

BREWERS, PUBLICANS, AND STAFF IN LATE VICTORIAN AND EDWARDIAN LICENSED TRADE SOCIETIES: PART II

DAVID FAHEY

Paid staff at brewers' organizations

Senior staff in brewers organizations came from a higher social class than the officials who worked for the licensed victuallers and were paid more. A sign of the different status of wholesale and retail trade officials occurred just before the end of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Licensing Laws in 1899. The National Trade Defence Fund presented both its general and legal secretaries with a bonus of £1,000. The London licensed victuallers organization responded by providing its secretary a bonus of £250. Its solicitor got only a resolution on vellum.¹

William Charles Higgins (1851-probably 1931) is a good illustration of a well-paid trade official with upper middle-class credentials. His father had been a master for the court of bankruptcy. (A master is a procedural judge who deals with a case until it goes before a trial judge.) His mother's father was a peer. William C. Higgins received B.A. and M.A. degrees from Christ Church, Oxford, and was called to the bar after having studied at the Inner Temple. From 1880 to 1920, he was the clerk of the Worshipful Company of Brewers, a London livery company better known as the Brewers Company.² He was well paid. In 1892, his salary was increased from £900 to £1,000. In addition, he received £500 as clerk to Dame Alice Owens charities and £40 each for a boys school and a girls school related to these charities.³

Welsh-born John Danvers Power (1858-1927) was the most prominent drink trade official.⁴ He studied at Malvern College and at Downing College, Cambridge, and after studying at the Inner Temple, he was called to the bar in 1887. His Irish-born father Samuel Browning

Power (1824-92), J.P., was a shipowner and mine owner. In the early 1880s one of his firms failed. According to the diary of a niece, family members who had lent him money regarded him as dishonest.⁵

Danvers Power had been unhappy working at his father's shipping business in Swansea. At the 1881 census he had been listed as employed as a commercial clerk in the shipowners office. 'In his own words, he struggled to get out of the place, [having] a horror of a provincial manufacturing town and its inhabitants'.⁶ Danvers Power was related to the wife of W.H. Smith, the Conservative leader in the House of Commons. On the second ballot he was chosen secretary of the Country Brewers Society when it was being reorganized. He served as secretary beginning in February 1884.⁷ In 1886, when the society founded the *Brewing Trade Review*, he became its joint editor. In 1888, when the National Trade Defence Fund was organized he became its manager. His salary at the Fund began at £300 and ended at £500. In 1890, he received a hundred-guinea bonus for his work on behalf of the compensation provisions of the local taxation bill. The *Morning Advertiser* estimated the aggregate value of Powers drink trade appointments as £1,000.⁹ In 1891, Power resigned his paid offices when he married a daughter of the brewer T.O. Wethered. In 1895, Power was the unsuccessful Unionist candidate for East Leeds both at a bye-election and the general election.

In 1898, he was elected chairman of the Country Brewers Society. Later he was active in hospital work. He was chairman of the National Hospital for the Paralyzed and Epileptics. During the First World War, he edited a British Red Cross journal. For his services

related to medicine he was awarded the MVO, member of the Royal Victorian Order.¹⁰ His son, John Wethered Power (1893-1916), a lieutenant in the Welsh Guards, was killed in action.

Rivalry between Danvers Power and his father-in-laws son forced Power out of the Wethered family brewery until this son died. At the time of Powers own death, he was chairman of the brewery company, Thomas Wethered and Sons.¹¹

Another barrister was Powers successor as a paid official at the Country Brewers Society and the Fund. Reginald Mortimer took office in July 1891.¹² Mortimer (1861-1940) had as his full legal name Reginald Mortimer Higgs Jones Mortimer. He had been associated with the Fund since 1888.¹³ Mortimer had been educated at Harrow, Corpus Christi, Cambridge (B.A. and M.A), and the Inner Temple. After being employed in 1891-93 as manager of the National Trade Defence Fund, he served as a member of its governing board, 1899-1913.¹⁴ In 1893 he visited the Swedish port city of Gothenburg to study the system of selling drinks there. In 1900, he became the London managing director of the brewing firm of White, Tomkins, and Courage at an annual salary of £1,500.¹⁵ He was a tariff reformer closely associated with Henry Page Croft, later Lord Croft, and was considered as a tariff reformer candidate for Parliament, but did not stand. Mortimer was instrumental in organizing the Allied Brewery Traders Association to support the drink trade politically. He served as its honorary secretary. He also helped organize the Brewers Club in London.

After Powers and Mortimers relatively short terms of service, Henry Alfred Newton (1861-1924) held office as manager of the National Trade Defence Fund (later Association) from 1893 until 1917. He served concurrently as secretary of the Country Brewers Society. For the eight previous years, he had been private secretary to the brewer Cosmo Bonsor.¹⁶ He began at £400 a year at the Fund and £200 at the Country Brewers Society. When the Brewers Society was created in 1904, he became its secretary. Newton served in the Naval Reserve, 1914-15. Ill health required Newton to winter in Italy toward the end of his tenure and to retire while still in his fifties. He died in Italy and left an estate of more than £8,300. An obituary describes H.A. Newton as a fluent speaker and a kindly gentleman.¹⁷

Newton had been born in the Virgin Islands, then the Danish West Indies. His mother was Danish, while his father owned a sugar plantation. Although colonial in birth, Newton was gentry in his family origins, as his family for many generations had been East Anglian landowners. One of his grandfathers was an MP. An uncle was Alfred Newton, a professor of zoology and comparative anatomy, Magdalen College, Cambridge, and a noted ornithologist, while another uncle was a general. A brother, Sir Francis Newton, was a prominent colonial civil servant in Africa.

Newton was succeeded as secretary of the Brewers Society by Percy Charlton Morgan (1865-1934), while J.H. Barron became general secretary of the less important National Trade Defence Association.

Morgan did not come from an elite family or have a university education. His father, an architect and surveyor, died while his son was young. In the 1881 census P.C. Morgan is identified as an auction clerk. In 1886, he became secretary of the new *Brewery Trade Review*, Ltd., nominally an organization separate from the Country Brewers Society. From 1888 he served as sub-manager at the National Trade Defence Association and assistant secretary of the CBS. As a self-trained statistician, P.C. Morgan wrote a *Handbook of Statistics and Miscellaneous Information relating to the Trade in Alcoholic Liquors* (1892). From the early 1900s, he was secretary to the Kent brewers union. Morgan (and J.H. Barron) replaced Newton during his frequent illnesses. In 1917, Morgan succeeded Newton as secretary of the Brewers Society.¹⁸

Most senior employees of the National Trade Defence Association had elite status in birth and education. The barrister W(illiam) E(mest) Montgomery (1863-1950), was first hired with a salary of £300 as secretary of the consultative committee for the Royal Commission hearings, 1896-99.¹⁹ He was co-editor with P.C. Morgan of the *Brewers Almanack* which began publication in 1894. Montgomery was editor of the *Brewing Trade Review*, 1891-1905.

Montgomery received his B.A. degree at Clare College, Cambridge, in 1884 and his M.A. in 1888. He studied law at the Inner Temple. In 1888, he received a prize at Cambridge for his study of Irish land tenure, published in the following year. In recognition of his scholarship, Montgomery received an LL.D. degree at Clare College, Cambridge in 1893.²⁰ He practiced law exclusively for

the licensed trade. During the world war he was a lieutenant commander in the Royal Navy. In 1917, he inherited over £8,000 from his widowed mother.²¹ He was appointed as a magistrate for Devon in 1924.²²

In 1906, the National Trade Defence Association hired Reginald Mitchell Banks (1880-1940) as an organizing agent with a salary of £600.²³ This was a good salary for someone in mid-twenties. He was the son of the famous Liverpool surgeon, Sir William Mitchell Banks. He was educated at Rugby and Christ Church, Oxford., and in 1905, after studying at the Inner Temple, became a barrister. During the world war, he enlisted as a private soldier. He later became an officer in a Gurkhas regiment. Banks, sometimes called Mitchell-Banks, was a Conservative member of Parliament, 1922-29 and 1931-34. He also served as a county judge. He was knighted in 1928. Sir R(eginald) Mitchell Banks, KC, was a Roman Catholic.²⁴

Archibald Somerville Bennett (ca. 1867-1931) received his B.A. from New College, Oxford, in 1879. A solicitor, he served as secretary of the Birmingham and Midland Counties Wholesale Brewers Association for forty years and for a time was its agent. Bennett was president of the Birmingham Law Society in 1919.²⁵

At least one district agent (home and southern counties) came from the upper middle class. H.H. (Hugh Heugh) Riach (1847-1919) had been a student at Magdalen College, Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn, and was active in freemasonry. He was called to the bar in 1874. His father had served in the East India medical service. An active Tory, the younger Riach in 1886 was named vice chancellor for the Primrose League central office at a salary of £500.²⁶ In the NTDA he often courted controversy with his boastfulness.²⁷ He retired as an NTDA district agent in 1908 because of ill health.²⁸

Usually NTDA agents were lower middle class and without a university education. David W. Gutzke offers examples of the typical NTDA agent: publicans such as W.R. Foord (died 1908), secretaries of retail drink societies such as James A. Brown and Arthur James Harris, and solicitors such as John J. Dunne (died in 1899 aged 41).²⁹ Brown was dismissed for ignoring Fund policies.³⁰ The work of an NTDA agent could be exhausting. Harris reported that after a day of office work, he attended trade meetings. 'Last week ... I did

not reach home on any night until 11 o'clock, and on one evening it was 1 o'clock'.²³

Some agents served for a considerable time. For instance, Alfred Biddlecombe campaigned in the general election of 1895 but did not retire as an agent for the northern district of the NTDA until 1910. He was concurrently secretary of the Northumberland and Durham Brewers Association.³²

E. Lawrence Levy (1851-1932) was best known as a British and international amateur weight-lifting champion. He also was a journalist for several Birmingham newspapers, specializing in sports, music, and theater. His first career in Birmingham was as the head of what was called a Hebrew school, although not all its students were Jewish. Its enrollment was declining when in May 1891 he took employment with the Midland Counties Federated Brewers Association as agent for Warwickshire at £250 plus expenses.³³ Two years later the National Trade Defence Fund, Midlands District, listed him as a 'general assistant' at the same salary.³⁴ He received a second salary as editor of the *Licensed Trade News*. His salary for the Midlands District was increased in 1902 by £100 and in 1906 by another £50 as he added the work of an agent in North Staffordshire and Derbyshire. In 1907 Levy was restyled as chief agent at £400.³⁵

John Massey (died 1906), a long time NTDA agent, presumably was as atypical as was Levy. Massey had been a boot and shoe manufacturer and was a lay preacher at the Ebenezer Methodist New Connexion Church in Newcastle.³⁶

There is little information about paid staff at the northern brewers societies. Charles Beevers (died 1899) was the part-time secretary of the Yorkshire Brewers Association.³⁷ He had been a chartered accountant in Leeds since 1857. George Andrew Robinson (died 1908 at age 66) was secretary of the Manchester Central Brewers Association for 28 years.³⁸ A public accountant, he left an estate of a little more than £445.

Retail societies

Local licensed traded societies concentrated on legal protection of members, local politics, and benevolent funds, together with routine problems for businessmen

such as hiring staff and relations with the police. National and regional societies showed more interest in Parliament. There were many such organizations.³³

For politics, the most important organizations were two major federations of licensed victuallers, one provincial and the other metropolitan. They spent much of their time fighting one another.⁴⁰ In the provinces, two regional societies, the Birmingham-based United Towns Association (founded in 1836) and the Manchester-based Provincial Defence League (1854) joined to form the Licensed Victuallers National Defence League in 1873 as a 'Parliamentary and electoral organisation'.⁴¹

The first president of the National Defence League, Joseph Wadhams had previously served for ten years as president of the United Towns Association. He then served for another ten years as president of the League. When he sold his public house to League secretary Henry Charles Edwards, he became a maltster. Much earlier, Wadhams had been a Birmingham councilor for St. Martins ward. In the mid-1870s a candidate identified with the temperance movement ousted him.⁴² Dying in 1883, Wadhams left an estate of little more than £573.

Later League presidents did not serve as long as Wadhams. They were Samuel Cleaver, 1883-89 (who resigned because of ill health); Samuel Hyslop, 1889-95 (who retired because of ill health); John Hunt, (1848-99), 1895-98 (who also retired because of ill health); C.G. Long, 1898-1901; Edward Morrall, 1901-07 (who retired after being seriously injured when run over by a lorry); Isaac Turner, 1907-13; William Tarr, 1913-15.⁴³ William J. Coates became president in 1915.

Shortly after the *Brewing Trade Review* was founded, it attacked the National Defence League for extravagance and a mixture of inactivity and indiscretion. It insisted that the brewers, in virtue of their financial support, had a right to a say in what the League did. When the League rebelled against this tutelage, the Review discouraged brewer subsidies.⁴⁴

The League picked fights that most brewers and the London publicans considered unwise. It supported a legal appeal in the *Sharpe v. Wakefield* case that wiser brewers regarded as disastrous. The National Trade Defence Fund was not happy with the League when its

president Samuel Hyslop wrote a letter to the *Morning Advertiser* in 1892 that described the attitude of the brewers toward the licensed victuallers as 'almost those of master and servant'.⁴⁵ The response of the wholesale trade was predictable. In 1897, Bass brewery promised 200 guineas to the local retail organizations but only ten guineas to the National Defence League.⁴⁶

Late in 1901 and early in 1902 the secretary of the League and the editor of the *Licensed Trade News* quarreled in the columns of that paper. It quoted, via the *Staffordshire Sentinel* (6 December 1901), the League president, Alderman Morralls complaint about the childrens bill: 'He was sorry to say that in this matter they did not receive the amount of support they ought to have received from the wholesale section of the trade. It was no use talking about unity if unity did not mean unity of purpose'.⁴⁷ The National Trade Defence Association was not amused.⁴⁸

The League had strained relations with the London licensed victuallers. The League grumbled: 'The London Executive ... have followed their old policy of defamation and discord-sowing'.⁴⁹

Resenting competitors, the provincial publicans (and to a lesser extent the Londoners) made licensed trade unity difficult. Competition from the licensed grocers and other off-license merchants embittered licensed victuallers. The National Defence League also found enemies elsewhere, for instance, working mens clubs and chemists who sold medicated wines.⁵⁰

The National Defence League reached a peak of its strength in 1883 when it briefly acquired the proprietorship of the *Licensed Victuallers Gazette*.⁵¹ In that year the League had 250 affiliates with members in 350 towns and received a subsidy from the wholesale trade of slightly more than £800.⁵² In 1887 the League sold its newspaper for only £125. In the next year it moved its headquarters from Birmingham to London.⁵³

When the Country Brewers Society was reorganized in the mid-1880s, many of its members contributed to the CBS and not to the League. The Burton trade remained comparatively loyal to the League.⁵⁴ In the 1890s, with less than £100 a year from the wholesalers, the League faded into relative obscurity, from which it emerged only during its blunt-speaking annual and semi-annual

conferences. The League could spend only £69 on the general election of 1892, supplemented by another £19 pathetically scattered among 189 meetings.⁵⁵ The secretary of the London licensed victuallers society sneered that the cost for printing its yearbook cost more than total expenditures of the League.⁵⁶ At the end of the nineteenth century, the societies affiliated with the League claimed only 10,000 members.⁵⁷ Surprisingly, a few years later the League said that its affiliated societies had 30,000 members.⁵⁸

Affiliated societies had limited funds and fewer members than might have been expected. In 1899 a temperance investigator said that the largest society income that he knew about was Birmingham's £433. Sheffield reported £230, Manchester £210, Newcastle £180, and Liverpool £140. Brewers often provided what modest income there was. For instance, one brewer gave the Liverpool organization £105 and two others added 15 guineas.⁵⁹

Only a minority of publicans joined trade societies. Speaking at the annual meeting of the London licensed victuallers in the late 1890s, the brewer George C. Croft complained that membership in retail societies, 'the backbone of our army,' often was 'very small indeed'.⁶⁰ Guy Hayler, a temperance agent, added that in some large towns it was no more than 25%.⁶¹ He gave as an example Birmingham with 2,300 licensed houses, while its local society had 639 members including members of a benevolent fund. 'Newcastle has 691 licensed houses, and the local Society was about 309 members, but this includes Gateshead with 223 licensed houses, and district, which may include as many more'.⁶²

In 1899, the annual report of the provincial organization for licensed victuallers painted a dismal picture.⁶³ Part of the problem was that some districts refused membership to managers of brewer-owned pubs and off-licensees. In Liverpool, there were only 200 members out of a possible 400 licensed victuallers. Three-quarters of the 2,000 licensed houses were owned by brewers who placed managers in them. In Manchester, there were 540 fully licensed houses but only 220 League members. Only *bona fide* licensed victuallers were eligible for membership. Manchester also had a beer and wine trade protection society and an off-license holders association. In Leeds 350 licensed houses provided 259 members. Here too there was a beer and wine

society and 'also a society which takes licensed victuallers at half the membership fee we charge'.⁶⁴

Retailers reluctance to join trade societies grew. By 1910 about half of all licensed holders did not belong to a retail society. 'The situation was worse in the home and southern counties, where two-thirds of the 15,400 retailers were unorganized'.⁶⁵

In frustration, some local societies quit the League. For instance, the Southampton and District Licensed Victuallers Association withdrew in 1904, explaining that 'the League never did them any good'.⁶⁶

In reminiscences published in 1894 an agent of the Midland brewers depicted the frustratingly casual spirit typical of local retail societies. He described a visit to a small mining town 'to wake the Trade up, and at the same time to interest the public in our cause.' The chairman of the local trade society entertained him in a dingy parlor 'from which the flies would certainly easily have ejected us if they had made anything like a combined effort.' From there, members of the local trade marched to the site of an open-air demonstration, with a mercenary temperance band furnishing the music and with customers lounging outside public houses joining the motley parade on route. The agent discovered that the platform from which he was to denounce a Liberal bill for prohibition consisted of a rickety table without a sound leg, and that the only person prepared to make a seconding speech was an itinerant dentist with a heavy foreign accent.⁶⁷

Despite the Leagues problems, it remained important enough that one of its former presidents, Alderman Samuel Hyslop (1830-1901), was appointed to the Royal Commission on the Liquor Licensing Laws, 1896-99. Hyslop was representative of successful provincial publicans.⁶⁸ Born in Scotland, he had been a draper before he became a publican. In 1869, he leased the Borough Arms in Newcastle-under-Lyme, located across from the railway station. It was a hotel and public house that his wife's family had operated for the 15 previous years. In 1874, he purchased it for £3,360. Hyslop added a large assembly room, popular with the middle classes and their organizations. He was elevated to the aldermanic bench in 1873, and in the same year was appointed to the Board of Guardians. Hyslop served three times as mayor and also was created a justice of

the peace, both for the borough and the county.⁶⁹ He was a member of the Staffordshire County Council. Hyslop was a Home Ruler in the sense of local government for the Irish, and there was speculation in 1893 that the Liberals might choose him to be a parliamentary candidate.⁷⁰ In religion, he was a Congregationalist and a prominent Mason. Dying on 18 September 1901, Hyslop left a substantial estate of nearly £12,000.

The London Licensed Victuallers Protection Society, organized in 1833, acquired a prominent role in trade defense, aided by its location, a concentrated membership, and a salaried staff.⁷¹ It was able to spend £1,700 fighting the licensing act of 1872.⁷² It depended heavily on a few long-serving officers and officials.

For instance, an influential honorary treasurer, J.J. Homer (1809-1888), held office for over 50 years.⁷³ After a brief period in a solicitors office, John James Homer became a publican like his father. He took charge of the Dolphin Tavern in Hackney at the age of 21 and became chairman of the new Hackney Licensed Victuallers Protection Society in 1833. Three years later it was incorporated into the London central society. Homer was unanimously elected honorary treasurer of his new organization. Offices such as honorary treasurer were unpaid. After he turned the Dolphin over to his eldest son, Homer became a wholesale wine and spirits merchant. His obituary surveys London trade affairs from the early 1830s until Homers death. He left an estate valued at more than £13,000.

A revolt in the early 1890s created a new organization sometimes called the Central Board.⁷⁴ The reorganization took place under the leadership of Charles Walker (1836-1903), an ambitious publican long active in trade affairs. He had been a licensed victualler since 1863 and a governor of a licensed victuallers school as early as 1880. By 1884, he was the landlord for a prestigious pub, the Delaware Arms at 504 Oxford Street, Marylebone. He headed the Marylebone and Paddington district society beginning in 1888. Walker also was proprietor of public houses in Southwark, Battersee, and Kensington.⁷⁵ As a young man, he had been an impressive athlete, winning prizes in running, swimming and rowing and was a good cricketer.⁷⁶ In 1890 Walker presided over a trade meeting attended by leading brewers to consider the proposal of Lord Randolph Churchill to reduce the number of licensed premises.

The leadership of the old London society (the Licensed Victuallers Protection Society of London) had lost the confidence of the National Trade Defence Fund and of the London brewers who saw it as mostly a social organization that offered little help at election time.⁷⁷ Walker and other district leaders complained that it had become oligarchic, with a 'self-elected' board. The Londoners 'Parliamentary Committee was a sort of close borough' that kept even the board in the dark about what it did.⁷⁸ The old guard bitterly resisted Walkers proposals for a federal constitution. Walker and ten other chairmen of district societies walked out of an explosive meeting because of 'the foul and intemperate language hurled at their heads'.⁷⁹

During the conflict among the London publicans, the General Association of the Licensed Trade appointed a metropolitan agent. Originally it had planned to leave London to the publicans there.

By threatening to create a rival London organization and by offering a compromise, Walker eventually persuaded the old society to reorganize under his leadership. The last head of the old London Protection Society was J.W.F Gregg who died in 1893 soon after the reorganization. He had been landlord of the Northumberland Arms, in Fitzrovia on Tottenham Court Road.⁸⁰ The last meeting over which Gregg presided on was 27 January 1892 at that time he was presented with a testimonial and 100 guineas.⁸¹ Walker had the support of the *Morning Advertiser* and Cosmo Bonsor, representing the big London brewers.⁸² Bonsor wrote to Walker: 'I fully concur in the desirability, if not the necessity, of forming a central board for the county of London, composed of delegates from the various local societies'.⁸³

The federal constitution was approved on 20 October 1891, and the reorganized society formally came into existence on New Years Day, 1892, under the name the Licensed Victuallers Central Protection Society of London. Incorporated early in the next year, the society ordinarily was called the Central Board after its large governing council.

The inaugural banquet in April 1892, where Cosmo Bonsor presided, attracted many leading London brewers and distillers. The description of the banquet in the *Brewers Guardian*, 18 April 1892, occupied five pages

of small type to record the names of the distinguished members of the licensed trade who attended.

The Central Board did not instantly mobilize the full strength of the London publicans. Some district societies did not affiliate with the Central Board until 1903.⁸⁴ In 1902, Central Board membership reached 7,000, and its annual budgets averaged £11,000 from 1899 to 1908. Afterwards, the Central Board declined in membership, funds, and influence.⁸⁵

By no means all London publicans joined even district societies. In August 1891, the president of the Westminster, Pimlico and Chelsea Licensed Victuallers and Beersellers Trade Association complained that only 220 of the 1,100 persons eligible joined.⁸⁶ In 1894 a leading brewer estimated that a third of metropolitan publicans belonged to no society.⁸⁷

Walkers prickly personality led to controversy. His own newspaper, the *Licensing World*, described him in his obituary as 'at times perhaps a little too severe with those who ventured to oppose him'.⁸⁸ Sensitive about status, he resented the absence of English publicans from the House of Commons and hoped to be elected himself. Perhaps to gratify Walkers ego, the Joint (Wholesale and Retail) Parliamentary Committee came into being with Walker as chairman in March 1892. Its funds came from the NTDA and the Central Board. Walker also chaired a shadowy organization called the United Parliamentary Council of the Retail Trade which in practice was not united. He contributed to the press, for instance, 'The Veto Bill from the Trade Point of View,' *Fortnightly Review* (May 1893).

Walker successfully lobbied for appointment to the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws that met from 1896 to 1899. Despite poor health, Walker attended 120 of 123 sessions. The brewers would have been happier if he had remained home in a sick bed, as he questioned trade witnesses tediously.⁸⁹ When the *Licensed Trade News* (22 April 1899) reprinted a *Pall Mall Gazette* article (28 March 1899) on the Royal Commission that included criticism of Walker as long-winded, he exploded. His own newspaper accused the Midland brewers newspaper of 'fouling his own nest'.⁹⁰

Despite his foibles, Walker worked well with the brewers most of the time.⁹¹ Following a dispute over dilution

of beer early in 1887, the Brewers Company had discouraged financial support for the London Protection Society.⁹² Walker restored friendly relations.⁹³ A realist, he accepted the policy of the brewers to avoid controversy with their competitors, the licensed grocers and the working mens clubs. The licensed trade refrained from submitting any evidence about clubs to the Royal Commission. The London publicans reached an agreement with representatives of the Club and Institute Union.⁹⁴ In July 1898 the Royal Commissioners Walker, Hyslop, and Grinling (member of the Gilbey firm that supplied licensed grocers) met with the Central Boards Royal Commission committee. Grinling said: 'At the outset [of the Royal Commission] he came to an understanding with Mr. Walker, by virtue of which they were mutually pledge to abstain from any interference with the special interests represented by both, viz., the on and off license holders'.⁹⁵

No doubt brewers provided most of the money for the 1894 testimonial at which Walker was given a purse of £2,000 and one in 1900 when he received a silver salver and £1,750. Suffering from ill health, Walker retired in July 1902 and died in January 1903. He left an estate of £8,230.

None of his successors achieved a comparable status in trade politics. In 1902, the Londoners could not even get a brewer or distiller to accept the expensive honor of chairing the annual banquet. Walkers immediate successor as chairman, Edward Johnson, had been vice-chairman. Johnson was a noted public speaker and had been a member of the Lambeth borough council which in 1907 he represented on the Metropolitan Water Board. In 1909, Alderman Johnson was elected borough mayor. He served as chairman of the Central Board until 1916 when he had to leave office because he no longer was the proprietor of licensed premises.⁹⁶

Johnsons successor at the Central Board, Allan Smith Belsher, was young, in his thirties. He had been chairman of the South-West London Licensed Victuallers and Beersellers Protection Association. A revolution occurred when he took over. The vice-chairman, who had been passed over, resigned, as did the honorary treasurer. In July 1918, Belsher, identified as a solicitors managing clerk as well as chairman of the London licensed victuallers, was an unsuccessful independent parliamentary candidate at East Finsbury. In a three-

candidate contest, he finished a poor third despite the support of the Merchant Seamen's League. In 1922, Belsher was described as a licensed property broker as well as the head of the London licensed victuallers organization.⁹⁷ H. Weber Brown was elected chairman in 1929. He owned the Kings Arms on Bishopsgate.

The annual Central Board banquet was the occasion when the wholesale trade showed its appreciation. Individual brewers announced their donations during the Central Board's annual banquet. The brewer or distiller who presided and his firm, were expected to contribute with special generosity. In the crisis year of 1903 the banquet raised more than £10,000 and in another year of danger, 1908, more than £9,500. In the dull year of 1902 no brewer or distiller would accept the expensive honor of presiding.⁹⁸ For the Central Board's total income (not just banquet donations), the peak occurred surprisingly in 1898 £15,650, a quiet year in trade politics. Other high amounts for the Central Board came in sensitive years: £15,600 in 1903, nearly £14,700 in 1904, nearly £15,000 in 1908; and about £8,300 in 1910.

On the fringe

An organization on the fringe of the licensed trade was organized by the predominantly Liberal licensed grocers in 1886. The National Federation of Off-License Holders had about 12,000 members by 1896 which declined to 9,000 by 1911. For a time, the National Federation had Sir Reginald Hanson, Bt, (1840-1905) as its president. He had served as Lord Mayor of London and was a Conservative M.P.

An allied society had a complicated relationship with the licensed trade. The anti-collectivist Liberty and Property Defence League, founded in 1882, declared itself a friend of the licensed trade.⁹⁹ In turn, many licensed trade organizations subscribed to the Leagues funds. The Leagues chief, the Earl of Wemyss, was the guest of honor at the first banquet of the Brewers Society in 1904. The witty prohibitionist baronet, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, described the League as 'a most unusual association composed mainly of peers, publicans, and pawnbrokers'.¹⁰⁰ The problem for relations between the League and the licensing trade was Frederick Millar (1866-1929).

Millar had become the Leagues secretary and parliamentary agent in 1894, as well as editor of the *Liberty Review*, nominally independent of the League. Millar's father was a grocer. The 1881 census confused two sons. The elder was a railroad clerk, the younger (Frederick Millar) a grocer's assistant. Reared a Baptist, Millar became a fiercely anti-religious rationalist. After being educated at local schools in Wisbech in Cambridgeshire, he came to London at the age of 14. In later years, after he prospered, he lived with his beloved dogs in a large house, filled with antiques and books. At the 1911 census, his household included his son (Frederick) Harold, age 19, who was listed as parliamentary agent clerk, and a female cousin listed as private secretary. There were two servants. During the World War, Frederick Millar was an army captain who trained volunteers in Norfolk where he had relocated. He died in his mid-60s of diabetes.

Millar made the relationship between the League and the licensed trade prickly. 'Caustic, militant, and vitriolic,' Millar offended League allies.¹⁰¹ Millar's *Liberty Review* bitterly criticized the trade for accepting the appointment of a Royal Commission on the Liquor Licensing Laws.¹⁰² On 21 March 1896, the *Liberty Review* sneered at the pretension of 'obscure political mediocrities connected with the brewing trade in London to pose in the House of Commons as the mouthpieces of the liquor industry.' A few weeks later, on 4 April 1896, under the melodramatic headline, 'A Tale of Treachery and Trickery, by One Who Knows,' it accused the National Trade Defence Fund of sabotaging the Southampton bye-election campaign of Millar's friend George Candy who had lost by 35 votes.¹⁰³

Candy (1841-1899), was a barrister often briefed by the trade and had written pamphlets for the Liberty and Property Defence League. He had been educated at Wadham College and the Inner Temple. 'A portly figure, Candy was witty, vigorous, and in court a keen cross-examiner'.¹⁰⁴ Although he had advised the Country Brewers Society that it was a poor test case, he served as counsel in the controversial *Sharpe v. Wakefield* appeal. Candy had long suffered from diabetes but died from pneumonia.

Millar too was controversial in his capacity as general secretary and parliamentary agent for the Beer and Wine Trade National Defence League, the largest organiza-

tion for beer house keepers. Founded in 1873, it had only about 4,000 members. By the 1920s it had about twenty affiliated societies, mostly in the southern counties.¹⁰⁵

Millar criticized the Central Board at meetings of his Beer and Wine Trade League and wrote hostile letters to the press. As a result, in 1902 the organization of London publicans refused to renew its annual ten-guinea subscription to the Liberty and Property Defence League.¹⁰⁶

Another organization on the fringe of the licensed trade was the True Temperance Association founded in the early 1900s. Its members published pamphlets and an occasional letter to the press. For a representative pamphlet, see Ernest E. Williams, *Sober by Act of Parliament* [The 'Common Sense' Library, No. 6] (1906), reprinted from the *Evening Standard and St. James Gazette*. Williams (1866-1935) was the anti-socialist writer best known for his book on German economic competition, *Made in Germany* (1896). He also published *The New Public-House* (1924).

Some publicans are worth a mention outside any society membership to demonstrate that not all of them were fervent Tories. 'Dandy' Pat Byrne (1845-90) came to Liverpool from Ireland in 1862 to work as a docker. After three years, he became a licensed victualler with a small public house near Tichfield. In 1876, he acquired his flagship pub, the Morning Star, on Scotland Place. He installed billiard tables when this kind of recreation at a pub was unknown in Liverpool. Over six-feet tall, he was an imposing figure, who often appeared wearing a white top hat and a sealskin waistcoat. In 1883, he was elected to the Liverpool council as an Irish Nationalist and pressed for sanitary reform. A militant, he got along badly with moderate Nationalists who at one time asked the mayor to order the police to evict him from a party meeting. In 1887, he was treasurer of a fund for striking dockers. Before his premature death, he had accumulated a fortune of £40,000. He left his employees five pounds for each year of service.¹⁰⁷

Retail societies staff

Like the organizations for brewers, the retail societies had paid staff. The National Defence League, the organ-

ization for provincial publicans, depended heavily on long serving secretaries. Henry Charles Edwards (1835-1885), the son of a baker, worked at various times in his life as a journalist, teacher, engraver and publican.¹⁰⁸ On the eve of the merger that created the National Defence League, Edwards had been appointed secretary of the United Towns Association when his predecessor had died at age 32.¹⁰⁹ Edwards served the new League as general secretary for a quarter of century, from its founding until his death in 1885. He got in trouble in 1878 for allegedly threatening licensing magistrates in Birmingham, an accusation that he vehemently denied.¹¹⁰ In 1884 he published a pamphlet entitled *Work Done* that reviewed the work of the League.¹¹¹

His successor Samuel Burghope (1841-1893) had been the League's financial secretary and traveling agent prior to his serving as secretary during 1886-92. He was forced to resign because of his opposition to the General Association, an electoral organization created by Midland and other brewers in 1892.¹¹² A memoir of a West Midlands market town where he lived devotes a long paragraph to the 'genial' Burghope. It describes him as 'of a bright, sunny disposition, a lover of good living and company.' Supposedly he had easy access to members of the House of Commons.¹¹³

Less is known about Burghope's successor Alfred Avery who was secretary 1892-99. He had been a policeman in Salford since 1876 and a licensing inspector there since 1880. When George Candelet died in 1885, Avery was appointed secretary of the Manchester and Salford publicans association.¹¹⁴ In 1898, Avery received a League salary of £340.¹¹⁵

Avery was succeeded by H. George Robinson (1855-1929). He served as secretary even longer than had Edwards, holding office for the years 1899-1928 and retiring the year before his death. For 17 years he had been a journalist at the *Liverpool Courier* and also had been sub-editor for the *Western Mail*. Robinson began at £300, less than he had earned as a journalist and shorthand writer.¹¹⁶ He supplemented this pay by working as a reporter at the House of Commons. Robinson later added the titles of manager and parliamentary agent to that of secretary. Never wealthy, the League reported in 1909 the combined salaries for Robinson and other staff as £582, with additional expenses of over £123. By 1910 Robinson's salary was £400. When he retired in

1928 after almost 30 years of service, the League paid him a salary of £500.¹¹⁷ He left an estate of little more than £2,200. The year before his retirement, he wrote a useful three-page report, 'A Few Personal Details of the Leagues Progress'.¹¹⁸

Robinsons successor was George A. Hotter (died, 1952) who soon left the League to become secretary of a road haulage association.

Among other National League paid officials, George Candelet (1821-1885) deserves a mention. An effective speaker and a tireless organizer, he received a testimonial purse of almost £200 early in 1872.¹¹⁹ He was appointed the Leagues parliamentary agent sometime before 1878 and continued in that appointment until the time of his death. As a young man, he had been a shoemaker and cordwainer. He was known for his support for a variety of reforms such as abolition of the billeting system. In 1850, Candelet was appointed secretary of the licensed victuallers at Hyde, and then in 1857, moved to the Manchester and Salford licensed victuallers association as secretary and continued in that office even after being employed by the National League.¹²⁰

The rival of the provincial National Defence League was the organization of licensed victuallers in London. Even more than the League, the Londoners drew strength from long serving secretaries. Thomas Smith had already served for 31 years when in 1864 he received a testimonial. Dying at age 70, he received a posthumous presentation in 1873 for forty years of service.¹²¹ A Middle Temple barrister and author H(enry) Riseborough Sharman (1829-1905) succeeded him until 1879.¹²²

After Sharman, details are fuller. E(rnest) W(alter) Norfolk (1846-1907) became secretary in 1879 and served until 1891.¹²³ Born at Rye, he was a lower division clerk at the Local Government Board at the time of his appointment as secretary to the publicans society.¹²⁴ He played a highly visible role during his twelve years. He was forced out in the summer of 1891. Ostensibly this was because the societys officers complained that he had performed his duties unsatisfactorily. There also was a vague charge of financial misconduct. Through the secretary of the provincial licensed victuallers league, Samuel Burghope, Norfolk was asked to resign,

which he did on 3 June 1891.¹²⁵ In October 1891 he appeared in bankruptcy court.¹²⁶ Perhaps the reorganization of the London society that soon swept away the old guard was the underlying reason for the dismissal.

Norfolk was bitter. He offered to sell to Sir William Harcourt the draft of a one-clause bill that would hurt the publicans. 'It would administer a good smack in the face to the publicans, the natural and pronounced enemies of yourself and of the Liberal party, and would consistently be opposed by the Wholesale Trade.' He expected £2,500 for the suggestion, if the Government acted upon it.¹²⁷ Harcourt apparently did not reply to the offer. Despite his ungentlemanly behavior, Norfolk listed himself as a gentleman at the 1901 census.

Albert B(ickerton) Deane (1857-1927) assumed the duties of secretary on 5 August 1891 before the old London publicans society had been replaced by the Central Board.¹²⁸ The job he assumed had been advertised at £300.¹²⁹ By the time of his death Deane had managed to acquire an estate of £13,227. Very much a professional, Deane was a fellow of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, founded in 1891. He was known for his modesty and avoidance of personal publicity. His quiet hobby was fishing.

Deane had been born in Gloucestershire where his father was a schoolmaster and parish clerk. Albert Deane later helped to found Londons Gloucestershire association and served as its chairman.¹³⁰

Deane spent his youth in Richmond where (according to the census) at various time he made his living in 1881 as a fruitier and in 1891 as a tobacconist. He was an active reformer. For instance, in 1889 he led a deputation supporting higher wages for laborers at Kew Gardens.¹³¹ In 1897 he advocated earlier opening of Kew Gardens for the public.¹³² Deane served on the Richmond Borough Council.

For an extended period, Deane was an active Liberal. For instance, in 1880 he was the editor of the *Liberal World*, a publication for young men. In that same year, he was secretary of both the London Young Mens Liberal Association and the Marylebone United Liberal Association.¹³³ In 1885 he was secretary to the Mortlake and Barnes Liberal Association.¹³⁴ In 1890 he was secretary of a committee raising money for Irish

Nationalist candidates.¹³⁵ In 1891 he was secretary (often his role) for Surrey County Liberal Club.¹³⁶ This was the year that Deane successfully applied for the appointment as secretary to the London licensed victuallers organization. No more was heard about his support for the Liberal Party.

Known for his 'keen grasp of detail,' Deane served as secretary of the London publicans from 1891 until he retired in June 1926, the year before he died from a heart attack.¹³⁷ In addition to his work as Central Board secretary, Deane was secretary of the Womens Auxiliary League (Licensed Trade), presumably after womens suffrage was enacted in 1918. From 1892 he edited a weekly newspaper, the *Licensing World and Licensed Trade Review* and from 1894 a yearbook, the *Licensed Victuallers Official Annual*, which claimed to be the 'Blue Book of the Trade.'

The choice of a successor to Deane as editor illustrates the continuity in such positions. The new editor, Arthur Hallam, had been Deanes chief assistant for thirty-one years, beginning at age 18.¹³⁸ The office of editor no longer was joined with that of secretary. The new secretary was Alfred Lugg (1889-1975), previously general secretary of the Actors Association. There were only four Central Board secretaries between the time of Deanes appointment and the end of a separate London organization in the mid-1970s.

Another Central Board employee worth a mention was Irish-born, Philip Greenwood Hartley (1855-1904). He had been a schoolmaster and later a lecturer for the Primrose League, was an active Freemason and an officer in his lodge. In 1894, when he was interviewed for the position as a metropolitan electoral clerk, he was a constituency agent for an MP. Paid £224 for that job, he received £250 for his new position in London.¹³⁹

In 1896, he reported on his work at a bye-election in the borough of Walworth. He personally visited every license holder and provided pubs with posters to display and leaflets for customers. He went to railroad stations from five to eight in the morning to distribute literature to passengers boarding workmens trains. He also distributed campaign literature at workshops in and near the constituency at the time for dinner and at the end of the day. On streets with no public houses he employed sandwich men displaying posters and handing out

leaflets. He brought trade electors who had moved from the district back to the constituency to vote. In one case, he traced a voter to his eighth removal from one address to another. He borrowed carriages to transport voters on election day. Ironically, local veto turned out to be a minor issue in the campaign. The anti-veto candidate won easily.¹⁴⁰ The trade wasted its money.

The London publicans dismissed Hartley in April 1903 when they learned that he was experiencing serious domestic trouble.¹⁴¹ Losing his job meant that money troubles followed. In January 1904, he received a summons for passing a cheque for which he had insufficient funds. A process man took possession of his house. Hartleys wife found her husband in their bedroom dead after he shot himself in the head. He was only 49.¹⁴²

The question as to whether Hartleys bye-election work was worth the money could also be asked about the licensed trade as a political pressure group. How much did it matter? At the peak of its political power, the licensed trade made its priority preventing local veto from becoming law. In retrospect, local veto was more a problem for the Liberal Party than it was a danger to the licensed trade.

Appendix about the sources for this article

At the old Brewers Society headquarters I consulted records of the Brewers Society and related organizations, notably those of the Country Brewers Society and the National Trade Defence Fund (later Association). They are now at the University of Warwick, Modern Records Center. I consulted other licensed trade records such as those of the Midland District of the National Trade Defence Association at the Staffordshire Record Office and the Brewers Company at Guildhall Library. The latter are now at the London Metropolitan Archives. Some citations to the Brewers Company and other licensed trade records were provided by David W. Gutzke. For the publicans, I followed the Central Board through two London locations and then, after the merger with the provincial organization, to Farnham in Surrey where I also consulted the records of the National Defence League. These and related materials are now at the London Metropolitan Archives.

The licensed trade newspapers that I consulted include *Brewers Guardian*, published 1871-1906; *Brewers Journal*, published 1865-1967; *Brewing Trade Review*, published 1888-1972;

Country Brewers Gazette, published 1877-1904; *Licensed Trade News*, published 1894-1955; and *Licensing World*, 1892-1967. I read only the relevant years. I supplemented trade papers with the general press as found in the British Newspaper Archive and elsewhere. For the licensed trade press, see Crapster, pp.425-427, Appendix B, 'A Tentative Bibliography of the Trade Press, 1868-1910;' and Appendix A in David W. Gutzke, 'Writing the History of the Local in Victorian London,' *Brewery History* 123 (Summer 2006) pp.88-91.

There is a wealth of information in the volumes of evidence and reports of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Licensing Laws, 1896-99, published as Command Papers in 1897-99. The final reports and some of the volumes of evidence are also available online.

The pioneering study of brewers defence organizations is Basil L. Crapster, 'Our Trade, Our Politics: A Study of the Political Activity of the British Liquor Industry, 1868-1910' (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1949). It relied on print sources, as the Brewers Society told Crapster that German bombs had destroyed its archival records. Crapster to David M. Fahey, 25 October 1974. David M. Fahey, 'Brewers, Publicans, and Working-Class Drinkers: Pressure Group Politics in Late Victorian and Edwardian England,' *Histoire Sociale* 13 (May 1980) pp.85-102, was the first to have the advantage of research at the Brewers Society. It is mostly superseded by David W. Gutzke, *Protecting the Pub: Brewers and Publicans against Temperance* (Royal Historical Society and Boydell Press, 1989); and Gutzkes article 'Rhetoric and Reality: The Political Influence of British Brewers, 1832-1914,' *Parliamentary History* 9 (May 1990) pp.78-115.

References

1. Licensed Victuallers, Central Board. Minute book, 28 September 1899, 12 October 1899.
2. Ball, M. (1977) *The Worshipful Company of Brewers: A Short History*. London: Hutchinson. p.126.
3. Guildhall, 21 July 1892, MS 5445, f. 506; Sessional Papers, vol. 61 (1900), read online.
4. There are obituaries in *Times*, 4 June 1927; *Brewing Trade Review*, July 1927.
5. See the diary of his niece Jane Power Rowe, excerpted at a genealogy site. <https://genealogy.links.org/links-cgi/readged?/home/ben/camilla-genealogy/current+c-power3062+2-2-0-1-0>
6. Wethered, A. (2004) *The Power and the Brewery: The Story of a House and Its People*. Chichester: Phillimore, p.134. The title reflects what local people admiringly said. Impressed with the brewery, they reworded the Lords Prayer to conclude as 'the power and the brewery' instead of the power and the glory.
7. Before the reorganization, the CBS had a part-time secretary named R.W. Tootell who was a partner in a firm of brewery valuers and chartered accountants.
8. Power edited the organizational side, while Dr. E.R. Moritz (1860-1931), consultant chemist to the Country Brewers Society, was responsible for the technical side of brewing. Moritz founded the Laboratory Club in 1886. It became the Institute of Brewing in 1890. Moritz retired in 1925.
9. As cited in *Alliance News*, 6 March 1891, p.146.
10. His entry in *Who Was Who* lists his various services to medicine.
11. *Brewing Trade Review*, 1 July 1927, pp.299-300. For the gift of a hundred guineas, see *Brewers Journal*, 15 November 1890, p.638.
12. *London Gazette*, 6 September 1940.
13. Newton, H.A. (1898) 'The National Trade Defence Fund,' *Brewers Almanack*. pp.260-62.
14. Gutzke, D.W. (1989) *Protecting the Pub: Brewers and Publicans against Temperance*. Woodbridge: Boydell, p.161. There is an obituary in *Brewing Trade Review*, April 1940.
15. *Statist* 44 (6 December 1899) p.962. As a leading brewer, Mortimer served as president of the annual dinner of the South London licensed victuallers society in 1905.
16. *Brewing Trade Review*, June 1893.
17. *Brewing Trade Review*, 1 February 1924, p.82; *Licensed Trade Review*, 26 January 1924, p. 3.
18. *Brewing Review* 76/2 (1962), p.795; *Harpers Manual* (1920), p.54.
19. A problem with writing after many decades of research is that one sometimes misplaces a citation for what is clear in memory. A senior NTDA staff member, perhaps Montgomery, acknowledged that he did not frequent public houses but said that his manservant did.
20. *Cambridge Yearbook and Directory* (S. Sonnenschein, 1906), p.481.
21. *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 24 March 1917, p.18.
22. *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 10 October 1924, p.7. There is an obituary appreciation of Montgomerys work by Sir Randle Holme (1864-1957) in *Brewing Review* 64/1 (1950), p.162. Holme, solicitor to the Brewers Society, describes Montgomery as the last of the 'Old Guard' of the Brewers Society other than Holme himself.
23. Gutzke, D.W. (1989) op. cit., pp.160-61, 210.
24. The best obituary is that in the *Hull Daily Mail*, 16 July

1940, p.5.

25. Bennetts assistant and then successor as secretary of the brewers organization was Colin K. Langley (1888-1948) who qualified as a solicitor after war wounds ended his career as a county cricketer.

26. Sheets, D.E. (1986) 'British Conservatism and the Primrose League: The Changing Character of Popular Politics, 1883-1901', PhD. dissertation, Columbia University, p.57.

27. Riach claimed that 'negotiations' with the Government improved the 1904 bill from the retailers point of view. 'The clause which was most important, and which did so much good, was drafted in the office in which he sat - not drafted, it was true, just as it stood now, ... for it had been knocked about a great deal, but it was ... left with the Home Secretary - [after his Government colleagues had] made a few minor alterations to it, [they] added it to the bill.' *Licensed Trade News*, 16 November 1904, p.9.

28. *Licensed Trade News*, 30 May 1908, p.2.

29. *Brighton Gazette*, 2 December 1908, p.8; *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 15 August 1931, p.8; *Essex Newsman*, 30 December 1899, p.4.

30. Gutzke, D.W. (1989) op. cit., p.186.

31. *ibid.*, p.111.

32. *Brewers Journal* 46 (1910), p.167.

33. Staffordshire Record Office, National Trade Defence Association--Midland District, etc., D 3163/2/1/1, f. 14, 26 May 1891.

34. Levy succeeded John R. Rae who had been appointed in 1891 at £150 plus expenses.

35. Staffordshire Record Office, National Trade Defence Association--Midland District, etc., D 3163/2/1/2, f. 8, 6 Feb. 1892; f. 168, 10 May 1900; ff. 85-86, 24 Jan. 1907 (including quotation). Levy wore many hats. For instance, he was secretary of the Birmingham and Aston Licensed Trade Committee from its formation in 1891. D 3163/2/1/5, Birmingham and Aston Trade Committee Minute Book, f. 2, 1 July 1891.

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

37. Yorkshire Brewers Association, Twenty-Second Annual Report ... for the Year Ending December 21, 1891 (Leeds, 1892), p.8.

38. *Brewers Journal* 44 (1908) p.257.

39. For instance, there were the Northern Districts League of Beer and Wine Trade Association (1869) and the Wine and Spirit Association (reorganized, 1875),

40. A revealing chronological pattern appears in the 'Directory of Trade Associations,' published in *Breweries and Distilleries*, 30 January 1892. The directory lists numbers of members, annual subscriptions, and schedules of meetings.

For instance, the Croydon Licensed Victuallers and Beersellers Protection Society, founded 1883, had 150 members, who paid an annual subscription of five shillings, with a monthly committee meeting and a quarterly general meeting. See also a list of provincial licensed victuallers societies in *Licensed Victuallers Year Book* for 1874, pp.75-127.

41. *Licensed Victuallers Guardian*, 23 August 1893, p.289. Great National Conference of Licensed Victuallers Delegates to the Exchange Assembly Room, Birmingham, January 8th and 9th, 1873, Full Report (Birmingham, 1873). In the first five years of the existence of the National Defence League of Licensed Victuallers, it spent 'scarcely £3,000.' Fifth Annual Meeting and Conference (1878), p.15. A paper on trade organization read at the second day of the Annual Conference (1879), p.12, reported: 'The whole of your working expenses are under £1000 a year. Your stipendiary officers [parliamentary agent and general secretary] are only two in number, whose united salaries are but £250 per annum, and your literature is one weekly newspaper.'

42. Hennock, E.P. (1973) *Fit and Proper Persons: Ideal and Reality in Nineteenth-Century Urban Government*. London: Edward Arnold, p.152.

43. Hunt (1848-1899) was a draper until the death of his father brought him into licensed trade. The failure of Hunts voice forced him to retire as president. Obituary in *Licensing World*, 25 March 1899.

44. *Brewing Trade Review*, December 1886, p.55; January 1887, pp.91-92; June 1892, p.188.

45. Staffordshire Record Office D 3477/3/4, Reginald Mortimer to Archibald S. Bennett, 21 December 1892.

46. Annual Report, 1897, p. 161.

47. The League secretary was H. George Robinson and the editor was E. Lawrence Levy. 'An Unreported Episode: The National Trade Defence Association and the Licensed Victuallers Defence League,' *Licensed Trade News*, 28 December 1901, p.7 (which includes the quotation from the *Staffordshire Sentinel*); 'An Unreported Episode,' *Licensed Trade News*, 4 January 1902, p.7.

48. See the criticism of the League by Croft, then the head of the National Trade Defence Association, summarized in Central Board minute book, 11 April 1901. See also Charles Walkers exchange with the League secretary Robinson about the Sale to Childrens bill, in the minute book, 29 August 1901.

49. *Licensed Victuallers Guardian*, 24 February 1883, p.85.

50. *Times*, 27 September 1899, p.10.

51. Foley, K. (2003) 'Licensed Victuallers National Defence League,' in Blocker Jr., J.S., Fahey, D.M. and Tyrrell, I.R. (eds.) *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clío, p.362.

52. *Licensed Victuallers Gazette*, 24 February 1883, p.85.
53. *Brewing Trade Review*, March 1887, p.159; April 1888, p.96.
54. *Brewing Trade Review*, April 1888, pp.96-97.
55. *Licensing World*, 1 June 1893, pp.194, 198-99; 12 October 1906, p.326.
56. National Defence League, *Annual Report* (1899), p.79.
57. Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, *Minutes of Evidence*, vol. 3, in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1897 (C. 8694), XXXVI, quest. 39,520, p.437. The financial balance on 23 February 1897 was £1,475. The society claimed 10,501 members. *Times*, 20 May 1897, p.14.
58. *Licensed Trade News*, 11 May 1907, p.8.
59. Hayler, G. (1899) *A Peep into the Enemy's Camp*. Newcastle: National Association of Official Temperance Advocates, p.7.
60. Croft in *Licensing World*, 24 June 1899.
61. Hayler, G. (1899) op. cit., p.6-7.
62. *ibid.*, p.6.
63. National Defence League, *Annual Report* (1899), p.19.
64. *ibid.*, pp.78, 79.
65. Gutzke, D.W. (1989) op. cit., pp.175-179 (quotation, p.178).
66. *Licensed Trade News*, 26 November 1904, p.8.
67. Lawrence Levy, E. (1894) 'Meetings that I Have Attended, Temperance and Otherwise, No. 9,' *Licensed Trade News*, May 26. It is significant that an agent of a brewers society visited the mining town and not somebody from the National Defence League, the organization of provincial publicans.
68. See the obituary in *Licensed Trade News*, 21 September 1901, p.13.
69. <http://www.pppg.supanet.com/profiles/boroughn.html>
70. *Morning Advertiser*, 2 February 1893 p.3.
71. Kieran Foley provides a brief sketch in Foley, K. (2003) op. cit., pp.369-70.
72. *Licensed Victuallers Year Book* (1874), p.141.
73. *Morning Advertiser*, 5 March 1888, pp.5-6.
74. The old society had been founded on 28 October 1833, while the new one was incorporated on 17 February 1893.
75. See Walkers testimony (23 February 1892) before the Royal Commission on Labour. For his obituary, see *Licensing World*, 10 January 1903, pp.19-20.
76. *Sporting Life*, 11 January 1903, p.4.
77. Bonsor to Walker, n.d., quoted in *Morning Advertiser*, 6 June 1891, p.2; Brewers Company minutes, 12 June, 24 July 1891, MS 5445, ff. 463, 499; NTDF minutes, 25 June 1891, f. 54; *Brewing Trade Review*, July 1891, p.210.
78. *Brewers and Distillers*, 18 July 1891, p.96.
79. *Morning Advertiser*, 2 July 1891, p.3.
80. His full name was John William Fardell Gregg. *Brewers Guardian*, 29 August 1893, p.248.
81. *Brewers and Distillers*, 30 January 1892, p.126.
82. *Morning Advertiser*, 6 June 1891, p.2; 15 June 1891, p.4.
83. Undated letter, Bonsor to Walker, quoted in Walker to editor, 5 June 1891, *Morning Advertiser*, 6 June 1891 p.2.
84. *Licensing World*, 4 May 1894, supplement, p. ii; *Licensing World*, 31 Jan. 1903, p.85. In 1892, there had been eight district societies, in 1903 that had grown to 30.
85. Foley, K. (2003) op. cit., p.369.
86. *Morning Advertiser*, 7 August 1891, p.2
87. R.F. Nicholson, in *Licensing World*, 4 May 1894, supplement, p.ii.
88. *Licensing World*, 10 January 1903, p.20.
89. Licensed Victuallers of London, Central Board, Minute book of Royal Commission committee, 13 July 1896. Walker also violated decorum by pressing the honorary secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance unsuccessfully to admit that he was not a teetotaler. It was well known that Samuel Pope drank despite his support of prohibition. The brewers did not consider it good form to embarrass the likable barrister, a leader of the parliamentary bar.
90. *Licensing World*, 15 April 1899, pp.295-96.
91. Staffordshire RO, D3447/3/4. Mortimer to Bennett 28 June 1892, critical of preemptory letter by London licensed victuallers sent to Mortimer.
92. Brewers Company minutes, 4, 7 March, 13 May 1887, 4 Dec. 1888, 10 Jan., 14 Jan. 1890. MS. 5468, ff. 147, 151-53, 163, 211, 242.
93. *Licensing World*, 1 December 1892, p.62.
94. Central Board, minutes, Royal Commission committee, 30 November 1896. See also Central Board, United Parliamentary Council of the Retail Trade, 5 Nov. 1896.
95. Central Board, minutes, Royal Commission committee, 12 July 1898.
96. 10 Annual Report of the Council (1909), p.18.
97. *Estate Gazette Digest of Land and Property Cases* (1922), p.209.
98. *Licensing World*, 16 May 1903, p.373; 2 May 1908, p.307; 16 July 1902, p.484; 31 January 1904, p.75.
99. See Bristow, E. (1975) 'The Liberty and Property Defence League and Individualism,' *Historical Journal*, 18, December, especially pp.780-82; Seldon, N.C. (1974) 'Laissez-faire as Dogma: The Story of the Defence League,' in Brown, K.D. (ed.) *Essays in Anti-Labour History*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.208-33; and Paynter, A.M. (2012) 'Francis Wemyss-Charteris-Douglas: Champion of Late Victorian Individualism,' *Libertarian Papers* 4/1, pp.119-46.

100. *Alliance News*, 22 October 1884, p.107.
101. Soldon, N.C. (1969) 'Laissez-faire on the Defensive: The Story of the Liberty and Property Defense League, 1882-1914,' Ph.D. dissertation, University of Delaware, pp.170, 172, 269-75 (the best biographical sketch of Millar). A disciple of George Jacob Holyoake, Millar was an early member of the Rationalist Press Association.
102. *Liberty Review*, 14 March 1896, pp.168-69. See answer to an earlier *Liberty Review* complaint (7 March 1896), by *Licensed Trade News*, 14 March 1896, pp.5-6. The *Liberty Review* was loyal to the bill drafted by Lord Wemyss.
103. Soldon, N.C. (1969) op. cit., pp.170, 172. For an obituary of Candy, see *Licensed Trade News*, 28 October 1899, p.12; and Boase, F. (1908) *Modern English Biography*. Truro: Netherton and Worth, 4, p.597. Candy testified before the Peel Royal Commission on 27 July 1897, qests. 40,621-41,165. Candy was briefly law editor for the *Brewing Trade Review*. The London licensed victuallers dismissed Candy as standing counsel after a speech that he gave at the Metropolitan Wine and Beer Trade Protection Society on 19 December 1893. The London society and the Fund considered it divisive. Yet, it paid him a hundred guineas for an article in the *Official Annual* (1897) that analyzed evidence presented before the Royal Commission. London Licensed Victuallers, Central Board. Minute book, Royal Commission committee, 30 November 1896.
104. Soldon, N.C. (1969) op. cit., p.170.
105. *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem*, (1926-1930) 6 vols., Cherrington, E.H. (ed.) American Issue, p.300. See Millars defence of the beer house. Gutzke, D.W. (1989) op. cit., pp.213-14.
106. London licensed victuallers, Central Board, executive committee, minute-book, 12 March 1902.
107. See Waller, P.J. (1981) *Democracy & Sectarianism: A Political and Social History of Liverpool, 1868-1939*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, p.39; Kelly, M. (2006) *Liverpools Irish Connection*. Liverpool: AJH Publishing, ch.3; Collins, N. (1994) *Politics and Elections in Nineteenth-Century Liverpool*. Aldershot: Scholar Press, pp.183-85; Belcham, J. (2007) *Irish, Catholic, and Scouse: The History of the Liverpool Irish, 1800-1939*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, pp.140-41; Swayne, S. (2014) 'The Progression of Irish Involvement in the Licensed Trade in Liverpool: 1859-1872,' BA [Hons], University of Central Lancashire, is available online.
108. *Licensed Victuallers Guardian*, 1 February 1873, p.45.
109. *Birmingham Daily Post*, 16 March 1872, p.8. The secretary who died young was Alfred Harrison.
110. *Edinburgh Evening News*, 24 May 1878, p.2.
111. A review with extracts appeared in the *County Brewers Gazette*, 29 January 1885, pp.62-63.
112. For the hostility of Burghope to the General Association, see Staffordshire RO. D3477/3/5 28 June 1892. The League president Samuel Hyslop told the General Association that Burghope would be asked to resign.
113. See the sketch of Burghope in Hackwood, F.W. (1899) *Olden Wednesbury*. Wednesbury: Ryder & Son, p.21. Burghope was present at a meeting of the local drink trade protesting a proposal to increase the cost of retail spirit licenses. *Wednesbury Herald*, 15 January 1881.
114. *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 8 May 1885, p.2; *Licensing World*, 25 March 1899.
115. *27th Annual Report* (1899).
116. *Annual Report* (1910), p. 47.
117. Robinson, H.G. (1927) 'A Few Personal Details of the Leagues Progress.'
118. He likely was the Henry George Robinson who died in 1929 and left an estate of £2,214.
119. *Morning Advertiser*, 28 February 1872, p.2.
120. *Manchester City News*, 4 April 1885; *Brewers Guardian*, 7 April 1885, p.168.
121. Testimonial to Thomas Smith. *Morning Advertiser*, 8 December 1864, p.1; *Licensed Victuallers Year Book* for 1874, p.149; *Licensed Victuallers Guardian*, 1 November 1873, p.369. See also *Era*, 26 March 1871, p. 7.
122. *Licensed Victuallers Guardian*, 1 November 1873; *Licensed Victuallers Year Book* (1880), p.80. Sharman wrote books about insurance and *The Power of the Will; or, Success*, which went through several editions.
123. *Morning Advertiser*, 4 June 1891.
124. *Illustrated London News* 75 (1879) p.119
125. Central Board, general committee minutes, 3 June 1891.
126. *London Standard*, 12 October 1891, p.3; *Morning Post*, 12 October 1893, p.3. He had an unsecured debt of £1,264.
127. Norfolk to Harcourt, 31 August 1892. Bodleian. Harcourt MS 148.
128. *Brewers and Distillers*, 15 August 1891. See Deanes obituary in *Licensing World*, 10 September 1927, p.209, with photograph.
129. Central Board, executive committee minutes, 3 July 1891.
130. *Licensing World*, 10 September 1927, p.209.
131. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 December 1889, p.7.
132. *London Standard*, 9 April 1897, p.3.
133. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 August 1880, p.8; *London Standard*, 10 September 1880, p.2.
134. Draft letter, 14 October 1885, Duke of Fife declining presidency of Mortlake and Barnes Liberal Association, available online. <http://digital.library.temple.edu/cdm/ref/col->

lection/p15037coll18/id/1856

135. *Leeds Mercury* 5 November 1890, p.4.
136. *Daily News*, 26 February 1891, p.6.
137. Quotation from Deanes *Licensing World* obituary, 27 September 1927, p.209.
138. *Licensing World*, 19 June 1926, p.458.
139. London licensed victuallers, minute book, Joint (Wholesale and Retail) Parliamentary Committee, subcommittee, 9 August 1894. On 5 November 1894, it was made clear that Hartley would be working for the Central Board. For Hartleys Primrose work see *Daily Mercury*, 2 October 1889, p.5; *Primrose League Gazette*, July 25, 1891, p.11.
140. P. Greenwood Hartley, electoral clerk, to the chairmen

- and members of the Joint (Wholesale and Retail) Parliamentary Committee, 20 June 1896. Licensed Victuallers of London, minute book, Joint (Wholesale and Retail) Parliamentary Committee. See also Hartleys testimony before the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, vol. 3, *Precis of Evidence*, quests 40,001-40,293. Hartley reported that he was served alcohol in 1895 and 1897 at various military institutions although he was a civilian and ordinary drinking places were closed.
141. London licensed victuallers, executive committee, minute-book, 22 April 1903.
 142. *Islington Gazette*, 11 January 1904, p.4.