DISSERTATION

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Women in Public Houses.
A Historic Analysis of
The Social and Economic Role of Women
Patronising English Public Houses, 1880s – 1970s.

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WIDMUNG

For my Parents, my brother

and Wolfgang

CONTENTS

LIST OF PLATES & MAPS

LIST OF TABLES & DIAGRAMS

APPENDIX:

A

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Unfortunately, many institutions, such as the impressive Whitbread Archives or the tremendous library at the BLRA, were closed down at the beginning of this century. The books and files were packed into boxes and stored in basements, unable to be accessed by researchers nowadays. At the beginning of this decade Whitbread, for instance, turned into a leisure company after all their breweries and pubs had been sold to leading international brewing companies. Consequently, archives on beer and pubs were no longer of interest for them and regarded as a waste of money. I was so fortunate to have been able to do all my research in these invaluable archives – I was probably one of the last.

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I am solely responsible for any remaining errors.

Barbara Gleiss
University of Vienna
September 2009

I

INTRODUCTION

> *Queen Elizabeth I. drank ale for breakfast that was "a brew so strong, no man durst touch it".*[1]

Nowadays women commonly frequent urban pubs. Nowadays women do not have to be accompanied by men, they can also meet their female friends and have a 'girls' night out'. In remote, rather rural public houses men may still be astonished these days if two women enter a pub on their own. These men are even more astonished if a woman orders a pint of beer instead of a half pint or a Gin 'n' Tonic, a 'typical' drink for women, which was also said to have been preferred by the late Queen Mum. While working on my MA thesis 'The Pub during the Free-Licensing Era 1830-1874', I learnt that already in the eighteenth century it was commonly thought discreditable for women to spend their time in public houses.[2] But then I came across terms, such as brewster, landlady or barmaid. I concluded that women were welcomed in drinking places as workforce but not as visitors. I had to discard my theory when reading the word Ladies' Room. Hence, women must also have frequented drinking places. I became inquisitive and started to do my research in order to analyse the social as well as the economic role of women in the English pub.

I have decided to focus on a period **starting in the 1880s** and **ending in the 1970s** as during this time span the social and economic role of women changed significantly. In the Victorian era, which was characterised by an increased class consciousness, respectable women neither entered a drinking place nor dared to mix with men there. Their drinking customs were private. The London magistrate Colquhoun emphasised how it was commonly thought

> *"disgraceful for a woman (except on holiday occasions) to be seen in a public house and those who would venture to sit down among men in a taproom were considered as infamous prostitutes".*[3]

[1] Quoted in: http://www.magnificentme.com/edition_two/article_beer.htm.
[2] Cf.: Clark, *Alehouse*, p. 311.
[3] Ibid, p. 311. Although Colquhoun made this statement in the 1790s, it was still valid for the Victorian period, especially in rural parts of England.

Women from lower classes, however, frequented cheap beerhouses or one of the multiplying gin palaces more regularly as they wanted to escape reality. The 1970s mark the end of the period analysed in this thesis. Not only did the social as well as financial emancipation of women have a major impact on British politics and society but also on female drinking habits and the sex composition in pubs.

I have opted to concentrate on **England** as including the other countries of Great Britain would have gone beyond the scope of a doctoral thesis. During my time as a Visiting Research Student at Terry Gourvish's Business History Unit, London School of Economics and Political Science, I had the possibility to access various archives and libraries in England and gathered much information on this country. Parliamentary Reports proved a valuable source but the differing pieces of legislation in England, Wales and Scotland confirmed me in my intention to focus on England only. For purposes of comparison and illustration, however, I will refer to Wales or Scotland.

This thesis consists of **two main sections** and is structured as follows. At the beginning important terms, such as inns, taverns, public houses, the Trade, brewsters, etc., will be defined. Then I will examine why the public house was regarded as a typical 'male bastion'. The first major section will focus on the social, economic and political role and drinking habits of the female pub clientele and their transformations between the 1880s and 1970s. Questions on their social class and background, their age, their consumption preferences, the reaction of society and geographical differences will be discussed in this context. In the second main part of this thesis I will deal with various groups of pub-frequenters, such as children and their drinking age, prostitutes or habitual drunkards, and with factors which influenced female customers, such as pub architecture and beer/stout advertisements, in greater detail.

Finding **evidence and data on women in pubs** as well as on their drinking habits is challenging as obviously much more information on men than on women is available. We also have to bear in mind that most of the evidence available was recorded and collected by men who observed and judged women. Another reason why it is easier to find data on men than on women is that drunkenness of men was and is more tolerated by society than female alcoholism which is considered a disgrace. Studies on female alcoholism, moreover, state that women rather drink at home when they are alone, representing the so-

called ‘escapist drinker’ (this fact is of value for supermarkets) whereas men rather go to the pub and are ‘social’ drinkers.[4]

In **brewing archives** I found most of my **primary sources** which are rich and varied. Of great importance are governmental publications, for instance various pieces of licensing legislation or published household, census reports and parliamentary reports. The minutes of evidence presented to various Royal Commissions provide some of the most significant sources for this thesis. These are collected interviews of Royal Commissions with numerous people, for example Chief Constables of various regions in England, medical doctors, members of temperance organisations, experts or politicians, on issues, such as sex and class composition in public houses, the ‘Carlisle experiment’, alcohol consumption, male and female drunkenness, habitual drunkards, the presence of children in licensed premises or room preferences. Particularly vital for the analysis of women’s drinking habits between World War Two and the 1970s were posters or slogans used for advertisement as well as numerous market research surveys which were conducted on behalf of breweries or the Home Office. The *Statistical Handbook*, published by The Brewers and Licensed Retailers Association formerly The Brewers’ Society, contains much statistical information on both alcohol production and consumption.

The Mass-Observation studies, notes and reports reveal essential information on ordinary English people and their everyday life in the twentieth century. In 1937 three young men, among them Tom Harrisson, established Mass Observation as they wanted to create an ‘anthropology of ourselves’. Together with a team of paid observers they made detailed records of people's behaviour and conversation. In the 1950s they began to concentrate on consumer behaviour and conducted several market research surveys for Guinness. One of the most valuable source of information on social aspects in the public house is the Mass-Observation study *The Pub and the People. A Worktown Study*, which was later identified as Bolton.[5]

Charles Booth was a pioneer of sociological surveys and author of *Life and Labour of the People in London*. The Online Archive of Charles Booth’s study on the London working class and B. Seebohm Rowntree’s *Poverty. A study of town life*, an investigation on York,

[4] Cf.: Birchmore, Waldermann, ‘Woman Alcoholic’, p. 113; Corrigan, ‘Women and Problem Drinking’, p. 221.
[5] Tom Harrisson Mass Observation Archives, http://www.massobs.org.uk/.

are elemental when analysing the living conditions of the working class towards the end of the nineteenth century. Publications by Joseph Rowntree, he was B. Seebohm Rowntree's father, Arthur Sherwell or Arthur Shadwell are valuable sources when researching the temperance movement's point of view. In his autobiography *Seventy Rolling Years* Sir Sydney Nevile, managing director at Whitbread's and one of the most influential progressive pub reformers of the interwar years, provides significant personal insights into his policy of improving public houses and drinking habits. In particular, the periodicals published by the Trade, notably *The Brewers' Journal* and *The Country Brewers' Gazette*, but also journals published by temperance groups had been the official mouthpieces of these representations and were, therefore, of significance for this thesis.

During my research **secondary literature** on public houses turned out to be more difficult than initially assumed. Most of books published on public houses are rather trivial than academic studies. Helpful for finding my way through all this literature was David Gutzke's annotated bibliography *Alcohol in the British Isles from Roman Times to 1996*. Gutzke is also the author of various significant articles and books on the British public houses, the brewing industry and the drink problem, for example, *Protecting the Pub. Brewers and Publicans against Temperance* or *Pubs & Progressives. Reinventing the Public House in England, 1896 – 1960.* Along with numerous articles Terry Gourvish and Richard Wilson's book *The British Brewing Industry, 1830-1980* offers significant and comprehensive insights into this specific industry. The US historian Gutzke and the British expert Gourvish mainly disagree on the transformation of drinking habits in the period 1920-50. Gourvish is of the opinion that the public house as male-dominated institution continued to dominate and was only patronised by a small number of women at the weekends. Reformed houses were rather located in middle-class enclaves and the more prosperous South-East of England. Gutzke, on the contrary, argues that a high number of improved public houses were also located in the North of England and the Midlands. He also claims that the 'Carlisle Experiment' in the First World War had a lasting impact on the public house reform and altered drinking habits as a much higher number of women entered public houses.[6]

[6] Cf.: Gourvish, 'Business of Alcohol', pp. 613-4; Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', pp. 367-91; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 12-3, pp. 204-5.

In *Alcohol and the Nation* George Wilson discusses the drink problem between 1800 and 1935 and provides much statistical information. Williams and Brake's book *Drink in Great Britain, 1900 to 1979* is a continuation of Wilson's work. They are also the authors of *The English Public-House in Transition*. Brian Harrison offers many details on drinking habits in the nineteenth century and the temperance movement in his extensive work *Drink and the Victorians* and his article 'Pubs'. Paul Jennings provides a thorough analysis of the history of the public house by concentrating on locals as well as on public houses in Bradford. For a comprehensive study on alehouses see Peter Clark's *The English Alehouse. A Social History 1200–1830*.

In her book *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England. Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300 – 1600* Judith Bennett focuses on women in the brewing trade. Judith R. Walkowitz published a comprehensive study on prostitutes in the Victorian era in which she deals with legislation, politics, feminism and medicine. In their article 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad: women and the inebriate reformatories from 1900 – 1913' Hunt, Mellor and J. Turner provide some important insights on habitual drunkards. For information on living costs and the costs of alcohol consumption see John Burnett's three books *A History of the Cost of Living, Liquid Pleasures. A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain* and *Plenty and Want. A Social History of Diet in England from 1815 to the present day*. An analysis of living standards of the working class can also be found in A.E. Dingle's article. Arthur Marwick's *British Society since 1945* is a standard reference and must not be forgotten when dealing with social life between 1945 and the 1970s. Peter Bailey deals with the sexual role of the Victorian barmaid whereas Padmavathy focuses on the barmaid as workforce in her unpublished PhD thesis but ignores some important details. In her book *Patriarchy and Pub Culture* Valerie Hey points out the masculinity in public houses as well as in literature on public houses, above all in Harrison's *Drink and the Victorians* or in Mass-Observation's *Pub and the People*. Claire Langhamer discusses women's leisure habits in the period 1920-60 but she does not offer any new insights. She is, moreover, wrong to regard World War Two as the stimulus for a change in female drinking habits as these drinking habits were influenced and transformed in World War One and in the 1960s and 1970s. Information on advertisement and numerous pictorial materials can be found in the two books on Guinness advertisement written by Jim Davis and Brian Sibley. When dealing with pub architecture it is of great importance to read Mark Girouard's study on the *Victorian Pub*, Rudolph Kenna and Anthony Mooney's *People's*

Palaces. Victorian and Edwardian Pubs of Scotland and Maurice Gorham's 'Pub and the People', *Back to the Local* and *Inside the Pub*, which he wrote together with H. McG. Dunnet.

I hope to broaden our understanding of women who lived between the late nineteenth century and the 1970s and to give insights into the changes of gender roles, sexuality, female drinking habits, popular culture and the response of the brewing industry, in particular, and politics and English society, in general. This thesis will merely deal with a tiny aspect of the change of women's roles and behaviour in the public house. Consequently, more work remains to be done on women, pubs, and popular culture.

DEFINITIONS & HISTORY

i. Public House

The nowadays common term **pub** was not used before the later nineteenth century. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, this word was first found in Hotten's *Dictionary of Slang* in 1859.[7] The Mass-Observation investigators stated that the word 'public house' had already been used in the book *Reflections on the Moral and Political State of Society at the Close of the Eighteenth Century*, written by a Mr. Bowles and published in 1800.[8] The term 'publican' meaning 'keeper of a public house'[9] was first applied in 1728 and is still used nowadays along with expressions such as innkeeper, landlady or landlord.

Before the notion 'pub' became a widespread expression, drinking places were divided into inns, taverns, alehouses and – since the introduction of the 1830 Beerhouse Act – into beerhouses. Gin-shops or gin palaces, which sold gin to urban dwellers, were established in the first half of the nineteenth century. Since the mid-eighteenth century the term 'public house' was generally used for licensed premises.[10]

Originally, the most respectable drinking places were **inns**. The word 'inn' is of Saxon origin and first signed a chamber. In Middle English, probably before 1200, this term was recorded with the meaning of a public house for eating and/or lodging. Initially, inns accommodated travellers; food and drink were only served when facilities were extended.[11]

In Oxford and Cambridge numerous inns existed before colleges were erected as they served as lodging houses for scholars. The Inns of Court in London were originally provided for the lodging of law students. In former times country houses of the nobility were used as inns for the accommodation of travellers during the absence of their owners. It was customary to hang out the arms of the owners as signs, which was obviously the origin of many heraldic signs given to public houses. Although inns did not only

Previous page:
Plate 1: George Morland, *Alehouse Politicians*, 1801.

[7] *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, (Oxford Clarendon Press: 1989), p. 777.
[8] Mass-Observation, *Pub and People*, p. 82.
[9] *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, (Oxford Clarendon Press: 1989), p. 782.
[10] All the information on the definitions of the five different categories of drinking places are taken from: Clark, *Alehouse*, pp. 4-15; Harrison, *Drink & Victorians*, pp. 45-6; Jennings, *Public House in Bradford*, p. 19; Mass-Observation, *Pub and People*, pp. 79-82; Williams, *English Public-House in Transition*, pp. 3-4; Williams, *New Public House*, pp. 39-40.
[11] Robert K. Barnhart (ed.), *The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology*, (New York, Wilson, 1988), p. 529; *Brewers' Gazette*, June 7th, 1917, p. 290; Williams, Brake, *English Public House*, pp. 3-4.

accommodate wealthy travellers, their customers were mostly affluent people. In former times the richer travellers, however, tried to find accommodation in monasteries as beds in inns had a reputation of being invested with fleas and vermin.[12]

Inns gradually developed into centres of travel and trade. Their height was in the first two decades of the nineteenth century when coach travel was at its peak. With the introduction of the railway the coaching inns[13] lost custom and only those places survived that adapted to new situations.[14]

In respectability **taverns** followed inns and primarily attracted the rather prosperous members of society. The term 'tavern', which is borrowed from the French word 'taverne' and the Latin word 'taberna', originally referred to a wine shop. Romans had built roads for their armies and needed to provide facilities for travellers. The 'tabernae' primarily provided lodgings but as they had been introduced by the Romans, they also served wine. In the Middle Ages one pilgrim claimed, *"Taverns are for the rich and for lovers of good wine."*[15] Many taverns also offered food; they were the precursors of modern restaurants. Nevertheless, in the eighteenth century they could hardly be distinguished from inns and met the needs of the casual drinker.[16] A contemporary observed, *"A tavern is a degree or (if you will) a pair of stairs above an alehouse, where men are drunk with more credit than apology."*[17]

Before the beerhouse was introduced, the least respectable drinking place was the **alehouse** which was usually visited by locals. The evolution of the alehouse began in the Middle Ages, to be precise in the kitchens of houses where the owners sold drinks to passers-by. The alehouse was closely tied to its locality and the traditions of a rural culture and did not offer any accommodation or formal entertainment patterns. Unlike taverns and inns, alehouses were usually not allowed to sell spirits although later this prohibition was repealed. They used to sell home-brewed beer that was primarily brewed by the woman in the house (see the following sub-chapter for more details). To inform the people that beer

[12] *The Brewers' Gazette*, June 7th, 1917, p. 290; Smith, 'Social usages', p. 367; Williams, Brake, *English Public House*, pp. 3-4.
[13] For a detailed discussion on coaching inns and the impact of the railway on these inns see: Gleiss, 'Pub during Free-Licensing Era', pp. 121-7.
[14] Burke, *English Inns*, p. 14; Williams, Brake, *English Public House*, pp. 5-6, p. 13.
[15] Quoted in: Clark, *Alehouse*, p. 11.
[16] Robert K. Barnhart (ed.), *The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology*, (New York, Wilson, 1988), p. 1118. Smith, 'Social usages', p. 367; Williams, Brake, *English Public House*, pp. 3-4.
[17] Mass-Observation, *Pub and People*, p. 81.

had been brewed, an ‘ale-stake’ or ‘ale-pope’[18] in the form of a thick holly bush was set up above the door:

> *“These ale-stakes were sometimes so long and heavy that they injured the fronts of the houses to which they were attached and were dangerous to persons riding through the narrow streets, so that in London they were not allowed to be more than seven feet in length. In every division of the town there were officials known as ale-conners or ale-tasters, whose duty it was when a stake was put out to go and test the ale. If it was not good the whole brew would be forfeited and the tavern might be closed …”*[19]

Plate 2: Early Stuart alehouse with alestake

In everyday speech the term 'alehouse' was frequently used for referring pejoratively to the smallest local drinking place, which was informally also called ‘pot-house’, ‘tippling house’, ‘boozing ken’ or ‘tup-house’.

The 1830 Beerhouse Act marked the eclipse of the alehouse which was then replaced by the beerhouse.[20] According to Peter Clark, author of the book *The English Alehouse. A Social History 1200 – 1830*,

[18] This gesture can be compared to the Austrian tradition in wine taverns, the so-called ‘Heurigen’ or ‘Buschenschenken’, where the winegrowers are only permitted to sell wine from their own vineyards. In former times the wine producers used to hang some branches of grapevines above their doors to signal the availability of new wine. Nowadays this sign indicates that a tavern is open and welcomes customers.
[19] Quoted in: Williams, Brake, *English Public House*, p. 4.
[20] Clark, *Alehouse*, p. 5; Smith, ‘Social usages’, p. 367-8; Williams, Brake, *English Public House*, p. v, p. 3.

> *"the beer-shop seems to have occupied part of the social territory which the alehouse had vacated when it became more respectable and commercialised in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries."*[21]

The Industrial Revolution marked an important caesura for drinking places as they had to adapt to the demands of a new clientele, namely to the new urban poor. For them these drinking places represented an escape from their rough, overcrowded homes. These people frequented the **beerhouses,** which had been introduced by the 1830 Beer House Act. During the free-licensing era, which lasted from 1830 to 1874, licence holders were able to sell beer and cider publicly with few restrictions. The result was an explosion of small, rather uncommercialised beerhouses whose customers were mainly the new urban working class.[22]

According to Peter Bailey and Michael Smith, both the beerhouse and the gin palace entrenched the social usage patterns of the earlier alehouse and gave birth to the contemporary 'pub':

> *"In an age of social dislocation the pub … was a centre of warmth, light and sociability for the urban poor, a haven from the filth and meanness of inadequate and congested housing, a magnet for the disoriented newcomer and disgruntled regular alike."*[23]

In the course of time the **distinctions** between beerhouses, alehouses, taverns and inns **blurred**. Already in the seventeenth century a bemused magistrate claimed, *"I do not know which must be inns and which must be alehouses."*[24] Nonetheless, these distinctions were important in terms of legislation and licences. Consequently, I will observe these definitions and distinctions when they are relevant in a legal or architectural context but will rather use terms such as or 'public houses' or 'pubs' when referring to drinking places, in general.

Apart from the distinctions of various drinking places, the term 'the Trade' will frequently be used in this thesis. According to the historian David Gutzke, this term was coined by the national pressure group of the drink interest in order to respond to the temperance movement. In general, the Trade consisted of people who were interested in alcoholic

[21] Clark, *Alehouse*, p. 337.
[22] For a detailed discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of the 1830 Beerhouse Act see: Gleiss, 'Pub during Free-Licensing Era', pp. 15-75.
[23] Quoted in: Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, p. 10.
Smith, 'Social Usages', p. 369.
[24] Quoted in: Clark, *Alehouse*, p. 5.

beverages from wholesalers (brewers, whisky distillers and wine importers), retailers (publicans, off-licence holders, wine merchants, etc.), traders in hops and barley, to glass blowers and shareholders. In reality brewers and publicans mainly identified with the Trade and displayed the strongest political commitment to its defence.[25]

ii. Brewsters and Alewives

Traditionally, the art of brewing was entirely in **women's hands**,[26] which is also stressed in a ninth-century quotation, *"Uxor conficit bracem (the wife makes the mash)"*.[27] Along with cooking, baking, spinning or looking after animals, it formed part of their domestic industry. Beer was consumed with every meal. As it presented an important part of people's ordinary diet, it was also drunk by children. Large households brewed for their own use, many families could not afford the necessary equipment, however. Many women started brewing for their neighbours and, consequently, brewing became a trade of certain women. As a matter of fact, women sold their products in public houses, a practice which had also been known in Roman times where women had used their housewifely skills to run taverns.[28]

In the fourteenth century the term 'brewster' evolved. In the South of England a distinction between the male 'brewer' and the female 'brewster' developed. By 1500 this gender distinction had almost disappeared and the male 'brewer' was used for both sexes. Interestingly enough, in the North of England the term 'brewster' had a similar evolution and referred to male as well as female brewers. Nonetheless, the term 'brewer' won and 'brewster' only lives on in surnames, in English laws and in the notion 'Brewster Sessions'. These sessions are held each year to supervise the brewing trade.[29]

In the Middle Ages brewsters came from all classes and age groups. Their predominance is shown in the following figures collected by Peter Clark. At Wallingford, for example, over

[25] Gutzke, *Protecting the Pub*, pp. 6-7.
[26] Judith Bennett conducted research on women in the brewing trade in the Middle Ages and Early Modern History and published her results in her book *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England. Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300 – 1600.*
[27] Toussaint-Samat, quoted in: Plant, *Women and Alcohol*, p. 36.
[28] Clark, *Working Life of Women*, p. 5, p. 223; Mayhew, 'Status of Women', p. 17; Plant, *Women and Alcohol*, p. 33.
[29] Bennett, *Ale, Beer*, p. 3; *Brewers' Gazette*, April 23rd, 1931, p. 147; Clark, *Working Life of Women*, pp. 221-35.

fifty women compared to four men were recorded to brew beer in the early fourteenth century. In Broughton the brewers were mainly the wives and daughters of villagers. An exemption was Norwich as there more men than women brewed ale in order to increase their income. Clark, moreover, claimed that wealthier alewives brewed rather continuously, often over a decade or longer, whereas poorer women brewed when necessity arose. So their brewing periods were shorter.[30]

Plate 3: Alewife outside her house (with alestake), early 14th century

Whenever an alehouse had finished preparing some fresh ale, an alestake was hung outside the alehouse (see Plates 2 and 3), a gesture which signalled that an official known as ale-conner or ale-taster was required to taste its strength and to give the permission of its selling.[31] It also signalled to the customers that that specific alehouse offered freshly-brewed ale as this drink could not be stored which the following quotation of 1632 demonstrates,

> *"Hot weather and thunder, and want of company are the hostess's grief, for then her ale sours. Your drink is usually very young, two days old … Her ale, if new, looks like a misty morning, all thick; well, if her ale be strong her reckoning right, her house clean, her fire good, her face fair and the town great or rich,… ."*[32]

There were several reasons why women dominated the brewing industry in the Middle Ages. It was a low-skilled, badly paid, under-developed and under-organised, low scale industry and it was of low status. Women could easily combine home brewing with their domestic responsibilities and, furthermore, it supplemented their household income. Ale

[30] Clark, *Alehouse*, p. 21.
[31] Brandner, *Life and Sport*, p 59.
[32] The typical Ale-house and Ale-Wife of 1632 was described by Donald Lupton in *London and the Country carbonadoed* (1632), quoted in: King, *Beer has a history*, p. 76.

production took many days and much labour. As ale soured within some days, its surplus was sold illegally to their neighbours and so producing ale alternated with buying ale. As the brewing and selling of excess ale was sporadic and infrequent, those women could never have lived of brewing. Not only women supervised home brewing but in monasteries brewing was regarded a suitable male occupation. Because of their superior facilities ale brewed by monks was of higher quality and famous in the whole of Europe.[33]

The profession of the alewife ceased with the introduction of hops in the early fifteenth century which had a lasting effect on the brewing process. Compared to ale, beer, which is brewed with malt, water yeast and hops, was clearer, cheaper and could be preserved and transported more easily. Nonetheless, the production was more intensive, more time-consuming and technically more complicated. It was easier if beer was brewed on the large scale, so brewing became more profitable and prestigious. Consequently, it passed into male hands. **By the 1620s and 1630s** the **brewing industry** was large, centralised and **dominated by men** ever since. One notable exception of the twentieth century was Eileen Trechman, the head of Castle Eden Brewery in Co Durham in the 1960s.

The introduction of beer was, however, not the only reason for the reduced women's role in brewing. Growing urbanisation and expanded markets required large quantities of beer and alewives could not fulfil this tremendous demand with their small-scale brewing. Hence, these large-scale industries required large capital resources as well as managerial authorities women could seldom deploy at that time. Apart from these factors also the monopolisation of large-scale production by men was encouraged by the government which wanted to control the taxation of ale and beer. Lastly, antagonism towards female brewers is known from at least the Middle Ages as will be discussed below.[34]

After the decline of small-scale brewing, women were still employed for domestic brewing. In inventories references of both brewing kit and brewing ingredients were found and sometimes brewhouses even existed which proved that brewing was still practised in domestic situations throughout England in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.[35] In 1615 Gervase Markham included, for example, beer-making in his list of the abilities a housewife required:

[33] Bennett, *Ale and Beer*, p. 7, p. 9, pp. 41-3; Bennett, 'Village Ale-Wife', pp. 21-2, Mayhew, 'Status of Women and Brewing', p. 17; Monckton, *English Public House*, p. 19.
[34] Bennet, *Ale and Beer*, p. 7, p. 9, pp. 40-3, p. 47, p. 91; Clark, *Working Life of Women*, p. xxxi.
[35] Ibid, p. 229; Sambrook, *Country House Brewing*, p. 166.

> *"When our English housewife knowes how to preserve heath by wholsoem phisicke, to nourish by good meate, and to clothe the body with warme garments, shee must not then by anie means bee ignorant in the provision of bread and drinke."*[36]

Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century female servants with brewing skills were still required:

> *"In a Gentleman's family, a young woman who has been accustomed to a large Diary, and thoroughly understands her business. She must also have knowledge of brewing and baking, and be perfectly clean good tempered, and of unexceptional character … "*[37]

Despite the fact that women had lost their position in the brewing trade, alewives continued to run pubs but their number decreased continuously. An alewife did not only have to know how to brew ale but also how to conduct a successful, profitable alehouse. There were several women in early modern England who became famous and should not be forgotten in this context. One of the **most celebrated alewives** was described by John Skelton's in his humorous poem *The Tunning* (=brewing) *of Elynour Rummyng*, probably written in 1520. Elynour lived in Leatherhead in the reign of Henry VIII. She was known for her excellent ale (*She breweth nappy ale*) but not for her looks:

"Droopy and drowsy
Scurvy and lowsy
Her face all bowsy
Comely crinkled
Wondrously wrinkled
Like a roast pig's ear
Bristled with hair."[38]

As her customers, females included, were dependent on her ale, she could exploit them by selling her product at a high price in a disgusting atmosphere. Not only did she encourage her customers' indebtedness and accepted inappropriate goods for payment (such as wedding rings and cradles or rosaries) but she also adulterated her ale by sticking her filthy fingers into it and by allowing her hens to roost over the brew as she used their droppings to add some potency to her ale.[39]

Another famous alewife was Mother Louse of Hedington Hill, who was mentioned by Anthony Wood in 1673. She was a rebel against fashion as she was supposed to be the last

[36] Quoted in: ibid, p. 168.
[37] *Staffordshire Advertiser*, June 26th, 1802, quoted in: ibid, p. 170.
[38] Skelton's *Tunning of Elynour Rummyng*, quoted in: Clark, *Alehouse*, p. 83.
[39] Bennett, 'Misogyny', pp. 169-71; Bickerdyke, *Curiosities of Ale*, p. 126.

woman who wore a ruff in England (see Plate 4).[40] The alewife Margaret Molle lived and worked in Norfolk. She had a lover in her house although her husband protested and she was known for beating off her neighbours with burning sticks if they dared to intervene.[41]

Plate 4: David Loggan, *Mother Louse, near Oxford*, late 17th century

"You laugh now Goodman two shoes, but at what?
My Grove, my Mansion House, or my dun Hat;
Is it for that my loving Chin & Snout
Are met, because my Teeth are fallen out;
Is it at me, or at my RUFF you titter;

Your Grandmother you Rouge nerewore a fitter;
Is it at Forebead's Wrinkle, or Cheek's Furrow,
Or at my Mouth, so like a Coney-Borrough,
Or at those Orient Eyes that nere shed tear,
But when the Excisemen come, that's twice a year.
Kiss Me & tell me true, & when they fail,
Thou shalt have larger Potts & stronger Ale."[42]

[40] Ibid, pp. 129-30.
[41] Clark, *Alehouse*, p. 83.
[42] Poem quoted in: www.georgeglazer.com/prints/genre/motherlouse.html.

Alewives were often presented as unpleasant, disrespectable, and untrustworthy women in literary and artistic forms as in poetry, ballads, or drawings. Fictive alewives were portrayed as sexually alluring women who tempted the customers to spend more money on the premises by flirting with them as shown in the ballad *Choice of Invention*:

> *"A man that hath a sign at his door,*
> *and keeps good Ale to sell,*
> *A comely wife to please his guests,*
> *may thrive exceeding well."*[43]

That the role of fictive alewives was exaggerated is obvious although rather terrifying alewives also existed in reality. Being an alewife was a tough and challenging job, so those women had been brutalised by their experiences. Moreover, the public opinion of alewives was rather low. Not only were they accused of teasing and cheating their customers but also of whoring and adultery as Margaret Fiske of Norfolk emphasised in 1578, *"there cannot be any alewife thrive without she be a whore or have a whore in her house."*[44] The presence of women in drinking places was generally objected – even if those women owned the premises.

iii. The Pub – A 'Masculine Republic'

The expression 'masculine republic' was coined by Brian Harrison when referring to Victorian pubs that were patronised by men only.[45] In this thesis I will continue using this term as it perfectly depicts the fact that in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century most of the pubs were a male bastion where women were at the best 'invited to' at the weekend. 'Masculine republics' can still be found nowadays, in particular in rural areas. For the man the pub was a recreation centre, a meeting place and in the nineteenth century a refuge which offered warmth and light. The pub offered the working man the possibility to escape from his home, which *"was often cold, uncomfortable and noisy; he and his wife lived at too close quarters, and the larger the family the more he tended to drink."*[46] In the public house he found companionship among other males. A thirty-five-

[43] Chappell, *Roxburghe ballads*, quoted in: Bennett, *Ale, Beer*, p. 140.
[44] Quoted in: ibid, p. 141.
[45] Harrison, *Drink & Victorians*, p. 47.
[46] Ibid, p. 46.

year-old man from Middlesbrough asserted that he felt free without women, *"There's only men in there. I can't swear when there are women in the room and I always swear when I discuss football."*[47] A fifty-year-old patron from Bolton claimed, *"I'm more contented where I go, and I'm free from women's talk. I love women but I don't like them in public houses."*[48]

'Masculine republics' emerged during the transition from pre-industrial to post-industrial Britain. In this period traditional family networks were disrupted and groups of single males suddenly found themselves displaced from their rural economies and their social needs. Consequently, other social structures had to emerge to meet these men's demands. The best place for socialising was the pub. For some customers drinking establishments also served as job centres. Predominately, three groups of men patronised the 'masculine republic', namely servicemen, sailors and men from the countryside or from Ireland who migrated into English towns in order to find work. As a result, public house concentration was high near ports, near barracks and in areas which were mainly occupied by immigrants (cf.: Chapter 8).[49]

Women and children were excluded from the 'masculine republic'. Staying at home, doing the household and looking after the children were signs of respectability for females. If a woman frequented a public house to find companionship and to escape from home, she was accused of neglecting her family or she was considered a prostitute, *"Do you want a bed?"*[50] If a woman wanted to talk to her husband, who was in the pub, she would not enter the drinking place but ask a man on the street to send him out, *"Oh, she daren't go near the pub for him. Oh, it'd be murder."*[51] If a man, however, patronised a public house, he was not blamed for being a woman-hunter or for neglecting his family. In British society and culture maleness was conceived in terms of physical strength and masculinity which the man, in particular the manual worker, displayed in his work, his drink, his sexuality and later his smoking.[52] According to Michael Smith,

[47] Mass-Observation, *Report on Drinking Habits*, p. 140.
[48] Ibid, p. 141.
[49] Harrison, *Drink & Victorians*, pp. 321-2; Harrison, 'Pubs', pp. 320-1; Jennings, *Public House in Bradford*, p. 5.
[50] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, May 23rd, 1930, sec. 21,861.
[51] Oral testimony of John Greenhalgh in: Kearns, *Dublin Pub Life*, pp. 179-80.
[52] For a similar approach see: Hey, *Patriarchy & Pub Culture*, pp. 25-36.

> *"the public house [was and] is a continuation of the toughness and sensuality of work, masculine language, values and expectations … . Men are the economic, social and sexual achievers, women the recipients, and thus women alone in the public drinking house are intruders."*[53]

Beer was regarded as a **source of energy for the man** but also as an **aphrodisiac**. It had the reputation of providing *"plenty of lead in* [his] *pencil".*[54] Many customs and traditions were also connected with men and drinking. Business deals were commonly concluded over drinks and the completion of a roof was celebrated with 'rearing ale'.[55] Being drunk was interpreted as a sign of masculinity. Even if a man disliked beer, peer pressure made him drink it, *"My reason for drinking beer is to appear tough. I heartily detest that stuff but what would my pals say if I refused. They would call me a cissy."*[56]

A woman, however, did not have to restore her strength. She was caught in the role of the weaker sex who was supposed to fulfil the traditional values of domesticity. Entering – from a male point of view 'intruding' – a pub or being drunk was immoral and disreputable for a woman:

> *"… such women as entered a bar were mostly drab women of the working-classes, or lower. Any other woman entering was at once ranked with them. It was seen as a refuge for the humble, the poor, the miserable."*[57]

If a woman consumed beer, she was never supposed to have a pint of it – only half pints or bottled beer were accepted. Female drunkenness was always perceived as more harmful than drunkenness among men. The woman was regarded as being weaker by nature and so insobriety could easily lead to neglecting and consequently, ruining her family and even the British race (cf.: Chapters 1.3 and 7).[58] This distinction male – female drunkenness will regularly occur in this thesis. So rather women than men were considered habitual drunkards and sent to reformatories.[59]

Typical **masculine drinking habits**, furthermore, prevented women from entering the 'masculine republic'. One widespread custom was 'perpendicular drinking', which means

[53] Smith, 'Social usages', p. 381.
[54] Mass-Observation, *Pub and People*, p. 46.
[55] Gleiss, 'Pub during Free-Licensing Era', pp. 113-4.
[56] Mass-Observation, *Pub and People*, p. 42.
[57] *True Temperance Quarterly*, February 1938, p. 17.
[58] Valerie Hey points out that the difference between female and male alcoholics is still valid nowadays. In movies everybody sympathises with the male alcoholic and usually a female tries to 'pick him out of the gutter' (compare 'Leaving Las Vegas' starring Nicholas Cage). The female alcoholic, however, finds no sympathy and kindness (Hey, *Patriarchy & Pub Culture*, p. 33).
[59] Hunt, Mellor, Turner, 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad', p. 246.

people drink while standing at the bar. Respectable women would have felt particularly uncomfortable standing at a bar with their alcoholic drink in their hands while being surrounded by men. Another popular masculine tradition was (and still is) 'round-buying'. In turns, everybody pays for a round of drinks.[60] Never would a woman, the weaker sex who was dependent on the husband or the father, have treated a man to a drink (for further details see: Chapter 5.2.). That women were not welcome in the 'masculine republic' was also proved by the absence of female lavatories. Only progressive brewers began to install them in their public houses in the 1930s (cf.: Chapter 10.1.).

The exclusion of the female sex from the 'masculine republic' was broken by two groups of women, namely by **barmaids and prostitutes**. Both were financially dependent on men and offered their sexuality, in return. The first indirectly, the latter directly. The man, on the contrary, could test his masculinity and his sexual attractiveness. Before the introduction of the 1869 and 1872 Licensing Acts, which strictly prohibited the presence of prostitutes on licensed premises, disreputable women were tolerated, partly even encouraged to meet the male needs, in particular near ports and garrison towns (see Chapter 8 for a detailed discussion on prostitutes). On the contrary, the barmaids were an ideal construction of male fantasies – maternal as well as sexual. Their job was not only to serve drinks. At the cost of a few drinks men found in barmaids the perfect listeners, *"My wife doesn't understand me."*[61] They could also flirt with them without thinking of any consequences. Barmaids were paid low wages and so they had to rely on their charm to earn some extra money from male customers. They either received tips or were invited to drinks – generally they took the money instead and promised to drink later. It was also common knowledge that good-looking barmaids attracted more male customers. In other words, *"Barmaids were a great draw."*[62] At the end of the nineteenth century Lady Henry Somerset claimed:

> *"I say that good-looking young women are sought for especially because of their good looks in order that the attractions of the public-house should be enhanced. The same does not apply to Post Office officials or female telegraphists."*[63]

[60] In her report on females in public houses, Kate Fox compares the ritual of round-buying to a 'liquid handshake'. So for men not buying a round is equivalent to refusing to shake hands, a synonym to a declaration of war (see: Fox, *Report on Women in Pubs*, p. 26).
[61] Hey, *Patriarchy & Pub Culture*, p. 44.
[62] Mass-Observation, *Pub and People*, p. 56.
[63] *Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, May 25th, 1897, sec. 31,814.

> *"… I know a case of my own knowledge in which a certain barmaid of a particular house was described, and it was said that so long as this young lady was there, so long the good traffic which was existing in the house would continue."*[64]

Obviously, the presence of their wives or their daughters in the 'masculine republic' was not encouraged by men as it would have ceased their 'pseudo-relationships' with the prostitute or the barmaid (see Chapter 10.2. for a detailed discussion on barmaids).[65]

Women did, however, not leave the pub to men alone. In the First World War they started to enter public houses and to 'conquer' the 'masculine republic' by congregating in rooms set aside for them. Men still tried to preserve their 'masculine republic' and gathered in vaults or taprooms.[66] The next step of the women was to mingle with men in the mixed rooms. Women had to overcome certain drawbacks on their way into the public house. How and if they finally managed to 'conquer' the 'masculine republic' will be analysed in this thesis.

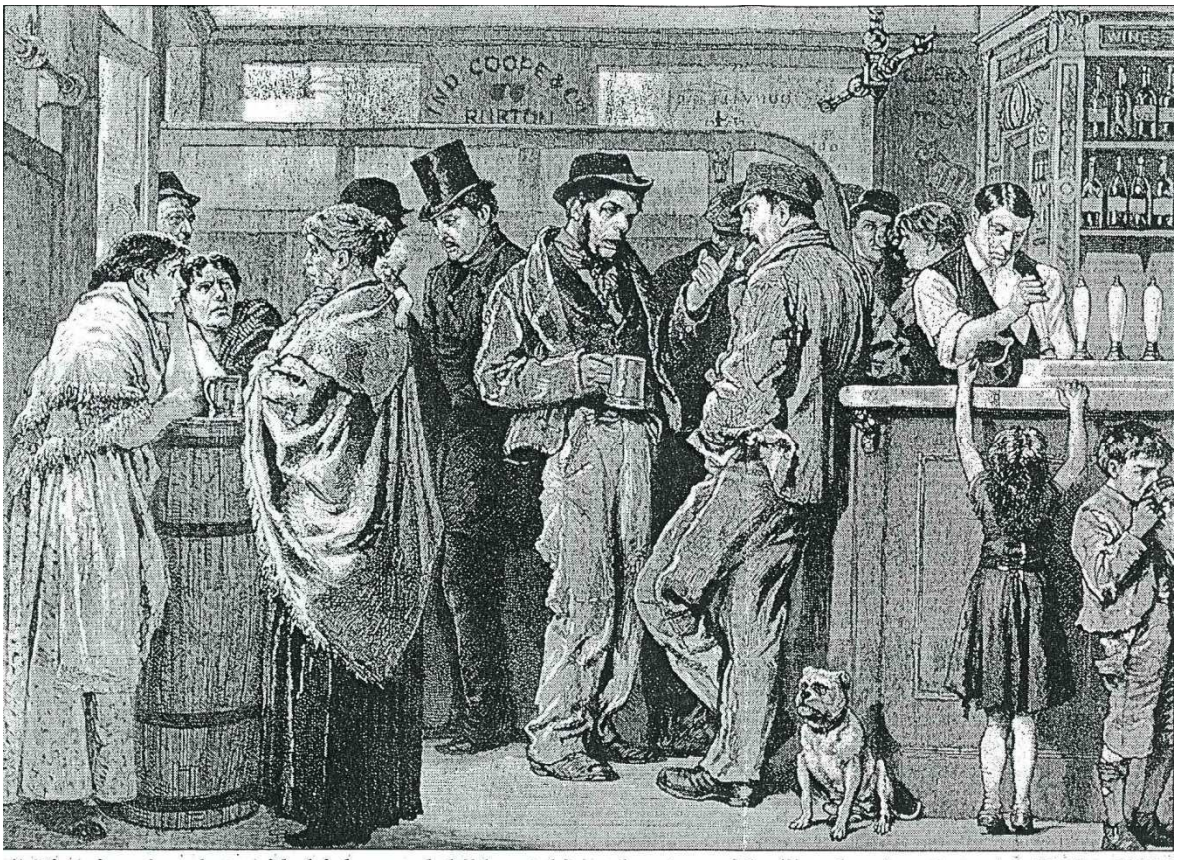
[64] Ibid, sec. 31,808.
[65] Harrison, 'Pubs', p. 192; Hey, *Patriarchy & Pub Culture*, p. 43, pp. 56-7; Mass-Observation, *Pub and People*, p. 63.
[66] Kearns, *Dublin Pub Life*, p. 180; Mass-Observation, *Pub and People*, pp. 93-7, pp. 143-6.

PART I

WOMEN IN PUBLIC HOUSES, 1880s–1970s

1

WOMEN IN PUBLIC HOUSES, 1880s – 1914



A Victorian gin palace, with drinkers and children taking advantage of the liberal regime that existed before 1916

1.1. Change of Pub Patrons and Drinking Habits

> *"Everybody drank and nobody drank moderately; the vice was common to all, rich and poor alike. At social parties no gentleman ever thought of leaving the table sober; the host would have considered it a slight on his hospitality. Even ladies and clergymen sometimes got drunk, and intoxication was so common a thing it passed without remark. The upper class drank wine, and every man among them liked to boast himself a 'two-bottle-man' ... . The lower class drank beer when they did not drink gin, and it was a common thing among working men to drink three or four quarts of strong, heavy ale each day of their lives."*[67]

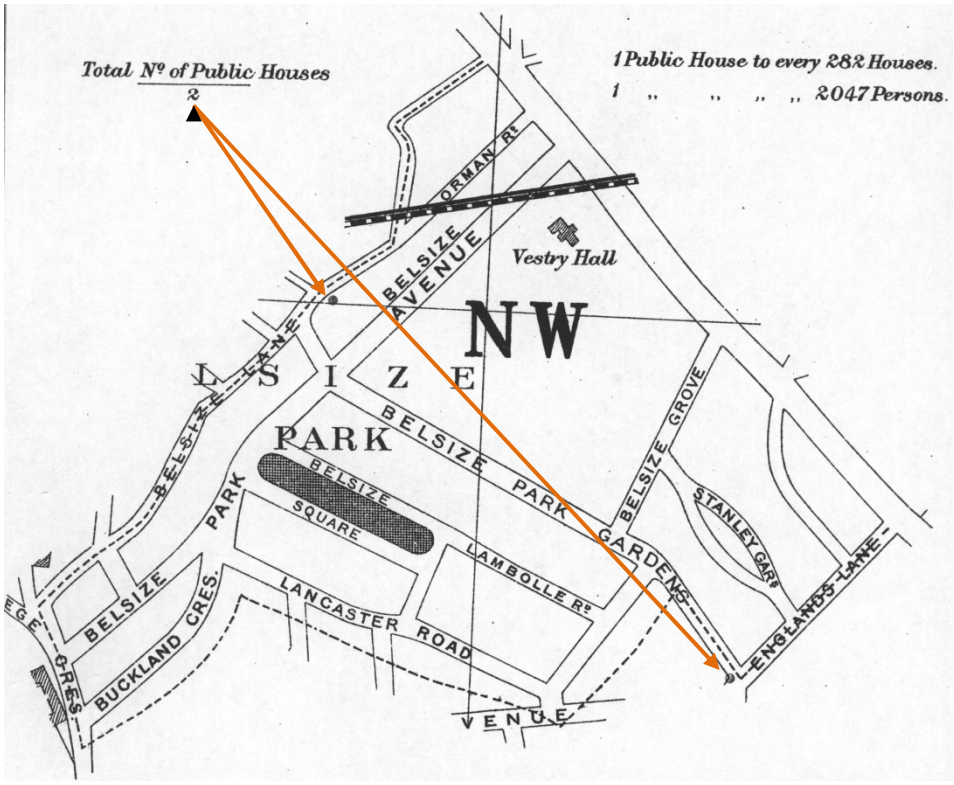
As this quotation shows, before 1800 drinking used to play an important role in the lives of working-class men and upper-class ladies. Members of all classes and even the clergy frequented Georgian inns to eat, drink, socialise and enjoy leisure activities. Occasionally, aristocrats drank with their social inferiors, squires with their villagers, landlords with their tenants and the Prince Regent with the humblest of people in low London taverns.[68] This mixture of customers strongly impressed the German Archenholz in 1791 as he recorded that in English alehouses *"all ranks are mixed and confound together; it is not uncommon to meet with even persons of quality there."*[69] Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that the members of the upper and middle classes formed only the minority of customers. It was also they who started to avoid public houses in the nineteenth century when drinking habits were noticeably influenced by class, gender and geography.[70]

Responsible for this major **shift in the pub patrons** and **their drinking habits** were several reasons, such as the growing concern about drink or the end of the coaching trade, when travellers of respectable classes had spent their nights in coaching inns. The most crucial reason was, however, that industrialisation had led to an increased class consciousness. The upper and middle classes began to shun public houses as they did not want to drink among their domestic servants or working-class people. Home consumption became a sign of respectability and so public houses lost an essential part of their traditional clientele, namely the customers of the upper and middle classes.[71] By the 1850s, no respectable urban person visited an ordinary public house as G. R. Porter's statement of

Previous page:
Plate 5: *A Sunday Afternoon in a Gin Palace*, c. 1879.

[67] Hackwood, *Inns, Ales and Drinking Customs of Old England*, p. 135.
[68] Harrison, *Drink & Victorians*, p. 46.
[69] Quoted in: Clark, *Alehouse*, p. 307.
[70] Ibid, pp. 306-7; Girouard, *Victorian Pubs*, pp. 5-6; Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', pp. 367-70; Harrison, *Drink & Victorians*, pp. 44-7; Jennings, *Local*, pp. 109-10.
[71] Clark, *Alehouse*, pp. 306-12; Harrison, 'Pubs', p. 162-3; Jennings, *Local*, pp. 109-10; Girouard, *Victorian Pubs*, pp. 5-6; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, p. 7, p. 9.

1852 demonstrates, "[in] *his country no person, above the rank of a labouring man or artisan, would venture to go into a public-house to purchase anything to drink."*[72]

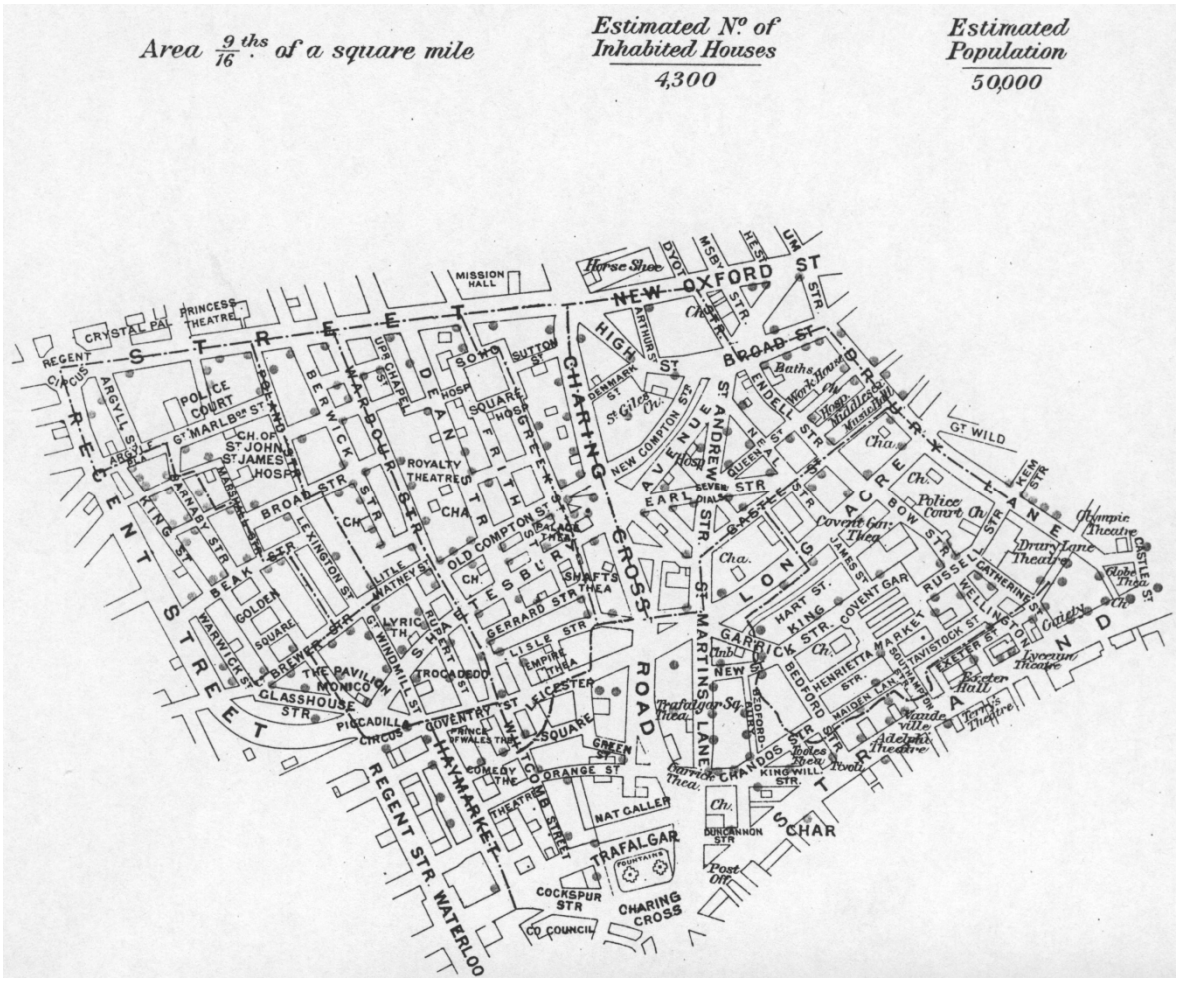


Map 1: Number of public houses in Belsize Park, South Hampstead (St Peter's Parish)

As a consequence, the density of public houses was rather low in the wealthier urban residential areas or the growing suburbs. In the wealthy London districts of Belsize Park and South Hampstead, only two public houses were registered in 1891 and they were located at the extreme edge of that neighbourhood. Thus, there was a proportion of one public house to every 2,047 inhabitants of that area. On the contrary, in the metropolitan areas of Soho, St. Martins and St. Giles in the Fields, a total number of 259 public houses was recorded. Hence, the ratio was one public house to 193 persons (compare Maps 1 and 2). In 1899 Rowntree also observed that public houses were unevenly distributed throughout York, with the highest concentration of drinking places in the poorest districts.[73] In respectable areas pubs were set back to make them less obtrusive for the

[72] Quoted in: Harrison, *Drink & Victorians*, p. 309.
[73] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, May 25th, 1897, sec. 31,403-21; Rowntree, *Poverty*, pp. 308-9.

prosperous inhabitants. One of those hidden drinking places for servants, which can still be visited nowadays, is 'The Antelope', Belgravia, London.[74]



Map 2: Number of public houses in Soho, St Martins, St Giles, etc.

If upper-and middle-class men decided to meet outside the house, they frequented private gentlemen's clubs. For **women of the upper and middle classes** social meetings were more complex as *"a lady of position – would never think of entering a public-house or spirit vault."*[75] If she did, she was considered a prostitute. In the second half of the nineteenth century institutions, such as art galleries or literary and philosophical societies, evolved and turned into social centres for respectable women. New, stylish restaurants, tea rooms and cafés, began to attract female visitors, in particular, in London's West End. Some of the well-known and grandest establishments, such as *The Royal Café, Pagani's* or

[74] Bruning, *Historic Pubs of London*, pp. 147-9; Gleiss, 'Pub during Free-Licensing Era', p. 115; Jennings, *Local*, pp. 109-11.
Origins of 'The Antelope' vary. It had either been a country pub in the eighteenth century or was built for the servants of the grand houses of the neighbourhood (cf.: Bruning, *Historic Pubs of London*, pp. 147-8).
[75] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, August 4th, 1897, sec. 42,401.

Simpson's, were found in this area. In the 1860s department stores opened which also met women's needs as they offered the necessary lavatories and restaurants. By the end of the nineteenth century, some ladies already visited their own private clubs. All those institutions were meeting places for middle- and upper-class women. Young and unmarried women had to be accompanied by a married woman, a male relative or a servant if they moved about in public.[76]

The **ideal of domesticity** dominated the nineteenth century. According to Victorian and Edwardian values and ideology, respectable women left the public area to men alone and focused on their families and their homes. Fine furnishings and decorations increased the comfort of the bourgeois home and turned flats and houses into attractive social centres. Women but also families invited each other to their homes and dished up drinks that had been purchased by their servants in off-licences. Alcohol was consumed moderately as those women were put off by the drinking excesses of the lower classes. This intemperance had also been one of the reasons for the withdrawal of respectable women from public houses which they regarded as disreputable drinking places *"without comfort, with hardly any sitting accommodation, small, dirty, ill-ventilated."*[77] Due to the evangelical influence and later the temperance movement, their drinking in public was restricted in order to set a positive example to the lower classes. The ladies got themselves involved in philanthropy, which was the only public activity fully sanctioned, visited the homes of the poor and organised fund-raising bazaars.[78]

In contrast to women from the upper and middle classes, **working-class women** continued to frequent drinking places and to drink in public in order to escape from their depressed lives and their miserable homes. Especially in towns, the drink problem grew as the new industrial poor lived in crowded flats in sordid areas with hardly any water supply or effective drainage system. Working-class homes were *"oftener a place to fly FROM, than to fly TO".*[79] In his book *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England* (*The Condition of the Working Class in England)* Engels reported that 5,366 working-class families, 26,830 persons in total, lived in 5,294 shabby flats in the parishes of St John and St Margaret in

[76] Clark, *Alehouse*, pp. 306-7, pp. 311-2; Gleiss, 'Pub during Free-Licensing Era', pp. 112-6; Gutzke, 'Cry of Children', pp. 71-2; Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', pp. 367-70; Harrison, *Drink & Victorians*, pp. 44-7.
[77] Observed by Russell McNaghten in the 1880s and quoted in: Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, p. 9.
[78] Ibid, p. 9; Harrison, *Drink & Victorians*, pp. 44-7.
[79] Quoted in: ibid, p. 46.

Westminster in 1840.[80] About three-quarters of those families had to live in one room. Approximately 50,000 people were even homeless in mid-nineteenth-century London.[81] Although living conditions had improved, overcrowding and living at lowest standards still remained a problem at the beginning of the twentieth century.[82]

Long working hours, sordid accommodation and a poverty of alternative leisure activities[83] made drinking places *"the shortest way out of Manchester"*[84] for working-class people. The figures of York, London, Birmingham or Bradford prove that the highest concentration of public houses was in poorer working-class districts. According to a study on Birmingham, *"a considerable extent people did visit pubs in their immediate neighbourhood."*[85] Consequently, the number of women frequenting public houses was noticeably higher among the working class than among the middle and upper class. Towards the turn of the century, 36 per cent of females were reported to enter a public house in a slum area of York compared to nine per cent of women who visited a public house at the border of a working-class and residential district of York. In Edwardian Middlesbrough, an industrialised city in the North of England, a temperance survey revealed that over one-quarter of the pub clientele in local pubs were women. Arthur Sherwell observed that in Soho pubs one patron out of three was female in 1897. Five years later a newspaper reporter stated that the number of women and men frequenting drinking establishments in London's East End was practically equal.[86]

Two new forms of drinking places enjoyed great popularity among women from the **lower classes**. Firstly, there was the inexpensive, inferior **beerhouse**[87], which had been implemented in 1830 to fight the increasing gin consumption. The 1833 Parliamentary

[80] Engels, *Lage der arbeitenden Klasse*, p. 28. Engels had taken those figures from a statistical journal of 1840.
[81] For a detailed discussion on the pub as an escape from home, see: Gleiss, 'Pub during Free-Licensing Era', pp. 129-31.
[82] Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 32-3; Read, *England 1868-1914*, pp. 55-8; Smith, 'Social usages of the public drinking house', p. 373; Tames, *Economy and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, pp. 40-5.
[83] Not only the temperance movement but already the 1834 Parliamentary Committee, chaired by Buckingham, had pointed out that alternatives, such as public parks, public libraries and public education, were required to keep people away from the drinking places (compare: Gleiss, 'Pub during the Free-Licensing Era', pp. 44-9, p. 132). In 1877 Ruskin made a similar point when he told working-class people that *"if I were in your place, I should drink myself to death in six months, because I had nothing to amuse me."* (quoted in: Harrison, *Drink & Victorians* pp. 311-2).
[84] Quoted in: Read, *England 1868-1914*, p. 109.
[85] Quoted in: Jennings, *Local*, p. 111.
[86] Gutzke, 'Cry of Children', p. 72; Jennings, *Local*, pp. 110-1; Rowntree, *Poverty*, pp. 308-26.
[87] For further details on beerhouses see: Gleiss, 'Pub during Free-Licensing Era', pp. 15-75.

Committee pointed out that many women were regular visitors of the numerous newly established beerhouses and that that circumstance *"had increased the number of marriages in the lower orders."*[88] The second common drinking establishment of working-class women was the **gin palace** (for more details on gin palaces see: Chapter 10.2.). Gin palaces no longer imitated homes but rather resembled shops, in particular, since the introduction of the 'bar' in the London gin palaces of the late 1820s. Some observers and historians, such as Mark Girouard, claim that the lavish decorations and other amenities of those multiplying gin palaces attracted particularly women as the following quotation demonstrates,

> *"Last Sundays morning [in the 1840s] I arose about seven o'clock, and looked from my bedroom at the gin-palace opposite to me. I say it surrounded with customers: amongst them I saw two coal-porters with women who appeared to be their wives and a little child about six or seven years old; these forced their way through the crowd; after much struggling they got to the bar, and came out again in a short time, one of the women so intoxicated as to be unable to walk; she fell flat on the pavement with her legs partly in the shop and her person exposed; the three who were with her attempted to raise her, but they were so intoxicated as to be unable to perform the task.* [Passers-by offered no assistance but simply laughed about the women's state.]*"*[89]

According to David Gutzke, the women who frequented drinking places did not represent a cross-section of the working class. The majority of female patrons were middle-aged or elderly women. They were either the wives from the lower-middle classes who accompanied their husbands on weekends or they belonged to those poverty-stricken groups of females who frequented drinking places during the week in order to escape reality and to drink with women of the same age. The latter represented the larger group. Young, unmarried women – even if they belonged to the working class – seldom frequented drinking places, simply because they did not want to be regarded as women of low character.[90]

While working-class women preferred beerhouses and gin palaces, **inns and taverns**, which had originally been patronised by the more respectable classes, were frequented by the **lower middle class,** such as artisans. Although those drinking places had lost their

[88] Wilson, *Alcohol and Nation*, p. 102.
[89] Observed by George Wilson, a grocer of Westminster, on a Sunday morning in the 1840s, quoted in: Shadwell, *Drink, Temperance*, p. 36.
[90] Booth Online Archive, http://booth.lse.ac.uk, B348, p. 77; B355, pp. 142-5; Clark, *Alehouse*, pp. 311-2; Girouard, *Victorian Pubs*; Gutzke, 'Cry of Children', p. 72; Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', p. 368; Plant, *Women and Alcohol*, pp. 54-5.

traditional customers, they still attracted a more affluent and socially mobile clientele because of their good locations and their supply of food and spirits. On Saturdays or on communal days women also entered those public houses but only to accompany their husbands or boyfriends.[91]

In the late nineteenth century the number of women who were employed in commerce and industry, in particular in the trade and office work in London, increased. Unaccompanied women did still not enter public houses but as they could not return to their homes in their lunch breaks and had no facilities to eat their meals at their work place, establishments opened that offered refreshments to women. 'Tea-shops' expanded considerably before but also after the First World War. It was the era of Aerated Bread Co., Express Diaries, Lockharts, Pearce & Plenty and Joseph Lyons' 'Nippies', which chiefly attracted clerks, typists and lady shoppers with their standardised prices and wide selection of meals. With the sponsorship of the Milk Marketing Board 'milk-bars' spread out noticeably from about 1928 onwards, which were even cheaper than 'tea-shops'. All those alternative refreshment facilities embraced the same market strategy, namely the retail of non-alcoholic beverages and light meals on a small profit margin. As those outlets remained open after office hours, young men and women met and even courted there. Women preferred these alternative refreshment facilities to the common drinking places which, consequently, drew the young men away from the drinking places to those outlets.[92]

1.2. Alcohol Consumption

In the 1860s and 1870s **alcohol consumption** increased because of two main factors. Firstly, real wages had been rising since the late 1850s but the purchasing power temporarily exceeded the supply of available consumer goods, such as clothes or furniture. Additionally, there were relatively few leisure activities to the traditional pastime of drinking. Between 1870 and 1876 real wages increased by 16.1 per cent while beer consumption rose by 20.3 per cent and spirits consumption by 25.7 per cent. Secondly, the growing urbanisation resulted in bad housing conditions which encouraged heavy drinking.

[91] Clark, *Alehouse*, p. 312; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 21; Gutzke, 'Cry of Children', pp. 71-2.
[92] Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', p. 371; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, p. 180; Thorne, *Places of refreshment*, pp. 243-5; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 264-5.

In other words, the use of alcohol was highest in urban, industrialised areas and lowest in remote, rural areas. Statistics of drunkenness confirm this tendency. Hence, the highest numbers of proceedings against drunkenness were recorded in seaport areas, such as Hull or Liverpool, and in mining areas, such as Northumberland. The lowest numbers of offences were documented in agricultural counties, such as Kent, Norfolk or Cambridgeshire. In 1876 annual alcohol consumption finally peaked at 338 pints of beer per head in England and Wales and at 9.6 pints of spirits per capita in the United Kingdom.[93]

Real wages continued to rise until the mid-1890s, primarily because of falling food prices, but the figures of alcohol consumption did not correlate. Since 1876 alcohol consumption had been diminishing and after a lesser peak in 1899-1900 its decline continued until the outbreak of the First World War. Compared to the peak in 1875-6, beer consumption had decreased by more than one-third, wine and spirits consumption had been cut into halves by 1914 (cf.: Table II and Diagrams I-II). Nevertheless, this lower level before 1900 roughly resembled the beer and spirits consumption of the 1840s and 1850s which had not been known as a period of modest drinking.[94]

The main reason for this change in alcohol consumption was not the impact of temperance propaganda or stricter licensing policies, such as the Wine and Beerhouse Act of 1869 or the 1872 and 1874 Licensing Acts, but the change and improvement of life-styles of working-class families, who imitated the norms of the lower middle classes. As the Saturday half-day became more common, the custom of 'Saint Monday'[95] among the working class began to cease. Since the 1870s alcohol consumption had started to decline in the upper and middle classes and heavy drinking and drunkenness were no longer regarded as 'respectable'. The surplus money was rather spent on mass-manufactured consumer goods, whose price had rapidly declined since the emergence of the 'mass market' in the 1880s. Additionally, the price of alcoholic beverages remained stable between 1870 and 1914 and as money wages did not increase, these drinks became more

[93] Burnett, *Cost of Living*, pp. 256-8; Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, pp. 125-7; Dingle, 'Drink and Working-Class Living Standards', p. 610, pp. 615-8; Gleiss, 'Pub during Free-Licensing Era', pp. 94-6; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 32-4, p. 601, Rowntree, Sherwell, *Temperance Problem*, pp. 87-8; Wilson, *Alcohol and Nation*, p. 332, pp. 437-9.

[94] For further details see: Gleiss, 'Pub during Free-Licensing Era', p. 41.

[95] The custom of 'Saint Monday' was particularly popular among the working class in the North of England. Skilled labourers but also the lowest classes did not work after weekend drinking but rather spent Mondays in the pubs. This practice declined between 1880 and 1913 when holidays were regularised. For more information see: Reid, 'Decline of Saint Monday, 1766-1876'.

expensive, with beer at 2.5d. a pint[96], spirits averaging 3s. 4d. a pint (proof) and wine averaging 3d. a pint. Food prices were lower at the turn of the century. Throughout most of the nineteenth century bacon, the meat mainly consumed by the working class, had cost 8d. per lb. At the end of the century general meat prices were ranging from 5d. to 10d. a lb. With the provision of alternative leisure opportunities, such as sports, libraries or museums, or cheap travels by tram, bicycle or railway, the pub should have lost its dominance as the main leisure pursuit of the working-class. Before 1914 sports and active leisure pursuits were, however, mainly popular among the middle class.[97]

Towards the late nineteenth century the perception of alcohol, in particular of **beer**, changed. In previous centuries beer had been the **national beverage** of England that had formed an essential part of people's ordinary diet. Before the 1860s beer had even been regarded as a temperate substitute for spirits. Beer had definitely been healthier than water from contaminated water supplies. Only from the 1880s onwards, piped water on constant supply became widespread. In London such a system was not completed until 1906. Beer was not only consumed for health reasons, it was also thought to be nutritious and to bestow physical stamina which people required for strenuous labour,

> *"I drank only water: the other workmen, near fifty in number, were great drinkers of beer ... . We had an alehouse boy, who attended always in the house to supply the workmen. My companion at the press drank every day a pint before breakfast, with his bread and cheese, a pint between breakfast and dinner, a pint at dinner, a pint in the afternoon about six o'clock, and another when he had done with his day's work. I thought it a detestable custom; but it was necessary, he supposed, to drink strong beer that he might be strong himself ... . He had four or five shillings to pay out of his wages every week for that vile liquor."*[98]

Physical strength and physical stamina were represented by the round-bellied beer-drinker 'John Bull' and not by slim, 'physically weak' teetotallers. The medical profession generally prescribed beer, especially stouts or porter, because of its tonic qualities.[99] Pregnant and breast-feeding women were recommended to consume moderate amounts of

[96] In the 1890s mild ale was the favourite drink in public bars, it sold at 4d. a quart. Customers of saloon bars or private bars preferred bitter which sold at 3d. or 4d. a pint. Export ale was retailed at 8d. per quart (cf.: Girouard, *Victorian Pub*, p. 4; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 207, pp. 602-3.).

[97] Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, p. 127; Burnett, *Cost of Living*, pp. 210-2; Dingle, 'Drink and Working-Class Living Standards', p. 609, p. 611, pp. 618-22; Gleiss, 'Pub during Free-Licensing Era', pp. 94-7; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 29, pp. 37-40; Harrison, *Drink & Victorians*, p. 297; *Royal Commission on Licensing (England and Wales) Report*, p. 9; Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, *Final Report*, pp. 325-6; Thompson, *Cambridge Social History*, pp. 265-6.

[98] A passage out of Franklin's *Memoirs*, quoted in: Knight, *London*, vol. IV, p. 3.

[99] Even in 1964 many people often associated Guinness, an Irish stout, with regaining energy and consumed it because of health reasons (cf.: Public Attitude Surveys, *Women Guinness Drinkers*).

beer and even public-school pupils consumed beer at every meal (for more details see: Chapter 6.1.). In country houses female servants were entitled to one to two pints of beer at meal times. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, tea, which had been repeatedly recommended by the temperance movement, replaced beer as the domestic drink. Thus, beer turned into a recreational indulgence for men, often consumed without the family.[100]

While alcohol consumption was decreasing in the late nineteenth century, middle- and upper-class awareness concerning alcohol increased considerably. Generally, the view prevailed that drunkenness was a voluntary act, a result of moral failure combined with a weak character or, according to some teetotallers, of sin (cf.: Chapter 1.3.). Many social reformers were seriously concerned about the **high expenditure on drink**, in particular among the working class, and thought this the main reason for their poverty. Undoubtedly, beer was the largest item of working-class expenditure as it was also an important part of their everyday diet. In 1881 the British Association calculated that an average wage-earner spent 9.6d. per day on food and drink. The highest amount was spent on meat, to be precise 1.87d., but then an equal amount was spent on beer as well as on bread, namely 1.4d. (14.5 per cent). 0.75d. was spent on spirits and 0.29d. on tea. Charles Booth, who had investigated the labouring life in East London, claimed that in the metropolis one-quarter of working-class earnings was spent on drink, namely 4-6s. per week of a wage of 24s., whereas Seebohm Rowntree, who had examined York in greater detail, estimated a minimum of one-sixth of earnings. According to Dingle's calculations, fifteen per cent of the total consumer expenditure, not of working-class expenditure, was spent on drink in 1876. This figure declined to twelve to thirteen per cent in 1900 and to nine per cent in 1908.[101] Nevertheless, Dingle concluded that

> *"the working man spent a larger proportion of his income on drink than did the more affluent; and that the major part, perhaps two-thirds to three-quarters, of all spending on drink came out of working-class pockets".*[102]

The problem with both per capita consumption and per capita expenditure on drink is that only average figures are given which do not indicate how much alcohol people actually

[100] Burnett, *Cost of Living*, pp. 212-3; Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, p. 127; Davies, *Leisure, Gender, and Poverty*, p. 65; Gleiss, 'Pub during Free-Licensing Era', pp. 78-83; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 28, pp. 31-2; Gutzke, 'Cry of Children', p. 72; Harrison, *Drink & Victorians*, p. 85; Thompson, *Cambridge Social History*, vol. 2, pp. 264-6.
[101] Burnett, *Cost of Living*, pp. 258-9; Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, pp. 128-31; Dingle, 'Drink and Working-Class Living Standards', pp. 611-2; Gleiss, 'Pub during Free-Licensing Era', pp. 98-100; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 28, pp. 34-6; Rowntree, *Poverty*, p. 142-4.
[102] Dingle, 'Drink and Working-Class Living Standards', p. 612.

drank. Individual alcohol consumption varied with occupation, region, custom or personal taste. People with strenuous labour, such as miners and dock workers, were among the heavy consumers. At the Albert docks eight dockers stated that they spent 8s. 4.5d. on alcohol a week while 144 interviewed people who worked in stores spent 1s. 0.5d. a week. Rowntree and Sherwell even reported of a feltmaker and his wife, a carpet bag maker, who earned 25s. a week, in total, of which they spent 15s. on beer. Although the working-class expenditure on alcohol was considerable, Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree proved in their studies that drink was not the prime cause of poverty. Booth had surveyed 4,000 cases and stated that drink and thriftlessness accounted for only 14 per cent in the East End. Rowntree did not even cite alcohol as a factor of primary poverty among 7,230 inhabitants of York.[103]

When analysing the **choice of drink**, class consciousness becomes visible again. Upper and middle-class women preferred wine and spirits which had been purchased for off-consumption in hotels or grocers' shops. On the contrary, working-class women, especially in large industrial cities, frequented public houses and mainly consumed beer and stout, less often gin and rarely spirits. Charles Booth reported that in Bethnal Green working women did not enter drinking places to sit down and talk but they took their half pint of beer and returned to work. Those London working-class women also drank rum in cold and gin in warm weather and even opted for a mixture of beer and gin.[104] Nevertheless, not all working-class women consumed alcohol excessively. In 1903 Mrs Bertrand Russell reported of some young factory girls who thought *"nothing of going into a public-house and of getting drunk occasionally."*[105]

1.3. Female Intemperance, or Degeneration of the British 'Race'

Social reformers remained seriously concerned about the intemperance of the working class, in particular about **female intemperance**. Towards the end of the nineteenth century,

[103] Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, pp. 128-9; Dingle, 'Drink and Working-Class Living Standards', pp. 611-2; Gleiss, 'Pub during Free-Licensing Era', pp. 98-100; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 34-6; Rowntree, *Poverty*, pp. 119-40; Rowntree, Sherwell, *Temperance Problem*, pp. 438-9.
[104] Booth Online Archive, http://booth.lse.ac.uk, B347, pp. 158-9; B348, pp. 74-5; B355, pp. 142-3; Gutzke, 'Cry of Children', pp. 71-2.
[105] Quoted in: ibid.

the issue of 'female intemperance' was much debated by academics and the public[106] in the context of an anxiety over the degeneration of the British 'race'. According to Lord Rosebery, *"A drink-sodden population is not the true basis of a prosperous Empire."*[107] Women were regarded as the mothers of Britain's future workers and soldiers, and their insobriety was not treated as an illness but as a hereditary defect that would result in physical and mental degeneration of the British children (for more information on this anxiety over the degeneration of the British 'race' see: Chapter 7).[108]

Before the 1896-8 Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, various witnesses stated that female drinking and the number of women frequenting public houses had increased in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[109] There was, however, no statistical evidence available to support their view. Temperance reformers, doctors or Chief Constables mostly referred to the increasing number of women when analysing mortality rates from chronic alcoholism or the cases of convictions against drunkenness (compare Tables III-IV and Diagrams III-IV). Yet these statistics were not reliable as, for instance, the definition of the term 'chronic alcoholism' was rather vague and interpreted differently by medical practitioners. Also the number of proceedings was misleading as it depended on the efficiency of police administration. The Senior Metropolitan Police Magistrate reported that during the last ten years the number of police arrests for drunkenness had continuously increased in London.[110] The number of proceedings also augmented because some women were convicted several times in the course of a year (for more details on the problem with statistics on both mortality rates from chronic alcoholism and convictions against drunkenness see: Chapter 7).[111]

Although some people, such as the Chief Constables of Liverpool and York or the Senior Metropolitan Police Magistrate, reported before the Royal Commission that female

[106] Consequently, the amount of evidence on this subject also expanded.
[107] Lord Rosebery, leader of the liberal imperialists, 1902, quoted in: Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, p. 131.
[108] Booth Online Archive, http://booth.lse.ac.uk, B347, pp. 212-3; Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, pp. 130-1; Hunt, Mellor, Turner, 'Wretched, hatless, and miserably clad', pp. 250-4; Jennings, *Local*, p. 112; Radzinowicz, *History of English Criminal Law*, pp. 291-2; Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody*, pp. 222-4.
[109] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, June 23rd, 1896, sec. 2,657-8, sec. 2,666-77, 2,715-7; November 17th, 1896, sec. 11,363-79; November 18th, 1896, sec. 12,179-96; December 1st, 1896, sec. 12,669-73; February 16th, 1897, sec. 17,116; May 4th, 1897, sec. 27,450-1; May 5th, 1897, sec. 28,583-5; May 19th, 1897, sec. 31,193; July 20th, 1898, sec. 74,049-53.
[110] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, June 30th, 1896, sec. 2,666-77.
[111] Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, pp. 130-1; Jennings, *Local*, p. 112; Rowntree, Sherwell, *Temperance Problem*, pp. 85-6, pp. 89-90; Shadwell, *Drink, Temperance*, pp. 78-86; Wilson, *Alcohol and Nation*, pp. 277-8.

drunkenness had diminished, even if not to the same extent as male,[112] most of the contemporaries agreed on the increased number of female intemperance.[113] Dr. Norman Kerr, President of the Society for the Study of Inebriety, claimed that *"30 years ago I hardly ever saw a woman in a public-house. Now, on a Sunday morning, I sometimes see a dozen, some of them drunk in the streets."*[114] Charles Booth's informants also believed that more women were consuming more alcohol, in particular among the working class, whereas alcohol consumption among men was declining. In 1900 Rowntree found significant numbers of women in the 39 local pubs in the poorest slum district of York. Most of them, however, entered the pub for a quick drink; three-quarters stayed for less fifteen minutes.[115]

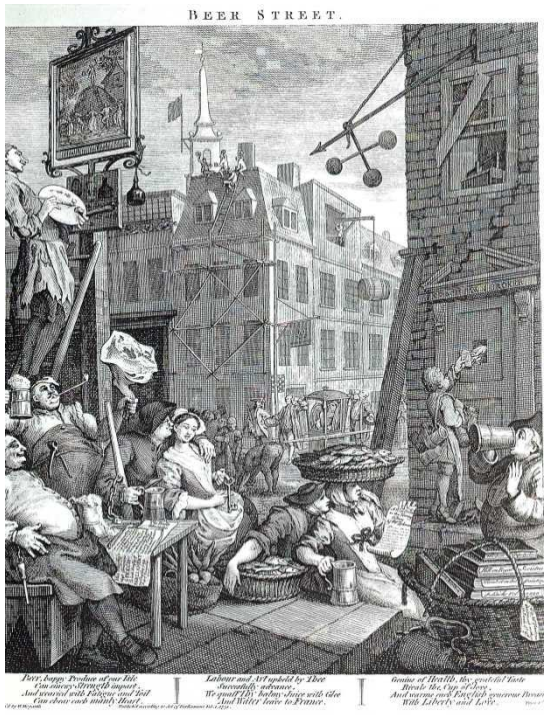


Plate 6: William Hogarth, *Gin Lane* and *Beer Street*, 1750-1

[112] According to Sir John Bridge, Senior Metropolitan Police Magistrate, a main reason why female drunkenness showed less diminution than male during a period of improvement was that many intemperate women were prostitutes who were not actively affected by a trend of sobriety like the rest of the population (see: *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, June 23rd, 1896, sec. 2,489-91, sec. 2,657-8, sec. 2,715-6).

[113] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, June 30th, 1896, sec. 3,536-45; December 17th, 1896, sec. 14,778-80; February 23rd, 1897, sec. 18,853; April 13th, 1897, sec. 26,791-800; July 28th, 1897, sec. 41,543-51.

[114] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, July 20th, 1898, sec. 74,050.

[115] Booth Online Archive, http://booth.lse.ac.uk, B347, pp. 158-61, pp. 168-71; B348, pp. 24-5; B349, pp. 34-7, pp. 186-7; B353, pp. 206-9; B355, pp. 142-5; B357, p. 39; B365, pp. 110-1; Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, p. 130; Rowntree, *Poverty*, pp. 316-25; Shadwell, *Drink, Temperance*, pp. 77-8, pp. 88-9.

This concern about a growing number of women entering public houses was not a new development. It had already occurred decades, even centuries before. Already in the mid-eighteenth century the contemporary caricaturist William Hogarth had shown in his two well-known engravings *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane* (see Plate 6) how much evil and distress the consumption of gin caused to women, in particular. In the 1790s Patrick Colquhoun thought that in the previous twenty to thirty years females had overcome the disgrace which had once been attached to entering alehouses. In 1828 Gustave d'Eichthal shockingly reported about female drinking habits in London alehouses, *"a sight to be seen as they gulp down their glasses of gin, whisky, toddy and cheap brandy."*[116] In 1834 evidence was given before the Select Committee of the House of Commons that nearly fifty per cent of the persons entering public houses were women. Evidence of large numbers of women frequenting pubs was also given before two other committees in 1829 and 1854. In 1876 the House of Lords Committee was concerned about the increasing female intemperance as in some places women nearly equalled men.[117]

According to social reformers, various reasons were responsible for the rise of female intemperance towards the end of the nineteenth century. First of all, they stated that **secret drinking** increased in popularity among women of the middle and upper classes. With the introduction of the grocers' licence, secret drinking had been facilitated. From 1861 onwards, grocers' licenses for selling alcohol had been granted and were not under magistrates' control until 1902. Before the 1896-8 Royal Commission a witness stated the following,

> *"A lady – and especially a lady of position – would never think of entering a public-house or spirit vaults, but she would have no compunction in entering a grocer's shop."*[118]

Sometimes wines or spirits were booked as groceries, such as tea, to cover the alcohol consumption.[119] Women even went to railway stations for the purchase of alcoholic beverages,

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[116] Quoted in: Clark, *Alehouse*, p. 312.
[117] Jennings, *Local*, p. 112; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, July 20th, 1898, sec. 74,277; Shadwell, *Drink, Temperance*, pp. 88-9.
[118] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, August 4th, 1897, sec. 42,401.
[119] Booth Online Archive, http://booth.lse.ac.uk, B348, pp. 24-5, p. 77, pp. 84-5; B349, pp. 36-7, pp. 200-3; B361, pp. 244-5; Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, p. 131; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, June 30th, 1996, sec. 3,453-5; March 31st, 1897, sec. 24,501-9, sec. 24,558-61, sec. 24,681-707, sec. 24,774-88; April 7th, 1897, sec. 26,176-81; April 13th, 1897, sec. 26,848-53; April 14th, 1897, sec. 27,039-51; May

> *"You think that they would prefer the railway station as being more respectable than a public-house? – Oh dear, yes, certainly, because they are in the position of travellers. There is the excuse that they are travelling, but there is no excuse for going into a public-house. There is the excuse for going into a grocer's shop to produce grocery."*[120]

Another form of secret drinking was found in side-passages or in front of the back-door entrances to public houses. Many women from lower classes gathered there as they did not dare to intrude the 'masculine republic' and as they wanted to hide their intemperance.[121] According to Charles Booth, the reason why women started to drink was because of their feeling of lonesomeness implying that they were lacking male supervision,

> *"All around London are growing up suburbs small houses whose occupants have just enough to live on comfortably. Women are left at home, small ailments, the immediate stimulus of drink, that is how it begins."*[122]

Booth also related women's emancipation and their increasing financial independence from men to an increase in alcohol consumption among women (cf.: Chapter 7).[123]

Another reason for the increased female intemperance was the so-called **ladies' day on Mondays**. When women had some money left after the weekend, they either met late in the morning or early in the evening to enjoy some gin, their favourite drink. This drinking custom was popular among the working-class women of London's East End but also known in Manchester. The public houses they frequented became known as 'cowsheds', from the local male epithet for women. According to Charles Booth's police guide, the 'King's Arms' in the High Street of the district of Dalston was the 'cowshed par excellence'.[124] More respectable women also entered drinking establishments and consumed alcohol on the premises. Before the 1897-9 Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, Lady Somerset reported about special **ladies' bars** for women only which

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4th, 1897, sec. 27,450-68, sec. 27,541-3; May 5th, 1897, sec. 28,387-93, sec. 28,467-79, sec. 28,583-5; May 19th, 1897, sec. 31,065-74; sec. 31,189-95; July 28th, 1897, sec. 41,546-50; August 4th, 1897, sec. 42,397-425, sec. 42,510-2, sec. 42,523-4, sec. 42,581, sec. 42,592-3; June 14th, 1898, sec. 67,425-6, sec. 67,601-3; June 15th, 1898, sec. 68,051-64; July 5th, 1898, sec. 71,620-7; July 20th, 1898, sec. 74,084-8.

[120] Quoted in: *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, August 4th, 1897, sec. 42,438.

[121] Booth Online Archive, http://booth.lse.ac.uk, B349, pp. 90-3; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, November 17th, 1896, sec. 11,556-8; February 16th, 1897, sec. 17,118-34, sec. 17,202-6; February 23rd, 1897, sec. 18,854-60.

[122] Charles Booth quoted in: Spring, Buss, 'Three centuries of alcohol', p. 570.

[123] Booth Online Archive, http://booth.lse.ac.uk, B347, pp. 68-71; Spring, Buss, 'Three centuries of alcohol', p. 570; Waterson, 'Gender divisions', p. 176.

[124] Booth Online Archive, http://booth.lse.ac.uk, B346, pp. 40-1, pp. 170-1; Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, p. 131; Jennings, *Local*, pp. 116-7; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, July 20th, 1898, sec. 74,065-6.

had been included in larger public houses in more respectable London neighbourhoods, such as Buckingham Palace Road, Notting Hill, Shaftesbury Avenue or Great Portland Street. But these ladies' bars were not restricted to London. Lady Somerset also referred to the popularity of such rooms in the hilly districts of South Wales.[125]

Arthur Shadwell criticised the evidence on the increase of female intemperance given before the 1896-8 Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws. He claimed that women *"have been in the habit of frequenting that institution* [= the public house] *for a couple of centuries at least, and apparently in far greater numbers than in the present day."*[126] His argument of a declining use of pubs by women seems appropriate as in Victorian and Edwardian England the ideal of the woman's place was the home. Females who valued their respectability did not frequent drinking places. In York, for instance, the daughter of a landlord, who prohibited women from entering his public house, stated, *"It would never occur to me to go into a pub."*[127] In London and some other major cities mainly working-class women frequented drinking places but in rural areas and the North of England the pub as 'masculine republic' used to dominate pub life and pub culture.[128]

Nevertheless, the public had the impression that female intemperance was increasing and in order to curb *"the growing evil"*[129] several pieces of legislation were passed. In 1879 the Habitual Drunkards Act and in 1898 the Inebriates Act were introduced. They enabled the establishment of reformatories to cure severe cases of habitual drunkards. Unsurprisingly, the majority of these inmates were women. The 1902 Licensing Act made it an offence to be intoxicated in public places and it was an additional offence when being in charge of a child under the age of seven (for more details see: Chapter 7). As women were also the mothers of Britain's future citizens, their children had to be protected from their mothers' intemperance. The 1886 Intoxicating Liquor Act prohibited the sale of beer to children under the age of 13. The Child Messenger Act of 1901 raised the age to 14 years but restricted the retail of beer for off-consumption in sealed vessels only. The Children Act of 1908 prohibited the consumption of intoxicating liquor for children under the age of five

[125] *Country Brewers' Gazette*, August 14th, 1902, p. 605; Jennings, *Local*, pp. 116-7; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, May 25th, 1897, sec. 31,506-12.
[126] Shadwell, *Drink, Temperance*, p. 88.
[127] Quoted in: Jennings, *Local*, p. 117.
[128] Booth Online Archive, http://booth.lse.ac.uk, B347, pp. 258-61; B355, pp. 142-5; Jennings, *Local*, pp. 116-8, Shadwell, *Drink, Temperance*, p. 75-89.
[129] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, February 23rd, 1897, sec. 18,853.

and the presence of children under the age of 14 in any room mainly used for the consumption of alcoholic beverages (for more details see: Chapter 6.1.).

2

WOMEN IN PUBLIC HOUSES, 1914 – 1918

2.1. Legislation, Drunkenness and the Central Control Board

Before war was declared on Germany on August 4th, 1914, temperance organisations had unsuccessfully forced the government to introduce major legislation for the stricter control of the liquor trade. In the first weeks of the war, naval and military authorities pressed the government to act as publicans had been serving recruits and soldiers to excess, which caused a threat to national security. The Intoxicating Liquor (Temporary Restrictions) Bill came into immediate effect in September 1914 which enabled licensing justices to temporarily limit the sale, consumption and supply of alcoholic liquor. Lord Kitchener, Secretary of War, appealed to the public several times not to tempt soldiers to consume alcohol and to avoid 'treating' them to drink. In many port and garrison towns, a prevalence of excessive drinking amongst the wives of soldiers and sailors was reported, so military authorities excluded women from pubs after 6 or 7 p.m. Munitions and ship building managers complained that due to excessive drinking, the industry experienced a serious loss of production. In a speech at Bangor in February 1915, Lloyd George, the Chancellor of Exchequer, uttered the most quoted of all his statements,

> *"Drink is doing us more damage in the war than all the German submarines put together … We are fighting Germany, Austria, and Drink; and as far as I can see the greatest of these three deadly foes is Drink."*[130]

To fight this problem Lloyd George strongly supported the passing of the **Defence of the Realm Act** which enabled him to bring into force the **Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic)** under Lord D'Abernon in June 1915. Although the Minister of Munitions appointed the Chairman and the Treasury regulated the size of the staff, the CCB (Central Control Board) was virtually autonomous. The Control Board addressed insobriety with radical ideas that affected nearly every aspect of drinking in the areas covered. At the beginning the CCB focused on seaports and industrial areas, by the end of 1915 about half of the population of Great Britain was affected and by the end of 1916 control had been

[130] Quoted in: Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 318.

extended to approximately 38 million people out of a total of 41 million inhabitants. The major licensing changes imposed by the CCB were:

- A curtailment in hours of sale from 19.5 hours to five on weekdays and from seven to five on Sundays. Liquor could not be sold in the mornings or forenoon (with very few exceptions). Only two and a half hours of sale were permitted in the afternoon followed by three hours with evening closing set no later than 9.30 p.m.

- Liquor strengths were diminished, spirits, for instance, had five to ten per cent of their alcohol removed, the amount depending on the type of beverage.

- 'Off-sale' hours were limited to only 2.5 at midday Monday to Saturday and none on Sunday.

- The widespread practice of selling liquor on credit was forbidden.

- So-called 'long pull' or the serving of extra large measures to attract customers was prohibited.

- 'Treating' was forbidden unless the treater also bought a meal for his guest at the same time.[131]

Beer and spirits prices increased noticeably during the war while alcoholic strength decreased. Spirits rose from 8d. per quartern to 1s. 8d. or 2s. 6d., depending on the alcoholic strength. The beer prices doubled between 1914 and 1916; consumers could still buy beer at pre-war prices of 3d. per pint, but it was of much lower quality and strength. In the second half of the war, price control was applied and the government fixed a maximum price of 4d. a pint for beer under 1036° in gravity, popularly called 'Government Beer'[132], and 5d. for beer in the range 1036-42°. The prices rose in the following years (in 1920 the most potent beer cost 9d. per pint).[133] Standard gravity of beer had declined from 1053° in 1913 to 1030° in April 1918. As a result, many drinkers boycotted beer as they thought it too expensive and too weak to be worth drinking. Furthermore, from April 1917 the Food Controller, not the CCB, drastically curtailed the output of liquor available for consumption. Compared to 1916, the amount of barrels was reduced from 26 million to 10

[131] *Brewers' Journal*, June 24th, 1915, pp. 357-9; February 21st, 1940, pp. 133-4; Gourvish, 'Business of Alcohol', p. 619; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 324; Gutzke, 'Gender, Class and Public Drinking', pp. 371-2; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 51-2; Shadwell, *Drink in 1914-1922*, pp. 100-1; Smart, 'Effect of Licensing Restrictions', pp. 109-15; *True Temperance Quarterly*, November 1939, pp. 2-4; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, p. 53; Wilson, *Alcohol and the Nation*, pp. 272-6.

[132] Many brewers started to call their weaker beer 'Government Beer' or 'Government Ale' but the government was concerned about this form of marketing and prohibited this term for beer under 1036° in gravity in October 1917 (Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 323).

[133] For details on beer prices and the corresponding gravities see: ibid, p. 323, footnote 17.

million barrels of beer and spirits were limited by 50 per cent, from 28 million to 14 million proof gallons.[134]

Not surprisingly, figures of consumption, convictions of drunkenness and alcohol mortality dropped during the war. In 1914, one person drank 214 pints of beer a year. This figure steadily decreased to the lowest per capita consumption ever, namely to 80 pints of beer in 1918. In the same year the proceedings against drunkenness also reached their low in England and Wales with a total of 31,414 proceedings, or 9.23 per 10,000 people, compared to 204,929 proceedings, or a rate of 55.44, in 1914. In the period 1910 to 1914, 25,729 persons had died of alcohol. This number of deaths declined to 15,086 persons between 1915 and 1919 (cf.: Tables II-IV, Diagrams I-IV).

At the same time wages rose continuously and many feared this expansion in purchasing power could encourage intemperance as in the nineteenth century.[135] All the regulations introduced by the CCB and the government, such as weaker beer at a higher price, the restrictions of the supply of intoxicating liquor or limited pub opening hours, had the contrary effect, namely an increased sobriety during the war. Additionally, other social and economic factors were also responsible for this development.[136] First, a trend towards sobriety had already been evident before the First World War. The figures of per capita consumption, proceedings against drunkenness and alcohol mortality had already been declining since 1900 (cf.: Tables II-IV, Diagrams I-IV). In the second place, the absence of a large number of young men who were serving in the army also contributed to a decrease of these figures; yet the same figures were also falling amongst women. Another factor was that work hours augmented from 48 hours to 60 hours per week, unemployment was declining and so many employed women had less time for drinking. Furthermore, bombings or blackouts, in particular in cities, did not encourage people to leave their houses for pub visits or off-licence purchases. Fifthly, shortages of policemen and medical

[134] BLRA, *Statistical Handbook 1994*, p. 7; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 320-3; *Gutzke*, 'Gender, Class and Public Drinking', pp. 371-2; *True Temperance Quarterly*, November 1939, p. 4; Wilson, *Alcohol and the Nation*, p. 275.

[135] *Brewers' Journal*, January 15th, 1918, p. 10; Carter, *Control of Drink Trade*, pp. 256-7; Shadwell, *Drink in 1914-1922*, p. 100.
For details on the rise of wages see: Wilson, *Alcohol and the Nation*, pp. 272-3.

[136] Shadwell, a temperance writer, thought the wartime licensing regulations effective and concluded that intemperance could, generally, be fought with higher taxation and shorter hours (Shadwell, *Drink 1914-1922*, pp. 100-1, p. 106, pp. 149-50). Other historians (e.g.: Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', p. 372; Smart, 'Effect of Licensing Restrictions', pp. 119-20) thought the impact of these regulations exaggerated and claimed that social and economic changes had to be taken into account, as well.

doctors reduced a detection and documentation of drunkenness or death of alcohol. Besides, members of the forces were often more tolerantly treated by the magistrates. Patriotism also increased considerably during the war and people followed the example of Lord Kitchener and King George, who had closed the wine cellars in the Royal Household and signed the pledge.[137]

2.2. Carlisle: Respectable Women in Improved Pubs

The role of women in pubs significantly changed in areas where the **CCB** had **nationalised the brewing industry** in 1916 and actually managed pubs. These three selective areas were the Carlisle area, where a large explosives factory had been built, near the ordnance factory at Enfield Lock, near London, and the naval base at Invergordon, in Cromarty Firth.[138]

Carlisle was the biggest, most urban of those areas with a population of 52,000. Including the surrounding areas, that were also affected, the number of inhabitants raised to 140,000. The building of the explosives factory in Gretna had attracted many labourers, among them numerous Irish immigrants. According to estimates, 10,000 additional unskilled workers had been required, which would have led to an overall increase of 20,000 to 30,000 people. In fact, more than double the original estimate had moved to this sleepy area. Good wages, poor housing and a lack of leisure activities resulted in crowded drinking places. The small public houses were mostly run by pensioners and widows who were incapable of handling this increased amount of patrons. The result was horrendous drunkenness. In June 1916, 33 weekly arrests were counted, compared to 1915 this number had quadrupled. Hence, the Ministry of Munitions asked the Control Board to intervene.

The introduction of the customary scheme of regulations discussed in the previous subchapter proved insufficient, so in January 1916 the Control Board decided to nationalise the drink industry of Carlisle and the surrounding areas. In Carlisle itself, four

[137] Carter, *Control of Drink* Trade, p. 238, p. 257; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 324-6; *Gutzke*, 'Gender, Class and Public Drinking', p. 372; Smart, 'Effect of Licensing Restrictions', pp. 109-20; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 48-60; Wilson, *Alcohol and Nation*, pp. 275-6.
[138] Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 317-24; Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', pp. 371-4; Smart, 'Effect of Licensing Restrictions', pp. 109-11; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 45-52.

breweries and 119 licensed premises came into the possession of the state, in the surrounding areas 249 additional drinking places, breweries, maltings, bottling stores as well as wine and spirits merchants were nationalised. Including the schemes at Enfield and Cromarty, a total of £883,265 of compensation was paid to the owners of all the properties. After this acquisition the main policy of the CCB was to rationalise and improve the managed pubs. This policy became known as 'fewer and better' pubs. Three breweries were closed in Carlisle and altogether 123 licences of unsuitable premises suppressed.[139]

Typical drinking premises in Carlisle used to resemble Victorian gin palaces (cf.: Chapter 10.2.). Their vast bar counters in the public bar encouraged 'perpendicular drinking', which was blamed for fostering drunkenness. Excessive drinking was also common in snugs (cf.: Chapter 10.1.) which promoted a private but ill-lit, smoky and unhygienic atmosphere. Intoxication mainly occurred among men. The worst drinking-dens, that were later closed, were typical 'masculine republics'. According to Albert Mitchell, General Manager of Carlisle and District State Management Scheme, *"Men in certain parts of the city would not have the women drinking with them."*[140] Women were only permitted drinking in peripheral unclaimed spaces, such as the jug-and-bottle (sometimes off-licence) departments, doorsteps and passages. If they entered drinking places, they were told phrases, such as, *"You are in the wrong department, love."* or *"Do you want a bed?"*[141] Consequently, respectable women shunned public houses. The CCB had to become active to terminate this appalling situation for women and to elevate the pub's image in order to achieve gender but also class equality.[142]

Public houses were improved and instead of tenant licensees,[143] 'disinterested' managers were appointed. They received their salary and thus, they had no financial interest in promoting the sale of intoxicants. The provision of substantial meals was emphasised, also

[139] Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 324; Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', p. 376; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 54-6; Nevile, *Seventy Rolling Years*, pp. 101-2; *True Temperance Quarterly*, November 1939, p. 12; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 106-7.
[140] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, April 29th, 1930, sec. 19,685.
[141] Ibid, May 23rd, 1930, sec. 21,861.
[142] Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', pp. 376-7; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 56-7; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, April 29th, 1930, sec. 19,644 (39), sec. 19,685, sec. 20,449-52, sec. 20,501; May 22nd, 1930, sec. 21,727 (7).
[143] A tenant licensee rented the public house from a brewing company. Usually the tenancy agreement included a 'tie' which required the publican to purchase products for sale solely from the owner. In a managed public house the brewery had appointed a salaried manager who was an employee of the company. There were also free public houses which were not subject to a 'tie'. Free public house proprietors were able to obtain their products from wherever they chose.

for the consumption off the premises. Female munitions workers, their children or people who lacked proper cooking facilities in the slums of Carlisle could purchase hot meals at the CCB pubs. Intoxicants were not served with the meals. If an alcoholic drink was requested, the waitress would *"persuade her to take a mineral water instead."*[144] Sunday drinking as well as the consumption of spirits on Saturdays were, additionally, forbidden as this day was the worst day of the week for arrests for drunkenness.[145]

The first improved and reconstructed public house was the **'Gretna Tavern'**, the first 'food tavern' with 180 seats, which was opened in July 1916. **Improved public houses** had lost all the characteristics of the gin palace and were unobtrusive from outside. Light and spacious rooms had replaced gloomy partitions, seats and tables promoted sociability. All forms of liquor advertisement had been removed from state-managed houses and bottles were no longer displayed in the windows. In the saloon bars waiters replaced the bar service. Tablecloths, flowers and pictures helped to achieve a homelike quality. Improved public houses turned out to be a mixture between pubs and hotels or pubs and restaurants which should tempt people to order meals. Non-intoxicants, such as tea or coffee, were served (cf.: Chapter 10.1.).[146]

In order to *"make better provisions for women who are equally entitled to drink as men"*[147] and to raise the respectability of pubs, comfortable **mixed rooms** were provided in most of the State inns that should attract couples from respectable classes. According to Reverend Sydney Evans,

> *"… especially at week-ends, married couples frequently go shopping together. When this is completed, it is possible for a woman to accompany her husband into one of the inns where they can take a glass or two of beer together before going home. If this were not made possible, in many cases the wife would be sent home whilst the husband would meet one or two male friends and probably drink more than he would if he were in his wife's company."*[148]

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[144] Quoted in: Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, p. 63.
[145] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, May 8th, 1930, sec. 20,946-8; May 22nd, 1930, sec. 21,727 (5), sec. 21,778-80; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 107-9.
[146] Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 325; Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', pp. 376-8; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 55-61; p. 178; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, May 22nd, 1930, sec. 21,727 (8); Rowntree, Sherwell, *State Purchase of Liquor Trade*, p. 35; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, p. 108.
[147] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, April 29th, 1930, sec. 19,770.
[148] Ibid, November 21st, 1930, sec. 37,932 (20).

Not only had the women a moderating influence on men but their presence also ensured a decent atmosphere in the public house without bad or improper language.[149] In particular in impoverished areas of Carlisle, the CCB created sex-segregated rooms. Men could congregate in **smoke rooms**, which offered the same comfort and refinement as the rest of the pub. For unescorted female customers, small, hardly furnished **women's rooms** were provided, in which also tea and coffee could be ordered.[150]

At first glance, the CCB had managed to bring women into pubs and to achieve gender equality but when looking at it in detail, men were not interested in treating women equally and they were still full of prejudices. In Carlisle they often criticised women's rooms for attracting disreputable women and for encouraging secret and, consequently, excessive drunkenness among women. When asked if smoke rooms did not induce men to drink excessively, Reverend Sydney Evans claimed, *"There is a distinct difference between a man doing it and a woman doing it."* [151] Female drunkenness was thought to be more serious and more inappropriate for women than men. Hence, women should just frequent mixed rooms but once again male sexism took effect: women should always be in male company. If they were single, they had to have male friends or relatives to accompany them. The provision of women's rooms did not prove to be popular and decreased in the course of time. In 1930 only five public houses offered this form of accommodation.[152]

Unintended by the CCB but one of the main consequences of introducing improved pubs in Carlisle was that the **pub clientele changed considerably**. Younger men and women from the upper-working and middle classes patronised these improved pubs as they enjoyed the food, the entertainment and the recreational facilities typical for reformed pubs. The atmosphere was more civilised, so customers no longer spit on floors or into spittoons, a common habit in previous centuries. Middle-aged or elderly, impoverished drinkers withdrew from these improved drinking places, however. As public bars in state-managed pubs were taboo for women, especially female drinkers from the slums felt deprived of

[149] Ibid, sec. 37,932 (19).
[150] Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 325; Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', pp. 376-8; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, p. 62; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, May 23rd, 1930, sec. 22,363 (5); November 21st, 1930, sec. 37,932 (16-21).
[151] Reverend Sydney W. Evans, Carlisle, in: *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, November 21st, 1930, sec. 37,994.
[152] Cf.: *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, April 29th, 1930, sec. 19,644 (39), sec. 19,767-74; May 8th, 1930, sec. 20,503-5, sec. 20,750 (13), sec. 20,751-4, sec. 20,898-9; May 22nd, 1930, sec. 21,776-7; May 23rd, 1930, sec. 22,363 (5-7), sec. 22,597-8, sec. 22,869 (6); November 21st, 1930, sec. 37,932 (16), sec. 37,932 (21), sec. 37,960-4, sec. 37,994-5, sec. 38,061, sec. 38,093-105.

their privacy in the refined, reconstructed pubs, *"Before they altered it, I could nip in and have a glass and come out without anybody knowing. … Now you has to go in and have your drink with the rabble."*[153] They rather took refuge in their secluded area, the women's room (for more information on women's rooms see: Chapter 10.1.). Gradually, the women's room turned into a refuge for poor working-class women, which many wanted to be abolished, *"I have not got a comfortable home and I come here to get my glass of porter. Why cannot I have it here? You people have a comfortable home to have it in."*[154]

Another important consequence of improved pubs in Carlisle was the **decrease of drunkenness** among women (and men). In 1913, before pub improvement started, 47 women had been convicted, in 1929, 13 years after the introduction of restructured and refined pubs, only seven women were found guilty. This tendency was, however, not only typical of Carlisle and critics soon claimed that since the outbreak of the First World War increased sobriety was evident everywhere in England (cf.: Tables II-IV and Diagrams I-IV). Although the number of proceedings against drunkenness among women was diminishing in Carlisle, the number of women drinking alcohol in public houses was rising at the same time, *"there may be more drinking but less drinking in excess."*[155] The increased number of respectable women patronising improved pubs as well as the abolition of 'perpendicular drinking' certainly slowed alcohol consumption and increased sociability.[156] Several historians, however, exaggerated the fact that the provision of meals contributed to increased sobriety in Carlisle.[157] Food was, originally, provided in all improved drinking places but this innovation did not prove successful – *"finally a mere handful made the pretence to provide anything other than simple snacks."*[158]

The 'Carlisle Scheme' or 'Carlisle Experiment', as it came to be known, was much studied and the area visited by many people who were involved in the Trade or interested in licences and social reform. The 1929-31 Royal Commission on Licensing assessed the 'Carlisle Scheme' in detail and concluded that its state-managed public houses were well-conducted and that the Scheme was successful from a social point of view as it had led to a decrease in insobriety. Nevertheless, for any sensible British government the estimated

[153] Quoted in: Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', p. 379; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, p. 63.
[154] Quoted in: *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, May 22nd, 1930, sec. 21,772.
Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', pp. 379-81; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 62-4.
[155] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, May 8th, 1930, sec. 20,965.
[156] Ibid, April 29th, 1930, sec. 19,900; May 8th, 1930, sec. 20,514-7, sec. 20,591, sec. 20,965-6.
[157] Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', p. 381.
[158] *Brewers' Journal*, February 21st, 1940, p. 135.

costs of nationalising the drink trade were much too high and according to the True Temperance Association, *"everything … that could be done by the State would be done also by the licensed trade itself."*[159] Terry Gourvish claims that Lloyd George might have threatened the Trade with its nationalising in order to introduce the severe wartime restrictions on output, alcoholic strength, opening times and the higher prices. In 1974 the 'Carlisle Experiment' came to an end formally after the improved pubs had been neglected, suffering from the typical disadvantages of state-owned companies.[160]

2.3. Women Entering Public Houses in World War One

Not only in Carlisle drinking habits among women altered during the First World War, this transformation could be observed all over England. The reason was that the perceived gender system of the Victorian and Edwardian periods was noticeably upset. While men were abroad in uniforms, women became more emancipated. They left their private world of domesticity and were suddenly visible in public life. Gender identities started to blur. Women in unprecedented numbers earned their own money by joining the work force because of the wartime demands for munitions workers, agricultural labourers, ambulance drivers or frontline nurses. In 1918 Harriet Stanton Blatch stated, *"For many women, the opportunity to contribute to national life, to work and to be well paid, was a rewarding and exhilarating experience."*[161] Many people were, nevertheless, concerned about women doing men's work and thought disapprovingly of women in uniforms – not to mention the strong hostility towards the women's presence in public houses.[162]

[159] Ibid, March 15th, 1930, p. 138.
[160] Ibid, February 21st, 1940, p. 135; Gourvish, 'Business of Alcohol', pp. 610-1; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, p. 112.
[161] Kent, 'Politics of Sexual Difference', p. 250.
[162] Ibid, pp. 250-2; Selley, *English Public House*, pp. 129-30.
According to David Gutzke, the chief reason why the CCB supported gender equality and the same drinking rights for women and men was that the government favoured homefront harmony and tried to avoid conflicts with the suffrage movement who reacted in an outraged way whenever both sexes were not treated equally. For instance, military authorities were concerned about the drunkenness of soldiers' wives in London, so Sir Edward Henry, Chief Commissioner of the capital's Police, persuaded brewers and retailers to ban women from purchasing alcohol before 11.30 am. This prohibition did not prove successful and caused problems for Henry as Mrs Millicent Garrett Fawcett, president of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, immediately complained to the Prime Minister about this illegal and discriminating ban (Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', p. 373).

For the first time numerous **respectable women** from the upper working and middle class started to patronise **public houses.** These women were generally young, either single or their husbands were in the army. Especially the latter were in their twenties, felt lonely, deprived of male companionship and sought solace as well as emotional support in the company of women who suffered the same fate and fears. For many visiting the pub had become part of a **mourning ritual**. In Leek, a textile town, a person reported that because of the shortage of intoxicants during the war, publicans ceased to serve for off-consumption. So women, who were used to drinking their supper beer at home, could only consume it on the licensed premises. According to this witness, this beer shortage had been the main reason why women started frequenting public houses in Leek.[163]

Respectable women, who patronised public houses, were fashionably dressed. They no longer entered pubs secretly through the back doors but used front entrances and mainly frequented saloon bars or best rooms. Contributing to the respectability of the pubs were two factors, namely increased sobriety in drinking establishments and the fact that many drinking places were run by publicans' wives whose husbands served as soldiers abroad.[164] Although more women were frequenting drinking places and consuming **intoxicants**, they did this – like in Carlisle – **moderately**.[165] Reverend Mathias Lansdown, of Brixton, a member of the Committee of the London United Temperance Council, confirmed,

> *"Working-class women have at present more money and more time to themselves than they had before, and the war excites many of them. … I am very pleased and thankful to say it – … in my own observation the women are restraining themselves very well."*[166]

Robert J. Parr shared Lansdown's opinion at a meeting of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children,

> *"From enquiries made by the Society, working under the direction of the War Office, it was clear that less drinking than usual was taking place amongst women this year. There were still, of course, those who had always drunk to excess, but*

[163] Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 52-3; Selley, *English Public House*, pp. 127-8; *True Temperance Quarterly*, November 1939, p. 10.
[164] Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', pp. 374-5; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 52-3; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, January 21st, 1930, sec. 7,636; Selley, *English Public House*, p. 129.
[165] Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 52-3; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, January 21st, 1930, sec. 5,795, sec. 7,436; January 21st, 1930, sec. 7,517, sec. 7,635-6; January 30th, 1930, sec. 8,561, sec. 8,670, sec. 8,702-3; Selley, *English Public House*, pp. 128-9; Shadwell, *Drink in 1914-1922*, p. 103.
[166] Quoted in: *Handbook for Speakers and Writers on the Drink Question*, p. 209.

there was no sign that because men had gone to war their wives were giving way to drink."[167]

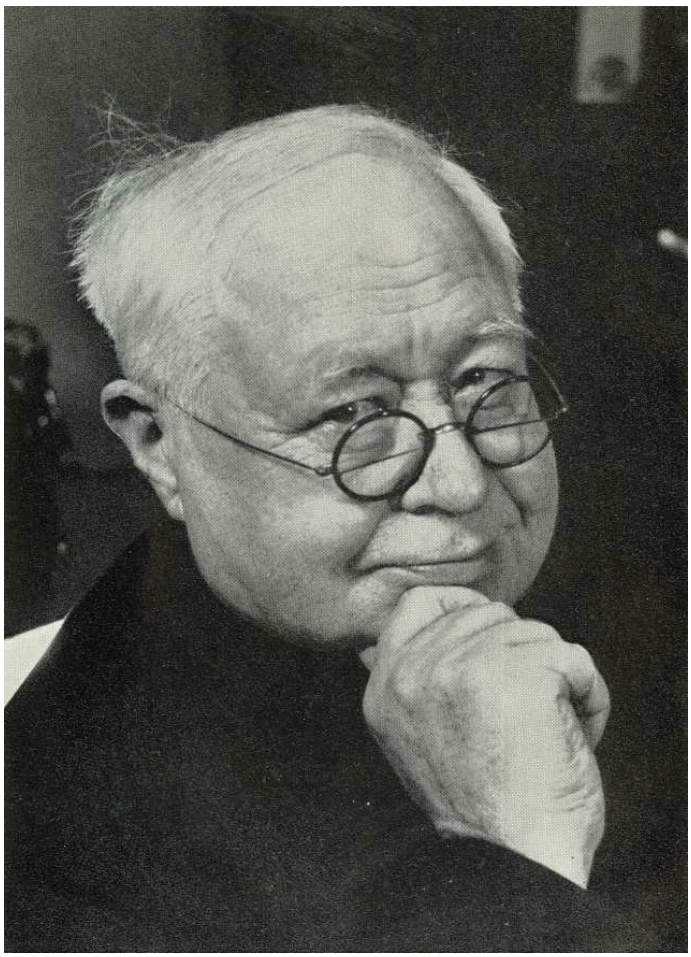
The following figures verify the witnesses' reports. As already mentioned above, per capita consumption declined drastically during the war. 4,304 women had been convicted for drunkenness in 1914. This figure fell significantly during the war and reached its low in 1918 with 7,983 proceedings against drunken women in England and Wales. Alcohol mortality rates among women decreased from 10,982 between 1910 and 1914 to 5,723 deaths in the period 1915 to 1919 (cf.: Tables II-IV and Diagrams I-IV).

During the First World War female customers started visiting public houses in exceptional numbers. Nevertheless, these women remained a **minority** and they did not radically change the established drinking culture in this period.[168] The pub as 'masculine republic' continued to dominate and resistance against females patronising public houses remained strong among men as well as women. Most of the women refused to frequent pubs as they did not think them respectable – even if their husbands entered them, they waited outside. In June 1916 the Control Board received a petition from Birmingham signed by 37,155 women and girls and supported by the Lord Mayor and the Chairman of the Licensing Bench. The aim of the petition was to prohibit girls under the age of twenty-one from being served with drink or being allowed on licensed premises. The petition was rejected on the grounds that no excessive drinking could be proved and that work in the munitions factories was not influenced by the girls' patronising pubs.[169] Severe hostility against women in pubs was manifold and continued after the end of the First World War. In the following chapter these tensions and the aim of progressive brewers to attract female costumers will be analysed, in detail.

[167] Manchester, Salford, June 30th, 1915, quoted in: ibid, p. 207.
[168] Cf.: Gourvish, 'Business of Alcohol', pp. 613-4; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 435; Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, p. 336.
[169] *Brewers' Journal*, September 15th, 1916, p. 384; November 15th, 1916; Davies, *Leisure, Gender, Poverty*, pp. 65-6; Shadwell, *Drink in 1914-1922*, p. 103.

3

WOMEN IN PUBLIC HOUSES, 1919 - 1939



3.1. Progressive Brewers

After the end of the First World War, the government relaxed restrictions on output, intoxicating beverages gained in strength and 'treating' was allowed again. Some wartime restrictions were made permanent in the 1921 Licensing Act, in particular permitted hours, which were only increased by one hour whereas the afternoon break was still compulsory. Beer prices remained rather stationary and, consequently, expensive as retail prices were falling by 44 per cent between 1920 and 1933.[170] These government regulations were one of the reasons why - after a brief post-war upsurge in 1919 and 1920 per capita consumption - drunkenness and alcohol mortality continued to decrease in the interwar years. In 1932 they reached their lowest point because of a recession as well as a considerable increase in beer duty. Philip Snowden, Labour Chancellor, had raised this duty to £6.70 per standard barrel in September 1931, which made beer even pricier.[171] As a result, in 1932 per capita consumption dropped to 88 pints of beer; in 1920 a person had consumed nearly the double amount, namely 166 pints of beer.[172] The number of proceedings declined by almost two-thirds, from 99,217 cases in 1920 to 34,128 twelve years later. Alcohol mortality decreased from 11,307 deaths between 1920 and 1924 to 10,664 deaths in the period 1930 to 1935. In April 1933 Chancellor Neville Chamberlain lowered beer duties and at the same time the general level of retail prices started to increase. Also per capita consumption and drunkenness convictions began to augment. The 1930s never achieved pre-1914 levels, however (compare Tables II-IV and Diagrams I-IV).[173]

Apart from the governmental regulations, other reasons were also responsible for an **increase in sobriety in the 1920s and 1930s**. Firstly, the British economy, in particular the staple industries, suffered from a depression in the interwar years and the increased

Previous page:
Plate 7: Sir Sydney Nevile, managing director of Whitbread & Co., 1958.

[170] For a detailed discussion on beer prices vs. retail prices between 1920 and 1938 see: Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 340-1.

[171] In November 1914 the beer duty was increased from £0.3875 to £1.15 by the government. It was raised in the following years and in April 1919 the beer duty amounted to £5.00 per standard barrel (ibid, p. 318).

[172] To fight this reduction in demand of beer, the brewers launched their collective advertising campaign with the well-known slogan 'Beer is Best' in 1933 (for more details see: Chapter 9).

[173] Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, pp. 133-4; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 339-41; Gourvish, Wilson, *International Brewing* Industry, p. 8; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, p. 67; Smart, 'Effect of Licensing Restrictions', pp. 119-20; *True Temperance Quarterly*, November 1939, pp. 1-2; Williams, *High Spirited Years*, pp. 5-6; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 75-6; Wilson, *Alcohol and Nation*, p. 275.

costs of living as well as a high number of unemployed people limited the number of pub visits. Additionally, the loss of 0.7 million men in the First World War affected the drink trade as per capita consumption of beer was usually the highest among men under 25 years. In the third place, people preferred to spend their time and money not on beer but on various leisure activities, such as the cinema, the radio, sports (actively as sportspersons or passively as spectators), teashops, milk bars, travels or motor vehicles. A landlord in Bolton complained about a lost turnover in his pub,

> *"There isn't much in keeping a pub nowadays, you only get good custom at the week-end and in the last hour. The cinemas have taken away a lot of trade … and the men haven't got the money to spend."*[174]

Fourthly, the number of clubs increased as they offered cheaper beer and entertainment, especially for the working-class clientele. 18,000 clubs had been registered in the UK by 1939. Another significant reason for increased sobriety in the interwar years was the impressive number of building and improving houses. In the period 1919-39, 4.5 million new units were erected. Large suburbs emerged but restrictive licensing prevented the development of many pubs in those areas. In 1931 Inner London had 407 people per on-licence, the outer suburbs 1,709 inhabitants. People's houses were, moreover, more comfortable as the working class could afford more mass-produced goods. Hence, the pub ceased to serve as a 'refuge from home', as an extended living-room of the working class.[175]

The publicans and the Trade had to respond to these changes in society and had to think of new ways of attracting customers. Several progressive brewers, in particular the London brewery Whitbread and its managing director **Sydney Nevile**[176] (see Plate 7) and **William Waters Butler**, chairman of the successful Mitchells & Butlers in Birmingham, recognised the signs of the time and saw the only commercially successful future for drinking establishments in **improved public houses**[177]. As both had served on the Central Control

[174] Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, p. 200.
[175] *Brewers' Journal*, October 15th, 1929, p. 482; Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, pp. 133-5; Davies, *Leisure, Gender Poverty*, pp. 73-9; Gourvish, 'Business of Alcohol', p. 612; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 335-40; Gourvish, Wilson, *International Brewing Industry*, pp. 8-9; Weir, 'Obsessed with Moderation', p. 105; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great* Britain, pp. 83-4; Williams, Brake, *English Public House in Transition*, pp. 42-3.
[176] For more details on Sydney Nevile's life and his work in and for the Trade see his autobiography: Nevile, *Seventy Rolling Years*.
[177] For a detailed analysis on progressive brewers and improved public houses see: Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*.

Board until its end in 1921, they had gained first-hand experience of improved pubs in Carlisle. Nevile's and Butler's main aim was to establish public houses that offered meals and various forms of refreshment and that were also suitable for women and children. In his rowing club Nevile had personally become aware of the fact that after a regatta the presence of women had improved the standard of behaviour. His idea was to get rid of the pub's stigma as 'masculine republic', as dingy drinking-den by attracting respectable women. Consequently, he wanted to attract the middle class to expand the basis of the trade. At a meeting in 1908 Nevile told brewers

> *"that they could make more money out of 'England sober' than 'England drunken'; that they should not leave temperance reform to the prohibitionists; and that they should not face the problem not merely as a matter of conscience but also on the ground of commercial interests."*[178]

Being worried about their turnover – profitability was still connected with drunkenness – the brewers disapproved of Nevile's visions. With his idea of making money out of 'Service with Sobriety' and reducing temperance reformers to silence at the same time, he was simply ahead of the Trade's time or as the prohibitionist Sir Wilfrid Lawson put it, *"Those who advocate reforms are first called mad, then bad, and then … everybody knew it before."*[179] When Nevile later joined the large London brewery Whitbread & Co as managing director, the company became one of the most important pub reformers of the interwar years. In 1920 Whitbread founded the subordinate Improved Public House Company for the retail management of its large new houses. By 1939 it possessed 17, or one-fifth, of the brewery's new interwar pubs, and managed 32 for Whitbread & Co.[180]

Other progressive brewers, such as Mitchells & Butlers, Barclay Perkins or Watney Combe Reid, also started building or rebuilding their pubs (cf.: Chapter 10.1). In fact, Birmingham with its 'fewer and better' policy had been the birthplace of the improved public house before the First World War. After the 1904 Licensing Act the brewers had informally arranged a *quid pro quo* policy with the licensing authorities by which licences, mainly in slum areas, were surrendered in return for a smaller number of larger public houses in the

[178] Nevile, *Rolling Years*, p. 66.
[179] Quoted in: ibid, p. 67.
[180] *Brewers' Journal*, October 15th, 1910, p. 569; Gourvish, 'Business of Alcohol', p. 612; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing* Industry, pp. 325-6, pp. 422-4; Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', pp. 383-4; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 149-50; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, January 8th, 1930, sec. 5,800; Nevile, *Seventy Rolling Years*, pp. 64-7, p. 140, pp. 167-8, pp. 170-2.

expanding suburbs. The brewer William Butler[181] had been one of the pioneers in Birmingham and surrendered 300 licences of small pubs. In 1904 his company had already moved from tenanted into directly managed houses, an idea that had been copied by the CCB for the 'Carlisle Scheme'. Butler loathed drunkenness and was convinced that improved pubs could change drinking habits.[182] In 1902 he already claimed, *"Fewer public houses equipped on the best lines will tend to elevate our customers and make the drunkard ashamed to put his head in the place."*[183]

Not only conservative members of the Trade **opposed the idea** of reformed pubs and full gender equality in drinking places in the interwar years, also **prohibitionists** were not interested in improving drinking places but were in favour of a total prohibition similar to the United States. For them, it was easier to condemn dirty, overcrowded 'masculine republics' than clean, spacious, ventilated public houses, where a mixed clientele drank moderately. They opposed the idea of larger, improved houses with higher standards as they feared the increased 'drinking space' could result in a popularisation of drinking and not in a higher standard of behaviour. These fears were shared by the **licensing authorities** who also thought improved public houses enticements for women. They caused several problems when brewers wanted to extend or alternate their premises. In 1921 Whitbread took Wandsworth Licensing Justices to High Court as they only approved of the rebuilding of the 'Rose and Crown' in Tooting if another licence was surrendered. As the licensing authorities were eager to reduce the number of licences, this bargaining was widespread but illegal. Whitbread won the case and was granted the application.[184]

3.2. Improved Pubs versus 'Masculine Republics'

The newly improved public houses were of impressive architecture and included gardens (cf.: Plate 8), bowling greens, tea rooms, meeting and family rooms, restaurants and

[181] William Waters Butler, born in a Butler's pub, was a member of the CCB from 1916 to its end in 1921. First being against state purchase, *"They'll buy my brewery over my dead body."* (ibid, p. 103), he was then so enthusiastic about the 'Carlisle Experiment' that he was completely in favour of full nationalisation, an attitude which concerned many Trade members.
[182] Bonsor, Heslewood, *Public House in Modern Society*, pp. 7-8; Gourvish, 'Business of Alcohol', pp. 612-3; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 421-6; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, p. 69, p. 81, pp. 151-3, pp. 237-8.
[183] Quoted in: ibid, p. 81.
[184] Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 433; Nevile, *Seventy Rolling Years*, pp. 167-71.

modern lavatories, even for women. As these houses aimed to attract upper-working or middle-class customers, they mainly appeared in suburbs, housing estates and roadways or in England's biggest cities, London and Birmingham. **Respectable women**, in particular in the more prosperous **South-East**, started to frequent these premises as the standard as well as the conduct of these drinking establishments was higher. At the 'Windsor Castle', London, about one-hundred women a day ate meals, especially at lunchtime. For such occasions they could patronise these reformed houses unescorted while preserving their respectability. Female costumers mainly chose the expensive saloon bars. Even more respectability was found in **lounges,** which were new rooms copied from hotels (cf.: Chapter 10.1.). Patrons of the lounges were well-dressed and masculine drinking habits, such as 'perpendicular drinking', which required bars or spittoons, were excluded. In 1946 a woman wrote,

> *"If I had a pub, there would be no stools at the bar, and people would be encouraged to sit at small tables, for there is something discouraging to a lay customer's mind in the sight of a row of backs in drab overcoats hunched against the bar."*[185]

When dancing became very popular in the 1920s, dance halls were included in public houses and hotels. Due to the huge losses in the First World War, twice as many women as men could be found there. So when two females had been dancing together, it became a common habit that one treated the other to some intoxicating refreshment.[186]

In 1938 a detailed investigation on public houses and drinking habits was conducted by Mass-Observation in Bolton, a cotton town in Lancashire. The investigators observed that women regularly visited pubs at the weekends and preferred the refurbished town centre pubs with their best rooms to the traditional main road pubs outside the town centre, dominated by working-class men. In figures, 25.7 per cent of women visited town centre pubs at the weekend compared to 17.4 per cent during the week. Pubs outside the centre were frequented by 8.5 per cent on weekdays and by 15.5 per cent at weekends. Vaults and

[185] Quoted in: Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, p. 225.
[186] Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', pp. 384-7; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 158-61, p. 179, p. 185, p. 225; Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, p. 110, pp. 140-3; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, January 21st, 1930, sec. 9,180 (12); January 22nd, 1930, sec. 8,260; January 30th, 1930, sec. 8,562-3, sec. 8,649; Murfin, *Popular leisure in Lake Counties*, pp. 80-2; Nevile, *Seventy Rolling Years*, p. 108; *True Temperance Quarterly*, November 1934, p. 24.

taprooms remained taboo for female customers in Bolton – they only frequented parlours and lounges.[187]

Plate 8: The garden at W. Butler's 'Ring o'Bells', Wolverhampton, early 1930s

Generally, females ordered the more expensive drinks. Most of them did not drink draught beer but favoured spirits or bottled beer, such as Guinness or stout. In some textile areas women did not only accompany their husbands to the public house, they also entered drinking establishments to meet their female friends. Like the men, they were also employed in mills and so more emancipated and economically independent. They often opted for port, sherry or wine. In Manchester, Empire wines, for instance from South Africa, whose strength varied from 28 to 42 degrees, were popular among women. Some working girls were also fond of beer. Spirits were seldom consumed by young women whereas middle-aged women preferred gin, whisky or stout.[188]

Respectable females, who patronised public houses, were rather middle-aged or elderly women. In Bolton 60.1 per cent of female pub-goers were between 51 and 55 years compared to 4.2 per cent who were under the age of 25. Young women only entered public houses when they were on holiday, for instance in Blackpool. In Manchester an unmarried, middle-class woman recalled the interwar years,

[187] Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, pp. 106-7, p. 124, pp. 134-5, pp. 144-5.
[188] *Brewers' Journal*, April 15th, 1937, pp. 171-2; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, January 30th, 1930, sec. 8,562; Langhamer, 'Women, Leisure and Drink', p. 433; Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, pp. 144-5; *True Temperance Quarterly*, 'Women in Public Houses', August 1943, p. 1.

> *"Oh women didn't. If you went to a pub you were a prostitute … In those days, nice women didn't go. You might go to a country pub on a holiday or walking tour, you know, that sort of thing, but not a town pub down a side street."*[189]

Young people were principally concerned with courtship which they could pursue in dance halls, which were often attached to public houses, the cinema or simply by walking on the streets. Young married couples frequented public houses but once the women had become mothers, they were forced to stay at home as they were prohibited from entering the premises with children (cf.: Chapter 6.1.).[190]

Slum areas were, however, neglected by pub reformers. Although more women patronised pubs – no matter what age – they only frequented the *"dirtiest public houses and the most ill-fitted and ill-equipped."*[191] Especially those women who had their children with them gathered in jug-and-bottle departments, alley-ways, yards and kitchens. There they could drink alcohol without being seen as reported by an observant in Dalton, *"you never see them. I'm not saying that they didn't go in them, but you never see them."*[192] The Chief Constable of Middlesbrough demanded that licensing justices should prohibit the consumption of intoxicants in those places.[193]

Near ports, in industrial towns in the North of England and in rural England, briefly in those **conservative areas** where the **'masculine republic'** dominated, hostility against women's presence in public houses remained strong in the interwar years. Chief Constables complained of excessive drinking among women, in particular among the wives of soldiers or sailors and the impoverished working class. Figures of alcohol mortality and convictions against drunkenness maintained the contrary, however. These magistrates feared that the habit of women frequenting public houses could continue after the end of the war while they wanted to restore nineteenth-century sex segregation. In 1930 the Royal Commission on Licensing discussed this attitude with Frederick Crawley, Chief Constable of Newcastle-upon-Tyne,

[189] Quoted in: Langhamer, 'Public house is for all classes', p. 424.
[190] Cross, *Worktowners at Blackpool*, pp. 162-9, pp. 172-9; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, January 30th, 1930, sec. 8,562; January 22nd, 1930, sec. 7,752 (41), sec. 7,862; November 21st, 1930, sec. 37,932 (20); Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, pp. 136-8; Selley, *English Public House*, p. 130.
[191] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, July 29th, 1930, sec. 33,901.
[192] Quoted in: Murfin, *Popular leisure in Lake Counties*, p. 83.
[193] Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, pp. 110-1; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, July 29th, 1930, sec. 33,788, sec. 33,801-4, sec. 33,899-905, sec. 33,950-2, Selley, *English Public House*, pp. 125-6.

> *"You have said you do not like to see women in old-fashioned public houses. Is it a northern point of view, do you suppose, that women ought not to go into public houses, as distinct from a southern point of view …? … Probably my [Crawley's] point of view is the masculine point of view – that women should have a certain standard of behaviour."*[194]

Magistrates even wanted the CCB to stop their policy of gender equality which the Liquor Control Board refused. The *Brewers' Journal* stated,

> *"We strongly oppose any conspiracy to exclude women from the licensed house, for it is from the patronage of women, accompanied – when the law shall again allow it – by their children, that we shall hope to uplift the license house."*[195]

The Trade claimed that if women were deprived of their right to visit drinking places, they would consume alcohol at home and probably more excessively as they were *"able to have a sip at almost any time, and secretly."*[196]

In those conservative areas local justices introduced various ways of banning women from the licensed premises. To fight excessive drunkenness among women in Castle Eden, magistrates demanded to supply women with alcohol during one hour in the evening *"so as to leave more* [of the rationed] *beer for the men."*[197] In Liverpool licensing justices intended to object the renewal of five licences because more women than men had frequented those five public houses in 1927, *"during a police inspection forty-seven women were in the premises and only thirty-two men. This state of affair was described… as appalling."*[198] In Middlesbrough the Chief Constable Henry Riches prohibited women from consuming alcoholic drinks on licensed premises except with a meal. This regulation was introduced in 1918.[199] After its abolition nine years later, he still disapproved of women frequenting pubs,

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[194] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing,* January 22nd, 1930, sec. 8,258.
[195] *Brewers' Journal*, April 15th, 1918, p. 120.
[196] Ibid, September 15th, 1916, p. 534.
[197] Ibid, April 15th, 1918, p. 120.
[198] Ibid, February 15th, 1927, p. 70; March 15th, 1927, pp. 132-3.
[199] Ibid, April 15th, 1918, p. 120; Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', pp. 381-3; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing,* January 22nd, 1930, sec. 7,752 (34-8), sec. 7,815-964, sec. 8,258-60; Nevile, *Seventy Rolling Years*, p. 108; Selley, *English Public House*, p. 123; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, p. 53.

> *"Very young women, fashionably dressed, with powdered and painted faces, sit amongst the men, drinking intoxicating liquors and smoking cigarettes; their dresses … being well above their knees. Undoubtedly these women – or a good number of them – are of loose moral habits, although they cannot be described as 'common prostitutes'."*[200]

Consequently, progressive brewers failed to influence or even transform **traditional English pub and drinking culture** considerably in the interwar years.[201] According to the 1938 Mass-Observation study of Bolton,

> *"The pub is still essentially very much a pre-industrial institution. Format, ritual, traditions, nomenclature, games, have not changed very much in the past hundred years. It still caters in the simplest way for leisure hours of working people living in the immediate vicinity."*[202]

In other words, the 'masculine republics' in rural areas or in the industrialised North of England refused to be reformed and remained hostile towards female customers,

> *"The public house is not a place for women. It is not nice to see a woman publicly with men or exposed to the coarse conversation and behaviour, which, admittedly, is sometimes seen and heard in public houses. … Woman's place is in the home. The men do not want the womenfolk to know all about their affairs. The presence of wives hampers frank and easy conversation. "*[203]

In these conservative areas the small, homely, tenanted pub remained rather popular. The publican was not a 'disinterested' manager but a landlord who knew all his male week-night regulars personally and who was interested in his turnover. An evidence of this familiarity, also known as 'home from home', was the fact that a regular got his drink automatically when entering the pub. The habit of 'perpendicular drinking' remained widespread. The number of barmaids decreased as the distance to the South-East increased because women were prohibited from intruding into the 'masculine republic' (for a detailed discussion on barmaids see: Chapter 10.2.). The most conservative occupational group in the Midlands and the North were the miners. They banned unescorted women into

[200] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, January 22nd, 1930, sec. 7,752 (41).
[201] Here I contradict the historian David Gutzke who claims that improved public houses had a considerable impact on traditional pub and drinking culture in England. I agree with Gourvish who states that improved public houses were restricted to middle-class enclaves and the more affluent South-East (cf.: Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', pp. 367-92; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 12-3; Gourvish, 'Business of Alcohol', pp. 613-4).
[202] Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, p. 336.
[203] Selley, *English Public House*, p. 124.

back rooms with rear entrances. Wives who accompanied their husbands at the weekend sat separately in special rooms or, as in Newcastle-on-Tyne, even outside.[204]

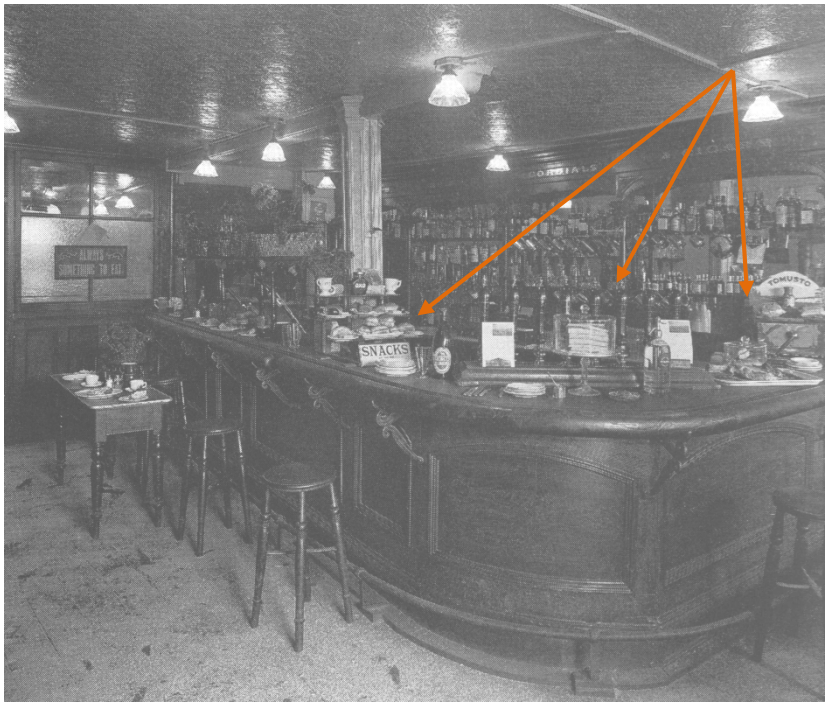


Plate 9: Limits of catering in an interwar pub, the 'Terminus Hotel', Bristol, c. 1927

The provision of food in reformed pubs was not a long-term success, either. Whitbread, one of the pioneers when it came to providing food in their pubs – by 1926 they served full meals in nearly half of their 580 houses – had to face the fact that turnover on food was rather small. Wartime rationing, post-war austerity and a significant competition from restaurants led to the end of pub-restaurants. In 1951 a survey conducted by the Central Statistical Office revealed that beer consumed with food or snacks only accounted for six per cent of the total outlay of the product while the principal form of drinking was still found in the public bar. In the early 1960s Nevile stated that not more than one pub in ten was still serving meals.[205]

After 1945 many people criticised the architecture of the reformed pubs and compared the houses to *"concrete boxes"*.[206] Customers thought the large improved public houses too anonymous. Brewers realised that a larger number of moderately sized houses with a

[204] *Brewers' Journal*, September 15th, 1928, p. 424; Gourvish, 'Business of Alcohol', pp. 613-4; Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', pp. 388-91; Gutzke, *Pub & Progressives*, p. 9, pp. 65-6, p. 226; Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, p. 336; Selley, *English Public House*, p. 124.
[205] Gourvish, 'Business of Alcohol', p. 613; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 426-35; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 234-5, p. 238, p. 241.
[206] Quoted in: ibid, p. 241.

homely familiar atmosphere and individual service would rather serve customers' requirements than a small number of superpubs (cf: Chapter 10.1.).

Obviously, progressive brewers, such as Nevile and Butler, had failed to transform English drinking habits fundamentally as it turned out to be impossible to reform the 'masculine republic'. Improved public houses, with their restaurants, gardens, concerts and modernised lavatories, were restricted to middle-class enclaves and the more prosperous South-East of England. There the number of female patrons slightly increased. Many customers, generally middle-aged or elderly,[207] however, refused to change their drinking habits and to break with old traditions. Even pub reformer Sydney Nevile had to realise this fact,

> *"For various reasons, the custom of getting what one needs at a bar is in Britain too deeply ingrained to be easily changed: perhaps this is due to the difficulty of attracting the attention of a waiter, or to the feeling that it is necessary to tip those who attend to one's needs. It is also a fact that men, especially when unaccompanied by women, have a conservative prejudice in favour of … 'perpendicular drinking'."*[208]

In 1951 B. Seebohm Rowntree still observed,

> *"A large proportion, probably a majority, of women of all classes of society, never enter public houses. Indeed, in some parts of Britain, particularly in the north, there is strong feeling against women entering them at all, unless there is a special room set apart for them."*[209]

[207] Compare figures in Bolton: Mass- Observation, *Pub & People*, p. 137.
[208] Nevile, *Seventy Rolling Years*, p. 172.
[209] Rowntree, Lavers, *English Life and Leisure*, p. 175.

4

WOMEN IN PUBLIC HOUSES, 1939 – 1945

4.1. The Trade and World War Two

In the Second World War many conditions were similar to those created by the First World War. Raw material and labour were scarce, prices increased and government controls were wide-ranging – in particular, taxation reached higher levels in the Second World War. On the outbreak of the war, the beer duty with a base rate of £1.20 per barrel of 1027° was doubled and after five further rises it reached £7.03. Hence, the rate was 486 per cent higher than at the beginning of the war. The Brewers' Society calculated that the average price of draught bitter had risen from 7d. in 1939 to 1s. 0.75d. in 1943 and 1s. 3.75d. in 1947, a rise in real terms of 33 per cent and 44 per cent, correspondingly. New problems were that the restriction of motor fuels curbed beer transport, as most breweries had changed over from horses to motor transport, and that bombs had caused severe damage to public houses[210] and breweries.[211]

The Trade, however, faced **no far-reaching transformations** in World War Two because unlike the previous war, the government and the brewers cooperated with each other. As drunkenness was no longer perceived a serious problem, charges proved against drunkenness had steadily decreased from 12.8 per 10,000 people or 52,929 cases in 1939 to 4.8 or 20,669 charges proved in 1945, compared to 55.44 per 10,000 persons or 204,929 convictions, in total, in 1914 (see: Table IV and Diagram IV).[212] Additionally, temperance protests had become silent so there was hardly any interest in nationalisation or prohibition. Beer was not rationed and licensing hours remained unchanged. Responsible for this harmonious relationship with the government as well as for protecting the brewers'

[210] During the bombing many public houses were destroyed. Problematic was the renewal of the licence of those destroyed premises. In 1942 the Finance Act permitted licences of war-damaged pubs to be placed in suspense, consequently, there was no need to apply for an annual renewal or to pay licence duty.
[211] Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 356-8, p. 363; Monckton, *Story of British Beer*, p. 28; Nevile, *Seventy Rolling Years*, pp. 191-2, p. 243, p. 248, p. 254.
[212] A greater tolerance during the Second World War as well as changes in social behaviour could also have led to this decrease of convictions for drunkenness.

interests was, inter alia, Whitbread's managing director Sir Sydney Nevile.[213] Even the Prime Minister Churchill was in favour of beer and supported the Brewers' Society's Beer for Troops Committee, established in 1942. Much quoted was Churchill's response to Alexander's request for more beer for the troops in Italy in 1944, *"Good. Press on. Make sure that the beer – four pints a week – goes to the troops under the fire of the enemy before any of the parties in the rear get a drop."*[214]

Unlike the First World War, the value of the pub as a place of national contentment and an aid to maintain **public morale** was recognised. In May 1940, Lord Woolton, the Minister of Food, stated that Britain was now temperate and that it was *"the business of the Government not only to maintain the life but the morale of the country."*[215] The government realised that people found support, companionship and relaxation in public houses which helped to enhance patriotism. According to *The True Temperance Quarterly*, *"You will hear more real patriotism in a public bar than anywhere else."*[216] Consequently, the physical output of beer was not restricted by the administration but beer prices increased. Also the gravity of beer had to be reduced due to the scarcity of raw material. So average gravity continuously declined from 1040.93° in 1938 to its low of 1034.34° in 1943 whereas the per capita consumption of beer increased from 151 pints in 1938 to 187 pints in 1945. The growing popularity of beer becomes more obvious when comparing spirits and wine per capita consumption. The former decreased from 2.6 pints per person in 1938 to 1.9 pints in 1945. More drastically was, obviously, the fall of wine consumption from 3.7 pints in 1938 to 0.7 pints seven years later because of the difficulty of importing foreign wine during the war (cf.: Table II and Diagrams I-II).[217]

4.2. Women, Public Houses and Drinking Habits

Various Mass-Observation investigations as well as trade journals reported that more women frequented pubs in the Second World War and that their proportion remained

[213] Gourvish, 'Sir Sydney Oswald Nevile'; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 357-9; Nevile, *Rolling Years*, pp. 249-54; *True Temperance Quarterly*, 'Drink and War', November 1939, p. 4.
[214] Quoted in: Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 359 (footnote 135).
[215] Lord Woolton, quoted in: Jennings, *Local*, p. 209.
[216] *True Temperance Quarterly*, 'Women in Public Houses', August 1943, p. 6.
[217] Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 358-63, Jennings, *Local*, pp. 209-10; Mass-Observation, *Report on Women*, p. 3; Monckton, *Story of British Beer*, p. 28; Nevile, *Seventy Rolling Years*, p. 252-7; *True Temperance Quarterly*, 'Women in Public Houses', August 1943, p. 6.

constant throughout the war. When comparing figures of the Second World War with pre-war figures, just a slight increase can be noticed, however. In Metrop, a typical London borough, 40 to 42 per cent of females patronised pubs on a Saturday evening in September 1939 as well as in 1943. In Fulham the same ratio of 2:3 of women was observed on Saturday evenings in 1940. Four years earlier, 36 per cent of women had been counted on a Saturday evening in September – hence, a slight increase. Outside London the percentage of female pub-goers was lower again. In Worcester, for instance, approximately thirty per cent of women frequented pubs on three Saturdays in August 1940, compared to 25.7 per cent in Bolton in 1938. A new trend was that women's patronising pubs was not only restricted to Saturdays, the traditional mixed nights, but they also entered drinking places during the week. Here again a ratio of 2:3 of females was observed.[218]

A common explanation for this **(slightly) higher percentage of women**, in particular on week-days, was the women's greater purchasing power. They were doing men's work, earned their own money and could so afford to go out in the evenings. Some people, such as the Chairman of The Castle Eden Justices or the Chief Constable of Newport, saw the reason for this trend in the disappearance of sex separation at work and in the women's wage earning which made them more emancipated and acquire masculine habits, such as smoking or frequenting public houses. A further reason why (slightly) more women visited drinking establishments was definitely a lack of leisure activities during the war. Like in the First World War, husbands and sons were in the forces and women sought companionship by going either to the pub or to the cinema.[219]

Resistance against (young) women visiting pubs remained strong, in particular among the older (male) generation. Indeed 45 per cent of the over thirty-year-olds in Metrop disapproved of this idea thinking it 'unwomanly' or even associated it with prostitution, *"I don't care what other girls do, but if I thought that my girl was going into a pub – I'd wring her neck, honest I would."*[220] Nonetheless, wartime changed some people's attitude,

[218] Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, p. 110-1, p. 134-5; Mass-Observation, *Pubs in Fulham*, pp. 5-6.; Mass-Observation, *Social Change*, p. 1, p. 7.
[219] *Brewers' Journal*, May 19th, 1943, p. 416; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 364; Mass-Observation, *Social Change*, p. 1, pp. 3-6; Mass-Observation, *Women in Pubs*, pp. 2-3; *True Temperance Quarterly*, 'Sobriety of the Nation', May 1943, pp. 4-5; *True Temperance Quarterly*, 'Women in Public Houses', August 1943, pp. 4-5.
[220] Mass-Observation, *Social Change*, p. 3.

> *"I see no harm in a girl drinking in a pub, alone or in company of either sex. Before the war I was a bit old-fashioned about such things, but war broadens ones outlook somewhat."*[221]

Others even thought it better that *"they come in alone than go around with other men while their boys and husbands are in the forces somewhere."*[222]

A regularly reported trend was the **increase of young female pub-goers** since the outbreak of the war. In Metrop one third of the young women were younger than 25 in May 1943 compared to 1938 when only three per cent of female customers were under this age. In Bolton the proportion of young female customers under 25 increased from seven per cent to approximately forty per cent. When questioned, 45 per cent of the women in Metrop, who were under the age of thirty, stated that their frequency of patronising pubs had increased since 1939.[223] This tendency was also observed by James Wilson, Chief Constable of Cardiff,

> *"an enormous increase in the number of women, particularly young women, who now frequent public houses. … and many openly state that in spending money in public houses they find relaxation, … ".*[224]

When women frequented public houses, they mainly continued to use saloon and private bars; public bars were still designed for men only (cf.: Chapter 10.1.).

During the war certain public houses were frequented by prostitutes in order to intermingle with soldiers. Reverend Evans reported that in Liverpool young local girls aged sixteen to eighteen preferred to meet naval ratings, to drink a lot and to spend the night together with them (cf.: Chapter 8).[225]

Obviously, many people disapproved of women frequenting drinking places on their own. In Metrop 61 per cent of working-class women and 22 per cent of the middle and artisan class stated that they sometimes visited pubs unescorted. 45 per cent of women older than 30 years also entered public houses alone whereas three-quarters of the women under this age reported that they would never enter such premises on their own. Some publicans

[221] Ibid, p. 4.
[222] Quoted in: Ibid, p. 4.
Mass-Observation, *Women in Pubs*, pp. 2-3.
[223] *Brewers' Journal*, September 15th, 1943, p. 791; June 16th, 1943, pp. 505-6; Mass-Observation, *Juvenile Drinking*, p. 23; Mass-Observation, *Pubs in Fulham*, p. 8; Mass-Observation, *Social Change*, p. 2; *True Temperance Quarterly*, 'Women in Public Houses', August 1943, pp. 5-6.
[224] *True Temperance Quarterly*, 'Sobriety of the Nation', May 1943, p.5.
[225] Mass-Observation, *Behaviour of women in public houses*, p. 5.

accepted these unaccompanied women, other publicans, however, refused to serve them as they suspected them to be prostitutes, who wanted to intermingle with soldiers. As both their husbands were in the forces in August 1943, Mrs. M. Goodhall and her sister entered the 'Bunch of Grapes' in London unescorted and were refused service. According to the licensee, this pub was popular among Canadian servicemen and he feared losing his licence when permitting prostitutes on his premises.[226]

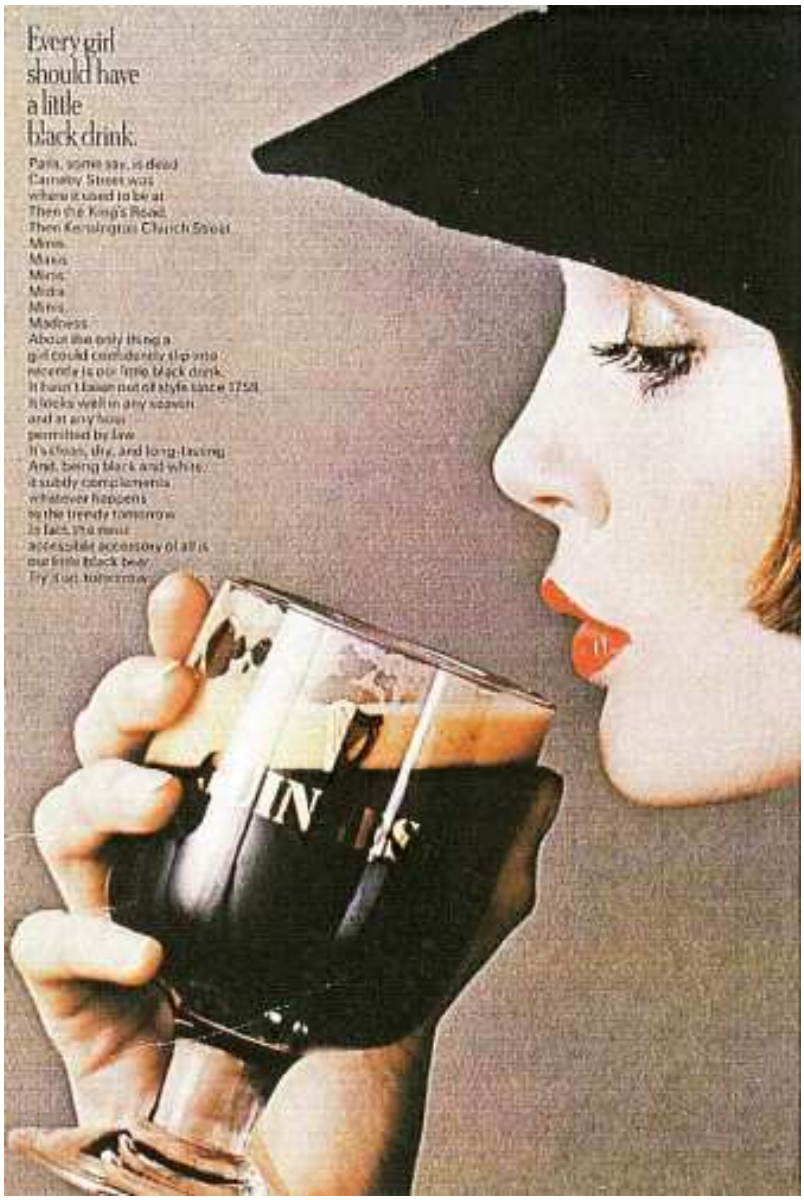
Briefly, in World War Two the pub attracted slightly more and younger women but English pub and drinking culture did not transform substantially. Many customers, however, demanded improvements and adjustments to public houses as well as the provision of food to make them more suitable for women and for children like the German beer houses or the French cafés:[227]

> *"By suitable seating and more homely atmosphere so as you can take your woman there. Some of the pubs around here are pretty rough. Another thing, they should have a place for the kids to play instead of in the street."*
>
> *"It could be no doubt improved more on the continental style with gardens where you could take your wife and children."*[228]

[226] *Liquor Licensing: Public house licensees refusing to serve women unaccompanied by gentleman* (1906 – 1945); Mass-Observation, *Behaviour of women in public houses*, pp. 1-6; Mass-Observation, *Social change*, p. 4.
[227] Mass-Observation, *Report on Drinking Habits*, pp. 51-2; Mass-Observation, *Social Change*, pp. 7-8.
[228] Ibid, p. 8.

5

WOMEN IN PUBLIC HOUSES, 1945 – 1970s



5.1. The Austerity Period, 1945 – 1950s

In the years after 1945, the category of pub-goers as well as their drinking habits did not change significantly as Great Britain and the Trade were still suffering from the aftermath of the Second World War. Hundreds of thousands of young men, in fact, the biggest category of pub-goers, had been killed or were absent from their country. Thousands of public houses had been demolished or lacked proper maintenance and had to be rebuilt or refurbished.[229] Moreover, Great Britain had to endure an austerity period from the late 1940s to the early 1950s which actually hit the Trade more than the Second World War. Due to a world-wide food crisis in 1946 and an economic crisis in the following year, raw material shortages resulted in a restriction of the **beer** output. So in 1947 a publican put up the following printed notice in his saloon bar, *"Half-pints of beer only. If the chap next to you has a pint – don't grumble. He's a regular."*[230] Apart from the beer shortage, the beer duty was increased and gravity was further reduced by ten per cent, to 1032°. Beer was simply too expensive to be consumed excessively as a barmaid in Cardiff stated in a survey conducted between 1950 and 1951,

> *"There is not so much drunkenness now. People aren't drinking so much. I mean, they can't afford to. And this extra penny on the pint … a working man with 2 or 3 children … it's just not fair on him …".*[231]

All these factors did not help to improve the supply and quality of beer after the war and resulted in a long-term alienation of many beer drinkers. The consumption of beer decreased by approximately one-third within the following two decades, namely from 197 pints per capita in 1946 to a low point of 137 pints in 1958 (cf.: Table II and Diagram I).[232]

The consumption of **spirits** and of **wine** increased continuously after 1945, however (see: Table II and Diagram II). The popularity of spirits rose particularly after the end of effective rationing of whisky in 1955 and 1956, which also caused a rise in the number of convictions. They augmented from 54,210 cases in 1955 to 67,002 in 1957 (see: Table IV

Previous page:
Plate 10: *"Every girl should have a little black drink."* Guinness Press Advertisement by the Agency J Walter Thompson, 1974.

[229] By the end of August 1943, 1,600 licensed premises had already been closed in England and Wales by enemy action (in: Home Office, *Report of the Committee in War Damaged Premises*, p. 56.).

[230] Rowntree, Lavers, *English Life and Leisure*, p. 175.

[231] Mass-Observation, *Drunkenness Survey*.

[232] BLRA, *Statistical Handbook 1994*, p. 7; Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, p. 137, p. 176; Gourvish, Wilson, *Brewing Industry*, pp. 356-7, pp. 364-8; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 378-9.

and Diagram IV). Women were hardly affected by this upsurge as whisky was rather preferred by men. One reason for the increased number of convictions was definitely the fact that many consumers had not tasted whisky before and lacked experience when handling this specific drink. A second increase in drunkenness, which was related to spirits, was observed between 1961 and 1964. In comparison to the first, the second surge was geographically restricted and affected only specific areas, namely London and the North Midlands, where vodka enjoyed sudden popularity. In those years the number of convictions rose from 68,109 in 1960 to its peak in 1962 with 83,992 cases whereas the number of convictions among women rose only slightly (cf.: Table IV and Diagram IV).[233]

The category of pub-goers hardly changed after the Second World War. As already mentioned in the previous chapter, the number of female patrons slightly increased but their number should not be exaggerated as the pub remained a '**masculine republic'**, mainly catering for the working class. A significant percentage of women of all social classes never entered public houses. Also the geographical distinction remained after 1945. Men-dominated pubs were typically found in the rural areas and the North of England whereas in the South-East of England more women had got accustomed to entering public houses. In London the ratio of men to women had changed from 3:1 in 1934 to 2:1 in 1947. Compared to Bolton, females had also started entering London public houses on week-days and maintained this habit after 1945. The women who entered licensed premises continued to be middle-aged or elderly as the young people preferred dance halls, the cinema or simply walking the streets. Resistance to women's presence in pubs lessened but was still commonly encountered. In 1948 men deliberately opted for the male preserves, *"to get away from women"*.[234]

In surveys most of the men stated that their prime factor for visiting pubs was the drink whereas women frequented drinking places because they longed for a change from routine. A housewife living in the poorest area of Birmingham said in an interview, *"For a change*

[233] Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, p. 176; Williams, *Decade of Drunkenness*, pp. 6-12, Williams, *High Spirited Years*, pp. 5-9, pp. 20-1; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 132-3, pp. 305-37.
[234] Quoted in: Mass-Observation, *Report on Drinking Habits*, p. 140.
Fielding, Thompson, Tiratsoo, '*England Arise!'*, pp. 142-3; Jennings, *Local*, pp. 206-7; Langhamer, 'Leisure, Pleasure, and Courtship', pp. 273-80; Langhamer, 'Public House for all classes', p. 424; Mass-Observation, *Drunkenness Survey 1950-51;* Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, p. 135, p. 336; Mass-Observation, *Report on Drinking Habits*, p. 39, pp. 44-54, p. 134, pp. 140-1; Mass-Observation, *Saturday Night*, p. 6, pp. 14-5; Rowntree, Lavers, *English Life and Leisure*, p. 175.

I go, for a change and to get out of the bleeding house."[235] Nonetheless, alcohol was not only consumed in public houses but collected from the jug-and-bottle departments for **home consumption**. In the late 1940s the popularity of this habit started to increase. According to various Mass-Observation sources, home drinking was more popular among women than men. In 1949 Hulton research reported that 15 per cent of the men interviewed had consumed alcohol at home within the last 14 days compared to 24 per cent of the women interviewed. A Lancashire docker had a similar impression,

> *"Who drinks at home is mostly the women – they generally bring in a bottle of stout or beer while their husband's working – you see them going with their baskets and teacloths."*[236]

Only in a Mass-Observation survey on drinking habits, conducted in 1947, no sex differences in home consumption could be found. There 34 per cent of men and 35 per cent of women regularly or occasionally drank alcohol at home. Obviously, not the younger people, singles and childless couples but the older as well as married people preferred home consumption. A sixty-year-old working-class woman stated, *"What I like to do is to sit by the fire, with my friend and listen to the wireless with some beer. That's a lot more comfortable than going to the pub."*[237] In contrast, several people claimed that they rather consumed alcohol at a public house or in a club than at home:

> *"I don't drink beer at home, it's not the same. I go regularly of an evening for a pint of ale, but I go because it makes a break and I see a different set of faces. … If I don't feel like going out of an evening I'd soon have a drink of cocoa or tea."*[238]

Home drinking was common among people with higher income. According to Mass-Observation, 95 per cent of those people who earned more than £12 a week in 1948 opted for home consumption. For the purpose of comparison, in 1951 a man above the age of 21 had an average income of £8.30 per week.[239]

Drinking patterns did not change significantly in the 1940s and first half of the 1950s. Women preferred either very light drinks or more expensive drinks with high gravity. The

[235] Mass-Observation, *Report on Drinking Habits*, p. 134.
[236] Mass-Observation, *Home drinking*, pp. 2-3.
[237] Ibid, p. 4.
[238] Ibid, p. 3.
[239] Hulton Research, *Beer, Wine and Spirits*, pp. 21-3; Marwick, *British Society Since 1945*, p. 114; Mass-Observation, *Home drinking*, pp. 1-4; Mass-Observation, *Report on drinking habits*, pp. 40-1, p. 46, p. 53; Mass-Observation, *Wine Cocktail Survey*, p. 4.

following beverages were classified as typical **'women's drinks':**[240] gin and rum, both often mixed with orange or lime juice, port, sherry, Guinness, stout or porter, soft drinks, shandy or cider. Drunkenness among females did not pose a serious problem as they consumed far less per head than men. Beverage preferences also varied according to the income. In 1949 Hulton Research stated that more women (ten per cent) than men (seven per cent) opted for spirits at the lower end of the income group whereas more spirits were consumed by men (44 per cent) than women (38 per cent) in higher income levels. Wine consumers resembled spirits drinkers. Generally, wine, port and sherry included, was rather preferred by females. Among males its consumption grew with income and class as they regularly had a bottle of wine with their meals at their tables. Beer consumption hardly varied by the economic class but it continued to be more popular among men (ca. sixty per cent) than women (ca. twenty per cent). Regular drinkers were commonly found amongst the middle-aged as younger drinkers opted for beer only occasionally. Also the town-country distinction did not affect beer drinkers of both sexes whereas rural men consumed less spirits and wine.[241]

5.2. Women Conquering the 'Masculine Republic', 1960s – 1970s

After one and a half decades of austerity, the category of pub-goers and their drinking habits underwent **significant transformations** in the **1960s and 1970s.** Several reasons were responsible for these developments.

First of all, the **'bulge generation'** dominated the 1960s and 1970s. Young men and women, who had been born towards the end of the war and in the post-war period, reached their drinking age in the early 1960s. Obviously, they were of particular interest for the beverage industry as they represented a larger segment of the market than in the interwar years. The 'baby boom' in the late 1950s and early 1960s made the industry expect future customers in the 1970s. Never had there been so many young people before; the number of the 15- to 24-year-olds had risen from 6.6 million in 1951 to 9.0 million in 1981. This

[240] The phrase 'women's drinks' had a pejorative connotation. According to Mass-Observation investigators, it was probably used by men with *"a certain effort at scorn … in order to keep women in their place."* (in: Mass-Observation, *Report on Drinking Habits*, p. 53).
[241] Hulton Research, *Beer*, *Wine and Spirits*, p. 7, p. 10, pp. 17-20; Mass-Observation, *Lola Meichtry's Report*, p. 7; Mass-Observation, *Report on Drinking Habits*, pp. 52-4; Mass-Observation, *Wine Cocktail Survey*, pp. 3-4; Rowntree, Lavers, *English Life and Leisure*, p. 175.

young generation did not take over their parents' society but they created their own world and culture. They were considerably influenced by the American popular culture with its films, songs, clothes and its drinks, such as lager or Coca-Cola. Two representatives of youth culture must be mentioned in this context, namely the Beatles as well as the Rolling Stones – the latter with a stronger pro-youth and anti-establishment image. The young people were fond of entertainment and they were the first generation who possessed time as well as money to enjoy and finance their pursuits. As a result, the beverage industry attempted to turn these young people into alcohol consumers and the brewers aimed to win them as pub-goers. Alcohol advertisement was successfully directed at the youth (for a detailed discussion see: Chapter 9). In public houses, discos were included to attract the younger clientele as the Trade was aware of the fact that once these young people were married and became householders and parents, there was neither time nor money available for long drinking sessions in the public house.[242]

The trend that the young generation, in particular women, frequented public houses more often becomes evident when looking at two surveys conducted in 1960 and 1970 (cf.: Table 1). The first survey was undertaken in Great Britain. There 46 per cent of the men and nine per cent of the women, both 18 to 29 of age, visited a public house at least once a week. Ten years later the second survey was conducted in England and Wales. There 81 per cent of the male and 50 per cent of the female pub-goers, both aged 18 to 24, stated to frequent an English or Welsh public house at least once a week. As a result, the age at which young people started to consume alcohol regularly declined considerably (for a detailed discussion see: Chapter 6.2.).[243]

SURVEY	REGION	AGE	WOMEN	MEN
1960 BMRB	Great Britain	18 – 29	9 %	46 %
1970 for Brewers' Society	England and Wales	18 – 24	50 %	81 %

Table 1: Percentage of young pub-goers (at least weekly visits)

[242] *Advertising Alcohol*, pp. 22-3; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 454-5; Gourvish, Wilson, *International Brewing Industry*, p. 9; Langhamer, 'Leisure, Pleasure, and Courtship', pp. 270-1; Marwick, *British Society Since 1945*, pp. 131-3; Mass-Observation, *Home drinking*, p. 4; Plant, *Drinking*, p. 99; Rowntree, Lavers, *English Life and Leisure*, p. 175; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 131-2; Williams, Brake, *Public-House in Transitions*, p. 35.
[243] British Market Research Bureau Limited, *Licensed Premises*, Table 1c; Interscan, *Attitude Survey*, pp. 5-6.

The second reason which had a severe impact on people's drinking habits was the introduction of the **1961 Licensing Act,** and its revision, the **1964 Licensing Act**. These Acts liberated access to public houses as well as to alcohol for the middle class, in particular for women. The 1961 Act represented the first major revision of licensing laws for forty years. A rise in the number of on-licences was encouraged by introducing a new form of licence for restaurants and hotels, namely the 'restricted on-licence'. This type enjoyed great popularity and in the United Kingdom its number increased rapidly from 2,914 in 1962 to 20,504 in 1979 (cf.: Table VI and Diagram V). The consequence of this severe competition of restaurants was that food was also commonly provided in public houses. Compared to the interwar years, when progressive brewers, such as Sydney Nevile, had unsuccessfully demanded the general introduction of food in public houses (cf.: Chapter 3.1.), the situation had changed considerably. The provision of pub food attracted new customers, such as women or business people looking for lunches or the affluent society who had discovered their love of eating out. Accordingly, food sales soared by 375 per cent between 1977 and 1984. At the end of the 1990s, forty per cent of all catering outlets in Great Britain were pubs and, subsequently, catering accounted for 25 per cent of pub turnover.[244]

Not only did the number of 'restricted on-licences' increase but also the number of off-licences grew drastically as the 1961 Licensing Act permitted the sale of alcohol in **supermarkets** with more liberal opening hours. Sainsbury's, one of the largest supermarket chains in the United Kingdom, acquired a licence in 1962 and was quickly followed by the other main stores. In 1959, 26,199 off-licences were counted in the United Kingdom, by 1979 this number of retail outlets had increased to 41,097 and more than half of Britain's supermarkets offered off-licences (cf.: Table VI and Diagram V). This development was encouraged by the abolition of the resale price maintenance on alcoholic drinks in 1966/7. As a result, supermarkets and off-licences advertised price-reduced alcoholic beverages. Their sales rose considerably as well as the incidents of drunkenness, which increased by seven per cent within a year, namely from 70,499 convictions in 1966 to 75,544 one year later (cf.: Table IV and Diagram IV). Both the off-licences offered by supermarkets and the restricted on-licences, definitely, posed a threat to traditional off-

[244] BLRA, *Statistical Handbook 1994*, p. 59; Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, p. 139; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 455-7; Jennings, *The Local*, pp. 218-9; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, p. 132.

licences as well as to the public houses, which often had their own off-sales department included. From the mid-1970s the number of on-licences, however, started to rise again as licensing justices became more willing to grant new licences. Numerically, this meant that the number of full on-licences in the United Kingdom had fallen from 79,669 in 1955 to 76,786 in 1962. After the introduction of the 1961 and 1964 Licensing Acts this figure continued to decrease to 73,690 in 1970 before this decline was reversed and the number of on-licences augmented to 75,741 in 1979 (cf.: Table VI and Diagram V).[245]

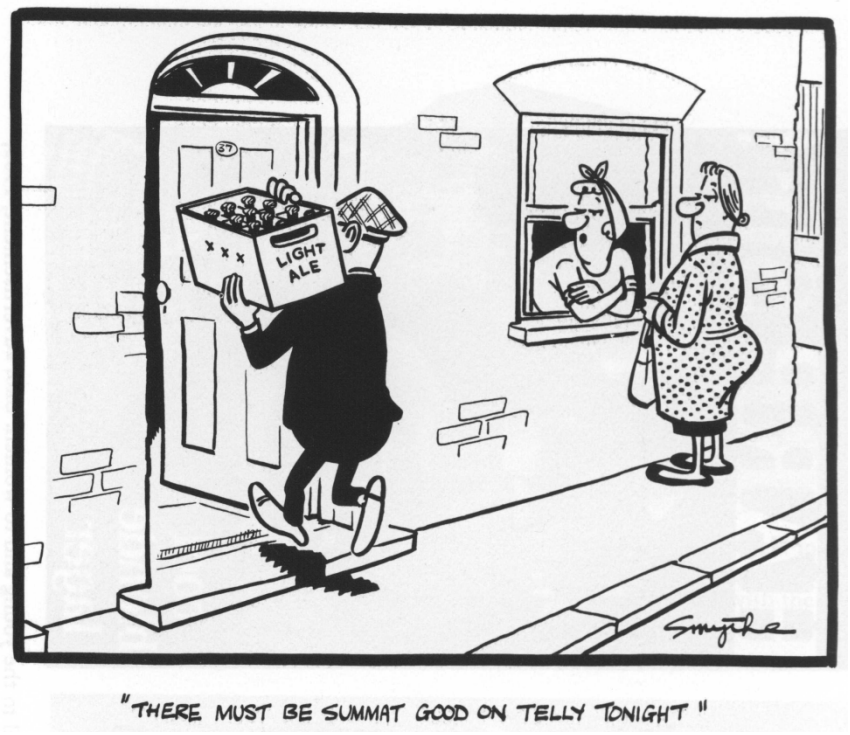


Plate 11: Home consumption in front of the TV, 1958

Opportunities for purchasing alcohol had been facilitated for women. While the traditional off-licences were mostly male territory, the supermarkets were female terrain. There, in particular housewives, could conveniently and anonymously purchase alcohol while doing their family shopping. In the initial stages more wines and spirits than bottled beer were offered. In 1976 IPC Woman's Market magazine stated that *"with grocery outlet accounting for almost half the current £860m. drinks trade, it is clear women have become the big spenders in the alcoholic drinks market."*[246] When joint shopping by husband and wife became more popular in the 1970s, the display of beers and lagers was enlarged. Due

[245] BLRA, *Statistical Handbook 1994*, p. 59; Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, p. 155; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 455-7; Jennings, *The Local*, pp. 212-4; Shaw, 'Causes of increasing drinking problems', pp. 16-7; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 131-8.
[246] Quoted in: Shaw, 'Causes of increasing drinking problems', p. 17.

to the easy access of alcohol in supermarkets, drunkenness among women was increasing, notably in London. There the number of pedestrian drunkenness among women aged thirty and over increased considerably in the late 1960s whereas in the rest of England convictions against drunkenness among females began to rise in the early 1970s.[247]

By 1977 supermarkets already accounted for half of the beer business. The rise of these off-licences coincided with the rise of a new leisure pursuit, namely with **watching TV**. Instead of going out for a drink to their local, many people decided to stay at home and to consume their drink in front of their TV (see: Plate 11). By 1961 three-quarters of British homes possessed one television set, by 1971 this number had augmented to 91 per cent. Public houses also included TVs in their bars. So if families could not agree on their programme preference, the problem was resolved by going to the public house to watch the programme there (see Plate 12). This habit declined with the proliferation of more TV sets in the home and the invention of the video recorder.[248]

Plate 11: People watching Wimbledon tennis final in pub, 1969

The tendency of **home consumption** was, further, enhanced by the growing habit of giving parties at home, a popular middle-class activity. In 1978, nearly fifty per cent of the British

[247] Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, p. 155, p. 177; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 455-7; Shaw, 'Causes of increasing drinking problems', pp. 16-7; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 131-8, pp. 305-37.
[248] British Market Research Bureau Limited, *Licensed Premises*, Table 10a-b; Marwick, *British Society Since 1945*, p. 117, p. 134; Marwick, *History of Modern British Isles*, pp. 239-41; Williams, Brake, *Public-House in Transition*, pp. 134-6.

drank alcohol at home at least once a month, compared to 21 per cent in 1960. Those who opted for home consumption came from higher social classes, were married, between 30 and 59 of age and preferably lived in London. Younger people or members of lower classes, often from the North of England, Scotland or Wales preferred a visit to the public house for alcohol consumption. Beer (53 per cent) remained men's favourite drink whereas women preferred spirits (41 per cent) and wine or sherry (58 per cent). Additionally, a shift from bottled to **canned beers** or, to a lesser extent, **non-returnable bottles** in the 1970s and 1980s facilitated home consumption. In 1960 over one-third of beer was sold in returnable bottles in the United Kingdom. In 1979 this figure had declined to about eleven per cent whereas the sale of canned beer rose to ten per cent in 1979 and to nearly twenty per cent ten years later.[249]

Not only did the 'bulge generation' and the 1961 and 1964 Licensing Acts have an impact on drinking habits and public houses, the third reason that influenced British society as well as its pub and drinking culture notably was **second-wave feminism**. In the first wave of feminism, to be precise in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, British suffragettes had focused on officially mandated inequalities, mainly on gaining women's suffrage or women's right to vote. In the 1960s and 1970s feminists were striving for full social and economic equality. Their movement was inspired and motivated by two events in 1970, namely by the 1970 Equal Pay Act and by the publication of Germaine Greer's book *The Female Eunuch*. The book's main thesis, in which Greer calls for revolution, is that the traditional, suburban, consumerist, nuclear family represses women sexually, and that this devitalises them, rendering them eunuchs. An important result of the women's liberation movement was the introduction of the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act in order to protect both women and men from discrimination on the grounds of gender, mainly in relation to employment, training, education, the provision of goods and services and in the disposal of premises.[250]

The women's liberation movement also influenced the British public house. It did, however, not change the **sex composition** of the traditional 'masculine republic'

[249] *Advertising Alcohol*, pp. 22-3; BLRA, *Statistical Handbook 1994*, p. 17; British Market Research Bureau Limited, *Licensed Premises*, Table 8a, 9a-f, 10a-b; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 458-9; *Report of the Departmental Committee on Liquor Licensing*, p. 59; Market & Opinion Research, *Attitudes*, 1981, pp. 15-8; *Report of Departmental Committee on Liquor Licensing*, pp. 58-9; Williams, Brake, *Public-House in Transition*, pp. 136-9.
[250] Marwick, *British Society Since 1945*, p. 150, p. 242; Marwick, *History of Modern British Isles*, pp. 252-4.

immediately – this transition was a rather long-term development. In a survey conducted in Great Britain in 1960, 49 per cent of men and 13 per cent of women went to a public house at least monthly. Yet 73 per cent of the women rarely or never entered a public house at all (cf.: Table 2).[251] Particularly, in rural areas and in the North of England, the pub as 'masculine republic' continued to dominate. In a rural parish in Herefordshire only some elderly married women were found in a typical working-class pub in 1967. Young women hardly ever entered this drinking place and if they did, the male visitors strongly expressed their disapproval by joking about these women and their presence. If the young farmers took out their wives in the evenings, they chose a more sophisticated public house on the main roads outside the parish. Young, married, non-farming women went out with their girl-friends more frequently but they also opted for drinking establishments outside their home parish.[252]

Evidently, the **presence of women in public houses** was still restricted during second-wave feminism. In 1970 more than forty per cent of women in England and Wales still stated that they would never from choice enter a public house. A survey, commissioned by the Home Office and the Scottish Home and Health Department and undertaken in Great Britain in 1970, found a sex composition of 67 per cent of men and 26 per cent of women, who visited a pub at least once a month. In the same year an investigation was carried out for the Brewers' Society in England and Wales. There the percentage of women, who frequented a public house at least monthly, was higher, namely 37 per cent, compared to 74 per cent of men. In Scotland drinking places were rather male bastions; hence, the percentage of female pub-goers was lower in the first survey (cf.: Table 2). As already mentioned above, younger women were among the most frequent pub-goers. Half of the girls between the age of 18 to 24 frequented a drinking place at least once a week compared to ten per cent of those women older than 55 years. Singles (67 per cent) entered a pub more often than married women (59 per cent) and women from higher classes (64 per cent) were more likely to be found in a pub than females from the lower classes (48 per cent). For instance, in a fashionable, urban middle-class pub two-fifths of regulars were already women whereas in a 'respectable' working-class pub only twenty per cent of the

[251] British Market Research Bureau Limited, *Licensed Premises*, Table 1a.
[252] Jennings, *The Local*, pp. 223-5; Whitehead, 'Sexual antagonism', pp. 175-9.

regulars were females who accompanied their husbands mainly on Friday and Saturday nights.[253]

SURVEY	REGION	WOMEN	MEN
1960 BMRB	Great Britain	13%	49%
1970 for Home Office	Great Britain	26%	67%
1970 for Brewers' Society	England and Wales	37%	74%
1975 MORI survey	Great Britain	57%	81%

Table 2: Sex composition in public houses (at least monthly visits)

In 1975, the year when the number of on-licences started to increase again, MORI conducted a survey throughout Great Britain. There 57 per cent of women and 81 per cent of men reported that they frequented a public house at least once a month. Although these four surveys cannot be compared with each other, merely because of the divergent regions or numbers of people interviewed, they show an apparent tendency, namely that the proportion of the female clientele was rising in the public house between 1960 and 1975. This trend was continuing in the following decades and in 1994 over one-third of women visited a British pub at least once a week. In student pubs or 'young venue' pubs about half of the pub-goers were females. Also the custom of 'Girls nights out', where a group of females go and party without their boyfriends or husbands, slowly increased in popularity.[254]

Women were slowly intruding into the men-dominated drinking places. They were, however, only accepted as guests of the 'masculine republic' and, consequently, constrained by social conventions. If women frequented pubs on their own, they met outside and entered the premises in pairs or groups. Never did an **unescorted woman** enter a public house if she did not want to be mistaken for a prostitute. In 1960 only five per cent claimed that they had gone alone to a public house the previous time, sixty per cent had visited it together with their husband. Ten years later more than ninety per cent of females still affirmed in a survey that they would never enter a pub alone. Even at the beginning of

[253] Interscan, *Attitude Survey*, pp. 5-6; *Report of Departmental Committee on Liquor Licensing*, p. 59; Jennings, *The Local*, pp. 223-5; Williams, Brake, *Public-House in Transition*, pp. 51-8.
[254] Fox, *Report on Women in Pubs*, p. 2; pp. 14-7; Market & Opinion Research, *Attitudes*, 1975, pp. 24-5.

the 1990s a girl from Wakefield claimed, *"My Mam would kill me if she heard I was going into town pubs on my own."*[255] In some northern and remote areas unaccompanied girls are still thought disrespectable in the twenty-first century.[256]

A typical male pub tradition that was challenged by women was the popular custom of **round-buying**. Especially among men, this is a common ritual of 'treating' where, in turns, everybody pays for a round of drinks. In 1938 Bolton women were present at the round-buying ritual but the men always paid for their drinks. Ten years later women sometimes participated in this custom unless they went to a pub together with their boy-friends or husbands:

> *"But with women who go so regularly into pubs & drink with various groups, or sometimes with a woman friend, they seem today, at any rate, to be expected to able to drink beer and also to pay an occasional round."*[257]

As women were not expected to buy their own rounds regularly, simply because many only had their household allowance at their disposal, the ritual of round-buying caused financial problems. In 1930 Mass-Observation investigators made the following point:

> *"So the pub regular, living at normal work level, cannot be a regular with a dame; Saturday night and maybe Sunday is all he can manage if he is to have his own beer on week-night."*[258]

The financial and social women's liberation enabled female pub-goers to buy their own rounds. While the men continued to stick to their long-established ritual, women introduced a variety of drink-buying procedures, such as the 'kitty' system or sub-group round-buying, often because of their unequal financial situation.[259] A publican observed that *"They all buy each other drinks, but the round thing is important to the men, they take it seriously. The women just don't take it very seriously."*[260]

The fact that women also contributed to round-buying in pubs was only gradually accepted by men and women. According to the 1981 MORI report, fifty percent of the women had

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[255] Fox, *Report on Women in Pubs*, p. 4.
[256] British Market Research Bureau Limited, *Licensed Premises*, Table 21a; Fox, *Report on Women in Pubs*, pp. 4-6; Interscan, *Attitude Survey*, p. 7; *Report of the Departmental Committee on Liquor Licensing*, p. 60; Rowntree, Lavers, *English Life and Leisure*, p. 172.
[257] Mass-Observation, *Lola Meichtry's Report*, p. 7.
[258] Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, p. 146.
[259] In 1981 the average woman spent £1.15 on drinks during an average pub visit, compared to £2.79 spent by an average male pub frequenter (cf.: Market & Opinion Research, *Attitudes*, 1981, pp. 13-4).
[260] Fox, *Report on Women in Pubs*, p. 25.

spent nothing on their last pub visit, compared to five per cent of men. In 1994 some men still felt embarrassed if women bought them a drink whereas others complained about women not buying their rounds and introducing different procedures. It was, however, still a masculine privilege in the 1990s that if a couple bought their drinks alternating, the man customarily started with the first round.[261]

As the number of women pursuing a profession was increasing in the 1960s and 1970s, they enjoyed more flexibility of choice over their income compared to the formerly common tradition of the household allowance given to the wife by the husband. At the same time the real price of those kinds of alcoholic beverages favoured by women was falling. As a result, professional women or full-time students without having any dependent children consumed alcohol regularly as they had more social opportunities as well as money to pay for their drinks. Some surveys, moreover, showed that women with higher incomes (and men with lower incomes) were rather prone to indulge in drinking. In particular, women working in areas, such as journalism, marketing, advertising or in manager positions, were even at risk of contracting drinking problems.[262]

These three main factors, namely the importance of the young costumers, the liberated access to both alcohol and public houses and the women's financial and social emancipation, led to an **increased demand for alcohol** in the 1960s and 1970s. The British people could also afford this higher demand as after fifteen years of austerity a period of greater prosperity, higher rates of economic growth and greater purchasing power followed. Consumers' expenditure rose by 2.5 per cent a year in real terms between 1959 and 1979. In 1960 a British household spent 30.5 per cent on food and 3.2 per cent on alcoholic drink. Fifteen years later, the household expenditure on food had declined by one-sixth, namely to 24.8 per cent, whereas the expenditure on alcoholic drink had risen to 5.1 per cent. Additionally, the population grew from 50.9 million UK inhabitants in 1955 to 55.2 million in 1979. As a consequence, total alcohol consumption increased considerably.[263]

[261] Ibid, pp. 25-8; Hey, *Patriarchy & Pub*, p. 58; Mass-Observation, *Lola Meichtry's Report*, pp. 7-14; Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, pp. 145-6; Market & Opinion Research, *Attitudes*, 1981, pp. 13-4.
[262] Plant, *Drinking*, p. 100; Shaw, 'Causes of increasing drinking problems', pp. 12-5; Waterson, 'Gender divisions', pp. 177-83; Wilson, *Drinking in England and Wales*, pp. 5-7.
[263] Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, pp. 176-7; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 454-5, p. 630.

In the United Kingdom beer consumption rose from 25 million bulk barrels in 1955 to 41 million in 1979. Between 1959 and 1979 wine as well as spirits consumption quadrupled and tripled, respectively. The former augmented from 1,064.9 thousand hectolitres in 1959-60 to 4,828.7 thousand hectolitres in 1979-80 and the latter rose from 356 thousand hectolitres of 100 per cent alcohol in 1959-60 to 1,110.9 thousand hectolitres in 1979-80. Per capita consumption, however, increased only slightly in the 1960s, thereafter augmented significantly in the first half of the 1970s and continued to rise until it reached its peak in 1979. The recession of 1979-81 reversed this upward trend and the decline of alcohol consumption has persisted up to the present (cf.: Table II and Diagrams I-II). So in 1994/5 a British household spent 17.8 per cent on food and 4.3 per cent on alcoholic drink. By comparison, one century ago one-sixth of a working-class income had been spent on drink (cf.: Chapter 1.2.).[264]

Beer consumption had risen by fifty per cent between 1958 and 1975, namely from 137 to 204 pints per person. It finally peaked in 1979 with 217 pints per head and started to decline thereafter (see: Table II and Diagram I). The 1979-81 recession resulted in high unemployment rates, particularly among the traditional beer-drinking occupations, such as the mining and manufacturing industry. Additionally, an increase of duty and VAT tripled beer prices between 1980 and 1995. In the 1960s and 1970s beer remained weak with 3.8 per cent alcohol per volume compared to 5.7 per cent a century earlier. The industry also developed low-alcohol as well as alcohol-free beers aimed at the responsible drinker when driving. Nevertheless, women were relatively unimportant as beer consumers. According to two MORI surveys, conducted in Great Britain in 1975 and in 1981, approximately one-third of female pub frequenters consumed any kind of beer compared to nearly ninety per cent of the male pub-goers. Some, in particular younger women, chose lager in order to quench their thirst. Stouts were drunk by married middle-aged and elderly women.[265]

Female pub-goers ordered only half pints of beer as **pint-drinking** was considered ‘unladylike’ or ‘low-class’. Even in the 1990s pint-drinking was not commonly practiced by women. One girl stated, *“My boyfriend hates it. He thinks women look vulgar when*

[264] BLRA, *Statistical Handbook 1994*, p. 7, p. 24, p. 28; Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, p. 137, pp. 176-7; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 382-3.
[265] BLRA, *Statistical Handbook 1994*, p. 7; Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, pp. 137-8; Gourvish, Wilson, *International Brewing Industry*, p. 10; Market & Opinion Research, *Attitudes*, 1975, pp. 32-4; Market & Opinion Research, *Attitudes*, 1981, pp. 6-8; Public Attitude Surveys, *Study of Woman Stout Drinker*, pp. 7-9, Table 21c; Public Attitude Surveys, *Women Guinness Drinkers*, pp. i-v, p. 8.

they're drinking pints."[266] Another 18-year-old girl from Oxford complained about her boyfriend,

> *"He kept on and on about it, how he liked a woman to be a woman, how disgusting it is for women to drink pints – and he was stood there picking his nose and stuff like that! Telling* ***me*** *what was disgusting!"*[267]

Obviously, women were intruding into the 'masculine republic' and were attacking or even taking over the symbols of masculinity or as Valerie Hey stated, *"for women to drink pints attacks the notion of manliness."*[268] Female pint-drinking was established by self-confident female students who were not much troubled by conventional etiquette. In crowded pubs these women soon realised that it was more sensible to go to the bar and buy pints instead of halves. This habit was soon adopted by the privileged classes whereas in the 1990s traditionalists and working-class drinkers still considered pint-drinking 'vulgar' and 'unfeminine'.[269]

The beverages women preferred continued to be **spirits** and **wine**. Nearly fifty per cent of female pub-goers consumed spirits and around one quarter opted for wine or sherry. As already mentioned above, these drinks were also preferred by women at home. Spirit consumption had nearly quadrupled within four decades. It had started with 1.9 pints per capita in 1952, accelerated massively in the first half of the 1970s and finally peaked in 1979 with 7.4 pints per capita (cf.: Table II and Diagram II). Spirit consumption rose particularly in those sections that were also favoured by female consumers, such as white rum, gin and vodka. Nonetheless, the real growth could be found in wine consumption which doubled from 1960 to 1969 and then almost doubled again in the following five years (cf.: Table II and Diagram II). Because of the economic post-war boom the newly increased middle class had got accustomed to wine-drinking. They had either acquired the taste of wine on their packaged holidays to Continental Europe or they had started to eat out in restaurants or to cook Mediterranean-type dishes at home where wine often accompanied their meals. This rising wine market included fortified wine, such as sherry and port vermouths, for instance Martini and Cinzano, and table wines. All these beverages were most attractive to females. Alone the number of female vermouth drinkers soared by 140 per cent between 1969/70 and 1976/77. According to Stan Shaw, consumption had not

[266] Fox, *Report on Women in Pubs*, p. 12.
[267] Ibid, p. 12.
[268] Hey, *Patriarchy & Pub Culture*, p. 54.
[269] Fox, *Report on Women in Pubs*, pp. 11-3; Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, pp. 184-5.

increased because women had changed their drinking habits but because new types of drinks and different drinking situations had been added to their already existing pattern.[270]

As a consequence of women's liberated access to alcohol, the number of their alcohol-related problems was on the rise, as well. The rates for liver cirrhosis started to increase amongst women. The number of women convicted of drinking and driving in England and Wales soared to 1,968 cases in 1979, which was 26 times higher than in 1960 when 75 cases were reported (cf.: Table V). Within the same period the number of men convicted of drinking and driving increased less than ten times. It must, however, be borne in mind that the number of female drivers, the driven car mileage and the number of enforced traffic controls augmented in the 1960s and 1970s.[271]

Differences in alcohol consumption did not only depend on the consumers' sex but on the dominance of the 'masculine republic'. In social groups or geographical areas where the public house functioned as a male domain, beer consumption was higher. According to the 1975 MORI survey, the highest percentages were found in the North of England with peaks in the North East as well as in Yorkshire (both 74 per cent) whereas in the more prosperous South-East of England the lowest percentages were reported, in particular in East Anglia (54 per cent) and in London (56 per cent). Beer consumption was also higher among the working classes (66 per cent), only one-fifth claimed to drink wine or spirits. Nevertheless, about half of the members of higher classes opted for beer while one-third preferred wine or spirits.[272]

To respond to the preferences and tastes of the new clientele, namely the young and the female customers, new products gained ground. Firstly, **keg beers** reversed the trend from draught to bottled beer. As already mentioned above, beer quality had remained low after the Second World War so many preferred the quality of bottled beer to draught beer. The low quality of draught beer was also experienced by a barmaid,

[270] Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, pp. 154-5, pp. 176-7; Market & Opinion Research, *Attitudes*, 1975, pp. 32-4; Market & Opinion Research, *Attitudes*, 1981, pp. 6-9; Shaw, 'Causes of increasing drinking problems', pp. 10-2.
[271] BLRA, *Statistical Handbook 1994*, p. 65; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 569-70; Waterson, 'Gender divisions', p. 170.
[272] Market & Opinion Research, *Attitudes*, 1975, pp. 32-4; Plant, *Drinking*, pp. 104-5; *Report of Departmental Committee on Liquor Licensing*, p. 61; Wilson, *Drinking in England and Wales*, pp. 21-5.

"But a place I went to the other day they served us some horrible stuff, all flat & little bits floating in it. Made one feel quite bad & I'm used to drinking. … I'm going on to bottled next time."[273]

Keg beers are brewery-conditioned beers that are filtered and/or pasteurised, both of which are processes that render the yeast inactive, and are then pumped up by carbon dioxide. Thus, the consumer can enjoy all the advantages of a bottled beer – namely its consistency, brightness and carbonation – in a draught beer. Publicans welcomed keg beers as they had a longer shelf-life and were easier to handle than traditional cask beers. As a result, keg beers could be sold nationally with the same quality and with little wastage, which increased profits.[274]

COMPANY	1963	1967	1970	1986
Allied	9,300	8,250	8,250	6,748
Bass	4,100	10,230	9,450	7,405
Courage	4,800	4,418	6,000	5,012
Scottish &	1,700	2,076	1,700	1,757
Watney Mann	5,500	6,667	6,135	6,222
Whitbread	3,500	7,376	8,280	6,464

Table 3: The ‚Big Six' and their number of tied houses, 1963 – 1986

The second product which became popular was **lager**. It had already been introduced to Great Britain towards the end of the nineteenth century but started to grow significantly in the mid-1960s. In 1960 it accounted for only one per cent of beer consumed in the United Kingdom, in 1975 for 19.7 per cent and by 1989, 50.3 per cent of all beer brewed was lager. This bottom-fermented beer can be produced and stored all year round. Lager is served chilled – so with the increase of the domestic ownership of refrigerators in the 1960s and 1970s, it was ideal for the growing market of home consumption. Lager mainly appealed to the female as well as to the young consumers whereas men preferred draught bitter. According to the 1975 and 1978 MORI surveys, more than ten per cent of women

[273] Mass-Observation, *Drunkenness Survey 1950-51*.
[274] Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 457-8, p. 566; Gourvish, Wilson, *International Brewing Industry*, p. 9; Market & Opinion Research, *Attitudes*, 1975, pp. 35-6.

and nearly thirty per cent of young consumers usually opted for this bottom-fermented beer in a public house compared to circa five per cent of people over the age of 65.[275]

Changing beverages, changing public house preferences, the growing importance of 'free trade' in off-licences in supermarkets, which was a keen competition for the brewer-owned public houses, and changes in the scale as well as the technique of production challenged brewers in the 1960s and 1970s. During a period of rationalisation and concentration, typical for post-war developed economies, brewers started to merge with the result that the Trade was in the hand of six pub-owning brewers. These companies, also called the **'Big Six'**, were Allied (Ind Coope), Bass, Courage, Scottish & Newcastle, Watney Mann and Whitbread. Guinness also belonged to this big league but did not create any mergers or acquire tied houses. This brewery focused on its trading agreements with other brewers and on its successful brand advertising (for a detailed discussion on Guinness advertising see: Chapter 9) and developed new products, such as Harp Larger. In 1977 the 'Big Six' accounted for about 70 per cent of production and 80 per cent of wholesale sales. Additionally, they owned a substantial proportion of the retail outlets they supplied, also known as 'tied houses'. In 1960 the 'Big Six' possessed 16,600 public houses, by 1970 they had already acquired 39,815 public houses (cf.: Table 3). In the 1980s they owned three quarters of all tied public houses and also controlled the wine and spirits trade as in their tied houses just specific wine and spirits brands were stocked. Hence, consumer choice was restricted, independent brewers had no access to retail outlets and wholesale and retail prices were higher than necessary. Both the government and consumer groups expressed their concern about this dominance of the 'Big Six' in the Monopolies Commission in 1966-9[276], the Erroll Committee in 1972 and the Monopolies and Mergers Commission in 1987-9[277]. As a result, the government forced each of the national brewers not to own more than 2,000 tied pubs. So about 11,000 houses were sold off and tied-house

[275] BLRA, *Statistical Handbook 1994*, p. 17; Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, pp. 137-9; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 458, pp. 565-7; Gourvish, Wilson, *International Brewing Industry*, p. 9; Market & Opinion Research, *Attitudes*, 1975, pp. 32-4; Market & Opinion Research, *Attitudes*, 1981, pp. 17-8; Oddy, 'Food, drink and nutrition', p. 253; Williams, Brake, *Public-house in Transition*, pp. 24-5.

[276] For further details on the Monopolies Commission 1966-9 see: Hawkins, K. H. and C. L. Pass, *The Brewing Industry. A Study in Industrial Organisation and Public Policy.*

[277] For further details on the Monopolies and Mergers Commission 1987-9 see: Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 596-8.

publicans were permitted to buy non-beer drinks from any source and to sell at least one draught cask-conditioned guest beer.[278]

As the working class was turning to 'up market' keg beers and lager, mainly produced by the 'Big Six', middle-class consumers suddenly began to stress the virtues of traditional ales. They thought keg beers *"gassy, chemical … expensive, tasteless"*.[279] Thus, in 1971 a consumer organisation called the Campaign for Real Ale (**CAMRA**) was founded by four journalists, who had enjoyed the quality of local beers during a trip to Ireland. CAMRA opposes the growing industrialisation and homogeneity of the British brewing industry by promoting local and regional brands and so helps to retain a niche market for traditionally brewed beverages.[280]

[278] Clarke, Critcher, *Devil Makes Work*, p. 88, p. 104; Draft Supply of Beer (Tied Estate)(Revocation) Order 2002 (House of Commons), http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200203/cmstand/deleg4/st021211/21211s01.htm; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 447-97; Gourvish, Wilson, *International Brewing Industry*, pp. 9-10; Price Commission, *Beer Prices and Margins*, p. 7; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 216-8;
[279] Market & Opinion Research, *Attitudes*, p. 35.
[280] Campaign for Real Ale, http://www.camra.co.uk, Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 567-8; Gourvish, Wilson, *International Brewing Industry*, pp. 10-1; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, p. 216; Williams, Brake, *Public-house in Transition*, pp. 38-9;

PART II

FEMALE FREQUENTERS & FACTORS

6

CHILDREN AND PUBLIC HOUSES

"During this time a woman almost in a state of nudity, with a fine infant at her breast, the only dress being its nightshirt, followed by another child about eight years old, naked except a nightshirt, and without either shoes or stocking, followed a wretched-looking man into the house. I saw them struggling through the crowd to get to the bar; they all had their gin; the infant had the first share from the woman's glass; they came back to the outside of the door, and there they could scarcely stand;…"

6.1. Children, Alcohol and their Presence in Public Houses

When dealing with the social and economic role and perception of women in pubs, the role of children should not be neglected. On the one hand, the excessive drinking of their parents had bad effects on children; on the other hand, the lack of control over the sale of liquor to children caused much concern towards the end of the nineteenth century. During this time various Acts aimed to counteract and to protect children from alcohol abuse and from the resulting consequences, such as wretched families, disastrous homes, neglected education or absent training, which often led to miserable job perspectives or even crime. Before the 1897-9 Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, Lady Somerset referred to the example of a 13-year-old girl who had been brought before the Manchester police court because she had purchased alcohol and consumed it outside a public house, *"I was cold, and as I had 6d. I went into a public-house and bought sixpennyworth of whiskey, and drank it n the doorstep."*[281] About arrested children the following was reported by Mr Thomas Wright of Manchester,

> *"Amongst the convicts of Portland he could not find two out of 20 who could say that they had had a good mother; the mother was generally a woman who had neglected them in childhood and youth from drunkenness."*[282]

Today all visitors of public bars know the sign, "*It is an offence to serve persons under eighteen with intoxicating liquors*." This law was only introduced in 1923. In former centuries **beer** had formed an important part of the people's **ordinary diet** and everyday life. Nurses and doctors encouraged pregnant and breast-feeding women to improve their own health as well as their babies' health by drinking stout or porter, *"… a certain amount of bottled stout is of immense value to the mother."*[283] In factories child workers received their weekly wages at the pay table in public houses and, like adults, they were encouraged to order a drink as a sign of having reached the wage-earning status.[284] In public schools beer was drunk at every meal – it was even served for breakfast. During the reading of the Intoxicating Liquor (Sale to Persons under Eighteen) Bill in 1923, Sir Frederick Banbury

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Previous page:
Plate 13: George Cruikshank, *The Gin palace*, in: *The Drunkard's Children.*
Quotation: This situation was observed by George Wilson, a grocer of Westminster, on a Sunday morning in the 1840s, quoted in: Shadwell, *Drink, Temperance*, p. 36.
[281] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, May 25th, 1897, sec. 31,536.
[282] *Report from the Select Committee on Public Houses*, 1854, p. xiv.
[283] Dr Handfield-Jones, 1905, quoted in: Gutzke, 'Cry of Children', p. 73.
[284] Turner, *Roads to Ruin*, p. 184.

stated that *"when he was 10 or 11 years old he always had beer with his dinner. When he went to Winchester he always had beer for dinner and for supper.*[285] This nineteenth-century custom of serving beer in public schools did not stop in the following century. Enquiries made at Eton in 1938 showed that students were allowed to visit licensed houses and purchase cider or beer, provided they were of an age that did not contradict the licensing laws. In some Eton school houses older boys still had beer with their lunch. The last official record of beer drinking at Rugby also dated from 1938 when runners in the Centenary 'Crick' Run were served a pint each at the expense of the school.[286]

In the nineteenth century temperance reformers had become aware of the threat of strong drink to children – beer was still regarded as nutritious at that time – and attempted to lead juveniles towards sobriety. In 1847 the **Band of Hope** was founded in Leeds and grew enormously. Its success originated in the lack of other forms of entertainment for young people. It offered membership to all children under the age of 16 who were prepared to accept the pledge, *"I do agree that I will not use intoxicating liquors as a beverage."*[287] At its 46th annual meeting in London in 1901, 28,894 local societies with a total membership of 3,536,000 children were counted in the United Kingdom. The local Bands of Hope met midweek and there children were taught about the importance of total abstinence and encouraged to sing temperance songs and act temperance dramas. So also the adults should be influenced when they heard their children repeating the words or singing temperance songs. In 1909 the Board of Education followed and issued the first syllabus for 'temperance' education in public elementary schools. In 1918 the first textbook *Alcohol: its action on the human organism* was compiled and published by the Central Control Board.[288]

Temperance reformers and doctors also discovered that there was a connection between the **mothers' inebriety and infant mortality**. A study conducted in Liverpool in 1899 showed that 55.2 per cent of the children born of drunken mothers died under the age of two compared to 23.9 per cent of children born to sober mothers. A committee around the Bishop of Hereford noted that the deaths of infants as a result of overlying by drunken

[285] *Brewers' Journal*, March 15th, 1923, p. 125.
[286] Ibid, June 18th, 1941, p. 424.
[287] Quoted in: Hawker, *Adolescents and Alcohol*, p. 9.
[288] For a detailed discussion on the Band of Hope see: Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, chapter 6.
Hyslop, *Temperance Movement*, pp. 27-30; Turner, *Roads to Ruin*, pp. 188-9; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 181-4.

mothers increased at Christmas and other festive times as well as at weekends.[289] In 1907 the *Tribune*, a radical Liberal newspaper, published articles by the anti-drink doctor George Sims who claimed that children were *"slowly murdered in the dram shop in their mother's arms."*[290] He was the first to point out that children could contract tuberculosis in public houses as they were frequently sitting and crawling on the floor being covered with sawdust. As spitting on the floor had become a popular custom, the sawdust was easily contaminated with tubercular germs. Sims also stated that although Italians and Jewish families lived in poverty and shabbiness, their babies survived infancy because of two factors: they were breast-fed and had sober parents. *"Out of the Dram Shop"* and *"Back to the Breast"* became a slogan of a campaign for stopping children under the age of fourteen from entering drinking premises.[291]

Prior to the year 1839 not any law restricted the sale of intoxicating liquor to children of any age inside or outside a public house. The report of the 1854 Select Committee on Public Houses, known as the Silk-Buckingham Committee, stated that 18,391 children entered 14 public houses in London within one week, together with 142,453 men and 108,593 women.[292] The 1839 Metropolitan Police Act prohibited publicans from selling any spirits to any person apparently under the age of 16 for consumption on the premises. This restriction was, however, not much obeyed as the 1854 Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Condition of the Public Houses reported. Similar pieces of evidence as the following were mentioned, *"A witness had known women to go in (to London public-houses) with young children and get drunk at the bar with the children in their arms: the police dare not interfere."*[293]

In 1872 Parliament prohibited the sale of spirits to any person under the age of 16 but it was not until the **Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) Act 1886** that the sale of beer to children under 13 was prohibited. After the report of the 1897-8 Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, the **1901 Child Messenger Act** raised the age to 14 years but the more important fact was that it restricted the retail of beer for off-consumption in sealed

[289] Gutzke, 'Cry of Children', p. 72; Carter, *Control of Drink Trade*, p. 274; Newton, *National Drink Bill*, pp. 81-6; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, p. 178.
[290] Quoted in: Gutzke, 'Cry of Children', p. 77.
[291] Ibid, p. 78; Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 3.
For further details on George Sims and the medical campaign against the insobriety of mothers at the beginning of the 20th century, see: Gutzke, 'Cry of the Children'; Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, pp. 3-5.
[292] *Report of Select Committee on Public Houses*, 1854, sec. 3,305.
[293] Quoted in: Wilson, *Alcohol and Nation*, p. 160.

vessels only. It had been a widespread practice to send children as messengers to buy liquor in open jugs or other containers for their parents. The children 'tasted' this liquor on their way home and so a kind of 'use and want' was created. An 11-year-old boy from Fulham recounted,

> *"Of course, I have tasted beer. What do you take me for, a cissy? My father often brings a bottle home and gives me some. And I go to the pub, but only in the jug and bottle part to get some for him."*[294]

Some children had even been kept from school in order to fetch their parents' drink. According to the 1898 annual report of the London City Mission, 67 children with jugs were counted in one public house in the East End within half an hour, 1,169 children entered another house within one day. In two poorer public houses of York only one adult was reported to come with a jug or can to fetch beer within a period of three days. The rest of the beer required for home consumption was fetched by children. In order to bring parental custom and to recruit future customers, publicans offered the children inducements, such as sweets, toys or entertainment. Miss Harriet Johnson, a temperance worker in Liverpool, reported of publicans who had put steps in front of their counters so that small children could access the bar more easily. During the Second World War sending children to off-licences to collect bottled beer was still a widespread practice, in particular in cities. Mostly boys, but occasionally also girls, were sent to the off-licence or jug-and-bottle entrance.[295]

The **Children Act of 1908** entailed further restrictions. It had been pushed ahead by the temperance movement but opposed by brewers as they feared a reduction of their sales. According to Section 119, no person was allowed to give any intoxicating liquor to any child under the age of five – except if prescribed by a medical practitioner. Section 120 made it illegal for children under the age of 14 to be present in any bar or room wholly or mainly used for the consumption of alcoholic beverages.[296] Originally, there should have been an amendment to the Act which should have permitted those children who were

[294] Mass-Observation, *Juvenile Drinking*, p. 14.
[295] *Brewers' Journal*, July 15th, 1894, p. 356; Booth Online Archive, http://booth.lse.ac.uk, B347, pp. 170-3; Mass-Observation, *Juvenile Drinking*, pp. 14-5; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, July 30th, 1930, sec. 34,588-91; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, July 18th, 1897, sec. 12,065-77; May 1897, sec. 29,176; June 15th, 1898, sec. 68,065-75, sec. 68,598-604; July 5th, 1898, sec. 71,710-8; July 18th, 1898, sec. 73,359-63; July 20th, 1898, sec. 74,066; *Report of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, 1899, p. 82, p. 151; Rowntree, *Poverty*, pp. 319-22; Turner, *Roads to Ruin*, p. 196; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 177-92; Wilson, *Alcohol and Nation*, pp. 160-2.
[296] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, 1931, pp. 143-4.

accompanied by their adults or parents to enter a public house but it had been opposed by two Liberal brewers, John Fuller and Howard Whitbread.[297] The aim of Section 120 was to stop children from visiting public houses with their parents who got intoxicated there and either neglected them or taught them how to drink (see also the quotation at the beginning of this chapter):

> *"It is no uncommon sight in these places to see a mother wet a baby's lips with gin-and-water. The process is called 'giving the young'un a taste', and the baby's father will look on sometimes and enjoy the joke immensely."*[298]

According to police officials, the practice of women taking their children into public houses mainly occurred in the lower classes of **poverty-stricken areas of large industrialised cities**. Country pubs were regarded as 'masculine republics'. As Margaret Penn put it, *"no self-respecting female did ever go into one".*[299] The middle and upper classes consumed their liquor at home after they themselves or – more typically – their servants had purchased the liquor at off-licence premises.[300] Those women and mothers from lower classes who frequented pubs were looking for a refuge from their poor and lives. According to Sir Edward Henry, Commissioner of the Police,

> *"the practice of women taking young children into public-houses exists in working and poor neighbourhoods, where the women are attracted by the warmth and glitter of the public-houses, which afford a contrast to the houses in which they live."*[301]

The temperance movement was aware of this problem and demanded better living conditions (*"Give the people better homes and enforce sanitary laws and you give them a chance to be sober"*[302]) as well as public places that served non-alcoholic drinks.[303]

The negative consequences of the Children Act of 1908 were mainly stressed by the Trade that thought this law a *"grandmotherly regulation".*[304] The Trade claimed that this Act

[297] Gutzke, 'Cry of the Children', p. 80.
[298] Quoted in: ibid, p. 77.
[299] Quoted in: ibid, p. 72.
[300] There were also exemptions, however. In his 1902-published book Shadwell recounts an incidence where he saw respectable-looking parents taking their four young children – the youngest in their arms – into a public house. When they returned, *"they were all wiping their mouths"* (Shadwell, *Drink, Temperance*, p. 221).
[301] *Brewers' Gazette*, November 21st, 1907, p. 862.
Similar observations were made and reported by the Chief Constables of Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester or Sheffield.
[302] Quoted in: Gutzke, 'Cry of Children', p. 77.
[303] *Brewers' Gazette*, November 21st, 1907, p. 862; Gutzke, 'Cry of Children', p. 72, p. 79; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, July 29th, 1930, sec. 33,790.

would not stop women from frequenting public houses; they would rather neglect their children, drink outside the public house or take more drink home.[305] Cases were reported that referred to children being left outside the drinking place in good and even bad weather as women did not want to abstain from their visits to the public houses. Children, moreover, had to be left uncontrolled outside the public house if the mother just wanted to purchase beer for home consumption. Consequently, several accidents happened, such as one in 1909 where two-year-old Edith May Clark was run over and killed by a motor-omnibus in Hammersmith while her mother was buying supper beer.[306]

The **Intoxicating Liquor (Sale of Persons under Eighteen) Act of 1923**, also known as **Lady Astor's**[307] **Act**, is the basis of the law controlling juvenile drinking today. It had been the result of a petition brought in by 116,000 teachers and was supported by a great number of doctors who were all concerned with the effects alcohol had on adolescents. This Act prohibited the retail of intoxicating liquor to any person under the age of 18 for consumption on the premises. Only persons over 16 were allowed malt liquors, cider or perry if consumed with a meal in certain parts of the premises.[308]

The Trade had opposed this Act as they had feared that the next move by the temperance societies would be the raise of the drinking age to 21. So they claimed that Lady Astor wanted to turn Britain into a country of alcohol smugglers and criminals as boys and girls were not allowed to consume beer in a public house but could purchase a bottle of whiskey for secret consumption. One of Lady Astor's chief critics was Sir Frederick Banbury, a member of the City of London, who complained that a girl of 16 was by law allowed to marry and have babies but she was not allowed into a public house. Moreover, he pointed out that many boys of 16 had joined the First World War to fight against the country's

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[304] *Handbook of Speakers and Writers on the Drink Question*, p. 150.
[305] Ibid, pp. 149-50.
[306] From: *Licensing World*, October 23rd, 1909, quoted in: *Handbook for Speakers and Writers on the Drink Question*, p. 149; Mass-Observation, *Juvenile Drinking*, pp. 15-6.
[307] Viscountess Nancy Astor (1879-1964) was the first woman to take a seat in the House of Commons. She followed her second husband Waldorf Astor, who was MP for Plymouth Sutton. As he succeeded to the peerage, she was elected in his stead for the Conservative party and held the seat from 1919 to 1945. In Parliament Nancy Astor focused on the causes of women and children, temperance, education and nursery schools. Already in her maiden speech to Parliament on February 24th, 1920, Lady Astor strongly advocated drastic drink reforms. She demanded, for instance, the return of the strict drinking hours which had prevailed during the First World War (http://www.parliament.uk/parliamentary_publications_and_archives/parliamentary_archives/archives___the_first_women_in_parliament_1919_1945.cfm).
[308] *Royal Commission on Licensing*, 1931, pp. 144-5; Turner, *Roads to Ruin*, p. 202.

enemies but were not allowed to consume a glass of beer. Nevertheless, the Bill went through parliament by a big majority.[309]

The Intoxicating Liquor Act of 1923 had a considerable impact on publicans and bartenders as they had to verify the age of their customers. They claimed it was not always obvious if costumers were under the age of 18 as Alderman Sampson Walker, Chairman of the Stokes Justices, observed,

> *"The probation conditions are under the impression that a considerable number of very young people are in the habit of visiting these places and are being served. Under existing conditions and with present modes of dress and that sort of thing, particularly a female, is of the prohibited age or not."*[310]

Several Members of Parliament had already warned that girls with their hair up or bearded boys could easily deceive bartenders.[311] In 1924, for instance, licensees of five public houses were summoned at South Shields because they had supplied intoxicating liquor to two men under the age of 18. Miss McLean, who had also served the two men, defended herself by stating that she had definitely thought them to be over 18, *"They said they were fifteen; I took it as a joke."*[312]

The attempts of under-18-year-olds to obtain alcohol re-occurred in the following decades and are still practised nowadays. According to the Chairman of the Luton Juvenile Court, not only under-aged boys but also girls broke the law and purchased intoxicating drinks – "*some of them girls under 16 – the worse for drink.*"[313]

The questions concerning the presence of children in licensed premises and the age limit of purchasing and drinking liquor were again debated by the Departmental Committee on Liquor Licensing, also known as the Erroll Committee after the name of its chairman Lord Erroll of Hale. Tourist associations and several entertainment interests demanded a significant relaxation of the laws concerning children while temperance associations and even trade associations were against a change of the existing laws. In its 1972 published report the Erroll Committee recommended to lower the age limit from 18 to 17 and to provide greater access for children to certain areas of the licensed premises. These

[309] *Brewers' Journal*, July 15th, 1923, p. 358-9; Turner, *Roads to Ruin*, pp. 201-4.
[310] *True Temperance Quarterly*, May 1943, p. 7.
[311] Turner, *Roads to Ruin*, p. 202.
[312] *Brewers' Journal*, September 15th, 1924, pp. 490-1.
[313] Shadwell, *Drink, Temperance*, p. 223.

recommendations seemed too extreme for the government as well as for the public opinion and were not implemented.[314]

By the 1980s the progressive brewers' recommendations had been realised. The number of public houses serving food had risen and family-oriented leisure activities had increased in popularity. Consequently, many public houses started to provide 'family rooms', which were separated from the bar area. In 1984 between 2,500 and 3,000 of such rooms were reported. With the 1994 Deregulation and Contracting Out Act, **Children's Certificates** were introduced which permitted the presence of children under the age of 14 on premises where meals and beverages other than intoxicating liquor were sold, provided the 'environment' was suitable for them. After a slow start these certificates became widespread. By 2004, 7,200 had been granted by justices. The 2003 Licensing Act effectively ended restriction of children's presence on licensed premises. Children are now permitted to be present in public houses if they are accompanied by a person aged 18 or over and if the conditions specific to the premises do not forbid the presence of children.[315]

6.2. Children and their First Drink

It is complicated to analyse facts on the first alcoholic drink people consumed as there are no constant figures available for the time span and country being discussed in this thesis. Therefore, five studies on people's drinking habits will be assessed in greater detail. The first study was published by the 1929-31 Royal Commission on Licensing. Typical for this time, only men were asked about their drinking habits – women had been left out in this study.[316] The second investigation on *Juvenile Drinking* was conducted by Mass-Observation in 1943.[317] A further study by Mass-Observation, namely *A Report on a Pilot*

[314] Brake, *Alcohol*, pp. 8-11; Brewers' Society, *Memorandum*, pp. 15-6; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 572; *Report of Departmental Committee on Liquor Licensing*, p. 13, p. 60, p. 298; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, p. 168, p. 231.
[315] Deregulation and Contracting Out Act of 1994, http://www.opsi.gov.uk/Acts/acts1994/ukpga_19940040_en_1; Jennings, *Local*, p. 226; Licensing Act 2003, http://www.opsi.gov.uk/acts/acts2003/ukpga_20030017_en_1.
[316] 2,158 men living under the care of the Salvation Army in institutions in England and Wales were interviewed by the Royal Commission. See: *Royal Commission on Licensing*, 1929, p. 1998.
[317] For this survey 200 verbatim statements of children aged seven to eighteen and 1,500 voluntary informants were interviewed in the South West and East End of London, in a South Coast port, in Bolton and a village in Devonshire. See: Mass-Observation, *Juvenile Drinking*, p. 2.

Survey on Drinking Habits of Young People, was completed in 1954.[318] Between October 1975 and June 1976 Ann Hawker carried out interviews for her survey *Adolescents and Alcohol*.[319] It is impossible to compare these reports merely because of the divergent number of people interviewed or the various English regions assessed. Nevertheless, these four surveys show some tendencies among young people and their first drinks. For matter of comparison, reference will also be made to Susan Dight's survey *Scottish drinking habits*, published in 1972. Again, the results from Scotland show mere trends.[320]

When comparing all these surveys, the most obvious fact is that the **age** at which people consumed their **first drink** drastically **decreased** within the twentieth century. This development is in so far striking as two Acts, namely the Children Act of 1908 and the Intoxicating Liquor (Sale of Persons under Eighteen) Act of 1923, had been introduced to curtail children's access to alcohol. In 1929, only 3.57 per cent of men had their first drink under the age of 15, approximately fifty per cent before their twentieth birthday and more than forty per cent before their thirtieth birthday (see: Diagram 1).[321]

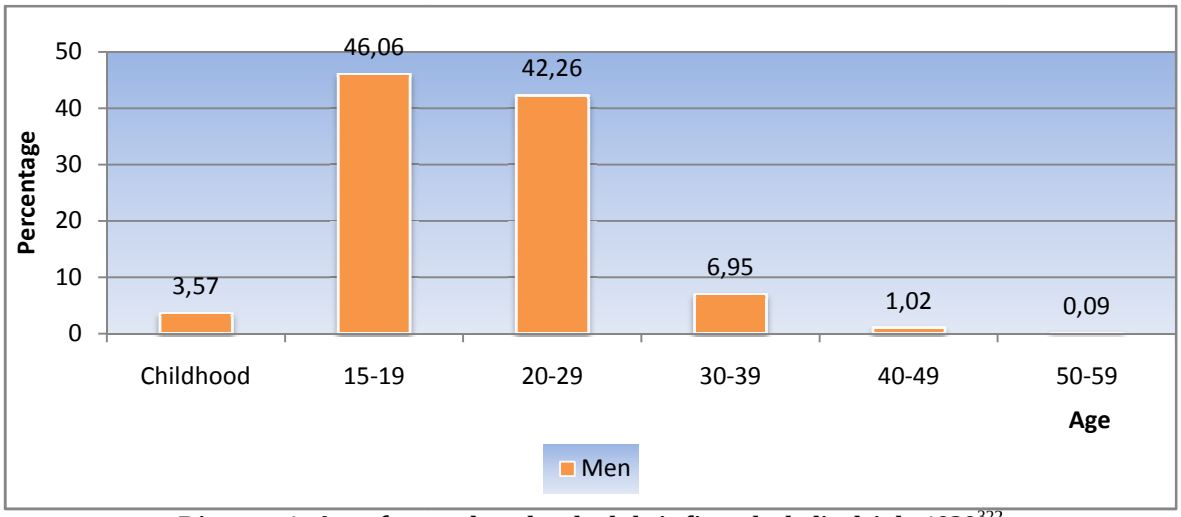

Diagram 1: Age of men when they had their first alcoholic drink, 1929[322]

During the Second World War approximately one-half to three-quarters of the working- and artisan-class children stated that they had already tasted some kind of alcoholic liquor

[318] This study had been commissioned by Guinness, Park Royal, and 240 male and female persons were interviewed. See: Mass-Observation, *Drinking Habits of Young People*, p. 1.
[319] Hawker interviewed 7,306 English school boys and girls with an age range of 13-18 years. See: Hawker, *Adolescents and Alcohol*, p. 11, p. 25.
[320] For this investigation, which had been commissioned by the Scottish Home and Health Department, Dight interviewed about 2,000 men and 1,000 women in all regions of Scotland. See: Dight, *Scottish drinking habits*, p. 1.
[321] *Royal Commission on Licensing*, 1929, p. 1998.
[322] Ibid.

by the age of fourteen. Among the middle class the proportion was probably lower but definitely not much under fifty per cent. A school teacher in West London reported,

> *"This investigation gave me a great surprise. The only children to whom I have access are a hundred and fifty between five and seven years old. Sixty-six per cent have tasted beer, about forty per cent having it regularly as a week-end treat."*[323]

Although a majority of the children had tried beer, they frequently stated that they did not like its taste, *"Oh, Mrs. P., it's nasty. People often want me to drink it. Oh, it is nasty. I don't like it a bit."*[324] Sweet cider was often drunk and enjoyed by children in Devonshire, where it was habitually home-brewed. An eleven-year-old girl was rather enthusiastic, *"It's lovely stuff. No, never had beer but mammy gives me some of the cider. She says it's good too."*[325] Several children also reported that they had had their first drink when being ill. Their parents had given them some whisky to smooth toothache and brandy to fight a cold.[326]

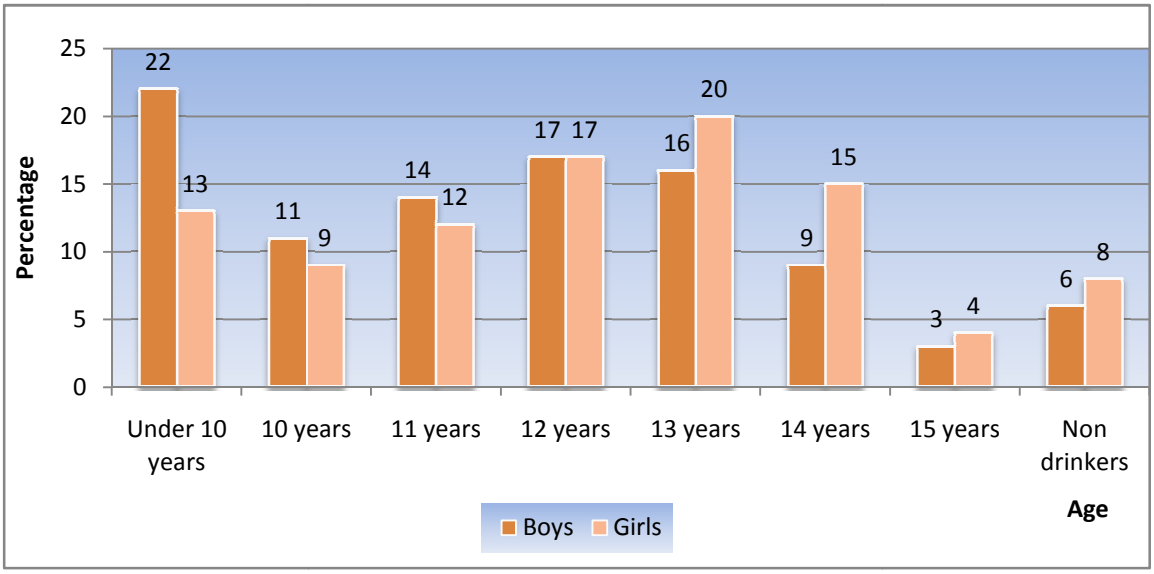

Diagram 2: "How old were you when you had your first alcoholic drink? Not just a sip – a real drink?"

In the 1954 Mass-Observation report, males and females recalled that they had had their first drink at the age of 16. More than twenty years later, Hawker observed that already 22 per cent of the boys and 13 per cent of the girls had had their first alcoholic drink under the

[323] Mass-Observation, *Juvenile Drinking*, p. 3.
[324] Ibid, p. 13.
[325] Ibid, p. 14.
[326] Ibid, pp. 5-14.

age of ten, only three per cent of the boys and four per cent of the girls had had it at the age of 15 (see: Diagram 2).[327]

Susan Dight proved that the age of the first drink had fallen in Scotland, as well. The mean age at the first drink of Scottish men, who were between 17 and 30 years at the time of the interview, was 15.1. Most of them, namely 29 per cent, had had their first drink between 13 and 15 years and only six per cent between 19 and 21 years. The mean age of those men, who were 51 years and older at the time of the interview, had been 21.3. Most of them, namely 26 per cent, had had their first drink between 19 and 21 years. The same development could be found among Scottish women. The mean age of women between 17 and 30 years was 16.4 and 27.5 for those who were 51 years and older (see: Diagram 3).[328]

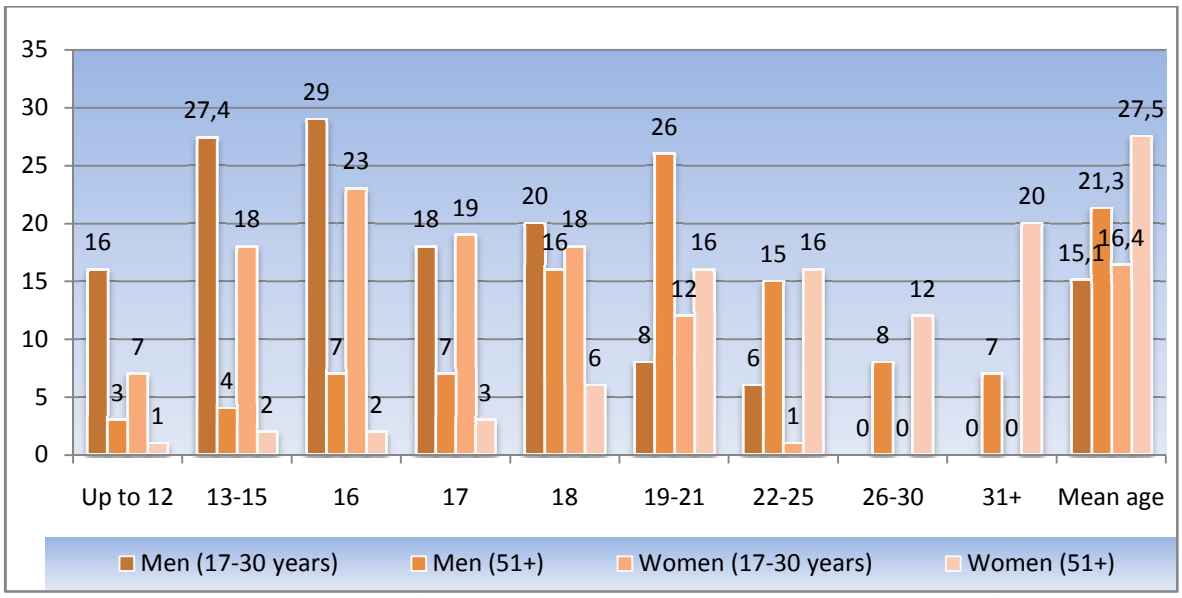

Diagram 3: Distribution of the age at first drink by sex and age at time of interview, Scotland

The second striking observation on young people's first drink was that **boys** always tended to have their **first drink at a much younger age than girls**. In the mid-1970s the age difference between boys and girls was two years. Dight observed the same development in Scotland. She, moreover, found that this age difference had continuously been decreasing over the generations. Men who were more than 51 years old at the time of the interview had started drinking at a mean age of 21.3 while women had started 6.2 years later. The

[327] Hawker, *Adolescents and Alcohol*, p. 31; Mass-Observation, *Drinking Habits of Young People*, p. 2.
[328] Dight, *Scottish drinking habits*, p. 82.

age difference of men and women among the 17- to 30-year-olds had decreased to 1.3 years (cf.: Diagrams 3 and 4).[329]

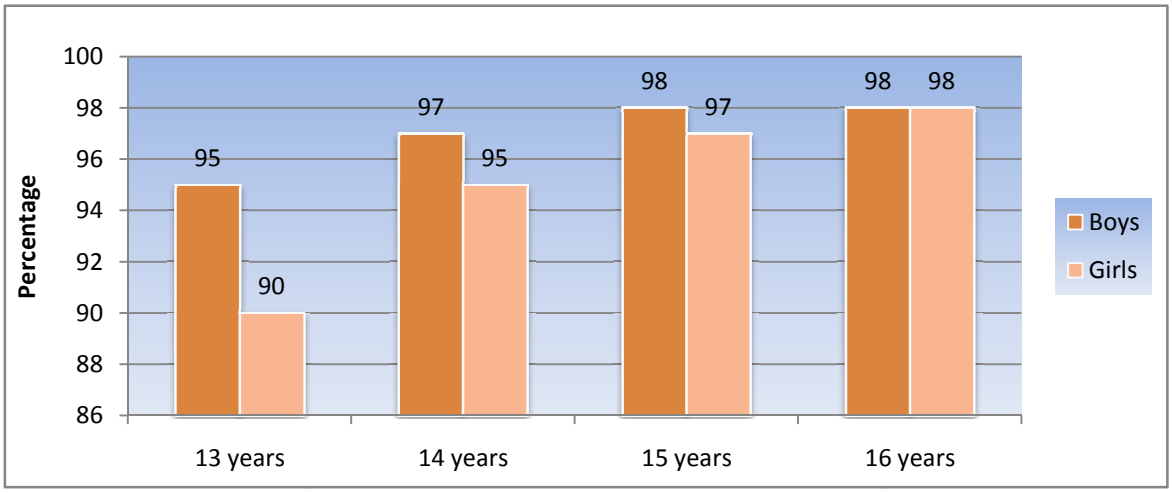

Diagram 4: "Have you ever tasted an alcoholic drink?"

A further apparent trend shows that boys and girls had their **first drink with different persons at different places**. In the 1940s and 1950s the great majority of children was first introduced to alcoholic liquor by their parents, especially at festivities and parties, such as Christmas or weddings. A seven-year-old girl from Fulham reported, *"We tasted it last Saturday night; we had a party; it was my big sister's birthday. We had a little drop. Mummy and Daddy came home with it and we all had some."*[330] According to the 1954 Mass-Observation survey, girls mainly had their first alcoholic drink at a special occasion with the sanction of their families. It occurred less often that they first tasted alcohol with their contemporaries outside their homes. In the mid-seventies Hawker found the same tendency among girls, namely that 47 per cent of the girls had had their first drink at home and 18 per cent at a party. In 1954 boys rather had their first drink with their friends and less often at home. Hawker, however, reported that fifty per cent of the boys had had their first drink at home, only 14 per cent at a party and seven per cent at a friend's house. At first glance, this development may surprise but it makes sense when recalling the facts that on the one hand, the mean age of the first drink had decreased drastically (cf.: Diagram 3). On the other hand, home consumption had increased in popularity. Dight, whose questions had gone more into detail, found that boys up to the age of twelve had mostly been offered

[329] Ibid, pp. 80-2; Hawker, *Adolescents and Alcohol*, pp. 30-2; Mass-Observation, *Drinking Habits of Young People*, p. 2.
[330] Mass-Observation, *Juvenile Drinking*, p. 7.

their first drink by relatives. From the age of 13 onwards, boys mostly (figures varying from 73 per cent to 90 per cent) had their first drink with male friends and not at home.[331]

The fourth tendency observed is that the **consumption preferences** of young men and women already differed at their first drink. In 1943 boys preferred cider and beer whereas girls favoured cider and port. According to the 1954 Mass-Observation report, both sexes had little influence on the type of their first drink as they simply took what was offered. Nevertheless, girls started off on short drinks preferring a particular port, sherry or gin whereas boys favoured long drinks, such as beer or cider. A similar tendency was also reported by Dight where more than fifty per cent of the boys had started with beer or stout but only two per cent with cider. 42 per cent of the girls had sherry or port and 22 per cent of the girls gin, rum or vodka as their first drink. In the 1954 Mass-Observation survey, the majority of the men and in the survey on Scotland both sexes disliked the taste of their first drink. In 1954 most of the young women, however, enjoyed the sweet, short drinks but together with the young men they also noticed some ill-effects.[332]

In the following decades beverage companies took advantage of the fact that young people, in particular women, preferred sweet alcoholic drinks and created so-called '**alcopops'**. This term combines the two ideas of 'alcoholic beverage' and 'soda pop'. Alcopops usually come in small 275-ml bottles, which make them good for dancing, and their bright colours are aimed at girls. They contain between four to seven per cent of alcohol per volume. By comparison, beer contains 3.8 per cent of alcohol by volume. The sugary and fruity taste of the soft drink suppresses the bitterness of the alcohol so especially teenagers find these drinks more palatable. In the 1990s alcopops, such as Bacardi Breezer, Hooch or Smirnoff Ice, became extremely popular among young consumers. At the same time their

[331] Dight, *Scottish drinking habits*, pp. 84-6; Hawker, *Adolescents and Alcohol*, pp. 32-3; Mass-Observation, *Drinking Habits of Young People*, p. 2.
Dight and Hawker also stress in their studies that the drinking habits of adults had a direct effect on their children. Children of parents with a regular drinking pattern were more likely to start drinking as a normal behaviour. These parents also offered their children their first alcoholic drink at a much younger age than non-drinking parents (cf.: Dight, *Scottish drinking habits*, pp. 62-78; Hawker, *Adolescents and Alcohol*, pp. 57-8; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 185-90.)

[332] Dight, *Scottish drinking habits*, pp. 84-7; Mass-Observation, *Drinking Habits of Young People*, p. 2; Mass-Observation, *Juvenile Drinking*, p. 9.

increasing appeal to the youth was highly criticised and they were made responsible for encouraging under-age and binge drinking.[333]

Not only the age of the first drink but also the age when women and men started **drinking regularly** were analysed by 1954 Mass-Observation and by Susan Dight.[334] According to Mass-Observation, about fifty per cent of the boys began drinking regularly at about eighteen while being in the Service. Many claimed that drinking was a safeguard against loneliness as it ensured company and was associated with prestige. The rest of the men started with their male contemporaries when going to parties, to pubs or when going dancing. The young men mainly consumed beer, some even stout or spirits. The most important factor was that these drinks were affordable.

Plate 14: Young women and alcohol (including alcopops), 2000

Girls started drinking regularly at about twenty years of age, continuing with short drinks but also consuming long drinks, such as shandy or beer, some also stout. They drank less often when being with their girl-friends but regularly when going to the pubs with their

[333] Alcopops, http://www.forum-ernaehrung.at, Binge drinking, http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2003/dec/21/health.drugsandalcohol, Gourvish, Wilson, *International Brewing Industry*, p. 10.

[334] Dight classified regular drinkers as people who had consumed, at least, one drink in the week prior to the day of the interview (Dight, *Scottish drinking habits*, p. 11). Mass-Observation only referred to regular drinkers but did not define this term specifically.

boy-friends. Few girls, however, began drinking as a normal behaviour during their Service lives. A rather big group started in their marriage when visiting pubs with their husbands but also, as already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, because of health and pregnancy reasons.[335]

In Scotland Dight found the same pattern of age difference as analysed above. Women generally started drinking regularly at a later age than men. Women between 17 and 30 years had started at a mean age of 18.9, men only some months earlier, namely at 18.2. The older generation had started drinking regularly at a later age than the young informants. The mean age of men, who were 51 years or older, had been 25.0 and the mean age of women even 34.3. Apart from the fact that the age of taking up regular drinking had decreased over the decades, women of the older generation had started drinking regularly nearly ten years later than men whereas the women of the younger generation were only 0.7 years behind the opposite sex.[336]

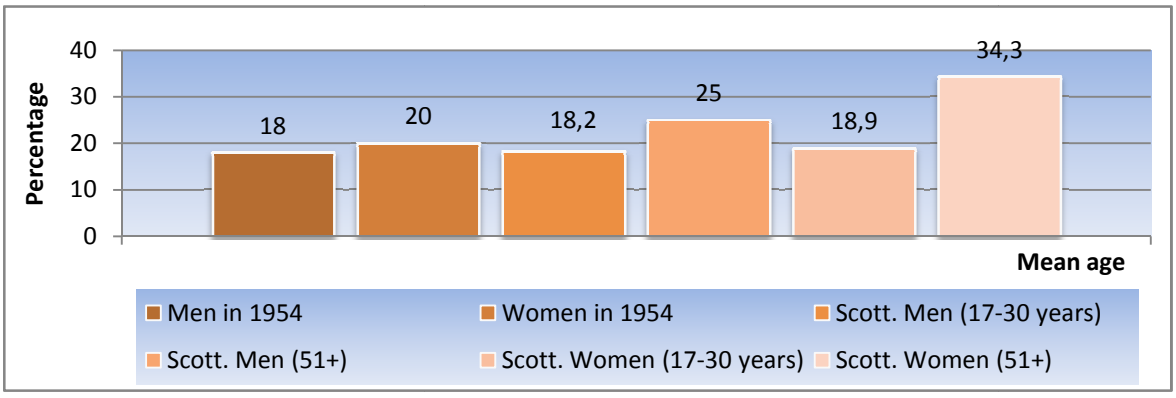

Diagram 5: Mean age at which men and women started drinking regularly, England 1954 and Scotland 1972

A feeling of social obligation or conformity was the main reason for both sexes to start drinking as a normal behaviour, *"All my friends were drinking – it was the done thing"*.[337] Men, moreover, mentioned their start in the forces and women celebrations or special occasions for beginning to drink regularly. Further motives were drinking in connection with other activities, for instance, after a game of football, drinking as the only leisure activity available, drinking in order to be 'less shy' or drinking because they were bored.[338]

[335] Mass-Observation, *Drinking Habits of Young People*, pp. 2-5.
[336] Dight, *Scottish drinking habits*, pp. 89-91.
[337] Ibid, p. 97.
[338] Hawker, *Adolescents and Alcohol*, p. 42; Dight, *Scottish drinking habits*, pp. 97-8.

What were the reasons that the age at which young people consumed their first drink or started drinking regularly decreased significantly in the twentieth century although legislation had limited children's presence in public houses and access to alcohol? First of all, home consumption increased considerably after the Second World War, in particular after the introduction of the supermarket licence in 1961 (for a detailed discussion on home consumption see: Chapter 5.2.), which simplified children's access to alcohol at home. Especially girls were offered their first drink at home by relatives, for instance at Christmas. Most of the parents did not discourage their boys and girls' drinking as long as it was moderate. Many mothers even encouraged their sons to drink as it was a manly thing to do if they wanted to be socially accepted (cf.: Chapter on the 'Masculine Republic').[339] Secondly, the 'bulge generation' of the 1960s and 1970s possessed more time and money. Hence, they could afford to take up drinking regularly at an earlier age than their parents. Being aware of the young generation's affluence, the Trade attempted to attract this specific clientele by adapting their premises and by successfully directing alcohol advertisement at them (for a detailed discussion on the 'bulge generation' and on alcohol advertisement see: Chapters 5.2. and 9).

[339] Hawker, *Adolescents and Alcohol*, pp. 39-40; Mass-Observation, *Drinking Habits of Young People*, pp. 2-3; Waterson, 'Gender divisions', p. 178; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, p. 185.

7

HABITUAL DRUNKARDS

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, panic about the degeneration of the "*imperial race*"[340] led drunkenness to be seen as a hereditary defect that would dangerously affect the health of the whole nation (cf.: Chapter 1.3.).[341] Hence, parliamentary acts were passed and inebriate reformatories established in order to bring habitual drunkenness under control.

The **Habitual Drunkards Act of 1879** was the first step towards establishing residential treatment which should have offered an alternative to a short prison sentence for habitual drunkards. Patients entered private homes or retreats either voluntarily or were sent there by friends or relatives, who could no longer put up with their chronic alcoholism.[342] These private patients were both willing to pay and to give up their personal freedom for the time of their treatment. In order to avoid the abuse of this Act by husbands who wanted to get rid of their wives (or the other way round),[343] the term 'habitual drunkard' was defined and included in this Act as follows:

> *"A habitual drunkard is defined to be a person who, not being a lunatic, is, by reason of habitual intemperance, at times dangerous to himself or others, or incapable of managing himself or his affairs."*[344]

This piece of legislation was made permanent by the 1888 Inebriates Act but was little used as maintenance cost made admission only possible for the wealthy, dipsomaniac gentlemen; it did, however, not address the poor, criminal, in particular female, inebriates who appeared to be the more pressing problem.[345]

For poor people their inebriety combined with their prison sentences were a vicious circle: still in prison because of their drunken habits, they could not stop thinking of alcohol and often on the day of their release, they turned to drink again until re-arrested by the

Previous page:
Plate 15: Portraits of the habitual drunkards Annie Foy, aged 43, and Eliza Norah Warner, aged 34.

[340] Lord Rosebery, leader of the liberal imperialists, 1902, quoted in: Hunt, Mellor, Turner, 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad', p. 253.
[341] Ibid, pp. 250-4; Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody*, p. 222.
[342] *Country Brewers' Gazette*, July 8th, 1878, p. 306; Shadwell, *Drink, Temperance*, p. 277.
[343] *Brewers' Journal*, July 15th, 1878, p. 195.
[344] Quoted in: ibid, January 15th, 1880, p. 8.
[345] Shadwell, *Drink, Temperance*, p. 271; Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody*, p. 231.

police.[346] In 1897 the Chief Constable of Dundee reported in front of the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws:

> *"Do you remember the case of a woman whom we found lying in the cell dead drunk, and the lieutenant told us that she had been arrested early in the day dead drunk, brought in and recovered a little; that her son had come and paid a pledge for her; that she had gone out and within an hour or so was brought back again and was lying there."*[347]

That drinking formed an important part of some poor women's lives was also testified by several affected women themselves – such as Ester Gaskell:

> *"I could not lead a virtuous life if I would … I must have drink. Such as live like me could not bear life if they did not drink. It's the only thing to keep us from suicide. If we did not drink, we could not stand the memory of what we have been, and the thought of what we are, for a day. If I go without food, and without shelter, I must have my dram. Oh! You don't know the awful night in prison for want of it."*[348]

For some people it became a monotonous regularity to go in and out of prison.[349] In 1897 Lady Henry Somerset informed the Royal Commission of Liquor Licensing Laws of a woman who had been convicted 288 times before being sent to Duxhurst, an Inebriates' Home, which had been established by Lady Somerset in Surrey. Lady Somerset and Dr. Norman Kerr, President of the Society for the Study of Inebriety, stressed that a one-to-three-month prison sentence as treatment for habitual drunkards was highly ineffective. The Royal Commission concluded that for habitual drunkards the only hope to turn sober was a long-term sentence in a public institution of at least one year.[350]

Hence, the **1898 Inebriates Act** was introduced which empowered local authorities to established State and Certified Inebriate Reformatories to cure habitual drunkards over a two- to three-year period – instead of a short stay at prison. These reformatories were for those people who had been convicted to long-term treatment by magistrates in court. In contrast to the Habitual Drunkards Act of 1879, it was not their free will to enter these establishments. This Act of 1898 applied to two groups, namely to the habitual drunkards

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[346] Hunt, Mellor, Turner, 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad', pp. 247-8; Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody*, p. 231-2.
[347] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, Scotland, November 3rd, 1897, sec. 44,297.
[348] Ester Gaskell from *Mary Barton*, quoted in: Finnegan, *Poverty and Prostitution*, pp. 142-3.
[349] See J. J. Pitcairn's statement who, as an assistant surgeon at Holloway and Newgate prisons, estimated 90 per cent of the female inmates were imprisoned because of drink (Hunt, Mellor, Turner, 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad', pp. 247-8).
[350] Ibid, p. 245; *Minutes of Royal Commission of Liquor Licensing Laws*, May 25th, 1897, sec. 31,302, sec. 31,305, sec. 74,155; Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody*, pp. 231-2.

(Section 2 of the Act) and to those people who had committed a serious crime under the influence of drink (Section 1 of the Act).[351]

Surprisingly, the temperance movement did not support this Act. The reason was that their policy tended to ignore chronic alcoholics who could hardly be converted to teetotalism. Their solution – if some of the campaigners addressed these problems – was to restrict alcohol; if there was no alcohol, there would be no habitual drunkards. Medical and scientific men, inter alia Dr. Norman Kerr, opposed this view. They recognised chronic inebriety as a disease which could not merely be treated morally. Since the 1870s Kerr and many of his colleagues had been claiming that habitual drunkards could be offered a realistic possibility of a cure if medical treatment replaced imprisonment.[352]

Certified Inebriate Reformatories were managed by local authorities and funded by the central government, local authorities and/or charitable donations. The first were set up and run by philanthropic bodies. In 1899 the Royal Victoria Homes at Brenty and Horfield were established for the treatment of 75 women committed under the Act. In the late autumn of 1902 the only **two State Inebriate Reformatories**, which were directly financed by the government, were opened; one for men at Warwick prison and one for women at Aylesbury prison. Both were under control of the prison commissioners. There only those should originally be treated that had been convicted under Section 1 of the Act for committing a serious crime whilst being drunk because they were assumed to be more difficult to manage. These two State Reformatories were soon overcrowded as also badly behaved, violent and rather problematic patients were sent there who should rather have been treated in mental hospitals.[353] Both types of reformatories were established in rural surroundings to have some distance from city life which was often blamed for excessive drinking. The aim was a lasting change of both behaviour and attitude of the inmates with the help of regular routine, hard work and a simple but sufficient diet which was only interrupted by bible reading and religious services.[354]

[351] Hunt, Mellor, Turner, 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad', pp. 244-6.
[352] For details on Dr. Norman Kerr's carreer see: Olsen, 'Physician heal thyself', pp. 1173-4.
Minutes of Royal Commission of Liquor Licensing Laws, July 20th, 1898, sec. 74,152-6; Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody*, pp. 220-2, p. 232.
[353] Hunt, Mellor, Turner, 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad', p. 245; Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody*, p. 235.
[354] Hunt, Mellor, Turner, 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad', p. 245.

This experiment was, however, **not popular** and lasted only from the introduction of the 1898 Inebriates Act to the beginning of the First World War; in total, merely 14 reformatories dealing with 4,590 inmates were established compared to annually 200,000 proceedings against drunkenness in England and Wales (cf.: Table IV and Diagram IV). One of the main reasons why this Act was permanently under used was that the local authorities had to contribute towards the maintenance costs of the inmates. The costs varied from 3s. 6d. at the Royal Victoria Homes (yet, they only reserved seven beds at this price for those local authorities who had contributed £1,000 to the original cost of establishment) to 7s. per head per week at Duxhurst or St. Joseph's.[355] Thus, it does not surprise that habitual drunkards had had several convictions of drunkenness and disorderly conduct before the magistrates sent them to reformatories. In 1897 the Head Constable of Liverpool informed the 1896-7 Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws about a woman who had been convicted 167 times without receiving a treatment in a reformatory.[356]

When looking at the figures of committals to reformatories in greater detail, the **predominance of women** surprises; in total, 3,741 inmates or 81 per cent were female.[357] One argument for this high proportion of women in reformatories, which was often used by temperance reformers and by Dr. Norman Kerr, was that mortality rates from chronic alcoholism in the Registrar-General's returns had increased more rapidly among women than men (cf.: Table III and Diagram III).[358] The problem with these statistics is that they do not fully indicate all deaths from alcohol. They were based on the certificates of the causes of death filled in by medical practitioners who rather gave their own opinions and not hard facts on causes of mortality. Their opinions depended on their knowledge but also on the definition of various medical terms. Cirrhosis of the liver was well defined whereas chronic alcoholism was a rather vague term. Hence, practitioners interpreted the latter differently. Sir George Newman, Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health and of the Board of Education, gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Licensing in 1929,

> *"It is true we have only a handful of death certificates on showing death was due to alcoholism. Last year the number was 863 (1928). What is 863 out of 460,000 (total*

[355] Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody*, p. 233 (footnote 47).
[356] *Minutes of Royal Commission of Liquor Licensing Laws*, April 13th, 1897, sec. 26,427.
[357] Hunt, Mellor, Turner, 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad', p. 246.
[358] *Minutes of Royal Commission of Liquor Licensing Laws*, July 20th, 1898, sec. 74,054-62.

> *deaths)? … But we have only got comparatively few certificates for syphilis, one of the most mortal and killing diseases that affect the human body. We have not got many certificates for measles, only 4,300. … We had 56,000 certificates last year from cancer. Am I to say that cancer on that account is a greater scourge to a nation's health and longevity and capacity for enjoyment of life than alcoholism or syphilis or measles? That would be a difficult thing to say."*[359]

In 1924 Dr. T. H. C. Stevenson, Superintendent of Statistics at the General Register Office, Somerset House, wrote in the *Practitioner*,

> *"Alcohol contributes to innumerable deaths for which it is not immediately and primarily responsible, and which are rightly assigned to other causes. Deaths from pneumonia of alcoholic persons or from syphilis of persons infected as a result of alcoholic excess form instances of this which might be multiplied indefinitely."*[360]

As already mentioned above, it was also a fact that inebriety was rather studied as a disease in the later years of the nineteenth century so that practitioners were no longer reluctant to see alcohol as a cause of death.[361]

It is also impossible to explain the high proportion of women in reformatories with the help of the number of drunken offences as the percentage of proceedings against men was much higher than against women. In 1900, 76 per cent or 155,751 proceedings of drunkenness were reported against men in England and Wales compared to 24 per cent or 48,598 proceedings against women (cf.: Table IV and Diagram IV). It must be borne in mind that these figures do not represent the proportion of drunkards to the population as some offenders were convicted several times in the course of a year. The Chief Constable of the City of Aberdeen reported of a woman who had been convicted 41 times within the year 1896.[362]

Evidently, figures on alcohol mortality or drunkenness convictions do not explain the predominance of female inmates in reformatories. What were the genuine reasons for this high proportion of women? Firstly, no evidence can be found in the works of contemporary writers – they seemed to have accepted this majority of inebriate women as a natural phenomenon which was also stressed by Captain John William Nott Bower, Head

[359] Sir George Newman quoted in: Wilson, *Alcohol and Nation*, pp. 277-8.
[360] Dr. T. H. C. Stevenson quoted in: ibid, p. 278.
[361] Shadwell, *Drink, Temperance*, pp. 78-81; Wilson, *Alcohol and Nation*, pp. 277-8.
[362] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, Scotland, November 23rd, 1897, sec. 45,752-3; Wilson, *Alcohol and Nation*, p. 288.

Constable of Liverpool, in front of the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws in 1897:

> *"Another factor that I would like to mention with regard to female drunkenness is that habitual drunkenness of a pronounced character appears to be almost confined to females. During the past 10 years, out of the total number of persons apprehended for drunkenness, the males considerably outnumbered the females; but, when we come to take the figures of those who are apprehended five or more times in the 10 years, it appears that there are 1,047 males to 1,675 females; apprehended 10 times or more, 202 males and 580 females; apprehended 20 times or more, 25 males and 160 females; 30 times or more, 4 males and 70 females; 40 times or more, 1 male and 32 females; 50 times or more, no male and 14 females; and one woman was apprehended no fewer than 167 times in the 10 years."*[363]

Another significant reason was that magistrates rather sentenced female than male inebriates as they regarded men as 'bread-winners'. Convicting a family father to a longer treatment in a reformatory would have left his wife and children destitute. If a mother was, however, a habitual drunkard, magistrates more likely sent her to a reformatory as they thought the family connection already cut loose.[364]

In the third place, women were, generally, not regarded as autonomous adults but as feeble-minded creatures for whom the men, i. e. their fathers, husbands or the magistrates, had to decide what was best for them.[365] Fourthly, according to Hunt, Mellor and Turner, it was more difficult for women than men to pay the fines required for release after arrest. Thus, they rather accepted the treatment in a reformatory as an alternative to a much shorter prison sentence.[366]

A further reason was that despite all statistical evidence the allegedly increasing number of working-class women drinking in public houses was a widely-accepted belief in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This was also emphasised by the regular laments of contemporary writers. In his final volume *Life and Labour of the London Poor* Charles Booth criticised the emancipation of women who invaded the men-dominated pubs and neglected their domestic duties which, consequently, made the husbands also go out drinking in order to escape the miserable and uncomfortable homes.[367] The temperance

[363] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, April 13th, 1897, sec. 26,322.
[364] Hunt, Mellor, Turner, 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad', pp. 249-50; Radzinowicz, *History of English Criminal Law*, p. 309.
[365] Hunt, Mellor, Turner, 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad', p. 250, p. 257.
[366] Ibid, p. 249.
[367] Booth, *Life and Labour*, pp. 59-69, pp. 74-5.

reformer Shadwell warned that the imitation of masculine ways by frequenting drinking places would bring ruin on those women. On the contrary, he stated in the same chapter that a higher number of women had been used to entering drinking places in the past. Shadwell referred to Mr. Moore's public-house census in 1834 where out of a daily average of 2,749 customers per public house 1,114 had been female (cf.: Chapter 1.3.).[368]

Fifthly, intoxicated women were generally more publicly noticed than drunk men although less women than men drank excessively (compare the figures for the proceedings against drunkenness in Table IV and Diagram IV). The inspector for reformatories R. W. Branthwaite put this different effect of alcohol on women down to the behavioural differences:

> *"A drunken women nearly always becomes hysterical, laughs or dances, or sits on the pavement and screams. … Hysterical frenzy is the exception rather than the rule in the case of drunken men."*[369]

Two of the most infamous habitual female inebriates were Jane Cakebread, well-known for her 278 court appearances and her bizarre behaviour, and Tottie Fay, who became famous for her court appearances in ball gowns and satin slippers. Especially female inebriates with such eccentricities received considerable press coverage which, consequently, led to a kind of 'moral panic' – another reason why such a high number of women were sent to reformatories.[370]

The last explanation for the predominance of female habitual drunkards in reformatories was, as already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter and in Chapter 1.3., a fear of the degeneration of the 'imperial race' that was growing towards the end of the nineteenth century. Drunkenness was not merely seen as a sickness but as a hereditary defect that would produce physical and mental degeneracy in children. Many academics as well as the public were rather concerned about maternal inebriety. According to Dr. Norman Kerr, "… *the female parent is the more general transmitter of the hereditary alcoholic taint",*[371] in particular, when the mother was drunk during conception or if she continued to drink during pregnancy. As example, the doctor referred to an inebriate lady in Ireland whose

[368] Shadwell, *Drink, Temperance*, pp. 76-7, pp. 88-9.
[369] Report of the Inspector under the Inebriates Act for the year 1909, quoted in: Hunt, Mellor, Turner, 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad', p. 248.
[370] Radzinowicz, *History of English Criminal Law*, p. 301; Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody*, pp. 228-9.
[371] Quoted in: ibid, p. 222.

two sons, two grandsons and three great-grandsons had also turned into drunkards.[372] The growing concern of hereditary alcoholism was encouraged by the unfit condition of the recruits for the Boer War and by the declining birth rates amongst the middle classes in comparison to the working class. In certified inebriate reformatories the average number of births per woman (excluding those who were childless) was 6.4 in 1905 while the average figure for the whole population was just over 4.[373] Consequently, each inebriate mother appeared to be a major source of physical or mental deterioration. These fears of national degeneration even led to eugenic conclusions. The Eugenics Education Society suggested detaining female inebriates until they reached menopause.[374]

According to Richard Soloway, the fears of racial degeneration were simply mixed up with the poor standards of living and health especially in the urban working-class areas.[375] The Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration reported in July 1903 that most children were born healthy but that deterioration followed as a result of the impoverished conditions in which they were raised such as neglect, malnutrition, slum housing, fetid air, contaminated water, minimal hygiene, excessive drinking and the absence of physical training. In 1906 the Liberal government implemented some of the Inter-Departmental Committee's recommendations – it had been too expensive for the Unionist government in 1903 – and provided school meals and medical inspection for school children. Moreover, middle-class women, who were dissatisfied with a purely domestic life, gave working-class women lessons in mother craft – but rarely meals for the malnourished expectant mothers – as those women were thought ignorant and neglectful of the skills of home-making.[376]

The **1902 Licensing Act** amended the law on drunkenness and made it an offence to be drunk and incapable in public places. It was, furthermore, an offence for a drunken person to be found in a public house or public place whilst being in charge of a child under the age of seven. This Act also aimed to protect the wives and husbands of habitual drunkards (Section 5 of this Act), yet some abused this piece of legislation in order to get rid of their spouses. A desperate husband of a 50-year-old woman, who had been convicted 20 times

[372] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, July 20th, 1898, sec. 74,072-83.
[373] Soloway, 'Race Deterioration in England', p. 137; Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody*, p. 224.
[374] Hunt, Mellor, Turner, 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad', pp. 250-4; Radzinowicz, *History of English Criminal Law*, pp. 291-2; Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody*, pp. 222-4.
[375] Soloway, 'Race Deterioration in England', p. 137.
[376] Hunt, Mellor, Turner, 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad', pp. 254-5; Soloway, 'Race Deterioration in England', pp. 149-52.

before, told a magistrate at Clerkenwell, *"Take her away from me for God's sake. … Do as you like with her. Burn her!"*[377] Additionally, habitual drunkards were prohibited from purchasing intoxicating liquor. Those were people who had been convicted under the 1898 Inebriates Act and who had been convicted three times within the last twelve months, or nine times in total. The Court placed habitual drunkards on a **black list** and if anybody served intoxicating liquor to a black-listed man or woman, both that person and the customer were fined. The latter was liable to a fine not exceeding 20 shillings for the first offence and for any subsequent one 40 shillings. Anyone selling intoxicating liquor to a black-listed person was liable to a fine not exceeding ten pounds for the first offence and for succeeding cases twenty pounds.

The Trade approved of the 1902 Licensing Act. Critics claimed that in small towns and villages this law would work perfectly, the identification of black-listed persons was, however, impossible in large towns. One argument was that male drunkards could cheat publicans by growing or removing beards. So according to the law, the police had to inform the publicans of those drinking places the black-listed offenders were known to frequent or they supplied a list with names and photos. These lists or photographs again contained a high proportion of women (see the pictures on the front page of this chapter).[378]

The high expectations of curing habitual drunkards in reformatories were not achieved. The most drastic evidence was supplied by the London County Council's Farmfield Reformatory in 1911 where only 19 per cent of inebriates were diagnosed curable. For the local authorities as well as for the government the high costs of reformatories were no longer justified. The 1898 Inebriates Act was regarded as an instrument to keep drunkards off the streets. Additionally, the public started to criticise the incarceration of people. Inspector Branthwaite concluded in his 1912 report that further progress with the treatment of habitual drunkards in reformatories was improbable as the magistrates ignored the Inebriates Act and as the **success of these treatments was doubted**. *"It can hardly be said that the committal of 565 cases under Section 1 during the 14 years represents its value or its application to the extent intended by the legislative."*[379] The parliament failed to pass a

[377] Quoted in: Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, p. 16.
[378] *Country Brewers' Gazette*, March 28th, 1901, pp. 226-7; September 12th, 1901, p. 676; January 29th,1903, p. 85; Mackenzie, *Paterson's Licensing Acts*, pp. 221-67; Wilson, *Alcohol and Nation*, p. 14.
[379] Branthwaite quoted in: Hunt, Mellor, Turner, 'Wretched, hatless and miserably clad', pp. 264-5.

new Inebriates Bill before the end of the session in 1914 but the final blow for these reformatories came when the London County Council, which dealt with the largest proportion of cases, ceased to administer the 1898 Act on July 11th, 1914. By 1921 the institutions had all closed down.[380]

The reformatory experiment was a failure. On the one hand, not alcohol addicts of both sexes were cured but mainly females because they were regarded as moral offenders. On the other hand, little was known about therapies for alcoholics so the female inebriates were put in detention and morally reformed. Moreover, maintenance costs of the Inebriate Reformatories were too high for the local authorities and the government. With the beginning of World War One contemporaries were no longer concerned about an increasing female intemperance, habitual drunkards or the degeneration of the British 'race' but they feared the enemy and intemperance in ordnance areas, such as Carlisle or Enfield Lock (cf.: Chapters 2.1. and 2.2.). Also women's position in society began to transform fundamentally in the First World War. As they replaced a high number of men in their jobs and in their families, they began to emancipate and were no longer regarded as feeble-minded creatures. Even so, drunkenness among men was still more tolerated by society than drunkenness among women which was considered a disgrace.

[380] Radzinowicz, *History of English Criminal Law*, pp. 309-15; Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody*, pp. 261-3.

8

PROSTITUTES IN PUBLIC HOUSES

THE GREAT SOCIAL EVIL.

TIME:—Midnight. A Sketch not a Hundred Miles from the Haymarket.

Bella. "AH! FANNY! HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN *GAY?*"

In the 'masculine republic' any unescorted woman generally risked being accosted as a prostitute. Since the 1869 and 1872 Licensing Acts, however, **prostitutes hardly ever used public houses for commercial sex**. The former Act permitted local authorities to close beerhouses which harboured prostitutes. The latter Act made brothel-keeping the most serious offence, providing for forfeiture of the justice's licence and permanent disqualification from holding one. It was also an offence to permit reputed prostitutes, whether or not their purpose was prostitution, to frequent licensed premises except to obtain 'reasonable refreshment'.[381] In other words, the threat of losing the valuable licence made publicans ban prostitutes effectively from their premises.

In 1896, for example, Thomas Calanan, a landlord in Plymouth, appealed against a fine as well as costs and an endorsement of his licence. He was convicted of permitting women of bad character to remain longer on his premises than necessary for refreshments. Calanan, who had a sign in his bar that requested women not to remain for more than ten minutes, won his case as every woman had the right to have a drink and enjoy the premises as long as she did not carry on with her business.[382] A similar case happened to Herbert Francis Sharpe in Liverpool in 1891. The Chief Constable objected to the renewal of his licence because the public house was said to be a habitual resort of prostitutes. Sharpe appealed, so some magistrates visited this public house and once found seventeen prostitutes at the same time on the premises who did obviously not consume any refreshments.[383] In 1948 a manageress complained that without the information of customers or the police she did not always recognise a convicted prostitute.[384]

Before the introduction of the 1869 and 1872 Licensing Acts, many publicans had encouraged prostitution as it had brought additional custom, in particular near **docks**, in **garrison towns** and around **barracks**. In London, for instance, the number of public houses was higher outside Wellington and Knightsbridge Barracks, near the London Docks and around Wembley. In those areas, occupied by soldiers, servicemen, sailors and male immigrants, the public house, a 'masculine republic', was a substitute for family and friends. Publicans did not only offer food, warmth and companionship, they also recognised the men's sexual urges. According to Brian Harrison, the

[381] Jennings, *Local*, p. 115.
[382] *Brewer's Journal*, April 15th, 1896, pp. 222-3.
[383] *Country Brewers' Gazette*, June 9th, 1892, pp. 395-6.
[384] Mass-Observation, *Lola Meichtry's Report 'Drinking'*, 1948, p. 23.

> *"… alliance between publican and prostitute was natural: the publican presided over a meeting place where human relations of all kinds were established, sold a powerful solvent of barriers between individuals, and was generally associated with recreation and fun. His house was as suitable a 'house of call' for prostitutes as for any other trade."*[385]

This 'inevitable' satisfaction of sexual needs legitimised the provision of prostitutes on the premises and was even enforced by specific regulations as certain working men were debarred from marriage until an appropriate age and servicemen were discouraged from marriage by Government statutes.[386]

In Aldershot, a great military centre, prostitutes either rented from the publican a room on the premises, or a nearby or adjacent cottage on the understanding that they would frequent their taprooms to attract male customers. They were expected to help the landlords in selling liquor by inducing the customers to drink and by accepting any drink offered to them. Consequently, many women acquired the habit of drinking. Even before the Contagious Diseases Acts, publicans in Aldershot, who were concerned about maintaining their trade in prostitutes, employed surgeons to ensure that the women in their houses were certified clean. Before a parliamentary enquiry in 1868 a witness described a 'notorious house' in Aldershot,

> *"… we at length reached a long room, furnished with chairs, forms, and narrow tables, and where, among some 200 soldiers, there were probably about 35 to 40 women. At our end the fiddler was playing on his instrument a lively tune, to which a few couples were dancing a merry accompaniment. Three to four persons, acting as waiters, were briskly engaged in seeking and attending to orders, bringing in beer, &c, which was shared by the soldiers with their female companions who either sat by their sides, or, as was more frequently the case, on their knees. But, amidst all the loud talking, drinking, and singing, I heard no quarrelsome language used … everyone appeared in good humour."*[387]

As street prostitution was prohibited in Aldershot, *"public rooms … were crowded with soldiers and women".*[388] The snugs of public houses were especially unpopular with magistrates as they suspected prostitutes to solicit their trade there(for more information about snugs see: Chapter 10.1.).[389] In other areas, for example in London, the so-called

[385] Harrison, *Drink & Victorians*, p. 50.
[386] Binny, 'Thieves and Swindlers', pp. 363-6; Harrison, *Drink & Victorians*, p. 50, p. 321; Jennings, *Local*, pp. 113-4; Mayhew, Hemyng, 'Prostitute Class', pp. 226-36; Walkowitz, *Prostitution*, p. 24, p. 156.
[387] Quoted in: Harrison, *Drink & Victorians*, p. 321.
[388] Acton, *Prostitution*, p. 25.
[389] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, 1897, sec. 8,312, sec. 8,754, sec. 17,473, sec. 17,586; Walkowitz, *Prostitution*, p. 156.

soldiers' women visited low public-houses where they sat amongst drinking soldiers. As those girls lived in great poverty, they even took drunken men to their rooms where they offered them some more liquor and waited until they had fallen asleep in order to rob them.[390]

The **Contagious Diseases Acts** of 1864, 1866 and 1869 were passed after concern over the high levels of venereal diseases among enlisted men in garrison towns and ports. Under the Acts, a woman could be identified as 'common prostitute' and had to undergo a mandatory, fortnightly medical examination. If she was suffering from gonorrhoea or syphilis, she had to be interned in a certified lock hospital for a period not to exceed nine months. No provision was, however, made for the examination of the prostitutes' clientele. This became one of the many points of contention in a campaign to repeal the Acts, which was led by Josephine Elizabeth Butler, a British feminist. The women eventually succeeded with their campaign and the acts were repealed between 1870 and 1886.[391]

In Victorian England prostitutes were rather found in cities and the metropolis. In Portsmouth, for instance, the landlord of the 'Battle of Inkerman' specialised in the provision of young girls. Hence, his public house became known as the 'Infant School'. In London prostitutes visited the area around Haymarket, Regent Street, Leicester Square, Coventry Street, Panton Street and Piccadilly. The prostitutes whose costumers were of lower ranks or who lived only partially of prostitution were seen in the neighbourhood of the Bank of England, at Islington, near the 'Angel Tavern', in the City Road, New North Road, but also at traffic junctions, such as Paddington, King's Cross or at the Elephant and Castle. Many brothels were situated in the West End and the prostitutes tried to attract attention by walking along the Strand and Holborn and by patronising taverns and gin - places.[392] A prostitute, who lived in London in the first half of the nineteenth century, reported,

[390] Acton, *Prostitution*, pp. 24-5; Binny, 'Thieves and Swindlers', pp. 363-6; Harrison, *Drink & Victorians*, p. 50, p. 321; Jennings, *Local*, p. 114; Walkowitz, *Prostitution*, p. 24, p. 156.
[391] Thane, 'Victorian Women', p. 186; Walkowitz, *Prostitution*, pp. 1-3.
[392] Acton, *Prostitution*, p. 19; Binny, 'Thieves and Swindlers', pp. 335-62; Fisher, *Prostitution and the Victorians"*, p. xxv-vi; Jennings, *Local*, p. 114; Mayhew, Hemyng, 'Prostitute Class', p. 213, p. 335.

> *"What are my habits? Why, if I have no letters or visits from any of my friends, I get up about four o'clock, dress ("en dishabille") and dine; after that I may walk about the streets for an hour or two, and pick up any I am fortunate enough to meet with, that is if I want money; afterwards I go to the Holborn, dance a little, and if any one likes me I take him home with me, if not I go to the Haymarket and wander from one café to another, from Sally's to the Carlton, from Barn's to Sam's, and if I find no one there I go, if I feel inclined, to the divans. I like the Grand Turkish best, but you don't as a rule find good men in any of the divans."*[393]

In his survey on London Charles Booth never referred to prostitutes frequenting public houses, he rather observed them walking on the streets, for instance on Oxford Street or Tottenham Court Road. They were particularly visible in the evenings, between seven and eight p.m., when about twenty women were walking a certain street. Prostitutes also moved from the Strand to Piccadilly as the magistrate of the first district had imposed heavier sentences than the latter magistrate. Prostitutes and even brothels were also common around railway stations such as King's Cross. On the contrary, the number of prostitutes had decreased in several London areas.[394]

Sources on public houses harbouring prostitutes in the twentieth century are scarce as prostitutes were banned from soliciting their trade in public houses. Many publicans had put up the following notice on their premises, *"Ladies will not be served unless accompanied by a gentleman."*[395] In 1938 Mass-Observation investigators detected only some professional prostitutes in a few poorly maintained public houses in the town centre of Bolton. *"Semi-professional"* or *"amateur prostitutes"*[396] were more commonly found in Bolton pubs. The men bought them some drinks and so these girls went home with them. The border between commercial and casual sex was also blurred in the Second World War. According to Mass-Observation, *"extremely young girls"*[397] were present in those drinking places that were regularly frequented by Allied troops. In London these girls were not classed as prostitutes as they seemed to be merely interested in having an amusing evening in the West End – at the expense of the soldiers. In dock areas in Northern ports sexual transactions were more openly conducted and on an open financial basis. Naval ratings were popular among women as they earned more money than other servicemen or

[393] Quoted in: Mayhew, Hemyng, 'Prostitute Class', p. 219.
[394] Booth Online Archive, http://www.booth.lse.ac.uk, B353, p. 175; B354, pp. 164-5; B355, pp. 35-7; B355, 146-7; B358, pp. 34-5; B358, pp, 140-1; B359, 212-3; B362, pp. 230-1; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, July 5th, 1898, sec. 71,579.
[395] *Liquor Licensing: Public house licensees refusing to serve women unaccompanied by gentleman* (1906 – 1945); Mass-Observation, *Lola Meichtry's Report 'Drinking'*, p. 27.
[396] Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, p. 267.
[397] Mass-Observation, *Juvenile Drinking*, p. 29.

civilians.[398] In a pub patronised by poorer-class people near a port in the North of England, the following conversation took place between a young English girl and a Dutch or Norwegian naval rating, between 20 to 25 years:

> *"Girl: It's nice to have met you darling, how much leave have you got?*
> *N.R.: Fourteen days. (broken English)*
> *Girl: Would you like to come and stay with me for the night? I'll be a good little wife to you and you can have it hot and strong.*
> *N.R.: How much money will you want from me if I come?"*[399]

Drink was closely associated with **prostitution**. In the mid-nineteenth century alcohol was thought to stimulate the animal passions while lowering the morale so that *"a woman that drinks would do anything."*[400] Temperance reformers stressed that most prostitutes and in many cases their customers were habitual drunkards or periodically under the influence of alcohol. Before the introduction of the 1869 and 1872 Licensing Acts, prostitutes met their customers in drinking places and induced them to drink alcohol. Conservative men, such as Rev. Wilson Stuart, blamed prostitutes not only for their personal consumption of alcohol but for using alcohol as a stimulus in order to seduce helpless men,

> *"Their trade is so awful that they could not carry on without it as a narcotic. They go to public houses because they know that there is sold at public houses alcohol which takes away self-control and makes men easy victims: alcohol is an aphrodisiac."*[401]

Some prostitutes also admitted that they used alcohol as a narcotic:

> *"When I am sad I drink," a woman once said to us. "I'm sad very often, although I appear to be what you call reckless. … and when we think that we have fallen … there's nothing like gin to deaden the feelings."*[402]

> *"By and by the unfortunate grows a hardened prostitute; and then, what made her so, keeps her so … Drink then becomes the necessary to maintain the prostitution and must be continued to provide the drink. Terrible reciprocity!"*[403]

Another reason why some women turned to prostitution was the urge to finance their alcohol addiction (cf.: Chapter 7).[404]

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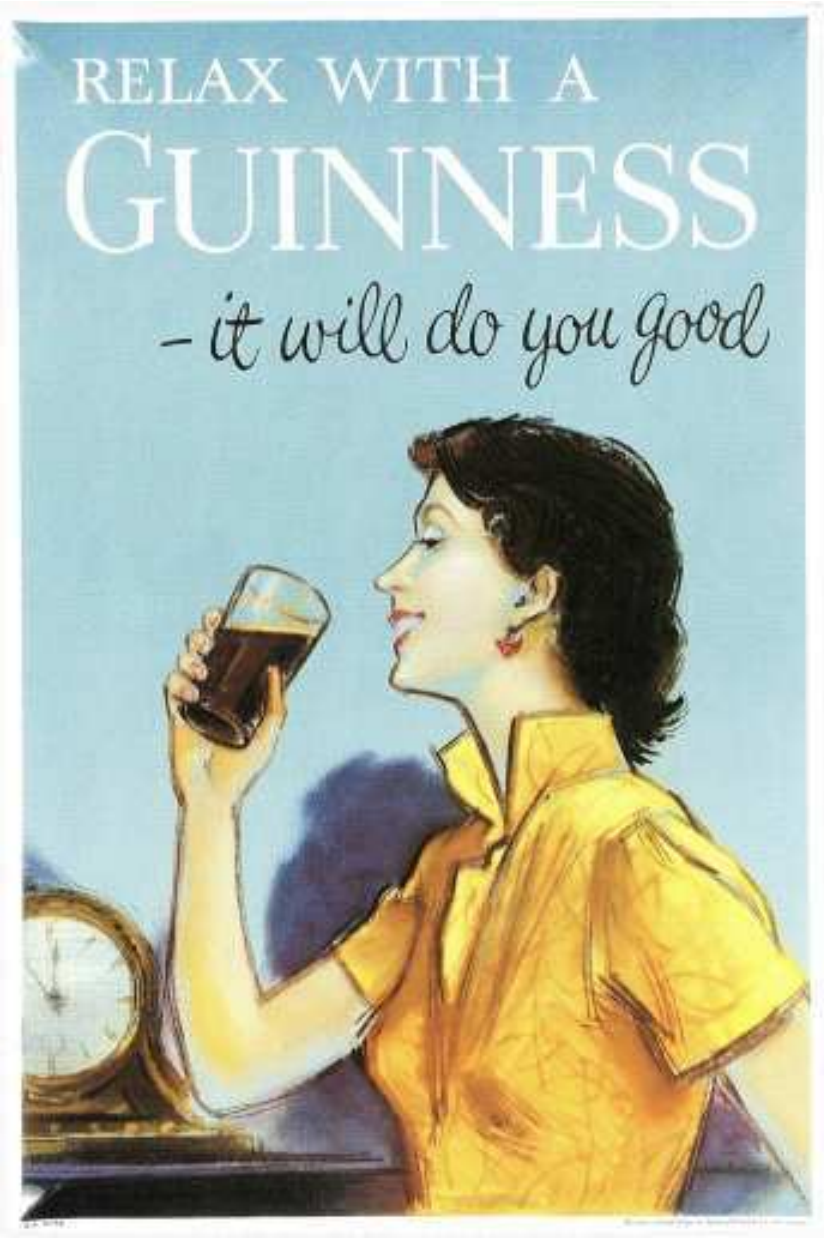
[398] *Liquor Licensing: Public house licensees refusing to serve women unaccompanied by gentleman* (1906 – 1945); Mass-Observation, *Blaina survey 1947-48*; Mass-Observation, *Juvenile Drinking*, pp. 29-34; Mass-Observation, *Lola Meichtry's Report 'Drinking'*, pp. 25-7; Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, pp. 266-8.
[399] Mass-Observation, *Juvenile Drinking*, p. 33.
[400] Quoted in: Bartley, *Prostitution*, p. 6.
[401] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, May 22nd, 1930, sec. 21,999.
[402] Mayhew, Hemyng, 'Prostitute Class', p. 219.
[403] Miller, J., *Prostitution – Its Cause and Cure*, (pamphlet, 1959), quoted in: Finnegan, *Poverty and Prostitution*, pp. 142-3.

To sum up briefly, prostitutes mainly solicited their trade in public houses in towns, in particular in port or garrison towns. The 1869 and 1872 Licensing Acts, however, made it an offence for the prostitutes (and the publicans) to solicit their trade on licensed premises. Consequently, their presence in public houses decreased considerably.

[404] Bartley, *Prostitution*, p. 6; Finnegan, *Poverty and Prostitution*, p. 142-5; Mass-Observation, *Liverpool Report*, September 1918; Mayhew, Hemyng, 'Prostitute Class', p. 219; *Royal Commission on Licensing*, July 30th, 1930, sec. 34,423 (14).

9

WOMEN AND ALCOHOL ADVERTISEMENT



In 1933 the director of the Brewers' Society, Sir Edgar Sanders, gave a notable speech at a meeting of the Midland Counties Wholesale Brewers Association in Birmingham. According to Williams and Brake, it was this famous speech that marked the specific origin of modern liquid advertising. Edgar Sanders claimed that since 1920 the consumption of beer in Britain had been falling considerably due to depression, high unemployment and high beer duties but also due to the various counter-attractions, such as cinema, dog-racing, betting or football. He further added that the main customers of the public houses were elderly and middle-aged men. Thus, younger people had to be attracted if the publicans and brewers wanted to secure the future customers of both the public houses and the beer trade:

> *"If we can once attract a new customer we shall see the brewing trade run round and start the ascending scale. I am not saying that the present beer drinker should drink more, but rather that we want new customers. We want to get the beer-drinking habit instilled into thousands, almost millions, of young men who do not at present know the taste of beer. These young men, if they start with what beer they can afford to-day, as they grow up, will afford better beers to the greater advantage of the brewing industry."*[405]

Temperance reformers criticised Sander's speech and blamed brewers for damaging juveniles' lives by merely thinking of their financial advantage. Edgar Sanders as well as Sydney Nevile, however, had the vision of advertising beer collectively as popularising sherry cooperatively had already been successful. The Brewers' Society appointed the London Press Exchange as advertising agents. On December 1st, 1933 a great collective advertising campaign with the well-known slogan *"Beer is Best"* was launched. What the brewers did not realise at that time was that this cooperative venture would become one of the largest of its day which lasted nearly forty years.[406]

The campaigns sponsored by the Brewers' Society proved successful. Between 1935 and 1948 the consumption of beer increased from 106 pints per person per annum to 180 pints in 1948 (cf.: Table II and Diagram I). Yet these campaigns could not replace successful

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Previous page:
Plate 17: Guinness Showcard, 1954:

[405] Edgar Sanders quoted in: Mass-Observation, *Juvenile Drinking*, pp. 38-9.

[406] Guinness, initially, doubted that that collective campaign would be of benefit for their product as its slogan promoted beer and not stout (see: Dennison, MacDonagh, 'History of Guinness', chapter 13).
Advertising Alcohol, p. 20; *Brewers' Journal*, July 15th, 1933, p. 345; August 15th, 1933, p. 404; Mass-Observation, *Juvenile Drinking*, pp. 38-9; Nevile, *Seventy Rolling Years*, pp. 221-4; Rowntree, Lavers, *English Life and Leisure*, pp. 187-8; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 193-7; Wood, 'Beer is best', pp. 143-7.

Plate 18: Advertisement by the Brewers' Society, 1958

brand advertising, notably by Guinness as well as Bass, Ratcliff and Gretton. One reason for the prominence of the advertising of these two companies throughout Great Britain and Ireland was that both did not own any tied houses. As a consequence, their sales depended on the widest range of customers' acceptance for their products. Only if they advertised large scale, they could ensure that beer drinkers asked for their products (cf.: Table VIII).[407]

In the 1950s brewers noticed that during the Second World War many **women** had acquired the **habit of drinking**. As the brewing companies wanted to boost their sales, they wanted the women to retain their habit. So women did not only serve as subjects of their beer advertisement but became the targets of their promotion. Guinness was one of the first breweries that directed their advertisements at females as early as 1950 (see: Plate 17). Soon the Brewers' Society followed (see: Plate 18). In the 1970s women became even more interesting for liquor companies because of three main reasons. Firstly, the **emancipated, professional women** possessed money to spend and frequented drinking places regularly. In the second place, families, in particular **housewives**, could afford buying alcohol for home consumption.

[407] *Advertising Alcohol*, p. 17; Rowntree, Lavers, *English Life and Leisure*, p. 188; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 198-9.

Thirdly, the 1961 Licensing Act had facilitated access to alcohol in supermarkets (cf. Chapter 5.2.).

Advertisement directed at women reflected these trends of the 1970s and definitely, promoted the ideas and the fashionability of women drinking. In 1973 the I.P.C. Women's Magazine Group stated that alcohol advertisement in its magazines had increased by 55.17 per cent over the previous total of £271,402. In the same year Independent Television Advertising reported that the drinks trade was the fourth biggest customer for television advertising. Table wines, champagne, liqueurs and vermouths were especially popular among females. Between 1971 and 1976 the consumption of aperitifs and vermouths rose among women by 66 per cent, among men by 40 per cent. The lavish TV campaigns for these alcoholic drinks were often subject to criticism as they portrayed the people who drank these products as fashionable, successful, good-looking and sexually attractive. Additionally, women accounted for more than half of Britain's liqueur drinkers, so in 1976 Bols, the world's largest producer of liqueurs, changed their advertising from TV to women's magazines. In December 1978 *Homes and Gardens*, a magazine with a predominately female readership, published advertisements of sixteen different brands of alcoholic drink, mainly of wines, aperitifs and liqueurs.

The brewing companies also discovered women magazines as the ideal way of directing their products at females. According to Guinness, thirty per cent of their consumers were females but this brewing company aimed at increasing this share. So with J. Walter Thompson as mastermind, Guinness launched a legendary and successful advertising campaign in the mid-1970s. To attract the socially as well as financially emancipated woman they employed provocative lines such as *"Every girl should have a little black drink"* (see: Plate 10) and *"Why can't a woman be more like a man"*[408] as well as photos that sought to have an impact on the fashion-conscious seventies-girls. In 1976 Guinness spent £150,000 on advertising in women's magazines. Nevertheless, the costs for this campaign proved too high as women did not lastingly converse to Guinness.[409]

The brewers did not merely derive their profits from beer but from everything that was sold in their tied houses, so they followed a second objective by directing their

[408] Quoted in: Davies, *Guinness Advertising*, p. 116.
[409] *Advertising Alcohol*, pp. 22-3; Brake, *Alcohol*, pp. 13-4; Davies, *Guinness Advertising* , p. 98, p. 116, p. 144; Shaw, 'Causes of increasing drinking problems', pp. 18-9; Sibley, *Guinness Advertising*, p. 121, pp. 169-70; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, pp. 202-3.

advertisements towards women. If they succeeded in encouraging more women to consume beer, these **women** would also enter their tied houses more frequently. As already mentioned above, **public houses** suffered from a loss of visitors because of alternative leisure activities but especially because of the popularity of watching television at home. As the purchase beer for home consumption increased, the market share (beer only) of public houses diminished significantly. It continuously fell from over 80 per cent in 1955 to 63 per cent in 1980. The brewers realised that their profits would increase if people consumed their drinks in their pubs. Drinking there did not have to stop when the bottles were empty and popular habits, such as 'standing rounds', increased the breweries' turnovers. Thus, brewers and their publicans had to look for new attractions for the costumers. It was a well-known fact that more male consumers frequented those public houses where they could also meet women. As a result, brewers decided to open the 'masculine republic' for women, refurbished many public houses and adapted them to the needs of women. Female customers did not only attract more men. They also increased the pubs' turnover. Not only did men pay for the women's drinks, in particular, if they wanted to get in contact with them, females also favoured the more expensive drinks. Publicans preferred selling these drinks because of their higher margins.[410]

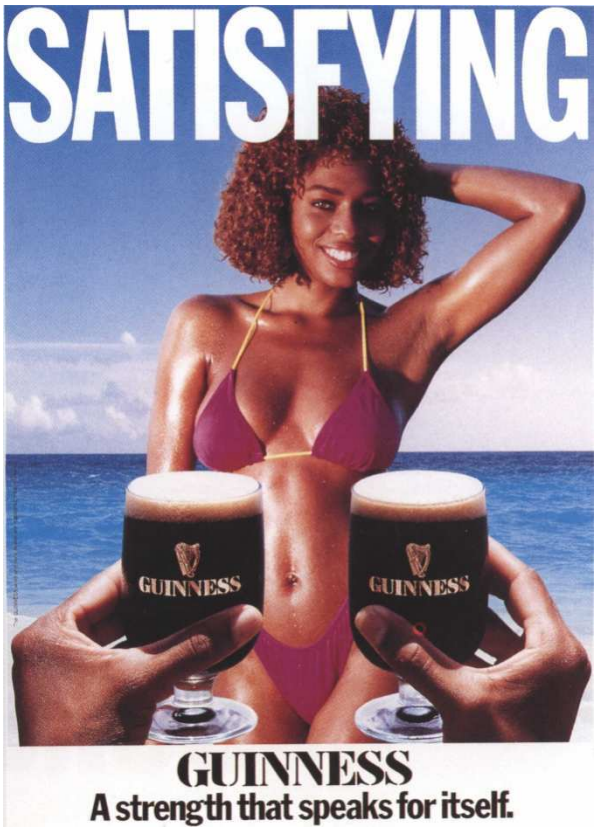

Plate 19: 'Sex-sells' advertisement by Guinness, 1992

Despite the increased emphasis on encouraging women's alcohol consumption, brewers were aware of the fact that the **masculine appeal** in beer advertisement should not be neglected, either. The image of beer as a source of energy for men continued to be employed in adverts. The following slogans stress the 'masculinity of beer':

[410] *Advertising Alcohol*, pp. 22-6; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 566; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, p. 203.

"Courage – builds up the inner man"
"Bass for men"
"Guinness for strength" or *"Guinness for power"*
"Simonds – for a man-sized thirst"[411]

Drinking beer was associated with restoring a man's strength after manual work (aimed at the working class), or with restoring his health after doing sports (aimed at the middle class). Women also played an important role in this kind of advertisements – in this case not as targets but as subjects. Young, good-looking girls in sexy poses were used for promoting beer not just in Great Britain and Ireland but also internationally. Apparently, these adverts were directed towards the beer drinker's masculinity and his sexual activity (see: Plate 19). While marketing experts simply described this kind of adverts as '**sex sells'**, others severely criticised this method.[412]

In 1933 Edgar Sanders was ahead of his times when he called for attracting **young customers** as after 1945 the teenage market was a post-war phenomenon with an increasing spending power. In 1957 the nation's 4,200,000 working teenagers were able to spend roughly £17 millions a week. The brewing companies also wanted to secure their share of this new soaring market and were quick to respond to the potential demand of this new clientele. The brewers William Younger's even used a pun on their name for their slogan, *"Join the Younger set. A younger taste is a taste of life."*[413] Most evidently directed at young drinkers as well as at women were the Ind Coope advertisements for Skol lager. A front page advertisement of the *Morning Advertiser* featured a young, good-looking woman and a man who were socially accepted, enjoying life and drinking Skol. In a caption it read,

> *"The boy and girl shown below will be appearing throughout June in the biggest advertising campaign Britain has ever seen for lager. A £325,000 campaign that is changing the taste of Britain. Newspapers, magazines, posters and television – all the power of modern publicity and advertising is making this a boom year for Skol."*[414]

[411] Quoted in: *Advertising Alcohol*, p. 24; Davies, *Guinness Advertising*, pp. 174-9.
[412] *Advertising Alcohol*, pp. 22-5; Davies, *Guinness Advertising*, pp. 178-81.
[413] Quoted in: *Advertising Alcohol*, p. 23.
[414] Quoted in: ibid, p. 24.

Plate 20: Skol advertisement, 1960

Alcohol advertisement directed at young customers proved successful. In particular, vermouths became fashionable drinks among young people. In 1976 Campari launched a campaign which aimed to convince young people to try a drink which was traditionally associated with the middle-aged group. According to the agents for Campari in Great Britain, this campaign proved profitable as they could particularly interest the 25- to 34-year-old drinkers for their product.[415]

The **advertising of liquor** became a matter of **widespread public concern**, however. In 1954 distillers had already decided not to advertise 'hard liquor', such as whisky or gin, on television. In 1972 the Erroll Report examined liquor advertisement in detail and criticised the strategy of aiming campaigns directly at young people,

> *"We do not think that it is particularly responsible for the industry to suggest to young people that drinking is in some way a pre-requisite of social success and acceptability".*[416]

In 1975 *The British Code of Advertising Practice*, which was revised in 1980, introduced the rules that children should not be portrayed in advertisements for drink, that these advertisements should not be associated with driving or that they should not contribute towards social or sexual success. In 1978 the Independent Broadcasting Authority tightened its rules of television advertising of alcohol.[417]

[415] Ibid, p. 23; Brake, *Alcohol*, p. 13; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, p. 204.
[416] Quoted in: Brake, *Alcohol*, p. 14.
[417] Ibid, pp. 14-6; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 561; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, p. 202.

10

PUB ARCHITECTURE

10.1. Room and Gender Distinction

At the end of the eighteenth century men and women had to sit separately in a pub. If a woman was sitting among men, she was considered a prostitute.[418] Sex separations were still found at the end of the 1930s as the observers of the Mass-Observation study *The Pub and the People* reported,

> *"… it must be remembered that in Worktown vault and taproom (termed 'public bars' in many parts of the country) are tabu to women; women are only to be seen in parlours or lounges. So that it is often possible to find rooms in which quite half the drinkers are women."*[419]

Traditionally, public houses consisted of various rooms which represented class as well as sex segregation typical for English society. Nomenclature of pub rooms varied. Lounges or parlours were often referred to as best rooms in everyday language. Taprooms were also called News Rooms as in the eighteenth century pubs were patronised for newspaper reading. With better-sounding names landlords attempted to make their rooms 'more high-class'. Nevertheless, the appeal of a pub mainly depended on the reputation of the pub, its furnishing, its area and on the night as weekend customers differed largely from its weekday patrons.[420]

The **taproom** or **public bar** was robustly and simply furnished. Wooden tables and benches were fixed round the walls as taprooms were primarily frequented by the working class who even entered in their working clothes. The cheapest drinks were offered in these rooms which represented the typical 'masculine republic'. There working-class men did not meet on a regular basis but loosely gathered after work, drank some pints and without reprimand they could do everything they liked, *"You may spit on the floor or burn the bar with a cigarette, and the barmaid won't reprove you."*[421] The origin of the taproom or public bar was in the alehouse kitchen previous to the nineteenth century. There corners had been partitioned with the help of a hatch or a rail for the customers of the lower classes in order to offer them some privacy and to prevent them from serving themselves.[422]

Previous page:
Plate 21: Counter screen at 'Coach & Horses', Barnburgh

[418] Clark, *Alehouse*, p. 311.
[419] Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, p. 135.
[420] Ibid, pp. 90-4.
[421] Ibid, p. 105.
[422] *Brewers' Journal*, January 18th, 1956, p. 16; Girouard, *Victorian Pub*, pp. 24-5; Gorham, *Back to the Local*, pp. 38-41; Gorham, Dunnett, *Inside the Pub*, pp. 242-3; Hey, *Patriarchy & Pub Culture*, pp. 45-6.

Vaults were within the same category of rooms in a public house. The word 'vault' was a slang term mainly used in the North of England. Its origin derived from the usage of the pub cellar. A colloquial term was also 'sawdust parlour' as in former times sawdust or sand had been strewn on the vault floor. Vaults were the most uncomfortable rooms with hardly any seats but with a bar counter and beer pumps as their main features. Taprooms and vaults were taboo to women.[423]

The **public parlour or saloon bar** was the room where traditionally artisans and white-collar workers gathered. It was more comfortable than the taproom, hence, the beverages were also more expensive. It was better furnished with carpets, pictures, vases of flowers, and sometimes a marble-chimney piece with a mirror above. The upholstered seats were of leather or plush and the tables of heavy cast-iron with little brass rails that encircled the polished mahogany and the marble tops. It lacked dirty ashtrays and spittoons as cleanliness and domesticity dominated.[424] According to Valerie Hey *"altogether a more 'feminine' environment"*.[425]

As the majority of women never entered public houses, they purchased alcohol for home consumption in the adjacent **jug-and-bottle department**. There the entrance was unobtrusive and drinking was not permitted. With the increase of women's presence in public houses and later with the introduction of the 1961 Licensing Act, which permitted supermarkets to sell alcohol, the number of jug-and-bottle departments decreased drastically (cf.: Chapter 5.2.).[426]

In the nineteenth century **gin palaces** caused an architectural revolution. They rather resembled shops than public houses and lacked seats and partitions. Because of their most dominant element, the long bar counter, alcohol was easily accessible and was blamed for fostering heavy drinking and for inviting disreputable women. The importance of gin palaces and the role of barmaids will be discussed in the following subchapter.

[423] Hey, *Patriarchy & Pub Culture*, p. 45; Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, pp. 90-5, p. 105, p. 107.
[424] *Brewers' Journal*, January 18th, 1956, p. 16; Girouard, *Victorian Pub*, p. 25, pp. 73-80; Gorham, *Back to the Local*, pp. 34-7; Gorham, Dunnett, *Inside the Pub*, p. 242; Hey, *Patriarchy & Pub Culture*, p. 46; Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, pp. 90-6, pp. 106-7.
[425] Quoted in: Hey, *Patriarchy & Pub Culture*, p. 46.
[426] *Brewers' Journal*, January 18th, 1956, p. 16; Gorham, *Back to the Local*, pp. 42-5; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, p. 8, p. 225; Murfin, *Popular leisure in Lake Counties*, p. 83.

Plate 22: Compartments in the 'Barley Mow', Dorset Street, London

To re-attract a more respectable clientele, who did not want to mix with the 'drunken' working-class men, publicans used wooden partitions or curtains to subdivide their premises into **compartments** (see: Plate 22). Hence, several private bars were created that screened the customers from each other. The popularity of compartments peaked in the 1890s. In London's East End, 45 public houses in Whitechapel possessed 195 compartments and in Soho's Fitzroy Square, West End, 354 compartments were counted in 76 pubs. The temperance movement criticised these partitions as they encouraged people from the upper and middle classes, in particular women, to enter drinking places secretly of which they would have been ashamed before. For the publicans the smaller rooms were advantageous as the drinkers were broken up into manageable groups which enabled the publicans to prevent disorder more easily.[427]

Some of these compartments were also called snugs although the term **'snug'** is difficult to define as it was used in a different context. Originally, it seemed to be applied to small rooms – "*sometimes little better than cupboards*"[428] – that were away from the bar and completely detached from everything else. They were popular with some customers because of their cosy retreats nobody could look into. That was also the reason why they were unpopular with magistrates as they feared secret drinking or that criminals as well as

[427] Girouard, *Victorian Pub*, p. 67, pp. 72-3; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 7-8; Thorne, *Good service and sobriety*, p. 107; Thorne, *Places of Refreshment*, p. 233, pp. 246-7.
[428] Girouard, *Victorian Pub*, pp. 69-73.

prostitutes could easily solicit their trade there. In Hull, for instance, these snugs had fallen into disrepute as a man had robbed a customer and escaped through the small doors, which were in the partitions of the private bars. According to a witness, he *"ran through them like a rat"*[429] round the pub. In other cities cases of sexual intercourse in snugs were reported. As the publican was liable to be fined and even to lose his licence if he permitted drunkenness or prostitution, the snug was attached to the counter to guarantee the drink-seller a better supervision.[430]

A few of these pubs with compartments are still in operation nowadays. A well-known example is 'The Prince Alfred' in Formosa Street, Maida Vale, London. All the private bars in this public house had their own street doors which enabled the customers to enter the premises without attracting attention. It even offered one compartment for women with pivoting snob screens to save the female visitors from curious looks.[431]

Temperance reformers, such as Lady Henry Somerset, thought these **women's rooms** or **ladies' bars** one of the reasons for the increase of female insobriety towards the end of the century (cf.: Chapter 1.3.). Some larger public houses in the more reputable London neighbourhoods, such as in Buckingham Palace Road, Notting Hill, Shaftesbury Avenue or Great Portland Street, had included such ladies bars for women from the more respectable classes. Even in the hilly districts of South Wales these rooms enjoyed some popularity.[432] In state-managed pubs of Carlisle women's rooms were again frequently found. They had been introduced by the CCB (Central Control Board) in order to provide sex-segregated rooms. As they were tiny, unappealing and spartanly furnished, only the poor, elderly working-class women entered them. Lady Horsley, who had visited such a Women's Bar, gave evidence before the 1930 Royal Commission on Licensing, *"about fifteen women were there, all singing at the top of their voices. They were mostly poorly dressed, middle-aged and older."*[433] Those women had drunk invisibly in snugs set aside for them before, in women's bars they felt deprived of their privacy. A woman, whose local had been

[429] Ibid, pp. 70-1.
[430] Ibid, pp. 69-72; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 7-8; Gorham, Dunnett, *Inside the Pub*, p. 214, p. 242; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, 1897, sec. 8,312, sec. 8,322, sec. 8,754, sec. 17,473, sec. 17,586; Royal Commission of Liquor Licensing, *Final Report*, pp. 125-6; Walkowitz, *Prostitution*, p. 156.
[431] Bruning, *Historic Pubs of London*, pp. 178-9; Curl, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 75; Girouard, *Victorian Pub*, pp. 71-73; Gorham, Dunnett, *Inside the Pub*, p. 214.
[432] *Country Brewers' Gazette*, August 14th, 1902, p. 605; Jennings, *Local*, pp. 116-7; *Minutes of Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws*, May 25th, 1897, sec. 31,506-14.
[433] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, May 13th, 1930.

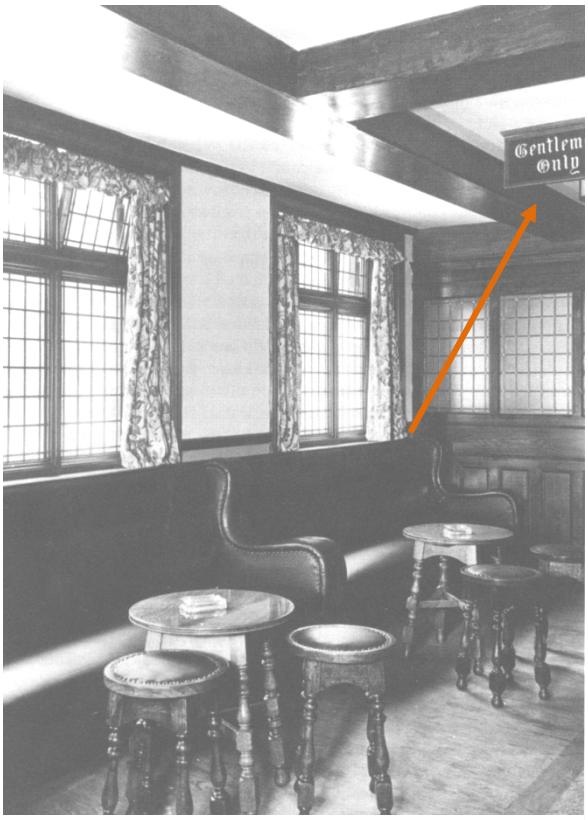

Plate 23: 'Gentlemen Only' room in a smoke room at the'Mill House Inn', Sutton, Lancashire, 1950s

reconstructed, claimed, *"There's no privacy now. If a woman wants a drink she has to go where she's seen and she doesn't like that."*[434] Women's Rooms were primarily found in the North, where the 'masculine republic' dominated, but they never enjoyed great popularity. As women rather entered mixed rooms than these primitive, tiny rooms, their number declined rapidly. In a 1938 survey on improved public houses, only three of 54 had a women's room included (for further details on women's rooms see: Chapters 1.3. and 2.2). A certain number of male customers, however, opposed the presence of women in pubs and consequently, the Trade demanded bars exclusively for men (see: Plate 23) and exclusively for women.[435]

In the interwar years progressive brewers, such as Sydney Nevile or William Butler, wanted their public houses to lose their disgraceful reputation and to adopt a new respectable image by creating new versions of the traditional inn, *"a modern building, but one more on the lines of an Eighteenth Century Inn than of a Nineteenth Century Public House."*[436] These **improved public houses** (for a detailed discussion on the progressive brewers and their reforms see: Chapter 3.1.) sought to be an exact opposite of the gin palaces of the nineteenth century. The progressive brewers wanted to attract the middle class, especially the women, to introduce a better behaviour in their houses and an environment in which drunkenness was unimaginable. One central strategy of pub improvement was to introduce rather exclusive drinking areas, so-called **lounges**, in their reformed pubs. These rooms had been copied from upmarket hotels, where they had

[434] Selley, *English Public House*, p. 88.
[435] *Brewers' Journal*, July 18th, 1945, pp. 601-3; Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', pp. 378-9; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 62-4, p. 179, p. 230; Jennings, *Local*, pp. 186-7; Murfin, *Popular leisure in Lake Counties*, pp. 80-2.
[436] Quoted in: Jennings, *Local*, p. 199.

appeared just before World War One. In the South of England the term **Saloon bar** was mainly used as an equivalent of the lounge bar. These bars or lounges offered typical middle-class comfort and were equipped with small tables and comfortable chairs, carpets, pleasant décor, flowers, plants and even pianos, magazines and newspapers. One of the most important characteristics was the omission of a bar, typical for gin palaces. Instead of 'perpendicular drinking', waiters and service should promote a more cultivated drinking. According to Sir Sydney Nevile, *"people most certainly drink less and … more slowly if sitting down than standing up"*.[437] Representative drink vessels were twelve-ounce glasses or gills. Customers of the lounge usually wore more expensive outfits, in particular at the weekend. Women opted for respectable dresses, men wore bowlers, trilbies, ties and decent suits. Men with worn suits, caps and scarves knew that their place was in the vault or in the taproom.[438] A landlord in Bolton stated,

> *„You will find in pubs that the heavy drinkers has the same clothes on at week-ends as week-night – not working clothes of course. He also says 'the best room people are generally week-end customers'."*[439]

At the beginning of the twentieth century **lavatories** used to be rather primitive, in particular for women. Pub visitors went into the yard. In some urban public houses urinals could be found, probably consisting of a flagstone and the outside wall. Yet they were regarded a nuisance. In Dublin a barman described what females did in the yard, *"There was a grating outside some pubs and they used to go out and just stand over the grating and that was it! They wore long skirts!"*[440] In a pub in Ringsend a Jacob's biscuit tin, half-filled with sawdust, was put into the snugs for the ladies. In 1893 more than ninety per cent of the public houses in Blackburn lacked lavatories. In Shrewsbury one-fifth of the public houses and nearly half of the beerhouses did not have any modern toilet facilities around the turn of the century. Being aware of the fact that sanitation mattered more to women than men, progressive brewers included clean modern toilet facilities and wash basins with hot running water in their improved public houses. In the 1930s Whitbread installed new

[437] *Minutes of Royal Commission on Licensing*, November 12th, 1930.
[438] *Brewers' Journal*, November 15th, 1923, p. 581; Gorham, *Back to the Local*, pp. 30-3; Gutzke; 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking', p. 385; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 158-62; Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, pp. 95-6, pp. 106-7, pp. 140-3; Market & Opinion Research, *Attitudes*, p. 30; Oliver, *Modern Public House*, p. 20.
[439] Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, p. 143.
[440] Kearns, *Dublin Pub Life*, p. 148

lavatories in more than eighty public houses, including 27 facilities, in particular for the female visitors.[441]

Especially London brewers, such as Barclay Perkins, Watney Combe Reid or Whitbread, were rather active in pub improvement and spent huge sums on their prestigious superpubs. Whitbread's 'The White Hart' at Tottenham cost £35,000 while smaller companies spent less than £500 on rebuilding one house. One of the most popular examples for pub improvement was Barklay Perkin's **'Downham Tavern'** in South London (see: Plate 24). It covered some 9,300 square feet and had, reputedly, cost the brewery between £54,000 and £70,000 – at that time a newly erected pub cost £7,800. Not only did this pub have two expansive lounges, a concert hall seating 1,000 people and a garden, it also contained 36 lavatories and a children's room in the evenings with a nurse in attendance. Pub improvement was not limited to the London. Brewers from the Home Countries, such as Benskin's of Watford, or the Midlands, with Mitchells & Butlers, for example, improved their public houses, as well.[442]

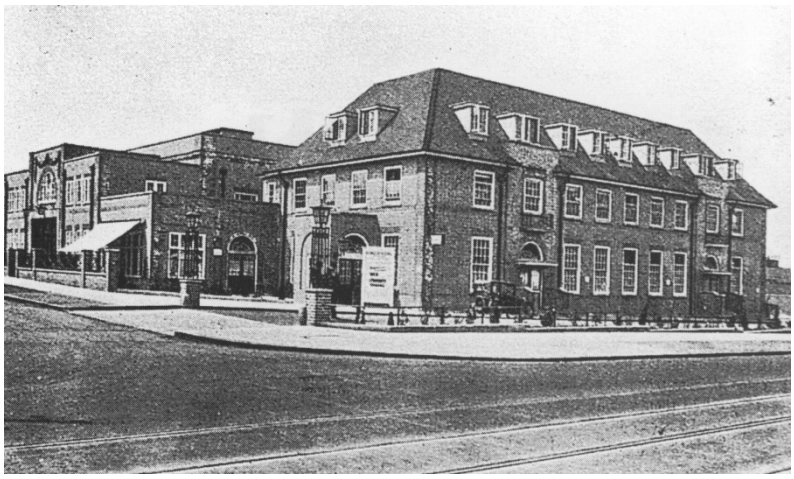

Plate 24: 'Downham Tavern', London, 1930

Between 1922 and June 1930, the Brewers' Society estimated that more than 400 brewers had spent £21 million – probably an underestimate[443] – on the improvement of more than

[441] Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, p. 9, p. 180, p. 225; Jennings, *Local*, p. 200; Kearns, *Dublin Pub Life*, p. 148, p. 180.
[442] Gourvish, 'Business of Alcohol', pp. 612-3; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 424-7; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 146-7, pp. 202-5; Nevile, *Seventy Rolling Years*, pp. 177-8.
[443] According to David Gutzke's calculations, the brewers' total expenditure on pub improvement was just over £30 million between 1922 and 1930. David Gutzke argues that erecting new reformed pubs on virgin sites was more expensive than brewers stated. Moreover, the expenditure of £21 million was calculated by the Brewers' Society which had conducted two surveys for the periods 1922-26 and 1927-30. Many canvassed brewers did not respond to the questions, however. One third of the brewers did not supply

20,000 pre-1914 public houses. Unfortunately, figures for the 1930s are not available but the expenditure on pub improvement was probably even higher in that decade. Improved pubs were rather erected in middle-class enclaves and in the South-East of England whereas in rural and slum areas the pub remained a 'masculine republic'.[444]

With the Second World War the period of pub improvement ended because of the restrictions on material and because brewers realised that large improved public houses rather resembled army barracks or hospital wards and were too anonymous. Even Sydney Nevile acknowledged that *"certain houses round London … are too large to be comfortable."*[445] Some people, such as the architectural historians Maurice Gorham, H. MacGregor Dunnett or Brian Spiller, started to demonise improved public houses with their huge rooms in order to romanticise the Victorian pubs with their cosy snugs.[446] About fifty still authentic reformed pubs survived as most of the houses were demolished or altered. A car park, for instance, replaced the Rose Garden of 'The Downham Tavern'.[447]

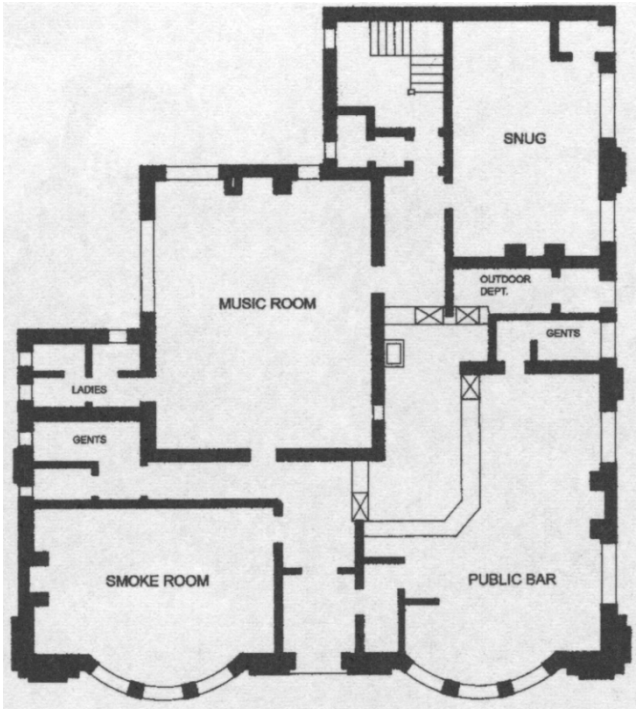

Plate 25: Plan of a public house with late nineteenth-century island bar arrangement, 1930s

In 1938 Mass-Observation analysed the pub clientele and their **room preferences** in Bolton, in detail. Women mainly frequented public houses at the weekend. In total, 16 per cent of all pub frequenters were women. 45 per cent of those women preferred the lounge. In pubs with several best rooms, nearly ninety per cent of the females congregated in one room, which was similar to a snug. Men never entered those rooms full of women alone

information on the first survey, one fifth did not respond to the second survey (cf.: Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 427-9; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 246-8).

[444] Gourvish, 'Business of Alcohol', pp. 613-4; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 426-33; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 204-5; Jennings, *Local*, p. 200.

[445] Quoted in: Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, p. 238.

[446] For a detailed discussion on the critical views of the various architectural historians see: Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 233-9.

[447] Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, pp. 238-41.

but always in company with their wives. In general, vaults were frequented by individual men who used to stand all the time. Lounges were entered in groups; mixed-sexed groups used to sit round the table. Customarily, women did not stand at the bar to prevent themselves from being pushed around and they did not pay for their drinks themselves. If there was no waiter, the accompanying men served the women the drinks. Often couples separated at the beginning of the evening – the men split off to the vault – and rejoined later. Obviously, this habit had several advantages for the men. They could socialise with their mates and drink independently. For some the most important fact was that they were not required to pay for their wives each time the men refilled their glass, *"… if I was in the other room, the missus would want a Guinness every time I had a pint."*[448] Another male customer had ordered a barman to provide the cheapest beer for his wife. She, however, had bargained with the barman that she would 'top up' her husband's money with the housekeeping to consume a more expensive drink.[449]

Plate 26: Middle-aged and elderly pub visitors at the '(High) Ship Inn', Frenchgate, Richmond, Yorkshire, 1945

Generally, women as well as people with higher incomes frequented the more expensive rooms whereas women from lower classes avoided these rooms and opted for the public bars. In Metrop, for instance, 52 per cent of the 234 women, counted in 1943, were drinking in the public bar whereas 48 per cent visited the saloon or the private bar. A similar proportion was observed in Fulham in the same year. 41 per cent of the female customers stayed in the public bars and only a rest could be found in saloon or other bars.

[448] Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, p. 145.
[449] Hey, *Patriarchy & Pub Culture*, p. 49, p. 58; Mass-Observation, *Pub & People*, pp. 105-7; pp. 143-5.

In Worcester the situation was slightly different. About one third of the women patronised the public bars and approximately two-thirds of the female pub-goers frequented the more comfortable bars.[450] Some men did, however, not approve of this trend:

> *"Its all right, its not so bad when a woman keeps to the saloon bar. But they are not so popular in the public bars and they should keep out of those. If I go to a pub with a young lady I take her to the saloon bar. That's all right. But if I go by myself I go to the public bar – there's better conversation there, and I think the women should keep out and let the men have it to themselves."*[451]

In 1949 Hulton research reported that younger people rather avoided the public bar whereas men whose age was 65 years or above and whose income was below the average were the main visitors of this bar. Women mainly frequented the saloon or the lounge bar but those females with an age of 65 or above and an income below the average also entered public bars or ladies' bars. Two years later a similar tendency was observed. The groups that mostly frequented the public bar were women and men at the age of 65 or older.[452]

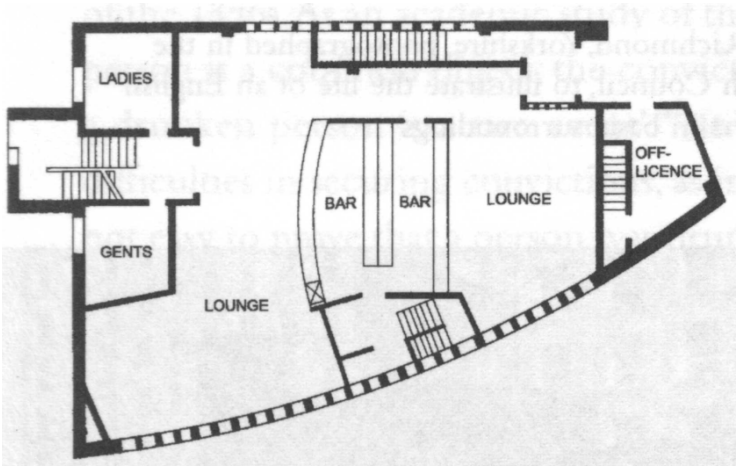

Plate 27: Open plan with lounges, 1960s

The room and gender distinction in public houses, which has just been analysed above, definitely depended on the area as well as on the reputation of the pub. It is important to bear in mind that this distinction only shows a tendency as the patrons in a pub in London's East End were unquestionably different to a country pub in Cornwall. Generally, country pubs had a more respectable image than those in towns. In the interwar years

[450] *Brewers' Journal*, January 17th, 1945, p. 53; Mass-Observation, *Pubs in Fulham*, p. 5; Mass-Observation, *Social Change*, p. 3, p. 7.
[451] Ibid, p. 3.
[452] Hulton Research, *Beer, Wine and Spirits*, pp. 25-6; PRO, *Social History: Consumer Expenditure Series*, Table 12.

couples used to call at country pubs during their Sunday walk. People who possessed motorcycles or cars stopped at country pubs for refreshment during their weekend trips. The directors of Hodgsons's Kingston Brewery, a suburban London pub improver, became aware of these new mobile consumers and adapted their houses according to their needs, *"in country houses modern sanitary equipment and conveniences are important features in drawing the travelling public."*[453] In 1975, country pubs were still those types of pubs that appealed to the majority of women.[454]

Since the 1950s it had become **fashionable to abolish the various rooms**, which had emphasised class and gender segregation, and to consolidate them into one, two, or maximally three rooms (see Plate 27). The working class opposed this trend. A railway worker stated, *"Who want to drink with the saloon bar middle class?"* and justified his statement as follows, *"You wouldn't be free to speak your mind."*[455] Not only was the pub interior changing but also the social world of the public house. With the decrease of the number of working men and the rise of living standards, there was no longer the need for a refuge from home. Instead, people, in particular young people, turned public houses into places for a night out.[456]

10.2. The Barmaid, or Woman as Sex Object

The first **gin palaces** were probably established in London in the late 1820s. Their architecture was revolutionary as they were rather designed as shops than pubs. Instead of seats and partitioned areas, they consisted of a large area where people could freely move. The main and most innovative element was the long bar counter, often consisting of mahogany and marble bar-tops, where several people, including barmaids, served the customers. The aim of such a huge counter was the easy accessibility of large quantities of intoxicants which enabled a rapid turnover and, hence, ensured high profits. Typical for flamboyant Victorian gin palaces were ornaments, tiles, decorated glass and mirrors, a monumental clock on a massive mantelpiece and huge inn signs proclaiming the name of

[453] Quoted in: Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, p. 180.
[454] Ibid, p. 180, p. 226; Murfin, *Popular leisure in Lake Counties*, pp. 83-4; Market & Opinion Research, *Attitudes*, 1975, pp. 41-2.
[455] Quoted in: Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, p. 230.
[456] Ibid, pp. 230-1; Jennings, *Local*, p. 201, pp. 215-6.

the brewery selling its beers. Huge, elaborate wrought-iron gas lamps over the pub entrance extended the brilliance of the interior into the street which also made the gin palace stand out from its often dark surroundings. In the course of time gin palaces were even more lavishly decorated as the following quotation demonstrates,

> *"A public house opposite my residence ...was taken for a gin palace. It was converted into the very opposite of what it had been, a low dirty public house with only one doorway, into a splendid edifice, the front ornamented with pilasters, supporting a handsome cornice and entablatures and balustrades, and the whole elevation remarkably striking and handsome."*[457]

These upper-class comforts such as gas lamps, warmth or lavish decoration that gin palaces offered, could only be enjoyed by the working class, in common. As a result, most of these establishments could be found near poor areas, as described by Charles Dickens,

> *"The gin-shops in and near Drury-lane, Holborn, St Giles's, Covent-garden, and Clare-market, are the handsomest in London. There is more filth and squalor near those great thoroughfares than in any part of this mighty city."*[458]

The main interest of the owners or managers of gin palaces was the turnover. Thus, their target groups were not the local residents, who were looking for a chat, but the passers-by or the casual urban drinkers, who entered a gin palace on their way to or from work. These lower-class customers did not sit down but stood at the bar, paid for a drink, emptied the glass and left again. Food was not provided and even games were prohibited as they would have only stopped people from drinking.[459]

With the development of the gin palaces as well as with the rise of Capitalism the **wage-earning barmaid** evolved as more bar tenders were needed in order to serve a great number of people. Moreover, attractive barmaids with sex appeal fit perfectly in the flamboyant gin palaces and attracted more male customers. This fact was also observed by Sir Herbert A. Lawrence, Chairman of Vickers-Armstrong, and stated before the 1929-30 Royal Commission of Licensing,

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[457] A witness told her observation to the *Select Committee of the House of Commons on Drunkenness*, 1834, quoted in: Gorham, Dunnett, *Inside the Pub*, p. 70.
[458] Charles Dickens, quoted in: Boston, *Beer and Skittles*, p. 168.
[459] Curl, *Victorian Architecture*, pp. 71-6; Elwall, *Bricks and Beer*, pp. 4-10; Girouard, *Victorian Pub*, pp. 20-4, pp. 28-32; Gleiss, 'Pub during Free-Licensing Era', pp. 165-9; Gorham, Dunnett, *Inside the Pub*, p. 213, p. 248; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, p. 7; Harrison, 'Pubs', p. 170; Royal Commission of Liquor Licensing, *Final Report*, pp. 126-7; Spiller, *Victorian Public House*, p. 33.

Plate 28: Victorian Barmaid, 1850s

"I am told, and I believe there is a good deal of truth in it, that the presence of barmaids has a good deal to do with attracting young fellows who would not otherwise visit public houses, but having once started they retain the habit, sometimes with an adverse effect."[460]

In provincial public houses the publicans' wives and daughters carried out the functions of barmaids but in gin palaces the role of the barmaid, often referred to as 'the London barmaid', was newly defined. Not only was the barmaid a workforce, she was also a "*bearer of glamour, arguably a distinctively modern visual property".*[461] Gas lights and mirrors enhanced her beauty and her presence. The newly established bar counter could be compared to a stage where the barmaid was working while the men were able to observe her. The counter, furthermore, created a symbolic distance which even heightened her sexual attractiveness and her glamour. According to Peter Bailey, the bar counter concealed the lower part of her body and thus, emphasised the male gaze on the barmaid's breasts which may have reinforced associations of maternal nourishment and the oral appeal of drinking.[462]

Barmaids allowed flirtation but compared to a landlady or barmaid in a provincial bar, she did not sit at a table among her customers and did not play the maternal-confessional role. Barmaids were mostly required to wear black dresses with white collars and cuffs, hardly ever with ornaments. Those publicans who could afford them provided uniforms. This formal dress once again created distance, signalled that she was beyond a customer's reach and so enforced the males' (sexual) desire.[463]

[460] *Royal Commission on Licensing*, June 17th, 1929, p. 1759.
[461] Bailey, 'Parasexuality and Glamour', p. 152.
[462] Ibid, p. 152, pp. 162-3; Hey, *Patriarchy & Pub Culture*, p. 43; Padmavathy, 'English Barmaid', pp. 40-2; *Women as Barmaids*, p. 2.
[463] Bailey, 'Parasexuality and Glamour', p. 163; Padmavathy, 'English Barmaid', p. 72.

Barmaids were not only sexual symbols, they certainly had to work hard. In 1880 the barmaid Maria Wilson, for instance, complained that she worked in the bar from five in the morning until twelve o'clock at midnight with only two hours of rest a day. As she could be asked to work any time, even this break was not guaranteed. She was not paid regularly, often worked extra hours with no pay and only had a holiday once a month. Other barmaids complained about poor living-in conditions such as unsatisfactory food or crowded, ill-ventilated rooms. Also bad working conditions in the bar itself were criticised,

> *"The poisonous air in a drinking-bar, laden with the fumes of alcohol and tobacco, irritates the eyes, stimulates the thirst, insensibly lowers the system and leads to debility and anaemia."*[464]

In 1900 they worked seventy to eighty hours, in general, in some cases even up to 100 for a basic wage of 8s to 10s a week.[465]

Towards the late nineteenth century social issues such as unemployment, health, housing and poverty received increased attention. In this context also the working conditions of barmaids were discussed. The 1901 census reported that 28,625 barmen and 27,707 barmaids were employed in England and Wales (cf.: Table VII). These figures were probably an underestimate as many barmaids had been recorded as 'domestic servants'. The licensed trade itself gave a figure of 100,000 employed barmaids in England's public houses between 1907 and 1908. Reformers, such as philanthropists, temperance reformers, Liberal and later Labour politicians, feminists and trade unionists started to fight for the improvement of the living as well as **working conditions of barmaids**. The 1893-4 Royal Commission of Labour conducted extensive investigations on the working conditions of barmaids. From 1890 onwards various Parliamentary bills were unsuccessfully introduced to reduce working hours and improve working conditions. Because of the influence of brewers and publicans such legislation could be prevented. Moreover, the reformers were unable to come to terms with the dual perception of a barmaid as on the one hand, she was a 'sweated worker'[466] and on the other hand, she was perceived as a sexual woman. The

[464] Joint Committee, *Barmaid Problem*, p. 4.
[465] Bailey, 'Parasexuality and Glamour', pp. 159-60; Jennings, *Local*, p. 96; Joint Committee, *Barmaid Problem*, p. 4; Padmavathy, 'English Barmaid', p. 58, p. 98.
[466] The term 'sweated worker' was defined by Charles Booth in 1882 as follows:

> *"The word 'sweating' has been loosely used, but may be fairly taken to mean, so as to obtain a maximum of work for a minimum of pay. Sweated labour is labour driven and a 'sweater' who thus drives the master to employ."* (1893-4 Royal Commission of Labour, quoted in: Padmavathy, 'English Barmaid', p. 85).

latter was contrary to the Victorian perception of the ideal women who only focused on house and family.[467]

For reformers the bar was a permanent and dangerous temptation. They feared about the barmaids' morality as the women were in constant influence of the vulgar language of drunken men and were likely to turn to drink themselves, which would make them less resistant to seduction. The Trade, however, advertised that larger premises often demanded complete abstinence during work and prohibited 'treating' by customers.[468] Reformers blamed employers for the sexual as well as economic exploitation of young women, in particular. Of the 27,707 barmaids reported in the 1901 census return 6,069 were between the age of 15 and 19 and 12,023 between the age of 20 and 24 (cf.: Table VII). Newspaper advertisements were also seeking young barmaids only. A temperance leaflet claimed that of 350 advertisements for barmaids in the Trade's *Morning Advertiser*, 220 were for women of twenty years or under. Only 32 advertisements included an age requirement of maximally 25 years.[469]

An enormous impact on barmaids in England had the actions undertaken by the Glasgow magistrates in April 1902. Licensing justices had been given the power to refuse renewal or issue of new licences to publicans on the grounds that barmaids were employed on licensed premises.[470] The presence of barmaids was, generally, much rarer in the North than in the South because in the remote and conservative areas, such as Scotland, women were not even permitted to enter the 'masculine republic' as workforce. By making use of their power the magistrates completely **abolished barmaids in Glasgow**. Reformers in England received new impetus as this movement of abolishing barmaids also spread to Manchester and London. Brewers and publicans were alarmed.[471]

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[467] Bailey, 'Parasexuality and Glamour', p. 158, p. 161; *Brewers' Journal*, March 15th, 1907, p. 117; Jennings, *Local*, p. 95; Padmavathy, 'English Barmaid', p. 41, p. 48, pp. 81-6, p. 121; Thane, 'Victorian Women', p. 175.

[468] *Alliance News and Temperance Reformer*, February 13th, 1908, p. 104; Bailey, 'Parasexuality and Glamour', p. 162; *Facts about Barmaids*, p. 3; Joint Committee, *Barmaid Problem*, p. 5; Padmavathy, 'English Barmaid', p. 71, p. 110.

[469] *Alliance News and Temperance Reformer*, January 2nd, 1908, p. 1; Bailey, 'Parasexuality and Glamour', p. 162; *Employment of Barmaids*, p. 1; Joint Committee, *Barmaid Problem*, p. 3; Padmavathy, 'English Barmaid', pp. 50-1.

[470] Female licence holders, daughters and wives as well as hotels and restaurants were exempted from this regulation.

[471] *Brewers' Journal*, May 15th, 1902, p. 285; September 18th, 1940, p. 721, p. 729; May 15th, 1946, pp. 519-20; *Country Brewers'* Gazette, January 15th, 1903, p. 72; January 29th, 1903, p. 100; February 12th, 1903, p.

The Trade and the barmaids defended themselves against the threatened abolition. In their agitation barmaids were aided by radical suffragists whose aim was to improve working women's positions. Manchester, as an industrial centre always a hotbed of political and industrial movements, had become the seat of a powerful women's trade movement, the **Barmaids' Political Defence League**, founded in 1907. Eva Gore-Booth, Sarah Dickenson and Esther Roper were some of those well-known suffragists that defended the women's right to work and demanded votes for all women as working women should be permitted to decide about their future.[472]

Reformers recorded some success as a sub-clause of Clause 20 of the 1908 Licensing Bill gave Justices of Peace the discretionary power to demand the removal of existing or future barmaids upon renewal or issuing of a new licence. In other words, Parliament did not explicitly declare itself in favour of or against the employment of barmaids but assigned the responsibility to the local licensing justices. In November 1908 the House of Commons, however, voted against Clause 20 – a victory for the barmaids, the Trade and the Barmaids' Political Defence League.[473]

Barmaids did not rest after the rejection of Clause 20 in the 1908 Licensing Bill. In 1914 some reformers tried to abolish barmaids again – but failed again. In 1940 Glasgow removed the prohibition of barmaids after fifty per cent of the barmen had been called up for service. There was a restriction, however, as women employed as barmaids had to be at least 25 years of age. From that time on the number of female employees in public houses was increasing continuously and in 1978 already twice as many women as men were working in public houses.[474]

111; Gutzke, *Pubs & Progressives*, p. 9; Padmavathy, 'English Barmaid', pp. 142-6; *Royal Commission on Licensing (Scotland)*, 1929, sec. 7,713-21.

[472] Bailey, 'Parasexuality and Glamour', p. 161; *Barmaids' Political Defence League*, pp. 1-4; *Brewers' Journal*, March 15th, 1907, p. 117; *Country Brewers' Gazette*, January 15th, 1903, p. 72; February 12th, 1903, p. 111; *Facts about Barmaids*, pp. 1-2; Padmavathy, 'English Barmaid', pp. 190-201; *Women as Barmaids*, pp. 54-6.

[473] Bailey, 'Parasexuality and Glamour', p. 161; *Brewers' Gazette*, November 8th, 1906, p. 826; November 22nd, 1906, p. 840; Padmavathy, 'English Barmaid', pp. 202-7.

[474] *Brewers' Journal*, September 18th, 1940, p. 721, p. 729; May 15th, 1946, pp. 519-20; Shaw, 'Causes of increasing drinking problems', pp. 15-6.

C

CONCLUSION

The social and economic role, behaviour and perception of women patronising English public houses changed considerably between the 1880s and the 1970s. These transformations challenged the traditional public house, in this thesis often referred to as ‘masculine republic’, and its male patrons.

For men the public house used to serve as recreation centre and meeting place where they could escape work and family life. Generally, they consumed pints of beer or ale, typical drinks for men. They also had certain masculine drinking habits, such as ‘perpendicular drinking’ or ‘round-buying’. Apart from barmaids and prostitutes, who were, however, scarce in twentieth-century England, women and children were excluded from the ‘masculine republic’.

The Victorian and Edwardian eras were characterised by a distinctive class consciousness. Respectable women never frequented public houses whereas women from the lower classes patronised one of the numerous cheap beerhouses or the multiplying gin palaces in order to escape their sordid living and working conditions. Female pub patrons were rather middle-aged or elderly women whereas young, unmarried women seldom entered public houses as they did not want to be mistaken for prostitutes. The presence of children, their consumption of alcoholic beverages and the widespread practice of sending children as messengers to purchase liquor for off-consumption caused much concern towards the end of the nineteenth century. Consequently, pieces of legislation were passed that prohibited children under the age of eighteen from obtaining alcohol and under the age of fourteen from being present in public houses. In the following decades the latter regulation was severely criticised by pub reformers. In French cafés or German beer houses men were accompanied by their families which had a positive impact on people’s behaviour and sobriety. Hence, pub reformers supported the presence of children in order to diminish the dominance of the ‘masculine republic’.

Another issue that was also much debated towards the end of the nineteenth century was female intemperance. In fact, drunkenness among men and women was diminishing but

contemporaries observed an increased insobriety among women which they feared would ruin families and even degenerate the British 'race'. Hence, reformatories were established to treat these habitual drunkards, who were obviously mostly women. As little was known about therapies for alcoholics – inebriates were put in detention and morally reformed – this treatment of habitual drunkards resulted in a failure.

World War One marked a significant turning point as gender identities started to blur and gender barriers in public houses were effectively and lastingly broken open. In order to curb excessive drinking in the 'masculine republic', the Central Control Board (CCB) nationalised the brewing industry and introduced state-managed pubs in certain areas, such as the ordnance area of Carlisle. These public houses were improved and did not only offer alcoholic beverages but also non-intoxicating drinks, food and entertainment. Comfortable mixed rooms were introduced because the CCB no longer wanted to exclude women from public houses. As a result, which had initially not been intended by the CCB, young couples from the upper-working and middle classes started to frequent these respectable public houses at the weekends whereas the middle-aged and elderly, impoverished women, for whom spartanly furnished women's rooms had been set aside, withdrew from those drinking places.

The 'Carlisle Experiment' was, however, not the only or main reason why women started to enter public houses. Outside the nationalised areas, females became more emancipated as they had joined the work force and earned their own money. Moreover, they felt lonely and deprived as their husbands were abroad in uniform and consequently, even respectable women began to frequent pubs. Nevertheless, the number of women patronising public houses during the First World War should not be exaggerated. The 'masculine republic' continued to dominate in England and hostility against women entering public houses remained severe.

Influenced by the 'Carlisle Experiment', progressive brewers, such as Sir Sydney Nevile or William Waters Butler, wanted to attract new customers by introducing improved pubs in the interwar years. These improved public houses included restaurants, gardens, concert halls and modernised lavatories. They were, however, mainly erected in suburbs, urban middle-class enclaves and the more prosperous South-East of England. Those females who patronised public houses with their husbands at the weekends were rather elderly women as the younger women preferred dance halls, the cinema or walking on the streets. If the

public house did not offer any mixed bars, female pub-goers frequented the best rooms, such as parlours, saloon bars or lounges, while men gathered in public bars. Impoverished working-class women continued to frequent their traditional drinking-dens and upper-class women still preferred to consume alcohol at home. Also the improved public house could not extinguish the existence of the 'masculine republic' in conservative and rural England.

Sex as well as class composition of public houses, which predominately catered for the working class, did also not change radically during World War Two or in the post-war period although the number of women frequenting public houses was slightly increasing. The 1960s and 1970s, however, marked a second turning point. Three main factors led to a higher number of female pub frequenters and to changes of their drinking habits. First of all, the young generation, also called the 'bulge generation', possessed more time as well as money to enjoy and finance alcoholic drinks and visits to the pub. Secondly, the 1961 and 1964 Licensing Acts liberated access to both public houses and alcohol for the middle class, especially for women. Lastly, women became socially as well as financially emancipated. They could afford to enter public houses without male company – even on weekdays. The majority of the female pub clientele was young, employed or at university, without any dependent children and mostly middle class. Beverage companies immediately responded to these changes in society and targeted their alcohol advertisement at women. Despite social constraints in certain areas and certain drinking places, women continued to conquer the 'masculine republic' and in 1994 over one-third of the British women frequented a pub at least once a week.[475]

Women's consumption preferences did not severely change between the 1880s and the 1970s. While men generally enjoyed beer or ale, women always favoured either light drinks or more expensive drinks with high gravity. Typical drinks for women were table wine, port, sherry, shandy or cider. Middle-aged or elderly women often opted for gin and rum, both often mixed with orange of lime juice, Guinness or porter. Since the mid-1960s women also preferred aperitifs, vermouths or lager. After the Second World War home consumption started to increase as the middle-class habit of giving dinner parties gained popularity. In the 1960s and 1970s home consumption increased again because of three main reasons: the rise of domestic ownership of refrigerators, the rise of off-licences in supermarkets and the rise of a new leisure pursuit, namely of watching TV.

[475] Fox, *Report on Women in Pubs*, p. 2.

Since the twentieth century the mean age of drinking regularly has been decreasing constantly and nowadays under-age and binge drinking are widespread problems in Great Britain but also in Austria. Young people gather in public houses or in city centres at night and are no longer interested in social drinking but in consuming alcohol excessively. Even well-educated young women are often found binge drinking. The reason for such behaviour is that they work in male-dominated occupations and attempt to imitate masculine actions.[476] In the 1990s the ladette culture emerged in Great Britain. Ladettes are noisy but confident young women who behave like lads. Originally, the word 'lad' meant young man but nowadays, the terms 'ladette' and 'lad' refer to young people who enjoy typical male activities such as heavy drinking, sports, sex and partying.[477]

In the twenty-first century women enter public houses in unprecedented numbers although full gender equality has not been achieved in all drinking establishments yet. Several women, in particular elderly women or women in remote areas, do not feel respected when entering a public house unaccompanied or when ordering a pint of beer. To seem occupied many women read newspapers or magazines when being in a public house on their own or when waiting for somebody. Several examples of the 'masculine republic' can still be found in rural, conservative areas of England, Scotland or Wales where resistance against women is still widespread. In the last hundred years the role, behaviour and perception of women patronising public houses has transformed fundamentally but politics and society, in general, and publicans and their patrons, in particular, still have to create an atmosphere in public houses in which full gender equality can be achieved.

[476] Ladette Culture, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-477357/Growing-ladette-culture-means-office-girls-twice-likely-drink-death.html.
[477] Ladette, http://www.oup.com/elt/catalogue/teachersites/oald7/wotm/wotm_archive/ladette?cc=global.

A

APPENDIX WITH TABLES & DIAGRAMS

s.	d.	£p	£	s.	£p
	1d.	0.5p		2s.	12p
	2d.	1p		3s.	15p
	3d.	1p		4s.	20p
	4d.	1.5p		5s.	25p
	5d.	2p		6s.	30p
	6d.	2.5p		7s.	35p
	7d.	3p		8s.	40p
	8d.	3p		9s.	45p
	9d.	4p		10s.	50p
	10d.	4p		11s.	55p
	11d.	4.5p		12s.	60p
1s.	(12d.)	5p		13s.	65p
				14s.	70p
				15s.	75p
				16s.	80p
				17s.	85p
				18s.	90p
				19s.	95p
				(20s.)	100p

Table I: Conversion Table. £ s. d. / £ p Equivalents

As the costs and prices in this thesis are often quoted in £ s. d. currency, this conversion table is included to give the decimal currency equivalents.

Source: Clark, *English Alehouse*, p. xiii.

YEAR	BEER	SPIRITS	WINE
1870-4	306	9.1	4.2
1875-9	324	9.7	4.0
1880-4	269	8.4	3.4
1885-9	260	7.5	3.0
1890-4	267	8.0	3.0
1895-9	276	8.2	3.2
1900	253	9.0	3.0
1901	246	8.7	3.0
1902	242	8.4	2.9
1903	238	7.9	2.6
1904	230	7.7	2.2
1905	222	7.4	2.2
1906	226	7.3	2.2
1907	222	7.3	2.2
1908	215	6.9	2.1
1909	209	5.6	2.1
1910	210	5.2	2.2
1911	218	5.4	2.0
1912	215	5.4	2.0
1913	222	5.6	2.0
1914	214	5.5	1.8
1915	182	6.1	1.8
1916	166	4.9	1.8
1917	101	3.3	1.2
1918	80	2.6	2.0
1919	140	3.9	3.4
1920	166	3.8	2.6
1921	149	3.1	1.9
1922	127	2.9	2.1
1923	132	2.6	2.4
1924	141	2.5	2.7
1925	141	2.5	2.9
1926	135	2.2	3.0
1927	133	2.2	3.0
1928	130	2.2	2.4
1929	129	2.2	2.6
1930	126	1.9	2.4
1931	109	1.8	2.4
1932	88	1.6	2.2
1933	94	1.7	2.2
1934	102	1.5	2.4
1935	106	1.5	2.5
1936	No	data	available
1937	144	2.6	3.7
1938	151	2.6	3.7
1939	152	2.4	3.6
1940	156	2.6	3.5
1941	159	2.3	3.1
1942	182	2.3	1.6

1943	177	2.1	0.8
1944	181	2.1	0.7
1945	187	1.9	0.7
1946	197	2.0	1.0
1947	176	2.1	1.7
1948	180	2.1	2.2
1949	161	1.9	1.7
1950	153	2.1	1.9
1951	147	2.4	2.2
1952	147	2.0	2.3
1953	145	2.1	2.2
1954	144	2.3	2.3
1955	143	2.4	2.6
1956	143	2.6	2.8
1957	142	2.7	3.0
1958	137	2.9	3.1
1959	148	2.9	3.1
1960	151	3.0	3.6
1961	156	3.3	4.1
1962	156	3.3	4.2
1963	158	3.4	4.4
1964	160	3.7	5.0
1965	161	3.9	5.4
1966	165	3.4	5.3
1967	165	3.6	5.6
1968	168	3.9	6.5
1969	174	3.6	6.6
1970	181	3.6	6.1
1971	187	4.0	7.0
1972	189	4.5	7.9
1973	202	5.0	9.3
1974	201	6.5	11.9
1975	204	6.6/1.5	11.3
1976	210	1.6	11.4
1977	211	1.4	11.1
1978	211	1.7	13.2
1979	217	1.9	14.3
1980	208	1.8	14.3

Table II: Consumption of Beer, Spirits and Wine in the United Kingdom, 1870–1980

Note concerning beer: 1955 = year to March 31st, 1956, et seq
Consumption is given in pints per capita. Between 1870 and 1935 beer figures are only available for England and Wales. Between 1900 and 1935 figures on spirits and wine consumption refer to Great Britain and all Ireland, respectively to Great Britain and Northern Ireland only since 1922. Since 1975 figures on spirits consumption have no longer been given in proof gallon but in 100 per cent alcohol.

Source: BLRA, *Statistical Handbook 1994*, p. 32; Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures*, p. 126; Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, pp. 601-2, p. 630; Williams, Brake, *Drink in Great Britain*, p. 354, p. 380, p. 383; Wilson, *Alcohol and the Nation*, pp. 331-5.

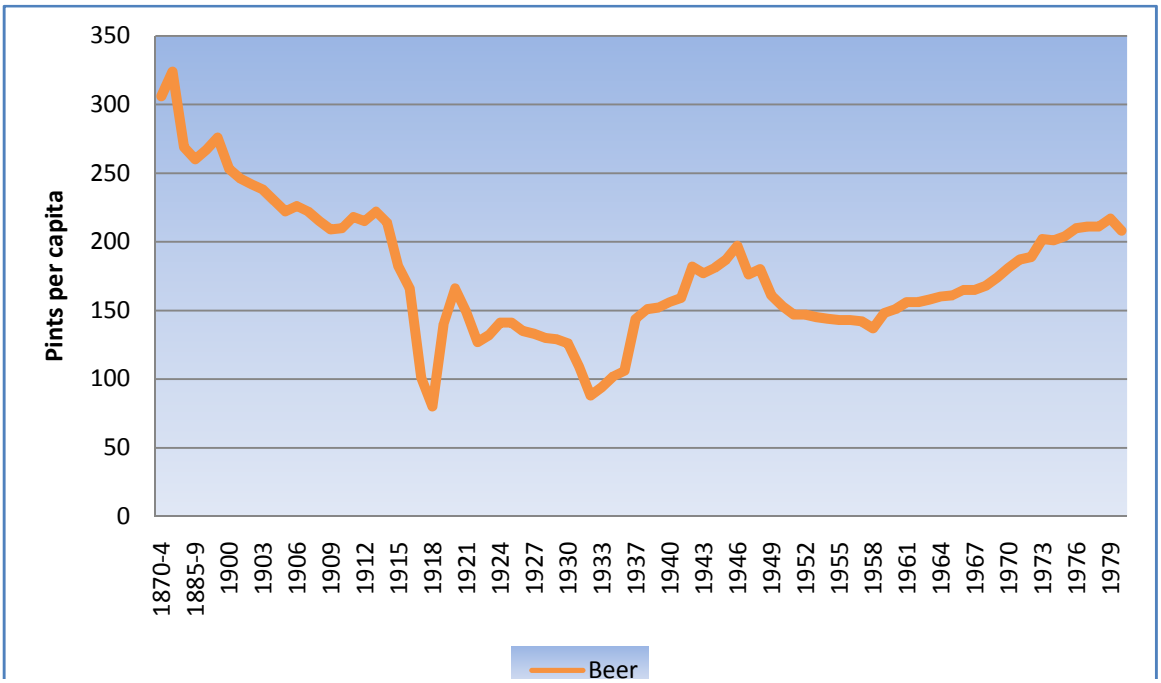

Diagram I: Consumption of Beer in the United Kingdom, 1870–1980

Figures are taken from Table II. Consumption is given in pints per capita.

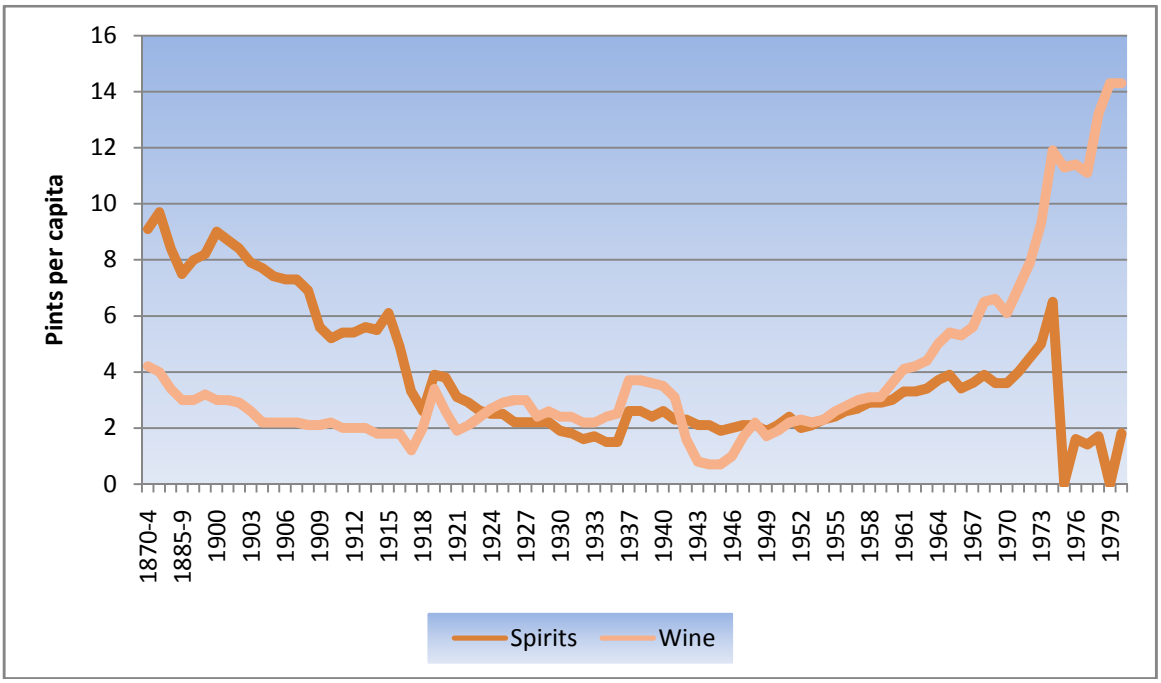

Diagram II: Consumption of Spirits and Wine in the United Kingdom, 1870–1980

Figures are taken from Table II. Consumption is given in pints per capita.

YEAR	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS
1870-4	7,372	3,737	11,109
1875-9	11,703	7,151	18,854
1880-4	12,727	8,706	21,433
1885-9	14,157	9,991	24,148
1890-4	16,419	11,530	27,949
1895-9	18,525	13,625	32,150
1900-4	19,986	15,375	35,361
1905-9	16,537	12,736	29,273
1910-4	14,747	10,982	25,729
1915-9	9,363	5,723	15,086
1920-4	7,614	3,693	11,307
1925-9	7,587	3,998	11,585
1930-5	7,016	3,648	10,664

Table III: Alcohol Mortality in England and Wales, 1870–1935

These people either died of chronic alcoholism or cirrhosis of the liver. Mortality statistics are problematic as all these deaths from alcohol are based on the certificates of the causes of death filled in by medical practitioners. Their diagnoses often varied because many doctors rather gave their opinion instead of hard facts on causes of mortality and because definitions of medical terms were wide-ranging. Cirrhosis of the liver was well defined whereas chronic alcoholism was a rather vague term (for more details see: Chapter 7). Towards the end of the nineteenth century drunkenness began to be regarded as a disease and a higher number of practitioners diagnosed alcohol as a cause of death.

Source: Wilson, *Alcohol and Nation*, pp. 277-8, p. 425.

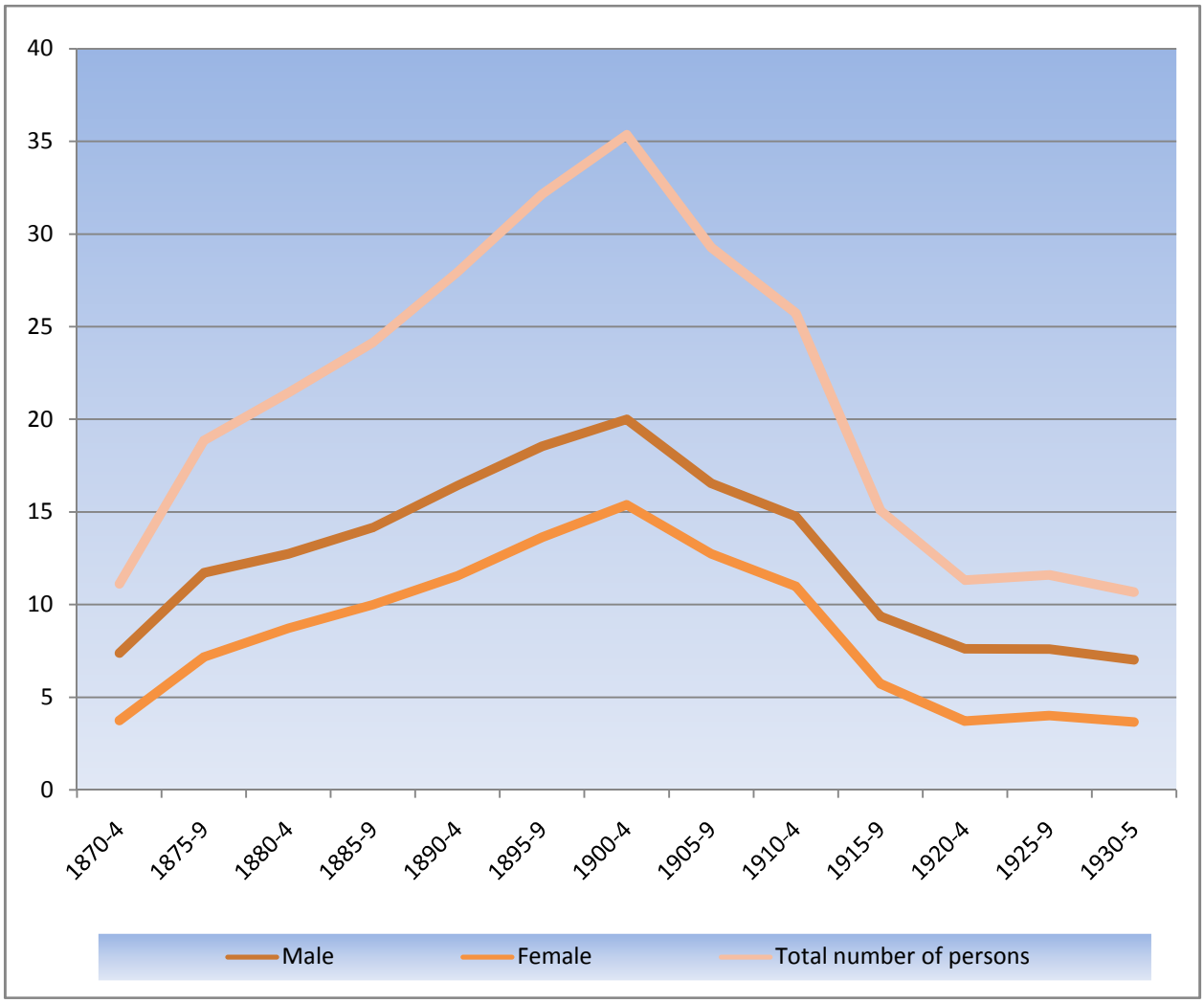

Diagram III: Table III: Alcohol Mortality in England and Wales, 1870–1935

Figures are taken from Table III. Number of deaths in Thousands.

YEAR	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS	RATE PER 10,000
1870	98,942	32,928	131,870	58.61
1871	107,672	34,671	142,343	62.46
1872	115,697	35,387	151,084	65.42
1873	141,232	41,709	182,941	78.15
1874	142,970	42,760	185,730	78.28
1875	156,468	47,521	203,989	84.84
1876	156,542	49,025	205,567	84.35
1877	152,617	47,567	200,184	81.05
1878	146,564	47,985	194,549	77.72
1879	134,189	44,240	178,429	70.33
1880	127,949	44,910	172,859	67.22
1881	131,831	42,650	174,481	67.00
1882	145,073	44,624	189,697	72.03
1883	148,661	44,244	192,905	72.45
1884	152,316	45,958	198,274	73.65
1885	141,990	41,231	183,221	67.31
1886	127,168	37,971	165,139	60.00
1887	124,673	38,099	162,772	58.49
1888	127,822	38,544	166,366	59.13
1889	132,608	41,726	174,331	61.28
1890	145,313	44,433	189,746	65.97
1891	143,797	43,496	187,293	64.39
1892	133,043	40,886	173,929	59.12
1893	126,840	42,090	168,930	56.77
1894	136,189	42,594	178,783	59.39
1895	128,448	40,896	169,344	55.61
1896	143,321	43,964	187,285	60.80
1897	147,103	46,185	193,288	62.03
1898	153,630	48,915	202,545	64.26
1899	163,725	50,618	214,343	67.23
1900	155,751	48,598	204,349	63.37
1901	160,960	49,469	210,429	64.53
1902	160,338	49,642	209,980	63.72
1903	176,864	53,383	230,247	69.16
1904	176,748	50,719	227,467	67.62
1905	171,183	48,152	219,335	64.53
1906	165,031	46,515	211,546	61.31
1907	164,494	45,587	210,081	60.54
1908	158,438	43,706	202,144	57.66
1909	144,681	39,516	184,197	52.00
1910	140,568	36,497	177,065	49.47
1911	149,831	38,134	187,965	52.02
1912	159,083	40,510	199,593	54.94
1913	163,840	41,877	205,717	56.25
1914	160,625	44,304	204,929	55.44
1915	112,819	38,828	151,647	42.97
1916	66,850	23,975	90,825	26.21

1917	36,631	13,765	50,396	14.74
1918	23,431	7,983	31,414	9.23
1919	49,323	12,500	61,823	17.45
1920	82,233	16,984	99,217	26.64
1921	67,309	14,648	81,957	21.63
1922	66,076	15,074	81,150	21.27
1923	66,868	15,448	82,316	21.43
1924	69,143	15,173	84,316	21.76
1925	66,428	14,788	81,216	20.88
1926	59,185	13,750	72,935	18.67
1927	58,664	12,996	71,660	18.24
1928	50,911	11,098	62,009	15.65
1929	47,826	10,581	58,407	14.75
1930	48,720	10,408	59,128	14.85
1931	38,512	8,770	47,282	11.82
1932	26,919	7,209	34,128	8.45
1933	32,924	8,027	40,951	10.11
1934	36,680	8,102	44,782	11.06
1935	39,717	8,641	48,358	11.89
1936	no	data	available	-
1937	40,587	6,170	46,757	11.4
1938	40,589	6,014	46,603	11.3
1939	45,846	7,083	52,929	12.8
1940	40,287	6,711	46,998	11.2
1941	35,359	5,605	40,964	9.8
1942	22,772	4,663	27,435	6.5
1943	22,069	5,294	27,363	6.5
1944	18,125	4,503	22,628	5.3
1945	16,375	4,294	20,669	4.8
1946	17,090	3,455	20,545	4.8
1947	21,345	3,816	25,170	5.8
1948	28,305	4,566	32,871	7.6
1949	31,278	4,455	35,733	8.2
1950	42,642	5,075	47,717	10.8
1951	48,335	5,341	53,676	12.2
1952	48,694	5,194	53,888	12.3
1953	48,539	5,035	53,574	12.2
1954	48,377	4,900	53,277	12.0
1955	49,654	4,556	54,210	12.2
1956	55,573	4,609	60,182	13.5
1957	62,042	4,960	67,002	14.9
1958	60,216	4,842	65,058	14.4
1959	60,685	4,502	65,187	14.4
1960	63,861	4,248	68,109	14.9
1961	69,991	4,703	74,694	16.2
1962	79,199	4,793	83,992	17.5
1963	78,228	4,779	83,007	17.2
1964	72,405	4,437	76,842	16.2
1965	69,091	3,889	72,980	15.3

1966	66,468	4,031	70,499	15.3
1967	71,167	4,377	75,544	16.0
1968	74,226	4,844	79,070	16.5
1969	75,472	5,030	80,502	16.5
1970	77,072	5,302	82,374	-
1971	81,006	5,729	86,735	-

Table IV: Convictions/Charges against Drunkenness in England and Wales, 1870–1971

These figures do not represent the proportion of drunkards to the population as some offenders were convicted/charged several times in the course of a year.

Data to 1938 refer to 'convictions'. From 1939-48 'charges proved' are given because the figures for convictions were not available. In 1948 the Criminal Justice Act replaced the 1904 Probation of Offenders Act. As a result the distinction between convictions and charges proved ceased to exist. From 1949 onwards the figures are for convictions and include all cases which would formerly have been described as 'charges proved'.

Source: Gourvish, Wilson**,** British Brewing Industry, p. 617; Report of Departmental Committee on Liquor Licensing, pp. 310-1; Williams, Brake, Drink in Great Britain, p. 380, p. 387; Wilson, *Alcohol and Nation*, pp. 430-3.

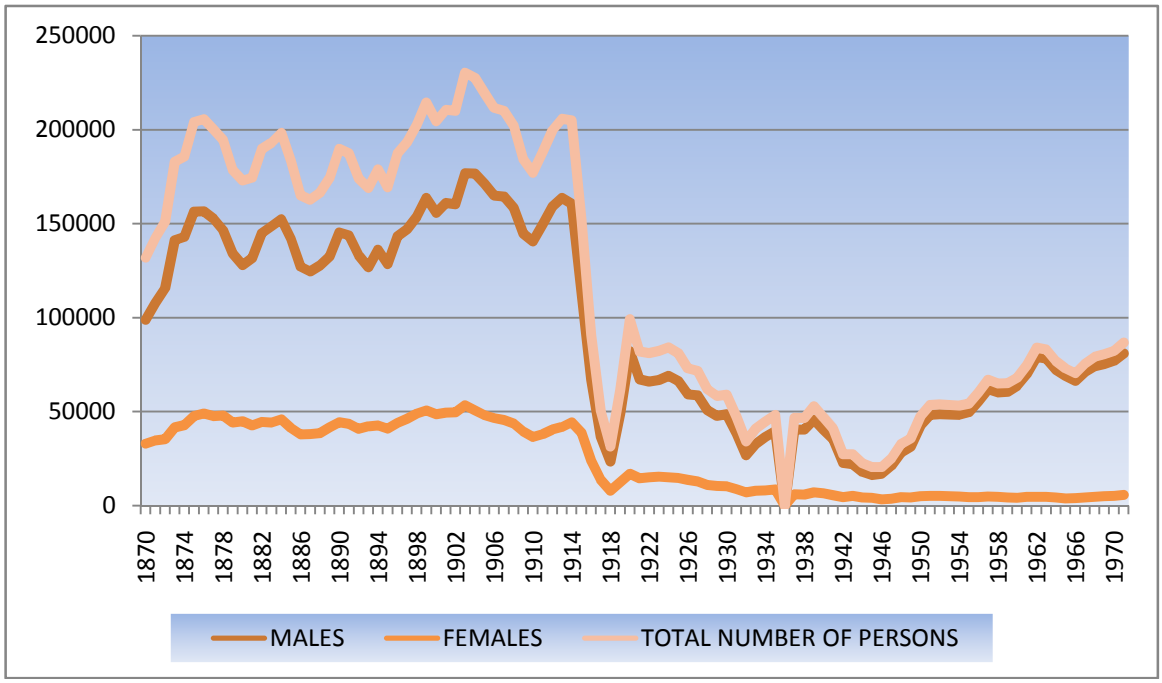

Diagram IV:Table IV: Convictions/Charges against Drunkenness in England and Wales, 1870–1971

Figures are taken from Table IV.

YEAR	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS
1958	4,078	69	4,147
1959	4,794	60	4,854
1960	5,766	75	5,841
1961	6,386	116	6,502
1962	7,042	109	7,151
1963	7,373	101	7,474
1964	7,931	128	8,059
1965	8,732	125	8,857
1966	9,432	158	9,590
1967	9,887	151	10,038
1968	18,173	201	18,374
1969	23,417	304	23,721
1970	25,930	343	26,273
1971	38,207	567	38,774
1972	46,382	716	47,098
1973	54,077	976	55,053
1974	55,033	1,120	56,153
1975	56,757	1,388	58,145
1976	48,651	1,348	49,999
1977	43,966	1,403	45,369
1978	48,023	1,672	49,695
1979	54,352	1,968	56,320
1980	63,828	2,566	66,394

Table V: Persons Convicted of Drinking and Driving in England and Wales, 1958 – 1980

These figures cover persons for whom drinking and driving was the only principal offence dealt with at a court appearance.

Source: BLRA, Statistical Handbook 1994, p. 65.

YEAR	FULL ON-LICENCE	RESTRICTED ON-LICENCE	OFF-LICENCE
1950	81,871	Introduced in 1961	26,028
1951	81,824	—	26,172
1952	81,762	—	26,222
1953	81,649	—	26,337
1954	81,428	—	26,406
1955	79,669	—	26,094
1956	79,351	—	26,083
1957	78,863	—	26,081
1958	78,414	—	26,138
1959	77,984	—	26,199
1960	77,767	—	26,382
1961	77,608	—	26,860
1962	76,786	2,914	27,764
1963	76,213	4,236	28,538
1964	75,751	5,326	29,241
1965	75,439	6,313	29,900
1966	75,283	7,235	30,138
1967	75,001	7,955	30,365
1968	74,560	8,928	30,633
1969	73,922	9,831	31,179
1970	73,690	10,898	31,776
1971	73,116	11,884	32,090
1972	72,715	13,038	32,781
1973	73,005	14,297	33,860
1974	72,765	15,100	34,658
1975	73,656	15,798	35,990
1976	74,322	16,690	37,132
1977	74,484	17,766	38,405
1978	75,227	19,113	39,835
1979	75,741	20,504	41,097
1980	76,403	21,981	42,364

Table VI: Numbers of Licensed Premises in the United Kingdom, 1950 – 1980

Source: BLRA, Statistical Handbook 1994, p. 59.

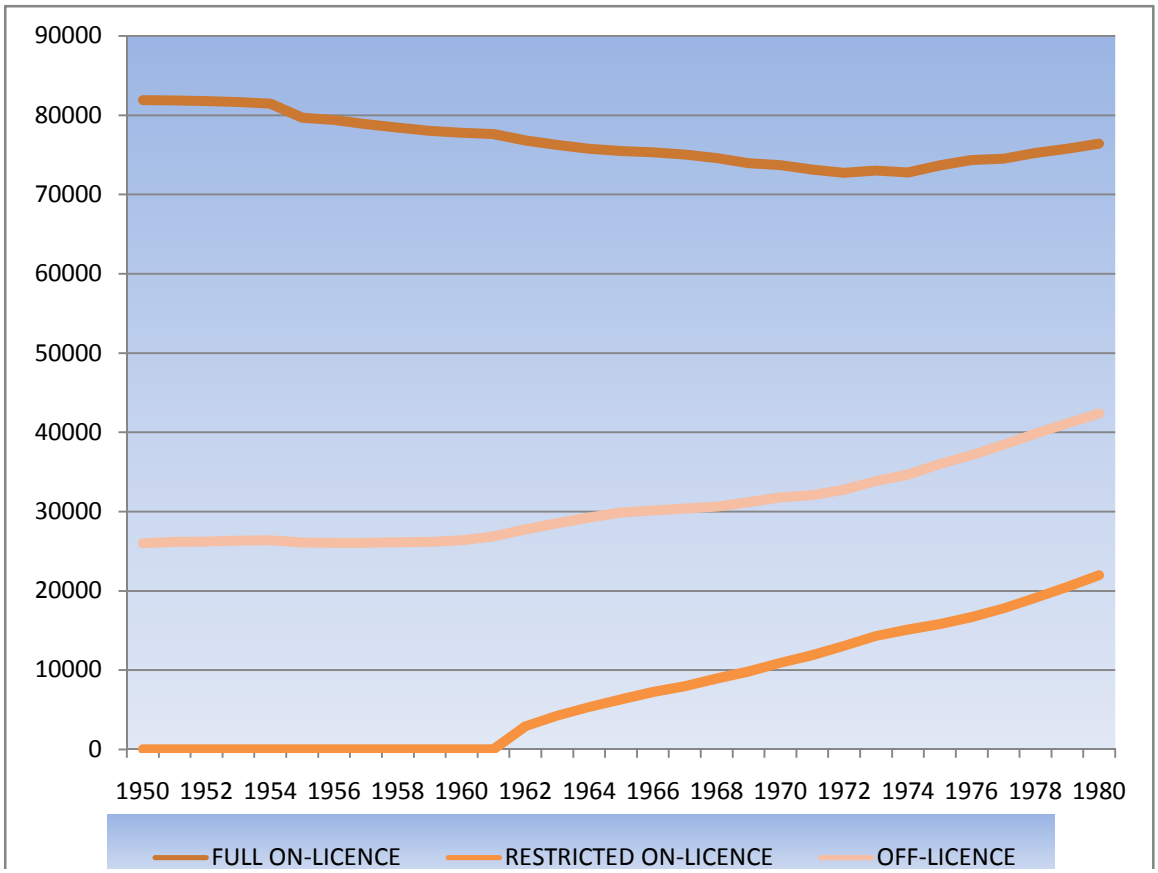

Diagram V: Numbers of Licensed Premises in the United Kingdom, 1950–1980

Figures are taken from Table VI.

AGES	MALES	FEMALES		
		Total	Unmarried	Married/ Widowed
10+	50	25	25	0
15+	5594	6069	6059	10
20+	8939	12023	11835	188
25+	8929	7821	7135	686
35+	3121	1183	815	368
45+	1207	322	184	138
55+	454	107	40	67
65+	120	20	7	13
75+	7	3	1	2
Total	28,625	27,707	26,235	1,472
Mean Age	24	21	21	30

Table VII: Barmen in England and Wales, 1901

The number of the total males and females working for employers was 56,332.

Source: Census Returns for the year 1901, quoted in: Padmavathy, 'English Barmaid', p. 229.

YEAR	LEADING ADVERTISERS (%) BIG SEVEN COMPANIES[a]	NO. 1 ADVERTISERS		NO. 2 ADVERTISERS		LAGER ADVERTISING
1955	54	Guinness	24	Whitbread	12	-
1960	66	Guinness	17	Ind Coope	16	19
1965	71	Guinness	19	Watney Mann	14	10
1970	90	Bass Charrington	22	Guinness	21	18
1975	92,5	Guinness	21	Allied	17	29
1979	94	Guinness	20	Watneys/GMet	16	37

Table VIII: Selected Beer Advertisers (Press and TV), 1955 – 1979

[a]Percentages include allocation of lager brands to relevant company.

Source: Gourvish, Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, p. 562.

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ABSTRACT (ENGLISH)

The social and economic role, behaviour and perception of women patronising English public houses transformed significantly between the 1880s and the 1970s. In the late nineteenth century young or respectable women did not frequent public houses or they risked being considered as prostitutes. In the 1970s gender barriers were blurring and young, emancipated middle-class women self-consciously entered public houses, mainly in urban areas and the more prosperous South-East of England. These transformations challenged the 'masculine republic', the traditional working-class public house with its male patrons and its masculine drinking culture.

Two turning points marked the breaking open of gender barriers in public houses, which also affected female drinking habits lastingly. In World War One, which was the first turning point, the brewing industry was nationalised in ordnance areas, such as Carlisle. Thereupon the state-managed public houses, which had been improved, attracted women from the upper-working and middle classes at the weekends. Outside those nationalised areas, respectable women began to frequent public houses as they had either become emancipated due to their work in the forces or sought company and emotional support in order to cope with their everyday life during the war. Because of severe hostility the number of these female pub-goers remained low, however. In the interwar years progressive brewers improved their public houses to make them attractive for females as well as families but these drinking establishments rather appealed to elderly women. The 1960s and 1970s marked the second turning point. During this period the social as well as financial emancipation of women, the influence of the young or 'bulge' generation and the 1961 and 1964 Licensing Acts led to a higher number of females frequenting public houses and to changes of their drinking habits. Nevertheless, the 'masculine republic' had not ceased to exist and could still be found in remote or rural areas.

This doctoral thesis attempts to outline which drawbacks women had to overcome to be able to enter public houses as respectable women. It also aims to give insights into the transformations of gender roles, drinking habits and popular culture and the reactions of the brewing industry, in particular, and English society and politics, in general. Questions on the social class and background of female pub frequenters, their age, their consumption preferences and regional differences are also discussed in this context. Additionally,

various groups of pub-goers, such as prostitutes, habitual drunkards or children, and factors which influenced female patrons unconsciously, such as pub architecture and beer or stout advertisements, are also examined in this thesis, in greater detail.

ABSTRACT (DEUTSCH)

Die gesellschaftliche und ökonomische Stellung, das Verhalten sowie die Wahrnehmung von Frauen, die englische Public Houses besuchten, änderten sich grundlegend zwischen den 1880ern und den 1970ern. Während, aus Angst für Prostituierte gehalten zu werden, weder junge noch achtbare Frauen im späten 19. Jahrhundert in Pubs verkehrten, betraten junge, emanzipierte Frauen der Mittelschicht in den 1970ern, als die Gender-Barrieren verblassten, selbstbewusst Pubs im urbanen Raum oder im wohlhabenderen Südostengland. Die Veränderungen, die dieser Wandel mit sich brachte, stellten eine Herausforderung für die ‚masculine republic', das traditionelle, männerdominierte Pub der Arbeiterschicht mit seiner typisch männlichen Trinkkultur, dar.

Zwei Wendepunkte, die unter anderem auch langfristige Auswirkungen auf die Trinkgewohnheiten der Frauen hatten, markierten das Aufbrechen der Gender-Barrieren in den Pubs. Im 1. Weltkrieg, der den ersten Wendepunkt darstellte, wurde die Brauerei-Industrie in Gebieten wie beispielswiese Carlisle, in denen Rüstungsbetriebe angesiedelt waren, verstaatlicht. Die daraufhin staatsbetriebenen Pubs, die besser ausgestattet worden waren, zogen an Wochenenden Frauen der oberen Arbeiter- und Mittelschicht an. Außerhalb dieser Gebiete begannen achtbare Frauen ebenfalls Pubs zu frequentieren, da sie sich entweder aufgrund ihrer kriegswichtigen Tätigkeiten emanzipiert hatten oder die Gesellschaft und emotionale Unterstützung anderer zur Bewältigung des Kriegsalltags suchten. Aufgrund extremer Anfeindungen blieb die Anzahl dieser Pub-Besucherinnen allerdings gering. In den Zwischenkriegsjahren statteten progressive Bierbrauer ihre Public Houses besser aus, um sie für weibliche Gäste und Familien attraktiv zu machen. Diese Lokale zogen jedoch eher ältere Frauen an. Die 1960er und 1970er markierten den zweiten Wendepunkt. Während dieser Zeit führten die soziale als auch finanzielle Emanzipation der Frauen, der Einfluss der jungen Generation sowie die 1961 und 1964 Licensing Acts dazu, dass Frauen vermehrt Pubs besuchten und ihre Trinkgewohnheiten änderten. Nichtsdestotrotz blieb aber die 'masculine republic', das traditionelle, männerdominierte Pub, vor allem im entlegenen oder ländlichen Raum bestehen.

Diese vorliegende Dissertation versucht die Widrigkeiten aufzuzeigen, die Frauen überwinden mussten, um Pubs ohne Schaden an der eigenen Reputation betreten zu können. Des Weiteren sollen Einblicke in die Transformation von Gender-Rollen, in

Trinkgewohnheiten und in die damit verbundene Populärkultur Englands gegeben werden. Wie die Bierbrauer im Speziellen und die englische Gesellschaft und Politik im Allgemeinen auf diese Veränderungen reagierten, wird ebenfalls analysiert. In diesem Kontext werden auch die Pub-Besucherinnen sowie deren Klassenzugehörigkeit, Herkunft, Alter und Konsumationsvorlieben näher beleuchtet und regionale Unterschiede herausgearbeitet. Ferner wird auf spezielle Personengruppen, die Pubs frequentierten, wie beispielsweise Prostituierte, Gewohnheitstrinkerinnen oder Kinder, näher eingegangen. Faktoren, wie die Pub-Architektur oder Bier- und Stout-Werbungen, die die Frauen unbewusst beeinflussten, werden ebenfalls in dieser Arbeit genauer untersucht.

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1999	Research for MA thesis in England (*The Pub during the Free-Licensing Era 1830-1874, with a Particular Emphasis on London)*
1996 – 1997	University of Hull, England, www.hull.ac.uk: Erasmus exchange studying English and History
1985 – 1993	BG/BRG Lilienfeld, www.bglilienfeld.ac.at: grammar school focusing on languages

WORK EXPERIENCE:

since 2009	University of Vienna, www.univie.ac.at: Lecturer in History & Didactics
since 2008	Language Competence Centre of the VET (Vocational Education and Training) Department of the Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, Arts and Culture, Vienna, www.cebs.at: Teacher trainer, specialist on English as working language

since 2001	Federal Training and Research Institute for Industrial Chemistry, Rosensteingasse, Vienna, www.htl17.at: Teacher of English, History and Political Science
2002	University of Vienna, www.univie.ac.at: English History tutor
2000 – 2003	Gymnasium Neulandschule Grinzing, private grammar school, Vienna, grinz.nls.at : Teacher of English and History and Political Science
2000 – 2001	Billrothgymnasium, grammar school, Vienna, www.billrothgymnasium.at: Teacher Training Course in English, History and Political Science
1998 – 2001	Austrian Union of Students, Vienna, www.oeh.ac.at: Department for International Affairs: student representation, organisation of student exchange programmes, conference management
1998 – 1999	Kolpingkurse, St. Pölten: www.kolp.at English tutor
1994 – 1997	Wiener Verein, St. Pölten, www.wienerverein.at: customer support in an insurance company, office work

LANGUAGES:

German (mother tongue), English (fluent), French (intermediate), Latin (intermediate), Spanish (beginner), Russian (beginner)