

Shaping the public house 1850-1950: business strategies, state regulation and social history

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Abstract

Much cultural and social history fails to engage fully with business history, resulting in an impoverished view of central institutions such as the public house. Using the twin concepts of control and interpretation, and with a particular focus on managed houses, the article suggests that the degree of control exercised by companies over the character of public houses during the period has been exaggerated. Whilst there was an increasing degree of control over public houses in terms of ownership and product range, this control was not necessarily used to influence the character of the house. Many companies left such concerns to their tenants, viewing their pubs as distribution points rather than retail outlets. Changes to the pub, such as the 'improved public house', were as much about the respectability of the trade in response to regulatory

pressures as about meeting customer needs. An appreciation of contrasting business strategies can give a richer picture of the public house and its place in popular culture.

‘many landlords [...] think of the pub as a place of friends as much as a place of profits.’¹

Introduction

The public house was a key site in the production and reproduction of popular culture during the hundred years from 1850. In the same period increasing numbers of pubs were bought by brewing companies and run by them as ‘tied’ houses. However, there is relatively little discussion in social history of the connections between the two statements. Companies tend to lurk in the background as shadowy, often slightly malign figures, their actions the province of business historians. The assumption often seems to be that their ownership of pubs had deleterious consequences for the communities formed in them. However, relatively little attention is paid to specifying these effects, especially as embodied in the person running the house. There is a tendency, for example, to use terms like ‘beer house’ and ‘public house’ interchangeably, despite the differences that there might be in both physical appearance and operating practice.² The account presented here bridges this gap by presenting some material about the different ways in which the pub was run. The account commences in 1850 as this was the date around which direct house management (often seen as an indicator of ‘commercialised leisure’) commenced in Liverpool; it ends in 1950 as that date marks the diffusion of a more interventionist attitude towards the shaping of the public house amongst a wider section of brewing

companies, as evidenced by the trade press and company histories.³ The discussion draws upon an analytical distinction between ‘control’ and ‘interpretation’ in the running of pubs during the period. ‘Control’ is taken to be a concern with the economic aspects of the public house, ‘interpretation’ to do with more symbolic and cultural aspects. Of course, in practice the two are inter-twined, but the argument pursued in the article is that it helps to regard them as analytically distinct. This is because such treatments of the public house as exist tend to operate with an undifferentiated concept of ‘commercialised leisure’ and to exaggerate the degree to which large companies shaped what happened in the pub.

The contention is that we can understand ‘commercialised leisure’ and the impact that it had on the public house better if we distinguish between control and interpretation. In many of the ‘leisure retail’ companies of the early twenty-first century much management attention is paid to shaping the way the pub appears, as laid down in brand standards and theme manuals. In other words, the companies are as much concerned with the interpretation of the pub as with controlling the business done within it. Looked at in this light, the concern of companies owning pubs during our period was much more one of control, and control moreover that was largely a response to regulatory pressure, influenced by the broader temperance movement. The focus was largely on matters such as tenancy agreements and pricing and even when companies engaged in direct management, their concerns were over workforce discipline, rather than with control over customers. An examination of practices employed by a number of companies suggests that knowledge about customers was limited and such intervention in shaping practices within the pub as did occur tended to take a physical form. We can see this most clearly in the tensions involved in the ‘improved public house’ movement. The conclusion is that a rather more nuanced

appreciation of different strategies amongst pub owning companies, and the extent to which they impacted on what happened in the pub is necessary if we are to generate a more satisfactory account of the nature of public houses in the period. Whilst the improved public house movement represents a partial attempt to influence what customers did, it was a mediation of several concerns and its impact might be exaggerated. Real change does not come about until after 1950. New forms of leisure outlet provided real competition for the public house. They were perceived by brewers to be more attractive to potential customers that they had historically paid little attention to, such as women, and to offer a range of products, such as food, which they had largely failed to address. The response of the brewers was to pay much more attention to both the form of the pub and the way that business was transacted in it, in a manner that was generally in sharp contrast with dominant forms of practice in the previous years.

Definitions and evidence

It is worth examining how the issue of running pubs has been treated thus far, as it indicates key issues of definition and evidence. On the first count, there is a persistent failure to be clear about the distinction between the running of pubs by nominally independent tenants and their control by salaried managers. This elision was frequently made by Victorian critics of the pub, much to the exasperation of trade commentators. For historians, the problem is that these critics of the industry were a particularly vociferous group of publicists, whose concerns dominate sources such as the numerous Royal Commissions and Select Committees. This means that particular care

is needed in interpreting their evidence; not only is it vague on definitions, but it is also prone to exaggeration. There is much of value in their words, but only if taken in conjunction with other sources.

The discussion below might be thought to reflect on sins of omission and commission. The former is far more common in the literature, with the tensions being recognised but not explored. Often the world of business organisations forms a shadowy backdrop to more detailed explorations of popular activities, but its role is not explored any further.⁴ In some cases, this is because the pub is rather taken for granted, and the focus is on alternative forms of leisure.⁵ Others recognise the potential issues but leave them to one side having noted them. Thus Jones points to what he sees as a key tension - 'Thus the public-house - part of a significant Capitalist industry - was the hub of working-class social life, catering for all kinds of activities.' - but his discussion avoids exploring the tension by focussing on the 'community pub.'⁶ Similarly, Walton's more recent account notes 'the rapid spread of the tied house system and the decline of the home-brew pub in the late nineteenth century altered the balance between independent businesses, tenants and managers,' but does not explore this balance further.⁷

These treatments point to some potential issues of interest to be explored below, but other accounts have the potential to give us completely the wrong impression of the relationships involved. Thus the suggestion by Collins and Vamplew that changes happening in 1890s 'represented the acceleration of its transformation into a modern retail industry, in which the importance of marketing, product brands and retail outlets were paramount' telescopes processes which, it will be shown, only really occur after

1950.⁸ However, this impression could be excused to the extent that it seems to be supported by some historians with a more detailed focus on the industry. Gutzke, for example, suggests that by the 1890s brewers were ‘increasingly impersonal and inflexible, even ruthless in maximising profits.’⁹ However, this seems to be taking licensed victualler propaganda rather at face value. No doubt there were some companies who acted in this way, and many certainly tightened up tenancy agreements under the pressure of legislation, as we will see below, but this argument is too sweeping for the industry as a whole. One good example of how the picture becomes cloudy by a failure to distinguish between the strategies operated by different companies can be seen in the following account of events in Crewe provided by Chaloner. It is worth citing and discussing at some length because it shows some of the confusions that can arise from an uncritical approach to evidence.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the great brewery companies began to buy up individual public-houses over wide areas. How far this process had gone in the Crewe of 1892 may be gauged from a list of that date:-

Owner	No of public houses in Crewe
Sir A B Walker, Ltd (Liverpool)	8
Greenall & Whitley (Warrington)	8
North Cheshire Brewery Ltd	7
South Cheshire Brewery (E S Woolf)	6
L.N.W.R. Company	3
Charles Welch	2

The large breweries had reduced the tenants of their tied houses to the level of mere wage-paid managers, evictable in many cases after a week's notice. This

system destroyed the sense of responsibility felt by the more liberally treated tenants and the proprietors of "free houses".¹⁰

It is worth noting here that only the first two companies named could be envisaged as being 'great brewery companies' and that the two adopted radically different policies with regard to the running of their public houses. Sir A.B. Walker Ltd did indeed run most of their houses as managed houses, as we will see below. However, Greenall, Whitley were firmly committed to the tenancy model, as their evidence to the Peel Commission on the Liquor Licensing Laws clearly indicated.¹¹ For contemporary temperance advocates, however, the distinction was not one worth making. It is clear that Chaloner's account, and his subsequent treatment of the battle between the Crew Magistrates and the firm of Peter Walker & Son (successors to the business of A. B. Walker), is taken entirely from Liberal and temperance sources. The problem is that such a one-sided treatment cannot help us understand why this battle was precisely between these two groups and did not involve other companies on the list.¹² Of course, in many accounts the issue of who runs public houses has either not been treated in detail or has been misrepresented because either it was perceived to be a marginal issue in the particular context or because of the absence of source material. The argument of this article is that discussion of the different ways in which companies sought to run pubs could be helpful in shedding light on this important institution, not least in the influence it may have had on the shaping of popular culture. Some material that indicates how this happened is presented, but this follows a brief discussion of the distinction between control and interpretation in the context of the pub.

Interpretation and control in organisations

Management as control is the dominant motif as much in radical as in managerialist accounts of work organisations. For classical theorists, as exemplified in the work of Frederick Taylor, the challenge was to design structures and roles in which there was strict separation between conception and execution in the name of meeting the goals of the organisation.¹³ For radical opponents, notably Braverman, this led to a process of deskilling in which human satisfaction from work was subordinated to the drive for profit.¹⁴ Whilst scientific management advocated control in the name of a 'rational' division of labour in the context of unitary goals, the radical critics pointed to the ideological dimensions of this control in organisations where the goals were very much contested. However, what both perspectives tended to underplay was the need for interpretation of the environment. There is, whether explicit or implicit, a form of market determinism at work here that still characterises much business history. Forms of control are, by these accounts, simple responses to market needs that will be convergent in nature by reasons of competitive pressure and the demands of capital accumulation. Whilst, of course, there is much of value in such accounts they tend to ignore the need for creative human responses to perceived pressures, such as those constituted by markets. This need for interpretation was central to Marx's famous contrast between the bee and the human, where he pointed to the central capacity of the human to envisage activities before engaging in them.

This focus on the creative response of human actors to their environment has been revived in much contemporary organisational theorising. Shifts in the nature of work and the all-pervasive influence of information technology have led a variety of writers

to suggest that there is a need to look at the way in which organisations interpret their environment and respond to it. Whether this should be done by conceiving organisations as ‘interpretative systems’, by suggesting the need to examine the formation of the ‘dominant logic’ or by focusing on learning, writers from a variety of perspectives unite in seeing this as an important issue.¹⁵ A problem with some of these accounts is that they tend to divorce issues of interpretation from those of control. However, their importance is in reminding us about the potentially contested nature of ways of seeing the world and the inter-relationship between this and control of organisations. We can see the implications of this if we consider the notion of ‘locus of interpretation’ in the context of the pub.

At one end of a continuum we can place the house owned and run by a publican. Not only is this person free to order her own supplies (hence running a ‘free’ house) but she is also able to set the nature and tone of the house. Of course, she does not have complete freedom to do this. In practice her degrees of freedom are constrained by both existing and past customers. Past customers in the sense that certain pubs get a reputation as being a pub of a particular type where certain sorts of people meet – a gay pub, an Irish pub, a union pub, a music pub. Such reputations can be hard to shake and may be reinforced by existing customers, who wish to see old customs maintained. In turn, however, the new publican may bring certain personal attributes – especially those of a sporting nature – that brings in new customers and sets this against existing reputations. The interpretation of the nature of the pub is therefore a complex process of on-going negotiation between publican and customers. The opposing end of this continuum is the house that is part of a national chain that is both branded and themed. Often drawing upon exemplars that have emerged from the

process of negotiation described above (one thinks particularly of the 'Irish' pub) these houses have their character established by a central marketing department. The nature of the house is laid down in detailed 'brand standards' which extend to the type of service to be offered, and these standards are policed not only by a managerial hierarchy, but also by mystery visitors and other devices. Customers, too, are enrolled into this work of control, through such devices as suggestions cards and complaint forms, and the premises will be overseen by a salaried manager. In this example, the locus of interpretation lies, notionally, firmly at the centre of a large organisation. The schematic representation of this in figure 1 indicates how this unification of control and interpretation might occur in one person, in the case of the free house, or in one organisation, as in the case of the managed house. Between these two extremes the divergence is represented by the tenanted house, in which control over, for example product range might be firmly in the hands of the owner of the house but interpretation of the character of the house might be exclusively the concern of the tenant. Clearly, control and interpretation are *analytic* constructs. In practice, there is likely to be an intermixture of the two. However, it is worth holding them apart for the purpose of analysis, in order to explore the inter-relationships between them over time.

Figure 1 about here

Further, in practice, as de Certeau reminds us, customers can find space in the everyday to resist the most all enveloping of centralising tendencies.¹⁶ The result is not, therefore a foregone conclusion, but rather a site of contestation, even if such contestation is played out in the smallest of everyday details. There could also be a tendency to regard this continuum as modelling some sort of historical process, with an inevitable movement towards centralised interpretation. There are certainly

tendencies in this direction, but this article argues that, in as far as such tendencies can be identified, they gain momentum from the 1950s. The extent of centralised interpretation, it will be argued, was limited in pubs up to that point. What occurred was a tendency towards centralised control, in which brewers mediated the demands of both the regulatory authorities and the temperance lobby. It is the development of this complex process of mediation that we turn to next.

Managing the pub

It is worth looking at those companies that employed management as a central part of their business strategy as they might be regarded as being the clearest case of the potential interference in the nature of the pub and hence of the sorts of practices engaged in within it. Even if this did not amount to direct interference (by either prohibiting or promoting particular groups of practices or people) then it might be argued that the employment of salaried managers might lead to rapid turnover of staff who were concerned only to follow the orders of their employers at the expense of community building within the house. That is, the process of mutual constitution of the pub by occupier and customers depends on the occupier (whether owner or tenant) having sufficient time and discretion to engage in such a process.¹⁷ Certainly, this was the opinion of those concerned about the employment of ‘mere servants’ to run pubs, as in this editorial from the *Liverpool Mercury* in 1889:

A single individual may own a dozen, a score, or fifty houses in various parts of the city, each conducted by a servant of no estate, liable to dismissal at a moment's notice, and held responsible for promoting the success of the

concern to which he is for the nonce attached. The master of many may employ or discharge at his personal whim, and not the slightest difficulty is experienced in transferring licences from one to another of the units who come and go as persons who are supposed by a fiction of the law to have entered into a serious contract with the licensing authorities.¹⁸

Whether, of course, managers were dismissed 'on a whim' is a matter of the historical evidence. Those companies involved in the employment of managers would have suggested that it was not in their interest to do so and the passage above suggests as much about Victorian attitudes towards employment relations as to the actual working in practice of those relations. However, the date of this passage should indicate that the 'managerial system' was practised before the 1890s by a number of companies, in contrast to the impression given by business history.¹⁹ In particular, it points to the importance of Liverpool in the developed of managed house systems. Because of their leading position and the survival of company records, the firm of Peter Walker & Son is one of those to be considered below. The other prime centre of the managed house was Birmingham, and the firm considered here is Mitchells and Butlers. Both companies feature as leading exponents of the system in the evidence to the 1896 Royal Commission and so it is appropriate that we consider their operation of managed houses.

Of the two, Peter Walker & Son were by far the more aggressive exponents of managed houses. Perhaps reflecting the embattled nature of relations between trade, politicians and magistrates in Liverpool, the company issued a celebratory booklet on the Golden Jubilee of the company in 1896. Four pages were devoted to a defence of

their practices, setting them firmly in the context of multiple retailing. ‘The Managerial System,’ it protested, ‘exists in all these businesses, and yet we never hear anyone shrieking about the tyranny of the grocer, the draper, or the druggist because they insist upon their managers discharging their duties with efficiency.’²⁰ Whilst brewing beer in Warrington, the company began as a combined enterprise between Peter Walker and his son Andrew Barclay, acquiring and running public houses in Liverpool from 1846.²¹ Whilst it is difficult to obtain precise details of the emergence of the practice of managing houses, as opposed to the conventional practice of putting them out to tenancy, house accounts survive from 1858 that suggest both the owning of multiple houses and the practice of putting these houses under management.²² The surviving records indicate the following pattern (see Table 1) of ownership in Liverpool:²³

Table 1 here

The years between 1830 and 1870 were ones of considerable turbulence in Liverpool licensing practices. Beerhouse licences, created by the Act of 1830, were enthusiastically taken up in Liverpool, causing not a little distress amongst the existing licence holders.²⁴ The multiplication of outlets, they argued, had caused such a drop in trade at individual houses that ‘Men who were in affluence in Liverpool a few years ago were now in poverty and distress’²⁵ The magistrates were then put under pressure to convert beerhouse into full licences, pressure which they resisted until 1862, when a brief policy of ‘free licensing’ was embarked upon. This was reversed in 1866, but the result was that full licence numbers had increased by 370 to 1,937.²⁶ Again, the established licensed victuallers alleged that this contributed to widespread devaluations of their property.²⁷ The result of these changes was that licensed house property was cheap for those with sufficient capital to purchase, as was

the case with Andrew Walker. By the time restriction was put back in place, he was the owner of sufficient property to benefit from the increase in values. Giving evidence to the 1877 Lord Select Committee on Temperance, John Patterson, a Liverpool magistrate, reported that

‘it so happened that 10 or 12 years ago the largest proprietor of public-houses then in the town made this observation in my hearing: "If the magistrates continue the free trade system I shall double the number of my houses, and if they stop it will double the value of the houses I have."²⁸

Walker was not the only brewer in Liverpool to be managing public houses and it became established as a common practice.²⁹ What did this mean for the character of these houses?

It certainly meant tight control over managers, with a list of rules being pasted inside the covers of the books of account that they were to keep.³⁰ These for example, meant that they were ‘prohibited from seeking to establish relations of companionship or intimacy with his customers by smoking with them while on duty, or by treating them or being himself treated.’³¹ The list of 19 rules stated that ‘the Manager is responsible for the house being in every respect well conducted’ and ended with the ominous rule 19, ‘Penalty for the breach of any of the above Rules, Dismissal.’³² It was this strict enforcement of discipline that led to a shift in magisterial opinion on the managerial system. Marked at first by hostility, then by reluctant tolerance, it shifted to enthusiastic endorsement as they realised that more effective control over the conduct of houses could be exercised by the internal inspection forces of companies like Walkers than by the stretched external inspections of the police. Indeed, the

independent licensed victuallers of the city were horrified by the 1912 declaration by the chairman of the Licensing Committee that 'houses managed for brewers are conducted more in conformity with the wishes of the bench than tenanted houses'.³³ The development of the managed house system in Liverpool, therefore, was the production of a number of imperatives, not least amongst which were the demands of temperance campaigners for tight control over public houses.³⁴ However, what impact did this tight control have over the conduct of these houses?

One impact was the rather austere nature of many of the houses. Despite the magnificence of their exterior décor, inside they were often, Mass Observation found, dedicated to little more than drinking, with games being discouraged.³⁵ In 1939 the prohibition by the Liverpool justices of the playing of darts formed the subject of questions in the Commons, with one MP making the point that 'in Liverpool the licensing justices are really anti-licensing justices, of a very narrow frame of mind.'³⁶ However, whilst such edicts might be willingly enforced in managed houses, the main thrust for this came from the justices, not from the companies themselves. Indeed, the evidence from their records suggests that they paid little attention to the character of events within the house, provided that they were within the bounds of the rules laid down. These may have been strict, but they were both primarily aimed at disciplining the workforce and at codifying the requirements of the law and the local justices. The Board of Directors' minute books suggest little interest in the nature of the houses themselves. Beyond a recording of house takings in the aggregate and notes of purchases, there is remarkably little on either the pubs themselves or those who worked in them. The company, for example, was responsible for building some very ostentatious and well-known houses in the centre of Liverpool, such as the Crown

Hotel on Lime Street.³⁷ However, one struggles to find anything about the shaping of these houses in the minutes. The aggregate figures of takings are, however, suggestive. They allow us to calculate, for the years between 1896 and 1907, a figure for average takings per house. Whilst this is a crude figure with no allowance for price inflation, it gives a fairly constant figure in the range of £2000 to £2200.³⁸ Together with other evidence, this suggests that the company adopted a strategy based on property purchase rather than on the exploitation of existing assets, that is, an extensive rather than an intensive strategy. This is understandable in the conditions in which the company found itself. Just beyond our period, in 1953, a leader in the *Brewers Journal* on 'salesmanship' pointed out that historically the trade had not tried to 'sell' the pub as this would engender hostility.³⁹ It is not surprising, therefore, that the debates within the Board were about the nature, extent and pace of property acquisition rather than on how the pubs acquired were run.⁴⁰

This lack of interest extends to a lack of discussion of the managers and their conditions themselves.⁴¹ However, what is suggestive are occasional notes such as that recording the death of John Wells, outdoor superintendent at Warrington, who 'had been a faithful servant of the Company for upwards of 47 years, first as a Vaults Manager and latterly as Outdoor Manager'⁴² This suggests that whilst all managers were liable to dismissal, many might serve for long periods not only with the company but also in the same house. This is confirmed by an analysis of a sample of managed houses, drawn from the property registers and cross-referenced to the licensing registers.⁴³ For the 20 houses for which information has been gathered, the modal number of managers was five over the period 1881-1930. The maximum number of managers was ten, which still does not suggest excessive turnover.

Moreover, there was a tendency for the managers who lasted under two years to be clustered together, as if once the manager were established, they tended to stay for reasonable periods. One caveat should be made to this analysis: there was a tendency, particularly in the earlier years, for licences to be held by owners or brewery staff. For example, considerable embarrassment was caused to the brewer and Tory councillor John Houlding (the 'King of Everton') who held the licence for 131 Rishton Street. He was summonsed in 1885 for harbouring a police constable. Whilst the case was dismissed and it was recognised that Houlding had delegated the running of the house to a manager, the case fuelled the argument that 'that the man who manages a public-house, and he only, should be the licensee, and should be directly responsible to the community for its good management.'⁴⁴ Two of the houses in the sample appear to have been held in this way, and it might be that changes of managers were more frequent here. However, the average length of tenure of the managers who completed a full term within the period was nine years, with some examples of exceptionally long service in the same house – eleven managers served for over 20 years, with the long service award going to John Edwards for his 43 years at 53 Great Mersey Street. What this sample does indicate is that as well as some managers holding houses for long periods, they must have started at an early age. Managers in Liverpool seem to have been recruited from the ranks of bar staff in a fashion that contrasted considerably with the tenancy model. Under this, tenants generally took a house as a shift of occupation in middle age, often occasioned by an earlier occupational career, such as the armed services or the police, which required such a change.⁴⁵ It was this pattern to which management came to be assimilated and fits better with the practice of the other major company employing the 'managerial system', the Birmingham firm of Mitchells and Butlers.

Mitchells and Butlers was formed by the merger of the two firms of William Butler and Henry Mitchell in 1898. The experience and drive for running managed houses came from the first named. William Butler held the licence of the London Works Tavern, Smethwick in 1866 and, in the tradition of Birmingham, brewed on the premises.⁴⁶ He began to acquire outlets in which to sell his beer and was put in charge of the retail side of the merged business.⁴⁷ At his death it was noted that ‘it was always felt that Mr William Butler was more a retailer - although he was a brewer - than any other member of the trade.’⁴⁸ Just as in Liverpool, the drive behind the creation of managed houses came from a company with roots in the retail trade, but the local context was very different. Despite the more lurid pronouncements of Joseph Chamberlain about the perils of the drink trade and running debates with the licensing magistrates, there was still a strong sense of cooperation between the pub owning companies and local politicians. This resulted in the creation of a company to organise the removal of redundant public houses that anticipated later legislation. This very different local context might be put down to the residential patterns of the Birmingham ruling class, who stayed close to the city rather than fleeing to distant country estates, as was the case in Liverpool.⁴⁹ This engendered particularly close family relations between the Chamberlain family and William Waters Butler, son of William and a powerful figure in national brewing circles in the inter-war years.⁵⁰ Whatever the causes, what emerged in Birmingham on the part of both politicians and brewers was a move for ‘fewer but better’ public houses in which management would play a central part. This was still management as control, but control dedicated towards the improvement of the house. In turn, this public position was reflected in and influenced by internal practices.

The minute books suggest a much closer involvement and interest in the running of houses on the part of the directors. In part, this was to do with financial performance, with the company building elaborate and extensive systems to monitor takings and expenditure.⁵¹ However, they also took a considerable personal interest in what happened in the houses. In 1909, for example 'Mr C Mitchell reported that Mr W. W Butler, Mr Edge and himself had spent last Wednesday afternoon at the House and had particularly investigated the staff list and other expenditure and had concluded that the Staff could not be reduced and that the only way to make the House pay is to increase the turnover.'⁵² This personal interest was supplemented by an extensive mechanism of house inspectors, but interestingly attempts were also made to involve house managers. In 1907, for example, it was resolved that 'Managers and tenants to be requested to report to us on matters affecting the trade.'⁵³ This close involvement with the running of houses gave some credibility to Arthur Mitchell's declaration in 1945 that 'I have heard it said that customers of licensed houses liked the small, inconvenient, hole-and-corner places of the past. In my experience of the licensed trade, and having been in close touch with our customers through the company's managerial system of trading, I can honestly say this is all stuff and nonsense.'⁵⁴

This brief review of the two leading exponents of the 'managerial system' should suggest a number of conclusions. One is that the employment of managers to run public houses does not inevitably produce the same results. The specific local contexts produced different approaches – the dash for expansion and relative lack of interest in the detail of the house on the part of Peter Walker & Sons as against the 'fewer but better' policies coupled with some moulding of the running of the house at

central level by Mitchells & Butlers. In both cases the nature of local politics contributed to a particular style of running houses – austere and rather confrontational in Liverpool, more considered and cooperative in Birmingham. However, in both cases the similarities were that the management of houses was used to mediate and enforce the pressures coming from local politicians and regulators. Thus, when we talk of ‘commercial’ influences on the character of public houses, we have to be careful to distinguish both between different attitudes towards what constituted retailing practice on the part of different companies, and between the way in which these influences might in fact have been more to do with broader pressures. In terms of our distinction between control and interpretation, the argument is that the pressures in our period were largely towards the former. That is, the companies who were most prominent in their employment of public house managers used them to ensure that licences were not jeopardised and to maximise financial returns. Their degree of involvement in establishing the character of the pubs on a day-to-day basis was relatively limited. These companies were, of course, in the vanguard of what we might take to be ‘commercialised leisure’ in that they had direct control of their retailing activities. In this, they were very much in the minority, with most companies operating their outlets at arms length. It is to the broader practice in the industry that we turn now, examining the deep commitment of most industry players to the tenancy model, a commitment that we find echoed and reinforced by many magistrates.

Resistance and improvement

‘The Bristol magistrates’ reported the *Brewers Journal* in 1882, ‘hold strong notions about this business. No technical equivocations regarding tenancy can overcome their austere judgement. They insist on genuine bona fide tenancy. They do not admire the

system of a capitalist - of course, to the outside world all brewers are capitalists - owning a number of houses and placing people in them - for his own exclusive profit.'⁵⁵ This was explicitly referred to as 'the Liverpool system' and this should remind us once again of the need to take local and regional differences seriously during this period.⁵⁶ Whilst there were some producers with increasingly national distribution systems, notably Bass and Guinness, public house ownership was strongly concentrated in particular areas. In these areas, the attitudes of local magistrates were crucial. Whilst the Birmingham and Liverpool magistrates might accept and eventually welcome managers, others were more resistant. Even after the case of Mellor vs Lydiate in 1914 which found that managers came within the definition of 'fit and proper persons' to hold licences, magistrates in many areas, and particularly in London, resisted the introduction of managers.⁵⁷ Indeed, such resistance was to scupper the expansionist plans of Peter Walker & Son in the pre-First World War years.⁵⁸ A form of guerrilla resistance continued during the inter-war years, drawing upon notions of the independent tenant.

Such notions were also shared by many brewery companies. In a quite prescient observation, Alexander Part commented 'The fact is that there is no natural affinity between Brewing and Hotelkeeping ; the alliance is entirely "a marriage of convenience," and the best remedy, in practice, is divorce.'⁵⁹ Many brewing companies were unwilling owners of houses, feeling that they had been driven into this by competitive pressures. Tetley's, for example, faced just the same expansion of beerhouses in Leeds as did Peter Walker & Sons, but resisted the acquisition of property for as long as possible.⁶⁰ Whilst we have seen that the firms running managed houses had their origins in the retail trade, this seems to have been unusual.

Whilst we can give a number of examples of other brewing companies having their origins with publicans – the Liverpool firm of Robert Cain & Sons, Offilers of Derby and Bullivant's of Norwich, for example - these are far outweighed by those founded by farmers or maltsters.⁶¹ Whilst many of these companies might have owned some houses from an early period, their prime motivation was production, with houses being seen as a distribution network, rather than as retail outlets. Indeed, innovations in the way that public houses were run, whether they be the employment of barmaids, the evolution into the music hall or connections with organized sport were as likely to be the work of enterprising tenants as stemming from brewing companies.⁶² The implications of this production focus were perhaps seen best in the case of Bass, by far the largest company in the industry, but something of an ailing giant in the inter-war period. Hawkins notes the neglect of its tied houses and its lack of interest in the 'improved public houses movement'.⁶³ One telling example was the construction in the 1940s of houses in cooperation with the Hull-based brewery of Moor and Rhodes that featured men only bars at a time when the trade press was calling for a greater appeal to women as customers.⁶⁴ As Avis comments, 'Needless to say, these bars were the last flowering of a faded social drinking pattern, clung to by a Bass company living in the past. Alone amongst the brewery companies in its promotion of men only bars, it was immune to the others opening up their outlets to mixed custom in all the bars; it adhered to "Bass for Men" as the inspiration of its commercial activity.'⁶⁵ Thus, many companies had little interest in either the nature of their houses or in the changes that the managerial system might bring. As Gourvish and Wilson note, by the end of our period 'in the main, traditional retailing practices persisted, and the tied house system served to protect the market shares of the smaller, locally based brewing concerns.'⁶⁶

Davies reminds us of the deep conservatism of many drinkers in the 1930s; we can perhaps link this attitude to a mutually reinforcing conservatism on the part of many pub owning companies.⁶⁷ This suggests that their interest was largely in production and not in interfering with what went on in their public houses. Their control was exercised at one remove, through the rent mechanism, rather than by any direct intervention. Of course, to have intervened any further would have required some sense of the customer and their changing needs, and the response to the publication of the Mass Observation investigations of 'Worktown's' drinking habits is suggestive. Whilst pointing out that 'the average Southerner will not recognise Worktown's public-houses as prototypes of those around him' the *Brewers Journal* gave the book an extensive review and welcomed it in an editorial as the first attempt to take seriously the views of those who drank in pubs.⁶⁸ It concluded that 'no director, no brewery staff manager and no outdoor representative can neglect to read this book' and the work clearly informed its increasingly frequent editorials on the need for the industry to recognise changing leisure patterns and to respond to them. The underlying text was that there were many in the industry who were not taking changing customer needs seriously. Rather, they adopted a somewhat paternalistic view that they were the arbiters of what was good for their customers, much to the dismay of more advanced sections of the trade as represented by the *Brewers Journal*. It saw the development of selling and marketing skills as central to such responses, set in the context of increasing control over houses through direct management. In 1946, for example, an editorial suggested that 'Moreover, that in the matter of upkeep, the provision of indoor and outdoor amenities, and particularly in relation to the service of meals, managed houses, as a whole, excel to an extent never yet attained under the

tenancy system.⁶⁹ However, it would be fair to point out that in this focus on customers the *Brewers Journal* was well in advance of practice in the industry. Most firms remained firmly wedded to the tenancy model and its distance from customers. However, even in the more ‘advanced’ sections of the industry we can see a similar rather Olympian attitude towards customers. Something of these attitudes can be traced in the development of the ‘improved public house’ movement. This movement was much more to do with ensuring the respectability of the brewing industry than it was to do with identifying and meeting customer needs.

A good deal has been written about this movement, which sought to build new houses as exemplars of what might be done across the industry and was associated with a number of leading companies – notably Mitchells and Butlers, Barclay Perkins, Whitbread, and Newcastle Breweries.⁷⁰ However, the focus for this discussion is what the movement tells us about the nature of central interpretation in the pub-owning companies. The case of the Downham Tavern in London will illustrate some of the complexities that suggest, once again, we need to recognise the inter-related influences that shaped the public house. The Downham Tavern was built by Barclay Perkins to serve a new London County Council estate. It was an enormous house featuring function rooms, a restaurant and, most notably, waitress-only service of drinks. However, in 1937 the company went to the licensing justices to ask for permission for structural alterations to reintroduce bars. A new house was being built on the edge of the estate and the company was worried that customers would desert the Downham to be able to drink at the bar. Customers, they argued, were suspicious about their beer if they couldn’t see it being poured. ‘The spontaneous revolt of the public at Downham against notions of public-house improvement imposed at the

behest of people who have never entered a public-house as customers in their lives,' argued the *Brewers Journal*, 'carries a lesson which we may hope will not be lost upon Licensing Justices generally or upon the Trade.'⁷¹ Again, what we have something rather more than simple unmediated 'commercial leisure'. It is interesting to trace some of these influences, as they suggest the deeper roots of the improved public house movement, roots that go beyond the much discussed influence of the State Management scheme at Carlisle.⁷² We have already seen the advocacy of fewer but better houses by Mitchells & Butlers before the First World War, to which we need to add the efforts by Sydney Neville of Whitbread to promote better training of public house staff in improved surroundings. Another important stream is that of the Public House Trust Movement. This was established in the early years of the twentieth century to promote the 'disinterested management' of public houses.⁷³ As such it represented the moderate wing of the temperance movement and brought many of that movement's attitudes towards drinkers with it. Of particular interest is Alexander Part, the managing director who, as we have seen, wrote the first text on running public houses and after the First World War moved to Barclay Perkins to run their improved managed houses.⁷⁴ He was to suggest in 1930 the abolition of the bar and the provision of entertainment in houses.⁷⁵ This hatred of the bar was reflected in a much earlier call by Sir Laurence Gomme, Clerk to London County Council, to transform the "individual secrecy of the public-house" into the "comradeship of the cafe."⁷⁶ Such attitudes were not restricted to London. At Bristol, reported the *Brewers Journal*,

the lessee of a site for a public-house is required to enter into covenants that the licensed refreshment house shall be placed under the care of a manager

experienced in catering and that the manager shall be engaged on terms giving him a direct monetary interest in promoting the sale of food and non-alcoholic refreshments, but not of alcoholic liquors. He is required also to encourage the consumption of food and liquor at separate tables served by waiters and waitresses instead of at a bar and to develop to the utmost the catering side of the business, and, in particular, the sale of cooked food and non-alcoholic liquors.⁷⁷

Similar moves and restrictions were to be found on new council estates elsewhere. The pub owning companies may well have taken advantage of these new opportunities and their provision of large houses may have in part met their commercial agendas, as well as their often rather top-down views of customer needs. However, they were also working in circumstances in which constrained their actions. Such constraints were a powerful influence in shaping and limiting their intervention in the nature of the houses that they ran. Efforts to gain a much deeper understanding of customer needs, to recognise new and different types of customers and to both meet and shape those customer needs were not to happen in any significant form until after 1950.

Conclusions

The comment from Mass Observation that heads this article suggests that the impact of ‘commercialised leisure’ on the public house is a little more complex than might be imagined. The development of Irish pubs, for example (as opposed to the themed pubs of recent years) has taken place under a variety of forms of ownership and

produced a range of forms that suggests we can overplay the influence of companies in forming activities within the public house. Of course, this is not to argue that they have no influence, but rather that this influence is both mediated within the pub itself and has been shaped before it reaches the pub by a variety of forces. The material presented above suggests both that the managed public house is of older vintage than is generally recognised and that its impact varies. Part of this variation depended on company strategies. Some of these might be based on extensive exploitation of a range of outlets, in which the emphasis was on the control of the workforce rather than of the customers. In other cases, a rather more intensive style might be adopted, which focused on raising the standards within outlets to make them more profitable. We might also recognise that companies appealed to different groups of customers and their approach to running pubs might differ accordingly. It is noticeable, for example, that Bailey's discussion of the barmaid has its focus on the City and West End of London and a middle class clientele, an extremely specialised market in the context of the Victorian pub.⁷⁸ However, whatever the motive, and recognising quite clearly that the demands of capital accumulation in conditions of market competition are powerful constraints, we also have to recognise that companies operate in particular local contexts. This was especially important in the running of public houses in our period, when no company possessed a national reach nor tried to operate outlets on anything other than an individual basis. The particular constellation of local politicians, pressure groups and magistrates conditioned what companies could achieve in their houses.

This article has used the distinction between control and interpretation to explore these different contexts and strategies. They indicate that the primary concern of most

public house owning companies was with control rather than interpretation. Whilst they built elaborate systems to ensure workplace discipline, this was in part to meet the needs of regulatory authorities. There is little to suggest that they did so in order to shape the activities that went on within the public house. The strongest expression of central interpretation lies in the physical form of the built environment of the pub. The gigantic improved houses of the inter-war period reflected top-down notions of what was good for the customer, rather than any response to what customers were looking for. We have, in this, of course, to recognise the extreme conservatism of many customers.⁷⁹ Whilst there is a great temptation to bemoan changes in pub environments, it does seem to be the case that in, for example, the discussion of women drinking in public houses that many trade publications and companies were considerably in advance of both customers and tenants. There is both loss and gain in the shift towards more central interpretation. However, the real changes in the public house were to occur after 1950. It is wrong of us to project these changes backwards, whatever we might think of their contemporary manifestations. What historians of leisure need to do is operate with a rather more sophisticated concept of commercialised leisure than they have in the past, a conception in which the inter-related notions of control and interpretation might well play an important role.

Interpretation and the pub 1850-1950

Figures and tables

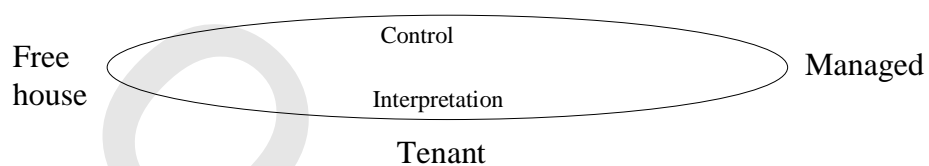


Figure 1: the continuum of control and interpretation

Year	Managed	Tenanted	Total
1860	5	1	6
1870	32	2	34
1880	72	2	74
1890	150	18	168
1900	266	40	306
1910	326	40	366

Table 1: Peter Walker & Son public house ownership in Liverpool 1860-1910

¹ Mass Observation, *The Pub and the People* (Seven Dials, London, 1970, [1943]), p.77.

² M. Hewitt, *The Emergence of Stability in the Industrial City: Manchester, 1832-67*, (Scolar, Aldershot, 1996), p.187; A. Mutch, ‘Manchester and Liverpool public houses compared, 1840-1914’, *Manchester Region History Review*, (2003).

³ See, for example, G. Bruce, *The story of Hardys & Hansons Kimberley 1832-1982*, (Henry Melland Limited, London, 1982); N. Hyde, *Brewing was a Way of Life*, (ANGHP, Hales, 1999); P. Bristow, *The Mansfield Brew*, (Navigator Publishing Company, Ringwood, Hants, 1976).

⁴ A. Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty* (Open University Press, Buckingham, 1992); J. M. Golby and A. W. Purdue, *The Civilisation of the Crowd: Popular Culture in England 1750-1900* (Batsford, London, 1984); J. Lowerson and J. Myerscough, *Time to Spare in Victorian England* (Harvester, Hassocks, 1977); C. Langhamer, *Women's Leisure in England 1920-1960* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2001).

⁵ A. Redfern, 'Crewe: Leisure in a Railway Town', 117-136 in J. Walton and J. Walvin (eds.), *Leisure in England, 1790-1939* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1983).

⁶ S. G. Jones, *Workers at Play: A Social and Economic History of Leisure 1918-1939* (Routledge, London, 1986), p. 84.

⁷ J. Walton, 'The Hospitality Trades: a Social History' in C. Lashley and A. Morrison (eds.) *In Search of Hospitality*, (Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford, 2000), p. 70. Cf comments in H. Cunningham, 'Leisure and Culture' in F. M. L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, Vol 2 People and their Environment* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990), pp. 279-340.

⁸ T. Collins and W. Vamplew, 'The Pub, the Drinks Trade and the Early Years of Modern Football', *The Sports Historian*, 20(1), (2000), pp. 5-6.

⁹ D. Gutzke, *Protecting the Pub: Brewers and Publicans Against Temperance* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1989), p. 181.

¹⁰ W. H. Chaloner, *The Social and Economic Development of Crewe 1780-1923* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1950), p. 174.

¹¹ Thomas Down, a managing director and secretary of Greenall, Whitley and Company of Warrington and St Helens, commented that 'I know nothing of the managerial system, but I believe the houses of Messrs. Walker in Warrington are as well conducted as they can be, and they are mostly under

management', Parliamentary Papers, *Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws* (1898) XXXVI, *Third Volume of Evidence*, p. 409.

¹² A similar over-reliance on temperance sources can be seen in P. J. Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism: A Political and Social History of Liverpool 1868-1939* (Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 1981), pp. 109 – 113.

¹³ P. Johnson and J. Gill, *Management Control and Organizational Behaviour* (Paul Chapman, London, 1993).

¹⁴ H. Braverman, *Labour and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*, (Monthly Review Press, New York, 1974).

¹⁵ R. Daft and K. Weick, 'Toward a Model of Organizations as Interpretation Systems', *Academy of Management Review*, 9(2) (1984), pp. 284-295; C. K. Prahalad and R. Bettis, 'The Dominant Logic', *Strategic Management Journal*, 7 (1986), pp. 485-501; C. Freeman and F. Louçã, *As Time Goes By: From the Industrial Revolutions to the Information Revolution*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001).

¹⁶ M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984).

¹⁷ Examples of the process might be found in T. Wilkinson, *We Ran a Cornish Pub*, (George Allen & Unwin, 1967) and M. Smith, *The Pub and the Publican*, (Centre for Leisure Studies, University of Salford, Salford, 1981).

¹⁸ *Liverpool Mercury*, 27 June 1889.

¹⁹ Gourvish and Wilson's excellent overview of the sector couches its discussion of managed houses largely in the context of the inter-war years, although it recognises managers in Liverpool and Birmingham from the 1890s; T. R. Gourvish and R. G. Wilson, *The British Brewing Industry 1830-1980* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994), pp. 436-442. This in turn rests on Wilson's discussion of management at Greene King, which is concerned with the inter-war years; R. G. Wilson, *Greene King: A Business and Family History* (The Bodley Head and Jonathan Cape, London, 1983), p. 202. Gourvish uses this discussion heavily in his account of practice at the Norfolk company of Steward and Patteson; T. Gourvish, *Norfolk Beers from English Barley, a History of Steward and Patteson 1793-1963* (Centre of East Anglian Studies, Norwich, 1987).

²⁰ Peter Walker & Son, *Walkers Warrington Ales* (Peter Walker & Son, Warrington, 1896), p. 57

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- ²¹ P. Moynihan, 'Walker's Ales', *Journal of the Brewery History Society*, 46 (1985), pp. 3-8; 47 (1986), pp. 9-16.
- ²² Liverpool Record Office (LRO), 380PWK/2/1/12a, Statements for Canning Place Vaults 1858-1866
- ²³ Extracted from LRO 380PWK/2/2/1 Peter Walker & Son 'Leases'; 380PWK 3/4/6 'Vault Property'; 380PWK/2/10a-j Bundle of ms statements; 380PWK/2/1/12a Statements for Canning Place Vaults 1858-1866; 380PWK/3/1/2 Minute book of Peter Walker and Son Ltd 1898-1916.
- ²⁴ Q. Hughes, *Seaport: Architecture and Townscape in Liverpool* (Lund Humphries, London, 1964), p. 88.
- ²⁵ P. T. Winskill and J. Thomas, *History of the Temperance Movement in Liverpool and District*, (Joseph Thomas, Liverpool, 1887), p. 41.
- ²⁶ PP, *House of Lords Select Committee on Intemperance, First Report*, (1877) Appendix B, pp. 332-333. Paper handed in by Major Greig, 27 Feb 1877.
- ²⁷ Bankruptcy of Henry Lumb, *Brewers Journal (BJ)*, 15 Oct 1868, p. 173
- ²⁸ *SC on Intemperance, Second Report* (1877) Q9654
- ²⁹ In 1898 the Head Constable of Liverpool, Captain Nott Bower, reported to the Royal Commission that of 2078 houses in Liverpool, 1057 were managed. PP (1898) XXXVI *Third volume of evidence, Appendix*, p.552
- ³⁰ LRO, 380PWK/3/9/2 House Takings Ledger
- ³¹ Peter Walker & Son, *Walkers Warrington Ales*, p.55.
- ³² LRO, 380PWK/3/9/2.
- ³³ *Licensed Victuallers Gazette*, 14Apr 1912, p. 8.
- ³⁴ For a fuller discussion of developments in Liverpool see A. Mutch, 'Magistrates And Public House Managers 1840-1914: Another Case Of Liverpool Exceptionalism?' *Northern History*, 40(2)
- ³⁵ Mass Observation, *Pub*, p. 304.
- ³⁶ House of Commons, 20 Apr 1939, p. 495; 'Dart Playing and the "Anti Licensing Justices"', *BJ*, 17 May 1939, pp. 551-2.
- ³⁷ Hughes, *Seaport*; M. Girouard, *Victorian Pubs* (Studio Vista, London, 1975).
- ³⁸ Calculated from figures in LRO 380PWK/3/1/2.
- ³⁹ 'Salesmanship', *BJ*, 16 Sept 1953, pp. 395-8.
- ⁴⁰ E.g., LRO 380PWK3/1/2, 9 July 1998; 14 Mar 1899; 12 Apr 1904; 24 July 1907.

⁴¹ It is interesting to note a similar failing elsewhere in Liverpool. The noted Tory politician and managing director of rival firm, Bents Brewery, Archibald Salvidge, commented in 1919 that 'I had noticed a tremendous difference in the health and appearance of the employees of the Licensed Victualling business since the shorter hours were enforced.' However, along with other Liverpool firms Bents had resisted any reduction in opening hours before this was forced upon them: S. Salvidge, *Salvidge of Liverpool: Behind the Political Scene 1890-1928* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1934), p. 178.

⁴² LRO, 380PWK/3/2/1, 5 Oct 1915.

⁴³ The sample was initially drawn from the Peter Walker & Sons property registers as noted above and compared to the 1881-2 full licence register (LRO 347JUS/1/38) and tracked through to the registers which finish in 1930 (347JUS/1/53). 1881 was chosen as the initial to align with the census. Ownership information is not presented in the registers until 1875 and prior to that date address information is vague. One problem that reduces the available sample from the 78 managed houses was precisely this one of address information – compounded by the widespread existence of corner houses that could have two addresses. 32 houses on which complete information could be identified were isolated, but this was reduced further either by the closure of the house before the end of the period or by mixed operation – some houses moved between management and tenancy.

⁴⁴ *Liverpool Daily Post*, 18 Feb 1885.

⁴⁵ P. Jennings, *The Public House in Bradford, 1770-1970*, (Keele University Press, Keele, 1995).

⁴⁶ Mitchells and Butlers, *Fifty Years of Brewing 1879-1929*, (Mitchells and Butlers, Smethwick, 1929).

⁴⁷ Bass Museum, (Bass) BBM 95.2595.01, Mitchells and Butlers, Managing Directors minute book 1888-1908, 6 Feb 1899.

⁴⁸ 'Death of Mr William Butler', *Birmingham Daily Mail*, 24 Aug 1907, p.4.

⁴⁹ P. Ballard, 'A Commercial and Industrial Elite: A Study of Birmingham's Upper Middle Class, 1780-1914', unpublished PhD, University of Reading, 1984; on the Liverpool elite's penchant for country estates, B. G. Orchard, *Liverpool's Legion of Honour* (B. G. Orchard, Birkenhead, 1893).

⁵⁰ 'William Waters Butler', *BJ*, 17 Apr 1939, p. 447.

⁵¹ A Mutch, 'Managing Managers: an Early Twentieth Century Service Industry Information System', *Management Decision*, 40(3) (2002), 288-96.

⁵² Bass, BBM 95.2595.03, 18 Jan 1909.

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- ⁵³ Bass, BBM 95.2595.01, 15 July 1907.
- ⁵⁴ 'Replanning Public-Houses - The Fallacy of the Population Test', *BJ*, 17 Jan 1945, p.41.
- ⁵⁵ 'A Decision to be Noted', *BJ*, 15 Oct 1882, p.266.
- ⁵⁶ Especially considering that Liverpool had gained a considerable degree of notoriety following its experiments in licensing law. See, for example, the comments of Harcourt in debates over the 1872 Licensing Act, House of Commons, Vol. 212, 1872, p. 1894.
- ⁵⁷ On *Mellor v. Lydiate* see 'The Managerial System', *BJ*, 15 Aug 1914, pp. 467-8; for magisterial resistance in Bewdley, *BJ*, 15 Apr 1915, pp. 179-81; in Wolverhampton, *BJ*, 15 Oct 1917, p.404; in Willesden *BJ*, 15 May 1921, p.217; in Pontypridd, *BJ*, 15 Apr 1922, p.153; in Maidenhead *BJ*, 15 Jan 1923, p. 4; in Crewe, *BJ*, 15 Jul 1923 p. 371; in Marylebone, *BJ*, 15 Nov 1924, p.585.
- ⁵⁸ 'Managers versus Tenants', *Licensed Victuallers Gazette*, 29 Sep 1911, p. 9.
- ⁵⁹ A. F. Part, *The Art and Practice of Innkeeping* (Heinemann, London, 1922), p.169.
- ⁶⁰ J. Chartes, 'Joshua Tetley & Son, 1890s to 1990s: a century in the tied trade', in J. Chartres and K. Honeyman (eds.), *Leeds City Business* (Leeds University Press, Leeds, 1993), pp. 112-144.
- ⁶¹ Whilst it would require more research to sustain this point, it is one that seems to be substantiated by reading numbers of company histories. It is one thing to give equal numbers of examples of both routes, as do K. H. Hawkins and C. L. Pass, *The Brewing Industry: A Study in Industrial Organisation and Public Policy*, (Heinemann, London, 1979), p. 24, but when one examines the company histories there appear to be only a few publicans, but many more maltsters and farmers.
- ⁶² Bailey, of course, points to the role of the mass catering company Speirs and Pond in the creation of the barmaid, but most of his examples do not specify the locus of the innovation; further work in this area would be useful. P. Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*, (Cambridge University Press, 1998). On connections with sport, with a similar qualification, Collins and Vamplew, 'The Pub, the Drinks Trade and the Early Years of Modern Football'.
- ⁶³ K. H. Hawkins, *A History of Bass Charrington*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1978).
- ⁶⁴ 'Should there be Separate Bars for Men and Women?' *BJ*, 18 July, 1945, pp. 601-2.
- ⁶⁵ A. Avis, *The Brewing Industry 1950-1990: Notes and Reflections 1950-1990*, (Anthony Avis, Ilkley, 1997), pp. 144-5.
- ⁶⁶ Avis, *Brewing Industry*, p. 445.
- ⁶⁷ Davies, *Leisure*, p. 54.

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- ⁶⁸ 'The Pub and the People', *BJ*, 17 Mar 1943, p. 236.
- ⁶⁹ 'Tenants or Managers? A Question for the Future.', *BJ.*, 16 Jan 1946, pp. 57-9.
- ⁷⁰ John Greenaway, 'The "Improved" Public House, 1870-1950: the Key to Civilized Drinking or the Primrose Path to Drunkenness?', *Addiction*, 93(2) (1998), pp. 173-181; Brian Bennison, 'Not So Common: the Public House in North East England Between the Wars', *The Local Historian*, 25(1) (1995), pp. 31-42; Jones, *Workers at Play*; Peter Haydon, *The English Pub* (Robert Hale, London, 1994).
- ⁷¹ 'Freak Public-Houses', *BJ*, 15 Dec 1937, p. 595.
- ⁷² Lyn Murfin, *Popular Leisure in the Lake Counties*, (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1990); Greenaway, 'Improved Public House'.
- ⁷³ 'Public Management of Public Houses', *BJ*, 15 Nov 1900, pp. 610-11.
- ⁷⁴ *BJ.*, 15 Dec 1922, p. 531; 15 Nov 1924, p. 585.
- ⁷⁵ 'Licensing Reform: Mr A. F. Part's "New System"', *BJ*, 15 Jan 1930, pp. 1-2.
- ⁷⁶ 'The Public-house improvement movement', *Licensed Victuallers Gazette*, 28 June 1912, p. 8.
- ⁷⁷ 'May Housing Authorities Manage Public-Houses?', *BJ*, 15 Jan 1937, p. 8.
- ⁷⁸ Bailey, *Performance and Popular Drama*, pp. 15-174
- ⁷⁹ cf. Valerie Hey, *Patriarchy and Pub Culture*, (Tavistock, London, 1986).