

Drink in Victorian Norwich

Part IV

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Chapter 7: Brewers and social cohesion

In this chapter, one of the key issues explored is the social importance of the brewer. An argument has been developed in this work that the Victorian pub was an important agency of social cohesion within urban communities experiencing rapid growth. In the second half of the nineteenth century, more than six hundred pubs and beerhouses in Victorian Norwich were supplied in the main by four family firms of brewers who also owned the great majority of these drinking places. A case can therefore be made that these Norwich brewers - Steward and Patteson, Bullard, Youngs, and Morgan - too played a significant part in the transformation that produced, to repeat Thompson's argument, 'a social order' - in Norwich, as elsewhere - 'at least roughly appropriate to an urban, industrial, capitalist society'.¹ In the following pages, an analysis of the social and economic relationship linking the licensed drinking places of Victorian Norwich, their publicans, and these brewing family firms will be presented and an argument developed that brewers, as both local councillors and businessmen,

had an important role in helping shape the interface between the urban elite and the working-class majority, not least through their control over the drinking places, and that, in effect, the brewers too acted as agents of social cohesion.

The analysis in this chapter begins by teasing out the national context of an expanding population that stimulated brewers to meet rising demand by supplying more beer. This in turn provided the brewers with the opportunity to gain wealth, power and influence. Even before the Victorian era, the industrialisation of the brewing of beer was already well established in urban centres, if in varying degrees of intensity.² Although traditionally the Industrial Revolution is associated with radical developments in areas such as textiles and iron, and coal-mining and steam power, a case can be made that developments in the manufacture and retailing of beer were also important features of this revolution. Industrialisation is always linked with urban developments, and urban growth is always associated with a significant expansion of the drinks trade. Fortunes were made from the dramatic increase in commercial brewing that occurred to meet the extraordinary

rise in population and its concentration in urban centres. Supply rose to meet demand. The working classes needed the beer that was brewed for sale in the public houses and beerhouses since it provided a vital dietary liquid³ and it helped satisfy their leisure-time needs.⁴

The question has been asked: 'Was the new industrial society, dedicated to hard work and an increasing precision in its labours, being launched on a torrent of beer?'⁵ It still remains a pertinent question but the paradox is more apparent than real for a significant expansion in the brewing industry was an economic necessity if the needs of the urban working class were to be met. The flood tide of population increase in some areas - like London - required a torrent of beer. In other areas where population figures rose, but less dramatically - as in Norwich - there was still a need for a proportionate increase in the production of beer.⁶

Yet the overall figures for per capita beer consumption in England and Wales from 1800 to 1913 indicate a remarkable consistency over time, with the important exception of the 1860s and the 1870s.⁷ Individuals overall were not drinking significantly more, except in

these two decades when the figures for per capita consumption of beer did rise steeply from an annual average of 31.6 gallons in the early-1860s to an annual average of 40.5 gallons in the late-1870s. This increase in consumption is significant and was most likely caused by an

1800 - 04	33.9
1805 - 09	32.8
1810 - 14	30.2
1815 - 19	28.0
1820 - 24	29.0
1825 - 29	28.4
1830 - 34	33.8
1835 - 39	35.4
1840 - 44	30.5
1845 - 49	29.2
1850 - 54	29.5
1855 - 59	29.3
1860 - 64	31.6
1865 - 69	35.9
1870 - 74	38.2
1875 - 79	40.5
1880 - 84	33.6
1885 - 89	32.5
1890 - 94	33.4
1895 - 99	34.5
1900 - 04	34.3
1905 - 09	30.9
1910 - 13	29.4

The annual average of per capita consumption of beer from 1800 - 1913 is 32.38 gallons.

Table 28. Per capita consumption of beer in gallons for England and Wales, 1800 - 1913 (annual averages)

Source: British Brewing, Table 2.3, p.30

increase in purchasing power exceeding the supply of alternative consumer goods for the working classes. Its effect was to

produce deep concern in the ranks of the governing elite at Westminster and in the rest of the country and led to the 'Drink question' becoming a national political issue. In a century when beer remained the staple drink of the working classes, the governing classes needed to feel secure that consumption of this legalised drug was under effective control. The consumption figures from 1800 to 1913 indicate that this aim was satisfied, with the important exception of these two decades.

Historians have perhaps been swayed by the figures for the 1860s and 1870s and not stressed sufficiently the overall evenness in these per capita figures. Setting aside these two decades, the range is relatively narrow and this despite acknowledged periods of pressure on living standards between 1815 and 1845 and the impact of 'counter-attractions' after 1880.⁸ The working-class majority in Victorian society remained dependent on a remarkably consistent dosage of its legalised drug, alcohol, through the beer it drank, for over sixty years. As Richard Wilson observed: '... at least before 1914, beer was not toppled from its place in working-class lives'.⁹ The return to normal levels of consumption from the 1880s would have led to an overall reduction in concerns about social control although the Temperance movement remained influential since the 'Drink question' had now become a political issue.

How much beer did Victorian men and women drink? The annual average of per capita consumption from 1800 to 1913

was 32.38 gallons, around five pints a week.¹⁰ However, Rowntree and Sherwell presented an even more telling analysis of statistics for the end of the Victorian period. They reckoned that the working class comprised three-quarters of the population and consumed two-thirds of all forms of alcohol. They judged that children under fifteen (35% of the population) did not drink alcohol, and women consumed half the quantity of men, and that abstainers accounted for at least three million in 1899. Whatever their limitations, these are the best-informed assumptions we have and are likely to provide broadly accurate parameters of the national picture. On these bases, Rowntree and Sherwell calculated that in 1899 the average annual adult male consumption was 76 gallons of beer (twelve pints a week). Using the same assumptions, these figures were projected backwards by Richard Wilson and he calculated that the figures in 1844 were 72 gallons (eleven pints a week) and that in the peak year of 1876 they were 103 gallons (sixteen pints a week).¹¹ Emphatically, beer was the national drink and brewers became rich and powerful on its profits.

If historians have underplayed the consistency in the per capita consumption figures for beer, they have also neglected to emphasise the fact that urbanisation in itself did not lead to an increase in beer consumption. Urbanisation, as a concomitant of industrialisation and the growth of towns, provided the context for the consumption of beer in the Victorian period - but men and women did not drink more

because they were urban dwellers. In 1830, most people still lived in rural areas and the annual averages per capita consumption of beer for England and Wales was 33.8 gallons for the period 1830-34. By the end of the century, when around 80% of the population were living in urban areas, the annual average per capita consumption of beer for England and Wales was still almost unchanged at 34.5 gallons for the period 1895-99.¹² Clearly, the consumption of beer was a cultural tradition established prior to urbanisation and with respect to the amount drunk remained largely unaltered by that process.

Most significantly, however, the phenomenal rise in population in England and Wales - from 8.9 million in 1801 to 17.9 million in 1851 to 32.5 million in 1901 - did provide what Richard Wilson has called 'a crucial opening for the brewing industry'.¹³ The London beer trade provided extraordinary opportunities for brewers in the fifty years after 1830 with the eleven leading London brewers reaping the profits from a trebling of their output as the population grew by 150%, a rate twice that achieved in the rest of England and Wales.¹⁴ The Staffordshire town of Burton-upon-Trent in west central England became noted for its breweries. In 1830 Burton-upon-Trent had two leading brewing families, Bass and Allsop, but its seven or eight breweries together only produced 50,000 barrels a year. However, by 1900 the town was established as the 'capital of brewing' with twenty-one brewing firms producing a combined output of 3,500,000 barrels, around 10% of U.K.

beer production.¹⁵ Production outside London and Burton - always called 'country brewing'¹⁶ - remained stable in terms of numbers of brewers between 1840 and 1880 and then declined by just under a third in the next twenty years. However, these figures mask the fact that a minority of individual provincial breweries did experience a great increase in output during the Victorian era. In 1834, only about eight provincial breweries were producing more than 40,000 barrels of strong beer a year. By 1884, 137 provincial breweries were brewing between 30,000 and 100,000 barrels a year, and thirty more had achieved an output of over 100,000 barrels.¹⁷ The analysis of Norwich country brewers needs to be made in the context of these national trends.

This analysis also needs to take into account more general developments in the national economy. In the 1870s and 1880s, after a century of rapid growth both for individual firms and the economy as a whole, competition in the manufacturing sector was still strong. Most industries had a multiplicity of what by today's standards would be considered small firms, with the largest 100 firms accounting for less than 10% of the market in contrast to their 40% share a hundred years later. However, as the nineteenth century drew to a close, the impetus to higher concentration became marked in a significant number of industries, including brewing, due in part to changes in the technical basis of production and in the nature of market demand, and in part to changes in the framework of corporate law.¹⁸

Capital needs had already led to the development of partnerships in a number of industries before the mid-century. However, before these could develop further into a more modern form of corporate enterprise institutional changes, both in company law and in stock exchange practice, were necessary. The foundation for these changes were laid between 1844 and 1856 when first joint stock companies and then limited liability companies were sanctioned by law, but it was not until the success of the conversion of the brewers, Guinness, in 1886 that public demand for issues of shares in manufacturing really took off. Between 1885 and 1907 the number of firms in domestic manufacturing and distribution with quotations on the London stock exchange grew from only sixty to almost 600. At the same time, mergers were also becoming more commonplace as part of this trend towards industrial concentration and higher capitalisation.¹⁹

Within brewing, partnerships effectively steered the industry through the remarkable growth period of the 1860s and early-1870s. Such partnerships, particularly in the south and east of the country, ploughed surplus profits into the acquisition of public houses since these tied houses had a high value as investments and collateral for securing further capital.²⁰ Also, as Richard Wilson has argued, acquisition served 'both to protect licences and to ensure their own reputation. An estate of good tied houses underlined the good management of a brewery in its widest sense'.²¹ Achieving

effective relations with the police and magistrates through such good management was important, not least in the battle against an increasingly significant temperance lobby that had gained a measure of support from the Liberal government between 1868 and 1874 and in particular secured the passing of the unpopular Licensing Act in 1872. In these circumstances, breweries had a special interest in managing their tied public houses well.

In Norwich, the longevity of service of a significant number of publicans indicates the success of the breweries in both their original selection and then the maintenance of an effective business relationship with these key figures in the interface between the urban elite and the working classes.²² The commercial success of the Norwich breweries in establishing chains of tied houses under their ownership and control, and then ensuring publican stability in running them, helped further reinforce the social cohesion that had already been developed through the agencies of the public houses and beer-houses. It would be surprising if these patterns of publican stability and longevity in licence holding were not repeated elsewhere in the country where breweries were developing tighter control over their retail outlets.

With hindsight, the position of the brewer in Victorian society looks, in general, unassailable. Successful partnerships had helped maximise profits during the period of economic growth up to the mid-

seventies and continued to serve the needs of the industry well through a couple of decades of generally steady profitability, albeit at less inflated figures. The conversion of brewery ownership to limited liability status from the mid-eighties then completed the transition to an effective modern form of corporate enterprise. Yet the breweries constantly seem to have felt under threat from the Temperance lobby. The conflict between the Drink interest and those who offered an alternative prescription for social harmony had very deep roots.²³ Gladstone's defeat in 1874 may have been a signal victory for the Drink interest but the brewing insecurities soon returned.²⁴ By 1880, the Liberal party under Gladstone was back in power and its radical, non-conformist, teetotal wing was regarded as an enemy that would seek revenge for its defeat in 1874. A pre-election leading article in the *Licensed Victuallers Gazette* in March 1880 caught the fear of the Drink lobby:

No doubt at the last General Election (1874) the Conservative party was largely indebted to the publicans, and it is possible that the Liberals, smarting from the idea that they had alienated the Trade, when they are returned to power may attempt a retaliatory measure.²⁵

Brewers had been sounding the alarms in the face of the 'temperance threat' even as they were experiencing a period of sustained growth before the late-seventies. With the general economic recession that saw beer output decline by

some 18 per cent from its peak in 1876 to its trough in 1883, those fears may have appeared more substantial. Yet such anxieties were groundless in the longer-term. The success of the Guinness conversion in 1886 and the return of prosperity paved the way for the solution of these problems and during the years from 1886 to 1900 all the bigger brewery partnerships became limited liability companies. The largest of these raised capital on the stock exchange to modernise their breweries and, critically, further enlarge their estates of tied freehold and leasehold public houses. By 1906, 307 brewery companies were publicly quoted. Inevitably, smaller partnerships became vulnerable to mergers through which they were incorporated into the larger breweries.²⁶

Brewers had emerged as powerful figures in the Victorian industrial and social world because, above all, they were wealthy. The capital that underpinned their status had been accumulated and protected with diligence and skill, even if the market opportunities provided by an expanding population and a population already dependent on alcohol were not of their making. It might therefore be reasoned that the pinnacle of their power would coincide with the increase in industrial concentration towards the end of the nineteenth century. Since the brewers comprised the elite in an evermore heavily concentrated industry they may therefore have been in a stronger position to shape patterns of consumption and drinking and working class life in general. The idea is tempting, but in practice the reverse

seems to have been the case in Norwich - and arguably, by extension, in the rest of the country too. At a time when the four leading Norwich breweries were following the national trend towards heavier concentration through launching themselves as limited liability companies, other developments in Victorian society and politics were serving to limit the degree of power and influence they had undoubtedly wielded previously during the nineteenth century.

The move towards limited liability status made sound financial sense for the Norwich breweries. All four were able to hold their own through the more troubled years in the first decades of the twentieth century. Morgan's, the smallest and therefore perhaps the most vulnerable of the four breweries, was the first to follow the limited liability path, becoming a public company in March 1887, the year after the success of the Guinness flotation.²⁷ The challenge and opportunity was then taken up in quick succession by the other three breweries from 1895, with family members becoming significant shareholders. In March 1895, Bullard's formed itself into a private limited liability company.²⁸ Steward, Patteson, Finch & Co. were next in July 1895 when the partners converted their business into limited liability form.²⁹ Youngs became a limited liability company in 1897.³⁰ In effect, an important section of the Norwich urban elite - the members of its families who owed their wealth directly to the brewing industry - had further consolidated their family fortunes.

As the brewing families moved towards a new corporate identity, at the same time ensuring that the financial benefits of the shift to limited liability status were kept as much as possible within their own ranks, they seem to have felt less inclined to involve themselves in time-consuming public life. In any event, the generation of those brewing families that had had a strong sense of social responsibility, allied with a sharp instinct for their own business interests, and who had made sense of their lives through participation in local government, was now reaching its end.³¹ These developments were also occurring at a time when the nature of local government itself was undergoing change, leading to a more effective professionalism in response to pressing social problems.³² In addition, the expansion of alternative leisure activities seemed to some to be diminishing the pivotal role of drink in the social world, although within Norwich these 'counter-attractions' still tended to be embedded in the traditional drinking culture.³³ For these reasons, the era of the brewer-politician was coming to an end. The influence of the Norwich brewing families within the urban elite and directly over the working classes through the local government of Norwich was less marked in the new century than it had been during the nineteenth century.

Having briefly outlined the national context of an expanding population and rising demand for beer, and the general developments in the national economy and the evolution of limited liability, the

focus of the argument can now shift to concentrate on the role of brewers, as both local councillors and businessmen, in helping shape the interface between the urban elite and the working classes. The heyday of the Norwich brewers in the affairs of local government had indeed lasted for most of Victoria's reign and there were sound business reasons for their involvement, as well as the attractions of civic status and their sense of duty and social responsibility. An expanding market needed oversight and protection. In 1869, a contemporary survey described the brewing business in Norwich as 'greatly extending' and estimated that:

Messrs. Patteson and Co. produce 100,000 barrels of ale and beer yearly; Messrs. Bullard, 60,000; Messrs. Morgan, 30,000; Messrs. Young and Co., and other brewers, about 40,000. The annual value of their productions is at least £500,000.³⁴

Even allowing for some inflation in these figures, the four leading Norwich breweries were amongst those contributing to that great increase in output from a minority of provincial breweries that that been noted already.³⁵ The population increase in Norwich that supplied the demand for beer was less dramatic than in some areas but still significant: in 1801, the population of Norwich was around 36,000; in 1851, 68,000; in 1901, 112,000.³⁶ Involvement in local government, to put it crudely, was a sensible business move for brewers giving more control over consumers and consumption.

Two Norwich brewers, in particular, emerged as most significant figures within the urban elite during the Victorian period: Henry Staniforth Patteson and Sir Harry Bullard. Both became mayors of Norwich, Patteson between 1862-63 and Bullard three times, 1878-79, 1879-80, and 1886-1887. The office of mayor could not be undertaken lightly. A substantial private income was needed for maintaining office and to meet the high cost of entertainment.³⁷ This condition of office posed no problem for either Patteson or Bullard, third and second-generation brewers respectively.

Henry Staniforth Patteson (1816-98) had been born in Norwich, the son of John Staniforth Patteson and the grandson of the founder of the Pockthorpe brewery, John Patteson II. Educated at North Walsham Grammar School and trained in malting between 1836-38 by Messrs. Taylor & Son of Bishop's Stortford, Henry played a key role within the new partnership at Pockthorpe set up in 1838 especially after the death of Peter Finch in 1852. When Timothy Steward died in 1858 he was left, for a time, in sole command.³⁸ For the next forty years, as the brewery continued to prosper, Henry Staniforth Patteson's activity within Norwich public life was various and influential.

Patteson served as sheriff in 1858-59 as well as mayor in 1862-63, and had become a deputy-lieutenant of Norfolk and a magistrate in 1859. In the expanding and lucrative field of insurance, he

served as a director of the Norwich Union Fire Society from 1848, as its vice-president from 1874-1877, and finally as its president from 1877 until his death in 1898.³⁹ He was also on the board of the Norwich & London Accident Insurance Association from its formation in 1856 and the General Hailstorm Insurance Society from 1862. Appreciating no doubt to some degree the link between water supply and beer production,⁴⁰ he became a director and then chairman of the Norwich Waterworks Co. He was also an enthusiastic member of the Church of England Young Men's Society and his association with the Establishment was completed by his lifelong support for the Conservative party, becoming the leader of the Norwich Conservatives in 1895 on the unexpected death of Colonel Bignold.⁴¹ That same year, the prospectus for the limited liability company formed from the Steward and Patteson partnership revealed that it owned 447 public houses. Of these 136 were in Norwich. With beerhouses and the tied houses of the Swaffham brewery, purchased later in 1895, included, the grand total reached 580.⁴² With each drinking place displaying the company title, there would have been few names of gentlemen better known than that of Patteson in Norwich and the surrounding areas.

Bullard, however, would have been such a name. Harry Bullard (1841-1903) was a son of Richard Bullard (1808-1864), a publican-brewer who had entered the trade in 1837 and launched a brewery at St. Miles Bridge, Coslany.⁴³ Knighted in

1886, Sir Harry Bullard 'was probably the best known of all Norwich citizens of his time'. When he won the Norwich parliamentary seat in 1885 - (before being disqualified on a petition alleging his agent's bribery) - Harry Bullard was described by his local party leader, Colonel Charles Bignold, as:

... one of the most distinguished of our citizens, one who had filled the highest civic offices and endeared himself to all, both Whigs, and our most distinguished enemies the Radicals.⁴⁴

He was successfully returned to Parliament in 1890 and 1895 as a Conservative, the party he had joined in November 1872 after leaving the Liberals in protest at the passing of the Licensing Act.⁴⁵ For Harry Bullard, the move to Westminster was a natural extension of his commitment to protect the interest of the family brewery through active involvement in politics, both local and national, as well as local government.

In 1895, when Bullard's became a limited liability company, they controlled 441 public houses all carrying the family name, 121 in Norwich and 320 elsewhere in East Anglia.⁴⁶ Like 'Patteson', the name of 'Bullard' was likely to have penetrated deep into the minds of the working class in Norwich. The Bullard family history had a 'rags to riches' message. Through the brewing and selling of beer, Sir Harry's father, Richard Bullard, had become socially mobile. Here was tangible evidence that there were escape routes

from the working class world of courts and alleys. I have already introduced the argument that the concept of 'paternalism' is important in making sense of the Victorian period and provides a valuable insight into what is central to this thesis - the idea of an interface between two broad groupings, the urban elite and the working class, within the polity of Norwich. This is an interface between those who, as leaders of society, had a sense of 'duty' to the less fortunate, and those who, as members of a working class referred to as 'the lower orders', were expected to show deference to their social 'superiors'.⁴⁷ The Bullard family story would have carried powerful messages at that interface, bringing a measure of mythic hope and comfort to many of the drinking working classes. Social mobility made possible through the media of brewing and drink could serve as a cohesive force demonstrating the elasticity of 'the upper orders' well before the extension of the franchise.

The elder Bullard was born in obscurity in the back streets of the Norwich parish of St. John Maddermarket.⁴⁸ By 1837, he had formed a brewing partnership with James Watts; ten years later it was dissolved, leaving the more enthusiastic Richard Bullard to reap the rewards of an expanding business until his death in 1864. Already, by 1844, he had become a councillor. Here was a man who within the limits of his social origins had done rather well for himself and his family. One obituary in a local newspaper read:

The deceased ... sprang from very humble life. By industry and constant application, he ... steadily raised himself to a foremost position amongst the traders of his city. Had he possessed the advantage of a good education, his name would have been more prominent in city affairs, but the sense of his deficiency in this respect kept him back.⁴⁹

Richard Bullard's wealth ensured that his son, Harry, did get a good education. By the time of his father's death, Harry Bullard, in his early twenties, was ready to begin his career as a brewer and public figure that matched and then surpassed that of Patteson.

The human virtues that others praised in Sir Harry Bullard were those associated with his father too. Another obituary in 1864 had observed that Richard Bullard, a Liberal in politics, was never 'a grinder of the orphans, a despoiler of the widow, a bully to the poor, or a toady to the rich'. Harry Bullard was sent to a private school in East Dereham and then completed his education by learning the wine business at Messrs. J.K. Hooper and Sons in London. He remained a key personality in the various family partnerships from 1864 until the change to limited liability status in 1894, and still dominated the new firm until his death in 1902.⁵⁰ His membership of the urban elite had had less to do with election than adoption; his son wrote:

...his (Harry Bullard's) career having been carefully watched by the council it was considered that my father ought to take part in municipal affairs.

In 1867, Harry Bullard was returned as a Liberal, like his father, to the town council with another Norwich brewer, A.M.F. Morgan.⁵¹

Once active within this elite, Harry Bullard not only advanced his own standing and that of his firm, but also formed part of the phalanx of brewers in local government and politics intent on defending the interests of Drink against any Temperance attack. It was H.S. Patteson who nominated him as sheriff in 1877, A.M.F. Morgan who seconded the nomination. As sheriff, he addressed the 1878 annual dinner of the Norwich and Norfolk Licensed Victuallers Association at the Norfolk Hotel, speaking of the '... generally admirable way in which the licence holders in the City conducted their houses' and quoting Lord Shaftesbury to the effect that:

Brewers and Licensed Victuallers were to be found prominently amongst those who did their best to promote the moral and social improvement of the people.⁵²

Queen Victoria's golden jubilee in 1887 coincided with the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of the firm of Bullard's and was also the occasion for Sir Harry, the brewer, and the city of Norwich to join together in celebrating his recent knighthood.⁵³ It seems that the brewer and the brewery had become part of the social fabric of the city. By the time of Victoria's death in 1901, Sir Harry's promotion of the family business had developed an international dimension. He was chairman of the

Milwaukee and Chicago brewery in the U.S.A. to which he had made five journeys since 1885, and also of Ohlsson's Brewery in South Africa that he had visited three times since 1890.⁵⁴ Drink, public houses, publicans, and brewers too: all played their part as forces helping social cohesion. The Bullard story - from Maddermarket squalor to international fortune - would have been inspirational to many in the working classes and helpful in developing respect for a social order in which such transformations were possible.

In an expanding city like Norwich, the financial management of the four leading breweries was likely to benefit from representation within and access to the significant agencies of civic government. Harry Bullard and Henry Patteson served on various committees in local government as did other members of the main brewing families in Norwich. As we have seen, the brewers were particularly concerned with the linked issues of water supply, sewerage disposal, and public facilities on the one hand, and public order on the other.⁵⁵ Both areas were of importance for brewers intent on protecting their business interests, as well as serving whatever they might define as the public good.

The brewer-politicians were concerned not only with the wider issues of public health and public order but also with the more mundane detail of local government that could effect their businesses and profits. Once the appointment of the

Paving, Sewage, Cleansing and Lighting Committee of the Norwich Board of Health had been made in June 1853, the brewing interest was soon apparent. In September of that year, the Committee had received a letter from the brewers, Youngs, Crawshay, Youngs of King Street: '... calling attention to the Pathway in Mariners' Lane and the want of Gas Lamps'. Such a concern for the environs of their own brewery was understandable and by June of the following year John Youngs himself was a member of the Committee, remaining active as a brewer-councillor for the next three decades.⁵⁶ In 1855, he was one of seven councillors at a special meeting of the committee to consider the London Street development at which 'Mr. Morgan attended' - (it is unclear from the minute which member of the brewing family this was) - and secured a favourable compensation deal.⁵⁷ No evidence of hostile competition between the Norwich brewers has emerged in the course of this research; on the contrary, at times as in this instance, there is an indication of mutual assistance. Each brewer in local government represented not only his nominal electorate but also the interests of his own firm - and the interests of the Norwich brewing industry in general.

The case has already been argued that the wider effectiveness of the various committees set up within local government in response to a central government concern about the living conditions of the poor was very limited.⁵⁸ Brewer-councillors, like the other 'civic fathers', in prac-

tice did little to alleviate fundamentally the urban crisis. They did however tend to get what they wanted from membership of the Council and its Committees. By 1857, John Youngs had been joined on the sub-committee of the Board of Health by Richard Bullard and the two brewers were amongst the nine members of the committee meeting in 1857 that granted Youngs' application on behalf of his firm for planning permission to bring forward the intended new building line of the estate just purchased by the brewery in King Street so there could be a continuous line with the existing part of the brewery.⁵⁹

In the 1860s, John Youngs was prominent within another sub-committee of the Norwich Board of Health (that is, the Town Council) - the Sanitary Purposes Committee. So too were the brewers Arthur J. Morgan and John B. Morgan who in 1862 comprised half the membership of a sub-committee appointed to consider the question of compulsory vaccination together with the Guardians. At the same meeting when they were appointed, they and the other six councillors present were responsible for the following order:

... that the Water Supply of the Drinking Fountains be stopped with the exception of those on the Castle Hill and at the Guildhall on Saturdays.⁶⁰

No explanation was given. It is tempting to suggest that water as an alternative drink to beer or spirits would not be over-encouraged. Water, however, was a vital

part of the brewing process and although the Norwich brewers would have drawn their main supplies from private deep wells, the risk of contamination remained a matter of concern. Arthur Morgan, in calling attention in 1856 to the 'bad supply of water at Trowse' and the 'bad state of the River as far as Lakenham Mills', was raising an issue for the economic health of the brewing industry as well as the public health of the citizens of Norwich. In 1866, John Youngs was a member of the sub-committee set up to find a solution to the problem of diverting sewerage from the river Wensum.⁶¹ Yet it was to take another generation before such problems began to receive an appropriate and adequately funded response from professional local government officials as opposed to amateurs with vested interests, however well intentioned, like brewer-councillors.

The Council continued their search through the seventies, without success, for a solution to the water, drainage and sewerage problems of Norwich and brewer-councillors were again prominent. John Youngs, Harry Bullard and Arthur Morgan were active in the Sewerage and Irrigation Committee of the Board of Health, set up in 1870. As the Council argued about the merits and costs of various schemes, there are glimpses in the minutes of the Committee of what it meant to live or run a business in a city with leaking sewers and inadequate drainage. In 1872, the City Surveyor was requested 'to inspect the engine house at Mr. Youngs' brewery and ascertain the

cause of the stench there'.⁶² Whatever the outcome of that initiative, elsewhere in the city the Council was failing to cope adequately with the sewerage crisis. So much committee time was spent to so little effect dealing with the relatively trivial issue of the sewerage contamination of Harriet Martineau's well at Trowse.⁶³ At the same time as John Youngs was claiming that Norwich could not be described as negligent in sanitary matters, the city was clearly being overwhelmed by its own detritus.⁶⁴

John Youngs belonged, as did the other gentlemen brewers, to a generation that was resistant to the spending of rates-payers' money on Westminster initiatives, and purblind to the appalling living conditions of the working class. A provincial suspicion of State intervention was not likely to have been particular to Norwich, but its degree of entrenchment and resistance to new perspectives lasted as long as the lifetime of a particular generation of councillors, a significant number of whom were brewers. Harry Bullard was the last in the substantial line of such brewer-councillors in Norwich.⁶⁵ As his spheres of influence widened from 1885 to embrace the politics of Westminster and new overseas brewery concerns, so the perspectives in Norwich civic life were widening. Sir Peter Eade towards the end of his life had been able to see this shift in outlook and conscience within the polity of Norwich.⁶⁶ For the working classes of the city it was a change long overdue. A central argument in this chapter is that the brewers were agents of social cohe-

sion; the public houses that the brewers owned and supplied with drink did help many of the poor make sense of their lives and living conditions. Yet it was the failure of a generation and more of councillors that included brewers that had contributed to their distress. In the end, the forces working towards social harmony and a 'social order at least roughly appropriate to an urban, industrial capitalist society' did succeed, but there were many socially divisive forces to overcome before something approaching equilibrium was reached.⁶⁷

In the sphere of public order, the other main area of local government with which the brewer-councillors concerned themselves, their effectiveness as agents of social cohesion through their measure of control over policing was in the end clear. They were directly concerned with the issue of public order for longer than with public health. Indeed, one generation of brewer-councillors had in part failed to achieve their aims before another generation began from the 1870s to develop the insights that brought them much closer to success.⁶⁸

In direct response to the requirements of the Municipal Corporations Act, the Norwich Police Force had been established in 1836 under the authority of the Watch Committee.⁶⁹ It became one of the most powerful of the Council's sub-committees. From its inception, the brewer-councillor Peter Finch acted as a dominant influence until his death in 1852, shaping the policing and control of the working

classes of Norwich.⁷⁰ It was with Peter Finch as chairman that a meeting of the fifteen-strong Watch Committee agreed in March 1836 to set up a sub-committee '... to draw out a scale of fees for apprehensions, and other business' and it was 'at Mr. Finch's house on Monday next at 7 ... Town Clerk to attend' that this sub-committee of Finch and three others was to meet. Shortly after, the full Watch Committee decided to meet weekly on Friday.⁷¹ All the urban elite, but perhaps brewers in particular, had vested interests in keeping a constant eye on public order and the maintenance of social cohesion.

This weekly pattern of attendance shaped not only the remaining sixteen years of Peter Finch's life but the lives of other brewer-councillors after him, such as Richard Bullard, Arthur Morgan, John Youngs, and Harry Bullard. It was so important for the brewers to feel they had a measure of control over the people who drank the beer they brewed, the public houses themselves, and the organization responsible for policing drink. This area of public order was probably seen by them as even more vital than their involvement in the issues of public facilities like water supply, sewerage, and drainage, since it could directly affect their retail trade through the endorsement or refusal of licences.⁷² Moreover, the brewers were conscious from the 1830s of what in effect became a war between them and the Temperance cause. Therefore public image and reputation were of increasing importance. The brew-

ers needed to have their finger on the pulse of the new policing and its contact with the drinkers, who the brewers supplied, and the drinking places, most of which they owned. For this complex blend of reasons, the role of the Watch Committee and its Police Force was a vital aspect of the interface between the urban elite and the working class in Norwich, an interface in which brewer-councillors played a key part.

Peter Finch was at the forefront of the Watch Committee's struggle with the problem of drunkenness in its own Police Force.⁷³ He was in the Chair in 1841 on the occasion of the purge of the day police when three were dismissed as inefficient, eight were given warning to be strictly attentive to their duties in future or face discharge, and eight were generally admonished. Just over half of the day police of thirty-seven men had been found to be inefficient in varying degrees.⁷⁴ Problems of drunkenness may well have been at the roots of the Watch Committee's anxiety. Many in the police were unlikely to have curbed the habits of excessive drinking associated with their class, yet the reluctance at this stage to make explicit the connection between inefficiency and drunkenness may have been due to Peter Finch's desire to protect the good name of beer.

By 1844, Richard Bullard had become a councillor, a regular member of the Watch Committee, and like Peter Finch intent upon not only eliminating drunkenness from the Norwich Police Force but

also presenting a favourable image of that Force's sobriety to the 'respectable' classes of Norwich. In 1848, Bullard was one of the five members present at the Watch meeting when it was unanimously resolved:

... to make application (to the Norfolk Chronicle) for the names of the "Town Councillors" who are reported ... as having been heard to charge the Police with having been drunk ... in order that this Committee may give to such members of the Town Council an opportunity of substantiating their charges if well founded.⁷⁵

The issue came to nothing, but it is indicative of tensions within the urban elite itself over the issue of drink, and serves to highlight the brewers' need to maintain a good image for their product and minimise the adverse consequences of its inebriating nature. The brewing industry was likely to have been one of the earliest market-leaders in business history to make good public relations a matter of policy. Brewer membership of the Town Council and its important sub-committees was one important means to that end. The pervasiveness of the culture of drinking through all ranks in the Norwich Police Force would have been a source of intense frustration to the likes of Peter Finch and Richard Bullard. The idea that brewers had a measure of responsibility for drunkenness in society was gaining increasing currency.⁷⁶

By the mid-1850s, following the death of Peter Finch in 1852, Richard Bullard was

joined on the Watch Committee by two other brewers, John Youngs and Arthur Morgan. The public-relations problem they faced within the urban elite is indicated in the deputation of the inhabitants of St. Stephens that attended the Committee in 1856, led by the Rev. Evans:

... on the subject of the disorderly and immoral practices which they alleged were allowed to take place in various public houses (in their parish) ... and which the Police neglected their duty in not suppressing.

They cited in particular the case of the 'Rose' public house where music and dancing were allowed to take place on a Sunday evening. After a full investigation, the Committee ruled unanimously that the charge was not proved and neglect of duty by the police was unfounded. After the disaffected St. Stephens' residents had taken the matter to the full Council, the Chief Constable was later to report that the 'the magistrates had dismissed the Information against the Rose'. Since the 'Rose' was a Bullard public house, this was an issue especially close to the interests of the Bullard family and one they would have been pleased to see resolved in their favour.⁷⁷

The problem of drunkenness within the Norwich Police was reduced from the early 1870s when there was a significant change in the approach of the Committee to its policemen, following the decision to allow moderate drinking of alcohol by police on duty. Since Harry Bullard, John Youngs, and the wine-victualler and pub-

lic house proprietor Philip Back were present at the meeting of thirteen Watch Committee members when this was agreed, it seems that this new generation of brewers was prepared to think in a radical new way and in so doing take a significant step towards easing the problem that had defeated the Committee for the previous three and a half decades. Less than a handful of cases of inebriate policemen came before the Watch Committee in each year of the remaining three decades of the Victorian period.⁷⁸ Progress towards a better ordered and more professional police force was clearly being made in these decades, and this in itself can be seen as both a cause and an effect of increasing social cohesion.

Yet whatever the new pragmatism evident in this instance, in other respects there was still resistance to change. Harry Bullard's generation of brewers were as opposed as any before to a weakening of the hierarchical structures in society that demanded deference from those in the 'lower orders'. Bullard was present as a member of the Watch Committee in 1873 that found P.C. Caleb Page guilty of insubordination when he sought the removal of an adverse report on himself from the Occurrence book and then dismissed him from the Force. Bullard was also present more than a decade later in 1886 to accept P.C. John Easton's confession of regret as his price for being made a sergeant.⁷⁹

It was also the case that political developments at the national level, from the

election of Gladstone's Liberal ministry (1868-74) through to the end of the Victorian era and beyond, were serving to emphasise such conservatism. When Harry Bullard, his brother Charles, and brother-in-law John Boyce, crossed the chamber floor of Norwich Council in 1872 to join the Conservatives, it was symptomatic of a pressure that was driving most brewers into the ranks of the Conservative Party if they were not there already. The radical wing of the Liberals was so identified with non-conformity, temperance and teetotalism that it had become for almost all brewers a denial of the interests of the brewing family and firm to stay within the Liberal Party.⁸⁰

For brewers of Harry Bullard's generation, the threat posed by temperance and especially teetotalism seemed the more daunting because it had become linked with Liberal doctrines. The last three decades of the Victorian period saw an intensification in the war between the 'Trade' - as those within the drink industry termed themselves - and those in the Temperance movement who saw drink as responsible for poverty and human suffering. This battlefield can be mapped through a study of the *Licensed Victuallers Gazette* that first appeared in July 1872 as a weekly newspaper.⁸¹ In a leading article the following week, the issue of licensing was presented as:

... now among the foremost social questions of the day, ... aggravated into an undue and unhealthy prominence by being made the

'Shibboleth' of a persecuting puritanical minority of meddling legislative Tinkers.

In 1879, its readers were told:

We are on the eve of great and important movements affecting the trade ... The value of your property will depend upon your unity, and the strength with which you resist your enemies.

After the general election of 1900, the leader read:

The unshaken Tory majority in the House of Commons means that the Trade will not be harassed with vexatious, unjust, and injurious legislative propositions emanating from the Government benches ... ⁸²

The brewers and the 'Trade' in general on the one hand, and the Temperance movement on the other, had in effect become polarised rivals for the moral high ground in Victorian society.⁸³

Achieving good order within the police force was an essential goal, as part of the brewers' own crusade to win support in this battle with the Temperance movement. It was also a prerequisite for the wider aim of achieving good order and social cohesion throughout society. For Norwich brewers, as for the 'Trade' everywhere, it was a powerful, indeed conclusive argument to register the progress towards a more sober, more ordered society as each decade passed. Harry Bullard as mayor and Donald Steward as sheriff proudly drew attention

to the statistics published in the House of Lords Select Committee Report on Intemperance in 1879 that indicated that Norwich had the least per capita drunkenness in the country despite having the most per capita drinking places.⁸⁴ In reality, although drunkenness did become less of a problem in Norwich during the later Victorian period, there were still significant public order and public health issues associated with the consumption of drink that the brewers found difficult to acknowledge.⁸⁵

Even so, more professional approaches to the problems of urban government, combined with improvements in working conditions, were having an ameliorative effect at the close of the Victorian period. The withdrawal of most Norwich brewers from civic life was occurring at a time when such 'progress' in society was being recognised and celebrated.⁸⁶ This improvement may have been due, at least in part, to the fact that they, as amateurs, were no longer so directly involved in local government. However, to make this claim is not to deny the genuineness of the brewing families' concern to be seen as helping in the progress towards a more ordered society. They devoted much time to their civic duties. Such commitment, nevertheless, was not at the expense of ensuring that their businesses were run efficiently and profitably and it is to this area of brewing activity - the efficient management of the firm and the development and control of its retail trade - that the analysis in this chapter now shifts. If they were to be effective agents of social

cohesion, acting through the interface of the public house, the brewers needed to be efficient as business enterprises.

This final section of the chapter opens with a study of the already published analysis of the development of Steward and Pateson as an efficient business enterprise presented by Terry Gourvish.⁸⁷ This outline will serve as a link to my own analysis of hitherto neglected archival material relating to the development of the Bullard's brewing firm. It is particularly fortunate that so much material relating to both the early and later management of the Anchor brewery of Bullard's has survived. 88 My study suggests patterns of growth and effective management for Bullard's that are similar to those for Steward and Pateson.

Gourvish argued that the period 1837-80 was one of growth and consolidation for Steward, Pateson, Finch & Co. The merger with Peter Finch's brewery in 1837 brought around 55 more public houses, 40 of which were in Norwich, making a total of about 250 retail outlets within the Pockthorpe chain of control. Gourvish estimated that there was around a 70:30 split in the Norwich and Norfolk share of these drinking places. By 1845, the company owned no less than 183 outlets, around a third of the total of 558 recorded for Norwich. Steward, Pateson, Finch & Co. had used this substantial city base to develop a trade out into the hinterland of Norfolk as far as this was viable. Their policy of acquisition and merger was signalled for instance by the purchase of

part of the Coltishall brewery and its tied houses in 1841.⁸⁹ However, since beer never improved with travel, prior to the railway age most brewers had to rely upon local distribution networks that naturally limited their market reach. Richard Wilson has suggested that in the pre-railway age it was unlikely that:

...all the Norwich breweries put together sold more than a few score barrels outside Norfolk and north Suffolk before the 1850s.⁹⁰

With the coming of the railways, there was the most dramatic expansion in the size and range of the brewery's market. The opening of the Norwich and Yarmouth railway in 1844 seems to have stimulated the lease of 22 public houses from the Gorleston brewery and the purchase of a Yarmouth brewery with 25 tied houses both in 1845. The Pockthorpe management also responded to these new developments by reorganising the brewery in Norwich and renewing its brewing equipment at the same time as rail links with Cambridge and London were established in 1845. By 1849, the rail link with Ipswich was in place.⁹¹ These changes in the transport infrastructure in the late-1840s widened significantly the brewery's viable distribution network and it is a mark of their business acumen that the opportunity was seized to such effect.

By 1863, the company had established agencies in London, Colchester, Ipswich, and Plymouth, in addition to Yarmouth. Twenty of the public houses leased in

Gorleston were purchased in 1866, the Reepham brewery with its 50 pubs was bought in 1878, and there was a steady expansion in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, including the acquisition of about a dozen outlets in King's Lynn and a similar number in Ipswich. The new partnership of 1863 made Henry Staniforth Patteson the senior managing partner, and Donald and Walter Steward junior managing partners, and this team was able to continue the expansion of the brewery in the favourable market conditions.⁹² Brewers such as Henry Staniforth Patteson and Donald Steward, like Peter Finch in the previous generation, achieved high social standing in part through the profitability of their brewery and their managerial success. Within Norwich, however, without any diminution in the influence of the Steward, Patteson, Finch & Co. brewery, there was actually a contraction of the number of their public houses from 183 in 1845 to 147 in 1867. By 1893, the number had fallen further to 140.⁹³ Yet the total number of public houses in the Steward & Patteson Ltd. chain in 1897 was 656, with 528 owned and 128 leased.⁹⁴ The split in the share between the city and the rest of the brewery's retail market had been transformed in the previous 50 years.

Gourvish argued that this widening of the retail trade and the acquisition of new property outside Norwich began to stretch the resources of the partners and saw the brewery approaching the limits to further growth, thus bringing about one of the necessary conditions for the move to

limited liability in 1895.⁹⁵ The threat of falling demand, as 'counter attractions' developed for the working classes, and anxiety over government restrictions on licensing and higher taxation of the brewing industry combined to concentrate attention on improving both efficiency in production and also beer quality. New brewing plant, and expertise in producing pale ales, filtered bottled beer, and mineral waters as well as traditional products, became essential. The costs in improving standards of comfort in urban drinking places were rising too. In these circumstances, one means by which investment problems could be overcome, as Gourvish concludes, was through acquiring limited liability status and 'raising capital through the issue of debentures'.⁹⁶

Since local competitors facing similar market challenges were responding by taking this path to limited liability public company status, Steward, Patteson, Finch & Co. had little choice but to follow suit. In any event, over the next twenty years, the company's data suggest that the firm more than held its own, although as we have seen the next generation of gentlemen brewers declined the high-profile public role of their Victorian predecessors.⁹⁷

The patterns of growth and effective management for Bullard's during the Victorian period are similar, with the period 1837-1880 clearly one of growth and consolidation, and indeed this pattern seems to continue for Bullard's through to the change to limited liability status in

1895 and beyond. Effective management and business vision in response to market demand and opportunity must have underpinned the remarkable early expansion of the Bullard chain of tied houses. Founded as a publican-brewer partnership between Richard Bullard and James Watt in 1837, within eight years the firm had acquired a remarkable 32 tied public houses in Norwich.⁹⁸ From 1843 to 1867, 79 houses were acquired in Norwich, an average of around three a year, together with a further 43 in Norfolk, most of which were secured in the 1860s.⁹⁹ The peaks of acquisition in the mid-fifties and mid-sixties also coincide with times of considerable investment in brewing equipment.¹⁰⁰ It is clear that a striking entry into the Norwich brewing trade had been consolidated in an equally remarkable fashion. Bullard's had doubled their stock of public houses in a quarter-century, reaching a total that was around half of the Steward, Patteson, Finch & Co. figure of 147 in 1867, and, like them, Bullard's too were beginning to expand into the Norfolk market.¹⁰¹

The profits from the properties already in the chain would have been sufficient for the acquisition of much of the new stock. Although Bullard public houses were bringing in rents that averaged only around £3-£5 a quarter,¹⁰² the profit margins from beer sales were substantial enough to enable the firm to finance its own expansion. With brewers' profits averaging between 6s and 9s a barrel, and with a contemporary estimate of

		Public houses	Beerhouses	Total
Part 1 (Freehold)	Norwich	110	4	114
	Norfolk	143	34	177
	Suffolk	33	34	67
	Other	-	86	<u>86</u>
				444
Part 2 (Copyhold)	Norwich	3	-	3
	Norfolk	49	5	54
	Suffolk	4	2	6
	Other	-	1	<u>1</u>
				64
Part 3 (Leasehold)	Norwich	20	1	21
	Norfolk	15	1	16
	Suffolk	-	4	4
	Other	-	6	<u>6</u>
				47
Part 4 (Part Freehold / Copyhold or Leasehold)	Norwich	3	-	3
	Norfolk	18	2	20
	Suffolk	-	1	1
	Other	-	1	<u>1</u>
				25
			Grand total =	580

Table 29. Steward & Patteson ownership of public houses and beerhouses in 1895.

Source: NRO, BR1/146, 'Steward & Patteson Limited Trust Deed, 1895'.

Bullards' yearly output of beer standing at 60,000 barrels in 1869, a crude annual profit figure on beer sales alone of at least £18,000 is reached.¹⁰³ Beer pro-

duction could be very lucrative, and, in the case of Bullard's, good business acumen and management ensured the expansion of the brewery.

Further corroboration for the value of the business is provided in December 1871.¹⁰⁴ The total value of the 94 properties listed, that included not only Norwich, Norfolk and Suffolk public houses but also cottages, land, maltings, and the brewery premises, stands at £101,175. However, since there are only 42 Norwich public houses on this list, with 36 in Norfolk and Suffolk (mostly in Lowestoft), it seems probable that that this list is of free-hold property only and excludes lease-hold or copy-hold premises.¹⁰⁵

As business grew, not only were more properties acquired to increase further the value of the brewery and widen its distribution network but also the brewery itself was modernised and expanded. Important management decisions made by the partners at the Anchor brewery at St. Miles Bridge determined this expansion and are evident in the few pages of a journal kept by an anonymous employee from 1856 to 1894.¹⁰⁶ In 1856, the firm switched to steam power, using an 8 HP engine and a 20 HP boiler, since 'Business (was) increasing so much'; in 1861, another boiler was in operation; in 1863, a 'large Copper' had been purchased to replace the copper that was now 'a deal too small for the Increased trade'; in 1864, a new pump was in use; and in 1865, matching one of the peaks of property acquisition, there was a significant updating of equipment within the brewery with 'a new Refrigerator Circular and a new Hop Press', a new, more powerful, 16 HP main engine, a new pumping engine, and new safety valves to the boil-

er '... so that they cannot explode ... we have had them in use for nearly thirty years and they have never failed once'. It seems that some machinery had been in continuous and efficient use for a generation since the founding of the brewery in 1837.

The pages of the journal show that the instalment of new brewing equipment remained a priority from the late sixties through to the early nineties. In 1867, new machines were purchased 'for washing mouldy casks'; in 1868, Harry Bullard laid the first brick of the new, 'larger Boiler House' in response to '... the business increasing very rapidly'; in 1870, 'as the business still keeps on increasing', it was agreed to acquire a 'new Malt Mill' and a 'new Boiler to replace the original 1856 Boiler'. Through the 1870s, there were decisions to acquire 'a new refrigerator', an additional pump and boiler, 'Mill Rolls made of Chilled Steel to reduce wear', 'another large copper ... as the ones in use were not sufficient to carry on the work', yet more pumps, an 'enlargement of the Hop Backs', and another new 8 HP engine. In 1881, 'a new boiler and yeast press' were in operation, and in 1884, most significantly, 'the Artesian Well was bored the depth being 165 ft 6 inches, the outside case being 18 inches and the inside case being 16 inches'. The brewery management was taking no chances with contamination from sewerage and would have learnt lessons from the failures of public schemes over which brewer-councillors had had some responsibility.¹⁰⁷ The pages of the journal continue to

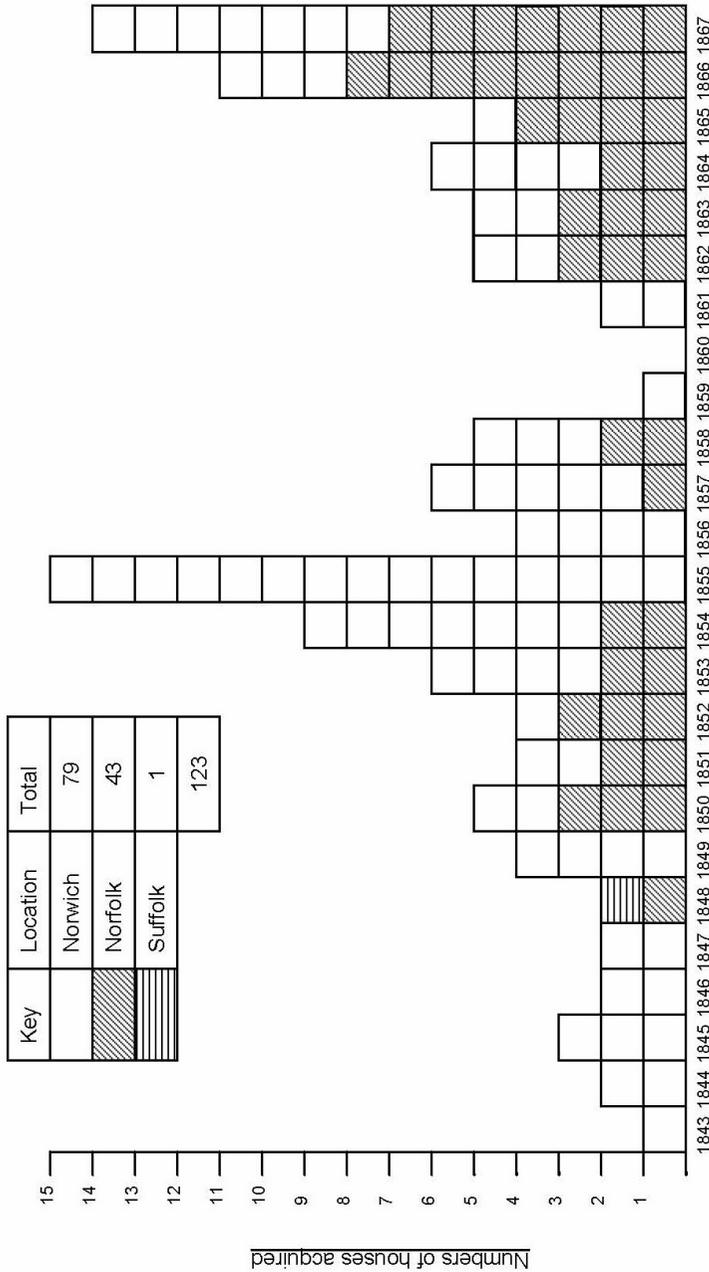


Figure 9. Public houses acquired by Bullard each year between 1843 - 1867.
 Source: NRO, BR3/11, 'The Anchor Brewery Norwich: Schedule of agreements with public house tenants, 1843-1867'.

record refinement to the plant and its machinery up to 1894 and so, through the eyes of a loyal and proud employee, we have an exceptional record over a generation of the prodigious development of a provincial brewery as it responded effectively through skilful management to market demand. Without such managerial skills, first Richard Bullard and then in particular Harry Bullard would not have gained the degree of wealth, power and influence that enabled them to act as agents of social control and cohesion.

It can be taken as axiomatic that without committed and efficient employees, Bullard's would not have been so successful. By chance, an Office Memoranda for 1858, the earliest of the surviving personal papers, contains an entry that suggests the firm founded by Richard Bullard knew the value of a respected and contented work force. Without a context, the following jotting appears at the top of one page: '... and seem to strengthen the ties of mutual regard which ought to exist between the employer and the employed'.¹⁰⁸ The author was possibly John Briggs, the Chief Clerk, who is recorded in this role in public house letting agreements in 1853. By 1864, with Harry and Charles Bullard and John Boyce, he was one of the executors for the estate of the deceased Richard Bullard and for the next ten years, until his own death in 1874, John Briggs served, if not in name, as a partner in the family business. Herbert Bullard recorded that John Boyce and John Briggs had helped Richard Bullard

'build up the business'. Within the hierarchy of the family firm, John Briggs enjoyed a key position under John Boyce, Richard's son-in-law, and his sons, Harry, Charles, and Fred.¹⁰⁹

Commitment and efficiency were expected at all times from employees and within the office of Bullard's John Briggs would have had high expectations. It is likely that as Chief Clerk he was responsible for the scornful remarks added to the entries on some of the pages of the 1867 Office Diary, part of the set of seven such diaries that have survived and cover the crucial period in licensing legislation, 1867-73.¹¹⁰ These diaries seem to be written by the same hand, an anonymous under-clerk in the Bullard office, who in 1867 certainly considered that he was working to full capacity, even overworking. Between August 24 and September 24, 1867, when the annual licensing meetings were taking place and had to be prepared for as well as attended, for instance at Norwich and Diss and Lowestoft, the under-clerk noted on a number of occasions that he had been working '2 hours before Breakfast' or 'not home till 10 at night'. Question marks had been added to these notes in blue pencil, probably by John Briggs, culminating in the annotation in purple ink for 21.8.67: 'What about 2 hours spent in drinking Rum and Milk?'¹¹¹ Retail demand for drink was satisfied not only through improving production but also through demanding commitment and diligence from the small workforce. But such loyalty and effort were rewarded through reasonable pay

and job security. The handwriting suggests that the under-clerk was still employed in the office in 1874. The principle of 'Mutual regard' is a management technique with a touch of modernity and seems to offer part of the explanation for the remarkable success of Bullard's.

The entries in these seven diaries confirm the image of an effective firm. The under-clerk worked for a family business in which the owners were gentlemen requiring respect and deference but they in their turn felt a responsibility to look after their employees through an occasion like the annual New Year's dinner. A picture of considerable activity emerges which is unsurprising given the increasing size of the Bullard 'empire'. Regular events like Transfer Sessions and the annual Licensing Sessions involved attendance at courts in Norwich and other centres, as well as time spent in preparation in the brewery office, in the clerk's room. Westminster legislation required local action. In 1869, for instance, the Wine and Beerhouse Act that brought the beerhouses under magisterial control led to certificates of character for the beerhouse keepers being written, printed, and delivered by the Bullard management within two days. Family members, it seemed, took part in the personal delivery, the urban elite thus meeting the working class in a direct interface.¹¹²

The general daily work of the office, which involved not only paper work at the desk but journeys within Norwich, and

further, was concerned with issues arising from the business relationship between brewer and publican. Chasing debts, attending court cases concerned with disputes over Bullard property, receiving and giving notices to quit, and preparing agreements with new tenants and drawing up notices for endorsements and transfers: all these types of business appear within the pages of the diaries. So too do the activities occasioned by the national moves towards tighter licensing regulation and, in response, the breweries' seeking of firmer control over the drinking places within their 'empires'. The under-clerk's sense of overwork was caused in some measure by days spent thus: 'Drawing long and particular list of houses hired with terms and particulars and when expire ...' (26.9.67); and '... arranging leases and placing them in alphabetical order and arranging sundry papers' (6.11.67); and in the counting room, '... copying list of leases of houses hired by B & S on card', before ending this Saturday work 'In Mr Brigg's Room' (7.12.67).¹¹³ With Gladstone's Liberal election victory in 1868 around the corner, and the forces of Temperance gathering strength, these would have felt like difficult times and one senses Bullard's getting their affairs in full order.

At the end of the Victorian period, the quality of Bullard management and its effective control over its network of retail outlets remained undiminished, as is clear from the pages of the Board Minutes Books that date from the setting up of the limited liability company in

1895.¹¹⁴ Whereas minutes books for Steward & Patteson in the same period generally provide a minimum of detail, concentrating on matters like sales and purchases and share values, the Bullard pages reveal much more about the management of the brewery and the interactions between its leading members.¹¹⁵ It is striking how few directors there were and how controlling power was still firmly held within the hands of two members of the Bullard family, Sir Harry Bullard and his brother-in-law, John Boyce. The third and only other member of the Board was George Arthur Collier, with Donald George Gaul serving as the company secretary. When, in 1896, Collier sought to challenge the family hegemony, his criticism of the Board meetings as a 'farce' was rejected; remarkably, the minutes contain the record of the incident.¹¹⁶ Even when Sir Harry Bullard was away for several months on American or South African brewing business, as for example in early 1899 for ten weeks for a journey to the Cape, this tiny directorate still effectively controlled the business affairs of the second biggest brewing firm in Norwich.

The range of business covered in the weekly meetings of the Board was full and pressing. Sir Harry Bullard was a manager who concerned himself with the minutiae of the brewery's affairs as well as the major decisions. In 1896, at one meeting before Christmas, it was resolved that he should visit a Bullard house to check on a £25 estimate for building work. During that same meeting,

he and George Collier (John Boyce was absent) were confronting such issues as publican bad debts, the crucial appointment of a new brewer, a further expansion of the brewery into mineral water production, the appointment of a builder's clerk, the payment of the company auditor, and the purchase of malt sacks.¹¹⁷ Modern management theory might despair at the failure to delegate but this perhaps obsessive attention to detail meant a degree of personal contact with the publicans of Norwich. Social cohesion was likely to have been stronger as a consequence.

Despite the overload, the brewery's management structure did seem to function well enough. The drive and commitment of men like Sir Harry Bullard, John Boyce, and George Collier, together with the loyalty and dedication of Donald Gaul and those staff below him in the office hierarchy, are likely to be the key reasons. However, the importance of the half-dozen travellers should not be underestimated. They were a vital link between the brewers and their publicans, responsible not only for drink sales but also for the quarterly rent collection. When in 1895 the Board debated whether to discontinue the brewing of XXXX Ale and substitute a lighter and cheaper beer to be known as Amber Ale or AA, the travellers were called together for a Saturday meeting at the brewery and reported in favour of the change.¹¹⁸ In 1896, the Board considered '... the way in which the Company is being represented by Travellers and others ... with

a view to appoint Mr Osborne as assistant Traveller ... giving more time to Messrs Wilkins and L'Estrange to seek Free Trade at Yarmouth and the Coast generally and elsewhere'.¹¹⁹ Wilkins and L'Estrange were clearly viewed as gentlemen whose work was important and whose opinions were to be respected. Representing the travellers, they appeared before the Board later that year 'in connection with the county trade' and:

... complained very seriously of the Mild Beers which in their opinion had been most unsatisfactory for some considerable time and had caused great complaint with customers and loss of trade.¹²⁰

From then on, the tasting of beers became a regular item on the Board's weekly agenda. Bullard management was responsive to the market.

In conclusion, the brewing industry in Norwich had expanded during the Victorian period to meet the demand for beer from the increasing population of the city, and other areas once the railway network had widened the range of distribution. Norwich brewers became richer and four breweries emerged to dominate the market - Steward & Patteson, Bullard, Youngs, and Morgan. All four breweries produced family members who served the interest of their business as well as the civic polity by becoming councillors and committee members within the local government of Norwich. Men like Henry Staniforth Patteson and Sir Harry Bullard, M.P. were dominant figures both within

the urban elite and at the interface between that elite and the working class of the city. Such brewers served as important agents of social cohesion. Their influence was felt directly through the business of the drink trade and the control they exercised over so many public houses and other retail outlets. It was also felt through the power they wielded in local government over such areas as public facilities and public order. These gentlemen brewers, however, were amateurs with a measure of vested interest; the quality of urban life only began to change significantly for the better when their influence and other like-minded gentlemen of their generation became less pronounced in public life. The future lay with sober professionalism.

Chapter 8: The Temperance Movement

The Temperance interest was an important influence within Norwich all through the Victorian period. It became significant and remained so because of the critical importance of Christian ethics for those who had power and wealth. Historians of the nineteenth century may be diverted by their own secularism from an appropriate understanding of the degree to which the Christian faith provided a framework of absolute truth and yet at the same time sustained a range of ethical systems for those who held power and responsibility or who aspired to do so. Within this framework, the competing ideologies that developed represented alternative ways, all supported by scriptural authority, of

making sense of the new world created by industrialisation and urbanisation.

The responses to the drink issue of two members of the Norwich urban elite illustrate the extremes within Christian belief. Jeremiah Colman (1777-1851) gained his status and wealth through the manufacture of mustard and flour; he was a devout non-conformist and teetotaler and elected Liberal mayor of Norwich in 1846. Henry Staniforth Patteson (1816-1898) owed his fortune and influence to the family brewery; he was an Anglican, a 'sincere evangelical' active in the Church of England Young Men's Society and elected Conservative mayor of Norwich in 1862.¹²¹ He, too, would have been concerned about the consequences, both personal and social, of individuals drinking to excess, yet remained firmly identified with the Drink interest. Both men shared a Christian faith and were active within their own churches, yet the Teetotal movement and the Drink interest were fundamentally opposed. Moreover, attachment to different and competing political ideologies added further complications to this spectrum of belief. Throughout the Victorian period, the urban elite generally attended a Christian service on Sundays and yet was divided on party lines. By the 1870s, the Conservatives clearly favoured the Drink interest; the Liberals, the cause of Temperance.¹²² There were even divisions amongst those Christians who saw drink as a 'problem'. Some who identified with the Temperance Movement believed that drinking in moderation was an appro-

priate response, not teetotalism, and they even accused the 'Abstainers' of setting up an alternative 'Gospel' in the Christian faith.¹²³

The Temperance Movement became important, and remained so for over sixty years, as a consequence of the challenge to traditional Christian ethics posed by the consumption of drink in a new industrial and urban context. This challenge is evident in the following two episodes, featuring the most senior Anglican cleric in East Anglia, that help provide an initial perspective on how a religious debate underpinned what became known as the 'Drink Question' throughout much of the 19th. First, at the beginning of the reign in 1837, the new Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Edward Stanley, presided over a Temperance Festival at St. Andrews Hall organised by the Norwich Society for the Suppression of Intemperance. Describing himself as a 'convert' to the cause of temperance after what he had seen of the personal and social miseries caused by drunkenness amongst the poor during his residence in the north 'sixteen miles from Manchester', the bishop acclaimed the formation of temperance societies as 'a miracle suited to the times in which we live'. Bishop Stanley was unusual; members of the Anglican episcopacy did not generally espouse the cause of Temperance, yet his thoughts were otherwise typical of the elite in society. When he claimed 'We are the finest people in the world - we should be if all people were temperate - if we were all what we

ought to be', Stanley was not only articulating a common sense of British racial pride but also a unifying Christian morality. He went, however, a step further; he identified a force within society that was working against such shared values: 'But we have enemies ... in the whole phalanx, rank and file, of the beer-shop keepers'.¹²⁴ For 'beer-shop keepers', it was only too easy for some to read 'publicans' and 'brewers', and once that path had been taken the 'Drink Interest' itself with all its claims to patriotism and importance in the national economy became the demonised 'enemy'. In such a fashion, the conflicting 'Drink' and 'Temperance' interests began to develop.

At the end of Victoria's reign, in 1900, the then Bishop of Norwich, Dr. John Sheepshanks, appointed Septuagesima as Temperance Sunday stressing the 'pressing nature of the evil of intemperance' and referring to the evidence produced by the Royal Commissioners' Report on Licensing Laws (1899). He spoke of the 'degradation' that followed from drunkenness at 'either end of the social scale' and supported the Church of England Temperance Society in its aim to secure Sunday closing of licensed houses.¹²⁵ Although the 'evil' has now crossed the boundaries of class and is no longer presented as the affliction of the poor alone, the Bishop was still responding to the issue of intemperance from a similar Christian ethical position to his early Victorian predecessor. 'Temperance' is still a term to identify the 'good'; 'intemperance' is linked with 'evil'. The act of

drinking is demonised when it takes place on the 'Lord's Day'. The 'Religious Question' involved a number of inter-related issues that centred on the nature of good and evil and the place of God in an industrialising society.

It is this industrialising society that has received the most attention within the historiography of the nineteenth century rather than the competing Christian ideologies that underpinned the attempts to make sense of its consequences.¹²⁶ With specific reference to drink, industrialisation and urbanisation certainly altered the context in which alcohol was consumed, but they also led to both a re-evaluation of the Christian ethics of alcoholic consumption and a re-statement of the traditional Christian justification for alcoholic drink. I have already made a case that alcohol was a drug that had a most significant part in the economic and social life of the nation and that so much of the Victorian period was shaped by the interactions of two competing models for society and its social control and public order: one presented by the Temperance Movement, the other by the Drink Interest.¹²⁷ Both these models depended on particular interpretations of Christian ethics.

Before further analysis of these Christian ideologies and their relationship to industrial society in general, and to alcohol consumption in particular, it will help to place the phenomena of industrialisation, urban development and alcohol consumption in a wider context.¹²⁸ James Roberts has argued that:

In Germany, as in other industrializing countries of Europe and North America, the Drink Question - the discussion of the causes, consequences, and control of popular drinking behaviour - was a matter of persistent public concern throughout the nineteenth century.¹²⁹

Patricia Prestwich echoed this view in her study of drink, temperance and industrialisation in France:

The history of drink in France and of attempts to limit its consumption may therefore best be seen as one aspect of the process of industrialization, which, as in other countries, has produced both material progress and more visible social problems.¹³⁰

Yet although the studies of Roberts and Prestwich support the view that there is a significant link between industrialisation and attitudes to drink, they also point to a difference between the continental and the British or North-American responses. Roberts noted that:

In contrast to its British and American counterparts, the German temperance movement never embraced teetotalism and prohibitionism and never entered the area of electoral politics.¹³¹

Prestwich concluded that:

Most notable in the French movement has been its ... commitment to moderation, or true temperance, rather than to total abstinence.¹³²

Why should the continental response have been different from that in Britain and America?

The connection between Britain and the United States was all-important. Bishop Stanley in his 1837 address noted that temperance societies began in the U.S.A. in 1827 and then spread from Ireland in 1830 to the English mainland.¹³³ Brian Harrison has emphasised the significance of the Anglo-American connection:

Temperance, peace, anti-slavery, penal reform and Christian missions all campaigned on an Anglo-American basis. For the nineteenth-century non-conformist moral reformer, as for the seventeenth-century puritan, America constituted a laboratory for social experiment.

Later, the introduction of prohibition by the state of Maine in 1851 sparked the formation of the United Kingdom Alliance in 1852-3 and the American connection persisted long after with the pseudo-masonic Independent Order of the Good Templars arriving in 1868 and temperance organizations for women in 1876.¹³⁴ Not only was there a common language; there was also a shared enthusiasm for evangelism and religious commitment that a significant minority felt on both sides of the Atlantic. This zealous desire to return to the purity of the original gospel message shaped both the Teetotal Movement and Prohibitionism. On the Continent, such extreme responses are not apparent, in part due to different religious histories but probably more

importantly due to differences in the social, economic and cultural background which seem to have led to less drunkenness. Evangelicals contrasted English drunkenness with French and Belgian sobriety but were generally slow to highlight the living and working conditions of the working class in Britain that were factors in explaining the inebriation.¹³⁵

The 'Drink Question' for various Christian clergy became an issue that seemed to encapsulate the crisis that had developed in society over a couple of generations. Industrialization and urbanisation were raising theological problems which some Christians, lay and clerical, were resolving by supporting the teetotal position, others by affirming the path of moderation, and yet others by adopting a course which recognised the value of both paths. Within Norwich, the appointment of Stanley as Bishop must have raised the profile of the theological issues that were now shaping the 'Drink question'. The occasion of the visit of Father Mathew, the Irish Catholic missionary for teetotalism, to Norwich in 1843, and Bishop Stanley's sharing of the platform with him, gave further impetus to the debate within the Christian community as is indicated by contemporary sermons.¹³⁶

One such Norwich sermon, delivered in response to Father Mathew's visit in 1843 by the Rev. J.W. Crompton, argued that it was 'the deficiency of vitality ... due to concentration on doctrinal issues' that explained why there was now a need 'to reach the drunken and the abandoned'.

Any sense that 'the advocacy of the temperance societies are liable to the charge of excess in their language and proposals' was but 'a natural effect of a reaction against an evil which has been allowed to increase almost to a state requiring divine retribution' At such a time, '...(the) priest of Rome, members of the Church of England, and dissenters, are all one ... because then we are all truly Christian'.¹³⁷ A sense of crisis is evident in this preaching. There is a feeling of being almost overwhelmed by an evil that required in response a renewed recognition of common Christian identity. The evil is presented as drink but was this rather the 'presenting problem'? The 'Drink Question' is more a symptom of the underlying structural problem of a society in economic transition and at the same time coping with a revolution in ideas that seemed to threaten religious certainties.

The authority of the *Holy Bible* as literal truth was one of the underpinnings of the Christian faith, not least in its account of creation. Darwin's theory of evolution, together with advances in geology, challenged such biblical literalism. Such was his anxiety about its social consequences that Darwin had held back publishing his theory for nearly twenty years until 1859 when *The Origin of Species* was immediately denounced in pulpits throughout the land and 'Darwinism' became almost a synonym for disbelief. Yet by the 1870s the theory was becoming part of the changed intellectual landscape.¹³⁸ Christian theology had adjusted to the need to match belief with the most plausible sci-

entific theory. However, it took longer for the theology of the social world to come to terms with those equally plausible analyses of society that identified the rich and powerful as having a measure of responsibility for the social conditions of the working class which all lamented. Instead, many members of the Victorian middle class, Christian by religion, thought that virtue usually led to prosperity and sin often led to poverty.¹³⁹ Within this world-view, drink naturally became a symbol of evil and an explanation for poverty. Perhaps unconscious motives refused to accept any theory that threatened property interests. It was not until the 1880s that the example of Frederick Denison Maurice who became a socialist because he was a Christian proved a precedent for others and the churches began to face the question of the relationship between Christianity and socialism.¹⁴⁰

A sermon preached in the 1840s in Norfolk by the Rev. James Lee Warner illustrates the differences within the spectrum of Christian thought that saw drink as a 'problem'. Lee Warner's sermon in 1843 encouraged a middle course that rejected the teetotal case but urged fellow Christians not to 'despise' those who argued for abstinence. He acknowledged that 'most Christian congregations are divided in their notions of temperance' with one party believing '...they may drink all things, and hold the moderate use of the strongest liquors to be allowable, provided ... they stop short within the limits of sobriety', and another party 'for conscience sake' giving up 'a portion of their

natural liberty [to] deny themselves the use of intoxicating drink altogether, because this abstinence removes an occasion of offence out of the way of Christian brethren, and of their own. And of this conduct they enforce by a solemnly recorded vow'.¹⁴¹ By the 1860s, for perhaps over one million Christians, this pledge of abstinence, following a searching of the soul, provided a Christian witness in the face of those forces associated with William Blake's 'dark satanic mills'.¹⁴²

This extraordinary demonstration of religious feeling by a significant minority was caused by a crisis of conscience as the governing classes faced the consequences of industrialization and urbanisation and seemed in many ways powerless to prevent the suffering of the working class. In a religious culture that paid homage to the great commandment: 'Love thy neighbour' not to act was to risk eternal damnation. It was not until the end of the century that values like 'liberty' and 'property' lost their absolute claims and the governing classes could begin to deal with such structural problems as poor housing, impoverishment, sickness and unemployment through higher taxation. Until then, teetotalism served as a symbol of Christian action, a token of solidarity with the poor for those outside the working class and a virtuous means of social advance for those born within it. Since the brewing industry continued to prosper and most of the working class continued to drink and sometimes to excess, there are ways in which the teetotal movement

can be viewed as failing. Yet the impact of the experience of personal abstinence for many individuals who played significant parts in Victorian and later developments should not be underestimated.¹⁴³

Lee Warner's sermon also provides a valuable insight into a vital contemporary debate that was dependent on an acceptance of the authority of the Bible taken as the literal word of God. Developments in biblical criticism that led to the scriptures being seen rather as containing passages inspired by God were later Victorian developments, like the acceptance of Darwinism and the Christian accommodation with socialism. In 1843, it was still almost impossible for members of the Christian governing classes to consider the 'Drink Question' without determining what God commanded through his word, as revealed in Holy Scripture.¹⁴⁴ Lee Warner, paraphrasing the apostle Paul's precept: 'Let not him who eats, despise him who abstains' (Romans 14, 3-4.), argued that those who drank should not judge adversely those in the Temperance interest. By extension however, the reverse of the argument was also true. Those who abstained should not criticise those who continued to drink in moderation, not least because 'there was no scriptural command to abstain from strong drink'. Lee Warner refuted the arguments of the teetotalists with reference to each biblical passage they cited in their support. The blessing to the house of the Rechabites was given because they had obeyed all the precepts, not just the one to abstain

from wine (Jeremiah, 35). There was no record of the Rechabites or the Nazarites censuring the conduct of other men. Drinkers may be as 'temperate' as abstainers; 'true Christian temperance has many branches ... Too much may be attributed to the wisdom of a temperance pledge.' Jesus had been accused by his enemies of being a wine-bibber which suggested that the wine was alcoholic. Moreover, 'if the wine of the Lord's table was not a fermented liquor in the days of the early church, Paul's reproof to the Corinthians makes little sense when he says that the cup was liable to be abused by the intemperate.'¹⁴⁵

However, the teetotal case remained irrefutable for those who were its adherents. An anonymous thirty-one-page tract was published in Yarmouth in 1844 to counter such temperance arguments as Lee Warner's and to defend the position of J.J. Gurney, a teetotal convert since 1842 and now president of the Norwich Temperance Society. It concluded that total abstinence 'shall last for ever'. Impassioned in style, the writing is nevertheless intent on presenting a rational argument based on scriptural authority. The Rechabite declaration that 'We will drink no wine' is used to effect; there is an insistence on the lack of positive proof of the existence of alcohol in the wine made and used by Christ.¹⁴⁶

Nationally, by the 1860s teetotal progress was being made in all denominations but especially within the Anglican Church. In 1866 a list of teetotal ministers included

2,760 names, 22% of whom were Anglican with the rest non-conformist. By contrast, a list of teetotal ministers in 1848 had 566 names only 4% of which were Anglican.¹⁴⁷ The evangelical concern to address the 'evil' of drink in contemporary society, which had been initiated by non-conformists, was now increasingly shared by the Church of England itself.¹⁴⁸ The Church of England Total Abstinence Society (later Church of England Temperance Society [CETS]) was founded in 1862 and ten years later adopted the 'dual basis' membership in which teetotal association was combined with non-abstainers.¹⁴⁹ By the end of the century, the CETS was the largest temperance society in the United Kingdom with 7,000 branches, 100 Police Court Missions and between 150,000-200,000 subscribing members.¹⁵⁰ In the 1890s Charles Booth, discussing temperance societies, could claim that they were 'almost all connected with some Christian church or mission, and there are few churches or missions which do not interest themselves in work of this kind.'¹⁵¹

Christian congregations faced the problem of making sense of urban societies in which often less than half of the population attended church.¹⁵² One solution was to identify 'drink' as an 'evil' that tempted the working class from the ways of righteousness and church attendance, and the drinking place as less than 'respectable'. Temperance periodicals highlighted the individual's 'choice' between wealth, respectability and virtue on the one hand and drink, disease and

death on the other.¹⁵³ The church and the tavern offered different ways to recreate the self and the competition between the two was recognised even before the Alehouses Act (1828) stipulated closure during the hours of divine service on Sundays, Good Friday and Christmas Day since magistrates already often closed taverns during Sunday morning church service.¹⁵⁴ The demonising of drink by many Christians was as much part of the battle for the souls of the working-class 'neighbours' they were called to love as the rapid expansion of church building in urban centres in the second half of the nineteenth century or the new emphasis within the churches on moral reform and mission work.

Christians in Norwich, and elsewhere, were also more likely to be drawn into the 'Drink Question' after the founding of the United Kingdom Alliance (UKA) in 1853 with its programme of prohibition through parliamentary legislation. By 1872, '... the prohibitionist movement was flourishing, and dominated the entire temperance movement.'¹⁵⁵ The arrival of the 'Drink Question' at Westminster had brought with it a degree of respectability for the issue that had previously been missing. When the Alliance launched itself 'with hymns, prayers and a sermon', its leadership was largely non-conformist but the support it gathered between 1853 and 1872 was wider than its non-conformist core. Cardinal Manning joined in 1868; across the denominations there was a developing shared sense that the evil of drink had to be countered by

Westminster legislation. The fluidity of the political situation in those years, highlighted by the extension of the franchise in 1867 and the increasing identification of the Liberal party with the Temperance cause and the Conservative party with the Drink Interest, also encouraged more and more Christians to take an explicit position on the 'Drink Question'.¹⁵⁶ Gladstone himself by 1868 had expressed himself in favour of a 'local option' to prohibit the sale of alcohol where possible but judged that the 'ripeness of the public mind' was not yet mature enough.¹⁵⁷ The politicisation of the 'Drink Question' had ensured that the Temperance Movement had entered the mainstream of Christian discourse.

Articles published in 1874 by J.F. Bateman and J.D. Ballance, two Anglican clergy with parishes close to Norwich, convey this sense of moderation and respectability that the Temperance Movement now carried. They also communicate the authors' sense of being part of a coalition of forces with a history of development over four decades that had emerged to conquer the darker side of the drink trade. Brian Harrison's seminal work (1971) may end its detailed research in 1872 but the Temperance Movement continued to remain important both at Westminster and in the regions for at least a few more decades. The turning-point for Temperance seems to be the nineties when the expansion of counter-attractions for the working class, the decline in per capita consumption of alcohol, a decline in drunkenness, the

rise of a secular ideology in the form of socialism and the relative decline in non-conformity, all combined to weaken but not end its appeal as a cause.¹⁵⁸

Bateman, in his paper delivered to the annual general meeting of the Pastoral Work Association at Yarmouth, acknowledged that drink was still 'our fearful national vice' but contrasted the position in the early-sixties, when there was '...the danger of men making "total abstinence" their religion, and treating it as a new gospel', with that in the mid-seventies when '...people are more moderate ...and the language of temperance meetings is far more temperate'.¹⁵⁹ Bateman was no abstainer and delivered a biblical refutation of teetotalism citing Paul's recommendation that Timothy drink a little wine for medicinal reasons and Jesus' turning of water into wine to promote the joyousness of the marriage feast. The politicisation of the 'Drink Question' is apparent in his advice to other clergy not to support the 'Permissive Bill', on the grounds that it was unfair for a majority of ratepayers to prohibit the sale of all 'exhilarating beverages' and also that the prohibitionist Maine Law of 1851 had failed in its aim. Yet he insisted that the clergy must wish well the Association of 'Good Templars', which by 1874 had 3,600 lodges and approaching one quarter of a million pledged members.¹⁶⁰ Bateman was a loyal member of the Church of England which two years previously had reformed its own temperance society to accommodate both the teetotalers and the non-abstainers like him.

Ballance had taken the pledge twenty-one years previously and is more evangelical in tone, quoting the Archbishop of Canterbury's warning that 'The evil of intemperance was eating out the very heart of society'. According to Ballance, 'It is our privilege, as Clergy, to lead the way in every upward movement' although he accepted that '...too often we regret that our hold is so slight upon the sympathies of the working men'. His recommendation was to establish a Diocesan Board of Temperance with meetings in every parish where the clergyman approved.¹⁶¹ It is such parish temperance societies whose foundation is recorded in the local press in the late-seventies, a half-decade later.¹⁶²

Within Norwich, identity with the Temperance Movement is a feature of Christian witness across the denominations from the 1870s. Alfred King and Bessie Lomas each kept a diary in 1878, the year of their marriage, and the entries provide an insight into the influence of Temperance. King was twenty-five, an employee of the temperance family firm of Colman, in which he was to spend his working life and reach the position of manager in the sawmills. In his leisure time, he was a lay preacher at an unidentified non-conformist chapel, and a Sunday school teacher; he attended lectures and concerts, read for self-improvement and interest (Macaulay, for example), rowed and played quoits, and went for long walks with Bessie during their engagement. Lomas was eighteen; when her time was not occupied in family

duties at her parents' home where she lived, she attended lectures and Band of Hope meetings. She accompanied Alfred to a meeting at St. Andrews Hall on the 'Permissive Bill' and together they went to the Victoria Hall to an entertainment given by the Princes Street Chapel children where the singing was 'very nice' but 'the piece "John Alcohol" was very badly played'. At the age of seven in 1867, she had taken the Norwich United Temperance Society pledge.¹⁶³ Alfred King and Bessie Lomas lived their lives under the influence of Temperance, two individuals among perhaps one million who were pledged never to set foot in a public-house. The survival of their diaries illustrates this type of Christian witness within the upper-ranks of the working class. For them, drink had been demonised and the poor drinker singled out as a 'neighbour' in need of Christian love and redemption. Moreover, alcohol was an impediment to Alfred and Bessie's individual advance as well as a blot on the landscape of Victorian progress.

As Shiman has argued, 'To many temperance reformers of the 1870s and 1880s, a teetotal England at last appeared to be a possible achievement in the near future'. The extension of the franchise meant that many teetotalers had become voters in national and local elections, and some had become candidates, especially for local government.¹⁶⁴ Such optimism derived from evangelical conviction but lacked substantial grounds. Per capita consumption of beer peaked at the end of

the seventies but the figure for England and Wales show a remarkable consistency from 1800 to 1913.¹⁶⁵ The Temperance Movement may have waited with eager anticipation for the publication of the House of Lords' Select Committee Report on Intemperance in March 1879 but little could or did change as a consequence.¹⁶⁶ The production and consumption of alcohol was an essential part of the economic and social life of the nation. A teetotal Britain would remain a pious dream. Too many of the wealthy and powerful had a personal stake in some aspect of the agricultural and brewing and retailing industries connected with alcohol; too few of the working class could or wished to free themselves from their dietary or social dependence on the drug.

By this later Victorian period, a critical national divide is apparent - the Drink Interest on the one hand and the Temperance Movement on the other. The latter was a broad church, ranging from teetotalers to non-abstainers, from those in the UKA who put their faith in parliamentary legislation to CETS teetotalers like Rev. S. Linton, a Norwich clergyman, who saw only betrayal by the highest secular power, arguing it was 'no use appealing to Parliament in which there were many brewers and supporters of the Brewing interest'. He instead advocated a personal crusade of individuals within the Temperance Movement.¹⁶⁷ Prohibitionist or moral-suasionist, nearly all shared two characteristics: they were evangelical in their Christian faith, and

their idealism tended to make both their aims and methods unrealistic.

Yet in Norwich in early 1879 many in the Temperance Movement would have thought that the tide was turning in their favour. The House of Lords' Report on Intemperance raised the national profile of the issue and within Norwich there were significant new initiatives. Parochial branches of the CETS were established, emphasising the inter-denominational nature of the Christian front against the evil of drink. Dr. Peter Eade was the guest speaker at the inaugural meeting of South Heigham branch of the CETS.¹⁶⁸ Other branches had been proposed or formed in 1879 at St. Michael Coslany, St. Giles, St. Philips, Heigham, and St. Bartholomew, Heigham.¹⁶⁹ At the meeting of the Norwich Board of the CETS in May it was reported that 131 clergymen and others had joined as subscribing members of 5s and upwards annually, 593 adults were paying 1s each and 462 juveniles were paying 6d each.¹⁷⁰ Over one thousand temperance Anglicans were increased by even more Norwich temperance non-conformists, most of whom would have been pledged to teetotalism. When the annual meeting of the Norwich auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance took place, also in May, its secretary George White reported that there had been seventy public meetings in the city and county in the past year, the first Drink Map of Norwich had been published and 4,000 printed, and Temperance Cafes had been opened.¹⁷¹ As H.P. Shield, the editor of the *Licensed*

Victuallers Gazette, said at the third annual banquet of the Norfolk and Norwich Licensed Victuallers Association in April:

many large and influential societies (were) doing their utmost by electoral and other means to do all the injury they could to the licensed victuallers.¹⁷²

However, guests like the mayor and the sheriff of Norwich, the brewers Harry Bullard and Donald Steward respectively, had enough business acumen to know the real limits of the threat.

The opening of Temperance Cafes in Norwich, and across urban England, at the end of the 1870s, was accompanied by high hopes and met with brief success in places, followed by failure. Their history provides a metaphor for the temperance movement in general, and within Norwich illustrates the extent to which temperance was an attempt to impose a more acceptable leisure culture on the working class by those who had wealth and power. Coffee was hailed as a substitute for beer; the coffee house as an alternative to the public house. Victorian temperance, commerce and philanthropy came together in the Café Movement.¹⁷³ Coffee houses were commercial enterprises, or at least they were explicitly presented as such. But they were also visible signs of middle-class anxiety about the underworld of the public house culture of working men. When the Norwich Café Company opened The Victoria Café in St. Stephens in February 1879, the speech-

es of those present provided several insights into the hopes and anxieties of those attracted to Temperance.

The president of the Norwich Café Company, J.J. Gurney, a member of the Quaker Gurney family, claimed in February that the Café movement had been successful in Birmingham and Leicester and elsewhere and saw no reason why it should not succeed, 'financially and morally', in Norwich. The locations had been chosen to help attract 'the class for whom the house was intended', as Hardy, one of the directors, said, explaining that a ticket system would operate so 'charitably minded people would ensure that their philanthropy was not wasted'. These tickets could be exchanged for food and drink in the café. Thrift and the easing of class conflict were combined with the virtue of Christian charity. The Member of Parliament for Norwich, J.J. Colman, and his wife, were also present and he reassured his audience that not all the supporters of the Coffee House were teetotallers. His intention was evidently to emphasise the moderation of the contemporary Temperance Movement, as well as suggesting that the future lay with that cause. He looked forward to the publication in the future of a map to show the coffee houses in Norwich rather than the public houses marked on the recent UKA drink map. A sense of Norwich as a provincial 'back-water' is perhaps apparent in the recognition by Rev. J. Wilson of St. Stephens that Norwich was 'behind other towns' in the founding of Temperance

Cafes. Nevertheless, he welcomed the initiative as 'better late than never'. Rev. G.S. Barrett pointed out that the poor condition of working men's homes were such as to explain the pull of the public house in Norwich where there was one public house for every 130 of the population.¹⁷⁴ Middle-class Christians from across the denominations had come together to herald this new initiative that might at last prove effective in the fight against the evil of drink and all that it symbolised.

The 'condition of the people' issue, Christian duty, and anxiety about the social and moral consequences of failing to address the problem of the 'outcasts' in society were all central themes in the address of Councillor J.H. Tillett, in April 1879, at the opening of The Alexandra Café in Ber Street. From the Christian position, Tillett argued, there was 'an obligation on those more highly favoured to provide the humblest class with a way of escape from temptation and trial.' He was sure that poor housing was responsible for so much of 'the evils complained of in our society.' Children who were sent to Sunday and day schools (compulsory day schooling had been introduced in 1870) were taught moral lessons but when they got home, 'they heard foul expressions, and were penned up, perhaps in close apartments where health was not regarded and hardly decency'. In these circumstances, it was not surprising that 'in between the closing of the factory or the workshop and retiring to rest the working man needed a change' and found it in the public house. 'There was', Tillett declared:

something threatening in the aspect of the lowest strata of society... In large towns thousands were outcasts to a certain extent ...and in them lay a source of danger to the country from a moral point of view...thanks to the want of education, of thought, and of thrift.'

In such circumstances, the Café movement appeared heaven-sent to many evangelical temperance men and women; Tillett, a subtle analyst, saw it as '...one of the means which would help the people to help themselves', realising that living and working conditions also needed to be improved before there could be 'a change in the morals and behaviour of sections of the working class.'¹⁷⁵

Change did take place in the last two decades of the century even though the Café Movement that arrived in Norwich in the late 1870s failed to fulfil its own high expectations. The future belonged to Temperance, not so much because of the successes of initiatives that were targeted on traditional enemies within the 'Drink Trade' but rather due to the amelioration of the conditions in which the working class lived. A leader in the *Eastern Daily Press* in April 1879 had argued that 'The Café Movement is a response to the vice and crime and misery of drunkenness' for which licensed victuallers had to accept a measure of responsibility.¹⁷⁶ The gentlemen-brewers who produced the alcohol and employed many of the publicans do not feature in this analysis, but according to many in the Temperance Movement they too played their part. However, it seems that drunkenness became significantly less

only when a new sense of civic concern developed and municipal housing and health initiatives led to a marked improvement in living conditions.¹⁷⁷

Yet there is a case to be made that the strength and visibility of the Temperance Movement through the late 1870s and into the 1880s helped shift the attitudes of those in power so that municipal housing and health reform became possible. The continued vitality of the Temperance Movement in Norwich in the 1880s is evident from a number of sources, including the first annual report in November 1883 of the executive council of the Norfolk & Norwich Gospel Temperance and Blue Ribbon Union. This report records that the former Norfolk & Norwich Temperance Society had held its last conference, in September 1882, presided over by Francis Murphy who had just completed a successful Blue Ribbon Mission in St. Andrews Hall.¹⁷⁸ By April 1883, the former Society had been amalgamated into the new Union, under the presidency of George White. In the year 1882-83, there had been more than four hundred meetings, four thousand pledges had been made, the Temperance Hall opened, a Blue Ribbon Brass Band established, and a Ladies' City and County Conference ('a somewhat new feature') arranged.¹⁷⁹ Established on moral suasion lines, the Union's aim was to assist:

in moulding public opinion in favour of Sunday Closing of Public-houses and in adopting the principle of Local Option in the

matter of granting and renewing licences for the sale of intoxicating drinks in the city and county.

Their successes called for 'gratitude to God'; the 'power of the Gospel in our meetings ... has a most winning effect upon the outcast and all who are suffering from the cruel wrongs so certain to follow the drinking habits of our country'. A format for public meetings was presented with singing from the Gospel Temperance hymnbook, readings from Scripture (with commentary if possible), prayer and addresses.¹⁸⁰ Christian evangelism was still shaping the Temperance Movement in Norwich in the 1880s as it had in the 1830s.

It seems that one significant way of making a public statement about personal religious faith, middle-class identity or aspiration, and probably Liberal political allegiance, was to join a Temperance organization. The 1883 annual report of the Norfolk and Norwich Gospel Temperance and Blue Ribbon Union records five other 'kindred societies' conducting 'valuable work ... in some of the towns and villages of the district': the East of England Temperance League, the Church of England Temperance Society, the Band of Hope movement, the Independent Order of Good Templars, and the Temperance Benefit Societies known as the Sons of Temperance and the Rechabites.¹⁸¹ Across the denominations, there was now a concerted effort to identify Christian virtue with sobriety and to associate drink with those forces that

stood in the way of progress and civilisation. 'The evil of drink' had become a metaphor for the shadow-side of the Victorian world, representing all those images of poverty, poor health, and wretched living conditions that any urban centre still presented. It was a rallying-cry for those who considered themselves as 'respectable', to confirm them in that status, and for some at least it served as an incentive to address those working and living conditions that contributed to the problem of drunkenness. The three leading subscribers to the Norfolk and Norwich Gospel Temperance and Blue Ribbon Union in 1882-3 were Mr. Councillor White (£10), J.J. Colman, Esq., M.P. (£5), and Mrs. S. Jarrold (£3).¹⁸² The White, Colman and Jarrold households were three of the wealthiest non-conformist, Liberal families in Norwich and they were active in seeking political solutions to social deprivation.¹⁸³

Christian evangelism and the targeting of drunkenness as an evil force to be overcome had become identified with 'respectability' by the 1870s but the arrival of the Salvation Army in Norwich in the early-1880s, with their commitment to temperance goals, added a rather awkward new element since General Booth's followers acted on their Christian principles in ways that hardly seemed respectable to some other Christians. The survival of copies of the *Methodist Sunbeam*, a Norwich church magazine, for 1882, has provided a glimpse of how disconcerting some Christians seemed to find the activity, and success, of the

Salvation Army.¹⁸⁴ Its editor, Rev. C. Ogden, observed 'with deep regret that some of the churches think it no disgrace to contemptuously sneer at the way in which the [Salvation Army] conducts its business'. He conceded that:

the Army works in altogether a different fashion to many of the churches that the world designates "respectable" (but) we believe their Army is doing more good in the land than any other existing organization ... they have reached men and women, steeped in sin and iniquity of the deepest dye, whom the churches have failed to reach.¹⁸⁵

By October 1882, 'the most important question of the day' had become 'What need was there for the Salvation Army to come to Norwich?' Ogden was firm in their defence:

The answer is simple enough. An officer was sent down by General Booth ... and he reported that there were thousands of men and women deep sunk in ignorance, superstition, and sin, whom the Churches made no effort to reach. There was plenty of room for the Salvation Army to work ... Under Captain Hookey and Lieutenant Games, they are doing a work we failed to do.

Ogden lamented that 'we have allowed our religion to become too genteel.'¹⁸⁶

Ogden's evangelical sense of exasperation came from a Methodist standpoint, but even within the Anglican Church similar frustrations were evident. In 1902, John Abby, organising secretary for the

Norwich diocese of the Church of England Temperance Society, published a 197 page argument, passionate but reasoned, against the failure of the Church to face up to the Drink Problem, in the form of an open letter to William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁸⁷ He claimed that 'After 60 years of temperance teaching, many of the Clergy are totally indifferent and utterly uninformed'; there were '10,000 parishes where clergy will not have a temperance society'.¹⁸⁸ Furthermore, 'The magistrates, police, coroners, professional men and tradesmen are influenced by the awful liquor traffic'; it was a 'truth [that] must be told at all costs'.¹⁸⁹ Such temperance passion was fuelled by Christian principle but the Drink Interest too maintained its Christian support in the ranks of the wealthy and powerful.¹⁹⁰ One is left with the impression of two phalanxes locked in positions of enmity as they had been for the previous sixty years, each continuing with their business and neither having much impact on the other, whilst the effective forces were now active outside this battleground, in the form of economic changes bringing more diversification in leisure pursuits and consumer products, and improvements in living and working conditions.

An individual temperance man, like John Abby, did play what seemed at the time an important role within the movement in Norwich, even if with hindsight his influence appears less significant. Abby's letter of frustration came in 1902 after a working life spent in the temperance

cause. His was a typical biography of the self-made Victorian whose social advance owed so much to sobriety. Abby had risen from a working-class background and educated himself in evening classes at the Royal Polytechnic, the Working Men's College, and King's College, London. A virtual life abstainer, his ladder of advancement was Anglican rather than non-conformist. Whilst resident in Oxford, his work as a secretary made it impracticable for him to take holy orders and instead he became organising secretary of the CETS for the Oxford diocese from 1875 to 1885, then assistant secretary and cashier for the London diocese till 1889 when he moved to Norwich. In his work in the temperance cause, and in arranging the seating of the congregation at the cathedral on Sunday evenings, he was 'greatly helped by the quiet untiring assistance of his wife and daughters'.¹⁹¹ The female aspect of temperance, the role of women in the Temperance cause, is again evident, albeit as part of Victorian family duty.

How significant was the role of other individuals who were identified with the Temperance Movement in Norwich; men who had a more significant social standing in the city than John Abby, such as Joseph John Gurney, the two Jeremiah Colmans, Jacob Henry Tillett, and George White? This chapter will conclude with an evaluation of their individual contribution that makes the case for the crucial importance in the long-term of political action, not to secure legislation for a 'local veto' or restrictions in the licensing hours but

rather to bring closer a vision of society as a community.¹⁹² Such an ideal had its roots deep in Christian evangelism and it is through this avenue of communal responsibility that the Temperance Movement left such an important mark on the new century. Cooper Pattin, Medical Officer of Health for Norwich, wrote in 1905: 'Now we think as communities ... the growth of collectivism among us is an unconscious preparation for the coming condition...' and saw that future as one shaped by 'inter-racial contests ... upon the seas or on the exchanges'.¹⁹³ Sir Peter Eade, writing in 1910, noted:

the increasing feeling of the whole country of the duty of those in authority to supplement, when necessary, the means of those in the lower classes of life ...¹⁹⁴

A change in the 'structure of feeling' had occurred, and this paradigm-shift owed much to the Temperance movement in general and to the work of particular individuals within it.

Those individuals within the urban elite, who had been moved by Christian belief to become teetotal, or who otherwise supported the Temperance cause, were making a religious statement that had social and political consequences. Dr. Stanley, Bishop of Norwich, had led the way in 1837.¹⁹⁵ By 1842, Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847), the Quaker banker resident at Earlham Hall outside the city:

after the most anxious deliberations ... became convinced that it was his duty to give

up the use of all intoxicating beverages, and to encourage his household in a similar line of conduct.

In 1843, he took the chair at the request of the Bishop, on the platform with Father Mathew.¹⁹⁶ Gurney was a member of a family committed to Christian duty and with a strong sense of social reform and welfare. He himself had been part of the anti-slavery movement from his time at Oxford; his response to the sufferings of the Norwich poor in the winter of 1829-30 was to donate £500 and set up the District Visiting Society for the poor of Norwich, comprising both the Soup and Coal Societies. He campaigned against bribery in Norwich elections and, once teetotal, published in 1844 a widely circulated tract titled: *Water is best*.¹⁹⁷ However naïve that title seems, given the problems of access to safe, drinkable water in Norwich as elsewhere, Gurney represents that sense of responsibility towards others which was only to become more generally accepted at the end of the Victorian period. In many respects, Victorian progress was far from linear.

Another contemporary Christian advocate within the urban elite with a sense of communal responsibility was 'Old Jeremiah' Colman (1777-1851), the mustard and starch manufacturer who was the great-uncle of Jeremiah James Colman (1830-1898). 'Old Jeremiah' was a devout non-conformist with radical Whig beliefs who helped set up the Lancastrian school in 1810, championed

electoral reform, and in 1845 together with J.D. Copeman and J.H. Tillett set up the *Norfolk News*, the forerunner of the *Eastern Daily Press*.¹⁹⁸ When elected mayor of Norwich in 1846, he broke with tradition by choosing a Baptist minister for his chaplain and, most significantly, as a teetotaler always drank toasts at civic banquets in water not wine.¹⁹⁹ Even before the middle of the century, when there were comparatively fewer people in the Temperance movement, 'Old Jeremiah' and Joseph John Gurney represent this link between Christian duty, temperance and social responsibility.

Historians have pointed out the difficulty of generalising about Victorian values and the need to distinguish between early, middle and late Victorian.²⁰⁰ However, the non-conformist, evangelical connection between Christian 'love of neighbour' and social and, if necessary, political action to improve the working and living conditions of those 'neighbours' does seem to remain constant during the Victorian era. It is evident throughout the life of Jeremiah James Colman who took over the management of the family firm on his father's death in 1854 and continued the family tradition of non-conformist, Liberal beliefs and actions that in turn determined attitudes to drink. The memoir of his life by his daughter, Helen, suggests how much he was shaped by this Christian imperative. Aged 21, he recorded in his *Journal* the observation:

Politics, literature, science, commerce, aye, and we trust religion too, have advanced. But

- "how much is to be done?"... I would mourn ... (how little I have done in the past) ... but still look up to my Saviour for his counsel and guidance.²⁰¹

The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, a bar to municipal or Crown office for non-conformists as well as Catholics, had been as recent as 1828 and opened up the opportunity to remake the new industrial and urban world in the way of the Lord. Families like the Colmans were energised by a sense of moving in harmony with the contemporary *Zeitgeist*, directed by their God.

His treatment of employees was indicative of these evangelical values, given fresh impetus by his membership of St. Mary's Baptist Chapel from around 1856. On returning from honeymoon in 1856, after his marriage within the Norwich non-conformist, Liberal fraternity to Caroline Cozens-Hardy, he addressed the 600 workers of the firm at the Carrow site to which it had moved in 1854 and insisted that:

The bond between us should be mutual respect ... My father always felt strongly that that the relations between Employer and Employed ought not to end with the mere payment of £ s d for work done.

In 1857, a school for workers' children was opened; a kitchen to provide meals at the work place was started in 1868; a sick nurse was appointed to visit the families of work people in 1874. His support for the temperance cause is evident in a letter he wrote in 1892:

Since my Firm removed to Carrow they have closed 6 out of the 9 Public Houses which formerly existed within a quarter-mile of the Works.

Within Norwich public life too, Jeremiah James Colman provided a prodigious witness to his faith and mission. He served as a Liberal councillor from 1859, becoming sheriff in 1862 and mayor in 1867. As leader of the Norwich Liberal party he stood successfully for Parliament in 1871 and remained a Norwich M.P. for most of the period until his retirement in 1895.²⁰²

For Colman, and his friend and ally, Jacob Henry Tillet, the issue of Temperance was one element in a manifold assault on ignorance and vested interest in the name of 'social progress', itself determined by divine providence. In the pursuit of this Christian mission, Colman and Tillet acquired a public esteem that was acknowledged by political friends and opponents.²⁰³ Serving the dictates of their conscience, they not only secured a reputation for integrity but also distanced themselves at times from the extremes of the Temperance movement. Such moderation perhaps made their wider social and political perspective more acceptable and may in turn have contributed to the eventual shift in the 'structure of feeling' and the new sense of responsibility for the whole community. Ideas about social justice dear to men like Colman and Tillet were beginning to prevail in the 1890s, the decade of their deaths.

In the case of Colman, his daughter's memoir provides an insight into his Temperance convictions, his moderation, and his distaste for 'the system of Test Questions' that single-issue campaigning groups, like some Temperance reformers, had developed. In 1885, Colman had argued that it was 'better to accustom the new voters to choose their candidates by their principles rather than their promises'. Helen Colman observed that 'With Temperance Societies, Labour Leagues, Disestablishment Associations, and Anti-Vaccinationist Societies all running their particular tenets as Test Questions, my father felt there was a grave danger of splitting up the Liberal Party ...', at the expense of achieving objectives that all were agreed upon. Her father believed that in Norwich, as elsewhere, 'the extreme demands put forth by the teetotalers do mischief'. While supporting the movement to counteract 'the crying evils of intemperance' with 'his sympathy, financial help, and votes in the House of Commons', he had his own views 'as to the best methods of trying to establish that change in the habits of the people which all Temperance Reformers have at heart'. He would not support the Sunday Closing Bill as long as it attempted to force the closing on unwilling districts. However, he did support Sir Wilfred Lawson's Local Option Resolutions in the House of Commons once the proposal conferred the power to close all public houses in a district on more than a bare majority of the ratepayers. He did believe that the licensed victualler should be paid 'some equitable compensation' whilst

denying they had a 'legal claim'. He linked his argument that reducing the number of public houses would lessen the amount of intemperance with a belief in the importance of providing counter-attractions in the form of coffee houses.²⁰⁴ Colman's Temperance principles are clear; so too is his moderation.

Colman's personality and moderation was such that he could bridge the divide that was opening up between the Temperance Movement and the Drink Interest. During Colman's shrievalty from 1862 to 1863, H.S. Patteson - an Anglican, a Conservative, and a brewer - held the mayoralty. Nevertheless, Colman still held him in 'high regard'. Membership of the inner circle of the urban elite within a provincial city such as Norwich, with its relatively small number of influential and powerful families, may have served to limit the effects of political and religious differences that could perhaps be more marked in a less intimate metropolitan context. In a revealing coincidence, thirty-nine years later the mayor was Russell James Colman, the son of J.J. Colman and the sheriff T.H.S. Patteson, the son of H.S. Patteson.²⁰⁵

Jacob Henry Tillett (1818-1892) was another extraordinary personality, combining non-conformity and Christian evangelism with radical Liberal political beliefs that included support for the Temperance cause, together with a moderation that even some of his opponents came to recognise and respect. Like Jeremiah James Colman, he had been

brought up within a non-conformist tradition in a Norwich commercial family. Refusing a scholarship rather than submit to the thirty nine articles, he was educated at King Edward VI Grammar School and by the age of twenty-one had opened his own solicitor's office in Post Office Street, Norwich and six years later helped found the Norfolk News, becoming its chairman and editor. Throughout his life he supported various religious movements in Norwich but was not attached to any particular denomination.²⁰⁶ Again like Colman, the religious imperative was at the centre of his life. In 1890, speaking at St. Andrew's Hall on the twenty-first anniversary of Norwich First [Adult] Day Schools, he referred to:

the great cause which we all here have so much at heart - the sacred cause of Christianity - 'to make all men like Christ' ... If all men were like Christ there would be no drunkards, liars, thieves, no hatred, no selfishness ...²⁰⁷

Tillett's devotion to Norwich public life was as exemplary as that of Colman. He too served for many years as a Liberal councillor, twice serving as mayor, first in 1859-60 and again in 1875-76. Between 1868 and 1886, his attempts to extend his political influence to Westminster and the House of Commons saw him fight six contested elections as a Liberal candidate (in 1868, 1870, 1874, 1875, 1880 and 1886), suffer defeat three times, and face three Election Petitions, once as Petitioner and twice as Defendant, plus a Royal Commission.²⁰⁸ Mrs. J.J. Colman

in her obituary notice for Tillett wrote in 1892 that:

He was ever the true friend of the poor, the troubled and the tried. In his political work he strove to raise the working classes by trusting them, and to this end he strove to obtain for them the right to vote for representatives to the House of Commons. But he never spoke to them of the franchise as being the panacea for all ills. He strongly believed in Christianity as the only power which could raise man to the right level.²⁰⁹

Tillett regarded the cause of Temperance in a similar fashion; it would never become for him an end in itself.

In 1873, Tillett identified 'Excess in drink' as one of seven 'obstacles to social progress'. Convinced that 'the more intelligent, free and virtuous the people are, the happier, stronger and more permanent will be the nation, and the more blessed will be its influence upon its neighbours', Tillett argued that 'now we have Democratic Government ... the thing necessary is to raise the standard of public opinion ... to enlarge their intelligence, and to raise their aspirations'.²¹⁰ To this end, he urged two courses: 'the tyranny of drink' had to be resisted, when 'interested parties combine together to vote against anything and everything liberal with a view to maintain the ascendancy of beer', and working men should 'recreate and enjoy themselves to the utmost' but 'let them not waste their strength, time and money upon that which in excess must destroy them and

ruin their families'.²¹¹ Tillett was keen to endorse the Temperance Movement but only so far as it might serve its purpose in a greater cause and mission determined by his God.

With such a view, Tillett was unlikely to fulfil all the expectations of those on the extreme wing of the Temperance Movement and, in 1882, a rift emerged between the Norwich Auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance and Tillett as their Member of Parliament. The reply of the UKA to the statements on 'Local Option' made by Tillett in January was published in February and sold at newsagents for 1d.²¹² They had 'looked upon Mr. Tillett as a Temperance reformer' claiming that he had spoken 'most vigorously' on the need for legislation ever since the Bruce Act of 1872. And yet he had not supported Sir Wilfred Lawson's resolution for Local Option, unlike Jeremiah James Colman, the other Liberal M.P. for Norwich. The Alliance had approached Tillett before the 1880 election through its secretary, George White, and had been told that he did not wish to receive a deputation 'because otherwise the Publicans would follow suit'. The mistake made by the Alliance was to think they 'knew his views'.²¹³ In fact, Tillett was prepared to separate from other Liberals on this issue because in conscience he had come to believe there were limits to the effectiveness of such legislation. As he said in his January speech: 'He rather believed in moral suasion, in education, in religious training,' Tellingly, he declared that he

was 'ready to do all that was consistent with the liberty of the people and consistent with the rights of property, which the law had created.'²¹⁴ The moderation of Christian Liberals like Tillett and Colman and their respect for property rights and compensation claims may have annoyed others in the Temperance Movement but, in the longer term, played its part in making Liberal social and political beliefs more acceptable within the urban elite in Norwich.

Remarkably, there was in Norwich a third outstanding non-conformist Liberal and supporter of the Temperance Movement - George White (1840-1919) - who became a Member of Parliament. He was a teetotaler, although in gaining a reputation for 'robust common sense' his moderation is apparent too. White, like J.J. Colman and J.H. Tillett, was driven by evangelical conviction. A Baptist at St. Mary's Chapel, White had moved to Norwich in 1856 - the year J.J. Colman joined St. Mary's - to take up a clerical post, working his way up to become chairman and managing director of Howlett and White, the largest boot and shoe manufacturers in Norwich. In 1876, he had entered the town council, later becoming an alderman and serving as sheriff as well as becoming chairman of the Norwich School Board. Politics, education and temperance within Norwich provided avenues for Christian witness outside his manufacturing concern until 1900 when the focus widened after his election as Liberal M.P. for North-West Norfolk.²¹⁵ White was wealthy, influential

and determined to spread the gospel of social responsibility, even in his sixties.

In his mission, White was steadfast but eventually influenced by ideas of social responsibility that shifted the onus away from individual failings. Even those at the extremes of the Temperance Movement were affected by the shift in the 'structure of feeling' towards more acceptance of social responsibility. In 1894, White was still presenting the typical teetotal argument that drink was responsible for more 'poverty and want of employment than all other agencies put together'.²¹⁶ But in 1911, after a decade of national political life that included a period as president of the Baptist Union and vice-president of the United Kingdom Alliance, White, who was knighted in 1907, had modified his views. In a parliamentary speech, Sir George now claimed that:

I have long since come to the conclusion ... that by far the larger portion of the poorer classes amongst us are in the condition in which we find them through no fault of their own. I do not ... ignore the fact that drink for instance is a factor of poverty in our midst and a large factor. But ... the greater portion of the ...poor ... are in that condition through no fault of their own, and for this class of our population I think society in general is responsible.²¹⁷

It had taken perhaps over half a century, but at last this individual Christian had begun to accommodate his faith with the economics and morality of socialism.

White had a religious imperative but as a capitalist employer he had other motives too, even if they were consciously linked. In a paper addressing the issue of how non-conformists should make sense of shifts in contemporary society, delivered in 1903, White advised:

Do not be alarmed by the socialistic tendency of the changes. The communion of the early church does not look inviting to those of us who have all to contribute and nothing to receive, for we have not yet reached even the spirit of the Master's teaching in this respect.

Employers should look to a future where 'a proper subsistence level for the whole people' could be achieved and 'the scandal of some 30% of the population being below that level should be quickly removed.' As an employer, he argued that drink 'cripples the industrial capacity of our artisan, who spends twice the amount of his American co-worker, though he earns less than half his wages' and it 'causes a loss of fifteen per cent in the time worked, and, therefore, it threatens our industrial supremacy more seriously than the worst strike which ever happened.'²¹⁸ As Barry Doyle has concluded:

(Sir George White) saw a reduction in alcohol consumption as part of a general policy to order urban society and discipline the workforce required to operate an increasingly capitalised and mechanised industry.²¹⁹

In conclusion, the Temperance Movement had become significant in

Norwich and remained so through the Victorian period as a consequence of the challenge to traditional Christian ethics presented by the consumption of drink in a new industrial and urban context. Commanded to show love and compassion for their neighbour and concerned to make the best sense for their national economy, those who had wealth and power argued and divided over the problem of drink and its consumption to excess by the working class. A Temperance Movement that ranged from teetotallers to moral-suasionists emerged to confront the Drink interest; by the 1870s, this polarization was reinforced by a political division between a Liberal Party that had become associated with Temperance and a Conservative Party now supported by the Drink Interest.

Within Norwich, key personalities in the Temperance Movement like Jacob Henry Tillet, Jeremiah James Colman, and George White were highly influential in raising the public profile of Temperance. As leading members of non-conformist chapels, their views helped shape the lives of at least some sections of the working class.²²⁰ In their moderation, they were also likely to have helped make Liberal social and political beliefs more acceptable within the urban elite in Norwich. Those less moderate, like John Abby, who wished to see the diminishing of the Drink Interest, were to be disappointed. Prohibition efforts failed. But those who wanted to see a society based on values they associated with their Christian faith, that is a more compas-

sionate, fairer, healthier, and more just community, one in which the need to drink to excess was less, did have a measure of success as the 'structure of feeling' shifted at the end of the century.

Chapter 9: Drink and politics

A key argument in this work has been that drink and drinking places were of critical importance in the lives of the working class in Norwich, as in other urban centres in industrial Britain, throughout the nineteenth century. This personal and social dependence on the consumption of drink and the leisure-time use of public houses and beerhouses by the working class had significant political consequences in a period when perhaps the most critical issue was the relationship between the ruling elites and the masses. The memory of the revolutionary events of 1789 and the subsequent destruction of the French monarchy and aristocracy was to haunt those who held power in Britain at least until the middle of the nineteenth century and concerns about social instability were evident throughout the Victorian period and beyond, despite the degree of social cohesion that had been by then developed.²²¹

Much of this instability was due to conflict over the right to vote in elections for local and national government. Industrialisation and urbanisation had led to pressure to extend the right of suffrage, with its symbolic value of registration within the

'political nation' and its cultural stamp of respectability. The first Reform Act (1832) had met this challenge, prompted by demonstrations and the fear of violence from the masses, by widening the suffrage to include more of the 'respectable middle classes' through the £10 household voting qualification. It was a measure intended to be permanent but its chief framer, Lord John Russell, had by 1848 accepted that further reform was the only means to avoid revolution in the future.²²² Since it had been the experience of the Chartist movement in the late-1830s and 1840s that had led to this new readiness to extend the electoral system to secure effective government, the analysis in this chapter begins with a study of drink, politics and elections in early Victorian Norwich in the context of Chartism.

Chartism surfaced between 1837 and 1839, and was most active in 1842, 1844 and 1848. It was the channelling into a series of demands for political rights - above all, universal manhood suffrage - of 'a large number of grievances and experiences of oppression' felt for some decades. Politicised in the reform agitation of 1830-2, most working class leaders had high hopes of the reformed parliament. They looked to the government to intervene to protect the wages of craftsmen, to overhaul the poor relief system, to legislate for factory reform, above all to protect them from oppression. By 1837, their disillusion has led to the demand for universal suffrage.²²³ Membership of the political nation through

enfranchisement had become the talisman through which this exploitation could be ended and their grievances put right. Chartism was an indication that key elements in the working class were no longer prepared to accept an old order, shaped by deference to social superiors who used the working-class dependence on drink and drinking places to their own political and party advantage at election time through bribery, treating, and the control of organised gangs of 'roughs'.

How significant a force was Chartism within Norwich? Dorothy Thompson recorded that there were 6,646 signatures from Norwich to the first Chartist petition as listed in the *Northern Star* in June 1839. Since the population of Norwich in 1841 was 62,344, this is a significantly high percentage (10.7%), comparable with Bradford in the industrial north with its 10,049 signatures from a population of 105,257 (9.5%). Although such figures need to be used with caution, they do suggest that Chartism had become important for sections of the working class in Norwich in making their personal, social and political meaning in the early Victorian period. Thompson noted that Norwich experienced a 'church occupation' in the summer of 1839, and the founding of a Chartist 'church', a Democratic Association and a Female Radical Association. 300 membership cards of the National Charter Association had been taken out, far fewer than the 1,500 in Bradford but still indicative of a degree of local Chartist strength.²²⁴ Fortunately, the survival of local historical

material has provided the opportunity to gain more understanding of that strength, the link between drink and politics in Norwich in the first half of the 19th century, and the degree to which Chartism threatened traditional electoral practices based on social deference and the manipulation of the working-class dependence on drink.²²⁵

It is most significant that for much of the Victorian period and for centuries before, local and parliamentary elections took place in a context shaped by drink. Brian Harrison has suggested that it was not until the 1880s that elections began 'losing their festive air and assuming their modern austerity'.²²⁶ In Norwich, a link is apparent between drink, elections, and the struggles for power and political advantage within the governing elite throughout the century. Writing in the mid-Victorian period, A.D. Bayne claimed that under the old corporation, prior to the Municipal Reform Act (1835):

Ward elections were so often contested, that bribery, treating, and intimidation, were quite common, and the corruption of the freemen and lower classes was universal ... they were considered as trials of strength between different parties; and if they happened at a period when a general election was anticipated, an enormous sum of money was spent on treating and bribery.²²⁷

Bayne saw such conduct as the enemy of 'progress'. He was aware that similar practices continued in his own generation as was Joseph John Gurney, the Quaker

banker, who was so moved by the defeat of the Whig candidates in the 1833 Norwich parliamentary election that he subscribed to the unsuccessful parliamentary petition against the returned members alleging bribery and wrote a letter in the Norwich papers justifying his action. However, as Gurney concluded: 'I entirely lost ground by it in my true calling, that of promoting simple Christianity among all classes'.²²⁸ To challenge the status quo was to confront the forces of tradition and inertia and those traditions were dependent on alcohol.

Nevertheless, a case can be made that treating and bribery and the other corrupt election practices that took place within the drink culture of the working class provided a contact between the elite and the citizenry, voters and non-voters, which helped make society more cohesive. Contrary to what some contemporaries thought, drink and the drinking place may be seen as important factors in the development of the political and social cohesion which was recognised as a hallmark of British society in the later Victorian period.²²⁹ Paradoxically, it may be argued that the institution of the drinking place which was regarded as less than respectable by the ruling elites, for some a social menace to be legislated away or for others at best a source of profit to be carefully licensed and policed and never visited in person, helped preserve these same elites in power.

The forces of inertia were very powerful. Bayne's account of the proceedings of

the Royal Inquiry into the State of Municipal Corporations in Norwich in November 1833 revealed the extent and prevalence of corruption.²³⁰ Joseph John Gurney claimed:

I can assure the commissioners that they have no notion of the sin, guilt, wickedness and poverty, which local elections inflict upon this city.

For progressives like Gurney, corruption had become one explanation for the economic decline of the city in this period. Henry Willett argued that:

the local elections were an injury to the lower orders, notwithstanding the money they received. There was less work done on account of these elections. Party had a very injurious effect on the trade of the city.

Many journeymen weavers were included in the quite large constituency of freeman voters in Norwich and elections at times of economic distress provided them with the opportunity to vent their frustrations and secure some financial return for their vote. A Norwich manufacturer, John Francis, made explicit the link between the anti-corruption cause and the industrial interest, claiming that 'the local elections prevent capital being employed, and disunited the people.'²³¹ Yet the majority in the Corporation who included gentlemen brewers like Peter Finch were resistant to the Commission, viewing it as illegal, unconstitutional, and 'hostile to the cause of civil liberty'.²³² Although these traditionalists were

unable to prevent the passing of the Municipal Reform Act (1835), their views and those who followed their politics in later generations, ensured that various corrupt practices did continue. The persistence of such practices in Norwich and elsewhere in Britain suggests that they were serving a social and political function for both members of the urban elite and the working class and so contributed to social cohesion.

Understanding more fully the nature of pre-Victorian elections and their links with the drinking culture of the working class sheds further light on the reasons for the longevity of these practices. A memoir of a Norwich citizen, Professor Edward Taylor, published after his death in 1863, detailed the circumstances in which he was elected a common councilman in 1808.²³³ The ward election described is a ritualised, quasi-military contest, a carnival of alcoholic excess and misrule that involved elector and non-electoral alike. There are parallels to be drawn with the rivalry between opposing supporters of football teams nearly two centuries later that provide the opportunity for the displacement of negative emotions on an opposing group:

The combatants would have scorned such mealy-mouthed appellations as 'conservative' and 'liberal', or indeed any other name but that of the colours under which they fought. They were 'blue-and-whites', or 'orange-and-purples'; the former being what would now be called the 'liberal', and the latter the 'conservative' party. To be a blue-and-white or an

orange-and-purple, was to be an angel or a devil, as the case might be ... Great was the potency of colours: though not supposed to be worn at municipal elections, they were a rallying cry ... Even housemaids and children concealed them about their persons, in readiness to show them slyly from some window, both to encourage their friends and exasperate their enemies, whenever a procession passed.²³⁴

Physical intimidation, abduction and drink were also part of this extraordinary ritual:

Great was the preparations for the contest. A sort of civic press-gang prowled the streets by night for the purpose of 'cooping chickens', which ... means carrying men off by force, and keeping them drunk and in confinement, so that if they could not be got to vote 'for', it will be impossible for them to vote 'against'. If they could not be safely secured in the city, they were 'cribbed, cabined, and confined' in wherries on the river, or the broads, or even taken to Yarmouth and carried out to sea. When the day of battle came, great was the shouting, the drinking, the betting, the bribery, and the fighting, till the largest purse contrived to win the day. Of course the dirty work was done by dirty men.²³⁵

Bayne condemned these practices and deplored what he saw as the spurious justification that it was 'Better to do a little evil then surrender a cause essential to the welfare of the state'. His was a voice representing the spirit of 'improvement' and 'progress' in Victorian Britain that did eventually succeed in establish-

ing in most places corruption-free elections by the turn of the century. But the resistance to change was considerable and prolonged and had its own social and economic reasons.

These reasons were shaped by the need for the urban elites to have an effective relationship with the working classes who comprised the citizenry of their towns and cities and whose grounds for grievance were various, including poor living and working conditions, low wages, and occasional lack of employment. A culture of deference had been developed that did much to protect the powerful and was sustained throughout the century but did not remove the fear of urban unrest and agitation. Elections were an opportunity for the elite, in pursuit of their own interests, to channel the energy of those urban masses through manipulation, using the two most powerful currencies of the times: money and drink. In doing so, the social fabric was drawn tighter; society became more cohesive.

The working class acting in concert was a formidable force. John Vincent has shown how working-class non-electors could intervene effectively in contests for example through boycotting tradesmen.²³⁶ His analysis, however, does not explore fully the reasons why the working class were involved in elections in the first place since most elections were not fought over issues that would concern them directly. What had they to gain? In fact, corruption in municipal and the less frequent parliamentary elections did work

to their advantage since working-class leaders could supplement their income through acting as organisers on behalf of members of the elite who were seeking office, and those who were eager to enjoy the traditional free drink and entertainment were also given their opportunity. It was a system that had a social value in the context of 19th century urban Britain although the new public morality that had been developing throughout the period was eroding that credibility, and legislation from Westminster in the form of the Ballot Act (1872) and the Corrupt Practices Act (1883) eventually led to its demise. However, H.J. Hanham concluded that by the end of the Victorian period: 'Even the most stringent legislation had clearly not killed corrupt practices, and it was some years before public opinion finally did so.'²³⁷ Norwich was one of ten constituencies that were still, according to Hanham, 'more or less corrupt after 1885.'²³⁸

Election corruption had a social value in so far as it ensured regular contact between the governing elite and the urban masses, especially its leaders. It was one of the principal means of social control. When in March 1839 John Dover, a weaver and beer-house keeper and by then a leading Chartist in Norwich, was brought before John Marshall, the mayor, to answer charges, he was accused during cross-examination of being 'a noisy fellow'. With a lack of deference that contemporaries would have associated with the radicalism of Chartism, Dover replied: 'I know I am a noisy fellow. I have been

noisy for the Whigs, and you Mr. Marshall have paid me for making a noise for them'.²³⁹

This courtroom episode provides rare specific evidence that a leading Whig member of the Norwich elite had employed a working-class leader for political ends. The radicalism of Chartist objectives, however, threatened to break this link between the elite and the masses and upset the political equilibrium in Norwich, and elsewhere. Chartism defied traditions and customary practices and sought to liberate the working class from dependence on largesse and charity. If Chartism had succeeded there would have been no need for drink as a currency of interchange between elite and masses.

John Dover had been confident enough to challenge his supposed social superior in open court and avoided retribution for the time being. However, Chartist leaders like Dover, who had once manipulated the masses and their drinking culture on behalf of the elite, became prime-targets for the city fathers in their determination to regain control over their workers. In 1841, in the course of the parliamentary election, John Dover was attacked by a mob, apparently of his fellow Chartists, in the 'Kings Head' public house in St. George's where he lived with his common-law wife, Charlotte Humphrey, and was only saved from their anger by the arrival of a detachment of Dragoons led by the mayor. These strange events followed the rumour that Dover had sold his

fellow-Chartists by accepting £50 to withdraw his nomination of a Chartist called Eagle after private talks with the sponsors of the Tory and Whig candidates. Was Dover perhaps the victim of a sting organised by the elite? The newspaper source is hostile to him as a Chartist and the affair is puzzling. It does seem significant that for the next three years Dover was able to resume his place and role within the working-class community, his reputation seemingly restored.

However, in 1844, Dover and another weaver called Ross were arrested and put on trial for possession of stolen silk. The elite were determined to eliminate him as a political and social danger and they did so under the guise of ending his economic threat. Handloom weavers in Norwich, faced with the competition from the factory system, had developed a system known as 'heigh-ho' in which they sold on, for their own financial benefit, left-over bobbins of silk thread supplied by the merchant. Dover could have expected a fine of £20 from a magistrate for this first offence. In fact, the city Recorder, Isaac Jermy, and a jury sentenced Dover and Ross to fourteen years transportation. Yet a year later, when Thomas Springfield, a silk manufacturer, former mayor, and magistrate, himself tried most of those arrested in a major police-raid that had recovered stolen cloth to the alleged value of £1,000, the publican of the 'Cellar House' in St. Martin at Oak received only the standard fine of £20. Clearly, John Dover's political threat warranted a different degree of severity.²⁴⁰

The importance of the drinking place and drink in the history of Chartism has perhaps been neglected. Dover was a publican-weaver and drinking places served as important locations both for the 'neighbourhood' system and within the nexus of Chartist links. When in March 1839, Joseph Thrower, the secretary of one of the Democratic Clubs in the city, was brought before the mayor he stated he was secretary of the club which used the public houses known as 'The Staff of Life' and the 'Tom and Jerry', kept by Mr. Storey, and met once a fortnight. Evidence was given on the same occasion that John Dover and John Love, the Chartist Methodist preacher, had been seen together at the 'Angel', kept by Mr. Howlett in St. Martin at Oak.²⁴¹ According to another informant, radical clubs at this time had supplies of pikes that were held at the 'Cottage' behind Pattenon's Brew Office in Pockthorpe, the 'Angell' in St. Martin at Oak, the 'Roebuck' in Peafield, Lakenham, and the 'Shuttle' in St. Augustine's, all public houses in some of the poorest areas of the city.²⁴² Moreover, Chartists were generally not inclined to the temperance cause. R.A. Clarke, the Norwich schoolmaster Chartist who started out as a Temperance man, was warning in 1848 of the dangers of temperance as a diversion leading to collaboration with the middle classes.²⁴³

In the first half of the nineteenth century, a system of electoral corruption had become embedded in the drinking culture of the working class. Those members of the urban elite who manipulated this sys-

tem had come under attack from Chartists, as well as being criticised by progressives from within the elite. Chartism no longer remained a political threat after 1848 but it seemed as if the progressive voice was winning the argument as political reform became increasingly more acceptable to members of parliament at Westminster, leading to the passing of the second Reform Act (1867) that added 700,000 voters (nearly 140%) to the English borough electorate. J.P.D. Dunbabin has argued:

As far as the borough franchise is concerned ... the politicians of 1867 secured some 40 years of quiet, 50 years of stability.²⁴⁴

Terry Gourvish and Alan O'Day concluded that the electoral reforms of the last four decades of the nineteenth century: 'succeeded in satisfying the aspirations of the 'responsible' working classes for political recognition and the desire of the governing classes for stability'.²⁴⁵

Within Norwich, the electorate increased from a figure of 5,912 in 1866 to 13,296 in 1868, and then to around 15,000 in 1885 and 20,000 in 1906.²⁴⁶ Such an extension of the suffrage seemed to satisfy the needs of both the elite and most of those they governed, with the important exception of the movement for female suffrage.

Such developments, in the long term, did signal the demise of electoral corruption and the passing of the political significance of the working-class drink culture.

However, corrupt practices in Norwich and elsewhere took time to eradicate; they were, it can be argued, still serving a social, political and economic function in a period when political developments were initially providing more opportunities for illegal practices. By 1865, fewer members of parliament were being returned unopposed and so there were significantly more contested elections. As J.P.D. Dunbabin has concluded:

More contests meant greater opportunity for disturbance; and the management of an expanded electorate entailed more bribery.²⁴⁷

Progressives did rise to this challenge; the experience of the 1868 election converted many people to the necessity of the Secret Ballot Act (1872) that reduced the rowdiness of election contests but did not necessarily end bribery. Penal disenfranchisement following successful petitions alleging corruption sent clear messages of the consequences of not accepting the new public morality. However, the 'real watershed' came when the Corrupt Practices Act (1883) made it an offence for anybody other than the candidate's agent to incur expenses during a contest and required a full declaration of authorised expenses, and imposed a ceiling on such expenses. Establishing committee rooms on licensed premises during parliamentary elections was banned, and the following year this prohibition was extended to municipal elections. The widespread redistribution of constituencies in 1885 also 'facilitated the emergence of a more

sober political future'.²⁴⁸ Nevertheless, Norwich was one of the last enclaves of resistance to this new order, one of ten constituencies still not fully purged of corruption by 1885.²⁴⁹

For over two decades a pattern of petition, which twice resulted in a parliamentary enquiry, was established in Norwich, providing graphic evidence of the persistence of electoral corruption and its place within the drinking culture of the Norwich citizenry. Petitions to parliament alleging corruption followed the elections in 1868, 1870, 1875, and 1885. Royal Commissioners of Enquiry arrived in Norwich to make a full investigation of corruption in 1870 and 1876. Norwich was disenfranchised between 1876 and 1880, and between 1885 and 1890 the city lost the representation of one Member of Parliament after Harry Bullard was unseated following an 1885 election petition.²⁵⁰ Such political lessons in the new public morality carried a financial penalty too; in February 1878 the Lords' Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury requested payment by the city of £3,943 19s 2d, the cost of the 1876 Commission. It was a sum equivalent to a rate of 5d in the pound.²⁵¹

So endemic was the link between electoral corruption and the drinking culture of the working class that the Liberal party in Norwich was tainted, although led by men of virtuous reputation such as Jacob Henry Tillett and James Colman who had an attachment to the cause of Temperance and a commitment to 'progress'.²⁵²

Such was the intensity of party conflict in Norwich, made perhaps more bitter still by the feeling of some Conservatives that the old order had to be preserved at all costs, and certainly reinforced by the patterns of corrupt electoral behaviour established over generations, that even Tillett found himself unwittingly compromised and unseated in 1871 and 1875.²⁵³

The link between the drink culture of the city and its corrupt practices is evident in the documentation of the Royal Commissions. Following the 1868 parliamentary election in Norwich, J.H. Tillett, the unsuccessful Liberal candidate, filed a petition charging the elected Conservative member of parliament, Sir Henry Stracey, a local landowner, and his agents with being guilty of bribery, treating and undue influence, and also claiming the seat. The Royal Commission of Enquiry reported in March 1870, unseating Stracey but taking care to exonerate him personally.²⁵⁴ The officials acting for him, however, were found to have hired and organised bands of men to parade the streets and attend the meetings at which he spoke, for a payment of 2s a day and some beer. About £81 had been distributed before polling day to men of the 'lower classes', some of who were electors. The Commissioners' Report concluded:

This money was mostly spent in the beer-houses and served, no doubt, to increase the popularity of the Conservatives.

It would have also been to the economic

advantage of the brewers and the retail drink trade; electoral corruption linked with drink necessarily worked in the interests of brewers who were generally traditionalist members of the urban elite and would not have been blind to the increased profitability of their retail outlets at election time.

If the arm of the new public morality had spared Sir Henry Stracey, its reach still extended into the ranks of the governing classes. Edward Stracey, the son of Sir Henry, and Arthur Bignold, the son of the late Sir Samuel Bignold, a leading Conservative in Norwich in the early-Victorian period and former mayor and Member of Parliament, were both forced to leave the country to avoid being examined by the Commissioners.²⁵⁵ They had apparently hatched a scheme in the early afternoon of polling day to procure a £200 loan from Mr. Webster, the landlord of a Norwich hotel, for the purpose of bribing some of the hundreds of newly enfranchised voters who were waiting in public houses and declaring they would not vote without payment. The dishonesty of some of the agents employed to do the fixing, and the shortness of time before the closing of the polling booths, meant only around 45 votes were bought. The Commissioners' Report in 1870 indicates a social structure in Norwich in which members of the elite and members of the working class colluded in illegal practices for reasons that each could find justifiable.

The Report's description of the events of

polling day on the 17 November 1868 revealed how the citizenry asserted their corporate strength, located in their own drinking places. They were not prepared to lose wages as a result of being laid off work for the three election days and they expected their interests to be satisfied and their needs met by those in power. Such an expectation is itself testimony to a high measure of social cohesion:

...at an early hour it became apparent that numbers of the electors, principally consisting of those who had been newly placed on the register, were indisposed to vote, either from indifference or in the hope of getting money. During the morning these persons wandered about the city, or stood in groups in the Market Place ... but towards the middle of the day they congregated at various public houses. When asked to go to the poll, they then directly or indirectly intimated that they should not do so unless they were paid, or provided with beer for voting; in many instances they required three days' pay, which they had lost in consequence of the places where they were employed being closed. They were quite ready to vote for either party who paid them, and this a considerable number of them when examined before us avowed ...

The Commissioners in 1870 established that the customary practice at Norwich elections was for the poorer electors to act independently in selling their votes, to make their own bargains in the market place or the drinking place, and for these transactions to be conducted often through the medium of volunteers who entered into it in the knowledge that they

would be recouped for their work. Robert Hardiment, a tanner and fell monger, bought around 30 votes for the Conservatives for £60 at Clarke's beer-house in St. Martin's, going on to buy more votes at the 'Woolpack' public house and a beerhouse in St. Mary's.²⁵⁶ Mr. Green, a timber merchant, secured the votes for the Conservatives of 20 of the 24 men gathered at the 'Thorn Tavern' on a conditional promise of money. Sir Henry Stracey himself arrived at the 'Trumpet' public house around noon where around 25 men had been waiting to be paid for their votes since early morning. He left when they declared their position, wisely avoiding a direct association with the corruption, but shortly afterwards two agents acting for the Conservatives started bargaining with them as a result of which 16 or 17 agreed to vote for the Conservatives for 7s 6d each.

'Treating' was also established as another corrupt practice that took place in 1870. A publican, Samuel Fletcher, of the 'Anchor' public house adjacent to and owned by the Pockthorpe brewery of Steward, Patteson and Finch, had spoken to Mr. Lamb, a clerk in the employment of Henry Staniforth Patteson, the brewer and Conservative supporter of Sir Henry Stracey, before buying 30 voters for a single 10s payment that Lamb subsequently repaid. The Commissioners concluded that treating went on 'at many of the public houses, among which we may mention the 'Horse Shoes', the 'Ship', the 'Recruiting Sergeant', and the 'Catherine Wheel', yet 'the publicans ... with one or

two creditable exceptions, swore that they knew nothing of what took place in their house on the day of the election'. It seems plausible to suggest that a chain of collusion stretched from Conservative parliamentary candidate to Conservative supporters within the elite such as the gentleman brewer, Henry Staniforth Patteson, and then through the brewery, enveloping employees and publicans at drinking places owned by the brewery, until finally ending in the purchased vote of a needy but newly-enfranchised member of the Norwich working class.

The Royal Commissioner's Report in 1876 on the conduct of the parliamentary elections in 1874 and 1875 again provides detailed evidence for the link between the drink culture of the city and its corrupt practices.²⁵⁷ On its publication, the editorial of the *Norwich Mercury* made clear a sense of shame in the city, both echoing and quoting from the grander thunder of the Times in London which had termed Norwich as:

the old offender ... convicted under various counts, pronounced hopelessly corrupt and depraved, and waiting the sentence that is to close - or at least suspend its guilty career.

The issue of Norwich corruption was significant for progressives who believed that there was no place for such practices in their Victorian age. However, it had been the intensity of contemporary party politics at both a national and local level that had helped produce this resurgence of corruption in the city and the 'Drink

Question' was one important factor contributing to the polarisation of political opinion.

Gladstone's Liberal ministry of 1868-1874, with its impressive record of reforming legislation, had aroused expectations of licensing restriction within the temperance section of the 'advanced radicals'. This component of the 'Liberal coalition' nevertheless remained unsatisfied and its supporters became disillusioned with their own government and the pull of Whiggery.²⁵⁸ The 'Drink Question' was deeply divisive. In 1871, H.A. Bruce's licensing bill had alienated the drink interest and helped initiate the swing of unpopularity against the government.²⁵⁹ The Licensing Act (1872) was more moderate, 'a cross-party measure rather than a victory for the puritan extremists', and only regulated the granting of new licences in addition to restricting the opening hours of public houses.²⁶⁰ It therefore disappointed the temperance members of the 'Liberal coalition', and the United Kingdom Alliance went so far as to put up their own candidates against those of the Liberal Party in by-elections in 1873.²⁶¹

The issue of licensing reform had not only widened the gap between the 'Trade' and the Temperance movement; it had also exposed the tensions within the Liberal Party and revealed key differences in the understanding of the term 'liberalism'. For the United Kingdom Alliance and its supporters, 'liberalism' required the state to suppress the individ-

ual liberties of publicans and brewers in the greater liberal cause of saving the masses from the human misery and poverty caused by drunkenness. Bernal Osborne, the radical MP, neatly summarised the alternative liberal position in his opinion that he 'would rather see England free than sober'.²⁶² Brewing families who had become identified with the Liberal Party were beginning to feel such ideological tensions. The politicisation of the 'Drink Question', following the founding of the United Kingdom Alliance in 1853, had led by 1872 to an increasing identification of the Liberal Party with the temperance cause and the Conservative Party with the drink interest.²⁶³ Nevertheless, this process was not completed in the early 1870s; in fact Harrison has concluded:

Secessions of drink manufacturers from the Liberal Party occurred steadily over a period of forty years ... Only by the 1890s was there any approach to a clear party division on the temperance question ...²⁶⁴

Within Norwich, the passing of the Licensing Act, however moderate a measure it might have seemed to others, led one Liberal brewer, Harry Bullard, to cross the floor of the council chamber in November 1872 and join the Conservatives, taking with him his brother Charles and brother-in-law John Boyce who were also councillors. Another Liberal brewer active in local politics, John Youngs, remained within the party but for Harry Bullard it was a matter of conscience; he felt he could no longer

serve his family's interests as brewers within the Liberal Party:

I have seriously taken this step ... I conscientiously believe that what I have done is right. I can just as well serve the ratepayers on this the Conservative side of the Chamber as on the other.²⁶⁵

The intensity of feeling over the 'Drink Question' in Norwich during 1872 is evident in reports in the *Licensed Victuallers Gazette*, established in July 1872 as a national weekly newspaper to campaign against the United Kingdom Alliance and other threats to the 'Trade'. A leader in July had indicated the sense of paranoia that was typical of its editorials, at least until Gladstone's defeat in 1874, with its reference to:

the extensive question of licensing, which is now among the foremost social questions of the day, and aggravated into an undue and unhealthy prominence by being made the "Shibboleth" of a persecuting puritanical minority of meddling legislative Tinkers ...²⁶⁶

Although such a source will be biased, its reports of Norwich disturbances do convey the particular intensity of passions raised by the Drink Question at this time. On 1 and 2 July 1872, United Kingdom Alliance representatives spoke in Norwich at the Market Place and at the Corn Exchange. According to the correspondent:

... the Alliance demagogues endeavoured to force their doctrines down the throats of the Norwichians who 'would not have it'. On the

first evening, a merry brass band, with a very vigorous drummer, assisted by a powerful vocal chorus, who joined in the popular melody of 'Hey, John Barleycorn' soon out-voiced the intrusive speakers. The following evening ... these fanatics were forced to retire within the Weigh-Bridge House and (I) regret to state windows were smashed by the insulted and outraged crowd'.²⁶⁷

Freedom of speech was a liberty to be denied those who threatened the right to drink.

Political opinion had intensified in Norwich, as elsewhere, due in large measure to the significance of the 'Drink Question' for urban society. The majority of the city population, the working classes, depended on drink, and, within the urban elite, brewers were key figures as manufacturers and magistrates and as owners of so many of the city's drinking places. Representation at Westminster seemed to matter more than ever as the traditional drink culture and its associated electoral practices came under Temperance attack. The corruption evident in the 1874 and 1875 elections had some of its roots in the licensing reform crisis of 1871-1872 and the associated intensification of party political feeling.²⁶⁸

The sudden increase in the electorate following the second Reform Act (1867) was another key element in the mid-1870s corruption scandal as it had been in 1868.²⁶⁹ The poverty of the newly enfranchised contributed to the electoral corruption. The Royal Commissioners'

Report in 1876 established that labour was very low-priced in the wholesale shoemaking and clothing trades that had replaced the traditional manufacturing industries of Norwich and in which 'work, to a great extent, is done as piece-work at men's own homes.' The Commissioners also found that large sections of the poor population, with estimates varying up to 7,000 men, constituted a migratory section which 'wandered from ward to ward ... and tenement to tenement' in search of employment. The greater proportion of these - 'at least 3,000' - were now said to be enfranchised, despite the second Reform Act's stipulation that the franchise for occupiers of dwelling-houses required a residency of at least twelve months. The Report itself acknowledged it was 'agreed by all conversant with the subject that a 10 per cent reduction in the register (was) required'. It was the 'necessitous condition' of so many of these new voters that paved the way for the 'setting on' or 'putting on' system which both parties employed in the 1874 and 1875 elections and this electoral malpractice was once again deeply embedded in the traditional drink culture.

Not only poverty, piecework too helped to create the conditions for this corrupt system. As the Report noted, many Norwich workers 'were freed from the check imposed upon time and wages by the regular hours of workhouses and factories'. It was therefore claimed that they were 'only too willing to exchange the monotony of their occupations for the

processional, musical and other fascinations of a Norwich contested election'.²⁷⁰

Many of the recently enfranchised Norwich workers were it seems both poor and available for political activity at a price and so willing participants in the scandal revealed by the Commissioners. Through the 'setting on' system over three thousand of the electorate in 1875, nearly one third of those who voted, were illegally paid with the intention of securing their votes. The Conservatives had employed 2,148 agents, the Liberals 910 (a figure generally assumed to be a significant understatement), at 3s 6d per diem (or 5s on polling day) as 'messengers', 'bill-posters', 'watchers', or 'procession men'. In fact they did little or nothing. For the price of a week's rent, votes were being bought and this trade was taking place in the committee rooms of the two political parties, 47 rooms in the case of the Conservatives and 59 for the Liberals. These committee rooms were in public houses or beerhouses where some at least of the money would have been spent in the consumption of beer. The drink culture of the working class had once more provided the context for electoral corruption.²⁷¹

In 1874 and 1875, as in 1868, the drinking places were at the centre of corrupt practices. Members of the urban elite and members of the working class again coluded in these illegal practices without any apparent sense of wrongdoing at the time. A network of relationships had developed for corrupt purposes during

elections in Norwich, embedded within the drink culture and indicating a significant measure of social cohesion. It was, however, a social system dependent on deference and poverty and the common acceptance of drink and cash as media for satisfying the needs and interests of the working class. The extension of the franchise in 1867 gave this system fresh impetus and a variation in form despite its illegality but it could not survive the decline of deference, the increase in prosperity, and the diversification in the economy that together had signalled the end of its social utility by the 1890s. Until then, brewers remained vital figures at the interface between the urban elite and the masses, and must therefore have played key roles, however silently, within this collusive system. The collapse of that system coincided with the retreat of the brewer from the public world of civic duty into more private preoccupations.²⁷² The social role of the brewer changed as the primary place of drink in society was itself modified.

Brewers were by implication amongst those castigated in the *Times* leader in March 1876, reprinted in the *Norwich Mercury* special edition, for failing to understand the necessity of reform and the advantages of 'progress':

But by far the most lamentable part of the matter is the absence, or the indifference, or the weakness, of the better classes ... The fact exhibited by such a report is a scandal for a country which has been doing nothing but reform itself all this century, and a scandal

Publican	Pub	Location
Steward & Patteson <u>public houses: (11)</u>		
John Swan	Prince of Wales Feathers	St. Benedict's Street
Joseph Mann	Cow and Hare	Heigham Plain
William Debbage	Fountain	St. Benedict
Charles High	Red Lion	Eaton
Daniel Greengrass	New City	Crook's Place
John Huggins	Jubilee	Ber Street
Jonathan Blyth	Cat and Fiddle	Magdalen Street
John Cook	Swan	Magdalen Street
William Fuller	Windsor Castle	Pockthorpe
William Warnes	Elm Tavern	Catton
William Clarke	King and Castle	St. Martin's Street
Public houses owned by licensee or other individual or firm as 'free house': (12)		
John Pyle	White Rose	St. Margaret's Plain
George Peacock	Black Horse	St. Giles Road
Henry William Owles	Grapes	St. Giles Gates
Johnson Hennell	Baron of Beef	Market Hall
Edward Baldwin	Boars Head	Surrey Street
William Emms	White Hart	Ber Street
George William Dawson	Rose	Thorn Lane
John Clarke	Cellar House	St. Peter Southgate
John Tugate Aldous	Wyndham Arms	Grove Place
John Graver	Whalebone	Catton
William Bygrave	Gardeners Arms	Infirmary Road
Henry Whiting	The Hope Brewers	Saviours Lane
Morgan public houses: (8)		
Robert Page	Cock Inn	King Street
Robert John Howard	Free Trade	Rose Lane, King Street
James Lane	Pigeons	Charing Cross
Thomas Riches	Robin Hood	Dereham Road
William James Sadd	Derby Arms	Heigham
James Banham	Coachmakers Arms	St. Stephen's Road
George Middleton	Lord Nelson	Lakenham
Lydia Mickleburgh	Prince of Denmark	Sprowston
Bullard public houses: (6)		
John Hewitt	Coopers Arms	Princes Street
James Fox	Little John	Northumberland Street, Heigham
Joseph Mann	Lord John Russell (since 1873)	Dereham Road

Joseph William Smith	Perseverance Tavern (since 1873)	Heigham
William Tupman	Exhibition Tavern (since 1873)	Ber Street
Robert Pell	Rose (since 1873)	St. Catherines Plain
Youngs public <u>houses: (6)</u>		
John C. Lewis	Red Lion	Bishopsgate
William Chris. Brown	Trowel and Hammer	St. Stephens
George Johnson	Old Barge	King Street
Frederick Brett	Portland Arms	Church Street
Leander A. Browne	Castle	Spitalfields
William Moyes	Grapes	Coslany
Ownership not established <u>- probably beer houses</u>		
James Kemp	Black Eagle	Julian Place, Heigham
George Lardner	Royal Oak	Ber Street
Samuel Taylor	Anchor of Hope	St. Martin's Street
Nicholls	('Not a public house')	St. Augustine's Street

Table 30. Public houses in which Conservatives hired committee rooms during the parliamentary elections in 1875

Sources: Norwich Mercury, special edition, 2 Mar. 1876; First Register of Victuallers Licences

to an age supposed to be fairly on the road to final perfection. We seem, after all, to be just where we were a hundred years ago. Here is a great town, a cathedral city, the capital of a province, so much at the mercy of its lowest classes that it can only be gained to one side or another by the vulgarest form of bribery ...

The London newspaper, however, failed to appreciate the degree to which this corruption worked to the mutual advantage of members of the Norwich elite and the masses they governed. Even 'advanced Liberals' like Tillet who were the first to condemn corruption could not

escape its effects in Norwich.²⁷³ Nevertheless, the *Times* did have some insight into the importance of the drink culture, naming 'liquor supply' as the foundation for the electoral malpractice in Norwich:

When one passes enough streets in which one house in every twenty is a public house, and one sees dirt and misery all about, one is not surprised to know that the people there have a better appreciation of drink than of public men or public measures ... the twelve thousand electors who would not be bribed (have been) wholly unable to save their city

Publican	Pub	Location
<u>Youngs public houses: (14)</u>		
Thom. Clarke	Crown	Elm Hill
Chris Miller	Lion	Castle Meadow
James Reeve	Steam Packet	King Street
George Cubitt	Queen of Hungary	St. Swithins
Edward Smith	Edinboro'	Dove Street, St. John's
James Botley	Blue Bell	Lower Goat Lane, St. Gregory's
Thomas Wilkinson	Cardinal Cap	St. Benedict's Street
James Whitmore	Crocodile	Heigham Street
George Mumford	Nelson Tavern	Nelson Street
William de Caux	York Tavern	Castle Meadow
William Mitchell	Kett's Castle	Spitalfields
Robert Tidman	Kings Arms	Bishopsbridge
Henry Cooper	Mischief Tavern	St. Saviours
Christopher Sayer	Angel	St. Martin
<u>Public houses owned by licensee or other individual or firm as 'free house': (12)</u>		
Matt. Roddick	Princess of Wales	Rose Lane
Charles Widdows	City Arms	St. Andrews
Thomas Betts	French Horn	Bedford Street
Edward Roll	Earl of Cardigan	Orchard Street
Edward Henry Betts	Distillery Tavern	Dereham Road
Thomas Clarke	British Lion	Coburg Street
William Green	Bold Napier	Lakenham
John Daynes	Golden Dog	Magdalen Street
Samuel Powell	Bee Hive	St. Paul's Plain
Charles James Watson	Prospect House	Philadelphia
Job Kibblewhite	Nightingale	Colegate Street
George Mackley	Woolpack	St. Mary's
<u>Bullard public houses: (13)</u>		
Henry King	Bricklayers Arms	Union Place
William Skolyes	West End Tavern	Old Palace Road
James Carter	Stag	St. Benedict Street
William Dawson	Norfolk Chop House	Market Place
James Aldous	William IV	Coburg Street
Jonathan Daniels	Cellar House	Eaton
James Matthias Woods	Cricketer's Arms	Red Lion Street
William Copeman	Richmond Hill Tavern	Ber Street Gates
Robert Webster	Bartholomew Tavern	Thorn Lane

Thomas Will Clarke	Keel and Wherry	King Street
Thomas Campling	Mounted Volunteer	Silver Road
Charles Dover	Angel	Catton
Susan Madge	Queen Adelaide	St. Augustine's
<u>Morgan public houses:(10)</u>		
Fred. Francis Stevens	Albert Tavern	Heigham Fields
Thomas Dyball	Alexandra Tavern	Old Palace Road, Heigham
James Palmer	Sportsman	Northumberland Street, Heigham
Robert Simmons	Nursery Tavern	Nelson Street
John Herne Nash	Waterloo Tavern	Market Place
Fred Allen	Royal Oak	Crooks Place
John Cropp	Bull's Head	Ber Street
Will Hindle	Plasterer's Arms	St. Paul
Henry Spelman	Jolly Dyers	Fishgate Street
William Snowdon	Britannia Tavern	St. Augustine's
<u>Steward & Patteson public houses: (5)</u>		
Ed. Osborn	New Star	Quay Side
T. Balls	Bee Hive	St. Martin's at Palace
Godfrey Green	Lord Camden	St. Gregory, Charing Cross
Henry Nursey	Tuns	St. Giles Gate
Jeremiah Daynes	Crown and Angel	St. Stephen's Street
<u>Ownership not established - probably beer houses</u>		
Joseph Brundell	Fleece Tavern	Bridewell Alley
James Thompson	Colchester Arms	St. Swithin's
William Moore	British Standard	Ber Street
Isaac Cannell	Dyers' Arms	Church Street, Catton
William Ellis	White Hart	St. Miles

Table 31. Public houses in which Liberals hired committee rooms during the parliamentary elections in 1875

Sources: Norwich Mercury, special edition, 2 Mar. 1876; First Register of Victuallers Licences

from reproach, and secure that the choice of a representative should not depend on the liquor supply.

The 'setting on' system that had led to the corruption of over three thousand of the electorate worked though and in public

houses and beerhouses. The Report noted that in addition to 45 beerhouses and nineteen grocers' licences there were 594 fully licensed public houses in Norwich. The Commissioners were 'astonished' to find that over 100 of these had been retained, at various prices, in the March 1875 election and that even more had apparently been retained in the 1874 election. They concluded that:

the public houses where the committee rooms are situated conduce to the systematic corruption of the whole town ... The system was designed to secure the influence of the landlords amongst their customers, as well as their own votes ... It provided at numerous points throughout the city influential lines of communication between the ward-managers and the messenger-class of voters ... and very many of these voters were known to the publicans and are directed to those attractive centres, rendered conspicuous by party colours; where they are either 'set on' by the clerks, and sometimes even by the publicans themselves, or transferred to the central committee room of the ward for any enjoyment which may incline them to favour that party.

The connection between publican and voter in this corrupt electoral practice was acknowledged; any corrupt political link between the brewer and the publican, however, remains a matter of surmise. Yet as owners of many of the public houses, and as employers of numbers of the publicans, as well as manufacturers of the beer retailed in these licensed premises, it seems plausible that brewers too colluded in these traditional practices.

At a time when the public house still provided the main source of relaxation and leisure-activity for the poor and the supply of beer constituted a vital source of uncontaminated liquid, the publican served a social role of considerable importance. In the period between the second Reform Act (1867), with its enfranchisement of over 6,000 of the urban working class, many of them poor and 'necessitous', and the Corrupt Practices Act (1883) that effectively stopped the use of public house rooms for political purposes, brewers, publicans and public houses became even more significant in the social and political systems of Norwich during both municipal and parliamentary elections. The Report named two publicans, William de Caux and J.T. Aldous, who were prepared to admit that the use of committee rooms in public houses was intended for corrupt purposes by both parties.²⁷⁴

An analysis of the link between the politics of the breweries that owned the public houses used for these corrupt purposes and the political party hiring rooms in those drinking places indicates a trend one might have expected.²⁷⁵ Youngs in 1875 remained the only brewery supporting the Liberal Party and 14 'corrupt' public houses - nearly a quarter of the 59 used by the Liberals - were owned by Youngs. Conversely, only five public houses owned by Youngs appear on the list of 47 used by the Conservatives. The Bullard family switch from the Liberal to the Conserv-ative camp less than three years previously complicates the picture

since it evidently left thirteen Bullard pubs and publicans still supporting the Liberal party. Four of the six Bullard pubs on the Conservative list were purchased in 1873 from licensees or other individual owners so there are signs of the new party affiliation, but the traditional Bullard allegiance to the Liberals seems to have remained significant for a number of its publicans. Morgans were the smallest of the main Norwich breweries, the brothers Henry and J.B. Morgan buying the Tompson brewery in King Street in 1845, and, although councillors, their support for the Conservatives did not attract the same attention as that of Henry Staniforth Patteson or Harry Bullard.²⁷⁶ Pubs owned by Morgans do not seem so well-defined in their political allegiance and appear in both lists with nine Liberal and ten Conservative pubs. The Patteson brewery support for the Conservatives was clearly shown by its eleven 'corrupt' pubs and publicans - nearly a quarter of the 47 used by the Conservatives, and by the fact that only five Patteson pubs appeared on the Liberal list.

Nevertheless, these instances of pubs and publicans that do not follow the political allegiance of the brewery suggests a degree of political independence that is noteworthy, as is the high number of 'free houses' on both lists, with twelve each for the Liberals and for the Conservatives. Although the more political of the breweries were clearly influencing the politics of their pubs and publicans, there was at the same time a significant measure of political independence within the drinking culture of the working class in Norwich.

Who, then, was to blame for the scandal of 'setting on' in the public houses of Norwich? In 1868, it seemed that 13 committee rooms had been enough for the Liberals and one may assume that the Conservatives had about the same number; some persons unknown had realised the vote-securing potential of such a scheme before the 1874 election, repeated the scam in 1875, and in effect came out of the public enquiry scot-free. Although there are token scalps to parade - for example, 71 named persons guilty of bribery and 31 named persons bribed - no one of any social importance was brought to justice. The Commissioners were too close to times of revolutionary fear and too aware of the potential for class antagonism to risk a modern-day concern for exposing all to public accountability. They contented themselves by asserting that blame lay with a small section of the constituency:

... those who on both sides control the Parliamentary and Municipal elections and who lack an adequate sense of their duties and obligations.

The Commissioners were insisting on the adoption of a new public morality; the Norwich urban elite had been told to abandon their traditional practices, however popular and socially cohesive. In these circumstances, prominent Liberals and Conservatives are ready with their public declarations against corrupt practices, including the two brewer-politicians quoted in the Report who attempt to shift the focus from the parliamentary to the municipal elections:

Mr Youngs, the Sheriff of the city in 1873, a partner in a firm of brewers of Norwich, a member of the Whig section of the Liberal party, and an active politician (except in his year of office) stated his belief that the municipal contests were 'the schools for the corrupt practices at the parliamentary elections'. ... Mr Harry Bullard, a partner in another firm of brewers, now a member of the Conservative but formerly of the Liberal party, who has been on the Town Council, concurred in the opinion that the municipal elections were 'hotbeds of corruption.

Whatever the part brewers had played in the traditional electoral system, they need to make clear their public commitment to the new order and morality. Provincial ways had to mend when faced with the indignation of the law and central government. However, the Commissioners had no desire to upset the social equilibrium in Norwich by calling into question the integrity of any member of the urban elite, not least a prominent brewer, as is clear from the account of the Buttifant affair in the Report.²⁷⁷

Josiah Buttifant was a secretary to a local insurance society - the Norwich Union Fire Society - and had also been an election agent for the Conservatives for many years; at the time of the 1874 election he was working with and under Mr Sparrow who had been engaged as the principal election agent. Henry Staniforth Patteson, the senior managing partner of Steward Patteson and Finch, 'a brewer, and a gentleman occupying an influential position', was a prominent member of the

Conservative Party and had been appointed expenses agent for both Conservative candidates in the 1874 election at the particular request of one of them, Mr Huddleston (later Baron Huddleston), for whom he had acted as expenses agent in the 1870 election. Patteson had served as a director of the Norwich Union Fire Society since 1848 and had been a vice-president since 1874. It was Patteson, as 'president' of the insurance society that employed Buttifant, who instigated the prosecution against him that led to a penal sentence of fifteen years for forgery and embezzlement of funds. Buttifant insisted at his trial that he had acted in good faith and was moving funds under direction.

Buttifant had been found guilty but the Commissioners actually visited him in prison in order to conduct a further investigation after his wife had written a letter to Baron Huddleston threatening to tell all she claimed to know, believing as she wrote: 'that the charges have emanated from a vindictive feeling on the part of several members of the Conservative Party at Norwich'.²⁷⁸ That letter had prompted the attention of the Royal Commissioners who then encountered a refusal by Buttifant in prison to answer any questions. Such are the bare bones of the Buttifant affair as they appear in the Report. Whatever the truth of the affair, there would seem to have been some link with the extraordinary flow of cash during the 1874 election but the Commissioners could not establish its nature. Vital evidence had disappeared.

Buttivant had possession of nearly all the papers that had reference to the conduct of the 1874 election on the Conservative side at the time of his arrest, but they had been 'dispersed'. Mr Stephens, on the Liberal side, had destroyed all his papers in September or October 1874 when he considered resigning his position as registration agent and felt that the papers would be of no further use to him. The Commissioners expressed surprise but made no further judgement. A possible connection between insurance society funds, election expenses and the 'setting on' system was apparent but without evidence had to remain inconclusive.

Without doubt, electioneering in Norwich in the mid-1870s required a considerable flow of cash. Any Victorian election candidate could expect to face a hefty expenses bill at the end of a campaign but in Norwich in the 1874 and 1875 elections those expenses were so extraordinary as to indicate malpractice. With the relevant papers missing, the Commissioners estimated that the expenses in 1874 had been excessive but probably less than for the following year. In the 1875 campaign, a minimum of around £535 a day had to be raised to pay 3,058 agents at 3s 6d a day. In a contest lasting nine days the Liberals paid out around £1,800 to 'employees' and the Conservatives £1,650. The total bill that the two Conservative candidates eventually shared between them, after much dispute, anger, and eventual compromise - and after Buttivant's imprisonment - was £4,274. Henry Staniforth Patteson was

the expenses agent responsible for this money. It was likely that the urban elite of Norwich and not least its brewers had had a learning experience they would not easily forget in the election scandals of 1874 and 1875.

The concern that followed the instigation of the Royal Commission and its Report in March 1876 had brought into vivid focus the importance of the public house in Norwich social and political life. The drinking place also had an economic importance as the basis of the prosperity of the four main brewery firms in Norwich in the mid-1870s. The intense political rivalry at this time led not only to electoral corruption and the national castigation that followed; it also had the effect of further increasing the sales of alcoholic drink in Norwich and so boosting the profitability of the Norwich brewers. A case can be made that Norwich brewers, who had been important public figures throughout the nineteenth century, were at their most prominent for a period of around a quarter of a century after the passing of the second Reform Act when the potential for electoral corruption for a while increased and the significance of the working-class drink culture for politics was especially pronounced.

In particular, Harry Bullard's later career made him 'probably the best known of all Norwich citizens of his time'.²⁷⁹ He held the office of mayor on three occasions: 1878, 1879, and 1886, after switching his political allegiance to the Conservatives in 1872. In 1885, his sense of political

duty, and an awareness of the interests of the family brewery at a time when the Temperance threat was substantial, led him to accept the nomination as Conservative candidate in the parliamentary election. His family's dependence on the drink trade may have shaped Bullard's political life but it was the difficulty of separating politics from the drink culture in Norwich that denied him electoral success in 1885. Once more, although this time finally, a member of parliament for Norwich was unseated after a petition. Bullard lost his seat and Norwich its representation for five years after allegations of 'bribery, treating, undue influence, and personation by agents' during the election. In fact the only case of bribery to be proved was a gift of a two-shilling piece by an alleged agent to a voter and this set-back did not prevent Bullard being knighted in 1886 and being elected the Conservative member of parliament in 1890 and 1895.²⁸⁰

In conclusion, the deaths of Henry Staniforth Patteson in 1898 and Sir Harry Bullard in 1903 brought to an end a generation of gentlemen-brewers who, like their fathers before them, became politicians out of a sense of duty and self-interest. The next generation of brewers did not follow this pattern and events in the 1890s help provide key explanations for this difference. The primary role of drink in society was modified due to the increase in prosperity, diversification in the economy, and the development of alternative leisure-activities. The shift in public morality and the effect of national

legislation ensured that the link between politics and drink through electoral corruption was generally broken or stretched close to breaking point as in Norwich.²⁸¹ The movement towards all the bigger brewery partnerships becoming limited liability companies between 1885 and 1900 seemed to ensure a financial security for family members of brewing firms not dependent on civic and political action.²⁸² A politics shaped by deference, social control and drink was being replaced by a system more informed by professionalism, democratic representation and sobriety. Social cohesion was no longer so dependent on drink.

Conclusion

Victorian social cohesion depended to a significant degree on drink. Those who held power, within Norwich and elsewhere, were able to use working-class dependence on the consumption of beer to maintain social order and control. In Norwich and other urban centres, one consequence of urban growth in the 19th century was the expansion in the supply of alcoholic drink to satisfy the needs of this enlarged population. The drinking place was a social necessity that became ever more important. If the Victorian period can be seen as a time of consolidation when a social order was developed appropriate to an urban, industrial, capitalist society, then this process was itself dependent, to some degree, on the addiction of the majority of the population to society's legal drug, alcohol.

The working classes needed their public houses and beerhouses. They made their meaning in life in response to poverty, lack of education, and unhealthy living and working conditions. Inadequate sanitation and water supply problems meant that beer answered a dietary need for a liquid that was safe to drink in a society where an alternative such as tea only became affordable and acceptable to increasing numbers later in the century. Depressant comfort came directly from their consumption of alcoholic drink. The ambience of their drinking places brought further social comforts. In Norwich, as in Bradford, Portsmouth, London and other urban centres, most social and political functions were connected with the public house. It served as a recreation centre, a meeting place, and sometimes as a transport centre. Its social role remained significant throughout the late-Victorian period even as changes in transport and diversification of leisure-interests began to broaden working-class horizons. The 'local' was a key social institution. Most public houses in Norwich experienced sufficiently long periods of publican stability to have played an important role in the development of working-class communities.

The drinking place remained the main leisure-time location for the working classes in part because the rate of urban growth in industrial Britain produced a complex nineteenth century housing problem that remained intractable. The public houses and beerhouses provided both public spaces when these were

unavailable elsewhere, and relief from the squalor of rented accommodation. In these circumstances, Victorian social cohesion depended perhaps as much on the supply and consumption of beer as the legislative measures passed at Westminster or agreed within city councils.

Social cohesion was also helped by the key political role that drink and the drinking place played for much of the period. In Norwich, as elsewhere, sections of the urban elite used the working-class dependence on drink to their own political advantage at election time through bribery, treating, and the control of organised gangs of 'roughs'. These traditional practices appeared corrupt to those seeking reform but they were difficult to eradicate as is indicated by the two Royal Commissioners' Reports on electoral malpractice in Norwich in the 1870s.

Social cohesion depended on effective interfaces between the urban elite and the working-class majority, and the drinking place and its regulation served a vital role in this respect. Such an overview of drink, drinking, and drinkers by the elite citizens of Norwich was an exercise in social control. In fact, there was little overt interference with the infrastructure of drinking. Although Norwich had the highest density of drinking places to population in England, the urban elite in the 1870s was proud that the city could boast the lowest rate of drunkenness. Those who held power could congratulate themselves on their increasing control

over the drinking habits of both the working-class majority and the working-class members of the police that the elite had set up as an agency of social control.

The infrastructure of drinking in Norwich was effective not least because brewers were key members of the urban elite and had influential roles within the Watch Committee, the employer of the Police Force, and other local government committees. Members of particular brewing families felt called by a sense of duty and business acumen to involve themselves in the polity of Norwich. Their insistence on the values of deference and conservatism reinforced the social control exercised by the elite and so further deepened the social cohesion that had been in part developed by the consumption of the beer they brewed and the attractions of the drinking houses they supplied and owned.

Yet there were splits within the elite over the issue of drink. Commanded to show love and compassion for their neighbour by the teachings of the Christian faith and yet concerned to increase their own and the nation's wealth, those who had wealth and power argued and divided. The Temperance Movement developed as a consequence of the challenge to traditional Christian ethics presented by the excessive consumption of drink in this new industrial and urban context. For many supporters of Temperance, the sin of excessive drinking provided the explanation for the poverty and lack of virtue they identified within the working class.

By 1901, Norwich - like other urban areas - was becoming a more sober, compassionate and just society. But this was not due to the victory of Temperance but rather to a shift in the 'structure of feeling' that saw a wider sense of social responsibility, shaped by the traditional Christian ethic of care for those in need, becoming more acceptable within the ranks of the elite. Solutions to poverty and disease were now seen in terms of municipal and state schemes for improvements in living conditions and health. A measure of redistribution of wealth was regarded as appropriate.

These are the conclusions of this historical study that has been concerned to incorporate an important lesson of the 'new cultural history': the need to keep the focus on how people actually put together and made sense of what they were experiencing. I have avoided explanations that depend on conceptual structures that are too rigid and therefore lacking in subtlety and depth. The use of sources such as the local press, the surviving minutes books of local government committees, licensed victuallers' registers and decennial census returns, has helped develop insights into understanding the role of drink in Victorian Norwich in particular and the process of social transformation in the Victorian world in general.

Asa Briggs, in the 1950s, argued that English Victorian cities 'responded differently to the urban problems which they shared in common'. Further research

centred on the role of drink in urban centres will help establish whether, and in what circumstances and to what degree, Norwich was different from - or similar to - other urban centres in its response to the issue of drink. The argument of this thesis is that drink was a means of developing and maintaining social cohesion not only in Norwich but also in other cities and towns. Whatever the differences between municipalities in their responses to urban growth and the development of working-class communities, the drinking habits of the working class provided an opportunity for social control and policing that was common to all urban elites. More research can establish the extent to which advantage was taken of this opening. It can also help answer such questions as how typical was either the involvement of Norwich brewers in urban politics or the mutual Christian respect of some Norwich Temperance leaders and brewers for each other. In Liverpool, the antagonism between temperance and drink interests was more marked but it seems unlikely to have affected the role of drink as an agency for social cohesion and therefore as a vital element in the process of social transformation in the Victorian world.

Acknowledgements

I would like to record my thanks to the staff of the Norfolk Record Office, in particular Freeda Wilkins-Jones, for their unfailing helpfulness and support. A similar appreciation is due to those who

assisted my research in the Norfolk Studies Library (the Norfolk Heritage Centre, as it is now known). My thanks, too, are extended to the Eastern Daily Press for allowing me to use its library in Norwich, and to the staff at the British Library Newspaper Library at Colindale, London, for their assistance.

My debt to historians who have helped shape my ways of making sense of the past extends back to my history teacher, David Patterson, at Dartford Grammar School, and continues through my tutors, George Holmes and Peter Dickson, at St. Catherine's, Oxford. In East Anglia, my course tutor at the University of Cambridge Board of Extra-mural Studies, David Dymond, re-awoke my interest in local history. Within the University of East Anglia, Roy Church and Steven Cherry comprised my review panel at an earlier stage of this research and provided a stimulating critical review of my work to date. Michael Sanderson has provided useful information on the development of the music hall. At the London School of Economics, Terry Gourvish gave me time, advice and stimulus. Above all, my supervisor, Richard Wilson, has defined the research landscape for me, reminding me how to write as a historian and guiding me with his own invaluable blend of authority and kindness.

I am also indebted to Adrian Moore, a recent UEA graduate and now a BBC employee, for his production of all the tables, figures and map in the main text of this thesis. Finally, I would like to thank

my wife, Louise, who has shown such understanding through the seven years of my part-time research.

Author's postscript

Rob Donovan's doctoral thesis was produced between 1995 and 2003 whilst he was teaching full-time in an Ipswich comprehensive school. Professor Richard Wilson supervised the research at the University of East Anglia. Rob has now retired from teaching and is moving with his wife to Cornwall. He would be delighted if any readers wish to share their own research interests in the Victorian world of drink. His email address is: robdonovan@waitrose.com

References

1. See above chapter 2.
2. Leslie Hannah has made the point that even before the industrial revolution, large-scale manufacture of beer was taking place in plants separate from the workers' homes. See Hannah, L. (1976) *The Rise of the Corporate Economy*. London, p.10.
3. See above chapter 5.
4. See above chapter 2.
5. Richard Wilson asked the question in Gourvish, T.R. & Wilson, R.G. (1994) *The British Brewing Industry 1830-1980*. C.U.P.:Cambridge as a preface to his revisionist argument that per capita beer consumption trends did not dramatically increase by over half between the 1830s and the 1870s. (pp.29-31) This supposed rise is

due to a 'loose interpretation' of the figures in G.B. Wilson's seminal work, (1940) *Alcohol and the Nation: a contribution to the study of the liquor problem in the United Kingdom 1800 - 1935*. Nicholson & Watson: London. For the period 1800-29 G.B. Wilson calculated the consumption-per-head figures for England and Wales only. Then in 1830 he switched his series to the United Kingdom (including Ireland) as a whole. If, instead, calculations are made between 1800 and 1914 solely for England and Wales, the great beer drinking centres of the United Kingdom, the figures appear generally stable and high throughout the century with the exception of a sharp increase between the late 1850s and the late 1870s.

6. See above chapter 2.
7. See above Table 28.
8. Gourvish, T.R. and Wilson, R.G. (1994) op. cit. pp.29-31.
9. *ibid.* p.29. Excepting the decade of the seventies, the annual averages range for per capita consumption of beer was 7.9 gallons (35.9 - 28.0) over this period of 113 years. This was only just over one pint a week.
10. See above Table 28.
11. Rowntree, J. and Sherwell, A. (1901) *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform*. Ninth edition, London, p.6 and p.10, cited in Gourvish, T.R. and Wilson, R.G. (1994) op. cit. p.35.
12. See above Table 28.
13. Mitchell, B.R. (1962) *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*. C.U.P.: Cambridge, p.6; Gourvish, T.R. and Wilson, R.G. (1994) op. cit. pp.32-3.
14. Gourvish, T.R. and Wilson, R.G. (1994) op. cit. pp.78-9, Table 3.4.
15. *ibid.* pp.89-98.

16. *ibid.* p.64.
 17. *ibid.* pp.110-112.
 18. Hannah, L. (1976) *op. cit.* pp.12-18.
 19. *ibid.* pp.17-20.
 20. Gourvish, T.R. and Wilson, R.G. (1994) *op. cit.* pp.251-3.
 21. *ibid.* p.254.
 22. See above, Chapter 4 *passim*.
 23. See above chapter 7.
 24. Gladstone had explained his defeat in the 1874 election by claiming that 'We have been brought down in a torrent of gin and beer'- see above chapter 1.
 25. *Licensed Victuallers Gazette*, 13 Mar. 1880, p.169.
 26. Gourvish, T.R. and Wilson, R.G. (1994) *op. cit.* pp.254-7. Unlike Norwich, the take-over of smaller companies by larger breweries is one of the features of developments in Portsmouth in the period 1880-1902 - see Eley, P. (1994) 'Portsmouth Breweries since 1847'. *The Portsmouth Papers*, No.63, pp.8-12.
 27. Morgan's had a nominal capital of £185,000; the ordinary shares in the new company were retained by the partners, but £75,000 of the 6% preference shares were offered to investors - see Steward & Patteson, p.67.
 28. Bullard's had an issue of £360,000 in 4% debentures to supplement a privately-held ordinary capital of £290,000 - see Steward & Patteson, p.67.
 29. Steward and Patteson Limited has an initial nominal capital of £300,000, divided equally into ordinary and 5 per cent preference shares, held privately and divided in more or less the same proportions between family members within the partnership and associates. In addition, debenture stock worth

£320,000 was issued of which £280,000 was offered to the public. The controlling families together still held around a quarter of this stock too; persons living within twenty-five miles of the Pockthorpe brewery held around three-quarters of the larger investments. The new limited company was largely a Norwich stake-holding - see Steward & Patteson, pp.67, 69-70.

30. The documentation for the Youngs conversion does not seem to have survived.

31. During 1898, the Board of Steward and Patteson Ltd. was reduced from five directors to three by the deaths of Donald Steward and Henry Staniforth Patteson. Donald Steward, described in his obituary in the *Norwich Mercury* as 'being of the Liberal persuasion', was less political than his senior partner, Henry Staniforth Patteson, but did serve as sheriff of Norwich in 1878, the year of the 'great floods', and was chairman of his local parish council at Catton and a director of the Norwich Union Life Society - see Steward & Patteson, pp.44, 70.)

32. See above chapter 5.

33. See above chapter 3.

34. Bayne, A.D. (1869) *A Comprehensive History of Norwich*. Jarrold and Sons: Norwich, pp.615-6. Steward & Patteson, p.45, considered that 70,000 barrels for Steward & Patteson would be nearer the mark.

35. See above chapter 7.

36. See above, Fig. 1.

37. Palgrave-Moore, P. (1978) *The Mayors and Lord Mayors of Norwich 1836-1974*. Elvery Dowers: Norwich, pp.iii & viii.

38. *ibid.* p.13; Steward & Patteson, pp.40-3.

39. *ibid.* p.13.

40. See above, Chapter 5 *passim*.

41. Steward & Patteson, pp.43-4.

42. Steward & Patteson, p.69; also see below, Table 29.

43. See above chapter 7.

44. Palgrave-Moore, P. (1978) op. cit. p.25.

45. *Licensed Victuallers Gazette*, 30 Nov. 1872, p.367.

46. Steward & Patteson, p.67; First Register of Victuallers Licences; Second Register of Victuallers Licences.

47. See above chapter 1.

48. Steward & Patteson, p.17; Bullard, H.H. (1902) *Sir Harry Bullard, A Record of a Busy Public Life*. Norwich, p.1. This is a son's biography of his father.

49. *ibid.* pp.5-7. Also see above chapter 7, for Richard Bullard's membership of the Watch Committee.

50. *ibid.* pp.11-3; NRO, BR1/1 and BR1/2, 'Bullard's Limited Board Minutes Books, 1895-98' and '1898-1902'.

51. *ibid.* p.16. Harry Bullard joined the Conservatives in 1872 - see above chapter 7.

52. *ibid.* pp.21-2.

53. *ibid.* pp.86-119.

54. *ibid.* p.196.

55. See above chapters 5 and 6.

56. NRO, N/TC 4/14, 'Paving, Cleansing, Sewerage and Lighting Committee of the Norwich Board of Health Minutes Book', 9 Sept. 1853; 8 June 1854. This John Youngs is John Youngs (junior), the son of John Youngs (senior) who by 1814 had formed a brewing partnership with William Burt that lasted until 1854 when John Youngs (junior) bought out the third William Burt, the grandson, after having joined forces with Charles Crawshay, himself a second-generation Norwich brewer - see Dent, J. and Livock, J. (1990) *Wensum Lodge: The Story of a House*. Wensum Lodge: Norwich, p.23.

57. NRO, N/TC 4/14, 'Paving Committee', 28 May 1855. Morgan was offered £350 for rebuilding the premises and compensating his tenant. He asked for £355 and £50 compensation for his tenant. After some negotiation, he accepted the original offer since the Board would provide premises for his tenant during the re-building and give him £25 in addition.

58. See above chapter 5.

59. NRO, N/TC 4/15, 'Paving Committee', 10 Sept. 1857.

60. NRO, N/TC 4/11, 'Sanitary Purposes Committee of the Norwich Board of Health Minutes Book', 21 Nov. 1862.

61. NRO, N/TC 4/12, 'Sanitary Committee', 15 Sept. 1865; 1 June 1866.

62. NRO, N/TC 4/22, 'Sewerage and Irrigation Committee of the Norwich Board of Health Minutes Book', 3 Jan. 1872.

63. See above chapter 5.

64. *ibid.*

65. *ibid.*

66. *ibid.*

67. See above chapter 7.

68. See above chapter 6 *passim*.

69. See above chapter 6.

70. Peter Finch is Peter Finch III (1791-1852), a second-generation Norwich brewer whose father, Peter Finch II (1726-1807) had acquired Nuthall's brewery in St. Mary's Coslany in 1771. When Peter Finch III agreed to merge with Steward, Patteson, and Morse in the 1837 partnership, his family had therefore had the longest connection with the trade. Peter Finch was a traditional Whig who had been active in Norwich politics for some time before Victoria's accession, serving as sheriff in 1825 and mayor in 1827. The merger with Finch brought Steward &

Patteson around fifty-five more public houses, forty of which were in Norwich, making a total of about 250 retail outlets tied to the Pockthorpe brewery - see Steward & Patteson, pp.33-5 and also above chapter 7.

71. NRO, N/TC 7/1, WCM, 4 Mar./14 Mar. 1836.

72. See above above chapter 6.

73. *ibid.*

74. *ibid.*

75. NRO, N/TC 7/3, WCM, 30 June 1848; 7 July 1848.

76. See above chapter 6.

77. NRO, N/TC 7/5, WCM, 25 Jan. 1856; 15 Feb. 1856; NRO, BR3/11, 'Anchor Brewery Schedule 1867'.

78. See above chapter 6.

79. *ibid.*

80. See above chapter 7; also chapter 8.

81. *The Licensed Victuallers Gazette* (6 July 1872) declared that it was '... devoted to the Interests of Hotel, Tavern, and Innkeepers, Brewers, Maltsters, and Hop Factors, Distillers, Wine and Spirit Merchants, and all Trades connected therewith'. The Drink interest represented significant numbers of people, from a variety of backgrounds, and would have seen itself as helping social cohesion.

82. *ibid.* 13 July 1872; 1 Feb. 1879; 12 Oct. 1900.

83. See above chapter 7.

84. See above chapter 6.

85. *ibid.*

86. Hawkins noted a number of pointers towards progress in the previous two decades:

Social workers in Norwich, comparing the conditions of the present with twenty years ago are unanimous that there has been a great

improvement in the conduct and sobriety of boot operatives ...' (p.24); '... twenty years ago the work of lasting was done entirely by hand ... practically all the finishing was done by the workman in his own home ... (now) there are a dozen firms who have factories equipped ... with decent sanitation, light and ventilation ... with a great impact on the health and efficiency of work people ... (leading to) good work and good citizenship.' (p.30); 'In 1898 the Town Council passed a bye-law under the Housing Acts so as to enable them to throw the cost of improvement on the owners (of the courts and yards), and a special Courts and Yards Committee was appointed to enforce the law. Up to the present 232 courts and yards dealt with ... A few of the worst courts closed altogether' (p.74)

87. Steward & Patteson

88. Steward & Patteson, p.12, acknowledged that, for Steward & Patteson, like many firms, '... the surviving records are patchy, and there is very little for the years prior to 1880'. Richard Wilson, in Gourvish, T.R. & Wilson, R.G. (1994) *op. cit.* p.180, noted that

... the modern historian of the industry lacks guidance - (on issues of accounting, profitability and management) ... company minutes, often continuous from the 1880s, chiefly record share and property transactions.

89. Steward & Patteson, pp.35-9.

90. Gourvish, T.R. & Wilson, R.G. (1994) *op. cit.* p.149.

91. Steward & Patteson, pp.39-40; Meeres, F. (1998) *A History of Norwich*. Phillimore: Chichester, pp.166-7. Steward & Patteson, p.37, noted the 'vigorous' response of Steward & Patteson in the 'relatively static market conditions of the mid-nineteenth cen-

ture'. Given the rise in population in Norwich in the 1840s, the market seems to have been more buoyant than this description suggests, even before the coming of the railways.

92. Steward & Patteson, pp.43, 47-8.

93. See Steward & Patteson, Table 12, p.47. The new figures for 1867 and 1893 derive from my statistical analysis of the First Register of Victuallers Licences.

94. Steward & Patteson, Table 22, p.78.

Also see above, Table 29, for the figures of Steward & Patteson public houses and beer-houses ownership in 1895.

95. Steward & Patteson, pp.47-8.

96. Steward & Patteson, pp.64-7

97. Steward & Patteson, pp.72-87.

98. NRO, BR3/10, 'Bullard & Sons, Anchor Brewery: List of public houses c.1845'. The list notes the public house and the publican, by surname.

99. See above, Fig. 28, derived from NRO, BR3/11, 'The Anchor Brewery Norwich: Schedule of agreements with public house tenants, 1843-1867'. This source also provides a list of property showing land tax and poor rate assessments, compiled around 1861.

100. See above chapter 7.

101. Bullard's were increasing their stock of Norwich public houses in the same period as Steward, Patteson, Finch & Co. was decreasing theirs. I have been unable to establish whether Bullard's purchased any Steward, Patteson, Finch & Co. property in Norwich but it seems likely.

102. NRO, BR3/11, 'Anchor Schedule'.

103. Gourvish, T.R. & Wilson, R.G. (1994) op. cit. p.207; also see above chapter 7.

104. NRO, BR3/15, 'List of Property belonging to Messrs Bullard & Sons, 1871'.

105. This distinction in terms of types of ownership is also evident in NRO, BR1/146, 'Steward & Patteson Limited Trust Deed, 1895'. See above, Table 29 for the table derived from that source. This table also serves to illustrate the extent of the largest brewery 'empire' based in Norwich.

106. NRO, MC 1418/1, 'Bullard Brewery and Election Cuttings'.

107. See above chapter 5.

108. NRO, BR3/1, 'Anchor Brewery Office Memoranda', 20 Jan. 1858.

109. NRO, BR3/13, 'Miscell., including public house letting agreements, 1853-54'; Bullard, Sir Harry Bullard, p.13. Harry, Charles and Fred formed a new partnership on the death of John Briggs in 1874. When Charles died in 1875, John Boyce joined a new partnership with Harry and Fred that lasted until 1894 and the change to limited liability status.

110. NRO, BR3/8-2, 'Office Memoranda, 1867-1873'.

111. NRO, BR3/8, 'Office Memoranda, 1867'.

112. NRO, BR3/8, 'Office Memoranda, 1869'.

113. NRO, BR3/8, 'Office Memoranda, 1867'. It is of course these hours of clerical work that have produced the documentation that has helped underpin the research for this chapter.

114. NRO, BR1/1 and BR1/2, 'Bullard's Limited Board Minutes Books, 1895-1898' and '1898-1902'.

115. NRO, BR1/ 45 and BR1/ 46, 'Steward & Patteson Limited Board Minutes Books, 1895-1898' and '1898-1904'.

116. NRO, BR1/ 1, 'Bullard Minutes', 30 July 1896. The minutes read:

A letter from Mr G.A. Collier was read (he was absent from the meeting) and regret was expressed that in it the words "If the Board Meetings are not to degenerate into a greater farce than they are at present" were used, and the Chairman and Mr Boyce considered that there was no justification for them, as in their opinion the weekly meetings of Directors had proved most useful, that the business of the Company had been well conducted, and that they saw no reason for making any alteration in the present system of management.

117. NRO, BR1/1, 'Bullard Minutes', 23 Dec. 1896.

118. NRO, BR1/1, 'Bullard Minutes', 24 Apr./ 1 May 1895.

119. NRO, BR1/1, 'Bullard Minutes', 8 Apr. 1896.

120. NRO, BR1/1, 'Bullard Minutes', 24 Oct. 1896.

121. Palgrave-Moore, P. (1978) op. cit. pp.4, 13; Steward and Patteson, p.44. For H. S. Patteson, also see above chapter 7; for Jeremiah Colman, also see *ibid*.

Marsden, G. (ed.) (1998) in *Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth Century Society*, second edition, Longman: London, p.9, noted that 'an important trend in Victorian studies (has been) the restoration of religion to a central position in discussing the history of the period and the motivation of its prime movers'. Binfield, C. (1972) 'Temperance and the Cause of God', *History*, 57, pp.403-410, in his review of Brian Harrison's *Drink and the Victorians* (second edition, 1994, p.18) which Harrison himself found to be one of the 'most perceptive', noted (p.410) that Harrison refers to God only twice, despite valuable sections dealing with religion.

122. See above chapters 6 and 7.

123. See above chapter 8.

124. NM, 30 Sept. 1837. This Festival is also mentioned in Winskill, P.T. (1892) *The Temperance Movement and its Workers: a record of social, moral, religious and political progress*. 4 vols. London, I, p.257. This rather hagiographical series of volumes cites the Preston Temperance Advertiser, 1837, p.86 as its source. Winskill records an entertainment with 'No fewer than 980 persons ... sat down to partake of the beverage "that cheers but not inebriates"'. Harrison, B (1994) *Drink and the Victorians*. Keele University Press: Keele, p.167, noted that 'In the 1830s the progressive Stanley of Norwich was the only bishop prominent on teetotal platforms.

125. *Eastern Daily Press*, 10 Jan. 1900.

126. Harrison, B (1994) op. cit. p.18, acknowledged in 1994 that 'It seems to me rather more important now than it did then (in 1971) to re-create the lost world of British nonconformity with the fullest sympathy'.

127. See above chapter 6.

128. Harrison, B (1994) op. cit. p.18, also noted in 1994 that 'Another improvement that a re-written version of the book could incorporate would be a wider comparative perspective now that several studies of temperance activity in Europe have appeared'.

129. Roberts, J.S. (1984) *Drink, Temperance and the Working Class in Nineteenth-Century Germany*. George Allen & Unwin: Boston, Mass. and London, p. xi.

130. Prestwich, P.E. (1988) *Drink and the Politics of Social Reform: Antialcoholism in France since 1870*. Society for Promotion of Science and Scholarship: Palo Alto, Calif., p.5.

131. Roberts, J.S. (1984) op. cit. p.7.

132. Prestwich, P.E. (1988) op. cit. p.287.

133. See above chapter 8.

134. Harrison, B (1994) op. cit. pp.98-9, 182.

135. *ibid*, p.99, recorded that 'Hume in 1834 said that a man could land at Ostend and visit Brussels, Antwerp and Liege without seeing as many drunken men en route as he could see in London in half-an-hour'.

136. Mackie, C. (1901) *Norfolk Annals: a chronological record of remarkable events in the nineteenth century, compiled from the files of the Norfolk Chronicle*. The Norfolk Chronicle: Norwich, I, p.431, 7 Sep. 1843: Father Mathew attended a temperance festival at Norwich ... at which the Lord Bishop and Mr. J.J. Gurney were present. On the 8th, Father Mathew, from twelve to six o'clock, administered the pledge to all who cared to receive it'. The conservative Norfolk Chronicle observed: "We cannot but feel that the members of the Church of England are pledged to temperance already, and have therefore no necessity to repeat the pledge before a Romish priest."

137. NHC, C252, Rev. Joseph William Crompton, The Temperance movement considered in relation to the Christian Church - a sermon suggested by the visit of Father Mathew delivered at the Octagon Chapel, Norwich, Sunday 10 September, 1843, pp.8-9, 12.

138. Reardon, B.M.G. (1971) *From Coleridge to Gore: a century of religious thought in Britain*. Longman: Harlow, p.74.

139. Chadwick, O. (1970) *The Victorian Church*. 2 vols. New York: OUP, II, p.277.

140. *ibid*, II, pp.272, 278-280. Harrison, B (1994) op. cit., p.93. pointed out that 'The problem for the temperance movement was that some types of property had to be

attacked ... the hated "trade" was therefore attacked as a crime of "traffick", quite distinct from all other commercial activity'.

141. NHC, Z283, James Lee Warner, 'The Christian liberty in relation to the temperance pledge: a sermon preached in the parish church of Little Walsingham ...before the Rechabite Association of that place' (1843) in Church Sermons & Pamphlets, pp.1-12.

142. Harrison, B (1994) op. cit. p.308, calculated a figure of 'at least a million adult teetotallers' by the 1860s. The language of the visionary Romantic poet and artist, William Blake (1757-1827), makes explicit the link between industrialization and the forces of evil.

143. *ibid*. p.308, concluded that 'by the 1860s there existed an influential and literate minority in the country of 'opinion makers', numbering well under 100,000 teetotalers. Within Norwich, the influence of non-conformist Christian teetotalers like J.J. Gurney and George White, and temperance men such as J.J. Colman and Jacob Henry Tillett, was of particular importance - see below, pp.287-97.

144. This degree of scriptural scrutiny seemed to bring in its wake a measure of doubt about biblical authority itself. How could an absolute scriptural authority be open to alternative rational interpretations? The 'Drink Question' was one debate among many in the nineteenth-century that led to a decline in the belief in absolute certainties, an increasing acceptance of relativism, and a loss of traditional Christian faith.

145. Lee Warner, Christian Liberty, pp.6-12. Shiman, L.L. (1988) *Crusade against Drink in Victorian England*. Macmillan: Basingstoke, pp. 68-73, provides a full treatment of the Bible wine question.

146. NHC, 29C, "Argus" overlooked, by

Ithuriel: or the man of light proved to be in darkness, Review of a Tract, entitled "Temperance versus Abstinence", a letter addressed to the President of the Norwich Temperance Society (Yarmouth, 1844), pp.14-28. J.J. Gurney's significance within the Temperance Movement in Norwich is considered above chapter 8.

147. Harrison, B (1994) op. cit. p.168.

148. Shiman, L.L. (1988) op. cit. pp.51-2, argued appropriately that 'not all clergyman were sympathetic to the temperance movement'. She seems to over-generalise however with her claim that English clergymen between 1840 and 1870 - like the rest of the population - were indifferent to the problem of intemperance, believing it to be none of their concern.

149. Harrison, B (1994) op. cit. pp.170-1.

150. Shiman, L.L. (1988) op. cit. p.107. Shiman, pp.52-3, also claimed that 'Many Anglican clergy still believed that the drinking habits of the people were not the concern of the church', even after 1872. Despite the absence of a reliable statistical survey, it seems reasonable to emphasise that many Anglican clergy did identify with Temperance.

151. Booth, C. (1902) *Life & Labour of the People in London*. Third Series. Macmillan: London, VII, p.20, quoted in Harrison, B (1994) op. cit. p.171

152. See above chapter 4 pp.112-5.

153. See, for example, the illustrations reproduced in Harrison, B (1994) op. cit. pp.264, 270.

154. Jennings, P. (1995) *The Public House in Bradford, 1770-1970*. Keele University Press: Keele, p.78; Harrison, B (1994) op. cit. p.175.

155. Harrison, B (1994) op. cit. p.182.

156. *ibid.* p.208. Harrison, p.239, also made the point that 'Franchise reform in 1867 made it much easier for parliament to face the licensing question...many people outside the temperance movement realised democracy must be made safe through educational and licensing reforms.' For party divisions over the 'Drink Question' see above chapter 9 pp.320-2.

157. *ibid.* pp.239-240. The first 'Permissive Bill' or 'local veto', supported by the UKA, was debated in 1857. At first, it was designed to give ratepayers the right to prohibit the sale of alcohol on a simple two-thirds majority. Later, this annual parliamentary bill (from 1864 introduced by Wilfred Lawson) was modified as a 'local option' that allowed ratepayers several choices of policy - see *ibid.* p.183. The UKA, however, were more concerned with principle than the legislative detail. The end of the evil of drink was always more important than the parliamentary means adopted which perhaps helps explain the failure of the tactic.

158. NHC, CL283, J.F. Bateman and J.D. Ballance, 'The proper attitude of the clergy toward the temperance movement' (1874) in *Pastoral Work Papers, 1870-1876*, pp.109-120 (Bateman) and pp.121-141 (Ballance). J.F. Bateman was rector of North and South Lopham; J.D. Ballance was vicar of Horsford and Horsham St. Faith. For the strength of Temperance in the later Victorian period in Wales, at least until the 1890s when its decline began, see Lambert, W.R. (1983) *Drink and Sobriety in Victorian Wales, c.1820-c.1895*. University of Wales Press: Cardiff.

159. Bateman, Temperance, p.110. The Pastoral Work Association was concerned with 'improving the condition of the people'.

160. Bateman, Temperance, p.116. The Independent Order of the Good Templars was an American organisation that arrived in England in 1868. By 1894, their membership had more than halved after they took an 'uncompromising political stance on licensing legislation issues', campaigning against compensation for the loss of licences and for 'Local Option' and Sir Wilfred Lawson, the UKA president. Yet with a membership of 100,000 the Templars were still a significant segment of the Temperance Movement - see Shiman, Crusade, p. 178.)

161. Ballance, Temperance, pp.121, 131, 141.

162. See above chapter 8.

163. NHC, MC 230/1 and MC 230/2, 'The Diaries of Alfred and Bessie King of Norwich, 1878'. The visit to Victoria Hall is recorded in Bessie's diary for 22 January 1878. Her father was perhaps W. Lomas, one of the two secretaries of the Society recorded on the pledge. The non-conformist printer and stationer, S. Jarrold, is named as President of the Norwich United Temperance Society. In the pledge, Bessie promised 'to abstain from all Intoxicating Liquors as a beverage, and in all suitable ways to discountenance their use throughout the community.'

164. Shiman, L.L. (1988) op. cit. pp.97-8.

165. See above chapter 7.

166. Lords Intemperance Report, 1879, Final Report. Sir Wilfred Lawson asked whether the Government intended to propose legislation in the present session based on the recommendations of the Lords' Committee; a week later the printed Parliamentary answer was in the negative - see *Eastern Daily Press*, 22/ 29 March 1879. A leader in the *Daily News*, quoted in the *Eastern Daily Press*, 19 March 1879, offers

part of the explanation: '...how can new restraints be safely applied, without provoking reactions?' The fear of the mass and anxiety about working-class riot prompted by interference with traditional drinking patterns: these are powerful underlying concerns that add another dimension to an already complex situation - see Harrison, B (1994) op. cit. p.186.

167. *Eastern Daily Press*, 21 Jan. 1879.

168. *Norwich Mercury*, 5 Mar. 1879. For Dr. Peter Eade, see above chapter 8 and chapter 5.

169. *Eastern Daily Press*, 21/ 29 Jan. 1879.

170. *Norwich Mercury*, 10 May 1879.

171. *Norwich Mercury*, 21 May 1879. For George White - shoe manufacturer, Norfolk Member of Parliament from 1900, knighted in 1907 - and his temperance role, see above 8.

172. *Eastern Daily Press*, 9 April 1879.

173. Harrison, B (1994) op. cit., p.296.

174. *Eastern Daily Press*, 13 Feb. 1879.

The Victoria Café, and The Alexandra Café that opened in April 1879, shared the same architect. There were three floors: on the first there was the main drinking and eating area; on the second, a reading room; and on the third, a games room with billiard table and bagatelle boards. Drink, food, and wholesome games were all provided in this middle-class and Christian attempt to reinvent the pub. So too were lavatories, welcome public facilities in a city where the working class disposed of their sewerage in external bins - see above, p.165.

175. *Eastern Daily Press*, 9 April 1879.

176. *Eastern Daily Press*, 9 April 1879. The leader was titled: 'The Licensed Victuallers and the Café Movement' and developed the case that 'the publican has allowed the drunkard to grow up in society ... The publican is tempted to be untrue to his best interests and

too often sells his article till the customer is drunk. Thus the tradesman who exists to serve a public want is transformed into the occasion for public vice and wretchedness.'

177. See above chapter 5.

178. NHC, C178, Norfolk and Norwich Gospel Temperance and Blue Ribbon Union (NNGT), First Annual Report (Norwich, 1883).

179. The list of twenty Norwich representatives on the Ladies General Committee includes the names of Mrs. S. Jarrold, Mrs. A. Tillet, and Mrs. G. White. The activity of the non-conformist, Christian Liberal sector of the middle class now had a female as well as male aspect, within the same influential families.

180. NHC, N285.8, Rev. M.Baxter (ed.), *Christian Herald and Signs of Our Times*, Jan. supplement, 1883. 'Gospel Temperance', by that name, had come to England in 1881 from the United States where in 1877 Francis Murphy had adopted the Blue Ribbon as a token of teetotalism. Baxter, p.31, observed that 'It is important to notice that the title of Blue Ribbon Army is thus at least one year older than the title of General Booth's Salvation Army in England, which was first so called in 1878'. Baxter, p.32, also claimed that the Grand Temperance Reception for Francis Murphy and his son, Thomas, in Norwich in September 1882 matched the carnival atmosphere of a political rally supported by the Drink Trade: '... more than 30,000 people in procession, with bands of music and banners of welcome, paraded the streets with bottles with corks drawn hung out of numerous windows. [They travelled in] ... a carriage with four grey horses and outriders dressed in scarlet'. Shiman, *Crusade*, p.112, noted that by the end of the 1880s, 'when the Blue Ribbon Movement had burnt itself out',

over one million had taken the pledge and donned the blue ribbon. She also observed, pp.119-120, that '...without Gospel Temperance, the teetotallers could hardly have aroused such anti-drink interest in the 1880s and 1890s' or have secured the support of the Liberal Party programme in 1895.

181. NNGT Annual Report 1883, p.13. Rev. J.D. Ballance, writing in 1874 (see above chapter 8), had recorded the activity of four of these five temperance organizations, the exception being the Rechabites. A sermon preached by Rev. John Gould in 1891 at the Wesleyan Chapel in Norwich celebrated the foundation of the 'Self Help' Tent in 1880 under the auspices of the Independent Order of Rechabites - see NHC, C368/4 in 21F/C252, *Sermons: 1818-1891*. According to Gould, p.1, this was the 'oldest, largest and wealthiest temperance friendly society in existence' with 100,000 adult members and 50,000 juveniles, nationally, and over £500,000 in funds. Alderman George White was an honorary member; abstainers aged from 15-40 were eligible for membership on payment of a proposition fee of 2s 6d and the presentation of a medical certificate. There was a separate 'Female Tent' and one for 'Boys and Girls 3-15' on payment of an initiation fee of 6d. Gould's sermon was emphatic in its warning cries to the young: '...it is the one thing I would like to make the occasion of an appeal to the young ... never to wander into the barren regions of vice, and folly, and drunkenness, and sin' (p.5). Gould's congregation was addressed as 'you respectable people' (p.7); the Temperance Movement in general and the Teetotallers in particular offered the stamp of middle-class respectability in this world, either as an aspiration for

those seeking to rise socially or as confirmation of existing social status. It also offered the promise of bliss in the after-life. These were powerful incentives for some, but had little meaning for many others.

182. NNGT Annual Report 1883, p.20.

183. See above chapter 8.

184. NHC, N287 (05), *The Methodist Sunbeam*, vol.1, nos. 2-12 (Feb.- Dec. 1882): a magazine for the Norwich United Methodist Free Churches.

185. *Methodist Sunbeam*, June 1882.

186. *Methodist Sunbeam*, Oct. 1882.

187. NHC, Z261.832, Abby, J. (1902) *The Church of God at the Gates of Hell: or, Why is Christianity so great a failure?* London.

188. *ibid.* p.143.

189. *ibid.* pp.162-72.

190. See above chapter 8.

191. NHC, CABB, *The Illustrated Temperance Monthly of the Church of England Temperance Society*, no.31 (May 1893), pp.126-127.

192. Rowntree, J. and Sherwell, A. (1901) *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform*. ninth edition, Hodder and. Stoughton: London, p.x, acknowledged from a Temperance position, that 'the Local Veto will not solve the problem of intemperance in the great urban centres'. They also argued, pp.545-86, for a 'Constructive as well as Controlling Reform' that recognised and acted on the problems of poverty, housing and overcrowding.

193. NHC, Z178, Pattin, H.C. (1905) *The ritual of temperance and state hygiene: contributions towards a rationale in national healthiness*. Norwich.

194. See above chapter 5.

195. See above chapter 7.

196. See above chapter 8.

197. Braithwaite, J.B. (ed.) (1854) *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney*. Norwich, I, pp.365-7; II, pp.302-3, 368-9, 410-1.

198. The *Norfolk News* was to be based on civil, religious and commercial freedom and was in opposition to the official Whig journal, the *Norwich Mercury*.

199. NHC, CCOL, Gurney-Reid, J. (1990) *The Colman Family*. Norwich; Colman, H.C. (1905) *J.J. Colman - A Memoir by one of his daughters*. Chiswick Press: London, pp.23-37. For the significance of toasting in Victorian society, see Harrison, B (1994) *op. cit.* pp.55-6, 351.

200. Marsden, G. (ed.) (1990) *Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth-Century Society*. Longman: London. p.3, quoted Asa Briggs on the need for this distinction: 'Professional historians have long pointed out how difficult it is to generalise about Victorian values ... we rightly distinguish between early, middle and late Victorian'.

201. Quoted in Colman, H.C. (1905) *op. cit.* pp.61-2.

202. *ibid.* pp.124-34; Palgrave-Moore, P. (1978) *op. cit.* p.17. Also see above chapter 9.

203. Mackie, *Norfolk Annals*, II, pp.426-427, 30 Jan. 1892; pp.492-493, 18 Sept. 1898.

204. Colman, H.C. (1905) *op. cit.* pp.336-42. Helen Colman noted, p.342, that her father 'showed his practical interest ... by putting up [a coffee house] at Corton (where the family had a sea-side house), with a Bowling Green attached, and, in conjunction with his Partners, another at Trowse, besides giving facilities for his own Workpeople at Carrow to obtain non-intoxicating drinks on the premises.' He also refused to subscribe to a

Juvenile Oddfellows Lodge, despite his enthusiasm for encouraging thrift, because he thought 'the close connection between the Lodge room and a public house very undesirable'.

205. *ibid.* pp.187-8. Helen Colman recounted that her father had told his sister in 1862: I had a few minutes chat yesterday with my Colleague Elect, Mr. Patteson ... He was very pleasant and said he was glad to have me with him which of course I reciprocated, and then alluding to our political differences, said in a joking way, "Well, extremes meet, so we shall get on well together". I suppose you know he is a thorough Tory and Churchman, but about the best of them in Norwich.

By contrast, relations between the Temperance and Drink interests seem to have been more strained in Liverpool. William Caine, a local employer, parliamentary candidate, and advocate of temperance, gave evidence before the Lords' Select Committee on Intemperance in 1877 that many public houses in Liverpool were owned by men who were also brewer-councillors (as in Norwich). However, Caine claimed an abuse of authority was taking place, arguing for instance that 'a policeman whose wages are at 24s a week ... may be very largely influenced by the fact that the chief magistrate of Liverpool (the mayor) ... is the owner of 78 public houses.' Moreover, when these powerful brewer-councillors 'appoint a manager to one of their public houses ... they get him to sign a blank transfer ... the object being to protect the owner of the house against losing his licence by endorsement'. Every six weeks a transfer could be applied for. Caine claimed that at such hearings, the bench would be packed with magistrates known to be favourable, for

the purpose of obtaining a removed licence for a given house or for hearing a number of transfers all together at the same time. (Lords Intemperance Report, 1877, First Report, pp.65-82.)

206. Mackie, *Norfolk Annals*, II, pp.426-7, 30 Jan. 1892. In the obituary notice in the conservative *Norfolk Chronicle*, Tillett is described as

the most potent political personal force that the century produced in Norwich ... Whatever the Conservative Party may have thought of his political faults and shortcomings, Mr. Tillett was no Socialist or Revolutionist. He was staunch in his loyalty to the Throne ... he was naturally of a kind, considerate, and affectionate disposition.

Also see Palgrave-Moore, P. (1978) *op. cit.* p.11.

207. NHC, N289.6, Norwich First [Adult] Day Schools, address by Mr. J.H. Tillett, reprinted from *Norfolk News*, 22 November 1890. Tillett (p.5) took this opportunity to laud the work of the Salvation Army in Norwich: 'It has reclaimed scores of drunkards, turned miserable homes into happy ones, converted blasphemers into preachers of the Gospel, and done an incalculable amount of good amongst the humbler classes'

208. Palgrave-Moore, P. (1978) *op. cit.* pp.11-2; Mackie, *Norfolk Annals*, II, pp.426-7, 30 Jan. 1892. The obituary notice in the *Norfolk Chronicle* observed that in 1880, 'Mr. Tillett reached the goal of his ambition too late to derive any satisfaction from it, and the five years he spent in Parliament were among the most irksome and worrying of any in his life'. This view receives some confirmation in another obituary notice written by Mrs. J.J. Colman - see Colman, H.C. (1905) *op. cit.* pp.313-5.

209. *ibid.* p.313.

210. NHC, N301, *The People: their Strength and their Weakness - an Address delivered by Mr. J.H. Tillett at the New Catton Schoolroom, Norwich, Friday April 4 1873*, pp.2-7. See pp.5-11 for the full seven 'obstructions to social progress': 1 Brute force; 2 Priestcraft - not just the Church of Rome but exemplified by it; 3 Fashion and money; 4 Excess in drink; 5 Waste; 6 Indifference to politics; 7 Mental inactivity.

211. Tillett, *The People*, pp.7-8.

212. NHC, N178.1, *The Reply of the Executive of the Norwich Auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance to the Statements on Local Option, made by Mr.J.H. Tillett, M.P., at St.Andrew's Hall, on Monday, 30 January 1882*, 25 Feb. 1882.

213. *United Kingdom Alliance Reply*, pp.4-8.

214. *Eastern Daily Press*, 31 Jan. 1882.

215. Doyle, B. (1996) 'Temperance and Modernity: the Impact of Local Experience on Rank and File Liberal Attitudes to Alcohol', *The Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 16, p.1; Wheldon, F.W. (1946) *A Norvic Century and the men who made it - 1846-1946*. Jarrolds: Norwich, p.48.

216. White, G.*The Drink Traffic and its Relation to Work and Wages* (Edinburgh, n.d. [1894]), quoted in Doyle, B. (1996) *op. cit.* p.2. Emphasis is in the original.

217. *Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 5th Series, vol. 26, 29 May 1911*, pp.808-809, quoted in Doyle, B. (1996) *op. cit.* p.3.

218. NHC, NOR: QA, *The Nonconformist Conscience in its Relation to Our National Life - Presidential address delivered by Alderman George White, M.P. at the Spring Assembly of the Baptist Union of Great*

Britain and Ireland in the City Temple, London, Monday 27 April 1903, pp.9, 14.

219. Doyle, B. (1996) *op. cit.* p.2.

220. See note 180 above for evidence of the temperance influence within the working class. Supposedly, more than 30,000 paraded the streets of Norwich for the Grand Temperance Reception for Francis Murphy and his son in 1882. Working-class chapel members would have formed part of such a parade.

221. See above chapter 6, for the introduction of this argument.

222. Dunbabin, J.P.D. (1988) 'Electoral Reforms and their Outcome in the United Kingdom, 1865-1900', in Gourvish, T.R. and O'Day, A. (eds.) *Later Victorian Britain, 1867-1900*. Macmillan: Basingstoke, p.95.

223. Thompson, D. (1984) *The Chartists*. Temple Smith: Hounslow, pp.11-36.

224. *ibid.* pp.341, 344, 352, 361.

225. In particular, NHC, N320, Gerry Chaney 'Notes on Norwich Radicalism', two boxes of unpublished research papers which include material from contemporary local newspapers. A valuable mid-Victorian source is Bayne, A.D. (1869) *A Comprehensive History of Norwich*. Jarrold: London; Meeres, F. (1998) *op. cit.* also contains useful material.

226. Harrison, B (1994) *op. cit.* p.332.

227. Bayne, A.D. (1869) *op. cit.* pp.320-1. 'Treating' refers to drink bribes; Harrison (Harrison, B (1994) *op. cit.* p.330) made the point that 'treating was a convenient way of controlling large constituencies' and had 'long been more common in municipal elections, with their relatively wide franchise, than in national elections.

228. Bayne, A.D. (1869) *op. cit.* p.514.

229. Gourvish, T.R. and O'Day, A. (1988)

op. cit. p.1 argued that: 'Britain, by the norms of other nations, enjoyed high degrees of social cohesion and national unity built on consent and co-operation between the governed and the ruling order'.

230. Bayne, A.D. (1869) op. cit. pp.379-404.

231. *ibid.* pp.392-3, 395. Corfield, P.J. (1976) 'The Social and Economic History of Norwich, 1650-1850' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London), p.335, concluded that: Norwich industry conspicuously did not revive with the national economy in 1828-29. Disputes became even more bitter in 1829 ... unemployed weavers paraded in the streets playing muffled drums and carrying shuttles bound in mourning crapes ... a Norwich manufacturer, William Springfield, was fired at and wounded'. Social cohesion in the city could be stretched to breaking point at times of economic crisis.

232. Bayne, A.D. (1869) op. cit. pp.381, 398-400. Fraser, D. (1979) *Power and Authority in the Victorian City*. Basil Blackwell: Oxford, pp.15-6, made the point that 'it was fear of what the democratic municipal franchise might throw up that underlay all Tory protests ... Political Radicals saw municipal reform as one battle in the war against a ramified aristocratic establishment'.

233. *The Norfolk News*, 28 Mar./ 4 Apr. 1863, quoted in Bayne, A.D. (1869) op. cit. pp.320-1.

234. *ibid.* pp.320-1.

235. *ibid.* p.321.

236. Vincent, J. (1966) *The Formation of the Liberal Party 1857-1868*. Constable: London, pp.96-106.

237. Hanham, H.J. (1959) *Elections and Party Management Politics in the time of Disraeli and Gladstone*. Longman: London, p.283.

238. *ibid.* p.281, note 3. The other corrupt constituencies were Gloucester, Ipswich, Maidstone, Rochester, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Walsall, Worcester, and Yarmouth. Norwich, Ipswich and Yarmouth are East Anglian; others of the ten constituencies also have barley-growing hinterlands. The brewing and agricultural interests perhaps had a role in the survival of such corruption.

239. *Norfolk Chronicle*, Mar. 1839, quoted in Chaney, G. 'Norwich Radicalism notes'.

240. *ibid.* in particular a draft: 'John Dover - Chartist leader'.

241. *Norfolk Chronicle*, Mar. 1839.

242. Meeres, F. (1998) op. cit. p.138.

243. *The Norfolk News*, 25 Dec. 1847, quoted in Chaney, G. op. cit.

244. Dunbabin, J.P.D. (1988) op. cit. pp.97, 103.

245. Gourvish, T.R. and O'Day, A. (1988) op. cit. p.6.

246. *Norwich Mercury*, 2 Mar. 1870; Doyle, B. (1990) 'Middle Class Realignment and Party Politics in Norwich, 1900-1932' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, UEA), vol.2, p.368.

247. Dunbabin, J.P.D. (1988) op. cit. p.103.

248. *ibid.* pp.103-5; Jennings, P. (1995) op. cit. p.211.

249. See above chapter 9.

250. *Norwich Mercury*, 2 Mar. 1870, 2 Mar. 1876; NHC, C CCOL, An election address: 'Colman and Tillett and their Electoral Contests in Norwich' (1886); Charles Mackie, *Norfolk Annals: a chronological record of remarkable events in the 19th century, compiled from the files of the Norfolk Chronicle* (2 vols., Norwich, 1901), II, p. 366, 17 Mar. 1886.

251. *ibid.* II, p.264, 15 Mar. 1876.

252. See above chapter 8.

253. Colman and Tillett, pp.8-10, 16-9.

254. *Norwich Mercury*, 2 Mar. 1870. This special edition carried the full report of the Royal Commissioners' Enquiry into the 1868 election. The quotations and references that follow (pp.318-320) are taken from this source.

255. Stracey was arrested on his return and tried at Norwich Assizes in April 1870 when the Attorney General himself conducted the prosecution. The jury found him not guilty. "No sooner was the announcement made than deafening cheers were raised in the court, and it was in vain that the officers tried to suppress them." (Mackie, *Norfolk Annals*, II, pp.200-201, 31 Mar. 1870.) The force of 'deference' seems still to have had considerable power.

256. In 1870, Hardiment was serving six months for corruption in the 1869 municipal elections. He had not been examined by the Commissioners to prevent him gaining immunity from prosecution. At the April Assizes in Norwich he was found guilty and sentenced to ten months, the sentences to be concurrent. (Mackie, *Norfolk Annals*, II, pp.200-201, 31 Mar. 1870.) With Stracey being found not guilty, there seemed to be one type of justice for the 'higher' orders, and another for the 'lower'.

257. *Norwich Mercury*, Mar. 2 1876. This special edition carried the full report of the Royal Commissioners' Enquiry into the 1874 and 1875 elections. The quotations and references that follow (pp.323-336) are taken from this source.

258. Jenkins, T.A. (1994) *The Liberal Ascendancy, 1830-1886*. Macmillan: Basingstoke, pp.132-141; Searle, G.R. (2001) *The Liberal Party*. Macmillan: Basingstoke and New York, pp.11-8.

259. Jenkins, T.A. (1994) op. cit. pp.133-4.

260. Parry, J. (1993) *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain*. Yale University Press: New Haven and London, p.241.

261. Jenkins, T.A. (1994) op. cit. p.134.

262. Bagenal, P.H. (1884) *Ralph Bernal Osborne MP*. Privately printed, p.325, quoted in Jenkins, T.A. (1994) op. cit. p.135.

263. See above chapter 8.

264. Harrison, B (1994) op. cit., pp.278-280. Harrison noted that the number of brewing and distilling interests in the two parties were evenly balanced in 1868. The long-term trend was then towards clear party division on the temperance question but the Liberal party still had as many as 22 brewing and distilling interests in the parliaments from 1874 to 1885, although the Conservatives now had 30.

265. *Licensed Victuallers Gazette*, 30 Nov. 1872, p.367. Also see above chapter 7.

266. *Licensed Victuallers Gazette*, 13 July 1872, p.33.

267. *Licensed Victuallers Gazette*, 13 July 1872, p.35.

268. The intensity of political feeling and the link with the drink issue were exemplified in a magisterial fracas that took place in August 1872. There was a fight between two councillors, a Liberal, Mr. R.W. Blake and a Conservative, Mr. C.E. Bignold, while application was being made for the exemption of the 'Suffolk Arms' in the Market Place from the provisions of the 1872 Act at the annual Brewster Sessions. Mr. Youvall of the 'Morning Star' at Dukes Palace Bridge alleged that Mr. Blake had assaulted him during the struggle with Mr. Bignold on the magistrate's bench. (*Licensed Victuallers Gazette*, 31 Aug. 1872, p.157)

	freemen	occupiers	freeholders	lodgers	total
1866	1,981	2,607	1,324	-	5,912
1868	1,984	9,798	1,488	26	13,296
1875	1,674	11,941	1,331	24	14,953.

269. The Enquiry Report of 1876 gave these figures for voting categories, 1866-1875 - see above. The Commissioners concurred with the general view that the "humbler classes of voters in Norwich are very poor, as well as very numerous."

270. See below, Appendix 1, for an account of the spectacle of Norwich election processions in 1874 and 1875, taken from the Royal Commissioners' Report of 1876. It is noteworthy that 'many witnesses' thought that Norwich was a safer place at election time because the parties employed 'roughs' who were provided by 'certain publicans who were well known in Norwich for their experience in this kind of business'. Social cohesion seemed to depend on traditional practices. The Commissioners, however, disagreed and looked to an effective Norwich police force to keep order.

271. See below, Tables 30 and 31 for the lists of 'corrupt' Liberal and Conservative drinking places and their ownership in 1875. The lists appeared in the *Norwich Mercury* special edition (2 Mar.1876) that published the full Report of the Commissioners. I have established the ownership of those public houses from the First Register of Victuallers Licences. The five Liberal and four Conservative drinking places for which I could not establish ownership are likely to be beer-houses and their registers are not extant. Also see below chapter 9 for an examination of the link between brewer ownership of

these public houses and political allegiance. The election outcome in 1875 was a Liberal victory by 798 votes:

Jacob H. Tillett (L)	5,877
Col. Josiah Wilkinson (Con)	5,079
The total number of voters on the Register was	14,953.

272. See above chapters 5 and 8.

273. See above chapter 9.

274. William de Caux was the publican from 1870-1877 at the 'York Tavern' in Castle Meadow, a public house belonging to the Liberal brewers, Youngs, and one of the fifty-nine Liberal committee rooms. John Aldous was the publican from 1872 to his death late in 1875 at the 'William IV' in Coburg Street, another public house with Liberal committee rooms but belonging to Bullards, the brewing family that had turned from the Liberals to the Conservatives in 1872. John Aldous gave some indication of the splits that must then have followed within the ranks of publicans and 'regulars' at Bullard public houses when he testified before the Commissioners that 'I have upwards of 100 customer voters - 60 on one side, 40 on the other ... The real object (of the hire of committee rooms) was for votes ... as well as the publicans' own votes'.

275. See above, Tables 30 and 31.

276. Rye, W. (1913) *Norfolk Families*. Goose & Son: (Norwich, p.566.

277. Hennock, E.P. (1973) *Fit and Proper Persons: Ideal and Reality in Nineteenth-Century Urban Government*. Edward Arnold:

London, p.4, noted the importance of recognising 'the vastly greater reliance on local initiative, which characterised parliamentary legislation for much of the nineteenth century'. Although 'compulsion became more common towards the end of the century, particularly in the fields of public health and education' (p.5), in the seventies there was still, within local government, a strong emphasis on 'independence from supervision by central authorities'. (p.6) The Commissioners from London and the urban elite within Norwich would have been involved in a measure of delicate negotiation; a necessary readjustment of the balance between the centre and the locality was taking place in the interests of social equilibrium.

278. It had been Huddlesone's elevation to the Bench as Solicitor-General, becoming Baron Huddleston, which had required the calling of the March 1875 parliamentary election in Norwich This was a seat the Conservatives would have been keen not to lose with Disraeli forming his Tory administration only the year before.

279. Palgrave-Moore, P. (1978) op. cit. p.25.

280. Bullard, H.H. (1902) op. cit.; Mackie, Norfolk Annals, II, p.366, 17 Mar. 1886.

281. See above chapter 9. Hanham's judgement that Norwich and nine other constituencies were still 'more or less corrupt' after 1885 points to the difficulty of eradicating a culture that supported corrupt practices. Nevertheless, there seems to be an absence of specific evidence of electoral corruption.

282. See above chapter 7.

APPENDIX 1

The Norwich elections (1874 and 1875) - an account taken from the Royal Commissioners' Report as published in the Norwich Mercury, 2 March 1876

"A practice had for a long time prevailed in Norwich of organising at the different elections very costly and largely attended processions, accompanied by bands of music and banners, for which at night were added hundreds of torches, blue lights, etc.

These processions were generally arranged to escort the candidates to and from large public meetings, but on the polling day the rival bands, with their banners, paraded the city from morning till night.

Besides the organised processions, it seems to have been customary for the candidates themselves to drive about the city in carriages with four horses and liveried outriders, attended by runners on foot. Sometimes they were accompanied by their friends on horseback, and on one occasion, viz. the election of 1874, the attendance in costume of the performers at a circus then open in the city, was offered to the Conservatives, and accepted by them.

Excessive for many eyes, this sort of display was especially lavish in 1874 ... At least £1000 was spent on the Liberal side and the Conservatives were not undone ... (It provided an opportunity for further extending the system of colourable employment. Men were employed at 1s - 2s 6d each and sent by ward [there were eight wards] and divisional [there were eighteen polling divisions] managers as necessary. Even 3s 6d was paid when a torch or banner was carried.

Several bands were permanently engaged for election week with sometimes up to 24 performers in the band. 10s 6d with refreshments was paid a day, and 20s on polling day.

The processions already referred to, and the meetings at which the candidates address the electorate, furnish a further pretext for the employment of large numbers of men for so-called purposes of protection. These men are taken for the most part from the class of men known as "roughs" and many of them are cattle drovers. They are engaged by certain publicans who were well known in Norwich for their experience in this kind of business, and who were able to send 25-50 men to any part of the city at the shortest notice.

These men were mostly employed only on a day to day basis but some were permanently engaged by each side for the

whole election at 2s 6d - 3s 6d a day.

Generally they were well under the control of their leaders and under strict instructions not to create disturbance. But on polling day in 1874 and 1875 those employed by the Liberals unquestionably created a considerable disturbance.

Many witnesses agreed that though their recent employment had been excessive they were necessary to the safe conduct of the election. 22 people had been taken to hospital in 1870 when the Conservatives abstained from employing roughs."

"Prudence", in the words of one witness, "required what propriety shunned". The Royal Commissioners, however, felt that the city police, reinforced if necessary, were sufficient to safeguard public order.

Source: Norwich Mercury, 2 March 1876