriage to Rebecca Whaley in 1884 as she was the daughter of a Liverpool leather cutter who had offices at No 80, Whitechapel. The marriage however raises a large question mark. Although still a bachelor at the time of the 1881 census three years earlier, Hugh informed the registrar that he was a widower. This may have been an attempt to normalise his long-standing relationship with Ellen (or Helen) Clarke, by whom he had several children, and to whom he readily gave the Tennent name. Ellen lived for a while at 115 Dumbarton Road, Partick then at 1 Rochdale Place,

Mount Florida, and presumably the burden of maintaining two households for many years would have further stretched Hugh's finances.

Despite these difficulties Hugh found the energy to refocus his business interests and obtained licences for premises in Great George Street, Hillhead (Anon, 1886a) and Highburgh Road, Partick (Anon, 1887). He also obtained a licence to sell wine and spirits on the site which was later developed as Tennent's Bar at 191 Byres Road, Hillhead (Gorevan, 2002). The 1891 census records him as being a wine and spirit merchant living in Winton Gardens, Ardrossan, with Rebecca and eight children, and in 1901 he was living at 155 Hyndland Road, which is very close to Tennent's Bar. He died in 1919 in Holland House, West Kilbride and is recorded as having two wives: Helen Clarke, and then Rebecca Whaley. His son George Beaconsfield Tennent then took over the running of the business (Gorevan, 2002).

Life after Hugh Tennent at the Wellshot Brewery

Back in Cambuslang the company of Hugh Tennent & Co. was one of a small number of Scottish brewers who decided to exhibit its products at the International Exhibition held in Edinburgh in 1886 (Anon, 1886b). It employed William McKean, of 16 Hayburn Crescent, Partickhill as a commercial traveller in 1887-1888, and advertised for a copperhead man and a labourer in 1889 (Anon, 1889b). In 1892 the Wellshot Brewery Company Limited was registered with a capital of £20,000 of which £16,000 was in £10 ordinary shares and £4,000 in £10 preference shares. The first subscribers were recorded as: George Jardine of Hallside, Newton (who became the chairman); C. Taylor, merchant, Markinch; A. Wilson, manager of Kirkliston Distillery; A. Hamilton, wine and spirit merchant, Glasgow; John Steuart, cashier, Cameron Bridge Distillery; William Imrie, wine and spirit merchant, Glasgow; and A. Gilchrist, wine and spirit merchant, Cambuslang (Anon, 1892). In 1896 the dividend paid was 71/2% (Anon, 1896) and in 1899 and 1900 it was 6% on preference shares and 10% on ordinary shares (Anon, 1899a; Anon, 1900).

Contemporary accounts provide some insight into the more mundane and also the more startling aspects of brewery life. An un-named servant girl was the victim of a criminal assault by one William Fleming (Anon, 1891). In 1894 (Anon, 1894a) the brewery offered a bay cob for sale, 15 hands and slightly faulty (!), and the following year advertised for a carter (Anon, 1895). Another carter, Andrew McLintock who was employed by J. & P. Cameron of Glasgow, was awarded compensation of £20 when a bag of grain fell and broke his ankle at the brewery (Anon, 1897a). Having got rid of the slightly faulty horse William McKean, the brewery manager, was no doubt pleased to win the prize for a pony not exceeding 11 hands at the Cambuslang Cattle Show (Anon, 1898a).

In 1894 the company took action against John McAuley through a petition of *Cessio*, presumably to recover debts (Anon, 1894c). The recovery of debts became a recurrent, and the most visible, theme over the years and included goods sold in Belfast to a publican called Daniel M'Donough (Anon, 1898b). William McKean, who was by this time also the company secretary, and who was made a Fellow of the Institute of Secretaries of Great Britain and Ireland in 1893 (Anon, 1893), was appointed a commissioner for a number of sequestered estates:

William O'Rourke, a bottler and aerated water manufacturer (Anon, 1894b)
John Forfar Fyfe, spirit merchant (Anon, 1897b).
Robert Watson, spirit merchant (Anon, 1898c).
David Smith, wine and spirit merchant (Anon, 1898d).
Duncan Alexander Forbes, hotel keeper (Anon, 1898e).
Duncan M'Rae, hotel keeper (Anon, 1899b).
Joseph Wardlaw, wine and spirit merchant (Anon, 1902).

By 1908 Robert Hamilton had become the company secretary and James Curror had taken on the role of brewery manager. They too were involved in pursuing debts from:

Hugh Crombie, wine and spirit merchant (Anon 1908). John Hargin, grocer and wine merchant (Anon, 1909a). Thomas Robertson, wine and spirit merchant (Anon, 1909b) James Simpson, wine and spirit merchant (Anon, 1912a).

James Naismith Findlay, another director of the company, was appointed a commissioner for the sequestered estates of:

John Perry, wine and spirit merchant (Anon, 1912b) Michael Monaghan, a wine and spirit merchant (Anon, 1913). As for many small breweries the First World War, the Temperance Movement, taxation and the general economic climate must have had an effect on the sustainability of the business. The first hint that the directors were considering its future is in 1916 when Aitken's of Falkirk considered purchasing the brewery (Gibb, 2008) but, although their bankers approved the investment, the acquisition was never followed through. Eventually a resolution to voluntarily wind up the company was recorded at an Extraordinary General meeting held under the chairmanship of James Mitchell at 105 St Vincent Street, Glasgow, on the 26th of January 1921, and confirmed at a further EGM at the brewery (which was the registered office) on the 10th of February 1921 (Anon, 1921). Robert Hamilton, the then company secretary, was appointed as the liquidator. I. & R. Tennent's visited the brewery in 1921 in order to assess whether it would be worth acquiring for the purpose of producing non-alcoholic beer but concluded that demand would have to be much higher to justify its purchase (Dean, 1995). By 1934 the brewery no longer appears on any maps and it must be assumed that it had been demolished; the County Inn was eventually built on the site in 1960.

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On the trail of black cork

Robbie Pickering investigates the mystery of a villain's tipple

On Edinburgh's Royal Mile, there is a pub called Deacon Brodie's Tavern. If you are a 19-year-old German or Spanish backpacker, you have probably been there. It is named after William Brodie, the 18th century cabinetmaker by day, robber by night, whose double life inspired Robert Louis Stevenson to write *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*.

But for his notorious trial, the beer once known as "black cork" might be altogether forgotten, for it seems that this beer was the favoured beverage of the villain and his accomplices.



The account published as "Trial of W. Brodie and G. Smith", in *The Scots Magazine* in 1788 tells us: "...they met in an upper room in Smith's house, and had some herrings, chickens, gin, and *black cork*, which last he explained to be Bell's beer..." (Anon, 1788, p.371).

Later accounts appear also to be based on this version, and black cork remains a feature of the story, such as in *The Trial of Deacon Brodie* (Roughead, 1906, p.34): "Smith, Brown, and Ainslie were sitting in an upper room beguiling the time with a light refection of herrings and chicken, washed down by draughts of gin and 'black cork', i.e. Bell's beer."

Almost two hundred years later after the original *Scots Magazine* report, Forbes Bramble can be found writing "On the bare boards of the floor stood several bottles of Bell's 'black cork', thick, black ale more intoxicating than wine" (Bramble, 1975, p.116). But this is not a contemporary source, and there is no reason to believe that Bramble hasn't just embellished the original story and made a guess at what black cork was.

Bell's beer also appears by name in fiction:

"Talking of the fiddler, have ye heard any word of him lately," inquired the Gaberlunzie.

"No," said Nanny, "ye ken I maunna be ower inquisitive. But sit ye in, there's something will suit your Scotch stamack better nor French frogs; just eat awa there, and I'll run ower the way to Bell's brewery, and get ye a pint o' black cork to synd it doun wi."

The Gaberlunzie ate heartly of the savoury dish which Nanny placed before him, and thanked his stars he was at home once more. (Ballantine, 1843, p.276)

So what was black cork? It sounds like it's a slang term for porter, doesn't it? That seems reasonable enough, as porter was at its most popular in the late 18th century, and black. And it appears significant that the beer was made by Bell's brewery, with no other being mentioned.

Could black cork have been porter? It seems the obvious answer, but contemporary sources suggest not. In an 1820 article in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* about food adulteration, widespread in England and described in great detail on the preceding pages, to which the author patriotically, if naïvely, fancies that Scottish foodstuffs are less liable, he praises the beer of Prestonpans and Edinburgh:

Uncontaminated by drugs, the porter of the Prestonpans brewery will still maintain the high reputation it has acquired; and share with Bell's ale an honourable, an extended, and a lucrative popularity. (Anon, 1820).

So one beer is described as porter, and the other as ale. This is important, as porter and ale were considered two quite distinct beverages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as different from each other as, say, ale and lager are held to be today. In London – the home of porter – ale brewing and porter brewing had developed as separate enterprises, and the great porter brewery Whitbread, for example, didn't start brewing ale as well until the 1830s.

If the Prestonpans porter and Bell's ale were both porter, wouldn't they be compared as such? In 1805 we also find Robert Forsyth, in a long passage about the state of brewing in Edinburgh, describing Bell as a brewer of ale, so again implicitly *not* porter:

From this pernicious though ingenious manufactory [distilling - RP] we willingly turn to one of a more advantageous nature, which for the welfare of the community, it were much to be wished could supersede the former; that is to say the trade of brewing ale, which has of late years been carried to great perfection in Edinburgh. Formerly a brewer, who had established his works in the southern district at the Pleasance, Mr Bell, was more celebrated than any other in Scotland for the preparation of malt liquor; but his ale had the fault of being extremely intoxicating. Mr Giles of Leith afterwards acquired great reputation for preparing ale of uncommon beauty, capable of being preserved for a long period. It is understood, however, to be chiefly acceptable to persons of a peculiar taste, on account of its bitterness, arising it is supposed from the large quantity and strong boiling of the hops used in its preparation. But the ale which has acquired the highest reputation, and is now bought up with great avidity in London and other distant markets, is that prepared by two brothers who carry on business separately, Messrs Younger. When properly managed, this ale is as transparent as Sherry, without froth or sediment, and of such a moderate degree of astringency or bitterness as to be universally acceptable. (Forsyth, 1805, pp.150-160)

Another source which treats Bell's beer and porter as different things is Hugo Arnot in his work *The history of Edinburgh: from the earliest accounts to the year 1780* (first published, as far as I can make out, in 1779, but I quote from the 1816 edition):

The Pleasance consists of one mean street; through it lies the principal road to London. There is nothing remarkable in this suburb except a large brewery, with spacious vaults, belonging to Mr Bell, where the best strong beer is made of any brewed for sale in Scotland. The quality of it is, indeed, so good, as to recommend itself to be purchased not only for home consumpt, but also for exportation. (Arnot, 1816, p.251)

The strong beer brewed in Edinburgh by Mr Bell, and its excellent quality, have already been spoke of. Porter is also brewed in Edinburgh: but it is a different liquor from London porter, and greatly inferior to it; accordingly, a considerable quantity of that liquor is annually imported from London. (Arnot, 1816, p.267)

Bell's is, we learn, strong beer, but the statement "Porter is also brewed in Edinburgh" immediately following implies that the beer previously mentioned is *not* porter.

David Loch, in his *Essays on the trade, commerce, manufactures, and fisheries of Scotland* (1778) notes the inferior quality of Edinburgh porter vis-a-vs London porter – or at least what was sold to the unwary as London porter. And he goes on to complain specifically about the willingness of the faddish Edinburgh public to accept watered-down London porter in place of the (in his view) perfectly adequate local product:

The money sent out of this country to London for Porter amounts to such a capital sum, that unless one were able to bring unquestionable proof, it would scarcely be credited. For many years past, the quantity brought annually into Leith, and the other parts of the Frith of Forth, exceeds thirty thousand pounds sterling; and it may reasonably be supposed that Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen, Inverness, and the other parts of Scotland, would consume twenty thousand pounds worth more – A pretty round sum, truly, to be paying for an article we can so well do without, or which we can manufacture ourselves. I should be glad to know how it fared with our forefathers who never tasted a drop of Porter? Good strong ale and two-penny pleased them; and at their meetings, they were as merry and chearful over it, as their descendants are now over a bottle of London Porter.-It is, besides a very expensive drink; and people in low circumstances do themselves much hurt by indulging to excess this piece of luxury, which is arrived to a pitch till lately unknown in this country. We have numberless clubs in this city, calculated for no other purpose than that of guzzling down so many bottles of London Porter as amount to the quota they are resolved to spend; while, perhaps, their wives and children at home are in want of many things absolutely necessary for their maintenance and support.

I am far from meaning that friendly, social meetings of companions should be abolished or given up. After the toils of the day, a little indulgence of that kind is very pardonable; but I wish my countrymen would study their own interest, as well as that of the place of their nativity, even in their convivial as well as serious moments, by drinking only Scots malt liquors.

I have already acknowledged that we cannot, or at least do not, for reasons before accounted for, brew Porter so well here as they do in London; but I dare venture to say, there are many persons who make such Porter as might please any English palate; and a dose of patriotism mixed with it will make it also agreeable to the Scots. Out of a great number of eminent Porter brewers, I shall beg leave to mention the following:— Mr George Miller, St Ann's yards; Mr James Hotchkiss, Grass-market; Mr Archibald Campbell, Cowgate; Messrs Gardener and Co, Goosedub; the Industrious Company, Edinburgh; and Messrs Cundell and Son, and Mr Matthew Comb at Leith.

I have formerly hinted, that the Porter drunk in our taverns and public-houses is not genuine London Porter, but adulterated with small beer. — This fact has been declared by Londoners themselves, and others well acquainted with its true taste. In short, there is hardly a tavern or public house in Edinburgh or Leith, where London Porter, as they call it, is kept, but at least one third of the bottle is small beer, though you pay fourpence and sixpence a bottle for this precious stuff.

... Whereas, good Scots Porter, without any adulteration, can be had at threepence a bottle, and excellent strong ale at the same price, at any public house in the town, both of which are better worth the money than the mixed trash drunk by hundreds of dozens in a day, in and about this metropolis. (Loch, 1778, pp.204-207).

Following his argument that Scottish brewers, blessed with lower malt duty and cheaper coal, should be able to compete easily with imported English beer, were it not for the fashion for London Porter, he concludes:

...we may be supplied with as good wholesome drink at home and at a cheaper rate than any we can import from England.

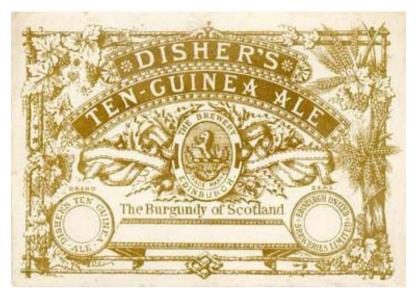
I could particularise many instances to prove the truth of this assertion, from Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Leith and other places; but I shall confine myself to one at present; and that is, Mr Hugh Bell of this city. This gentleman occupies a most extensive brewery, and, without partiality to the manufactures of my own country, I may safely aver, that no brewer in Great Britain furnishes better malt liquors of the different kinds and prices than he does. His strong beer, or ale, known by the name of Bell's Beer, is famed both at home and abroad. His small beer, too, is of an excellent quality, and, if properly managed, will keep twelve months, being but little inferior to that which is drunk here in public houses under the appellation of London Porter. Private families may be supplied with it, being good, wholesome drink, at a little more than a penny a bottle. Mr Bell has not yet attempted to brew Porter, his demands for different sorts of ale being very considerable. (Loch, 1778, p.210).

This seems quite clear. Loch lists a number of porter brewers, and explicitly mentions Hugh Bell as a brewer who does *not* make porter. If we were still to assume that black cork was porter, we would have to assume that Bell began brewing it at some point in the subsequent ten years and that Brodie and his chums began drinking it. Not an entirely impossible scenario, but probably less likely than black cork being Bell's already famous strong ale.

There is a short article by Charles McMaster in the *Scottish Brewing Archive Newsletter* #17 which traces the most salient points in the history of Bell's brewery, but doesn't tell us an awful lot about the beer, except that it was a strong Scotch ale. McMaster describes Scotch ale as strong and dark; certainly dark beers produced as Scotch Ale in the 20th century for the Belgian market were that colour, but brewing authors of the 19th century such as Roberts and Booth both describe Scotch ale as exquisitely pale. Still, neither knowledge tells us for sure what colour it had been in the 1700s.

McMaster does tell us that the secret of brewing black cork died with its last brewer, Robert Keir, in 1837. I wonder how secret a beer recipe can really be, but it seems to have been accepted that the secret, whatever it was, was lost. It seems strange that a beer evidently well-known over a period of sixty years should just disappear, but there you go.

Sadly there are no records of the Bell's brewery in the archives. The trail begins with Edinburgh United Breweries, which was founded to purchase Bell's, Disher's and some others in the late nineteenth century. But black cork was long since gone by then.



There are therefore no real successors to black cork in modern times. However, in 1933, shortly before EUB went into administration, they were brewing 54/- ale at an original gravity of 1.030, 60/- at 1.036 (though some brews of this went as high as 1.042) and 210/- at 1.090. This last ale was presumably, judging by the name and gravity, the descendant of Disher's

Ten Guinea Ale which was praised (albeit in its own advertisements) in the 19th century as "the burgundy of Scotland".

It had already fallen in gravity from 1.103 in 1928, so heaven knows how strong it had been in the 1800s. The beer survived until at least 1957 when Jeffrey's were still brewing it under the name of Disher's Extra Strong Ale at an original gravity of 1.088.

The final ABV was 9.4% and a half-pint bottle sold for two shillings and eightpence. Perhaps that is, although not direct kin of black cork, the nearest known relation.



More recently new developments have disturbed the ghosts. Knops Beer Company revived the name of black cork in 2011 for its porter, and in 2012 Barney's Beer is set to begin making beer again on the site of another of the breweries that EUB was formed to absorb: Summerhall Brewery near the Meadows closed in the early 20th century and the site spent the intervening decades as the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College.



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