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

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Chapter Six: The limits of paternalism

The success of paternalism as an early management strategy is characterised by a lack of industrial conflict. Consequently, the Victorian period, and the second half of the nineteenth century especially, stands out in many historical studies due to the near absence of conflict between masters and men.[1] Often regarded as 'an antidote to the unions', paternalism limited anti-employer feelings and prevented strikes and other forms of organised industrial unrest.[2]

Labour relations in the brewing trade, among other industries, also benefited from the efforts of paternal employers. Published reports of workers' dinners held annually throughout the late-nineteenth century regularly refer to the cordial relations which existed between brewery employers and their employees. Cases of workers retiring after 40 or 50 years suggest this particular strategy also reduced labour turnover. In recent years, however, such static descriptions of workforces have become more suspect. Contemporary sociological and business management texts, for example, acknowledge that it almost always appears that problems of spirit, morale or organisation and communication rarely affect the proprietors of small businesses, which the majority of breweries were.[3] Rather than measure labour discontent by the number of strikes which interrupted production, one must devise methods to measure more covert signs of worker dissatisfaction, such as theft, vandalism and absenteeism. Moreover, simply because an employer demonstrates what can be described as paternalistic traits does not mean his actions successfully inspired loyalty among workers. Inevitably, some employers were better than others when it came to retaining the services of their labour force. At other times, a company's welfare programme was simply not strong enough to counter alternative influences exerted by a region's labour market. Historically, however, the success of paternalism appears to depend on a combination of external and internal factors, though primarily on a firm's location and the willingness of employees to submit to their employers. Consequently, despite some employers' best efforts and intentions, workforces often remained unstable.

Not unlike the reports published by their competitors, accounts of dinners and celebrations hosted by Flower & Sons regularly draw attention to the good feelings which characterised relations between employers and employees at Stratford's largest firm. For example, in 1874, the Mayor, William Stevenson, while addressing dinner guests gathered at the brewery to celebrate the extension of the company's new premises, suggested the gathering formed 'a really pleasing contrast to the dissensions which elsewhere agitated the relations between employers and employed'.[4] A similar speech was made by Edward Flower when the brewery along the Birmingham Road was first opened four years earlier. Flower recalled days 'when strikes were unknown, liberty was rightly understood, and not libelled by itinerant demagogues'.[5] Oral testimony collected for the period suggests that strikes were indeed rare occurrences in Stratford.[6]

The same cordial relations appear to have existed between most brewery employees and their paternal

employers. Mitchells & Butlers was one of many midland breweries able to claim a strike-free past until well into the twentieth century.[7] Like Flowers, Mitchells & Butlers and the majority of their other midland rivals, the proprietors of Messrs T. Manning & Company of Northampton also drew attention to the good relations which existed between themselves and their workforce.[8] Not surprisingly, when reflecting on labour relations in breweries before members of the midland branch of the Institute of Brewing at the turn of the last century, W. Stanley-Smith suggested 'the history of the brewing trade exhibits but few disturbances between master and man'.[9] Not only were Smith's claims not contested by his audience, but a considerable amount of contemporary evidence supports his general argument.

Besides firms' annual dinners, as described in company-issued reports, the long service of brewery employees also seems to attest to the ability of paternalists to stabilise their workforces. The average company history stresses the number of years workers served and regularly refers to members of staff who 'have grown grey in the service of the firm'.[10] 5% of the labourers employed at H. & G. Simonds in Reading between 1870 and 1914, for example, had been with the firm for 30 years or more.[11] In one of the most complete histories of a brewery, Richard Wilson claims many employees worked all their lives at Greene King.[12] In this respect, it appears that the owner achieved his desire to employ faces he knew and could 'help in old age'.[13] By offering workers continuous employment and pursuing a benevolent managerial strategy, the brewery's owner-manager appears to have been served by a loyal and disciplined staff.

Evidence from wage and salary ledgers also suggests that a certain number of Flower & Sons' employees remained with the firm for several years, even decades. Eight of the labourers recorded in the firm's wage book in 1890 had been with the brewery for more than 30 years.[14] A number of the firm's longest-serving salaried workers, like Eddie Booker, received gold watches after 40 years of service, while many more 25-year employees were presented with silver timepieces.[15] Moreover, several workers remained with the brewery well into their final years. For example, Sarah Flower's diary records the death of Mr Sims, who had been at the brewery for 25 years.[16] Numerous other employees worked until a decline in their physical conditions prevented them from carrying out their duties any longer. As a case in point, the Warwick traveller William Radford was given notice by the firm only after his deafness became 'an absolute bar' to his continuing in his post.[17] Many manual workers also remained with the brewery until no longer physically able to help with production; most were retained and simply made to perform easier tasks, such as repairing sacks and their colleagues' work clothes. The limited number of employees that were actually pensioned between 1870 and 1914 suggests many more labourers than clerks worked all their lives at the brewery.[18]

While such evidence implies that breweries were extremely stable environments, it also contrasts with census data already presented, which indicates that only a few workers' sons followed their fathers into the trade.[19] Not surprisingly, other less well-circulated contemporary sources reveal that a certain degree of conflict occasionally punctuated relations at breweries. Although apparently rare occurrences in Stratford during the nineteenth century, strikes did occasionally disturb production in breweries, primarily those located in London and Burton. Moreover, most forms of co-ordinated industrial action usually originated among coopers, the industry's most highly organised tradesmen.

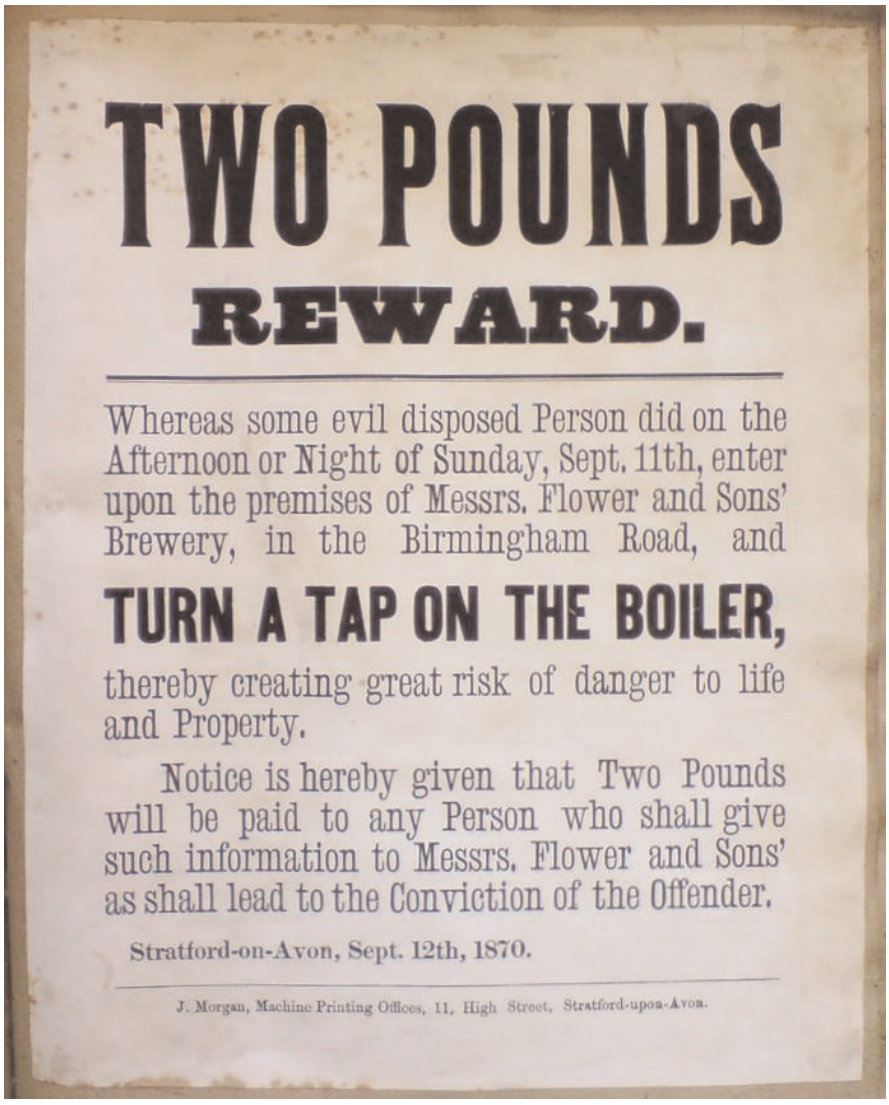
Not surprisingly, members of brewery cooperages generally struck in order to protect rates of pay; coopers' generous earnings essentially depended on a tradition of piece work. For example, in 1883, London coopers put down their tools when employers refused to recognise revised union price lists.[20] Almost a decade later, the city's coopers again struck in order to enforce higher rates, only, on this occasion, instead of importing German craftsmen, who were used previously to break strikes, a number of brewers attempted to replace their men with the latest cask-making machinery.[21] Burton coopers appear to have more successfully convinced their employers to accept their society's price lists than had their associates in the capital. Nevertheless, strike action had also been necessary in 1890 before the proprietors of the town's two dozen breweries actually conceded to workers' demands.[22] Such tactics had also been resorted to previously by coopers employed by Messrs Truman, Hanbury, Buxton & Company in order to demarcate the craftsmen's duties from those of ordinary brewery labourers.[23]

Perhaps due to the example set by their well-organised co-workers, or even that of liberal employers like M.T. Bass, who encouraged organisation among railway workers, Burton's maltsters were also known to strike in order to regulate pay and working conditions.[24] During a well-publicised event staged on 16 November 1889, maltsters employed at various breweries in the town refused to work unless granted an additional 8d. a day.[25] Although managers considered their men to have broken the contracts which many had signed at the beginning of the malting season, the proprietors generally followed the lead of Bass & Co., the town's largest employer, and agreed to an increase. A similar petition was honoured by Barclay, Perkins & Co. in 1897.[26] As a result, according to the brewers, work was quickly resumed 'without any real disturbance of the friendly relations which have so long subsisted between brewers and their employees'.[27]

Not all workers' actions were as successful. For example, similar demands made by labourers at a Welsh brewery five years earlier failed to improve working conditions. Shortly after petitioning the firm's management for higher pay, nearly all hands employed at Peter Walker's Wrexham brewery were given notice.[28] Moreover, when Burton's maltsters again struck for an increase in 1898, their demands were refused outright and eight suspected agitators were eventually charged for disrupting production and fined £10 each.[29] Approximately a year later, all new hands in Newark's maltings threatened to quit unless granted a 2s. a week advance. The strikers quickly found themselves without work, as those men employed in the firms' barley stores were drafted into the maltings to replace the season's newest recruits.[30] Nevertheless, such conflict and extreme cases of labour unrest were rare and, perhaps to most managers in the trade, appeared more suited to conditions in America or Germany, where strikes were considerably more common at breweries throughout this period.[31] Although industrial action at English breweries appears to have increased in the twentieth century, and reached a climax between 1913 and 1914 when labourers at numerous firms demanded increased pay, industry spokesmen maintained that trade unionism had come into conflict with the brewing industry in only four British towns.[32] By this date, however, approximately 3,700 brewery workers in Burton had joined the local branch of the Workers' Union, while many more in London were joining the newly-formed Brewery Workers' Union.[33] Nevertheless, American and German brewery workers had organised much earlier than their English counterparts and were thus in positions regularly and effectively to challenge managerial control. In this light, however, the dominance of the English firm could just as easily have been the outcome of worker powerlessness, and not necessarily deference.

Either way, the servile appearance of workers can often obscure more covert forms of opposition.[34] Non-unionised workforces use their own strategies to resist or react to managerial control. Commonly, such tactics include absenteeism and the reappropriation of products, whereby the worker uses materials for some other purpose than the productive process. Naturally, evidence of such recalcitrance is much harder to uncover than are reports of favourable brewery relations, usually written and compiled by a brewery's senior clerk or manager and published each year in newspapers and trade journals following company-sponsored events.

Under closer scrutiny, the stability of many English brewery workforces proves to be somewhat illusory. For example, as an interesting contrast to the numerous descriptions of its harmonious labour relations, in the same year that Flower & Sons celebrated the completion of their new brewery, someone also tried to destroy it. Although not reported in local newspapers, the details relating to the event are sufficiently summarised in a notice composed by the brewery's managers and posted in the plant as part of an effort to acquire some more information concerning the incident. According to the placard, some time on Sunday, 11 September 1870, 'some evil disposed person' entered the new premises and turned a tap on one of the boilers, 'thereby creating great risk of danger to life and property'.[35] The fact that Flowers restricted their search to the immediate brewing environment appears to suggest that it was here that managers expected to find their culprit. Nevertheless, it is entirely possible that the vandal was not employed by the brewery. Intriguing information contained in another recently-published brewing history indicates that an explosion, 'one of the most terrible accidents in the history of the borough', occurred only months earlier during the same year at Long's Southsea Brewery in Portsmouth after one of the safety valves on the firm's boilers had also been tied down.[36] Neither case was ever resolved.



TWO POUNDS

REWARD.

Whereas some evil disposed Person did on the Afternoon or Night of Sunday, Sept. 11th, enter upon the premises of Messrs. Flower and Sons' Brewery, in the Birmingham Road, and

TURN A TAP ON THE BOILER,

thereby creating great risk of danger to life and Property.

Notice is hereby given that Two Pounds will be paid to any Person who shall give such information to Messrs. Flower and Sons' as shall lead to the Conviction of the Offender.

Stratford-on-Avon, Sept. 12th, 1870.

J. Morgan, Machine Printing Offices, 11, High Street, Stratford-upon-Avon.

Figure 1. The notice relating to an incident of industrial sabotage at the brewery on Sunday, 11 September 1870.

While this incident exists as perhaps the most striking contrast to the deference the Flower family undoubtedly inspired among some of their workers, other forms of dissent at the brewery were far less dramatic, though equally important to any study of the workforce. Moreover, resistance on behalf of non-unionised workers was not always organised individually. Although usually poorly organised, brewery labourers often attempted to acquire strength by forming more casual solidarity networks among fellow workers. Consequently, although Stratford's industrial history is not punctuated with strikes, men employed in the town every so often threatened to leave work in order to persuade an employer to reappoint a recently-dismissed colleague.[37] According to an entry on 22 March 1864 in Charles Flower's personal office diary, such a spontaneous 'strike' occurred at the brewery.[38] Informed by their employer that they 'had no right' to restrict produc-

tion, the men declared they would 'go to Burton for work'.[39] Although Flower appears to have managed the incident without jeopardising his labourers' services, he was confronted with another form of collective protest only a few months later. On this occasion, tension among workers mounted after a cooper, named Marshall, was given notice for being 'drunk and abusive'.[40] Soon after, two of Marshall's co-workers, also employed in the cooperage, threatened to leave should their colleague be discharged. Although Flower accepted their resignations and appointed a replacement cooper, named Lewis, conditions in the cooperage were slow to return to normal. Within days, Lewis approached Flower and claimed that the department's other members were 'setting on him'.[41] While the diary does not contain any additional information concerning the incident, an appointment with the local police inspector the following day may very well have been associated with the disturbance, if not its resolution. Another brief entry recorded a month later, stating 'workers argue', suggests that many divisions at the brewery continued to exist after the disturbance in the cooperage had been resolved.[42]

Informal support networks continued to be used by workers throughout this period as an important defence against decisions many regarded as unjust, if not simply as a collective form of protest. For example, in 1903, when members of the brewery's sick club voted to discontinue payments to William Gillett senior after he was unable to work for approximately six months due to illness, the labourer left the employment of the firm, accompanied by his three sons.[43] While the disappearance of their names from the firm's wage books suggests the familial protest did not reverse the board's decision or prompt any spontaneous generosity on behalf of the firm, cases when such collective action proved successful would be even more difficult to uncover using existing sources. The fact that labourers continually resorted to such means between 1870 and 1914 perhaps indicates that these actions did occasionally produce outcomes favourable to workers.

Nevertheless, such events do not in themselves seriously challenge the notion of the stable brewery workforce. Despite their significance, impromptu strikes, such as that organised by the Gilletts, were irregular occurrences and appear far less often in Flower & Sons' records than does the thirty-year employee. Of the two hundred labourers recorded in the firm's ledgers in 1890, eight had been with Flowers for more than 30 years, while another 25 had fulfilled their duties in the brewery for more than two decades.[44] Moreover, many of these workers had served under the same foremen and managers during their tenures.

Additional evidence, however, suggests circumstances specific to the trade generally prevented long, uninterrupted service and, to an extent, ensured certain, regular turnovers in brewery workforces. Primarily, this phenomenon was the result of the seasonal nature of brewing in Stratford prior to 1900. As has been outlined in Chapter Two, before the introduction of refrigeration technology and the ability of Flower & Sons to brew anywhere near to full capacity, fewer workers were employed by the firm during the warmer, summer months. Naturally, many men retained their posts at the brewery. As production generally ceased, these labourers cleaned and repaired the brewery plant and facilities, or distributed ale to the firm's many widely-scattered customers, but not all two hundred workers employed by Flowers in 1890 remained in the company's service all the year round. Numerous workers recruited from the town, as well as Stratford's agricultural hinterland, would return to their rural occupations when production ceased near the end of May.

For the majority of such workers these seasonal fluctuations were not regarded as a hardship, especially since most agricultural labour in the region was performed between May and September. Furthermore, several of the town's other employers, such as builders and the three main local brickyards, conducted the majority of their business when activities at the brewery were sluggish. In Burton, on the other hand, during the 1870s, many brewery workers joined the local police force when production ceased.[45] Interestingly, almost no brewing histories give an indication of these seasonal oscillations. Alternatively, many historians have described increases in the sizes of brewery workforces over a given number of years unproblematically. In reality, however, workforces comprising hundreds of workers could decline often by a third or more in number within a month.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, seasonal variations in the composition of Flower & Sons' labour

force are more noticeable than all other fluctuations documented in wage ledgers. In 1872, for example, after employing approximately 160 labourers in January, the peak of the brewing season, the firm's ledgers list few more than a hundred employees in August.[46] Five years later, in 1877, from a maximum of 188 in January, their numbers dropped to 142 in six months.[47] Moreover, in July, various circumstances prompted four additional workers to leave the brewery's service. While this sudden reduction in hands is easily noticed given its regularity, it is as crucial that short-term variations are not overlooked when charting the seasonal pattern of labour recruitment in some breweries. If this is the case, then, apart from lower summer employment levels, the labour situation at the brewery would still appear suspiciously static. While many workers regularly (and voluntarily) departed in summer, clearly not all workers were content with brewery employment for the remainder of the year. Inevitably, the performance of certain employees did not always satisfy employers; many labourers, without a doubt, lost their jobs between 1870 and 1914 for committing various offences.

The dynamic nature of the brewery workforce is captured in almost every page of Flower & Sons' wage books (see Table 13a). For example, although workers totalled approximately 150 men each pay period between December 1871 and April 1872, during these five months more than forty employees were discharged by the brewery and replaced with new hands. In 1877, a similar phenomenon is apparent. In January of that year, employees numbered 178. During the next two months, however, 17 names disappear from the ledgers and are replaced with those of new recruits. Were it not for comments written by the firm's clerks in the pages of ledgers we would have very little idea why workers' periods of employment ended. Sometimes few details exist. For example, six workers are described to have simply 'left'.[48] Throughout the years this comment, along with 'left without notice', became the most popular explanations used to explain any variation in the composition of the labour force. Other workers were simply 'discharged'. In some cases, however, clerks leave more detailed evidence. For example, one individual appears to have been let go by the firm 'for being absent without cause'. Another was dismissed for being 'useless as watchman'. Luckily for the historian, the firm did not attempt to introduce a standard set of explanations to describe labour turnover until after the First World War. Instead, we are sometimes left with brief, but very meaningful character descriptions: 'didn't learn his work', 'bad lot', 'not strong enough', 'discharged for disobeying orders', 'left for militia training', and even one unfortunate labourer who 'thought himself bewitched'. In total, 84 workers left the brewery's employment between January and September 1877.[49] Similar colourful descriptions are recorded in the workmen's registers of other firms. For example, those of H. & G. Simonds list labourers who were dismissed because they 'wanted more wages', or were 'subject to fits'.[50] Others were discharged for 'throwing a flagon through [a] window', or 'a bottle at another man'. Some, such as Alfred Douglas, who had been with the firm for one month, simply 'ran away'. Few workers' departures, however, are recorded in any other business records, for many were replaced soon after being dismissed or leaving the firm on their own accord, a fact which otherwise maintained fairly regular employee numbers and steady wage costs. Those who left the brewery's service near the end of the brewing season, on the other hand, are more noticeable, for they, having been made redundant by warmer weather, were usually not replaced for several months.

Not all labourers who left the brewery during the summer with the intention of resuming employment at the conclusion of the harvest and a change in the weather returned in September. Should harvest have been delayed, many were not in positions to return to the brewery when managers needed them most. More importantly, many appear to have found alternative employment and never again worked in the brewery. This should not be surprising given that those individuals involved in another branch of the economy increased their social circles along with potential job opportunities. Moreover, as was demonstrated in the previous chapter, few brewery workers participated in contributory pension or sickness schemes and were therefore less rooted to the workplace than they might otherwise have been.[51] Finally, workers who did not return to the brewery after the turn of the century may also have included individuals opposed to the changed nature of brewery work. For example, contemporary observers recognised that many workers employed only seasonally disliked continuous forms of employment which generally became more common at the end of the nineteenth century and at breweries after the introduction of refrigeration technology.[52]

Year	Workers	Year	Workers	Year	Workers	Year	Workers	Year	Workers
1870	46	1879	51	1888	16	1897	44	1906	15
1871	69	1880	34	1889	22	1898	47	1907	18
1872	98	1881	39*	1890	14	1899	50	1908	15
1873	92	1882	21	1891	31	1900	75	1909	7
1874	74	1883	47	1892	34	1901	43	1910	12
1875	72	1884	34	1893	36	1902	35	1911	26
1876	68	1885	43	1894	29	1903	30	1912	23
1877	96	1886	29	1895	36	1904	25	1913	48
1878	61	1887	25	1896	19	1905	15	1914	13

Table 13a. Total turnover in brewery workforce.

**no figures from 1 October to 31 December available for this year.*

Year	Workers	Year	Workers	Year	Workers	Year	Workers	Year	Workers
1870	3	1879	0	1888	0	1897	1	1906	1
1871	1	1880	0	1889	0	1898	2	1907	0
1872	1	1881	0	1890	2	1899	0	1908	2
1873	1	1882	9	1891	0	1900	4	1909	3
1874	0	1883	0	1892	0	1901	0	1910	0
1875	6	1884	0	1893	0	1902	0	1911	2
1876	2	1885	0	1894	2	1903	0	1912	5
1877	4	1886	2	1895	0	1904	0	1913	1
1878	3	1887	1	1896	1	1905	2	1914	0

Table 13b. Workers dismissed from brewery for drunkenness or stealing drink.

Table 13. Labour turnover at Flower & Sons, 1870-1914.

Sources: SBTRO, DR 227/82-5

While we can only speculate as to why some seasonal labourers were reluctant to resume brewery work after a single season, it is clear that numerous regular employees left the firm due to the limited promotional opportunities which existed at many breweries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A number of important studies, for example, remind historians that managers must demonstrate the potential for advancement within the firm if they are to create a stable, let alone a loyal workforce.[53] Many brewers also appear to have recognised the importance of regularly promoting employees. In a paper presented to the Institute of Brewing, Walter A. Riley suggested all brewers should give their new recruits 'some encouragement to push forward and occupy more responsible posts'.[54] In this way, an employee realised he would not always remain an ordinary labourer, but 'if he shows any aptitude he will be advanced in rank'.[55] Other members of the trade who dealt with the subject before the end of the nineteenth century also stressed the necessity of regular advancement.[56] More importantly, they realised that a lack of promotion usually caused discontent.[57]

Like other representatives of the trade, Flower & Sons' managers also frequently articulated the need to promote good workers. In a letter to the referee of a prospective employee, Charles Flower declared the firm's owners 'should not care to place any one in the brewery who would not be likely eventually to earn more than the small salary an under brewer would receive'.[58] Some evidence suggests Flower actually honoured this claim. The rise of several apprentices to managerial and even directorial posts must have inspired the firm's most talented junior clerks. Occasionally, this goal also appears to have been within the reach of some particularly industrious labourers. For example, in June 1874, James Clifton shed his manual duties when he was transferred from the brewery to the firm's Leamington agency.[59] Such promotions, however, appear to have been more rare than those of apprentices who were eventually made directors, a feat achieved by only three of the firm's youngest recruits.

While the existence of avenues, such as apprenticeship, ensured the advancement of certain workers, the general organisation of the trade tended to prevent a healthy promotional structure from evolving until the early twentieth century. Primarily, this characteristic was linked to the age at which labourers entered the brewery's employment. As most breweries recruited few errand boys and only one or two apprentices, most entry-level positions in the trade were filled by men in their late twenties or early thirties, a curiosity perceived by Booth and his investigators in the late nineteenth century.[60] Often associated with very menial duties, these posts could breed considerable dissatisfaction among grown men, perhaps used to greater independence and responsibility prior to entering the brewery.[61] Moreover, many were burdened with their new tasks for several years, for movement through departmental ranks could at times be very slow. Flower & Sons' workers, for example, have described promotion during this period to have been like 'waiting for a dead man's shoes'.[62] Consequently, even if paternalism encouraged long service amongst fortunate brewery workers, usually the highest-paid employees, long service among an élite in itself discouraged another entire segment of the workforce.

While Flower & Sons' ledgers list numerous workers who remained with the company for more than two decades, they also contain statistics representing a more transient workforce. For example, although approximately 15% of labourers recorded in the wage book in 1890 had been with the firm for 20 years or more, almost 30% of the workforce had been with the brewery for only a year or less.[63] The ledgers of other firms reveal a similar pattern. Of approximately 2,100 workers listed in Simonds's registers between 1870 and 1914, 63% remained with the firm for less than twelve months.[64] The majority of workers discharged by brewery proprietors belonged to this segment of the workforce, which generally comprised a firm's lowest-paid workers. Moreover, many did not wait to be dismissed. Ledgers list the names of many workers who 'left to do better' after having repeatedly been assigned to clean stables or casks, or, like Joshua Knight, not having experienced wage increases for several years.[65] Although clerks also occasionally left the firm after being refused rises, a system of advancement in the offices had, in general, been established in this branch of the industry far earlier than in the brewery, for clerks tended to be younger than labourers when first hired. Only as brewery bottling departments began to be established were many more entry-level positions in breweries filled by boys and long service generally achieved all round.

Advancement within breweries, however, also depended on proprietors' particular recruitment practices. For example, a tendency among directors to hire managers and foremen from outside the firm further reduced opportunities for advancement. Flowers frequently sought to recruit new department heads from rivals. The brewery, however, was not the only firm which preferred to recruit senior workers from other breweries. The problem of external appointments was continually addressed by brewers at trade meetings.[66] However, although employers realised the practice lowered morale among workers, few actually desired to appoint foremen from existing workmen. While one might logically assume this had much to do with workers' skills, as few brewery workers received any formal training, in actual fact it had considerably more to do with the perceived loyalties of such candidates. Inevitably, labourers who had been with a firm for decades established durable affiliations with certain colleagues. Consequently, importing foremen from outside the district was regarded as the best way to secure a departmental head who would be loyal to his employer, primarily due to his unfamiliarity with the rest of the workers.[67]

While this, along with numerous other scenarios, often limited labourers' tenures, the temptation of drink has not even been considered. Certainly this is central to any discussion of brewery workers. Moreover, the relation between work and drink in the brewery makes the question of labour in the brewhouse very different from almost every other industry. For example, members of the trade in the first years of this century were keenly aware that drunkenness had become 'a byword for brewery employees'.[68] Not only did employees receive a regular, daily ale allowance, but evidence indicates that many took more than the standard ration. Although few brewers admitted any truth lay in this accusation, many went to great lengths in efforts to deter theft. For example, some employers appointed teetotallers or a certain 'confidential servant' to manage their racking cellars.[69] Moreover, inventories of rural brewhouses reveal that lock and key were often used to secure brews.[70] Nevertheless, despite facing such obstacles, many workers appear to have been able to 'pinch as much [ale] as they wanted'.[71] The trouble many went to in order to steal drink continually amazed members of the trade. For example, in a letter to the Brewers' Journal, one brewer recalled an incident involving an engineer, 'a man in receipt of good wages and liberal beer allowance'.[72] Prior to commencing mashing, he was 'in the habit every morning of drawing for himself and friends some three gallons of beer from the racking tank'. In order to do this, as part of the premises were locked, 'he had to go through the gymnastic feat of lowering himself from the beams of the building down to the lower floor, in which operation he was finally one day caught'.

A considerable amount of theft at breweries was uncovered. For example, of the 17 workers who left Flowers in January 1877, four were discharged for allegedly stealing drink.[73] In total, 21 employees were dismissed in the entire decade due to drink-related offences (see Table 13b). At Simonds in Reading such dismissals were even more common. Between 1900 and 1914 alone, the brewery discharged 81 workers for similar offences.[74] While breweries certainly publicised cases of workers who retired from the firm after 40 or 50 years, did they so rarely in cases of employees who stole drink. Most suspected the public would be quick to criticise the 'Rich brewers prosecuting a man for stealing two-pennyworth of beer'.[75] Among themselves, however, brewers eventually acknowledged that theft had, in fact, become 'too common' at breweries.[76] According to the newly-founded *Journal of the Operative Brewers' Guild*, theft would always plague brewers: 'as long as the world goes on Brewery men will steal beer'.[77]

Drunkenness was not only confined to manual workers; it was also recognised as a problem among the firm's many travellers. In 1867, for example, Flower & Sons' managers were persuaded to write to the brother of a clerk concerning the employee's drinking problem. Although the office worker was relieved of his duties, the firm volunteered to help find him employment in another brewery. This, however, the managers regarded as a difficult task 'unless he breaks himself entirely from the habit, which is difficult to do in a business like ours'.[78] A similar case was dealt with by Edgar Flower in 1886.[79] As most sales staff were expected to 'take a cigar or a glass of claret to do business', however, the problem would remain with the brewery well into the twentieth century.[80] In general, most cases were seriously pursued only when a traveller's performance suffered and, consequently, sales declined.[81] Moreover, unlike labourers, clerical workers, such as travellers, did not have to resort to criminal means in order to obtain

unlimited quantities of drink. Staying sober simply required greater self-control when soliciting orders.

On the other hand, most brewers were far more concerned with the financial, as opposed to drinking, habits of their clerical staffs. Consequently, everyone connected to the office or through whose hands the firm's money passed was required to provide the brewery with some sort of financial guarantee against theft. Most brewers' clerks, like their banking counterparts, were bound by bonds, usually issued by their friends or relatives, though the London Guarantee Society was also prepared to undertake risks of this sort on behalf of travellers during this period;[82] insurance companies also sold 'fidelity guarantee' insurance to cover losses through embezzlement.[83] The value of a bond generally depended on the amount of cash a clerk or salesman regularly handled each week. On average a newly-appointed traveller was required to deposit not less than £50 with the firm, though larger sums were occasionally requested, or even voluntarily deposited by clerks in the form of an investment, as interest was paid on all such deposits.[84] Moreover, as an additional precaution against embezzlement, brewery managers also took a keen interest in the personal finances of clerks. Flower & Sons, like many other brewers, did not hire clerks who were believed to be 'hampered by private money difficulties'.[85] Alternatively, those clerks already in the firm's employment and who encountered financial difficulties were provided with loans at favourable terms in order to pay off any existing debts. Furthermore, most were informed early in their careers not to speculate and certainly never to gamble with money which belonged to the firm.[86]

Despite these warnings, evidence suggests that embezzlement concerned employers as much as did drunkenness throughout the late nineteenth century; clerical embezzlement, after all, was the most frequently tried of all white-collar crimes, with Victorian and Edwardian prosecutions numbering in the thousands.[87] Even though such cases of fraud did not affect each individual brewer, the frequency with which embezzlement was reported in trade journals would certainly have worried most brewery owners.[88] Furthermore, fraud, it has been argued, generally dominated public discourse and perceptions of the City during these years.[89] Although most clerks and salesmen who turned out dishonest stole only small sums which managers easily recovered by retaining workers' bonds, some employees withheld thousands of pounds over a number of years and, consequently, seriously endangered the lives of entire firms.[90] For example, during the bankruptcy proceedings of Brooke Brothers' Norwood Brewery in Cheltenham, the firm's partners blamed the progressive decline of their business on embezzlement.[91] As one of the firm's largest creditors - approximately £3,000 of the Brookes' property was mortgaged to Flower & Sons - the Stratford brewers certainly learned to appreciate this risk even though they never faced as serious a situation themselves.

Nevertheless, throughout its history, the brewery had its share of dishonest clerks.[92] Between 1870 and 1914, more than a dozen clerks were dismissed for allegedly withholding monies owed to the firm. Rather than facing prosecution, public humiliation and, generally, the end of their careers as trusted company officers, a few even took their own lives.[93] Unlike drunkenness, however, theft of company funds could be prevented by improving methods of bookkeeping, for fraud thrived in 'an atmosphere of ignorance and confusion'.[94] Double-entry bookkeeping, introduced to a number of brewery offices during the 1860s, had allowed owners more closely to monitor the exact flow of business transactions.[95] According to members of the midland trade, J.B. Arter's 'A Lecture on Brewery Accounts', originally delivered in Birmingham in 1897, made this particular system of bookkeeping common in even the smallest breweries.[96] Moreover, early audits were also 'a wise precaution against fraud and embezzlement'.[97] Not surprisingly, Flower & Sons' directors were greatly concerned when, in 1903, the firm's accountants made a serious error in the brewery's bookkeeping.[98] Besides depending on such professional tallies in order to uncover cases of fraud, breweries also relied on their customers to compile detailed records and contest any cases of double billing.

Though many businessmen welcomed any information from customers and associates concerning dishonest employees, traditionally the paternalist employer preferred to resolve any staff problems by way of a quiet word with workers rather than involve outsiders. In even the most extreme cases, employers seemed more willing to 'shoot [an employee] before they got the sack'.[99] As was common among other paternal employers, rather than try dishonest workers in the local courts,

Flowers frequently attempted to discipline their own workforce.[100] Moreover, few workers dismissed for theft of either drink or cash were actually charged by the brewery during its first years of existence. Instead, most workers were given warnings for a first offence, as were those who committed violations after having served the firm for many years;[101] in many cases this also ensured that white-collar crime remained hidden from criminal statistics, though the line between fraud and incompetence was also frequently difficult to draw.[102] Eventually, in the late nineteenth century, many more workers were made to give up their posts at the brewery, though a surprising number still remained in the brewery's service; generally, such measures were necessary to retain the confidence of investors after many more firms incorporated in the last decade of the nineteenth century. However, although delegated numerous other important responsibilities, managers were still not to dismiss workers. At Flower & Sons, as well as many other breweries and firms run on paternalistic lines, the employer carefully preserved his monopoly over punishment throughout the final years of the previous century.

As has been argued persuasively in previous studies, paternalism cannot simply be defined as the performance of benevolent duties. To rule firmly and superintend are equally essential if an employer is to reform his workers and create a loyal and deferential workforce. Although frequently overlooked in studies of paternalism, authority, power and command are as important as charity in comprehending this approach to labour relations. Moreover, these tools were the preserve of the company owner, all having been necessary to transform 'the whole man' into an efficient industrial worker.[103] As a result, the true paternal relationship has been shown to consist of a careful balance of autocracy and obligation, cruelty and kindness.[104] Some brewers, however, were more just employers than others. Abuse of this control manifested itself in beatings as, for example, were occasionally suffered by brewery employees in America.[105] Though such severe punishments are most often associated with the children employed in nineteenth-century firms, England's brewery labourers were subjected to equally fierce scoldings, including the occasional whipping. Descriptions of such extreme penalties survive in some brewery punishment books.[106]

As one might expect, the success of paternalism requires that employers should not exceed the limits of their authority over their labourers. Despotism had to be controlled if it was to 'remain benevolent rather than tyrannical'.[107] Although many workers gladly received ale allowances or portions of beef at Christmas, not all labourers willingly submitted to what often amounted to humiliating punitive measures. Evidence suggests that even the most benevolent of employers regularly inspired rebellion among those workers who resented authority most.[108] Others suggest paternalism was regularly contested, while many workers remained beyond the reach of company management due, for example, to their religious and political affiliations.[109] More often, however, rather than challenge authoritative masters, many workers simply left. In this way, the state of labour relations in the most efficiently run establishments could quickly become unsteady. In the most extreme cases, though the deferential relations of an older age may for a time have proved themselves advantageous to many entrepreneurs, they also occasionally became extinct.[110] Forms of punishment which workers regarded as unfair, for example, could break down spontaneous consent amongst even the most loyal workers. Should the control an employer exercised in the workplace have outweighed the benefits of paternalism, the powerlessness of workers regularly produced redundancies and not necessarily an increase in strikes. For this reason, turnover among a workforce can also be interpreted as an indication of labour unrest.[111] Taken one step further, a high turnover at Flower & Sons could suggest that the brewery's own employees never entirely internalised the firm's paternalist culture, but merely tolerated many of its more negative aspects for a period of their working lives. While it remains exceedingly difficult to discover if such factors induced a number of employees to have, in the words of the brewery's clerks, simply 'left' during these years, it is perhaps more useful to ask if there actually was 'a flaw in the [firm's] grand paternalist design from the moment of conception'.[112] Preliminary evidence suggests that, although Flower & Sons' owners established a strong, local presence in Stratford, their leadership in the community fell short of the paternalist ideal in a number of important ways; this, naturally, would have limited their ability to exercise such a management strategy successfully and create a stable working environment.

Traditionally, the fullest development of paternalism was seen among rural manufacturers, and especially those who enjoyed a monopoly over employment

opportunities in a particular region. In the case of a number of early enterprises, such as textile mills, workplaces were not always established nearest their markets. As employers depended foremost on natural sources of motive power, many industrialists, out of necessity, constructed their factories near streams and not always in well-populated districts.[113] Consequently, although scarce, sufficient supplies of labour could only be attracted by constructing housing and providing many of the amenities which the region otherwise lacked. Should additional hands have been required, further investment in the community was essential in order to attract migrants and retain existing inhabitants. At other times, less economic motives inspired benevolent employers to construct what have been described as model villages. Either way, workers' houses generally tended to be clustered round manufactories to minimise travel time and tardiness, and the company town came to be viewed as an extension of the production plant.[114] Naturally, these circumstances provided employers with considerable control over workers, if not some interest in their general living conditions, leading many of them, then and even now, to be compared with a traditional landed élite, namely lords of the manor.

After the introduction of steam power, the establishment of industrial enterprises became less dependent on natural sources of power. Although steam engines were introduced to coal fields early on, mining operations continued to be determined by their proximity to raw materials. Most entrepreneurs, however, relocated nearer to vital transportation routes and their target markets. Consequently, many employers, though still playing prominent roles within the workplace, were no longer impelled to provide the number of services which their more isolated industrial forefathers did to attract and retain workers. Nevertheless, many adopted paternalistic approaches to labour relations, if not for religious reasons, then due to a lack of alternative managerial strategies and for more calculated business considerations. As has repeatedly been emphasised, paternalism remained an effective means of countering labour unrest while conferring a degree of stability on workforces.

In the case of Flower & Sons, family and firm were rooted in Stratford; like most nonconformist families, the Flowers lived within their town's boundaries.[115] Although Edward Flower had no previous association to the district prior to his arrival in Stratford during the first decades of the nineteenth century, he settled in the town and even lived with his family in the brewhouse which adjoined the original brewing plant from 1837 until the late 1850s.[116] When financial success permitted the family to contemplate alternative living arrangements, rather than remove themselves from the borough, Flower constructed a comfortable home which overlooked the Warwick Road just outside the town's centre. Although having been educated at various schools throughout the Midlands, Charles Flower, Edward's son and successor, experienced a brief spell as a pupil in the local grammar school before he joined the brewery's staff.[117] After carrying out the duties associated with the post of manager at the firm's London office, Charles Flower returned to Stratford, where he also established a permanent residence and was based for the remainder of his working years.

Only in retirement did any of the brewery owners settle outside the town's immediate environment. In 1872, for example, Edward and his wife, Selina, moved to 35 Hyde Park Gardens, London, but their son Edgar continued to occupy The Hill, his father's previous residence, with his own large family. The home eventually passed to Edgar's son, Archie, when he himself retired and moved to a similarly-situated estate in nearby Broadway. Charles Flower, although an avid traveller for much of his life and purchasing an estate comprising 11,000 acres in the Scottish Highlands, remained a lifelong resident of Stratford, as did his nephew, Archie. Although both frequently visited the Sutherland residence, often with members of the brewery's clerical staff, numerous civil duties kept the brewers rooted in Stratford. Nevertheless, the family was originally from Hertfordshire and was therefore not identified with the region's more established ruling families. However, this did not prevent the brewers from adopting many of the traits ordinarily associated with the traditional local élite and creating their own local power base.

Living locally permitted the owners to play a more active role in the brewery's management and also tempted some family members to take a greater interest in regional government. As with many other nineteenth-century entrepreneurs, political leadership appeared to the family a natural extension of business interests.[118] Edward Flower, like many provincial brewers, assumed local office in the town where his business was based. At other times, his appeal for such affairs divested itself

from purely business interests and even appeared to be driven by a certain amount of civic pride. In the 1860s he organised the Shakespeare Tercentenary, which he staged during his mayoralty. Although prominent in local politics, the brewery's founder also sought to win a parliamentary seat, but was defeated in various constituencies, including North Warwickshire.[119] A defeat in 1869 eventually convinced the family that 'the fates [were] against his getting into Parliament'.[120] His son Charles, although encouraged to run for South Warwickshire in 1879, never ran for national office due to the pressures of managing the brewery.[121] Nevertheless, he was Stratford's mayor from 1878 to 1880 and occupied a seat on the town council from 1876 to 1888. Soon after retiring from business, he was also sworn in as a county magistrate; he died during a county council meeting at Warwick in May 1892.[122] Edgar Flower, on the other hand, took no active role in politics.[123] Although no member of the family played a role in local government during the last decade of the nineteenth century, the firm's brewer, Francis Talbot, represented 'brewery interests' on the town council in these years.[124] Archie Flower more than made up for this hiatus in the twentieth century.

Due to their strong local leadership, the Flower family would eventually make their names synonymous with Stratford, a condition which was essential if the family were to exercise their paternal duties successfully. However, this was not always easy, as the proximity of labourers to their place of employment is as crucial to the success of paternalism as is the employer's role within a given locale. For example, while other local leaders, like Flower, interacted regularly with employees, a number of brewery labourers came to the town from outlying agricultural districts. As a result, workers not only encountered their employers only periodically, but they learned to recognise alternative hierarchies, at times far different from that which existed in Stratford. Nevertheless, the majority of Flower & Sons' labourers lived within the town. Few, however, lived in company housing.

Besides providing accommodation for workers, there were other ways of creating the 'fiction of community' on which the paternal employer's control depended. While the provision of housing, for example, gave mining managers near-absolute control over the inhabitants of pit towns, company-owned pubs and shops and even company-appointed curates greatly increased a proprietor's sphere of influence.[125] Unfortunately for the Flowers, these institutions do not appear to have bolstered the family's authority in Stratford. Despite owning most of the town's public houses, none was directly managed by the firm. Consequently, such establishments remained relatively neutral territory for brewery workers, as was the parish church. Dealings with local clergy were strained at the best of times, primarily due to the family's particular line of business. Relations further deteriorated as a result of personal rivalries and the conflicts these struggles generated. Charles's relationship with a local incumbent, George Arbuthnot, was especially difficult.[126] A generation later, the family's strong leadership role in Stratford was similarly undermined with the arrival of writer and conservationist Marie Corelli, who not only regularly questioned the family's political influence, but also regarded the Memorial Theatre as simply another 'tied house'.[127] Eventually, Corelli managed to offend the entire industry when she described beer as 'an emulsion of arsenic flavoured with malt' in her novel Holy Orders.[128] The local élite itself certainly never presented a unified front throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Only when criticised from outside was a degree of solidarity among the town's leaders established, but even these attacks did their share of damage, such as that suffered by Charles Flower, who was dubbed 'Self-Raising Flower' in the 1870s for his role in the construction of a theatre in Shakespeare's name.[129] Certain prominent citizens, such as Anthony Trollope, came to regard Flower as 'a worthy old gent, who wants to go down to posterity hanging on to some distant rag of the hindermost garment of the bard of Avon'.[130] Not surprisingly, the brewer's subsequent charitable acts were usually carried out anonymously.

While it remains problematic to determine whether the family's reputation, good or bad, extended into the regions from which the firm's seasonal labourers originated, some employees had regular contact with their employers outside work hours. For example, the Memorial Theatre's box office was originally run by the firm's cashiers;[131] some members of staff even performed as extras in theatre productions.[132] While theatre volunteers tended to come from the firm's offices, brewery labourers regularly attended camps organised by Stratford's local militia, which was lead by Charles Flower for a number of years. Consequently, as

opposed to the theatre, this institution far more successfully justified the family's authority, while also instilling certain notions of discipline among the dozen or more workers who participated in its drills and outings between 1870 and 1914.[133]

A local institution which played a more important role in the supervision of character and helped instil the habits of regularity demanded by industrial employers were schools. In many cases a school's prime function, as has been argued elsewhere, was not simply to educate the masses, but to discipline them.[134] Besides instructing children in the rules of regularity and obedience, these institutions almost always taught pupils the subtle aspects of local hierarchies. If not given an opportunity to dissect local relations in detail, students at least learned to identify community leaders. For example in Stratford pupils were told to raise their hats upon encountering Archie Flower in the town's streets, for he was 'the biggest man in town'.[135] When confronted with such lessons at a very early age, many more local inhabitants accepted the idea of paternalism upon entering employment for it reflected the way in which many people were brought up.[136] Consequently, a dependence culture is more easily fostered by hiring young staff.

Although dozens of school-age boys entered the firm's bottling department and offices after the First World War, few members of this potentially loyal workforce were employed at the brewery in the nineteenth century.[137] Despite the advantages such a policy entailed, Flower & Sons did not actually hire many local boys prior to the interwar period. As described in considerable detail in Chapter Three, the majority of brewery employees were on average much older than was common in most other industries; only a few sons, and hardly any daughters, worked alongside their fathers in the brewery. As family and work roles rarely overlapped in Stratford, the firm's particular style of paternalism was not usually reinforced in workers' homes. Even when this was the case, the results were not what one would expect. For example, some evidence suggests company-sponsored events, such as annual dinners and picnics, were not always as successful as they were reported in local newspapers. Mary Hewins, whose memories of company excursions were discussed in the previous chapter, for example, attended only one of the Flower family's yearly garden fetes. Observed the entire time while at The Hill, the Flower family's home, Hewins simply 'didn't feel comfortable' and, consequently, did not regularly attend company events.[138] Moreover, though perhaps introduced to the town's school-aged population as the 'biggest man in town', Archie Flower, according to Mary, was not the most important of the borough's residents. Among Hewins and her family, this honour, with slight modifications, was bestowed on Mrs Windsor, who mangled their clothes and, consequently, permitted the women in the household to seek paid employment.[139] Many of the brewery's other young labourers had not even been raised in Stratford. As a result, few would even have been instructed in the deference or status rituals taught occasionally in local school rooms. Alternatively, a steady flow of workers travelled into and out of the borough in search of work, a fact which regularly diluted any perceived ideas of loyalty. The coming of the railways, though good for business, only increased workers' migration rates. As has been argued elsewhere, railways enabled labourers to shift from place to place and, more importantly, 'change their patrons and employers as easily as their coats'.[140] In short, the town lacked the stable environment in which paternalism has been shown to thrive.[141]

Unlike Blackburn mill-owners or more isolated industrialists, the Flowers were never able to impose a stranglehold on the town of Stratford;[142] alternatively, the family often appeared ready to abandon the town throughout the period Edward Flower ran the firm. Moreover, although the brewery dominated the town's physical landscape, the family never dominated the region's mental landscape. Although having adopted a very benevolent approach towards labour relations, the family's managerial experiences actually demonstrate the difficulties associated with transferring the social controls of paternalism to a local labour market. Moreover, the fact that larger, and especially growing, communities can only rarely effectively be controlled by a single employer has long been recognised. Urban workers, as Michael Huberman, among others, has pointed out, generally have more bargaining power.[143]

Although it is very likely that the brewery's proprietors retained a very loyal following among those workers with whom they worked closely inside and outside the brewery, a larger number of Flower & Sons' workers appear to have interacted only rarely with their employers. Evidence suggests the brewery had very little contact with employees' families. Most were visit-

ed at home only when sick, and then usually only by a member of the sick club committee.[144] Although an important part of the deferential relationship, direct contact with the brewery's owners was something only few workers experienced, especially after 1870 when the firm's new premises were constructed at some distance from their offices, and the number of brewery employees surpassed 100 and expanded yearly.

Given the increasing size of late nineteenth-century brewery workforces in general, and considering those factors which undermined deference among labourers, the only way in which brewery proprietors could have exercised greater control over their workers was by increasing the supervisory powers of brewers and departmental foremen. Besides indicating, to an extent, the failure of the paternalist approach, which depended on the strong leadership roles of the employers themselves, such steps, according to trade representatives, would also essentially divide authority at breweries.[145] Generally, a wider diffusion of control would, according to many brewery owners, inevitably lead to friction, as workers would not know who their 'real' master was.[146] As a result, rather than reorganise entire firms, many owners refused to hand over control to the man in charge of the copper, even if this was bad for business. At a number of breweries, right into the twentieth century, many operative brewers, for example, had no say in purchasing, let alone in the dismissal of workers.[147] Furthermore, the power of the foreman was even more hotly contested than that of the brewer, as delegating power to these employees was like handing the business over to the workers. Instead, paternalism often lived on at businesses long after it ceased to be an effective managerial tool.

The only department traditionally ruled by a foreman, due to its solid craft associations, was the cooperage. Sixteenth-century legislation actually prevented brewers from practising the cooper's trade of barrel making.[148] Although some brewers eventually overlooked this restriction, few modern brewers actually had any knowledge of the craft and therefore tolerated the independence of this branch of the trade.[149] As a result, unlike brewing pupils, apprentices in the cooperage were always under departmental foremen. The same individual generally managed all other aspects related to the manufacture and repair of casks and reported to brewery management only periodically.

On the other hand, employers did attempt to supervise the brewery's other departments more carefully. However, while it was relatively easy to keep an eye on workers who occupied contained spheres, as when Mary Hewins attended the Flower family's garden party, it was considerably more difficult to supervise every labourer employed in the average mid-sized brewery, though this did not stop some brewers from trying. Evidence from brewery plans suggests that brewers' offices, especially at the largest firms during the nineteenth century, were usually built to allow for better supervision.[150] At Flower & Sons, offices were constructed in a way which gave directors a 'bird's eye view' of affairs at the copper and in the brewery yard.[151] Other brewers, such as Messrs Ratcliffe & Jeffrey of Northampton, took more drastic measures and removed walls in order to improve supervision in their old buildings.[152] Regardless of these efforts, employers inevitably had to put up with numerous blind spots.

Some consequently concerned themselves less with supervision than with timekeeping. Only a few brewers, however, implemented such strategies, which had, according to editors of the trade's journals, become the 'custom in vogue' at the close of the last century.[153] For example, in 1883, managers of John Smith's brewery at Tadcaster fitted electric bells throughout the newest sections of their plant.[154] Occasionally, labourers were even made to 'clock in' at work. According to Alfred Barnard, who toured several dozen British breweries at the end of the last century, only a handful of firms employed timekeepers.[155] At Flower & Sons in these years, only office workers had their days regulated as strictly.[156] Besides adorning their buildings with clocks, which chimed quarters and hours, some brewers erected steam whistles which sounded mornings and evenings and were audible to a district's entire population.[157] Not everyone, however, regarded their periodic blasts as a public service. The Trent Valley Brewery Company in Lichfield, for example, was served an injunction to remove its steam whistle in 1882.[158] In other communities, local councils regulated both the number of times a whistle could sound and the duration of each blast.[159] Moreover, in less secluded settlements, such instruments did not always command a dominant role in inhabitants' lives. After 1850, for example, the sounds associated with Flower & Sons' brewery were regularly overwhelmed by those of the local railway.[160] In the most developed urban settings, few individuals would

have noticed some brewers' plants were it not for their chimneys or the smell associated with production.

Once employed at breweries, few labourers had their new duties regulated by 'rigid clock-time'. The very design of breweries frequently made the strict regulation of time a difficult task. Given the size of many provincial breweries, and the existence of numerous entrances, workers could not easily be made to clock in before commencing their work. Some plants, especially those located in the provinces, covered acres of land and appeared like miniature cities to visitors. At times, facilities took days for visitors, such as Barnard, to view entirely, and might have taken much longer should they not have been accompanied by a guide.[161] Moreover, the idea of organising work along such precise lines in the mid-nineteenth century was regarded as impractical by brewers, and especially the Flowers, primarily due to the state of brewing technology. Prior to the introduction of the refrigerator, production was not only seasonal, concentrated in the autumn, winter and early spring, but brewing times varied to an extent which defied all attempts to measure the production period accurately. After breweries began to acquire the latest cooling machinery, the length of the brewing process often still varied, depending on the season and existing weather conditions. Furthermore, though supervision was occasionally improved by making structural changes to plants, the flexibility demanded of the workforce implied that many labourers constantly moved between numerous, scattered departments. Others, such as draymen, spent the majority of their working day away from the brewery. Consequently, supervision proved extremely difficult for brewers to enforce right into the post-First World War period.[162] However, as labour costs made up less than 10% of brewery expenses - the majority comprising raw materials, duties and licences - most brewers appear to have been satisfied with their employees' performances as long as each day's brewing was successfully completed, and production proceeded without interruptions (see Tables 14 and 10).[163]

Year	Total	Year	Total	Year	Total	Year	Total	Year	Total
1870	1,250	1879	2,424	1888	24,052	1897	35,007	1906	43,568
1871	1,147	1880	11,222	1889	26,310	1898	38,348	1907	42,699
1872	1,483	1881	28,897	1890	25,003	1899	39,696	1908	40,251
1873	2,861	1882	29,927	1891	23,915	1900	43,486	1909	40,178
1874	4,561	1883	26,112	1892	24,621	1901	45,237	1910	41,929
1875	4,079	1884	24,839	1893	24,241	1902	45,917	1911	44,686
1876	2,540	1885	25,108	1894	23,739	1903	44,811	1912	48,239
1877	3,411	1886	24,092	1895	25,951	1904	43,319	1913	49,010
1878	5,119	1887	23,673	1896	28,575	1905	41,721	1914	53,076

Table 14. Excise costs (to nearest pound), 1870-1914.

Sources: SBTRO, DR 227/8-11.

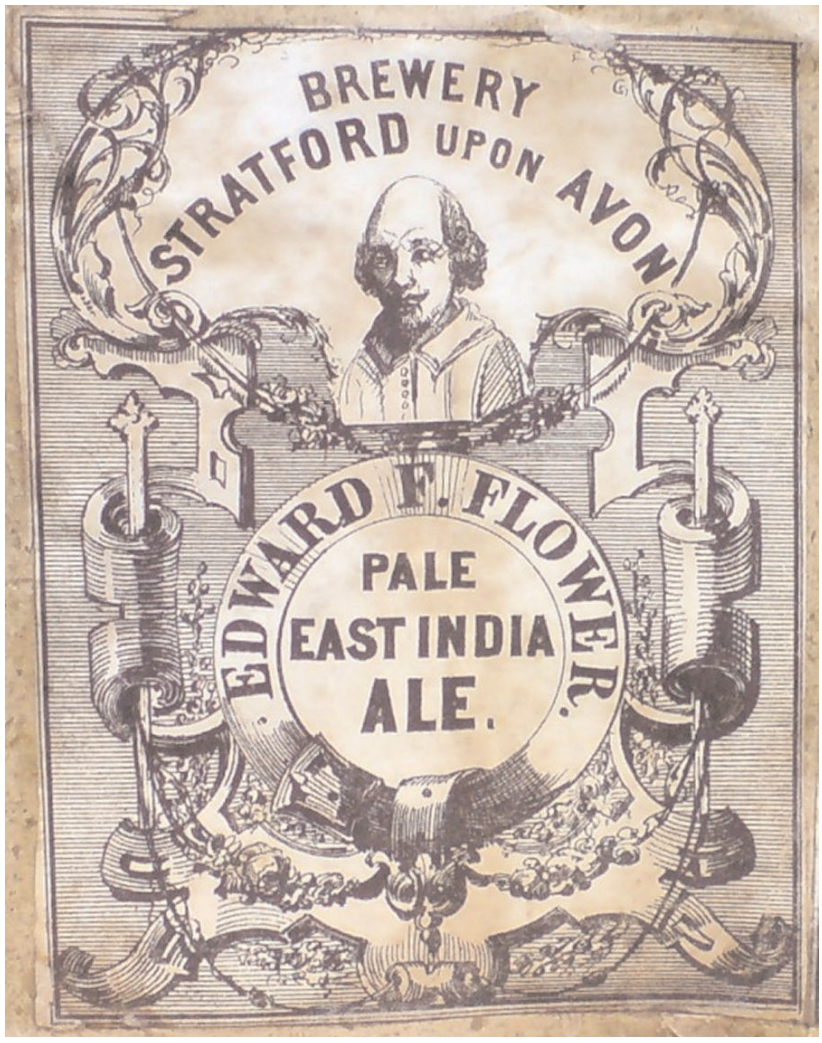


Figure 13. Flower and Sons' label.

Source: SBTRO, DR 227/121.

In many cases, however, lack of discipline and slackness, as uncovered by certain members of the Institute of Brewing, had begun to characterise brewery staffs.[164] The workmen's register of H. & G. Simonds, like Flower & Sons' wage books, reveals substantial labour turnover.[165] Though less detailed, the wage books of the Sheffield brewer S.H. Ward also reveal considerable turnover. Of those workers employed at the brewery in 1875, only two remained in the company's service five years later.[166] Not surprisingly, previously convinced of their reforming abilities, brewers at the end of the nineteenth century more regularly claimed that the 'inferior workman must not be tolerated'.[167] As a result, many more employers began to rely on the least personal tool of labour relations, dismissal.

Evidence in Flower & Sons' archives suggests this had become the brewery's main method of labour management by the end of the nineteenth century, if not earlier.[168] In 1902, after receiving a letter contesting their decision to discharge a drayman, the firm's directors argued that such actions could be considered only

if the worker were their sole employee. Their treatment of one man, however, '[had] an action on all others'.[169] Moreover, employees charged with theft were almost certainly sure to be tried in a police court, a decision which a previous generation of managers had avoided, but was now deemed necessary if such examples of worker insubordination were to be effectively deterred. Under these new circumstances, even the firm's oldest employees were not provided with second chances. According to its directors, the firm employed hundreds of workers and had to 'consider the point of examples to others'.[170] Consequently, when faced with theft or disobedience among their workers, brewers, like Flowers, began to rely solely on the powers of dismissal in order to solve all their labour problems. In this sense, paternalism at Flower & Sons was subject to not only finance, as argued in Chapter Five, but was also very closely tied to the size of the labour force. Once again, growth in the number of a firm's employees proved to be 'the enemy of paternalism'.[171]

Given a decline in the willingness of directors to tolerate insubordination, or even attempt to reform unruly workers, it was also no longer necessary for labour management to remain the preserve of the benevolent employer as it had been in the past. Instead, this less-personal system of control introduced by the brewery's third generation of managers could more easily be consigned to various senior, non-family members of staff. Rather than delegate these powers to directors or other senior members of the firm's clerical staff, however, the firm's operative brewer, Francis Talbot, assumed almost complete control over the management of labour. At other breweries such a move appeared equally sensible. In most cases the largest percentage of brewery workers already came under the supervision of the head brewer. Moreover, if this particular employee was ultimately to be responsible for output, the quality of all beer brewed and the economics of brewing, it was only logical that he should have control over matters from 'start to finish', including purchasing, recruitment and especially dismissal.

Although the adoption of a policy which centred on a manager's powers of dismissal caused numerous difficulties in other industries, this never became an issue at Flower & Sons due to the firm's links to Stratford's agricultural hinterland. Into the twentieth century, a steady flow of rural labourers into the town permitted the directors to discharge unmotivated or disloyal employees without suffering any of the losses traditionally associated with training. Most workers already came to the brewery with skills which were easily applied to production and, subsequently, little time or money was spent on the education of workers. Instead, each year, brewery managers drew up waiting lists of workers who desired brewery employment. Easily replaced, the average labourer employed by the firm was left with very little bargaining power. In most cases, the threat of dismissal was sufficient to maintain a degree of order among a staff which now comprised several hundred labourers; only the most senior members of brewery staffs ever appear to have contested their employers' powers of dismissal.[172] Finally, and most importantly, while the firm's founding family never entirely withdrew from the business, they had created a form of labour management more easily passed on to operative brewers and, ultimately, departmental foremen.

Although the diffusion of power in firms, as well as the question of divided authority, was discussed by brewers well into the twentieth century, some firms witnessed the introduction of similar managerial methods even earlier than at Flower & Sons. For example, proprietors of the Tadcaster Tower Brewery, for whom brewing appears to have been the most effective means of financing expensive habits and leisure pursuits, such as racing, were only too eager to leave the bulk of managerial responsibilities to qualified individuals like C.H. Tripp soon after having erected their brewing plant.[173] Not surprisingly, having acquired a more comprehensive knowledge of brewery management than most other operative brewers, Tripp's articles in the *Brewers' Journal* relating to this aspect of the trade for a time became the periodical's most popular feature and, published collectively, formed the earliest practical guide to management in the trade.[174] At other firms such changes were usually provoked by circumstances, often as peculiar, although particular to their own unique conditions. In most cases, however, a general increase in the labour force necessitated a similar diffusion of power. While this had largely inspired reorganisation at Flower & Sons, the specific timing of changes, however, were again very much associated with its financial state at the turn of the century.

Although Flower & Sons would continue to be associated with the firm's founders, few members of the Flower family after Charles regularly appeared in the brewery.

As first discussed in an earlier chapter of this study, Archie Flower never worked alongside a brewing copper; his training, like that of many of his contemporaries, was an academic one, which, in the broadest way, prepared him primarily for office work and a seat on the company's board of directors. Moreover, each generation of the family is associated with a different style of management. Edward Flower was a brewer and manager who quite naturally became well acquainted with his small staff of labourers, alongside whom he worked each day. As such, benevolence at the brewery in its early years was very much inspired by the owner's intimate knowledge of his workers. Having also passed through most, if not all, branches of the firm, Charles Flower was equally familiar with his workers and the tasks they performed. Archie Flower, on the other hand, worked only in the firm's offices and rarely appeared in the brewery, especially in the years after the company's London trade collapsed. The relative increase in the duties of the firm's chairman were further exacerbated with the death of his brother, Richard, with whom the management of the business might otherwise have been shared. Instead, while many other operative brewers remained dissatisfied with their limited control over production, Francis Talbot assumed far greater responsibilities than any brewer previously employed by the firm.

Interestingly, additional evidence also reveals how Talbot conceptualised these important changes. As a result, while members of the trade had feared such transformations would ultimately divide authority at breweries, Flower & Sons' archives shed light on the way in which such decisions actually affected labour relations in breweries. For example, during a meeting of the midland branch of the Institute of Brewing, Talbot revealed his split loyalties in a discussion which followed A.L. Jolliffe's paper on the subject of the eight-hour day as it affected brewers. A long-term employee and former apprentice at Flower & Sons, Talbot, perhaps understandably, believed he had 'a duty to the employer' as well as the employed.[175] However, as materialised at a number of other firms, having been granted greater managerial powers, the operative brewer had drawn more closely to his employers. Though he suggested brewers should 'feel as much on the side of the workman as of the director', he admitted the demands of labour were a times 'a bit excessive'.[176] Nevertheless, Talbot looked forward to further improvements in education, for he was certain that, in coming years, 'reason would adjust matters'. As things stood at the time, the workman, unlike the brewer, did not feel 'that interests of the brewery were identical with his own'. As opposed to the glowing reports issued annually by his employers, Talbot does not suggest this was ever the case at Flower & Sons.

In the end, what Flower & Sons was left with in the first years of the twentieth century was a workforce which appeared very loyal. Naturally, those conscious of the employers' paternalist methods and frequent acts of benevolence were quick to attribute conditions at the brewery to this tradition of labour management. However, judging from the firm's ledgers, this style of labour relations was not always entirely successful and often proved very difficult to implement due to, for example, the dynamics of the region's labour market or the inability of workers to resist the product they manufactured. Consequently, the brewery workforce continued to experience high levels of turnover between 1870 and 1914. In many cases, however, such conflict remained shrouded by the seasonal nature of the trade at many firms. Maintaining a semblance of stability after brewing was carried out all the year round, on the other hand, appears to have required employers carefully to prune labour forces of their most troublesome elements and, as always, regularly issue reports in local and national papers which spoke of the good feelings which existed between master and men in the brewing industry.

Conclusion

The transition from an agricultural economy to an urban one has traditionally been depicted as a difficult process. The skills and experiences of Victorian rural labourers have only rarely been regarded as useful to industrial production. In general, only the abilities of the tractor driver, or individuals privileged to have worked on mechanised estates, were easily introduced to urban industries; those familiar only with the days of the horse and plough were at a distinct disadvantage.[1] More importantly, the culture associated with country life left even the most skilled agricultural worker unprepared for modern industrial pursuits. If not employed in a factory, fines and, not infrequently, more severe punishments, many described by E.P. Thompson and subsequently

incorporated into general social and economic history texts, have been regarded as necessary in order to instil notions of time and work-discipline among rural labourers unfamiliar with the conditions associated with industrial employment.[2] Ever more research carried out since the publication of Thompson's influential article, however, has begun to stress the complexity of workers' experiences during industrialisation and suggests a need to explore alternatives to this model.[3] In particular, evidence from historically-neglected industries, such as brewing, suggests some workers may have faced easier transitions.[4]

What is clear from the available information on the subject is that, prior to 1900, brewing in Stratford was largely a seasonal occupation. In general, brewing was carried out between October and April. As a result, staff sizes varied considerably between 1870 and 1890. Approximately a quarter of Flower & Sons' employees left the brewery during the summer months. Those who remained in the firm's service were occupied with either cleaning work, repairs or the general distribution of ale. Given the seasonal nature of the work, the brewery often recruited additional hands from the rural districts located nearest Stratford during the busier winter period. Consequently, years before giving up rural work entirely, many labourers were able to combine such employment with their existing agricultural tasks and responsibilities. More importantly, due to the need for skills traditionally associated with agricultural workers, the brewery was an environment familiar to most rural migrants. Rather than being faced with unfamiliar and harsh industrial conditions, agricultural labourers employed in many of the country's breweries easily fulfilled their new manufacturing duties.

Traditionally, brewing has been very closely tied to the English countryside. Brewing during the eighteenth century, as Pamela Sambrook's and, to a lesser extent, John Burnett's works reveal, remained an important domestic task in many rural households.[5] Inventories for the period reveal the wide distribution of the materials which families, and usually women, used to brew their own alcoholic beverages. When the public began to demand the more stable products brewed commercially, farmers who provided their labourers with ale, even after the passage of the Truck Acts, continued to rank among professional brewers' most valued customers. For much of the Victorian period, the two parties essentially lived in symbiosis, for most brewers returned to their valued, rural customers in order to purchase large amounts of English barley, hops and even the horses which pulled their drays.[6] Given the ties which existed between the farmer and brewer, it is not surprising that many agricultural labourers eventually found employment in the breweries which regularly purchased the barley they harvested.

The late Victorian period, however, witnessed various scientific and technological advances, many of which applied to brewing. Primarily the result of work carried out by Louis Pasteur at the Ecole Normale in Paris and Emil Hansen at the Carlsberg Brewery in Denmark, brewers learned to control the brewing process due to a greater understanding of yeast and the importance of cleanliness within the production process. Thermometers, hydrometers, which allowed individuals to gauge the density of a liquid, and microscopes all gave brewers greater control over production, and facilitated communication among those interested in the trade or simply in zymotechnology, the science of fermentation. Consequently, brewing textbooks became not only more numerous, but provided easy-to-follow instructions. Trade journals continued to disseminate the results of the latest research and, eventually, technical education was improved due to the efforts of members of the Institute of Brewing, the newly-appointed staff of England's first School of Brewing and Malting at Birmingham University and consultant chemists who provided private tuition in London, Burton-upon-Trent and even Stratford-upon-Avon.

Nevertheless, despite these significant developments, the majority of brewery employees remained largely unaffected by these changes. Although the industry produced a number of noted scientific leaders, the trade lacked a technically-trained rank and file. While some firms established their own laboratories and hired trained chemists to analyse brewing materials and manage the production process, many more English brewers established only tenuous links to this scientific community, having only periodically hired consultant chemists to carry out tests on raw materials or provide technical advice. Moreover, despite the existence of apprenticeships at individual firms, brewers did not always incorporate scientific work into these training programmes. Furthermore, though this particular form of instruction survived at many breweries well into

the twentieth century, apprentices remained an élite within the trade, as companies, like Flowers, accepted only one or two pupils, who, over a period of two years, performed mainly practical tasks and enjoyed preferential treatment. Undoubtedly the result of apprentices' large premiums, the former characteristic also guaranteed that this institution evolved into what can be described as an early form of managerial training rather than a form of cheap labour as was common in many other trades.

As opposed to brewers' apprentices and even clerical workers, who were generally hired soon after leaving grammar school, brewery labourers tended on average to be older than ordinary urban labourers. Moreover, many were recruited from agricultural trades and received little formal training. Census returns for Stratford, for example, demonstrate that this was the most common route into Flower & Sons Brewery for much of the nineteenth century. Wage books for the late-Victorian period suggest that as many as a third of the firm's labourers came from the agricultural districts within approximately ten miles of Stratford each brewing season; wage books of other firms depict a similar reliance on rural labour, even though they may have overcome the difficulties associated with summer brewing earlier than their Stratford rivals. Despite contemporary descriptions of rural backwardness and the unskilled agricultural labourer, many farm workers possessed skills which were easily incorporated into the brewing process. Skills such as those described by F.E. Green, among other contemporary agricultural authorities, were required in brewery maltings where workers handled germinating barley grains. Furthermore, before entering breweries many labourers had, among other things, dug drains, ploughed, painted wagons, broken in colts and, of course, if previously employed on a modern estate, worked or repaired machinery. All of these skills were easily incorporated into those comprising a brewery workforce. Moreover, the average brewery worker had to be adaptable. While perhaps beginning the brewing season as a maltster, many soon worked alongside coppers, cleaned fermenting vats or casks, participated in construction projects at the brewery and its public houses, or even cared for horses, which were indispensable to the distribution of ale well into the twentieth century. In this way, many rural workers proved themselves equally indispensable to their employers.

Once employed at breweries, few agricultural labourers were faced with unfamiliar tasks or had their new duties regulated by the rigid clock-time so often associated with industrial capitalism. The very design of breweries frequently made the strict regulation of time a difficult task. Given the size of many provincial breweries, and the existence of numerous entrances, workers could not easily be made to 'clock in' before commencing their work. Some plants, especially those located in the provinces, covered acres of land and comprised a multitude of departments, not to mention labyrinthine cellars. Moreover, the flexibility demanded of the workforce implied that many labourers constantly moved between numerous, scattered departments. Consequently, supervision, according to brewery owners and managers, proved extremely difficult for brewers to enforce right into the post-First World War period.

Most brewers used only subtle methods to control their workforces. Those running the smallest provincial breweries exercised what Thompson, McHugh and others in organisational studies describe as 'simple control'.[7] All workers were known by name and encountered face-to-face daily. Even larger firms, like Flower & Sons, which outgrew the size which permitted such intimate relations, however, witnessed the introduction of similar managerial styles. Although rarely in direct contact with labourers, these entrepreneurs provided their workers with regular ale allowances, Christmas beef, usually a pound or two, sick clubs and even cottages, and, by so doing, developed reputations as benevolent employers. Besides bestowing such goods on workers, some extended their philanthropy to the towns in which their businesses had prospered in the form of theatres and libraries. Charles Flower gave Stratford the Royal Shakespeare Theatre in 1879 and donated considerable sums to hospitals and various local charities. Other proprietors returned rents to their tenants after failed harvests. Most of the time there did not seem to be a limit to the charitable activities of the largest brewers in the British Isles.

While donations to entire communities allowed the affluent, among other things, to enhance their social status, nineteenth-century business leaders expected a return on all gifts which they granted their workers. The expense associated with benevolence was in most cases an investment, which repaid employers in the form of faithful service. In an age with very little managerial

understanding, among a particularly wealthy body of industrialists, paternalism became an important, if not the predominant, method of labour management in breweries.

Inevitably, some brewers generated loyalty among their staffs better than others. Nevertheless, working conditions in most breweries regularly produced dissatisfaction, though not always strikes. Despite the existence of a benevolent tradition at Flower & Sons, a considerable amount of labour turnover is revealed in the brewery's ledgers between 1870 and 1914. During this period, for example, numerous workers were poached by other local firms and even rival breweries. Unable to tolerate certain laborious tasks, many other labourers left Stratford's largest employer after a single season or even on doctors' orders. Moreover, dozens of workers were dismissed from the firm for committing various offences, including stealing beer, fighting with co-workers and embezzling the funds which had been entrusted to them during both short periods of employment and long careers. On the other hand, employees occasionally abandoned their brewery posts due to low wages or simply a desire to better themselves.

Despite these defections among Flower & Sons' workers, labour turnover at the brewery rarely exceeded 40% a year, a figure generally regarded as low by industrial relations scholars.[8] Though this may appear to minimise some of the findings presented in this study, the intention was not to depict an excessive number of terminations, only to describe the dynamics of brewery labour relations more realistically and contest the static nature of workforces as they have appeared in past histories of the trade. Moreover, that some workers remained loyal to their employers for a number of decades cannot be refuted. The fact that this can be attributed to a common managerial style, however, is open to question. Low turnover in various departments of the trade, as the evidence gathered here demonstrates, may not have resulted solely from paternalist managerial strategies, the implementation of which undoubtedly varied with each firm, if not each generation of managers.

In spite of such variations, most brewery proprietors, like Flower & Sons' owners, retained their benevolent managerial practices into the twentieth century, usually due to a lack of alternative labour relations strategies. Arguably, this particular form of labour management, traditionally associated with the landed aristocracy, suited brewers who increasingly retired to country estates after amassing considerable wealth. More importantly, though not every employee always responded favourably to such methods of labour relations, paternalism would have been familiar to many agricultural workers joining brewery workforces during these years. The general organisation of the work process would also, in many cases, have been familiar.

Not all institutions in an urban industrial community ran according to strict time schedules. Although most brewery proprietors may have adorned their plants with clocks and sounded steam whistles on the hour, the idea of organising work along such precise lines in the mid-nineteenth century was regarded as impractical by many brewers given the state of brewing technology. For example, prior to the introduction of the refrigerator, brewing in Stratford was carried out only in the autumn, winter and early spring, for higher temperatures brought about uncontrollable fermentations which threatened to spoil entire brews. Records reveal the difficulties Flower & Sons' brewers faced as temperatures increased, and, not surprisingly, most recorded daily temperatures in the margins of their brewing journals. These ledgers also confirm a reduction in the number of brewings as summer approached; though having brewed approximately thirty times each month in winter, the firm often ceased production entirely in summer. In 1870, like many of their competitors, including Youngers, Whitbreads and hundreds of smaller breweries, Flower & Sons rarely brewed between June and September.

Besides permitting brewers to control temperatures more carefully, artificial refrigeration shortened the brewing process. Work days in breweries were considerably longer and, consequently, more dangerous in a pre-refrigeration age. Brewers often had no alternative but to wait for a brew to cool naturally. As a result, exact brewing times varied with the season and existing weather conditions. Many labourers regularly worked twelve-hour days; brewers' hours were often longer. In a section of his wife's diary, Charles Flower perhaps best summarises these marathon brewing sessions which often ended at midnight or early the next morning, occasionally only hours before the brewing process was again to commence.

Breweries, however, were some of the first manufactories to introduce refrigeration technology, thus permitting brewers to free the production process from climatic influences. According to contemporaries, Flower & Sons was revolutionary among English brewers in their application of mechanical refrigeration to brewing. During these years, the *Illustrated Midland News* provided the firm with perhaps its most glowing commendation. According to the journal's writers, 'many of the improvements in the manufacture of beer which are now used throughout the country owe their origin to the members of the firm.'[9] A degree of legitimacy, however, was lent to such testimony by Dr B.H. Paul, an expert on refrigeration who, in the 1860s, regularly reported on the new technology in the *Quarterly Journal of Science*. Paul regarded Flowers as one of the few English brewers, along with Messrs Truman, Hanbury, Buxton & Co., to have taken advantage of the new technology.[10]

Given these favourable accounts, one would expect the difficulties of summer brewing to have been overcome by Flower & Sons in the decades immediately following the firm's decision to purchase refrigeration technology. Instead, the firm did not brew between May and September throughout the 1880s. The same seasonal fluctuations characterised production for most of the 1890s. Although eventually having overcome the difficulties associated with summer brewing, Flower & Sons' brewing capacity still exceeded the demand for their product. As a result, the firm, like other provincial breweries, would continue to brew in cooler months, when conditions favoured the production of high-quality light ales. Only in the late 1890s does the brewery appear to have regularly carried out successful summer brewings.

By the end of the Victorian period, brewing appears to have been carried out all the year round in many breweries throughout England. Agricultural production, however, had been in decline for at least the last two decades of the nineteenth century as cheaper wheat, for example, began to be imported from abroad. Consequently, this was also a period of transition on many rural estates. Farmers in the central Midlands, known to revert 'from grass to grain and back again', depending on prices, government policies and weather conditions, had converted much of their land back to pasture by the end of the nineteenth century and, consequently, hired fewer labourers than they had in the past.[11] During the late decades of the nineteenth century, however, several brewers were also prepared to offer full-time employment to those workers who previously came to their breweries only seasonally. Given the late-nineteenth-century decline of rural employment in Warwickshire, and especially those parishes neighbouring Stratford, a large number of labourers previously employed only seasonally at Flower & Sons also joined the firm's full-time staff.

Census figures returned in the last decade of the nineteenth century reveal a dramatic decline in the populations of the rural parishes surrounding Stratford. More importantly, the cohort comprising individuals in their thirties had become relatively small in comparison to those of all other age groups. According to the *Stratford Herald's* agricultural correspondent, young persons appeared more willing to 'starve in the city than live in comfort on the farm'.[12] On the contrary, rather than starve, many had been offered steady employment and a competitive wage in industries like brewing. Moreover, unlike many of their contemporaries, labourers entering breweries faced familiar environments which made for an easy transition from rural to urban employment. Perhaps this, rather than the lure of paternalism, also goes some way towards explaining the long tenures of certain workers associated with the trade. That the former explanation is rarely considered in histories of the brewing industry is not surprising, however, given that the experiences of workers have only rarely figured in historical accounts of the trade.

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Abbreviations

BCL	Birmingham Central Library
CRO	Cambridge Record Office
CA	Courage Archives, Bristol
CCRO	Coventry City Record Office
DBB	*Dictionary of Business Biography*
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*
EHR	*Economic History Review*
GLRO	Greater London Record Office
JFIB	*Journal of the Federated Institutes of Brewing*
JIB	*Journal of the Institute of Brewing*
HRO	Hereford Record Office
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
SBTRO	Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Records Office
SCA	Sheffield City Archives
SRO	Suffolk Record Office
WLHC	Walsall Local History Centre
WCRO	Warwickshire County Record Office
WA	Whitbread & Co. Archives, London
HWRO	Hereford and Worcester Record Office

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Chapter 6

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4. *Morning Advertiser,* 8 May 1874; SBTRO, DR 227/121. Similar feelings were expressed by those dignitaries who attended a workmen's supper at Cox & Son's timber yard three months later, see *Stratford Herald*, 7 August 1874.

5. SBTRO, DR 227/121

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8. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 January 1889.

9. Stanley-Smith, W. (1902) 'Labour in the Brewhouse,' *Journal of the Federated Institutes of Brewing*, 8, p.126.

10. Barnard, A. (1889-91) *The Noted Breweries of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 1. London: Sir Joseph Canston & Sons, p.327; and Vol. 4, p.255; see also Gourvish, T.R. (1987) *Norfolk Beers from English Barley: A History of Steward & Patteson, 1793-1963*. Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, pp.52 and 129; Mathias, P. (1959) *The Brewing Industry in England, 1700-1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.32; and Janes, H. (1963) *The Red Barrel: A History of Watney Mann*. London: John Murray, pp.171-2.

11. CA, BA/S/12

12. Wilson, R.G. (1983) *Greene King: A Business and Family History*. London: Jonathan Cape, p.80.

13. ibid. p.80; and see Chapter Five.

14. SBTRO, DR 227/83

15. ibid, DR 730/15. Booker was with the firm for 52 years.

16. Flower, S. (1964) *Great Aunt Sarah's Diary, 1846-1892*. Stratford: Privately Printed, p.63.

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18. See Chapter Five. During these years, less than a dozen labourers were actually granted pensions by the firm.

19. See Chapter Three.

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21. ibid., p. 63.

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25. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 December 1889. 600 maltsters participated in the action.

26. ibid., 15 June 1897. Workers on this occasion demanded an increase in wages equivalent to 2s. and 3s. 6d. per week and a four-hour reduction in their working week.

27. ibid., 15 December 1889. The maltsters received 3s. to 3s. 4d. a day with a £2 to £3 bonus for those working to the end of the season.

28. ibid., 15 October 1883.

29. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 November 1898; and 15 January 1899. The town's maltsters demanded a rise from 30s. to 35s. a week. Thereafter, ruptures between working men and brewers were regularly ascribed to 'outside agitators'.

30. ibid., 15 January 1900.

31. ibid., 15 June 1881; 15 May 1888; 15 January 1895; and 15 May 1904.

32. ibid., 15 November 1903. Meanwhile, strikes were reported in the *Brewers' Journal* on 15 February 1913 (at R. Hutchinson & Co.); 15 April 1913 (at Northampton Brewery Co.); 15 December 1913 (at Ind Coope Ltd); 15 July 1914 (at Worthington & Co. Ltd.); and 15 August 1914 (at Watney & Co. Ltd).

33. ibid., 15 March 1914; and 15 August 1914. In September 1913, only 1,600 brewery workers in Burton had belonged to the union, see ibid., 15 September 1913.

34. Newby, H. (1977) *The Deferential Worker: A Study of Farm Workers in East Anglia*. London: Allen Lane, p.415. Newby demonstrates the way in which the placid exterior of rural life obscured many bitter antagonisms; see also Thompson, P. and Ackroyd, S. (1995) op. cit. p. 629.

35. SBTRO, DR 227/121

36. Eley, P. (1994) *Portsmouth Breweries since 1847*. Portsmouth: Portsmouth City Council, p.8; and *Hampshire Telegraph*, 30 March 1870.

37. Hewins, A. (1981) p.84. Hewins describes this as the town's first union.

38. SBTRO, DR 227/122

39. ibid.

40. ibid.

41. SBTRO, DR 227/122

42. ibid.

43. ibid., DR 227/84

44. SBTRO, DR 227/83

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46. SBTRO, DR 227/82

47. ibid.

48. SBTRO, DR 227/82

49. SBTRO, DR 227/82

50. CA, BA/S/12

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55. ibid.

56. Stanley-Smith, W. (1902) op. cit. p.128; and Hartley, A. (1895) 'Practical Notes on Brewery Management,' in *Journal of the Federated Institutes of Brewing*, 1, p.369.

57. Hartley, A. (1895) op. cit. p.369.

58. SBTRO, DR 227/110

59. ibid., DR 227/82

60. Booth, C. [1970] *Life and Labour of the People in London*, Vol. III. New York: AMS Press, Inc., p.114; see also Chapter Three.

61. In general, labour turnover is usually concentrated among new men and young people, see Slichter, S.H. (1921) op. cit. pp.43-4.

62. SBTRO, DR 730/38. As a result, few labourers took any notice of a sacking, for most either waited for a job or chance to advance within the firm.

63. ibid., DR 227/83

64. CA, BA/S/12. Of the 2,083 workers employed by the firm between 1870 and 1914, 63% (1,303) remained for a year or less, 15% (312) between 1 and 5 years, 7% (153) between 5 and 10 years, 7% (156) between 10 and 20 years, 3% (55) between 20 and 30 years and 5% (104) for more than 30 years.

65. SBTRO, DR 227/84. Evidence suggests clerks also occasionally left the brewery's service after continually having been denied rises, see, for example, SBTRO, DR 227/98-9.

66. Stanley-Smith, W. (1902) op. cit. p.128; Hartley, A. (1895) op. cit. p.369; Riley, W.A. (1919) op. cit. p.144; and *Brewers' Journal*, 15 August 1892. At Samuel Allsopp & Sons' annual shareholders' meeting, directors, for similar reasons, defended their appointment of an outsider to the post of head brewer.

67. Riley, W.A. (1919) op. cit. p.160.

68. ibid., p.150.

69. Hewins, A. (1985) *Mary, After the Queen: Memories of a working girl*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.24; and Herbert, J. (1972) *The Art of Brewing India Pale Ale and Export Ale, Stock & Mild Ales, Porter and Stout*. Fifth edition, Burton-on-Trent: published by the author, p.27.

70. Sambrook, P. (1996) *Country House Brewing in England, 1500-1900*. London: The Hambledon Press, p.69; and *Brewers' Journal*, 15 April 1901.

71. Hewins, A. (1985) op. cit. p.20. A common method used to obtain ale involved workers puncturing a cask with a sharp tool and plugging the opening after they had drained a sufficient amount of ale. The 'invisible' puncture could then be tapped repeatedly, usually with a straw. This complicated procedure was generally referred to by labourers as 'sucking the monkey', see Gilding, B. (1971) op. cit. p.39; and *Journal of the Operative Brewers' Guild*, August 1914.

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

73. SBTRO, DR 227/82

74. CA, BA/S/12

75. Riley, W.A. (1919) op. cit. p.169.

76. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 November 1901.

77. *Journal of the Operative Brewers' Guild*, August 1914.

78. SBTRO, DR 227/106

79. ibid., DR 227/110

80. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 February 1889. The same conditions also appear to have existed in the cider industry; this particular sales practice is stressed in Wilkinson, L.P. (1987) *Bulmers: A Century of Cider-making*. London: David & Charles, p.43.

81. SBTRO, DR 227/8

82. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 August 1884.

83. Robb, G. (1992) *White Collar Crime in Modern England: Financial fraud and business morality, 1845-1929*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.136; and Hannah, L. (1986) *Inventing retirement: The development of occupational pensions in Britain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.24.

84. SBTRO, DR 227/110. The figure is given in a letter dated 21 November 1892 from the company secretary, Charles Lowndes, to Arthur Bennett, a newly appointed salesman.

85. ibid., DR 227/106

86. ibid.

87. Robb, G. (1992) op. cit. p.133.

88. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 January 1880; 15 April 1881; 15 June 1881; 15 August 1881; 15 February 1882; 15 July 1882; 15 September 1882; 15 February 1883; 15 May 1883; 15 July 1883; and 15 November 1883.

89. Robb, G. (1992) op. cit. p.183.

90. ibid., p.134; and Sindall, R. (1983) 'Middle-Class Crime in Nineteenth Century England,' in *Criminal Justice History*, p.31.

91. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 December 1888.

92. Flower, S. (1964) op. cit. pp.44 and 107; *Stratford Herald*, 17 June 1892; and SBTRO, DR 227/103, 106 and 110.

93. *Stratford Herald*, 28 April 1905.

94. Robb, G. (1992) op. cit. p.34.

95. Knox, D. (1956) *The Development of the London Brewing Industry, 1830-1914 with special reference to Whitbread and Company*. B. Litt, University of Oxford, p.160. According to Knox, the double-entry system was introduced at Whitbreads in 1868.

96. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 March 1897.

97. Parker, R.H. (1991) 'Misleading Accounts? Pitfalls for Historians,' *Business History*, XXXIII, 4, p.3. See also Pollard, S. (1965) *The Genesis of Modern Management: A Study of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain*. London: Edward Arnold Ltd., p.218; and *Brewers' Journal*, 15 May 1897. According to the latter's editors, the manager of Messrs Godsell & Son, brewers of Stroud, Gloucestershire, absconded with more than £18 of the company's funds when told by the firm's owners that his books would be audited.

98. SBTRO, DR 227/110. See also Chapter One.

99. Morris, B. and Smyth, J. (1994) op. cit. p.213.

100. Flower, S. (1964) op. cit. p.44; and SBTRO, DR 730/32

101. SBTRO, DR 227/106

102. Robb, G. (1992) op. cit. p.8; and Tobias, J.J. (1967) *Crime and Industrial Society*. London: Batsford, pp.27-8.

103. Pollard, S. (1963) 'Factory Discipline in the Industrial Revolution,' *Economic History Review*, XVI, 2, p.267.

104. Shils, E. (1968) 'Deference,' in Jackson, J.A. (ed.) *Social Stratification*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.104; and Bendix, R. (1963) *Work and Authority in Industry: Ideologies of Management in the Course of Industrialization*. New York: Harper & Row, p.51.

105. Schlüter, H. (1910) T*he Brewing Industry and the Brewery Workers' Movement in America*. New York: Burt Franklin, p.89.

106. For example, see extracts from Steward & Patteson's Yarmouth Punishment Book in Gourvish, T.R. (1987) op. cit. pp.88-94; and Younger's Punishment Book, Wandsworth.

107. Bendix, R. (1963) op. cit. p.51.

108. McKendrick, N. (1961) op. cit. p.39.

109. Ackers, P. (1998) op. cit. p.181.

110. Shils, E. (1968) op. cit. p.117; and Goffman, E. (1967) *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behaviour*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, p.61.

111. Slichter, S.H. (1921) *The Turnover of Factory Labour*. London: D. Appleton & Company, pp.197-9.

112. Ackers, P. (1998) op. cit. p.183.

113. Mathias, P. (1959) op. cit. p.120; and Bendix, R. (1963) op. cit. p.35.

114. Pollard, S. (1964) 'The Factory Village in the Industrial Revolution,' *Economic History Review*, XVII, 3, p.522.

115. Joyce, P. (1982) op. cit. pp.26-7.

116. Flower, S. (1964) op. cit. pp.2 and 42.

117. ibid., p.4.

118. Malchow, H.L. (1991) *Gentlemen Capitalists: The Social and Political World of the Victorian Businessman*. London: Macmillan Ltd., p.l.

119. *Stratford Herald*, 16 December 1864; and 14 July 1865; and Flower, S. (1964) op. cit., pp.60 and 68.

120. ibid., p.68.

121. ibid., p.89.

122. ibid., p.117; and Flower's obituary in the *Stratford Herald*, 6 May 1892.

123. *Stratford Herald*, 31 July 1903.

124. *Stratford Herald*, 26 October 1888.

125. Waller, R.J. (1983) *The Dukeries Transformed: The Social and Political Development of a Twentieth Century Coalfield*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.88-91.

126. Flower, S. (1964) op. cit. p.108.

127. Bearman, R. (1995) 'God's Good Woman,' Festival Lecture, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, July.

128. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 September 1908.

129. Pringle, M.J. (1994) *Theatres of Stratford-upon-Avon, 1875-1992*. London: Trinity Press, p.13.

130. Hall, N.J. (1991) *Trollope: A Biography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p.437.

131. SBTRO, DR 730/11

132. ibid., DR 730/15

133. ibid., DR 227/82-5

134. Landes D. (1982) *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological change and industrial development in Western Europe from 1750 to the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.342.

135. SBTRO, DR 730/32

136. Martin R. and Fryer, R.H. (1973) *Redundancy and Paternalist Capitalism: A Study in the Sociology of Work*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., p.85.

137. SBTRO, DR 730/24

138. Hewins, A. (1985) op. cit. pp.23-4.

139. ibid., p. 3.

140. Bendix, R. (1963) p.100.

141. Joyce, P. (1982) op. cit. p.xxi; and Norris, G.M. (1978) 'Industrial Paternalist Capitalism and Local Labour Markets,' *Sociology*, XII, 3, p.480.

142. Dutton H.I. and King, J.E. (1982) 'The limits of paternalism: the cotton tyrants of North Lancashire, 1836-54,' *Social History*, VII, 1, p.59.

143. Huberman, M. (1987) 'The economic origins of paternalism: Lancashire cotton spinning in the first half of the nineteenth century,' *Social History*, XII, 2, p.178; see also

Waller, R.J. (1983) op. cit. p.280; and Ackers, P. (1998) op. cit. p.177.

144. SBTRO, DR 730/15

145. Riley, W.A. (1919) op. cit. p.142.

146. ibid.

147. ibid., p. 162.

148. Dunlop, O.J. and Denman, R.D. (1912) *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour: A History*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, p.22.

149. Hartley, A. (1895) op. cit. p.361; and *Brewers' Journal*, 15 October 1895.

150. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 May 1881.

151. Hewins, A. (1985) op. cit. p.46.

152. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 September 1883.

153. ibid., 15 October 1898.

154. ibid., 15 February 1883.

155. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit. Vol. 1, p.136. At Eldridge, Pope & Co.'s Dorchester Brewery labourers were summoned to their 'daily toil' by a great bell. Arriving at the brewery, workmen gave their names as they passed the time-keeper's office at the firm's main gate. The other breweries at which similar arrangements existed included the Regent Road Brewery in Salford, Bentley & Co.'s Eshald Brewery near Leeds and the City Brewery in Oxford.

156. SBTRO, DR 730/15

157. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit. Vol. 2, p.346.

158. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 October 1881; and 15 July 1882.

159. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 June 1896. After a meeting of Lewes Town Council, it was decided that steam whistles at breweries could sound only ten times a day between 5:55 am and 6:50 pm. The duration of each blast was not to exceed ten seconds.

160. Hewins, A. (1985) op. cit. p.2.

161. Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit. Vol. 1, p.62; see also Dodd, G. (1967) *Days at the Factories*. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, p.31.

162. Riley, W.A. (1919) op. cit. pp.141-70. These are the same conditions which often made the supervision of agricultural labour difficult, see Thompson, E. P. (1967) 'Time, Work Discipline and Industrial Capitalism,' *Past & Present*, 38, p.78.

163. Donnachie, I. (1979) op. cit. p.200.

164. Hartley, A. (1895) op. cit. p.366.

165. CA, BA/S/12

166. Sheffield City Archives (SCA), microfilm A173

167. Hartley, A. (1895) op. cit. p.367.

168. SBTRO, DR 227/110

169. ibid.

170. ibid. The letter is dated 18 December 1903 and is from Charles Lowndes to the Secretary of the Charity Organisation Society, Worcester.

171. Ackers, P. (1998) op. cit. pp.185-6.

172. *Brewers' Journal*, 15 February 1892; and 15 August 1892. Of the numerous cases relating to wrongful dismissal printed in the *Brewers' Journal* during these years, all involved managers, clerks or brewers.

173. Swales, W. (1991) *The History of the Tower Brewery Tadcaster*. Otley, West Yorkshire: Bass Brewers Ltd., especially pp.1-16.

174. *The Brewers' Journal*, 15 June 1892, contains a review of Tripp's *Brewery Management: Embracing the practical working of the office, malting, brewing, wine and spirit, mineral water, and bottling dept*s (1892). Although the book is not contained in Charles Flower's collection, a large number of copies were sold to members of the trade by Stratford's brewers' chemists, Kendall & Son, see *Brewers' Journal*, 15 October 1892. A second edition of Tripp's work was published in 1911.

175. Jolliffe, A.L. (1919) 'The Eight-Hour Day,' *Journal of the Institute of Brewing*, 25, p.236.

Conclusion

1. Newby, H. (1977) op. cit. pp.151 and 279; *Land Worker*, January 1950, p.7.

2. Thompson, E. P. (1967) op. cit. Also see Pollard, S. (1965) op. cit; Landes D. (1982) op. cit.; and Mathias, P. (1983) *The First Industrial Nation: An economic history of Britain 1700-1914*. London: Routledge.

3. See, for example, Newby, H. (1977) op. cit. p.387; and Joyce, P. (1991) *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the question of class, 1848-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.3-12.

4. Research which challenges this traditional paradigm includes Horrocks, S. (1998) 'Women resisting their own emancipation?: Canned food and the British in the interwar years,' Warwick Seminar Series in the Social History of Medicine, University of Warwick, January. See also Fitzgerald, R. (1988) *British Labour Management and Industrial Welfare, 1846-1939*. London: Croom Helm, p.58. Moreover, the frozen-foods industry has greatly challenged traditional notions of agricultural work, see, for example, Newby, H. (1977) op. cit. p.287.

5. Sambrook, P. (1996) op. cit.; and Burnett, J. (1979) *Plenty & Want: A social history of diet in England from 1815 to the present day*. London: Scholar Press, especially p.20.

6. Many brewers in these years brewed with only English

barley. For an extreme example of such patriotism among brewers see Gourvish, T.R. (1987) op. cit. According to Alfred Barnard, Truswell's Brewery in Sheffield also malted only English barley, see Barnard, A. (1889-91) op. cit. Vol. 1, p.342. Flower & Sons, on the other hand, always appears to have purchased the cheapest available barley, whether foreign or home-grown.

7. Thompson, P. and McHugh, D. (1990) *Work Organisation: a critical introduction*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd., pp.50-2.

8. Slichter, S.H. (1921) op. cit. pp.17-22.

9. *Stratford Herald*, 28 January 1870.

10. Paul, B.H. (1869) 'The Artificial Production of Ice and Cold,' *Quarterly Journal of Science*, XXI, p.10.

11. Thirsk, J. (1987) *Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History in England, I500-1750*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd., p.13.

12. *Stratford Herald*, 1 January 1897.