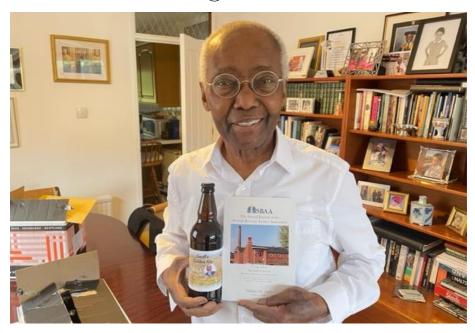


The Annual Journal of the Scottish Brewing Archive Association



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Sir Geoff Palmer, 1940–2025

John Martin remembers Scottish Brewing Archive founder

Also: Mysterious Tennent's bottle / Gothenburg pubs in Fife / Devanha Brewery / Home brewsters / Old Engine Oil / Edinburgh Society of Brewers / Aitken's of Falkirk

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Back issues

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Figure 1: Sir Geoff in his garden at home.

Professor Emeritus Sir Godfrey (Geoff) Palmer KT OBE John Martin

WITH THE passing of Sir Geoff Palmer earlier this year, it is fitting to remind ourselves of our memories of him. Geoff played a significant role in the establishment of the Scottish Brewing Archive and made contributions to the brewing and distilling industries as well as to society.

Geoff was born in Jamaica and migrated to London in 1955 when 14 years old. After school, his first job was as a Junior Laboratory Technician at Queen Elizabeth College. He gained further qualifications and enrolled at the University of Leicester in 1961 to study Botany. After graduating with an Honours Degree, he came to Edinburgh to pursue a PhD in Grain Science and Technology at both Heriot-Watt College and the University of Edinburgh.

After completing his doctorate in 1967, Geoff worked at the Brewing Research Foundation for nine years where he developed the industrial process of barley abrasion. This removes the outer layer of the barley grain, speeding up germination, which leads to faster and more efficient malt production. He also pioneered the use of the scanning electron microscope to study cereal grains.

In 1977 he returned to Heriot-Watt University as a lecturer and gained a DSc degree for his research work in 1985. He also secured industry funding to establish the International Centre for Brewing and Distilling (ICBD) which continues to this

day. In 1989 he became the first black professor in Scotland and continued to teach at Heriot-Watt University until he retired in 2005.



Figure 2: At one time Professor Palmer was assisting Scottish & Newcastle Breweries on malt matters to such an extent that they named a pub after him on Lothian Road, (today called the Shakespeare), one of the oldest pubs in Edinburgh dating back to 1799. It stands adjacent to the Usher Hall.

The following are just a few SBAA memories of Geoff. Although known as Geoff his given name was Godfrey.

This is an extract from an article written by Geoff in the 2014 SBAA Journal.¹ In 1980 Geoff had been invited to lunch by Peter Balfour, the Chairman of Scottish & Newcastle Breweries, at Abbey Brewery, their head office. Following lunch, Geoff was given permission to examine documentation that was being binned by S&N:

After lunch I climbed into the skip and noted that there were letters from Horace Brown (the revered brewing scientist after whom the Horace Brown Medal award is based), Henry Younger and a letter from Louis Pasteur (now in the possession of the Heineken company) to Mrs Younger, thanking her for her hospitality. I visited the storeroom in the brewery and found a large number of files, brewing artefacts and letters.

This collection of 'material' became the original contents of the brewing archive at Heriot-Watt and donations of similar materials from other Scottish breweries followed. These early donations led to the formation of the Scottish Brewing Archive.

¹ Geoff Palmer: "The Scottish Brewing Archive – how it all began", *Journal of the Scottish Brewing Archive Association* (2014)

This author attended one of the never to be forgotten brewing courses held at Durham University in the early 1990s where many of the brewing companies of that era were represented. There would be about 60 delegates attending. The course lasted all week, with lectures in the mornings, visits to pubs re cellarmanship and brewery tours in the afternoons.

There was one lecture I will never forget that was delivered by (then) Professor Geoff Palmer from Heriot-Watt University. The lecture was titled 'Malt is the Soul of Beer' and Professor Palmer started his talk with a photo of a giraffe in a field of barley and then invited comments.



There was total silence to begin with, and Professor Palmer helped things along by asking, "what do you see?" The image of a giraffe was superimposed in a field of barley with the Pentland Hills in the background and was shown to begin with to ensure he had our full attention. It certainly did that.

The following are two extracts from the lecture I attended, given by Geoff Palmer, 'Malt is the Soul of Beer':

The importance of malt as the most expensive raw material used in brewing or distilling is reflected in the difficulties encountered in persuading the Scots that they should start paying a malt tax after the Union of the Parliaments. In 1695 the Scottish parliament tried to impose such a tax, but it was rejected by the Scottish people. Indeed, the Union of the Parliaments was almost wrecked by the resistance of the Scots to a malt tax that up to 1713 was only paid in England and Wales. However, despite a riot in Glasgow, the malt tax was finally imposed on Scotland in 1725.

Finally, malt is indeed the soul of beer, because it not only provides a unique flavour and characteristic foam, it also releases the nutrients that induce yeast to grow and produce alcohol and other flavour compounds that make beer the most distinguished and popular low alcohol beverage in the world.



Figure 3: The SBAA were pleased that we brewed a beer in honour of Sir Geoff.

The following memory of Sir Geoff is provided by Fergus Clark:

I first encountered Geoff around 1985 in my second year at Heriot Watt University as an undergraduate on the brewing course. Brewing studies in earnest would start the following year but I recall Geoff arranging a tour of Lorimer & Clark's Caledonian Brewery for second year students, which was typical of his inclusive and thoughtful nature, and I still recall that visit with much fondness. The following year I was to experience Doctor (as he was then) Geoff Palmer in his role as a lecturer in brewing science although, strangely enough, I never felt lectured at, rather Geoff had this wonderful way of diving off into an amusing anecdote and by the end of it, with his signature friendly and warm chuckle, you had magically learnt some important aspect of the malting process or some other brewing theory. It was as if this learning happened by osmosis without you realising it. Like myself and many other students before and after me I'm certain that Geoff was instrumental in 'putting in a good word' with potential employers and for that I'm ever grateful as it set me on a thoroughly enjoyable time within the industry that he really cared for.



Figure 4: Sir Geoff receives the Order of the Thistle.

To mark his achievements, Geoff was rewarded with many honours during his life, as follows:

- **1989** Became the first black professor in Scotland
- 1998 Honoured with the American Society of Brewing Chemists Award of Distinction
- **2003** Awarded the OBE (Order of the British Empire)
- 2014 Knighted for his scientific research, charity and human rights work
- 2018 Appointed Jamaica's first Honorary Consul in Scotland
- **2020** Received the Jamaican national honour, the Order of Distinction (Commander Class)
- 2021 Received the Diversity and Inclusion award from Leicester University
- **2021** Appointed as Chancellor of Heriot-Watt University
- 2021 Received the Pride of Scotland's Lifetime Achievement Award
- 2022 Appointed as an Honorary Keeper of the Quaich by the distilling industry
- **2022** Received the Edinburgh award presented to those whose achievements have made an outstanding contribution to the Capital.
- **2024** Received Scotland's highest order of chivalry, the Order of the Thistle at St. Giles' Cathedral

Thank you, Geoff. Rest in peace.

Rachel Kulp

C AMPERVAN BREWERY in Leith recently released a limited run of the Schwarzbier [a German black lager style], "Brunswick Black". It is an excellent beer that is smooth, malty, and a little sweet. This beer is particularly exceptional because it was brewed in collaboration with UK homebrewing champion Laura Braid.

Braid is an accomplished home brewer, with her Schwarzbier placing first in the Euro Amber & Dark category in the 2024 UK National Homebrew Competition. In 2025, she followed up by winning Champion Brewer at the 2025 National UK Homebrew Competition. Braid triumphed over 193 other brewers with her Scottish Export and Kentucky Common ales. 2

Despite Braid's accomplishments and the accomplishments of many other Scottish female brewers, there is still a staggering misconception in the world of Scottish brewing: "Women don't like beer." This assumption is perpetuated by the dearth of other female winners in the UK National Homebrew Competition. As a young woman, interested in all aspects of brewing, I find many surprised at my curiosity. Despite the number of accomplished modern and historical female brewers, many are still convinced that women are absent from the brewing world.

This article does not argue that Scottish brewing is free from misogyny. Gendered disparities are pervasive in brewing. However, I hope to demonstrate that women are and have always been enthusiastic beer drinkers, tap pullers, brewers, and beer lovers.

Women have always been brewers in Scotland. There is ample evidence of women's contributions to the early beer industry. Judith M. Bennett's accomplished work *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World 1300–1600*, is dedicated to the subject. Bennett discusses the "dynamic interplay between domestic brewing and commercial brewing," and the complicated world of "the early fourteenth century, [when] women dominating brewing." ³

At this time, female brewers were called brewsters. These early roots are fascinating, and they reveal how intimately involved women have always been in the making of beer

However interesting it is that women brewed in medieval Scotland, it does not explain why and how the modern misconception exists. This article expands on this process of the erasure of women from beer, as well as highlighting some women in Scotland who are making a gendered difference.

¹ "UK National Homebrew Competition: Past Winners". https://www.nationalhomebrewcompetition.org.uk/past-winners/2024

² "UK National Homebrew Competition". www.nationalhomebrewcompetition.org.uk/#6

³ Bennett, pp. 18-24.



Figure 1: Me, enjoying an Oktoberfest celebration in Leith!



Figure 2: Left, our first attempt at making our own mash, and right, the result – a grapefruit honey ale.



Figure 3: The bottling process of our second ale, a Black IPA!

Bennett's book focuses on this in her chapter "These Things Must Be If We Sell Ale," in the subsections "Social Meanings" and "Misogyny and Brewsters." Here, Bennett discusses that many negative depictions of brewing did not depict all brewers, but only female brewsters. From the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries, as chronicled by Bennett, there was specific legislation aimed at "discourag[ing] female brewing and encourage male brewing" in England.⁴

In Noëlle Phillips' recent book, *Craft Beer Culture and Modern Medievalism: Brewing Dissent*, she writes that "intentional forgetting and rewriting the feminine history of beer is, in part, a consequence of beer's changing status as an economic commodity." Women have been erased from the history of brewing due to their early success.

In modern Scotland, there are many incredibly successful female-run breweries. One of the most famous Scottish breweries, Fyne Ales was founded by Tuggy Delap and her husband Jonny in 2001. Delap has been running Fyne Ales since her husband's passing. It is easy to find Fyne's most famous ale, Jarl, at taps around Scotland.⁵

Another husband-and-wife duo, Jo and Steve Stewart, have made Stewart Brewing a household name throughout Scotland.⁶ Beyond brewery founders, there are women like Amy Cockburn, who is the head brewer at Harviestoun Brewery. Cockburn and her team at Harviestoun have been winning international brewing awards for years.⁷

Jo and Steve Stewart got their start in home brewing. However, beyond the Stewarts and Laura Braid, there seem to be relatively few women engaged in non-commercial

⁴ Bennett, pp. 135-144.

⁵ www.fyneales.com/farm-brewery/team/

⁶ www.stewartbrewing.co.uk/pages/about-us

 $^{^7}$ foodanddrink.scot/our-industry/news/scotlands-all-female-brew-team-celebrate-gold-atworld-beer-awards/

brewing. Women in Scotland have been and are phenomenal commercial brewers. However, the casual misogyny that exists in the brewing community mean that many women do not see brewing as a viable hobby.

There are few statistics available on gendered disparities in home brewers in Scotland. However, as a young, female, home brewer, myself, I can speak from personal experience. When I tell people that I like to make beer, invariably the first response is "why?" There is stigma attached to making any sort of alcoholic beverage at home, but most people are more surprised at my age and my gender. Many ask me why I don't make wine or gin. When I tell people that my Dad and I got into the hobby together, the questions of my interest cease. It often feels as if people believe that I couldn't have gotten into the hobby on my own.

It is worse when I talk about my proud membership in the SBAA. That I could be interested in the history of brewing and the modern brewing industry, enough to pursue it in my free time, is always a shock. The accomplished women I have mentioned above have thundered their way into the brewing scene, making space for many more to follow them into commercial brewing. However, there won't be more women in beer unless women feel accepted in hobbyist spaces.

I call myself a "home brewster". Last summer, my father and I began to make a limited number of Grapefruit Honey Ales. We slaved over making mash, waited a few weeks, bottled them with recycled bottles collected over many months, and distributed our ale to our family and friends. It was especially rewarding to feel as if I was engaging in a centuries-old tradition of making ales to share with my loved ones.

I cannot place enough significance on the role of hobbyist communities that uplift women who do not wish to pursue brewing as a career. A critical one, based in Edinburgh is Women in Beer. This group describes itself as "a community" that "meet up in local pubs, attend events and festivals, visit breweries and learn from women in the brewing industry." Another is the SBAA, who have always made me feel welcome at conferences, meetings, and special events. These organisations are influential and important, yet they cannot make a difference on their own. I call myself a home brewster as a way to remind myself and others of how women belong, and have always belonged, in brewing.

Bibliography

- [1] Judith M. Bennett: Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World 1300–1600, 1996.
- [2] Noëlle Phillips: Craft Beer Culture and Modern Medievalism: Brewing Dissent, Amsterdam University Press, 2020.

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⁸ www.womeninbeer.co.uk

The Old Engine Oil and Ola Dubh story

Stuart Cail

 ${f I}$ joined harviestoun Brewery in 1997, some 14 years after it was founded by Ken Brooker in the grounds of an old farm in Dollar.

I began my brewing experience at Harp Lager in Manchester (1981) and then Moray Firth Malting in Arbroath (1983). These were both industrial placements as part of my first degree. After a spell studying at Heriot-Watt with Geoff Palmer as my supervisor I was ready for the modern brewing world! This was quickly confirmed in the form of a baptism of fire at Vaux Breweries in Sunderland, which showed that youth is not so much wasted on the young as simply there to provide a much needed coping mechanism.

After seven very useful years of learning and experience at Vaux I had brief spells at Butcombe and Daleside breweries before heading back to Scotland and settling at Harviestoun. Initially I worked part time whilst also looking after two young boys as a stay-at-home Dad. This meant I would work strange hours – usually arriving as everyone else was leaving and leaving before they arrived!

Once at Harviestoun I quickly settled in to the ups and downs of working for small independent brewers. Funds are always tight but the freedom to just get things done and move ideas from ideas to production within hours or days rather than weeks and months was very refreshing.

During this period Harviestoun had much success winning many awards for their two main brands Bitter & Twisted and Schiehallion. At this point we decided it would be good to start bottling some of the beers, as up to this point everything was in cask. To this end we entered the first winter Tesco Beer Challenge in 2000. All we needed now was a new beer to enter!

The new product development department at Harviestoun at this time consisted of a very good home brewer, Ian, with two sheds. One for the brewhouse and one for tasting. Ken, Ian and I would have various discussions in the tasting shed for some very happy evenings. These would in turn lead to some tweaks and so the cycle would continue. Out of this came a dark winter beer we called Old Engine Oil in homage to Ken's former life at Ford Motor Company.

We submitted the beer after some very Heath Robinson bottling methods – and it won! The only problem now was – how on earth do we scale this up?

Old Engine Oil is a 6.0% ABV beer brewed with malted barley, roast barley and, at that time, malted oats (later, we used pinhead oats). The oats were there to add mouthfeel and smooth out the slight astringency from the high roast barley content. Hop varieties were Galena, East Kent Goldings and Fuggles.

The mash temperature is high to reduce fermentability and leave a residual sweetness to balance the relatively high bitterness. The grist level is high and the extract low,



Figure 1: Labels old and new.

and we had to produce 60 barrels from a six-barrel kit. Quickly realising this was not going to work, we turned to Muntons [maltsters] and they managed to produce an excellent malt extract for us.

However, getting this very viscous liquid malt extract – almost solid given the winter temperature and with no heat in the building – into the copper was not easy. The extract came in a one-tonne IBC¹ and had space for about 100 litres of hot water on top of it. This would then be laboriously mixed by me and a purpose-made stainless steel paddle, until it eventually became suitable for pumping. On one particular day I managed to perfectly demonstrate how not to use a monopump. It was a freezing day and the mixing process took forever. In a rush I then made the classic error of starting the pump with the valve to the copper closed. By the time I spotted it, the race to open the valve before physics took over was already lost.

Aside from such minor teething problems, we managed to get the beer into bottle and the rest is history.

The beer sold well and after a while our American importer emailed to ask if we could do a wood-aged version. So we sourced a couple of Dalmore whisky casks and brewed the beer at a higher gravity (10-11%) to reduce any chance of infection, and aged it in the casks for a few months. The beer was then liquored back to 8% ABV before bottling, as we thought an 11% ABV wood-aged beer might be a hard sell! The resulting beer was called Old Engine Oil Special Reserve and was well received. However, at this point in time such beers were not generally known, especially in Scotland and the UK, so we did not really pursue it.

Then with the passing of time came a changing market and a new brewery. In 2004 Harviestoun moved to new purpose built premises in Alva with a 60-barrel brew length. The kit was actually built for St Austell Brewery in Cornwall as a test plant (indeed!) but never really used, so we got ourselves a bargain. This also meant we could now mash the Old Engine Oil ourselves and so started to think again about wood aged beers.

After talking once more with our American importer we decided to take things up a gear and contacted Highland Park distillery. They had just been voted best distiller of the year and Harviestoun had just been voted best brewer of the year so we thought this would be a great match. At first they were a little concerned about a beer being able to carry their character and flavours. However, we convinced them that Old Engine Oil was up to the test and so the project was born. We also needed a name and settled on Ola Dubh which is Gaelic for Black Oil, in a nod to the beer's roots.

The first barrels to arrive from Highland Park were the 12 year old vintage and so began a quick learning curve in handling and storing whisky barrels on a larger scale. Do we store them inside or outside? Outside had the main advantage in that there

¹ Intermediate bulk container, a large plastic tank.



Figure 2: Stuart Cail with Ola Dubh bottle and, right, with US importer Mathias.

was more space – but we also liked the idea that the changing temperature would move the beer in and out of the wood and so extract more of the flavours.

The beer was brewed again at around 11% ABV and would be cut back to 8% ABV at bottling. The actual brewing of the beer for Ola Dubh was quite a challenge. The amount of grist means that the mash tuns are both filled to the brim – and beyond in the first brews! The mash temperature is around 71–72°C, the books are not always right... and the run off can be at a glacial rate. The resulting impact on the copper and the plates was a bit of a nightmare and is why I would sometimes translate Ola Dubh as All I Do! It really was a labour of love – though some days that is not the word that came to mind.

Next we had to ferment the beer which generally went fine, though the beer at this stage had fantastic head retention and lifted the lid on the fermenting vessel putting a great head on the FV room the following morning.

For the racking we had longer racking fill heads made and so began another Heath Robinson production line. The aroma coming from the barrels at this stage always drew a crowd from whoever was in or passing the brewhouse. The filled barrels were racked at the side of the building and the waiting began. After taste testing over a then undecided period, we decided on six months in the wood as a peak and this became our minimum standard. In the meantime our American importer came over to the brewery to taste the beer, and after tasting simply said "I'll take it all" – our 'man from Del Monte' moment!

The barrels were then taken to Williams Bros for decanting and bottling. I'm not sure they knew what they were letting themselves in for but thanks Scott! Nothing had been spared on any part of producing Ola Dubh, so there was no question but to make it look good on the shelf. This meant that a lot of the labelling applications such as foils and neck labels had to be done by hand. To this end I am eternally grateful to everyone that was involved in this process.

As time went by interest in Ola Dubh grew and people wanted to try it – however at this point it was still only available in America, so when the next batch became available, it was already mostly pre-sold. At this point more vintage casks became available from Highland Park and so we finally had a range of 12, 16, 18, 30 and 40 year old vintages. The great thing was that each batch made is very different, which reflects the variations of the brewer and the distiller, and so reflects everyone involved – though I remember thinking, when the 1968 marked barrels arrived for the 40 year old version of Ola Dubh, "I was only six when they were filled".

But I also remember those two sheds where this all came from. Happy days.

James Aitken & Co (Falkirk) Ltd: a short history

Graham Malkiewicz

THIS STORY STARTS in 1740 when John Aitken founded the brewery in Falkirk. Its location was between the High Street and what is now Newmarket Street. In fact the brewery – while it did move (only a very short distance) – stayed in this area for its life of over 225 years.

At the time of building the original brewery there was no water supply and while some accounts suggest it was carted in from Linlithgow which is approximately seven miles away, it is thought that it was a far shorter distance of just over a mile, a laborious task in the 1740s. Therefore, the brewery was of modest size for the time – though it is said it was big enough to keep the Jacobite fighters "happy" after the Battle of Falkirk in 1746 for several days without doing too much damage to Falkirk.

When the founder John Aitken died, his son – also John – took over the family business and in 1797 more land was purchased and would be the time when the land for the larger brewery was purchased.

It was in the 1800s when Aitken's moved from being a small regional brewer to one with a significant export market as the business grew in size and sophistication. In 1821 John Aitken Jr died and his son James Aitken inherited the brewery, and around 1823 James and his brother Laughlan created a partnership to manage the brewery.

It was also in the late 1820s and 1830s that the Aitkens became prominent in public life: James Aitken initially becoming a representative of the brewers on the Stentmasters, then becoming a Baillie, and in 1836 he became the second provost of Falkirk – though he did retire from this post in 1839 due to pressure of work.

In 1830 Aitken's took out the patent for a carbonic acid (carbon dioxide) gas plant that was used for the preservation of beer in bottles. It was partly this innovation that helped Aitken's to expand in Scotland and into England, as well as to enter the export markets of the empire, notably India and Australia.

This dedication to quality comes up in later years of the 19th century, when Alfred Barnard in his book *Noted Breweries of Great Britain and Ireland* volume II, published in 1889, notes the following:

It has long been the custom for popular brewers to issue to bottlers so many labels with each order of beer. These merchants put the liquor into the bottles, stick on the labels, and wire down the corks. This method of doing business is at the best unsatisfactory, and the public have not only to put up with short measure, but have to risk the possible tampering with the beer. Some years ago the eyes of a few eminent brewers were opened to the necessity of a reform in this matter, and among the first to do so were the firm whose brewery is under notice. The beer is bottled exactly



Figure 1: The brewery yard in the 1960s. ©John Hume 2016.



Figure 2: Position of the brewery in 1880 and satellite photograph of location (now Asda superstore). ©National Library of Scotland.



Figure 3: This picture shows the Mains Maltings in the 1960s. $\ \odot$ John Hume 2016.

as it comes form the cask store below, no bottles but new ones are used – which, although they are delivered direct from the manufactory, are all subjected to a washing and rinsing process, the water being repeatedly changed to ensure perfect purity.

It was partly this dedication to quality that led to Aitken's beers winning awards in Sydney 1879, Melbourne 1880 and Calcutta 1884. It was from 1850 onwards when Aitkens moved into a period of expansion starting with the purchase of the Mains Distillery in Linlithgow in 1855. It was then converted to a maltings and was increased in size in 1879. This maltings was in a good location with a water supply close to the barley growing West Lothian, and having a railway siding so that malt could easily be transported to Falkirk. From 1866 to 1878 the brewery was also expanded, with it being completely rebuilt in 1898–1900.

Aitken's enjoyed a very good reputation as a brewer whose beer exported well, and it is said that Aitken's taught the Australians how to brew beer, as one Thomas Aitken founded the Victoria Parade Brewery in Melbourne.

Towards the end of the 19th century Aitken's export markets started to decline (mainly due to beer being successfully brewed in Australia and a 25% import duty on all imported beers) but the home market increased substantially – hence the need to continually expand the brewery in the 1860s and 70s and then a complete rebuild at the end of the 19th century.

Water supply was only briefly mentioned at the start of this article. As the brewery got larger it needed a good supply of water. While it was initially carted in from streams a mile or so away, the problem was that this part of Falkirk, although having a good coal seam underground, was topped with virgin sand to a great depth, therefore making it difficult to build a well in the late 1700s and early 1800s. Therefore, water was then piped in from an old colliery on the Bantaskine Estate. This was done via a four-inch pipe that went under the Union Canal; this water was also used for the public water supply. However, in 1861 this supply was contaminated, and while it was sorted in a reasonable amount of time, this was maybe why in 1864 Aitken bored a well. However there was a fatal accident in building this well as the subsoil was described as "like quicksand" and there was a collapse at the base of the well while men were trying to line it with bricks. Further wells were dug in the early 1900s, so Aitken's used both artesian water and public water.

Aitken both expanded through organic growth but also via acquisition in the 1900s with them leasing Thomas Ireland's North Port Brewery in Brechin in 1910. This was taken on as a possible brewery to brew light (temperance) beers as the temperance movement was gaining traction at the time. The lease was £55 per annum and payments of £150 and £570 made to improve it in 1910 and 1911. In 1913 it was

¹ Details of the incident can be found in the Stirling Observer, 25 August 1864.



Figure 4: Harry Lauder's buying you a drink! American advertisement for "Good Old Scotch Brew", around 1922.

sold via a loan from Aitken's, but this loan was called in in 1914 due to poor results and unpaid bills and the brewery was closed.

A further acquisition was George Storey & Co's Rothbury brewery, and Aitken's took out a five-year lease at £40 per annum, as well as paying £640 for stock and plant. It was then fully acquired in 1912 for a further £1,000. However by 1922 the results were very poor, and the decision was taken to wind the business up. Part of the reason for poor performance was found out in 1926 when the former manager was found to have embezzled £625.

In 1916 one of the most unusual investments made was a £50 fee to Cecil Clay for a process for the production of a non-alcoholic beer. This process was licensed to S. Leibmann Sons Inc. of New York for the brewing of a Good Old Scotch Ale as advertised by Sir Harry Lauder (figure 4.)

If you look hard enough it dates back to 1740 (year of Aitken's founding). This beer was less than 0.5%. Prohibition in the US started in 1920 and this advert is believed to be from 1922.

In 1907 James Heugh Aitken took a personal minority (£8,000) interest in the Newcastle firm of Duncan & Dalglish (sometimes written as Daglish) with the majority interest being held by Bass, Ratcliff and Gretton Ltd of Burton on Trent of £30,000.

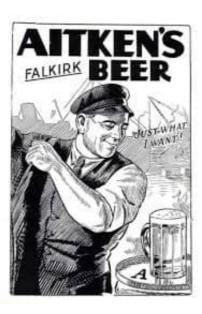


Figure 5: Advertisement for Aitken's Falkirk Beer, no date.



Figure 6: Aitken's branded ashtray, and label for 90/- ale.



Figure 7: The Aitken's crest on the old brewery buildings.

This company owned both a brewery and at least 30 tied pubs. James was appointed chairman of this venture with all Duncan & Dalglish's Scotch Ale being supplied by Aitken's.

The last major acquisition was of T Y Paterson and the Pentland Brewery in Craigmillar, Edinburgh in 1936, but this brewery was quickly shut in 1937, as it was the outlets that were the prize.

Aitken's main beers for the 20th century were Pale Ales, mainly 60/- 70/- and 90/- as well as a product called Export Ale and as the advert (figure 5) shows a Falkirk Ale.

While Aitken's managed well in the 20s and 30s, there were changes after the death of James Heugh Aitken who had run the brewery since 1898 and who had guided it through changes and expansion. The business fell out of family control as he left no sons. As was the way in the 30s, his daughters did not inherit the business, which came under management by professional managers and board.

While the brewery had its ups and downs in the 30s, it survived the war years. The only significant change was, following government concern in 1943 about the use of fuel to distribute beer, that there were agreements between brewers McLennan & Urquhart Ltd (Dalkeith); Campbell, Hope & King Ltd (Edinburgh); and Robert Younger Ltd (Edinburgh) to let Aitken's Edinburgh customers be supplied by the Dalkeith and Edinburgh brewers, with those brewers' customers in Falkirk being supplied by Aitken's.

In the 1950s Aitkens added a canning line to the site to capture some of this market in itself that was beginning to take over from the bottled beers. However, in the



Figure 8: Remaining brewery office buildings in Falkirk. Photo by author.

50s there was an excess of capacity in the brewing industry in the UK, not alone in Scotland, and in 1960 Aitkens were acquired by Northern Breweries' Scottish arm United Caledonian Breweries. Northern Breweries merged with Charrington's in 1962 to form Charrington United Breweries (CUB) which acquired J & R Tennent Ltd to form a Scottish division called Tennent Caledonian Breweries (TCB). CUB in turn merged with Bass in 1967 to form Bass Charrington.

Part of the plan of TCB was to increase the size of Wellpark Brewery to shut other breweries in Scotland, and in 1966 the Falkirk brewery was shut. In 1970 the site was sold to Falkirk Town Council for £141,000 and this was subsequently sold to Asda who owns it to this day.

What would have happened to Aitken's if it had remained within direct control of the Aitken family we will never know. There are few visible reminders of Aitken's now in Falkirk, with the most tangible being the office building on the corner of Newmarket Street and Lint Riggs as per the photographs in figures 7 and 8.

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The Gothenburg pubs of Fife

John Reade



Figure 1: A welcoming pint after a hard day's graft at the coal face in one of the Fife Goths, 1912.

The Gothenburg pubs, commonly referred to as "Goths", were named after the Swedish city of Gothenburg, where in the 1860s, in an attempt to curb and reduce the extensive drinking of spirits, control of all licences became vested in publicly-owned companies and trusts for them to administer for the public good. The concept of a fixed rate of return on the company shares was introduced, with surplus profits over and above that rate to be used to provide community facilities such as libraries, parks etc.

In Britain, the Gothenburg system came to the attention of public house reformers and to the more moderate proponents of the temperance movement. As the existing British licensing laws of the time didn't allow the setting up of public house trusts, new legislation was required, culminating in the Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1893.

The Gothenburg system and Industrial and Provident Societies Act 1893

Prior to the 1893 Act, the all-powerful coal companies opposed the granting of public house licences as a way of controlling heavy drinking by miners, therefore reducing accidents and loss of man hours. Fife's relatively isolated mining communities were owned and controlled in their entirety by the mining companies.

Previously, the coal companies, as incorporated bodies, could not hold licences themselves. The 1893 Act enabled them to do so and the Gothenburg system would provide an attractive way of controlling excess drinking and also allow surplus profits to provide community facilities that, arguably, should have otherwise been provided by the coal companies. No surprise then that it became an attractive proposition for the coal companies themselves, as it would also provide them with an opportunity for even greater control over their workforce – by either having company representatives on the management committees that held the licences, or the company applying for and holding the licence themselves!

The main, some may say idealistic, aim of the temperance movement, in supporting the Gothenburg system was to achieve a reduction in alcoholic consumption and drunkenness, by the creation of facilities for alternative leisure provision and pursuits that ideally didn't serve alcohol.

In 1901, Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell published their major study into public house trusts "British 'Gothenburg' Experiments and Public-House Trusts". They reviewed existing "Goth" initiatives throughout Britain, two of which were at Hill of Beath and Kelty in Fife. The main thrust of the document was to make the case for the temperance movement and review existing "Goth" initiatives. The document sets out some basic principles and conditions of success that would be required to achieve this temperance vision, namely: the elimination of private profit from the sale of drink; public control by law on how any trusts operate including the method of distribution of surplus profits; the need for a monopoly of all "on" and "off" licences in any area where Goth pubs are established; and the need for each Society to work towards a distinct temperance end-point with commercial considerations being strictly subordinate to the temperance objectives.

The Hill of Beath Gothenburg Pub

In 1896 the first "Goth" pub in Scotland opened at Hill of Beath (no. 12 on map in figure 3). The pub had been built a couple of years earlier, just outside the village, not by the Fife Coal Company but by the Addison family who already owned pubs in nearby Crossgates and Kelty and hence the building was outwith the ownership of the Fife Coal Company. The village population of 1,300 had doubled over the previous decade and there was no pub in the village. Robert Addison built his pub in

anticipation of obtaining a licence, intending to name it "Addison's Spirit Vaults." He twice unsuccessfully applied for a licence which was both times opposed by Fife Coal Company, with the pub being nicknamed locally as "Addison's White Elephant".

Fife Coal Company then applied for, and obtained, the licence on the basis that it would run the pub as a Goth with only 4% of their outlay in acquiring the pub being retained and the remainder of any profits to be used for the benefit of the village. Robert Addison, realising he had little chance of obtaining a licence, then agreed to sell his premises and fittings to the Fife Coal Company for £1,500. The management committee totalled five trustees, three of whom were officials from Fife Coal Company and two being elected by the miners. In December 1899, The Hill of Beath Tavern Society Ltd was formed. Part of the capital was subscribed by the miners, with Fife Coal Company selling the property for £1,200 plus £300 cash reserves deposited in the bank.



Figure 2: The Hill of Beath Goth - the "White Elephant".

Fife's thirty-three Gothenburg pubs

The establishment of the Hill of Beath Goth was followed very shortly by the opening of Goths in Kelty and Cowdenbeath. During the period 1896–1930 a total of 33 Goth pubs were opened throughout Fife. Most, but not all, were opened in the established coal mining areas, driven by the demand for coal to fuel the industrial revolution.

In the mid-19th century most of these collieries were in relatively small settlements but by the end of the century many had grown into small towns. At its peak Fife had over 60 collieries. Table 1, and the accompanying map in figure 3, gives details of the location of each of Fife's "Goths" – all were opened within the mining communities, the exceptions being four within Dunfermline town centre (nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8), at Rosyth (no. 10) and Auchtermuchty (no. 33).

	Place	Name	Society
1	Kincardine	Anchor Bar	East of Scotland рн Trust Ltd
2	Culross	Red Lion	East of Scotland рн Trust Ltd
3	Newmills	The Tavern	Valleyfield Tavern Society Ltd
4	Cairneyhill	The Inn	Dunfermline РН Society Ltd
5	Dunfermline	The Old Inn	Dunfermline РН Society Ltd
6	Dunfermline	Union Inn	Dunfermline РН Society Ltd
7	Dunfermline	Glen Tavern	Dunfermline РН Society Ltd
8	Dunfermline	Cottage Inn	Dunfermline РН Society Ltd
9	Townhill	Village Inn	Townhill Tavern Society Ltd
10	Rosyth	Gothenburg Hotel	Rosyth Hotel Association Ltd
11	Crossgates	Old Tavern	Crossgates РН Society Ltd
12	Hill of Beath	Hill of Beath Tavern	Hill of Beath Tavern Society Ltd
13	Cowdenbeath	Railway Tavern	Cowdenbeath РН Society Ltd
14	Cowdenbeath	Burgh Arms	Beath Mutual РН Society Ltd
15	Lumphinnans	Lumphinnans Tavern	Lumphinnans РН Society Ltd
16	Lochgelly	Queens Arms	Lochgelly РН Society Ltd
17	Lochgelly	Crown Tavern	Lochgelly РН Society Ltd
18	Cardenden	Bowhill No 1 Goth (Central Bar)	Bowhill рн Society Ltd
19	Cardenden	Railway Tavern	Bowhill рн Society Ltd
20	Cardenden	Dundonald Village Inn	Dundonald РН Society Ltd
21	Kinglassie	Braefoot Tavern	Kinglassie рн Society Ltd
22	Lochore	Red Goth	Lochore рн Society Ltd
23	Lochore	Crosshill Goth (Burns Tavern)	Crosshill Tavern Society Ltd
24	Glencraig	Glencraig Goth	Glencraig Tavern Society Ltd*
25	Kelty	No 1 Goth	Kelty рн Society Ltd
26	Kelty	No 2 Goth (Oakfield Inn)	Kelty рн Society Ltd
27	Kelty	No 3 Goth (Blairadam Tavern)	Kelty рн Society Ltd
28	Kingseat	Foresters Arms	Kingseat Tavern Society Ltd
29	Coaltown of Wemyss	Earl David	Wemyss РН Society Ltd
30	West Wemyss	Royal Oak Tavern	West Wemyss рн Society Ltd
31	Denbeath	The Wellesley Inn	Wemyss РН Society Ltd
32	Methil	The Tower Bar	Wemyss РН Society Ltd
33	Auchtermuchty	Cycle Tavern	Auchtermuchty Tavern Society Ltd

^{*} The Glencraig Goth was established by East of Scotland Public House Trust Ltd in 1903 but the licence was taken over by Glencraig Tavern Society in 1919.

Table 1: The Gothenburg pubs of Fife.

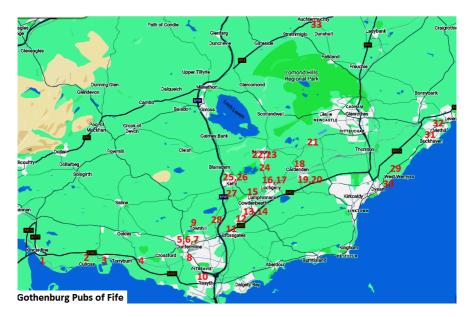


Figure 3: Map of the locations of Goth pubs.

With the exception of The East of Scotland Public House Trust, all the Fife-based Public House Societies were located within the immediate vicinity of the collieries in close proximity to the Goth pubs. They all operated on a similar basis, which was documented in their Rules of Operation. Cowdenbeath Public House Society Ltd was registered in 1901 and is a typical example: their registered office being their "Goth" pub, the Railway Tavern, with their rules, objectives and powers only differing from the other Fife-based Public House Societies in respect of location:

The objects of the Society are to carry on, in the burgh of Cowdenbeath and its neighbourhood, in the County of Fife, the businesses of Innkeepers, Publicans, Ale-House keepers, Café and Restaurant keepers, Manufacturers of Aerated Waters and such other commodities that may be agreed upon by the Members from time to time, and Purveyors and Caterers for public entertainments and amusements ... subject always to the provisions of the Industrial and Provident Societies Act ... The Society shall have the power to purchase businesses of the description above mentioned, and the premises in which the same are carried on, and to discontinue such businesses so that the licenses for the same may be extinguished.

East of Scotland Public House Trust Ltd in Fife

By way of contrast with the Fife-based Societies, The East of Scotland Public House Trust Ltd was established in Edinburgh in 1901 to cover areas of "the East of Scotland within easy reach of Edinburgh". Their prospectus set a capital value of £50,000 to be divided up into 50,000 shares at £1 per share. The Trustees and Directors of the Company came from the Edinburgh professional, banking and legal community, also including other eminent members of society, such as Sir Ralph Anstruther, 6th Baronet of Balcaskie, Pittenweem and the Kirkcaldy-born liberal politician, Ronald Munro Ferguson, 1st Viscount Novar.

The 1901 Company prospectus stated:

The company is formed with the following objects: (1) for the performance of temperance by the elimination, so far as possible, of the element of private profit in connection of retail sale of alcoholic liquors; and (2) as practical for acquiring and administering for the Public Benefit the Monopoly Values created by the current Licensing System. With these ends in view the Company will endeavour to acquire existing Licences where such can be secured on reasonable terms; and it will also endeavour to obtain any New Licences which the Licensing Authorities may consider necessary to grant in any district.

In 1903 the company made its first two acquisitions: The White Hart in The Grassmarket, Edinburgh and the first of its three Fife acquisitions, The Gothenburg in Glencraig, Fife (no.24). Two more Fife acquisitions followed, in 1905, The Anchor Bar, Kincardine (1), and in 1907, The Red Lion, Culross (2).





Figure 4: East of Scotland Trust's West of Fife acquisitions: (left) Anchor Bar, Kincardine (no 1) and (right) Red Lion, Culross (no.2).

Old Fife saying: "It taks a lang spain tae sup wi' a fly Fifer"

In 1919 The East of Scotland Public House Trust had agreed to sell its business, including its three Fife Goths, to a large English company, Trust Houses Ltd. However, the Kirkcaldy Licensing Court refused to agree to the transfer of the licence of the Glencraig Gothenburg to them on the basis that none of any surplus profits in the Glencraig Goth would go to support causes in Glencraig. A letter appeared in the *Scotsman* three days later, from A J Part, their Managing Director, questioning the decision:

"The company was formed 16 years ago to carry out the principles of disinterested management laid down by the late Earl Grey. The leading principles are the encouragement of temperance, by providing the management of such houses shall be paid a commission on non-intoxicants and food and none at all on intoxicants... Now the principle of modern management apparently weighs not at all with the Fifeshire Justices in question, and they insist that the surplus profits should be handed over to local objects... Lord Grey always insisted that the distribution of surplus profits should be national and not local in character... it is much to be regretted that this prostitution of trust principles should have gained ground in Fifeshire and it is to be hoped that it may not be followed elsewhere; otherwise, the only constructive reform in the direction of temperance must fail in Scotland, and the field will be left to the Prohibitionists and the trade."

The decision by the Kirkcaldy Licensing Court was a landmark moment in the Gothenburg movement in Fife. It confirmed that whilst a reduction in intemperance and drunkeness may be laudable objectives, the main driver was for surplus profits being channelled into supporting the creation of much needed community facilities rather than into the pockets of private individuals. Seven days after the *Scotsman* published the letter from A J Part, a response from John Brannan, the Chairman of Glencraig Tavern Society (a fly Fifer?) was published:

[T]he workers of Glencraig are able to look after themselves, and they are not going to allow Trust Houses or any English combine to take away surplus profits out of Glencraig district which would be better employed in providing much-needed local reforms and amusements... We in Glencraig regret very much that all the districts in Scotland where Trust houses are now operating did not endeavour to obtain the licences and devote the profits to the good of the districts concerned. The Glencraig people don't mean to suggest that they desire to drink themselves rich. What they want to do is to take the maximum amount of good out

of an admitted evil. But they don't want the surplus profits of this district to go towards running a coffee shop, say, in Manchester.

When Trust Houses Ltd took over from East of Scotland Public House Trust Ltd in 1919, the Red Lion Culross was the only Fife property transferred to them, although they did acquire the Royal Hotel on the High Street, Dunfermline in 1925. The temperance principles, established by the fourth Earl Grey in 1903, remained in practice until Trust Houses Ltd became part of the Trust House Forte Group in 1971.

With respect to the Fife-based Societies, it is interesting to note that neither the Cowdenbeath Society's rules and objectives, nor those of any of the other Fife societies, even before the Kirkcaldy Licensing Court's 1919 decision regarding the Glencraig Goth, made any specific mention of striving to reduce intemperance or drunkeness, or to achieve any other of the Temperance Movement's goals, preferring instead to concentrate their efforts in creating new leisure and learning opportunities within their communities. Although, the first decade of the 20th century heralded the introduction of some social and welfare reform it wasn't until the end of the Second World War, with the nationalisation of the coal industry and creation of the National Health Service, that the working and living conditions within the mining communities saw any major improvement. In that respect the profits generated by the Fife Goths enabled the respective Society Trusts to reinvest the funds in creating a whole range of much needed facilities – libraries, ambulances, funding of district nurses, parks, sporting and other leisure activities, cinemas etc., which are now highlighted in the following three examples.

Kelty Public House Society Ltd., established 1900



Figure 5: The Kelty Goth.

Unlike the Hill of Beath Goth which had acquired an existing pub, the Kelty Goth (no 25) was the first purpose-built Goth in Scotland, costing £3,500 (including furniture and fittings). On the ground floor there were separate street entrances to the restaurant and to the drinking areas which included a large bar, separate jug compartment and four rooms off the bar area. Upstairs had a large community room used for concerts and local clubs such as the Burns Society and local cricket club. In 1901 it was reported that the bar was selling, per month, one hogshead of spirits, 32 barrels of draught beer, bottled Bass and 240 dozen bottles of minerals, used for mixing with beer for "shandy gaff."

From the first year's profits £50 went to the local library, reading room and billiards hall and further £500 was put aside for a bowling green. The pub is still trading today, as the Kings PH, which underwent a major refurbishment in 2020, but not as a Goth, as Kelty Public House Society was wound up in 1967. Kelty opened two more Goth Pubs and in 1910 opened a Concert Hall which in 1925 was adapted into a Picture House (cinema).

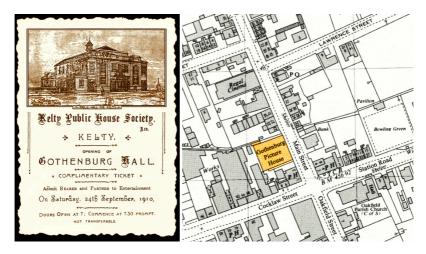


Figure 6: Invitation to the opening of the Gothenburg Hall in Kelty in 1910. Right: Picture House with the two Goths nos. 1 and 2 at the crossroads.

Cowdenbeath Public House Society Ltd., established 1901

The third Gothenburg public house to be opened was at Cowdenbeath in 1901 when the Society purchased an existing public house, the Railway Tavern, for £7,000, of which £4,000 was attributed to the value of the licence. Cowdenbeath was probably one of Fife's most profitable Societies. Between 1901 and 1930 it had contributed £22,000 towards local grants. These included building a golf course, the town's public park, the employment of a district nurse and the purchase of an ambulance waggon and grants towards the town's Ambulance Waggon Association which was established in 1903 (figure 7).



Figure 7: Horse-drawn ambulance waggon.



Figure 8: Cowdenbeath New Goth 2010, formerly The Railway Tavern.

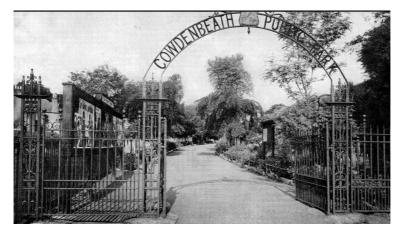


Figure 9: Cowdenbeath Public Park laid out and funded by Cowdenbeath Public House Society

Bowhill Public House Society Ltd., established 1903

Following registration of the Society, the initial intention was to acquire the existing Bowhill Hotel, but negotiations failed. Consequently, land was acquired from Bowhill Coal Company. The new Goth pub was built at a cost of £2,000, the property opening

on 25 December 1904. The Society reported a first year's trading income of £2,154 and whilst there was no mention of beer prices, it was noted that whisky was being sold at 4d per glass. The interior boasted a large horseshoe bar, and in the cellar, there were wall niches which are thought to have been used for the blending of spirits, which took place on the premises. By 1909 a new Gothenburg Hall & Picture House was built which had seating for 1,200 people. In 1920, a dome was added to the building with the inclusion of a public clock. In 1927, the second Goth, the Railway Tavern, was bought as a going concern, being further extended and modernised in 1942.



Figure 10: Bowhill Gothenburg Pub, c. 1906.



Figure 11: Opening of Bowhill Picture House, 1909.

Meanwhile in 1924, the miners in neighbouring Dundonald, agreed to construct a third new Goth (no. 20) for Cardenden, the Village Inn, which was registered and managed by the newly constituted Dundonald Public House Society Ltd. It opened in 1925, with the first year's surplus profits funding the construction of a Quoiting Ground, at that time being a popular sport throughout Fife.

Some of the breweries supplying Fife's Goths

At the same time that the Goth pubs were being established, major changes were taking place in the brewing industry. The growth of the national rail network, together with the opening of the Forth and Tay rail bridges, led to the takeover of markets by not only the major Edinburgh and Alloa breweries but also by English "giants" such as Bass and Barclay Perkins. Some of the breweries sent their beer to Fife, in casks for serving as cask beer and ready bottled. Some others, sent the casks of beer for botting in Fife, either to existing bottling companies or direct to the Goth Societies for bottling themselves, as in the case of Lochore Public House Society, the Red Goth (no. 22).





Figure 12: Mackays Pale Ale beer label bottled by Lochore Public House Society Ltd., Red Goth, Lochore (no. 22).

By 1910 only two Fife breweries remained, Bonthrone's Newton Brewery at Newton of Falkland and J & G Brown's Macduff Brewery in East Wemyss. Bonthrones ceased brewing in 1916, to concentrate on their malting business. Brown's East Wemyss Brewery, and their eight tied pubs, none of which were Goths (Methil (4), Leven (2) and Buckhaven (1), and one in Kilmarnock), were acquired by Wm Murray's Craigmillar Brewery in 1928. The brewery was immediately closed but Murray's used the buildings until the 1960s for bottling, storage and as a distribution depot for their beers.

Given their proximity to the four most easterly Fife Goths at Coaltown of Wemyss (no.29), West Wemyss (no. 30), Denbeath (no 31) and Methil (no.32), Bonthrone's and J & G Brown's would have supplied beers to these four, until their closures in 1916 and 1928 respectively.

Coaltown of Wemyss was a planned estate village, owned and built in the 1890s by the Earl of Wemyss to house the mine workers. The population doubled between 1891 and 1901 with the expansion of the Wemyss family's mining interests – all the collieries were on the Wemyss Estate lands. The intention was that the village would only have

one pub, the Mafeking Arms which opened in 1900, adjacent to the local school, and run by Donald Westwood. Bontrone's Newton of Falkland brewery supplied the beers to this free house. In 1911, Donald Westwood sold his existing business to the newly established Coaltown of Wemyss Public House Society for £3,200. Contentiously, the Society had already built a new pub, at a cost of £1,000, on a larger site at the end of the village, without the benefit of a licence.

The Society only wanted one pub in the village, and preferably a Goth, located away from the school, and the idea was that the existing licence for the Mafeking Arms would lapse, with the building being returned to residential use. In effect the price of £3,200 paid to Westwood reflected the value of his licence. Fortunately, the new pub was granted a licence in November 1911, named the Earl David after the 2nd Earl of Wemyss. The pub had a full circle gantry bar. Unfortunately, the interior saw many changes after 1930, losing much of its character, although internally, the large floor mosaic in the entrance together with the external stone plaque and the Wemyss family coat of arms were retained and are still evident today (figure 14).

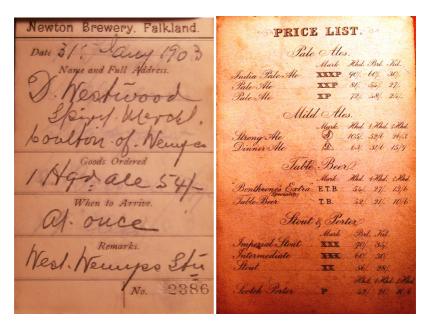


Figure 13: (left) Bonthrone's Newton Brewery 1903 delivery note to the Mafeking Arms (right) and brewery price list.



Figure 14: Two exterior features still retained at the Earl David today: (left) stone plaque and (right) Wemyss family coat of arms.

By 1915 Wemyss Public House Society had established two more Goths at Denbeath, the Wellesley (no.31) and the Tower Bar (no.32) in Methil. As Brown's Wemyss Ales were locally brewed at Macduff Brewery, East Wemyss, they would have been regularly available at the Goth pubs. Likewise, following the takeover by Murray's Craigmillar Brewery in 1928, Murray's beers became widely available throughout this part of Fife. The Tower Bar was built in 1906 by Wemyss & District Tramway Company (with their depot opposite). It was called the Clock Tower Tearoom and Tavern, then became known locally as The Tower Bar. In April 1913, the licence was transferred to Wemyss Public House Society.



Figure 15: J & G Brown's MacDuff Brewery, East Wemyss beer labels.



Figure 16: Tower Bar, Methil (no 32) in 1955 with Murray's sign – replaced with a McEwan's sign after Murray's closed in 1960.



Figure 17: Murray's dray out on deliveries, seen here on Brewery Brae, East Wemyss c. 1930.

By 1930 most of the remaining Scottish breweries that were still in existence would probably at some point in time have been supplying beer to some of the Fife Goths. Unfortunately, very little detail has been retained about their beer. Very little of their day-to day records remain. When the Public House Societies were wound up, there was a tendency not to archive any documentation. Fortunately, some of the records for the Bowhill Public House Society do remain as they were found in a drawer within the No 1 Bowhill Goth. They were kept by the Cardenden Heritage Group and, in January 2024, donated to Fife Cultural Trust's On-Fife Archive at the Bankhead Collections Centre, Glenrothes.

The records include minutes and accounts presented to shareholders, lists of the local organisations that the Society donated money to, and details of the dividends paid to shareholders. With respect to bar and restaurant purchases, these include delivery notes, receipts and paid invoices, dating from 1937 to 1945, with a complete bundle of cheques paid to suppliers from 1st January 1939 to March 1945.

The records show that, throughout this period, the two Cardenden Goths were supplied by five breweries. Cask beer was supplied by both Jeffrey's Heriot Brewery and Usher's Park Brewery, Edinburgh. In terms of both volume of beer supplied and value of sales, these were by far the biggest suppliers. George Younger's of Alloa supplied both cask and bottled beer from their Dunnikier depot, Kirkcaldy (they also had a second Fife depot in Abbey Street, St Andrews). Fowler's from Prestonpans and Bass from Burton on Trent supplied small amounts of bottled beer. Bottled Carlsberg lager was also supplied occasionally from a beer importer in Leith.

Unfortunately, Jeffrey's were the only brewers to supply detailed invoices – the others just referred to "goods supplied." Jeffrey's supplied hogsheads (54 gallons) of their pale ale from 1937 until March 1945. They show that, prior to the start of World War II, the price of their ale from 1937 to June 1939, remained unchanged at 137/- per hogshead (£6 17s od). In July 1941, it had risen to 240/6 (£12 os 6d), in October 1942, 309/6 (£15 9s 6d) and by December 1944 it had risen again to 342/6 (£17 2s 6d) per hogshead – a 150% increase in price over a six year period. Despite the steep rise in price over the period, the demand for Jeffrey's Pale Ale was high with an exceptional increase in orders of Jeffrey's beers during 1944.

The two invoices in figure 18 show a typical order – 40 hogsheads of pale ale and five hogsheads of 90/- in a six-week period in June/July 1941! There were "only" nine of these orders placed in 1941 but by 1944 this had jumped to fourteen in that year. Whether, and for how long this continued, we will probably never know, as the records cease in March 1945.

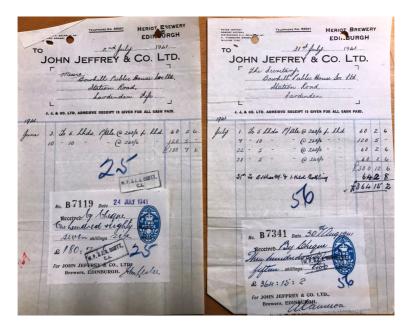


Figure 18: Invoices from John Jeffrey & Co., 1941.

	Younger	Fowler	Jeffrey	Bass	Usher
1939	£253 (9)	£68 (8)	£965 (9)	£15 (4)	£1,161 (9)
1940	£155 (5)	£70 (8)	£788 (6)	£20 (4)	£1,107 (6)
1941	£372 (9)	£80 (9)	£1,921 (9)	£17 (3)	£1,644 (9)
1942	£418 (8)	£45 (5)	£2,538 (8)	£16 (2)	£1,940 (8)
1943	£604 (9)	£83 (8)	£2,984 (8)	£36 (4)	£3,528 (10)
1944	£702 (10)	£141 (10)	£5,494 (14)	£28 (3)	£3,750 (9)
1945*	£174 (3)	£32 (3)	£1,183 (3)	£10 (1)	£1,432 (3)
Total	£2,678 (53)	£519 (51)	£15,873 (57)	£142 (24)	£16,562 (54)
Av. p.a.	£429	£83	£2,540	£23	£2,650

Notes: *The figures only cover the first three months of 1945.

The average purchases per annum are calculated over the 6.25-year period and the numbers in brackets are number of purchases.

- 1. Year runs from 1st January to 31st December.
- 2. £ values have been rounded to nearest pound.
- 3. Purchases from Bass and Fowler's were bottled beers.
- 4. Purchases from Jeffreys and Ushers mainly cask, although some may be bottled (see no.8).
- 5. Purchases from George Younger's mixed any bottled would have been done by them at their Alloa Bottling Works.
- 6. There were a number of purchases from Alloa Glassworks Company a major supplier of beer bottles. Therefore, some of the Jeffrey's and Usher's casks may have been bottled by the Bowhill Public House Society at the Cardenden Goths. For example, Lochore Public House Society bottled George Mackay's Edinburgh beers.
- 7. A badly damaged Jeffrey's invoice from 1941 lists all the beers that Jeffreys were brewing and had available at that time: these included, Pale Ale, Bitter Beer, Mild Ale, Scotch Ale, No 1 Strong Ale, Double Scotch Ale and Brown Stout.

Table 2: Bowhill Public House Society – Total beer purchase orders, 1939–1945.



Figure 19: Jeffrey's labels.



Figure 20: Final payment to Jeffrey's for beer supplied in March 1945.

With respect to bottled beers, the sales figures indicate a far greater demand for Fowler's India Pale Ale in preference to bottled Bass. The 1939 invoices in figure 21 show different invoices to each of the two Goths.



Figure 21: Invoices from John Fowler & Co., 1939.



Figure 22: Fowlers India Pale Ale and 90/- Pale Ale were the best-selling bottled beers in the two Goths.

Mineral waters were exclusively supplied by JM Tod of Kirkcaldy. Wines and spirits were supplied from a variety of sources including John Haig's whisky, White Horse Distillers, John Dewar & Co and Sandeman & Sons Ltd. Some of the Goth societies, Dunfermline Public House Society being a case in point, also sold their own branded "temperance" whisky (figure 23)!



Figure 23: Dunfermline Public House Society's house whisky.

Fife's Gothenburg pubs in retrospect

Fife can still rightly claim to be the pioneering county for the Gothenburg movement in Scotland, but arguably, not for following the temperance principles. Historically, Fife always had strong trading links with the Scandinavian and the Baltic countries via the Fife coastal ports. Towards the end of the 19th century Fife became the major coal exporter to Sweden, fuelling its railway network.

None of Fife's thirty-three Goths trade as Gothenburg pubs today. Only fifteen of them are still pubs, the rest either being demolished or reverting back to other non-licensed uses. Most of these fifteen remaining pubs have been modernised and changed so much internally over time that few, if any, of their original features remain. Four of these pubs are listed buildings – two of which, Red Lion, Culross (no. 2) and Old Inn, Dunfermline (no. 5), were existing pubs when acquired and run as Goths.

The other two, the vacant and 'for sale' Bowhill No 1 Goth (no. 18) and the Tower Bar, Methil (no. 32) were new build Goth pubs. The former Earl David pub (no. 29) was also a new build Goth. It is no longer a pub but re-opened in 2023 as a licensed Nepalese restaurant with licensed bar. It is the fifth listed building out of the original 33 Goth pubs.

The creation of the Goth pubs was a product of their time, coming to fruition as a consequence of the rising acceptance for the need for social and welfare reform, to deal with the worst of the problems created by the Industrial Revolution. The late 19th and early 20th century was a time of change, giving rise to the birth of socialism and trade unionism. Combine these changes, with the dire living and working conditions within the coal mining communities, then it is no surprise that the Gothenburg system, in creating and funding new community facilities, became a very attractive option.

In reality, the temperance aspect in seeking to reduce drunkenness, by the provision of a restaurant and other communal spaces, whilst a worthy objective, was of minor significance. Indeed, in most of the Fife Goths, the bar generated the most income, for the profits to be then used for the benefit of creating those additional community assets. In many of the Goths, the bar was a men-only area. Likewise, the Public House Society's management committees, were generally an all-male preserve.

When Goths were established the perceived belief of the Licensing Authorities was that a lot of the existing howffs and dram shops in Fife were very basic, male-dominated, drinking dens. One indirect benefit to the Goths' creation was that many of the existing pubs, in direct competition with the Goths, saw the need for improvements to be made, in order to compete with the newly established Goths. Many of the local newspapers at that time, commented that they saw very little difference between the two types of establishments other than how the profits were used.

The success and longevity of the Goths, in generating surplus profits for distribution to causes within the mining communities, were very much tied into the longevity of the collieries. Once the pits started to close or, at any of the times of strike action, the ability of the Goth's to fund community activity became threatened. This was especially the case where coal mining was the dominant, indeed only, major source of employment.

Notwithstanding these challenges, the period up to the mid-1930s was the most successful. By that time most of the mining communities had established their own mining welfare and social institutes and clubs, either by direct salary contributions made by the miners from their own wages or additionally, combined with varying levels of direct grants from the Goth societies.

Towards the end of the 1930s, many of the Goths' profits had passed their peak, and any profits that were generated needed to be used for annual maintenance and meeting the running costs of the community assets that had already been created. Cowdenbeath Public House Society was a typical example. By 1935, their three biggest commitments had all been handed over to other bodies - funding of the district nurse was passed to the Nursing Association and maintenance of the town's park and golf course to the Burgh Council. Likewise, at around the same time the neighbouring Lumphinnans Public House Society's Goth Tavern's licence was transferred to a private trader. The Goths in the other Fife mining communities continued for varying periods

after the second world war but eventually all succumbed in tandem with the decline and closure of the collieries they served.

A similar fate was awaiting the various miners' welfare clubs and institutes that came into prominence in the 1920s. Today most of them have now been taken over by Fife Council and run for a variety of community centre functions. The Lochore Miners & Welfare Social Club, which is opposite the former, and still-open, Red Goth (no. 22) is now the only miners' club in Fife. It also has the distinction of being the only Fife club ever to be included in CAMRA's Good Beer Guide, appearing in seven consecutive editions from 1994 to 2000. Although by definition not strictly a Goth Pub, it arguably performs the same functions originally intended by the Gothenburg movement back in 1900. The facilities listed in the seven GBG entries read like the original "counter attractions" that Joseph Rowntree's 1901 document envisaged, that is: A large club with public bar, a separate quiet, lounge area, two dance halls, an upstairs games room and outside bowling green. Throughout this period the club sold a variety of real ales from Maclay's Alloa Brewery. It was rumoured at the time that the club was the brewery's biggest customer. Unfortunately, this came to an end when Maclay's ceased brewing in 1999.

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Cardenden History Group

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The British Newspaper Archive

National Library of Scotland



Figure 1: A cheque from Wm Black's Devanha Brewery & Distillery, 1897.

Devanha Brewery, Alford, 1982–1985

Dixie Taylor

THE 1970S AND 1980S were a boom time at the city of Aberdeen and the north east generally. The area was the centre of the oil and gas exploration activity, as oil had been discovered under the North Sea in the late 1960s.

This created a huge upsurge in population as the oil majors established operations in and around the city, supported by a large oilfield supply industry.

Consequently, the local businesses of all manner benefited: shops, hotels, restaurants, and not least pubs. The Yard Arm pub on Regent Quay became the mecca for all manner of oilfield staff. The company I was involved with, providing oilfield data processing, had a very convenient office adjacent to the pub, and it became the point of meeting for anything and everything oil related.

The Yard Arm's enterprising landlord had with great difficulty persuaded the then Scottish Brewers to provide a limited supply of cask Younger's IPA. This rapidly became the pub's best-selling beer. Aberdeen in the early 1970s would be considered a beer desert by those favouring cask ale: Maclay's of Alloa had been sending supplies by train but this had long ceased, and Scottish Brewers and Tennent's dominated the trade.

My acquaintance with cask started in London after I relocated there for work purposes in the mid 1960s, as so many did in those days, where I was initially introduced to Young's of Wandsworth. CAMRA's activities in the early 1970s increased interest and awareness of the traditional brewers and their beers. The membership fee at that time was 50p!

Our Aberdeen office opened in 1976, and coincidentally a CAMRA branch was formed at the same time. Ably encouraged by the redoubtable licencee at the Yard



Figure 2: Label for the original Devanha Brewery's XXX Pale Ale.



Figure 3: Embossed jug with Wm Black's stamp.

Arm, a colleague and I decided to establish a wholesale operation for the purpose of 'importing' notable traditional beers. Although this was successful to a degree, the market restrictions imposed by the two big concerns were a significant impediment.

However, noting the successful establishment of Broughton Brewery in the Borders circa 1977, we elected to follow suit. The historic Devanha name was chosen because William Black's original business was very successful and existed for a considerable length of time, from 1798 until 1930 when it was taken over by Thomas Usher & Sons of Edinburgh; brewing then ceased and the site became a distribution depot until final closure in the 1950s.

Having reached that decision, it was important to discover some background information to William Black's not inconsiderable company, which included a distillery in addition to the brewery. I was able to establish that the original site lay close to the Wellington Suspension Bridge that crosses the River Dee not far from the city's railway station.

The location had become an office complex for an oilfield supply company, though the old well that provided the process water was hidden in a remote corner, boarded over and very forlorn and abandoned. The only acknowledgement to the past is a nearby residential street called Devanha Terrace. There is also a Devanha House on the terrace. The name Devanha is of Roman origin and relates to the adjacency of the River Dee.

Consequential to my research, I have a number of original Devanha Brewery items, the most notable of which are two large mirrors, which I had resilvered and restored. One displays the William Black trademark of a large red circle with XXX in black letters in the centre, the other advertises East India Pale Ale, with XX in the centre of the red circle. Both are ornate, and rare. I have only seen one other of the XXX version located in a Stonehaven bar. Copies of the brewery cheque and bottle labels depicted can be found, together with other documentation, in the Scottish Brewing Archive.¹

The brewery building sported an impressive clock tower. This was a large wrought iron structure, measuring about four feet square. It was a hand-cut timepiece designed and built in 1803 by Charles Lunan, a noted Aberdeen clockmaker, 12 years prior to the Battle of Waterloo. It was operated by large weights cut from granite blocks. Aberdeen has a history of providing quality granite and the deepest quarry in Europe was operational there until the 1960s. The clock face had the 1803 date above the central spindle for the hands, and the brewery XX trade mark beneath.

After Wm Black's death the brewery passed out of his family's ownership, and the clock became the property of a well known family of fishers. Aberdeen has long been

¹ Records of Devanha Brewery Co Ltd, brewers, Aberdeen, Scotland, 1851-1960. University of Glasgow Archive Services. GB 248 DV.

an important fishing port. It's not clear if this family took control of the brewery, however I assume so. They lived at nearby Ferryhill House, now a hotel and pub.

The distilling part of the operation closed in 1915. Thomas Usher & Co of Edinburgh purchased the brewery in 1930, having held a significant share holding prior to the outright purchase. It then became a distribution depot as previously mentioned, and was the registered office of Norseman Lager Co Ltd.

There is a wax seal held at the Archive certifying that Wm Black & Co of Aberdeen were appointed brewers to the Duchess of Kent.

I had the pleasure of visiting the Archive on 20th March along with John Martin and Fergus Clark. We had an informative and interesting couple of hours during which I was rather amazed to find a letter dated 14 May 1982 addressed to me. I had sought information at the time when the Devanha Brewery Alford was being established – it was written by the Senior Records Office, the late Danny Blyth BA. I had forgotten about this, and searched for and found the original in a hidden file together with the information about the Devanha Clock. My thanks to the Archive!

Wm Black exported his beers widely – a bottle was discovered during an excavation of a building site in middle America. His legacy is all but forgotten in Aberdeen, and unfortunately our attempts to revive it did not succeed, though Isle of Skye Brewery belatedly produced a version of Alford Devanha XXX to the original recipe as a special for a short time.

So far as Devanha Alford was concerned, despite the difficulty of finding 'free' taps not tied by the national brewers, we persevered with the plans and eventually were ready to commence brewing. We chose the upper Donside village of Alford for the brewery's location, as it afforded a central position in the Grampian region for distribution.

The launch beer was Devanha XXX, a traditional dark Scotch Ale, chosen to reflect the old William Black product. This was followed by XB, a paler coloured 70/-. Both beers were well received from both licensees and drinkers, however the fundamental problem remained: often no sooner had a handpull been installed than it was removed and replaced by a big brewery product, usually to the distress of the landlord and customers. We can honestly say that regardless of the success or otherwise of Devanha, we were instrumental in bringing cask beer to the north east. The big brewers were forced to take action to satisfy demand.

This, allied to the hefty start-up costs – the brew plant was high quality 20 barrels stainless steel manufactured by John Hickey of London – meant that the slim margins were unrealistic. Stainless steel casks were also purchased at significant cost, plus all the ancillary items required. By 1985 it was sadly obvious that we would have to cease. The brewery did continue for a further couple of years, but inevitably it was impossible.

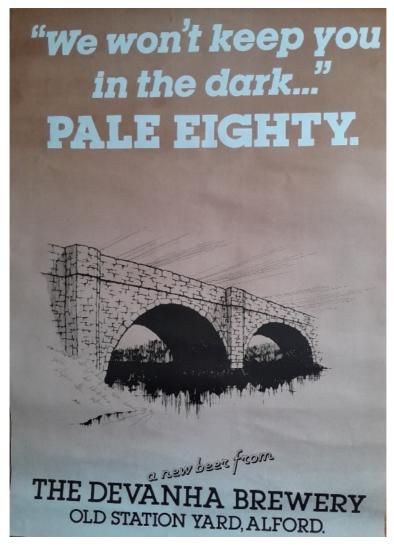


Figure 4: Promotional poster for Devanha Pale Eighty.



Figure 5: Showcard for Devanha Alford Ale.



Figure 6: Beer mat and pump clip for Devanha XXX.

Perhaps in another time and place, given the rise in awareness and interest in beer styles and the abandonment of the ubiquitous tied supply arrangements via the Beer Orders in the 1990s, the story would have a different ending.

Gone but still fondly remembered by many. Devanha Brewery.

The earliest members of the Edinburgh Society of Brewers, 1596–1620

Beth Golden

A note on spelling

The spelling of names varied greatly during this time, and are presented here as they were written in the original documents. The modern spellings are usually a phonetic version. For example, Moreis is now Morris. Surnames in my ancestry are italicized the first time they appear below. A searchable list of occupations can be found at ScotlandsPeople. Some dates are written to reflect the change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar, for example 1583/84.

B rewing was introduced to Edinburgh in the 12th century by the religious orders, in particular Holyrood Abbey at the foot of the Royal Mile. By the mid to late 16th century, the taste for beer (made with hops) and ale, necessitated by unsafe drinking water, was rapidly growing as a domestic endeavour, without oversight of all aspects of the trade, including grain and water supplies, storage and pricing. The burgh council saw this demand and commercial enterprise as a great opportunity to regulate the production of beer and as an income source. 2 3 4

On 15 September 1595, King James VI appointed Alexander Home of North Berwick as Provost. Council members: "Baillies, Clement Cer, William Smaill, William Maule, Hew *Broun*; Dean of Gild, Alexander Uddert; Treasurer, Jhonn Jaksoun; Council, Jhonn Moresoun, William Naper, Jhonn Robertsoun, Richert Doby, William *Hammiltoun*, Thomas Aikinheid, Bartolimo Somverell, David *Creichtoun*, Walter Adamsoun, Thomas Inglis, Archibald *Mairteyne*, Jhonn Carmichaell; Deacons of the Council, Alexander Owsteane, tailor, Edward Galbayth, skinner, George *Hereott*, elder, goldsmith, Jhonn Watt, dagmaker, Jhonn Nasmyth, surgeon; Remanent

¹ ScotlandsPeople, Glossary https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/glossary?field_item_type_value\%5B\%5D=oc Accessed 15 January 2025.

² Bryce, William Moir. "The Burgh Muir of Edinburgh, The Fellowship and Society of Brewers;" Old Edinburgh Club Volume 10, 1918. Chapter XV p. 227 https://archive.org/details/bookofoldedinbur100lde/page/226/mode/2up Accessed 30 Dec 2024. See a description between the Society and the Council regarding profits going to the Council rather than the Society as was contracted between them. p. 235–236.

³ McMillan, Joyce K., Study of the Edinburgh burgess community and its economic activities, 1600-1680 (dissertation University of Edinburgh, 1984), https://era.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/6855 p. 89. Accessed 28 January 2025.

⁴ Donnachie, Ian. A History of the Brewing Industry in Scotland (1979). https://www.google.com/books/edition/A_History_of_the_Brewing_Industry_in_Sco/8WrtAAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&bsq=1596. p. 2. Accessed 28 January 2025.

Deacons, Francis Mansioun, wricht, Jhonn Borthuik, elder, baker, Andrew Symsoun, mason, Jhonn *Diksoun*, flesher, Thomas *Diksoun*, furrier, Archibald *Stewart*, weaver, Leanard Philliope, waulker, Patrik Rannald, bonnet-maker." Their term of service lasted for a year. These men became influential in establishing what was to become known as the Society of Brewers.

On 28 May 1596, the above members of the Edinburgh Town Council, freemen and residents of Edinburgh, conceived of the Edinburgh Society of Brewers to ensure uniformity in commodity and profit. On 20 February 1597/98 the council contracted with the Society of Ale and Wine in Edinburgh to establish the governing body with 19 members selected from the merchant burgesses: "George Hereott (elder), Alexander McMath, Frances Naper (of Pitlover), Patrik Somervell, Alexander Naper, Jhonn McNacht, Andrew Craig, Jhonn Lowry, Hew Broun, Thomas Lumisdaile, James Ker, Patrik Moreis, William Balfour, Jhonn Jhonestoun (of Newby), Thomas Hunter, Samuel Burnett, James McMath, and William Mauchane," and "James Herriot, baxter, for them," their heirs and assigns.

The Royal Charter pertaining to this event refers to the Society as "confratibus unius Facultatis Brasiatorum Burgh de Edinburgh", which translates as "the brethren of one of the faculties of the Burgh of Edinburgh." Later the society was known as "The Fellowship and Society of Ale and Beer Brewers of the City of Edinburgh." In addition to listing the above men, the Charter also describes the land granted to the society which was located north of Greyfriars Port and to the east of Greyfriars Kirk. It was where the modern extension to the National Museum of Scotland now stands. Their brewing operation here was supplied with water pumped using a windmill, from the South Loch, later called the Boroughloch, which was later drained to create the Meadows.

In 1599, Frances Napier defaulted on a loan, fled to London and was dismissed from the Society. 10 Patrick Cochrane, Patrick Sandeland and John Jackson acted as suretors for the Society in 1603. 11

On 21 June 1611, Thomas Scott, master brewer to the Society, received £79 13s 4d and was admitted as a burgess. 12 Also, in 1611 James Nisbet purchased five bags of

⁵ Wood, M., Marwick, J. D. (James David). (1869). Extracts from the records of the Burgh of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Printed for the Scottish Burgh Records Society. https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000275247/Home Volume 6, 1589 – 1603 p. 139. Accessed 14 January 2025.

⁶ Wood, Volume 6, p. 213

⁷ Bryce. p. 228.

⁸ Thanks to John Martin for this information.

⁹ Thompson, John Maitland, ed. The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1593 – 1606. Volume 6, p. 316, Charter # 959 https://archive.org/details/registrummagnisi06scot/page/316/ Accessed 2 Jan 2025.

¹⁰ Bryce. p. 237.

¹¹ Wood, Volume 6, p. 321.

¹² Wood. Volume 7, 1604-1626, p. 74. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015068454647

hops worth £600 on behalf of the Society. Hops, which are added to ale to make beer, were relatively new in Scotland, but their importance is reflected in the amount paid for just five bags. In 1612 George Todrig was amongst those responsible for paying the Society's rent. In 1616 Alexander Miller was owed £581 by the Society of Brewing beside the Greyfriars Port. 13 14

Because of grievances between the Society and the Town Council, on 24 March 1618, the Council by their Act, began to dissolve the Society and on 30 April 1619, an official contract was entered for the dissolution of the Society by the Edinburgh magistrates and the formation of a corporation, 15 the first of its kind. 16 The Society, as a business charter with shareholders, then changed its membership to the following persons holding varying portions of stock. Those with one and a third parts were Alexander McMath, Niniane McMorane and George Overton; with one part were George Heriot (jeweler and servant to the King), John McNaught, Hew Brown, James Nisbet, Patrick Morrice, James McMath, Isobell Mauchin (daughter of William and wife of Livingstoun), Robert Napier, and Sarah Miller (daughter of Alexander Miller and wife of Thomas Fleming); a half part to William Rigg and Dame Marion Somerville (only daughter and heir of Patrick Somerville) and a half part to her husband, Sir Lewis Craig (of Wrightland and a Lord of Session), Margaret Ker (daughter of Mr. James Ker) and her husband, Thomas Crombie (writer of the Signet), Robert Livingstoun (baxter) and his son Mr. Robert Livingstoun; and quarter shares allotted to William Kelly (writer to the Signet), George Elliot (eldest son of James Eliot, maltman) and Alexander Heriot.17 18

On 23 August 1620, the sum of 1,250 merks due to William Rig, the elder, for his part in the Society of Brewers was assigned by him before his death, to be paid to setting the poor to work and to maintain a professor of Divinity in the college, each to receive half of the amount. 19 20

Biographies

The following presents some details on the members of the 1619 corporation. Many were neighbors near and along the west end of the High Street, including the Grassmarket, Lawnmarket, Greyfriars and Cowgate areas. Their business location was

¹³ Brown, James J. The Social, Political And Economic Influences Of The Edinburgh Merchant Elite, 1600-1638. 2 Volumes. https://era.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/6860 Accessed 13 Dec 2024. Volume 1, p. 228.

¹⁴ All the sums mentioned in the text are in old Scots pounds unless otherwise stated.

¹⁵ Bryce, p. 236.

¹⁶ https://www.scottishbrewingarchive.co.uk/. Bryce, p. 227.

¹⁷ Bryce. pp. 237-238.

¹⁸ A writer to the Signet was a solicitor authorised to supervise the use of the monarch's private seal on documents.

¹⁹ Wood. Volume 7 p. 210.

²⁰ A merk was a silver coin worth 13s. 4d. i.e. two-thirds of a Scots pound.

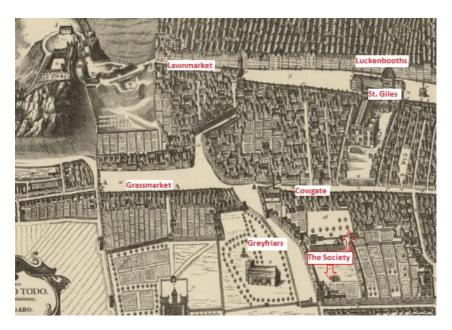


Figure 1: 1647 map of Edinburgh, annotated. Gordon, James, of Rothiemay. Bird's eye view of Edinburgh in 1647. https://maps.nls.uk/view/102190447 Accessed 15 January 2025.

established in the Greyfriars Port area.²¹ ²² ²³ They primarily worshipped at St. Giles' Cathedral and possibly St. Cuthbert's Kirk with Rev. Richard *Dickson*. Many with these surnames were buried in Greyfriars Kirkyard.²⁴ and many were members of the Town Council.²⁵

Hew Broun was likely the same as the merchant and the eldest son of Hew Brown, a member of the burgess and guild who was admitted by right of his father on 28 September 1593.²⁶ His son, Nicol, was a wealthy merchant and international trader²⁷ and husband of 1) Agnes Graham and 2) Agnes Aitchison.²⁸ Thomas Brown, a merchant (bookseller) burgess and bailie, and his descendants, lived at Brown's Close in the Grassmarket, also known as Bailie Brown's Close and located on the north side of the High Street across from the Old Tolbooth. It was acquired from George Heriot in 1691.

Sir Lewis Craig (of Wrightland) appears not to have been a member of the burgess and guild but was a Lord of Session. He was the son of William "Sir Thomas" Craig and Helen Heriot.²⁹ ³⁰ His first wife was Beatrice Chirnside. It appears that Beatrice died about 1619, as Lewis Craig married Margaret/Marion Somerville by May 1620 (based on the son's christening on 3 February 1620.)³¹ Possible family members served the Royal household: Mr. John Craig was a minister to King James VI between 1579 and 1598 and William Craig was the Royal master brewer between September 1592 and 1595.³²

²¹ Bryce. pp. 226 – 238a (image of area).

²² Thompson. Charter #959.

²³ Martin, John. "Edinburgh's Beer Heritage", https://unfiltered.smws.com/unfiltered-10-2021/column-edinburgh-beer-history/ Accessed 7 January 2025.

²⁴ Patton, Henry, ed. Register of interments in the Greyfriars burying ground, Edinburgh, 1658-1700 https://archive.org/details/registerinterme00socigoog Accessed 23 January 2025.

²⁵ Stewart, Laura. "Politics and religion in Edinburgh, 1617-53". PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh; 2003. p. 189 https://era.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/1842/27475/1/StewartLAM_2003redux.pdf Accessed 24 January 2025.

²⁶ Watson, Charles Boog. Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild Brethren, p. 75. https://archive.org/details/scottishrecordso46scotuoft/scottishrecordso46scotuoft/ Accessed 21 September 2024.

²⁷ Brown. Volume 2, p. 451.

²⁸ Old Parish Registers, Scotland's People, Banns and Marriages. https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/search-records/church-banns-marriages/opr-marriages Accessed 21 January 2025.

²⁹ Lewis Craig, Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Volume 12. https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Dictionary_of_National_Biography,_1885-1900/Craig,_Lewis Accessed 15 January 2025.

³⁰ National Library of Scotland, Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen; Volume 1, Half-Volume 2 (119) p. 392 https://digital.nls.uk/biographical-dictionary-of-eminent-scotsmen/archive/74512030?mode=transcription Accessed 21 January 2025.

³¹ "Scotland, Births and Baptisms, 1564-1950", database, FamilySearch (https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:X1Y3-WW5: 18 January 2025), James Craig, 1620.

³² Juhala, Amy. "The Household and Court of King James VI of Scotland, 1567-1603;" PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2002. pp. 317-318 https://era.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/1727 Accessed 12 December 2024.

Sir Thomas Crombie, of Kemnay, (writer of the Signet) was admitted to the burgess and guild by right of his wife, Margaret *Ker* (daughter of James Ker) on 30 May 1610.³³ "Sir Thomas Crombie b. abt 1586, married Margaret Ker, dtr of James Ker merchant, Burgess of Edin. In 1606, Writer (Barrister) to His Majesty's Signet, Burgess of Aberdeen, purchased Kemnay in 1624, built Kemnay House." "The plundering of his girnals at Kemnay House in 1639 was the first overt act of the Civil War. Thomas died in 1644 in an Edinburgh Prison."³⁴

George Elliot, a cordiner [shoemaker] and eldest son of James Eliot, maltman, was admitted to the burgess on 4 January 1596/97.³⁵ George is likely a descendant of George Eliot, also a leather-worker and member of the burgess and guild beginning in 1565. "He removed to London with his son William and a nephew Alex. Elliot pr[e] 1620 where they engaged in the leather trade; was a Vestryman of St. Martins in the Fields."³⁶ It may be that his relations, or later generations returned to Edinburgh, and lived at Elliot's Close, 380 High Street³⁷ or a Close of the same name located on the south side of 75 High Street.³⁸

Alexander Herriot was likely the same as the one admitted into the burgess and guild on 13 January 1613/14 as no earlier men with this name were recorded in the burgess and guild roll. He was the eldest son of James Heriot, also a member of the burgess and guild.³⁹

George Heriot, the elder, goldsmith and jeweler to King James VI and his wife, Queen Anne (of Denmark)⁴⁰ was admitted to the burgess as eldest son of George Heriot, also a goldsmith and member of the burgess, on 19 January 1587/88 and admitted to the guild as a merchant by right of his wife, Katherene, daughter of "Alex Oursteane, a tailycour" and a member of the burgess and guild, on 30 November

³³ Watson. Roll p. 132.

³⁴ WikiTree. Alexander Crombie profile comments https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Abercrombie-172 Citing: Inverurie and the Earldoms of the Garioch https://archive.org/details/ inverurieearldom@davi/page/n21/mode/2up?q=Crombie&view=theater Accessed 15 January 2025.

³⁵ Watson. Roll p.172.

³⁶ Odell, Anne Elliott. Captain George Elliott of the Virginia Navy; and some allied families, Anderson, Atkins, Baker, Bridgewater, Campbell, Carpenter, Creel, Dadisman, Diddle, Fry, Grady, Hindman, Hughes, Jones, Lightfoot, McKay, Nelson, Odell, Pennebaker, Slaughter, Taylor [and] Thomas. https://archive.org/details/captaingeorgeell000del pp. 15 - 17. Accessed 22 January 2025.

³⁷ Centre for Robert Burns Studies. "Edinburgh's Enlightenment, 1680-1750" https://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/robertburnsstudies/edinburghenlightenment/themap/# Accessed 23 January 2025.

³⁸ Historic Environment Scotland. 75 High Street https://portal.historicenvironment.scot/apex/f? p=1505:300:::::VIEWTYPE,VIEWREF:designation,LB24386 Accessed 23 January 2025.

³⁹ Watson. Roll p. 249.

 $^{^{40}}$ Both the elder and younger George Heriot, were jewelers to the Royal household. Juhala. pp. 158, 244.

 $^{1591.^{41}}$ George Heriot, the younger, served in the same capacity in the Royal household between 1599 and $^{1604.^{42}}$ He died in 1624 London and was buried in St. Martins in the Fields. 43

William Kelly, writer to the Signet, was admitted to the burgess on 30 January 1592/93 and to the guild on 27 March 1592/93, by right of his wife, Jeane Barroun (daughter of James Barroun). He Jeane and her family lived in Barron's Close, a tenement situated with the Old Post Office Close at 253 High Street. James Barron was a merchant and a member of burgess and guild and at one time, Dean of Guild.

Dame Margaret Ker (daughter of Mr. James Ker, a merchant and member of the burgess in Edinburgh) and her husband, Thomas Crombie. James Ker was likely a brewer and the same as the husband of Margaret Black.⁴⁶

Robert Livingstoun, a baxter, was admitted to the burgess on 20 September 1577 by right of his apprenticeship to Adam Newtoun and to the guild on 8 February 1604 and his son Mr. Robert Livingstoun was admitted to the burgess and guild as the eldest son of Robert on 11 September 1616.47

Alexander McMath, a merchant, was admitted into the burgess and guild by right of his wife, Katherine, daughter of William McMorane, on 27 March 1579.⁴⁸ William McMath, son of Alexander, was a member of the Edinburgh Society of Brewers in 1618.⁴⁹ James McMath, also a member of the original corporation, a merchant, was admitted into the burgess and guild by right of his wife, Issobell, daughter of William McMath, a litister and member of the burgess and guild, on 25 May 1696.⁵⁰ James owned a tenement in Blackfriars Wynd, located on the southside of the Cowgate,⁵¹ in 1600. He was a member of the Edinburgh Society of Brewers in 1618.⁵²

Niniane McMorane, a skynner, was admitted into the guild by right of his father, William, also a member of the burgess and guild, on 28 August 1573 and to the burgess on 7 May 1589.⁵³ Ninian was the brother of Katherine who married Alexander

⁴¹ Watson. Roll p. 250 Alexander Ousteane (Oisteane), a tailor, admitted to the burgess on 26 May 1560 after paying a duty to Archibald Douglas, Provost. Watson. p. 388.

⁴² Juhala. p. 328.

⁴³ Parliament Square, Edinburgh. George Heriot https://parliamentsquareedinburgh.net/georgeheriot-1563-1624/ Accessed 22 January 2025.

⁴⁴ Watson. Roll p. 284.

⁴⁵ Watson. Closes p. 33.

⁴⁶ National Library of Scotland. Archives and Manuscript Catalogue. https://manuscripts.nls.uk/ repositories/2/archival_objects/185 Accessed 15 January 2025.

⁴⁷ Watson. Roll. p. 315.

⁴⁸ Watson. Roll. p. 315.

⁴⁹ Brown. Volume 2, p. 492, 493 for biographical sketches.

⁵⁰ Watson. Roll p. 331.

⁵¹ Watson. Closes. p. 81.

⁵² Brown. Volume 2, p. 492, 493 for biographical sketches.

⁵³ Watson. Roll p. 332. See also Brown. Volume 2, p. 494 for biographical sketch.

McMath. Issobell, sister of Ninian and Katherine, married John *McCall* and their son, John, was a brewer.⁵⁴

Of note regarding the McMorane family who lived at what is now Riddle's Court, near the Grassmarket:⁵⁵ Bailie John McMorane built the buildings on the North, West and South sides of the south courtyard in 1585.⁵⁶ They hosted at least one Royal Dinner in 1589.⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ He was murdered in 1595.⁵⁹ His Testament left the residence to Niniane.⁶⁰ John McNacht was admitted into the burgess and guild by right of Rodger McNacht, the Dean of Guild and member of the burgess and guild, on 24 August 1608.⁶¹ John was elected as a bailie for the burgh council in 1620 and 1624, as Dean of Guild and Treasurer in 1626 and Dean of Guild in 1628.⁶² He married Isobell Speir on 18 January 1597 in Edinburgh.⁶³

Isobell Mauchin, wife of Robert Livingstoun⁶⁴ and daughter of William Mauchan who was admitted to the burgess and guild as eldest son of Edward Mauchan, on 30 October 1593.⁶⁵ One Isobell Mauchan gave £1000 to Magdalen Chapel in the Cowgate in 1555.

⁵⁴ Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh "Edinburgh Commissariot Court, Testaments," p. 259. http://www.archive.org/details/scottishrecordso02scotuoft Accessed 11 December 2024.

⁵⁵ Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh "Edinburgh Commissariot Court, Testaments," p. 259 http://www.archive.org/details/scottishrecordso02scotuoft Accessed 11 December 2024.

⁵⁶ CANMORE. https://canmore.org.uk/site/52289/edinburgh-322-324-326-and-328-lawnmarket-riddles-close-and-court Accessed 23 January 2025.

⁵⁷ Juhala.pp. 30, 311 and 336 Accessed 12 December 2024.

⁵⁻⁸ F.-6 Riddel's Close, Lawnmarket: "The courtyard buildings are generally ascribed to Bailie John McMorran, a merchant of Edinburgh and City Treasurer 1589–91, who was shot in 1595 by William Sinclair at a barring-out of the High School. (Grant, Old and New Edinburgh, i, p. 110). James VI, his queen, Anne of Denmark, and her brother the Duke of Holstein were entertained in McMorran's house in 1598 (Diary of Robert Birrel, p. 46, in Fragments of Scottish History, 1798)." http://canmore.org.uk/site/52291 Accessed 18 December 2024. Entry includes numerous pictures and description of the three-storey tenement.

 ^{59 &}quot;John MacMorran". https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_MacMorran Accessed 16 December 2024.
 60 Scotland's People, Wills and Testaments. "MakMorane Johnne, 23/7/1596, merchant and sometime baillie of Edinburgh; Testament Dative and Inventory Edinburgh Commissary Court; CC8/8/29. https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/search-records/legal-records/wills Accessed 24 January 2025.

⁶¹ Watson. Roll p. 333.

⁶² Stewart. Politics p. 189.

⁶³ Scotland's People, Old Parish Registers, Banns and Marriages. Reference # 430/19 https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/search-records/church-registers/opr-marriages Accessed 24 January 2025.

⁶⁴ No marriage record is listed for Isobell Mauchan to Mr. Livingstoun in the Old Parish Registers held by Scotlands People. However, Issobell Machan married John Smyth on 24 April 1604 in Edinburgh Parish. (Reference 430/50) Likewise, no marriage record for Robert Livingstoun to Isobell was found but a Robert Levingstone married Elizabeth Donaldsone in Stirling Parish on 24 March 1593. (Reference 10/30) https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/search-records/church-registers/church-bannsmarriages Accessed 12 January 2025. Additionally, no birth record was found for their son Robert. https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/search-records/church-registers/opr-births

⁶⁵ Watson. Roll p. 343. Edward was the second son of Adam and Mariota Littill, daughter of Edward Littill.

Sarah Miller was the daughter of Alexander Miller and wife of Thomas *Fleming*. There are several possibilities of Alexander Miller in the burgess and guild rolls. The most likely was admitted into the burgess "at the request of the Kings Majesty" on 12 February 1584/85. Thomas was likely a relation of David, John and Robert Fleming, all wealthy Edinburgh merchants. ⁶⁷

Patrick Morrice was admitted into the burgess and guild on 29 January 1592/93 as eldest son of the deceased Alexander Morris. Alexander Morris, father and son, were in charge of the pewter and tin vessels in King James' household between 1592 and 1597. 69

Robert Napier was not listed in the burgess and guild rolls. However a man with the same name was admitted to the burgess and guild by right of his father, William, on 26 April 1643.⁷⁰ William Napier was named as a bailie in 1585.⁷¹ Roxburgh's Close, 341 High Street, was once owned by Alexander, Robert and William Napier.⁷²

James Nisbet was admitted to burgess and guild on 3 July 1566, paying duty to William Foullar, baillie, for his burgess membership and gratis membership in the guild at the request of Robert Richardson.⁷³ The Nisbet family lived at what is now known as Bishop's Close, but had been known as Edward Nisbet's, James Nisbet's and Patrick Nisbet's Close. William Nisbet, the provost in 1579, owned a tenement in Bannatyne's Close, now known as Hart's Close. Watson suggests that this Nisbet family was from Direlton.⁷⁴

George Overtane was likely George Oustean, the spelling "Overtane" being a transcription error for "Oustean." Alexander Owsteane, tailor, was a deacon of the guild in 1595 and listed in the burgess and guild rolls.⁷⁵ Katherene, the daughter of Alex Oursteane, married George Heriot. Several men named George Oustean were also listed as members of the burgess and guild during this time. Many of this family were tailors.⁷⁶

William Rig was admitted into the burgess and guild as the eldest son of deceased Patrick Rig on 10 July 1583.⁷⁷ William Rigg built Luckenbooths, a great tenement on the southside of the High Street, in close proximity to St. Giles Cathedral and the

⁶⁶ Watson. Roll p. 349.

⁶⁷ Brown. Volume 2 pp. 467, 468.

⁶⁸ Watson. Roll p. 359.

⁶⁹ Juhala. pp. 320, 321.

⁷⁰ Watson. Roll p. 376.

⁷¹ Juhala. p. 250.

⁷² Watson. Closes pp. 25, 26.

⁷³ Watson. Roll p. 382.

⁷⁴ Watson. Closes pp. 41–43.

^{75 &}quot;Alexander Ousteane". Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_Oustean Accessed 28 January 2025.

⁷⁶ Watson. Roll p. 388.

⁷⁷ Watson. Roll p. 422. See also Brown Volume 2, p. 517.

Tollbooth Jail.⁷⁸ In 1608 and again 1612, he was among five men who petitioned the King regarding the newly revised customs rates.⁷⁹ When he died in July 1619, his estate was worth over £80,000 which reflected his status as a wealthy merchant and overseas trader.⁸⁰

Dame Marion Somerville was the only daughter and heir of Patrick Somerville, who was admitted to the burgess and guild by right of his wife, Marioun (daughter of John Murray) on 10 August 1596.⁸¹ She was the second wife of Sir Lewis Craig.⁸² One Patrick Somerville was a page in the Royal household between 1582 and December 1591.⁸³

Conclusion

In conclusion, the earliest members of the Edinburgh Society of Brewers came from diverse backgrounds, including knights and their ladies, landed gentry, wealthy international traders, skilled tradesmen, and members of King James VI and Queen Anne's household. Not surprisingly, being in the same social circles, many intermarried. Each in their own way, contributed to building the strong foundation of the Society. Please contact me (email available from John Martin of the SBAA) if you would like more information and/or if we possibly share ancestors.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to the Scottish Brewing Archive Association, to the people who have transcribed the early records, and to the repositories who make them freely available online.

The author has been researching her genealogy for over 25 years. Recently, as she explored the ancestry of her eighth great grandmother, Jane Mackall Prather Smith, she discovered that numerous surnames that appear in her ancestry were associated with or members of the original Edinburgh Society of Brewers, in particular the McMath and McMorane families, the ancestors of Jane Mackall. This article presents some of her findings.

⁷⁸ Watson. Closes pp. 65, 66.

⁷⁹ Brown. Volume 2 p. 361.

⁸⁰ Brown. Volume 2 p. 517.

⁸¹ Watson. Roll p. 462.

⁸² Marion Somerville profile, WikiTree. https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Somerville-893

⁸³ Juhala. p. 315.

Fake or fortune?

Ivor T. Reid

JUST OVER A YEAR ago I was approached by fellow SBAA member and avid collector Neil Lawrence who had acquired a bottle of Tennent's Pilsener from a Spanish collector. Neil was offering the bottle to "The Tennent's Story" visitors' centre based at Wellpark Brewery, in exchange for an Aitken's beer can that Tennent's had in their collection. The bottle (figure 1) was of a type absent from the bottle collection on display at Wellpark and the immediate reaction was that this would be a valuable acquisition for the Tennent's Story.

The bottle was of a style used around the early 1900s and had an embossed foil and cork enclosure.

The label is also typical of the period. Note the beer is labelled "Pilsener" not lager, as this term would have been appropriate in export markets where the "Pilsen" style beer was more recognised than the generic lager description. We have further evidence of this on the letter (figure 2) dating from 1908 from Istanbul stating "Just Arrived, Excellent and famous beer from England(!!). Pilsener from the universally renowned Brewery Tennent's Ltd. Glasgow" with the same Pilsener label print attached.

After seeking approval from the Tennent Archive Trust Group (TATG) the swap was agreed and Neil delivered the bottle to The Tennent's Story early in 2024.

At this point the story of the bottle went from being interesting to intriguing. TATG and SBAA member Angus Meldrum spotted the markings on the neck label (see figure 3) and remembered them from his early days in the 1970s when he was responsible for the Bass Group Product Register at Bass Charrington's Baker Street London HQ where "P2 Stout" and the diamond shape were registered.

So, how did we have a bottle with a *Pilsener* body label and possibly a *Stout* neck label? Was this a clumsy fake?

To investigate further we required to understand more about P2 Stout. We won't go into the full history here but the P2 or double stout has its origins in strong stout (8–10% abv) being brewed for the Imperial Russian Court of Catherine the Great in the late 18th century. It is believed that the P2 was an indication that this was a double 'porter', as at the time the term stout was often used to describe a strong porter. So popular were these strong stouts in Russia, a warrant was granted and the term Russian Imperial Stout was used by London brewer Barclay Perkins & Co. Russia and the Baltic states were an important market for other British brewers and they

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Figure 1: The bottle acquired from a Spanish collector.



Figure 2: Announcement of the arrival of a shipment of Tennent's Pilsener in "Stamboul" (old French name for Istanbul), 1908.



Figure 3: Neck label of the mystery bottle.



Figure 4: Revival of the old Bass P2 stout by the Heritage Brewery of Burton. Photo courtesy of "The Cask Connoisseur".

were also brewing extra stout or double stout porter. It was noted¹ that Bass were producing P2 stout with a brown diamond logo for this market in the 1860s. So, were Tennent's brewing a similar stout?

Tennent's brewing records from as early as 1830 record a range of stouts being brewed, including Porter Double Stout with an estimated abv of 8.9%.² This would certainly meet the criteria for Russian Imperial Stout – however labels and branding that are known from the period don't specifically indicate Russia or any reference to the double Ps on the neck label.

¹ P2 Brown Diamond used by Bass 1860 (Ian Webster, "the Beertonian", December 2019). Although Bass stopped brewing P2 Russian Stout in the 1960s, it was revived by the Heritage brewery at the old Bass Museum in Burton and still exists ("Burton Brewer revives Czar's stout", *Protz on Beer*, February 2019). See bottle in figure 4

² See: Edd Mather, "A few comments on the beers of J & R Tennent 1830–1831", *Journal of the Scottish Brewing Archive Association* 23 (2023).

It looked like we were drawing a blank on any authentic connection between Tennent's and the "double P" branding on the neck label. Until Angus uncovered this remarkable document from 1876.

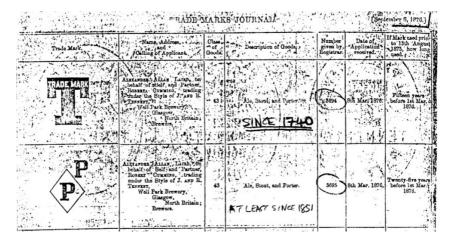


Figure 5: Excerpt from the Trade Marks Journal showing the P and diamond trademark, 1876.

Here the "Double P" trademark appears in the Trade Marks Journal registered to J&R Tennent, Wellpark Brewery Glasgow, with a declaration that it had been in use since 1851.

Therefore the "Double P" branding on the neck label would have been a genuine Tennent's product as would the Pilsener body label, but why on the same bottle?

I have personal experience of bottling quality control from the late 20th century, and even then, with much more sophisticated measures in place, it was possible for a bottle to leave the brewery with the wrong neck label. I therefore conclude that this was a Pilsener bottle with an erroneous neck label.

We could of course analyse the beer, however due to oxidation it is notoriously difficult to estimate the original attributes such as colour. Alcoholic content would be an indicator of the beer type, less than 8% abv would rule out a double stout. For now the genie will stay in the bottle.



Cover: The existence of the Scottish Brewing Archive goes back to the pioneering initiative of the then Professor Geoff Palmer, who died this year. SBAA President John Martin pays tribute.

Back cover. This issue features a major article on the Gothenburg pubs of Fife. One supplier of beer was John Fowler of Prestonpans, whose invoice is shown above. Crown Ale, at 4/6 a dozen "split" bottles, is the beer later better known as Fowler's Wee Heavy.