

Policing the Pub

Drinking, Drunkenness, and Class Conflict

by

Rhys Williams

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Affairs in
partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master

in

Sociology

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario

© 2014
Rhys Williams



George Cruikshank

Abstract

This paper starts and ends with the English pub. And the concern here is for *how it was policed*, from the seventeenth century up to the First World War. Interconnected are concepts of drunkenness, idleness, disorder, class and social control; all of them key variables when analyzing the politics behind England's many drinking houses, and how they developed. Our lens is one of 'policing': a working philosophy developed by European police theorists to govern entire populations towards *productivity*. Policing is about social control, about adapting unwanted behaviours and peoples towards favourable ends (generally bourgeois and industrial). Public houses for the poor and working class (alehouses, ginshops, beerhouses etc.) were, consistently, accused by England's ruling interests (and others) of breeding drunkenness, idleness, and social degeneracy. Slated, regularly, for regulation and reform; pubs became ideological sites of class conflict where Drink's many interests battled for moral influence and political spaces. Early policing methods were the initiatives of individual Kings and rogue rulers, but the nineteenth century witnessed comprehensive (and sometimes united) policing programmes aimed at reforming and reducing drinking houses en masse. Action and reaction; these battles between groups, and within groups, would shape the pub.

Table of Contents

Preface-----	5
Introduction-----	11
I. Britain and Drink-----	18
II. The English Alehouse-----	24
III. The Idea of Policing-----	48
IV. Industry, Capital-----	72
V. The Lure of the Pub-----	85
VI. Victorian England-----	109
VII. Legislating the Pub-----	140
VIII. Afterward: The Death of the Pub?-----	170
Works Cited-----	174
Appendix ('Brief Histories of Drink')-----	186

Policing the Pub

Preface

This is the story of Drink and the English pub. On the interconnection of both, England was divided from one another, *and within one another*. There were Temperance members that fought for prohibition and Temperance members that fought against it. There were doctors and social scientists who insisted that alcohol stood alone as the root cause of *all* social evils, and there were doctors and social scientists more attuned to the underlying structural causes of social disorder. Some unionists and radicals thought that slaves, the poor, and the working class should be *free* to choose their own paths of sobriety or intoxication; while others saw alcohol and *borrowed* leisure as cunning tools of the oppressor, as “the most effective means... in keeping down the spirit of insurrection by serving as safety-valves, to carry off the spirit of enslaved humanity” (Douglass 2008: 72).

Even friendships were ended over Drink. Charles Dickens and his former illustrator George Cruikshank (praised as ‘the modern Hogarth’) experienced an infamous fallout over their respective philosophies on alcohol. Cruikshank, whose father died of alcohol poisoning (some say in a drinking contest), later morphed into a crusading teetotaler (those who insist on complete abstinence as the only solution to drunkenness), while the notoriously reasonable Dickens viewed teetotalers and prohibitionists as delusional utopians:

Now, we tell the total abstinence declaimers plainly, that the association of this great question with the emphatic, homely English phrase of humbug; with Jesuitical perversions

of all fact, and truth, and fair deduction; with slanderous aspersions of the industrious and well-conducted parts of the community; with visitations of their own failure on the rational and reasonable home-enjoysments of honest men, who are capable of self-control; is fatal to that state of union and preparation. If they would rest their case on the fair ground of temperance for those who can be temperate, and total abstinence for those who cannot be temperate... we shall regard them as a good example, and a public benefit. But, running a-muck like mad Malays, we look upon them as a bad example, and a public evil, only less tolerable than drunkenness itself. (Dickens, as cited in Himmelfarb 2007: 116).

Nor can we (over) compartmentalize the politics of Drink. Some Kings and politicians at some times in some places sought to attack, reform and reduce drinking houses en masse; while others were (wisely) more cautious. Indeed the political and legislative interpretations on Drink were perhaps the least united of any group:

mainstream political ideologies of nineteenth-and-twentieth century Britain do not easily fit. Liberals, conservatives and socialists were divided on the issue again and again. The result was that Drink tended to generate its own ideological schools. (Greenaway 2003: 5).

This is indeed a paradox. If everybody is divided on Drink, how can one tell the story of its host- the pub? For this reason, my earliest outlines were all discarded. I gave up trying to write clean consensus histories: ‘politics of the pub’, ‘revolution and rebellion in the pub’, ‘state suppression of the pub’ etc. They were hopeless quests, and I am deeply indebted to a Carleton professor on ‘food and drink’ who helped me understand this before I was ready. In the youngest stages of planning, when I wanted to glorify ‘the pub’ as *the* resistance hub for the poor against a tyrannical British state, his eyes kindly informed me that such excised histories were not possible, nor productive. Drinking houses did not simply follow behind grand political patterns and currents (it was not capitalist nor Liberal when England was, and it was never static); indeed ‘the pub’ was a different animal. This paper seeks not to offer *the* history of Drink, drunkenness, or the

pub in England; but rather a medley of their many histories along a chronological backdrop, and centered around the idea of *policing*. This is heavy on description, not definition; it is a narrative of legends and tales- not finalized summation. The many stories of Drink have already been written, and I pretend not to know them all. But they can be organized here in innovative ways, critical ones as well.

Now for disclosure. My thesis is too long; which is customary. Length has become my unintentional trademark, despite my best efforts. Many chapters I intended to include were never written ('gender and the pub', 'the brewing industry' etc.), and a brief *history of alcohol* (from Ancient China and Egypt to the Greeks and Romans etc.) was relegated to the appendix (page 184) for those who wish to begin the story there. Despite the length, I find every page crucial to the study, and I hope my handful of readers will feel the same. It is also written in what some people call dramatic tone. For better or worse, I have always enjoyed writing with some flourish, though I am learning more and more to do so with context and balance in order to put out a better product. This paper also contains numerous illustrations and poems. I am very much a visual learner, and I wanted to infuse any claims made here with creativity and amusement whenever possible. However, it still may read strange to some, and I half-heartedly apologize to my committee members for my pesky block-quotes- which are excessive in length and prevalence. They may be distracting to some, but I have always found them pleasing. Especially when covering so many periods of history, or when quoting authors who possess the gift for writing; certain passages felt appropriate and effective, despite their size, so I left them in. To tell this story, I leaned on their vivid descriptions; and I am grateful for them.

Furthermore, prior to this paper, I had never written or researched anything on Drink, drunkenness, or drinking houses. Nor on England, Britain, or their complex histories. Geography, culture, social spheres and class, Trade, the Industrial Revolution, and especially- their political players, parties, and policies; this was all very new to me. And politics was easily the most difficult world to grasp of the lot. For my ability to keep up, I am thankful to John Greenaway and his work: *Drink and British Politics since 1830* (2003). From beginning to end it was enjoyable and informative, and it remains cited by every good writer as *the* study on the politics surrounding Drink in Britain. Indeed there were a handful of books and resources to which my work is certainly owed more than the rest. James Nicholls' *The Politics of Alcohol* (2011) looks at the social history of 'the drink question' in England, while Paul Jennings wrote *The Local* (2011) for a more inclusive look at the *totalities* of the English pub. All three books were crucial to my research, and I found myself consulting them repeatedly. And finally, there were two clever sources that I simply could not have done without. Steven Earnshaw (2000) created a timeline of all major legislation proposed for English drinking houses- in order to write his novel *The Pub in Literature*; while David Hanson created the *World Alcohol and Drinking History Timeline* (2013)- which begins with the 'Stone Age through Ancient Greece' and closes with alcohol use in the present day. Both were extraordinary for their years of research and breadth of detail; they helped orient me when I knew nothing, and re-orient me when I became lost.

In that vein, and supported by those block quotes, certain sections of this paper are extracted from a very small number of sources. Less for theoretical contribution, and more for the blunt description of the horrors subjected to the working class throughout

Britain's Industrial Revolution, I relied heavily on Friedrich Engels and his *Condition of the Working Class* (1848). It is easily one of my favourite works, and Engels too often goes underappreciated in light of his good friend Karl Marx. For many reasons, he and his work become one of the dominant sources used here. For my theoretical chapter on 'policing' and the police sciences, two writers are cited almost exclusively: Mark Neocleous (2000, 2006) and George Rigakos (et al. 2008). Both enabled my earlier shift from criticizing 'the police' to working through master ideas of policing and governance; and both are thanked for their research and teachings. And finally, the section on England's first 'social scientists' uses (only) their writings against them. Towards critique and dissection, their 1859 journal *Meliora* is extracted and highlighted again and again to understand their convictions on drunkenness, idleness, drinking houses, and social relationships. Indeed their convictions will be surprising to many. Of further warning, chapters' four and five may seem misplaced or irrelevant to 'the policing of the pub'; but I assure you, they hold great weight in the telling of this story. *Industry and Capital* (chapter four) was designed to transpose the reader (and writer) to the awful working and living conditions of a labouring Industrial England; while *The Lure of the Pub* (chapter five) follows directly in order to paint a picture of drinking houses as respite and recreation for the masses, when both were in need. And if this chapter reads as though I am romanticizing 'the pub', well perfect, for that was my intention all along. It was to show light in darkness, the pub amidst squalor.

One last note. This research studies peoples and pubs- but is specific about which peoples and which pubs. This is a story of the English poor, the working class, and their **public houses** (drinking houses). England was home to many types of pubs intended for

many types of peoples; but we are not interested here in the leisurely hangouts of the bourgeoisie. Although the many types of drinking places will be looked at later, this is not a study about the tavern (upper class wine-drinking), nor one of hotels and inns (lodging and food for travellers). Furthermore, the term 'middle class' is not often used here, even later when writing on Victorian and Edwardian England. Indeed the idea of a 'middle class' is another thesis in itself. Rather, this is a study about drinking houses for the drinking masses. This is because those public houses were *built* and maintained on the loyal habits of the poor and the working class. Furthermore, it was them who were *policed* harder and more often than any other group in the short history of European city-states and liberal democracies; and so it is them who will remain the focus of this paper. For what are pubs without their people?

Introduction

It stands to reason that the pub would be policed. No matter how you spin it, *drinking houses* are controversial spaces (think legal *drug dens* for the masses). They are (often) licensed spaces where drunks and drunkenness are tolerated, welcomed, or encouraged. Indeed drinking houses cannot squeeze profits from abstainers and moderates; their *civilized* behaviours are poison to publicans (pub owners or operators). Tipplers (those who drink repeatedly in small quantities), bingers (those who drink briefly but in large quantities), and habitual drunkards (those who drink all the time): these are the loyalists keeping drinking houses alive for thousands of years. At its core, the very nature of this relationship is what keeps them controversial. ‘Drunkenness’, or perhaps a drunken population, has worried ruling parties since the beginnings of Drink. Or perhaps since alcohol was brewed with enough alcohol content to *really* impair and impede. The first and earliest drinkers generally consumed with restraint. Inhabitants from the Chinese province of Jiahu (7000BC), the Egyptians and Mesopotamians (circa 4000BC), the Greeks and the early Romans: with exceptions always, *moderation* is the word used to describe their patterns of consumption (Myers & Isralowitz 2011: 203). For much of its history, Drink had been regularly used for: nourishment and sustenance, hydration and refreshment, religious expression and ritual, medicinal purposes and healing properties, as currency and payment, and for hospitality or in *light* celebration. Overindulgence, generally, was feared and prevented whenever possible. But at some point (many blame the later Romans who started playing drinking games and purposely consuming on empty stomachs, circa first century AD), cultures of excess developed, and

drunkenness became an everyday reality. And for many Kings, Queens, Emperors, Caesars, political players and governing interests: this became a problem. For many reasons. In its simplest and most reductionary form, drunks make ‘bad’: workers, citizens, obedient, producers, consumers, soldiers, and Christians; drunks are simply bad *normals*. And because drinking houses have long operated as *the* spaces that encouraged and enabled those bouts of binging and drunkenness (importantly, concepts that are intertwined with idleness and unproductivity); they have long been viewed with suspicion and resentment. Indeed before long, ‘drunkenness’ would become a euphemism for ‘disorder’ ('disorderly conduct' is a catch-all charge for drinking, loitering, and disturbance in public spaces), and drinking houses would evolve into the troubling sites that empowered such disorder.

Interlocked in the weariness over drinking houses were the types of people they served. The customers of drinking houses, historically and globally, were by and large poor and working class peoples. They were communal spaces, often some of the only public spaces where the masses could gather for recreation and stimulation. And because ‘politics’ is the art of ‘controlling environment’, governing interests have long understood that to control the people- you must control their hangouts (Thompson 2009: 246). Drinking houses would quickly become important sites of class conflict, where rulers sought to control the behaviours and moralities of the ruled within. It was not so much that these spaces enabled people to get drunk; it was more a concern over *who* was getting drunk. And how their getting drunk was affecting their citizenry *responsibilities*. Drinking houses, for good and ill, cannot be separated from class.

The concern here is for England and how they policed their drinking houses ('pubs'). The formation of the earliest alehouses in the Middle Ages will surely be covered,

but the focal point of this paper rests with England's drinking houses from the seventeenth century right up to the First World War. This was the moment when pubs peaked in prevalence and grandeur, alongside the intensity of the bourgeois programmes that tried to control them. By 'policing' is meant so much more than the individual police officers and agencies assigned to quell social disorder. Policing is used here as theory (chapter three), as a working philosophy that is used to shape and direct small groups and entire populations. In fact, and perhaps surprisingly, police officers (constables etc.) carry perhaps the smallest role in this story on policing; they are generally relegated to background characters. This is because *the idea* of policing is much older and much bigger than the actions of its foot soldiers. Policing (similar to, and intertwined with 'moral regulation') is the calculated concept of targeting *unwanted* social behaviours by unwanted social peoples for removal and reduction; towards *productivity* and 'social order'. And so, to study how the pub was 'policed' is to study the methods used to police the people inside them. Because their drinking houses were consistently safe spaces for the poor, for drunkenness, for idleness, and for disorder; England's governing interests (regardless of which King or political party ruled) were always weary about their effects on the whole. Especially as drunkenness grew in prevalence or in recognition and hype, pubs were viewed as active threats to be managed. Kings and early authorities employed some fairly basic policing decrees in sporadic bursts (reducing opening hours, banning games etc.), but the nineteenth century would witness comprehensive 'reform and reduce' campaigns by national political parties, powerful special interest groups, and police theorists. It should be noted that 'the state' and state interests were not the only ones who wanted drinking houses regulated and reformed: they were not the only ones 'policing the

pub'. Indeed this paper works hard to avoid such simple and careless deductions; in truth, the pub was *policed* by everyone who touched it. But industrial-state interests were far and away the most active regulators and reformers; it was those interests who had the most to lose from a citizenry spent tippling and idling at their local alehouses. And so it is those interests that will form the nucleus for study here.

'Policing the pub', in everyday life, took on many forms: legislation implementing the prohibition of alcohol at a local or national level, the raising of taxes for pub operators, Temperance groups and activists pushing for anti-drink reforms, police constables arresting drunks and tipplers, the creation of specialized 'public-house inspectors', the banning of games and gambling, fines and arrests for publicans allowing drunkenness on their premises, the refusal by magistrates for new license applications or the renewal of existing ones, and the outright closure of problematic or useless pubs. This was *policing*.

But the English masses were generally quite fond of their drinking holes. For much of their history, they were some of the only public spaces that permitted them entry. But more importantly, they were often the only public spaces where laughter, love, debate, organization, emotionality and intoxication could be found under the same roof for a fair price. To the poor and working classes, the pub was a friend, one they would fight to defend. Others would too. Drink eventually became a major commercial industry, with many interests at stake; so, when sides were being chosen in the governance of pubs, Trade generally aligned with their paying customers. At the risk of oversimplification, England's drinking houses developed early on into sites of intensive class conflict, where the rich battled with the poor for moral and political regulation and rule. And the history of the pub would be shaped by these battles. Sometimes eager reformers found success in

reducing opening hours (Christian Sundays) or banning gaming and gambling on pub premises; other times the masses and Trade took to the streets in protests and riots- and those reforms were aborted or later removed. No doubt the interests and convictions over 'the pub' were numerous and complex. There was often disagreement and division between all sides, and within all sides. In this way, policing was everywhere, and everybody shaped the pub. But at its core, the pub was an ideological site of constant conflict; of action and reaction between ruler and ruled. It was a contestation of class interests, where behaviours and peoples were targeted for removal and adaptation towards *productivity*, and 'normalcy'. And it was these repeated struggles and power relations that represented the policing of the pub- and resistance to it.

This paper is dense both with eager description and historical mention. The hope was to extract and explore some major shifts around Drink and the pub up to the turn of the twentieth century; while rejecting the idea that England's history was somehow *progressive*, linear, or inevitable. Though referencing only the genealogical process, Michel Foucault claims that the responsibility for historians and thinkers is to

identify the accidents, the minute deviations- or conversely, the complete reversals- the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us. (1977: 81).

History is delicate, and ambiguous. It has no grand plan, and it follows no script. There are actions, reactions, and the cycle repeats. The methods used to write this paper could perhaps align with those of Alex Callinicos and his *narrative historiography*: where history is written and read to understand not only *what was*, but *what could have been*. Too often

do we forget to ask history why it went one way, and not another. Researching the ‘policing of the pub’ in this style allows us to

recover the contingencies of the historical process, the junctures at which particular choices and chances tipped the balance between significantly different possible outcomes. (Callinicos 1995: 210).

And indeed there were many. The English pub met crossroad after crossroad in its course of development; some of its greatest shifts were owed to the minute movements of individual actors, and others to the grand triumphs or affective near-misses of organized groups. Many times in many ways, *the pub could have went another way*. Narrative historiography also demands the rejection of political ‘neutrality’, which is seen here as delusional cowardice. Callinicos unequivocally identifies as a “Marxist in social theory and a revolutionary socialist in politics” (Ibid 14). Though hesitant to think and write under the banners of labels and groups, I am surely and peacefully standing somewhere on the Left. With class and class conflict (always) in mind, this paper was written with a Marxist feel. Drunkenness, drinking houses, ‘disorder’, and policing- are inherently class concepts; and to paint them otherwise is irresponsible, and stale. And, if I am claiming the pub to be a site of class conflict, then I am certainly looking through lenses of proletarian and poor. And *towards Kings, the bourgeoisie, and other governing interests*. I feel it fair and important to criticize the privileged and entitled power relationships whenever possible, including my own, in hope that others may start to lean a different way. And to stimulate those already leaning left with new ideas; or to interest them with old ideas framed in new ways. I do not know if I am Marxist, Anarchist, or socialist; but I have always felt very comfortable in each of their camps. These are my biases, but also my strengths.

To begin our story, we turn to the formation of Britain, England, and the *discovery* of their earliest drinking houses. And before long, those drinking houses would feel the eyes of suspicion, and the touch of regulation and reform. In the endless pursuit of controlling their environment, how would England police the pub?

I

Britain and Drink

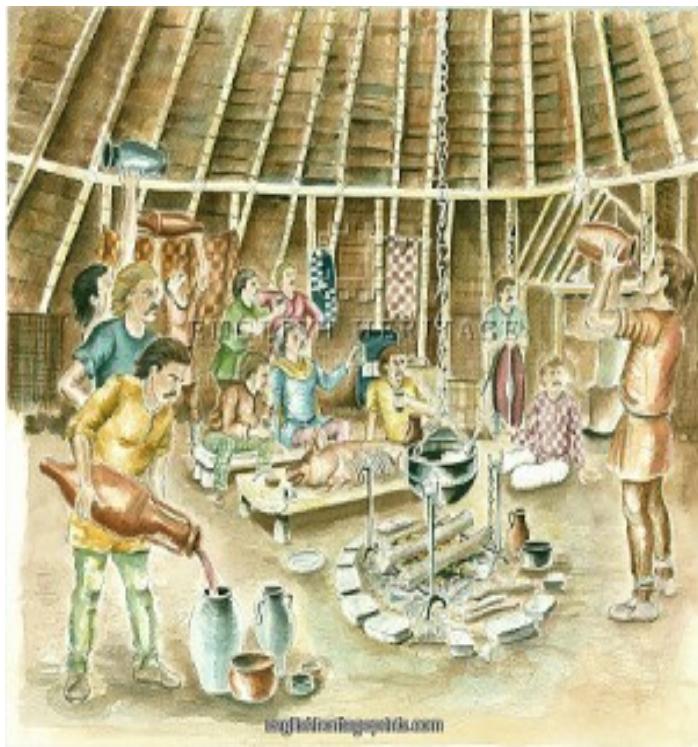
History: Geography, Celts, Roman-Britania

Britain has been home to settling humans for at least 500,000 years; and their earliest settlers lived through a climate far different, far warmer than today. Elephants, lions, and rhinoceros co-existed alongside deer, horses, bears, and wolves (Lambert 2013). By 15,000 BC, a colder climate saw Britain's cave dwelling populace crafting sophisticated tools and weapons from bone and stone to hunt wild animals. Around 8500 BC, it grew warmer and wetter. Forests spread, and the next few thousand years would stimulate hunter-gatherer communities, while melting glaciers (and thus rising sea levels) would soon leave Britain physically cut off from mainland Europe (Lane 2011). By 4500 BC on the British Isles, tools were refined, farming was introduced, and simple wooden huts were assembled for living spaces. The Bronze Age (circa 2000 BC) would strengthen their tools and weapons to unprecedented levels (9 parts copper, 1 part tin), while forts were increasingly built on elevated hills- presumably illustrating the growing normalcy of invasion and warfare (Lambert 2013, Sun Tzu 2002).

Between 1500 and 500 BC, Celtic tribes slowly “migrated from Central Europe and France to Britain and mixed with the indigenous inhabitants, creating a new culture slightly distinct from the Continental Celtic one” (Maciamo 2005). Besides iron for swords

and spears, the Celts also seem to have brought with them the required ingredients and recipes for brewing ale.

Since barley and wheat, the two cereals most suitable for brewing purposes, are not indigenous to the British Isles nor, indeed, to north-western Europe in general, then the assumption is that brewing beer with them as raw ingredients was not “invented” independently in these regions, but [that] the necessary knowledge was introduced by settlers or visitors (friendly or otherwise), who undoubtedly brought the appropriate seed-corn over as well. (Hornsey 2003: 171).



(*A Communal Gathering*)

Ultimately, and though historical details remain disputed, the regular production and consumption of mead (sweet fruit wines) and beer was established. Intertwined with a growing enchantment of games, feasts, music (flutes and lyres), and festivals- Celtic Britain was soon developing its unique culture of Drink.

But the years that lay ahead would uncover more fighting and death than tipsied' merriment and song. For much of the first millennium BC, Britain was home to continuous warfare between its inhabitants. The smell of fresh wounds and divided weakness would leave a wine-drinking Roman Empire frothing at the mouth; and in 55 BC Julius Caesar invaded *Britania*.

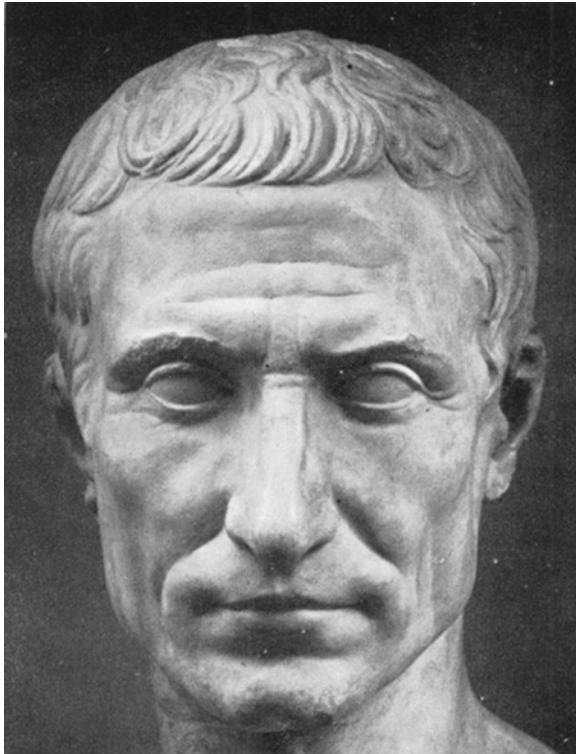
(From Charles Dickens and his clever piece *A Child's History of England*:

So, Julius Caesar came sailing over to this Island of ours, with eighty vessels and twelve thousand men.

...

He expected to conquer Britain easily: but it was not such easy work as he supposed—for the bold Britons fought most bravely; and, what with not having his horse-soldiers with him (for they had been driven back by a storm), and what with having some of his vessels dashed to pieces by a high tide after they were drawn ashore, he ran great risk of being totally defeated. However, for once that the bold Britons beat him, he beat them twice; though not so soundly but that he was very glad to accept their proposals of peace, and go away. (1870: 3).

(Julius Caesar)



Propelled by twisted vengeance or a ceaseless quest for domination, Caesar returned in the spring of next year with *eight hundred vessels and thirty thousand men*. Again, though the Britons were surely defeated, they had gravely wounded the imposing Roman army, and again, Caesar celebrated his victory by retreating with any remaining ships and soldiers. Beaten twice, but not conquered, *Britania* was soon glorified as the stubborn

brutes “who drove the great Caesar himself across the sea!” (Ibid 4).

But in the year 43 AD, Rome invaded Britain yet again, this time under the Emperor Claudius and his skillful general Aulus Plautius. Much of Britain was conquered immediately, with a few willful tribes (*Iceni, Silures, Ordovices*) resisting and leading plots

of rebellion over the next few decades. However by 81 AD, the imposing Roman army, with their superior numbers, weaponry and tactics- had essentially secured total victory (Lambert 2013). All surrendering Celtic tribes and Celtic Kings essentially became puppet rulers ('allies') for Rome, and the formation of a Roman-*Britania* soon materialized.

The Romans controlled most of present-day England and Wales, and founded a large number of cities that still exist today. London, York, St Albans, Bath, Exeter, Lincoln, Leicester, Worcester, Gloucester, Chichester, Winchester, Colchester, Manchester, Chester, Lancaster, were all Roman towns, as in fact were all the cities with names now ending in -chester, -cester or -caster, which derive from Latin *castrum* ("fortification"). (Maciamo 2005).

Tabernae

With these Roman towns came structure and organization: political positions and administration, large buildings and civic forums, roads, waterways (the River Thames), public baths, public entertainment, Trade, and the materialization of drinking houses. Ancient Rome was the first to employ massive indoor markets composed of numerous *one-room-shops* that sold cooked food and bread, and notably- wine.



(Tabernae amidst the ruins of Trajan's Market: thought to be the world's oldest shopping mall. These types of shops may have been the first retail-centres within cities, holding a significant impact on the Roman economy.)

These shops were known as *tabernae*, and with a standing army of nearly fourty thousand Roman troops in Britain- a myriad of these wine houses “were quickly built alongside Roman roads and in towns to help quench the thirst of the legionary troops” (*The Great British Pub*). Interestingly, these *tabernae* were also responsible for creating the very first *pub signs*. In Rome, and most definitely in Trajan’s Market (above), colourful vine leaves were hung over the entrances and doorways to inform passing customers that a fresh batch of wine was ready for purchase. But later in Roman-Britain, where those leaves could not grow due to climate, small evergreen bushes would be used instead (*Ibid*). These *tabernae* wine-shops were extremely popular with the lingering Roman soldiers, but the Celtic Britains were cut from a different cloth; one soaked in ale. So when a falling and desperate Roman Empire withdrew all troops from *Britania* in the fifth century, they essentially took their wine-drinking habits with them. But the *idea* of the drinking house remained, soon to be entrenched, and the only alteration needed for the Celts was to substitute pompous *vino* for the drink of the commons: ale. The word *tabernae* gradually muddled into ‘tavern’, and the English drinking house was born.

II

The English Alehouse

As to the way of life of the English, they are somewhat impolite, for they belch at the table without shame. They consume great quantities of beer.

- Father Etienne Perlin, 1558

The Middle Ages (500 CE - 1500)

Around the eighth and ninth centuries: beer, ale, mead, and wild fruit wines became the drinks of choice, and alcohol consumption throughout Britain soon became, by modern standards, very high (Hanson 1995: 3). For much of the early Middle Ages, British



(*The Early Alehouse Bench*)

monks in monasteries brewed and distributed the most reputable beer, generally for home consumption (Ibid: 8). Initially there were very few public drinking spaces. But as populations and drinking increased, the demand for alcohol increased the demand for brewers. Drawn to the prospect of steady employment and enjoyable work, some families (wives) began home-brewing large batches of beer to sell

to others in the community; like the monks, to be taken home and consumed (Vasey 1990: 18). It could also sometimes be consumed outside on what were called alehouse benches.

But at some point along the way, some of their customers began to desire something more than simple alcohol content. Atmosphere, environment, interaction, whatever it was, English Drink would soon become social. To meet this demand, some homebrewers began transforming their kitchens and living rooms into drinking rooms for a drinking public- ultimately becoming- public drinking houses. And as the majority lower classes were ale-drinkers to the core, these cramped brewing-homes of the poor effectively became some of England's first recognizable *alehouses* (*Ibid*).

The difference between ale and beer is this:

There are many different types of beer, although they are usually broken up into two basic categories: ale and lager. The term lager is often interchanged with "beer", especially outside of Germany, which is why some consumers make a distinction between beer and ale, rather than lager and ale.

...

Before hops became widespread in Europe, ale was a beer created without the use of hops, while lager combined hops with the other ingredients. As hops began to pervade breweries, however, this distinction between beer and ale no longer applied. (*What is the difference...*)

These alehouses initially sold unhopped ale, then later hopped lager, and eventually- hopped ale and hopped lager: all of them will generally be referenced here as *beer*. And by the early fourteenth century, "vastly outnumbering inns and taverns", these alehouses were common in town and country (Jennings 2011: 22).

New questions began to surface about these drinking spaces sprouting up around English towns; questions of management and populations and space. What threats did they hold for the health of the social collective? Could they benefit the populace in any

way? What values did they hold, what morals would they *teach*? What class of people might occupy them? To what loyalty did alehouses align? Were they threatening to rulers? Could they be strategic to rulers? Did they breed idleness, degeneracy and disorder? And what of policing and regulation? Should pubs be controlled?, and if so, by whom? Could they be licensed? Could they be taxed? Should they be? *Are there too many drinking houses?* Should some be reformed? Should some be closed?

What would governing the pub look like?

For Kings and politicians, brewers and workers, for the rich and for the poor: *how* England answered these questions would determine *how* they would shape ‘the pub’. Their answers to these questions were regularly divided, sporadic, conflictive, irrational, unreasonable, controlling and sometimes simply tyrannical. Such disarray is inevitable with so many interests weighing in on a matter of great controversy. But there were also political currents, social themes, and predictable patterns; most of them revolving around class. The earliest alehouses were some of the only public spaces where the mass poor and working class could gather to drink and interact. And so as a result, alehouses (and later ginhouses and beerhouses) became synonymous with the activity and morality of the lower orders. They became threatening spaces to Kings and ruling interests; ones where intoxication, disorder, and idleness were expected and even encouraged. From the very beginning, the alehouse operated as a site of social conflict. There were battles within classes, but there were far more battles between classes. The nobility, and later the bourgeoisie, interpreted the alehouse as a threat to ‘social order’ (the status quo)- and wanted to control it. And soon they would employ police thinkers to strategize and implement workable programmes to ensure some of that control. The result, at the risk of

oversimplification, would be centuries of clashes and conflicts between the privileged minority and the underprivileged majority- over the conditions of Drink in England. Gifted by the Romans and altered by the Britons, the developing alehouse (in a post Roman era) would soon feel the touch of reform and regulation.

Edgar the Peaceful (959-975); Earliest Legislation



(King Edgar the Peaceful)

King Edgar ('the Peaceful') is regarded as the first ruler of a unified England. He and his loyalists represented some of the first attempts to manage Drink, and drinking spaces.

To quell bouts of drunkenness, King Edgar introduced the idea of *pegs*, or 'pins'. Drinkers at alehouses were to be limited to one big drink of ale, measured by pegs inserted inside iron cups or their drinking horns.

King Edgar, because his subjects should not offend in swilling and bibbing as they did, caused certain iron cups to be chained to every fountain and well's side, and at every vintner's door, with iron pins in them, to stint every man how much he should drink, and he that went beyond one of those pins forfeited a penny for every draught. (Nashe 1592: 27).

But rather than reduce the amount of consumption, these pegs actually caused waves of binge drinking. With the pegs measuring equal beer volumes, friends and fellow patrons began racing each other to finish their pegs. Like the Romans before them, the English of the tenth century had invented a drinking game, perhaps *the* drinking game. This seems to

have given rise to the phrase '*take you down a peg*', and it represents one of the earliest examples of how Drink legislation can backfire (Earnshaw 2000).

Most 'histories of the pub' begin somewhere in the sixteenth century, leaving out significant mentions and early shifts. With great appreciation to Earnshaw and his timeline (*Ibid*), a brief medley can hurry yet respect some of those mentions:

(959)- Possibly the first legislation attempting to standardise weights/measurements, by King Edgar (the Peaceful, 959-75).

"And there shall be one system of measurement, and one standard of weights such as in use in London and Winchester." A. J. Robertson considers that the reference to measurement may in fact mean capacity. If his assumption is correct it means that from 959 onwards the whole country came under the same system of capacity measurement.

(997)- ...King Aethelred II issued his third code of laws which were concerned with the penalties for breaches of the peace. One of these specifically refers to trouble in ale-houses: 'In the case of breach of the peace in an ale-house six half marks shall be paid in compensation if a man is slain, and twelve ores if no one is slain.'

(1102)- Decree from Bishop Anselm: 'Let no priest go to drinking bouts, nor drink to pegs'.

(1189)- City Council, worried about fire hazards: '...that all alehouses be forbidden except those which shall be licensed by the Common Council of the City at Guildhall, excepting those belonging to persons who will build of stone, that the city may be secure. And that no baker bake, or ale-wife brew by night, either with reeds or straw or stubble, but with wood only.'

(1215)- Magna Carta, Article No. 35, 'There shall be standard measures for wine, ale and corn. . . .'

(1253)- Nightwatchmen in towns instituted. Abolished in 1829 by Sir Robert Peel's Act establishing the Metropolitan Police Force.

(1266)- 'The Assize of Ale in 1266 was the first government attempt to regulate ale prices and reflected the Crown's concern to peg them to the price of corn.'

(1276)- Assize. 'A gallon of ale to be sold for three farthings and another for a penny and no dearer.' First suggestion 'that two grades of ale at different prices could be sold to the public'.

(1277)- Assize. 'And that no brewster henceforth sell except by true measures viz., the gallon, the potte [half gallon] and the quart. And that they be marked by the seal of the Alderman, and that the tun be of 150 gallons and sealed by the Alderman.' 'This appears to be the first statutory reference to the need for brewsters to have properly stamped measures for selling large or small quantities of ale.'

(1285)- 'By the *Statuta Civitatis London.*, passed in 1285, taverns were forbidden to remain open after curfew in the metropolis.'

(1309)- London population 30-40,000. 354 taverns, mainly wine, over 1330 'brewshops, brewing and retailing ale'.

(1330)- "Because there are more taverners in the realm than were wont to be, selling as well corrupt wines as wholesome, and have sold the gallon at such price as they themselves would, because there was no punishment ordained for them, as hath been for them that sell bread and ale, to the great hurt of the people,' that wine must be sold at reasonable prices, and that the wines should be tested twice a year - at Easter and Michaelmas, oftener if needful - and corrupt wines poured out, and the vessels broken.'

(1375)- 'In London in 1375 it was ordered that no brewer should have a pole bearing his sign which projected more than seven feet over the highway.'

(1393)- 'Richard II ordered that alehouses must exhibit a sign. This law included the following words: "Whosoever shall brew in the town with intention of selling it must hang out a sign, otherwise he shall forfeit his ale."

Near the end of the Middle Ages, taverns and inns were sprinkled here and there through English lands; but alehouses were vastly more popular, and more numerous. England's lower orders needed something to do, somewhere to go, someway to forget; and neighbourhood alehouses were suitable on all accounts. It quickly became *the* public house for England's mass citizenry- a social relationship that the English are *still* born into this day. Indeed both entities (citizen and pub) developed together, beside one another and with one another.

Their connected history is long, complicated, and interesting. It started as the local and untested art of brewing; with beer-brewing monks and alehouse wives. But the thirteenth and fourteenth century discovery of 'hops' in France and Germany would transform the small and humble art into one of great industry and trade.

Hops are the tiny cones
the dangle from the hop plant, a
member of the hemp family.
These flowers (cones) could
simply be picked, dried, boiled-
then added to brewing beer. And
their benefits were many.



(Hops: the female flowers of the hop plant *humulus lupulus*)

Their natural bitterness allowed brewers to counter the excessive sweetness of traditional ale and create more balanced malt recipes; they even allowed for the production of beer

with higher alcohol content! But their true gift rested with preservation. Unhopped ale would often spoil by day's end, or the next, a few days if you were fortunate; but hopped beer could remain fresh for months, even years. This allowed fresh brew to be stored, transported, and sold- wherever drinkers stood. So by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Britain began cultivating the magical plant themselves (Cornell 2009).

The introduction of hops "was the pivotal moment in the modernization of brewing: what had once been seasonal, local and domestic was set to become mass produced and highly profitable" (Nicholls 2009: 10). Alehouses grew fast in numbers, while drinking and drunkenness became more prevalent. Hops had expedited England's relationship with Drink, and the higher orders took notice. The alehouse threat had become intensive; and so they sought control in the most logical form: licensing.

The Idea of Licensing

The first alehouse Licensing Act was passed in 1552. Before this, anyone and everyone could open their house to sell ale (even though since 1494 Justices could close them down with ‘good’ cause). Now, anyone wanting to open up an alehouse was first required to receive permission from the local magistrates and Justices (unaccountable and unchecked authorities: *bridges* between the citizenry and the courts). It also established the first official categories for drinking houses, which to this point were distinguished only by custom. Historically in Britain: alehouses sold ale and beer, inns provided lodging, food and drink to travellers; and taverns (*tabernae*) theoretically existed to sell wine, generally to patrons of higher rank. But what this Act did was make these different drinking houses *legally* distinguishable: different clientele, different purposes, different rules: different licenses.

This was motivated by rising concerns over the State’s inability to control the “supply-side of beer” (Nicholls 2009: 11). A massive brewing industry was forming, and England’s rulers were left without shares. So, like any good politician, they cut themselves in (license now, tax later).

But more importantly, this legislation reflected growing fears over drunkenness and the increasing commonality of alcohol amongst the lower classes (like the Egyptian labourers, England’s workers were now being supplied with beer instead of water because it was safer to quench thirst. Drink was everywhere). When introducing the Act, King Edward VI spoke of the “intolerable hurts and troubles”, the “abuses” and “disorders” caused by *common alehouses* (*A Collection of Statutes*, 1836: 1). Inns cared for tired travellers, and taverns catered wine to the privileged, but cynics worried that the alehouse

existed only to cater drunkenness to the deprived. Of the three types of drinking houses now legally enforceable, the alehouse was the only *real* threat.

From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards alehouses became increasingly identified with the idle poor, social disorder, political dissent and outright drunkenness. (Nicholls 2009: 12).



(Festivity at the Alehouse)

Because it was one of the few public gathering places for the mass-poor, and because it was easily the most stimulating- the pub became the main setting for much of their chaos and disorder.

Kings and parliaments began to eagerly question the validity of these houses, but what could they do? Governing around the alehouse was a difficult task, even this early on, and they had little relevant history to consult for guidance. Some wanted it abolished, but most wanted it *managed*. The wisest rulers do not war blindly with the luxuries of their people. To maintain rule- they adapt to them, work with them, and extract *from them*. But the rising alehouse was now marked, and the 1552 Act now granted the State at least

some influence over the direction of these public houses. But this was only the beginning, and soon they would want more.

Early Alehouse Law

(1577)- Government survey for fiscal purposes, over 30 counties. 17,595 drinking houses: 86% classed as alehouses, 12% as inns; 2% as taverns. Extrapolation gives 24,000 alehouses for a population of 3.4 million; = one alehouse per 142 inhabitants. (Earnshaw 2000, citing French 1890: 43).

With numbers rising everywhere, alehouses were increasingly developing a reputation for drunkenness, swearing, idleness, unlawful gaming, and the harboring of beggars, rogues, and deviants of all kinds. Licensing the pub allowed Kings and legislators to find control (or the illusion of it) over the space that enabled the *disorders* they feared were plaguing the commonwealth. The previous centuries were relaxed for the legislation, but the seventeenth century would see it differently.

(King James I of England)

In 1604, King James I passed an Act that could perhaps be deemed the first major piece of legislation directed at policing the pub. He proclaimed that the “ancient true and principle use” of inns and alehouses was to provide “relief and lodging” for “seafaring people travelling from place to place” (*A Collection of Statutes*, 1836: 3). Despite his glaring inaccuracies on the *true and principle use* of alehouses themselves, the Act was ambitiously passed with the intention of reducing drunkenness in drinking



houses. King James I was adamant: inns and alehouses were not created for the entertainment and harbouring of lewd and idle people to spend and consume their money and their time in a lewd and drunken manner. (*Ibid*).

This is an argument that comes up again and again throughout the history of alehouses: *their purpose*. Those with interests in regulating them often equated the function of alehouses with the function of inns and hotels; but this, for the most part, was extremely inaccurate. Alehouses were ‘drinking houses’. They were public spaces for people to gather, drink, and interact. Alehouses, as we know them, were never intended for the *relief and lodging* of seafaring travellers (Nicholls 2009, Jennings 2011). But it may have been an adept political maneuver to gain approval for reform and regulation; indeed King James would repeatedly exploit this claim to try and police alehouses.

To reduce drunkenness, the Act theoretically criminalized drunkenness in alehouses. But importantly, *not for the drunks themselves*. This clever piece of legislation sought to reduce *tippling* (to drink habitually, persistently- in small or large amounts) by passing the onus of policing onto *publicans*: individuals who owned, managed, or operated alehouses.

What this meant in practice was that the responsibility to ensure that no one drank for purposes other than necessary refreshment (labourers, for example, were permitted to drink on their lunch breaks) fell on individual landlords. This is an important development: the idea that the people serving drinks should be legally responsible for not allowing customers to get drunk. (Nicholls 2009: 14).

A precedent of holding publicans (sometimes called *landlords*) accountable to King and to Parliament had been established; it was them who were now legally responsible for any and all customers that attended their drinking houses. They were to prohibit entry to drunks, and to prevent drinkers from drunkenness once they were inside (both which

were unprofitable for publicans whose entire profession relied on selling beer). Any and all penalties (fines, closures, seizures, non-renewals) would be levied upon the pub's owners and operators, most of which were poor and could not afford to pay those penalties. Thus, King James I assumed that their desperation would ensure a precaution to prevent tippling on their premises.

In 1604, when drunkenness became a crime, drunks became criminals- and publicans became police. However most publicans had no intention of harassing their loyal customer base, especially over something as petty as *being drunk in a drinking house*. In *their* drinking house no less. Turning tipplers over to local constables was bad business. Bad community too. However, a shift in English law had no doubt taken place. Bar owners and operators *to this day* are still held responsible for their drinking customers: '*we have the right and responsibility to stop serving you*'. This publican 'onus of responsibility' started with King James, and remains persistent over four hundred years later.

In 1606 King James I passed another decree, and again the villainous drunkard was the reason. He proclaimed that *the odious and loathsome sin of drunkenness* was the "root and foundation" of "enormous sins" such as: "bloodshed, stabbing, murder, swearing, fornication, adultery, and such like" (*A Collection of Statutes*, 1836: 5). Punishments for drunkenness continued to expand. Now, anyone caught drunk in public would "forfeit and lose five Shillings" (*Ibid*).

Those unable to pay were sentenced to the stocks, six hours for every offence (*Ibid*).

Tipplers in alehouses and inns would also personally be fined three shillings and four pence, or, four hours in the stocks. And finally, any constables or justices of the peace who failed to arrest and convict suspects of drunkenness with every opportunity would themselves be fined ten shillings!



(*The Stocks: regular punishment for drunkards*)

By the early seventeenth century, anxieties over drunkenness were spreading. So too were proposed *cures* for the disorder. Most of them involved policing (legislating, regulating, directing, shaping) the alehouse in one way or another. If drunkenness was the virus, the drinking house was its host cell. Which is only fitting. And so perhaps expectedly, most proposals and solutions to reduce drunkenness, for the next few centuries, would revolve around specifically targeting the host. In the seventeenth century, alehouse patrons and their actions increasingly became objects of suspicion, and England's high society was soon convinced that both were in need of correction. Although difficult to understand today, traditional English pub games were some of the first activities attacked and outlawed. Less confusing were those chosen to be legally responsible for upholding that prohibition: publicans.

Early Alehouse Licensing: Conditions

In 1618, King James I continued his moral assault on alehouses. His *Royal Proclamation* stated that keepers of drinking houses, recently bound by license, were now required to re-apply annually in order to retain their licenses. This allowed legislators and local justices to implement new laws at their convenience, while publicans were forced to agree to all conditions, every year, in order to receive their renewals. If they took issue with the conditions of their license agreement, they would not be licensed, and the next prospective publican would take their place. Annual license renewal became one of the most important tools for control over alehouses; and it would soon be adopted almost everywhere (Monckton 1969: 37). Publicans were forced to prove their loyalty through 'good character', one year at a time; and if they pleased their local justices, they were rewarded with the status quo.

The 1618 *Proclamation* also reminded drinkers that alcoholic beverages were NOT to be consumed during Church hours and services. Nor were games to be played, 'flesh to be eaten' (meat), or money gambled. It also put a curfew on drinking house hours (a trend that would repeat throughout the history of Drink legislation). For the first time in English law, drinks could not be served after nine o'clock at night. And because King James I was still convinced that alehouses were designed for the purpose of lodging travellers, all alehouses were now forced to prove that they *could* lodge at least one traveller before being licensed (Nicholls 2009: 15).

Gaming and Gambling

The King also banned gaming.

As a condition of license renewal, landlords had to agree to ban cards and other games from their premises. (Nicholls 2009: 15).

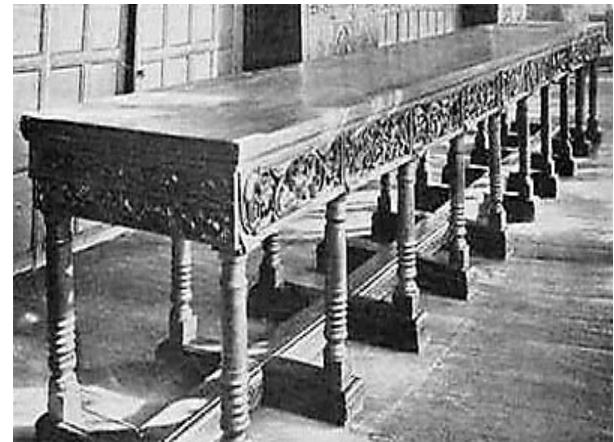
At first glance, pub games may seem like an odd quest for anxious reform. But these games were seen by many reformers as symbolic of a much greater threat; one of morality. Gaming was associated with: idleness and misspent time, tippling, binge drinking, gambling and money lost, dependence on the State, deviance and deception, crime, robbery, and cheap highs. Attacks on traditional pub games represented a wider attack on the culture and “conduct of the lower degree of the people” (Godschall 1787: viii).

Some traditional alehouse games included:

Billiard Tables, Shovelboard Tables, Dice, Cards, Tables, Nine-Pins, Ace of Hearts, Pharaoh, Basset, Hazard, Pigeon-Holes, bowling alleys or bowling greens, Quoits, Logets, Mississippi, Draughts, and Skittles.



(Skittles)



(Shovelboard; and later- ‘Shuffleboard’)



A gentlemen's quoit contest, from an English print

('A gentleman's quoit contest')



(Old metal Quoit discs in moist clay)

In 1655, Westminster prohibited the majority of games, listing them all by name. Any alehousekeepers who allowed these games on their property would be “suppressed, and not again licensed” (*Several Orders*, 1655: 4). Bans on pub games began spreading throughout county, city, and country. But many publicans and pubgoers found the idea of criminalizing *games* to be despotic. And so, as Justices and legislators spent centuries fighting to remove games from public houses, pub patrons fought to keep them by *playing*. The declarations of Kings were not enough to keep them from their recreation; so their behaviours simply became criminal- and the games went on. ‘Prohibition’ is dependable for its unique ability to push unwanted behaviours into corners and shadows, while rarely if ever affecting the prevalence of those behaviours (Thompson 2009: 217). So while pub games were becoming illegal across the Country, alehouse patrons continued to play them anyway.

But *why* were pub games so important to the drinking poor? The games themselves were fun to play, yes; but their loyalty suggested more than simple amusement. David Hume wrote on *tragedy* (1757), and implied that the poor endure far too much of it. Even

when granted sporadic *scenes of satisfaction*, they are mere *gleams of pleasure* designed to "plunge the actors into deeper distress" (Ibid: Mil 216). Hume believes that the daily lives of the poor are dull, idle and purposeless; resulting in personal sorrow, terror, and anxiety (Ibid). These are the lowest human passions, he says, ones of great pain. And to rid their souls of this pain, they seek

every amusement and pursuit; business, gaming, shews, executions; whatever will rouze the passions, and take its attention from itself. No matter what the passion is: Let it be disagreeable, afflicting, melancholy, disordered; it is still better than the insipid languor, which arises from perfect tranquility and repose.

...

You may observe, when there are several tables of gaming, that all the company run to those, where the deepest play is, even though they find not there the best players. The view, or, at least, *imagination* of high passions, arising from great loss or gain, affects the spectator by sympathy, gives him touches of the same passions, and serves him for a momentary entertainment. It makes the time pass the easier with him, and is some relief to that oppression, under which men commonly labour, when left entirely to their own thoughts and meditations. (Ibid Mil 217, my italics).

Hume saw alehouse games as therapy for the desolate poor. They delivered a taste of high passion to those who needed it most. Both through recreational *momentary entertainment*- and importantly- through the adrenaline of gambling. For players and for



(Friends gather round' for Skittles)

spectators, this variable of accruing *great loss or gain* represented a major part of their appeal to pub games.

Remember, Hume writes that spectators flocked to the *deepest play*, not the best players.

They were drawn to the highs produced when players risked everything they shouldn't for the prospects of fame and fortune; window-shopping for the underprivileged. Inside the alehouse, games provided a constant yet evolving platform with which to make bets on games, sports, or anything really. Wagers were sometimes beers, but more often money and other. Joseph Lawson claimed that alehouse drinkers were equally as passionate about gambling as they were the games and sports on which they gambled (Jennings 2011: 126). The possibility of betting small and winning big was their dream to chase, and because they could never reach it, they would forever chase it: what Hume called *imagination*. The connection was obvious, early on in the life of the alehouse- gambling became intertwined with pub games. And in 1699, an act was passed that targeted them both.

King William III claimed that *lotteries* (often the umbrella term for all forms of gambling) acted only as public nuisances that brought "ruin and impoverishment" to hard working English families (Shaw 1861: 38). Describing lotteries as the schemes of "several evil-disposed persons" (*Ibid*), he instantly declared *all* gambling prohibited by law. But the Act went on to focus on landlords and publicans. It warned *them specifically* about facilitating gambling or games on their properties in any way.

No person or persons whatsoever shall publicly or privately exercise keep open show or expose to be played at drawn at or thrown at or shall draw play or throw at any such lottery or any other lottery, either by dice lots cards balls or any other numbers or figures or any other way whatsoever. (*Ibid*).

Obnoxiously, convicted landlords were to forfeit *five hundred pounds for every offence*; while the players themselves would concede twenty (*Ibid*). Neither group could afford either fine. Despite these bans however, which spread quickly, lotteries continued to be

played everywhere by everyone (Nicholls 2009). Gamblers traded in the shadows and in the open, while the State made exceptions to hold their own ‘official’ lotteries- when they needed to raise funds (*Ibid*). Regardless of implementation, by 1700 much of England outlawed both gaming and gambling: in private, in public, and in alehouses. But not for everyone of course. Nobility and friends continued to hold open lotteries, and many of the poor wondered whether that was fitting behaviour for those ushering in the anti-gambling laws. They would later clear it up. Tucked into a 1739 Act was a subsection in which George II smugly reminded his people that Kings were not bound to their mortal laws:

Provided always and it is hereby enacted and declared. That **nothing in this Act or in any former Acts against gaming contained shall extend to prevent or hinder any person or persons from gaming** or playing at any of the games in this or in any of the said former Acts mentioned **within any of his Majesty's royal palaces where his Majesty his heirs or successors shall then reside.** (*Chitty 1828: 428*, my bolding).

And in 1757, the war on games found focus. Understanding the futility of setting unpayable fines, George II reduced the penalties for publicans who allowed gaming in their alehouses. Those caught with “Cards, Dice, Draughts, Shuffle Boards, Mississipi or Billiard Table, Skittles, Nine-Pins, or with any other Implement of Gaming” were now forced to pay forty shillings for the first offence, and ten pounds for every offence thereafter (*An Act for preventing GamingI*, 1757: 31). Publicans would still be hard pressed to pay, but unlike King William III and his foolish five hundred pound fines, King George II practiced self-control (presumably not out of kindness, but efficiency). When punishments are *too extreme*, their threats are sometimes interpreted as surreal, and they fail to grip the conscious. Nor can fines ever be collected if no one can pay them, whereas ten-pound fines can *always* be remedied by selling “the Offender’s Goods and Chattels” (*Ibid 33*). This

Act normalized the prohibition of gaming in alehouses; making it enforceable, making it real.

Some new policing tactics also surfaced. Publicans could be now found guilty by their own confession, *or by the Oaths of one or more credible witnesses*. The Act fails to define what constitutes ‘credible’, but instructs all ‘witnesses’ to bring their accusations to local Justices within six days of the offence (Ibid 32). However, snitching is a selfish business, where personal incentive defines morality and conduct. So while three-fourths of all fines were distributed to the Church-Wardens “for the Use of the Poor”, the fourth part was to be

Paid to the Person or Persons, on whose Information the Party of Parties offending shall have been convicted of the Offence. (Ibid 33-34).

The Act called for informants in the field and promised them steady rewards for their services. Though this particular strategy (compensation for information) has long been used by societies and governments, it was a fairly new instrument for the regulation of English drinking houses. It was strategic, inexpensive, and easy to operate. It also worked even when it didn’t: the brilliance of an *informant* is his assumed innocence. So even when it seems like there are no spies, they could all be spies: they are visible and unverifiable.

He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection. (Foucault 1995: 202-203).

And so, *in theory at least*, the alehouse acquired the eyes of the King’s spies, spreading paranoia and deterrence from bench to bar stool.

At this time, and under these Kings, games and gambling were outlawed for everyone except the Kings themselves. By the eighteenth century, all games in alehouses were essentially criminalized; and applicable penalties awaited alehousekeepers flirting with disobedience. Inns and taverns never worried legislators, but the morals and activities within alehouses represented a constant threat. And the dramatic policing of alehouse-games was indicative of how the state interpreted that threat. As the fear of drunkenness continued to expand, legislators sought more and more control over the alehouse. Games were only the beginning. These Acts targeted Dice and Cards, but they were really targeting souls: desires and behaviours.

III

The Idea of Policing

So far, the word 'policing' has been used repeatedly without any real justification. But the intentions of this paper must now be made clear: we are not simply analyzing *the police*. 'The police' are usually referenced today as: a designated body of persons legally responsible for the maintenance of civil order, the enforcement of laws, the protection of private property, and sometimes- even the solving of crimes. And it was indeed London, England that created the world's first modern professional police force in 1829: the *Metropolitan Police Service*. But that is not the focus here. Nor are the River Thames Police (1797) before them, or the Bow Street Runners (1749) even earlier- both of whom are seen as precursors to Sir Robert Peel's Metropolitan Police. And both of which carry histories and legends worthy of great discussion. But we are speaking here about *the policing of the pub*, not merely the specific encounters between the pub and police officers. Of course those relations are included in the concept of policing, and will be included throughout this paper in example, but *the idea* of policing is more important than its faceless agents. Policing is a *programme*; the programme of social control.

“Policing” and The Police Sciences

From the late fifteenth century political discourse in Europe centered very much around the concept of police. Originating in French-Burgundian *policie* in the fifteenth century, the word ‘police’ spread across Continental Europe and generated a range of words adopted from the French-Burgundian: ‘*Policei*’, ‘*Pollicei*’, ‘*Policey*’, ‘*Pollicey*’, ‘*Pollizey*’, ‘*Pollizei*’, ‘*Politzei*’, ‘*Pollucey*’, and ‘*Pullucey*’. Though the spelling of the word varied, the meaning remained constant, denoting the legislative and administrative regulation of the internal life of a community to promote general welfare and the condition of good order (as encapsulated in phrases such as ‘police and good order’ or ‘good police and order’), and the regimenting of social life (as in ‘regiment and police’). The instructions and activities considered necessary for the maintenance of good order were known as *Policey Ordnung*, or *Polizeiordnungen*- police ordinances- and referred to the management and direction of the population by the state. In giving rise to the *Polizeistaat* they referred, in effect, to the ‘well-ordered police state’. (Neocleous 2000: 1).

The idea of “policing”, as referenced here, started with the growth of European towns. Budding industry and trade, alongside a significant increase in wages (following worker revolts) were generally responsible for this growth. There were major changes to: authority figures and structures, social relations, and wages; and this bred *new lifestyles* of consumption:

gambling, drinking, adultery, blasphemy and, more generally, the opportunity to ‘wander’ (though this term was often a euphemism for begging and vagrancy) much further than was traditionally possible (Ibid 2).



(Pieter Bruegel, *The Dutch Proverbs*, 1559)

General hygiene was also a concern: these new lifestyles were breeding new types of health problems all across Europe (*Health in England*). In a general sense, 'social disorder' increased with the sixteenth century. Historically, the Church was assigned to quell these types of disorder, but the power of the Church was fading. Where once they ruled legally over the behaviours of town life, most legal jurisdictions were now shifting responsibility to 'urban authorities'; they became generally responsible for *managing* the populace. And with the increase in social disorders, or the fear of them, these new authorities felt compelled to increase their responses as well. And it was these authoritative responses

that represented some of the earliest methods of “policing”: the basic governance and ordering of civic life.

But ‘policing’ would soon adapt to represent much more. In a post-feudal age, seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe witnessed the formation of centralized nation-states across the continent. Competition between them for international supremacy led to bloody warfare in a race for colonial expansion and imperial projects. *It was the Age of Enlightenment*, and thinkers were now separating themselves from the religious ignorance that plagued the Middle Ages. No longer heresy or taboo, Galileo and Newton founded modern science, Bacon and Descartes developed philosophies infused with mathematics and logic, while others created or advanced the fields of medicine and the Arts.

But with the rise of these grand states came the need to understand them, and to direct them. Modeled on the scientific method, early writers (Locke, Hobbes, Montesquieu etc.) started generating political knowledges on government, governance, law, liberty and security, property, citizenship, and economics; and the idea of policing would bring them all together. As communities grew into large centralized states, the original concept of “policing”: the basic ordering of civic life, would grow into a “grand intellectual project linked to state formation, prosperity, and security in Enlightenment thought” (Rigakos et al. 2009: 2). And very much in the spirit of ‘Enlightenment thought’, the early intellectuals who wrote on the values and methods of *policing*- would later be deemed the first ‘police scientists’.

European Centralized City-States: Wealth is Strength

The most important need for these emerging states was economic stability. Mercantilism and Cameralism were the general economic theories of the era, which to oversimplify- sought to grow state wealth through a favorable balance of trade with other states (export more than you import, grow and encourage the local circulation of money and value). The strongest states would be those with the most efficient systems of commerce and trade, because the wealthiest states would have every resource at their disposal for social, industrial and military projects. And so eventually, the responsibilities of “policing” would stretch, from general civic order- to include the facilitation of state wealth for the sovereign. This was the moment that policing interlocked with commerce; Neocleous (2000) calls this transition the second phase of policing.

In 1757 Johann von Justi spoke of this connection, writing that ‘police administration’, “which in a broad sense includes the science of commerce” should implement the means by which:

commercial enterprises may be established and made to flourish, so that as a result the sustenance of subjects may be more ample and the resources of the country may be increased (Rigakos et al. 2009: 53).

He insisted that every *Cameralist* (German offshoots of Mercantilism) should “at the same time be a police expert and an economist” (Ibid 82). These became standards claims amongst the early writings on policing, later to be called ‘the police sciences’. Feudalism had fallen, and Europe’s emerging states understood that manufactured wealth would provide stability at home, but more importantly, that it would strengthen their operating

power on the international stage of warfare and foreign policy. And so, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, policing methods began to fixate on facilitating

the state of prosperity: the wealth of nations. Police theorists quickly came to argue that the state should secure a flourishing trade and devote its power to the preservation and increase of resources- of individuals and the state of prosperity in general- by overseeing the foundations of commerce. (Neocleous 2007: 23).

“Policing” now included the responsibility to grow wealth for the state, but what does this really mean? How do states *create* wealth? Well, history reminds us that great fortunes are generally achieved on the backs of the poor. Indeed the impressive feats of Egypt’s ancient civilization (pyramids, shipbuilding, agriculture) and the Roman Empire (bath houses, roads, bridges, aqueducts, even their armies) were completely dependent on the exploitation of slaves and near slaves for labour; we see this formula again and again with history’s most impressive (Simkin 2014). The lesson from grand imperial legacies: the rich few exploit the many poor. Europe’s early police theorists understood very well that the mass production of goods would create wealth when exported, but that to produce these goods, the collective labour of the poor would be required. Von Justi:

The best and surest increase of the revenues of the state comes from encouraging the labouring class (Rigakos et al. 2009: 82).

The Value in Divided Labour: Petty, Shipyards, Productivity

Sir William Petty (1623-1687)

If labour were to underlay industrial production, then it would be *divided labour* that would create the all-important surplus value (profit used to create more profit).

Inspired by Dutch shipbuilders, Sir William Petty was perhaps the first modern writer to understand the importance of the division of labour (Sharp 2006). He had already asserted that *true value* was extracted from land and labour- which he referred to as *mother* and *father* respectively (Petty 1662: Chapter Ten); but the Dutch would focus his theory.



Traditionally, English workers would manufacture large ships in units, finishing one before starting the next. However the Dutch 'had it organized with several teams each doing the same tasks for successive ships'. Workers quickly became familiar with their roles, which they performed all day, everyday; and the Dutch shipyards reported an explosion in productivity. Granted some of this productivity has recently been credited to their wind and water powered sawmills which allowed jigs to be set, and wood to be cut in standardized dimensions (allowing the shipyard to work faster and more efficiently than any competitors) (Verweij et al. 2012). However the division of labour was equally as important to their efficiency, and those innovative sawmills go to waste if labour is organized in sporadic bursts.



(*A Shipyard*, seventeenth century; Agostino Tassi)

By the middle of the seventeenth century Dutch ships were seen in all European ports and their merchant fleet was the largest in the world: "numbering around two and a half thousand ships, with England as the closest rival- with just a hundred and eighty" (*Dutch Shipbuilding* 2011). Sir William Petty was floored by their efficiency, and was immediately fixated on the idea of divided labour. He understood that a massive labour force was useless without organization, without strategy, and *without division*. The division of labour became central to his political economy and his vision for a wealthy, powerful, industrial England. Adam Smith would later build on Petty's ideas, confirming labour (not money) as value, and notoriously advocating for the division of labour with *his*

pin-factory as example. Indeed Petty was far ahead of his time, and for his early understanding of wealth and labour, Karl Marx would later write of Petty's "audacious genius" (Marx 1859: 27). Sir William Petty is perhaps the very first police scientist.

And if England needed workers, there was never a doubt as to *who* would fill those labouring roles:

It is from the Poor only that labour can be expected. (Colquhoun 1800: 365).

And so leaders and legislators, alongside the whispers of police theorists, began searching their poor populace for potential workers. The morals, behaviours, desires, fears, and weaknesses of the mass-poor soon became an obsession for the privileged owning class.

Neocleous writes that, *because they were needed for their labour*, 'the poor' were soon described

in text after text on police, from the most mundane handbooks for bureaucrats to the more philosophically demanding texts such as Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*. By virtue of its concern with the production of wealth, policing meant policing the class of poverty" (2007: 24).

And so *policing*, which developed early to keep order and adapted to grow sovereign wealth, eventually and inevitably adopted the onus of *getting the poor to work*- to create that wealth. This was the 'administration of poverty', and the idea of policing was beginning to find its form.

Police is the totality of measures which make work possible and necessary for all those who could not live without it; the question Voltaire would soon formulate, Colbert's contemporaries had already asked: 'Since you have established yourselves as a people, have you not yet discovered the secret of forcing all the rich to make all the poor work? Are you still ignorant of the first principles of police?' (Foucault 1988: 46).

But how would this all be done? What if the poor were satisfied working their own fields?, what if they were content with direct sustenance and tending to the needs of their community? In the way that industrial England would come to define ‘work’: what if they did not *want* to work?

Policing the Poor to Work

Work is the curse of the drinking classes.
-Oscar Wilde

William Petty was a man of statistics, and saw the answer in calculation. He met Thomas Hobbes early, and the two soon became close friends and collaborators. With Hobbesian influence, Petty's style developed into one of observation, estimation, averages, and predictability: of *science*. He developed a policing style based on total sums, averages, and approximations; insisting that to govern your people- you must *know* your people. The King who sees all his chess pieces at once holds a distinct advantage *over* those chess pieces; over other rulers as well. Petty wanted all social activity recorded into precise counts and best estimates, allowing him to dissect and organize total populations of towns and cities into categories of: sex, age, profession, regular wage, health, religiosity, property claims and location, criminal history, outstanding debts etc. But most important to Petty was the labour count: current workers, and potential workers. For England to "Superlucrate Millions of Millions", he said, the state must first determine exactly how many "spare hands" reside within its borders. (Petty 1690: Chapter Eight).

But it is to be noted, That about a quarter of the Mass of Mankind, are children, Males, and Females, under seven years old, from whom little Labour is to be expected. It is also to be noted, That about another tenth part of the whole People, are such as by reason of their great Estates, Titles, Dignities, Offices, and Professions, are exempt from that kind of Labour we now speak of; their business being, or ought to be, to Govern, Regulate, and Direct, the Labours and Actions of others. So that of ten Millions, there may be about six Millions and a half, which (if need require) might actually Labour. (Ibid).

Governing through simple math may seem obvious today, but in 1690, this was revolutionary thought. Petty saw first what most would only see much later: the power of numbers. To find workers: scan the populace and identify those citizens willing to labour.

But believe it or not, Europe's poor were not collectively enthused at the prospect of toiling long hours of tedious work for miserable returns. Some already possessed stable or fulfilling employment, most worked just enough to live off the land and support their families, and others simply held no interest in working at all. The vast majority of Europe's (potential) working peoples had little to gain from transforming into Industrial automatons. But 'willingness' was not a concern for the cold and calculating Sir William Petty.

Petty proposed transporting "all of the moveables and People" of Ireland and Scotland to Britain in order to increase productivity (Petty 1690: 225). More recently, Linebaugh (1991: 48) noted that Petty "found in Ireland that people were not willing to work more than two hours a day" so he deduced that "by expropriating the people from the land and forcing them to migrate" he could produce "spare hands" to produce millions for the economy. (Rigakos et al. 2009: 6).

Petty was adamant: if they did not want to work, *they could be forced to work*. And indeed much of the earliest police duties involved physically forcing people to work (Neocleous 2000, 2007). But there are repercussions to tyranny without restraint, most often revolt and rebellion; at some point at least. Rather, if the poor were to be effectively transformed en masse into a predictable and obedient class of simple labourers, policing would need to instill its morality deep within the population. It must *lead them* to work.

Label and Correct: *The Casual Poor*

The masses could generally be controlled towards desired ends, but there were always exceptions. The poor were not *all* threats to Industry and to Capital, indeed most of them would develop into loyal, dependable labourers (and consumers) and thus contributors to state wealth. These were, and are, the normal poor; and they would go on to form the working class (Engels 1892). And the administration of poverty was designed specifically to maintain and increase the production of these normals. Rather, the abnormalities (outliers) were the main threats to Industry: criminals, vagrants, delinquents, prostitutes, drunks, tipplers, rogues, castaways, cheats, gamblers, schemers and swindlers, beggars and borrowers, and above all else- idlers: the peoples and behaviours that were unproductive to capital.



(*Prostitution, London*, Hogarth)



(*Cheats and Swindlers*)

These outliers were Marx's *lumpenproletariat*: "the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass, thrown hither and tither" (Marx 1852). Consisting of those poor souls with "dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin", they were useless to capital, and a drain on the state (Ibid). Plentiful with 'disorderly' behaviour, they would soon become classified according to the level of threat that they posed to Industry. Beyond prostitution, theft, or violence- there was one *type* of behaviour that was more threatening than the rest.

In some sense, the greatest "crime" was thought to be idleness itself; "disorderly" is more often than not a euphemism for "workless" (Neocleous 2007: 24).

Idleness: not working, not active, not busy; unemployed; *doing nothing*. Criminals and swindlers and prostitutes *were at least trying*; trying and failing repeatedly (according to the State); but they still respected movement, and thus some sort of production. But idlers do not move, nor care to; and their future outlook appears the same. There is something very frustrating to the owners of production about a citizen that refuses to move. You cannot extract wealth from an empty corpse.



(Above: *Workless Youth in England*. Right: *A Beggar*).





(*The Plague of Idleness*, London, seventeenth century)

'Policing' represented the binding of social control with wealth creation, and these *masterless men* were the greatest threats to the entire programme. Not only did they fail to produce wealth directly with their labour, but they also drained wealth from the state (taxes for *poor relief*, the costs of crime and theft, jails and hospitals, etc.). But where the feudal age would have rushed to confine, punish, banish or execute; the pre-capitalist age would identify, label, teach and train. Those who did not work, or those who refused to work, could be made to. Not by chains, at least physical ones, but through the morality of labour and through corrective discipline.

The grand objective for these centralized states became the full regulation of all aspects of everyday life, in order to keep and make the poor productive. Petty demanded, repeatedly, that the masses be surveiled and tracked at all times.

Exact accompts to bee kept of the peoples, trades, religion, wealth, sex ages, marriages, births, burialls, housing, wealth, shipping of the Citty or 3 Cittyes (Rigakos et al. 2009: 40).

1. Let the exact accomppt bee made of Every man, woman and child within each parish.
2. Let all that please, or others for them, make knowne their wants and cause of the same; and what kindred and relations they have; and where borne or bred. (*Ibid* 47).

Statistics and surveillance would offer intimate details into the condition of the poor. The productive citizens willing to work should be enabled to do so, and the unproductive ones should be highlighted for special treatment. Petty was classifying the poor according to what they could offer state and Capital. For those receiving poor relief:

3. Let those who are admitted to relief bee distinguished into 3 classes.

- (i) Impotent in whole or in part
- (ii) Who can work, but want employment
- (iii) Who are able bodyd, but know not how to work. (*Ibid*).

This represented an important shift in the policing of poverty. Petty identified the main threats to the creation of wealth (idlers and beggars: *poor relief*:), and he classified them further into three different types of non-working poor. England had begun categorizing the idle poor *by their usefulness to labour*: some were skilled and actively seeking employment, others were able bodied but in need of instruction and management, and a small group of uninterested deviants could safely be labeled *impotent* to Industry, in whole or in part.

With these surveys and classifications, England's leaders became privy to the intimate details of their non-working poor. All idle poor were threats to capital, thus warranting *evaluation*, but some had the potential to labour, while others had none; and their classification would untangle the mess. In years prior, hopeless idlers were either banished, imprisoned, or simply left alone. Police theorists advised state leaders to stop wasting these bodies- and start salvaging them. If a vagrant of two years could later become a labourer of twenty years, with sovereign teachings and trainings, then it would be more than profitable to enable that transition. Owners and legislators could invest small amounts of time and energy into fixing up their broken, and in turn retooled labourers would generate large financial returns and *good ordered* conduct. This eagerness to save some of the desolate poor, to train them for the labour force, was

nothing but a sound economic investment. Very few of the idle poor are actually *impotent in full*: the rest should be motivated to work.

The primary aim of this policing was not to confine persons under some great scheme of incarceration or ‘great confinement’, as Foucault calls it, however productive this might be, but to help fashion a labour force outside the institution by making the able-bodied beggar and vagrant offer their labour power for sale on the market. (Neocleous 2000: 19).

Patrick Colquhoun: (1745-1820)



Over one hundred years later, Patrick Colquhoun would also force the poor into similar categories of usefulness to labour. His political economy sought to reduce crime and poor relief, while increasing production and wealth for the English state now booming with Industry and Trade. He lauds the London Metropolis as the “greatest Manufacturing and Commercial City in the world” (1800: 2), a

reputation, he says, that also turned England into “the general receptacle for the idle and depraved of almost every country” (Ibid). In his preface he writes that: “while we deplore the miserable condition of those numerous delinquents who have unfortunately multiplied with the same rapidity that the great wealth of the Metropolis has increased”, “their errors and their crimes are exposed only for the purpose of amendment” (Ibid: A4-A5). Colquhoun calls these non-working bodies *the casual poor*, and insists that ‘energetic policing’ must turn them on to “honest labour” (Ibid 354).

William Petty's influence on Colquhoun is inarguable. Colquhoun's philosophy also relied heavily on population statistics and economic data, and like Petty, he would later classify and categorize the poor by their potential for work. He claimed that his studies were *bettering* the condition of the casual poor by establishing methods that inquired into the history, life, and the causes of the distress of every person who asks relief in any part of the Metropolis: not with a view to support these unfortunate persons in idleness and vice; but to use those means which talents, attention, and humanity can accomplish- (means which are beyond the reach of parochial officers), for the purpose of enabling them to assist themselves (Ibid 360).

By 'assist themselves' he surely meant 'assist Industry'. After all, Colquhoun claims that poverty is not 'itself an evil', as all great empires have been built on the energies of the hardworking poor. Rather, he claims, the only evil is when the poor refuse to work, or cannot work. From Colquhoun's *Treatise on the police of the metropolis* (1800), his *five classes of the Poor*:

- 1) ***The Useful Poor:*** who are able and willing to work- who have already been represented as pillars of the State, and who merit the utmost attention of all Governments, with a direct and immediate view of preventing their *poverty* from descending unnecessarily into *indigence*.

...

The great art, therefore, in managing the affairs of the Poor, is to establish Systems whereby the poor man, verging upon indigence, may be propped up and kept in his station (Ibid 366).

- 2) ***The Vagrant Poor:*** who are able but not willing to work, or who cannot obtain employment in consequence of their bad character. This class may be said to have descended from poverty into beggary, in which state they become objects of peculiar attention, since the State suffers not only the loss of their labour, but also of the money which they obtain by the present ill-judged mode of giving to charity.

...

It is only by a plan, such as has been recommended, that the real indigent can be discovered from the vagrant, and in no other way is it possible to have that distinct and collected view of the whole class of beggars in the Metropolis, or to provide the means of rendering their labour (where they are able to labour) productive to themselves and the State- And it may be further added with great truth, that in no other way is it possible to prevent the offspring of such mendicants from becoming *Prostitutes and Thieves*. (367- 368).

3) *The Indigent Poor:* who from want of employment, *sickness, losses, insanity or disease*, are unable to maintain themselves.

...

the first consideration ought to be to select those who are in a state to re-occupy their former station among the labouring Poor; and to restore them to the first class as soon as possible, by such relief as should enable them to resume their former employments, and to help themselves and families.

...

Where insanity, or temporary disease, or infirmity actually exist, such a course must then be pursued as will *enable such weak and indigent persons*, while they are supported at the expense of the Public, *to perform such species of labour, as may be suited to their peculiar situations, without operating as a hardship, but rather as an amusement.*

In this manner it is wonderful how productive the exertions of even the most infirm might be rendered (368-369, my italics).

4) *The Aged and Infirm:* who are entirely past labour and have no means of support. -Where an honest industrious man has wasted his strength in labour and endeavors to rear a family, he is well entitled to an asylum to render the evening of his life comfortable (369).

5) *The Infant Poor:* who from extreme indigence, or the death of parents, are cast upon the Public for nurture.

...

They are the children of the Public, and if not introduced into life, under circumstances favourable to the interest of the State, the error in the System becomes flagrant (369-370).

The Purpose of Policing

The goal for police theorists was to develop a massive labour reserve however possible. Willing labourers would be given work, and the unwilling would be motivated to find some. Both Petty and Colquhoun scanned their poor populations, identified and classified the non-working poor, and insisted that those -with any degrees of potential- be rescued and turned into spare hands for the sovereign. This refusal by the state to give up on their dysfunctional poor would actually be quite romantic if they weren't merely standing them up to make them *productive* for capital.

But what of those men who *truly* cannot be mastered? What of the idler who cannot be motivated to move?, what of the beggar who refuses to beg with a license? And what of those criminals who will never find *honest* employment? Regardless of state efforts, there will always be deviants who can *never* be trained, who can never be fixed. These are the genuine outliers, Marx's *lumpenproletariat*. For Petty, they were the *impotents in whole*, and for Colquhoun- the able-bodied minority of the *Vagrant Poor* that refused to work. And what should become of them? Once designated useless to Industry and to state, what fate do they deserve? Well policing is about extracting wealth until no longer possible, so punishments for workless outliers generally included: fines and property seizures, and forced servitude or slavery; in that order. And when there is no wealth to seize and no able-body to enslave, the state can finally give up on its subject. Confinement, imprisonment, or banishment (to isolated farmland, Australia, the United States etc.). The citizen has failed the state, and his state has failed to resuscitate him. This, through the eyes of capital, is nothing but a wasted body. The idler that cannot be fixed is a failed experiment, and the state would be wise to get rid of him.

William Petty (1687): "Banishment- for useless persons & Cowards" (Rigakos et al. 2009: 49)

Johann Von Justi (1756): "Vagabonds of all sorts must be drive from the country" (Ibid 60).

But this is the absolute last resort of policing, and often represented the minority of results (excepting for the mass deportations to Australia etc.). With great regularity, the majority masses would become the working classes: it was the normal result for normal people. And to motivate the masses to join the labour reserve, ideological campaigns of moral triumph separated the 'respectable working class' from the degenerative under-class (work hard, *then* play hard). The ideas of policing (moral regulation put into practice) had changed the way rulers ruled; growing city and nation-states became extremely effective at shaping massive populations towards certain desirable ends. Those ends were for labour, Industry, and Capital. And soon Britain would realize the potential of all three.

The Idea of Policing, and the Pub

The worst side of drug use is getting the drugs. Yeah, the police are my drug problem.
-Hunter S. Thompson (2009: 381).

Policing was the working philosophy to manufacture favourable types of citizens (workers). And when that manufacture failed, if there was deviance or dysfunction, they sought to *fix them*. When they could not fix them, they sought to reduce or remove them (banish/imprison/confine/kill etc.). This was the same lens in which many of the bourgeois legislators, justices, magistrates, and interest groups viewed and treated the pub: through the eyes of policing. Pubs were often interpreted as cesspools of idlers, deviants, and drunks. When England needed a healthy and obedient work force, the pub allowed them to behave otherwise. Regulation and reform around the pub, in the vaguest sense, was about reducing the harm done by them. It was about reducing drunkenness and idleness; and making them productive whenever possible. The policing of the pub (especially towards the turn of the twentieth century) was interconnected to the policing of the poor: both were to be identified as threats for correction; and if correction wasn't possible, they were to be reduced or removed. Separate the useful from the useless.

As a result, 'the pub' (alehouses, beerhouses, gin palaces, and later Victorian pubs) became one of the main sites for class conflict: where the morals and behaviours of the proletariat clashed repeatedly with those of the bourgeoisie. They were spaces that worried the upper classes, spaces they wanted to control (both the pub itself and the people inside it). An industrial blitz was fast approaching, and England would require its great reserve of productive labourers. Both idlers and drunks would be made useful, and pubs would be reformed or reduced. This was the philosophy of police.

IV

Industry, Capital



(Nineteenth Century Industry)

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would elevate Britain atop the world stage. The awesomeness of the Industrial Revolution is well known, and needs not much repetition here. It will suffice to say that, by the late eighteenth century and through the heart of the nineteenth century, Britain, and especially England, developed into the focal point of mass production and global trade. Britain became known as *the workshop of the world*, producing and exporting commodities to other countries at unparalleled rates, while consuming their raw materials and valuable goods in return (Engels 1892: vi).

The advent and nature of regular wages would completely alter the lifestyles and behaviours of the English masses. It should be noted however that when we speak here of 'the poor' or 'the increasingly poor', (often referencing both the working class and the *truly* poor); these are contextual declarations. The majority masses grew wealthier with wages, but the divide between the rich and the poor grew much faster. Similar to wheelbarrows packed with paper money when inflation deemed it worthless. Throughout the Industrial Revolution, the poor would become working class, and some would stay 'poor'- but both would suffer and sacrifice to make Britain great.

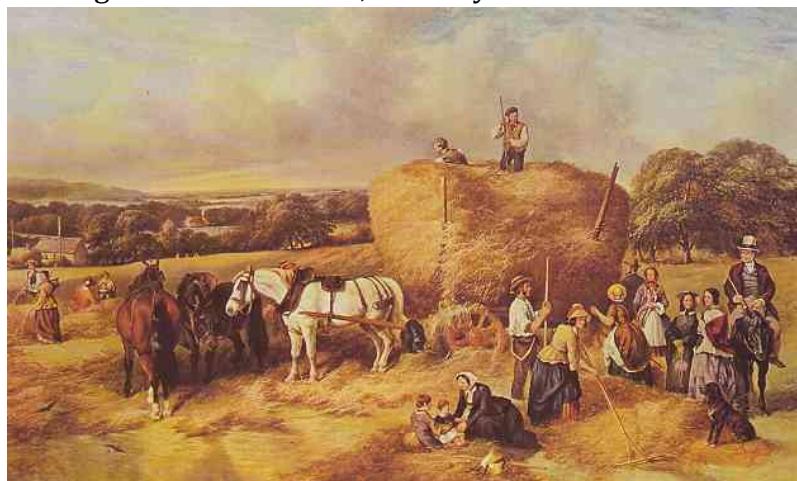


(England's Proletariat)

Revolutions (and Theft) in Agriculture

Prior to grand production, most people lived in small rural communities, where their days revolved around farming or tending to small properties. The earliest industrial workers (weavers, spinners and other skilled trades) were humble and comfortable: "they did not need to overwork; they did no more than they chose to do, and yet earned what they needed" (Engels 1892: 2). For the majority masses- yes there was disease and malnourishment, and farming was long and difficult work; but they were still in control of most of their daily activity.

They produced their own food, clothing, tools, and anything they else needed or wanted (wants were less numerous then).



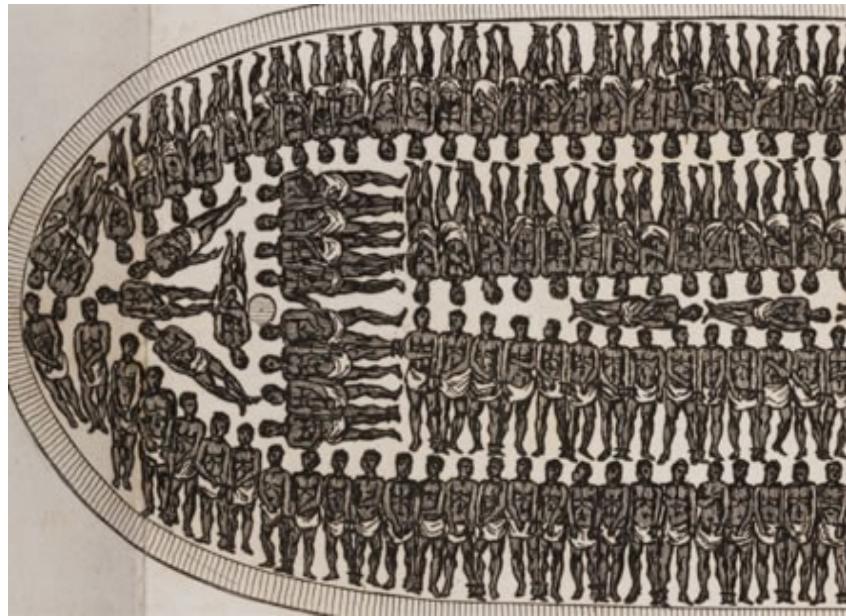
(*Working the Land*, nineteenth century England)

But revolutions in agricultural production, within an increasingly focused political programme, would change the living and working relations for all of England. The poor: farmers and other, were forced off their lands by: technological breakthroughs and a mechanization of farming, the private partitioning and uneven distribution of land, and the outright elimination of basic property rights. The mass agricultural poor were suddenly and inexplicably prohibited from their own lands. Whereas once communities of British farmers *shared* land to collectively produce different crops, fields were now given new borders and new owners. Under new laws, serfs were legally and illegally forced off

their properties, permanently, in a bourgeois land grab. And the serfs and farmers *lucky* enough to keep their lands were forced to compete their crops with a new class of capitalist farmers- who could afford the best machinery and an abundance of *spare hands*. The petty farmers that remained would obviously be crushed by capitalist farming; forcing most of them out of work, and out of home. A largely agricultural proletariat quickly became an industrial, urbanized workforce: a landless, wage-earning proletariat.

The Industrial Revolution and its Workforce

But *who* would make up the great labour force of Britain's workshop? Well, often slaves, but more so the labouring poor (to become the working class). The *slave triangle* between Britain, Africa, and the Americas exploded as Britain profited both by selling slaves as straight property, but also by using them to harvest sugar, coffee, tobacco etc.



(*Slave ships*: large cargo ships converted to transport slaves)

Slaves would certainly help finance the Industrial Revolution (the convenience of labourers without wages), but they would not make up the majority of its active workforce (*The Abolition Project 2009*). Indeed capitalism could not and cannot thrive under the economics of slavery; only the predictability and exploitation of consuming wage-labourers can provide the steady base needed for capitalist relations.

The industrial workforce would be filled by the urbanized poor; men, women, and children.

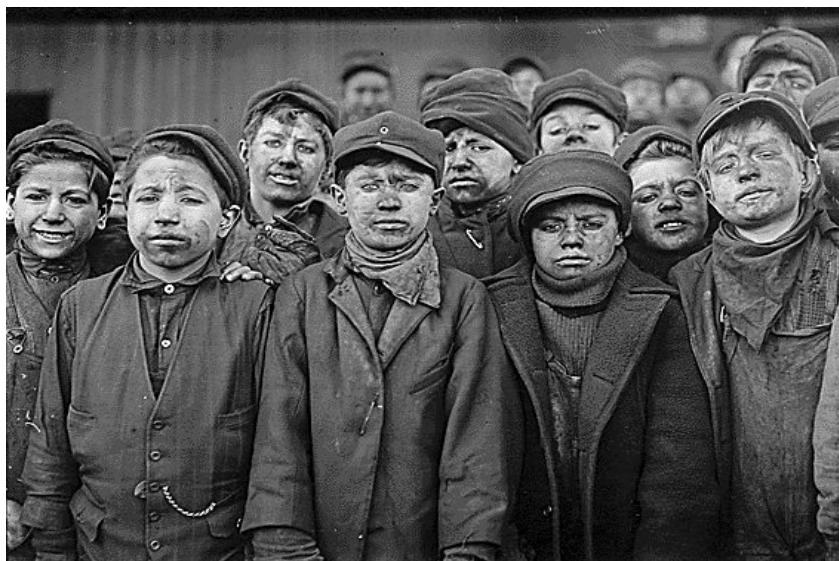
Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labour, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex (Marx & Engels 1848: 73).

As manufacturers competed with each other to offer the lowest wages possible, instilling "petty thefts upon the workpeople" (Engels 1892: vii), the poverty and desperation of poor families continued to grow. Adult males tried to earn enough pay to support their families, but pay was weak and insufficient, and families were forced to adapt. Often, and especially without the presence of a family breadwinner, "the only way a poor family could fend off starvation was for the children to work as well" (Venning 2010). In many ways, child labourers (sometimes referenced as 'child slaves') were

the ideal labourers: they were cheap (paid just 10-20 per cent of a man's wage) and could fit into small spaces such as under machinery and through narrow tunnels (Ibid).

Many children worked as spare hands on agricultural projects and farms, work that was said to be even more grueling than factory work. Nonetheless, many of them were hired by factories:

As British productivity soared, more machines and factories were built, and so more children were recruited to work in them. During the 1830s, the average age of a child labourer officially was ten, but in reality some were as young as four (Ibid).



Child labourers were vulnerable and responded quickly to punishment, they could perform smaller jobs that were difficult for adults (trappers,

(England's child labourers, sometimes called *child slaves*)

drawers, scavengers and chimney sweepers), and they could be paid pitiful wages without fear of revolt.

Women also made up a big part of the industrial labour force. They worked in textile and other factories, agricultural projects, and some skilled professions, but the majority worked in domestic services. (Burnett 2008). However it was poor adult males that would make up the majority of Britain's working class: they were able-bodied and now hungry for work; any work. Mentioned by Engels above, shameless manufacturers would *compete* with one another- forcing workers to fight amongst themselves for scraps of employment, and *winning* the *security* of, contextually, lowering wages. The agricultural proletariat- turned Industrial- was confused and desperate: a perfect formula for the fleecing owners of production.

All in all, the manual labourers used to fuel Britain's Industrial Revolution were plucked from impoverished families that were forced off their lands to live and work in major cities and crowded spaces. And the social effects were predictable.

Misery For the Masses (1800-1849)



(Friedrich Engels)

The early 1800's began to expose the awful condition of the working-class, as more and more British families transformed into labouring automatons living in urban squalor. By the early 1840's, social tensions were coming to a boil. A young and enraged Friedrich Engels, pre-Marx, roamed the streets of England's 'great towns' to *appreciate* the effects of Industry and Capital upon the newly formed proletariat.

Their living conditions were appalling. "What is true of London is true of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, is true of all great towns" (Engels 1892: 24): the working poor toil in distress to provide Britain with their "marvels of civilization" (*Ibid* 23). And for that, they live in filthy hopeless rundown wastelands. Written by the age of twenty-four, from his *Condition of the Working Class*:

The great towns are chiefly inhabited by working-people, since in the best case there is one bourgeois for two workers, often for three, here and there for four; these workers have no property whatsoever of their own, and live wholly upon wages, which usually go from hand to mouth. Society, composed wholly of atoms, does not trouble itself about them; leaves them to care for themselves and their families, yet supplies them no means of doing

this in an efficient and permanent manner. Every working-man, even the best, is therefore constantly exposed to loss of work and food, that is to death by starvation, and many perish in this way. The dwellings of the workers are everywhere badly planned, badly built, and kept in the worst condition, badly ventilated, damp, and unwholesome. The inhabitants are confined to the smallest possible space, and at least one family usually sleeps in each room. The interior arrangement of the dwellings is poverty-stricken in various degrees, down to the utter absence of even the most necessary furniture. The clothing of the workers, too, is generally scanty, and that of great multitudes is in rags. The food is, in general, bad; often almost unfit for use, and in many cases at least at times, insufficient in quantity, so that, in extreme cases, death by starvation results. Thus the working-class of the great cities offers a graduated scale of conditions in life, in the best cases a temporarily durable existence for hard work and good wages, good and durable, that is, from the worker's standpoint; in the worst cases, bitter wants, reaching even homelessness and death by starvation. The average is much nearer the worst case than the best. (Ibid 73-74).

The brutal living conditions listed above were symbolic of the capitalist relationship between citizen and state, between worker and owner. Engels called it *social warfare*. But this was merely a vague appraisal which failed to reference any of the detailed horrors of infamous city-slums like *Angel Meadow* (a place Engels called *Hell upon Earth*). The point is this: living and working conditions were abhorrent; and social disorder was everywhere. The Proletarian families were consciously and *necessarily* were made to suffer, from every angle; because these were the only relations that would allow Britain to thrive. For the majority workers, and for the majority of families, their sacrifice was expected; and unrewarded.

Broken Families:

When the wife spends twelve or thirteen hours every day in the mill, and the husband works the same length of time there or elsewhere, what becomes of the children? They grow up like wild weeds (142-143).

Hence the accidents to which little children fall victims multiply in the factory districts to a terrible extent. The lists of the Coroner of Manchester showed for nine months: 69 deaths

from burning, 56 from drowning, 23 from falling, 77 from other causes, or a total of 225 deaths from accidents, while in non-manufacturing Liverpool during twelve months there was but 146 fatal accidents (143).

A mother who has no time to trouble herself about her child, to perform the most ordinary loving services for it during its first year, who scarcely indeed sees it, can be no real mother to the child, must inevitably grow indifferent to it, treat it unlovingly like a stranger. The children who grow up under such conditions are utterly ruined for later family life, can never feel at home in the family which they themselves found, because they have always been accustomed to isolation, they contribute therefore to the already general undermining of the family in the working class (144)

Unhealthy Working Conditions:

The atmosphere of the factories is, as a rule, at once damp and warm, usually warmer than is necessary, and, when the ventilation is not very good, impure, heavy, deficient in oxygen, filled with dust and the smell of machine oil, which almost everywhere smears the floor, sinks into it, and becomes rancid (155-156).

This work affords the muscles no opportunity for physical activity. Thus it is, properly speaking, not work, but tedium, the most deadening, wearing process conceivable (177).



(The most deadening, wearing process conceivable)

The Health of Labourers: Deterioration, Injury, Sickness, Death:

Men:

The men wear out very early in consequence of the conditions under which they live and work. Most of them are unfit for work at forty years, a few hold out to forty-five, almost none to fifty years of age. This is caused not only by the general enfeeblement of the frame, but also very often by a failure of the sight (160).

This premature old age is so universal that almost every man of forty would be taken for ten to fifteen years older, while the prosperous classes, men as well as women, preserve their appearance exceedingly well if they do not drink too heavily (160).

Besides the deformed persons, a great number of maimed ones may be seen going about in Manchester; this one has lost an arm or a part of one, that one a foot, the third half a leg; it is like living in the midst of an army just returned from a campaign (164).

Young Girls and Women:

A witness in Leicester said that he would rather let his daughter beg than go into a factory; that they are perfect gates of hell; that most of the prostitutes of the town had their employment in the mills to thank for their present situation (148).

The influence of the warmth of the factories is the same as that of a tropical climate, and, as in such climates, the abnormally early development revenges itself by correspondingly premature age and debility. On the other hand, retarded development of the female constitution occurs, the breasts mature late or not at all. Menstruation first appears in the seventeenth or eighteenth, sometimes in the twentieth year, and is often wholly wanting. Irregular menstruation, coupled with great pain and numerous affections, especially with anaemia, is very frequent, as the medical reports unanimously state (162-163).

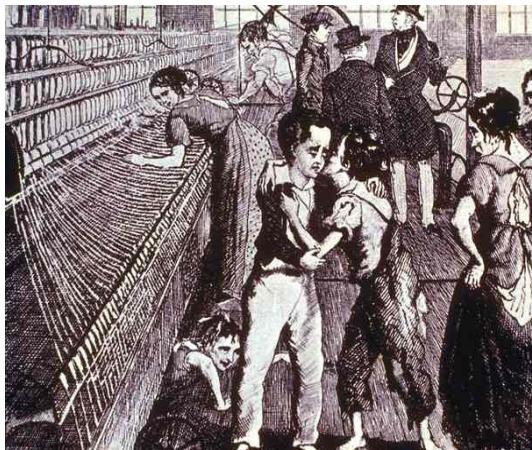
They are more liable to miscarriage. Moreover, they suffer from the general enfeeblement common to all operatives, and, when pregnant, continue to work in the factory up to the hour of delivery, because otherwise they lose their wages and are made to fear that they may be replaced if they stop away too soon (161).

Children:

It is unpardonable to sacrifice to the greed of an unfeeling bourgeoisie the time of children which should be devoted solely to their physical and mental development, withdraw them

from school and the fresh air, in order to wear them out for the benefit of the manufacturers (151).

...pain in the back, hips, and legs, swollen joints, varicose veins, and large, persistent ulcers in the thighs and calves. These afflictions are almost universal among the operatives (154-155).



(Children, Textiles)



(Child Labour in England)

(Quoting Dr. Ray, a physician in the hospital in Leeds): "Malformations of the spine are very frequent, among mill hands; some of them consequent upon mere overwork, others the effect of long work upon constitutions originally feeble, or weakened by bad food. Deformities seem even more frequent than these diseases; the knees were bent inward, the ligaments very often relaxed and enfeebled, and the long bones of the legs bent. The thick ends of these long bones were especially apt to be bent and disproportionately developed, and these patients came from the factories in which long work-hours were of frequent occurrence" (153).

Between June 12th and August 3rd, 1843, the *Manchester Guardian* reported the following serious accidents (the trifling ones it does not notice): June 12th, a boy died in Manchester of lockjaw, caused by his hand being crushed between the wheels. June 16th, a youth in Saddleworth seized by a wheel and carried away with it; died, utterly mangled. June 29th, a young man at Green Acres Moor, near Manchester, at work in a machine shop, fell under the grindstone, which broke two of his ribs and lacerated him terribly. July 24th, a girl in Oldham died, carried around fifty times by a strap; no bone unbroken. July 27th, a girl in Manchester seized by the blower (the first machine that receives the raw cotton), and died of injuries received. August 3rd, a bobbins turner died in Dukenfield, caught in a strap, every rib broken (165).

Such is the condition of the English manufacturing proletariat.

The above excerpts were taken only from one chapter by Engels entitled *Factory Hands* (the production of wool, silk, cotton, flax etc.). But his work sifts through the miseries of the many other labour sectors as well. He dissects the harmful relations in agriculture and mining, alongside the other *types* of factory work: textiles (weavers, bleachers, lace-runners), metal-wares (the manufacture of articles, locks, needles, nails), potteries, glass, etc. He also writes of the consistent lack of job security (workers pitted against one another to accept lower wages, humans losing employment to machines etc.); the relentless supervision and abuse of workers (a sweat-shop environment with physical beatings and punishment, especially for children); and the contextually pathetic wages that were supposed to justify these great sacrifices. Poverty, disease, malnourishment, injury, disfigurement, death, hard and long working-days, the loss of childhood and the corruption of children, the destruction of families, the gravest emotional turmoil, the separation of worker from his craft, and the overall decimation of *what it means to be human*. For all of these sacrifices- *the proletariat still struggled*, daily, to make enough money to feed, clothe, or amuse themselves and their families.

For this reason, and under this environment, ‘the pub’ often operated as the only viable escape for the working class poor. It was their sanctuary.

V

The Lure of the Pub

There is no private house, in which people can enjoy themselves so well as at a capital tavern. Let there be ever so great plenty of good things, ever so much grandeur, ever so much elegance, ever so much desire that every body should be easy; in the nature of things it cannot be: there must always be some degree of care and anxiety. The master of the house is anxious to entertain his guests; the guests are anxious to be agreeable to him; and no man, but a very impudent dog indeed, can as freely command what is in another man's house as if it were his own: whereas, at a tavern, there is a general freedom from anxiety. You are sure you are welcome: and the more noise you make, the more trouble you give, the more good things you call for, the more welcome you are. No servant will attend you with the alacrity which waiters do, who are incited by the prospect of an immediate reward in proportion as they please. No, sir; there is nothing which has yet been contrived by man, by which so much happiness is produced as by a good tavern or inn. (Johnson, as cited in Timbs 1829: 41).

There is something very special about English public houses. When war, Kings, and Industry were hard on the people, the pub offered them respite. It was often their only escape, allowing healing and offering pleasure. And although some will attribute any therapeutic properties of the pub to alcohol itself; intoxicants, for many, are limited by their settings. The legend of the pub is about more than drinking: lifelong friendship and pleasantries, fervent political debate, the thrills of gaming, gambling, and the potential for sex; recreation, imagination, warmth and passion. For the dejected poor living in urban squalor, the pub was their oasis.

By the mid nineteenth century, the term 'pub' was regularly used to refer to England's many different drinking houses. Alehouses, ginshops, beerhouses, taverns, inns

and hotels: these were all now legally classified and commonly referenced as 'public houses' (pubs). This section was designed specifically, and seemingly out of context, to explain the *grand appeal* of 'the pub'. To do so, certain qualities will be extracted and highlighted from the various drinking houses; a compilation of sorts. They (alehouses, gin palaces etc.) undoubtedly held great differences between them, but collectively, they offered a generalized and majestic promise to their patrons (*the lure of the pub!*). All of them offered respite and recreation to their loyal customers- when both were in serious demand. To understand the appeal of public houses, both through England's good times and bad, we begin with the ever-vilified gin-palace.



(An Early Gin Palace in London; Alamy)

Gin Palaces: Light in Darkness

The gin palaces of the 1830's "were built and fitted out on a far more lavish scale" than ever before (Spiller 1972: 9). In response to the 1830 Beer Act, which allowed tens of thousands of people to open independent retail 'beerhouses', pub-owning big brewers responded by refashioning their current pubs, also opening new ones, with glamorous architecture, *lavish interiors*, "and the promise of access to an array of spirits" (Nicholls 2009: 92). England had survived its 'gin craze' a century prior (1700-1750: inexpensive gin in a free market atmosphere, rising disposable income, and an increase in female consumption led to, *reportedly*, record levels of binge drinking, drunkenness, and disorder). However gin in Victorian England still remained an affordable and effective intoxicant, thus persisting as a favorite drink of the poor. And as the nineteenth century unfolded, these gin-palaces represented a sizeable portion of English public houses.

Every one remarks the increase of gin-shops. In all those parts of Leeds or Manchester, and of London too, where the poorest people live, there you find, in almost every dirty street, not one but several fine houses (Colburn 1833: 693).



(Charles Dickens)

Charles Dickens wrote of the proletariat, and many would claim *for* them as well. His empathy, strengthened by a rare ability to understand this new class, inspired him to create genuine characters that struggled in misery to earn rare moments of bliss.

In *Sketches by Boz* Dickens explains the initial magnetism of drinking houses in poor neighborhoods. Describing a local gin-palace, he writes:

The filthy and miserable appearance of this part of London can hardly be imagined by those (and there are many such) who have not witnessed it. (1870: 86).

...

...men and women, in every variety of scanty and dirty apparel, lounging, scolding, drinking, smoking, squabbling, fighting, and swearing.

...

You turn the corner. What a change! All is light and brilliancy. The hum of many voices issues from the splendid gin-shop which forms the commencement of the two streets opposite; and the gay building with the fantastically-ornamented parapet, the illuminated clock, the plate-glass windows surrounded by stucco rosettes, and its profusion of gas-lights in richly-gilt burners, is perfectly dazzling when contrasted with the darkness and dirt we have just left (Ibid 87).

All is light and brilliancy; there was indeed great symbolism to these lights. For the poor and working class: when cities and towns were dark, cold, and uninviting; the bright lights of gin palaces emanated the warmest glow. The illumination itself represented the earliest draw- that first taste of intoxication. And like moths to a flame the working class flocked. They were considered undesirables to the England's rulers, but to these gin palaces- the poor were potential patrons to be loved and courted. This feeling of *being wanted*, externally, was an irregular experience for much of the desolate; so bar maids and publicans made sure to extend a "smiling welcome to all who enter" (Wakefield, as cited in Newsby 1859: 507).

Purpose

Albeit a temporary one, alcohol was and is a powerful agent for the muting of personal demons. Drink is used to distract, ease, and forget; and the pub became the gathering place where people could forget together. And forgetting was often therapeutic. To provide the base of Industry, England was increasingly producing more simple labourers than ever before. At the risk of oversimplification and perhaps rudeness, an entire class was being created without purpose: "he who was born to toil had no other prospect than that of remaining a toiler all his life" (Engels 1892: 16). Robots are blessed with an inability to feel, but there is great pain for human automatons who live without purpose.

In his *Blue Zones* study (2009), Dan Buettner analyzed the pockets of population around the world that contained the most living centenarians (people one-hundred years or older), hoping to find universals between them and thus the secret to long life. All groups had the following characteristics in common: they walked (not ran) for miles a day, they drank red wine, ate green plants, and consumed meat only once a week or once a month; they lived with and cared for elders and grandparents, they honoured family and spent time with friends, *and they all had purpose*. Both planting or herding or cooking or building, each member of the family relied on the others to execute their duties and perform their crafts every single day. Indeed the survival and the health of their communities relied entirely on the consistent fulfillment of hard and noble work responsibilities. This gave every member of the family and community an individual and collective sense of purpose; if they fell, so would the rest. They worked everyday to keep each other alive, to be comfortable, to be happy, healthy, and independent. This feeling of

having purpose in life was cited by Buettner as perhaps the leading factor in the creation of ‘successful centenarians’ (2005: 13).

England’s working class had less. Or none. They arranged wave after wave of textiles on factory assembly lines and milled the farms of capitalists- for twelve hours a day, and terrible pay. Moreover, the outcome of their energies was not realized by them. They were simple labourers whose only purpose was to mass produce: completely (and necessarily) separated from the fruits of their labour. Industry and capitalism killed the artisan. *It had to.* But that feeling of alienation was a difficult acceptance for the working class, many who were tilling their *own* lands but a few years prior.

The pub held an unparalleled ability to ease that pain.

People go to church for the same reasons they go to a tavern: to stupefy themselves, to forget their misery, to imagine themselves, for a few minutes anyway, free and happy. (Huberman 2006: 28).

Gin shops and alehouses offered an escape for the working class, sometimes the only escape. Factory workers understood that the morning would call them, once again, to spend their twelve hour work-day assembling one piece with another, beit: firearms, clocks, textiles, sewing machines, bicycles, or horse-drawn carriages. But they also knew that those wages would allow them to join their friends later at the pub; to drink in company and make life easier, and sometimes- to forget it altogether.

...the public house, for all its deficiencies, was often the one oasis of recreational activity, open to all, at little cost, in a desert of drabness and squalor. Here were centered so many of the things that made life tolerable. (Greenaway 2003: 8).

The pub could both ease the burden of having no purpose, but it could also *give* them purpose. Pubgoers often reported feeling wanted, welcomed, unique, and important;

simply put, it's what keeps them coming back. So when England's quest for Industry sterilized the souls of its majority masses, the pub offered revival.

Warmth

Dickens introduced the gin-palace by describing the *gay building's* surface features: *the plate-glass windows surrounded by stucco rosettes, the illuminated clock* etc. However, he says, “the interior is even gayer than the exterior” (Dickens 1870: 87). Some may interpret this reference as alluding to the architecture inside: the “bar of French-polished mahogany”, the green and gold side-aisle casks enclosed by a light brass rail, both of which led to the “lofty and spacious saloon” with a ‘fully furnished gallery running round it’ (*Ibid*). And they would be right, Dickens was certainly fascinated with the physical structures of pubs- both inside and out. But he was a man of the people, an admirer of *life*. I read the *gay interior* as the relations indoors: the collective energies *within* each pub that gave them all warm unique personalities. And for many pubs throughout the nineteenth century, the life inside started and ended with the life of the fire.

Britain hosted pleasant (yet rainy) springs and summers, but their winters were cold. The 1600’s accounted for some of their coldest days ever recorded: the River Thames began freezing with regularity, while the people were increasingly forced to survive long and severe frosts. The 1700’s saw many storms and snowfalls throughout their easterly-dominated *winters*, and the 1800’s would follow suit. Late and great snowfalls continued to plague England’s harsh winters, exemplified by the year of 1816- which is now known as *the year without summer* (Bethune 2013). The cold was a threat, and heat- their guardian. And so English drinking houses, for many reasons, operated as heated sanctuaries from winter’s elements.

(A beer house: *Scotland Yard*; Cruikshank)

Although associated more with hotels and inns, most alehouses, beerhouses and gin-palaces relied on roaring “cast-iron fireplaces” to fuel the night ahead (Orwell 1946). Orwell wrote an essay about his ideal pub entitled the *Moon Under Water*, and what made it the ideal pub. He first describes the interior and exterior architecture, like Dickens, but then moves quickly to credit the fundamental source of life inside:



In winter there is generally a good fire burning in at least two of the bars (Ibid).

And in the Pickwick papers, Dickens does the same. Describing the Inn's remedy for a soaking-wet Mr. Pickwick and his fellow travellers, he writes:

The candles were brought, the fire was stirred up, and a fresh log of wood thrown on. In ten minutes' time, a waiter was laying the cloth for dinner, the curtains were drawn, the fire was blazing brightly, and everything looked (as everything always does, in all decent English inns) as if the travellers had been expected, and their comforts prepared, for days beforehand. (Dickens 1837: 735).

Heated inns and hotels were common sense- their general purpose was to provide relief, comfort and luxury to paying travellers. But fireplaces also soon became prevalent in the many alehouses, beerhouses, gin-palaces and taverns. Aesthetically, fireplaces (cast iron etc.) were attractive and fit beautifully with the architectural designs; but their purpose was for survival and comfort. Also to funnel energy to drinkers inside. Fire is a mystical life force, allowing those that surround it to feed from it. A fire's embers outlast the night itself, allowing patrons to do the same. In the dead cold of winter, fire was the lifeforce of the pub.



(*'A man with a fire is never alone'*)

"Tom, Dick, and Will, were little known to Fame;-

No matter;-

But to the Ale-house, oftentimes, they came, To chatter.

It was the custom of these three To sit up late;

And, o'er the embers
of the Ale-house fire,
When steadier customers retire,
The choice *Triumviri*, d'ye see,
Held a debate".

(Coleman 1839).

Men, Women, Sex

You can learn a lot about a woman by getting smashed with her
-Tom Waits

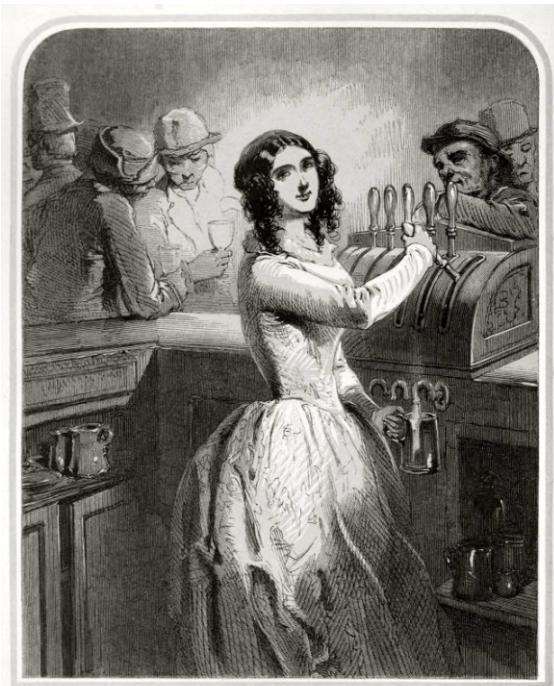
There was also the potential for sex. Although some reductionist accounts claim flatly that all pubs were boys only clubs, history is more complex. Especially because we are looking at the drinking houses of the majority-masses (there was far more gender exclusion amongst the wealthier pubs)- women were not merely passive observers but often- active participants. And although many women “shunned pubs, either by choice or compulsion” (Jennings 2011: 117), their gender was not sweepingly prohibited nor regularly absent from pub premises:

Working-class London in particular had a ‘considerable women’s pub culture’. In the East End Monday was recognized as ladies’ day, when women still had a little money left over, and the pubs they used became ‘cowsheds’, form the local male epithet for women. South of the Balls Pond Road the King’s Arms in the High Street was the ‘cowshed par excellence’, according to Booth’s police guide. Late morning or early evening were the favoured times for their favourite tipple of gin. (Ibid 116-117).

(Right: Men, women, and children in a ginshop)



(A Tavern barmaid)



were also their regular customers for as long as those gin-palaces existed (Nicholls 2009, Jennings 2011).

Gin was popular with women for numerous reasons: not only were there large numbers of unattached women with disposable income in the capital (an effect of the expanding market in domestic service), but gin bypassed the rigorous gender exclusions of the alehouse and the tavern. (Nicholls 2009: 41).

Women also started and operated England's early alehouses, they worked as barmaids in alehouses and gin-palaces ("showily-dressed damsels with large necklaces": Dickens 1870: 87), but importantly, they



(*The Young Barmaid*, Charles Sillem Lidderdale, 1884).

Until the Licensing Act of 1872, mothers could also bring their children with them inside gin-shops (leading crazed Temperance propagandists to attack neglectful *gin-soaked mothers* for producing *diseased and deranged children*).

(Right: An extract From '*Gin Lane*', Hogarth, 1751)



Regardless, before gin-palaces, the presence of women and the prospect for sexual encounters at drinking houses was generally relegated to prostitutes and off-chance happenings. But the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would encourage regular female patrons which, alongside continued prostitution, created a strong sexual draw for men (and women). Gin-palaces, and later all public houses, began fashioning an atmosphere of sexual lure: both in the potential for realized sex, but also merely by the *presence* of the opposite sex (unviable hope is still, always, hope). Untouchable barmaids were no longer the only females allowed inside England's pubs, and this nightly potential for *interested* interactions and sexual encounters would develop into one of the more enticing aspects of pubs.

The Community Hub: Laughter, Friendship, Debate, Politics

Public houses provided working communities with their only social space outside of work and home. They were places to drink, but they were also the working people's social clubs, trading and entertainment centres, meeting places for societies and unions, labour exchanges and reading rooms. Before organised sport, public libraries, parks and museums- not to mention cinemas, concert halls and holiday resorts- there was often literally nowhere for working people to socialise other than the pub. (Nicholls 2009: 101).

In his study on Drink and politics, John Greenaway described the pub as *an oasis of recreational activity*: a pleasant and refreshing experience that affords relaxation and enjoyment, festivity, distraction, sex, amusement, fun and games. We have already looked into seventeenth century gaming and gambling- both which increased in variety and popularity throughout the centuries that followed (pubgoers *loved* to gamble) (Nicholls 2009). As for music, some drinking houses had live music (pianos etc.), and the later Victorian pubs were equipped with gramophones, radios, and the singing voices of their patrons. The pub was obviously a *fun* place to be. And still is. But the lure of the pub runs much deeper. Deeper than music and gambling, deeper than sex; deeper than alcohol itself.

If you are asked why you favour a particular public-house, it would seem natural to put the beer first, but the thing that most appeals to me about the Moon Under Water is what people call its "atmosphere". (Orwell 1946).

'Atmosphere' is the energy of the pub; and most pubs (especially the early ones) worked to created communal atmospheres. Safe spaces, pleasant spaces, functional spaces- for the town or city in which they all called home. Sometimes called *the parliament of the people*, the pub adapted to the needs of the community. If a room was needed for

song and dance, if a room was needed to talk politics and debate, if a room was needed to get pissed drunk and yell- the pub could adapt, and offer you that room. For this reason, English populations often dubbed it the hub of the community.

They were also generally *the only* recreational houses open to the public in small towns and early cities (or the only ones that permitted entrance to the undesirables); they were affordable ('war and drink are the two things man is never too poor to buy'- William Faulkner), *and they were social*.

Man is by nature a social animal; an individual who is unsocial naturally and not accidentally is either beneath our notice or more than human. Society is something that precedes the individual. Anyone who either cannot lead the common life or is so self-sufficient as not to need to, and therefore does not partake of society, is either a beast or a god. (Aristotle, as cited in Rothwell 2011: 235)

For many, the guarantee of human interaction represented the pub's best quality. When Kings and governments dragged their majority populace through war, hard pointless labour and unbearable poverty, public drinking houses promised a safe and delightful setting to connect with others of the same mind.



(*Tavern Scene*, David Teniers, 1658)

Glass in hand! There is magic in the phrase. It means more than all the words in the dictionary can be made to mean. It is a habit of mind to which I have been trained all my life. It is now part of the stuff that composes me. I like the bubbling play of wit, the chesty laughs, the resonant voices of men, when, glass in hand, they shut the grey world outside and prod their brains with the fun and folly of an accelerated pulse. (London 2011: 276).

Social bonds were regularly formed and strengthened through all day tippling sessions and nightly drinking bouts. With the purchase of one drink or four came the potential for great friendship- even brotherhood. This feature of the pub cannot be undervalued: drinking houses promised laughter and love when many lacked both.

All round there was a rising tide of beer, widow Désir's barrels had all been broached, beer had rounded all paunches and was overflowing in all directions, from noses, eyes - and elsewhere. People were so blown out and higgledy-piggledy, that everybody's elbows or knees were sticking into his neighbour and everybody thought it great fun to feel his neighbour's elbows. All mouths were grinning from ear to ear in continuous laughter. (Zola 1885).

The pub was festive, yes, and often too, but there was also focused conversation, consideration, and intensive debate.

...man is by nature a political animal

....

for it is the special property of man in distinction from the other animals that he alone has perception of good and bad and right and wrong and the other moral qualities, and it is partnership in these things that makes a household and a city-state (Aristotle, quoted in Rackham 1944).

And a pub! As the main public gathering house for small communities, people often assembled in pubs to: deliver, discuss and debate any news (which travelled slowly at the time); to read declarations or newspapers aloud for illiterate fellow patrons; *to be read* declarations by local Justices or authorities; to brainstorm for harvests and crises of disease; to talk and argue; to deliberate on rulers and the current



(Politics and the Pub, London)

conditions of the poor; to organize and vote, to plan strikes, rebellions and direct actions: essentially, it was *the* place to talk social and politics. As one of the main sites of class conflict, the pub was inherently political. Both proactively, and reactively. This was always well known by Justices and legislators, indeed much of the early seventeenth century attacks on alehouses were in part

driven by a fear of the conspiracies and plots that could be hatched in the murky corners of the lowerclass alehouse, or at least of the political disaffection which drunken talk could engender. (Nicholls 20009: 17).

And though it should be noted that (historically and internationally) the upper class drinking houses have generally been interpreted as more politically threatening (The *Sons of Liberty* met regularly and were said to have conspired the American Revolution at the *Green Dragon Tavern* in Boston, while the French Revolution is said to have ‘sprung’ from a café at the Palais Royal), English pubs have long held reputations of dissent, deviance and rebellion. The pub is inseparable from politics, beit seventeenth century organizing by disgruntled communities, or twenty first century debate between two drunks on bar stools. The pub *is* political, and here’s hoping that never changes.

It should be noted however that this section (pub-as-community hub) was written primarily with alehouses and the later Victorian pubs in mind; less so with ginshops and beerhouses. William Scruton was convinced that “it was not in the gin palace that ‘good-fellowship’ was to be found” (Jennings 2011:13). His claim is both common and understandable, fairly accurate too. I am less declarative than Scruton however, only ginshop patrons could attest to the warmth they felt from patrons beside them; and each ginshop held its own personality. But traditional alehouses and Victorian pubs do seem far more revered for their social and political *feel*, what Orwell called *atmosphere*. They were

cooperative and harmonious spaces for the poor and working classes when they were desperately needed, and when few or no others existed.

'The pub' was a place where people could socialize and network with one other: where they could drink, think, talk, argue, laugh, cry, and touch elbows with their neighbours. And for hundreds of years, the pub was *the only* safe place for the English majority to gather in this way. It was simultaneously fun and serious, adaptable to the souls inside it and the relations outdoors. The pub was the hub of the community, the parliament of the people.

A Space for Creation: Art, Intoxication, and the Pub

For art to exist, for any sort of aesthetic activity or perception to exist, a certain psychological precondition is indispensable: intoxication. (Friedrich Nietzsche, as cited in Evalt Steinis 1994: 132)

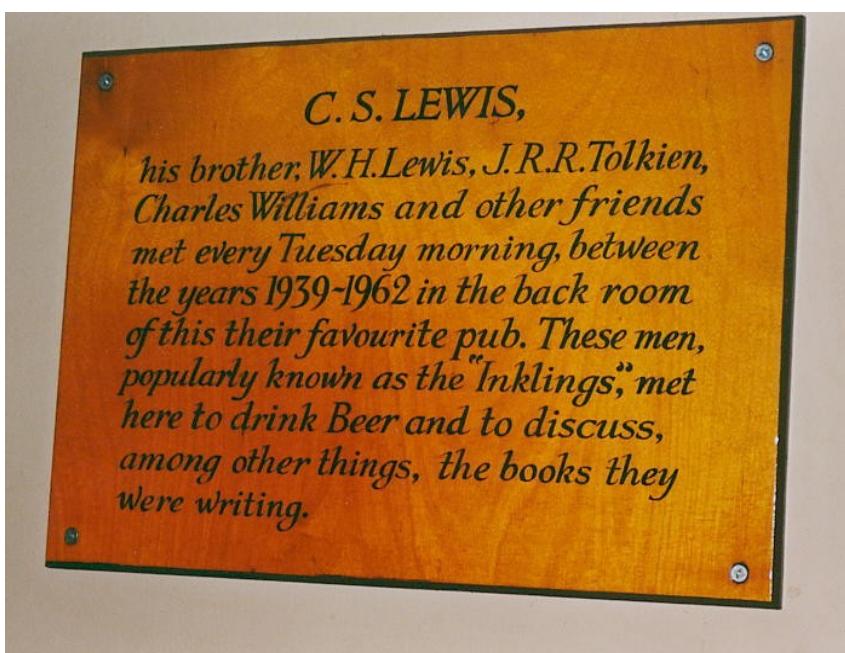
The link between artist and drug is a strong one. Musicians, painters, dancers, sculptors, actors, photographers, and filmmakers are renowned for the conscious alteration of the brain to explore imagination and fantasy; to create. But we are speaking here of alcohol, and there are no artists better known for their alcohol intake than poets and writers ('All great writers are drunks!'). Some *purists*, like Shakespeare, refused to mix drugs with work: "I would not put a thief in my mouth to steal my brains" (quoted in Wilson 2009: 106), but most writers found stimulation through intoxication. Irwin Shaw remarked bluntly: "after a few glasses I get ideas that would never have occurred to me dead sober" (Matthiessen et al. 1913). To mention a few American writers who feel the same:

Poe, Hemingway, Faulkner ("I usually write at night. I always keep my whiskey within reach"), Hart Crane, Tennessee Williams, Truman Capote, Dorothy Parker ("I'd rather have a bottle in front of me than a frontal lobotomy"), Ring Lardner, Raymond Chandler, O Henry, Jack London, Delmore Schwartz, F Scott Fitzgerald, ("Too much champagne is just right"), John Berryman, Jack Kerouac, Charles Bukowski, Anne Sexton, Patricia Highsmith – the list is long even without including those, such as Hunter S Thompson, more renowned for their experiments with other substances ("I hate to advocate drugs, alcohol, violence or insanity to anyone, but they've always worked for me"). (Morrison 2013).

In his 1954 acceptance speech for the Nobel Prize of literature, Ernest Hemingway (right) declared: "writing, at its best, is a lonely life" (Hemingway 1954). This perhaps explains his lifelong eagerness to find public spaces to write, ones which of course served alcohol.

Hemingway has probably given more bars notoriety than any other author- the man loved to both travel and drink. El Floridita, Hemingway's regular hangout during his time in Cuba, may be the most famous of his haunts. Even when he moved out to the suburbs, Hemingway would still drive into town to drink here. (Yoder 2011, my italics).

There were times to write alone, and times to write from the crowd. With their imbued tradition of public drinking houses, and with their long literary history, many of Britain's greatest writers took to pubs to work, or to find inspiration. Public drinking houses offered a place to read, a place to write, and reliably- a place to *observe*. Some were quiet, others boisterous, but *public character* was always prevalent. Though less so for gin-shops; alehouses, taverns, and especially the later and greater Victorian pubs- operated as creative spaces for some of the world's most influential writers.



(On the wall today at *The Eagle and Child*, Oxford)

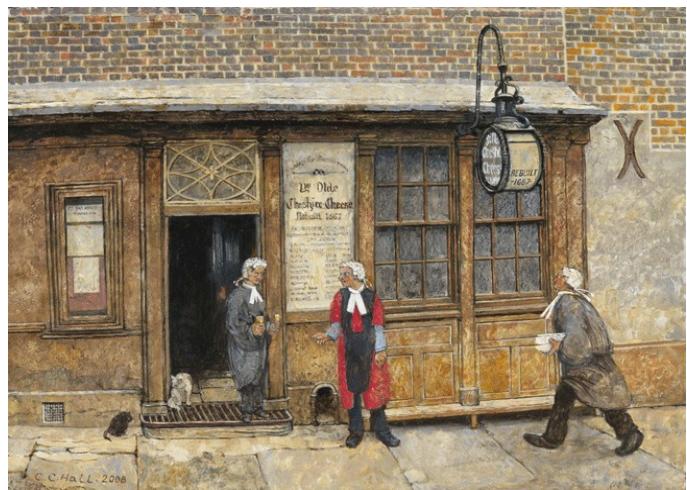
For nearly two decades, J.R.R. Tolkien, C.S. Lewis and *The Inklings* holed up' in the back room of *The Eagle and Child* pub in Oxford. Monday and/or Tuesday lunch meetings were held in what became known as

'The Rabbit Room', where Tolkien and others would read and discuss unfinished works (Ibid). On breaks from the BBC, and likely on shift as well, Dylan Thomas and George Orwell escaped to a basement in London's *Fitzroy Tavern* for conversation and ale. Orwell was obviously quite fond of pubs, and would write one into *1984*. Walking through the prole (poor) district, *Winston* comes across a "dingy little pub whose windows appeared to be frosted over but in reality were merely coated with dust" (Orwell 1949: 110); Orwell is said to have based this fictional pub on his time at the *Newman Arms* over on Rathbone Street (Rustin 2012). Anthony Burgess had the *Duke of York*, TS Eliot- the *Marquis of Granby*, Lord Byron- *The Spaniards Inn*, and Samuel Pepys is said to have watched the 1666 *Great Fire of London* from the roof of *The Anchor* (Harris 2007).



centuries: Voltaire, Alexander Pope, Oliver Goldsmith, Charles Dickens, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, WB Yeats, William Makepeace Thackeray, Samuel Johnson, and Oscar Wilde were all said to be loyal patrons here (Ibid). *Ye Olde Cheshire Cheese* reportedly feels *exactly like an English pub should*, with its narrow

But the dark and gloomy *Ye Olde Cheshire Cheese* pub (left, down), built in 1538 and rebuilt in 1667, remains perhaps the favourite watering hole for Britain's lauded journalists and writers over the



passageways, connecting stair-cases and low ceilings; all of course heated by a roaring open fire-place throughout the winter months (Yoder 2011).

James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, Irvine Welsh, HG Wells; all of them drinkers, and all of them pub-goers. *Even Karl Marx* could be found at the pub. He once gave a speech at *The Black Horse* (Rustin 2012), and even reportedly took breaks from writing *Capital* to drink at the *Museum Tavern* (across the street from the British Museum). The point is this: writers like(d) to drink, and they felt comfortable in pubs. And although a few of them certainly hid behind the doors of upper class taverns, the majority of these figures drank and wrote in the same public houses frequented, at one time or another, by the poor, the working class, etc. They were places of inspiration and imagination, both in the finest and most terrifying ways, and it was a place where proletarian and philosopher could stand simultaneously; *the pub was open to all.*

A Conclusion

The lure of the pub was important to unpack, for two reasons. First, none of the best political writings on the pub have devoted entire sections or chapters to explaining *why* the English have long huddled inside it, and *why* they consider it perhaps the most important leisured space within their storied culture. Most of the literature makes sporadic mentions to architecture, food and drink, atmosphere etc. But this is not enough. If the pub is as English as Sunday roast, I wanted to explore why. What is it that makes the pub so important to the poor and working classes? What bred their fascination?, their loyalty?

Second- was the need to paint the social landscape. As we travel through Britain's history, reaching the incredible feats and absolute horrors of the Industrial Revolution, it felt important to describe, in detail, what was often the only beacon of hope. And to describe *how* it offered hope. When England's towns and cities were plagued with sickness, overcrowding, poverty and death; alehouses, gin palaces, and beer houses offered relief, recreation, and peaceful excitement. Bright lights, a warm fire, a place to talk, a place to laugh, fervent debate, a pretty girl, gaming and gambling, cold beer, whatever: the pub offered momentary release, when far more was needed ('you speak of my drinking, yet you don't know my thirst'- Scottish proverb).

But we have now reached the Victorian era, which transformed the pub faster and more dramatically than any period before it. Drinking houses in England had been viewed with suspicion from their very beginnings; but policing responses to them (legislative and otherwise) were often sporadic quests by individual Kings and magistrates seeking to shape morality towards their interests. Victorian England however, under the advice of

police theorists, sought a more *predictable* programme for policing; one that would organize, classify, and control those drinking houses (and thus the behaviours inside them). The objectives remained the same: reduce or remove drunkenness, idling, and disorder; force those employing such behaviours into realms of productivity, of *usefulness*. But a focused England began to lean on focused methods. The idea of policing, which had fast become a staple in the literature on governance and the active programmes of legislators and rulers, would lean on calculation to attack those drinking houses. If ‘the pub’ operated as a major site of class conflict, the Victorian era would form the hotbed for war.

VI

Victorian England

The Victorian Pub (1830→)

Victorian England significantly altered their mass of drinking houses, in two ways. First was language and legal recognition. Historically, there were three different types of establishments selling alcohol: inns (lodging, food, and drink for travellers), taverns (wine and food for the upper classes), and alehouses/gin palaces/beerhouses (ale, gin, and beer for the majority poor and working classes). But the term 'public house' (reportedly stemming from 'public alehouse') came into rotation in the seventeenth century to refer to alehouses and some inns, it increased in use over the eighteenth century, and by the mid to late nineteenth century- it was used as an umbrella term for *all* of England's drinking houses. This was partly due to the 1828 Licensing Act which classified them all (legally) as 'public houses' (Clark 1983), but it was mainly the result of the English masses who liked and applied the term across the board. The Victorian age was the moment when, to oversimplify: alehouses, gin palaces, taverns, inns, and beerhouses- all *became pubs*.

The great mass of drinking places, although they differed greatly of course in scale, had largely come to be termed public houses. (Jennings 2011: 38).

Many pub purists choose not to include gin palaces and beerhouses under the term because they operated under a different *spirit*. However they will be included here for

simple reasoning: they were public houses that sold alcohol, and they were public houses that catered almost entirely to the poor and working classes- which is the focus of this study. Through legal recognition and the discourses of the everyday English, the totality of drinking houses could now be referenced as pubs.

But the Victorian age also, quite literally, created a new breed of public house. Taking qualities from alehouses, gin palaces, taverns, and inns, 'Victorian pubs' started to open all across the country. They were different from their predecessors both in look and function, but were inspired by them all (Spiller 1972). This new breed was essentially a hybrid-drinking house. Whereas historically alehouses sold ale and beer, ginshops sold gin, taverns sold wine and food, while inns sold leisure; a Victorian pub could have: the architecture of a gin palace, (later) the food and wine of a tavern, the fireplace of an inn, and it could serve the clientele of an alehouse. But these new pubs could also cater to the middle and upper classes, especially because the grand Victorian pubs were often constructed with many different rooms (public bar or 'tap room', saloon bar or 'smoke room', buffet bar, ladies' bar, and the private bar). This allowed the rich to hide in the (more expensive) saloon and private bars to avoid exposure to the poor, or to enjoy intimate company in secret. Class can never be separated from England's drinking houses, regardless of the era; it was simply infused within each pub (Spiller 1972).

These new Victorian pubs were essentially generalized drinking houses- though such description feels unjust; indeed these pubs were renowned for their individualities and unique atmospheres ('each pub has a story'). But their function had greatly expanded. Beer became better and cheaper, wine and spirits were now offered, cigarettes were soon sold, music or the option for it was common, and hot food or 'snack counters' later became

a staple after WWI when pubs were forced to compete with restaurants and other consumer spaces. There was also recreation, gaming (decreasingly criminalized), and some pubs even had gardens around back.

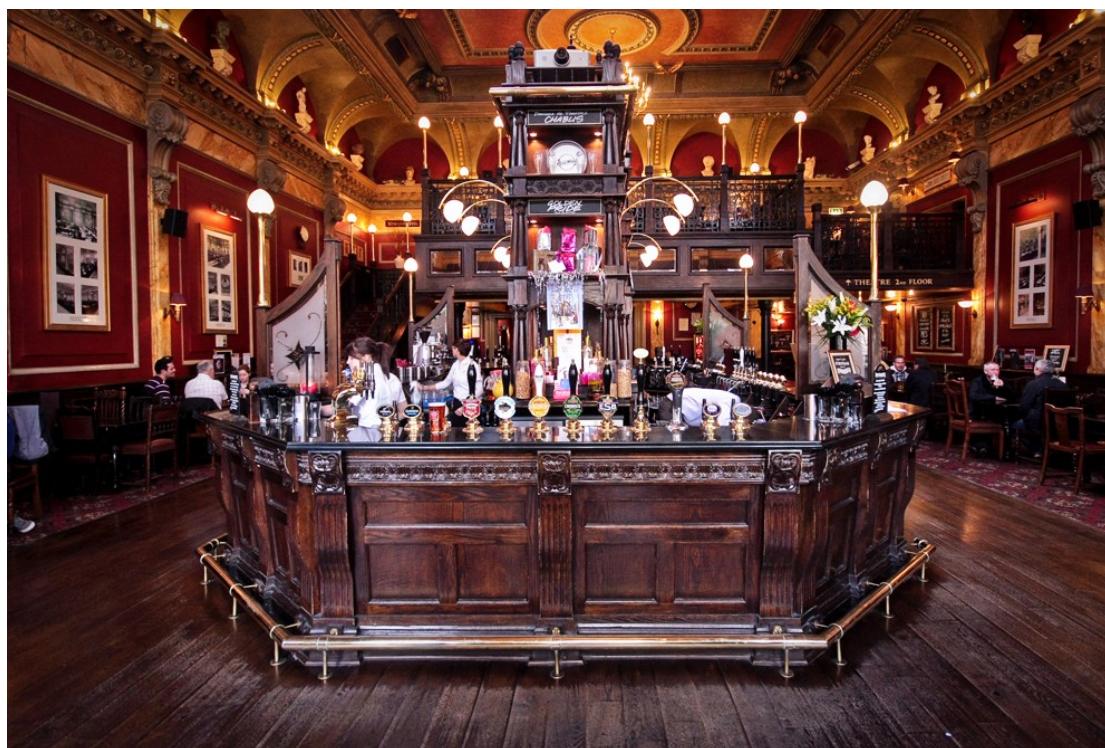
You go through a narrow passage leading out of the saloon, and find yourself in a fairly large garden with plane trees, under which there are little green tables with iron chairs round them. Up at one end of the garden there are swings and a chute for the children.

...

I think that the garden is [the] best feature, because it allows whole families to go there instead of Mum having to stay at home and mind the baby while Dad goes out alone. (Orwell 1946).

And finally, Victorian pubs were renowned for their unique brand of beautiful architecture, both inside and out. Pub enthusiasts will tell you there is a certain look and feel required for a drinking house to be deemed a Victorian pub:

...its whole architecture and fittings are uncompromisingly Victorian. It has no glass-topped tables or other modern miseries, and, on the other hand, no sham roof-beams, ingle-nooks or plastic panels masquerading as oak. The grained woodwork, the ornamental mirrors behind the bar, the cast-iron fireplaces, the florid ceiling stained dark yellow by tobacco smoke, the stuffed bull's head over the mantelpiece- everything has the solid comfortable ugliness of the nineteenth century. (Ibid).



(Left:
*The Old
Bank of
England*,
built
1888.
194
Fleet
Street,
London)



(*The Queens Arms*, built 1870. 30 Queen's Gate Mews, London.

The point is this: ‘the Victorian pub’ became its own entity late in the nineteenth century. It looked and acted different than the unidimensional drinking houses that preceded it. It was strategic and successful, and became a drinking house, or perhaps *the* drinking house for most. It is also likely the precise structure that the vast majority of people think about when asked to imagine ‘the pub’, both inside and outside England. There were still ginshops and beerhouses and taverns throughout and long after Victorian England, but they too would now be commonly referenced as ‘pubs’ (Jennings 2011: 38). And, by collecting the many appealing qualities of the various English drinking houses

before it, the *new* multifunctional Victorian pub would set itself apart from the rest. It represented the peak of allure, “the essence of the pub” (Jennings 2011: 11). However, *all* drinking houses in England would soon be addressed by the bourgeoisie, who were increasingly united on the perils of drunkenness and idleness. By the mid nineteenth century, a shift in governance began to seep through. Police thinking was now prevalent, and the concentrated battle over pubs and their activities was only just beginning.

Gifts For the Masses: Prevent the implosion!

The fourth chapter on *Industry and Capital* concluded with Engels describing ‘the misery of the masses’; but Victorian England would soon change the condition and treatment of the working class. Presumably out of efficiency, not tenderness or empathy (but intention cannot be deciphered here). The 1840’s had the feel of a pressure cooker. Widespread suffering and riots amongst the poor and working classes, the Great Irish Famine of 1845, and the British commercial crash and panic of 1847- all of this brought a sense of impending doom to England’s aristocrats. To such degree in fact that Engels and Marx felt a proletarian revolution ‘inevitable’.

“What the bourgeoisie produces... are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable” (Marx & Engels 1848: 80).

Let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. (Ibid 111).

But humans adapt to survive, and like any wise owner whose animal has turned rabid against him, the bourgeoisie threw bones to their working class: bones to distract and befriend (some were taken in struggle, others were gifted). Industrial Britain had not yet peaked (and obviously wanted to), and eventually the owning class began to understand that *some* concessions were needed to appease the masses- ensuring a stable, loyal, healthy (enough): productive workforce. These concessions are important because they would come to define Victorian England, and correlatively- its treatment of Drink.

Post 1847 marked a *new industrial epoch* for Britain: the *Corn laws* were repealed, Free Trade financial reforms were popularized and instituted, gold-fields were discovered in California and Australia, other colonial markets (India, China, USA) increased their

capacity for absorbing English goods and for providing England with raw materials, and their railways and ocean steamers were now able to travel further distances with greater efficiency. England had realized “what had hitherto existed only potentially, a world-market” (Engels 1892: vi). And to *fully* exploit this world market, the owners and beneficiaries of the manufacturing industry began altering their stratagem at home.

Seemingly moralizing overnight, England’s owners changed their thinking:

The competition of manufacturer against manufacturer by means of petty thefts upon the workpeople did no longer pay. Trade had outgrown such low means of making money; they were not worth while practicing for the manufacturing millionaire, and served merely to keep alive the competition of smaller traders, thankful to pick up a penny wherever they could. Thus the truck system was suppressed, the Ten Hours’ Bill was enacted, and a number of other secondary reforms introduced- much against the spirit of Free Trade and unbridled competition, but quite as much in favour of the giant-capitalist in his competition with his less favoured brother. Moreover, the larger the concern, and with it the number of hands, the greater the loss and inconvenience caused by every conflict between master and men; and thus a new spirit came over the masters, especially the large ones, which taught them to avoid unnecessary squabbles, to acquiesce in the existence and power of Trades’ Unions, and finally even to discover in strikes- at opportune times- a powerful means to serve their own ends. The largest manufacturers, formerly the leaders of the war against the working-class, were now the foremost to preach peace and harmony. And for very good reason. The fact is, that all these concessions to justice and philanthropy were nothing else but means to accelerate the concentration of capital in the hands of the few. (*Ibid* vii).

The health of citizens became a priority, drainage was improved (introduced), so too were the houses and buildings themselves; wide avenues opened up many of the slums to the great cities, education suddenly became important and available, the *Factory Acts* and the *People's Charter* were enacted (rights for workers, the protection of children), wages increased, Trade Unions were legalized, and the working class was soon even encouraged to participate (vote) in politics regardless of property ownership, location, or class; although gender and ‘race’ still applied . Indeed the second half of the nineteenth century

would awaken a different England. Owners and legislators began handing out social reforms at unprecedented rates, when only days prior they were forcing women to give birth on factory floors and employing the youngest of children for life threatening work- *because they were the perfect height and width* to repair the smaller machines.

England's 'new industrial epoch' represented a great shift in governance. Engels called it "the art of hiding the distress of the working-class" (*Ibid* viii), but there was a more active component to it. Britain's working class and poor were disordered and becoming unpredictable; rebellion, resistance, revolution, whatever you want to call it- an implosion was imminent. And to the owners of production: the *real* movers of England, this was unacceptable. Social disorder was poison to the hyper-industrial model they were trying to secure. If England intended to rule the world via manufacture, and indeed they did, some stability was crucial. Needed was a controlled populace, and thus, a simple, loyal, and productive labour force.

And so England after 1847 took to establishing a more efficient social *programme* for the poor; one that policed threatening behaviours and directed them towards predictability. Vice and harmful behaviours were to be managed: gambling, smoking, even sexuality! The Victorian Era required its social order, but drunkenness, more than any other vice, stood in the way. English Kings and governments had *always* feared the excess of Drink consumption as detrimental to their rule over populations, but Industrial England had more to lose. For this reason, and within the confines of their new programmes of policing and social control, the Victorian era would force itself to develop a consensus, however vague, on Drink, drunkenness, and drinking houses.

(1830-1870): Drinking and Drunkenness

Drink worried Victorian England. In 1828, when licensing legislation was consolidated, there were “about 50,000 licenses in England for the sale of alcohol on the premises” (Greenaway 2003: 12). The nineteenth century began to view *excessive drinking* as a major social problem, much more so than previous centuries (Nicholls 2009, Greenaway 2003, Jennings 2011). And because it was a major social problem, it was also a major Industrial problem. The masses were pigeon-holed for work, and if they were drunk or distracted, productivity would obviously be affected. Furthermore, rates of alcohol consumption (between 1800 and 1850) were most certainly on the rise. Changes in agrarian practices improved the ability to produce alcohol (both in amount and potency), the population was rapidly growing, and the miseries of industrialization and urbanization themselves were causing large waves of excessive drinking amongst them (numb the pain; lure of the pub etc.). Drink worried England simply because drunks, of which there were many, made bad workers at a time when *good* workers were in dire need.

While drunkenness was still an accepted part of life in the eighteenth century, the nineteenth century brought a change in attitudes as a result of increasing industrialization and the need for a reliable and punctual work force. Self-discipline was needed in place of self-expression, and task orientation had to replace relaxed conviviality. Drunkenness would come to be defined as a threat to industrial efficiency and growth. (Hanson 2013: 7).

The Beer Act; Rising Drunkenness

Further fueling English drunkenness was the Beerhouse Act of 1830, which was actually passed to try and *reduce* it (beerhouses were seen as healthy alternatives to the gin shops and spirit gorging of the poor). But there were more reasons for the Act: it

was the result of a combination of factors: concerns over corruption in the trade, a widespread mistrust of the power of local magistrates, increased spirit drinking, the increasing dominance of free-trade economics, and (not least) political manoeuvring in advance of a general election (Nicholls 2009: 91).



(Independent Brewers)

It was essentially a peace offering to the jaded poor who were taking a liking to the more *effective* gin. It was designed to give “the poor and working classes... a chance of obtaining a better, cheaper, and more wholesome beverage” (Spiller 1972: 9). The Beer Act allowed *anyone* to legally open a beerhouse (smaller dwellings with one or two rooms, similar to the earliest alehouses) for the extremely affordable cost of 2 guineas per year (Jennings

2011: 60). Beer was to be consumed on site, while license conditions would be similar to those of established public houses- although with slightly different hours of operation.

Unsurprisingly, there was an explosion of beerhouses in cities and towns: “more than 24,000 beer shops opened within a year of the Act becoming law, and the number was nearer 40,000 by 1835” (Nicholls 2009: 1992). This was an extremely radical experiment: limitless free trade drinking houses for the poor. And, predictably, the Act would instantly and almost universally be attacked by the bourgeoisie for increasing the rates of drunkenness and disorder. Their ‘experts’ and writers ranted about the incessant dangers of overindulgence, recounting vivid accounts and tales of degeneracy resulting from these new beerhouses. In a letter to John Archibald Murray, Sydney Smith was clear in complaint:

Everybody is drunk. Those who are not singing are sprawling. (Smith, as cited in *The Oxford Companion to Beer* 2011: 677)

And although historians now agree that most of these wild criticisms leaned on dramatic license and predictable class offensives (Jennings 2011: 64), beerhouses immediately earned reputations as excess-enablers. The logic of the bourgeoisie was simple: if 40,000 drinking houses suddenly opened for the already uncontrollable poor, and if drinking rates were already increasing (which they were), surely the surplus of these new drinking houses was responsible. And since the state had no interest in analyzing the underlying social and political reasons behind the increases in drinking, it felt comfortable blaming these new beerhouses.

With rising numbers of both drinking houses and rates of consumption, "...many expressed a fear that intemperance might prove to be the Achilles heel of Victorian society" (Greenaway 2003: 9).

At first, such pronouncements emerged from the organised teetotal or temperance movement, but later they were to be found coming from the mouths of leading clerics, social thinkers or politicians, or in the reports of influential committees of inquiry. Thus, Cobden claimed that temperance reform 'lay at the root of all social and political progression in the country' (Ibid).

Although there was (always) deliberation over Drink and drinking houses in England, most agreed that excessive drunkenness was becoming a problem to Industry and to state. However *to what degree* it was a problem, the reasons for that problem, and the solutions to that problem- were questions that would inspire mass debate and disagreement amongst all groups. The period of 1830 to 1870 was politically important for Drink and drunkenness, not for the legislation that would pass (besides the Beer Act), but because this was perhaps the most important time period for "crystallizing attitudes" (Ibid). These attitudes were the grand collection of Victorian discourses: medical, social, activist, legal and political, amongst others.

Attitudes: 1830-1870

Temperance

The Victorian Temperance movement, at first the object of suspicion, came to be seen by most elites as a remarkable and commendable expression of grass roots popular enlightenment. (Greenaway 20003: 1).

We begin with the Temperance movement because it held unparalleled influence on England's debate over Drink. The Temperance movement is actually one of the most successful activist movements in recent Western history when measured by: the dispersion of their message, the popularity of that message, funding and fundraising, collective member size, and their overall influence on the fields of medicine, the social sciences, economics, and especially politics.

When anti-drink sentiment found organization, the Temperance movement was born. We should be clear however, 'the Temperance movement' refers not to one united group or association, but to the many likeminded groups operating under the umbrella term of 'Temperance': it was a movement of movements. England's very first Temperance groups of the early 1800's were small, sporadic, and unfocused. But in 1826 the American Temperance Society was formed across the ocean. They were predominantly religious figures with *evangelical zeal*, seeking social reform through the abstention of spirits specifically. They had intentions to spread internationally, especially to Britain, and soon they would.

The sermons of American preachers associated with the ATS, brought over to Britain by American seamen commanding ships which ran on temperance principles, triggered the formation of organised anti-spirits societies in Britain. Remarkably, a number of anti-spirits societies were founded almost simultaneously in the late summer of 1829 by people we were apparently unaware of each others' activities. (Nicholls 2009: 97).

...

Within a year there would be temperance societies in the major cities throughout Britain, including Glasgow, Manchester, Leeds, Dublin, Birmingham, Bristol, Newcastle, Bradford and, from November 1830, London. (Ibid 98).

These early groups were (only) anti-spirits in theory: a safe and easy pledge at a time when spirit drinking was predominantly a destructive behaviour of the lower orders. And indeed the early Temperance societies laid claim to a higher order.

The more precise ordering of society, together with its increasing fluidity, encouraged new virtues of thrift, self-discipline and temperance. Moreover, the new urban elite of iron masters, factory owners and the like had a direct social and economic interest in increasing the efficiency and security of their workmen. These were to form the backbone of the temperance movement. (Greenaway 2003: 8).

Predictably, these upper class members blamed alcohol for the condition of the working class poor, ignoring the systematic inequalities that most understand today to have been responsible. But soon, the overarching Temperance movement would be joined by a related yet more extreme slant on Temperance, that of ‘teetotalism’: *the complete abstention from any and all alcoholic drink*. And while many today have heard the legend of these *tee-to-tallers*, few know where they got their name.

It's accepted that the word, at least in the abstinence sense, was coined by Richard “Dicky” Turner in a speech he gave to a temperance meeting in Preston, Lancashire, in September 1833. Turner was an illiterate working man, a fish hawker, who had visited one of the early Preston temperance meetings in 1832 as a joke while half-drunk, but who came out of the meeting a convert. He was one of the founding Seven Men of Preston who signed the pledge and became a fervent advocate of that form of temperance that demanded total abstention from all forms of alcoholic drink, not just spirits as some more moderate reformers urged. There's no formal record of what he said at the meeting — one report had it that his words were “nothing but the tee-total would do” but it is also claimed that he said in his strong local accent, “I'll be reet down out-and-out t-t-total for ever and ever”.

Here's where it all gets a bit murky. Did Dicky Turner stutter, did he invent a new word by adding t as an intensifier to the front of total, or was he using one already known? We will probably never be entirely sure. What is certain, though, is that his word caught on in the

local temperance movement, was often quoted in its journal, the Preston Temperance Advocate, giving the credit to him as inventor, and soon became a standard word in the language. Richard Turner died in 1846 and is buried in St Peter's churchyard in Preston; he may be the only person in the world whose claim to have invented a new word is cited on his tombstone. (Quinnon 2005).



(*The Drunkard's Progress: From the First Glass to the Grave*)

Teetotalism was a hard sell to the masses, especially for those with little else to live for besides alcohol as recreation or as numbing agent. But where lacking in logic or applicability, they made up for in charisma and intensity. With religious fervor, teetotalers

preached for the total amputation of alcohol, insisting that *only* a sober populace could lead England towards its destiny of prosperity, peace, and devotion to God.

Temperance Lyric

Genius of good, if still thy wing
O'er Albion's land auspicious soar,
Help to a fallen nation bring,
And raise the drunkard up once more.

The boist'rous passions of the soul,
Hate, envy, lust, wrath, and despair
By Temp'rance kept beneath controul,
Will ne'er the path of crime prepare.

Genius of good, let Temp'rance raise
The poor, the humble, and distress,
To leave the drunkard's evil ways,
And seek the paths of peace and rest.

Cast down the gibbet,--dry the tears
Of those who mourn their fathers' crimes,
So that the deeds of present years
May lead us on to happier times!

(Henderson 1841:54)

This was their promise: that a sober citizenry would save the world. And they were uncompromising in their pursuit: all alcohol at all times was to be rejected and cursed.

"This radical message was both teetotalism's strength and its greatest weakness" (Nicholls 2009: 103); because for every drinker they converted, they would alienate six. Perhaps unsurprisingly, they were most effective with habitual drunkards.

The belief that everyone, drunkards included, could be made better through what became known as 'moral suasion' meant that teetotalism not only took a new approach to the idea of abstention, but it also took a completely new view of habitual drunkards. Rather than condemn drinkers as immoral, or even as diseased, teetotalers saw them as victims of a destructive habit who could be reclaimed through proper moral guidance and the

acceptance of teetotal principles. It was early teetotal organizations that pioneered the technique of bringing drinkers to public meetings to hear the testimony of ex-drinkers who had found sobriety. At teetotal gatherings processions of ex-drinkers would regale the audience with tales of desperation and debauchery- all, inevitably, ending in the discovery of the light of temperance. (Ibid).

Today, we know these groups as twelve-step saviours: *Alcoholics Anonymous*, *Cocaine Anonymous*, *Heroin Anonymous*, even *Crystal Meth* and *Pills Anonymous*; all of these support networks created in the twentieth and twenty first centuries, but all of them surely inspired by the mid-nineteenth century evangelical teetotalers. But while they were often very effective with drunks needing saving, they were generally ridiculed and rejected by the rest of the drinking spectrum, especially casual and moderate drinkers.

The arch-enemy of teetotalism was the moderate drinker. Moderate drinking threatened to undermine the whole temperance project by showing that alcohol was not inherently destructive. In order to counter this, teetotalers had to depict moderate drinking as a snare which drew vulnerable drinkers into debauchery and ruin. It was easy for teetotalers to convince drunkards or their families that alcohol was the root of all evil, but it was far harder to convince the thousands of ordinary people for whom alcohol was a source of great pleasure (not to mention the centre of their social lives) that they should embark on the narrow path to sober liberation. (Ibid 112).

Teetotalers, despite their enthusiasm, had the odds stacked against them. They were trying to persuade the majority of working class drinkers, who had no problems whatsoever with habitual drunkenness, and who quite enjoyed one beer with supper or five in the company of friends- that alcohol itself was an inherent evil to be resisted at all times. It simply wasn't logical. Nor were their alternatives to drinking all that appealing. Teetotalers used lectures, parades, and meetings to hype libraries, museums,

'temperance (water) fountains', coffee houses, and sober conversation. But most would not be fooled; the pub was simply *better*. Furthermore, because their entire operation rested on slowly persuading the masses through moral and religious appeal, not political legislation or direct action, they carried

the obvious risk of inefficiency.



(*Alternatives to Drink...*)

Indeed many teetotalers later felt "disappointment at the impact of purely moral suasionist messages", and would look to more authoritative measures as-solution (Greenaway 2003: 16).

Teetotalism was considered an extreme response to drunkenness, but 'prohibition' took it even further. For teetotalers drunkenness was a moral issue, and for prohibitionists it was a *political* issue. They too saw alcohol as evil, dangerous, even addictive!, and they were not content to sit back and wait for England's to change its mind.

Of all the approaches to the temperance question, that of the prohibitionists was the most logical, clear cut and rigidly uncompromising. (*Ibid* 15).

For prohibitionists, if alcohol was a threat to citizen and state, then it only made sense for the state to intervene and neutralize that threat; offensive-defensive. Alcohol was to be targeted, suppressed, annihilated.



(Temperance colleagues in the United States)

In 1851, Maine outlawed the sale and manufacture of alcohol, and “within four years similar laws had been adopted by eleven other states including Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire and, briefly, New York” (Nicholls 2009: 114).

The United States would convince their English counterparts that prohibition was both possible and implementable in a massive democratic state. England’s prohibitionists had seen all they needed to, they would push for the amputation of demon alcohol within their borders, and they would do it through legislation and legal enforcement.

But an important shift was developing here: in the role of the state, and they way they governed private morality. Nicholls describes the shift as moving “from persuasion to compulsion” (*Ibid*); Greenaway elaborates:

Prohibition might be seen as the transposition of teetotal doctrines from the context of an individual to the context of society as a whole: for the individual was substituted the state; for the consumption of drink, the sale of alcohol; and for the exercise of the individual will, the enactment of prohibitory legislation. Just as an individual might foreswear the use of alcohol for the good of his physical condition, so society might renounce it for the sake of the health of the body politic. (2003: 16).

Their concern was for the needs of society, not its individuals. Under twisted liberal conceptions of freedom, enlightenment, and progress, prohibition was sold as the liberating antidote for England’s drunk population. The state would simultaneously

remove alcohol from the populace- and educate them as to *why*. Prohibition was a coercive persuasion, similar to the law-abiding citizen with the policeman's gun to his head: England would learn the hard way. Prohibitionists rejected the idea of fighting for a *social* revolution, instead looking to force a political one. Within the umbrella Temperance movement, despite what today seems like a nonsensical crusade, prohibitionists were perhaps *the most powerful group* in the war on alcohol. But they did not make up the majority.

The Temperance movement as a whole was strong in the 1850's and 1860's. The political environment of the time was fertile for its message, and eventually, their (unofficial) membership was large and well varied. Conservatives, Liberals, socialists, writers, entertainers, teetotalers, prohibitionists, leading clerics, social thinkers, health and scientific professionals, Christians, Chartists, unions for labour, unions for children, slave abolitionists, and even the distressed wives of heavy drinkers: all those insisting on the reduction or prohibition of alcohol in England. And although many of the Temperance groups disagreed amongst themselves on the effects of Drink, the causes of drunkenness, and especially the solutions to drunkenness; this overarching social movement was the loudest voice in the debate on Drink.

The Social Sciences

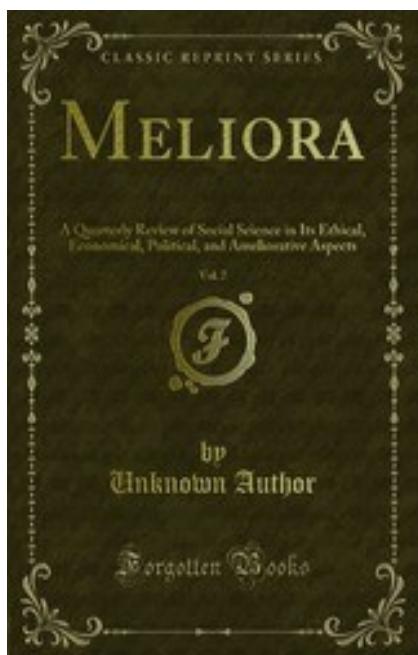
Though they were driven more by bourgeois morality than objective science and critical thought, it felt important to credit England's so called 'social sciences'. Meeting first in 1857, *The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science* (NAPSS) "was the first national "social science" association in the world" (Carroll-Burke 2002: 8). They were ambitious, hoping to do to the "moral and political sciences what the British Association for the Advancement of Science had done to the mathematical and physical sciences" (Golan 2004: 110). Their membership was a loose-knit group of highly influential 'experts' and 'professionals' that could "be sorted into nine main groups:

government officials, jurists, philanthropic reformers, medical doctors, natural scientists, engineers, academics, clergymen, and politicians. These categories were anything but exclusive, however, officials often being jurists and reformers, and reformers often being members of parliament. Officials of government, both high and low, comprised one of the most important constituencies of the NAPSS. (Carroll-Burke 2002: 8).



(An NAPSS meeting)

Their quest was two-fold: to equate the reputation of the social sciences with the physical sciences, and to ameliorate the social condition of England. Their critics often claimed the former consistently took precedence over the latter, questioning *whose* interests they were actually fighting for. Irregardless, they were a statistically-influenced problem-oriented group of reformers that targeted social disorder: unsanitary living conditions, deterioration of health, lack of education etc. Hundreds of (upper class) public followers and supporters attended their openly held meetings, but many thousands subscribed to their quarterly journal *Meliora* (latin for ‘better’). This came to be seen as their most effective medium for dispersal.



(*Meliora*)

The journal itself is theatrical in tone and arrogant in declaration, much like the NAPSS. They published many volumes, but we will stay with the first (1859). The very first words of *Meliora*:

In the history of civilization it is instructive to observe the oscillations of the social pendulum. In proportion to its progress towards cultivation, refinement, intellectual and political greatness, has been its rebound towards vice and moral degradation. National advancement abroad and civil retrogression at home have followed each other in fatal sequence, until the great empires of antiquity found within themselves the elements of their decay. (*Meliora* 1859: 1).

Meliora placed Britain atop history’s greatest empires: Solomon and the Augustan age of Israel, the Medo-Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans; all of them unparalleled in strength in their time, but all of them eventually destroyed by *internal forces*.

As a meteor which pursues for a time a path of brightness in the heavens outrivaling the steadier light of stars, suddenly bursts by the force of its internal decomposition, and falls upon the earth a calcined mass of blackness, so have the great powers of the world risen, flourished, and fallen. (*Ibid*).

For Israel: corruption, effeminacy, and ‘inattention to social evils’; for the Persians: corruption and vice; for Greece: ‘social diseases’; and for the Romans: corruption of the people, extensive slavery, and declining health. Like the others, Rome failed to prioritize the ‘internal necessities’ and ‘condition of the masses’; both were sacrificed for “eternal pomp and pride and luxury” (*Ibid* 3). The greatest empires the world has ever known- all of them crushed from within. These, say *Meliora*, are blatant historical lessons that the wisest rulers must learn from.

They boast that Britain’s greatness “surpasses all antiquity”, world-leaders in: science, machinery, technology, colonial rule, industry and wealth, liberty and freedom, literature, ‘civilization’, and religion; and that such global dominance *can only* be dismantled by native social evils, or, “inward sores” (*Ibid* 4). Their logic was simple: the strongest can fall only by his own sword. And so the objective (or directive) for England’s ‘social sciences’ was a quest to identify the internal ‘social evils’ threatening British greatness; and to strategize their riddance. The growing prevalence of these social evils was also likely the reason behind inception of both the NAPSS and its journal *Meliora*, considering *who* made up their rostered memberships.

The journal begins by citing the obvious social evils: crime, ‘insanity’, ‘juvenile depravity’, insanitation, air pollution, ‘pauperism’, ‘impurity’ (women accused of sexual impropriety), ‘spiritual destitution’ (irreligion), and ‘pauperism’ (poverty). These were

labeled threats, to be reduced or removed from Britain. But there existed one evil more dangerous than the rest.

Intemperance is one of the greatest social evils in this empire. Our country, which ranks so high among the nations for civilisation, liberty, and commerce, is confessedly the most drunken. Its drinking customs eat out the life of the lower classes of the people. Formerly the upper and middle classes were public scandal for their drunkenness; but now, when these are reforming, the lower classes have become the prey of this insidious and destructive vice. (Ibid 9).

...

The facilities for drink abound, and publicans outnumber all other trades. In cities and towns spirit-shops and beer-houses are at every corner, and in the most rural districts they are numerous. In some localities they are in the proportion of 1 to every 15 houses, and throughout the country there is 1 to every 137 people. They are resorted to by our mechanics, artisans, and labourers, and, alas! Too frequently by their wives also. (Ibid).

...

Intemperance costs the country about £60,000,000 (a year; Ibid).

'Intemperance' (lack of moderation or restraint with alcohol: drunkenness, habitual drinking etc.) is not only one of the greatest social evils in the empire, "*it is the chief cause of all the social evils to which we have referred*" (Ibid 9-10, my italics). This is quite the claim. In 1859, near the peak of Industrialization and power, Britain's earliest 'social scientists' (*leading*: medical doctors, jurists, natural scientists, engineers, academics, clergymen, government officials and members of parliament) were collectively and adamantly convinced that the over-consumption of alcohol was the *chief cause* of poverty, crime, insanitation, disease, even insanity! Nor was this a one-off declaration for dramatic flare; the entire first volume is devoted to *proving* that alcohol-causes-everything.

"It is the chief cause of pauperism: Sir Archibald Alison, the sheriff of Lanarkshire, attributes one-half of the pauperism to intemperance. The late Archibald Prentice, who was well versed in the social condition of Manchester, says that two-thirds of the pauperism there is similarly originated. An Edinburgh

inspector of the poor made this statement: 'An experience of now nearly twenty years in the management of the poor has forced me to the conclusion that nearly two-thirds of the destitution which exists, and is relieved from the poor's funds, is traceable either to the more remote or immediate causes of intemperance'. Of £21,000 expended, the same individual deducts 12,000£ for the fruits of drunkenness. If we take this proportion as a fair average, then of the ten millions spent in support of the poor, six are caused by intemperance; and of the million and a half of persons relieved, about one million are brought to poverty by drink. Were this social evil cured, or even considerably arrested, how much would taxation be lightened, and how many families would be saved from poverty!" (Ibid 10).

"...intemperance is the chief cause of crime in this country". (Ibid).

...

"From some statistics now before us, procured and published by the Scottish Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness, it is abundantly attested that nearly fifty per cent. of commitments in Scotland are directly caused by intemperance, and two-thirds of the other cases indirectly" (Ibid).

...

(Matthew Davenport Hill): "Crime, gentleman, is the extreme link in the chain of vice forged by intemperance- the last step in the dark descent, and thousands who stop short of criminality, yet suffer all the other miseries (and manifold they are) with which the demon Alcohol afflicts his victims". (Ibid 11).

"Intemperance is a great cause of disease. Of course we do not mean to affirm that disease would be extirpated if the community were delivered from drunkenness. But just as the removal of filth is a prevention of cholera, so the promotion of temperance would lessen the multifarious ills which body and spirit endure from drunkenness. Bodily diseases are greatly induced by drinking. Indeed, the habitual use of intoxicating drinks is injurious to the constitution. It is an artificial mode of life inconsistent with the natural operation of bodily functions. They exercise a deleterious influence upon the nervous system, the eye, the alimentary canal, the liver, the heart, and the kidneys, as may be learned from medical opinions of the highest authority" (Ibid 12).

"Insanity is occasioned more by this vice than by any other single influence, if we except hereditary disposition. Dr. Browne, of the Crichton Asylum, Dumfries, in a paper on the subject, declares that of 57,520 cases in the present century which he has carefully examined, and which were treated in public asylums, 10,717 were caused by intemperate habits" (Ibid).

...

"The contrast between drunken and sober countries in relation to insanity is very striking. 'In Scotland there is 1 lunatic to 563 sane persons; in Spain 1 to 7,181'. 'In Edinburgh every sixth lunatic owes his misfortune to intemperance; in Palermo every twenty-first lunatic is in the same predicament'. The late Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, from statistics of 1,2171 lunatics, found that 649, or nearly one-half, were deprived of reason by intemperance. A most lamentable fact connected with this is, that children of drunkards are weak, hysterical, wayward, and diseased. (Ibid).

And what is the cure for the social evil that provokes the rest?

We unhesitatingly answer, that when any vice becomes dangerous to the community, it must be dealt with surgically. *It must be cut off by legal restraint and moral apprehension* (Ibid 13, my italics).

...

... let us promote abstinence. (Ibid).

England's early 'social scientists' were, *unhesitatingly*, alcohol-prohibitionists: far and above the most extreme responders to intemperance. But as prohibitionists- their arch-enemies were (necessarily) moderate drinkers, which ironically were the majority of their followers and subscribers.

But many of our readers may not be tempted with ardent spirits to become drunkards. They have not felt any harm from the use of strong drink. They never took too much. They let their 'moderation be known to all men'. They are exemplary citizens. But they see their fellow-citizens ruining themselves on every side, their families becoming dependent on the public, and the tax to feed and punish them grudged; but they do nothing more than show the tempted that they can play with fire and not be burned. Their weaker brethren, like Samuel Johnson, 'cannot take a little'; they cannot take coals into their bosom without being burned. Something more than has yet been attempted must be done on behalf of the

drunken masses of the people. It would not be a great sacrifice to abstain for the sake of the drunkard. (Ibid 14).

As *the most prolific source of social disease*, intemperance must be excised from England's borders, for both drunks and moderates; legally and morally. This evil, *the chief evil*, is far too dangerous, too tempting for the masses, and should not, under any circumstances, "be trifled with" (Ibid 13). Of course the NAPSS would be criticized for making their theory non-transferable to practice (if these writings could indeed be classified as 'theory'). Besides encouraging the moderate masses to stop drinking in sacrifice for their drunk neighbors, what else did they recommend to curb intemperance? They were after all prohibitionists, not teetotalers, so their solutions involved passing legal precedents- and enforcing them. And this was precisely what these so called 'social scientists' would call for: law to fix the social.

More than ever are Christian men convinced of the necessity of restraining the liquor traffic, and of suppressing it altogether, except for medicinal, artistic, and sacramental purposes. (Ibid 15).

...

That the laws at present in operation with regard to public-houses have such a tendency there can be no doubt. 'The beer-house and the gin-shop', says the Recorder of Birmingham, 'are the authorised temptations offered by the legislature to crime'. There must be an alteration in these statutes. (Ibid 15).

...

Already attempts remarkably successful have been made in several States of America, by the enactment of a law prohibiting the common sale of intoxicating liquors. In a different manner, and more by a permissive than a general prohibitory enactment- by granting the people the power of prohibiting the traffic in their own localities- is the source of drunkenness to be dried up in this country. (Ibid 16).

...

"Were this vice arrested and removed, and the public-houses which foster it suppressed, by God's blessing we should see" ... [that]... drunkards may be numbered among the extinct races, classed with the winged serpents and gigantic sloths that were once inhabitants of our globe (Ibid, my parentheses).

Meliora is a privileged glimpse into England's early 'social scientists' and their interpretation of Drink. The NAPSS was a group of officials and experts with interest in social reform, but this was not the advanced free-thinking critical movement that one might have hoped for from the world's first organized social sciences. They read more like eighteenth century talking-parrots for Industry, commerce, and the upper class. Rather than provoking debate on the social effects of alcohol, or the basic reasons for drinking-to-excess, they chose to write simple and senseless handbooks for hungry prohibitionists and the Industrial state. In their bid to "coordinate the efforts of the experts and the politicians", the NAPSS may have flown a little too close to the brazen agendas of Temperance and English politics (Griffin 2012: 80). Those agendas were clearly influencing the claims of the NAPSS and *Meliora*; the bias was evident:

government did not simply use the knowledge of social science; it shaped its development and played an important role in the very construction of the social. (Carroll-Burke 2002: 148).

Nor did this group inquire into the *actual* (underlying) social causes of poverty, crime, failing health, lack of education, irreligion, or disease and disorder; which should be the main objective for those laying claim to social science.

There was no sense in which these social ills were connected to the kind of social structure generated by nineteenth-century industrialization; or at least, the NAPSS became redundant when this sort of analysis was pursued by social reformers more closely interested in the condition of the working class. (Brewer 2013: 24-25).

England's first social scientists, which some think eventually "performed with remarkable success" (Ibid 80), were neither socially daring nor all that scientific. In 1859, and for decades after, the country's leading bourgeois thinkers and experts were not yet

analyzing social problems *as* social problems. But their lack of accuracy certainly didn't affect their popularity. Their members and materials were extremely influential within all levels of government, and also with a middle and upper class following (which is logical considering their attacks on the lower classes). And their stance on alcohol and drunkenness was clear and easy to follow: intemperance was the chief social evil, indeed the cause of all other social evils, and it remained the single greatest threat to Britain's industrial greatness. It was to be located and amputated; *legal restraint and moral apprehension*: the standards of Prohibition, in the name of science.

Politics after 1870: A Broad Outlook

By 1870, political consensus was starting to form on drunkenness. This is not meant to compartmentalize politics on Drink; opinions and strategies would always vary between groups, and even *within* groups; remember, “Liberals, conservatives and socialists were divided on the issue again and again” (Greenaway 2003: 5). Indeed the most defining characteristic of Drink is its inability to be defined. But most political circles now agreed that excessive drinking and drunkenness were generally harmful to the populace and state-and welcomed solutions for harm-reduction. The early to mid nineteenth century was slow and weary for proposed or passed legislation concerning Drink, but

by 1870, popular concern at the temperance problem had become so widespread that politicians *felt bound to be seen to be concerned.* (Ibid 9, my italics).

Greenaway carries a unique talent for appreciating yet condemning governmental realities in the Victorian Era; and he insists, repeatedly, that a major shift in political activity occurred around this time. The ‘grand principles’ of Drink were no longer debated as they were prior to 1870. Questions like *IS drunkenness harmful?*, or *SHOULD we regulate public-houses?* were no longer posed nor important. The winds were changing, and the strategies of politicians along with them.

Now the debate had become much narrower, reducing the question to one of licensing and the connection of this with local government. The emphasis was on the relatively narrow question of the control or regulation of the outputs of drinking, especially the public houses. There was no real attempt to research the broader question of the nature of alcohol in society or the role of the pub in people’s lives. In the case of temperance reformers, this partly derived from a feeling that an institution so roundly condemned could hardly be worth investigating. (Ibid 30).

The focused legal war on pubs was just beginning. This period (1870-1914) would take for granted that pubs *needed* further legislation and regulation. At a time when England was focused on sculpting the population towards a productive labour force, the activities and peoples within pubs were both threatening and useless. Drunkenness was increasingly accepted as a serious problem, and because the number of public houses rose by nearly *fifty percent* from 1831 to 1881, there was a growing consensus amongst legislators that there were simply *too many of these pubs around* (Clark 1983). So after 1870, when it became more comfortable to do so, ruling and opposition parties began drawing up legislation to reduce intemperance: they simply wanted more legal control over the public houses (and behaviours) of the poor. However they would not seek a blanket suppression of alcohol and public houses as called for in *Meliora*; this would be foolish politics. But it was generally understood that the pub was the troubling space that allowed (and some would say enabled) drunkenness, disorder, and wasted labour. And so, with rising bourgeois unity, it was targeted.

VII

Legislating the Pub (1870-1914)

Drink was always an impossible question for English politics. Even later when there was basic Victorian and Edwardian consensus on the need for reform, alcohol still held the unparalleled ability to sink politicians and even entire parties. If not handled with care, it was the purest of poison. For this reason, like those before them, governments between 1830 and 1870 treaded carefully:

1839- Metropolitan Police Act: A clause that allowed for the prohibition of Sunday morning pub openings; (the first statutory regulation of public house hours). Also, London drink-sellers were no longer permitted to sell to children under the age of sixteen on their premises.

1842-1848: The prohibition of Sunday morning openings extended throughout England.

1845- Gaming Act: An act intended to discourage gambling. It deemed wages unenforceable as legal contracts, and repealed some outdated legislation on the criminality of specific games. It also made the playing of billiards in pubs illegal on Sunday hours, Christmas Day, and Good Friday. (Monckton 1969: 82).

1860- Refreshment Houses Act: Wine-licensing legislation. An attempt to popularize light-wine drinking (harm reduction), and to 'bring together the functions of eating and drinking' (Ibid).

1869- Wine and Beerhouse Act: Though it had been dwindling for years, this Act ended the ‘free trade in beer’ (Beer Act of 1830). Beerhouse licenses were transferred from the Excise to the magistracy (making it much harder to obtain them).

This was soft legislation on Drink. These subtle reforms were sure not to provoke rage or rebellion from the two main parties involved in the production and consumption of alcohol: the mass-drinkers and the big brewers (Trade). But as the Victorian era aged, the ideals of Temperance (and to a lesser degree Prohibition) became increasingly popular in government circles. Though Drink was still risky and confusing to attack, England’s need for an obedient (*happy*) and productive (*healthy*) workforce would, generally, take precedence. And so between 1870 and 1914, England’s courts would be flooded (compared to past eras) with proposed and passed legislation on Drink and drinking houses. Some of which was wiser than others.

Bruce and Gladstone; Bill of 1871, Act of 1872



Though a shift in attitudes was undoubtedly beginning to take place, Drink remained an elusive and powerful opponent to political interference, so this shift would require its guinea pig. And that man would be H.A. Bruce (left), the Home Secretary for the Liberal party during Prime Minister William Gladstone's first stint in office (Gladstone would eventually serve four terms in total- the most ever). A

Temperance sympathizer, Bruce was either courageous or stupid. Regardless, he would be the catalyst in this period to take on Drink in the courts. Designated with the responsibility of drawing up a new licensing bill, Bruce “produced something as radical in its own way as the Beer Act of 1830” (Nicholls 2009: 122).

His 1871 Bill began by proposing a strangely complicated system of licenses and rent certificates (different, dense contracts for *every* type of establishment associated with drinking). It then stated that licenses would now expire after ten years (eliminating any pubs grandfathered in), and ordered pub hours to be collectively reduced (to close at ten p.m. in all areas except London- eleven p.m.). Police presence would increase too. There would be “stiffer penalties on licenses who permitted drunkenness or adulterated liquor” (Greenaway 2003: 32), and a point of great controversy: a new force of ‘public-house inspectors’ would be created to ensure publican compliance and public house *order* (*Ibid*). Something similar was proposed in an 1837 Licensing Bill:

30...these inspectors shall be men between the ages of *Thirty* and *Fifty*, of good moral character, and fit and proper for the duties they will be required to perform.

...

31. ...it shall be the duty of these inspectors to visit all the public-houses in their district at least *Once* in every *Twenty-four* Hours, with such changes of rounds and variations of hours as to render it uncertain as to what particular individual may be expected to visit any particular house, or at what given hour his visit of inspection may be made. (*Bill 1837: 7*).

Bruce's inspectors would differ from the standard constables in application but not power; their duties were simple and focused: police the pub. But this idea made many people uncomfortable, and not just publicans. This was a time when fearful England watched socialism spread in France; and critics of this bill would lean on political panic to paint it draconian.

124. Every public-house inspector shall make a declaration as a constable before a justice of the peace, and shall have for the purposes of the execution of his duties all the powers and privileges throughout every part of England, which any constable duly appointed has within his constablewick.

125. Every person who willfully obstructs any inspector in the execution of this Act, shall be liable to a police penalty not exceeding *five pounds*, and every holder of and manager under a certificate who refuses or fails to furnish the inspector the means necessary for making any entry, inspection, examination, or inquiry under this act shall be deemed to have acted in contravention of the conditions on which his certificate was granted. (*Bill 1871: 58*).

Eventually, and almost universally, the proposed public house inspectors were condemned as a Communist "French spy system" (Greenaway 2003: 33).

The Bill was perceived as controlling and dramatic, but it was Bruce's key proposal that provoked the most resistance.

[it]proposed that each year licensing authorities would publish the number of licenses they intended to grant, and that a petition of one-third of local ratepayers could then

trigger a ballot of the entire electorate on whether or not to accept that number of new licenses. A three-fifths majority in one subsequent vote could then overturn or alter the proposed number. In addition, the Bill set out a statutory maximum number of licenses for any area: one per thousand inhabitants in towns and one per six hundred by vote. Any attempt to grant more licenses would require approval by vote. (*Ibid* 123).

This was a dangerous proposal, one that would have completely changed drinking in England forever. It was a twist on 'local option' (the Temperance idea that local communities should each vote to maintain or prohibit the sale and consumption of alcohol within their region). It was also very clever, holding the appearance of democracy by letting 'ratepayers' decide how many drinking houses they wanted in their community, but this was far from democratic. Licensing authorities would be able to decide on the specific number of pubs they wanted to allow in their communities- with or without cause or reason. And this number could change annually! Authorities may decide on five hundred pubs one year, and two hundred the next. And if communities were unhappy with the decision, they would need a three-fifths majority to overturn it (forcing the authorities to decide on a new number, again, to be voted in or out). It also set a 'statutory limit' to cap the number of pubs allowed in any given area: one for every thousand people in towns, and one for every six hundred by vote. This proposal, far more than the team of pub-inspectors, was draconian.

Bruce somehow believed his sweeping Bill contained pleasantries for everyone, but ironically it was universally hated.

The drinks trade attacked it, the [Temperance] Alliance attacked it, moderate liberals feared that it misjudged the balance between rational management of public affairs and oppressive legislation, and Gladstone saw a political millstone being ground out before his eyes. (Nicholls 2009: 124).

It comes as no surprise that Bruce consulted with only *one* other person before drafting this bill, ignoring all requests for meetings and discussions by *any* of the powerful interest groups around Drink (Greenaway 2003: 33). Bruce had erred in many different ways, and soon he would receive the backlash he deserved.

Decrying the ten-year terms and local-reduction proposals as an unparalleled “confiscation on property”, many of the Big Brewers immediately switch allegiances (and funding) to the Tories (Ibid 32). The masses rebelled too: they striked and rioted in towns and cities over the early closing hours, and along with the Trade, they were incensed over the idea of nationally capping the number of drinking houses (Ibid 34). But above all else, there was universal rage over Bruce’s key proposal that would have allowed licensing authorities (a handful of unaccountable legislators) to decide the specific numbers of pubs within every town and city in England. This proposal managed to anger *everybody*, even the prohibitionists who thought it weakened the *nobility* of ‘local option’.

Even his fellow party members were quick to distance themselves from Bruce and his bill: *they all hated it*, including Gladstone, and they became increasingly nervous for the state of the Liberal party. It truly was a political disaster, and was abandoned before its second reading. Eventually:

a version of the Bill was passed in 1872, but so effectively neutered that it was hardly recognizable. The 1872 Licensing Act, as finally passed, retained original sections on adulteration, fines for drunkenness and the physical condition of public houses. It also set out new opening hours- though these were much longer than Bruce had intended- and banned the sale of spirits to children under sixteen. All mention of license limits, variable certificates and local voting, however, were entirely removed. (Nicholls 2009: 124).

Yes, some form of the Bill had passed, but it was all for naught. The Drink lobby was beyond furious with the Liberals and remained aligned with the Tories; and the masses of

voters seemed to echo the same loyalty. The Tories immediately claimed the ‘political middle ground’ and secured a decisive victory in the 1874 General Election. Bruce’s gaff was no doubt the culprit- it had single-handedly ruined the Liberal party and with certainty his political career. Prime Minister Gladstone himself would also later be (momentarily) defeated by Drink, losing his seat in parliament after publicly quarreling with Gin (Ford 1996: 17). Speaking for both Bruce and the Liberals, in surrender he spoke:

We have been borne down in a torrent of gin and beer. (Williams 2010).

A New Climate of Strict Licensing: Drinking and Drunkenness on the Rise

The best writings on Victorian Drink all make sure to dissect the 1871 Bill, or the events that surrounded it, and for good reason. Bruce's blunder would serve as a candid warning to English politics: even though Temperance values were increasingly accepted within bourgeois and 'expert' circles, the mass-drinkers and Trade lobbies were still (and always were) potent supporters of Drink. Nor were the Liberals or Tories even remotely united in their solutions to drunkenness, or at least not enough to be forcing major changes on *the* prized luxury of the people. Even the umbrella anti-drink Temperance movement was separated time and again: the prohibitionists, the teetotalers, and the more relaxed groups. Within all groups on all sides, there were great divisions, both in the assessment of the problem and proposed solutions to it; regardless of the popular intention to gain control over the behaviours of the lower orders. For these reasons and many others, the Bill of 1871 would serve as example: tread carefully.

But a shift had no doubt taken place. Bruce's slaughter would be the spark to usher in "a new climate of strict licensing", despite the confusion and conflict residing within that climate (Jennings 2011: 167). Temperance ideals were growing in popularity: within interest groups (Temperance lobbies, the NAPSS, the medical and social sciences etc.) and between political parties (Liberals, Conservatives). Especially as England travelled through the 1870's, 1880's, and into the 1890's- a basic contempt for the act of drunkenness was growing.

It was also said to be rising in occurrence.

In England and Wales the number of persons apprehended for drunkenness were: in 1860, 88,361; in 1867, 100,357; in 1870, 131,870; and in 1875, 203,989.

...

All the evidence indicates that, speaking generally, the increase of intemperance is mainly due to the rapid rise of wages, and the increased amount of leisure enjoyed by the manufacturing and mining classes. Wages have recently fallen, but the habits of self-indulgence contracted in the years of prosperity still continue. It is reasonable to suppose, that, had it not been for the severe restrictions imposed by the act of 1872, drunkenness would have increased at a still more rapid rate. It appears from the evidence that drunkenness is less common than formerly among the more respectable portion of the working classes, and that the increase has taken place chiefly, either in the lowest grades of society, or among those whose advance in education has not kept pace with the increase of their wages. (Shaw 1879: 450).

There were also fresh anxieties over 'drunken mothers' breeding weak and lazy children, and worries that *contagious* 'habitual drunkards' were spreading throughout cities and towns: both which would impede and threaten Imperial Britain. It should be noted that the medical and social sciences were (again) responsible for much of the baseless hype around drunken mothers- but especially habitual drunkards. It would be *their* pressure on the Tories that would result in the 'Habitual Drunkards Act of 1879'.

When 'recommended' by friends or family, the Act could be applied to:



(*Habitual Drunkard*, London)

a person who 'by reason of habitual intemperate drinking of intoxicating liquors' was 'at time dangerous to himself or herself or to others, or incapable of managing himself or herself and his or her affairs'. Those classed as 'habitual drunkards' could choose to go to asylums, but, once there, could be detained against their will and forced to undergo a course of treatment. (Loughnan 2012: 180).

PORTRAITS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF HABITUAL DRUNKARDS.

No. 2597.

Name and alias—Harry Jackson.

Residence—Rowton House, King's Cross-road.

Place of business or where employed—Southgate-road, Islington.

Age—45.

Height—5ft. 7in.

Build—stout.

Complexion—fresh.

Hair—brown (turning grey).

Eyes—grey.

Whiskers—nil.

Moustache—brown (turning grey).

Shape of nose—straight.

Shape of face—full.

Peculiarities or marks—nil.

Profession or occupation—sign painter.

Date and nature of conviction—16th October, 1913. Committed to a certified inebriate reformatory for 3 years.

Court at which convicted—Clerkenwell.

Remarks—frequents Gray's Inn and King's Cross-roads.



(‘Committed to a certified inebriate reformatory for 3 years...’)

They were also forced to pay for their own treatment. This neurotic fixation on the habitual drunkard was part of a broader shift in governance however; so-called experts were becoming more and more concerned about drunkenness-as-social disease:

...deficiencies of the individual deviant had been replaced by anxiety about the people as victims of social wreckage. The emphasis had moved from moralist preaching or repressive control to therapeutic intervention. (Greenaway 2003: 54).

A ‘medical temperance movement’ was also emerging. After 1876 they began advocating Temperance ideals as morality, and abstinence as solution: they were teetotalers. In the name of science and medicine they would help fuel England’s fear of drunkenness. Like the social sciences, this movement of 900 medical practitioners and students spent most of their energies vilifying alcohol as an inherent evil, and ironically, even challenging the dominant assumption of the time that alcohol held numerous medicinal properties (*Ibid* 55). All of these variables suggested English drunkenness to be at an all time-high, or it created the atmosphere nonetheless. But recorded consumption levels actually seemed to confirm something similar.

...levels of beer and spirits continued to spiral upwards throughout the period reaching a peak in the remarkably drink-sodden year of 1877, when collected beer, spirits and wine consumption reached levels unmatched before or since. Consumption dipped slightly in the 1880s, but revived the following decade. By the end of the nineteenth century the average per capita consumption of spirits was just over 1 gallon annually; per capita consumption of beer was 32 ½ gallons a year. (Nicholls 2009: 135).

While the fear of drunkenness was growing, so too was the motivation to do something about it. Though still quite weary, and always cautious, political circles increasingly agreed that modest legal reform could ease the burden of intemperance. *Moral Suasion* would take too long, and *Prohibition* was a pipe dream. And for those brave enough to implement reform- a few lessons from Bruce’s failed Bill were to be burned into conscience: Drink was a complex matter that could either advance or destroy political careers and even entire parties, instantly; it was foolish to force too-much change too-fast on the drink happy masses (especially when the government is still divided on that change); and the most valuable lesson of them all- do not make enemies with the big brewers and powerful trade interests whenever it can be avoided. Bruce’s slaughter

would not deter legal attacks on Drink for those motivated, *it would teach them how to attack*. To reform Drink with less fatal consequences: *ease* into reform, avoid the big and strong, target the small and weak.

He will win who knows when to fight and when not to fight.

He will win who knows how to handle both superior and inferior forces.

(Sun Tzu 2002: 51).

Sharp(e) v. Wakefield (1891)

By the 1890's, drunkenness was increasingly policed through the pub itself.

...issues such as the sale of alcohol to children, the insanitary conditions of many licensed premises, lax enforcement of the law and the excess number of licensed houses sparked a more proactive interest. (Greenaway 2003: 53).

Remember, this was now the period of narrowed debate; solutions to drunkenness were based almost entirely around *expectations* of further licensing and regulation, especially for drinking-houses. To reduce drunkenness towards the turn of the twentieth century, 'the pub' would be controlled in two ways: their day-to-day operations were to be reformed and regulated, while the overall numbers of pubs were to be significantly reduced (Nicholls 2009, Greenaway 2003).

A widely held view was that the sheer number of outlets tempted the working man to overindulgence. (Ibid 43).

This was a major point of contention on Drink: would a reduction in drinking houses enable a reduction in drunkenness? Many bourgeois 'experts' assumed yes. These were often the types of people interviewed for governmental studies and reports on alcohol and its effects. From the House of Lords for their 1878-79 *Report on Intemperance*:

The majority of the witnesses hold the opinion that the number of licensed houses has a direct effect on the amount of intemperance. (*Reports From Select Committees* 1879: xxxvi).

There certainly wasn't a consensus amongst experts or politicians that fewer pubs would equate fewer spells of drunkenness; but it seemed logical (or convenient) to many, and soon a new wave of campaigners focused their efforts on reducing the overall number of

pubs in England. But reducing is also reforming; they are interconnected. And *Sharp v. Wakefield* was a crafty legal ruling geared towards lighting both ends.

Kentmere, Westmoreland

Amongst the quiet valleys of Kentmere (population of 172), the *LowBridge Inn* remained the only public house within reach. It was the favourite (only) watering hole for quarry workers, farmers, fisherman, 'tourists', and thirsty locals. In 1887, head publican William Riddings applied to the licensing magistrates of Kendal to have their liquor license renewed—but was abruptly denied.



(Kentmere, Westmoreland)

The justices refused to renew the licence on the grounds of "the remoteness of the inn from police supervision, and the character and necessities of the neighbourhood (*Sharp v Wakefield* 1891: section 231).

Riddings was incensed, public houses in England could not theoretically be denied a renewal of license for reasons other than legal misconduct (breach of contract). Throughout England applications for new licenses were refused all the time, and for many

reasons; but *renewals* were grandfathered in- and were generally untouchable. The *Lowbridge Inn* was denied renewal due to ‘remoteness’ and ‘character’- neither which (should have) held any legal footing. But Kendal’s magistrates, chaired by a man named Wakefield, deemed the Inn ‘unsuperviseable’ and ‘unnecessary’ for the area- dismissing community claims that the *LowBridge Inn* facilitated tourism and fisheries. Ridding and Inn-owners’ Jane and Susannah Sharpe appealed to the (notoriously corrupt) Quarter Sessions, but the local courts, expectedly, confirmed the decision. So did the higher Court of Appeal immediately after. Undaunted, Ridding and Sharpe arranged to take their appeal all the way to the House of Lords next April.

But England’s wider climate had been changing, morally and legally. In the Lancashire town of Darwen, there had been a fierce battle over the spaces and customers of Drink. The stronger on-licenses (public houses) attacked the spreading off-licenses (alcohol sellers to be consumed off premises) through the local courts- demanding that off-license annual renewals be treated as *new* applications, in a bid to push them out. In 1882 local justices ruled in favor of the publicans, and a local legal precedent was set:

...when both granting new licenses *and* when approving the annual renewal of existing licenses, ‘the legislature’ meant to vest the absolute discretion in the justices’. It was, apparently, a decisive victory for the publicans. They had, in one stroke, effected the closure of almost half the off-licenses in Darwen. (Nicholls 2009: 133).

But Nicholls called this a ‘pyrrhic victory’: a temporary triumph for publicans that would later bring devastating costs to their industry. The Darwen ruling

divulged what had hitherto been, more or less, a professional secret- viz. that, subject to appeal, *licensing magistrates can refuse to renew the license of any and every holder of an on-license*. In other words, what the actions... in Darwen revealed was that the right to run a public house of any kind was a gift from the State which lasted just one year at a time. (*Ibid* 134, my italics).

Basically, the magistrates were legally empowered to use their discretion in approving or refusing licenses. This precedent would have dreadful effects for Riddings, Sharpe and the *Lowbridge* Inn. By the time they reached the House of Lords in 1891 (the highest court of appeal), this sentiment was becoming popular. Bourgeois courts and local magistrates found obvious strategy in forcing dangerous drinking houses to beg, often annually, for the renewal of their already approved, legal and fully operating businesses. But the legality or fairness of this operation required an explosive case to either confirm it, or shut it down. *Sharpe v. Wakefield* would be that case.

Typically, court proceedings unearth and interpret past legal rulings in order to form new decisions. And the Lords presiding over *Sharpe v. Wakefield* were fairly honest over the degree of their *interpretive* task: "that might have been the meaning of the words, but in my judgment that is not their meaning" (*Wakefield v Sharpe* 1891: section 247). Deducing the Acts of 1828, 1872, and 1874- the question of importance was this: did Kendal's local magistrates have the legal right to hold a *discretionary*, annual licensing session for "persons keeping or about to keep inns, ale-houses, and victualling-houses for the sale of excisable liquors"? (*Ibid* section 243).

The Lords were united in decision: yes, "the Justices... had jurisdiction, and the appeal should be dismissed" (*Ibid* 248). This ruling instantly changed England's relationship with Drink forever. Local magistrates, who were increasingly Temperance sympathizers, now possessed far greater control over the threatening number and nature of pubs. From *The Law Journal*, 1891:

Sharp v. Wakefield... settles once for all, 'beyond the possibility of a doubt,' as Lord Macnaughten expressed it, that 'the licensing justices' possess 'the same discretion in the case of an application for what is now termed a renewal as in the case of a person applying

for a license for the first time.' Whether the magistrates will exercise the power which it is now made manifest to them that they possess, for the protection of their fellow-citizens from the liquor traffic, remains to be seen. But all lovers of law, order, peace, and prosperity must rejoice that legal machinery has been proved to exist which may be used for the preservation of the public from the 'intolerable hurts' alluded to in the ancient statutes. (Ince, E.B. 1891: 454).

Nicholls is careful to avoid simple conspiracies: "of course, licensing practice didn't suddenly become a tool for the blanket suppression of public houses" (2009: 134); there were far too many interests and complications around Drink for that. But the law was clear and now firmly established. If England was serious about reducing the number of pubs throughout the country- they could now do so- by refusing to renew existing licenses, while refusing to grant new ones. And in many areas, they would do exactly that. Under the influence of Temperance propaganda, and empowered by a clause in the Licensing Act of 1872, the local magistrates had recently "become more alive to the importance of the licensing question" (*Reports from Select Committees* 1879: xxxi). But Sharp v. Wakefield would now grant them their greatest weapon to regulate and reduce; and many were eager to use it.

The Fall of the Pub: The Liberals, the 1904 Act and the 1908 Bill

A massive effort was thus expended trying to prohibit pubs altogether, reduce their numbers, or place upon them ever more restrictions. (Jennings 2011: 176).

The 1880's and 1890's initiated the fall of the pub. The number of English pubs started reducing quickly and almost everywhere- a downward spiral that would never again recover. The pub had surely peaked. And although it is tempting to attribute the origins of this great reduction to a sadistic plot by the newly empowered local magistrates after Sharp v. Wakefield, there were actually many reasons for the fall.

To reduce drunkenness England began reducing the amount of drinking houses. It seemed logical enough: *if the masses had nowhere to drink, they would simply drink less.* However many legislators were still unconvinced that practice here would follow theory; Drink was complex and resilient; it was *different*. Would drinkers not simply find other ways to consume? Were they not just as resilient? Even the House of Lords *Committee on Intemperance* (1887) eventually suspected their 'witnesses' (experts with interests) of over-simplification with this claim. Both Lords and witnesses agreed on the nobility of reducing intemperance, but could this really be achieved simply by closing down licensed drinking houses in bunches? It didn't seem likely. The human social behaviour of the masses could not be that simple, even for the bourgeoisie. Nor were cold and detached statistics supporting this reduction-theory.

" The following Table shows the total average of the Four Divisions :—

	Average Drunkenness per 10,000 Population.	Average Increase of Population.	Average Number of Public-houses per 10,000.
Northern towns with population of not less than 10,000 population.	159·48	24·12	58·48
Southern towns - - - - -	44·79	15·70	69·70
Northern counties - - - - -	72·74	7·45	55·19
Southern counties - - - - -	23·85	3·34	60·52

" This Table shows,—

"(1.) That the northern towns and counties have fewer public-houses, but yet are more drunken than the southern.

The northern towns and counties have fewer public-houses, but yet are more drunken than the southern. And although "arrests for drunkenness are a notoriously unreliable way of measuring actual consumption" (Nicholls 2009: 139), for many reasons-the Lords of Temperance were beginning to doubt the simplified reduction-theory. From: a collection of statistics, less-corrupt testimony from the (finally) maturing social and medical sciences, political intuition and common sense- it soon became obvious: "reducing the number of pubs" *would not* lead to a "reduction in consumption" (Ibid: 135).

Furthermore, when the state had certain pubs removed, the pubs that remained merely filled the void. They became bigger and better in size and efficiency- competing with those that remained to lure newly freed customers through their doors. This is the basic reasoning why drug wars have never worked, and *never will work*: a supplier is removed, the demand remains or increases, and the next supplier steps up. Nor were England's drinkers suddenly going to lose their taste for Drink overnight; alcohol would

flow somewhere, and they would surely find it. In arguing for free trade, Adam Smith differentiates between cause and effect:

It is not the multitude of alehouses... that occasions a general disposition to drunkenness among the common people: but that disposition arising from other causes necessarily gives employment to a multitude of alehouses. (1986: 461).

Despite the appeal and convenience, intemperance could not be *solved* simply by hiding places to drink.

But states have remained stubborn to lesser Truths, and England's magistrates were eager to continue their quest of reducing drunkenness by reducing pub numbers. They were increasingly Temperance, and they were increasingly frustrated with the crawling speed of government to enact regulatory change. And the triviality of the grand *Royal Commission* (on licensing) was the match in the powder barrel. Initiated in 1896 by Arthur Wellesley Peel and Salisbury's government to investigate Drink,

the Royal Commission sat for nearly three years, interviewed 259 witnesses, asked 74,451 oral questions, produced eight volumes of evidence, cost £7, 880 17s. 10 d. and ended with its members split in two factions, meeting in separate rooms and producing two divergent and partially contradictory reports. (Greenaway 2003: 61).

Such is the hollowness of politics, and it would inspire the magistrates to do things themselves. This era represented their twilight.

There has never before been a movement so widespread, so serious, and so likely to bring staggering losses upon those who are interested in licensed property', the *Brewers' Journal* contended. More licenses, in fact, were denied renewal in 1903 than in the previous six years combined. (Gutzke 1989: 154).

The issue of license suppression came to a head in 1903.

...

Not only were the rights under *Sharp v. Wakefield* being applied vigorously, but justices were also aggressively applying a clause under a Licensing Act of 1902 which made the

power to order structural renovations a condition of license renewal. *Properties which were deemed unsuitable could be ordered to carry out punitively expensive repairs or go under.* In the absence of anti-drink legislation, the temperance movement had started to achieve some of its key goals by targeting, and often packing, the licensing benches themselves. (Nicholls 2009: 146, my italics).

Bruce's failed Bill in 1871 taught magistrates and justices *how* to reduce licenses: if pubs were to be removed- they should generally be the lower-class wrecks owned by the vulnerable and independent publicans, not those owned by big business and Trade. Especially with the 'structural renovations' clause, magistrates could close down the weaker poorer pubs (like beerhouses-where much disorder was said to take place), and show restraint with the Big Brewers- who were only just beginning to realize their strength.

In 1886 Guinness had floated itself on the stock market. The shares were oversubscribed fifty times and the flotation raised £6 million for the company. The Guinness flotation sent a shockwave through the British brewing industry, triggering off a spate of similar flotations by the other brewing giants as well as a raft of mergers between leading companies. The profits generated were enormous, and the impact was significant. By the mid-1890s all the brewing giants were publicly owned, and they all had money to invest in expanding their operations. (Ibid 142).

These brewers were gaining influence with magistrates, but especially with politicians and legislators: "After 1899... there were indications that the degree and intensity of lobbying- particularly *informal* lobbying- was gradually increasing" (Greenaway 2003: 87). So if licensing numbers were to be reduced or removed, the Big Brewers encouraged them to look at the "poorer, run down pubs" (Jennings 2011: 174); and so they did.

The 1904 Licensing Act, known commonly as the *Balfour Act*, brought in a compensation scheme: any pubs deemed 'redundant' for the public were refused renewal- and were to be paid off for disbanding. Those pubs could appeal of course, but this was

often a hopeless formality. "The compensation was to come from a levy on licensed premises, payable on a graduated scale" (Ibid: 172-173), and closed-down pub owners were forced to plead for positioning on that scale. The Balfour Act was effective:

In the ten years of its operation to 1914, 9,801 licenses were extinguished, of which almost two-thirds were beerhouses. The total represented a little under 10 per cent of those in existence at the beginning of the century and in both absolute and relative terms compared favourably with the pace of license reduction over the previous thirty-two years after 1869. (Ibid 173).

Avoid the big and strong, target the small and weak. As the less profitable and more troublesome public houses were being closed down, the property values of pubs belonging to the Big Brewers soared. They also began the "aggressive policy of purchasing public houses directly and swallowing up smaller breweries" (Greenaway 2003: 73). England's magistrates, with help from legislators and the major Tradesmen, were weeding out the 'unnecessary' and unwanted drinking houses, en masse.

But license reduction itself was not enough. The Liberals (evangelical conservatives at heart), having won a majority election in 1906, suddenly found motivation and opportunity to take on Drink in grander scope; which meant taking on the Trade. Prime Minister Herbert Asquith accused publicans and brewers of preying on the unknowing poor, and thought government more suited to centralize and oversee the entire system of pub licensing. The Liberals were united and strong, and backed by the Temperance movement they proposed a truly radical Bill in 1908. As the 'backbone of the bill'- "approximately a third of English licenses were to be eliminated" (Ibid 82), and those that remained, 60,000 or so, *were to be made public.*

Asquith's speech at the second reading of the bill made it clear it was not merely a temperance measure. "The second great and governing purpose... is the recovery for the

State of complete and unfettered control over this monopoly”, he said, the monopoly being pub licenses, 90 per cent of which were tied to the brewers. Asquith was the first lawyer prime minister and reasoned legalistically that the state ‘owned’ the liquor licenses it generously granted and was therefore entitled to ‘recover’ them whenever it liked. His speech accused brewers of inflating prices, of “suicidal” competition to expand their tied estates and of producing poor quality watered-down beer (*A Lesson From the Past?* 2008: 1).

Asquith and the Liberals learned nothing from the ambitious Bruce in 1871; this Bill was overly controlling, and certain to make enemies with powerful players. Everywhere in England licenses would be reduced to a statutory limit, compensations themselves were to be seriously reduced and applied on a national level- not local, and the “control of the fund was to be vested in the hands of a special licensing commission of three members, sitting in London” (Greenaway 2003: 82). It was “rigid and inelastic” (*Ibid*); and it seemed to offend almost everybody.

publicans feared the threat to their livelihoods, pub-goers objected to Government interference in their everyday activities, brewers feared financial distress, and industrialists objected to the confiscatory principles which the Bill enshrined. (Nicholls 2009: 150-151).

It even included a provision that would ban women from working in pubs. Hidden in a sub-clause of clause 20 was “a bid to abolish barmaids”, or at least to “give magistrates the power to abolish them by making a license conditional on not employing women” (*A Lesson From the Past?* 2008: 1). Ignorant bourgeois patriarchs were concerned that ‘exposure to drinking men’ in pubs would corrupt young women and ‘distract mothers from their caregiving duties’. Other boys-clubs simply didn’t want them around. With glaring stupidity, this sub-clause “threatened not only the traditional character of the pub but the livelihood of thousands of poor, wage-earning, hardworking women” (Nicholls 2009: 151). It was the sole inspiration for the formation of the *Barmaids Political Defence*

League, and it was also a strong reminder of the vast separation between ruler and ruled in day to day English life.

The 1908 Bill sought to eliminate 30,000 pubs with reduced and uncertain compensation, nationalize the rest, and remove all barmaids from their premises: this was *too much, too fast*. The Liberals were now seen as a threat to ‘general issues of property and confiscation’, and

opponents of the bill portrayed it as the precursor of socialism: what was done to the brewers today would be done to landlords and colliery owners tomorrow. Balfour hyperbolically described it as ‘the greatest injury ever done to public morality’. (Greenaway 2003: 82-83).



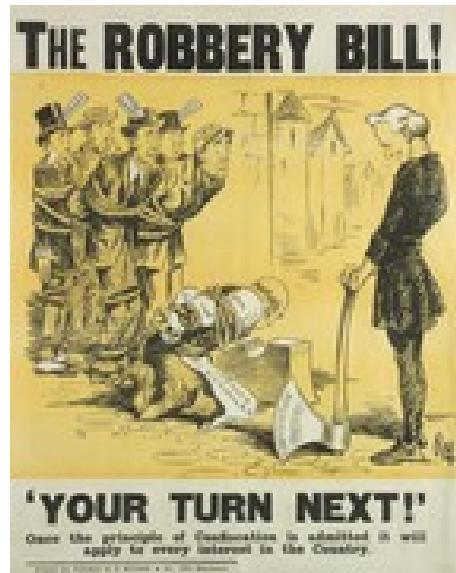
Drink and its interests were far too sensitive to attacks of this severity, and they quickly organized to defend it. Strategic counter-associations were created and Tradesman and brewery shareholders even threatened to stop supporting Church charities. But the mass protest on September 27 in London was certainly the greatest indicator of rebellion to the bill.

(Memorabilia from Hyde Park, 1908)

Organized, funded, and fueled by Trade groups (The National Trade Defence Association and many others); and supported by nearly everyone else; between “a quarter and half a million” protesters gathered in Hyde Park to defend Drink (Manchester Courier 1908).

Over one hundred and seventy special trains brought demonstrators (ninety-five percent

of which were men) from all parts of England and Wales, including the furthest and most remote areas. There were eighty to ninety marching bands, over five hundred large banners, and shouted speeches by members of parliament and other prominent figures: all of it culminating in the great march to Hyde Park Corner, and all of it paid for by the increasingly wealthy Drink trade (Ibid, Gutzke 1989).

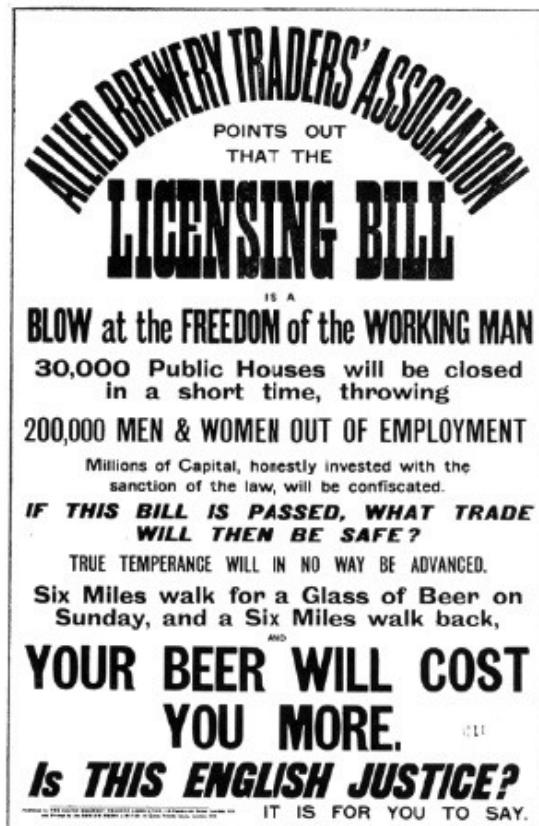
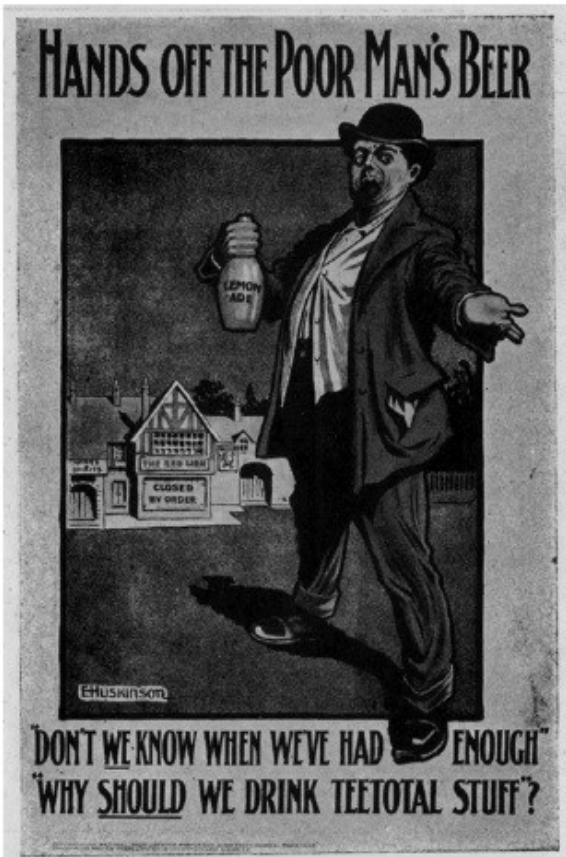


(‘The Robbery Bill’)

they...provided plenty of cash. Forty tons of campaign literature was distributed by brewers alone, including 10 million leaflets, 409,000 posters and 780,000 cartoons that graphically warned of the impact the law would have on the working man’s pint. Tickets for the chartered trains were heavily subsided, too, causing the *Manchester Guardian*, a Liberal paper, to cynically speculate that for the demonstrators it was no more than a cheap, boozy day out. “Possibly nothing of the kind has ever had so much money spent on it,” it complained. (*A Lesson From the Past?* 2008: 2).

(Below: Anti-Licensing Bill Posters)





Like Bruce and the Liberals, Asquith and the Liberals had procured many enemies from many sides, especially those affiliated with business. Trade was by no means united in 1908; nor were opposition politicians, the many powerful interest groups, or even the masses of poor and working-class drinkers. But the 1908 Licensing Bill, which attacked Drink with aggressive carelessness, unified them all.

It was the industry's finest hour. Such a concerted effort, drawing in the whole of the trade as well as winning over public opinion, had not been seen before- and has not been seen since. (Ibid 1).

In Closing: Drink in Edwardian Britain; Concluding Remarks

Every government that has ever touched alcohol has burnt its fingers in its lurid flames.
(George, as cited in Nicholls 2009: 130).

Echoing 1871, the bill was eventually and inevitably abolished. It passed through a delusional Commons, but under great pressure was dismissed by the Lords in November. It was undoubtedly political suicide, but also emblematic of its time. Through the late Victorian and Edwardian Eras (1890-1914), England, for all its divisions, held a vague consensus towards Drink and public houses: reform and reduce. The bill fit the trend, but simply took it too far, and was punished accordingly. Perhaps acting as a warning, it would stand as England's last *major* legislative proposal on Drink and pub licensing before World War I (though the Liberals saw to it that Scotland adopt a Local Veto Act in 1913- the first of its kind passed). But the war itself altered the landscape, changing the function and prevalence of the pub.

Opening hours were dramatically reduced, eliminating early morning, afternoon and late-night drinking. Essential pub practices, like treating, giving credit and the long pull (serving more than the correct measure to attract custom) were made illegal. With the sole exception of treating, all of them were retained after the war. Writing in the mid-1980's, one historian of the war's social consequences could regard those regulations as 'still today... perhaps the most tangible long-term legacy of the First World War'. Other changes outlasted the war. The price of the drink consumed soared, whilst its strength fell. Women resorted to the pub in greater numbers. More broadly, the war accelerated the trends already evident, if hitherto still limited, to reduced consumption of alcohol and less drunkenness. (Jennings 2011: 183).

After 1914 there was a general fear that drunkenness (and idleness) and drinking houses would weaken both England's active armed services and their civilian effort at home. But instead of closing down pubs, they simply levied upon them heavy reforms. Limited opening hours, heavy taxes, dwindling supply and strength of drink, and sometimes the

requirement that patrons purchase food in order to purchase alcohol: these were the war's main effects on the pub in a continued effort to sober the populace. And though the independent publicans and smaller brewers would surely suffer as a result, the biggest brewers and players in the Drink industry would thrive under the conditions of supply and demand, alongside favourable contracts and permissions from the government. But the war reforms merely continued the rolling legislative efforts that flamed before the fighting began.

From the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and fortified in the nineteenth century throughout the First World War, fears over the prevalence and effects of drunkenness (idleness, unproductivity) on Industry and state prompted the response of reformation and reduction. Fears over the characters involved as well; majority pub-goers were working-class at best, and poor idlers at worst. Their purpose, said the bourgeoisie, was simple: toil for England; be the sacrificial bodies needed for every great Empire to fulfill imperial destiny. And Drink, too often, got in the way. Yes the production, consumption, and distribution of alcohol was taxed by the state whenever it could, and taxed heavily- but this return was not enough. The expenses of intemperance generally negated any financial benefits earned; destroying with the left hand what they were building with the right. But if England could somehow reduce *drunkenness itself*- in turn it would reduce: direct costs to the state (prisons, courts, hospitals, etc.), and dependence on the state (*charity*; poor relief). More importantly however- it would remove the main social obstacles to Industry, labour, and war (idle bodies, drunk bodies, poor bodies, disobedient bodies, weakened bodies: *unproductive bodies*.).

If drunkenness was England's virus to attack, the pub was its host worthy of the same. Drinking houses for the poor and working class have always been viewed with suspicion by the bourgeoisie, so they've always been regulated, policed, and legislated. They were sites of class conflict, and sometimes, sites of class warfare. But if the earliest pub law was passed in 997, then all those created afterwards were slowly working up to a boiling point at the turn of the twentieth century. This was the time when pub legislation transitioned from the rogue or sporadic initiatives of *individual* Kings and politicians to crafted proposals by entire political parties (Gutzke 1989, Greenaway 2003). Of course policies and party-lines on Drink were often pressured, directed, influenced, and funded by interest groups (Temperance, Trade, Unionists, experts and professionals, the Church etc.), however "the fact that such utterances may have sometimes been made under political constraint in no way diminishes their significance" (Ibid 9).

Although England's political leaders were never fully united on Drink (many were concerned about their political careers), many of the bourgeoisie found general agreement on drunkenness and drinking houses towards the end of the nineteenth century: they wanted to reform and reduce them. And so they did; or they tried. Tighter regulations to reform pubs (hours and days of operation, increased police and police powers, renovation clauses, annual licensing renewals, 'the Gothenburg system' that removed profits from publicans, disinterested management, the prohibition of children, and even the attempted prohibition of barmaids); and the aggressive movement to eliminate pubs (compensation schemes, statutory limits, discretionary renewals, the renovation clause when failure was certain, local veto, and the direct outright elimination of tens of thousands of drinking houses): this was England's treatment of the pub before and throughout the First World

War. And it was a predictable progression. As *the site* of class conflict, for hundreds of years, the pub (and its people) was policed. By many bourgeois interests (others too), and with many bourgeois methods. But the turn of the twentieth century had focused those efforts, and *policing* programmes were undertaken on a much larger scale. One that surely would have pleased Petty, Colquhoun and the other police theorists- who cared not about elections and political vulnerability, but about identifying and transforming social threats into productive forces. This boiling point at the turn of the twentieth century represented the twilight of pub policing. It carried a political feel on Drink never to be seen again by England, and it is appropriate to end our story there.

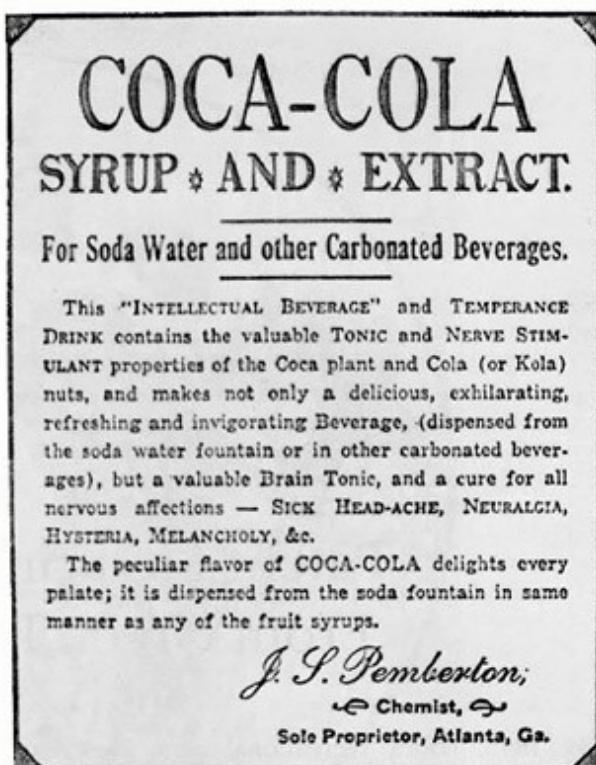
Policing the pub was both about the structure itself, and the people inside it. It was about the energy too. Pubs were always dangerous spaces to the ruling class, who sought to control them whenever possible. But for every action there is a reaction, and the pub's loyalists were not passive, and never static. In a struggle over the pub, which began in the Middle Ages with England's first alehouses, the poor and working class would continuously shape their drinking houses of the future. It was about much more than closing hours, or the right to play games; this was a fight for morality and identity. The pub was indeed the *parliament of the people*; and their battles were often one and the same.

VIII

Afterward: The Death of the Pub?

At the turn of the twentieth century, the English pub began “losing its preeminent position as a focus of working-class leisure and culture” (Greenaway 2003: 74). But the pub owes its fall to more than eager magistrates and Temperance-induced politicians; there are actually many reasons for its decline. “Per capita, beer consumption fell annually

after 1899” (Greenaway 2003:74), while water was much safer and encouraged alongside a host of other sugary non-alcoholic drinks (Coca-Cola was a Temperance push in the United States after 1874!). There were also major economic recessions and the two Boer Wars (the second was particularly draining), a shift was taking place whereby England’s working class began purchasing more materials and durables with their



(Coca-Cola: a Temperance drink)

wages when possible, and many drinkers started consuming from the comforts of their own homes after the mass production of bottled beer. There were also soon other options for entertainment, interaction, and *intoxication*. Before and after World War I, England began sculpting a new kind of citizenship: with new values, and new leisure. With this, or perhaps because of this, viable alternatives to the pub were soon offered to all classes.

The United States and Britain were leaders in the ‘public recreation movement’ of the early 1900’s. For both adults and youth this enabled or encouraged: education and schooling (The Elementary Education Act of 1870, and the Education Acts of 1902 and 1918); museums and libraries increased and improved, while gymsnasiums, playgrounds, assembly rooms, national parks, and public beaches were soon opened; arts and crafts, social clubs, hobbies such as bicycling, bowling, roller-skating, photography, and film became popular; the ‘boy scouts’ were formed in 1900, the ‘girl guides’ in 1910, and the YMCA continued to grow after 1870 when they began focusing more on “promoting morality and good citizenship than a distinctive interpretation of Christianity” (Frost 1998: 476). Indeed this seemed to be the growing maxim of the public recreation movement: the development of ‘morality’ and ‘good character’: certain types of peoples with certain types of values. There were clearly intentions by state and industrial forces to offer numerous programs capable of “achieving desirable social outcomes” (Mclean et al. 2008: 71), and team sports worked hardest towards those ends. Football became a widespread obsession after England wrote its rules in 1863 (though its origins go back *much* further), and cricket and rugby were very popular with youth. Team sports especially (the inclination for competition, adherence to authority, nationalism and loyalty etc.), but all of the activities listed above- were part of a new movement towards defining

a “working-class youth culture expressed through leisure” and recreational activity (McLean et al. 2008: 81).

The twentieth century also opened up new ways to spend money. To those who could afford it, there were now: circuses and cinemas (four fold by the 1920’s), ‘beach and tourist getaways’, heavily-financed sporting events; a great increase in shopping centres, restaurants, and amusement parks; pool and billiard halls, Trade shows, vaudeville circuits, and dance halls. What may be termed ‘the public consumer movement’, “by the 1930s London’s ‘leisure industries’ were gearing up to a new scale of operation, tempting people out of their homes with the promise of spectacle, glamour and fun” (*Leisure*).

The point is this: between the many new activities and entertainment outlets now available to the English masses before and after the First World War- there were soon viable alternatives to the *idea* of the pub. And in some ways, these alternatives could fill (or at least try to) the pleasantries and highs offered by a good night at the pub. Between them, there was: good food, cold Drink, dancing and music, sex, discussion, debate, and much laughter; there was also interaction and socialization, gaming and gambling, and of course the ever alluring bright lights. Though unable to replace or replicate the pub, ever, these new alternatives began offering England’s spending masses new outlets for *intoxication*; for highs. And these were more predictable and *less harmful* outlets than drunkenness or ungovernable drinking houses no doubt. They were safe and calculated spaces of commerce for the lower orders, and many of them would do their best to fill the lure of the pub. Or at least to steal some of its customers.

However, regardless of *why* the pub began or continued falling, it simply did. The twentieth century would fluctuate with pub numbers- though more towards downward

trends and closures. Jennings claims that there was actually a resurgence of pub culture in the 1970's, what he called "the peak of its prestige and popularity" (2011: 211). However this seemed to be more fad than trend, and pub numbers would continue to fall directly afterwards. This has led many writers, almost predominately English ones, to ask the difficult question: *are we witnessing the death of the pub?* Pubs are closing, publicans are struggling to break even let alone squeeze profits, and those irreplaceable Victorian masterpieces that stood tall on intersections and corners- are being replaced by shopping malls; or by nothing at all. This century has also welcomed a host of other threats: changing demographics, a transforming culture, cheap supermarket alcohol, widespread smoking bans, and increasingly heavy duties on Drink sold in drinking houses. Indeed some believe the writing is on the wall. Clearly I am not suggesting 'the pub' will reach extinction, ever; but pub numbers and pub culture is currently fending attacks from all sides. And even though my Canadian upbringing has never allowed me to spend time in a *true Victorian pub*, or to find that small grimy alehouse where I could fit seamlessly amongst the regulars and within their atmosphere; I still feel great sadness with every pub that dies boarded up. Indeed the vast majority of this paper was written down the street at a joint called *Patty's Pub*. It is not Victorian by any means, and it is certainly not English. But I am greeted with a smile, *a real smile*, and my favorite drink- every time I enter. Without asking for either.

Works Cited

A Collection of Statutes Connected with the General Administration of the Law. 1836.

Retrieved on February 23, 2014 from:

http://books.google.ca/books?id=tLUuAAAAIAAJ&dq=a+collection+of+statutes++intolerable+hurts+and+troubles&source=gbs_navlinks_s

A Lesson From the Past? 2008. Retrieved on February 25, 2014 from:

<http://www.philmellows.com/A%20Lesson%20From%20The%20Past.pdf>

An Act for preventing Gaming. 1757. Cited from Coke, 1758: *The Number Of Alehouses Shown To Be Extremely Pernicious To The Public, In A Letter To A Member Of Parliament.*

Asylym, W. *Why Does the Sumerian Goddess Of Beer, Ninkasi, Appear In the Workings of The Simon Necronomicon?* Retrieved on Dec 25, 2013 from:

<http://warlockasylum.wordpress.com/2011/08/02/why-does-the-sumerian-goddess-of-beer-ninkasi-appear-in-the-workings-of-the-simon-necronomicon/>

Babor, T.F. 1986. *Alcohol: Customs and rituals.* Chelsea House.

Bethune, Brian. 2013. *How a volcanic eruption made 1816 the year without summer.*

Macleans. Retrieved on April 10, 2014 from:

<http://www.macleans.ca/culture/books/what-they-did-that-summer/>

Bill 1837. A Bill For the better Regulation of all Places at which intoxicating Drinks are sold, with a view to diminish the Crime and Misery of which they are the fruitful source. House of Commons.

Bill 1871. Public Bills. Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. Retrieved on February 21, 2014 from:

http://books.google.ca/books?id=lCtcAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gb_s_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Braidwood, R. et al. 1953. *Symposium: Did man once live by beer alone?* American Anthropologist, 55, 515-526

Brewer, John D. 2013. *The Public Value of the Social Sciences: An Interpretative Essay.* A&C Black. Retrieved on February 22, 2014 from:

http://books.google.ca/books?id=yTpMAQAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Brothwell, D. & Brothwell, P. 1998. *Food in Antiquity: A Survey of the Diet of Early Peoples.* Hopkins University Press.

Buettner, Dan. 2005. *Secrets of a Long Life.* National Geographic. Retrieved on January 21, 2014 from: http://www.bluezones.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/Nat_Geo_Longevity.pdf

Burnett, Joyce. 2008. *Women Workers in the British Industrial Revolution.* EH. Retrieved on February 21, 2014 from: <http://eh.net/encyclopedia/women-workers-in-the-british-industrial-revolution/>

Buettner, Dan. 2009. *The Blue Zones.* National Geographic.

Carroll-Burke, Patrick. 2002. *Moralizing Economics, Making the Social Scientific: From Political Economy to Social Economy in the Early NAPSS.* Retrieved on April 1, 2014 from: <http://pi.library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/hssh/article/view/4487>

Chitty, Joseph. 1828. *A Collection of Statutes of Practical Utility.* Retrieved on April 2, 2014 from:
http://books.google.ca/books?id=gSdRAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Christensen, Emma. 2009. *Beer Guide: What Are Hops?* theKitchn. Retrieved on March 23, 2014 from: <http://www.thekitchn.com/beer-guide-what-are-hops-81267>

Clark, Peter. 1983. *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830.* Longman & Harlow.

Clark, Stephen Hall. 1996. *The Development of Leisure in Britain after 1850.* The Victorian Web. Retrieved on April 24, 2014 from:
<http://www.victorianweb.org/history/leisure2.html>

Colburn, H. 1833. *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences etc.* Retrieved on March 3, 2014 from:
<http://books.google.ca/books?id=lDZAAQAAQAAJ&dq=Every+one+remarks+the+increase+of+gin-shops.+In+all+those+parts+of+Leeds+or+Manchester,+and+of+London+too,+wher>

e+the+poorest+people+live,+there+you+find,+in+almost+every+dirty+street,+not+one+but+several+fine+houses&source=gbs_navlinks_s

Cole, J. 1925. *Determination of the Exact Size and Orientation of the Great Pyramid of Giza*. Cairo: Government Press. Survey of Egypt paper no. 39 (NIC.). Chapter 2; Notes 2,3

Coleman the Younger, George. 1839. 2008. *Broad Grins*. Retrieved on January 2, 2014 from: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/25426/25426.txt>

Colquhoun, Patrick. 1800. *A treatise on the police of the metropolis*. Retrieved on April 19, 2014 from:
http://books.google.ca/books?id=aCFKAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gb_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Cornell, Martyn. 2009. *A short history of hops*. Zythophile. Retrieved on May 23, 2014 from: <http://zythophile.wordpress.com/2009/11/20/a-short-history-of-hops/>

Cottino, A. 1995. In: Heath, *International Handbook on Alcohol and Culture*. Heath, D. Greenwood Press, 1995. Pp. 156-167. P. 159.

Dickens, Charles. 1837. *The Pickwick Papers*. Retrieved on February 21, 2014 from: <http://www2.hn.psu.edu/faculty/jmanis/dickens/pickwickpapers6x9.pdf>

Dickens, Charles. 1870. *A Child's History of England*. London: Chapman and Hall.

Dickens, Charles. 1870. *Sketches by Boz: illustrative of every-day life and every-day people/with thirty-four illustrations by F. Barnard*. Chapman and Hall.

Dutch Shipbuilding. 2011. National Geographic. Retrieved on February 24, 2014 from: <http://channel.nationalgeographic.com/channel/videos/dutch-shipbuilding/>

Earnshaw, Steven. 2000. *The Pub in Literature*: a timeline. Retrieved on September 28, 2013 from: <http://teaching.shu.ac.uk/ds/sle/altered/chronology/dates.htm>

Engels, Friedrich. 1859. *Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*. Ruskin House.

Evalt Steinis, Edgar. 1994. *Nietzsche's Revaluation of Values: a study in strategies*. University of Illinois Press. Retrieved on February 26, 2014 from: <http://books.google.ca/books?id=AlCxstLOIDwC&dq=For+art+to+exist,+for+any+s>

ort+of+aesthetic+activity+or+perception+to+exist,+a+certain+psychological+prec
ondition+is+indispensable:+intoxication.&source=gbs_navlinks_s

Fermentation. 2014. *Fermentation in plants and fruits.* BBC. Retrieved on April 17, 2014 from:
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/standard/chemistry/plasticsandothermaterials/carbohydrates/revision/6/>

Forbes, Robert J. 1970. *A Short History of the Art of Distillation: From the Beginnings Up to the Death of Cellier Blumenthal.* Retrieved on April 16, 2014 from:
http://books.google.ca/books?id=XeqWOkKYn28C&source=gbs_navlinks_s

Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History.* Retrieved on May 10, 2014 from:
<http://www.ucdenver.edu/academics/colleges/CLAS/Departments/philosophy/Students/Documents/%27Nietzsche,%20Genealogy,%20History%27%20by%20Michel%20Foucault.pdf>

Foucault, Michel. 1988. 1965. *Madness & Civilization.* Random House.

Foucault, Michel. 1995. 1977. *Discipline and Punish.* Random House.

Freeman, David. 2014. *12 Health Risks of Chronic Heavy Drinking.* WebMD. Retrieved on April 19, 2014 from: <http://www.webmd.com/mental-health/addiction/features/12-health-risks-of-chronic-heavy-drinking>

French, Richard. 1890. *Nineteen centuries of drink in England; a history.* Retrieved on October 23, 2013 from: <https://archive.org/details/nineteencenturie00frenrich>

Frost, William J. 1998. Part V: Christianity and Culture in America," *Christianity: A Social and Cultural History.*

Gately, Ian. 2008. *Drink: a cultural history of alcohol.* Gotham Books.

Greenaway, John. 2003. *Drink and British Politics since 1830: a study in policymaking.* Paulgrave Macmillan.

Godschall, William Man. 1787. *A general plan of parochial and provincial police. With instructions to Overseers and Constables,... monitions concerning Ale-house Keepers;... and also His Majesty's proclamation against vice, ... By William Man Godschall.* Ecco print editions.

Gutzke, David W. 1989. *Protecting the Pub*. The Boydell Press.

Handwerk, B. 2005. *The World in a Glass: Six Drinks That Changed History*. National Geographic News. Retrieved on Jan 8, 2014 from:
http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2005/10/1003_051003_six_drinks.html

Hanson, David J. 1995. *Preventing alcohol abuse: Alcohol, culture, and control*. Praeger Publishers. Retrieved on January 21, 2014 from:
http://books.google.ca/books?id=AWk8FGoJwWAC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Hanson, David J. 1996. *Alcohol education*. Praeger Publishers.

Hanson, David J. 2013. *World Alcohol and Drinking History Timeline (slides/page one through ten)*. Alcohol: Problems and Solutions. Retrieved on December 21, 2013 from: <http://www2.potsdam.edu/alcohol/timeline/Alcoholic-Beverages-from-Antiquity-through-the-Ancient-Greeks.html#.U1faxF5REXw>

Handwerk, Brian. 2005. *The World in a Glass: Six Drinks That Changed History*. National Geographic. Retrieved on February 18, 2014 from:
http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2005/10/1003_051003_six_drinks.html

Harris, Peral. 2007. *The Historic Pubs of London*. Time Travel Britain. Retrieved on January 21, 2014 from: <http://www.timetravel-britain.com/articles/london/pubs.shtml>

Health in England. Payne, Linda. Children & Youth in History. Accessed on April 24, 2014 from: <http://chnm.gmu.edu/cyh/teaching-modules/166>

Hemingway, Ernest. 1954. *Banquet Speech*. Nobel Prize. Retrieved on April 2, 2014 from: http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1954/hemingway-speech.html

Henderson, George. 1841. *Teetotaler, Volumes 1-2*. Retrieved on April 2, 2014 from:
http://books.google.ca/books?id=eABQAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Himmelfarb, Gertrude. 2007. *The Spirit of the Age: Victorian Essays*. Retrieved on April 20, 2014 from:

http://books.google.ca/books?id=_UNlByiZSaoC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Hornsey, Ian Spencer. 2003. *A History of Beer and Brewing*. Royal Society of Chemistry.

Retrieved on March 24, 2014 from:

http://books.google.ca/books?id=QqnvNsgas20C&printsec=frontcover&source=gb_s_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

How Beer Saved the World. 2012. National Geographic. Retrieved on January 28, 2014 from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PdwYjFnFoJU>

Huberman, Jack. 2006. *Quotable Atheist*. Nation Books. Retrieved on October 29, 2014 from:

http://books.google.ca/books?id=B5GGBuLZJoEC&dq=People+go+to+church+for+the+same+reasons+they+go+to+a+tavern+Huberman&source=gbs_navlinks_s

Hume, David. 1757. *Four Dissertations*. Retrieved on March 3, 2014 from:

<http://www.davidhume.org/texts/fd.html>

Isralowitz, R. & Myers, P. *Illicit Drugs: Health and Medical Issues Today*. Greenwood Publishing.

Ince, E.B. 1891. *The Law Journal, volume 26*. Retrieved on October 22, 2013 from:

http://books.google.ca/books?id=6ekuAAAAIAAJ&dq=Whether+the+magistrates+will+exercise+the+power+which+it+is+now+made+manifest+to+them+that+they+possess,+for+the+protection+of+their+fellow-citizens+from+the+liquor+traffic,+remains+to+be+seen.&source=gbs_navlinks_s

Jellinek, E. 1976. *Drinkers and Alcoholics in Ancient Rome*. Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 37, 1718-1741.

Jennings, P. 2011. *The Local: A History of the English Pub*. The History Press.

Kaiser, William & Garrett, Duane. 2006. *Wine and Alcoholic Beverages in the Ancient World*. Archaeological Study Bible. Zondervan.

Katz, S.H. and Voigt, M.M. 1987. *Bread and Beer: The early use of cereals in the human diet*. Expedition, 28, 23-34

Lambert, Tim. 2013. *Prehistoric England*. Retrieved on January 12, 2014 from:
<http://www.localhistories.org/prehistengland.html>

Lane, Megan. 2011. *The moment Britain became an island*. BBC News Magazine. Retrieved on March 13, 2014 from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-12244964>

Lee, H. 1963. *How Dry We Were: Prohibition Revisited*. Eaglewood Cliffs.

Libatique, Kelly. 2011. *A Toast to the Holy Ghost? A Dispassionate Look at Alcohol and the Bible*. Retrieved on April 12, 2014 from:
http://books.google.ca/books?id=MixJxGhvZ6kC&printsec=frontcover&source=gb_s_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

London, Jack. 2011. *John Barleycorn*. The Floating Press. Retrieved on April 2, 2014 from:
http://books.google.ca/books?id=IUWanc2SxrwC&dq=%E2%80%A6the+bubbling+play+of+wit,+the+chesty+laughs,+the+resonant+voices+of+men,+when,+glass+in+hand,+they+shut+the+grey+world+outside+and+prod+their+brains+with+the+fun+and+folly+of+an+accelerated+pulse.&source=gbs_navlinks_s

Loughnan, Arlie. 2012. *Manifest Madness: Mental Incapacity in the Criminal Law*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved on April 1, 2014 from:
http://books.google.ca/books?id=Cm53hjxITosC&dq=a+person+who+%E2%80%98by+reason+of+habitual+intemperate+drinking+of+intoxicating+liquors%E2%80%99+was+%E2%80%98at+time+dangerous+to+himself+or+herself+or+to+others,+or+incapable+of+managing+himself+or+herself+and+his+or+her+affairs%E2%80%99.&source=gbs_navlinks_s

Maciamo. 2005. *A Brief History of England*. Eupedia. Retrieved on October 23, 2013 from:
http://www.eupedia.com/england/english_history.shtml

Maclean, Daniel. et al. 2008. *Kraus' Recreation and Leisure in Modern Society: Chapter 3*. Jones and Bartlett. Retrieved on April 23, 2014 from:
http://www.jblearning.com/samples/0763749591/49591_ch03_mcLean.pdf

Manchester Courier. 1908. *Demonstration against the 1908 Licensing Bill*. Retrieved on April 1, 2014 from: <http://barclayperkins.blogspot.ca/2012/07/demonstration-against-1908-licensing.html>

Mark, J. 2011. *The Hymn to Ninkasi, Goddess of Beer*. Ancient Encyclopedia History. Retrieved on Jan 2, 2014 from: <http://www.ancient.eu.com/article/222/>

Marx, Karl. 1852. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. Retrieved on May 10, 2014 from: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/ch05.htm>

Marx, Karl. 1859. *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*. Retrieved on March 21, 2014 from: http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Marx_Contribution_to_the_Critique_of_Political_Economy.pdf

Marx, Karl & Engels, Friedrich. 1848. *The Communist Manifesto*. Penguin.

Matthiessen, Lucas et al. 1913. *Interviews: Irwin Shaw, The Art of Fiction No. 4*. The Paris Review. Retrieved on April 2, 2014 from: <http://www.theparisreview.org/interviews/3395/the-art-of-fiction-no-4-continued-irwin-shaw>

Matthews, Susan E. 2012. *7 Ways Alcohol Affects Your Health*. Live Science. Retrieved on April 12, 2014 from: <http://www.livescience.com/36612-7-ways-alcohol-affects-your-health.html>

McGovern, P. (2003). *Ancient Wine: The Search for the Origins of Viniculture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. p. 314

McGovern, P. et al. 2004. *Fermented beverages of pre- and proto-historic China*. Retrieved on Jan 5, 2014 from: <http://www.pnas.org/content/101/51/17593.long?tab=author-info>

Meliora. 1859. *A Quarterly Review of Social Sciences in its Ethical, Economical, Political, and Ameliorative Aspects, Vol. 1*. Partridge & Co. Retrieved on September 26, 2013 from: http://books.google.ca/books?id=HusaAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gb_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Monckton, H.A. 1966. *A History of English Ale and Beer*. Bodley Head.

Monckton, H.A. 1969. *A History of the English Public House*. Bodley Head.

Morrison, Blake. 2013. *Why do writers drink?* The Guardian. Retrieved on March 21, 2014 from: <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/jul/20/why-do-writers-drink-alcohol>

- Myers, Peter L. & Isralowitz, Richard E. 2011. *Alcohol*. Retrieved on December 20, 2013 from:
http://books.google.ca/books?id=40pNIE3reqkC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Nashe, Thomas. 1592. *Pierce Penilesse His Supplication to the Devil*. Retrieved on March 2, 2014 from: <http://www.luminarium.org/renlit/nashebib.htm>
- Neocleous, Mark. 2000. *The Fabrication of a Social Order: A Critical Theory of Police Power*. Pluto Press.
- Neocleous, Mark. 2007. Theoretical Foundations of the "New Police Science". In *The New Police Science: The Police Power in Domestic and International Governance*. Edited by Markus D. Dubber and Mariana Valverde, 17-41. Stanford University Press.
- Newsby, T. 1859. *Our Plague Spot: In Connection with Our Polity and Usages: as Regards Our Women, Our Soldiery, and the Indian Empire*. Retrieved on February 2, 2014 from:
http://books.google.ca/books?id=paIYAAAAYAAJ&dq=%E2%80%9Csmiling+welcome+to+all+who+enter%E2%80%9D+wakefield&source=gbs_navlinks_s
- Nicholls, J. 2009. *The Politics of Alcohol: a history of the drink question in England*. Manchester University Press.
- Orme, Nicholas. 2005. *Childhood in Medieval England, c500-1500*. Retrieved on April 20, 2014 from: http://www.representingchildhood.pitt.edu/medieval_child.htm
- Orwell, George. 1945. *The Sporting Spirit*. In: Essays. 2002. Everyman's Library.
- Orwell, George. 1946. *The Moon Under Water*. Retrieved on March 2, 2014 from:
<http://www.netcharles.com/orwell/essays/moon-under-water.htm>
- Orwell, George. 1949. *1984*. Retrieved on February 26, 2014 from:
<http://www.planetebook.com/ebooks/1984.pdf>
- Patrick, CH. 1970. *Alcohol, culture, and society*. AMS Press.
- Petty, William. 1662. *A Treatise of Taxes & Contributions*. Retrieved on January 23, 2014 from: <http://socserv2.socsci.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3ll3/petty/taxes.txt>

Quinnon, Michael. 2005. *Port out, Starboard Home: The Fascinating Stories We Tell About the words We Use*. Penguin UK. Retrieved on January 21, 2014 from:
http://books.google.ca/books?id=Js-PbsEjKSQC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Rackham, H. 1944. *Aristotle, Politics, Book 1*. Retrieved on January 21, 2014 from:
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:abo:tlg0086,035:1:1253a>

Reports from select committees. 1879. House of Lords and evidence. Retrieved on February 10, 2014 from:
http://books.google.ca/books?id=LhtcAAAAQAAJ&dq=The+majority+of+the+withesses+hold+the+opinion+that+the+number+of+licensed+houses+has+a+direct+effect+on+the+amount+of+intemperance&source=gbs_navlinks_s

Rigakos et al. 2009. *A General Police System*. Red Quill Books.

Rothwell, Malcolm. 2011. *Sense and Nonsense*. AuthorHouse. Retrieved on December 21, 2013 from:
http://books.google.ca/books?id=q3h3asFOgXgC&dq=rothwell+Man+is+by+nature+a+social+animal%3B+an+individual+who+is+unsocial+naturally+and+not+accidentally+is+either+beneath+our+notice+or+more+than+human&source=gbs_navlinks_s

Rustin, Susanna. 2012. *Walking tour of London's literary pubs*. The Guardian. Retrieved on April 12, 2014 from: <http://www.theguardian.com/travel/2012/aug/07/literary-tour-central-london-pubs>

Several Orders Made and agreed upon By the Justices of the Peace for the City and Liberty of West Minster. 1655. W.G.

Sharp, David. 2006. *Division of Labour*. Economic Simplicities. Retrieved on November 24, 2013 from: <http://www.economicsimplicities.com/ec0607.htm>

Sharp v Wakefield. 1891. *Court of Appeal*. Retrieved on March 2, 2014 from:
http://takecourage.info/files/22_QBD_239.htm

Shaw, Henry. 1861. *Justice of the Peace, Volume 25*. Retrieved on December 2, 2013 from:
http://books.google.ca/books?id=hZA5AQAAIAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gb_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Simkin, John. 2014. *Slavery in the Roman Empire*. Spartacus. Retrieved on January 23, 2014 from: <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/ROMslaves.htm>

Spiller, Brian. 1972. *Victorian Public Houses*. David & Charles.

Stuckey, Johanna. 2006. *Nin-kasi: Mesopotamian Goddess of Beer*. MatriFocus. Retrieved on March 28, 2014 from: <http://www.matrifocus.com/SAM06/spotlight.htm>

Sun Tzu. 2002. 1971. *The Art of War*. Oxford University Press.

Thadeusz, Frank. 2009. *Alcohol's Neolithic Origins: Brewing up a Civilization*. Spiegel Online International. Retrieved on April 2, 2014 from:
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/alcohol-s-neolithic-origins-brewing-up-a-civilization-a-668642.html>

The Abolition Project. 2009. *Why was Slavery final abolished in the British Empire?* Retrieved on January 24, 2014 from: http://abolition.e2bn.org/slavery_111.html

The Great British Pub. Johnson, Ben. Historic UK. Retrieved on January 21, 2014 from:
<http://www.historic-uk.com/CultureUK/The-Great-British-Pub/>

The Holy Bible, 1999. King James Version. American Bible Society.

The Oxford Companion to Beer. 2011. Oxford University Press. Retrieved on February 22, 2014 from:
http://books.google.ca/books?id=oWQdjnVo2B0C&printsec=frontcover&source=gb_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Vasey, Daniel E. 1990. *The Pub and English Social Change*. AMS Press.

Venning, Annabel. 2010. *Britain's child slaves: They started at 4am, lived off acorns and had nails put through their ears for shoddy work. Yet, says a new book, their misery helped forge Britain*. Daily Mail. Retrieved on April 2, 2014 from:
<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1312764/Britains-child-slaves-New-book-says-misery-helped-forge-Britain.html>

Verweij, Joep et al. 2012. 9 *Impact from international trends in shipbuilding*. JALC.

Retrieved on January 24, 2014 from: <http://www.jalc.nl/cgi/t/text/text-idx0754.html?c=jalc;sid=095741f1231d8f86c4f63866855fb08;idno=m0401a03;view=text;rgn=div1;cc=jalc;node=m0401a03%3A10>

Waltke, B. 2005. *Commentary on 20:1: The book of Proverbs: Chapters 15-31*. Wsm. B. Eerdmans.

What is the Difference Between Beer and Ale? wiseGEEK. Retrieved on March 3, 2014 from: <http://www.wisegeek.org/what-is-the-difference-between-beer-and-ale.htm>

Wilson, Robert Charles. 2009. *Julian Comstock: A Story of 22nd-Century America*.

Macmillian. Retrieved on April 20, 2014 from:

http://books.google.ca/books?id=4Sp_8rysrTEC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Zola, Emile. 1885. *Germinal*. Retrieved on January 21, 2014 from:

<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/5711/pg5711.html>

Appendix

Brief Histories of Drink

Alcohol is the anesthesia by which we endure the operation of life.

(George Bernard Shaw, as cited in Libatique 2011: 143)

Who were our first drinkers? We owe modern civilization to beer and bread, though nearly everyone is divided on which came first. Alcohol has been with humanity for a very long time. We often get stuck in the present, feeling as though our liquor laws, brewing technologies, or bouts of drunkenness are somehow relegated to the here and now. But those liquor laws, in one form or another, have been around for hundreds of years; and humans have been *brewing* Drink and *getting drunk* for at least ten thousand years. Consumed by more people around the world than any other drug, except maybe caffeine, alcohol carries the unique ability to stimulate and destroy.

Drink really is a difficult balance. *Just the right amount of alcohol* can reduce blood pressure, clear fat from the arteries, and reduce the blood's tendency to clot: limiting the chances of heart disease and heart attack. It can also lower the risk of ischemic stroke (the most common) and hemorrhagic stroke; while a glass of red wine daily is lauded for reducing cholesterol levels- a benefit specific to red wine only (Matthews 2012). But *too much alcohol* has been linked to over sixty diseases, disorders, and conditions including: high blood pressure, heart disease, strokes and blood clots; cirrhosis of the liver (women are especially vulnerable); cancer of the throat, larynx, mouth, breast, esophagus, and

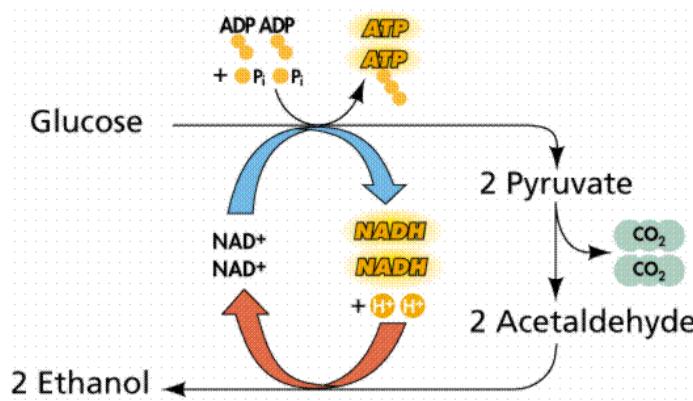
colorectal region; dementia, anemia, epilepsy and seizures, gout, infectious disease, diabetes, pancreatic cancer and nerve damage; amongst many others (Freeman 2014).

It carries the same effect on human behaviour as it does the body. Drink can *enable* the courage needed to court strangers for intimacy and relationship, while also regularly acting as *the excuse* for lifetimes of vicious domestic abuse and homicide of the spouse. In drinking places, alcohol is credited both as the push needed to dance and sing, or as the spark to yell and fight. And sometimes it *makes* a person dance and sing one night, and yell and fight the next. Drugs are personalized to each individual and to each moment. Some drinkers never leave their healthy minds, healthy settings, and productive amounts of alcohol intake; while other drinkers never leave their troubled minds, troubled settings, and destructive intake. And some drinkers live in both worlds, simultaneously. We can never apply universals to Drink; this is perhaps why it excites, intrigues, motivates, enables, terrifies, dissuades, sickens, saddens, harms, and kills.

And it carries a most interesting history. Alcohol has been produced and consumed nearly everywhere around the world under different circumstances by different peoples with different results. Its history also, consistently, repeats itself. I wanted to tell a story that ends with the nineteenth century English pub, but to do so we must start in 10,000 BC China with pottery and beer jugs. The history of Drink in England is not isolated from the rest.

Neolithic Beer Jugs: The Beginnings of Brewing

Ethanol fermentation is the walkway to alcohol. It is the biological process that occurs when sugars (glucose, fructose, sucrose) are converted into cellular energy-thereby producing ethanol (alcohol) and carbon dioxide. It is an “enzyme in yeast, a living organism”, that acts as the “catalyst for the fermentation of glucose” (*Fermentation* 2014).



Any fruits or edible plants (vegetables) that are sources of starch or sugars can be used to produce alcohol. Beer is made from grain mash (barley or other grains), wine is made from grapes (though

fruit wines use plums, apples, and cherries) and cider is made from fruit juice (peaches, pears, but usually apples). Responsible for the vast majority of Drink's history, this is the ‘natural process of alcoholic fermentation’ in which the maximum allowable alcohol content generally hovered around 12%. This is because alcohol is toxic, and “it kills the living organism, yeast, before too long” (*Ibid*). Distillation: the process of producing chemically pure substances- would come much later. Although traced to the Greeks in the first century, and most likely the Chinese even earlier, the modern distillation of drinkable alcohol (removing diluting components like water to increase alcohol content) stems from the *School of Salerno* in southern Italy during the twelfth century (Forbes 1970: 57).

Technologies would later be invented and refined in Italy, Germany, Ireland and Russia; and post fifteenth century Europe would soon be home to gin, vodka, whiskey, rum etc.: ‘spirits’ with alcohol contents of 20, 30, 40% or more.

But we start here with the earliest drinkers. And most Drink historians are eager to point out that alcohol, produced and consumed by humans, was almost certainly an accidental discovery. At some point, *someone* likely collected fruit and left it enclosed in a container (removing oxygen) thereby fermenting the sugars into alcoholic fruit mush. They probably tried it, enjoyed the new signals being sent to the brain, and repeated the process. This would be Drink's inception.

As certain types of sweet fruit, and also honey, will ferment on their own accord, it was inevitable that any attempts to collect such fermentable substances in containers would on more than one occasion encourage alcohol formation. (Brothwell & Brothwell 1998: 164-165).

We can never know when or with whom this happened first; history is rarely privileged with those first moments. But archaeological evidence has at least provided us with a frame. Recent discoveries of Stone Age beer jugs date some of the earliest intentional brewing (fermentation) around twelve thousand years ago (Patrick 1970: 12-13). The Neolithic Period (circa 10,000 BC) established farming and stable communities, and for many of those communities, it is now suggested that alcoholic drink may have even preceded bread as their dietary staple (Hanson 2013, Katz & Voigt 1987).

But pottery jars from the village of Jiahu, the Henan province in China represent our earliest physical evidence. Thirteen of sixteen Clay shards analyzed from excavations near China's Yellow River (right) site showed chemical traces that a mixed fermented beverage of rice, honey, grapes,



and hawthorne berries was being produced as early as 7000BC (McGovern et al. 2004, Thadeusz 2009).

Labeled ‘mead’, Archaeologist Patrick McGovern claims that Jiahu inhabitants brewed a wine-like substance with an alcohol content that hovered somewhere around ten percent. It was likely a survival strategy, at least initially. Resources were few, the climate and terrain were difficult, and mead offered both high-energy sugars and the pleasantries of intoxication.



(Yellow River site)

Their brewing strategy was brilliant, really. McGovern claims that [they] mixed clumps of rice with saliva in their mouths to break down the starches in the grain and convert them into malt sugar. These pioneering brewers would then spit the chewed up rice into their brew. Husks and yeasty foam floated on top of the liquid, so they used long straws to drink from narrow necked jugs. (Ibid).

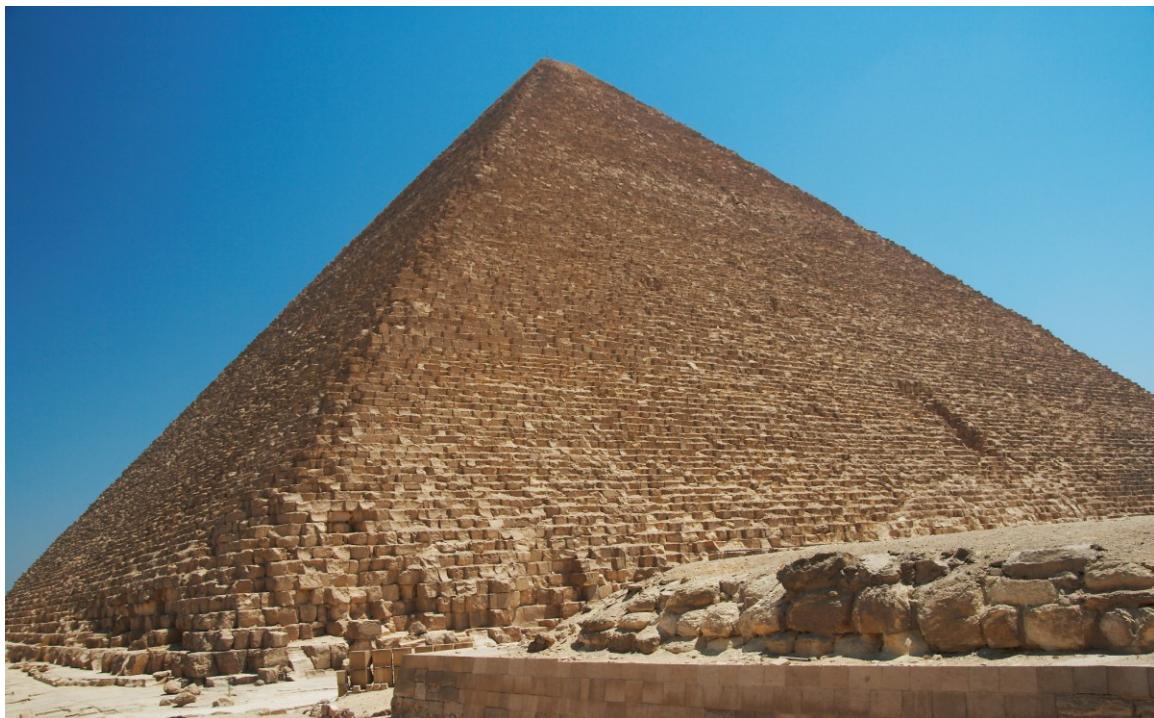
This natural process of brewing alcohol rapidly spread throughout the world during the Neolithic period, leaving McGovern to suggest that Agriculture, and indeed the entire Neolithic Revolution, are owed to intoxication and these early brewers (Ibid).

As a side note, China’s Yellow River archaeological site also yielded “the earliest playable musical instruments, the earliest domesticated rice in northern China, and possibly the earliest Chinese pictographic writing” (McGovern et al. 2004). But it was

Drink that ensured their survival, and the civilizations to follow would share the same dependence.

Beer and Bread: Civilization and the Pyramids

If our modern civilization is owed to beer and bread, historians still cannot be sure which came first. The ancient region of Sumer (now located in present day Iraq) built advanced city-states on the backs of a massive labour reserve. And as early as 4500 BC, the Summarians used this divided labour force to implement an impressive living system based on: irrigated farming and annual soil replenishment, storable food and temple granaries, and the creation of beer from the fermentation of barley (Handwerk 2005). In Egypt and Mesopotamia, labourers who built the pyramids, both slaves and skilled workers, were quite literally fueled by this powerful combination of beer and bread. Owed to nourishment, and other *motivating* factors no doubt, their results were incredible. The Great Pyramid of Giza (below), constructed sometime around 2500 CE, holds a mass volume of nearly 6 million tons. Even so, the accuracy of the workers was so precise that the four sides of the base have an average error of only 58 millimetres in length (Cole 1925).

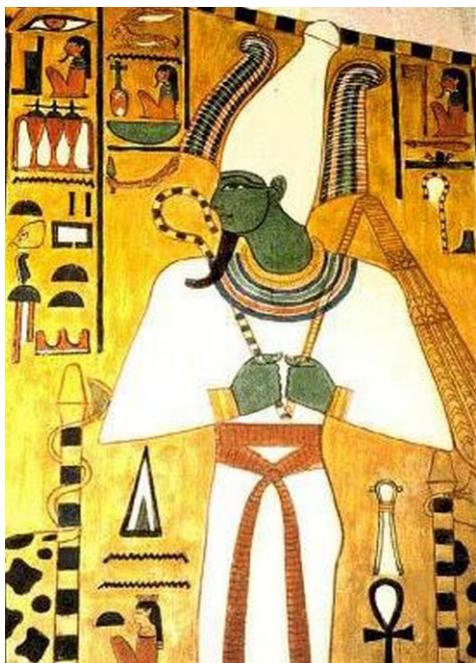


Numbering tens or hundreds of thousands, their nutritional intake (and payment) was bread when available, but beer with consistency. They would be given a chip that disclosed the amount of beer owed to them, which could be cashed in at any time. But generally, a daily ration of “one and one-thirds gallons” was the standard payment for workers (Hanson 2013: 1). This provided essential nourishment, while the 3-5% alcohol content also “provided much needed calories” (*Ibid*). An incredible amount of beer is credited with fueling the labour that built the Giza pyramid; National Geographic estimates it somewhere around 231,414,717 gallons (*How Beer Saved the World* 2012).

But the Egyptian devotion to alcohol ran far deeper; through religion and through culture. The ancient Egyptians (circa 3000 BC), who brewed at least seventeen types of beer and at least twenty-four varieties of wine, used alcohol: for hospitality and pleasure, food and nutrition (vitamins, minerals, antibiotics), as medicine (gum and bowel diseases), and regularly as currency. They even stored alcohol and pottery jars in coffins and tombs to ensure the privileged dead were accompanied by Drink in the after life (some possessed the symbols of over a thousand jugs of beer). Importantly, offerings of alcohol were consistently presented to the gods in ritual. However, it was the worship of a few *specific* gods that perhaps best proclaims their devotion to alcohol.

The Gods of Drink

(Osiris)



Osiris, son of Ra/husband of Isis/father of Horus, is the god of the underworld- where he judges from his throne those who are worthy of passage. Osiris was one of the few gods worshipped across the country at a time when most gods found devotion only locally. He is said to have created beer as an offering to the Egyptians: the gift of nourishment, survival, and pleasantries.

The goddess *Siris* is sometimes used interchangeably with the *idea* of beer, or as reference to it (Asylum 2011), and *Siduri* is said to inspire her worshippers to enjoy the simple pleasures of life (dance, music, family, sex, food, and alcohol).

Ninkasi

But it is Ninkasi ('lady who fills the mouth'), *the goddess of beer*, who calls loudest for Drink! With great responsibility Ninkasi (right) presided over the manufacture of beer, ensured its protection, and was the chief brewer for the gods. She



was also said to be the personification of beer itself: 'given birth by the flowing water...'

(Stuckey 2006). In Ancient Egypt, Woman was the brewing industry (for immediate home consumption), and Ninkasi was their purest representative. She was known to make the freshest beer from the cleanest ingredients every day. With her eager priestesses watching and absorbing, she would teach them the secrets to brewingmaking (Mark 2011). Legend tells us that these priestesses in turn created *The Hymn To Ninkasi*: a dedicated song of praise that also dictates her personal formula for brewing. "In an age where few people were literate, the Hymn to Ninkasi, with its steady cadence, provided an easy way to remember the recipe for brewing beer" (Ibid). Importantly, it may be the oldest surviving beer recipe transmitted by humans.

Hymn to Ninkasi

Borne of the flowing water,
Tenderly cared for by the Ninhursag,
Borne of the flowing water,
Tenderly cared for by the Ninhursag,

Having founded your town by the sacred lake,
She finished its great walls for you,
Ninkasi, having founded your town by the sacred lake,
She finished its walls for you,

Your father is Enki, Lord Nidimmud,
Your mother is Ninti, the queen of the sacred lake.
Ninkasi, your father is Enki, Lord Nidimmud,
Your mother is Ninti, the queen of the sacred lake.

You are the one who handles the dough [and] with a big shovel,
Mixing in a pit, the bappir with sweet aromatics,
Ninkasi, you are the one who handles the dough [and] with a big shovel,
Mixing in a pit, the bappir with [date] - honey,

You are the one who bakes the bappir in the big oven,
Puts in order the piles of hulled grains,
Ninkasi, you are the one who bakes the bappir in the big oven,
Puts in order the piles of hulled grains,

You are the one who waters the malt set on the ground,
The noble dogs keep away even the potentates,

Ninkasi, you are the one who waters the malt set on the ground,
The noble dogs keep away even the potentates,

You are the one who soaks the malt in a jar,
The waves rise, the waves fall.
Ninkasi, you are the one who soaks the malt in a jar,
The waves rise, the waves fall.

You are the one who spreads the cooked mash on large reed mats,
Coolness overcomes,
Ninkasi, you are the one who spreads the cooked mash on large reed mats,
Coolness overcomes,

You are the one who holds with both hands the great sweet wort,
Brewing [it] with honey [and] wine
(You the sweet wort to the vessel)
Ninkasi, (...)(You the sweet wort to the vessel)

The filtering vat, which makes a pleasant sound,
You place appropriately on a large collector vat.
Ninkasi, the filtering vat, which makes a pleasant sound,
You place appropriately on a large collector vat.

When you pour out the filtered beer of the collector vat,
It is [like] the onrush of Tigris and Euphrates.
Ninkasi, you are the one who pours out the filtered beer of the collector vat,
It is [like] the onrush of Tigris and Euphrates.

(Ibid; translation by Miguel Civil)

By 3100 BC, “beer”, known to the Egyptians as *hqt*, was the drink of the masses, while wine (*irp*) was reserved for elites and nobles (Hanson 1995). Egypt was at the height of its *political* power, and Drink was widely consumed.



(The Ancient World used long straws to drink beer, because then, it was brewed as a thick sludge. This helped filter out pieces of bread or herbs, and some even claim that straws may have been invented by the Sumerians or Babylonians specifically for the purpose of drinking beer.)

But importantly, and perhaps surprising to many today, intoxication was generally quite restrained. Although certain to be filled with colorful exceptions, humanity’s earliest drinkers generally seemed less intent on binging than most of the generations that would follow them. ‘Moderation’ is the word that continues to surface in description of their drinking patterns. There was purpose to alcohol for them, it was *productive*, regularly worshipped in religion, and they paid it great respect. So too did most cultures around this who brewed Drink. For the Ancient: Egyptians and Mesopotamians, for the Chinese, even

for the Mayans in Mexico across the world- Drink became *the* staple of: nourishment and sustenance, pleasant and light intoxication, hospitality, and religious expression. And, by the first millennium:

Alcohol was being consumed around the world wherever people had settled in permanent communities. (Hanson 2013: 3).

Greece and Rome

The Greeks and Romans followed suit. One can never be sure whether humans *invented* beer or wine (mead) first, but Greece and Rome held a clear favourite. Around 2000 BC, *mead* (from honey and water) was the first alcoholic drink to gain widespread popularity in Greece (before the art of winemaking was realized and refined). However by 700 BC, wine as we know it was central to Greek culture and identity, becoming the common drink for the common people (Hanson 2013: 3). Ritual, poetry and celebration were regularly dedicated to the magic grapes now revered, and some writers today even propose that *demokratia* (the philosophy that evolved into ‘democracy’) was inspired by the equal rationing and distribution of wine at festivals (Gately 2008). And, echoing the Ancient Egyptians, although with exceptions always (the cult of Dionysus, *Symposium*), the Greeks preached and practiced a *moderation* of intoxication. The cultural glorification of personal control, norms and rules forbidding habitual drunkenness, and the routine dilution of their wine with water- enabled a culture that encouraged humble intoxication. So did the thoughts and writings of their philosophers. Xenophon (431-351 BC) and Plato both endorsed drink (for hospitality, medicinal use, Trade, and *reserved* pleasantries), but held only contempt for drunkenness and excess (Hanson 1995: 1). Outlined in *Republic*, Plato proposed that Greek legislation: prohibit alcohol to those under eighteen years of age, encourage moderation for those under forty, and place no restrictions on those above; but all should be educated to the benefits and harms of Drink (Myers & Isralowitz 2011: 203).

The Romans began with similar intentions. A regular yet reasonable intake of wine was both encouraged and practiced. Drink was normalized with cooking, it was

increasingly used as a sedative for ‘anxiety’ or stress, and it soon became fundamental to religious ceremonies. Wine was watered down (one to four parts water typically, allowing for hydration and refreshment), they encouraged consumption on a full stomach only, and there was even legislation prohibiting pregnant women from drinking for fear of damage to the fetus (Cottino 1005: 156-157). Rome seemed to be mirroring Greece in what they drank, and *how they drank*. However, even when accounting for the dramatic depictions of drunken-warring Romans, Rome’s grander drinking culture does seem to have shifted away from moderation at some point.

After the Roman conquest of the Italian peninsula and the rest of the Mediterranean basin (509 to 133 B.C.), the traditional Roman values of temperance, frugality and simplicity were gradually replaced by heavy drinking, ambition, degeneracy and corruption. (Hanson 1995: 1).

Practices that encouraged excessive drinking included drinking before meals on an empty stomach, inducing vomiting to permit the consumption of more food and wine, and drinking games. The latter included, for example, rapidly consuming as many cups as indicated by a throw of the dice. (*Ibid*, citing Babor 1986: 10).

By the mid first century AD, Rome’s *abuse* of alcohol is said to have peaked (Jellinek 1976), and the four emperors who ruled from 37 to 69 AD were notorious for their gluttonous consumption of wine and bouts of drunkenness (Hanson 2013: 5). But it is important not to overfeed this legend of the drunken Roman; ‘rates of alcohol consumption’ are inherently imperfect, and the writers and readers of history are surely drawn more to romantic tales of drinking games and drunken emperors than to the banality of restraint. Still, Rome clearly rode different waves of intoxication with age, and if there was a boiling point, it was indeed the first century. Before its fall, or perhaps as it was falling, the Roman Empire adopted Christianity. And gave it wine.

Christianity and *Vino Tinto*: Gifts From God

Wine, and especially red wine, is forever linked with the Church. However, surprisingly, some Christians (and writers) today argue that the ‘wine’ referenced in the Bible- was actually juice: unfermented, unintoxicating, grape juice. Arguing the misinterpretation of Greek and Hebrew scripture, these evangelical prohibitionists claim that neither God nor Jesus encouraged or approved the use of *Drink*, and that intoxication is a sin: the sin of impairment.

But for most historians, this diluted reading of the Bible leans on ignorance to avoid thinking through questions of pleasure, vice, and temptation (Waltke 2005, Kaiser & Garrett 2006). Was *earning* one’s soul not a virtue of Christ? The more thorough readings of Christianity and Drink logically offer a more balanced appraisal: wine was a gift from God that *can* be used in moderation for: refreshment and nutrition, medicinal purposes (oral painkillers, digestive relief, lowered cholesterol), gentle intoxication, and of course, for religious formalities (Eucharist). Other scripture even hints at booze for binging, or to *treat* sadness and hardship.

(From the King James Bible)

Proverbs 31:7 - Let him drink, and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more.

Deuteronomy 14:26 - And thou shalt bestow that money for whatsoever thy soul lusteth after, for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink, or for whatsoever thy soul desireth: and thou shalt eat there before the LORD thy God, and thou shalt rejoice, thou, and thine household,

1 Timothy 5:23 - Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities.

Ecclesiastes 9:7 - Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart; for God now accepteth thy works.

Isaiah 56:12 - Come ye, [say they], I will fetch wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink; and to morrow shall be as this day, [and] much more abundant.

Christianity no more prohibited fermented wine than they did candles.

The doctrines and beliefs of Christianity were favourable to the production and consumption of alcohol, especially wine. The Church taught that wine was an inherently good gift of God to be used and enjoyed. Individuals could choose not to drink, but to despise it was prohibited as heresy. The Church favoured drinking in moderation but rejected its abuse as a sin. Those who could not drink in moderation were urged to abstain in order to avoid sinning. (Hanson 2013: 5).

This remained consistent with the many teachings on Drink so far: drink, but drink in moderation, and respect that drink. The Christian fear was for drunkenness, habitual drinkers, and bouts of binge drinking: excess in all its glory. God gave his people the gift of wine, but to abuse it was a sin. Fill your body not with Drink but the Spirit of the Lord.

Romans 13:13 - Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying.

Habakkuk 2:15 - Woe unto him that giveth his neighbour drink, that putteth thy bottle to [him], and makest [him] drunken also, that thou mayest look on their nakedness!

1 Corinthians 6:10 - Nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God.

Ephesians 5:18 - And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Spirit.

Looking Forward: Alcohol in England's Middle Ages

The Christian Truth of past is the Christian Truth of present: Drink in moderation is acceptable, but drunkenness is a sin begging for correction. With the advent of Roman Christianity came wine, the Vine Temptress that brought health in moderation and sickness in excess: the truest test of one's will and purity. But the future of Drink, its temptation and its riddle, would absorb more than just Christians. The technologies of brewing and the secrets of recipes would soon spread everywhere across the world. For Britain the Middle Ages would see: monks becoming brewers and monasteries becoming

vineyards, the important discoveries of early distillation and hops as revolutionary brewing technologies, and the rise of an English country and culture which would forever (fairly or unfairly) be associated with Drink and drunkenness.

Around the eighth and ninth centuries: beer, ale, mead, and wild fruit wines developed into the drinks of choice, and alcohol consumption throughout Britain soon became, by modern standards, very high (Hanson 1995: 3). Around this time, we begin to see the early development of English drinking spaces, which became 'alehouses'. These alehouses were soon to be deemed dangerously complex (often by those who didn't understand them), and concerns over regulation and policing would surface immediately amongst England's movers and shakers.

(Traverse to page 16: *Britain and Drink*).