BREWERY HISTORY

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A SOCIAL HISTORY OF A MIDLAND BUSINESS: FLOWER & SONS BREWERY, 1870-1914 PART III

JONATHAN REINARZ

Chapter 4: The nature of brewery work

While his early memories of the trade share many similarities with those of his contemporaries, Charles Flower was the last of the family's brewers to have carried out tasks in nearly all branches of the trade. No longer an operative brewer, he assumed the role of a managing brewer and, as already demonstrated, handed over many of his duties to a new generation of scientifically-trained brewers and underbrewers, his administrative responsibilities having been delegated to managers, the majority of whom were recruited from outside the family. Within individual departments, many workers, like their proprietor, performed only a limited number of tasks, most of which managers outlined in great detail in hiring contracts. Depending on the post and actual responsibilities, each worker also assumed a particular place in an evolving hierarchy. While some research has revealed these developments in the brewing industry, and employees' earnings give some indication of their status in the workplace, surprisingly little has actually been said about the duties of brewery workers in general.[1] As few brewing archives or histories contain material relating to the roles and responsibilities of labourers, and even less about those of office workers, this chapter will provide a very detailed account of a neglected aspect of the industry; the silence of records, in general, justifies the descriptive approach which characterises this section.

Inevitably, an account of Flower & Sons' growth between the years 1870 and 1914, as set out in Chapter One, incorporates the experiences of certain senior members of staff. One of the section's aims, after all, is to describe in some detail the way in which control was consciously delegated more widely by Charles Flower in the 1870s and 1880s. For example, after managing the firm's export trade from London in the 1860s, by 1875 Flower only overlooked the general administration of regional offices, which he visited occasionally by rail. Eventually, however, even these limited duties were relinquished to Archibald Park, a clerk with considerable sales experience. Furthermore, soon after this appointment, the firm became a limited liability company, and the Flower family's presence was subsequently restricted to the company's board after 1888.

While Charles Flower withdrew from daily company life, not all family members opted for retirement after incorporation. Despite the existence of boards of directors whose members preferred to discuss the pursuit of game rather than profits, Flowers' directors generally confronted items directly related to business each week. A number of the brewers who hosted Alfred Barnard during these years appeared equally dedicated to the affairs of business. For example, on a visit to the Burton Weir Brewery in Sheffield, Barnard found the desk of the firm's director, F.M. Tindall, 'covered with letters, papers and books, and documents of a miscellaneous character';[2] in all respects, the office 'presented every indication of business'.[3] Meeting every Friday, Flower & Sons' board, and usually its three main members, Stephen Moore, Edgar Flower and his son, Archie, considered loan applications, cash grants to individual employees in the form of rises, bonuses or pensions, the transfer of debentures and shares, each alteration of the

firm's production facilities, the tenders which such decisions prompted, and, occasionally, discussed any legal proceedings in which the brewery was involved.[4] Moreover, during periods of intense property speculation, the acquisition of licensed premises usually comprised most of the directors' duties.[5]

In the 1870s, Charles or Edgar Flower had regularly attended auctions where public houses were sold. At these events the brewers had the opportunity to examine a previous proprietor's books and judge a property's potential to add to their firm's sales. By the 1880s, however, the brothers had delegated these duties to senior managers, who, although often located at agencies much nearer an auction, still received detailed instructions regarding the acquisition of particular pubs. On such occasions, above all else, the firm's managers were furnished with a maximum bid the brewery's owners were prepared to offer in order to purchase property.[6] Years later, after incorporation, Archie Flower's duties largely comprised the purchase of licensed premises and the properties of his smaller competitors. During this period, and as the result of Archie's other obligations, the firm's managing director, Archibald Park, assumed responsibility for hiring workers and paying clerks, the company secretary, Charles Lowndes, carried out the majority of the brewery's correspondence while other senior managers alternately travelled between agencies in order to monitor sales results and bad loans, among other monetary concerns. However, as has been illustrated in considerable detail already, a change in regional markets easily reversed this early period of managerial empowerment and led to a period of instability during which the brewery's chairman assumed greater decision-making powers, if not absolute control over the company's affairs. In any case, the sales figures used by the chairman in order to determine company policy and guide his struggling firm at the turn of the last century were, as always, compiled by members of an office staff which comprised approximately 20 to 30 salesmen and clerks between 1870 and 1914.[7]

Generally, Flowers' clerks were based in one of four offices, ordinarily referred to as the ledger or 'counting' office, the purchasing office, the cask office and a front office, complete with a cashier's counter where members of the public placed orders when actually visiting the brewery in person; the office was also home to the firm's agents when not canvassing their districts. Each was staffed by approximately two or three clerks, except the larger ledger office, where normally five to ten clerks were employed between 1870 and 1914. Located above these offices were four additional rooms ordinarily occupied by the brewery's managing staff. These comprised the managing director's office, a board room, the company secretary's office as well as a spare office, 'a huge room', filled with racks holding ledgers, envelopes, paper and even showcards, which was used as a stationary store;[8] despite abundant space, ordinary clerks went upstairs only occasionally. Most clerical workers entered this area once a month to receive their pay, for which they signed a ledger kept by the managing director. Certain junior clerks, on the other hand, had free access to the upper floor, though only to the stationary store where they either obtained materials for senior colleagues, who worked steadily at their 'high stools and sloping desks', or made duplicates of any correspondence issued by the firm at a copy machine.[9] Moreover, as the firm retained a copy of all letters which left the brewery, the latter task was itself a full-time job, usually assigned to the office's newest recruit. Written in copy ink, letters were placed between a damp cloth and a leaf of tissue paper and then turned through a press. Despite the fact that its operation required the strength of 'a ten-ton navvy', junior clerks did not necessarily despise this duty, for each letter remained fastened in the press for between five and ten minutes, time which was usually spent relaxing and looking out the nearest window'.[10]

The tasks associated with the front-office varied considerably more. Among other commonplace duties, clerks in this office processed orders, placed advertisements in local and regional papers, carefully followed and collected any licensing cases reported in the press and even on occasion surveyed trade registers in order to ensure rivals did not duplicate the firm's trade mark.[11] In general, however, the department was most closely associated with sales. For this reason it was also known as the order office, though only a small percentage of customers actually visited the office. By 1870, most orders were posted by customers to the brewery, or, after 1887, sent to the brewery's telegraph address;[12] by the turn of the century, clerks even communicated with customers by telephone.[13] Nevertheless, throughout this period, many local inhabitants continued to request their ales in person. By 1908, their numbers had even begun to increase when the firm was licensed to sell bottled beer from their premises in quantities comprising at

least one dozen pints.[14] Consequently, one of the order clerks usually acted as a cashier, both handling and balancing a small amount of petty cash. Those customers who called in person were also occasionally invited by staff to the cellars where they could taste the firm's full range of products. Unfortunately for most clients, few repeatedly visited brewery cellars or sample rooms. Most eventually assumed the role of host when they were included in salesmen's regular rounds and subsequently entertained the firm's agents at home.

Compared to the duties of the front-office staff, those of purchasing clerks were relatively self-explanatory. Not surprisingly, these workers were largely responsible for ordering all of the brewery's raw materials and communicating with suppliers. Like their colleagues in the order office, however, they also worked alongside employees normally posted outside the firm's offices. Purchasing clerks usually communicated with brewers and head maltsters, on whose instructions purchasing decisions often relied. Usually, their offices resembled storerooms as opposed to accounting departments, for they were often filled with vast numbers of barley and hop samples.[15] Presumably many of these products were also tested either in the brewery or a consultant chemist's laboratory to determine, among other things, a barley sample's growing qualities and its percentage of idle corns before large orders were placed; tests conducted afterwards were to ensure any shipments matched samples. Although primarily associated with purchasing, the office's clerks were also responsible for a portion of brewery sales, for its members sold spent grains to local livestock farmers as feed.

Members of the brewery office staff who worked even more closely with brewery workers than purchasing clerks were those employed in the cask department. Junior members of this department spent many hours in the brewery yard and loading bays where they recorded both outward-bound casks and the empties which returned from public houses and private customers by way of drays or railway carriages.[16] Consequently, these clerks communicated with customers as well as railway companies, especially when casks were returned damaged or disappeared entirely. Senior members of the department checked monthly cartage accounts and, occasionally, through the illness or absence of a salesman would even 'journey through the district doing basically anything amongst the customers or in the public house'.[17] Finally, having ascertained the location of casks, clerks provided draymen with lists of empties which were to be collected in their districts.

Less variety characterised the daily routines of the clerks who were posted in the brewery's ledger office. Here clerical workers recorded the figures directors needed to run the firm in a number of bound ledgers. Expenses and earnings were recorded in general ledgers which listed total production costs, though clerks also maintained separate accounts associated with individual items, such as sugar or coal. For example, although caramel purchases were transcribed alongside all other raw materials in purchasing ledgers, clerks also kept separate sugar ledgers. Moreover, property also created much work. The larger brewers' estates became, the greater also were the duties of this department. Clerks not only cared for property deeds, but recorded expenses associated with upkeep, fixtures and fittings in general, rents, rates, compensation levies, insurance, licences and tenants' security deposits; at the largest firms these duties were eventually distributed among ledger clerks, estate clerks and transfer clerks.[18] At any one time during these years bookkeepers updated approximately 20 ledgers daily. Besides recording actual earnings and expenses, clerks also spent considerable time verifying each others' computations, especially in the summer at the end of each financial year. Moreover, prior to incorporation, clerks had been responsible for the family's own accounts as well as those of the brewery. The `primitive practice of mixing private affairs with the company accounts' survived until 1888 at Flower & Sons.[19] Works, such as Edward Amsdon's *Brewers' Book-keeping*, however, had gone some way towards professionalizing accounting methods approximately a decade earlier in a number of English breweries.[20]

Unlike the brewing process, office tasks were not revolutionised by technology in these years. By 1889, however, the *Brewers' Journal* reported the introduction of the first typewriters into brewery offices, though shorthand had improved correspondence prior to the appearance of these first office machines.[21] The fact that Flower & Sons' ledgers record the purchase of a typewriter ribbon in 1889, suggests the brewery was one of many to acquire this new technology before the end of the nineteenth century.[22] Not only did this improve the legibility of correspondence, but it created the first

opportunity for women to secure office work. By 1901, Miss Davis regularly came to the office to type various memoranda; on 15 March 1901, she typed '100 letters re gambling' and received 7s. 9d.[23] Presumably, Miss Davis was one of the first local women to graduate from Stratford's technical college, of which she later became matron.

Of Flower & Sons' home-office staff, approximately six members were salesmen who permanently travelled the local district for orders. While these employees were responsible for a small amount of paperwork, usually limited to keeping their order and cash books up to date, few clerks were assigned any sales ties. Besides taking orders from customers who came to the brewery, and occasionally fulfilling the role of a cashier, the offices of clerk and salesman did not often overlap during these years. The only exception to this rule was the employee responsible for the administration of a small agency, such as Flower & Sons established in Kidderminster and Oxford (in 1906), where an office worker, assisted by a single drayman, fulfilled the roles of salesman, clerk and cashier; this practice may well have been common at most breweries soon after the businesses were originally founded.

According to Archie Flower, most brewery salesmen, otherwise known as travellers, collectors or 'abroad clerks' in London, spent a day of each week in the firm's offices and otherwise spent much of their time 'out door knocking about'.[24] Although this description suggests salesmen were assigned only vague duties, most travellers had their rounds planned well in advance of each week's journeys. While new recruits generally were given their duties daily, more senior members of staff were assigned regular monthly routes. For example, the six travellers responsible for sales in Flower & Sons' home district divided the region between themselves and mapped out their particular routes in the form of a chart which hung in the brewery's main office; trade journals generally encouraged a similar system of mapping out travellers' journeys.[25] Using such schedules, managers and clerks kept track of travellers' locations in order, for example, to co-ordinate deliveries better. As an historical record, however, such items allow the historian not only to reconstruct a salesman's duties, but also calculate the distances each agent travelled and even determine subtle changes in local ale markets, for a new schedule was not always drafted with each change to a salesman's route; original routes and amendments are both visible in the case of Flower & Sons' surviving schedule.

According to this chart, the firm's home-district 'outdoor' staff in 1910 comprised A.E. Fagge, C.F. Horsman, A.E. Amphlett, W. Page, H. Carter and H. Hinde. Salesmen were assigned a particular route every week for four weeks, during which time each man visited at least 30 public houses and at least as many private customers (see Table 8). Consequently, customers could expect a traveller in a particular region at least one day a month. For example, publicans in Henley-in-Arden could expect a visit from A.E. Fagge on the first and third Monday of every month.[26] Those inhabiting a smaller parish like Snitterfield, on the other hand, could expect only a single visit on the second Thursday of each month. Furthermore, each Friday the firm's travellers spent several hours at the brewery in order to update ledgers, report any information relating to the trade or, very likely, simply exchange weekly adventures. A portion of the day was also spent at the local corn market, where the sales staff solicited orders from local farmers, who were otherwise widely scattered and difficult to reach; salesmen saved considerable time and did a tremendous amount of business on such occasions. Trade at the firm's more distant agencies was divided in a similar fashion among staff members.

Most of a traveller's working hours were spent away from the firm's offices. While most journeys were scheduled, salesmen still sent out notices, usually postcards, in order to notify customers of impending visits;[27] this was most common during periods when sales fluctuated to an extent which prevented regular journeys, though such reminders were frequently posted to individuals who were notorious for accumulating outstanding debts as an incentive to settle their accounts. Moreover, visits to public houses provided salesmen with an opportunity to inspect cellars and the condition of licensed premises, collect rent and even instruct publicans in cellar management. Should repairs have been required, travellers often encouraged tenants to refurbish or rebuild the pub and even engaged the tradesmen who carried out any alterations, if brewery tradesmen themselves did not complete the work.[28] Occasionally, travellers were also requested to value potential additions to the brewery's tied estate or investigate the region in which property was situated in order to

Table 8: Salesmen's Journeys in Flower & Sons' Home District, 1910

Source: SBTRO, DR 227/160

8a) A.E Fagge's Schedule

Day	**Destination**	**Day**	**Destination**
Week One:		*Week 3:*	
Monday	Henley	Monday	Henley
Tuesday	Astwood Bank	Tuesday	Knowle
Wednesday	Alveston	Wednesday	Bromsgrove
Thursday	Alcester	Thursday	Bromsgrove
Friday	Offices and Market	Friday	Offices and Market
Week Two:		*Week 4:*	
Monday	Broadway	Monday	Feckenham
Tuesday	Broadway	Tuesday	Headless Cross
Wednesday	Redditch	Wednesday	Redditch
Thursday	Snitterfield	Thursday	Wooton
Friday	Offices and Market	Friday	Offices and Market

8b) C.F. Horsman's Schedule

Day	**Destination**	**Day**	**Destination**
Week One:		*Week 3:*	
Monday	Aston Cantlow	Monday	Aston Cantlow
Tuesday	Evesham	Tuesday	Evesham
Wednesday	Offenham	Wednesday	Tysoe
Thursday	Bidford	Thursday	Dumbleton
Friday	Offices and Market	Friday	Offices and Market
Week Two:		*Week 4:*	
Monday	Pershore	Monday	Eatington
Tuesday	Comberton	Tuesday	Bearley
Wednesday	Fladbury	Wednesday	Pebworth
Thursday	Harvington	Thursday	Grafton
Friday	Offices and Market	Friday	Offices and Market

8c) A.E Amphlett's Schedule

Day	**Destination**	**Day**	**Destination**
Week One:		*Week 3:*	
Monday	Barford	Monday	Barford
Tuesday	Gayton	Tuesday	Shirley
Wednesday	Kingswood	Wednesday	Broom
Thursday	Lapworth	Thursday	Loxley
Friday	Offices and Market	Friday	Offices and Market
Week Two:		*Week 4:*	
Monday	Tamworth	Monday	Cladswell
Tuesday	Badsey	Tuesday	Welford
Wednesday	Quinton	Wednesday	Studley
Thursday	Mickleton	Thursday	Washford
Friday	Offices and Market	Friday	Offices and Market

8d) W. Page's Schedule

Day	**Destination**	**Day**	**Destination**
Week One:		*Week 3:*	
Monday	Wellesbourne	Monday	Wellesbourne
Tuesday	Langley	Tuesday	Moreton
Wednesday	Shrewley	Wednesday	Flyford
Thursday	Honnington	Thursday	Brailes
Friday	Offices and Market	Friday	Offices and Market
Week Two:		*Week 4:*	
Monday	Hatton	Monday	Lighthorne
Tuesday	Campden	Tuesday	Campden
Wednesday	Blockley	Wednesday	Blockley
Thursday	Ilmington	Thursday	Blackwell
Friday	Offices and Market	Friday	Offices and Market

8e) H. Carter's Schedule

Day	**Destination**	**Day**	**Destination**
Week One:		*Week 3:*	
Monday	Newbold	Monday	Free Pubs
Tuesday	Stratford	Tuesday	Stratford
Wednesday	Billesley	Wednesday	Cleeve
Thursday	Alderminster	Thursday	Lenches
Friday	Offices and Market	Friday	Offices and Market
Week Two:		*Week 4:*	
Monday	Free Pubs	Monday	Free Pubs
Tuesday	Stratford	Tuesday	Stratford
Wednesday	Honeybourne	Wednesday	Arrow
Thursday	Weston Subedge	Thursday	Pillerton
Friday	Offices and Market	Friday	Offices and Market

8f) H. Hinde's Schedule

Day	**Destination**	**Day**	**Destination**
Week One:		*Week 3:*	
Monday	Stow	Monday	Longborough
Tuesday	Tysoe	Tuesday	Kingham
Wednesday	Office	Wednesday	Office
Thursday	Todenham	Thursday	Stretton
Friday	Stratford	Friday	Brailes
Saturday	Shipston Market	Saturday	Shipston Market
Week Two:		*Week 4:*	
Monday	Moreton	Monday	Moreton
Tuesday	Evenlode	Tuesday	Brailes
Wednesday	Office	Wednesday	Office
Thursday	Long Compton	Thursday	Little Compton
Friday	Shipston	Friday	Shipston
Saturday	Shipston Market	Saturday	Shipston Market

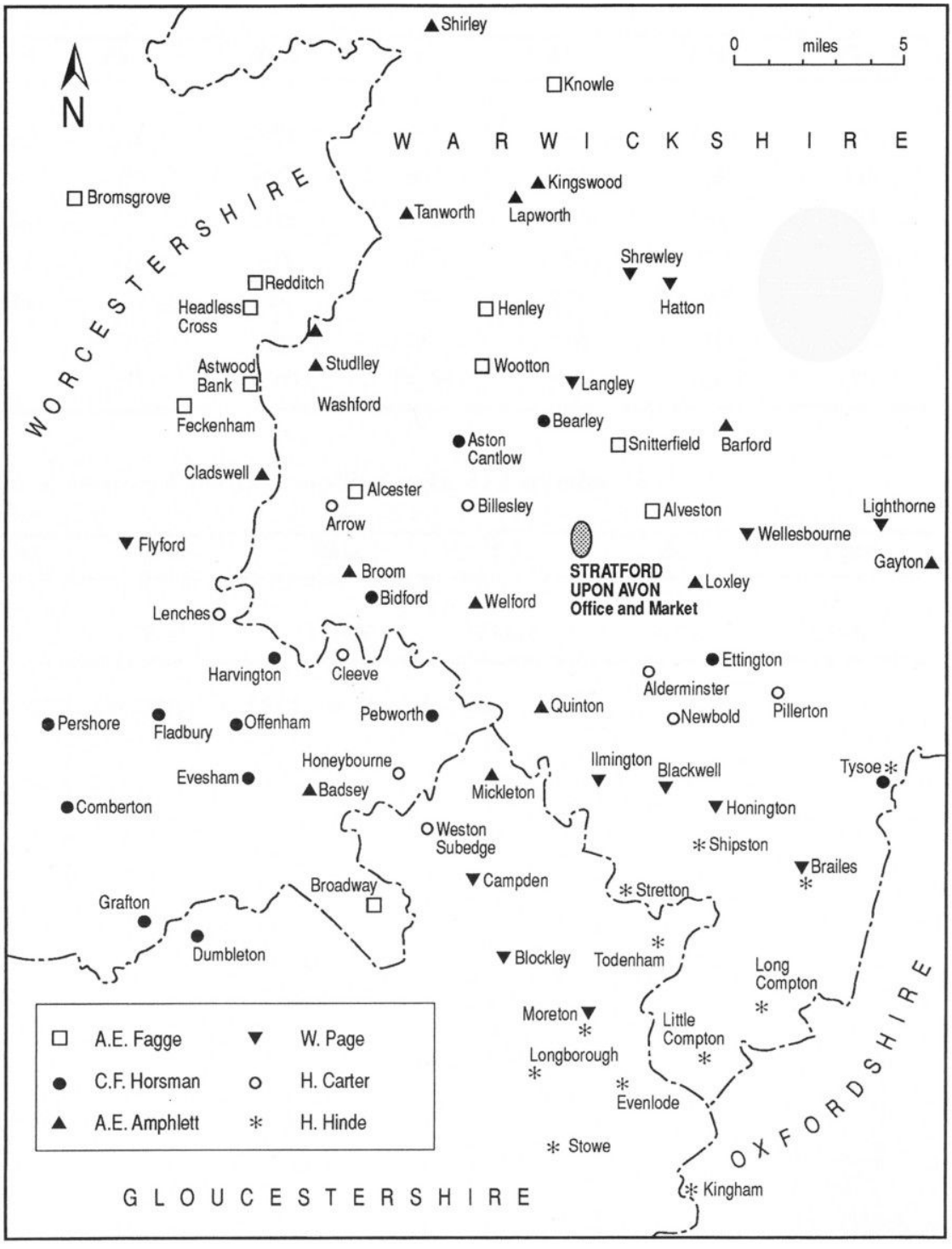

Figure 8. Map of salesmen's journaey, 1910.

Source: SBTRO, DR 227/160

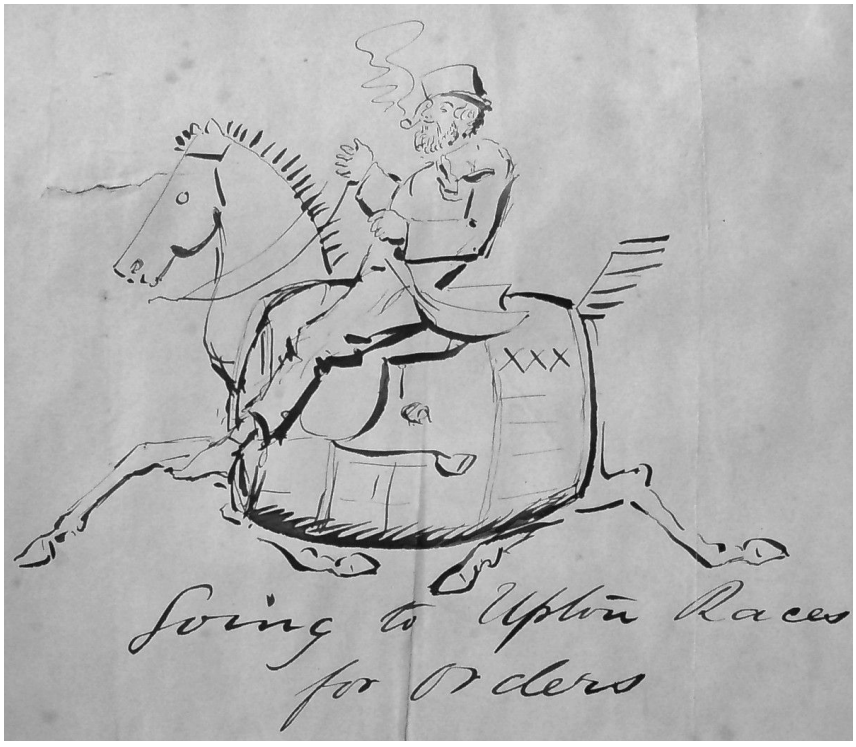

Figure 9. Sketch of Pole 'Going to Upton Races for Orders'.

Source: SBTRO, DR 227/121

determine the amount of competition in a particular location.[29] Most also 'made a few casual calls upon new comers in [their] district[s]'.[30] Any cash collected on their rounds was deposited at the brewery daily;[31] naturally, this requirement suggests salesmen rarely lodged outside Stratford, or the town in which they were otherwise based.

Although breweries welcomed any increase in sales, the traveller's duties to an extent varied with the seasonal fluctuations which characterised production at the brewery for much of this period. As a result, travellers notified all customers as to the best time to purchase ale. For example, in the nineteenth century, Flower & Sons' sales staff was instructed not to press for orders until October brewings were ready.[32] Meanwhile, the firm's export season did not commence until 1 November.[33] Consequently, most business was conducted during the winter months or in spring when summer ales were being brewed. Even before labourers began to brew, however, salesmen were relied upon to estimate the demand for ale. As Flower & Sons was unable to satisfy demand in summer as well as in the spring, seasonal production encouraged brewers to predict sales months in advance of the warmest season. In general, this involved travellers asking customers 'to estimate ... the quantity they [were] likely to require before the 1 Oct[ober]'.[34] The aggregate of travellers' predicted sales usually determined production for a particular season. Breweries made up for any resulting deficits by way of reciprocal trade agreements.[35]

Most travellers also fulfilled a certain promotional role at breweries.[36] As salesmen were in regular contact with a brewery's customers, these employees, more than any other, advertised the firm to the public. Peter Mathias's work adequately demonstrates the ways in which the hours a brewer spent away from his business could both hurt and help his firm.[37] In the same way, a salesman's personality and conduct on his journeys could either aid

or injure sales, especially in an age which witnessed very little direct advertising. Consequently, as well as being industrious, the ideal traveller, as described by members of the brewing trade, was 'a well-educated superior commercial man', a 'jovial fellow', who could 'take and give a joke in almost any society'.[38] Not surprisingly, Flower & Sons' managers also sought to hire very personable travellers, familiar with the regions to which they were assigned.[39] Besides being expected 'to add at least 100 barrels a week to the trade', candidates were expected to exhibit 'pleasant manners'.[40] Like other brewers, Flowers was hesitant to appoint an 'ordinary traveller to deal with [their] most important hotels'.[41] Familiarity with a particular locality, however, often induced employers to overlook some of a traveller's other shortcomings. Although 'a man of very peculiar talkative manner, strange to people who [did] not understand him', A.E. Fagge compensated for his deficient mode of speech by an unrivalled familiarity with Stratford's regional markets;[42] he remained a well-regarded member of the firm's staff for several decades. Those misrepresenting their ability to generate sales, on the other hand, were rarely given very long to improve their exaggerated records. For example, claiming to 'command a large trade' in the capital, A.J. Ebsworth was hired as a London agent by Flowers in 1868.[43] However, approximately a month into his term, Ebsworth was reprimanded for his failure to increase the firm's pale ale trade. Instead, it appeared 'he had no connexions';[44] Ebsworth was dismissed in November, having been with the firm only five months.

Well-connected travellers, however, were not necessarily more popular with brewers, as was proved soon after Flower & Sons hired Cheltenham brewer Edward Pole as an agent. Pole, like the firm's home-office staff, realised he could contact greater numbers of potential customers by attending events at which they congregated, rather than track each down individually. Instead of frequenting a local corn exchange or agricultural market, however, Pole regularly attended fairs and race tracks. Consequently, when relations between Pole and Flowers soured, the practice was used to discredit the innovative salesman in court where he faced various charges, including 'nonaccounting', as opposed to embezzling, a far more serious offence.[45] In his defence, Pole claimed he had received several orders for the Stratford brewers by attending races at Worcester and Upton, among other courses, and had greatly increased his business contacts in this way. Apparently, the jury sympathised with Pole, for, despite his other faults, they decided in his favour.

Salesmen's marketing methods, however, were usually less creative than those devised by Pole. Generally, most brewers' travellers distributed business cards among customers and expected that their reputations, as well as information pertaining to their products, would be conveyed by way of clients' informal social networks. While early business cards usually listed a brewery's products and prices on the reverse, price-updates in the form of printed notices were also sent to customers during periods when the brewery could satisfy larger orders. Moreover, Flower & Sons' particular location allowed the firm to produce more memorable price lists than those printed by other businesses. A particular nineteenth-century pamphlet, for example, was described as 'one of the prettiest Shakespeare souvenirs imaginable', for it depicted views of Shakespeare's Birthplace and Anne Hathaway's Cottage, among many other of the region's well-known sites.[46]

Most nineteenth-century brewers engaged in very little 'deliberate sales promotion advertising'.[47] Porter, for example, was rarely aggressively advertised,[48] neither were the paler ales first brewed in the middle of the nineteenth century. Not surprisingly, the popularity of India Pale Ale was initially described as the result of an accident rather than a well-conceived business strategy.[49] Over the years, this argument has gained considerable strength due to the fact that most brewers appear to have advertised only in newspapers.[50] Moreover, usually such publicity is not regarded as a conscious attempt to attract public attention, for it was generally limited to a few lines in a local newspaper. Notices placed in the *Stratford Herald* by Flower & Sons rarely stood out from the notices of the locality's smallest businesses. Not surprisingly, the firm's advertising expenditures in 1875 totalled only 13s.[51] In comparison, Norwich brewers Steward & Patteson also spent very little on local advertising,[52] As a result, historians, such as Mathias, have described these notices as information rather than advertisement.[53] In general, it appears most English brewers believed a good article was their best form of advertisement.[54]

In contrast, American brewers advertised more aggressively than their English counterparts, and the public

had come to expect this from successful firms. Across the Atlantic, contemporaries claimed, customers did not buy from businesses which did not advertise.[55] Not only did this message register among members of the British brewing trade, but many believed they could learn from American entrepreneurs.[56] Already by the 1880s, conditions appeared to have changed substantially from mid-century. For example, in 1886, the editors of the *Brewers' Journal* reprinted Thomas Macaulay's dictum suggesting 'advertising is to business what steam is to machinery'.[57] Moreover, in most cases, it was increased competition which made brewers more receptive to these ideas.[58] Nevertheless, American firms' marketing techniques continued to outdo those of their English rivals, especially at trade shows. For example, visitors to the brewers' hall at the Chicago World Fair (1893) found American beer bottles to 'look brighter and more showy' than those of their foreign competitors; each package appeared to 'act as its own advertisement'.[59] In general, American exhibits were described as 'brilliant with colour', while those of the English were remembered as 'dull'.[60]

Few English brewers pursued what could be described as aggressive advertising strategies. Instead, many more appear to have relied on indirect methods of advertising. Although most brewers continued to register their addresses in trade directories and regularly place notices in local newspapers, many also recognised the commercial value of a strong public role. For example, brewers contributed far greater sums to community events than they spent on printed publicity. This strategy, however, has not always been recognised by historians for its promotional value. Throughout the nineteenth century, brewers regularly subscribed to charities and supported activities outside of their local parishes. In 1875, the same year that Flower & Sons spent 13s. advertising in the *Herald*, the brewery set aside hundreds of pounds in order to support societies and events in those communities where their products sold best. For example, the Stratford, Campden, Henley, Abergavenny and Torquay Races each received between two and ten pounds yearly.[61] Organisers of regattas in Durham, Dartmouth and Evesham as well as sporting clubs in Tiddington, Alcester and Llandudno also benefited from brewery sponsorship. Besides the widows of their own deceased workers, the brewery supported those of men formerly employed by the Great Western Rail Company, along with those who resided in Studley, Warwickshire. Moreover, already closely tied to agricultural activities, the brewery subscribed to Bromsgrove's and Warwick's agricultural societies, supported poultry and cattle shows in Stratford, Moreton and Nuneaton and even sponsored a horse show in Bidford in 1887. Flower & Sons' contributions to such events were presumably recognised in any printed matter distributed by organisers, while their donations to various societies were recorded in subscription lists.

Breweries drew favourable public attention in a number of other ways. Like the most fortunate of spa proprietors, some brewers benefited from royal visits. In 1902, for example, King Edward VII visited Bass's Brewery in Burton where he commenced a 400-barrel brew, named, naturally, 'King's Brew', the strongest ale ever produced by the firm.[62] Moreover, a year earlier, the king granted a warrant of appointment to Watney's, among a number of other companies, as brewers to his Majesty.[63] Among the signatures of many other famous guests, a register belonging to Barclay, Perkins & Co. records the names of Bismarck, Napoleon III and Constantine, Grand Duke of Russia, not all of whom possessed positive advertising value historically.[64] Flower & Sons also attracted considerable publicity when the family hosted literary figures, such as Charles Dickens and Douglas William Jerrold, who toured Stratford and, not unusually, the brewery.[65] Other breweries celebrated their own distinct achievements. Allsopp & Sons' directors, for example, claimed to be the exclusive suppliers of ale to Sir George Nare's arctic expedition.[66] Bass's King's Brew eventually travelled with Robert Falcon Scott to the Antarctic in 1910;[67] the reputation of Burroughs Wellcome's pharmaceutical products had increased considerably as the result of similar publicity.[68] Most brewers, however, benefited from publicity generated less adventurously. For example, a number of brewers' ales collected prizes at international exhibitions. Although a more common mode of transport in the nineteenth century, brewers' heavy horses also attracted considerable attention when away from their stables, and many competed in shows when not used for deliveries.[69] Courage's horses, for example, took part in the Olympia and Albert Palace Shows in 1887 and the Battersea Show in 1886.[70] John Smith's competed in York on May Day at the turn of the last century.[71] Horses belonging to the City Brewery in Oxford 'obtained prizes at almost every horse show' in these years.[72] Launched in 1885, the London Cart Horse

Parade grew to be one of the largest of it kind. At the turn of the century, more than 700 horses entered the competition to compete for cash prizes, one of which was awarded to Flower & Sons in 1900.[73] Moreover, as the use of horses declined in the first years of this century, their motorised replacements attracted as much, if not more, attention due to their novelty. Perhaps none stood out like Worthington's bottle-shaped motor car, which appeared in 1906.[74] By 1907, London hosted an annual commercial vehicle parade where a number of these novel advertisements filled the streets of the capital.[75]

Other promotional methods were more deliberate and displayed more creativity than did a few printed lines in a local journal. For example, in 1885, the *Brewers' Journal* wrote of H.J. Turner, a brewer from Moseley, Birmingham, who introduced presentation clocks as 'a novel mode of popularizing [his] beers'.[76] Well-designed and durable, Turner's clocks advertised his ale on mantel-pieces in hotels, clubs and restaurants. Other brewers, such as Messrs Morgan & Company and Messrs Bullard & Son, both of Norwich, supplied their customers with colourful office calendars.[77] The proprietors of the Worksop and Retford Brewery, on the other hand, issued 'a very attractive and nicely-got-up almanack and year book'.[78] A similar diary was sent to the customers of John Davenport & Sons of Birmingham, though it proved most useful to sporting enthusiasts, 'as it contain[ed] in addition to a budget of miscellaneous information a comprehensive chronology of racing, sporting and athletic events, names of winners, starting-price ready reckoner, football fixtures, &c'.[79] Many other brewers distributed clay pipes through their tied houses, pubs themselves having been described as 'one of the most efficient marketing methods of the present day'.[80] Nevertheless, few brewers appear to have made the most of such direct access to consumers during these years. Only a few appear to have researched their markets in any detail. Such analysis and advertising as we know it really appeared only in the interwar period.[81]

The exploitation of trademarks, however, was one way in which late-nineteenth-century brewers set their products apart from those of their competitors; this particular avenue was opened by legislation which amended patent law to include trademarks.[82] Evidence from Flower & Sons' ledgers suggests the firm was first granted exclusive use of Shakespeare's name and image in 1875.[83] Thereafter, the Bard appeared on the brewery's buildings, correspondence and especially their labels, which were affixed to both bottles and casks. Even small provincial breweries, such as Hereford's Charles Watkins & Son, as it was known in 1884, protected their brands with trademarks. Success in advertising, however, also encouraged imitators, and defending one's own brand could be an exhausting process. No one realised this more than did the proprietors of Bass, Burton's largest brewery, whose trademark, a red triangle, was infringed more than that of any other English firm during the late nineteenth century.[84] Since registering the image in the 1870s 'they had had their time pretty well taken up in defending the right to that mark'.[85] For a small provincial brewer like Charles Watkins, however, defending the firm's 'Golden Sunlight' trademark was also an expensive process.[86] In the case of the Hereford brewers, it may even have contributed to the death of its owner and manager, Henry Watkins, who in 1888, soon after a court appearance, threw himself into the River Lugg and did not explain his actions.[87] In this same year, however, another provincial brewer, Charles Flower, retired from business, never having had to defend his trademark in court. Unlike that of Watkins, Flower's departure was celebrated by the firm at a company-sponsored picnic, the very occasion at which he described his familiarity with nearly ever branch of the trade.

Despite such claims, Flower does not appear to have malted in Stratford. It appears that Flower familiarised himself with the malting process only on a brief visit to the Fordham's Ashwell Brewery in the late 1840s. Moreover, during the brewery's first years, Charles's father purchased malt from numerous local maltsters; unfamiliarity with malting is said to have produced the mutual distrust which characterised relations between maltsters and brewers earlier in the nineteenth century.[88] By the middle of the century, however, Flower, like many other brewers, had begun to make his own and thereby controlled its quality directly. By 1870, this process occupied approximately 24 men in six separate maltings between October and March. This lasted until 1877 when another two malt houses were constructed and the task employed more than 40 maltsters, wetting approximately 600 quarters every four days in the autumn, winter and early spring.[89] In the summer, however, each malt house was manned by only a foreman

Figure 10. Flower & Sons' malting staff, in summer, c.1900.

Source: SBTRO, Photo File: Brewery.

and a single labourer. The same routine appears to have been common at other breweries during much of the nineteenth century.[90]

The relatively quiet summer season at maltings usually ended soon after the harvest when large shipments of barley were delivered to breweries to replenish that already stored in the top floors of the maltings. Unloading the largest deliveries, however, usually required little time. Approximately eight men and a foreman could unload 300 quarters of barley in a single day.[91] While this sort of work was often physically exhausting, the movement of barley had been made easier over the years through the introduction of endless belts, steam-operated cranes and hoists.[92] Although most foreign barley was placed in store until malted, local grains were immediately transported to brewery kilns, where they were 'sweated', or dried, in order to rid the shipment of excess moisture, increase its vitality and retard deterioration.[93] Moreover, the entire shipment was screened, for it often contained numerous impurities, especially if it had come from abroad. According to William Molyneux in his history of Burton, French barley contained 'old iron, pieces of pottery, buttons, and many other things, even coins'.[94] Magnets attached to Hoare & Company's screens removed 'nails, stones, buckles, pieces of iron and ... even ... an old razor and a steel fork' on the day of Barnard's visit to the London firm in the late nineteenth century.[95] In extreme cases these objects comprised 5% of the product's bulk.[96] The actual screening process was carried out on the top floors of a brewery, where men, 'divested of clothing save a pair of flannel trousers and clogs', cleared about

60 quarters per day.[97] By the end of the nineteenth century, however, this process had become mechanised at a number of breweries. In the 1890s, Flowers, like many other firms, purchased machines produced by R. Boby of Bury which cleared the same amount of grain in a couple of hours.[98] Besides eliminating impurities, these machines also usually sorted grains according to size. This was only one of many innovations which ensured germination would proceed more regularly.[99]

The actual malting process comprised four general stages: steeping, couching, flooring and kiln drying. During the first stage (steeping), grains were placed in cisterns and permitted to absorb water, lime often having been added to the initial soak. Thereafter, water was changed between three and four times daily 'to get rid of any fermentable matter'.[100] Over a period of approximately 60 hours, only 50 at Flower & Sons, barley remained immersed in cold water while a labourer periodically skimmed off all floating grains, which were deemed of an inferior nature.[101] Not only did this refuse spoil the quality of the malt, but, as such grains were subject to taxation until 1880, it increased the duty paid by the brewer.[102]

After water had been drained off, labourers shovelled 'good' grains out of the cisterns and 'evenly and carefully into the "couching" frames', for it was at this point that barley was first gauged by the excise man;[103] ordinarily, officers were provided with offices at breweries and regulated the brewing process at approximately a dozen firms in their districts twice each day from Monday to Saturday and once on Sundays.[104] Often piled more than thirty inches in depth, grains began to produce heat and germination commenced.

As this process continued, the sprouting grain was spread over the floor of the maltings until it formed a four-inch layer or 'piece' in order that barley growth could be more carefully observed; malting has been described as 'controlled germination' for this very reason.[105] While the foreman of each malt house supervised both malt and men, the superintendent maltster went through the entire maltings three times a day and set the foremen maltsters their work. Generally, the head maltster superintended the malting department, though this also included keeping all barley and malt accounts. Consequently, a portion of each day was spent assisting purchasing agents who sought out suppliers of additional local and foreign barley.

Though often associated with heat-generating kilns, maltings were kept cool during the flooring process in order to slow germination as much as possible. Ideally, maltsters attempted to get as much root out of the corn before the stalk came out at the other end of the grain. Consequently, at first, grains were turned by men using special malt shovels only once every six hours or until root growth was well under way. After approximately five days, no more than seven, when the moisture absorbed during the steep had largely dissipated, grains were again sprinkled with water and mixed using a small wooden plough.[106] At some maltings, sprinkling was accomplished using hose pipes or overhead water mains.[107] At Flower & Sons during the first decade of this century, it was carried out by Mrs Miller using a simple watering can.[108] Thereafter, barley was turned frequently, often 'violently tossed about', a practice which aided the evaporation of moisture over some ten days until the layers of grain were reworked with forks every two hours during the last four days of malting.[109] Although the entire process could not be measured as accurately as the department's accounts, workers judged the quality of malt fairly accurately using only sight or even occasionally smell. For example, according to editors of trade journals, the poorest brewing malt smelled of rotten apples while 'good malting smell[ed] of cucumber'.[110] Moreover, maltsters treated grains with great care throughout the malting process, in order to prevent the damage of germinating barley. This requirement was exploited by enterprising maltsters in Arbroath, Messrs Fraser & Sons, who patented a special canvas shoe which they claimed would not damage grains.[111] Besides such specialised dress, most maltsters and brewery workers were indistinguishable, for both workers wore light shirts and flannel trousers.[112]

In order to preserve the natural sugars which accumulate in each barley grain and are required in the production of alcohol, maltsters must halt germination before a seedling begins to consume its stored energy. This is accomplished during the final drying stage after grains are transported to kilns in baskets. Individual kilns measured approximately 40 by 20 feet and were powered by furnaces which gave them the capacity to dry more than sixty quarters of malt during each firing.[113] Laid out in six-inch layers, malt was roasted or cured by

hot air, which rose through perforated tiles which comprised a kiln's floor, and was periodically turned throughout the day and night. Drying times and temperatures varied depending on the type of product the firm intended to brew; the very strongest dark ales required kiln temperatures to reach approximately 215 degrees Fahrenheit over four days.[114] After drying, an entire load of malt returned to the main floor of the maltings, or occasionally a drying loft, where, being turned twice daily, it was permitted to harden over a period of two days; kiln dried, malt could be stored. Once collected from the floor and placed in a garner, or storehouse, however, malt was again screened in order to separate the individual grain from its comb or rootlet. Unlike the malt which was used to brew ale, the roots were often sold as cattle feed. The grains, on the other hand, were crushed in a grinding mill; it was then ready for brewing.

Flower & Sons' decision to adopt Galland's pneumatic malting methods did not radically change the malting procedure. After the initial processes of screening and steeping, however, grains were placed on a wire floor, as opposed to one constructed of wood or concrete, in a layer six times the thickness that had been common under more manual systems of malting. Nevertheless, germinating barley grew as slowly as before, for cold air was 'forced up and drawn through the green malt by means of a fan worked by two 4-horsepower Crossley gas engines' and 'effectually [drove] out all the impurities in the barley which were left in by the old system'.[115] In this way, brewers eliminated much of the hard toil of continually turning layers of barley by the shovelful, a task regarded as 'unsuited to a quick intelligence' by members of the trade;[116] carried out in rotating drums, as at other firms, manual labour could almost entirely be eliminated. Moreover, when eventually combined with the firm's new refrigeration technology, these developments allowed Flower & Sons to malt, albeit in only one of their maltings, all the year round.

When it came time to brew, ground malt was dispensed into hoppers situated directly over the brewery's mash tuns by way of an elevator called 'Jacob's ladder', the action of which was similar 'to the endless belt fitted with buckets to be seen at work any day on a dredging machine in the Thames or Clyde'.[117] At some breweries, grains were measured by a machine 'thus ensuring a correct quantity and preventing dispute and fraud'.[118] In all breweries, malt met water and was thoroughly mixed in order to liberate the fermentable sugars created during malting. While the process had required tremendous labour in the early nineteenth century, machines had made this task considerably easier at the end of the century. Just as scales, carts and hoppers had begun to automate its initial operations, machinery facilitated the entire brewing process. Many brewers had purchased mashing plants which were essentially entirely self-acting. Emil Weltz's innovative plant, for example, had fully automated the wort-making process at Flowers.[119] In most cases, the old oars traditionally wielded by brewery stagemen were replaced by the iron rakes of Steele's, or occasionally another, mashing machine. Used malt was conveyed from the mash tun to a grain store or, as at other plants, dispensed directly into farmer's carts, by simply turning a valve.[120] Consequently, unlike in the maltings, there was very little need for any labour during brewing until the firm's products came to be racked and distributed.

After mashing, the wort ran to a receiver and was conducted to a 5,000 gallon copper by way of valves, cocks and, in non-tower breweries, pumps;[121] at this point, after 1880, beer was also gauged by the excise officer for taxation purposes. The addition of hops was one of few activities still carried out manually; approximately five hundred pounds were added to each brew. Once in the copper, hops were kept in suspension by steam-powered rousers. Even the boilers which heated the brewing coppers were operated by self-acting stokers, which saved labour as well as fuel.[122] After boiling for approximately an hour, both wort and hops ran off into a hop back with a perforated false bottom, or strainer, which separated the former from the latter. Hops were made to part with any retained moisture through the use of hydraulic pressure.[123] The wort was then pumped to the top of the building where it either passed through refrigerators or was permitted to cool naturally before being conveyed by pipes to rounds, or vats, where both yeast and sugars were added. Fermentation took place for between forty and sixty hours and was aided by pumping or rousing the liquid approximately every two hours. While workers had previously skimmed yeast from the ale during this process, the introduction of the Burton union system further eliminated the need for labour. Attached to the side of each union cask was a thin metal tube, termed a swan's neck, by means of

Figure 11. Members of Flower & Sons' brewing department, c.1900.

Source: SBTRO, Photo File: Brewery.

which yeast rose during fermentation, the ale being left clear after about three days. Yeast, on the other hand, collected in troughs and was transferred to storage vats in a specially cooled room where it was tested and either used for future brewing or pressed before being packaged and sent away to merchants.

During the final stage of brewing, ale was run off into racking vats, specifically designed to help ale settle, where it remained for only a few hours before it was drawn off into casks or bottled. Supplied with a number of vessels, each racker filled his casks with what appeared to be an ordinary hose, save for a glass panel in its nozzle; the glass portion of the hose allowed the filler to detect any colour change, which indicated the presence of sediment. Finings, however, also helped clear the brewers' products and had been added to beers since the public had begun to demand 'star bright ale' early in the nineteenth century.[124] All casks were then rolled into the cellars by 'several sturdy fellows' and stored until required for sale;[125] occasionally brewers 'rammed' mature ale with additional hops and even tasted each barrel in order to limit the number of eventual returns.[126]

Bottling, on the other hand, had first been attempted by the firm in 1888, the year of its incorporation. The bottling facilities were placed under the supervision of Charles Hitchman, a senior labourer, who visited a brewery in Campden for four days in order to familiarise himself with the new machinery.[127] During the period he ran the department at Flowers, Hitchman was assisted by approximately five young men who unpacked, sorted and washed bottles, while a single

labourer sorted corks and stop rings and pasted labels on to bottles; naturally, every bottle eventually had to pass 'the lynx eyes of the foreman'.[128] Ordinarily, however, these labourers were occupied with other brewery tasks, for bottling lasted only between two weeks and two months for the first few years after the department was founded. Only in the summer of 1891 did the firm's wage clerk distinguish bottlers from ordinary brewery labourers and was labour-saving machinery slowly being introduced to the department.[129] As a result, labourers remained unfamiliar with the firm's newest and most fragile containers; a layer of hay on the department's floor greatly reduced the number of breakages. By the turn of the century, however, bottling occupied a full-time staff of approximately twenty young men; glass breakage still cost the firm approximately £40 a year.[130] Only during the interwar period did directors begin to regard the task as one particularly suited to women. Some breweries, however, had begun to introduce female labourers to this process much earlier. In 1914, approximately 10,000 women were employed in breweries; most only bottled.[131] By 1916, this number had more than doubled, as women were fitted up with trouser suits and boots and recruited into bottling departments, cask washing sheds, fermenting rooms and even maltings after the Home Office permitted female labour to work on Sundays.[132]

While the entire brewing process appears to have been very nearly self-acting, there was always room for error and, as a result, the entire brewing process, conducted at two plants until 1910 in Flower & Sons' case, was supervised by a number of underbrewers. In any brewery these individuals were required to keep in close touch with all brewing activities, report any irregularities, and thereby minimise any wastage through accident, ensure cleanliness and correct weighing and, occasionally, suggest any improvements in the working of the brewery.[133] While this loose description of duties perhaps encouraged many labourers to describe themselves as underbrewers, these posts also required the employees to fill up their spare time in the brewer's office helping with accounts.[134] In November 1914, members of the Operative Brewers' Guild suggested brewers should also make up timetables in order to regulate their duties as carefully as those of underbrewers and brewers' travellers. The editors of the guild's journal, however, claimed they had 'not yet come across such a man'.[135] Nevertheless, they did publish a sample of such a timetable which had been approved by a handful of the organisation's members. According to the table, each brewer was to begin his day, between six and seven each morning, by walking through each of the firm's departments and inquire if each man was present. Then, for approximately half an hour, he was to examine the purity of pitching yeast before generally supervising brewing operations until noon. For the remaining half hour before lunch, the brewer was to complete some of the day's office work. Between two and three each afternoon, depending on the day of the week, brewers either assessed their malt stock, inspected the premises for cleanliness, analysed forcing trays, the results of which generally showed the stability of each beer the firm brewed, overlooked the ale stores or, finally, examined the bottling store. For the following hour, the editors advised brewers to carry out another period of general supervision. Between four and five, however, tasks again varied daily. During this hour, the brewer was either to ascertain the amount of coal used that week, examine wage books, post up his laboratory book, arrange the next week's brewing, or balance malt and sugar stocks in order to be able to send orders for materials required the following week. Should it have been possible to find additional time, brewers were also to interview travellers to hear their views and discern events in the country. Moreover, brewers were to read trade journals regularly, though editors believed few studied more than their 'Appointments Vacant' column.[136] Naturally, if possible, the head brewer was to designate a number of his tasks to underbrewers, or his bookwork to a junior clerk, and thereby provide more time for general supervision.[137]

Most brewery labourers, on the other hand, occupied the majority of their time cleaning the brewing plant. Although some evidence suggests brewery vats and malting floors were cleaned only once a year, other records suggest that companies were conscious of the importance of cleanliness.[138] During his tour of breweries, Alfred Barnard 'always found the brewer's men busy with the inevitable hose'.[139] Flower & Sons' inventories also list numerous hoses which were normally used to wash out mash tuns and brewing vessels.[140] More importantly, the brewery's circuitous plumbing network consisted of removable pipes which could be cleaned far more easily than those which were permanently mounted; a similar system was recommended by

Type of Cask	Butts	Hhds	Brls	Kils	Firks	Pins
At home full	208	2,421	2,273	2,333	1,569	87
Empty	190	3,522	5,933	4,787	2,688	246
Out in 1888	187	2,986	5,718	8,750	8,048	984
Out in 1887	7	208	301	582	512	33
Out in 1886	-	33	79	172	168	-
Previously	3	130	682	2,569	1,443	-
Total	595	9,300	14,986	19,193	14,428	1,350

Table 9a. Flower & Sons' stock of casks, 1 October 1888

Total	2,480	11,603	23,516	33,312	4,982

Table 9b. Burton Brewing Company's stock of casks, 31 December 1871

brewers' chemists Kendall & Son to all of their clients and can be found in inventories of other provincial breweries, such as Bullard & Sons.[141] Moreover, many breweries replaced hop backs, as were included in Flower & Sons' inventory, with strainers, since cleaning the new filters was less messy and far less labour intensive. Furthermore, daily cleaning tasks were certainly carried out more thoroughly after Pasteur's ideas were taken up more readily by English brewers in the 1870s. Founded well after these discoveries, Flower & Sons' bottling plant only operated until an hour before the brewery's closure each day, for labourers required this time to clean the entire facility thoroughly. Consequently, although labour costs were relatively low in breweries, cleaning costs were very high.

Most of the cleaning undertaken during the busiest months of the brewing season usually involved only those utensils and that portion of a plant which had been used in production. The thorough cleaning of an entire premises' walls, ceilings, passages and staircases, as was required under the tenets of the factory inspectors, usually took place in the slower summer season, or in the spring when brewing began to be conducted all year round.[142] These duties also tended to grow with the size of a particular plant. Whitewashing the brewery in 1883 occupied several labourers for two weeks.[143] Another entry in the firm's wage books indicates that ten men spent a similar period of time cleaning the company's old brewery in 1889 with chlorine of lime.[144] Whitewashing also kept nearly a dozen men busy in the brewery maltings. Moreover, considerable time was spent eliminating kiln dust and washing down the barley house. Cleaning also extended beyond the firm's production facilities, especially when managers became more concerned with the company's public image. In 1895, perhaps the result of such concerns, several men were ordered to erect scaffolding round the firm's buildings and clean the brickwork.[145]

The handling of raw materials, their storage and disposal also occupied a considerable number of labourers' working days. Besides several hundredweight of sugar, hops and barley, the brewing process consumed a considerable amount of energy in the form of coal. Each year labourers shovelled approximately £1,500-worth of

the mineral into three steel Lancashire boilers and the maltings' furnaces. Moreover, all materials had to be accounted for, and some brewers took stock of supplies once a month.[146] Furthermore, a considerable amount of trade was done in the waste products of brewing. Flowers sold a substantial amount of malt dust, tail barley, coal, scrap metal, old casks and horses, as well as the manure which was collected in the brewery stables. The brewers also established a considerable trade in spent grains, which were sold throughout the district as cattle feed. As the firm began to produce weaker beers and regularly brewed with sugar, yeast produced during fermentation was no longer of a standard useful to local bakers. It was, however, frequently sold to either pig farmers or vinegar makers, while hops were sold as either bedding or fertiliser, as was a more obvious product, horse manure. Earnings from manure sales alone allowed the brewery to cover its yearly stable expenses.[147]

Further duties were created as businesses diversified. Nearly all provincial breweries and distilleries kept hogs themselves which were fed quantities of yeast not deemed suitable for production.[148] A surprising number of brewery plans included piggeries; complaints made by a brewery's neighbour, such as those received by the proprietors of the Warwick and Leamington Brewery, are another indication of these animals' presence.[149] Styes were erected at Flowers' new brewery in 1870 at a cost of nearly £24.[150] Thereafter, the brewery earned nearly £200 from the sale of pork each year.[151] Flower & Sons kept pigs until at least 1894, when ledgers record that two men were assigned to pull down all remaining pig styes.[152] Furthermore, Edward Flower, the brewery's founder, dealt in scrap iron for approximately a decade after he commenced brewing and had established his own wine and spirits department at the brewery. It was only in later years that managers began to concentrate on that which they did best. Other brewers, however, never attempted to consolidate their interests. For example, in his obituary, Hereford brewer Charles Watkins was remembered as a 'man of wonderful energy and enterprise' who 'turned his attention, with more or less success, to a great variety of businesses'.[153] Although chiefly known as a brewer, he was described as a wine and spirit merchant, as well as a maltster. Like Flowers and many other provincial brewers, Watkins made the very logical decision to supply his customers with a number of non-alcoholic drinks. The brewer's fare included ginger beer, lemonade, as well as a noted brand of mineral water named Paragon. Besides also marketing the waste products of production, Watkins converted an extensive section of his firm's maltings into a flour mill. Other brewers diversified even more extensively. Labourers at John Smith's Tadcaster Brewery, for example, mined in the firm's limestone quarries and worked the brewery's own farmland.[154] Few breweries appear to have exploited the seasonal nature of the trade as successfully.

Besides transferring labourers from one department to the next depending on individual work loads, Flower & Sons utilised some excess labour in construction and maintenance projects, and not always at the brewery. For example, between 1880 and 1900 company ledgers record a number of labourers who were employed at the homes of managers and directors for up to six weeks;[155] presumably, it was on such an occasion in 1884 that Thomas Savage was discharged for 'improper intimacy with Mr [Stephen] Moores Servant'.[156] Normally, when labourers worked outside the brewery environs they undertook tasks resembling those carried out at the brewery during these slack periods. For example, such intervals were ideal for repouring concrete floors in the brewery and malt houses, digging drains, painting various departments and even mending sacks. Not all workers, however, undertook the full range of work embodied in these tasks, for certain duties were reserved for particular workers. For example, while the strongest maltsters usually dug drains or excavated sites in preparation for construction projects, the firm's oldest labourers often mended the sacks used to store barley and malt.[157] Worthington's malt store actually contained an entire tailor's shop, where, 'by means of a sewing machine, slippers, jackets, flannel trousers, watchmen's coats and cooler bags [were] made by four of the old employés who [had] been maimed or injured on the establishment';[158] consequently, these sewing rooms were also called the 'cripple department'. At Flowers, the sheer number of sacks which needed repairing in summer eventually created an opportunity for Mrs Bridges, a labourer's wife, to work in the brewery.[159] Workers' clothing, on the other hand, was repaired by E. Moore.[160]

While a considerable number of repairs were made when men were not brewing, most labourers tended to assist the tradesmen who executed construction work at the

brewery. Initially comprising a blacksmith, painter and carpenter in 1870, Flower & Sons' trades department numbered approximately 20 members in 1884 and retained this level of membership until the war.[161] Much of this rise can be attributed to the number of public houses maintained by the firm. For example, in 1897, repairs to houses, including drain work, paperhanging and painting, cost the brewery more than £1,600.[162] After 1901, the firm hired additional bricklayers, plumbers and even three electricians, who, by 1903, besides maintaining two high-speed engines, directly coupled to continuous-current dynamos, monitored and serviced approximately 30 motors installed throughout the premises by Electromotors Ltd of Openshaw, Manchester.[163] Furthermore, the brewery employed several additional tradesmen already represented in the firm's 1870 wage book. Not only were most kept busy preserving plant and pub, but additional labourers continually assisted tradesmen on projects. While it is not hard to image that the brewery's endless plumbing network itself could easily have occupied a number of tradesmen, pipes were also often painted to reveal their contents.[164] Moreover, plumbers and carpenters also spent many hours constructing steps, pipe rails and wooden guard rails and, in doing so, greatly improved safety at the brewery in these decades.[165] Nevertheless, despite their numerous duties, prior to the late 1890s, tradesmen were frequently transferred to other brewery departments when extra hands were required in production.[166] Moreover, the brewery continued to rely on the services of several local craftsmen, including Thomas Humphries, a harness maker, Henry Freeman, a tinman, who frequently made repairs at the brewery and several public houses, and Frederick Ball, the Stratford machinist, who serviced and repaired his own machinery, as well as any other mechanical components which comprised Flower & Sons' plant.[167]

Despite such fluctuations, fewer labourers were transferred to the brewery's cooperage. Hardly any member of a brewery staff had anything to do with the department.[168] The two trades, those of the brewer and cooper, had in fact been distinguished from one another as early as the sixteenth century. An act of 1532, in fact, initially prohibited brewers from practising the cooper's trade and, thereafter, few brewers appear to have concerned themselves with the daily affairs of the cooperage even if its role was central to their trade.[169] Most brewers found that 'it paid them to trust their head coopers and not to interfere too much with them'.[170] In most cases, the foreman of the cooperage assigned work to a full-time indentured staff. In Flower & Sons' case this involved approximately 20 coopers maintaining the condition of nearly 60,000 casks (see Table 9).[171]

Those casks which returned from customers were first handled by a clerk and a cellarman and examined for cleanliness and any obvious damage. Though few casks were ever lost or damaged, all were cleaned since most came back to the brewery `covered in filth and mud.'[172] At Flower & Sons all casks were transported to a scalding shed after their numbers had been recorded by a junior member of the cask department. Once in the shed, individual casks were placed over a nozzle and their interiors were blasted with steam. At a number of provincial breweries, however, labourers continued to clean all casks by hand well after mid-century. This was still common, for example, at Steward & Patteson's Norwich brewery in 1885.[173] Despite the efficacy of both methods, many casks required more than a simple rinse before they were refilled. Occasionally, gravel or chains and other metallic objects were placed in barrels in order to remove hardened waste.[174] Violent action was needed 'to work off the yeasty stuff left in the cask'.[175] Those which stood empty longest before returning to breweries, often reached more serious states of decay. Most nineteenth-century brewers struggled with infected, rotten casks, generally referred to as 'stinkers'.

The task of diagnosing a cask as rotten was that of the 'smeller'. Although contemporary descriptions of this labourer, reminiscent of Nicolai Gogol's most absurd writings, appear to minimise his role in the brewery, the importance of a good smeller is stressed in most discussions of brewery cooperages produced in these years. In general, smellers were to have developed their skills over time; few were recruited from a cooperage's youngest members. Moreover, most men who worked in this capacity did so day after day for it enabled them to overcome a recognised 'critical period'. For example, W. Kinnear, a member of a London cooperage described his first days as a smeller when 'at first he could feel the muscles of his nose getting sore and his smelling power gradually diminishing'.[176] As he kept on with it, however, his nose got stronger and much more sensitive. Naturally, when Kinnear took his holidays, his skills decreased somewhat, but gradually returned again. As a result, many brewers, eager to prevent the infection of

Figure 12. Flower & Sons' coopers, c.1900.

Source: SBTRO, Photo File: Brewery.

ale, believed it was in their best interests not to change their smellers.[177]

Opinions, however, were much more divided concerning the best way to cure stinkers. Many coopers simply shaved diseased casks. Others filled casks with water and stored them for several months. Those with limited storage space, such as brewers in London, relied on strong alkali to purify casks. Despite brewers' greatest efforts, most wooden casks appear to have lasted between eight and ten years.[178]

Surprisingly few casks were actually made at breweries in the late nineteenth century. Over the years, Flower & Sons had purchased considerable numbers from local timber merchants, Cox & Son, who also supplied the cooperage with most of its raw materials. In general, the majority of a cooper's time was spent repairing rather than making casks. The same can be said of those employed at Courage's cooperage in the first decade of this century; the brewers purchased most of their hogsheads from the Dunbar Cooperage Company, which, like many such specialised firms, eventually produced only machine-made casks.[179]

Besides identifying stinkers, senior coopers marked any damage to vessels with chalk, though excessive injury to an individual cask insured its destruction; any salvageable shives or hoops were kept for repairs. Thereafter, the department's foreman decided on repairs and allocated work to each member of his team. This ensured an even distribution of the most lucrative repairs and that no one man was continually occupied with particularly difficult tasks; consecutive rotten jobs, however, were also used to punish workers.[180] Alternatively, some coopers drew lots for work.

On occasion, ordinary brewery labourers were known to assist coopers. In Burton, labourers brought casks to the cooperage, swept the shop, ignited cressets, brought fuel for fires, as well as ale allowances, transferred materials to different departments and even supplied the power to turn the grind stones used to sharpen tools. Only rarely, however, were they permitted even to drive a hoop on a barrel. More often, such tasks were performed by apprentices. In general, the cooper controlled everything, including the materials used in repairs and cask construction, for certain woods, such as chestnut, were harder than oak and subsequently complicated work in general.

Most work was carried out by indentured tradesmen, each having been assigned his own carefully delineated berth, or block. Besides the noise and heat of the cooperage, the variety of tools used in the construction and repair of casks impressed those who observed the cooper at work. Even more impressive was that, despite their familiarity with a wide range of tools, coopers generally worked by eye alone; few used rules or squares. Flower & Sons' coopers also frequently worked outside the cooperage. Since 1870, the brewery's coopers had access to a saw mill which contained both circular and band saws as well as a shive cutter, designed by Stratford engineers Ball & Horton.[181] Though presumably used almost daily, during the summer of 1900, two labourers operated the machinery to cut shives for over a month.[182] Generally, the cooper was busiest between November and June. Rather than perform less lucrative tasks during the slack months of the year, however, many either took holidays or, in Flowers' case, were even lent to local timber merchants, Cox & Son, where they once again made entire casks.[183]

After coopers had completed their repairs, all casks were examined, treated, numbered and registered before they were filled with ale and dispatched to the firm's customers. Initially all repaired casks were rolled into the brewery yard where they were inspected by the department foreman. Members of the trade have described the way in which head coopers often ran silk handkerchiefs along the insides of casks in order to detect poor workmanship, though any faults were just as easily discovered in the scalding shed.[184] At numerous breweries, watertightness was determined by filling casks a quarter way with boiling water, for steam oozed out of the slightest flaw.[185] Although machines for testing the capacity of casks, otherwise known as 'Lord Mayors', were introduced at some larger breweries, most coopers measured a cask's capacity manually.[186] Usually this was done using a dipping rod. The most confident of coopers made their casks to the nearest pint, but even the work of the most skilled craftsman suffered excessive shrinkage when poorly treated. For this reason, Flower & Sons tested all of the casks it acquired from the smaller breweries its directors procured at the end of the nineteenth century. According to Archie Flower in a letter dated 16 March 1899, the brewery tested each newly-inherited cask twice.[187] Moreover, any of the firm's own coopers whose work was found to be short during random tests were instantly dismissed. Having 'racked a total of 218,000 casks in 1898 alone', however, made comprehensive tests impractical.[188] Most were gauged by the coopers themselves who relied only on the rough measure provided by a dipping rod. New casks, after being 'fired to a light brown colour', were also treated with a mixture of soda and water in order to neutralise the tannin contained in oak.[189] These were then branded with a particular number and even the firm's trade mark, and bung holes were bored before the casks were stored in cask sheds or brewery yards in carefully-stacked mounds until required. Those which remained outdoors were sprayed with water by a junior member of the cooperage or brewery staff in order to prevent further shrinkage.[190]

While the movement of casks between the scalding shed and the cooperage was frequently carried out by the youngest apprentices, filled casks, which often weighed more than 800 pounds, were moved about breweries by grown men. Even this task, however, had been facilitated in a number of ways. Most brewery cellars contained steam-operated elevators. Furthermore, cellars and brewery yards were striated by networks of partially-buried rails on which casks rolled easily. Finally, sidings, built level to wagon beds, facilitated the loading of two and four-wheeled drays, which carried between five and 15 butts each. Unloading at some distance from these conveniences, however, was rarely a hardship either. Aided only by a crude ramp constructed of two conjoined, wooden poles, draymen easily delivered their heavy loads to the proprietors of public houses and private homes. Besides assisting the cellarmen who usually assembled orders a day in advance, draymen were also responsible for feeding the horses which pulled their drays when away from the brewery.

Consequently, most left space on their wagons for a bag of oat and bean meal; having rested only at scheduled destinations, horses ate from nose bags while they travelled.

While horses delivered ale in the brewery's district, stablemen cleaned their stalls. Primarily this involved collecting manure and replacing the animals' bedding with fresh straw, which was usually stored in a stable's extensive corn lofts; these also contained fodder chambers and grinding rooms where animal feed was prepared. When at the brewery, horses were fed once in both the morning and evening; they were fed twice while they made deliveries. Moreover, stablemen regularly clipped horses and brushed them after they returned from each day's journey. Occasionally, these labourers were also called on to care for injured animals, though the slightest ailment was almost always treated by a local veterinary surgeon, if the head of the brewery stables was not trained in this capacity already.[191] Precautions taken by staff, however, kept such visits to a minimum. For example, labourers prevented strain among these quadrupeds by carefully weighing loads and checking the condition of horseshoes and harnesses, the latter of which were regularly cleaned and polished by stablemen. Nevertheless, most stables contained a number of sick boxes where ill horses could be isolated. Ordinarily, however, every healthy animal was provided with sufficient rest in order to recover from its journeys. Approximately 5% of a brewery's horses rested each day.[192] Moreover, each horse was restricted to 100 miles of travel a week. Like their four-legged companions, draymen were not sent on lengthy consecutive outings.[193] As a result, draymen were usually paired with the same horses each day, a decision which naturally improved the treatment of horses.

In general, a brewery required 50 horses for every 100,000 barrels it sold.[194] Numbers, however, varied depending on a brewery's local trade and the amount of sales contracted to private carriers. In the late nineteenth century, Flower & Sons appears to have had approximately 30 horses, though many were based at branches in other provincial towns. The majority were purchased from noted local breeders of heavy horses, such as Alfred Home of Stratford and Thomas Hodges of Long Marston, and cost the brewery between 30 and 60 pounds each.[195] Most breweries also kept between three and ten nags which were used to transport salesmen. Horses remained with the brewery until infirm and were then either shot or sold to Mr Gibbs, a local butcher, who prepared the meat for foreign consumption. Over the average ten-year career, less in London, the cost of maintaining a horse matched a drayman's wages, especially as the management of horses generally improved among brewers by the end of the nineteenth century.[196] Surprisingly, however, the first paper relating to the care and management of horses was presented before the Institute of Brewing by C. Sheather in 1912, the same year George Lowcock spoke to the organisation on the subject of motor vehicles and breweries.[197] Though Sheather's paper surely did not represent the practices of every brewer, it more than likely applied to Flower & Sons whose proprietors had always taken a heightened interest in stable management. In fact, at the end of his brewing career, Edward Flower had been dubbed 'The Missionary of Horses' for his efforts 'to abate the misery of ... carriage-horses'.[198] Moreover, his third son, William, considered an authority on the horse, complemented his father's emotional pleas for the more humane treatment of horses with scientific evidence which he derived during his term as director at the Museum of Natural History in South Kensington.[199]

Despite a late drive by brewers to introduce modern nutritional research to brewing stables, the duties of stablemen, more than those of any other brewery labourer, most closely resembled those of agricultural labourers. Besides feeding horses and cleaning stables, drays and other carts, most fitted harnesses and regularly groomed the brewery's several dozen horses. Consequently, stablemen also frequently suffered from criticisms usually reserved for rural farm labourers. Even brewers sometimes described the average horsekeeper as 'a thickheaded person'.[200]

On the other hand, draymen were more commonly described as 'picturesque'.[201] Traditionally dressed in a red cap and white top coat, the drayman, like the brewery traveller, by whom he was occasionally accompanied on his rounds, was regarded as a form of mobile advertisement.[202] Moreover, draymen spent much time among brewery clients and subsequently developed important links with customers. In contrast to their employers, who frequently stressed the good feeling which characterised relations between master and servant, draymen often stressed the bonds which existed

between themselves and the firm's customers.[203] Few brewers did not recognise the importance of the drayman's public role. Each action outside the brewery could either improve a firm's image or, just as often, cost the firm sales. Consequently, in 1896, Archibald Flower reprimanded a drayman 'who should have exercised more courtesy and politeness' following an accident, regardless of fault.[204]

By the turn of the century, however, draymen were no longer the only brewery labourers employed outside the brewing plant. In 1905, Flowers hired Edward Wooton to drive and take charge of its first steam lorry.[205] For five days a week Wooton travelled the roads in the district delivering casks of pale ale; on Saturdays he cleaned and cared for his steam vehicle's engine. Having agreed to no overtime pay, Wooton usually returned from his journeys early and helped loading and unloading in the cellars and, more importantly, taught Court and Eastbury, two brewery labourers, the art of driving a motorcar.[206] Despite his other menial tasks, Wooton was regarded as superior to ordinary brewery labourers and even draymen due to his mechanical abilities. Divisions among labourers, however, had always existed at breweries. Nevertheless, at firms such as Flower & Sons, these became only more accentuated with increased specialisation introduced during the last years of the nineteenth century.

Many of the duties described in this chapter were carried out by labourers who fulfilled more than one post at Flower & Sons. As a result, as long as production remained seasonal at Flowers, workers were rarely associated with a single task, for transfers kept individual workers moving throughout numerous brewery departments. Although the introduction of refrigeration technology did not radically change the brewing process as described, the introduction of year-round production did dramatically alter the duties of each individual labourer. At Flower & Sons in 1914, labourers' duties, comparatively unchanged since 1870, varied considerably less than they had approximately 50 years earlier. Naturally, the size of each individual brewery to a large degree also determined labourers' tasks and the way in which the labour process was managed. The latter, however, is the subject of subsequent chapters.

Chapter Five: 'Good masters make good men'[1]

By 1890, Flower & Sons employed approximately 300 workers. More than two hundred of these men laboured in the brewery and maltings, approximately thirty were travellers or clerks in Stratford, while the remainder worked at agencies in London, several administrative and industrial centres in the Midlands and even Ireland. Over a few decades, and approximately two generations, the Flowers had become one of the wealthiest families in Stratford. Moreover, as the family's business had begun to prosper, a certain amount of their wealth returned to the community in charitable form. A considerable amount also went to the firm's workers. While donations to entire communities allowed the affluent, among other things, to indulge in the act of reputation building, nineteenth-century entrepreneurs expected a return on all gifts which they granted their workers. The expense associated with benevolence was in fact an investment, which was repaid in the form of loyal service. In an age with very little managerial understanding, paternalism became an important, if not the predominant, method of labour management in breweries.

As in the days when Edward Flower first brewed in Stratford with the help of half a dozen hands, brewery employees in the late nineteenth century laboured in a very paternalistic environment.[2] Brewers regularly cultivated intercourse with hands beyond the 'cash nexus'. Many employers improved their dealings with workers through the introduction of numerous bonuses, including beer allowances, feasts and seaside holidays in summer and Christmas beef in winter. Moreover, the generosity of many brewers extended to a much wider locale, for many donated considerable wealth to the towns in which their businesses had prospered. Among the Flowers' chief benefactions was the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, built on land given to Stratford by Charles Flower, the town's 'leading benefactor', in 1879.[3] In addition, the brewer and his wife, Sarah, 'Stratford's greatest benefactress', donated considerable sums to hospitals and other local charities.[4] Most successful brewing families demonstrated an equal concern for the welfare of their communities. At times there did not seem to be a limit to the charitable activities of the largest brewers in the British Isles.[5] Some funded the construction and reconstruction of hospitals, schools, churches and even theatres. While the Guinness family restored St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin at a cost of

£150,000 in 1865 and donated a further £250,000 to the Jenner Institute to promote research in bacteriology in 1899, other proprietors, such as London's Truman, Hanbury, Buxton & Company, returned rents to their tenants after failed harvests.[6] When businesses passed to children at death, many brewers bequeathed even greater sums to charities and institutions and, by doing so, cultivated an image of brewers as the most benevolent of employers. According to the editors of the *Stratford Herald*, as a result of Charles Flower's death, the local poor lost 'a firm and steadfast friend'.[7]

The role of paternalism in English society has never suffered the neglect of historians.[8] Traditionally associated with rural communities, paternalism, characterised most often by the relationship of the Lord of the Manor and his subjects, conferred duties upon both parties, especially the property owner.[9] In exchange for easing the worries of their tenants, and offering the poorest a degree of security during periods of hardship, rural landlords expected hard work and obedience from hired help as well as deferential treatment in general. While this secured members of the landed gentry their superior positions in the social hierarchy, this policy could also introduce a degree of stability to an industrial workforce. Its most efficient practitioners exercised much authority. The provision of housing to workers, for example, gave some employers considerable control over employees, as dismissal also implied homelessness. Not surprisingly, early industrialists recognised the value of this system as a managerial strategy.

Despite such extremes, paternalism promised cordial relations, and usually emerged from an intimate workshop environment. Having begun their careers in small firms, entrepreneurs, like Edward Flower, worked alongside their employees and dealt with most, if not all, on a very personal level, encountering their labourers almost daily at work if not in local shops and markets. Even after a business or, more importantly, its workforce assumed much larger proportions, many owner-managers continued to practise very personal managerial strategies. For one thing, paternalism was seen as an effective antidote to new unionism.[10] Even at those firms where greater responsibility was being delegated to non-family members, workers were continually reminded at company-sponsored events that, despite being waged labour, they were an integral part of a family firm and could expect to be treated not only fairly, but even as kin, though usually poor cousins.

Such fraternal gestures regularly allude to paternalism's religious roots. Most discussions of paternalism deal extensively with its religious origins and the beliefs of its most devout practitioners. By the nineteenth century, however, religious ideals continued to be diffused widely throughout society. For example, the rights and especially the duties of the individual became incorporated into many secular literary works and were regularly highlighted by social theorists, politicians and economists who debated ideas of citizenship and the limits of government authority. Moreover, by this time, England was a mature industrial economy, producing its share of social ills, leading many concerned parties to debate the 'condition of England'. A community of scientifically-educated individuals also confronted the less-desirable aspects of industrialisation. Ordinary citizens encountered the 'social problems' of industry in newspapers and contemporary fiction.[11] Clearly, not only membership of a religious group brought opposition to some of the injustices associated with political economy.

Nevertheless, still often inspired by religious ideals, paternalist community leaders, like the Flowers, also attempted to maintain the existing economic order by instilling industrially-useful sentiments, for example, thrift and self-help, often by funding particular charities, such as industrial training homes. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, Archie Flower had even begun to introduce schemes designed to make the unemployed work for their benefits.[12] As a result, paternalism, originally set against ideas of laissez-faire, transformed and appeared to be the logical outcome of free trade.[13] The very flexibility of the practice left room for interpretation and promised further modifications. Consequently, historians have had a particularly difficult time dealing with the concept of paternalism; a definition remains elusive.[14]

While the benevolent paternalism of the Flower family may have been inspired by a nonconformist religious heritage, it can also be traced to various secular traditions. For example, besides the teachings of the Unitarians, it was also open to the influence of the Utilitarians. According to John Stuart Mill, the relationship between workers and their superiors was to involve

an exchange of 'affectionate tutelage' for 'respectful and grateful deference'.[15] Though Charles Flower's library does not appear to have contained this particular volume of Mill's writings, it did include various other texts which addressed this subject. Besides comprising several religious volumes, such as Thorn's *Laws of Life* and the more secular works of Sydney Smith, Flower's library did contain George's *Progress and Poverty* and John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*,[16] which, along with advocating the freedoms of conscience and opinion, suggests communities are best managed by local worthies, due to the imperfect moral cultivation of mankind.[17] These ideas, however, had been transformed into a social theory decades earlier and were also expressed by Ure (whose influence on Flower has already been discussed in Chapter Two) in his *Philosophy of Manufactures*. Perhaps both religious and secular traditions influenced Flower's own style of paternalism. This would, for example, explain the contradictions which arise from a discussion of his charitable works.

The paternalistic tradition associated with the family, however, did not begin with Charles Flower, despite the fact that he is recognised as its most famous benefactor. His grandfather, Richard Flower, frequently opposed government control in efforts to condemn taxes which fell heavily on the poor before leaving England for America with his family in 1818.[18] After settling on the other side of the Atlantic, Flower's eldest son, George, together with Morris Birkbeck, founded what was to be a more just society at Albion in Edwards County, Illinois. George, who possessed 'a large wealth from husbandry', assumed 'a commanding, responsible ... and laborious position in the new colony'.[19] Contesting attempts to legalise slavery in the state in 1823, George Flower gained the respect of contemporaries, who recognised his calm wisdom and benevolence, and remembered him as a 'philanthropist of large and noble aims'.[20] Not only was Charles's father, Edward Flower, raised in a community which in many ways resembled Robert Owen's New Lanark, but, after returning to England in 1824, Flower & Sons' founder visited the famous philanthropist in Scotland. Edward spent approximately six months learning about his host's enlightened enterprise before commencing an apprenticeship as a corn merchant.[21] After establishing his own business in Stratford, Edward Flower was able to implement many of the concepts he had encountered in Illinois and Scotland and developed his own particular method of labour management before his sons took over at the brewery.

Clearly, many traditions of paternalism influenced Charles Flower. The main concern of this chapter is to examine a form of benevolent paternalism as practised at one brewery between 1870 and 1914. Furthermore, existing evidence demonstrates the way in which this system changed over time. Never did it disappear entirely. Often, soon after their introduction, particular forms of benevolence assumed traditional status, thereby making it very difficult for directors to abolish these practices without breeding resentment among workers. Instead of ending entirely, as has been suggested by some historians, including Patrick Joyce, these spontaneous gestures were often institutionalised and regulated in order to prevent a particularly flexible managerial strategy from becoming a financial burden.

In most cases, the wages paid to brewery workers were not themselves an unmanageable burden. Historians estimate that workers' wages comprised less than 10% cent of brewery costs (see Table 10).[22] Though not extravagant, several brewery workers' earnings were certainly not meagre. In general, wages paid to brewery workers were on a par with those earned by most semi-skilled, urban workers and, in all cases, surpassed those of agricultural labourers.[23] In 1880, the average brewery worker at Flower & Sons received approximately 18s. per week;[24] in 1881, Warwickshire's agricultural labourers earned about 14s.[25] On average, by the turn of the last century, brewery labourers worked ten-hour days in the provinces, though eight-hour days were already becoming the norm in breweries based in large towns.[26] Not all workers, however, were paid weekly. Out of 150 brewery workers listed in Flower & Sons' ledgers in the 1870s, a dozen always seem to have been paid by the day. Moreover, coopers tended to be paid by the piece. Besides their hourly rates, draymen were also paid an additional fee for each empty returned to the brewery as an incentive to retrieve casks promptly after use. The standard hourly rate for general brewery labourers during these years appears to have been 3d., but most workers received an additional penny an hour on Saturdays.[27]

Different work, however, also implied different pay. Those individuals employed in the firm's stables or

10a) Brewery Wages

Year	Wages	Year	Wages	Year	Wages	Year	Wages	Year	Wages
1870	1951	1879	3312	1888	3150	1897	4773	1906	4267
1871	2063	1880	3344	1889	3484	1898	4899	1907	4143
1872	2491	1881	3230	1890	3673	1899	5002	1908	3896
1873	2835	1882	3256	1891	3604	1900	4886	1909	3795
1874	3153	1883	3286	1892	3770	1901	4764	1910	3778
1875	3502	1884	3245	1893	3704	1902	4737	1911	3894
1876	3368	1885	3214	1894	3783	1903	4642	1912	3849
1877	3499	1886	3316	1895	3866	1904	4530	1913	4029
1878	3786	1887	3194	1896	4211	1905	4268	1914	4381

10b) Stable Wages*

1870	563	1879	914	1888	769	1897	1007	1906	1068
1871	513	1880	898	1889	844	1898	1053	1907	996
1872	662	1881	882	1890	896	1899	1103	1908	1010
1873	736	1882	897	1891	864	1900	1049	1909	1004
1874	759	1883	902	1892	844	1901	1000	1910	984
1875	817	1884	870	1893	833	1902	939	1911	1000
1876	867	1885	847	1894	821	1903	826	1912	1132
1877	954	1886	813	1895	792	1904	930	1913	1146
1878	973	1887	768	1896	855	1905	960	1914	1327

*includes draymen's wages

10c) Coopers' Wages

1870	613	1879	1261	1888	1936	1897	1727	1906	1180
1871	591	1880	1252	1889	2388	1898	1685	1907	1059
1872	688	1881	1437	1890	2159	1899	1608	1908	927
1873	979	1882	1426	1891	2287	1900	1456	1909	854
1874	804	1883	1168	1892	2368	1901	1402	1910	925
1875	944	1884	1439	1893	2311	1902	1428	1911	1031
1876	992	1885	1519	1894	1938	1903	1304	1912	1003
1877	1001	1886	1586	1895	1866	1904	1167	1913	958
1878	1503	1887	1543	1896	1863	1905	1056	1914	921

10d) Trademen's Wages

Year	Wages	Year	Wages	Year	Wages	Year	Wages	Year	Wages
1870	243	1879	496	1888	608	1897	781	1906	641
1871	256	1880	677	1889	660	1898	678	1907	648
1872	227	1881	566	1890	639	1899	767	1908	591
1873	256	1882	576	1891	645	1900	667	1909	728
1874	354	1883	718	1892	658	1901	787	1910	691
1875	330	1884	738	1893	642	1902	647	1911	635
1876	381	1885	761	1894	665	1903	626	1912	658
1877	408	1886	663	1895	687	1904	624	1913	710
1878	508	1887	601	1896	725	1905	639	1914	698

10e) Salaries

Year	Total	Year	Total	Year	Total	Year	Total	Year	Total
1870	5245	1879	8794	1888	9451	1897	11780	1906	11969
1871	5091	1880	9237	1889	9588	1898	11906	1907	12317
1872	5483	1881	8563	1890	9335	1899	12593	1908	12424
1873	5770	1882	8870	1891	9442	1900	11390	1909	12192
1874	7242	1883	8603	1892	9776	1901	11699	1910	12859
1875	7416	1884	8723	1893	9719	1902	12019	1911	13259
1876	7788	1885	9238	1894	9461	1903	12010	1912	13318
1877	8109	1886	9005	1895	9043	1904	11245	1913	15478
1878	8632	1887	9284	1896	9610	1905	10823	1914	15262

Table 10. Workers' Wages (to nearest pound), 1870-1914

Sources: SBTRO, DR 227/8-11 and 14

maltings in the 1880s received 19s. weekly and were paid extra for tasks, such as cleaning kilns. Thomas Kemp, who was in charge of the stables, on the other hand, received an extra shilling a week for his responsibilities. Foremen in each malt house received between 21s. and 26s. per week depending on their seniority, the size of the malt house and the number of men supervised. Similar wages were earned by a number of the brewery's tradesmen. Soon after the construction of the new brewery, Flowers employed numerous carpenters, painters and even plumbers who constructed additional buildings, painted both the brewery and public houses and maintained the miles of lead and copper pipes which ran through the firm's facilities. In general, these workers received 7d. an hour, more than twice the standard rate of pay; maximum wages were also frequently imposed. No such restrictions, however, limited the earnings of Flower & Sons' coopers, the brewery's

highest paid manual labourers. Coopers frequently earned more than 40s. a week. George Lambert, foreman of the brewery's cooperage during the last decades of the nineteenth century, regularly earned more than 80s.[28] Given his sizeable earnings, Lambert was able to open a china business, which further supplemented his income. Although most late-nineteenth century census returns list Lambert as a 'cooper and dealer in china', the business was run by his wife and daughters and outlived the brewery.[29]

While workers were regularly granted rises as they moved through the brewery ranks, wage increases tended to be awarded individually. Not unusually, given the lack of union organisation among brewery workers, only one or two workers during each three-month pay period received a rise. In general, workers who desired rises made individual requests, and each case was judged on its own merits. As a result, some workers' wages remained conspicuously static and rose more slowly than those of other workers between 1870 and 1914. Joshua Knight, for example, although employed in the brewery for approximately 50 years, received only 15s. a week between 1882 and 1894.[30] Thereafter, brewery wages in general appear to have stagnated temporarily.[31] According to trade journals, brewery labourers' average wages were only 26s. 3d. in 1906, not including boys' and women's earnings, which would have lowered the figure substantially.[32] In 1914, higher wages all round were eventually introduced at Flower & Sons, as at other firms, in order to attract labour, given the shortage brought about by the war.[33] Nevertheless, according to the *Journal of the Operative Brewers' Guild*, the average brewery workman was still 'so poorly paid that it [did] not entail much expense in wasting his time'.[34] Moreover, increases after this date generally continued to be granted on an individual basis.

Salaried staff at the brewery, on the other hand, not only received more regular pay increases, but their earnings generally exceeded those of labourers. The average clerk at Flower & Sons earned between £10 and £15 a month between 1880 and 1890.[35] Department heads earned as much as £25, whether employed in the brewery or in the firm's offices. Head brewers, on the other hand, frequently earned between £300 and £600 a year. Generally, as has been argued elsewhere, the high salaries paid to managers contrast with workers' modest earnings.[36] Besides a standard monthly salary, sales staff also received a commission equivalent to one per cent of sales, which in the case of the firm's Birmingham manager at the turn of the last century averaged approximately £225 a year.[37] Some salesmen received commissions equivalent to two or even 3% of sales;[38] higher percentages were usually given to travellers for free, as opposed to tied, trade sales.[39] Moreover, ledgers reveal that office staff on average could expect a salary increase every two years.

There are, however, numerous ways to encourage loyalty and effort besides paying a regular wage. The most common method, besides offers of holidays, health care and housing, was the cash bonus. In 1912, for example, the *Brewers' Journal* reported the case of a maltster employed at Morgan's Brewery in Norwich who earned 17s. a week, which increased to 24s. after all his bonuses had been calculated.[40] At Flower & Sons, bonuses also increased a number of workers' earnings. Maltsters, for example, generally received a bonus at the end of the malting season. Many earned an extra 4s. for every week they worked at the brewery. Ordinary brewery workers received a pound at the end of each brewing season.[41] A similar bonus awaited clerks when books were put in order at the conclusion of each financial year. Moreover, certain business achievements were celebrated not only by staging lavish banquets, but by granting workers a financial reward. To celebrate their first hundred years in business, for example, the owners of Steward, Patteson, Finch & Company gave all clerks a 5% salary bonus, workers a week's pay and all employees a commemorative medal struck especially for the occasion.[42] Almost all breweries presented labourers with some sort of gift on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee.[43] When Flower & Sons became a limited liability company in 1888, Edgar Flower 'wished to acknowledge the services of some of the [firm's] senior employees' and did this by granting them ordinary shares worth £10 each.[44] As long as these individuals remained with the company they were entitled to collect their yearly dividends. Numerous other breweries which went public in these years made similar offers to workers. For example, Bass's owners paid out more than £12,000 of their first share issue to employees; each foreman received £2, ordinary adult workers collected a pound and each boy was paid l0s.[45] Employees of many other firms received comparable honoraria, or benefited from profit-sharing schemes for a time.[46] Despite also being offered more frequently,

bonuses paid to salaried workers regularly exceeded those given to labourers.[47] Although Sir Edward Guinness presented a bonus to all his workers upon his retirement, labourers received a week's wage while clerks took home an extra month's salary.[48]

Though such practices may have discouraged some workers, individual bonuses were used by employers in order to instil certain standards among their employees. Not surprisingly, financial rewards were regularly presented to workers who performed well over a given period of time or in certain difficult circumstances. For example, in the spring of 1900, William Wasley received an additional five shillings 'for finding [a] defect in [the] cylinder cover of [a] gas Engine'.[49] In 1867, approximately six (5%) of the firm's 120 men received bonuses during each three-month pay period.[50] This percentage remained constant for several decades.

Occasionally, bonuses were less spontaneous. Often certain tasks carried with them the promise of additional pay. For example, maltsters who volunteered to clean kilns often received extra pay, as did clerks who put certain ledgers in order. Such cash gifts appear to have been common at many other breweries and businesses during this period and provided employees with numerous opportunities to increase their earnings.[51]

Fines, on the other hand, were more difficult to enforce. The first deduction in a worker's wage appears to have been made in 1870, when a drayman was fined for an unspecified offence.[52] Presumably, the worker was guilty of 'trotting', for this infraction was regularly committed by delivery staff during these decades. In general, brewers faced fines when their draymen travelled along public routes at more than two miles an hour. Unlike Guy Senior of the Barnsley Brewery in South Yorkshire, who gladly paid these penalties due to their 'first-rate advertising value', Flowers demanded that draymen pay their own fines.[53] Those who continued to trot and incur penalties from local authorities faced more severe repercussions. A repeat offender was punished by being transferred to the brewery cellars. As the result of such a demotion in 1886, William Harris's wage declined from 19s. to 16s.[54] Nevertheless, Harris was more fortunate than a colleague, George Hancox, who was dismissed from the brewery for the same offence six years later. On another occasion, rather than pay a shilling fine, another drayman, Norman Smith, left Flower & Sons' service.

The difficulties faced when deducting from a labourer's weekly wage led Flower & Sons' managers more regularly to penalise workers by withholding their bonuses. Less than a year after Wasley was rewarded for discovering a 'fault' in a boiler cover, another labourer was denied a bonus at the conclusion of the malting season 'for letting [a] cistern turn over three times'.[55] Three years later, in 1904, Joshua Ryman, a foreman in one of the brewery's malt houses, had 5s. deducted from his bonus, presumably for a similar offence.[56] The following year, Fred Baylis, another maltster, also had 5s. deducted from his bonus for allowing a cistern to overflow.[57] Though evidence suggests fines were occasionally used by brewers to punish workers for minor offences, as one of Mann, Crossman & Paulin's draymen discovered when he had his bonus and holiday cancelled in 1904 after being 'found smoking in [the] WC', generally, Flower & Sons' employees appear to have faced such deductions only when their actions either interfered with production or led the brewery's owners themselves to incur a fine.[58]

Besides cash bonuses, brewery employers provided numerous other inducements to their workers in order to ensure loyalty, obedience and good service. The most obvious was the ale allowance. According to C. Howard Tripp of the Tadcaster Tower Brewery, allowances at breweries varied from a quart to three pints a day.[59] Occasionally, however, even three pints was judged 'a moderate quantity'.[60] In his *Practical Notes on Brewery Management* (1895), Arthur Hartley, of the Emsworth Brewery near Chichester, considered half a gallon sufficient to ensure good work from his labourers.[61] Although the quantity of ale granted to workers appears to have varied greatly, the distribution of ale to labourers was always carefully controlled. Those workers entitled to an allotment of ale either received tickets or brass tags from department heads which listed an employee's name or number, the time at which ale was to be collected and the purpose for which it was granted. Those who did not receive such tickets usually collected their own ale from a designated allowance room in a ceramic jar, clearly marked with a number which was recorded in a ledger by the trusted employee who distributed ale at the brewery. In general, ale allowances were always strictly regulated.

Workers, particularly those employed in maltings, continued to receive the largest ale allowances into the twentieth century. Stokers and maltsters had always received considerably more ale than other labourers, not only because they toiled next to furnaces and kilns, but also due to the laborious nature of the work the latter performed in dust-filled malt houses. Oral testimony collected by George Ewart Evans from Burton maltsters suggests workers were not granted a finite supply of ale, but occasionally received 'all the beer [they] could drink'.[62] Draymen, on the other hand, received ale from their employers and drank up to a pint for every barrel they delivered to publicans.[63] Often brewers were even more generous to members of the general public. Many 'freely refresh[ed] with the foaming tankard every man whom business or pleasure [brought] to the brewery, whether ... a railway employee with a truckload of hops, or a tradesman with a parcel'.[64] Those who delivered 'loads of barley and coal, or who fetch[ed] away manure and spent hops, [were] invariably accompanied with jars capable of containing one or more quarts, while gangs of workmen employed on public roads and drains in the vicinity [sent] in deputations to requisition casks of beer holding nine, eighteen, or thirty-six gallons, according to the liberality of the brewer and the number of men represented'.[65] While such benevolence may also have been considered good advertising, such 'indiscriminate hospitality' was regarded by many in the trade to do 'more harm than good'.[66]

Alternatively, some brewers, especially those who perhaps doubted the nutritional value of ale, supplemented their generous ale allowances with an allotment of coffee and biscuits. In a brewery where tasks commenced as early as four or five in the morning, this expenditure on the owner's behalf was 'amply paid for by the better work that was done before breakfast'.[67] Moreover, such a bonus actually kept workers at the brewery. Previously, many labourers had returned to their homes at meal times. Even some of a brewery's highest-paid workers, such as coopers, despite the allowances to which they were entitled, went to public houses to have their meals in order to escape from the work environment. Although some breweries had attempted to eliminate drink from the workplace by delivering approximately 12s.-worth of ale to workers' homes, this idea was abandoned during these years in order to keep men in breweries. Most brewers opposed the plan, for 'as long as there [was] beer in the house so long will the man remain, in which case he may be away from work some days'.[68] Often, those brewers most concerned with time-wastage, incurred when workers travelled between the brewery and their homes during breaks, established mess-rooms and canteens. The development of the latter service was limited, however, for, besides regarding this as an expensive undertaking, brewers believed this led them to compete with public houses, their most important customers.[69] The few breweries which established such facilities prior to 1914 included Guinness and Mitchells & Butlers. Most firms continued to provide workers with only mess-rooms, which, besides tables and benches, generally contained stoves on which labourers prepared their own food.[70]

Interesting, however, is that workers continued to receive ale from employers throughout this period, especially after the passage of the Truck Acts, which to some extent prohibited payments made in kind. Naturally, some brewers reduced the large ale allowances they had previously granted their workers in favour of higher wages, though none appears to have abolished them entirely. Those who attempted to eliminate allowances entirely found that workers immediately commenced thieving.[71] While most brewery proprietors continued to provide all adult workers with ale, it was no longer to be considered a right. Although not all workers accepted this form of reasoning, ale allowances after the 1887 Act were to be considered gifts that owners made at their own discretion. Recognised as acts of charity, such benefits only contributed to a brewer's benevolent image.

Although brewery canteens became more common only during the interwar period, ale allowances were no longer the only benefits that brewery workers received from their employers. In the early 1880s, employees regularly began to receive what was known as 'Christmas beef'. During the holiday season, Flower & Sons' workers each received a pound of beef; married workers received an additional pound and another half pound for each child. In 1882, one of the first years for which such records exist, the brewery distributed more than 460 pounds of beef to 176 workers.[72]

Naturally, at the largest firms, such as Bass & Co., total gifts distributed on such occasions frequently astounded members of the trade, let alone the general public. In

1895, for example, the meat distributed among their hands 'amounted to over 26,000 pounds of beef, 240 turkeys, 230 geese, 70 brace of pheasants, 60 hares and a large quantity of fowls and ducks'.[73] All of Flower & Sons' meat was purchased from local butchers Messrs Pearce, Lewis and Snow, who usually delivered the beef directly to the homes of brewery employees.

Christmas beef was also presented to publicans associated with the brewery. In 1882, owners and tenants of sixty houses received winter bonuses.[74] Not all publicans, however, received Christmas beef. Depending on the amount of ale sold, publicans received as much as thirty pounds of prime beef, or, alternatively, should business have been sluggish, a single hare. Variations in gifts therefore also reveal complicated sales' histories. For example, not all publicans who sold 150 barrels of Flowers ale in a year, a figure which usually denoted healthy sales, received twenty to thirty pounds of beef at Christmas. Should a decline in sales have been apparent, publicans not only received less beef, but often a less tender cut. In 1881, after her sales had declined from 142 to 134 barrels in a single year, Mrs Hawkes, a publican in Bearley, complained to the brewery, as her beef was inferior to that sent previously; not surprisingly, Hawkes did not receive compensation.[75] Alternatively, even those publicans who did not sell as much as others often received an equal bonus if sales had noticeably increased over the year. Mrs Page of Stratford's Garrick Inn, normally allocated a goose at Christmas, was delivered a turkey by one of the brewery's stable boys after sales had improved by three barrels in 1882.[76] Even when sales remained unchanged, bonuses often did not. While a publican may have sold as much ale as in previous years, accounts were not always settled in a satisfactory manner. Consequently, in 1882, George Berry of Wasperton, who had not furnished the brewery with numerous overdue payments, received only a goose when a drayman visited him a few days before Christmas. When his accounts were eventually paid, amends were made by the brewery owners, who presented him with some additional ducks. Should accounts have remained overdue, Berry, like many other publicans, would have had his Christmas meat withheld entirely the following year.

Like the ale allowance, the presentation of Christmas meat continued beyond the First World War. Some evidence, however, suggests the brewery had in fact become less generous than in previous years. For example, by 1906, although 200 brewery workers received such a bonus, they took home just under 250 pounds of beef.[77] The fact that 137 men were married and 108 had children suggests that bonuses no longer went to families, but only to workers. On the other hand, more labourers, namely part-timers, who were not granted bonuses in the past, had been added to the brewery's Christmas list. Moreover, in the first years of the twentieth century, Flower & Sons' holiday bonuses extended to a much wider network, including railway workers, with whom the brewery did a considerable business. Employees of the Great Western Rail Company in Stratford, as well as Evesham, Fladbury, Pershore, Campden, Blockley, Moreton, Shipston and Broadway, received a substantial amount of Flowers India Pale Ale in half-pint bottles. W.H. Doonan, a local postal clerk, also took dozens of pints home during holidays in these years, as did the recipient of perhaps the most questionable of bonuses, Mr M. Walters, an officer with the Inland Revenue! By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the acceptance of such gifts was at least questioned by some authorities. For example, a case of champagne which had been sent by a brewer to Liverpool police superintendents responsible for his licensed houses was tactfully returned in 1897 by the branch's head constable with a simple note: 'there ha[s] been some mistake'.[78] The Birmingham Watch Committee also resolved to abolish Christmas presents to police officers the following year, as did committee members in Manchester in 1899.[79] By the end of 1907, brewers' gifts were eventually reviewed in accordance with the Prevention of Corruption Act (1906), though officials ruled that such gratuities were illegal, only if they were not consented to by recipients beforehand.[80]

Besides presenting employees with beef in winter, Flower & Sons periodically fed workers in the warmer months of the year, as these years witnessed the firm's first company-sponsored outings. More than simple bonuses, picnics and excursions were to foster good feelings between employees and their superiors, as well as help promote the formation of a company identity. The first of these events appears to have been held in August 1869 when 300 people enjoyed 'dancing and rustic sports' on a field alongside the Avon belonging to Mrs Chambers of Milcote. Participating equally in all amusements, employees' wives and children were

Goods and services	Cost £	s.	d.
249¼ lbs. of Spiced Beef	8	6	8½
94½ lbs. Fresh Rump Beef	3	6	11
4 1egs of Mutton	2	5	7½
4 Hams	2	1	7
Side of Veal (66½ lbs.)	2	7	1½
47 lbs. of Suet	1	13	3½
44 lbs. of Dripping	1	2	0
19½ lbs. of Bacon		16	3
30 loaves of Bread		17	6
2 pots of Potatoes		8	0
2001bs. of Plum Cake	5	0	0
300 Buns	1	12	2
12 gallons of Milk		12	0
100 doz. Gingerade	5	0	0
1 doz. Sodas		1	0
21bs. of Cheese		16	8
21bs. of Mustard		3	4
Salt			2
6 lbs. of Black Tea		15	0
301bs. of Loaf Sugar		10	0
½ gallon of Vinegar		1	0
13 lbs. of Tobacco	2	13	2
1 gross Clay Pipes		8	0
2 doz. Wood Pipes		8	0
6 doz. lights		1	6
3 barrels of Ale		-	
Hire of Tents and Firemen's Wages	5	5	0
Hire of Tea Urns		3	6
6 lbs. of Sweets		3	0
Hire of Town Band	2	0	0
Gateman's Wages		5	0
Prize money	1	0	0
Hire of crockery, viz.: 500 plates, 400 mugs, 30 veg. dishes, 20 large jugs, 30 basins, 18 pie dishes, 17 meat dishes, 50 tumblers, 22 tablecloths	2	16	6
Breakages		10	11
3 iron Boilers		1	6
17 doz. knives, 17 doz. forks		19	6
6 doz. mustard spoons, 6 doz. salt spoons		1	6
30 table spoons		1	6
42 yards tablecloths		7	6
3 plated prongs and 1 knife cost		11	0
5 spoons cost			5
Timber		5	0
Cooking, washing up and sundries	3	11	0
Total	**59**	**19**	**10**

Table 11. Inventory and cost of brewery picnic, 18 July 1882

Source: SBTRO, DR 227/112

served only tea and cake, while men were offered the sustenance of meat and ale.[81] Perhaps not the first picnic organised by the brewery, it was the first event staged outside the brewery's own buildings, attracted

the interest of many of the region's inhabitants and was reported in the local newspapers.[82]

Successive outings were even more elaborate events and were held each year until 1914 when interrupted by war. Approximately a decade after the brewery's first picnic, more than 500 people attended what had essentially become a town feast and required weeks to prepare (see Table 11).[83] The event at which Charles Flower announced his retirement in 1888 resembled a small fair and attracted approximately 1000 guests, including 250 brewery labourers.[84] Having again convened in a local field, guests feasted on several hundred pounds of beef, mutton, veal and pork, along with generous portions of vegetables, bread, butter and various condiments. For dessert employees consumed approximately 200 pounds of plum cake and smoked a dozen pounds of tobacco; those without pipes obtained clay pipes which breweries distributed on these occasions and in their public houses. Lunch was held in four tents, each of which exceeded 100 feet in length and had been constructed by local timber merchants, Cox & Son. Employees sat alongside publicans and distinguished guests in four rows of tables which ran the length of each tent and, while most naturally came to enjoy the brewery's ales, milk and gingerade were also in abundance. Besides racing for prizes and competing in a tug-of-war during the afternoon, employees and their families were treated to a performance of the local militia's 16-man band. Furthermore, the event provided an income to the wives of several employees who took many days to roast meat, prepare food items, iron table cloths and, eventually, wash up. The picnic also proved profitable for Flower & Sons' enterprising cooper, William Lambert, whose china shop supplied all of the dishes and cutlery used by the brewery's guests. Besides paying for the rental of Lambert's wares, the firm paid for all breakages and, more interestingly, for the disappearance of a large number of eating utensils. The entire affair cost the brewery more than £80;[85] future outings would prove more elaborate.

The annual picnic was intended as a treat for workers, who enjoyed few regularly scheduled holidays during the nineteenth century. Prior to the first brewery outing, most labourers' years were punctuated by only the Mop, a local hiring fair, or unscheduled periods of unemployment.[86] In general, brewery workers enjoyed few holidays, most employers having preferred to brew on holidays to keep men in work.[87] One of the few firms to introduce a week-long, paid holiday in these years was Truman, Hanbury, Buxton & Co.[88] In this sense, annual outings, such as picnics, were an important development, especially for those labourers who worked six or even seven days a week, as was common at the brewery during these years. Clerks and travellers, on the other hand, took regular holidays throughout the 1870s. In fact, as early as 1869, Flowers' travellers were each allotted a ten-day, paid holiday.[89] Most clerks took holidays in late summer when business in general slowed.[90] Few brewery labourers could afford to take any time off work. In 1879, wage ledgers record only two workers who regularly enjoyed a week-long holiday and, as labourers went unpaid during such breaks, usually only coopers or foremen could afford such a luxury.

With the development of rail transport, however, greater opportunities existed for workers to take holidays, especially as the brewery, an important customer of the Great Western Rail Company, arranged for cheaper fares or, alternatively, obtained bulk discounts by chartering entire trains. The first such company-sponsored rail excursion took place on 17 July 1885. Presumably the trip was a success, for another was organised the following year. While the earliest rail journeys only took employees to nearby local sites, such as Aston grounds in Birmingham, later destinations included Liverpool, London and Portsmouth (see Table 12). Other firms organised their own excursions. In July 1896 alone, the editors of the *Brewers' Journal* reported 40 brewery outings.[91] By 1900, even the twenty employees of the Stratford-upon-Avon Sanitary Steam Laundry enjoyed a regular day trip to either Warwick or Leamington.[92] Meanwhile, employees of firms based elsewhere regularly came to Stratford on their own excursions.[93]

By 1895, these well-publicised outings, like the brewery's annual picnic, had become regular occurrences. Unlike picnics and other company-centred outings, however, the average rail excursion did not always foster a corporate identity among brewery employees. While labourers occasionally fraternised with non-brewery workers during other social occasions, they were overwhelmed by them during rail excursions. For example, in 1907, when 161 brewery workers travelled to Llandudno, 235 members of the general public, who paid the brewery 5s. 6d. for a day ticket and 13s. for a

Year	Destination	Year	Destination
1870	Local Picnic (Cole's meadow)	1893	Local Picnic
1871		1894	Local Picnic
1872		1895	Llandudno
1873		1896	Portsmouth
1874	New Brewery Dinner and Picnic	1897	Liverpool
1875	Local Picnic	1898	Blackpool
1876	Local Picnic	1899	Portsmouth
1877	Local Picnic	1900	Blackpool
1878	Local Picnic (Hewin's field)	1901	Garden Party at Hill
1879	Local Picnic	1902	Weymouth
1880	Local Picnic	1903	Blackpool
1881	Annual Treat	1904	Weston super Mare
1882	Local Picnic	1905	Bournemouth
1883	Local Picnic	1906	Portsmouth
1884	Local Picnic	1907	Llandudno
1885	First rail excursion (Aston Grounds)	1908	Weston super Mare
1886	Birmingham	1909	Warwickshire Agricultural Show
1887	Local Picnic	1910	Blackpool
1888	Local Picnic	1911	Coronation
1889	Local Picnic	1912	Weston super Mare
1890	Local Picnic	1913	Portsmouth
1891	Local Picnic	1914	Llandudno
1892	Royal Show, Warwick		

Table 12. Fetes and excursions, I870-1914

Sources: SBTRO, DR 227/111-5; and Stratford Herald

three-day ticket, also went to the Welsh resort town.[94] Nevertheless, workers were reminded that these trips were organised for their benefit. Besides their free rail tickets, brewery workers received 5s. spending money, while office workers were granted 7s. 6d. Naturally, the 16 workers who remained in the brewery, as well as the two clerks who manned the firm's office during the company holiday, as on other occasions, also received a bonus for remaining in Stratford.[95]

Almost all breweries hosted such events. Moreover, their grand scale usually led rail excursions to attract considerable attention and be described in both newspapers and trade journals. One of the many brewery outings first reported in the *Brewers' Journal* was that organised by the Burton brewers Messrs Salt & Company, whose trains took more than 900 people to Liverpool in 1880.[96] Three months later, the journal reported another rail excursion, this time organised by Messrs Combe and Delafield, soon to become 'London's second brewery'.[97] Interestingly, this trip was organised as three separate outings. On the first day, 200 brewery men were taken to the Welsh Harp, Hendon for their annual beanfeast. The next day, 200 outdoor men, including draymen and maltsters, travelled to Hendon, followed by the firm's clerks and

managerial staff on the third day. Besides not encouraging a group identity, such trips reinforced certain divisions which already existed within a brewery workforce.

While destinations and the number of participants on such journeys is easy to determine, very little information documents the activities of workers on their visits to Portsmouth, Blackpool or Scarborough, among other popular excursions. Usually, however, a destination was chosen due to a particular attraction. For example, in 1884, proprietors of both Phipps & Company of Northampton and the Lichfield Brewery took their employees to the International Health Exhibition in South Kensington.[98] Unfortunately, reports of brewery excursions reveal little more than workers' destinations. A detailed description of the Cheltenham Original Brewery's outing to Cardiff in the *Brewers' Journal* (1881), however, reveals more than the standard account.[99] Soon after arriving in the town, employees sat down to breakfast at the Philharmonic Hall. Breakfast was almost always lavish and of a long duration, for, as on this occasion, it was usually followed by a number of speeches and votes of thanks. Thereafter, a group of employees booked a steamer tour to Weston-super-Mare, while another opted for a much shorter crossing to Penarth. Alternatively, land-lovers visited Cardiff castle, while a handful of (presumably less well-off) employees 'strolled through the streets of the important town'.[100]

A less official account of a brewery outing attended by Mary Hewins, who was employed in Flower & Sons' bottling department after the First World War, sheds additional light on this neglected subject. Soon after a trip to Blackpool was announced by the brewery, Hewins's brother, Cyril, provided his sister with a fashionable new outfit in order to insure she would not be 'discracin' us' on her holiday.[101] Dressed in her new orange hat, a grey coat and high heels, Mary, accompanied by a friend and a chaperone, travelled to the sea-side resort where she bought china ornaments at gift shops and 'walked along the Prom', though, surprisingly, she did not see its famed illuminations, funfair or even the sea.[102] The highlight of the trip was the train journey, during which the young women walked through the carriages and spoke with friends and a handful of 'sober' men.[103] Hardly anyone travelling on such occasions did not drink; most consumed an 'unlimited supply of refreshments'.[104] Consequently, Hewins had few meaningful conversations. The majority of passengers she encountered were 'paralytic'.[105]

While such large outings were often judged as impersonal and therefore did not encourage the formation of a common identity among brewery workers, firms continued to organise more intimate functions, such as annual dinners, which were almost always attended solely by employees. Many of these events were held in local pubs either owned by the brewery or belonging to an important customer. For example, the annual supper in 1879 was held at the One Elm Tavern, near the site of Flowers' original brewery.[106] Eventually, however, the firm constructed a special hall in which the brewery could entertain employees on a regular basis. Only a few months prior to their annual dinner in 1879, Flower & Sons built a club house for their workers costing approximately £2,000.[107] Intended for the recreation of employees, the brewery club was also managed by workers. It contained a billiard table, bagatelle board and library, which held local and national papers. There were also several dormitories in which workers could relax during breaks. The half-timbered building on Guild Street in Stratford was leased by Charles Flower to the brewery for 84 years at an annual rate of £2. All employees who paid a small fee were entitled to membership.[108] However, as only twenty workers were permitted to enter it at a time, the club, like the rail excursions already described, fragmented the workforce and heightened existing divisions.[109] Brewery workers during the twentieth century generally regarded it as 'cliquish' and sought entertainment elsewhere.[110] Moreover, in a number of large breweries, workers regularly took their meals in separate mess-rooms, one usually having been supplied for each department.[111]

Despite this eventual development, besides providing a venue for annual dinners, the club house was the site of many interesting social functions. At its inauguration, brewery managers encouraged the proliferation of leisure activities and, just as passionately, discouraged workers from gambling on the new premises.[112] Soon after the club opened, members organised a brewery billiard league. Some workers also engaged in more creative pursuits. In 1887, a handful of theatrically-inclined employees performed the farce 'Family Jars' in the club house.[113] Musical evenings were also regularly

staged in the building.[114] At other firms where workers were not provided with equally suitable facilities, such events were regularly staged in malt stores or one of many other spacious buildings.[115]

In later years, sports teams were also formed. Archie Flower, a keen sportsman, organised the brewery's first football team. Nationally, brewery staffs included not only footballers, but many workers skilled in rugby, cricket and especially darts. Given the proprietors' beliefs that healthier labourers worked harder, Birmingham brewers Mitchells & Butlers provided workers with the widest range of recreational facilities, including three cricket pitches, two Association football grounds, eight grass lawn tennis courts and one hard court, five bowling greens and one net-ball pitch.[116] Having joined a company body, brewery workers entered local leagues and regularly played alongside regional champions.[117] For example, in 1887, Flower & Sons' football team played Stratford Athletic Club. Combining their theatrical and sporting skills in 1904, the brewery held a comic football match for hospital charity.[118] As had been the case at the brewery during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the team was led by a 39-year-old Archibald Flower. Although such activities regularised order and routine and reinforced the firm's own hierarchy, papers also continued to report the 'undisciplined play of football between Flowers' team' and their local rivals, Stratford's railway employees.[119]

Just as managers may have participated in the leisure activities of their employees, workers were often invited to celebrate important events in the lives of their employers. As has been argued elsewhere, worker participation on such occasions was anything but voluntary.[120] For example, employees of Messrs James Pye & Son of Longton, near Preston, were invited to celebrate the coming of age of the proprietor's son in 1886.[121] That of Edward Tyler, eldest son of J.H. Tyler of the Royal Well Brewery, West Malvern, was celebrated by 'a week of gaiety and unflagging festivities'.[122] More solemn occasions marked the death of the senior member of a firm's founding family, as occurred in 1883, when many of Stratford's residents closed their shops and demonstrated their respect for Edward Flower by lining the streets as the brewer's remains were carried through the town to his final resting place.[123] The death of Mrs Sedgwick of M.A. Sedgwick, the Watford brewers, was perhaps more memorable only because the brewery's proprietor bequeathed approximately £10,000 to her employees.[124] Other celebrations commemorated the completion of a new production facility, as was the case at Flowers in 1870 and 1874, or the retirement of a director, as occurred in 1888. Some employees, such as those of Messrs Hopcraft in Brackley, Northamptonshire, attended directors' weddings.[125] In 1889, to celebrate the marriage of George Coultas, a partner in the Grantham brewers Redhead & Company, employees, who presented their manager with 'a beautiful clock', were treated to a special dinner.[126] Two years later when Edgar Flower's eldest daughter, Rosalie, married Henry Barran, employees, who had collectively presented the bride with a diamond bracelet, were also treated to a celebration dinner.[127] Some invitations permitted employees to enter the homes of their employers. Frequent gatherings at The Hill, the Flower family residence outside Stratford, presented workers with exclusive insight into the lives, if not simply the gardening habits, of their paternalistic employers.[128] Various entertainments were also hosted by Charles Flower at Avonbank, the Spanish-style villa the brewer built in 1867 alongside the Avon.[129]

The prosperity which permitted brewers to purchase vast estates and build enormous mansions also enabled many to invest in housing for their workers. Soon after the Flower family moved from the brewery premises in 1855, the brewery house was regularly inhabited by a senior employee or manager with the firm. For much of the late nineteenth century, Stephen Moore inhabited the building; in the 1890s, head brewer Francis Talbot occupied the dwelling. They were not, however, the only employees provided with accommodation in these years. Those salesmen who managed agencies outside Stratford usually occupied an apartment which adjoined a regional sales office. As the brewery acquired more property during the nineteenth century, more employees, and even some labourers, were offered housing in return for pepper-corn rents. The provision of housing, however, was more than a bonus enjoyed by senior members of staff. It was a simple method many nineteenth-century employers used to stabilise their workforces and prevent the loss of workers and important skills during slack periods.[130] According to Terry Gourvish, the main difficulty which faced Norfolk brewers Steward & Patteson was securing their workers' loyalty.[131] The provision of housing was just one

way to secure not only loyalty, but also a certain degree of control over workers;[132] consequently, an increase in home ownership weakened the authority of many paternal employers towards the end of the nineteenth century.[133] Nevertheless, in 1887, more than half of Greene King's workers still lived in cottages owned by the brewery.[134] The same practice existed among some Scottish brewers.[135]

Not all brewers, however, provided workers with lodgings. At most breweries visited by Alfred Barnard in the late nineteenth century, generally only certain 'core' workers, such as managers and foremen were provided with housing.[136] When the editors of the *Brewers' Journal* a few years later informed their readers that maltsters in Ireland slept and worked in breweries, it was to encourage a similar practice at English breweries.[137] Conditions, however, did not change. In 1875, Flower & Sons housed only seven of their two hundred brewery workers.[138] By 1882, the number had declined to five.[139] Moreover, the brewery did not attempt to house more workers in the following decades. In fact, the brewery's management does not ever appear to have regarded the provision of housing to workers as an important managerial strategy. This may not be surprising, given the limited training most workers received and the number of agricultural workers who migrated through the district. Furthermore, while the provision of housing may have removed one of the risks associated with the hiring and training of labour, it did not reduce its cost. Consequently, not all employers felt compelled to provide all, or even the most basic, of their workers' needs.

While early acts of paternalism may have been inspired by certain Christian ideals, by the Victorian era, these often appeared to conflict with the now equally-important notions of thrift and industry. Although originally set against an emerging system of political economy, paternalism clearly changed during the nineteenth century. As a result, benevolence, which stressed self-reliance, now appeared the logical outcome of laissez-faire.[140] The best examples of this form of paternalism included company coal, savings and sick clubs.

By 1870, some of Flower & Sons' employees enjoyed the benefits of a sick club which was run and administered by workers. Although the club's first chairman was the manager J.W. Dowson, its committee comprised six workers who were elected annually at a general meeting held in January.[141] Every three months two members of the committee were appointed whose job it was to visit the sick once a week and enforce the club's rules. Any member who refused to take office once elected was fined a shilling. Such fines were naturally added to the existing sick fund. Moreover, after a sick club had been established, the brewery's managers found it much easier to fine workers for other offences, as all financial penalties were contributed to the club's account. At other firms, such as Brakspear's in Henley on Thames, where no sick club existed, all fines went to local hospitals.[142]

Any worker could be a member of the sick club as long as he had been with the firm for six consecutive weeks and was at least sixteen years of age. Subscription to the sick club, as at many other firms, cost workers 2d. per week after an initial entrance fee of a shilling had been paid.[143] Even then, however, members were not immediately entitled to benefits. A subscriber had to make three weekly contributions before he could draw on the club's resources. Moreover, payment commenced only after a member missed more than three work days due to illness or injury. During his first six months on the fund, a member was entitled to 6s. a week compensation. For the next half year, members received only 3s. per week. Thereafter, payments ceased entirely. Besides often requiring members to obtain a certificate from a surgeon attesting to their malady, those who drew on the fund were not permitted to leave their homes after five in the evening between 1 September and 31 March or, alternatively, during periods of longer daylight, after nine between 1 April and 31 August; they were fined 2s. 6d. for doing so.[144] Committee members who failed to visit sick workers at least once a week were also fined. Those who refused to sit on the committee after already having served a term, however, were not.

While the existence of a complex set of rules, and their corresponding fines, seemed to guarantee a healthy balance, the sick fund rarely amounted to more than a junior clerk's salary. In 1868, shortly after the sick club was founded, its committee had collected £17 5s. from subscribers.[145] By 1870, the fund contained £40. At the end of the decade it surpassed £80, but, thereafter, rapidly declined until it totalled less than £30, despite the limited number of ailments reported by members. In general, only one or two workers appear to have benefited from the fund during each quarter, and the average

absence lasted approximately two weeks. Rather than having been drained by members, the fund remained in a poor state during its earliest years due to the seasonal nature of brewery employment in Stratford. Few workers appear to have joined the club before the twentieth century when employment at the brewery generally became full-time and, consequently, earnings more stable.

Nevertheless, there had always been a need for a brewery sick club. The brewing trade was recognised as hazardous and its dangers were regularly discussed by Edward and Charles Flower's contemporaries. In his *Effects of Arts, Trades and Professions on Health and Longevity* (1832), Charles Turner Thackrah commented on the humid, unhealthy environment of breweries. Moreover, brewers' vulnerable physical conditions were exacerbated by the consumption of 'great quantities of porter and ale'.[146] Few social investigators, however, took notice of breweries, due to the absence of women and children from their workforces. Consequently, early factory legislation rarely affected brewers as few employed young children;[147] even fewer investigators of occupational health after Thackrah investigated the trade.[148] Managing brewers, on the other hand, began to recognise the hazards of their trade as soon as insurance companies began to classify breweries among 'Hazardous Businesses' and increased their premiums.[149]

Members of the trade took much longer to address the risks of brewing collectively. One of the first to do so was Burton chemist Frank E. Lott, who, in 1905, presented a paper before the midland section of the Institute of Brewing in which he attempted to list the main hazards associated with the trade.[150] During his presentation, Lott suggested accidents had seven general causes, which he described as those resulting from structural defects, explosions, suffocation or gassing, scalding and burning, drowning, electric shock and other 'incidental causes', which included runaway casks and kicking horses. Though helpful to historians of industry, even Lott's comprehensive list failed to address every hazard brewery workers faced. Moreover, it did not demonstrate the way in which these hazards had changed over time.

Many of the accidents identified by Lott appear in Flower & Sons' ledgers. The most gruesome reappeared in sensational newspaper reports. Nevertheless, between 1870 and 1914 only one labourer was ever killed at the brewery, when he fell nine feet from a platform on to a concrete floor.[151] An inquest into the death of Harry Field, a 14 year-old bottle washer, suggests it could have been prevented had a guard rail existed along the stage from which he tumbled.[152] Despite the odd lurid incident, accidents at the brewery were no different from those sustained by labourers at other work sites where raw materials came packaged in heavy wooden casks and coarse sacks. For example, at Kendall & Son, the brewers' chemists, as at the brewery, most injured workers usually suffered from cuts and bruises when fingers or toes came between casks.[153] Occasionally, a labourer 'lost [a] finger joint' or 'strained [his] back' while unloading sugar or barley.[154] At both sites workers faced the additional hazards of steam-powered machinery and harmful chemicals. A comparison of this sort is even more interesting should one recognise that Kendall & Son not only occupied a portion of the original brewery in 1910, but also brewed non-alcoholic beer during this period.

Few accidents at the brewery appear to have been related to structural defects between 1870 and 1914. Primarily this was due to the recent construction of the production facilities. From 1870, most labourers at Flower & Sons worked at a very modern site. The brewing process, however, had changed very little. Much of the work in the brewery was still manual and was conducted in a humid, and, at other times, dusty environment. Most men commencing work at the brewery were therefore asked if they regarded themselves as 'fit'.[155] In general, many appear to have overestimated their levels of physical fitness, for not all recruits remained with the brewery for an entire season. Wage ledgers from as early as 1869 list several workers who were let go by the brewery prematurely because they were 'not strong enough'.[156] A new recruit's strength was easily tested in the malt house, where he was required to carry loads in excess of sixteen stone.[157] The malt house itself was a demanding environment. The dust-filled air made breathing difficult and the heat of the kilns left workers as weak as the work did. Even those who initially passed these tests did not always become permanent members of staff. Each year, a few determined men were encouraged to leave the brewery's service on doctors' orders.[158]

Brewery work tended to be hot and, unlike malting, humid. Boiling coppers filled sections of the brewery

with steam before the introduction of ventilation equipment and closed vessels in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Even then, those working closest to the copper or cleaning casks still risked being scalded with boiling wort or steam. Occasionally, trade journals reported the deaths of individuals who fell into uncovered brewing vessels.[159] Rarely, however, were these burn victims employed at commercial breweries. Most cases involved labourers who were engaged to brew by innkeepers in ill-fitted, outdated and poorly-maintained facilities. More commonly, the most severe accidents at the large provincial breweries involved machinery with unprotected moving parts or even, after 1880, electricity. Trade journals reported many cases of workers who were pulled into engines and machine mechanisms; as a direct result of such accidents many managers abolished 'the dangerous brewer's gown'.[160] Although the increasing number of overhead electricity wires also caused some anxiety in the trade, better lighting improved visibility and safety in general. Moreover, in Flowers' case, electricity allowed the brewers to replace more than 3,000 feet of ropes, belts and shafting which had previously powered various brewing operations.[161]

Usually a worker's chances of sustaining injuries were highest when a particular technology was still relatively new and the individual was unfamiliar with its operation. Consequently, many more labourers were injured during their first years working, for example, on a bottling line. Given the age of most bottlers, however, the average brewer generally remained 'more or less nervous for the safety of his bottle-washing boys'.[162] By 1904, the Home Office's Dangerous Trades Committee had designated bottling as hazardous, particularly due to the danger of bottles bursting when under pressure.[163] Despite these dangers, many brewers also recognised that familiarity with equipment was equally dangerous.[164] In any case, workers' ale allowances certainly did not improve safety in breweries throughout this period, nor did their excessive hours.

Historians of occupational health almost always recognise the connection between sickness or injury and hours of work. Surprisingly, so did many early social investigators; it was an investigation of more than 260 occupations which finally led Charles Thackrah to support the aims of the Ten-Hour Movement.[165] Nevertheless, several decades after his endorsement, many brewery labourers continued to work more than sixty hours a week, for brewing times were still often determined by weather conditions and the natural cooling rate of wort. As a result, it was the introduction of better refrigeration technology in the late nineteenth century which finally reduced workers' hours, fatigue and, consequently, accidents. However, as has been suggested in Chapter Two, such technological improvements were introduced to the trade haphazardly. As a result, the hours and safety of brewery workers naturally varied depending on individual circumstances.[166]

Usually overshadowed by the dangers of production, the distribution of ale was associated with its own hazards. Throughout this period, brewers relied on the horse and dray to deliver their product locally. Although often as reliable as successive modes of transport, horses can be very unpredictable. Though horses which were recognised as 'kickers' were quickly returned to their vendors, throughout the history of the brewery, labourers continued to suffer serious injuries when horses bolted during the loading and unloading of drays.[167] While the predictability of steam motors reduced the number of accidents among delivery men, their introduction only made roads more dangerous for all other travellers. Rail travel also increased the dangers associated with the trade, especially when trains entered brewery yards, as they did at Stratford. Although the brewery rarely relied on canal transport after 1860, drownings continued as long as wells in brewery yards remained uncovered and unprotected.[168] Meanwhile, those bodies occasionally fished from a canal or river in the late nineteenth century were most often office workers.[169] Such drownings, however, appear to have been less accidental and usually accompanied a recent charge of embezzlement.

More often, a generous supply of water on site proved more of a benefit to a brewery staff, particularly when faced with an outbreak of fire. Besides interfering with respiration, the dust which often saturated the air in malt houses was a great fire hazard. Consequently, breweries and corn mills posed many risks to workers, as well as insurance companies.[170] The dangers associated with such establishments led a number of breweries to organise their own fire brigades, some of which performed as well as, if not better than, local services.[171] Flower & Sons suffered two fires in 1899 alone and another in 1906.[172] The *Brewers' Journal* between 1870 and 1914 contains dozens of reports which attest to the danger of

malt dust.[173] Almost every issue published in the last two decades of the nineteenth century reported 'one or more outbreaks of fire in breweries and maltings'.[174] A stone passing unnoticed through the malt rolls frequently caused the spark required to ignite the maltings' dust-laden air. Better screens went some way towards reducing the number of fires, but not the need for brewery fire brigades.

By the end of the nineteenth century, journals suggest that many more fires resulted from machine explosions, especially steam-powered engines and refrigerators.[175] A hot-liquor tank explosion at Flower & Sons in 1895 caused considerable damage to surrounding machinery, but none to workers given that the accident occurred early in the morning.[176] Damaged refrigerators were not only fire hazards, but their breakdown could expose workers to toxic gases, such as ammonia. On the other hand, ice produced by such technology had medical applications. As a result, it appears the introduction of refrigeration technology generally benefited the health of workers. For example, Flower & Sons supplied all 'partners, some of the staff, and any invalid with ice gratis if ordered by a medical man'.[177] Moreover, these medical men were often the chemists employed at large breweries. In his paper presented to the midland section of the Institute of Brewing, Frank Lott claimed 'it was quite the usual thing when [he] was engaged in a Burton brewery for an injured man to be brought to the laboratory'.[178] As brewery chemists were looked upon more or less as doctors, he recommended they 'obtain some little knowledge of surgical matters by attending a St. John's Ambulance class'.[179] In most large breweries, foremen attended similar classes.[180] Some firms were even more prepared to deal with emergencies. At Warwick & Sons in Newark, Alfred Barnard was shown a glass cupboard 'containing bundles of surgical bandages and appliances, oils, and other requisites for scalds and burns'.[181] However, according to members of the trade, 'it [was] rare indeed to find even the simplest appliance for first aid in the smaller establishments of almost every country town'.[182]

Medical care at breweries, however, was not restricted to that provided by chemists and sick clubs. Although most clubs were established along lines which encouraged self-help, occasionally this system combined with older notions of charity. For example, in the 1890s, after a labourer, George Hodgkins, was injured in the brewery, Flower & Sons' directors assumed responsibility for the employee who had been with the company for a number of years. Although Hodgkins subscribed to the brewery's sick club, they resolved to raise his weekly payment to 10s. and continue payments when he was no longer entitled to money from the sick fund.[183] Other workers also received bonuses or, if they were one of the six or seven labourers who lived in a brewery cottage, had their rents waived during the period they were unable to work. Moreover, Flower & Sons' owners themselves subscribed to several local hospitals. As one of the Birmingham and Midland Eye Hospital's two-guinea subscribers, the brewery could send two in-patients and eight out-patients for treatment at the institution yearly.[184] The brewery also subscribed to several cottage hospitals, such as that in Evesham, among others located throughout their sales districts.[185]

Rather than subscribe to hospitals themselves, many brewers made substantial contributions to worker-run sick clubs. For example, upon resigning his chairmanship of Allsopp & Sons' board, Lord Hindlip donated the whole of his company shares, valued at £10,000, to the brewery's sick fund.[186] The sick club run by workers of Simonds's Reading brewery, on the other hand, was funded entirely by the firm.[187] Medical attendance was also provided free of charge to all Guinness employees.[188] Although paying less for health care than their largest competitors, Flower & Sons regularly contributed £10 to the sick fund in the late nineteenth century, and a more substantial sum in 1896 after money belonging to the fund was stolen from the firm's safe.[189] As a result, brewery workers had access to health care and, more importantly, compensation prior to 1906.

To some extent, brewery owners also felt obliged to support their most senior employees. Long-serving workers, who managed to survive the trade's numerous hazards, were often rewarded with pensions. The goal of many paternalists after all was to create a stable work environment. According to Richard Wilson, in addition to faces they knew and recognised, Greene King's managers wanted men whom they 'could help in old age'.[190] In the last decades of the nineteenth century, many brewers willingly provided for their oldest employees. For example, Ford & Son, brewers of Tiverton and Plymouth, placed property with an annual income of £67 in the hands of trustees whose job was to provide for retired employees.[191] Few, however, were manual

labourers. As at Ford & Son, the first employees at Flower & Sons to receive pensions were its clerks.[192] In 1886, William George Bickley was granted a pension of £52 a year, to be paid quarterly for as long as he lived or until he resumed work.[193] The first labourer to retire with a pension was George Wilson, who quit the cooperage in 1888. Two years later, the first ordinary brewery labourer was retired with a pension after having served the Flowers for 21 years.[194] Others followed. In July 1894, a column listing pensioners first appeared in the firm's wage books. Three years later it contained the names of five other workers, each receiving between 2s. 6d. and 15s. a week depending on their lengths of service.[195] Generally, any employee who served at least 20 years was entitled to a pension. Exceptions, however, existed. W.G.F. Bolton, a Birmingham agent, was one of several. In 1880, after he was released because of his poor sales record, the brewery informed Bolton that he was not entitled to a pension, as he had not been with the firm long enough. However, 'due to the time they [had] known him', Bolton was granted a pension of £50 a year.[196] Although pensions were to cease at death, certain provisions were also made for the widows of employees. For example, in 1893, the firm's board granted £100 to Mrs G.L. Carter, who survived her husband, E.M. Carter, formerly a clerk at the brewery, 'to enable her to establish a Tobacconist shop in a suitable neighbourhood in Birmingham'.[197] Similar financial support was granted to the widows and families of workers who died while serving in the Boer War.[198] No doubt, this provision was largely inspired by the death of Richard Flower.

Pensions, like medical provisions and company housing, whether motivated by genuine feelings of charity or notions of thrift and industry, were prosperity gifts and therefore not compulsory as they were, for example, in Germany at this time.[199] As such, their existence was threatened with each decline in trade. Interestingly, while fluctuations in trade may have spelled the end of several, more spontaneous bonuses, many others endured over the years. Brewers were aware that workers came to expect the most regular of gifts and bonuses, such as ale allowances and Christmas meat. Unlike the cash bonus which Flower & Sons' managers presented to workers who reported faulty equipment, other gratuities could not easily be changed 'without giving offence'.[200] Instead of disappearing altogether, these practices were controlled more carefully. While there is some evidence that this commenced in the early 1890s, most benefits were regularised at the turn of the century, years in which the firm endured its most difficult financial crisis.[201]

The first attempt to regulate pensions at the brewery appears to have occurred in 1900 when the widow of a clerk, George Bland, requested the brewery for support after her husband's death. Faced with Mrs Bland's plea and declining sales in London, the directors were forced to limit their charity. Although it sympathised with the widow, whose husband lost most of his savings in a failed business venture, the board considered it beyond their ability to grant her a pension. To have done so would have set 'a precedent, and would have [had] far reaching effects'.[202] After this episode, the brewery managers, still in favour of pensions, expressed an interest in drafting a scheme whereby an employee to some extent contributed to their own pension fund, and each understood the sum to which they were entitled.[203] Other brewers even contemplated the distribution of profit-sharing earnings to workers on retirement as an alternative to pensions.[204] In these same years at Mitchells & Butlers, however, financial strength allowed directors to start their own superannuation fund, which would remain 'a free gift from the firm in recognition of loyal service' well into the twentieth century;[205] A similar scheme had been established at Allsopp & Sons in 1895.[206]

In some ways, one may have expected the paternalist policies of Flower & Sons to have disappeared entirely by this time or soon after the brewery's incorporation in 1888. For example, Patrick Joyce argues that limited liability broke the back of paternalism among Lancashire's cotton magnates.[207] Robert Fitzgerald argues similar changes spelled the end of a paternal tradition at various firms in other industries.[208] Moreover, these changes drastically altered labour relations in general. As a result of incorporation, 'the human touch between master and man was being lost'.[209] Compared with the family firm, the joint stock corporation was judged by workers as 'too impersonal a body upon which to rivet allegiance'.[210] Consequently, less-subtle managerial techniques were to ensure obedience from brewery workers.

Occasionally, this appears to have been the case in the brewing industry. Some brewery owners and managers, for example, do not appear to have taken a great interest

in their workers after limited liability, many having been conspicuously absent from the factory floor as well as annual dinners and outings. Often, however, their attendance had been poor in the years preceding incorporation. Such was the case at events organised by Warwick brewers Dutton & Company, whose managers rarely attended the firm's functions.[211] More often, limited liability, though affecting the organisation of a business, did not seriously alter managerial practices.

Like other firms, many breweries went public only in the legal sense.[212] Ten years after their first share issue, Flower & Sons was 'practically a private concern'.[213] In 1904, ordinary shares were still 'held almost entirely by members of the Flower family'.[214] Despite demands from the investing public that all breweries reveal their balance sheets,[215] in 1909, when Thomas Mason Daffern, a solicitor, stock broker and founder of the Coventry Permanent Economic Building Society, requested the brewery for balance sheets which he could show his clients, he was informed that the firm was 'a private one' and, as such, 'it [did] not publish its balance sheet'.[216]

Other brewing families retained control in a similar manner. When Ind Coope & Company, the Romford brewers, went public in 1886, there was no public issue of shares, all having been taken up by the existing partners.[217] Bass's shares were also retained by family and friends, as were those of William Butler's Crown Brewery in Birmingham.[218] The owners of numerous smaller provincial breweries pursued similar strategies.[219] Perhaps recognising his workers' concerns, Pickering Phipps, chairman of the Northampton brewery of that name, explained his decision to incorporate the firm. Phipps, who did not want 'to get rid of [his] interest in [the brewery]', claimed limited liability made the business more stable in case of his death.[220] The brewer dispelled any lingering doubts two years later when he announced his son would succeed him as brewery chairman.[221] Though Charles Flower may have wished the same, his labourers were certain that generations of Flowers would continue to brew in Stratford.

Like so many nineteenth-century brewers, Flower & Sons were recognised as benevolent employers. From the moment Charles and Edgar Flower opened their new plant in 1870, and perhaps even years earlier, workers were regularly treated to dinners, annual outings and various other bonuses, both in cash and kind. Inevitably, this tradition also evolved over the remainder of the century. For example, financial success in the following decade allowed the firm's founders to provide prosperity gifts to workers, bestow various benefactions on the community in which their business had prospered and contribute to numerous local charities. Such philanthropic gestures also contracted, but not always due to limited liability. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, Flower & Sons supported many more causes designed to encourage self-help. More importantly, while increased profits encouraged benevolent paternalism, a decline in business often made for less-generous brewers. Rather than signal the end of Flower & Sons' benevolence, however, the financial crisis at the turn of the last century only led the brewery's directors to regulate all bonuses more carefully. As a result, written rules and guaranteed benefits largely replaced the pliable paternalist tradition, associated with spontaneous grants and hand outs. Consequently, the brewery's chosen method of labour management lost much of its flexibility, and, unlike the business climate at the end of the nineteenth century, became far more predictable. Whether paternalism was at all a successful managerial tool in an age before fixed benefits, however, is the subject of this study's final chapter.

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Chapter 4

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3. ibid.
4. SBTRO, DR 227/103-4
5. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 August 1901.
6. SBTRO, DR 227/110
7. SBTRO, DR 227/98-99
8. ibid., DR 227/15. This room also contained a safe in which deeds and ledgers were kept. The largest breweries constructed strong rooms for this same purpose, see, for example, Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., p.45.
9. SBTRO, DR 730/24
10. SBTRO, DR 730/15

11. ibid., DR 227/119; During a local licensing case in 1908, a judge suggested his verdict was 'clearly published in newspapers' in order to inform brewers and publicans, see *Evesham Journal*, 12 September 1908. Trade mark registers were also regularly searched by clerks of the Patent Office in Chancery Lane in these years in order to prevent infringement, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 November 1890.

12. SBTRO, DR 227/9

13. ibid., DR 227/10

14. *Stratford Herald*, 3 April 1908.

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56. *Country Brewers' Gazette*, 4 July 1883.

57. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 February 1886.

58. ibid., 15 July 1890. A little more than a decade later, the journal also periodically printed a column, entitled 'Hints on Advertising', which was written by a recognised authority on advertising, such as H.E. Morgan of W.H. Smith in November 1905.

59. ibid., 15 October 1893.
60. ibid.
61. SBTRO, DR 227/9
62. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 March 1902; and 15 November 1902.
63. ibid., 15 August 1901.
64. *Anchor Magazine* (Barclay, Perkins & Company's house magazine), January 1925; and Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 2, p.77.
65. *Stratford Herald*, 28 January 1870. On another well-reported occasion in 1901, the brewery hosted Major-General Baden-Powell, who toured the plant while staying at Broadway with Edgar Flower, see *Brewers Journal*, 15 September 1901.
66. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 3, p.151; *Brewers' Journal*, 15 December 1888; and 15 December 1895. Not surprisingly, certain American brewers organised equally challenging adventures of their own. For example, in 1896, the Joseph Schlitz Brewing Company commenced a round-the-world trip in order to advertise their products, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 July 1896. One of the most innovative English brewers, however, was Allsopp & Sons, who, in June 1909, offered a 500-guinea motor car to the person who submitted the best suggestion for an advertisement to the brewery. Besides the winning suggestion, the brewery gained a number of valuable ideas as a result of such promotions, for all entries became 'the absolute property of Messrs Allsopp', see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 June 1909.
67. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 July 1910; and 15 November 1914.
68. James, R.R. (1994) *Henry Wellcome*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, p.100.
69. Barker, T.C. (1983) 'The Delayed Decline of the Horse in the Twentieth Century,' in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *Horses in Economic History: A Preliminary Canter*. Leeds: Leeds University Printing, p.109.
70. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 2, p.47; and Pudney, J. (1971) *A Draught of Contentment: The Story of the Courage Group*. London: New English Library, p.21.
71. Pudney, J. (1971) op. cit., p.132.
72. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, p.463.
73. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 June 1897; and 15 June 1900.
74. ibid., 15 November 1906.
75. ibid., 15 October 1909.
76. ibid., 15 March 1885.
77. ibid., 15 January 1886.
78. ibid., 15 January 1893.
79. ibid., 15 February 1898.
80. Pudney, J. (1971) op. cit., p.150.
81. Gourvish T.R. and Wilson, R.W. (1994) *The British Brewing Industry, 1830-1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.346.
82. Landes, D. (1982) *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological change and industrial development in Western Europe from 1750 to the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.198.
83. SBTRO, DR 227/109. According to an article in *Punch*, dated 29 April 1865, Flower & Sons was described to brew an ale 'not unworthily called SHAKSPEARE [sic]'.
84. In the 1880s, infringements of the firm's trademark reported in the pages of the *Brewers' Journal* alone numbered approximately twenty. At one point in 1886, one case was reported each month for a period of five months, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 August-15 December 1886. Perhaps having foreseen these tendencies, Guinness's managers designed their labels 'as accurately as a Bank of England note'. Each set contained the names of the agent for whom it was intended and were numbered so as not to allow for duplicates, see *Brewers' Journal*, 16 September 1865.
85. ibid., 15 August 1892.
86. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 December 1888.
87. ibid, 15 January 1889.
88. Bowly, J.E. (1896) 'The Consulting Brewer, his Dangers and his Uses, with some Practical Brewing Notes,' in *Journal of the Federated Institutes of Brewing*, 2, p.91.
89. SBTRO, DR 227/82 and 110. According to the editors of the *Brewers' Journal*, it was customary in the trade to employ one man in the maltings for every 15 quarters of barley actually steeped, see 15 September 1891.
90. Molyneux, W. (1869) op. cit., p.252.
91. Evans, G.E. (1970) *Where Beards Wag All: The Relevance of the Oral Tradition*. London: Faber & Faber Ltd, p.259.
92. ibid.; Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, p.235; and SBTRO, DR 227/118.
93. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, p.422. Usually, brewers tolerated only 1% moisture in a sample, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 March 1895; and 15 October 1904.
94. Molyneux, W. (1869) op. cit., p.239.
95. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, p.55.
96. Molyneux, W. (1869) op. cit., p.239.
97. ibid., p.240.
98. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 October 1894.
99. ibid., 15 January 1899; and Barnard, A. (1889-91)

op. cit., Vol. 1, p.494.

100. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, p.494.

101. SBTRO, DR 227I121; and *Land and Water*, 5 March 1881. Donnachie describes steeping to have lasted approximately 60 hours in English breweries and 75 hours at Scottish firms, see Donnachie, I. (1979) *A History of the Brewing Industry in Scotland*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd, p.102. Sambrook advances a more general timetable, claiming the process lasted between three and four days, see Sambrook, P. (1996) *Country House Brewing in England, 1500-1900*. London: The Hambledon Press, p.128.

102. Donnachie, I. (1979) op. cit., p.101. In general, thin-skinned barley was steeped for shorter periods than thick-skinned corns.

103. *Land and Water*, 5 March 1881. Between 1862 and 1880, the duty on malt amounted to £1. 2s. 8½d. per quarter.

104. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 September 1899.

105. Rose, A.H. (1977) *Economic Microbiology, Vol. 1: Alcoholic Beverages*. London: Academic Press, p.45.

106. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 October 1904. When sprinkled, approximately two gallons of water were added to each quarter of barley malted.

107. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, pp.288, 463 and 492.

108. SBTRO, DR 227/85

109. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 October 1904.

110. ibid., 15 April 1881.

111. ibid., 15 October 1889.

112. SBTRO, DR 227/10

113. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, pp.421-2.

114. Evans, G.E. (1970) op. cit., p.259.

115. SBTRO, DR 227/121; and *Land and Water*, 5 March 1881.

116. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 July 1881.

117. SBTRO, DR 227/121; and *Land and Water*, 5 March 1881.

118. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 July 1880.

119. See Chapter One and Chapter Two; the *Brewers' Journal*, 15 January 1880, describes these changes to mashing throughout the trade in general.

120. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, pp.214-5.

121. As an indication of the degree to which labour had been dispensed with during this process, draining the mash tun was alternatively referred to as 'setting the tap', see Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, p.321.

122 SBTRO, DR 227/118

123. ibid., DR 227/121

124. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 June 1912. At times, finings were even manufactured on the premises, though not at Flower & Sons during this period.

125. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, p.297.

126. Hartley, A. (1895) 'Practical Notes on Brewery Management,' in *Journal of the Federated Institutes of Brewing*, 1, p.361. More often, brewers sampled the beer during primary fermentation, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 April 1893.

127. SBTRO, DR 227/83. The machinery included Wilson's one-dozen bottle washing machine and, after 1905, a Foxon Haggie & Company Corking Machine, which cost the brewery £13 13s., see ibid., DR 227/10.

128. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 2, p.36.

129. SBTRO, DR 227/83. By 1900, approximately nineteen Burton breweries were bottling their own ale, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 June 1901.

130. SBTRO, DR 227/10

131. *Journal of the Operative Brewers' Guild*, September 1916.

132. ibid. June; September; and October 1916.

133. Norfolk Record Office (NRO), BR 3/28

134. SBTRO, DR 227/106

135. *Journal of the Operative Brewers' Guild*, November 1914.

136. ibid. November 1917.

137. ibid., November 1914.

138. Hewins, A. (1985) *Mary, After the Queen: Memories of a working girl*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.52; and *Brewers' Journal*, 15 January 1902.

139. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, p.411.

140. SBTRO, DR 227/118

141. NRO, BR 3/28. Other firms where cleaning was facilitated by similar arrangements included Barras & Company in Newcastle, Groves & Whitnall in Salford and Soames & Company in Wrexham, Wales, see Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, pp.177, 191 and 533.

142. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 May 1901; and 15 May 1910.

143. SBTRO, DR 227/83

144. ibid.

145. SBTRO, DR 227/84

146. Hartley, A. (1895) op. cit., p.359.

147. SBTRO, DR 227/9. These included veterinary bills, as well as the cost of shoes, reins and harnesses, though excluded that of labour. Sales of manure had declined by 1910 due to the introduction of other fertilisers. Nevertheless, the brewery still sold more than 30 tons in this year, see ibid., DR 227/22.

148. Donnachie, I. (1979) op. cit., p.59; and Birch, G.G.

and Lindley, M.G. (eds) (1985) *Alcoholic Beverages*. London: Elsevier Applied Science Publishers, p.49.

149. WCRO, CR 1097/123

150. SBTRO, DR 227/8

151. ibid., DR 22719

152. ibid., DR 227/84

153. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 February 1888.

154. Pudney, J. (1971) op. cit., p.128. Most Yorkshire brewers who fermented their beer in stone squares usually had their own quarries, see Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, p.262. One of the more interesting cases of diversification is that of David Embree, Cincinnati's first brewer, whose workers made mustard - its key ingredient being vinegar - during much of the nineteenth century after the brewing season ended, see Downard, W.L. (1973) *The Cincinnati Brewing Industry: a social and economic history*. Cincinnati, Ohio: Ohio University Press, p.9.

155. SBTRO, DR 227/83-4

156. ibid., DR 227/83

157. ibid., DR 227/82-5

158. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 3, p.421.

159. SBTRO, DR 227/10

160. ibid.

161. ibid., DR 227/82-5

162. ibid., DR 227/10

163. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 October 1903.

164. ibid, 15 April 1894. Fortunately for English brewers in these years, this was not made mandatory as it was in Australia. Nevertheless, it was carried out at Barras & Co., Newcastle, S. A Brain's Brewery in Cardiff, Peter Walker's Burton Brewery and Barclay, Perkins & Co., see Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, pp.177 and 483; Vol. 2, p.175; and Vol. 3, p.244.

165. SBTRO, DR 227/118

166. ibid., DR 227/83

167. ibid., DR 227/8. Other breweries, however, had begun to employ their own engineers as well as wheelwrights, slate workers and even architects.

168. Hartley, A. (1892) 'Cask Plant,' in *Transactions of the Institute of Brewing*, p.85.

169. Dunlop O.J. and Denman, R.D. (1912) *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour: A History*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, p.22. Since that time, the cooper's trade had altered little, only, by the nineteenth century, iron hoops had generally replaced wooden ones.

170. Sweatman, H.C. (1916) 'The Work of a Brewery Cooperage,' in *Journal of the Institute of Brewing*, 22, p.179. See also *Brewers' Journal*, 15 October 1895.

171. SBTRO, DR 227/82-5; and DR 227/118; In comparison, the Burton Brewing Company's inventory listed 75,893 casks in 1871, see Birmingham Central Library (BCL), Lee Crowden Collection, 1085.

172. Sweatman, H.C. (1916) op. cit., p.175.

173. Gourvish, T.R. (1987) op. cit., p.66.

174. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, pp.63 and 221; Sweatman, H.C. (1916) op. cit., p.190; and Knox, D. (1956) p.153.

175. Sweatman, H.C. (1916) op. cit., p.187.

176. ibid.

177. ibid.

178. Molyneux, W. (1869) op. cit., p.250.

179. CA, MA/S/1; and Sweatman, H.C. (1916) op. cit., p.183. According to Sweatman, machinery was introduced in 1891 due to a lengthy strike in the trade.

180. Gilding, B. (1971) *The Journeymen Coopers of East London: Workers' control in an old London trade*. London: History Workshop, p.44.

181. SBTRO, DR 227/118

182. ibid., DR 227/84

183. ibid., DR 227/82

184. Gilding, B. (1971) p.5.

185. Mayhew, H. [1982] *The Morning Chronicle Survey of Labour and the Poor: The Metropolitan Districts, Volume 6*. Horsham, Sussex: Caliban Books, p.10.

186. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, p.33.

187. SBTRO, DR 227/110

188. ibid. In 1894, Warwickshire County Council contemplated introducing a barrel measure law requiring all casks to be verified and stamped at a cost of a shilling per unit. After investigating the scheme, the board of local government not only realised the task of testing would be enormous, but would place the county's brewers at a distinct disadvantage given the added costs of brewing in Warwickshire, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 October 1894; 15 January 1895; and 15 July 1895.

189. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 July 1893; and Monckton, H.A. (1981) *The Story of the Brewer's Cooper*. Sheffield: Publishing & Literary Services Ltd, p.25. The use of sodium carbonate also turned the insides of casks a deep brown.

190. Monckton, H.A. (1981) op. cit., p.24.

191. SBTRO, DR 227/9; Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit. Vol. 2, p.91; Vol. 3, p.264; and Vol. 4, p.22.

192. Sheather, C. (1912) 'The Care and Management of Heavy Horses,' in *Journal of the Institute of Brewing*, 18, p.637; and Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 3, p.364.

193. Riley, W.A. (1919) 'Brewery Labour Problems,' in

Journal of the Institute of Brewing, 25, p.157. The shortest routes were also usually reserved for the oldest draymen.

194. Gourvish T.R. and Wilson, R.W. (1994) op. cit., p.143.

195. SBTRO, DR 227/47

196. The average working life of Watney's horses in 1890 was only four years, seven in 1895. On average each horse travelled approximately 20 miles a day, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 October 1896. 'Cast' horses from breweries, however, were very keenly sought after by other manufacturers and traders and many often continued to work after having been rejected by brewers, though usually less strenuously. Nevertheless, even though there was a market for their oldest horses, brewers bore the cost of the animals' depreciation, see Collins, E.J.T. (1983) 'The Farm Horse Economy of England and Wales in the Early Tractor Age, 1900-40,' in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.) *Horses in Economic History: A Preliminary Canter*. Leeds: Leeds University Printing, pp.87-9.

197. Sheather, C. (1912) op. cit.; and Lowcock, G. (1912) 'Motor Vehicles for Brewers,' in *Journal of the Institute of Brewing*, 18. Articles concerning the management of horses, however, had appeared in other journals some years earlier. For example, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 April 1894; 15 April 1896; and 15 October 1905.

198. Smiles, S. (1936) *Duty: with illustrations of courage, patience, and endurance*. London: John Murray, p.309.

199. See Cornish, C.J. (1904) *Sir William Henry Flower: A Personal Memoir*. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd; *Stratford Herald*, 23 August 1889; Flower's entry in *DNB*, as well as his obituary in the *Stratford Herald*, 7 July 1899.

200. Sheather, C. (1912) op. cit., p.644.

201. Pudney, J. (1971) op. cit., p.69.

202. Mathias, P. (1959) op. cit., p.78; Janes, H. (1963) *The Red Barrel: A History of Watney Mann*. London: John Murray, p.140; Stanley-Smith, W. (1902) 'Labour in the Brewhouse,' in *Journal of the Federated Institutes of Brewing*, 8, p.137; and *Brewers' Journal*, 15 April 1905. According to Stanley-Smith, the 'ancient custom' of the red cap began to disappear at the turn of the last century.

203. *Stratford Herald*, 21 January 1898.

204. SBTRO, DR 227/110

205. ibid., The steam lorry was purchased from the Straker Steam Vehicle Co. Ltd, of 9 Bush Lane, London for £500. Additional costs included £11 18s. 5d., which Flower & Sons paid Cox & Son to construct the house in which to park the vehicle, £10 for a set of tools with which Wooton was to maintain the engine and 5s., the cost of his driver's license; in its first year of operation, the engine consumed £18 of coke. At this time, approximately one hundred such vehicles were being operated by London brewers alone, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 April 1905. Motor lorries began to play even more important roles in the trade at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century with the commencement of railway strikes and the First World War, as the government began to requisition many brewers' horses, along with those of other businessmen.

206. Ordinary draymen were occasionally appointed as steam-lorry drivers, but usually only after they had been sent for one month to the works of a manufacturer where they were taught to drive, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 January 1909.

Chapter 5

1. Stanley-Smith, W. (1902) op. cit., p.137.

2. Gourvish T.R. and Wilson, R.W. (1994) op. cit., p.198; Donnachie, I. (1979) op. cit., p.95; and Wilson, R.G. (1983) *Greene King: A Business and Family History*. London: Jonathan Cape, p.79.

3. Beauman, S. (1982) *The Royal Shakespeare Company: A History of Ten Decades*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.11; and *Stratford Herald*, 11 December 1891. Interestingly, Charles Flower obscured the scale of his donation to the town. Not only did he contribute the first £1,000 to the theatre fund, but many believe he paid the majority of construction costs.

4. *Stratford Herald*, 24 July 1908; and SBTRO, PR 95. On her husband's death, Sarah personally presented all brewery workers, who had been with the firm two years or more, with a cash gift. On the occasion, which took place at Avonbank, the couple's home in Stratford, Mrs Flower 'expressed the hope that the present would be the means of encouraging thrift among the recipients', see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 November 1892.

5. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 March 1867.

6. Lynch P. and Vaisey, J. (1960) *Guinness's Brewery in the Irish Economy, 1759-1876*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.181; *Brewers' Journal*, 15 June 1880; 15 August 1896; and 15 January 1899.

7. *Stratford Herald*, 6 May 1892.

8. See, for example, Thornton, A.P. (1966) *The Habit of Authority: Paternalism in British History*. London:

George Allen & Unwin Ltd; Roberts, D. (1979) *Paternalism in Early Victorian England*. London: Croom Helm; and Joyce, P. (1982) *Work, Society and Politics: The Culture of the Factory in Later Victorian England*. London: Methuen & Co.

9. Roberts, D. (1979) op. cit., p.4. According to Roberts, the phrase 'property has its duties as well as its rights' became, in the 1840s, the hallmark of the paternalist.

10. Drummond, D. (1989) '"Specifically Designed"? Employers' Labour Strategies and Worker Responses in British Railway Workshops, 1838-1914,' in *Business History*, XXI, 2, p.12; and Joyce, P. (1982) op. cit., p.149.

11. See, for example, Dickens, C. [1954] *Hard Times*. London: Collins; Gaskell, E. [1970] *North and South*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books; and Gissing, G. [1994] *The Nether World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

12. *Stratford Herald*, 8 December 1892. The particular scheme put forward by Flower on this occasion involved unemployed residents of the town draining a local field for athletics purposes.

13. Joyce, P. (1982) op. cit. p.138.

14. Weale, A. (1978) 'Paternalism and Social Policy,' in *Journal of Social Policy*, VII, 2, p.157; Roberts, D. (1979) op. cit, pp.5-9; Huberman, M. (1987) 'The economic origins of paternalism: Lancashire cotton spinning in the first half of the nineteenth century,' in *Social History*, XII, 2, p.98; and Ackers, P. (1998) 'On Paternalism: Seven Observations of the Uses and Abuses of the Concept in Industrial Relations, Past and Present,' in *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations*, 5, p.175.

15. Mill (in *Principles of Political Economy*) in Newby, H. (1977) *The Deferential Worker: A Study of Farm Workers in East Anglia*. London: Allen Lane, p.425. Two themes, however, also ran through Utilitarianism, making it as contradictory as paternalism: laissez faire and government controls to maximise efficiency, see, for example, Wood, A. (1982) *Nineteenth Century Britain, 1815-1914*. London: Longman Group Ltd, p.47.

16. SBTRO, DR 50/1

17. Mill, J.S. [1996] *On Liberty & The Subjection of Women*. Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd, p.109. In his earlier work, *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), which was not included in Flower's library, Mill more thoroughly discusses the duties of 'the higher class' in relation to the workers. Henry George, meanwhile, suggested poverty and progress was the 'great enigma of [his] times, with which statesmen, philanthropy and education grapple[d]', see George, H. (1913) *Progress and Poverty*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, p.12.

18. Foulkes, R. (1982) 'Edward Flower and the Shakespeare Tercentenary,' in *Warwickshire History*, V, 3, p.74.

19. *Stratford Herald*, 16 May 1862.

20. ibid.; and Flower, G. (1882) *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County Illinois*. Chicago: Fergus Printing Co., p.13.

21. Smiles, S. (1936) op. cit. p.322.

22. Donnachie, I. (1979) op. cit., p.200. According to the trade's critics in the late nineteenth century, brewery wages comprised only 7.5% of receipts compared to 22.6% in textiles, 29% in agriculture, 30% in railways and 55% in mining, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 December 1894. In the trade's defence, Satchell Hopkins calculated that wages comprised 28% if one were to include all of the ancillary trades associated with brewing, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 March 1894.

23. SBTRO, DR 730/15; Benson, The Working Class in Britain, 1850-1939 (1989), p. 53; and Board of Trade, Abstract of Labour Statistics, 1906.

24. SBTRO, DR 227/82

25. Newby, H. (1977) op. cit., p.36. Ten years later their average wage had dropped to 11s. 6d.

26. Stanley-Smith, W. (1902) op. cit., p.132.

27. SBTRO, DR 227/85

28. SBTRO, DR 227/83

29. The business is listed in local trade directories until the 1970s, when they ceased publication. Flower & Sons, on the other hand, ceased to brew in 1969.

30. SBTRO, DR 227/83

31. Gourvish, T.R. (1987) op. cit., p.78.

32. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 May 1913. See also Fitzgerald, R. (1988) *British Labour Management and Industrial Welfare, 1846-I939*. London: Croom Helm, p.18.

33. SBTRO, DR 227/85; and Riley, W.A. (1919) op. cit, p.144.

34. *Journal of the Operative Brewers' Guild*, July 1914.

35. SBTRO DR 227/8, 9 and 100

36. Pollard, S. (1965) op. cit., pp.139-41.

37. SBTRO, DR 227/110

38. ibid, DR 227/100

39. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 May 1896.

40. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 January 1912.

41. SBTRO, DR 227/84

42. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 August 1893.

43. ibid., 15 June 1897; and 15 July 1897.

44. SBTRO, DR 227/110

45. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 February 1888.

46. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 February 1889; 15 July 1890; 15 October 1895; 15 March 1897; 15 April 1912; 15 August 1913; and 15 February 1914. Profit-sharing schemes were introduced at Messrs Hancock & Co., Cardiff, Ash & Co., Canterbury, Russell & Wrangham Ltd, Malton, North Yorkshire, Stroud Brewery Co. Ltd, Gloucestershire, T. Linsley & Co., Ltd, Hull and Lloyd and Yorath Ltd, Newport, Gwent.

47. SBTRO, DR 227/100

48. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 September 1890.

49. SBTRO, DR 227/84

50. ibid., DR 227/82

51. Janes, H. (1963) op. cit., p.182; and Morris, B. and Smyth, J. (1994) 'Paternalism as an Employer Strategy, 1800-1960,' in J. Rubery and F. Wilkinson (eds) *Employer Strategy and the Labour Market*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.196.

52. SBTRO, DR 227/82

53. Pudney, J. (1971) op. cit., p.135. Not only did Guy Senior willingly pay his fines, but for every subsequent conviction he promised to pay £10 to a local hospital.

54. SBTRO, DR 227/82

55. ibid., DR 227/84

56. SBTRO, DR 227/84

57. ibid.

58. CA, MAIS/S

59. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, pp.31, 200 and 538; *Brewers' Journal*, 15 July 1889; and CA, MA/S/S. At Mann, Crossman & Paulin, for example, allowances varied from 2 pints for stablemen to 4 pints for coopers.

60. SBTRO, DR 227/221. This is argued by Edward Flower's father, Richard, in his *Observations on Beer and Brewers* (1802).

61. Hartley, A. (1895) op. cit, p.370.

62. Evans, G.E. (1970) op. cit, p.260. Not surprisingly, this beer, known as lack, was much weaker than the standard beer most breweries produced. It was called lack because it lacked something, namely alcohol.

63. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 March 1898; and 15 April 1905.

64. ibid., 15 February 1894.

65. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 February 1894.

66. ibid., 15 July 1912.

67. Riley, W.A. (1919) op. cit. p.167.

68. *Journal of the Operative Brewers' Guild*, August 1914. A similar scheme, however, was introduced at most breweries some decades later.

69. Stanley-Smith, W. (1902) op. cit., p.139.

70. Curtis-Bennett, N. (1949) *The Food of the People: being the history of industrial feeding*. London: Faber & Faber Ltd, p.198; and Gospel, H.F. (1988) 'The Management of Labour: Great Britain, The U.S., and Japan,' in *Business History*, XXX, 1, p.49.

71. Riley, W.A. (1919) op. cit., p.154.

72. SBTRO, DR 227/112

73. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 January 1896.

74. SBTRO, DR 227/112

75. ibid.

76. SBTRO, DR 227/112

77. ibid.

78. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 January 1898.

79. ibid., 15 December 1898; and 15 December 1899.

80. ibid., 15 December 1907.

81. *Stratford Herald*, 27 August 1869.

82. Flower, S. (1964) *Great Aunt Sarah's Diary, 1846-1892*. Stratford: Privately Printed, p.71.

83. *Stratford Herald*, 26 July 1878.

84. ibid., 20 July 1888.

85. SBTRO, DR 227/112

86. For a discussion of the functions fulfilled by hiring fairs, see Moses, G. (1996) '"Rustic and Rude": Hiring Fairs and their Critics in East Yorkshire c.1850-75,' in *Rural History*, VII, 2:, especially pp.156-7.

87. *Journal of the Operative Brewers' Guild*, August 1914; and Hartley, A. (1895) op. cit, p.368. Hartley encouraged brewers to give each man a week's holiday in order to create healthier workers.

88. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 August 1897.

89. SBTRO, DR 227/106

90. ibid., DR 227/110. This is stated in a letter dated 12 August 1898 from the company's secretary, Charles Lowndes, to Mrs Bursell of Shipston. Lowndes was unable to send her a statement of account as it was 'holiday time' and many clerks were away.

91. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 July 1896.

92. *Stratford Herald*, 28 September 1900.

93. ibid., 25 July 1890; and *Brewers' Journal*, 15 August 1894.

94. SBTRO, DR 227/115

95. ibid. Brewery workers were paid 10s. for the day, while office workers received 13s.

96. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 June 1880.

97. ibid., 15 September 1880.

98. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 August 1884; and 15 September 1884.

99. ibid., 15 August 1881.

100. ibid.

101. Hewins, A. (1985) op. cit., p.20.

102. ibid., p. 22.

103. Hewins, A. (1985) op. cit., p.24; and SBTRO DR 730/11

104. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 July 1896.

105. Hewins, A. (1985) op. cit., p.24.

106. *Stratford Herald*, 10 January 1879.

107. ibid., 15 November 1878; and 22 November 1878.

108. ibid., 22 November 1878.

109. See also Littmann, W. (1998) 'Designing Obedience: The Architecture and Landscape of Welfare Capitalism, 1880-1930,' in *International Labour and Working-Class History*, 53, especially p. 89. The article describes the way in which buildings provided by benevolent employers often became the province of a dominant group within the workforce.

110. SBTRO, DR 730/24

111. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1., p.100; and Vol. 2, pp.47, 237 and 413.

112. *Stratford Herald*, 22 November 1878.

113. ibid., 23 December 1887.

114. ibid., 20 November 1896.

115. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, pp.188 and 263.

116. [Mitchells & Butlers] (1929) *Fifty years of brewing, 1879-1929*. Birmingham: Mitchells & Butlers Ltd, pp.101 and 104. The firm also organised swimming and walking clubs.

117. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 November 1881; and Janes, H. (1963) op. cit., p.183.

118. *Stratford Herald*, 8 April 1904.

119. ibid., 27 March 1891.

120. Joyce, P. (1982) op. cit., p. 218.

121. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 December 1886.

122. ibid., 15 May 1894.

123. *Stratford Herald*, 6 April 1883.

124. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 September 1897.

125. ibid., 15 October 1881.

126. ibid., 15 June 1889.

127. *Stratford Herald*, 13 February 1891.

128. The first time workers visited The Hill was in 1881 and was reported in the *Stratford Herald*, 21 July 1881. Over the next three decades many other events were celebrated by the firm at the family's estate. Usually, labourers did not enter the homes of employers, but were entertained in their gardens.

129. *Stratford Herald*, 18 July 1902.

130. Pollard, S. (1965) op. cit., p.169.

131. Gourvish, T.R. (1987) op. cit., pp.45-6.

132. See, for example, Joyce, P. (1982) op. cit., p.144.

133. ibid., p.122.

134. Wilson, R.G (1983) op. cit., p.81.

135. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 July 1888.

136. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1, pp.41, 46, 64, 141 and 338-9; and Vol. 3, p.127. At John Smith's Tadcaster Brewery only five cottages were provided for the maltsters. The only other houses for employees were those provided to senior members of staff. Similar provisions were made at Hoare & Co. in London, Eldridge, Pope & Co. in Dorchester and the Nottingham Brewery Ltd.

137. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 March 1893.

138. SBTRO, DR 227/82

139. ibid., DR 227/83

140. Joyce, P. (1982) op. cit., p.138.

141. SBTRO, DR 227/121. All subsequent descriptions of the club's rules and regulations refer to this source unless otherwise stated.

142. Sheppard, F. (1979) *Brakspear's Brewery: Henley on Thames, 1779-1979*. Henley on Thames, Oxfordshire: W. H. Brakspear & Sons Ltd, p.63. Similar practices were common in many other industries, see, for example, Fitzgerald, R. (1988) op. cit., p.84.

143. The one-shilling entrance fee applied to all members under the age of 30. Those between the age of 30 and 40 paid 2s., while members between the ages of 40 and 50 years paid 2s. 6d.

144. Evidence from other industries suggests the implementation of such rules and penalties was common, see, Fitzgerald, R. (1988) op. cit., pp.86 and 88.

145. SBTRO, DR 227/8

146. Thackrah, C.T. (1832) *The Effects of Arts, Trades and Professions, and of civic states and habits of living, on Health and Longevity with suggestions for the removal of many of the agents which produce disease, and shorten the duration of life*. Second edition, London: Longman & Co., pp.127-8; and Schluter, H. (1910) *The Brewing Industry and the Brewery Workers' Movement in America*. New York: Burt Franklin, p.256.

147. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 January 1892.

148. See, for example, Oliver, T. (ed.) (1902) *Dangerous Trades: The historical, social and legal aspects of industrial occupations as affecting health, by a number of experts*. London: John Murray and (1925) *The Health of the Workers*. London: Faber & Gwyer Ltd.

149. Lott, F.E. (1905) 'Accidents in Breweries, etc. - How to avoid them and how best to meet them,' in *Journal of the Institute of Brewing*, 11, p.28. Due to what were regarded as unfair insurance rates, English brewery

owners had formed the Brewers' and General Fire Insurance and Guarantee Corporation Ltd in 1892, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 October 1892.

150. Lott, F.E. (1905) op. cit., p.28.

151. *Stratford Herald*, 24 June 1892.

152. ibid., 1 July 1892. Given that Field was carrying a crate containing six dozen bottles at approximately six in the evening, having started work at six that morning, suggests fatigue may have played a part in the accident. More interestingly, despite his age and having recently joined the Band of Hope, Field had consumed a quart of ale at four that very afternoon.

153. SBTRO, DR 315/1/15

154. ibid.

155. SBLRO, DR 730/24

156. ibid., DR 227/82

157. Evans, G.E. (1970) op. cit, p.243.

158. SBTRO, DR 227/83. In 1883, one of the men 'gave up malting by order of [his] Doctor', while another, Joshua Hodgkins, 'gave up', because his 'chest wouldn't stand kilnwork'.

159. The *Brewers' Journal* reported several of these cases. For example, on 15 March 1881, they wrote of a man named Hughs, employed at the Brewers' Arms Inn in Worcester, who died after falling into a vat of boiling water. Similar deaths were reported on 15 November 1882; 15 May 1883; and 15 June 1885; in Eley, P. (1994) *Portsmouth Breweries since 1847*. Portsmouth: Portsmouth City Council, p.6; and the *Times*, 8 July 1886.

160. Lott, F.E. (1905) op. cit., p.32.

161. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 November 1903.

162. Lott, F.E. (1905) op. cit., p.45.

163. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 March 1904.

164. Lott, F.E. (1905) op. cit., p.50. This is argued by W. R. Wilson, Chairman of the midland section of the Institute of Brewing during the discussion which followed Lott's paper.

165. Quinlan, Michael, 'The Toll from Toil Does Matter: Occupational Health and Labour History,' in *Labour History*, 73, p.5.

166. Riley, W.A. (1919) op. cit., pp.154-9.

167. *Stratford Herald*, 3 November 1899; and 28 August 1908.

168. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 July 1897; and 15 May 1907; and *Stratford Herald*, 7 June 1912.

169. *Stratford Herald*, 28 April 1905.

170. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 January 1890.

171. ibid., 15 July 1896. Mitchells & Butlers's fire brigade, among those of other firms, won numerous prizes at the Grand International Fire Brigades Tournament and Exhibition in these years.

172. *Stratford Herald*, 17 March 1899; 8 December 1899; and 28 September 1906.

173. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 November 1883 (at Bass's old brewery); 15 February 1890 (at Messrs Gough & Son, Bures); 15 October 1890 (at Messrs Tomkins, Courage and Crackwell); and 15 March 1891 (at Barclay, Perkins & Co., Southwark).

174. ibid., 15 May 1891.

175. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 September 1884; 15 September 1888; 15 January 1889; and 15 July 1891.

176. *Stratford Herald*, 6 December 1895; and *Brewers' Journal*, 15 December 1895.

177. Talbot, F.L. (1924) 'Fifty Years' Experience of the Quality of Beer as it has Varied During that Period,' in *Journal of the Institute of Brewing*, 30, p.400.

178. Lott, F.E. (1905) op. cit., p.52.

179. ibid., p.46.

180. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 March 1905.

181. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 1., p.372.

182. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 March 1905.

183. SBTRO, DR 227/103

184. ibid., DR 227/10

185. ibid.

186. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 November 1890.

187. Pudney, J. (1971) op. cit., p.116. Sick employees received two days' pay a week.

188. Lynch P. and Vaisey, J. (1960) op. cit., p.238.

189. SBTRO, DR 227/10; and *Stratford Herald*, 27 December 1895.

190. Wilson, R.G (1983) op. cit., p.80.

191. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 February 1890; and Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit., Vol. 4, pp.317-8.

192. The same pattern is noticeable in various industries during these years, see, for example, Hannah, L. (1986) *Inventing retirement: The development of occupational pensions in Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.10-2; Raistrick, A. (1977) *Two Centuries of Industrial Welfare: The London (Quaker) Lead Company, 1692-1905*. Buxton, Derbyshire: Moorland Publishing Company, p.51; Gospel, H.F. (1992) *Markets, firms, and the management of labour in modern Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.74-5; and Floud, R. (1997) *The People and the British Economy, 1830-1914*. Oxford; Oxford University Press, p.144.

193. SBTRO, DR 227/99

194. SBTRO, DR 227/83

195. ibid., DR 227/84

196. ibid., DR 227/106

197. ibid., DR 227/110

198. ibid., DR 227/84. Each worker who served during the war was paid 7s. weekly. Wives of employees killed during the conflict received 5s. a week and an extra shilling for each child. Five women were paid by the brewery during the conflict. Mitchells & Butlers, on the other hand, donated 1000 barrels of stout to troops stationed in South Africa. The money earned from the sale of empty casks was allotted to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 May 1901.

199. Martin, R. and Fryer, R.H. (1973) *Redundancy and Paternalist Capitalism: A Study in the Sociology of Work*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, pp.84-5; McKendrick, N. (1961) 'Josiah Wedgwood and Factory Discipline,' in *The Historical Journal*, IV, 1, p.85.

200. SBTRO, DR 227/115

201. See Chapter One. In many respects, the continuation of benefits during this period very likely obscured the brewery's financial difficulties from the general public.

202. SBTRO, DR 227/110. The letter was written by company secretary Charles Lowndes.

203. Riley, W.A. (1919) op. cit., p.151.

204. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 September 1912.

205. [Mitchells & Butlers] (1929) op. cit., p.112. In 1908, the firm had also erected a pair of cottages in which two retired employees could live free of charge, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 September 1908. Less than a year later, the firm laid the foundation stone of the William Butler Memorial Home for aged tenants and employees, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 February 1909.

206. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 January 1895. The cost of these schemes at a number of larger breweries tended to escalate in the late nineteenth century, as many more men were pensioned after each brewery amalgamation.

207. Joyce, P. (1982) op. cit., p.339.

208. Fitzgerald, R. (1989) 'Employers' Labour Strategies, Industrial Welfare, and the Response to New Unionism at Bryant and May, 1888-1930,' in *Business History*, XXXI, 2, p.50; and his (1988) op. cit., p.153.

209. Page, W. (1968) (ed.) *Commerce and Industry: A Historical Review of the Economic Conditions of the British Empire from the Peace of Paris in 1815 to the Declaration of War in 1914, based on Parliamentary Debates*. New York: Augustus Kelley, p.419.

210. Datallier, R. (1933) 'The Individual Employer versus the Joint Stock Corporation,' in C.S. Myers (ed.) *The Worker's Point of View: A Symposium*. London: The Hogarth Press, p.155.

211. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 February 1880.

212. Gourvish T.R. and Wilson, R.W. (1994) op. cit., p.306; and Pollard, S. (1994) 'Entrepreneurship, 1870-1914,' in R. Floud and D. McCloskey (eds) *The Economic History of Britain since 1700, Volume Two: I860-1939*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.70.

213. SBTRO, DR 227/110

214. ibid.

215. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 February 1905; and *Financial News*, 3 February 1905.

216. CCRO, 606/12

217. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 November 1886.

218. ibid., 15 January 1888; and 15 February 1895.

219. Channon, G. (1988) 'Georges and Brewing in Bristol,' in C.E. Harvey and J. Press (eds) *Studies in the Business History of Bristol*. Bristol: Bristol Academic Press, p.170; Gourvish, T.R. (1987) op. cit. p.121; and Mathias, P. (1990) 'Brewing archives: their nature and use,' in L. Richmond and A. Turton (eds) *The Brewing Industry: A Guide to Historical Records*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.26.

220. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 December 1882.

221. ibid., 15 December 1884.