

## ON THE FOUNDING OF PILSNER URQUELL

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How did the burghers of Pilsen come to build their own brewery in 1842, and thus create Pilsner beer, the world's most popular brewing style?

Perhaps the best explanation of what actually took place is to be found in the brewery's own fiftieth-anniversary Festschrift, *Městanský Pivovar v Plzni 1842-1892*. In it, the burghers describe the events leading up to the creation of what would - much later - come to be known around the world as Pilsner Urquell. Occasionally biased, sometimes even arguably incorrect, the book is about as close as we can get to a contemporary account of the first days of the Burghers' Brewery in Pilsen.

The passage on the brewery's founding begins by noting that

In Pilsen, only top-fermented ['nadkvasné'] beer was brewed until 1842, although already at the beginning of the century, bottom-fermented ['podkvasné'] beer was made elsewhere in Bohemia.

This is not quite correct: Marie Černohorská has written about fifteenth-century bottom-fermented beers and other pre-Pilsner 'lager' brewing styles in the Czech lands in the brewing journal *Kvasný Průmysl*, meaning that there were certainly bottom-fermented beers in Bohemia long before the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> At the time of Pilsner Urquell's founding, however, it seems that bottom fermentation had largely died out in the country, just as top fermentation would then quite swiftly go extinct in the wake of industrial lager, disappearing over the course of less than 40 years.

Bottom-fermented beer, otherwise generally called 'Bavarian beer,' because it first spread in Bavaria, slowly pushed back

top-fermenting beer, and everywhere people tried to rearrange breweries for bottom fermentation. By the year 1841, already one-tenth of all breweries in Bohemia brewed bottom-fermenting beer, which over four decades then entirely took over and pushed back the top-fermented product.

According to the *Nový Poupeč* of 1880, a Czech brewing handbook based on František Ondřej Poupeč's watershed brewing manual from 1794, Bohemia still had 137 top-fermenting breweries in 1870, though only two remained by 1876. Similar accounts appeared in the *New York Times* in 1876.<sup>2</sup>

Most importantly, this passage gives the lie to the notion that bottom fermentation was unknown in Bohemia when Pilsner Urquell first fired its kettles in 1842.

This victorious march, which bottom-fermenting beer started in the late thirties, around all European beer-producing countries, was not missed by the observation of the Pilsen burghers, but the inclination towards old habits and the very primitive equipment of Pilsen breweries, on one hand, and also the satisfying influence on the selling price of beer remaining at the same level and untouched by any competition, proved to be a very strong obstacle, which up until then blocked the entry of bottom-fermenting beers to brewing in Pilsen.

Everywhere else they were adapting to the new way of brewing beer, by which they were accommodating the requests of the citizenry. Only in Pilsen did everything remain in the old manner. This circumstance, which was joined by the worsening quality of many Pilsen brewers, caused that there were foreign beers imported into Pilsen, largely from surrounding noblemen's breweries, and here, being sold for a cheap price, were ousting the local product.

Weak sales were often the reason that top-fermented Pilsen beer, stored in many different Pilsen taproom buildings, went bad and had to be destroyed.

This idea of the ‘worsening quality’ of Pilsen’s own beer, or that of beer going bad comes up several times, here and in other accounts of the founding of Pilsner Urquell.

This passage, however, is one of the only places where a further argument is made: that a chief culprit was the excessive price of local beer, which caused slow sales, which in turn caused the town’s beer to go bad - an argument that is backed up by numerous references to high prices in the brewery’s founding document, the ‘Request of the Burghers with Brewing Rights for the Construction of Their Own Malt- and Brew-house’ of 1839.

To say nothing of the growing preference at the time for bottom-fermented, so-called ‘Bavarian’ beer, if Pilsen’s local drink had not been much more expensive than imports, Pilsner Urquell might never have been founded.

It is then quite easy to understand that this was the way that the formerly thriving brewing business in Pilsen was deteriorating, and by this deterioration the income from brewing rights was also falling. As a result of this situation, bitter dissatisfaction rose among the burghers with brewing rights, and it was generally concluded the opinion that a repair must be done if the brewing rights of Pilsen citizens - which for centuries had created a rich source of income - should not be infringed so much that their income would be damaged for entire decades, or perhaps even forever.

There was a good deal of bitter dissatisfaction among Pilsen’s citizens at the time, as we’ll see in the ‘Request,’ which notes that ‘the burghers who held brewing rights lived in constant unrest and tension with the town’s brewers and maltsters.’

The beer calamity which started falling on the interested parties kept growing, and it so happened that in February of 1838, the offices saw themselves forced to pour out in the square in front of the town hall 36 barrels of beer that were said to be unfit for use and dangerous for health.

This caused a new deliberation about the then-current defects which were possible to be repaired only through speedy and radical help.

In the tavern U Zlatého Orla, whose owner Václav Mirwald was at the time the innkeeper, a daily meeting took place of a group of important citizens, who often discussed the construction of a Pilsen brewery and advised each other of the steps that were necessary to take so that the repairs would be done and the badly threatened interests of the brewing-right citizenry returned to their original validity.

This is not the only text which notes Václav Mirwald’s singular importance in creating the brewery: the town chronicle *Kniha pamětní král. krajského města Plzně od roku 775 až 1870*, published in 1883, notes that ‘the greatest credit for the founding of the brewery should go to Václav Mirwald.’ It is easy to understand Mr Mirwald’s interest, as he was in the rare position to profit two times on a single serving of beer. As a právovárečník, or brewing-rights holder, Mr Mirwald earned money no matter where the town’s beer was sold, just like any other burgher with brewing rights. And as an innkeeper, Mr Mirwald made a couple of crowns on every pint he himself sold in his pub, one of the most popular establishments in town.

Gifted with healthy reason, the innkeeper Václav Mirwald took part at these lively meetings, and usually finished his judgments on this subject by stating:

We need good and cheap beer, the brewing-right citizens must itself build a brewery for themselves, which is then equipped in the Bavarian manner, and by themselves brew beer with a Bavarian brewmaster.

Again, the importance is placed not just on the quality of the beer, but on its price. An alternate account in *Kniha pamětní král. krajského města Plzne od roku 775 až 1870* notes that Václav Mirwald ‘finished each opportunity to speak with the declaration “We must have good and cheap beer!”’

It has been implied more than once that the burghers of Pilsen took advantage of the original brewmaster from Bavaria, Josef Groll, hiring him to set up the brewery and then sending him away once they had acquired his Bavarian beer-making mojo. (It was more than just Mr Groll: *Městanský pivovar v Plzni 1842-1892* notes that the original head brewer, his assistant brewer and the brewery’s chief cooper all came from Bavaria.) This is incorrect: according to *Plzeňský Prazdroj, pivo z Městanského pivovaru v Plzni*, a brewery brochure

from 1907, all of the brewmasters at Pilsner Urquell until the year 1900 - Josef Groll from Vilshofen as brewmaster from 1842-1845, Sebastian Baumgärtner from Sankt Salvator from 1845-1850, Jakub Blöchl from Wolfstein from 1850-1879 and Josef Binder from Kreuzberg as brewmaster from 1879-1900 - all came from Bavaria.

It was not until 1900 that the brewery hired its first non-Bavarian brewmaster, Adolf Bayer, who came from Dobřany, a town 9 miles (14 kilometers) south of Pilsen.

This opinion of Mirwald's gained ground, not just among the majority of the brewing-rights committee, but also among the majority of his fellow citizens, and the first step to the realization of Mirwald's ideas was that the brewing-rights committee sent deputies from among the burghers, Messrs. Václav Mirwald, František Bretschneider, Josef Jan Klotz, Václav Starý and Jakub Michel to the current imperial mayor, Martin Kopecký, bringing first the complaint against the sale of foreign beer in Pilsen, and furthermore heard the advice of this dignitary regarding the device of the burghers' brewery.

Martin Kopecký was a man of progress, responsible in every respect for the general blossoming of Pilsen. What a wonder, then, that his advice was always heard with trust, each time when it was about solving the questions of public importance.

Regarding foreign beer, the mayor said that this could not be undone by ban, because each innkeeper in the town could buy beer according to his judgment from any brewer he preferred, even from foreign ones. On the other hand, this enlightened man was inclined to the view that the brewing-right citizenry should build its own brewery, because - as he reminded them - only with healthy and good beer would it be possible to beat the foreign competition, and also achieve rich sales outside of Pilsen.

This is probably influenced by the view of an immensely successful brewery in 1892. As we'll see, there was only the slightest hint of the possibility of selling beer outside of Pilsen in the founding document of 1839, which placed much more importance simply on keeping the burghers' market in their hometown.

At the same time, in the case that the brewing-right citizenry decided to realize this idea, the mayor promised to extend his useful assistance to accomplish this goal. When the burghers who were sent to the mayor were accommodated so positively, the committee of the brewing-right citizenry started the needed preparatory works with pleasure, in order to win over their fellow citizens to the idea of building their own brewery.

And on January 2, 1839, the committee of Pilsen burghers with brewing rights issued an appeal to their fellow citizens.

### **Request of the Burghers with Brewing Rights for the Construction of Their Own Malt- and Brew-house**

As far as concerns the tradition of our ancestors in the city of Pilsen, it is generally known that the burghers who held brewing rights lived in constant unrest and tension with the town's brewers and maltsters regarding the execution of their rights, and certainly not without reason, for there were times when the maltsters and brewers abused the brewing rights for their own profit to such an extent that they often managed to gain them for a bucket of beer or only a few gulden. Thus it happened that the rights fell into complete disrepute.

The burghers of the time felt this pressure from the brewers quite bitterly. Partly because of their excessive goodness, partly because they did not feel strong enough in themselves, they refrained from undertaking anything against these harmful influences, although the means to do so were not unknown to them and - as contemporary witnesses will confirm - already at that time a lively wish to end these circumstances was being heard.

Only in more recent times have our brewing rights begun to be appreciated for their true value and be given their regular appearance. With the belief that these rights have the relevant basis, the burghers' administration was founded, though it had to be reinforced from time to time, with the purpose of successfully resisting the abuses of the brewers.

That stewardship, elected from within the impartial citizenry, which confronts to a certain extent an excessive means of overproduction, did not function when the brewers assumed the right of setting the price of beer themselves, and so even with the most strict governance it often was not possible to maintain neighborly competition, which had the effect that beer from other dominions was imported into Pilsen and consumed here in significant quantities.

When this contraction was not excessive and the burghers were still enjoying adequate income from their rights, they were content with the referred-to arrangements. But the moment has arrived where their rights are threatened by a much greater danger. Neighboring dominions are attempting to establish storehouses in Pilsen of the very best beer, samples of which have already been officially submitted and which by the current price of barley and malt is being offered at 9 crowns per Maß, therefore 2 crowns cheaper than the price of our local beer. By this a signal would be issued casting the brewing rights of Pilsen burghers the same lot which has already befallen the majority of Czech cities in the same manner.

This danger threatens to the burghers' right to brew to a full extent and paralyzes the available powers to contradict it. If one such brewery business establishes itself, there is no doubt that it will find many followers, and flood our city with foreign, cheap beer.

Therefore a question is forced upon the interested: in which way could this be prevented, and that the brewing right be endowed with an unmistakable foundation?

The means can be acquired only if the burghers will be able to confront the competition from their neighbors in both the quality and the price of beer, and provide better and cheaper beer to the public.

This cannot be accomplished if current Pilsen brewers endeavor exclusively to enrich themselves at the cost of the public, and not be content if the price of beer rises by one kreuzer per Maß, and for an entire brew by 40 gulden, compared to the prices from our surrounding neighbors; this can only be rectified if the burghers - as has often happened in other towns - construct their own brewery and their own malthouse.

Through such steps would the burghers not only multiply their production and would obtain for each batch from their own brewery 80 gulden, but also other advantages would accrue to them, namely:

- a) there would be gained the savings of rent for the malt house and brewery;
- b) all overproduction would be prevented;
- c) mature, unspoiled malt would be achieved, and thus
- d) the best quality of beer;
- e) a burgher, who would brew, would not have to entrust his barley and malt to foreign hands, his capital would not be threatened by fire, etc. - Finally
- f) it could improve the quality of the beer by proceeding to produce bottom-fermented beers and lagers, and in so doing the market for Pilsner beer could be gained even outside the territory of Pilsen.

Such an undertaking could be done without problems from the same fund from which the barracks were built and the amount of 24 gulden would remain, which has been paid up until today to the burghers upon commencement of brewing rights, and which would remain untouched. Since the brewing treasury, upon the upcoming initiation of rights, after deducting all obligations, will show significant savings in cash, it could even begin this year.

Since the burghers could build a barracks which cost more than four times one hundred thousand gulden, and then, on the advice of individuals from their own depths make a gift of it, they will certainly not make a mistake when in order to defend the attacks on their rights they will build a malting house and brewery as their own permanent property and an honorable memorial to their descendants.

If some individuals, out of selfishness or unreason, let themselves be seduced into opposition against such a boon, it is to be reminded that such an effort of theirs will be in vain, for a way has been found to accomplish this plan conclusively.

From the Pilsen Burghers Brewing Committee on January 2, 1839.<sup>3</sup>

### Mistakes and Misunderstandings

First brewed on October 5 of 1842 - almost 170 years ago as of this writing - the Burghers' Brewery in Pilsen, now known as Pilsner Urquell, is one of the few breweries truly deserving the term 'legendary.' However, not all of those legends are true, especially when it comes to the early days of the original Pilsner.

Did the original recipe really use Saaz hops? Has there been any variation in the type of beer that has been called Pilsner Urquell? And wasn't the brewery founded by Germans?

The following are a few mistakes, misunderstandings and misconceptions about Pilsner Urquell's beginnings, taken from various sources: beery talk in pubs, beer blogs, *The Oxford Companion to Beer*, and even my own guidebook from 2007, from which the following quote is taken:

*'The first pub to serve Pilsner Urquell in Prague started up in 1843 ... U Pinkasů.'*<sup>4</sup>

U Pinkasů certainly does claim to be the first ('první v Praze'),<sup>5</sup> a boast which has even been repeated by

Pilsner Urquell's marketing department, but according to the brewery's own chronicle, *Měšťanský Pivovar v Plzni 1842-1892*, the first pub to tap the beer in Prague was Karel Knobloch's tavern U Modré Štíky, once located at the corner of Karlova and Liliová streets, which started selling Pilsner Urquell as early as the brewery's inaugural year of 1842 - one year before U Pinkasů.

*Pilsner Urquell has only ever been one beer, the exact same pale lager it is today.*

This is incorrect. Even the first brewer, Josef Groll, initially put out two kinds of beer in 1842-1843, both výčepní and ležák, and about twice as much of the former as the latter (source: *Měšťanský Pivovar v Plzni 1842-1892*). That is to say: in addition to the familiar ležák ('lager,' in this case referring to the beer's strength) around 12° Balling / Plato, Groll also brewed a weaker beer, probably around 10°, which has no analogue at the brewery today.

By 1907, records show that the Burghers' Brewery was producing three different beers: an 11° lager which they called 'výčepní, či zimní,' (meaning 'taproom, or winter'), again with no contemporary equivalent, as



Figure 1. Depiction of the original Pilsen Burghers' Brewery of 1842 in Měšťanský Pivovar v Plzni 1842-1892.

well as a 12° světlý ležák, presumably most like today's Pilsner Urquell, and 'pro zámořský transport 13 stupňový exportní ležák,' or an unusual '13-degree export lager for overseas transport.'<sup>6</sup>

*The first pilsner was created using Saaz hops.<sup>7</sup> Groll added generous portions of the fragrant Saaz hops to his brew.<sup>8</sup>*

File this under 'For What It's Worth,' but according to *Měšťanský Pivovar v Plzni 1842-1892*, the hops for the first batch of beer from the Burghers' Brewery in Pilsen - and all of the batches from 1842 until at least 1844 - were purchased from Josef Fischbach in Mnichov, near Mariánské Lázně, some 78 kilometers (48 miles) away from Žatec, the town known as Saaz in German, a place that is not considered part of the Žatec Saaz hop region today.

*Legend holds that in 1840 a monk smuggled some of the precious lager yeast out of Bavaria.<sup>9</sup>*

The historical record notes that bottom-fermenting 'seed yeast (yeast, material) for the first batch and fermented wort were purchased from Bavaria' (*Měšťanský Pivovar v Plzni 1842-1892*). Not smuggled: purchased, without the assistance of any monk.<sup>10</sup>

Even if the brewery's own records didn't contradict this legend, which they do, it might be helpful to remember that Napoleon secularized German monasteries and their breweries at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

*The first batch of Pilsner Urquell was tapped on 5 October, or 11 November, or 25 February of 1842, depending on whom you ask.*

If you ask the historical record, there's little doubt: *Měšťanský Pivovar v Plzni 1842-1892*, and the 1883 Pilsen city chronicle *Kniha pamětní královského města Plzně od roku 775 až 1870* note that the first batch of beer was brewed on 5 October 1842, and then first

tapped during the St. Martin's Fair in Pilsen on 11 November 1842.

Bonus refutation for those who claim that Pilsner Urquell has shortened its lagering times: note the original count of just 37 days from grain to glass. That's roughly the same amount as today, when the total brewing time is said to average around five weeks. The brewery might have shortened its lagering times at some point, but if so, it lengthened them first.

*If you have ever been to the brewery in Plzeň, one thing is plainly clear; this brewery was built for volume. It was never built as a little operation that became popular and had to scale up.*

Yes and no - but mostly no. The brewery was certainly built for serious production in its era, and it turned out a substantial volume in its first brewing year of 1842-1843, when it produced 6,326 věder, or about 3,580 hectoliters - 2,140 hectoliters of which was everyday výčepní, while the stronger ležák accounted for 1,440 hectoliters (source: *Měštanský Pivovar v Plzni 1842-1892*). Just three years later in 1845-1846, production had already reached 5,790 hectoliters.

With that kind of growth, it's hardly surprising that the brewery began 'scaling up' almost immediately, starting its first expansion as early as 1847, when additional properties were purchased to add a total of 4,468 square meters to the brewery's original footprint of just 1,378 square meters. An engineer from Bavaria, Mr Unger, was hired to plan the construction of new buildings, and enough barrels to lager an additional ten batches of beer were newly purchased from Mr. Vyskočil, a master cooper in the town of Nové Strašecí, not far from Rakovník, another significant investment. Output that year grew to 6,351 hectoliters, an increase of 77% from the original production level of just four years earlier (source: *Měštanský Pivovar v Plzni 1842-1892*.)

Again, the main goal of the burghers with brewing rights was to maintain the beer market in their hometown - originally, selling beer outside Pilsen was presented only as a possibility. But by 1856, Pilsner beer was already being sold in Vienna, and by 1859 the burghers attempted to register a trademark for 'Pilsner Bier,' allegedly in order to protect their brew from its early imitations. In other words, it clearly did become popu-

lar, in Pilsen and elsewhere, and the brewery most certainly was forced to scale up.

Additional expansions followed throughout the nineteenth century, including a massive renovation in 1873 which replaced the earlier buildings with a new complex of buildings that then covered 36 hectares.<sup>12</sup>

The original brewery looked quite unlike anything contemporary visitors can see, as you can tell from Figure 2, which depicts the Burghers' Brewery as it first appeared back in 1842 - decidedly unlike the sprawling grounds of Pilsner Urquell today.

*The original lager beer (Lagerbier) was invented by the German brewers Martin Stelzer and Josef Groll.*

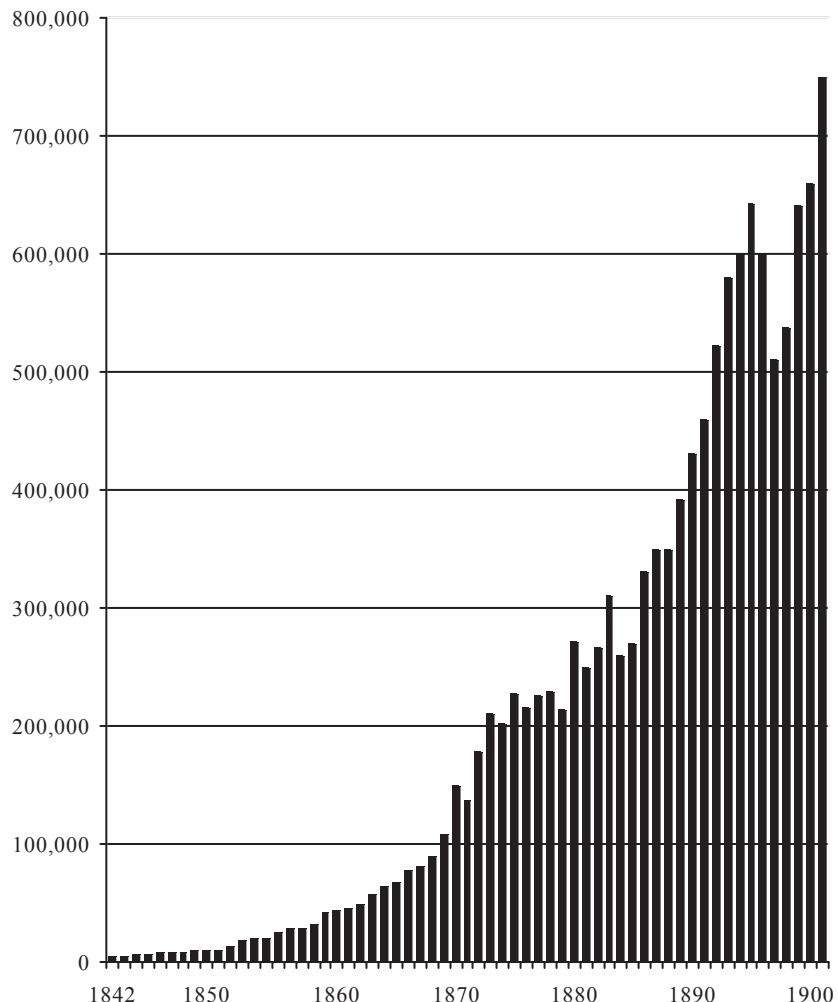
Martin Stelzer might have built the original brewery, but he was not a brewer. He also built the town's Great Synagogue, but that didn't make him a rabbi. Not any more than his blueprints for the town's theater might have made him an actor. Martin Stelzer was an architect, not a brewer.<sup>13</sup>

*Pilsen was still a predominately German town in 1838, as it was until 1860, and it took until 1918 for Czech speakers to become a clear majority.*

It is true that most of the documentation from the brewery's earliest days is in German. However, while German might have been the official language of the city's government and administration, language use does not equal ethnic background.

Ethnically, Pilsen appears to have always been a predominantly Czech town: before the nineteenth century, throughout the nineteenth century, and afterwards. In 1786, a commission set up by Emperor Joseph II to establish church services in the German and Czech languages found that the town of Pilsen had 5,509 Czech speakers and 938 German speakers (cited in *Ottův Slovník Naučný*, 1902). Thus, even before the arrival of the nineteenth century, Czechs in Pilsen outnumbered Germans there by about five to one.

That ratio seems to have remained roughly the same throughout the nineteenth century. In 1880, a census counted 38,883 citizens of Pilsen, of whom 31,600 were Czechs, with 6,827 Germans.<sup>14</sup> The 1900 census tallied



*Figure 2. Annual production, in hectolitres, of the Burghers' Brewery in Pilsen from 1842 to 1902.  
From Plzeňský Prazdřoj, pivo z Měst'anského pivovaru v Plzni (1907).*

57,806 Czechs in Pilsen, while Germans made up 8,008.<sup>15</sup>

However, upper-class society in Pilsen did begin to use German much more often in the first half of the nineteenth century, especially in the wake of German-language education in the schools built in Pilsen at the end of the eighteenth century. But while the Czech language was falling out of favor in many of the city's bourgeois families, Czech remained the language of the city's poorer classes, and was at least known by the majority of local merchants and tradesmen.<sup>16</sup>

Moreover, even long before the revolutionary year of 1848, a serious effort was being made to revive the use of the Czech language among Pilsen's upper classes, so much so that by 1847, a German speaker would complain that

in the great city of Pilsen, where the population is mixed, a child care was built, to which the Czech party tied the condition, that the presentations and discussions of the teacher only happen in the Bohemian language, a condition upon which depended the job of the teacher whom I met there. What happened in Pilsen will without doubt also

happen elsewhere. Whoever acknowledges the persistent, narrow, shared pursuit of the Slavs, to eradicate the German language in Bohemia, will be forced to admit that this goal will surely be strived for, if very strong and sustainable counter-institutions are not made.<sup>17</sup>

In the case of ‘predominant’ meaning ‘exerting political control or power,’ please note that the purkmistr, or mayor of Pilsen for a remarkable 22 years was Martin Kopecký - a Czech - who held office from 1828 to 1850, and who was given particular credit for the furthering of Czech-language education, theatre and concerts there.<sup>18</sup> Considering his position and the length of his career, one might say that he was the town’s predominant figure. Alternately, the era’s predominant personage might have been František Škoda, head of the Pilsen hospital and later the Vienna-appointed head of imperial health services for the region, and one of the twelve signatories of the founding document of the Burghers’ Brewery in 1839.

As for the town being ‘predominantly German,’ Mr Škoda, born in Pilsen in 1801, recalled that he only learned the German language in school, and only with difficulty, noting that ‘neither at home nor in the streets did I ever hear a German word.’

*‘And Pilsen was a town with an influential German-speaking minority and the beer style that had made the town a household name came from a German-owned brewery.’<sup>19</sup>*

At least *The Oxford Companion to Beer* got the town’s German-speaking minority right, as opposed to the oft-repeated misconception about the town having had a German (or German-speaking) majority. But in fact, Pilsner Urquell was not ‘a German-owned brewery.’ If you examine the list of the 250 burghers with brewing rights at the time of the brewery’s founding, you’ll see that the vast majority of the names are inarguably Czech: Václav Zdiarský, Jan Kunovský, Bartoloměj Starý, Karel Dlouhý, Jan Beránek, Kateřina Houška, Martin Kestřánek, and so on, to take names from just one page.<sup>20</sup> There are some clearly German names in the group as well (e.g., ‘Majdalena a Anna Grndl,’ not ‘Gradlovy,’ one of the rare examples without a Czech feminine ending among the many female names on the list). However, the numbers are not even close. It might have been a mixed group, but Czechs appear to have

had a substantial majority, just as they did in the town of Pilsen itself.

That assessment is backed up by the 1916 book *Das Böhmisches Volk* (or *The Czech Nation*), written by a Czech, Zdeněk Václav Tobolka. (Again, language does not equal ethnicity: Mr. Tobolka’s tome is a work of strident Czech nationalism, though composed in German.) Here’s how Mr Tobolka describes the ownership of Pilsner Urquell: ‘Das Bürgerliche Bräuhaus in Pilsen ist zwar zum grössten Teile in böhmischen Händen, tritt aber immer als ultraquistische Unternehmung hervor.’ [‘The Burghers’ Brewery in Pilsen is indeed largely in Czech hands, though its public image is one of a bilingual [or ‘bicultural’] enterprise.’]

That bilingual façade has fooled many people over the years. However, it should be noted that the town of Pilsen did have a majority-German-owned brewery in the nineteenth century, although it was not the brewery that would come to be called Pilsner Urquell.

As noted by Lauren Stokes at the *Besondersweg* weblog,<sup>21</sup> one brewery in Pilsen took out a ‘massive newspaper advertisement’ in the *Dresdner Anzeiger* of January 1909, boasting that it was the only brewery in Pilsen that was legally registered in the German language, that its owners were Germans who always voted for the pro-German party, that the brewery’s hotel was frequented only by Germans, with only German-language menus and with only German employees.

The advertisement finishes by promising that the brewery ‘deutsch war und deutsch ist! Und deutsch wird sie bleiben!’ [‘was German and is German! And German it will remain!’]

That brewery? The Erste Pilsner Aktien-Brauerei, which sold its beer under the decidedly non-Czech ‘Kaiserquell’ brand before definitively switching to its new name, ‘Gambrinus,’ after 1919, and a dedicated antagonist of Pilsner Urquell from the moment it was founded in 1869.

Until it was taken over by Pilsner Urquell in 1932.

*The author wishes to thank to Pilsner Urquell for their assistance.*

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13. Wikipedia (2012) 'Martin Stelzer', [http://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin\\_Stelzer](http://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin_Stelzer). Accessed on 20/09/2012
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15. Ottův Slovník Naučný. (1902) Full citation: 'Obyv. r. 1900 napočteno 66.025 os. (kromě toho 2259 m. vojska), podle národnosti 57.806 česk., 8008 něm., podle náboženství 62.146 kat., 491 evang., 3157 žid.' Vol. 19, p.963.
16. *Dějiny Plzně v datech*. (2004) Full citation: 'Čeština zůstala vyhrazena jen nejchudším vrstvám, v měšťanských rodinách se přestala užívat, ač ji většina místních obchodníků i mohovitějších řemeslníků znala. Plzeňští buditelé, kteří se snažili znovou oživit český jazyk, organizovali česká divadelní představení, gymnazijní výuku češtiny, psali a vydávali české knihy (i učebnice).' p.106.
17. *Österreichs innere Politik mit Beziehung auf die Verfassungsfrage*. (1847) Full citation: 'Es ist z. B. unverweht geschehen, daß in der großen Stadt Pilsen, wo die Bevölkerung gemischt ist, eine Kinderwartenanstalt errichtet werden konnte, woran die Tsechenparthei die Bedingniß knüpfte, daß die Vorträge und Unterredungen des Lehrers nur in böhmischer Sprache geschehen, eine Bedingniß, wovon die Anstellung des Lehrers abhing, den ich dort traf. Was nun in Pilsen geschah, wird ohne Zweifel auch anderwärts geschehen sein. Wem das beharrliche eng verknüpfte Streben der Slaven, die deutsche Sprache in Böhmen auszurotten und der Fortgang bekannt ist, den dasselbe bisher gehabt hat, der wird zugeben müssen, das dieses Ziel einst sicher erstrebt werden wird, wenn nicht sehr kräftige und nachhaltige Gegenanstalten getroffen werden.' p.56.
18. Wikipedia (2012) 'Martin Kopecký', [http://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin\\_Kopecký](http://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin_Kopecký). Accessed on 20/09/2012
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21. Stokes, L. (2010) 'When pilsners were political'. <http://besondersweg.wordpress.com/2010/01/12/when-pilsners-were-political/>. Accessed on 20/09/2012.