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# THE PUB AND THE PEOPLE

## *A Worktown Study*

by

MASS-OBSERVATION

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### III

#### DRINK-SERVERS

**E**SSENTIAL LINK, CONNECTING beer, pub, and drinker, is the landlord and his staff. Throughout this book reports quoted will contain accounts of pub staff, particularly in their relationship with pub-goers; this material will supplement that which is presented here.

Writes a landlord:

Re procedure to become a landlord, first of all produce business qualifications, then references, and above all security. This they do for their own specific reasons, you know what I mean by that—a source of income to brewers. . . . I should say a good average wage would be about three pounds a week, house, light, and coal.

An ex-publican writes:

Publican more of a spare time job, a means of adding to income from other sources. Whether from private resources, pension, or work. A grown up family an asset to assist in rush hours, besides bringing grist to the mill in wages. Questions asked of would-be tenants:—How much money have you—how many children—and their ages. There are frequent changes of tenants. Drink addicts made through drinking with customers, and having so much within reach. Constant losses through lending and credit customers which tenant has to bear. Managers have to contend with spending among customers to keep them, especially the sticker type. If you don't, they go where the landlord is more free . . . the good landlord is of a type who would lead a pack. Birds of a feather. Person who has achieved notoriety in sport preferred. Leads the easily led. He along with his wife are in a position of importance, made so by law. This has the inevitable effect on their characters, dress, and bearing, etc., and they are a type. Grotesque in the lady, coming out with flashy dress and speech in the more choice specimens. Must be of some religion as there is a preponderance of in the neighbourhood. And be thoroughly orthodox.

This man said that the landlord paid on the percentage basis gets around £3 a week in the ordinary pubs.

In the bigger and more profitable pubs the brewers usually put in a paid manager. In these big pubs there is a head barman who is mostly in charge behind the bar; he gets £3 a week, or 30s. if living in. The manager or landlord is supposed to be allowed 15s. a week for food for members of the staff who live in the pub.

The national secretary of the Catering Section of the Transport and General Workers' Union, who was asked for information as to the wages and conditions of pub employees, wrote:

The average pay for men and women is 25s. a week, with Board and Lodging, the food supplied is very poor, in fact in many circumstances uneatable, often including the leavings from Customers' Plates; one house has a staff of 13 and the cost of food per head runs out at 6s. Staff wages are actually lower today than they were in the year of 1931. The comfort of the staff is fairly good in the new Houses, but it is deplorable in the old houses, being overcrowded, badly ventilated, verminous, the work is considered unhealthy, the insurance premiums are about 5 per cent dearer for this Industry than for other Industries, caused through long hours, poor food, constant indoor life, statistics show a greater percentage of Ill Health than elsewhere. Barmen and Barmaids scrub floors, and wash shelves before opening time, others are forced to do House work, girls ordinary domestic work, the men cleaning Windows, Gardening and other domestic work. The combined profit for this trade, including Brewers and distillers, Hotels, etc., was £62,000,000 during the year of 1936.

Mr. Parker's letter indicates the bad health conditions prevalent among pub workers. The tuberculosis rate is exceedingly high, and the mortality of pub-workers in general is heavy. On March 16, 1939, Mr. John Parker, Labour M.P., put a question in the House of Commons about this, asked if the Minister of Health would investigate the whole subject of T.B. among pub employees. Mr. Walter Elliot's reply is a good example of a particular sort of official complacency. The barman serves those who enjoy something which, in the long church versus pub fight (described in later sections), has become, if not a sin, at least tinged with a lower moral standard in the eyes of

those who don't pub-go. As such, pub's pander, the barman is no fit subject for special investigation in the formal view, which replied to Mr. Parker:

"I am aware from particulars published in the last Decennial Supplement published by the Registrar-General that the death-rate from respiratory tuberculosis amongst barmen, though showing a decline on earlier periods at every age up to 45, largely exceeds the rate for the general male population. Other causes of mortality, however, are also excessive for the same occupational group, and I do not think that an investigation respecting tuberculosis would serve a useful purpose."

With low wages, work from 6 in the morning to at least 10.30 at night, much of it standing, and requiring concentration, good manners, careful handling, barmen and maids die unusually fast, and often from diseases unconnected with drinking anything.

A Worktown landlord wrote:

Staff Wages; the majority of Staff are spare time employed, barmen living in in most firms. Pay about 45s. a week, spare time meaning just evenings, Sat. noon, and Sun. noon, at about 4s. 6d. a shift, or probably 30s. a week. Waiters standard 3s. a night, Barmaids about 24s. a week and keep. Re time off, one half day per week is the usual thing. Re starting time. 6.30 a.m. The barman starts in the bar and is responsible for all the bar pumps, the glasses, Brass work, and the cellar. He cleans his bar and then gets his beer ready for 11.30, gets himself ready dressed for opening time. Same applies to barmaids, who generally help the landlord in cellarwork. The other maids, or oftener than not, a lady employed as cleaner, does the mopping out, etc., empties spittoons, etc., daily.

. . . many customers link up with barmaids, I think it is very detrimental to the publican, I personally would not allow it, it can cause any amount of intrigue, both by using the till to the advantage of their own pocket, create jealousy amongst the other customers, and also make the maid indifferent to her responsibilities, a good barmaid is uniform to all her customers. If the barman and barmaid link up, and are working at the same pub, I should say split them immediately, but if they are at different hotels I don't blame them for looking to the future of a profession they would both like; under these circumstances the two would stand a good chance of becoming publicans.

Compare this with the following:

I come up to London and fall to be some tapster, hostler of a chamberlain in an inn—Well, I get me a wife; with her a little money. When we are married, seek a house we must. No other occupation have I but to be an ale-draper. The landlord will have £40 fine and 20 marks a year. He knows by honest courses I can never pay the rent. What should I say? Somewhat must be done, or we undone.

That was written, 1592, in Chettle's *King Hart's Dream*.

#### PERSONALITY

In the ordinary small pub most of the work is done by the landlord and/or landlady; if they have children old enough they will usually assist. If not, then an extra waiter-on, either male or female, is engaged for the busy times (week-ends).

It is difficult to assess the importance of the landlord's personality. Customers' remarks such as:

"He's a coarse fellow, in his shirt sleeves always, he looks as if he's just got out of bed."

"He's alright, he's been a working man round 'ere 'imself, not like some other landlords, everybody speaks well of him."

These do not correlate with the amount of pub custom. (The latter, for instance, only does a small business.)

"We don't consider the landlord. Any bloody bugger'll do. It's the company that matters," is another view.

While a report of a conversation with the landlord of the pub where the last remark was made:

He says that 50 per cent of the goodwill of his sort of pub depended upon the popularity of the landlord, but in hotels of any size this was not so, as many regular customers did not see the landlord in such places for nights on end.

Gave as an example of his own success that he dare not have a fixed night off, as his customers would start making it a night of non-attendance. He himself had to be good at cards, dominoes, and an authority on all sporting matters, he had also purposely to lose at these games sometimes. He had to be many-sided to agree with all and sundry, and often left the room when he was going to find himself in direct contradiction with them. Went on to say he would tell the state of trade of the works

opposite by his takings, and a bad week's work for the men made a difference of £10 to his takings in no time. Said that what with bad trade and the Chief Constable's attitude there were more landlords keeping pubs than there were pubs keeping landlords. He said as a proof of his argument that a good landlord made a good pub, there are two pubs right across the road, both better furnished, with all kinds of upholstery and covered floors, yet people preferred his stone floors and bare forms.

Our observations bear out his remarks.

In one of the most successful of the smaller town centre pubs the landlord is unpopular with his staff and own wife even:

Landlady drinking with female regular, and the barmaid, who looks up, sees into the lobby where the landlord has just arrived, and says "Here he comes—with his black face", and the landlady repeats to her friend "Charlie's just come in, with his black face".

#### BEAUTIFUL BARMAIDS

But two of the barmaids here, daughters of Charlie, are both attractive, with well-conditioned reflex smile to all customers. The pub is always full of youthful customers. Barmaids with sex-appeal are a great draw. Some are "uniform to all their customers". Others not:

Observer leaves in company with two youthful drunks, who have been playing darts and flirting with the barmaid from 8.30 until just before closing time. She accompanies the group to the lobby, and then on to the doorstep. One of the drunks and the observer both kiss her good night. The kisses were long and interesting.

Another, smaller pub, which has a considerable "tough" youthful week-end custom:

Two young men play quoits with the barmaid, who is, thinks observer, attractive in a coarse way. She is good at quoits anyway, and wins. One player leaves. She plays again with the other, winning again. This chap, young, redfaced, blonde, healthy-looking, unshaved, cap on one side of his head, face washed but hands dirty, is apparently on fumbling relations with the barmaid.

When they have finished their game he talks friendly to observer, shows him a trick with a penny, making it disappear into a fold in his trousers. He also does two card tricks, then goes out to the lavatory. The barmaid takes his pint pot and hides in the front parlour, which is empty and unlit. He doesn't notice its absence until he has been back for about three minutes, then has byplay with her, both eventually departing to the parlour to fetch the beer. They didn't come back for the rest of the evening, and the lights didn't come on either.

Later the landlord comes in, says he has been to the Old Soldier, and that there had only been three people in, though it is usually full. He has been round some other pubs too, and they're all the same, things are very slack. He starts complaining about how music isn't allowed in the pubs. Thinks the Chief Constable is too young for the job. He complains about the police and how there are always plain clothes men hanging about this neighbourhood as if they were all criminals. He is very fed up and says he is going to retire before next licensing sessions, take a cottage in the country and start suing people, makes dark hints about chaps who owe him £3,000, because he's been too soft with them. He returns to the police, and says you've got to allow them (the customers) a little liberty, but his pub is as decent a place as anywhere. "You can come in any night and you won't find anything going on". (Does he really mean this?) "And the Chief Constable needn't talk."

It is quite common for landlords to drink in other's pubs and go round drinking in each other's company. Recently one fell dead in another's pub. The news that he drank there surprised many friends. The Old Soldier, referred to above, is well-known as a publicans' drinking place.

Conversation about landlords in the taproom. B.C. tells a story about a widow landlady, who got herself a "fancy man", a young chap who lived at the pub and was drunk all the time. He came to a sad end, tottered off to sleep one night in a condition of near-coma, fell into bed on one side and out of it the other, with his head jammed into the chamber-pot. He lay there, unconscious, and died "drowned", says B.C.

The company discusses various landlords' habits of drinking at the Old Soldier, at least six are mentioned, and observer also knows one who does. No one knows why they do it, lot of ruminating until one man suggests "It's ancient tradition" and everyone laughs.

A landlord who complained to an observer of having a thick head said he didn't do any serious drinking in his own pub. Landlords complain—about the Chief Constable, about teetotallers, about clubs, about the brewers. Barmaids too. . . .

Observer has a drink with barmaid, who is landlady's daughter, and goes out to a job during the day. She drinks grapefruit. Is fond of dancing, goes to the main Hall, went to the Licensed Victuallers' Ball, that was held there, says "it was lovely".

Talks pubs with observer. She stresses, which observer doesn't believe, that the piano playing here is unpaid. Says the K. Arms "is a nice pub. The landlord's a friend of ours".

Constables they scandal about, transferring the sense of guilt and subjugation. After all, things have improved since the times when in Rome tavern-keepers were not admitted to military service, their wives exempt from adultery laws; then innkeepers were classed with thieves and gamblers—now only the second applies.

Clubs they hate. . . .

A club can start up for a few shillings, does so—no heavy pub license taxation; this report reflects the pub reaction:

Landlord drinks Crown ale with observer, also talking across to his wife and a small group of regulars who are sitting in the lobby. Conversation about the price of whiskey, the weather, and clubs. He hates clubs a lot, says that people come out of them at (pub) opening time so beastly drunk that he doesn't like to have them in. So he doesn't serve them and they go on to some other pub. Later he forgets that he's said this, and refers to having them in the pub and what a nuisance they are there.

There is a calendar on the wall, with a motto on it, saying the Last Great Scorer doesn't count if you have lost or won, it's how you play the game. The pub bookie pokes his head round the side of the lobby hatch and sees it, says what a fine sentiment it is, and how it goes for him all right. It then turns out that this calendar was given to the landlord for Christmas by the bookie's wife.

And the brewers often have the landlord's ill-will:

"The majority of the brewers won't give allowance for waste. You take a pub like mine, I wouldn't do anything wrong to the beer. . . . 'e never told me directly what to do. The

idea was that I should put water in it. They never told me direct." He went on to say it's only the publican who isn't really honest with his customers who can be successful from the brewer's point of view. "'e gets in his cellar and gets his doctoring done, some of them use isinglass, some stoop to the method of having special glasses—the genuine landlord would fall to that before he'd fall to watering the beer."

The point of the isinglass is to bring the specific gravity of the watered beer back to normal.

#### CREDIT

Credit, vital in pub economy, they complain about. . . . One landlord says of this:

"Credit is the biggest evil to a publican. The one who is the most generous is the one to come unstuck. Credit varies according to the conscience of the landlord. I should imagine five bob a week is a good average. The landlord is the only sufferer, but I think a great many have cut out the practice. These credit customers come and go, they make a practice of getting and not paying."

About this, a barman writes:

Strapping, or Putting it on the Slate. In spite of the fact that there is no redress from people allowed tick there is still a small amount of business done in this way. There are people whom the landlord feels he can trust, even so, they often leave an account and go to some other place. Knowing the landlord's helplessness a bigger proportion of bad debts accrue than in other traders' accounts because the other trader can bring the law into operation.

They generally start through the following, either they run short in the course of an evening through getting in a treating ring, will call the landlord on one side and make their request, or will ask for a bottle to take home on credit. Fearing to lose the customers he generally accedes to it, and once in they go to increasing amounts until holidays or sickness causes them to stay out because they can't pay, and the landlord says "Done again".

Sometimes the request is made in writing like this—handed over to a barman "Tom, give 2 Pints one gill for Boxer. Give me the Change for 2s."

The ancient custom of writing it on the slate is seldom found

now. The "slate" of these days is any old piece of paper, kept behind the bar.

The following is a list of the people on the slate in a small pub who get, or have got credit during December:

A. Woman whose husband is getting a good wage, she regularly sends children round for small amounts, from half-a-crown to sixpence. Sends Co-op checks over. Now owes about 30s.

B. Owes 10s., has not been in for three months.

C. Described by barman as "a demure young lady". She used to say "A pint of beer, please", and when served, add "It's for my father". She would come about three times in the course of one evening. Paid up regularly for about six months, until one week-end when she said she would pay next week, and could she carry on. She came as usual during the next week, but did not turn up on pay-night and has not been seen since.

D. Labourer, orders a pint for which he paid, then asked for another on credit. Had several more and took two bottles home. He lasted three months, and left owing 6s. 9d., has not been seen since.

E. A man who is so trustworthy that the landlord does not trouble to put down what he owes, as the man puts it down himself, in a small book that he carries with him. This has been going on for twelve years.

F. A carter, who runs up exactly ten shillings credit every week. He doesn't like to let the other customers know about this and gets the landlord to give him the money in odd half-crowns. He always settles up, has been doing this for ten years.

Another angle on credit is given in the following report:

The landlord was very anxious to please and said that he had been told by his brewers that he must stop the slate trade of this pub, and whilst he thought that a landlord's popularity had a lot to do with a pub, he thought that good management had more. He lost a lot of customers when he stopped the credit side of the business, but now he had a lot of strangers coming in who told him that they did not like to be classed with the credit customers, and that is why they had kept away during its last tenancy. This landlord was new to the game and took me to see how he was studying to be master of it. He was busy reading three volumes—*Licensed Houses and Their Management*.

## RESPECT

But the landlord gets respect. Writes a barman:

In the vault people invariably turn to the landlord or his substitute when talking or arguing, as if to seek confirmation for what they are talking about.

And a local drinker says:

"Why do people appeal so much to the landlord to settle any particular problem in argument. This has happened several times this evening, and the landlord has on each occasion prevaricated—presumably to retain the goodwill of all and favour no one."

There are two landlords and a brewer on the town council, and another recently lost his seat. The landlord of one small pub has started a Magician's Club, and himself delights clients by producing pennies from all parts of his and other bodies. Two ex-members of the famous local football team are landlords. Politician, magician, footballer—they attract custom by personal prestige not connected with the pub. But in Worktown such landlords are rare.

## WORK

Most of the work of the pub staff consists of walking about. This is a detailed report of their movements during a slack half hour:

Room empty when observer enters. Landlady sitting by herself at table near bar. She is 50-60, with red face, dark red jumper, dark blue dress, black hair. Waiter-on comes (from other room) to serving hatch, calling out the order before he gets there, puts down his tray and some empty glasses. Landlady takes glass, holds it under nozzle of beer engine, gives two pulls at handle, the first short and sharp, the second longer and slower. Puts full glass on tray. Waiter-on goes off, comes back, switches on lights. Three people come in and sit down. Landlady walks over to table, stands at the back of the chair, takes orders, walks round behind bar, takes glasses, two at a time, fills them up, walks to far end of bar and puts glasses on tray, takes Guinness bottle from shelf, uncorks it in uncorking machine, puts it on to tray. Then

walks over to get another glass, which she puts on to tray beside the bottle. Comes out from behind the bar, walks right round to the end where she left the tray, picks it up, and takes it over to table. Gets money, walks round behind bar to cash register, gets change, walks back to table, gives change to customers, walks back again to behind the bar and pours herself out a Guinness. Stops walking about for a little and leans on bar looking at the shelves behind. Then walks over to serving hatch, stops, looks down passage, goes out, comes back with waiter-on, and sits down at the table again.

At 8.30 a barman comes on duty, man of about 35, brown suit, red, puffy face, smooth, shining brown hair. He now takes most of the orders, but when there are several at once the landlady gets up from the table and goes round behind the bar and helps. Barman draws all draught beers, but the waiter-on takes the bottled beers, opens the bottles and puts them on the tray himself.

Barman keeps wiping his hands on towel at every opportunity after he has drawn off some beer. When he smokes he takes a puff, puts cigarette down on ashtray and leaves it there for a long time. This, observer thinks, is because he has got a sort of reflex about smoking behind the bar—when he is busy he is only able to get time to smoke in short puffs like this, both his hands being occupied and wet.

Both he and landlady pick up glasses in threes, between thumb and first two fingers. Glasses are washed by being dipped in sink and left on draining board until needed. The water in the sink was not changed during this half-hour's observation.

(Another barman's reflex observed is this:

Barman, standing in doorway as observers leave, is holding his tray. There is no room to pass, but instead of lowering the tray he holds it up above his head, balanced on the tips of his fingers, as if he was carrying glasses on it.)

A barmaid's conversation with a customer—this one semi-technical:

Man about 30, comes in, wearing green hat, dirty but good mac, blue-striped shirt and collar, smoking fag. Greets barmaid, says "This weather's very changeable. I went out wi'out shirt on Sunday and look at it now—I was up at the Albert."

"Did you see Mr. Wood?"

"What? Boss? No, I didn't."

She says she had a job at the G. & D. when this chap (i.e. Mr. W.) was landlord there. "He was there two years."

"How long was he at the Albert?"

"Two years last September."

"I heard a great tale of woe—all the girls sacked last night for some reason."

"Well, what's going to win the Derby? . . . I've a bet on anyway, better price than it was today."

"It were a miserable afternoon, but I enjoyed myself in the evening."

Another man comes in.

Barmaid. "Still raining?"

Man. "Wasn't when I came in."

Barmaid. "It's stopped!" (Turns to other man.) "It's a big place, the Albert. Did you notice the floor. It's new since I was there. It's new, very nice and clean."

The pseudo-flirtation is common:

Two young labourers, begin to talk to barmaid asking her where she is going for her holidays. The unsober one starts in on an obscure, allusive verbal flirtation with her, which culminates in the suggestion that she should sleep up in a tree and he would come along and shake it until she fell down in his arms. She said she would be too heavy, which was true enough, but he could have her if he could carry her on his back up the hill at the end of the street. Observer doubts if he could.

And the landlord or lady talks, sitting and drinking, with friends and regulars, during slack times:

Lounge nearly empty, few lights on, a young man drinking with Rudolph Valentino. (Note: This barmaid is called Rudolph Valentino because she is supposed to have had so many abortions! Local pub folklore includes a sad story about her. She was found walking home, near the centre of the town, at five in the morning, stark naked. A young man had taken her out into the country on his motor cycle, taken all her clothes off, and driven away with them. The reason for this unkind act was that she had given him the pox.) Now a middle-aged woman comes in, sits in her usual place, orders Guinness. Landlady greets her, sits down alongside, and has a Guinness too.

Landlady: "It's awful, isn't it, Tuesday night." (i.e. quite).

They talk about racing. Landlady: "It's just a horse that I saw and I backed it. I wasn't really interested in the race . . . front room's just got busy, it's the fellows just come in. . . ." She talks about her cough. Friend, sympathizing, also suffers, "It's my throat, the chest . . ." (Puts her hand to her throat.) She then says "Very quiet."

Landlady: "Unusually quiet."

Friend: "Time's dragging since tea, and nothing to do."

Landlady: "D'you know what's on at the Palais, I didn't notice the paper. Hasn't it been cold today, what a change."

Friend: "Terrible today. I noticed it as soon as I got up. I mustn't get a cold. I soon get chilled through. . . I haven't had the kitchen window open today. (Yawns widely.) I'm yawning."

Two men who have been drinking exactly level finish (11 minutes) and go. Landlady and friend are talking clothes and materials. Before they have finished their glasses landlady says Valentino "Will you bring two glasses, love." She gets them, to sits at table with them; they whisper. Rudolph Valentino says ". . . for about the first twenty minutes he couldn't leave me alone."

Inaccurately intelligent is a leader in the *Daily Express* (17/5/38):

The barmaid needs to be a philosopher. Her job certainly helps her to become one. She sees the customer who is going up in the world, and that one who is slipping. She sees some that *could* go up and others that are finally down. "Regulars" and "strays" alike confide across the counter their troubles, joys, hopes, and jokes. The last are the worst.

It is a generally accepted idea that barmaids and barmen drink a lot, get a lot of drinks stood them. A few enquiries showed that this idea may be exaggerated. Out of five barmaids (in big pubs) one said she got three a week, two said they got seven, one "two or three a night"; and one five or six on busy nights, and on slack ones, one or two. Another said she didn't drink, is asked about twice a week whether she'll have one and takes a packet of Woodbines instead. She doesn't smoke either, but keeps them and gives them to her boy friend. Four barmen said that they got stood about four drinks a week, and one that he got twelve.

Both barmen and barmaids get drinks stood them by men, usually regulars, usually the same regulars every week. One said that sometimes he gets a drink "from strangers such as you" who want to talk to him for company.

#### SUMMED UP

The staff-customer relationship can be summed up as follows:

1. The basic relationship of serving drink. This need not entail any social contact at all. (See later—"the silent regular".)
2. Development of 1. When drink is served conversation takes place. This can vary from a random remark to a stranger, about the weather, to a long conversation.
3. Social contact not directly arising from the serving of drink:
  - a. When talk with customers goes on while the landlord, etc., is standing behind the bar and not serving drink to the people he is talking with.
  - b. When the landlord, etc., comes out from behind the bar and joins the customers. This can vary from conversation carried on by him with a group of which he is not a member, to his participation in a group that is sitting down and playing games.

The third category is the only one that represents a real social relationship between staff and customer. This, however, cannot be directly correlated with the degree of "affability" that exists between customers and staff; size of pub is most important factor. In the average small beerhouse conversation between landlord and customers is the general rule, and it is common to find him sitting down with them to a game of dominoes, and only getting up to go behind the bar when more beer has to be drawn.

But as more customers come in he is increasingly busy and has to stay behind the bar. The relationship then cannot go beyond 3a. And the more drink and people he has to serve, the less he is able to converse with the drinkers, until at the time of maximum drinker conviviality, the staff-drinker level of social intercourse is at its lowest.

But other factors tend to negate this. Most pubs, during peak hours and peak days, have extra help. (Either "waiters-on", or more of the landlord's family coming into operation.) This frees the landlord once more, so it is possible to find him during the



most busy hours sitting and drinking with customers in rooms right away from the bar.

In the biggest pubs, where there are plenty of workers, the landlord is free for conversation and games almost whenever he feels like it. And whether he feels like it or not, it is important for him to do it, as already quoted remarks have shown. In fact, one of the reasons why the landlord has to take on extra help is that he should be free of work during the busy times in the pub.

But, in the largest pubs, even if the landlord is completely free from having to do any drink-serving work, if his social intercourse is not confined to small groups, it will have to be spread out over a large number of people in different rooms, so that there cannot be so much of it per customer.

Again, in the majority of pubs, where the landlord himself helps the work behind the bar, his social intercourse is confined to the vault drinkers (and lobby men, if there is a lobby).

The mutual relationship between those working behind the bar, within working hours, is governed by the same factors. (Also cf. remarks about barmen and barmaids.)

Relationship between the staff of different pubs mostly takes the form of landlords drinking together. Barmen-maid marriages resulting in the pair setting up together in a pub of their own are not uncommon.

In some respects the landlord:pub:regular relation can be compared with that of the parson:church:congregation. Further material will later illustrate this. But one important and significant difference between the landlord:regular and parson:congregation relationship is that there are no class distinctions between the landlord and his customers—mostly he is with the poorest section of them, and they meet on terms of outward equality, usually addressing each other by Christian names. But most parsons are “better” class than their congregations, are never addressed by Christian names—and very seldom by their surnames.

#### THREE LANDLORDS' REMARKS

“I wouldn't like my daughter to know my life, she's 17. My wife's the best woman on earth.”

“Aye—there is some rum buggers in this town . . . there is and all.”

Landlord summing up a long conversation: “It's nice round 'ere in the summer time—when it's nice.”

## IV

### DRINKING PLACES

Dear Mother, dear Mother, the church is cold  
But the Ale-house is healthy and pleasant and warm.

(WILLIAM BLAKE)

#### GEOGRAPHY

IN 1936, WHEN we came to Worktown, there were 304 pubs in Worktown (Chief Constable's Report to the Watch Committee). In some parts of the town there are plenty, in others few, in others none. We mapped the distribution of 277 of them.<sup>1</sup> A first glance showed that their greatest density was in the centre of the town, and along the main routes that radiate out from it. The following table shows their relative densities in circular areas of  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles radius, with the Town Hall as their common centres.

Area	No. of Pubs	No. per Sq. Mile	% of Total	
			Area	Pubs
A. $\frac{1}{4}$ mile circle	55	280.6	2.7	19.8
B. $\frac{1}{2}$ mile circle	134	173.1	11.1	48.3
C. B. less area included in A.	79	133.9	8.4	28.5
D. $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile circle	277	39.17	100	100
E. D. less area included in B.	143	22.75	88.9	51.7

Note: E. is traversed by seven main roads, on which are found 56 pubs. This leaves 87 pubs, not on main roads, in an area of approx. 6.3 sq. miles—13.8 to the sq. mile.

The most striking fact that emerges here is that 11.1 per cent of the total area contains 48.3 per cent of all the pubs. Even more strongly marked is the relative density per square mile—that of the central quarter-mile circle being almost seven times as much as the general average.

But this distribution is not even; and the unevenness is not simply due to the fact that the whole area included does not comprise a homogeneous built-up area.

<sup>1</sup> Our analysis of pub distribution is based on 277 pubs included in a circle of a mile and a half radius; these have been mapped from material supplied to us by the local Town Planning Committee. Outside this circle lie three suburban areas which are under the jurisdiction of the Town Council. The actual map shows 268 pubs, the odd nine lying outside the continuous built-up area but within the mile and a half circle.