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Tyneside's Most Respectable Breweries of 1801

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SUMMARY

Apart from infrequent directory listings, there is little documentary evidence of the nature of Tyneside's brewing trade in the early nineteenth century. Baillie, however, in his 1801 history and directory, included a survey of brewing amongst his 'descriptions of manufactures, coalworks etc'. Amid the dearth of information generally, Baillie's brief treatment of brewing is imbued by default with a certain authority. Using other sources, this paper considers the records of those brewers Baillie singled out as prominent members of the trade in 1801 and how they highlight developments taking place within the brewing industry generally.

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the nineteenth century brewing was an art rather than a science. As countless late twentieth century home-brewers discovered, adequate results were achievable by the execution of a few simple tasks with minimal equipment and no previous knowledge. The only disadvantages for would-be brewers c. 1800 were the questionable water supplies and the difficulties of keeping beer during warm weather. But these failed to deter new entrants to the trade, who with little capital or experience began to follow an age old process of mashing malt and hot water, running off the liquid (wort) from the grains and boiling with hops, cooling the hopped wort and adding yeast, removing the yeast after fermentation and storing the beer.¹ The manufacture of beer, capable of being practised on a very small scale and using relatively crude methods, was an attractive proposition for publicans ('licensed

victualler brewers') in addition to those intent on becoming wholesale brewers ('common brewers').

The Tyneside beer market, like that of all rapidly industrialising areas, was growing as the nineteenth century opened. Beer was a comparatively safe, thirst-quenching drink when water and milk were less so, and when modern alternatives – tea, mineral water – were just not available or prohibitively priced. And beer drinking seems to have been particularly popular in the district: only anecdotal evidence survives but the poet John Cunningham (1729–1773) wrote with gusto about 'the freedom and health in Newcastle beer' and one visitor observed that the citizens 'not only fondly think, but largely partake, of the luxuries of their far-famed BEER!'² It should also be acknowledged that in 1804 a member of the Literary & Philosophical Society was moved to pen a tract on the problem of drunkenness.³

Newcastle, however, had become associated with beer: in the 1830s it was claimed that the city stood 'highly celebrated for the excellency of its beer', although a later account of local brewing written by a scientifically-trained practitioner suggested it was actually of a rather inferior kind.⁴

Some clues survive with regard to the structure of the trade. There were said to be 'many public breweries' in Newcastle and in 1824 they were judged to be 'both numerous and extensive'.⁵ The only concrete numerical evidence, however, came from official returns, appearing for the first time in 1831, which showed 28 unnamed common brewers and 138 publicans making their own beer.⁶

The only early nineteenth-century attempt to record the leading players in the industry was

Baillie's 1801 history and directory.⁷ After stating that the 'breweries in Newcastle and vicinity are numerous and several of them do good business', Baillie elected to identify only 'a few of the most respectable'. He actually cited eleven such undertakings in the following order: Potter, Langhorn & Co.; John Graham Clarke esq; Matthew Bell esq & Co.; Messrs Burdon & Rayne; Messrs Row and Richardson; R. and R. S. Richardson; Mr M. Plummer; Messrs Clapham and Co.; Mr Naiters; Messrs Barras and Co.; and Mr McCleod and Sons. The last two named were situated in Gateshead, the rest in Newcastle.

Using other sources, we can examine each of these undertakings and by highlighting their contrasting fortunes illustrate the various threads of structural change running through the brewing industry in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Breweries of the time were invariably run by single owners or small partnerships, reflecting the cheapness of entry to the trade, at least on modest scale. One historian of the industry found that 'the origins of the entrepreneur were likely to be as humble as the capital was small'.⁸ But the ease with which brewing could be commenced drew in some who soon thought better of continuing in business and others who left brewing to concentrate on other commercial interests. Partnerships often turned out to be fragile, and dissolution and changes of ownership were common. There were exceptions, however, and a continuity of family control over a long period is evident in some instances.

THE BREWERIES

John Graham Clarke Esq and Messrs Clapham & Co.

Two of Baillie's 'most respectable breweries' did not survive long into the century and little is known of them. Indeed, apart from Baillie's few words on the 'extensive' brewery 'nigh Pilgrim Street Gate', the only other references to John Graham Clarke, 'merchant and brewer',

are directory entries from 1787 to 1795. Similarly, Baillie mentions the 'brewery of Messrs Clapham & Co. in the Close' but other details are scarce. A 1782 directory shows Clapham & King as brewers in Javal Group, Close, which by the late 1780s had become Clapham & Co. or Anthony Clapham & Co. At the turn of the century the brewery is described as 'well-accustomed', but disappeared c. 1805.⁹

The fact that many of Newcastle's brewers operated near the Quayside demonstrates the diseconomies of transporting low-value bulky products and the benefits of locating near to their chief customers. In this respect it meant not only being close to the concentrated centres of population, but accessible to visiting seamen and shipping.¹⁰

Messrs Row and Richardson

In the sole-proprietorship or simple partnership it was often the case that the owner or at least one of the partners was that brewery's exponent of the brewer's art. Consequently, death or retirement of this key operative meant the cessation of brewing. In 1770 a brewhouse in Trinity Chare, Newcastle, was being let to John Thompson at an annual rent of £4, but by 1788 Thompson had died and James and Thomas Row had taken over. Baillie identified this brewery as 'the property of Messrs Row and Richardson, where great quantities of beer and porter are brewed'.¹¹ The reference to 'porter' implies a brewer displaying an element of initiative or innovation. Newcastle Mild was the staple product of most Tyneside brewers and porter was recorded in 1807 to have been 'only introduced here of late years'.¹² In 1807, when James Row had died and brewing had been suspended, the business also included a leasehold malting in Rewcastle Chare, warehouses and cellars in Broad Chare, and the lease of three public houses.¹³ An establishment preparing its own malt was another indication of an enterprising brewer.

Mr McCleod and Sons

Baillie described the Oakwellgate Brewery of McCleod & Sons in Gateshead as 'one of the

largest in the north' producing 'great quantities of porter and beer'. The 'very elegant' building had once been the residence of Sir John Coll and was converted to a textile mill in 1762 before another conversion created a brewery.¹⁴ McCleod's was a significant undertaking by local brewing standards; with 20 public houses attached in 1800, it exemplified the nascent trend towards the accumulation of tied outlets by the more progressive brewers of the time. No documentary evidence of the extent of individual tied estates exists but in 1824 it was estimated that 85 of Newcastle's public houses were controlled by brewers.¹⁵ When McCleod's vacated the brewery in 1812 it had two coppers of 50 and 15 barrel capacities, a 12 hp Trevithick steam engine and a mash tun working 26 quarters of malt. Brewing then ceased and the building became a brass foundry. In the late 1820s one of the McCleod family announced that after a lapse of 15 years he was again brewing porter and ales, but this time in Leith as the Scottish Brewery Co.¹⁶

Baillie was impressed by the size of McCleod's brewery but it could only be termed 'large' in a strictly local context. The size of a brewery was usually expressed in half-barrels (18 gallons) or barrels (36 gallons) which referred to the capacity of its brewing copper or coppers. The only hint as to the output levels of Tyneside breweries came with the publication of some official returns in 1830, which revealed an average annual production per common brewer of around 1,350 barrels. Nationally, the average was over 7,000. Furthermore, Newcastle's aggregate beer production only represented around 1.5 per cent of England and Wales' total output, which rather undermined the city's claim to be a significant brewing centre.¹⁷

Baillie rightly drew attention to the fact that 'Mr McCleod has lately erected a steam engine'. For bigger breweries, grinding greater quantities of malt and moving a high volume of liquids, the utilisation of steam engines, rather than the use of horses, had its appeal. In the North East, however, breweries were generally too small or too reluctant to adopt steam power in the first decade of the nineteenth century.¹⁸

R. and R. S. Richardson

In 1800 the Ouseburn Brewery, the property of R. S. Richardson & Co., was said to be 'lately finished and put into a complete state'. Two years later, when the brewery's lease was offered for sale, it was said to be 'particularly constructed for working with few hands and most eligibly situated for disposing of small beer, yeast and grains'. Baillie simply refers to the brewery as belonging to R. & R. S. Richardson. In 1802 Robt Richardson Jnr expressed a desire to retire into the country for the sake of his health and was offering to 'give a premium' to take the lease, which had about thirteen years to go, off his hands.¹⁹

A potential trap for eager entrants to the trade was the burden of a binding agreement to lease premises which lasted longer than the enthusiasm for brewing. This looks to have happened at the Ouseburn Brewery where again, in 1807, R. S. Richardson was attempting to let 'the brewery & malting with all utensils complete, under one roof, with large dry yard walled round . . . advantageously situated for trade, both by land and water carriage, to a very populous county'. In 1808 Richardson was still trying to find a tenant and believed he could 'assist persons taking the brewery to a sale of about 14 half-barrels of strong beer'. Money had lately been spent on 'getting additional spring water'. In 1816, when Richardson's lease finally expired, the property was described as 'formerly occupied as brewery and malting'.²⁰

A much later newspaper announcement of 1831 reported the dissolution of James Harvey & Co. (James Harvey, Robt Etherington and Edward Walton), common brewers, with respect to Harvey. Etherington and Walton were to continue on their own account 'at the Ouseburn Brewery'. It is unclear whether this Ouseburn Brewery occupied the same premises as the former, or was connected to the New Road Brewery where a Robt Etherington brewed.²¹

Messrs Burdon & Rayne

A 1778 directory shows a common brewer, a Mrs Reed, in Armorer's Chare. A letting notice

for 1780 describes 'a good dwelling house' and other buildings with 'fixed coppers, backs and cellars, granaries, horsemill and stabling' in possession of Mary Reed. In 1787 the brewery – 'contiguous to the Quayside' with an address sometimes given as Peacock Entry – had recently been vacated by Reed and was occupied by Thomas Burdon & Co.

In 1801 Baillie described the property of Messrs Burdon & Rayne in Custom House Entry as one 'which for years has brewed vast quantities of beer'. This was another brewery that set about tying in licensed houses.²²

In 1812 the partnership of Thomas Burdon and John Rayne was dissolved and Burdon carried on alone. Sir Thomas Burdon, knighted in 1816, died in July 1826 at the age of 68 and in 1827 the brewery went to auction. It consisted of a brewhouse, two rooms, three cellars, a stable, three offices, three rooms above and a malting. There was a further malting, plus bond cellar, spirit cellar, coopers' shop and lofts with a drayman's house in Broad Garth. Eighteen licensed houses were also offered for sale. The confined trade of the brewery was said to average between 150 and 200 half-barrels per week. At the end of 1827 the stock and utensils of the brewery were sold off.²³

Mr M Plummer

A pattern of regular partnership changes, and also the tendency of entrepreneurs with multiple commercial interests to move in and out of brewing, was witnessed at the Sun Brewery on the Quayside. When Wm Nixon died in 1793 the business was carried on as 'Spencer & Nixon' by surviving partner, Hugh Spencer. It would appear that Matthew Plummer (1771–1856) acquired the brewery towards the end of the eighteenth century. Plummer, a former blacksmith's boy from North Yorkshire, had arrived in Newcastle in 1785 to work as a West India merchant and later, alongside other ventures, began brewing. He left brewing in 1813, by which time it must have been little more than a sideline. Plummer's wide-ranging career included setting himself up as a ship and insurance broker, becoming a partner in the

Northumberland Flax Mills and the St Lawrence Bottleworks, and acquiring considerable coal interests and extensive property on the banks of the Tyne. He was also for 30 years vice-consul in Newcastle for the USA and for 15 years was chairman of the Newcastle & Carlisle Railway.²⁴

Plummer's interest in brewing appears to have been entirely commercial; with no family background in the trade, he seems to have been motivated by purely entrepreneurial instincts. Similarly, James Losh (1763–1833) held shares in the Hexham Brewery.²⁵ Others, whose wealth was accrued from an original venture into brewing, moved into other fields of enterprise or joined the landed classes.²⁶

Thos Spencer and James Stawpert followed Plummer into the Sun Brewery 'determined to brew a very superior eight penny ale, as well as good table beer with which families may be regularly supplied'. In quick succession, between 1813 and 1815, the partnership changed from Spencer & Stawpert to Thos Spencer & Thos Bell, and then to Thos Spencer as sole owner. In 1819 the brewery was 'capable of brewing 50 to 60 barrels' with a double malting, cooperage, counting house, workmen's house, stabling etc. By the early 1820s Thos Spencer and Charles Spencer were running the brewery, and the partnership continued until 1841. By then the premises were capable of brewing 55 half-barrels four times a week and an 8 hp steam engine was in use.²⁷

Messrs Potter, Langhorn & Co.

Leaving brewing to concentrate on other ventures ultimately marked the end of brewing for the Potters. Wm Potter, then Wm Potter & Co. 'beer and porter brewers' of the Newcastle Brewery, Forth Banks, appear in directories from 1787. In 1801 Baillie called the brewery of Messrs Potter, Langhorn & Co. 'a large one in Skinnergate'. In 1818 Wm Potter & Co. 'common brewers in Newcastle and Swalwell' (a partnership between Wm Potter, Robt Jobling, Cresswell Jobling as trustees of Margaret Jobling and Addison Langhorn Potter) was dissolved with regard to Robt Jobling and

Margaret Jobling. The firm was carried on by Wm Potter and Addison Langhorn Potter, who in 1822 decided to wind down brewing at Swalwell. The last directory appearance of the Newcastle Brewery was in 1844.²⁸

Addison Langhorn [sometimes, Langhorne] Potter, who effectively ran the brewing and malting business, died in his 70th year in 1853 at Heaton Hall. He had been a member of both the old and reformed City Corporation and was mayor in 1844–1845. He was succeeded by his son, Addison Potter, who diversified into other activities which included the running of the Tyne Cement Works at Willington Quay and a partnership in the Stella Coal Company. Addison Potter was also chairman of the Newcastle & Gateshead Water Company, a prominent officer in the volunteers and a conspicuous member of other public bodies.²⁹ The involvement of brewers in municipal life was not rare and possibly helped bestow a certain respectability on the trade.³⁰

The Potter family's best known business was the maltings in Melbourne Street, Newcastle, recognised as one of the finest of its kind. The imposing seven storey building was acquired by Newcastle Breweries in 1918.³¹

Matthew Bell Esq & Co.

Baillie talks of a brewery in the Sandgate 'called the Tyne Brewery, the property of Matthew Bell Esq & Co.'. In directories of the time the address is also given as St Mary's St and North Shore. The firm prospered over a long period and although proprietorship took various forms, the Bell family were always prominent: Richard Bell in 1790 and 1795; Bell's Brewery in 1811; Bells, Brown & Co. in 1821 and 1824; Bells, Dixon & Co. from 1831 to 1844; and Bells, Robson & Co. in 1847. The Sandgate brewery closed in 1868 and the firm moved into much bigger premises.³²

By the second half of the nineteenth century competition in the drink trade had been intensified: the railway network and growing agency system was distributing large quantities of superior beers from outside the region across

Tyneside. Some local brewers began to acknowledge a role for innovation and a more scientific approach. Facilities were being remodelled and Bell's, Robson & Co.'s new, purpose-built brewery in Bath Lane was said to be 'one of the wonders which strangers to Newcastle did not fail to visit' and producing beer on 'an enormous scale'. When the partnership of Bells, Robson & Co. was dissolved in 1874 the firm became the Tyne Brewery Co. But the company overstretched itself and by 1881 operations had been suspended and one of its buildings was incorporated into Bath Lane Schools. The brewery was bought by Barras & Co.³³

Mr Naiters

One brewery that survived well into the twentieth century was at Sandyford where, according to Baillie, there was 'a very large brewery and of long standing, the property of Mr Naiters'. In the mid-eighteenth century Ralph Naters was a baker and brewer, and his brother Joseph a beer brewer. Joseph appears to have been proprietor of the Sandyford Stone Brewery until the latter part of the eighteenth century when his sons, Nicholas and Ralph, took over the running of the business. Until 1812 Ralph had been in partnership with Henry Weatherley as a wine and spirit merchant with cellars on the Side. After Nicholas Naters' death in 1822, Ralph Naters carried on the business until his own death in 1863.³⁴

The Sandyford Stone Brewery passed to J. S. Arnison, Naters' son-in-law. By the mid-1880s Arnison had given up his business interests in glass-making and was about to retire from brewing. Robt Deuchar leased the brewery from the late 1880s and bought it outright after Arnison's death in 1892.³⁵

Messrs Barras & Co.

The most noteworthy of Baillie's 'most respectable' breweries was the 'extensive one' in Gateshead of Barras & Co. Originally yeoman farmers, the Barras family had become wealthy in the mid-eighteenth century via revenues from wayleaves. John Barras (1745–1811) had

established a brewing business whilst in his twenties and in 1799 was advertising for a new partner in 'a well-accustomed brewery and malting business'. John Barras Jnr, who took over the business at the age of 27, rationalised his drink interests in 1821: he left the wine and spirit partnership but reconstructed his brewing firm such that he and John Russel emerged as the only partners in Barras & Co.³⁶

As John Barras Jnr prospered he moved from the house alongside his brewery to Farnacres Hall, a 'neat modern mansion, with pleasure grounds tastefully laid out'. His first son was born a deaf mute and a fourth son was mentally handicapped. The second and third sons embarked on a leisurely European tour before preparing to take over the reins of the family business, but died on the same day in Milan in 1851.³⁷

Charles Reed married into the Barras family, became involved with the brewery in 1848 and, after the effective demise of the Barras line, leased the brewery from the Barras Trust in 1861. The trust was wound up in 1882 and the Gateshead brewery and its licensed houses went onto the market. The brewery site was sold to the North Eastern Railway Co. for £8500.

Charles Reed acquired the majority of the public houses and moved into the vacant Tyne Brewery, Newcastle. Barras & Co. was converted to a limited liability company in 1889 and a year later was the prime mover in the amalgamation that became the Newcastle Breweries Ltd.³⁸

CONCLUSION

Baillie's decision to include breweries amongst his 'descriptions of manufactories, coalworks etc', however fleeting the reference, was a singularly valuable service: at the opening of the nineteenth century few people felt Tyneside's brewing trade worthy of consideration. Somewhat fortuitously, the brewers Baillie cited embraced a cross-section of subsequent experiences in the trade. With the luxury of hindsight, however, questions can be raised

about Baillie's selection of 'the most respectable' of Tyneside's breweries. For example, there are two omissions from those brewing in 1801 which, from our standpoint some two centuries later, we would have expected to be included: Newcastle's Hanover Square Brewery, originating in 1728 and operative until the 1970s, and Tucker's Turk's Head Brewery in Gateshead which brewed from the 1770s to the 1950s.³⁹

NOTES

¹ It was said in 1940 that if the Queen's College brewer of 1340 was to visit a brewery some 600 years later 'he would find the processes remained the same; the difference consisted of the environment in which they were carried out, the machinery brought into use and the revolutionised outlooks on the causes and meanings of changes from barley to beer' [H. Lloyd-Hind, *Brewing: Science and Practice*, II (1940), 507].

² A. Myers, *Myers Literary Guide. The North East*, 2nd Edn (1997), 63; T. F. Dibdin, *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in the Northern Counties of England and in Scotland* (1838), I, 350.

³ T. Trotter, *An Essay, Medical, Philosophical and Chemical on Drunkenness* (1804).

⁴ T. Oliver, *A New Picture of Newcastle Upon Tyne* (Newcastle 1831), 27; T. W. Lovibond, 'The Brewing Trade of the Tyne', British Association, *Handbook to the Industries of Newcastle and District* (Newcastle 1889), 229–32.

⁵ D. Akenhead & Son, *The Picture of Newcastle upon Tyne: Containing A Guide to the Town & Neighbourhood* (Newcastle 1807), [facsimile reprint, 1969], 109; Oliver (1831), 27.

⁶ *Account of the Beer Exported and Brewed in Great Britain and the Number of Brewers, 1830* (1831), 60 XVII.67.

⁷ J. Baillie, *Impartial History of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne and its Vicinity* (Newcastle, 1801), 530.

⁸ P. Mathias, *The Brewing Industry in England, 1700–1830* (1959), 254.

⁹ Baillie (1801), 530; W. Whithead, *An Account of Newcastle upon Tyne and Epitomized History of that Town and County* (Newcastle, 1787); *Whitehead's Newcastle & Gateshead Directory, 1790* (Newcastle, 1902); Wm. Hilton, *The Newcastle & Gateshead Directory* (Newcastle, 1795); *Whitehead's Directory of Newcastle* (Newcastle, 1782); *Holden's Directory of Newcastle* (Newcastle, 1805).

¹⁰ In the early nineteenth century beer was an inherently unstable product and one capable of 'travelling' by sea required greater attributes than one that merely sought to satisfy a thirsty sailor on shore. Consequently, only the more confident common brewers brewed such products, although 'ship beer' was being made in 1788 [*Newcastle Courant* 12 July 1788].

¹¹ *Newcastle Courant* 15 Dec 1770, 12 July 1788; Baillie (1801), 530.

¹² Akenhead & Son (1807), 109.

¹³ *Newcastle Courant* 28 Feb 1807, 14 Mar 1807.

¹⁴ Baillie (1801), 530; E. Mackenzie & M. Ross, *An Historical, Topographical and Descriptive View of the County Palatine of Durham* (Newcastle, 1834), I, 101.

¹⁵ Oliver (1831), 27.

¹⁶ *Newcastle Courant* 30 Mar 1811, 24 Dec 1813, 26 May 1827.

¹⁷ Calculations based upon *Account of the Beer Exported and Brewed in Great Britain and the Number of Brewers, 1830* (1831), 60 XVII.67 and G.B. Wilson, *Alcohol and the Nation* (1940), Tables 13 & 14, 368–369.

¹⁸ Baillie (1801), 530; B. Bennison, 'The Adoption of Steam by North-eastern Brewing during the Nineteenth Century', *Brewery History*, No. 98, Jan 2000.

¹⁹ *Newcastle Courant* 11 Oct 1800, 6 Nov 1802, 24 Sep 1803; Baillie (1801), 530.

²⁰ *Newcastle Courant* 28 Mar 1807, 6 Aug 1808, 18 May 1816.

²¹ *Newcastle Courant* 27 Aug 1831, 5 Oct 1833.

²² Boyle & Co. *The First Newcastle Directory, 1778* (Newcastle, 1889); *Newcastle Courant* 25 Nov 1780, 9 Jun 1787; Baillie (1801), 530.

²³ *Newcastle Courant* 6 Jun 1812, 16 June 1827, 22 July 1827; R. Welford, *Men of Mark 'twixt Tyne and Tweed* (Newcastle, 1895), I, 436–41.

²⁴ Baillie (1801) 530; J. S. Maclean, *The Newcastle and Carlisle Railway* (Newcastle, 1948), 114; J. For-dyce, *Local Records* (Newcastle, 1867), I, 426.

²⁵ E. Hughes, *The Diaries and Correspondence of James Losh, I, Diary 1811–1823*, Surtees Society, 171, 1956 (Durham, 1962), xiii.

²⁶ The best, if later, example of this phenomenon was James Deuchar (1849–1927) who built up a considerable fortune from brewing and licensed property on Tyneside and Wearside. On his death his 7,000 acres in Northumberland were thought to

make him the county's biggest farmer. He lived near Kelso on another 6,000 acres. See B. Bennison, *The Brewers and Bottlers of Newcastle. From 1850 to the Present Time* (Newcastle, 1995), 27–9 and D. J. Rowe, 'James Deuchar' in D.J. Jeremy & C. Shaw, *Dictionary of Business Biography* (1984), II, 83–5.

²⁷ *Newcastle Courant* 7 Aug 1813, 28 Jan 1815, 30 Aug 1819, 16 Apr 1841, 23 Apr 1841.

²⁸ *Newcastle Directory* (1797); Baillie (1801) p.530; *Newcastle Courant* 31 Oct 1818; 21 Dec 1822; *William's Commercial Directory of Newcastle* (Newcastle, 1844).

²⁹ *Newcastle Journal* 16 July 1853; Newcastle Central Library, Local Obituaries, II, 20.

³⁰ A later example of someone who was successful in the drink trade and had a celebrated career both in the territorials and in municipal politics was John (ultimately Sir John) Fitzgerald [see Bennison (1995), 64–5].

³¹ *Rivers of the North. Their Cities and Commerce* (1894), 16; Newcastle Breweries Ltd, Minutes, TWAS1463/7&8

³² Baillie (1801), 530; *Whitehead's* (1902); Hilton (1795); *Newcastle Directory* (1811); *A General Directory of Newcastle* (Newcastle, 1824); Richardson, M.A. *Directory of the Towns of Newcastle and Gateshead* (Newcastle, 1838); *William's Directory* (1844); *White & Co. General Directory of Newcastle and Gateshead* (Newcastle, 1847); *Newcastle Courant* 6 Nov 1868.

³³ *Brewers' Guardian* 19 May 1874, 19 Jun 1883; *Newcastle Courant* 29 Apr 1881; *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* 23 May 1882; *Newcastle Daily Journal* 23 Mar 1882, 7 Mar 1883.

³⁴ Baillie (1801) 530; F.W. Dendy, *An Account of Jesmond* (Newcastle, 1904), 166–8.

³⁵ *Newcastle Daily Journal* 5 Oct 1892, 27 Oct 1892

³⁶ Baillie (1801), 530; *Newcastle Courant* 28 Sep 1799, 24 Mar 1821, Mar 1821; B. Ritchie, *Good Company. The Story of Scottish & Newcastle* (1999), 34–5.

³⁷ B. Bennison & J. R. Merrington, *The Centenary History of the Newcastle Breweries Ltd, 1890–1990* (Newcastle, 1991), 4–5.

³⁸ *Brewers' Guardian* 19 Jun 1883; *Newcastle Daily Journal* 14 May 1884; Ritchie (1999), 35, 63–8.

³⁹ Baillie (1801), 530; *Tyneside Industries* (1889), 108; R. Richmond, & A. Turton, *The Brewing Industry. A Guide to Historical Records* (Manchester, 1990), 339.

