

WORRYING ABOUT DRINK

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I

Teetotalers and prohibitionists had no monopoly as advocates of drink reform.¹ In the half-century from Bruce's licensing bill of 1871 to the Licensing Act of 1921, England's moderate drinkers also worried about drink. Concern about drink, like drink itself, pervaded English society.² The Tory historian J.A. Froude expressed a common concern in the 1870s: 'drunkenness is the especial curse of modern society'.³ In 1892 Sydney Buxton's *Handbook to the Political Questions of the Day* devoted 32 pages to drink.⁴ Drink was a problem for society and not only for the drinker and his family. The concern, even obsession, over the drink question, provoked a prohibitionist's half-ironic quip: 'we are all temperance reformers now'.⁵ It was true in an important sense. It allowed restrictions on the sale of drink in a country where most adults drank.

Religion, class, and gender became entangled with perceptions of alcohol and solutions for reform, enormously complicating legislative proposals. For many people drink reform required broad social reform. This was the argument, for instance, of Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell in *The Temperance Question and Social Reform* (1899). The controversy over drink peaked at the turn of the century and revived briefly during the First World War.

The upper and middle classes regarded their mealtime wine drinking as respectable. Even the lower middle class could afford cheap wines. In *The Diary of a*

Nobody (1892) by the Grossmith brothers, the clerk Charles Pooter entertains with champagne.

The upper and middle classes construed the drink problem in class and gendered terms. What alarmed them was in fact not new, that some workingmen drank a great deal of beer and got drunk. They also worried about heavy drinking short of intoxication. They took for granted that the urban workingman constituted the problem, together with the public houses and beer-houses where he drank his beer. Most teetotalers were working class or lower middle class, for example, Good Templars and Rechabites, members of large fraternal temperance societies. They agreed with the elite analysis that situated the problem in the pub.⁶

The propertied classes regarded drinking beer at public houses as vulgar, lacking in respectability and manly discipline. Since the 1850s the upper and middle classes had drunk in privacy at homes or in semi-privacy at clubs and restaurants. Rarely did they drink beer. In a House of Lords debate over Sunday closing legislation, on 8 May 1880 Lord Salisbury defended the rights of beer-drinkers but acknowledged: 'I do not drink beer myself'.⁷

Reformers focused their attacks on the pub and only indirectly on its beer and the drinker.⁸ Temperance people and their Liberal allies directed their fire not at the publicans but at the wealthy brewers who in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries owned or controlled almost all the pubs.⁹ Reformers did not emphasize licenses for off-premises consumption other than those of grocers who allegedly tempted middle-class women who could hide drink purchases amid ordinary groceries.

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Worrying about drink meant worrying about an urban society undergoing complex socio-economic, cultural, and political change. It meant worrying about the future. Despite broad support for some kind of reform, legislation about drink was almost always bitterly divisive. Drink reform became a partisan issue. Although most reformers and brewers were willing to compromise, they disagreed on what for them would be an acceptable compromise.

II

Paradoxically, worry about drink grew in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, despite a decline in per capita drinking. During the years 1875-79 England and Wales averaged 40.5 gallons of beer per capita. Per capita consumption then declined unevenly with downward zigs and upward zags. For instance, after falling earlier, it rose for several years late in the century. Average consumption in 1895-99 reached 34.5 gallons. After this period of greater consumption, 'consumption of beer fell in every year from 1899 to 1909: in England, by some [cumulative] 14 per cent'. During the years 1910-13 England and Wales averaged 29.4 gallons of beer per capita. Wartime saw a sharp decline in the alcoholic strength of beer. Per capita United Kingdom consumption of beer fell in 1918 to 10 gallons.¹⁰

By 1901 the number of pubs declined by almost 16,000 from an 1869 high of 118,499.¹¹ Many of those that lost their licenses were seedy beerhouses.

In the United Kingdom the percentage of working-class income spent on alcohol declined from over 15% in 1876 to under 9% in 1910. Food, clothing, shoes, furniture and other consumer goods became cheaper, so real wages grew sharply from the mid-1870s until the mid-1890s. Beer prices remained steady, making beer relatively expensive.¹²

Three kinds of official statistics shed light on Victorian and Edwardian drinking. First of all, tax records show how much was produced or imported and presumably consumed. These statistics are organized into broad categories of alcoholic beverages: beer, spirits (whiskies, gin, rum), and wine. These statistics do not tell who did the drinking or under what circumstances. Second, license records show how many public houses,

beerhouses, and other retailers had the right to sell alcohol for on-premises or off-premises consumption. They show the high density of drink shops in poor urban districts. In 1904 the 7,000 residents of Birmingham's Floodgate Street district could drink at 43 public houses 'or about one to every 88 adults'.¹³ Third, police records for public intoxication reveal broad trends. These figures are less reliable than the other statistics as they stumble over inconsistent police standards for determining public drunkenness. Arrests for public intoxication were almost always arrests of workingmen. These statistics ignore middle and upper class drunkenness that rarely happened in a public place.

Liverpool, a port city with a large Irish population, often was stigmatized as the most drunken city in England.¹⁴ Prosecutions for public drunkenness exceeded 21,000 in both 1870 and 1875 but fell to less than 10,000 in the 1890s.¹⁵ Nationally arrests for public intoxication fell drastically after 1901.

Despite the problems with police arrests as evidence of drinking, these statistics bring into doubt the existence of a new national drinking problem. As Paul Jennings has argued, there was 'a real decline in the incidence of drunkenness'.¹⁶

Generalizations about drink consumption are guesses. Rowntree and Sherwell estimated that that each year men averaged 73 gallons of beer, 2.4 gallons of spirits, and slightly less than a gallon of wine. Supposedly, women drank only half as much as men, while children under the age of 15 did not drink. Rowntree and Sherwell may have underestimated consumption by regular drinkers. Receipts for a York workingmen's club report 'the typical member consumed nearly two pints daily'.¹⁷

III

By the turn of the century the pub had become less central to working-class leisure. New technology for bottling beer meant that working-class drinking often took place at home. As early as the 1840s, off-sales accounted on average for a third of the takings of some houses also licensed for on-sales.¹⁸ By the 1890s sealed bottles superseded the old jug trade. In 1872 an Englishman invented the internal screw stopper, while 20 years later an American invented the cork crown cap. Four-quart

crates became popular. Although the pub remained the preferred drinking place for most workingmen, some of them instead did their drinking at home. Clubs also became a popular drinking place. Clubs that served drink numbered 1,982 in 1887, 3,655 in 1896, and about 8,700 in 1914.¹⁹ Most workingmen's clubs were orderly and respectable. Unlike public houses, clubs did not admit strangers who were more likely to cause trouble than regulars.²⁰

'It was ironic that just as the brewers had virtually completed their ownership of tied houses, the popularity of the public house, that old citadel of working-class leisure, declined'.²¹ Tied houses were public houses controlled by brewers to secure an outlet for their beer, sometimes by owning freeholds or leaseholds and sometimes through mortgages.

Elites were conflicted over stigmatizing the public house. Although they agreed that there was a drink problem, they were divided about their support for specific reforms in part because they themselves intended to keep on drinking, in part because they were concerned about the property rights of the drink trade and the personal rights of drinkers, and in part because they disagreed about the role of law in changing behaviour. Life without the pub and the beer drunk there was unthinkable. The public house and its beer were part of the kingdom's historic identity, older than afternoon tea.²²

In Victorian and Edwardian England drink was both a deeply rooted popular culture and a powerful economic interest.²³ Public houses and beerhouses outnumbered places of worship. Property rights and the Englishman's traditional liberties made attacks on problematic drinking difficult.²⁴ 75% of the population was working class, so workingmen did most of the country's drinking.

The British government would have struggled without money from drink. In 1879-80 liquor taxes provided the Exchequer with 43.4% of the national revenue, a proportion that fell to 38.4% by 1899-1900 as a result of the growth of other taxes.²⁵ This reliance on drink taxes prompted a facetious reformer to describe the habitual drunkard as 'the sheet anchor of the British Constitution'.²⁶

Brewers sometimes were very wealthy. For instance, in 1893 the largest estate upon which probate was paid

was that belonging to a Liverpool brewer, Sir Andrew Barclay Walker, Bt., whose personal property was valued at £2,874,000 and who additionally left considerable freehold property.²⁷ In 1905 the brewery firm of Watney, Combe, and Reid reported the second highest valuation of any industrial company, nearly £15 million. 17 of the 47 largest industrial companies in the United Kingdom were breweries, and another was a distillery.²⁸ Many brewers served in the House of Commons, while enough of them were elevated to the House of Lords to inspire jokes about a 'beverage'.²⁹

The governing elite did not want to provoke pub drinkers, as the Salvation Army had done with violent consequences in the 1880s. When aroused and threatened, the 'masculine republic' of public house drinkers could respond vigorously.³⁰ Workingmen increasingly outnumbered property holders in the electorate. In the United Kingdom the parliamentary electorate grew after the Second Reform Act from 1.3 million in 1866 to 2.4 million in 1869. It then climbed to 3.1 million in 1883 and, after the Third Reform Act, to 5.7 million by 1885. By 1912, it was 7.7 million.³¹

Workingmen who drank at pubs resented patronizing interference. More than a place to drink, the public house was a home away from home, a cheerful place for chat and relaxation after a day of hard work, socializing with neighbors and workmates. Workingmen drank as part of a community with implicit rules and not as solitary boozers. Male bonding initiated newcomers into the rituals of pub drinking. Men should be able to drink copiously without intoxication. Workingmen who drank at a public house could be respectable. In the mid-1870s a temperance reformer who expected to find only 'rough' drinkers at a Bradford public house instead found respectable customers who included Sunday-school teachers.³²

A few abstainers recognized that the pub was more than a drinking place. A Congregational minister pointed out to another teetotal divine:

very much of our temperance effort is not only handicapped, but to a large extent ineffective and abortive, because all the time the publican is catering for and exploiting what is a true and most vital human need—the need of sound fellowship and pleasant recreation, after the weariness and monotony of the daily work.³³

IV

Perhaps unfairly, heavy drinking was seen as the vice of the lowest class of workingmen, or at least they were the most likely to be arrested. 'Of those charged with drunkenness in Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds in 1872, for instance, ninety-five per cent or more were semi- or fully illiterate'.³⁴ In fact, it was not just the very poor who drank too much. Highly paid workers who had not developed expectations about better housing, food, and clothing might spend their extra wages at the pub. As late as the 1870s, skilled artisans dominated the ranks of heavy drinkers.³⁵ Later in the century they drank less. In 1889-1890 a study of the budgets of over a thousand English working-class families found that about half the workers drank not at all, while the others spent considerably less than 5% of their incomes on alcohol.³⁶ Hard drinkers remained. Robert Roberts, in a memoir of Edwardian Salford, wrote about his father, a journeyman engineer. He 'seldom drank less than four quarts a day'.³⁷

The ideal of the moderate pub drinker was not a reality everywhere. In Edwardian times, a publican at a 'rough' public house described his customers as '60 per cent. sober; 30 per cent. occasionally drunk; 7½ per cent. continual drunkards; 2½ per cent. habitual drunkards'.³⁸ Probably the distinction was that, in contrast with a continual drunkard, a habitual drunkard could not control his drinking. Legislation in 1879 and 1898 provided for institutionalizing habitual drunkards in a retreat for inebriates.

Although typically women drank much less than men, there were females who abused alcohol. Only among the very poor did women drink at pubs unaccompanied by their husbands, but drinking at home could intoxicate.³⁹ On 21 September 1891 a Baptist missionary in Bristol described such a woman: 'Mrs Deveral, so addicted to drink that she sold the pail, teapot, lamp and her husband's trousers to satisfy her craving'.⁴⁰ In 1895 Ellen Sweeney of Swansea was convicted of public drunkenness for the 279th time.⁴¹

V

Total abstainers were not content to refrain from drink themselves. They sought to convert others, and by the

late nineteenth century, almost all of them sought legislation to help create a society free of drink. There were a few exceptions who rejected making people sober by acts of Parliament. Throughout his long life the founder of teetotalism in England, Joseph Livesey, remained committed to moral suasion exclusively. He argued that focus on the traffic in drink was a mistake.⁴² Without rejecting moral suasion, most teetotalers thought it was not enough.

Total abstainers were a minority in England who needed allies. The two most prominent anti-drink organizations, the United Kingdom Alliance and the Church of England Temperance Society, did not require total abstinence as a condition for membership.

Drink trade general election posters caricatured total abstainers as narrow-minded faddists, killjoy enemies of working class conviviality. In contrast, English temperance reformers saw themselves as part of an international reform movement, embracing progressive values that others would belatedly follow. A generous estimate of the number of teetotalers, made in 1898 by the general secretary of a prohibition organization, claimed that there were eight million total abstainers in the United Kingdom, a figure padded with children of abstainers and members of the huge Bands of Hope juvenile temperance society.⁴³ The social reformers Rowntree and Sherwell more modestly estimated three million teetotalers. Reducing the number of teetotal parliamentary voters, most total abstainers were women, and probably most of them were working class. There even was a United Working Women's Teetotal League whose stronghold seems to have been London's laundry trade.⁴⁴ In the late nineteenth century the largest total abstinence society was the mostly middle class British Women's Temperance Society and its successor organizations.⁴⁵

Teetotalers were marginalized. Until the end of 1905 no total abstainer sat in the Cabinet.⁴⁶ Temperance strength in Britain was concentrated far from London, in the north of England, Cornwall, and Wales, as well as Scotland. By 1890 there were 45 teetotal mayors in England and Wales.⁴⁷

The importance of drink in social and political life was a problem for abstainers. Upper middle class and aristocratic teetotalers often served alcohol to their

non-abstaining guests. To the frustration of militant lower class abstainers, the 'long pledge' that promised not to serve others alcohol was often dismissed as impractical. Frederick Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, was a teetotaler. When a young clergyman pointed out that supplying wines at his table was inconsistent with his temperance teachings, 'in a letter of one sentence, he was told "to mind his own business"'.⁴⁸

In 1877, a temperance reformer lamented that Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the president of the prohibitionist United Kingdom Alliance, kept a fine wine cellar for his guests. Lawson answered that the decision to provide guests with drink was a private matter. He discontinued the practice in the 1880s.⁴⁹ Inviting Sir William Harcourt to visit on his way to Scotland, Lawson warned him: 'The establishment conducted *now* on strictly Temperance lines'.⁵⁰ After Gladstone attended a dry dinner hosted by Lawson, one of his sons asked what he had drunk. "'Water," he replied rather gruffly, "and precious little of it"'.⁵¹

VI

A prohibitionist leader referred to drinkers who worried about drink as 'the 'non-abstaining' section of the temperance army'.⁵² Despite this kindly characterization of moderate drinkers, other teetotalers sometimes grumbled that they were guilty of making drink respectable.

Who was a moderate drinker?⁵³ Was a moderate drinker simply an upper or middle class drinker who managed not to embarrass friends and family? Some people regarded as moderate drinkers drank a good deal. Most people saw a dichotomy, drunkards and respectable moderate drinkers (like themselves) rather than all drinkers situated on a blurry and shifting continuum. In the 1860s a British physician, Francis E. Anstie, developed what was called 'Anstie's Limit': one and a half ounces of pure alcohol daily would not affect a normal person's health adversely.⁵⁴ In 1883 Matthew Arnold provided an anecdotal description of a moderate drinker, himself. 'As a general rule, I drink water in the middle of the day; and a glass or two of sherry, and some light claret, mixed with water, at a late dinner; and this seems to suit me very well'.⁵⁵ No doubt W.E. Gladstone also regarded himself as a moderate drinker: 'a glass or two

of claret at luncheon, the same at dinner, with the addition of a glass of light wine'.⁵⁶

A few moderate drinkers stood at the fringe of the organized temperance movement. A semi-teetotal pledge society was organized in 1903 with a retired field marshal Lord Roberts as its figurehead. Members promised not to drink other than at the midday and evening meals (and, according to an American religious magazine, no more than an ounce and a half of alcohol in any day).⁵⁷ In 1904 it affiliated with the Church of England Temperance Society, a denominational organization that admitted into membership moderate drinkers as well as total abstainers.⁵⁸

VII

Did contemporaries exaggerate the extent that the drinking problem was a workingman's problem, a public house problem, a beer problem? Certainly most workingmen drank and some got tipsy or completely drunk, but expensive wine intoxicated too. Part of the reason why the philosopher T.H. Green became an ardent temperance reformer was that his older brother was a binge drinker who had been expelled from both Oxford and Cambridge colleges.⁵⁹ University students, born to privilege, often were hard drinkers, for instance, the members of the Bullingdon club at Oxford who included Lord Randolph Churchill and the future Lord Rosebery.⁶⁰ During parts of their lives politicians such as H.H. Asquith, a Liberal, and F.E. Smith, a Tory, were famously drinkers.⁶¹ So was Winston Churchill who loved Pol Roger champagne.⁶² Sir William Harcourt, the main exponent of prohibition in the Liberal leadership, was no teetotaler. His son's journal for 13 November 1885, reports that he and his father 'had drunk about [three and a half] bottles of claret during the evening' and added: 'that is what comes of talking local option and temperance'.⁶³ A.J. Balfour's brother Eustace died an alcoholic. Albert Victor, Prince of Wales, was another heavy drinker.

David Lloyd George rarely is seen as a tippler, but as a young temperance reformer he enjoyed a drink. His diary entry for Saturday 12 August 1882, reports that over the course of this single day he had drunk a glass of port, two glasses of beer, and a glass of porter, 'so that's keeping the Blue Ribbon Pledge grandly', he

joked.⁶⁴ Teetotalers showed their commitment to total abstinence by wearing a blue ribbon.

Respectable households sometimes contained what a recent historian has called a 'perfumed alcoholic'.⁶⁵ Bored women of the comfortable classes consumed alcohol covertly and excessively. Tonic wines were popular.

Was Gladstone alone in regarding drunkenness among the higher classes as 'outrageous', while over-indulgence among the poor was 'excusable [and] not unnatural'?⁶⁶ He spoke for an earlier age when heavy drinking was considered a nuisance instead of a threat to national survival. The revolution in attitudes can be seen in the contrast between two other prime ministers, William Pitt the Younger (died in office, 1806), who allegedly drank several bottles of port a day, and Andrew Bonar Law (resigned and died, 1923), who was a teetotaler.⁶⁷

Despite colorful exceptions, drinking moderated among the upper classes during Gladstone's lifetime. Reporting on a famous London club, one of its members reported that in 1838 Athenaeum members typically drank a pint of sherry at dinner and afterwards a pint of port, but by 1889, only a quarter pint of claret or other light wine. The club had to sell a quantity of port because of a lack of demand for it.⁶⁸ Algernon Bourke took over management of White's in 1888.⁶⁹ On 1 July 1896, he testified to the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws that alcohol consumption had fallen among the upper-class men who belonged to his and similar West End clubs. During the hot summer months many members of White's preferred non-alcoholic barley water to a whiskey and soda.

VIII

As early as the 1860s some evangelicals saw drunkenness 'as the unforgivable sin'.⁷⁰ Binding teetotalism with religion, gospel temperance migrated from the United States in the mid-1870s. Also known as the blue ribbon army, it became a force with the arrival of the American reformed drunkard Richard Booth in 1880.⁷¹

By the 1880s sin had been secularized into vice, with drink the worst vice.⁷² People paid attention to the cor-

ruption of society and not simply personal sin. Religious leaders who deplored heavy drinking often called for teetotalism. 'The replacement of the atonement by the incarnation at the heart of Christian belief encouraged more positive estimates of human nature and greater faith in social activism'.⁷³ This helped the comfortable classes to see that the environment contributed to the drink problem and that it was amenable to reform that might reduce temptation. Religion persuaded both teetotalers and many moderate drinkers that the drink question stood at the center of social and moral reform.

Lady Henry Somerset provides an example of how a religiously inspired concern for the poor could turn a moderate drinker against alcohol. From 1890 to 1903 she headed the major women's total abstinence organization in England. In 1897 a Royal Commission asked her why she became a teetotaler. Religion had made her a reformer. Working to improve the lives of the poor, she learned how drink aggravated their problems and realized that it was difficult to promote sobriety among them while she herself drank. 'Although I knew no temperance people and had never been to a temperance meeting', she became an abstainer to encourage the poor to stop their drinking. In response to another question, she said that she did not think that drinking was wrong.⁷⁴

Virtually all the churches initially had condemned teetotalism as a rival religion with the teetotal pledge its version of baptism and with self-reformation replacing reliance on grace, but by the last decades of the nineteenth century the churches to a large extent had been converted.

This conversion was gradual. In 1865, when Hugh Price Hughes entered his Wesleyan Methodist seminary, beer was served at supper. The Quaker reformer Joseph Rowntree purchased a dozen bottles of champagne in 1874.⁷⁵ The London Baptist Association served wine at its dinners until 1880.⁷⁶ The Baptist preacher C.H. Spurgeon became an abstainer in the early 1880s, although he never considered drinking a sin.

The late Victorian temperance movement is rightly identified with evangelicalism and Nonconformity.⁷⁷ In political campaigns Nonconformist abstainers provided much of the energy for the temperance cause. In

fact, temperance politics diverted them from religious activities. 'Prayer meetings were cancelled in favour of electioneering during the 1906 general election'.⁷⁸

Generalizations about Nonconformity, evangelicalism and temperance need caution. In late Victorian and Edwardian England prominent total abstainers included a Roman Catholic cardinal, Henry Manning. Not all ardent teetotalers were Christians. Reform could be a substitute for religion. Rosalind Howard, Countess of Carlisle, led the National British Women's Temperance Association from 1903 until her death in 1921. She was an agnostic or atheist. A bemused friend pointed out: 'She believes in no form of religion, but goes to church, I hardly know why, if it is not to distribute teetotal leaflets at the door'.⁷⁹ Her former secretary, Leif Jones, became president of the United Kingdom Alliance in 1906 and served until 1932. Although a minister's son, he too was an agnostic or atheist.

None of the most famous Nonconformists in late nineteenth and early twentieth century British politics were teetotalers, not the Quaker John Bright, the Unitarian Joseph Chamberlain, or the Baptist David Lloyd George.

Denominational temperance societies among the Nonconformists had few members and little money. Wesleyan Methodists did not have a temperance society until 1874. The Baptists had organized one earlier, but in 1879 it had only £28.⁸⁰

Two additional caveats need mention in assessing the role of the Nonconformists in the English temperance movement. The Church of England played at least as large a role. In 1869 the Convocation of Canterbury called drunkenness a 'terrible vice'. Organized in 1873, the Church of England Temperance Society (C.E.T.S.) became the largest denominational temperance organization. A minority of its members were moderate drinkers. Predominantly middle class, they included most of the C.E.T.S. representatives in the House of Commons. Working class and clerical abstainers made up a large majority of the membership. By the end of the nineteenth century most Anglican diocesan bishops were total abstainers.⁸¹ The trade increasingly regarded 'the vast majority' of Church of England clerics as enemies.⁸² Some Anglican temperance reformers were evangelicals, but many were not.

The peak for teetotalism among Nonconformist ministers did not occur till the early years of the twentieth century when the number of the Nonconformist faithful was falling. For instance, among Baptist ministers, a sixth were teetotalers in 1860, but by 1908 the number of abstainers had grown to 2,321 out of 2,647 ministers. Confirming the upward trend, 211 out of 214 Baptist seminary students were total abstainers in 1907.⁸³ The growth of teetotalism among Nonconformist ministers (and particularly that among seminarians) may have reflected the growth of teetotalism among their congregations.

Not all Nonconformists renounced drink. Only a minority of Unitarian ministers ever took the pledge. Attempts in the 1890s and early 1900s to exclude those who made or sold drink from holding office in the Wesleyan Methodist church failed.⁸⁴ There are no statistics for such office-holders or other Nonconformist drinkers, but such drinkers existed. Thomas Clowes was the chairman of the Manchester Brewers' Central Association from its foundation in 1869 until his death twenty years later. In his will, he left £500 to his Congregational chapel.⁸⁵ When John Massey, a long time agent for the National Trade Defence Association, died in 1906, he was a lay preacher at the Ebenezer Methodist New Connexion Church in Newcastle.⁸⁶

IX

In late Victorian and Edwardian England the concern about drink took a noticeably secular turn. Reform was more than a moral crusade. The anti-alcohol cause benefitted from the growing awareness of urban poverty and the search for its alleviation. It also was entwined with the related concern over Britain's struggle with economic competitors. Whether as a tactic or out of conviction, economics crowded out morality in reform rhetoric, the needs of society more than those of the individual drinker, his wife and their children.

Morality and compassion still motivated religious teetotalers, but they too spoke about the needs of the nation. In 1876 William Hoyle, a Wesleyan Methodist mill owner, began a series of letters to the *Times* called the National Drink Bill. It gave a statistical face to the economic cost of drink. After his death, the Baptist minister Dawson Burns updated the National Drink Bill until his own death in 1909.⁸⁷

Coping with the workingman's drink problem seemed to be a key to social reform. At the turn of the century intense international economic competition aroused fear of national degeneration and calls for national efficiency.⁸⁸ The large number of volunteers for the Boer war (1899-1902) rejected because of ill health startled and dismayed the country. Appalling infant mortality threatened the future of the country. At the turn of the century what can be described as a moral panic identified women's drinking as a danger to their children.⁸⁹

Sir George White was representative of the provincial upper middle class. He was a wealthy Norfolk boot and shoe manufacturer, a prominent Baptist layman, and a Liberal M.P. from 1900 to 1912. Although he was a teetotaler and a prohibitionist, his concern over drink resonated widely among the middle and upper classes. The historian Barry M. Doyle summarizes White's condemnation of drink. '[He] saw a moral and social dimension to the drink question, believing it to be the chief cause of divorce and absence from church, [but] at root his interpretation was economic'. According to White,

[Drink was] more damaging to the country's resources than war, greater in cost than all local and national taxation or the rental value of all the country's houses, shops and hotels, and ... responsible for reducing the consumption of useful goods by £70,000,000, [while in addition] drink undermined the efficiency and consumption of the individual worker and led to the loss of fifteen per cent of his work time - a figure more serious in its effects on the economy than 'the worst strike which ever happened'.

White also challenged the notion that the drink trade contributed to the national economy. He pointed out that the brewers had only a small wage fund, instancing 'the net profits of one Brewery as four times the total wages, whereas he was paying wages totaling five times the net profit'.⁹⁰

Moderate drinkers who accepted the survival of most public houses shared White's concerns. Temperance reformers castigated A.J. Balfour, a Conservative prime minister, as an ally of the brewers. Yet he wanted to reduce drinking on his Lowland estate. As there was no village on his property, laborers purchased whiskies from carts that grocers brought from neighbouring towns. 'Very gladly would I put up at my own cost a public-house on the Trust [non-commercial or disinter-

ested management] principle, if I thought I could induce my countrymen to drink beer instead of spirits'.⁹¹

In the second half of the nineteenth century the medical profession increasingly worried about alcoholic drink. Some doctors blamed drinking on heredity, some on lack of character, others on wretched living conditions. Whatever the cause, the medical case against alcohol grew. Physicians began to recognize that drink could undermine health. In the 1860s and 1870s 'the medical-scientific side of the alcohol question achieve[d] an independent status separate from the religious and moral arguments for temperance'.⁹² The old belief that alcohol was necessary for health and strength faded, and the use of alcohol as a medication declined. The concept of heavy drinking as an addiction, as a disease of the mind, became generally accepted in the medical profession. The 'medicalization of deviance' led to calls for inebriate refuges.⁹³ The British did not emphasize failure of the drinker's will as much as Americans did, but they too mixed traditional moralism with scientific analysis.⁹⁴

The medical distrust of alcohol became institutionalized. In 1873 the London Temperance Hospital was founded to discourage the use of alcohol in health care. An organization for abstaining physicians, the British Medical Temperance Association, was founded in 1876. In 1898 it had almost 900 physician and medical student members. Many celebrated doctors were teetotalers, for instance, Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson, G. Sims Woodhead, Sir Victor Horsley, T.N. Kelynack, and Norman Kerr. In 1884 a research organization, the Society for the Study of Addiction, was founded.⁹⁵

As important as the teetotal physicians were doctors who drank but who warned about the danger that alcohol posed to health when drunk to excess. Some physicians and investigators into eugenics worried about racial degeneration. Not only habit forming and detrimental to health for the drinker, drink allegedly did hereditary harm. The National Temperance League hoped that non-abstainers would respond to 'the plea of a great National Question of Racial Efficiency'.⁹⁶

The angry reaction to a manifesto published in *The Lancet* on 30 March 1907 is worth a look. At a time when the use of alcohol in medical treatment had drastically diminished, 16 prestigious physicians argued

that alcoholic beverages could be beneficial to health. The chairman of the Liverpool University medical faculty, Sir James Barr, 'wrote a scathing reply'. He pointed out the signatories had done no experimental research on the use of alcohol that justified what amounted to an encouragement of drinking. Not a tee-totaler, Barr acknowledged that he 'had had two glasses of champagne while he had been writing his letter [condemning the manifesto] in *The Lancet*'.⁹⁷

Working-class radicals rejected the assumption in much of middle-class temperance rhetoric that the poor had become poor by choosing to drink too much. Instead they blamed miserable living and working conditions for causing excessive drinking. As they also condemned alcohol for aggravating the plight of the poor, working-class radicals joined other reformers in support of legislation restricting the sale of alcoholic beverages. This would contribute to working-class uplift. A pioneer of the Independent Labour Party, James Keir Hardie, urged his fellow workers to 'drink less, read more, and think more'.⁹⁸ Hardie encouraged Labour MPs to promise not to drink during parliamentary sessions.⁹⁹ After he was elected to Parliament, Arthur Henderson helped organize the Trade Union and Labour Officials' Temperance Fellowship in 1904.¹⁰⁰ Many socialists favored replacing private ownership with municipal control of the retail drink trade to make pubs a place of healthful recreation. Selling drink would be the business of local government like providing clean water and gas for lighting.¹⁰¹

Investigations of urban slums made the seriousness of the drink problem visible. These studies made clear that poverty had to be understood in context. The first volume of Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London* appeared in 1889. Arthur Sherwell, subsequently Joseph Rowntree's collaborator in several anti-drink books, published *Life in West London* in 1897. Seebohm Rowntree, Joseph's son, published *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* in 1901. The influential book *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform* (1899), written by Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell, implied in its title that the drink problem was tied to urban poverty.¹⁰²

Recognition that the drink trade supported the Conservative Party helped make Liberals into drink reformers. The traditional association of temperance

with Liberalism did not disappear during the heyday of the New Liberalism. 'Temperance did not seem like an "old" agenda to many Liberals in the 1900s, but one that was strikingly relevant'.¹⁰³

Social reform had to address the drink problem, but could not be confined to it. Instead of dismissing poverty as self-inflicted, people began to recognize the role of the environment in producing poverty. Did the pig create the sty or did the sty produce the pig?¹⁰⁴ When those who investigated the lives of the very poor reported heavy consumption of alcohol, they worried about the waste of scant resources for impoverished families as much as about alcoholism.

Social reform as a means of drink reform was problematic. Certainly it did not promise rapid results if, for instance, housing was improved and recreational facilities created.

X

Some moderate drinkers placed their hopes on social change. For instance, A.J. Balfour told a Presbyterian minister active in Scotland's temperance movement 'that the change we are most in need of is a change of sentiment and habit more than of licensing laws'.¹⁰⁵ Most people concerned about drink wanted a change in the licensing laws too. Eventually a reluctant Balfour would become identified with the most important new licensing statute.

The ideas that dominated public debate in the late Victorian and Edwardian years had reached Parliament in the 1860s and 1870s. When first proposed most of the reforms aroused much more opposition than support. It was easier to block a legislative proposal than to enact it. Getting the drink trade to acquiesce was not easy. H.H. Riley-Smith was blunt about his fellow brewers. 'As with any other body of men, their pecuniary interests governed their political ideas'.¹⁰⁶

In 1830 England adopted 'free licensing' to make it easy to obtain a beerhouse license without needing the approval of the licensing justices. James Nicholls argues: 'One impact of the 1830 Beer Act would be to transform an anti-spirits movement which stretched back to the days of the gin craze into a radical and well-

organised teetotal campaign'.¹⁰⁷ In 1869, at the height of laissez faire economics, Parliament ended the competition that had been provided by 'free licensing' of new on-license beerhouses. By doing so, it inadvertently afforded existing licenses a monopoly value.¹⁰⁸

After the end of free licensing, there were three possible parliamentary solutions: licensing reduction, local prohibition, and disinterested management. Proposals for Sunday Closing, popular with the churches, had more to do with sabbatarianism than temperance.¹⁰⁹ Finding a reform that would reduce drinking drastically turned out to be difficult, perhaps impossible.

To portray the Liberals as the party of temperance and Conservatives as the party of drink is simplistic. It also is an exaggeration to picture temperance reformers and drink traders as unwilling to compromise. In both political parties many temperance reformers and some drink traders were open to a compromise settlement. In practice, compromises divided as well as united. The Liberal politician Sir William Harcourt warned that liquor legislation requires 'a very nasty piece of navigation' through channels 'full of sunken wrecks of all description'.¹¹⁰

Compromise had many friends. After ruining his career when he resigned as chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Randolph Churchill sought relevance. He unsuccessfully negotiated with the drink trade, including old allies, for a compromise settlement. Outside Parliament, *ad hoc* committees including Conservatives and Liberal Unionists drafted the Manchester and Westminster bills. The Church of England Temperance Society was always friendly toward compromise. Its membership was mostly Conservative and included a large minority of moderate drinkers. The vegetarian shipbuilder, A.F. Hills, organized what he called 'Temperance Parliaments', to find a compromise between the C.E.T.S. and the United Kingdom Alliance, the former willing to provide the drink trade some kind of compensation for license reduction and the latter committed to local prohibition. The Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, 1896-99, produced a Majority Report and a Minority Report (known as Lord Peel's Report), both of which were meant as compromises.

The Liberal brewer Edward North Buxton worked unsuccessfully for a compromise settlement. In late

1892 and early 1893 he unavailingly lobbied Harcourt, then the chancellor the exchequer. 'Three men around a table could produce a workable scheme'.¹¹¹ Buxton was responsible for persuading the drink trade members of the Royal Commission to sign the Majority Report. When the Liberal Party endorsed the Minority Report in principle, he tried to work out modifications with the chief whip, Herbert Gladstone, to make it acceptable.¹¹²

The head of the prohibitionist United Kingdom Alliance is often depicted as unwilling to compromise. In fact, Sir Wilfrid Lawson was willing to accept a compromise proposed by a Government. What he opposed was creating a compromise scheme to propose to a Government. Fending off the idea of the Alliance joining with other temperance reformers in a broad reform program, he pointed out: 'directly as discussion arises as to the how, when and where Licensing should be carried on we find that there are about as many differences of opinion amongst us as there are members of our association'.¹¹³

In practice, compromise meant reduction in numbers, something that appealed to nearly all reformers at least as part of a solution. Poor districts crowded with drinking places dramatized the seriousness of the drink problem, but reduction in numbers was a largely symbolic slap. How much would reducing the number of public houses on a street from five to four or three reduce drunkenness? After his retirement, Gladstone derided reduction schemes: 'the mere limitation of numbers, the idol of Parliament for the last twenty years, is, if pretending to the honour of a remedy, little better than an imposture'.¹¹⁴

The limited effectiveness of reduction did not prevent its enactment. The problem was compensation. Committees of justices of the peace known as licensing justices issued the licenses to public houses and beerhouses to sell drink for on-premises and off-premises consumption. Although licenses were for one year only, the drink trade argued that there was a reasonable expectation of renewal. Consequently, the drink trade claimed that license holders should be compensated for the failure to renew the license of a drinking place because of a change in public policy.

The Conservatives, like most everybody else, wanted to reduce the number of pubs. They introduced legislation

to do so in 1888 and 1890. Without guaranteeing license renewal, they gave support to the notion of an expectation of renewal, by providing money to local councils to buy out licensed premises, in 1888 by assigning license fees to the local authorities and in 1890 by creating a new tax on beer and spirits. Temperance societies, joined by most Liberals, successfully fought these proposals on the ground that they implicitly created a new right to license renewal. In 1888 some of the staunchest Liberal Unionist temperance people were secretly willing to accept compensation: W.S. Caine, Joseph Malins, and William Hussey.¹¹⁵ In 1890 Caine would resign as Liberal Unionist chief whip over that year's compensation proposal. Malins was the head of the militant English Good Templars, while Hussey was both a member of the Good Templars and an official in the United Kingdom Alliance's Birmingham auxiliary. Like Hussey, Malins made his home in Joseph Chamberlain's Birmingham fiefdom.

Any ambiguity about the law was dispelled when the case of *Sharpe v. Wakefield* proceeded through the courts. The decision was clear even before the House of Lords issued its final judgment in 1891.¹¹⁶ As a result, the Liberal Party rallied behind the temperance argument against anything that implied a right to license renewal.

The 1888 and 1890 proposals provided for compensation to be paid out of government revenues. To make compensation more acceptable, the money had to come directly from the trade as a kind of self-insurance. Reformers did not want to slow reduction by the limited amount of such self-insurance money, so they insisted that there be a short time limit after which there would be no compensation.

The logjam over compensation was broken by what happened outside Parliament. In 1903 some licensing justices, influenced by the Royal Commission reports, denied renewal for the purpose of reduction. Most of the justices were Tories and moderate drinkers. Alarmed, brewers persuaded the Balfour government to provide compensation in 1904 in return for their paying for it and accepting reduction in numbers and other reforms. Since this was money extracted from the trade, enraged publicans dubbed it 'the mutual burial act'. The money in the compensation fund was limited, making reduction slow. It became even slower when the Kennedy judg-

ment defined the value of the licenses as greater than anticipated.¹¹⁷

Balfour's licensing act outraged most temperance reformers. It was impossible to reverse parliamentary recognition of the principle of compensation. Consequently, the Liberals sought to reduce its amount when they returned to power. In 1908 Asquith's bill set a time limit to compensation. After the House of Lords rejected the bill, the Liberals avenged themselves on the trade with new taxes.

There was a radical alternative to reduction in numbers. Militant temperance reformers preferred a strategy known as Direct Local Veto.¹¹⁸ Districts would have the right to close drinking places by a popular vote. Responding to the argument for local democracy, most Liberals with varying degrees of enthusiasm endorsed the Veto. The drink trade was outraged, but it was a quarrel over symbols. Fighting the Veto in local districts would have been for the trade no more than an expensive inconvenience. The nearest Direct Local Veto got to becoming law came in 1893 when a Liberal government bill reached a second reading. If it had received a majority on its third reading, it would have died in the House of Lords. The bill required a two-thirds majority in a district to authorize prohibition and excluded middle-class drinking places such as restaurants. It was unlikely that prohibitionists could obtain a two-thirds majority in many places, perhaps none at all.¹¹⁹

After the Liberal defeat in the general election of 1895, Local Veto faded as the Liberal strategy for dealing with the drink problem. In 1899 the Liberals rallied in support of Lord Peel's Report, if not all the details at least in principle. Although Lord Peel's Report promised the Veto in the future, it focused on reduction in the present. When the Liberals returned to power, the Veto was buried in an omnibus licensing bill that gave priority to reduction.

At the turn of the century, a third option appealed to at least a few reformers. Disinterested management was a panacea for some moderate drinkers and total abstainers. When he was a young M.P., Joseph Chamberlain had proposed an experiment in disinterested management.¹²⁰ As an old man, Gladstone also supported it. Bonar Law privately described disinterested management as 'the only really effective way in which the

cause of temperance can be helped by legislation'.¹²¹ In the early 1900s some leading prohibitionists, notably T.P. Whittaker, made disinterested management their priority. This caused bitter internecine battles within the temperance movement.¹²²

Inspired by the Gothenburg scheme in Sweden, disinterested management took the profit motive out of the sale of drink. It claimed to bring about an immediate reduction in drinking, while providing the money to pay for recreational facilities that were sober alternatives to the public house.¹²³ The assumption was that public houses conducted to earn a profit had encouraged customers to drink more than they wanted. Probably this did not happen enough to make a great difference in drink consumption.

During the First World War national efficiency was the justification for many changes in the sale of drink, considered or implemented. The Government explored the possibility of State Purchase of the drink trade, while the Strength of Britain movement agitated for wartime prohibition. The King pledged that he and his household would abstain from drink for the duration of the war (although on his physician's advice he drank in private). A new Central Control Board experimented with reforms such as a ban on treating and restricting hours when drink could be sold.¹²⁴ More radically, it established disinterested management in the Carlisle district.¹²⁵

Compromise between reformers and brewers allowed the enactment of the Licensing Act of 1921. It retained from wartime experiments a reduction in hours when public houses could sell drink. Closing pubs in mid-afternoon lasted in England until 1988 for weekdays and until 1995 for Sunday.¹²⁶ In the interwar years drink reform faded as a great public cause. Per capita drinking had declined since the turn of the century and licensed premises had become fewer as a result of the Licensing Act of 1904.

XI

The story of the drink question in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is crowded with frustration and paradox. The upper and middle classes worried more about the drink problem as it became less acute. They no longer blamed excessive drinking on the moral

weakness of the workingmen who abused drink. Or did they? They recognized the connection between excessive drinking and social problems and between those social problems and the threat to national greatness. England needed a sober work force. The answer to the question of hard drinking workingmen perplexed moderate drinkers. As they rejected total abstinence and prohibition, elites returned to the old notion that workingmen lacked the strength of character to control their own drinking. Reduction in the number of drinking places implied that workingmen could not resist the temptation of innumerable public houses and beerhouses. So did creating non-commercial drinking places where drink sellers would not tempt a workingman to order another beer.

Comparing today with yesterday underscores how masculine and working class was late Victorian and Edwardian drinking culture. When Queen Victoria died, the people of England and Wales drank mostly beer. Elite wine-drinkers were few compared with beer-drinking workingmen. By comparison, in the twenty-first century England and Wales drink almost as much wine as beer. Part of the explanation for the relative decline of beer is that women prefer wine, and by the twenty-first century they made up a much larger part of drink consumers than they had earlier. The growth of an affluent middle class also encourages wine drinking.¹²⁷

In the twenty-first century alcoholic drink continues to worry England, but the focus is no longer on workingmen drinking beer in pubs (and brewers no longer control public houses).¹²⁸ Calls for restrictions on drink now come from public health reformers and not from Nonconformist abstainers. Both youthful binge drinking, including by young women, and old-age pensioners getting inebriated in curtained privacy are worrisome.

London once was inhospitable territory for temperance reformers. The arrival of large numbers of Muslims, high caste Hindus, and Sikhs whose religions prohibit drinking alcohol, has helped to transform the metropolis, although these groups comprise less than a fifth of the population (Muslims, 12.4% at the 2011 census, Hindus, 5%, not all of whom belong to teetotal castes, and Sikhs, 1.5%). Underscoring the demographic change, London elected a Muslim as mayor in 2016. London also has many Pentecostals who typically avoid alcohol. Recent research identified about 32% of

London's adult population as total abstainers, with an even higher percentage of young adults, aged 16 to 24, not drinking.¹²⁹ If the teetotal baronet Sir Wilfrid Lawson could return to London, he would be amazed and delighted.

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3. Froude thought that drunkenness among the educated classes had largely disappeared, while among the working classes it had increased. Although he 'found wine, in moderation, a good friend both to body and mind', he admitted that moderate drinkers might have 'to set the example by abstaining altogether'. Fahey, D.M. (1988) 'J.A. Froude, the Good Templars, and Drink', *ANQ* 1, no. 3, July, pp.98-99. Froude's letter to a Good Templar official in South Africa, 11 October [1875?] was published in the *South African Templar*, probably in November 1875, and survives as reprinted in the (Cape Town) *Tribune*, March 1918, p.45.
4. Buxton belonged to a family of London brewers who remained Liberals after nearly all the drink trade had become Conservatives.
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that a minority drank beer. For instance, the historian Samuel Rawson Gardiner wrote: 'I take beer at luncheon and dinner, and occasionally a glass or two of wine, but very often I am four or five days without doing that'. Reade, A.A. (1883) *Study and Stimulants: Or The Use of Intoxicants and Narcotics in Relation to Intellectual Life, as Illustrated by Personal Communications on the Subject, from Men of Letters and of Science*. Manchester: A. Heywood, p.53.

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9. Despite his dislike of the drink trade the eccentric Sir Wilfrid Lawson declined to join attacks upon it that he regarded as unfair. He could not support complaints about the adulteration of beer (which he said were unfounded), and he did not see tied-houses, controlled by brewers, as any worse than other public houses. Pointing out that the licensing law required that publicans be persons of good character, a requirement that other retailers did not have to meet, he did not waste his time deriding the publicans. It was the product that they sold which was evil. A hater of drink and not of drink traders, Lawson counted a Liberal brewer among his parliamentary friends. According to Lawson's memoir, M.T. Bass told him: "'I'll settle a beer a day on you for life, if you'll give up the Permissive Bill [for local prohibition]". To which I replied that "I couldn't do it under a barrel"'. Russell, G.W.E. (ed.) (1909) *Sir Wilfrid Lawson: A Memoir*. London: Smith, Elder, p.62.

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65. Skelly, J. (2008) 'When Seeing is Believing: Women, Alcohol and Photography in Victorian England', *Shift: Queen's Journal of Visual & Material Culture*. 1, p.2. See also Wright, D.E. and Chorniawry, C. (1985) 'Women and Drink in Edwardian England', *Historical Papers*. 20, no. 1, pp.117-131; and the doctoral thesis by Bronwyn Louise Morrison (2005) 'Ordering Disorderly Women: Female Drunkenness in England c.1870-1920', Keele University.

66. *Times*, 27 June 1892, quoted in Barker, M.K. (1975) *Gladstone and Radicalism: The Reconstruction of Liberal Policy, 1885-94*. Brighton: Harvester, p.210.

67. Luddington, C. (2013) *The Politics of Wine in Britain*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.194-196, and more generally, ch. 10, 'By G-d, He Drinks Like a Man!': Manliness, Britishness, and the Politics of Drunkenness, c. 1780-1820s'; Scarlett, J. (2015) 'Pitt and Port: A Study of a

Prime Minister's Drinking', 14 April;
<http://standrewshistorysociety.co.uk/2015/04/pitt-and-port-a-study-of-a-prime-ministers-drinking/>. Bonar Law was born in New Brunswick, the son of a Presbyterian minister.

68. Edwin Chernud to E.W. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, 29 Nov. 1889. Lambeth Palace Library, Benson papers. Quoted in Olsen, G.W. (typescript, 2003) 'Drink and the British Establishment - The Church of England Temperance Society, 1873-1919', p.42. In the absence of a published version of Olsen's book, readers may consult what he has published, about half a dozen articles and more than a dozen entries in Blocker Jr., J.S., Fahey, D.M. and Tyrrell, I.R. (eds.) (2003) *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

69. The Hon. Algernon Bourke, third son of the sixth Earl of Mayo, and his wife Guendolen were caricatured as two of the main characters in Oscar Wilde's (1895) *The Importance of Being Earnest*.

70. Erdozain, D. (2011) 'The Secularisation of Sin in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. 62, no. 1, January, p.75.

71. Shiman, L.L. (1988) op. cit. pp.109-121. See also her article, (1981) 'The Blue Ribbon Army: Gospel Temperance in England', *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*. 50, pp.391-408.

72. For a North American perspective, see Warner, J. (2009) 'Temperance, Alcohol, and the American Evangelical: A Reassessment', *Addiction*. 107, no. 7, July, pp.1075-1084.

73. Thompson, J. (2013) *British Political Culture and the Idea of 'Public Opinion', 1867-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.145. See also Walsh, C. (1995) 'The Incarnation and the Christian Socialist Conscience in the Victorian Church of England', *Journal of British Studies*. 34, no. 3, July, pp.351-364.

74. Lady Henry Somerset, 25 May 1897, in Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, Minutes of Evidence, vol. 3. *Parliamentary Papers*, 1898 (C. 8694), XXXVI, Q. 31,635-36 (p.191).

75. Titley, C. (2014) *Joseph Rowntree*. London: Shire Publications, unpaginated online.

76. Bebbington, D.W. (2005) *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody*. Westmont, IL: Intervarsity Press, p.243.

77. According to David W. Bebbington (1989), evangelicalism was characterized by conversionism (being 'born again'), activism (sharing the faith, notably in missionary work), biblicism (the Bible contains all important religious truths), and crucicentrism (the centrality of Christ's redeeming sacrifice on the Cross). *Evangelicalism in Modern*

Britain. London: Unwin Hyman. There were Anglican evangelicals as well as Nonconformist evangelicals.

78. Bebbington, D. (2010) review of Dominic Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion in Reviews in History*. 23 Sept.

79. Blunt, W.S. (1890) manuscript 'Secret Diaries', vol. 13, f. 250. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. I owe this quotation to Norman Kelvin. Lady Carlisle's birth family was complicated religiously. For instance, one brother was a Muslim and another a Roman Catholic bishop.

80. Shiman, L.L. (1988) op. cit. p.241.

81. Olsen, G.W. (2003) op. cit. p.29. The C.E.T.S. succeeded a teetotal Anglican society founded in 1862. For the role of the Church other than that of the C.E.T.S., see Greenaway, J.R. (1984) 'Bishops, Brewers and the Liquor Question in England, 1890-1914', *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*. 53, no. 1, pp.61-75.

82. 'Our Clerical Enemies', *Licensing World*. 23 March 1907, pp.204-205.

83. Bebbington, D.W. (1982) *The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics, 1870-1914*. London: George Allen & Unwin, p.46.

84. Shiman, L.L. (1988) op. cit. p.241; *National Advocate*. October 1901, p.188.

85. *Brewers' Guardian*, 10 Dec. 1889, p.392.

86. *Licensed Trade News*, 22 June 1906, p.6.

87. After the death of Burns, George B. Wilson continued the National Drink Bill letters, 1910-1940.

88. Searle, G.R. (1971) *The Quest for National Efficiency: A Study in British Politics and Political Thought, 1899-1914*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Fear of German competition did not always encourage temperance reform. Ernest Williams wrote the alarmist *Made in Germany* (1896). When the True Temperance Association was created in 1908 in support of the drink trade, Williams became its honorary treasurer.

89. See Gutzke, D.W. (1984) "'The Cry of the Children': The Edwardian Medical Campaign against Maternal Drinking", *British Journal of Addiction*. 79, pp.71-84; Gutzke, D.W. (2014) op. cit. pp.240-249.

90. Doyle, B.M. (1996) "'Through the Windows of a Baptist Meeting House": Religion, Politics and the Nonconformist Conscience in the Life of Sir George White, M.P.', *Baptist Quarterly*. 36, no. 6, p.302. See also Doyle, B.M. (1998) 'Modernity or Morality? George White, Liberalism and the Nonconformist Conscience in Edwardian England', *Historical Research*. 71, October, pp.330-331; and his article (1996) 'Temperance and Modernity: The Impact of Local Experience on Rank and File Liberal Attitudes to Alcohol', *Journal of*

Regional and Local Studies. 16, no. 2, pp.1-10.

91. Balfour to T. Taylor, 2 Dec. 1908. British Library, Balfour papers, Add.Ms. 49860 f. 40.

92. Woiak, J. (1994) 'A Medical Cromwell to Depose King Alcohol: Medical Scientists, Temperance Reformers, and the Alcohol Problem in Britain', *Histoire Sociale*. 27, November, p.341. See also Woiak, J. (1998) 'Drunkenness, Degeneration, and Eugenics in Britain, 1900-1914', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto; Nicholls, J. (2009) op. cit. ch. 12, 'The Study of Inebriety: Medicine and the Law'; Valverde, M. (1998) *Diseases of the Will: Alcohol and the Dilemma of Freedom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Reinartz, J. and Wynter, R. (2014) 'The Spirit of Medicine: The Use of Alcohol in Nineteenth-Century Medical Practice', in Schmid, S. and Schmidt-Haberkamp, B. (eds.) *Drink in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century*. London: Pickering & Chatto, pp.127-139; Olsen, G.W. (1994) 'Physician Heal Thyself: Drink, Temperance and the Medical Question in the Victorian and Edwardian Church of England', *Addiction*. 89, Sept., pp.1167-1176.

93. Johnstone, G. (1996) 'From Vice to Disease? The Concepts of Dipsomania and Inebriety, 1860-1908', *Social and Legal Studies*. 5, March 1996, pp.37-56; Beckingham, D. (2010) 'An Historical Geography of Liberty: Lancashire and the Inebriates Acts', *Journal of Historical Geography*. 36, no. 4, October, pp.388-401.

94. Wood, C.A. (2012) 'Natural Guardians of the Race: Heredity, Hygiene, Alcohol, and Degeneration in Scottish Psychiatry, c. 1860-1920?', Ph.D. dissertation, Edinburgh.

95. Berridge, V. (1990) 'The Society for the Study of Addiction: 1884-1988', *British Journal of Addiction*. 85, August, pp.983-1087. In 1897 the Nurses' Total Abstinence League was organized. *Medical Temperance Review*. 4. April 1901, p.88.

96. National Temperance League's *Annual* (1908), p.6.

97. Williams, G.P. and Brake, G.T. (1980) *Drink in Great Britain, 1900 to 1979*. London: B. Edsall, p.32. The Williams and Brake book quoted Barr's letter published in *The Lancet*, 6 April 1907, p.972.

98. Quoted in Packer, I. (2006) *Liberal Government and Politics, 1905-15*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, p.110.

99. Jones, S.G. (1987) 'Labour, Society and the Drink Question in Britain, 1918-1939', *Historical Journal*. 30, no. 1, p.119.

100. The Fellowship published the *Labour Abstainer*. See Hayler, G. (1928) 'Labour and Temperance: A Brief Historical Survey of Labour's Attitude to the Drink Problem', *Alliance Year Book and Temperance Reformer's Handbook*. pp.65-81; Wood, I.S. (1972) 'Drink, Temperance and the Labour

Movement', *Scottish Labour History Society Journal*. 5, pp.23-33; Catterall, P. (2014) 'Labour and the Politics of Alcohol: The Decline of a Cause', *Institute of Alcohol Studies*. September; available online at <http://www.ias.org.uk/uploads/pdf/IAS%20reports/Labour%20and%20the%20politics%20of%20alcohol%20-%20The%20decline%20of%20a%20cause.pdf>

101. Pease, E.R. (1904) *The Case for Municipal Drink Trade*. London: P.S. King and Sons.

102. The investigations of poverty in England were part of an international reform movement hostile to alcoholic drink. See Gutzke, D.W. (2008) (ed.) *Britain and Transnational Progressivism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

103. Packer, I. (2006) op. cit. p.112.

104. Brown, J.B. (1973) 'The Pig or the Sty: Drink and Poverty in Late Victorian England', *International Review of Social History*. 18, pt. 3, pp.180-195. His doctoral dissertation, 'The Liberal Party and Temperance, 1880-1895', sometimes cited as UCLA, 1971, was not in fact completed.

105. Balfour to Dr. James Paton, 25 Oct. 1901. British Library, Balfour papers, Add. 49854, f. 156b.

106. *Morning Advertiser*, 30 May 1891, p.2.

107. Nicholls, J. (2009) op. cit. pp.80-81.

108. Licensing justices did not obtain jurisdiction over beerhouse off-licenses until 1882.

109. Lawson thought that ending the sale of drink was the only true temperance reform. He voted for Sunday Closing when it came before Parliament, but, having little use for half measures (and not being a sabbatarian), he irreverently said that if he had the opportunity to prevent the sale of drink on one day only he would choose Saturday. More drink was sold that day than on the Sabbath.

110. Harcourt to Churchill, 20 January 1890, Churchill College, Lord Randolph Churchill papers, 1/25/1384.

111. Buxton to Harcourt, 23, 29 Nov., 7 Dec. 1892, 8 May 1893. Bodleian, Harcourt Ms. 148, fols. 21-25, 32-33, 34-37; Harcourt Ms. 146, fols. 48-50.

112. Fahey, D.M. (1971) 'Temperance and the Liberal Party', *Journal of British Studies*. 10, May, pp.132-159; Fahey, D.M. (1979) 'The Politics of Drink: Pressure Groups and the British Liberal Party, 1883-1908', *Social Science*. 54, Spring, pp.76-85; Wright, D.E. (1972) 'The British Liquor Licensing Question, 1895-1905', Ph.D. dissertation, McMaster. A staunch free trader, Buxton did not formally leave the Liberal Party for the Conservatives until 1910.

113. Sir Wilfrid Lawson to Sir William Harcourt, 30 Sept. 1888. Bodleian, Harcourt MS 216, fol. 107.

114. Gladstone to Lord Thring, [no day] Sept. 1894, in *Times*, 19 Sept. 1894, p.4.

115. Lambeth Palace Library, Church of England Temperance Society minutes, Legislative Subcommittee, 13 June 1888, Ms 2044, ff. 59-63. Later the memorandum was ordered expunged from the minutes.

116. Usually the name is misspelled as Sharp. For the law cases, see Danvers Power, J. (1891) *Sharpe v. Wakefield: A Full & Revised Report of the Judgments in the Queen's Bench Division, Court of Appeal, and the Arguments and Judgments in the House of Lords*. London: J.S. Phillips. The discretionary power of the justices was to be exercised 'judicially' and not capriciously.

117. For details on the Kennedy judgment, see (Amulee) Royal Commission on Licensing (England and Wales), 1929-31, Report, Cmd. 3988, 1932 [vol. XI], paragraph 120 (pp.26-27). Sir William Rann Kennedy was a Liberal. See also Jennings, P. (2015) "'Grasping a Nettle": The 1904 Licensing Act', in Hailwood, M. and Toner, D. (eds.) *Biographies of Drink*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp.30-48; and his related article, (2009) 'Liquor Licensing and the Local Historian: the 1904 Licensing Act and its Administration', *Local Historian*. 39, no. 1, Feb., pp.24-37.

118. Direct Local Veto was a retreat for the United Kingdom Alliance. When founded, the Alliance wanted a parliamentary statute for prohibition and not simply authorization for localities to conduct a prohibition referendum.

119. Sir Wilfrid Lawson acknowledged that he did not know whether local electors would choose prohibition but argued that they should have the right to do so. Beginning in the 1920s Scotland had Direct Local Veto. Prohibition required a vote of 55% of those voting who had to be at least 35% of those eligible to vote. Few districts voted for local prohibition.

120. Brown, J.B. (1972) 'The Temperance Career of Joseph Chamberlain, 1870-77: A Study in Political Frustration', *Albion*. 4, pp.29-44.

121. Bonar Law to a correspondent, 2 April 1908. Beaverbrook Library, Bonar Law Papers 18/8/7. Currently on loan to the Parliamentary Archive but was consulted at the Beaverbrook Library.

122. The Temperance Legislation League published as a pamphlet two articles written by Whittaker for the *Tribune*, 30 August and 4 September 1906, as 'Temperance Reform: A Policy of Inclusion. Who Has Changed Front?'

123. Gutzke, D.W. (1994) 'Gentrifying the British Public

House, 1896-1914', *International Labor and Working-Class History*. 45, Spring, pp.29-43. See also Greenaway, J.R. (1998) 'The Improved' Public House 1850-1950: The Key to Civilized Drinking or the Primrose Path to Drunkenness?', *Addiction*. 93, pp.173-181.

124. Duncan, R. (2013) *Pubs and Patriots: The Drink Crisis in Britain during World War One*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. Yeomans draws attention to the relationship between the pledge movement and providentialism. By purifying a dissolute nation, pledge-takers could win God's support in the war. Yeomans, H. (2014) op. cit. pp.110-113.

125. The Carlisle scheme lasted until 1971.

126. Greenaway, J.R. (2003) op. cit. ch. 7, 'The Postwar Settlement, 1919-21'; Greenaway, J.R. (2007) 'Calling "Time" on Last Orders: The Rise and Fall of Public House Closing Hours in Britain', *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*. 14, no. 2, June, pp.186-187, 192.

127. Kneale, J. (2009) 'British Drinking from the 19th Century to the Present', executive summary, submitted to health committee, House of Commons; Withington, P. and McShane, A. (2009) 'Fluctuations in English Drinking Habits: An Historical Overview', executive summary submitted to health committee, House of Commons; Smith, L. and Foxcroft, D. (2009) *Drinking in the UK: An Exploration of Trends*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

128. Seeing the pub as a place for supervised drinking and a focus for local communities, the historian Beat Kümin laments the decline of the public house. He argues in the (London) *Guardian* (3 April 2014): 'Rather than being viewed as a cause of the problem, the pub should be seen as a solution'. The major changes in drinking today, Kümin says, are home drinking, often alone, and heavy consumption by women.

129. <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/feb/13/teetotalers-on-rise-in-uk-one-in-five-dont-drink>. For young people who do not drink or who drink only occasionally, see <http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/food-and-drink/features/generation-abstemious-more-and-more-young-people-are-shunning-alcohol-a6811186.html>. For young abstainers avoiding alcohol out of concern for their health, see Ng Fat, L. and Shelton, N. (2012) 'Associations between Self-Reported Illness and Non-Drinking in Young Adults', *Addiction*. 107, no. 9, pp.1612-1620. I owe this reference to a *Brewery History* referee.