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Assessment

The Urban and Suburban Public House in Inter-War England, 1918-1939

Dr Emily Cole

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Volume One

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THE URBAN AND SUBURBAN PUBLIC HOUSE IN INTER-WAR ENGLAND, 1918-1939

Dr Emily Cole

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SUMMARY

This report is the outcome of a project initiated in December 2013 at the suggestion of 4A1, the National Heritage Protection Plan (NHPP) Activity Group responsible for historic towns and suburbs. The project's aim has been to undertake a study of the urban and suburban inter-war public house across England, with the intention of increasing levels of understanding about the building type, raising awareness, and heightening levels of protection afforded to inter-war pubs. The project reflects the high level of threat now faced by all of England's pubs, and the high rates of closure, alteration and demolition.

CONTRIBUTORS

Research, investigation and fieldwork were undertaken by Emily Cole and Luke Jacob, with the advice and support of relevant experts and colleagues (see below). Emily Cole was the project manager, the project expert was Andrew Davison, and the lead adviser for the Designation Department was Michael Bellamy. Others involved on the project management side were Kathryn Morrison and Deborah Williams, along with other members of the NHPP Activity Team 4A1. The report was written by Emily Cole with contributions by Luke Jacob. Photography has been provided by Steven Baker, Alun Bull, James O. Davies, Derek Kendall and Patricia Payne, while graphics has been undertaken by and Philip Sinton. The desktop publishing was undertaken by Emily Cole, with the kind assistance of Katie Carmichael.

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A great number of people have provided assistance, advice and information over the course of this project. In particular, I have been ably assisted by Luke Jacob, a University of Cambridge MSt student who has been employed by English Heritage between 2013 and 2015 to work on this and related pubs projects. I am very grateful to Luke for his energy and commitment, for his suggestions, for carrying out a large amount of research and providing information and references, and for his company on what were always interesting and often proved to be eventful site visits to numerous pubs. It is a reflection of Luke's strong interest in the subject that he chose the London pubs built by Truman's brewery as the subject of his MSt dissertation, and it was very fortuitous that Luke was able to draw upon his knowledge of this and other areas of pub history and design in writing a number of summaries of pubs included in this report.

From within Historic England, particular assistance has been given by Kathryn Morrison (of the Assessment Team), Deborah Williams and Michael Bellamy (of the Designation Department) and Andrew Davison (of the National Planning and Conservation Department), who advised me throughout the project and very kindly submitted comments on the report. Other colleagues to have provided help, advice and information are: Magnus Alexander, Paul Backhouse, Jane Biro, Tony Calladine, Katie Carmichael, Jessica Cole, Tom Duane, Katharine Grice, Neil Guiden, Emily Gee, Elain Harwood, Pete Herring, Clare Howard, Martin Jeffs, Rebecca Lane, Ian Leith, John Minnis, Rebecca Pullen, Joanna Smith, Howard Spencer, Simon Taylor, Sue Thompson, Kirsty Tuthill and Meredith Wiggins. I have also been ably assisted by the Historic England Library and Archive Services.

The project has involved a close working relationship with the Pub Heritage Group of CAMRA, and I would like to thank Paul Ainsworth, Geoff Brandwood, Andrew Davison, Dave Gamston and Michael Slaughter for all the help and support they have given Luke

and myself. Thanks are also due to Catherine Croft and Robert Drake of the Twentieth Century Society, Mike Brown of the Brewery History Society, and various authors and experts, including Simon Bradley, Richard Bristow, Matt Buxton, Chris Coffey, Fiona Fisher, David W. Gutzke (who very kindly shared with us his detailed research notes on inter-war pubs), Clare Hartwell, David Herbert, Dale Ingram, James Morgan, Stephen Oliver, Rebecca Preston, Joseph Sharples, Clifford Wadsworth and Stephen Wainwright. Those who kindly undertook site visits to pubs on our behalf were Duncan Brown, Tom Foxall, Elain Harwood, Rebecca Lane, Jonathan Last, Joanne O'Hara, Rebecca Pullen, Pete Smith, Matthew Spriggs, Simon Taylor, Steve Trow and June Warrington.

In particular, I am very grateful for the assistance provided to Luke and myself by the staff of various archives, libraries and local authorites around the country, including Vanessa Winstone of the National Brewery Centre and Kenneth Thomas, archivist of Heineken UK, and also for the active help of certain pub managers and brewery representatives (including Christian Horton of Samuel Smith's and Scott Illman of the Bedford Hotel, London). The information this group of people have provided has added a great deal to our understanding and appreciation of inter-war pubs.

In terms of the illustrations, many photographs of pubs were taken by Luke and myself during our fieldwork – always with the permission of the pub staff. For other photography, I am especially grateful to Michael Slaughter, who shared with me so many of his images of historic pubs, and to Steven Baker, Alun Bull, James O. Davies, Derek Kendall and Patricia Payne, who provided me with wonderful new photography. Graphics were kindly provided by Philip Sinton. I would also like to thank all those archives, libraries and individuals who have allowed me to reproduce images from their collections. Every effort has been made to contact copyright holders; please get in touch with Historic England, the successor of English Heritage, if you have information in relation to these images that you would like to draw to our attention.

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DATE OF PROJECT

December 2013 – April 2015

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACV	Asset of Community Value
CAMRA	Campaign for Real Ale
CCB	Central Control Board
EH	English Heritage
LCC	London County Council
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
NHPP	National Heritage Protection Plan
OS	Ordnance Survey
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

> … *when you have lost your Inns drown your empty selves, for you will have lost the last of England* [1]

Public houses are among the most conspicuous, well-loved and widespread buildings in England, with a history stretching back to the medieval period (Fig. 1.1). Although the building type has proved contentious at various points in the past – perhaps most notably, it was campaigned against as part of the temperance movement in c. 1840-1940 – it has been said that 'The public house has … occupied a central place in the nation's imagination, expressing its very identity', and that 'Perhaps one of the most truly national institutions of English life is the Inn'.[2] For much of the twentieth century, the pub was seen as being – with the exception of the home and the workplace – the building in which most people spent the most time.[3] While this is no longer true today, there can be no question that pubs still occupy a prominent place in the lives of a great many people, and they engender strong feelings and loyalties. Their role as a social meeting point is perhaps best exemplified by their place in TV soap operas – most famously, the Rovers Return in *Coronation Street*, the Woolpack in *Emmerdale* and the Queen Vic in *Eastenders*.

1.1 *A typical view of an English country pub, in this case the Charrington's Blue Boys Inn, Kipping's Cross, near Pembury, Kent, photographed in the 1960s. The pub has since been converted to restaurant use, and is (at the time of writing) closed. (© TopFoto)*

1.2 *The Thimblemill pub, Smethwick, Birmingham, built in 1928 to designs by T. Spencer Wood of Wood, Kendrick and Edwin F. Reynolds. The pub was closed and demolished in 2014, to be replaced with a care home. (© Historic England, Emily Cole)*

Public houses are, however, a severely threatened building type (Fig. 1.2). Across the country, the number of public houses has been falling for over a century. In 1900, there were 102,189 licensed premises in England and Wales. This number had dropped to 75,000 by 1966, and research of 2009 carried out by the Office for National Statistics indicated that the number had fallen to around 45,000.[4] More pubs are closing all of the time, both in urban and rural settings. In 2009, the

1 Hilaire Belloc, *This and That and The Other* (London, 1912), p. 31

2 Paul Jennings, *The Local: A History of the English Pub* (Stroud, 2007), p. 15; E. B. Musman, 'Development of the English Inn', *Building*, no. 12, vol. 12 (December 1937), p. 513

3 For instance, a study of the Lancashire town of Bolton found that 'More people spend more time in public houses than they do in any other buildings except private houses and work-places': *Mass-Observation, The Pub and the People: A Worktown Study* (London, 1943), p. 17

4 Kathryn Morrison, 'Scoping Document (Project Proposal): The Urban and Suburban English Public House' (English Heritage, January 2013), p. 4

British Beer and Pub Association published findings illustrating that a record number of 52 pubs was closing a week; 2,377 pubs had closed in the 12-month period up to July 2009.[5] While research of 2014 showed this number as having reduced to 31 per week, this still constitutes a significant loss to the amenities enjoyed by the public.[6] As pubs are so often centres of the community and people's social lives, with close and strong associations for a broad range of individuals, it is a loss that is widely and keenly felt.

The reasons for the reduction in pub numbers are complex, and have changed at various points over the years. They include the following:

- Deliberate government policy, especially in the early decades of the twentieth century, when a reduction in the number of pub licences was a key target
- Social change and increased competition (for instance, from entertainment venues such as cinemas and clubs)
- Excessive rates of beer tax
- Recession, which adversely affects the spending power of customers
- The high and rising value of pub sites for redevelopment
- The smoking ban, introduced to England on 1 July 2007
- Rising employment costs (increased minimum wage) and rising food costs
- Discounted alcohol sales by supermarkets and a rise in drinking at home.

The result has been an unremitting stream of conversions (Fig. 1.3), with consequent loss of historic interiors, and a high number of demolitions. A large number of pubs have been converted to housing, but especially common and problematic is conversion to restaurants, convenience stores and supermarkets, something which currently requires

1.3 *The Blue Boy pub, Chaddesden, Derby, designed by Browning & Hayes for Offilers brewery and built in 1935-36, in a Moderne style. The pub was closed in c. 2013 and was converted in a mixed scheme of retail and residential units in late 2014. (© Historic England, Luke Jacob)*

5 http://www.beerandpub.com/news/pub-closures-rise-to-record-52-a-week?from_search=1 (accessed 15 January 2015)

6 http://www.theguardian.com/business/2014/aug/12/pubs-closing-rate-31-week (accessed 15 January 2015). Recent research undertaken by YouGov shows that the British public are mostly now without a 'local'. The research also shows that most people (53%) think the decline in the number of pubs in recent years is a negative trend: Will Dahlgreen, 'Most people now don't have a "local"', 3 October 2013, at: www.moradesign.co.uk/yougov-app/website (accessed 10 December 2014)

no planning permission, pub buildings being deemed as remaining in A4 retail use.[7] Also frequent and even more destructive is the complete redevelopment of pubs for supermarkets, care homes or housing estates, it often being possible to fit many buildings onto the site previously occupied by a single pub and its grounds (see Fig. 1.2). Mike Benner, former Chief Executive of CAMRA, has said that 'Weak and misguided planning laws and the predatory acquisition of valued pub sites by large supermarket chains, coupled with the willingness of pub owners to cash in and sell for development, are some of the biggest threats to the future of Britain's social fabric'.[8] In other cases, pubs have closed and simply been left empty, falling into disrepair and becoming increasingly vulnerable.

Among the various groups who have been responding to this threat and calling for action is CAMRA (the Campaign for Real Ale), whose current campaigns include 'List your Local', encouraging members of the public to nominate pubs to be listed by local authorities as 'assets of community value', something made possible by the Localism Act of 2011. ACV listing can help save a pub by providing communities with extra time to explore all the options before the building is sold. Where a pub owner wishes to sell, it can also allow the community to make a bid for the property before the asset can be sold to anyone else. In January 2015, a new government proposal was announced whereby pubs listed as ACVs are to be protected from demolition or change of use without planning permission.[9] The changes will be brought into law on 6 April 2015.[10]

Since 1991, CAMRA has been active in compiling and managing a national inventory of pub interiors of outstanding historic interest in the United Kingdom.[11] This now includes around 300 buildings, of various dates and locations. The basic criterion for inclusion on the inventory is one of intactness: pubs should remain much as they did before the Second World War or, in some exceptional cases, before 1970. In addition, CAMRA compiles and manages inventories of pubs deemed to be of regional significance, again concentrating on well-intact historic interiors dating from before 1945. The regional inventories have been published as a series of guides, starting with one covering London, while a recent CAMRA publication has highlighted buildings from both national and regional inventories.[12]

CAMRA has also worked with English Heritage (the predecessor of Historic England) in proposing pubs for statutory designation. In the early 1990s, English Heritage became conscious of the comparatively small number of public houses that were included on

7 CAMRA is campaigning for these planning loopholes to be closed, and for pubs to be given greater protection through the planning system. For an article highlighting CAMRA's concern about the number of pub conversions to supermarkets (which reached a total of two a week in 2012 and 2013), see: http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/camra-pubs-warning-supermarkets-taking-3118875 (accessed 4 December 2014)

8 *The Guardian*, 19 November 2012: www.theguardian.com (accessed 11 July 2014)

9 http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2015/jan/26/english-pubs-important-communities-protected-government-kris-hopkins (accessed 28 January 2015)

10 http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/2015/659/introduction/made (accessed 2 April 2015)

11 The inventory is available online: www.heritagepubs.org.uk

12 *The CAMRA Regional Inventory for London: Pub Interiors of Special Historic Interest* (St Albans, 2004); Geoff Brandwood, *Britain's Best Real Heritage Pubs: Pub Interiors of Outstanding Historic Interest* (St Albans, 2013)

the statutory list (then around 75 buildings, covering pubs of all dates). With the aim of increasing this number, English Heritage began to collaborate with CAMRA. Pilot studies were undertaken in Birmingham, Harrogate, Leeds, Manchester, Walsall and York, and these reinforced the view that there should be a greater representation of pubs on the statutory list. The result of the collaboration was the English Heritage booklet *Pubs: Understanding Listing* (1994) and a number of significant listings. In 1998, the collaboration of the two organisations gave rise to the jointly funded, two-year appointment of a caseworker, Geoff Brandwood, whose task was to put forward a group of pubs for listing or, where appropriate, for upgrading or more detailed and accurate recording in list descriptions. This work resulted in around 16 new listings, one at grade II* – the Test Match Hotel, West Bridgford, Nottinghamshire, built in 1938 (Fig. 1.4, and see Fig. 10.8). It might be noted that only a small proportion of these buildings (5 out of 16) was constructed or substantially altered during the inter-war period.

1.4 *The Moderne style interior of the public bar of the Test Match Hotel, West Bridgford, Nottinghamshire, built in 1938 to designs by A. C. Wheeler and listed grade II* in 2000. (© Michael Slaughter LRPS)*

Today, it appears that there are 73 inter-war pubs listed across the country, three of those at grade II* and the rest at grade II (see Appendix 6). Overall, it has been estimated that between 5,000 and 6,000 pubs were built or substantially rebuilt in England and Wales in the years 1918-39. David W. Gutzke – author of a key recent text on inter-war public houses, *Pubs and Progressives* (2006) – made use of diverse sources to document the construction of 4,283 pubs in the period, but stated that there would have been more for which records were not created or do not survive. His estimation of a grand total is around 5,900 – this is obviously a huge number, and the costs outlayed by breweries ran into the millions.[13]

13 David W. Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives: Reinventing the Public House in England, 1896-1960* (DeKalb, Illinois, 2006), p. 211. Independently, members of CAMRA's Pub Heritage Group also came up with an estimation of 5,000 to 6,000 pubs built/rebuilt during the inter-war period (pers. comm: Geoff Brand-

The project that has led to this report had its origins in discussion by 4A1, the National Heritage Protection Plan (NHPP) Activity Group responsible for historic towns and suburbs. The joint leader of the group, Kathryn Morrison, undertook a consultation within English Heritage in autumn 2012 with the aim of identifying the most threatened class of commercial buildings. Colleagues in Designation were in broad agreement that public houses were their most pressing priority. This confirmed concerns voiced by others, including the all-party Save the Pub group, led by Greg Mulholland MP, which has called upon government to increase protection for 'pubs of architectural value'.[14]

The outcome of the consultation was discussed by 4A1 at its meeting in October 2012, and Kathryn Morrison then drafted a scoping document (project proposal), setting out the case for further investigation of the building type and a range of possible approaches/projects. In January 2013, this was circulated to members of 4A1, as well as to Andrew Davison (English Heritage Inspector and a member of CAMRA's Pub Heritage Group). A final, revised version of the scoping document was completed in February 2013 and considered by 4A1 at its meeting that month, with the result being the outline approval of a series of four related projects focusing on pubs, to be run in tandem across years 3 and 4 of the NHPP for 2011-15. These projects were as follows:

- That which gave rise to this report, looking at English urban and suburban pubs of the inter-war period, with the specific aim of increasing levels of protection
- A project looking at the post-war public house in England, aiming to raise understanding and awareness of pubs of this period
- A more limited initiative, to form part of the First World War centenary commemorations, focusing on the 'Carlisle Experiment' initiated in 1916, whereby licensed premises in the Carlisle area were brought under state management, together with licensed buildings in others areas of Cumbria, over the border in Scotland, and in Enfield, now part of North London
- Two externally commissioned projects looking at public houses of a broad range of types and dates (from c. 1800 onwards) in two urban localities, Bristol and Leeds.

The early part of the project on inter-war pubs ran alongside a related initiative managed by Michael Bellamy of Designation Team West. This, a Defined Area Survey focusing on

1.5 *The Wernley pub, Sandwell, Birmingham, was listed grade II in 2014 as a result of an English Heritage survey of inter-war pubs in the area. It was built in the Jacobean style in 1933-34 to designs by Edwin F. Reynolds. (© Historic England, Luke Jacob)*

wood, Andrew Davison). As to cost, Mitchells & Butlers alone spent almost £1.7 million building 142 pubs in the inter-war period: Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives,* p. 88

14 http://www.bdonline.co.uk/mps-call-for-greater-pub-protection/5048968.article (accessed 28 January 2015)

inter-war pubs in Dudley and Sandwell, West Midlands, aimed at increasing protection levels in this area – where pubs are especially highly threatened – and was initiated in 2010; it was informed by Olivia Horsfall Turner's English Heritage report 'The "improved public house" with particular reference to Dudley and Sandwell' (January 2013). The Dudley and Sandwell project is now largely complete, with a group of around 22 pubs having been considered for statutory designation. Ultimately, three buildings were recommended for listing at grade II (Fig. 1.5).[15]

In terms of the project on inter-war pubs, which has resulted in this report, the principal aims were as follows:

- To enhance protection of the urban and suburban inter-war public house in England, by increasing levels of statutory designation
- To increase knowledge, understanding and appreciation of the urban and suburban inter-war public house in England
- To inform colleagues in Designation and National Planning & Conservation
- To highlight the threat posed to urban and suburban pubs of the inter-war period, and to help to mitigate this wherever possible
- To stimulate further interest in and protection of inter-war pubs (e.g. through local listing and/or the inclusion of pubs within conservation areas).

1.6 *A night-time view of the Rose and Crown, Stoke Newington, London. This pub, built in 1930-32 for Truman's brewery, is one of the 37 buildings considered in detail as part of this project. (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP152310)*

It is intended that the project will contribute to protection result 4AI.1 ('Enhanced protection for historic urban asset types') by raising awareness and increasing understanding about inter-war pubs, and hopefully by leading to increased levels of protection and greater social value for public houses as a building type. The project meshes directly with priorities identified as part of the NHPP – including 'Enhancing protection where there is a clear and demonstrable threat to the heritage asset' – and also relates to aim 1 of the English Heritage Corporate Plan for 2011-15 ('Identify and protect our most important heritage').

As has been noted above, the key aim of the project is to increase levels of protection of inter-war public houses by selecting a group of buildings worthy of consideration for statutory listing (Fig. 1.6). It is hoped that this report will enable listing and planning decisions to be made on the basis of expert knowledge of the building

15 These buildings are as follows: the New Navigation, Oldbury (1931); the Wernley, Birmingham (1933-34); and the Garibaldi Inn, Stourbridge (1937).

type as a whole, and of its importance and context, so that a coordinated response to the threat may be made, rather than a series of ad-hoc decisions.

The project design for the inter-war pubs study was approved in December 2013 and work began immediately, continuing into spring 2015. In terms of staffing, the project manager – and the principal author of this report – is Emily Cole of Assessment Team East. She has been supported and aided by Luke Jacob, a University of Cambridge MSt student who has been employed by English Heritage between 2013 and 2015 to work on this and other pubs projects. Kathryn Morrison (Team Leader, Assessment Team East, and joint leader of 4A1) has served as project executive, and Andrew Davison (a Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments at English Heritage and member of CAMRA's Pub Heritage Group) has been the project expert. A member of Designation staff (Deborah Williams, Team Leader of Designation Team West) has functioned as a formal representative for the project on 4A1 and as interface between Assessment and relevant Designation Boards. Meanwhile, Michael Bellamy, also of Designation Team West, has served as lead Designation Adviser for the project, providing information, advice and support as necessary.

On account of its close ties with Designation, the project was selected as one of three pilots for developing good practice in the working relationship between the Heritage Protection Department and the Designation Department. Approaches, tasks, and time and staff allocations were set bearing in mind the document 'Working Together: Designation NHPP Project Process Flow', authored by Emily Gee and Lucy Oldnall.

CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY, SCOPE AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

The scope of the project has been to consider urban and suburban public houses across England which were either built or substantially remodelled in the inter-war period (1918-39) – both improved pubs (also known as 'reformed' or 'model' pubs; Fig. 2.1) and buildings of more traditional scale and design (Fig. 2.2). The focus on urban and suburban buildings and the exclusion of pubs in rural areas is a direct reflection of the responsibilities of the Activity Team 4A1 (that is, historic towns and suburbs), and also helped to make the project manageable and achievable in terms of resources and timescales. It might be noted that a suburban pub is defined as being such by its modern location, even though it may have been built in what was a rural locality at the time. Consideration has included pubs in areas that have been or are being investigated as part of discrete related projects, such as Carlisle and Dudley and Sandwell (see above). Also included within the project's remit are pubs which have been converted to an alternative function (e.g. to restaurant or residential use), though there has been an expectation of considerable significance before such buildings have been added to the list of pubs selected (see below).

This project has not included consideration of the club (e.g. working men's clubs), nor of the roadhouse in its modern definition – that is, in reference to the vast buildings, even complexes, with facilities for dining, swimming, dancing, cabaret, overnight accommodation and often sports, which were built in the inter-war period.[16] These were typically situated on the major routes around and out of London, and most famously included the Ace of Spades on the Kingston bypass, Surrey (opened 1928), the Thatched Barn on the Barnet bypass, Hertfordshire (opened as a roadhouse in 1932), the Spider's Web, Watford bypass, Hertfordshire (1932), and the Showboat in Maidenhead, Berkshire (1933). However, in the inter-war period, the term 'roadhouse' was used more loosely, defining the larger complexes mentioned above as well as large public houses built on arterial roads.[17] Where this last mentioned definition was clearly the case – that is, where a building was effectively a large pub, even though it may have included a range of facilities and had extensive grounds – roadhouses have been included. Examples include the Berkeley Arms Hotel, Cranford, London (1931-32; see Fig. 3.13 and section 12.4), and the Myllet Arms, Perivale, London (1935-36; see Fig. 5.1 and section 12.24), both designed by the architect E. B. Musman.

16 See: E. B. Musman, 'Development of the English Inn', *Building*, op. cit., p. 514; Clive Aslet, 'Refuelling the Body, the Soul and the Morris: Road Houses of the 1920s and 1930s', in T*ime Gentleman Please!* (SAVE, London, 1983), p. 21; Michael John Law, 'Turning night into day: transgression and Americanization at the English inter-war roadhouse', *Journal of Historical Geography*, vol. 35 (2009), p. 474 and p. 477; Kathryn A. Morrison and John Minnis, *Carscapes: The Motor Car, Architecture and Landscape in England* (New Haven and London, 2012), pp. 298-303. *Building* described roadhouses in 1932 as 'a sort of public country club': *Building*, vol. 7, April 1932, p. 175. David Gutzke has argued that the principal defining feature of roadhouses was that the capital for their construction was unrelated to the industries involved with alcohol production, many roadhouses never holding a licence for the sale of liquor: David W. Gutzke, 'Improved Pubs and Road Houses: Rivals for Public Affection in Interwar England', *Brewery History,* vol. 119 (2005), p. 2

17 For instance, one article referred to 'the inn-cum-roadhouse – no one has yet invented an appropriate name for it – offering the advantages of a communal centre; with assembly hall and dance floor, luncheon and dining rooms, terraces and outdoor games, and bedrooms for guests': *The Times*, 10 October 1936, p. 9

2.1 *An example of an improved pub: the Daylight Inn, Petts Wood, London, built in 1935 and designed by Sidney C. Clark of Charrington's. (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP170048)*

2.2 *Pubs of more traditional scale and form continued to be built in the inter-war period, an example being the Stag's Head, Hoxton, London, a Truman's pub of 1935-36. (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP152385)*

Similarly, this project has included buildings known as hotels at the time but which were clearly public houses, even where they included guest bedrooms. During the inter-war period, the term 'hotel' was increasingly used to describe pubs, being seen as more respectable and appropriate than the terms 'inn' or 'tavern' (see p. 39; Fig. 2.3), but the buildings thus described only vaguely resemble the hotels we know today. Their focus was clearly on the provision of alcohol and other refreshments, and a high proportion of inter-war 'hotels' did not have any facilities for overnight accommodation.

2.3 *The Norbury Hotel, Croydon, London, designed by Joseph Hill, shown here in an image from* Architecture Illustrated *of 1937, the year in which the building was completed. It is an instance of the term 'hotel' being applied to a building that did not include any guest accommodation. In the inter-war period, the term was widely used to add status and respectability to a public house.*

In terms of approach, this project has developed in stages. First of all, there was a study of primary and secondary literature on the inter-war public house. This included works such as Ernest E. Williams's *The New Public House* (1924), Ernest Selley's *The English Public House As It Is* (1927), and, of particular importance, Basil Oliver's *The Renaissance of the English Public House* (1947) – together with related journal articles by Oliver and others in *A Monthly Bulletin*, issued by the Fellowship of Freedom and Reform – and Francis W. B. Yorke's *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses* (1949); both Oliver and Yorke were practising architects and covered the subject in depth. Of later publications, the most relevant and useful is David W. Gutzke's *Pubs and Progressives: Reinventing the Public House in England, 1896-1960* (2006). This made the deserved claim of being 'the first comprehensive study of the improved public house',[18] though the subject has also been touched upon in works including Robert Elwall's *Bricks and Beer: English Pub Architecture 1830-1939 (*1983), Paul Jennings's *The Local: A History of the English Pub* (2007), and *Licensed to Sell: The History and Heritage of the Public House* (revised edn, 2011), a CAMRA/English Heritage publication authored by Geoff Brandwood, Andrew Davison and Michael Slaughter.

Overall, it was found that the actual fabric of the inter-war pub (e.g. plan forms, architectural design and style) had been very little studied in secondary sources, something which was unexpected, given the number of works on the public house that have been published. Of the modern studies of pubs, only *Bricks and Beer* and *Licensed to Sell* make a claim or an effort to concentrate on the buildings' architecture, though – because of the wide historical coverage of both studies – the inter-war years feature only briefly. It is notable that David Gutzke's *Pubs and Progressives*, despite its great value in setting out the history, context, aims and costs of pubs in the inter-war period, does not focus directly on pub architecture: the book contains not a single plan, for instance.

18 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 11

Following the study of primary and secondary works, a systematic search was undertaken for articles on and illustrations of public houses in the major inter-war architectural journals: namely, *The Architect*, *The Architects' Journal*, *Architectural Design and Construction*, *The Architectural Review*, *The Architect and Building News*, *Architecture Illustrated*, *The Builder*, *The Brick Builder* and the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*. Also consulted were contemporary journals such as *A Monthly Bulletin* (published by the Fellowship of Freedom and Reform, with the aim of encouraging 'the temperate enjoyment' of public houses), and brewery in-house magazines such as *The House of Whitbread*, the *Anchor Magazine* (produced by Barclay Perkins) and *The Black Eagle Magazine* (produced by Truman, Hanbury and Buxton). The range of dates covered was from 1918 through to the close of the Second World War, since inter-war pubs continued to be featured in the press some years after their actual completion. The aim of this process was to identify pubs – and pub architects – of particular significance, success and influence,[19] and to gain a measure of the breweries that were active, the range of architectural styles employed, and the areas in which new or rebuilt pubs were located. The work resulted in a table of all the urban and suburban pubs found to be mentioned in journals, totalling around 250 buildings (Appendix 1). A rapid desktop survey of these buildings was then undertaken, with the aim of identifying the present architectural state and use of each one.

In the next stage of the project, a number of pubs identified in the search of primary material – notably, architectural journals – were selected for further investigation. In making this selection, the following factors were borne in mind:

- The prominence and importance of the pub's architect, and of the brewery responsible for its building
- The level of interest shown in the building by the contemporary press
- The cost of construction, reflecting the scale of ambition and design
- The pub's style, size and impact
- The quality and state of survival of the building's architecture, design and fittings
- The nature of the pub's plan, and whether it included any defining, notable or unusual features
- The importance and survival of the building's landscape setting, including gardens, car parks, boundary walls and free-standing pub signs
- The pub's significance within the townscape or locality.

This group of buildings was taken to form the basis of a new table, which was then augmented by a group of pubs brought to our attention by CAMRA. These buildings were drawn from a larger list submitted by members of CAMRA's Pub Heritage Group – almost all pubs being taken from the body's regional and national pub inventories – and were chosen on the basis of the factors mentioned above.[20] Further pubs were added

19 There is no doubt that these journals – and the articles, photographs and plans that they contained – were drawn upon at the time by architects who received public house commissions, and thus proved of influence. E. B. Musman, in writing an article advising other pub architects how to go about their work, suggested they start by looking through architectural journals as well as other publications, and then went on to visit the buildings: E. B. Musman, 'Public Houses: Design and Construction', *Architects' Journal,* 24 November 1938, p. 833

20 The original list submitted by CAMRA included 202 pubs, drawn from the group's national and regional inventories. An initial process of selection was then undertaken, buildings being discounted where they were already included on the statutory list, were in rural locations, or had been remodelled in the inter-war years, rather than built or substantially rebuilt. The remainder were then each considered, as has

at the suggestion of colleagues and experts, and as a result of a limited study of the buildings designed by particular architects (e.g. E. B. Musman, Basil Oliver, T. H. Nowell Parr and Harold Hinchcliffe Davies) (Fig. 2.4). It proved, as was hoped, that the resulting list – including a total of 216 pubs (Appendix 2) – was a combination of pub buildings of historical and/or architectural importance and buildings with notable, well-preserved interiors.

2.4 *The Roaring Donkey, Holland-on-Sea, Essex, designed by the noted pub architect Basil Oliver and featured in* Architecture Illustrated *in 1935. The building has since been much altered but remains a pub.*

The 216 pubs selected for further investigation were then assessed in a second phase of survey. This was largely desk-based, but also included a number of visits: in all, around 100 pubs were visited during this part of the project, as well as just over 20 pubs that are already included on the statutory list, visits made for comparative purposes and to provide overall context. Suggested action was set out for each building (see Appendix 2). Mostly, this was 'none', the vast majority of pubs being found to have been substantially altered (especially internally) or entirely demolished: 64% of pubs on the list are represented by this group (46% have been substantially altered, and 18% have been demolished). Pubs which are already included on the statutory list were exempted from further action at this point (representing 13% of the total), with the exception of one building deemed to be worthy of consideration for possible upgrading (see below). In a minority of instances, there was no possibility of internal access (i.e. where pubs had closed and not yet reopened), while a few buildings were, following further investigation, simply deemed as being of insufficient architectural significance or interest to be added to the final list. It might be noted that in order to be classed as being 'substantially altered' (Fig. 2.5), one or more of the following factors was found to apply:

- A pub had been externally rebuilt or reworked (including the insertion of replacement windows and the removal of decorative features) and its original character lost
- A pub had been changed through the construction of prominent additions and/or

been stated, on the basis of the factors set out above. Many of these pubs, where they were not selected for further investigation, are included in the table of other pubs of interest (Appendix 3).

extensions

- A pub's plan had been greatly altered through the removal of partition walls, chimneystacks, and/or bar counters (Fig. 2.6)
- The interior decoration of a pub had been greatly altered (e.g. panelling, fireplaces and bar counters removed/replaced)
- A pub's landscape setting had been radically altered (e.g. through the redevelopment of a former garden and/or bowling green).

The list of buildings selected for further investigation was intended to provide good coverage of the urban and suburban pubs built in the inter-war period – of a broad range of styles, localities, sizes, etc. – and to capture the most significant examples. However, it

2.5 *An example of a much altered inter-war pub is the former Railway Hotel, Dagenham, London, converted to a Tesco in c. 2012. All original windows have been replaced and the interior greatly reworked. (© Historic England, Luke Jacob)*

2.6 *A pub which has been internally altered is the Berrylands Hotel, Surbiton, London, designed by Joseph Hill for Hodgson's Kingston Brewery and built in c. 1934. This counter at the centre of the pub occupies the site of an earlier servery which opened onto three separate spaces – a private bar and a ladies' bar, divided by an off sales compartment – the former divisions of which are marked by the piers. (© Historic England, Emily Cole)*

made no attempt to be exhaustive. As has been noted, between 5,000 and 6,000 pubs are believed to have been built or substantially rebuilt in the inter-war period, and the resources allocated to the project were not sufficient to undertake a full and complete study. That said, the body of this report and its appendices should enable all pubs of the period to be placed in their proper context and for their importance to be more readily assessed.

The penultimate stage of the project saw the creation of a shortlist of 76 pubs identified as part of the 'selected for investigation' process and considered significant and worthy of further attention (Appendix 4). Following an additional phase of consideration and investigation, this group was refined down to a 'final list' (Appendix 5), representing a 'special group' of 37 pubs. These have been deemed deserving of special attention for various reasons, and worthy of consideration for statutory listing. With the exception of one building which is suggested for upgrading from II to II* – the Black Horse, Northfield, Birmingham (Fig. 2.7; see section 12.7) – none of the pubs in the 'special group' are already on the statutory list, and only three are known to have been considered for listing in the past: the Duke William, Stoke-on-Trent (see section 12.18), which was rejected in 1989, though the interiors were not inspected at that time; the Stoneleigh Hotel, Ewell, Surrey (see section 12.34), which was rejected in 1997, though access had seemingly not been gained to the well-preserved first-floor areas; and the Round House, Becontree, London (see Fig. 5.16 and section 12.31), which was rejected in 2010 and is the subject of a certificate of immunity issued in early 2014.

The pubs on the final list were chosen based on consideration of the factors outlined above (see p. 11), while their level of threat and current use has also been a consideration (Fig. 2.8). Particular points in their favour have been:

- Historical and/or architectural significance (e.g. pubs designed by prominent pub architects, of notable/unusual style or design, or built by breweries especially active in inter-war pub construction)

2.7 *The Black Horse, Northfield, Birmingham, built in 1929 for Davenport's. It is one of the largest and most extraordinary inter-war pubs built in England. The pub is listed grade II, and has been recommended for upgrading as part of this project. (© Historic England, James O. Davies, DP166415)*

- A high level of survival of the pub's exterior (including glazing), and outline plan form
- A high level of survival of room divisions and room arrangements, with bar counters
- Survival of the off sales department, either as an area of the pub or as a separate building
- A high level of survival of interior fittings and fixtures such as panelling, fireplaces, plasterwork, bar counters and bar backs, signage, doors and tiling
- An important, unusual and/or influential plan form, or equally one which well reflected the ideals of the planning of the inter-war and improved public house (e.g. by including a luncheon room and/or office with supervision)
- Survival of above-ground and related rooms and interiors such as kitchens and assembly rooms
- Survival of a pub's landscape setting, including gardens, bowling greens, and boundary walls
- Rarity in terms of works by particular architects or breweries, and in terms of representation on the existing statutory list (see Appendix 6)
- Overall integrity, considering the various factors set out above.

It might be noted that, for buildings of particular historical/architectural significance, allowances have been made in the other areas – so, for instance, less has been expected of interiors or the survival of plan forms.

2.8 *The Brookhill Tavern, Alum Rock, Birmingham, a Mitchells & Butlers pub of 1927-28 which has been studied in detail as part of this project. The pub has considerable historical and architectural significance, though it has suffered a recent period of neglect after closing in early 2014. (© Robert Jones)*

In total, the final list (the 'special group') includes 37 pubs (Fig. 2.9). All but one of these buildings were visited by Emily Cole and Luke Jacob;[21] access was both external and internal to all but one pub,[22] though generally only included investigation of public areas (that is, excluding the cellar and upper floors). All of these pubs were researched in detail, using archive and other sources. The aim was to identify and obtain contemporary plans

21 The exception was the Corner House, Barnstaple, Devon, which was kindly visited on our behalf by Joanne O'Hara. Images of and information on the pub were provided by her and also by Geoff Brandwood and Michael Slaughter of CAMRA.

22 The exception was the Brookhill Tavern, Alum Rock Road, Birmingham, which closed in March 2014, shortly before the site visit.

and ideally early exterior photographs of all of the buildings, together with details of the construction date and the brewery and architect responsible for each pub, but this did not always prove possible. Although the building and rebuilding of pubs in the inter-war years included the production of copious amounts of paperwork – including plans to be approved by the licensing justices and local planning authority – these documents do not always survive; indeed, a great many have been lost.

2.9 *The interior of the Rose and Crown, Stoke Newington, London (1930-32), looking from the former lounge and dining room towards the former saloon bar, off sales compartment and private bar. The pub is one of those on the final list compiled as part of this project. (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP152319)*

It might be noted that there was a conscious aim to include within the final list a range of breweries and localities, and also of types and sizes of pubs, if at all possible. This has been achieved through the representation of pubs which were classed as pubs-*cum*-roadhouses at the time (e.g. the Berkeley Arms Hotel and the Mullet Arms, both in London; see Figs 3.13 and 5.1 and sections 12.4 and 12.24) together with modest pubs which are more typical 'locals' (like the Hanbury Arms and the Stag's Head in London; see sections 12.23 and 12.33). A method that appears to have been used at the time was to group pubs into three different 'classes': the 'social centre' type of pub with facilities for large-scale catering and refreshment; the 'intermediate house'; and the 'small, intimate "local" house for the "little street" customers'.[23] All are represented as part of this project.

23 This system of classification was set out in the article 'The Public House and Reconstruction' in ed. T. J. Hickey, *All About Beer: Portraits of a Traditional Industry* ('The Statist', 1952), p. 92. Although it was written in the post-war years, the approach seems to have been current in the inter-war period also. I am grateful to Andrew Davison for drawing this article to my attention.

An explanation should be made concerning regional coverage: although, as has been noted, there was an aim to achieve balance in terms of geographical representation, it was quickly found that inter-war pub building/rebuilding was concentrated in areas of a certain type and locality. As has been shown by the work of David Gutzke, the vast urban centres of London and Birmingham were a particular focus, accounting respectively for around one-sixth of the total of new pubs built (see pp. 91-92).[24] This is reflected by the prominent place that these cities hold on the list of pubs selected for investigation and the final list (Appendices 2 and 5), as also by the prominent place they hold on the list of buildings included on the statutory list (see Appendix 6).

A provisional version of the final list was discussed at a meeting held in August 2014 and attended by Emily Cole and Luke Jacob (of the Assessment Team) and Deborah Williams and Michael Bellamy (of the Designation Department). Suggested changes were then made, the result being the list that appears in this report as Appendix 5. Summaries of each of the pubs on the final list were prepared following a general template agreed with Designation, in each case including information such as current local listing status and comparability with other listed buildings. These summaries are intended to aid consideration of the pubs for listing, but the group of pubs on the final list also served as case studies, informing the main body of this report. The summaries are written so as to be stand-alone documents – for instance, each has its own bibliography – but consideration of the context for all of the pubs on the final list is crucial, and this is provided by the historical section of this report. It might be noted that no effort has been made as part of this project to identify owners of the various pubs; for this building type, ownership changes especially frequently.

A draft version of the full report (with only a handful of illustrations) was sent in January 2015 to Kathryn Morrison, Deborah Williams, Michael Bellamy, Andrew Davison (project adviser) and Luke Jacob, and suggested changes were incorporated. The report was then desktop published (work undertaken by Emily Cole), incorporating images, and was finalised and disseminated in May 2015.

It is hoped that the result of this report, and the project, will be a fuller understanding and appreciation of inter-war pubs and the listing of a group of especially notable examples. A base of information has also been amassed which will aid the ongoing provision of advice to colleagues in Designation and National Planning and Conservation – and, as relevant, the amendment/creation of formal documents. Other outcomes, beyond the bounds of Historic England, may include the consideration of some of the inter-war pubs listed in the appendices for inclusion on local lists, as assets of community value, and/or for inclusion within conservation areas. Also, where relevant, some of the pubs may be considered by CAMRA for inclusion on their national inventory of historic pub interiors, or for upgrading from local/regional to national significance on that inventory. Although the responsibility for these latter outcomes lies beyond Historic England, it will hopefully be sparked through the wider dissemination of this report and active efforts will be made to facilitate these outcomes.

24 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 204

Finally, it should be noted that this project has greatly underlined the high level of threat which is posed to public houses of the inter-war period. The level of change is rapid: pubs are being closed, sold, altered, converted and demolished at an alarming pace (Fig. 2.10). It might also be noted that the 'status' set out in the appendices is specific to 2014, when the bulk of the work on this project was undertaken. In some cases, pubs were open at the time the project was initiated, and had closed at the time this report was in preparation – examples being the Brookhill Tavern in Birmingham (see Fig. 2.8 and section 12.9) – while a number of other buildings were closed, awaiting their fate, as with the Morden Tavern, St Helier, London (1933; now converted to a Sainsburys and to residential units; see Figs 9.2-9.3), and the Moonrakers, Devizes, Wiltshire (1937; now reopened, after a phase of alteration). Where a higher level of threat was thought to be relevant, certain pubs from the 'final list' were submitted on an urgent basis for consideration for statutory designation. This was the case with five buildings: the Angel, Hayes, London (see section 12.1), the Golden Heart, Spitalfields, London (section 12.21), the Brookhill Tavern, Birmingham (section 12.9), the Coach and Horses, Carlisle (section 12.11), and the Carlton Tavern, Maida Vale, London (section 12.10), all of which were believed to be at potential risk of alteration.

2.10 *The Holly Bush pub, Hinckley, Leicestershire, built in the late 1930s. The pub was listed grade II in 2005, but subsequently closed and has now been converted to restaurant use. (© Michael Slaughter LRPS)*

CHAPTER 3 GENERAL HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

The public house as we know it today was a development of the mid-nineteenth century, incorporating features from the alehouse, tavern and inn, building types which dated back to the medieval period. A huge surge in pub building followed the Beer Act of 1830, which saw a liberalisation of the regulations concerning the brewing and sale of beer and placed beerhouses outside of existing controls.[25] Later in the 1800s, a restriction in the number of available licences caused increased competition, and this led to further, often elaborate pub projects. For many, especially those writing from the 1950s onwards, this explosion in pub building experienced its architectural and decorative heyday in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many of the exuberant pubs of this period – generally known as 'gin palaces' – survive as much lauded historic buildings, including the Princess Louise in Holborn, London (interior of 1891), and the Philharmonic in Liverpool (c. 1898-1900; Fig. 3.1), both listed at grade II*.

However, such pubs were not always viewed with widespread admiration. For much of the period 1880-1940, the public house in general was seen as a social problem, and the buildings of the Victorian period were, in particular, widely denigrated. Recalling his experiences of the 1880s, Russell McNaghten wrote that pubs were 'without comfort, with hardly any sitting accommodation, small, dirty, ill-ventilated' (Fig. 3.2).[26] In 1929, a publication issued by the Birmingham-based brewery Mitchells & Butlers made similar statements regarding Victorian pubs:

> Fifty years ago the generality of public houses, especially in the towns, stood on a rather low level. The bad type of house was deplorable, with its dingy taproom, ill-kept floor, sloppy counter and stale atmosphere. The parlours and saloons of the houses just above this class were, as a rule, either ill-kept or gaudy. The flaring lights and staring mirrors of the gin-palace were as objectionable as the murk and gloom of the den … It was not an epoch … to which one can look back with pride.[27]

3.1 *The highly ornate interior of the Philharmonic Hotel, Liverpool, built in c. 1898-1900 to the designs of Walter W. Thomas. The pub is listed grade II*. (© Michael Slaughter LRPS)*

25 Around 40,000 new beer shops had opened by 1835. See: James Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol: A History of the Drink Question in England* (Manchester and New York, 2009), pp. 90-92

26 Quoted in: Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 9

27 *Fifty Years of Brewing: 1879-1929* (Mitchells & Butlers, Birmingham, 1929), p. 58

On the same subject, the in-house architect for Truman's brewery, A. E. Sewell, wrote:

> Can any of the younger generation imagine what the old-time pubs were like? They were mostly cheerless, dirty, gas-lit, with very little (if any) warmth. Sawdust on the floors and filthy cuspidors all over the place. Reeking of clay pipes and shag tobacco. You could cut the atmosphere with a knife.[28]

E. B. Musman, 'the premier architect of interwar pubs',[29] wrote that the typical pub of the pre-First World War period was seen simply as:

> a place in which to drink one's beer. No attempt was made to study the comfort of the customer, nor to provide many commodities other than drink … It was found that many of these public houses, or gin palaces as they have been so aptly called, were sordid places which, owing to the insanitary condition of their sawdust-covered floors, their cheap and tawdry decoration and badly-ventilated bars, and the unnecessary number of houses crowded into a small area, were having a serious effect upon the habits and health of the people and that there was a grave danger of increasing to an alarming extent drunkenness, gambling, and other vices in the community at large.[30]

This passage reflects the contemporary concern about the 'evil' of drunkenness: this formed the main source of attack for the temperance movement (influential from c. 1840 to 1940), which campaigned for moderation and, in the case of certain groups within the movement (such as the teetotallers), even total abstinence.[31] The 'gin palaces' of the Victorian and Edwardian years (Fig. 3.3) were certainly seen as having encouraged this social problem: one writer commented on such gin palaces and what they considered to be the other type of pub, the 'squalid, dark, secretive tavern', opining that both caused an 'incitement to excess: on the one hand, by reason of the stimulant of dazzling lights, bizarre decorations and festive din, and on the other by the spur

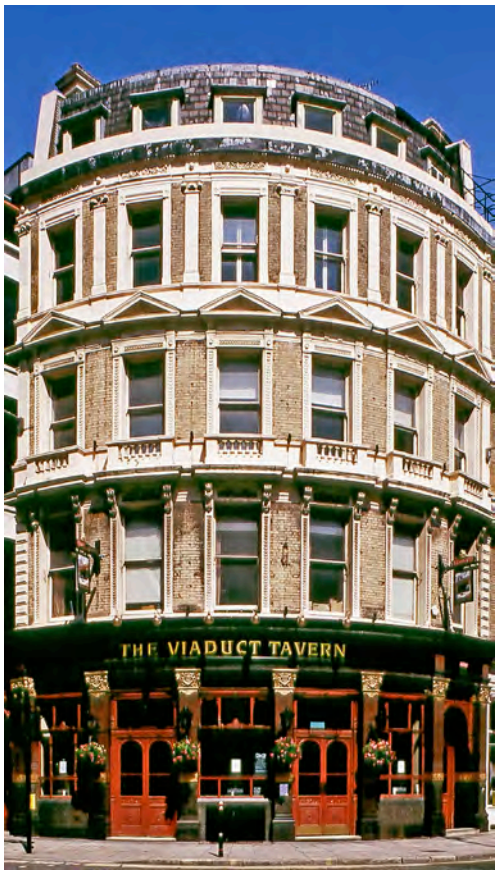
3.2 *The traditional, male-dominated pub of the Victorian and Edwardian periods was widely derided in the inter-war years. This image of a country pub was taken in 1931, though it is more representative of a generation earlier. (© TopFoto)*

28 A. E. Sewell, 'Growth and Memories', *Black Eagle Magazine*, vol. II, no. 10 (July 1938), p. 29

29 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 213

30 Musman, 'Development of the English Inn', *Building,* op. cit., p. 513

31 For further information on the temperance movement, see works including: N. Longmate, *The Waterdrinkers: A History of Temperance* (London, 1968); B. Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872* (London, 1971); G. P. Williams and G. T. Broke, *Drink in Great Britain 1900-1979* (London, 1980); Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol*, especially pp. 96-108



3.3 *The elaborate pubs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries came to be known as 'gin palaces'. An example of such a building is the Viaduct Tavern, Smithfield, London (listed grade II), built in 1874 and lavishly remodelled in 1898-1900. (© Michael Slaughter LRPS)*

3.4 *Ye Olde Mitre, Hatton Garden, London (listed grade II), rebuilt in the late eighteenth century. Pubs of this type and position – small buildings in dark, secluded locations – were criticised during the inter-war period, being seen to encourage the 'evil' of drunkenness. (© TopFoto)*

of reaction from the melancholic gloom of depressing environment'.[32]

By the turn of the twentieth century, there was a general agreement that excessive drinking was harmful and should be curtailed. This social 'evil' was felt to be intimately associated with pub buildings themselves (Fig. 3.4) – one writer commented that 'what is called the "drink problem" is in its essence a public-house problem'[33] – and so the government sought to achieve change by means including a reduction in the number of pub licences and an improvement of standards among pubs that remained. With the Licensing Act of 1902, magistrates were – for the first time – given powers to approve or reject alterations to pubs; designs for new public houses and drawings showing proposed changes had to be formally approved by justices as part of the licensing procedure. Two years later, another Licensing Act empowered magistrates with the closing of licensed premises that they deemed unsuitable or superfluous, thus helping the government in its aim of a reduction in overall pub numbers.

Concerns about drunkenness reached a peak in the early years of the First World War, when excessive consumption was deemed detrimental to the war effort. Most famously, the politician David Lloyd George was one of those who spoke out against the 'evil' of alcohol, stating in early 1915 'We are fighting Germany, Austria and Drink, and as far as

32 'Modern Types of London Taverns: The Work of Melville Seth-Ward', *The Brick Builder*, December 1929, p. 32

33 'The Public-House', *The Saturday Review*, 30 April 1927, p. 657

I can see, the greatest of these three deadly foes is Drink'.[34] For a time, it seemed that Britain might impose a total prohibition on alcohol – a step seriously considered in the country in the period 1880-1918, and taken in America between 1920 and 1933 – or at least institute nationalisation of the liquor trade, an approach favoured by Lloyd George, Prime Minister in 1916-22.

Although in practice the government chose to take a less emphatic course, the restrictions brought in under the Defence of the Realm (Amendment) Act of May 1915 were considerable. With DORA, the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic) came into being, charged with overhauling drink provision across Britain and vested with powers such as the restriction of licensing hours, the prohibition of certain types of alcohol and the suspension of licences.[35] The CCB was chaired by Edgar Vincent, Lord D'Abernon, an exponent of the principle of disinterested management; this sought to remove the incentive of profit, emphasise the sale and consumption of non-alcoholic refreshments (partly to take away from the focus on alcohol, but also because drunkenness was known to be increased on an empty stomach), and to broaden and rebalance the social grading and gender of pub customers (it was felt, for instance, that the presence of women would make the pub less unsavoury).

Certain geographical areas were of particular concern to the government – namely, those focused on the large and strategically significant munitions works in the Carlisle district (taking in Gretna, and adjacent areas over the Scottish border) and Enfield Lock in Middlesex, and the naval bases at Invergordon and Cromarty Firth in Scotland. In January 1916, the first licensed premises – in Enfield – were brought under the control of the state. In April that year the CCB acquired the licensed premises in Cromarty Firth, and by October, the licensed premises in the Carlisle district had been brought under state management; the last purchase was the Maryport brewery, south-west of Carlisle, in late 1916.[36] This scheme – which ultimately included over 200 pubs, 20 off licences and four breweries, and covered, in the north of England and Scotland, an area of around 500 square miles – saw the closure of many licensed premises,[37] the refurbishment and rebuilding of others, and, in the Carlisle district, the construction of new buildings, work carried out under the architect Harry Redfern (Figs 3.5-3.7). The state management scheme, as it was known, came to an end in Enfield in 1922, but continued in Carlisle, Cromarty and Invergordon for far longer; it took over the responsibilities of the CCB in 1922, following that body's abolition with the 1921 Licensing Act, and was only denationalised in 1971, all of the properties being sold off by the end of 1973.

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34 Quoted in: Robert Duncan, *Pubs and Patriots: The Drink Crisis in Britain during World War One* (Liverpool, 2013), p. 74

35 For full information on the CCB and its work, including state management of pubs, see: David W. Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking in Britain During the First World War', *Social History*, vol. 27, no. 54 (1994), pp. 367-391; Robert Duncan, 'Lord D'Abernon's "Model Farm": The Central Control Board's Carlisle Experiment', *The Social History of Alcohol and Drugs*, vol. 24, no. 2 (summer 2010), pp. 119-140; Duncan, *Pubs and Patriots.* See also: Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol*, pp. 155-180

36 Duncan, 'Lord D'Abernon's "Model Farm"', op. cit., p. 121 and p. 126; Duncan, *Pubs and Patriots,* p. 130; Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol*, p. 156. State management of licensed premises in the Carlisle area was announced in June 1916, and the first rebuilt pub, the Gretna Tavern in Carlisle, was opened the following month.

37 By 1917, 66 pubs had been closed in the Carlisle area as redundant or undesirable: Duncan, *Pubs and Patriots,* p. 130

3.5 *The pubs rebuilt and newly constructed in the Carlisle district under the state management scheme were of huge significance to the development of the public house in England. The first newly built 'model' pub, designed by the scheme's architect Harry Redfern, was the Apple Tree, central Carlisle, completed in 1927 (listed grade II). (© Historic England, Luke Jacob)*

3.6 *Another Carlisle pub built to Harry Redfern's designs was the Magpie Inn, Botcherby, of 1933 (listed grade II). The pub was closed in 2014 but is in good repair. (© Historic England, Clare Howard)*

3.7 *The Coach and Horses, Kingstown, Carlisle, designed by Harry Redfern and built in 1929. It is the only state management scheme pub that has been studied in detail as part of this project. (© Historic England, Alun Bull, DP168495)*

3.8 *The elegant interior of the tea room at the Rose and Crown, Upperby, Carlisle, built in 1930 to designs by Harry Redfern. The pub was demolished in 2013; to date, it is the only one of Carlisle's 15 'model' inter-war pubs to have been lost. (Author's collection)*

The work carried out in the Carlisle district was of huge significance for the future development of the public house. At the time of the First World War, there was still a widespread belief that improvement of pubs would encourage alcohol consumption, and so such change was deemed undesirable. The architectural work carried out under the state management scheme certainly sought to improve licensed buildings, but also aimed to lessen the emphasis on the consumption of alcohol. Bar counters were decreased in size and prominence and sometimes done away with altogether, as part of an effort to reduce 'perpendicular' or 'stand-up' drinking; 'snugs', then a particular feature of pubs in the North of England, were removed, along with other subdivided interiors; the refurbished pub rooms were decorated so as to be 'bright and cheerful';[38] the provision of food and other non-alcoholic refreshments was increased, and new tea/café rooms were built (Fig. 3.8, and see Fig. 5.41);[39] plenty of tables and chairs were provided, with customers often served by waiting staff (it was believed that people drank at a slower pace when seated);[40] emphasis was placed on recreation, with the creation of spaces for billiards, bowling, etc.; sanitary and hygienic conditions were high, with spittoons outlawed and decent lavatories provided for both sexes; external decoration and advertising was reduced to an absolute minimum, with the open display of bottles of alcohol in windows being banned.

Harry Redfern had the advantage of being able to experiment with pub planning and design: risks could be taken, since there was no competition between breweries or the pubs that people patronised and since state managed houses were free from the jurisdiction of the justices. By the time of the Second World War, as well as having

38 Basil Oliver, 'The Modern Public House: Introduction', *A Monthly Bulletin*, vol. 3, no. 10 (October 1933), p. 155

39 Pioneering studies undertaken by the CCB during the war proved absolutely that a full stomach made drunkenness less acute, and that alcohol taken without food endangered the stomach membranes: Duncan, *Pubs and Patriots*, pp. 177-179

40 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, pp. 105-6

refurbished numerous existing licensed premises, Redfern had designed 14 entirely new 'model' pubs in the Carlisle area (see section 12.11 on the Coach and Horses), the earliest of which was the Apple Tree in Lowther Street, central Carlisle (1925-27; see Figs 3.5 and 5.25). Additionally, one other pub, the Redfern Inn, Etterby, was built to designs by Redfern's assistant, Joseph Seddon, and completed in 1940 (Fig. 3.9 and see Fig. 6.10).[41]

3.9 *The Redfern Inn, Etterby (1939-40; listed grade II), is the only new 'model' pub built in the Carlisle area during the inter-war years that was not designed by Harry Redfern. It was the work of Redfern's assistant, Joseph Seddon. (© Historic England, Clare Howard)*

Such an improvement process was by no means novel. The reform of pubs had been promoted from around the turn of the twentieth century by groups including the True Temperance Association (established 1909), and schemes had been undertaken by the People's Refreshment House Association (founded 1896), among others, many of whom trialled schemes for 'disinterested management', based on the Gothenburg system.[42] However, the pubs built and rebuilt in the Carlisle district undoubtedly proved especially influential. For some, they were a disappointment, and their clinical cleanliness and stark, comparatively austere appearance must have shocked many – one journalist denounced an improved pub near Gretna as 'a Sunday School with a licence'.[43] For most, though, the buildings must have seemed exciting. Lord D'Abernon, Chairman of the CCB, boasted to Lloyd George that one of the new pubs at Carlisle 'presents itself as the embodiment of the highest ideals in design and will serve as a model of what public houses should be,

41 As far as is known, Harry Redfern designed only one public house beyond the confines of the state management area. This was the Morden Tavern, St Helier, London, built in 1933 by Truman's on an LCC estate (see Figs 9.2-9.3). It was turned down for listing in 2010, having been greatly altered internally, and was converted in a scheme of mixed retail and residential accommodation in 2014.

42 What came to be known as the Gothenburg system was established in Sweden in the 1860s. It was a system of 'disinterested management' whereby there was no financial incentive for managers to promote alcohol sales, and premises were to be plain, so as to discourage the consumption and sale of alcohol. It proved influential in Britain from the 1870s. For a fuller summary of the Gothenburg system, see: Geoff Brandwood, Andrew Davison and Michael Slaughter, *Licensed to Sell: The History and Heritage of the Public House* (revised edn, Swindon, 2011), p. 44

43 Quoted in: Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 61

to the country at large'.[44] Ernest Selley, author of a 1927 book on English public houses, described the state managed pubs of central Carlisle as 'the best constructed and the best managed of any he had seen', the general average there being 'far above other towns in cleanliness, convenience and social desirability'.[45] This must have contrasted radically with the area's pubs before state management; recalling these, Selley wrote that 'Large numbers were ramshackle and thoroughly unsuitable houses, stuffy and unclean, full of "snugs" and passages, with little seating accommodation and practically no comfort – just poky little drinking dens'.[46]

More recently, David W. Gutzke, author of the definitive study on the improved public house, has written that:

> Architectural changes instituted under state management revolutionized assumptions about the exterior, layout, and function of the pub, destroying sharp distinctions between hotels, restaurants, and private clubs for the privileged on the one hand, and drink premises for the workers on the other.[47]

The Carlisle scheme was highly newsworthy, and the district became 'a Mecca for a constant stream of brewers and their architects, as well as for licensing magistrates, temperance reformers and other interested persons', providing them with examples of pub buildings that were acceptable to the government and that were, in their design, cutting edge.[48] As the architect Basil Oliver noted, the pubs of the Carlisle area had 'made the lot of the more up-to-date brewing companies a great deal easier by supplying them and many licensing benches with precedents'.[49] One of the things that proved especially inspiring for architects was the fact that Redfern was responsible for designing not just the pub buildings but also their fittings, furniture and decoration; this was praised, for example, in a public lecture of 1932 by Joseph Hill, a noted designer of pubs in the inter-war period.[50] Redfern's buildings were also praised and illustrated in the publications of Basil Oliver, another noted pub architect, including his *The Renaissance of the English Public House* (1947).[51]

For many campaigners, too, the rebuildings and new pubs constructed as part of the state management scheme proved invaluable, demonstrating that improvement to licensed premises could be undertaken without encouraging excess consumption: the greatest coup of the scheme was that drunkenness in the Carlisle district fell dramatically after the changes to pubs were carried out,[52] and that pubs began to welcome a new

44 Ibid, p. 51
45 Ernest Selley, *The English Public House As It Is* (London, 1927), p. 96
46 Ibid, p. 89
47 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 58
48 Oliver, 'The Modern Public House: Introduction', *A Monthly Bulletin*, op. cit., p. 153. See also the account of Basil Oliver's lecture to the RIBA in: *The Builder*, 29 April 1932, p. 758
49 Oliver, 'The Modern Public House: Introduction', *A Monthly Bulletin*, op. cit., p. 153
50 Basil Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House* (London, 1947), p. 76
51 For instance, see pp. 67-69
52 According to Robert Duncan, convictions for drunkenness in Carlisle decreased by 60% between 1913 and 1922: Duncan, 'Lord D'Abernon's "Model Farm"', op. cit., p. 135; Duncan, *Pubs and Patriots*, p. 148. Although this downward trend was found in other areas of the country at the same time, it was still a testament of the state management scheme's success, rather than – as many had supposed would happen – its failure.

kind of customer – the middle classes as well as the working classes, women as well as men, and also the younger generations.[53] This was a momentous social change. Until this point, pubs had been largely frequented by working men and 'low' women. Respectable women, and members of the middle and upper classes, did not feel they could enter them, certainly if there was a chance they would be seen.[54] The change was due to a number of factors – including the greater independence of women during and after the First World War – but it certainly helped to highlight the success of the state management scheme. The members of the Royal Commission of Licensing, convened in 1929, went to visit pubs in Carlisle. Their report, published in January 1932, named them, 'generally speaking, models of public-house construction'.[55]

The success of the state management scheme opened up the justification for improvement elsewhere; as Robert Duncan has noted, 'The future of the pub took a very different course thanks to the CCB's actions in Carlisle during the war'.[56] For instance, the report of the committee formed at the True Temperance Conference, published in 1917, set out a vision for the new public house, and this gained a great amount of support. In 1919 the Public House Improvement Bill – which aimed 'to transform the public-house from its present condition, which is largely that of a mere drinking bar, into a reputable place of all-round refreshment for the public' – was considered and supported by the House of Lords.[57] It was, however, rejected by the House of Commons – where the teetotal influence remained strong – and, despite various efforts, was never successfully reconsidered.[58] Reform groups began to push strongly for public house improvement, using vehicles like *A Monthly Bulletin*, a journal published by the Fellowship of Freedom and Reform, a body established in 1920. A key aim was to educate magistrates, and to encourage them to approve alterations that would result in the improvement of a public house.

At the same time, the cause of reform was embraced much more widely by brewers, who had initially been sceptical about the need for change. Pre-eminent among those in favour of improvement were Sydney O. Nevile, a managing director of the London-based brewery Whitbread & Co. Ltd, and William Waters Butler, managing director of the Birmingham brewery Mitchells & Butlers. Both were members of the CCB, and therefore knew in depth about the aims and successes of the state management scheme; together, they were highly significant in educating 'the trade' about the worth of the cause. Shortly after the First World War, Whitbread's, Mitchells & Butlers and other like-minded brewers began to initiate improvements in their existing public houses, and then moved on to building completely new premises. Early examples of such pubs include the New Merlin's Cave, built by Barclay Perkins in Clerkenwell, London, in 1921-

53 For the rise of women as pub customers during the inter-war years, see in particular: Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking in Britain During the First World War', *Social History*, op. cit., pp. 367-391

54 A writer of 1924 noted that the masses saw the public house as 'a mere drink shop, a place to be avoided by those who value their reputation, or only to be visited furtively': Ernest E. Williams, *The New Public House* (London, 1924), p. 33. Assessing the inter-war period in a publication of 1947, Whitbread's wrote that 'millions began to "use" the public-houses who had never done so before, and whose fathers and mothers may never have stepped inside one': Whitbread & Co. Ltd, *Your Local* (London, 1947), p. 16

55 *The Builder*, 29 April 1932, p. 758

56 Duncan, 'Lord D'Abernon's "Model Farm"', op. cit., p. 136

57 Rt Hon. Lord Lamington, 'Public House Improvement', *The English Review*, March 1924, p. 545

58 For more on the conference and the Bill, see: Williams, *The New Public House*, pp. 74-79

3.10 *The Fellowship Inn, Bellingham, London, an improved pub built by Barclay Perkins in 1923-24 on a new LCC estate, to designs by F. G. Newnham. (© London Metropolitan Archives, City of London: SC/PHL/02/0764/B215)*

3.11 *A more recent view of the Fellowship Inn in Bellingham, which was listed grade II in 2013. (© Michael Slaughter LRPS)*

22 (demolished c. 1997), and the Fellowship Inn, Bellingham, South London (listed grade II), a Barclay Perkins pub of 1923-24, built on an LCC estate (Figs 3.10 and 3.11); the latter was described by a director of the brewery as 'in all respects, a model hotel, café and recreative centre'.[59] Some breweries formed subsidiary companies which focused on the provision of food and non-alcoholic refreshments: Whitbread's, for instance, set up the Improved Public House Company in 1920, and Barclay Perkins formed Anchor Taverns in 1924. Such companies ran a proportion of the breweries' new inter-war pubs, and convincingly demonstrated that high numbers of food sales could be achieved. This met the ideals of the reformists, but also proved to breweries that there was a commercial justification for improvement and the provision of a varied range of facilities.

At a wider level, too, there was a growing acceptance of the fact that existing public houses were in desperate need of reform – Ernest Williams, active in the True Temperance Association, noted in 1924 that 'The public-house is an important institution, and it is not in a satisfactory condition'[60] – and that such improvement could be undertaken without the encouragement of drunkenness. The nature of the desired change excited a great deal of interest and discussion, with various individuals and groups setting out their ideals for the new public house (see Chapter 4). Meanwhile, the government continued to impose restrictions: the 1921 Licensing Act introduced the concept of 'permitted hours' of drinking, limitations that were not lifted until 1988. Magistrates widely exerted their powers in rejecting proposed alterations to pubs, and only gradually came to agree that improvement was desirable, the temperance influence still remaining strong – though some licensing districts were more forward-thinking than others.[61] Even in 1947, Basil Oliver could write that 'Surely no type of building is so much circumscribed with restrictions and regulations, of every conceivable kind, as is the English public house'.[62] Brewers retaliated by lobbying government to introduce legislation improving pubs – and, in particular, to stop justices from obstructing alterations that would result in positive change.

The 1920s saw a large number of pubs rebuilt or newly constructed on 'improved' lines. By the end of the decade, the brewery Mitchells & Butlers could write that:

> a new type of house has been gradually evolved which is neither ale-house nor "pub", nor inn, nor tavern, but is a new conception of what a place of public refreshment and entertainment may be when informed by an enlightened policy and controlled in accord with the spirit as well

59 Major Charles Perkins, 'The improved public house in practice', in gen. ed. W. Bently Capper, *Licensed Houses and their Management*, vol. III (London, 5th edn, 1950), p. 22

60 Williams, *The New Public House*, p. 3

61 Two parliamentary investigations of the trade, reporting in 1927 and 1931, found that justices had stood in the way of valid improvements: Brian Bennison, 'Not so Common: the Public House in North East England between the Wars', *Local Historian*, vol. 25 (1995), p. 34. In 1924, Ernest Williams noted that at least some of the defects of 'the modern public house' were due to 'the licensing system and its administration by the justices': Williams, *The New Public House*, p. 30. Of those that were more in favour, a major example was the Middlesex licensing district, which advocated larger rooms, the removal of drinking bars, and entertainment and food provision: ibid, p. 84. It was especially common to find that justices were reluctant to sanction an increase in a pub's floor space, equating greater size with an increase in the consumption of alcohol, although the approach to such matters varied greatly between different areas.

62 Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 31

as with the letter of the law.[63]

A major impetus for further work was the report published in 1932 by the Royal Commission on Licensing, which had undertaken detailed investigations between 1929 and 1931. As has been noted, this report praised the work of the state management scheme and recommended its continuation, but also gave great support to the improvement of pubs more generally.[64] The report emphasised the successful results of pub improvement: 'We have seen that, by almost universal consent, excessive drinking in this country has been greatly, even spectacularly, diminished'; 'drunkenness has now been reduced to a point at which it is no longer a social evil'.[65]

At the opening in 1932 of the Rest Hotel in Kenton, London (Fig. 3.12), a Whitbread's pub, the chairwoman of the local branch of the Women's True Temperance Committee was moved to comment that 'Places like this are of the greatest social benefit and aid to the cause of true temperance. They are the greatest bulwark against the adoption of prohibition in this country'.[66] Although in fact prohibition had ceased to be a real possibility at least a decade earlier, this comment emphasises the way in which improved pubs were welcomed at the time. They were seen as having been instrumental in changing social habits, a fact reflected by a comment in *The Brick Builder*: 'No factor in present-day architecture has contributed more to the sobriety of drinking habits than the improvement in the construction and outward appearance of the ordinary public house'.[67] The official sanction represented by the 1932 licensing report quickly gave rise to positive results. In 1934, the temperance journal *A Monthly Bulletin* mused on the developments since the publication of the report, noting that 'The Benches, for the most part, co-operate freely with the brewers and it is a delight to see the results in better taste, more comfort, better architecture'.[68]

3.12 *The Rest Hotel, Kenton, London, a Whitbread's pub of 1932 built to designs by Robert G. Muir., shown here in an image from* Architecture Illustrated *The building is now a Premier Inn.*

63 *Fifty Years of Brewing*, p. 59

64 For Francis Yorke, the Commission's report 'undoubtedly accelerated the movement towards the improvement and reconditioning of public houses'. He added that 'many licensing benches have taken it as a guide for their deliberations, and a precedent for their sanctions': Francis W. B. Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses* (London, 1949), p. 24

65 Royal Commission on Licensing (England and Wales) 1929-31, *Summary of the Report prepared by the National Commercial Temperance League* (Leeds, 1932), p. 14 and p. 20

66 Whitbread & Co. Ltd, *Your Local*, p. 18

67 'Modern Types of London Taverns: The Work of Melville Seth-Ward', *The Brick Builder*, December 1929, p. 32

68 *A Monthly Bulletin*, vol. 4, no. 7 (July 1934), p. 100

The construction of new public houses stepped up in pace, reaching a peak in 1935-36 and continuing at full tilt right up to the outbreak of the Second World War (see p. 94).

3.13 *The Berkeley Arms Hotel, Cranford, London, is an example of a pub-cum-roadhouse, built on the major route west out of the capital with the specific needs of motorists in mind. It is shown here in a photograph of 1932, taken shortly after its initial completion and before a phase of expansion was undertaken. (© Architectural Press Archive/RIBA Library Photographs Collection)*

Of course, the great rebuilding of public houses during the inter-war period was by no means exclusively related to temperance and the aim to reduce levels of drunkenness. There were a number of other important factors and stimulants to change, including the rapid development and expansion of the road network. Increasingly, pubs had to cater for motorists and lorry drivers – as well, in some localities, as cyclists and charabancs – and were rebuilt and constructed with those needs in mind. As the architect Edwin Lutyens commented in his foreword to a book of 1934, 'The new roads demand new Inns'.[69] This impetus is especially well reflected in the large pubs-*cum*-roadhouses, such as the Berkeley Arms Hotel, Cranford, London (1931-32; Fig. 3.13 and see section 12.4), and the Berkeley Hotel, Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (1938-40; see Figs 5.4 and 6.3; section 12.5). In other cases, the widening or replanning of existing roads led to the demolition of earlier pubs and the construction of new buildings. This was especially the case in urban areas, such as London; among those pubs selected for investigation as part of this project, the Rose and Crown, Stoke Newington (1930-32; see section 12.30), the Queen's Head, Cranford (c. 1931; section 12.20), and the Prince of Wales, Covent Garden (1932; section 12.28; Fig. 3.14), were, for instance, rebuilt as part of street improvements.

Of particular relevance to the construction of new pubs were the vast slum clearances and new housing developments of the 1920s and 1930s; altogether, more than four million new homes were constructed in England and Wales in the inter-war period.[70] These developments were focused on suburban areas in particular, and saw the closure of a large number of urban pubs and their replacement with fewer, larger licensed houses built on 'improved' lines on the edges of towns and cities; these often served

69 A. E. Richardson, *The Old Inns of England* (London, 1934), p. v
70 Jennings, *The Local: A History of the English Pub,* p. 195

vast populations. The 'fewer and better' policy was adopted around the country, but was most famously followed in Birmingham; it enabled justices to reduce the number of on-licences (a major objective for justices in Britain throughout the early twentieth century) and allowed brewers to create large and impressive new pubs, the prime example of which is the Black Horse, Northfield, Birmingham (1929; listed grade II; see Fig. 12.7 and section 12.7).[71] The London County Council also advocated this policy, permitting very few pubs to be built on its estates and, where such pubs were built, making them exemplars of 'improvement'. Most dramatic and notorious was the Downham Tavern (Fig. 3.15), built in 1929-30 in Downham, a new LCC estate near Bromley. This single huge pub (demolished in the 1990s) – lauded at the time as being 'the largest and most modern in the country'[72] – was expected to cater for the estate's population of 30,000 people, and included a concert hall to seat 800, a large dance floor with a permanent orchestra, a saloon lounge, a public lounge, a tea room, an off licence and a children's room.[73] Ultimately, such buildings were not seen as a success, being too large to be truly functional. In 1947, Basil Oliver noted that the reasons for their construction were 'primarily grandmotherly notions of control, for which there is now greatly diminished justification in these more sober times'.[74]

3.14 *The Prince of Wales, Covent Garden, London, shown here in the foreground shortly after its completion in 1932 (as featured in* Architecture Illustrated*), with the Freemasons' Hall behind. It is an example of a pub rebuilt as part of a street improvement scheme.*

71 See: Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, pp. 71-73. As Gutzke sets out, the 'fewer and better' policy was undertaken during different stages in Birmingham. In the earlier phase, which Gutzke dates to 1905-21, he concludes that it failed, the schemes collapsing under 'intense dissent' (ibid, p. 72). Its successful phase was undertaken in 1922-39, and, according to Gutzke, this is the only period to which the 'fewer and better' policy can be accurately ascribed.

72 'A Palatial Public House', *Nottingham Evening Post,* 30 May 1930, p. 8. I am grateful to Fiona Fisher and Rebecca Preston for supplying me with a copy of this article.

73 Ibid; Robert Elwall, *Bricks and Beer: English Pub Architecture 1830-1939* (London, 1983), p. 38. Another LCC 'improved' pub was the Fellowship Inn (listed grade II), built on South London's Bellingham Estate in 1923-24. (see Figs 3.10-3.11)

74 Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 84. Various other people criticised the policy of building a few very large pubs in urban or suburban areas. For instance, the report of February 1944 compiled by the Committee on War Damaged Licensed Premises and Reconstruction (known as the Morris Committee) was critical of this approach, stating that it had 'sometimes been carried to an extreme'. It was felt better that smaller and more numerous pubs were provided. Quoted in: Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 25

By the end of the inter-war period, thousands of new pubs had been provided, and there can be no question about the general success of these buildings (see pp. 97-101). In 1933, the architect Basil Oliver had commented that:

> Undoubtedly the public, in increasing numbers, notice and discuss the admirable new inns now being erected up and down the country. One constantly hears and reads flattering remarks upon them, usually well deserved.[75]

The new pubs seem to have been popular with most of their customers, and undoubtedly helped to decrease the social 'evil' of drunkenness. Meanwhile, a huge number of older pubs closed; between 1920 and 1939, the total number of on-licences in England and Wales reduced by 12,000, thereby satisfying the government and those who had campaigned for a reduction in the emphasis on alcohol.[76]

3.15 *The Downham Tavern, Bromley, London, one of the largest and most significant pubs of the inter-war period. It was built by Barclay Perkins on a new LCC estate in 1929-30, to designs by F. G. Newnham and W. H. Fleeming, and was innovative and daring in certain aspects of its design – most controversially, as built, the pub contained no bar counters, customers being served by waiting staff. The Downham Tavern was demolished in c. 1995. (© London Metropolitan Archives, City of London: SC/PHL/02/0793/82/3464)*

75 Oliver, 'The Modern Public House: Introduction', *A Monthly Bulletin*, op. cit., p. 153
76 Brandwood, Davison and Slaughter, *Licensed to Sell*, p. 50

CHAPTER 4 THE AIMS AND DEFINITION OF THE IMPROVED PUBLIC HOUSE

Before moving on to the architecture of the inter-war public house, it is worth setting out in brief the aims and intentions with which many of these buildings were constructed (Fig. 4.1). As has been noted above, a decreased focus on the sale and consumption of alcohol – and thus the reduction of drunkenness – was the driving force in the inter-war period. It was believed this could be achieved by: making the public house more conducive to both sexes and to all members of the family; reducing the prominence of the bar counter, and of trying to cut down 'perpendicular' or 'stand-up' drinking, which was thought to lead to excess consumption; removing features such as 'snugs, partitions, dark passages', providing clear lines of visibility, and thereby increasing levels of supervision;[77] providing food and refreshments other than alcohol, and including tables and chairs for customers;[78] providing ample opportunities for recreation and games, such as bowling, darts, music and letter writing; creating adequate, attractive outdoor space, and also parking for customers; eliminating external advertising; creating interiors of comfort, elegance and style, which would vie with contemporary hotels and restaurants, thereby blurring the lines between public houses and other places of popular social resort.

4.1 *The Boar's Head, Perry Barr, Birmingham, included in* Architecture Illustrated *in 1937, is a typical improved pub of the inter-war years, built on a large scale, to a plain design uncluttered by signage, and with an ample 'pull up' for motorists. Designed by Frank J. Osborne for Ansells, the building has functioned as a restaurant since c. 2010 and has been altered.*

These approaches had the additional intention and benefit of, hopefully, increasing sales; brewers were especially conscious that the restriction of permitted hours for the sale of alcohol meant that premises were not fully utilised at certain times of the day, and so the creation of tea rooms and other places for refreshment made sound commercial sense. As well as increasing sales, the provision of food and other refreshments helped to widen a pub's clientele; as David Gutzke has written, 'Food thus became part of a clever broader marketing strategy in which brewers repositioned the improved pub as a venue as much for the social elite as for the masses'.[79] At some pubs, brewers even employed French chefs, producing meals that must have been as good as anything then available

77 Royal Commission on Licensing, *Summary of the Report prepared by the National Commercial Temperance League*, p. 24

78 In favour of tables, one writer commented that 'The logical result of having nowhere to stand a glass is to drink from it continually, and to have it replenished the moment it is empty': 'The Public-House', *The Saturday Review*, 30 April 1927, p. 657

79 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 155

at the best restaurants.[80] This was the case, for instance, at the Berkeley Arms Hotel in Cranford, London (1931-32; see Fig. 3.13 and section 12.4). A journalist commented favourably on the pub's versatility of services, noting that customers could 'call on the one hand for a "half-a-pint of mild", and on the other for a *filet de sole Normand*, and a bottle of *Veuve Cliquot*'.[81]

4.2 *The Green Man, Southend village, Catford, London, shown before it was 'improved' in an image published in* Building *in 1927.*

4.3 *The Green Man, Southend village, Catford, London, following rebuilding, as illustrated in* Building. *The new pub, completed in 1927 for Watney's, was of a substantial size; it was designed by Grace & Grace & Farmer, with M. T. Saunders. The four-storey block on the left contained public and private bars on the ground floor, kitchen on the first floor, and staff accommodation on the two upper floors. The saloon bar, saloon lounge, assembly hall and other higher-class rooms were in the pub's timbered section, while a block on the right contained an off licence.*

Such initiatives reflected brewers' acute awareness that their pubs had to change in order to survive. Not only was direct pressure being exerted by the government and by magistrates, but there was also the growing threat of competition from new venues – most notably, cinemas, teashops (such as Lyons Corner Houses) and private clubs. The new pub had to be as different as possible from the unsavoury and old-fashioned pre-war 'locals' (Figs 4.2 and 4.3), and had to appeal to a broad audience, so as to be a real source of threat to the alternative venues for entertainment. In a publication of 1929 issued by a group devoted to pub reform, it was stated that:

> In a better England no one will have to excuse himself for entering a public house. The standard of respectability ought to be so high that men, women and young people can go there for recreation and refreshment without a shadow of reproach.[82]

80 Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 37
81 *Building*, vol. 7, April 1932, p. 172
82 The Fellowship of Freedom and Reform, *The Improved Public House* (London, 1929), p. 4

The pamphlet continued, describing the specifics of the improved pub:

> Structurally it is satisfying and spacious; it is furnished and decorated with taste; it is kept scrupulously clean; it provides for rest, games and amusements as well as for meals and drinks; it is managed by persons of experience and trained judgment. It is a monument to that new age in which it will at last be universally admitted that men and women are raised by their surroundings, and unconsciously shape their conduct in response to the signs which they see all round them of orderliness and self-respect.[83]

4.4 *The interior of the saloon lounge at the rebuilt Green Man, Southend village, Catford, London, as featured in* Building. *The image shows the scale and sophistication of the new pub of 1927. Lounges were an innovation of inter-war pub planning, provided with the aim of attracting a respectable and more mixed class of clientele.*

A number of formal definitions of the improved pub were issued in the inter-war period. For instance, the Public House Improvement Bill introduced to the House of Lords in 1924 defined such pubs as existing:

> where licensed premises are not merely places for the consumption of intoxicating liquors but contain adequate provision in view of the character of the house and the wants of the neighbourhood, for the supply of other refreshments and are airy, commodious and comfortable, and have proper seating and sanitary accommodation, and contain provision for suitable recreation…[84]

The Bill – discussed by the upper and lower houses for several years, but never passed – proposed that, in instances where these provisions were met, the licensing justices were to 'issue a certificate to the effect that the premises form an "improved public house"'.[85]

For the Royal Commission on Licensing, reporting in 1932, an improved pub was 'a place where the public can obtain general refreshment, of whatever variety they choose, in decent, pleasant, and comfortable surroundings' (Fig. 4.4).[86] Thomas Skurray, Vice-

83 Ibid

84 Quoted in: Selley, *The English Public House As It Is*, pp. 109-110

85 Ibid, p. 110. Between 1919 and 1928, three such Bills were introduced to Parliament, proposing separate licence certificates for improved pubs: Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol*, p. 182

86 Royal Commission on Licensing, *Summary of the Report prepared by the National Commercial Temperance League*, p. 23

President of the Brewers' Society and a member of the Royal Commission, provided a more detailed definition, writing that an improved pub was a 'licensed house so planned

that the reasonable requirements of customers can be met by the supply of all kinds of refreshment, solid and liquid, under pleasant, comfortable and healthy conditions'.[87] Skurray felt that the minimum requirements were: a roomy public bar with plenty of seats and small tables; a private or saloon bar, 'better equipped'; a refreshment room where food, tea, coffee, etc. could be served (Fig. 4.5 and see Fig. 3.8); lavatories for both men and women; and cellars designed to give easy pipe runs from cask to beer engine. He added that the 'outside of the house should not be disfigured by advertisements either on the walls or windows', and that, internally, the 'old idea of "snugs" without much light or ventilation is obsolete'.[88]

4.5 *The dining room of the Berkeley Hotel, Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (1938-40), one of the buildings selected for detailed investigation as part of this project. Its handsome, plush interior is typical of inter-war rooms consciously designed to attract a new, better and wider class of clientele than that which frequented traditional 'unreformed' pubs. (© Michael Slaughter LRPS)*

In 1926, *The Brick Builder* had commented that:

> The word that comes most readily to mind in describing the qualities essential to the modern city place of refreshment and recreation is "palatial" – a resort where the man in the street at his leisure can enjoy his relaxation in surroundings that do not by their drab depression drive him to regard drinking as the sole reason of his presence there, and yet at the same time shall not encourage him to undue frivolity.[89]

The new type of pub was intended to have a civilizing influence on its customers, and even on wider neighbourhoods. As is commented in the recent study *Licensed to Sell*, 'The [improved public house] movement was almost a benign form of social engineering'.[90] One of the models for this new form of pub was the Continental café and beerhouse, a type of institution that had become familiar to those serving abroad during the First World War. Such cafés were notable in being respectable resorts for all members of the family and for having a 'clean and bright and wholesome atmosphere'.[91]

87 Thomas Skurray, 'My Ideals for an Improved Public House', *A Monthly Bulletin*, vol. 2, no. 10 (October 1932), p. 156

88 Ibid, pp. 157-158

89 'The "New" Inn: Decorative Possibilities', *The Brick Builder,* January 1926, p. 44

90 Brandwood, Davison and Slaughter, *Licensed to Sell*, p. 84

91 W. Bently Capper, 'Ideas underlying public-house reform', in gen. ed. W. Bently Capper, *Licensed*

Also of influence were English inns of yesteryear, especially of the Tudor and Jacobean periods (Fig. 4.6). Improved pubs were, in a sense, 'a sincere endeavour to get back to type, to restore the inn and tavern to their traditional place in our social life and to reinvest these with the ancient glories of which, till perhaps a generation ago, they had been largely shorn'.[92] A journalist commented in 1929 that the new, improved public house 'conforms to the old idea of the hostel as a place of refreshment and recreation', and no longer had to 'flaunt its mission by strident, gaudy exterior which is an offence to every decent mind'.[93]

4.6 *A typical inter-war pub built in the Neo-Tudor style, which had close affinities with idealised pubs of yesteryear and was felt to invoke notions of old-style hospitality. This pub, the Greenford Hotel, Southall, London, was built in c. 1932; it is now a McDonalds. (London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, B/THB/D/400, from the Truman Hanbury Buxton and Co. Ltd collection; copyright Heineken UK)*

Respectability was a major aim, as was a widening of the social base of pub customers; a writer of 1924 commented that 'snobbishness has kept away from the public-house large numbers of people who would have improved its tone if they had been in the habit of visiting it', and this was something that changed.[94] On a similar theme, the brewer Sydney Nevile commented that 'The presence in public-houses of people who disapprove of, indeed, will not tolerate, insobriety, makes excess unfashionable'.[95] Women were seen as playing a vital role in this, being perceived as the agents of social control, order and discipline. Brewers began to work actively to attract more women, and to appeal to the whole family unit (Fig. 4.7, and see Figs 6.12 and 8.4). Major Charles Perkins, a director of Barclay Perkins brewery, wrote of the reformers' aim 'to keep the family together by providing a common place of recreation and refreshment for them all'.[96]

As part of this, brewers sought to make the new form of pub 'child-friendly'. The Children's Act of 1908 included a section prohibiting anyone under the age of 14 from frequenting any part of a public house that was 'exclusively or mainly used for the

Houses and their Management, vol. III (1923; 5th edn, London, 1950), p. 5. See also: 'The Public-House', *The Saturday Review,* 30 April 1927, p. 657, where it is stated that 'It is one of the blots on our social life that there is nothing in this country to correspond to the continental café or brasserie, where a client may sit comfortably for hours at a time, talking to his friends of both sexes'.

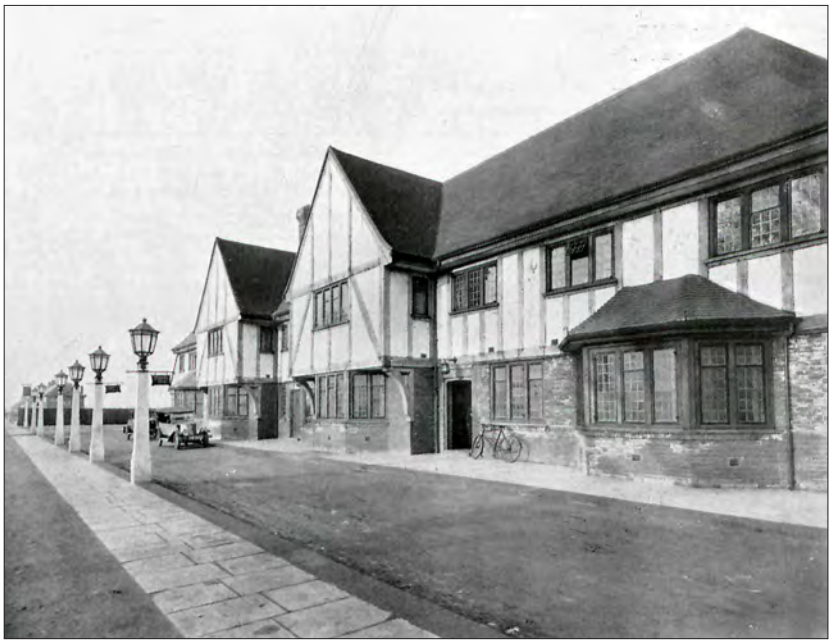
92 W. Bently Capper, 'Ideas underlying public-house reform', op. cit., p. 1

93 'Modern Types of London Taverns: The Work of Melville Seth-Ward', *The Brick Builder*, December 1929, pp. 32-33

94 Williams, *The New Public House*, p. 33

95 Quoted in: Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives,* p. 110

96 Major Charles Perkins, 'The improved public house in practice', in gen. ed. W. Bently Capper, *Licensed Houses and their Management,* vol. III (London, 5th edn, 1950), p. 17



4.7 *An image from* The House of Whitbread *showing the Robin Hood, an improved pub built by Whitbread's on the LCC estate of Becontree, London, in 1926-29, to designs by T. F. Ingram. The building and its gardens (see Fig. 6.12) included a range of facilities, and were consciously designed to attract the whole family. The Robin Hood was demolished in c. 2005; its site is now occupied by a Lidl supermarket.*

consumption of alcoholic liquor'.[97] However, in tea rooms and other such refreshment rooms, where alcohol was not the chief focus and where bar counters did not always exist, it was permissible by law for children to be present. This helped to encourage female customers and family recreation, as did the provision of specific rooms and areas for children, which the justices were empowered to approve (see p. 66).[98]

To reflect the pub's new-found respectability, new forms of nomenclature were embraced. The term 'tavern', for example, was generally avoided, in favour of terms such as 'hotel', though pubs of the inter-war period did not generally include guest accommodation. Clearly, the potential customers of new pubs had quite strong views about such matters. It was reported in 1937, for instance, that the Norbury Hotel in Croydon, South London (see Fig. 2.3) – which contained no guest accommodation – had been so named because some of the local residents had resented the word 'tavern'.[99]

97 *A Monthly Bulletin*, vol. 2, no. 1 (January 1932), p. 10; Rev. Henry Carter, *The Nation Surveys the Drink Problem* (London, 1932), p. 21

98 Royal Commission on Licensing, *Summary of the Report prepared by the National Commercial Temperance League*, p. 45; Carter, *The Nation Surveys the Drink Problem*, p. 22. Before these changes, it was said, women were forced to hang around in backyards and alleys, 'due to their being unable to take children into the house': Selley, *The English Public House As It Is*, p. 126

99 *Anchor Magazine*, vol. XVII, no. 9, September 1937, p. 216

CHAPTER 5 THE STYLE, PLAN AND INTERIOR OF THE INTER-WAR PUBLIC HOUSE

There was no single type of public house during the inter-war period. In some localities, the traditional inn and 'gin palace' of the Victorian and Edwardian periods survived, largely unreformed and unaltered. There were also taverns of earlier dates, as well as newly built pubs on modest, traditional lines.[100] However, most significant new pubs and pub rebuildings were carried out with the aims and principles of improvement in mind: in particular, they were often plainer in design than earlier pubs, frequently incorporated refreshment and function rooms and other recreational facilities, and many were of significant size, with carefully planned grounds.[101]

5.1 *A photograph of 1936 showing the newly completed Myllet Arms, Perivale, London, by E. B. Musman. The pub was known as a roadhouse at the time, reflecting its scale, the range of its facilities (which included a large restaurant), and its situation on Western Avenue, a major new roadway. It was the second most expensive pub built in the inter-war period, costing £60,000. (Reproduced by permission of Historic England)*

As has been shown, such buildings cannot be compared in function with the majority of pubs built before the First World War. The new, reinvented type of inter-war pub was a synthesis of the modern hotel, café, bar, restaurant, club, dance hall and off licence, going far beyond what we know as or expect of a public house today (Fig. 5.1). Its significance was well summed up in an article of 1929:

100 As has been noted elsewhere in this report, a system that seems to have been used at the time was to group pubs into three different 'classes': the 'social centre' type of pub with facilities for large-scale catering and refreshment (i.e. the larger improved pubs); the 'intermediate house'; and the 'small, intimate "local" house for the "little street" customers'. This system was set out in the article 'The Public House and Reconstruction' in ed. Hickey, *All About Beer: Portraits of a Traditional Industry* ('The Statist', 1952), p. 92. Although it was written in the post-war years, it seems to have been current in the inter-war period also. I am grateful to Andrew Davison for drawing this article to my attention.

101 A Whitbread's publication of 1947 pointed out that smaller pubs were not neglected in this great phase of rebuilding, but that their renovation 'was less spectacular and less complete' and that it was undertaken in a more gradual process, 'if only on account of their numbers': Whitbread & Co Ltd, *Your Local*, p. 19

> It is inspiring to think of the great change that is taking place in public-house architecture. If I were asked by an unbeliever to give two proofs of the upward march of humanity, I would say, "Look at the League of Nations, and look at our new pubs." When one contrasts a building like this [the King's Arms, Kingston, South London, by Joseph Hill], and many others like it, with the fearsome gin palaces of thirty years ago, there is every cause for optimism.[102]

Six years later, the Birmingham-based architect Francis Goldsbrough stated that 'The modern public house must not be confused with the old English inn of which this country has so many splendid examples'. A key difference was that it 'has to provide not only refreshment for the traveller but also recreation and enjoyment for the local inhabitants, and for all classes'.[103] For Ernest Selley, writing in 1927, improved pubs were an entirely 'new type of institution', while a year earlier a journalist had commented of the new pubs of Liverpool, 'places like these are clubs, social centres, institutes, if you will, where drinking is only part of the fun'.[104] In 1934, an article described some new pubs built by Georges brewery in Bristol in the following terms:

> In any of them the working-man having his evening pint will be as much at home as the man of means who calls in with his family in need of rest and refreshment during a long motor journey. There are lounges for ladies, gardens for family parties, and sand pits where small children may play in safety.[105]

In designing a new public house or substantially rebuilding an existing one, an architect relied upon various sources and took into account various considerations. Chief among these were the needs and ideals of the brewery and the local licensing justices, who had to approve all plans and drawings. The restrictions of the site and the neighbouring roadways were obviously also of key significance, as was the budget earmarked for the project. The average cost for an inter-war pub was just under £8,000,[106] though this number could soar well above £20,000: the most expensive pub project undertaken in the period – the Windsor Castle in Victoria, London (1926-28; demolished) – was finished at a cost of £95,500; second to this was the Myllet Arms, Perivale, London (1935-36; see section 12.24), which cost the huge sum of £60,000.[107] In terms of form and style, architects found inspiration in existing pubs, notably those rebuilt and constructed under the state management scheme in the Carlisle district, and those illustrated in architectural and trade journals. In writing an article on pub design in 1938, E. B. Musman recommended that architects carefully consult such publications – which

102 *Building,* vol. 4 (February 1929), p. 89

103 F. Goldsbrough, 'The Modern Public House' (new series), *A Monthly Bulletin*, vol. 5 no. 8 (August 1935), p. 123

104 Selley, *The English Publc House As It Is*, p. 109; Frederic Towndrow, 'Some new public-houses in Liverpool', *Architects' Journal*, 2 June 1926, p. 750

105 Article from the *Western Daily Press,* quoted in: Fiona Fisher and Rebecca Preston, 'The Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Public House in Bristol' (2015; English Heritage project NHPP 4A1 6245), pp. 237-8

106 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 238

107 Ed. Walter Pearce Serocold, *The Story of Watneys* (St Albans, 1949), p. 78. The Windsor Castle included a bar and restaurant in the basement, a bar and deli on the ground floor, a grill room on the first floor and a banqueting hall on the second floor. For the cost of the Myllet Arms, see: *The Caterer and Hotel Keeper,* 30 October 1936, p. 16

increasingly included articles, like his, setting out the principles of pub planning and design – as well as studying existing buildings.[108]

In design, site and setting, the inter-war pub varied widely, but it was especially common to find buildings on prominent corner plots in suburban areas (Fig. 5.2) – where possible, with ample 'pull-ups' or 'draw ins' for cars and gardens to the rear (see Chapter 6).[109] Many were detached, and built at a distance from the highway: sometimes, in the later part of the inter-war period, this position was dictated by the requirements of the Restriction of Ribbon Development Act of 1935, which stated that a new building had to be set 60 feet or more back from the centre of the road.[110] This meant that some new pubs were built behind their predecessors situated directly on the roadside, and the earlier buildings were then demolished (Fig. 5.3).

5.2 *The Portland Arms, Cambridge, built in 1930, occupies a site that was typical for pubs of the inter-war period: on a prominent corner, near road junctions, in an outer urban/ suburban area. (© Historic England, Luke Jacob)*

5.3 *Some new pubs were built on a site immediately to the rear of their predecessors, and the earlier buildings then demolished, as with the Eastfield Inn, Henleaze, Bristol. The old and new pubs are seen together here in an image of c. 1934, taken shortly after the completion of the new inn. (© Courage Archive, Bristol [Heineken UK])*

108 Musman, 'Public Houses: Design and Construction', *Architects' Journal*, op. cit., p. 833

109 Francis Yorke illustrates corner and other kinds of typical pub sites in his work of 1949: Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses,* p. 41

110 Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 30

Frontages were usually expansive, emphasising the new-found respectability of the public house, the patrons of which were no longer 'expected to slink furtively up to the entrances'.[111] Some were planned 'as generously as many a luxurious country house', and, commented one writer, 'often with far better architectural effect', an example being the Black Horse in Northfield, Birmingham (1929; listed grade II; see Fig. 2.7 and section 12.7).[112] The principal elevations of pubs were generally plain – especially during the 1930s – with simple, clear lettering and carefully designed signs bearing the name of the pub and the brewery; as, for instance, at the Court Oak, a Mitchells & Butlers' pub of 1932 in Birmingham (see Fig. 5.17 and section 12.13), and the Berkeley Hotel in Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (1938-40; Fig. 5.4 and see section 12.5). The most popular material for inter-war pubs was brick, though a high number were half-timbered and featured stonework; naturally, material varied with location. Pubs of the inter-war years were generally designed as buildings in their own right. It was comparatively rare in this period for pubs to be built as an integral part of larger developments, exceptions including: the Hope and Anchor, Hammersmith, London (1936; listed grade II), built as part of a housing estate, in a matching style; the Duke of York, Bloomsbury, London (1937-38; listed grade II), which forms part of an office block (Mytre House); and the Paviours' Arms, Westminster, London (c. 1938; demolished), which was also part of an office block (Neville House).

5.4 *The Berkeley Hotel, Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (1938-40, by Scott and Clark), is a classic example of the large, restrained pubs that were built in the inter-war period, especially in the 1930s. In style, it is broadly Neo-Georgian. (© Michael Slaughter LRPS)*

The predominant styles of inter-war pubs were Neo-Georgian and Neo-Tudor or Tudor Revival, the latter widely known at the time as 'Brewers' Tudor'. The Neo-Georgian style was, in general, viewed as being more successful in its architectural impact and came to be preferred by prominent pub architects such as Basil Oliver and Joseph Hill (Figs 5.5-5.8). One of the desirable features of the style was its sense of respectability, restraint,

111 *Fifty Years of Brewing: 1879-1929*, p. 63
112 Ibid

5.5-5.8 *Neo-Georgian was one of the most popular styles for pubs in the inter-war years. Examples include: the Farmers' Arms, Clubmoor, Liverpool (left; c. 1925, by Harold E. Davies & Son; © Historic England, James O. Davies, DP166553), the Royal Oak, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester (below left; 1928; © Historic England, Emily Cole), the Rose and Crown, Stoke Newington, London (below right; 1930-32, by A. E. Sewell; © Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP152302), and – on a larger scale – the Ballot Box, Greenford, London (by Robert G. Muir), shown here in a photograph of 1937 (published in* Architecture Illustrated*), taken soon after its completion (bottom).*

formality and order, which brewers hoped would attract respectable, middle-class drinkers.[113] David Gutzke has written that 'For brewers, Neo-Georgian represented not so much a style as an aspiration: it symbolized their desire for self-controlled, courteous, and tranquil customers'.[114] It was the chosen style for two public house competitions of

113 Writing later, the architect E. B. Musman noted that 'In the 'twenties and early 'thirties it was the fashion to follow the Georgian tradition. The fine proportions, simple planning and refinement of this style and its strong domestic character seemed to suit the requirements of the pub better than any other': E. B. Musman, 'Designing the Public House', in ed. Hickey, *All About Beer: Portraits of a Traditional Industry* ('The Statist', 1952), p. 87

114 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 197

the early 1920s, the first (sponsored by the brewery Samuel Allsopp & Sons) calling for a building of eighteenth-century style and the second (run by the Worshipful Company of Brewers) stipulating a design that was 'a quiet rendering of eighteenth century English classic'.[115]

Prominent pubs designed using the Neo-Georgian style included the Downham Tavern, near Bromley, London (1929-30; demolished; see Fig. 3.15), and the Myllet Arms, Perivale, London (1935-36; see Fig. 5.1 and section 12.24). One of its advantages was versatility: architects could use variations of the style for different size buildings – from the Georgian townhouse to the fully fledged Neo-Classical country house – while individual features (such as fanlights and decorative tympana) could be integrated into a plainer overall style, without the need for a full-scale approach. This is particularly well seen in the Liverpool pubs designed by the firm of Harold. E. Davies & Son, including the Farmers' Arms (c. 1925; see Fig. 5.5 and section 12.19) and the Blackburne Arms (1927; see section 12.8), as well as in some of the work of E. B. Musman (such as the Bull and Butcher, Whetstone, London, of c. 1929) and A. E. Sewell (such as the Rose and Crown, Stoke Newington, London, of 1930-32; see Fig. 5.7 and section 12.30).

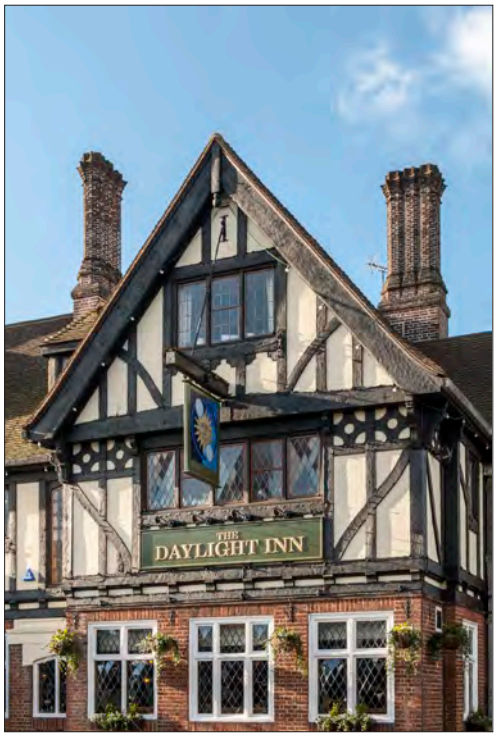
The Neo-Georgian style came to be derided by some for its lack of distinctiveness. As Basil Oliver noted, 'one of the pitfalls for the architect was to avoid making it [an inn] look like a bank, or like council offices or some technical institute'. [116] However, architects argued that site and features such as lettering could be used to make clear the purpose of the public house. For the architect E. B. Musman:

> Whatever treatment he [the architect] may decide to adopt, he must, without doubt, aim at creating something which will look like a public house and not like any other type of building. It must have an inviting aspect, a feeling of welcome and comfort, a sense of refinement and well-being. It should make the passer-by stop and wish to enter.[117]

Brewers' Tudor gave a completely different impact and impression from that effected by Neo-Georgian: the style – usually involving the use of timbering and gables – harked back to inns and taverns of earlier times, and therefore conjured up an appropriate atmosphere and sense of old-style hospitality and comfort. In 1932, *The Brick Builder* wrote that the style indulged 'in a pleasant and harmless game of make-believe in the fancy dress which appeals to the relaxed moments of the public'.[118] This return to sixteenth-century architectural forms had been tested in the years around 1900 – the stone-built Red Lion, Kings Heath, Birmingham (1903-4; listed grade II), is, in particular, seen as a 'pioneer of the "reformed" public house', in terms of its design and scale.[119] However, it reached the height of its popularity in the inter-war period, and was used for both small-scale buildings – like the Swan with Two Necks in Stockport (1926; listed grade II; see Fig. 10.3) – and larger structures like the Green Man in Catford, London (1927; demolished; see Figs 4.3 and 9.9), the Railway Hotel, Edgware, London (1930-31;

115 Elwall, *Bricks and Beer,* p. 37
116 *The Builder*, 29 April 1932, p. 759
117 Musman, 'Public Houses: Design and Construction', *Architects' Journal*, op. cit., pp. 836-7
118 *The Brick Builder,* December 1932, p. 36
119 Alan Crawford, Michael Dunn and Robert Thorne, *Birmingham Pubs, 1880-1939* (Gloucester, 1986), p. 42 and p. 44. The Red Lion was designed by C. E. Bateman for Mitchells & Butlers.

listed grade II), the Stoneleigh Hotel, Ewell, Surrey (1934-35; see section 12.34), and the Queens Drive Hotel in Liverpool (1938; now a Toby Carvery). Particularly active exponents of the style included Sidney C. Clark, architect for Charrington's brewery, whose Neo-Tudor works included the Old Red Lion, Kennington, London (c. 1929; listed grade II; Fig. 5.9), the Duke of Cambridge, Kingston (c. 1935; demolished), the Daylight Inn, Petts Wood, London (1935; Fig. 5.10; see section 12.14), and the Rising Sun, Catford, London (c. 1937; demolished). Neo-Tudor came in a range of different guises, scales and qualities, and sometimes pubs of this style incorporated elements and materials which reflected local vernacular architecture.



5.9-5.10 *Especially popular for pubs of the inter-war period was the Neo-Tudor style, known as 'Brewers' Tudor'. This was favoured by firms including Charrington's, and can be seen here in two buildings designed by the brewery's chief architect, Sidney C. Clark – the Old Red Lion, Kennington, London (above left; c. 1929; listed grade II; photograph published in* The Builder *in 1935), and the Daylight Inn, Petts Wood, London (above right; 1935; © Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP170020).*

In an article published in 1925, *The British Builder* noted with interest the fact that the 'half-timbered method' appealed so strongly to 'popular taste, both cultured and otherwise', continuing that the 'decorative success of this style of building is so supreme that all questions of anachronism are forgotten'.[120] The style is at its most elaborate and extreme at the Black Horse, Northfield, Birmingham, a Davenport's pub of 1929, designed by Francis Goldsbrough of Bateman's (see Fig. 2.7 and section 12.7); this is of a vast scale and resembles nothing more closely than an Elizabethan country house, though its interior also included spaces designed on Neo-Classical lines, such as the committee room (see Fig. 12.7.6). As this illustrates, a mixing of styles was common: some inter-war pubs were robustly Neo-Tudor on the outside, but were varied in architectural style and effect on the inside.

120 'The Three Greyhounds, Soho', *The British Builder*, March 1925, p. 306

Although the Neo-Tudor style remained popular up to the Second World War, it attracted increasing criticism, from architects and others. In 1934, Edwin Lutyens – architect of the Drum Inn, Cockington (completed 1936; listed grade II) – expressed his dislike of both Brewers' Tudor and Moderne: 'Much good work is being done, but there are regrettable exceptions, such as the adjectival "olde worlde" creations, which are as objectionable and as needless as are the ultra-modern'.[121] Basil Oliver was another opponent of the Brewers' Tudor style, stating in 1932 that:

> "Ye Olde Englishe" complex lingered on just as though the new movement for honest truthful building had never been heard of … Such misguided notions of artificial quaintness were never convincing and should be relegated to the music-hall backcloth.[122]

As this comment makes clear, a large part of the disregard for this style stemmed from its 'artificial' nature. Like Oliver, the popular pub architect Joseph Hill stated in 1932 that 'even to-day really good schemes were being ruined as the result of building owners and their architects clothing great licensed houses with a sham half-timbered cloak, which could never express either the plan or construction of the building'.[123] Another architect, Francis Goldsbrough of Bateman's, stated that 'It must not be a fake. If it is timber it must be genuine construction and not merely applied. If we wish to copy a Tudor house let us construct it as the Tudor builders did' – comments which must be largely based on his experience of designing the Black Horse in Birmingham (1929; see section 12.7).[124] This was a building of quality, produced on traditional lines, unlike many of the smaller and far cheaper Neo-Tudor pubs built around the country.

Also popular was a style which drew more broadly upon design of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – usually vernacular in nature, and taken from England and the Low Countries. It is especially common to find pubs built in Neo-Elizabethan and Neo-Jacobean styles, usually in brick or stone ('Brewers' Tudor' generally featured timbering), with details such as shaped gables and bay windows (Fig. 5.11). Mixed into this were features from Arts and Crafts buildings, such as asymmetry and high-quality decorative detailing, while other pubs were more purely Arts and Crafts in style. Examples of such design include the Somers Town Coffee House (listed grade II) – built in 1930-31 as part

5.11 *Typical of the Elizabethan/Jacobean-influenced pub designs of the inter-war years is the British Oak, Stirchley, Birmingham (1923-24, by James and Lister Lea; listed grade II), built by Mitchells & Butlers. (© Historic England, Luke Jacob)*

121 Foreword to Richardson, *The Old Inns of England,* p. v
122 *The Builder*, 29 April 1932, p. 759
123 Ibid, 18 November 1932, p. 849
124 F. Goldsbrough, 'The Modern Public House (new series)', *A Monthly Bulletin*, op. cit., p. 126

5.12 *Inter-war pubs influenced by the Arts and Crafts style include the Gate House, Norwich, built in 1934 and shown here in a photograph of 1939. The pub also displays the influence of local vernacular architecture. (Photo: George Plunkett)*

of the Ossulton Estate in Camden, London, and possibly designed by Halsey Ricardo – and the Gate House, Norwich (Fig. 5.12; see section 12.20), of 1934, which shows the influence of local architecture. This approach seems to have been used in particular by architects who had been active as pub designers from the early years of the twentieth century, such as Melville Seth-Ward, whose Albion Beerhouse in Hammersmith, London (c. 1925), and Prince George of Cumberland, Regent's Park, London (c. 1929; demolished), closely resembled his pre-First World War pubs. The architect T. H. Nowell Parr was another whose inter-war pub designs continued the Arts and Crafts style of his pre-war work, as, for instance, at the Angel, Hayes, London (also of 1926; see section 12.1), and the Duke of York, Chiswick, London (1926; section 12.17).

The sixteenth-/seventeenth-century style was also used where it was seen as being appropriate for certain settings or localities. Among those who drew upon early modern forms and motifs was the architect John L. Denman, as at the Duke of Wellington, Shoreham-by-Sea, East Sussex (c. 1929; Fig. 5.13). This pub was built for the Kemp Town Brewery, who had made clear that they were opposed to a 'type' house 'which would disregard local associations and materials'; they felt that bay windows were especially appropriate for Sussex.[125] This sense of architectural relevance to particular localities was very common during the inter-war period, as brewers aimed to build pubs that were local landmarks but which also had a sense of longevity and familiarity. Relevance to earlier pubs on the site was also a consideration: the Tudor inspiration for the design of the Queen's Head in Cranford, London (see section 12.29), for instance, a pub of c. 1931, is probably at least partly due to the history of the preceding Queen's Head, named after Elizabeth I and built in 1604.

5.13 *The Duke of Wellington, Shoreham-by-Sea, East Sussex, built in c. 1929 to designs by John L. Denman & Son for the Kemp Town Brewery. The pub was designed taking account of the style and detailing of local buildings. (© David Muggleton)*

125 'The Patrons of Architecture I: The Kemptown Brewery', *Architect and Building News*, 16 August 1929, p. 196

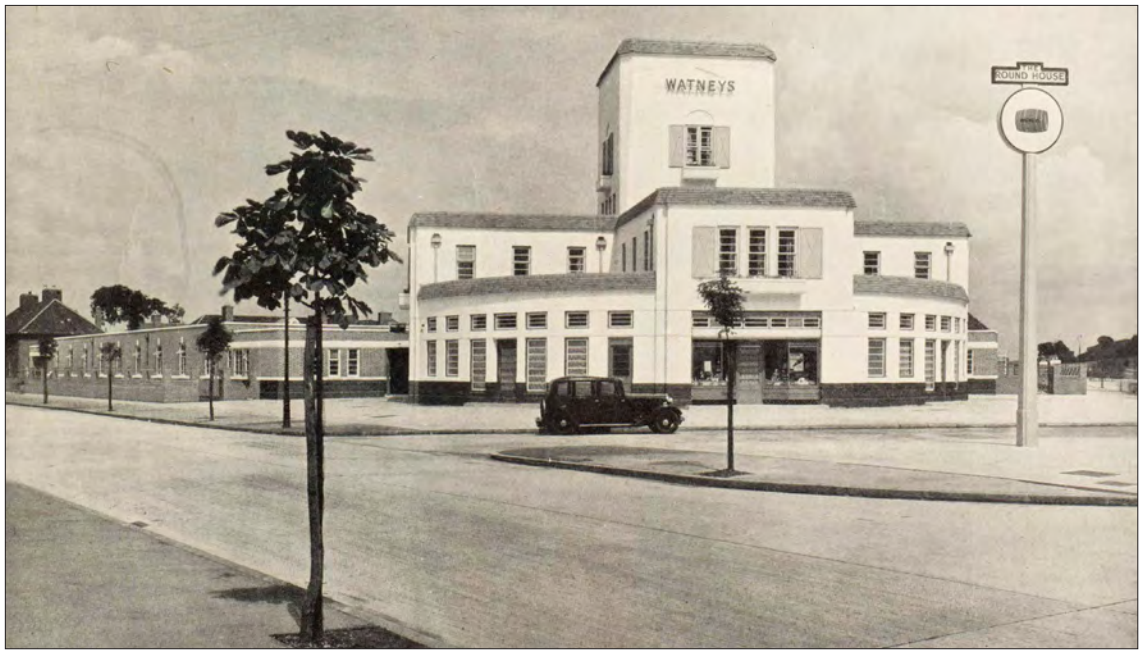
In contrast to these approaches was the Moderne style, a new form of architecture which turned its back on tradition and was defined by bold, streamlined designs which often had a pronounced horizontal emphasis. It served to ally pubs with other new buildings, such as cinemas, to highlight their novel ambitions, and to make them stand out in the streetscape. The style increasingly came to be used for public houses around the country from the early 1930s, but pubs built on these lines, and in the Art Deco style, were always in the minority.[126] The Moderne style can perhaps best be seen in the work of E. B. Musman – most notably at the Comet in Hatfield, Hertfordshire (1933; Fig. 5.14), and the Nag's Head, Bishops Stortford, Hertfordshire (1936; Fig. 5.15), both listed grade II – although the architect also worked comfortably in the Neo-Georgian style (as, for instance, at the Myllet Arms, London, of 1935-36; see Fig. 5.1 and section 12.24). Of the Nag's Head, a journalist wrote that it was 'an attempt to introduce modern principles and an enlightened use of materials into contemporary public-house design', and there is no doubt that both Musman and his client, Benskin's Watford Brewery, were pioneering in this area.[127] Other Moderne style pubs include the Ship, Skegness, Lincolnshire (1934, by Bailey and Eberlin; listed grade II; see Fig. 10.12), the Vale Hotel, Arnold, Nottinghamshire (1935-37; listed grade II), the Round House, Becontree, East London (1936, by A. W. Blomfield; Fig. 5.16; see section 12.31), the Boundary Hotel, Liverpool (c. 1936 by A. Ernest Shennan, better known as a designer of cinemas; demolished), the County Arms, Leicester (1936-38, by Pick, Everard, Keay and Gimson; closed and at risk), and the Baldwin, Birmingham (1937, by Bateman's; see Fig. 11.29). In a rural locality, the best-known example of a Moderne pub is the Prospect Inn, Minster-in-Thanet, Kent, built in 1939 to designs by Oliver Hill (listed grade II).

5.14 *The Comet, Hatfield, Hertfordshire, built in 1933 to designs by E. B. Musman and commissioned by Benskin's Watford Brewery. The building, now a Ramada hotel, is listed grade II, and is notable for its Moderne style. Its design was widely acclaimed at the time. (© Historic England, Luke Jacob)*

5.15 *Of a similar style to the Comet but on a much smaller scale is the Nag's Head, Bishops Stortford, Hertfordshire, built in 1936 to designs by E. B. Musman, for Benskin's Watford Brewery and listed grade II. (© Historic England, Emily Cole)*

126 In an article on pub design, E. B. Musman noted that 'in the early half of the twentieth century, the modern movement had not firmly taken root in this country and did not influence contemporary design in any marked degree until later': Musman, 'Designing the Public House', in ed. Hickey, *All About Beer*, p. 87

127 *Architectural Review*, vol. 79, March 1936, p. 125

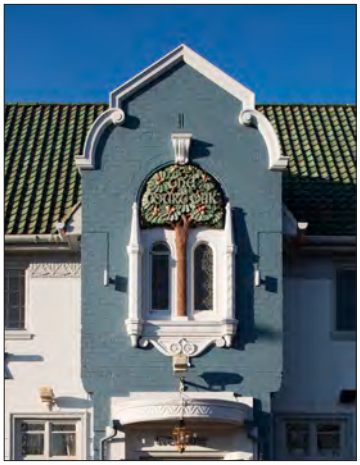


5.16 *Another pub of the Moderne style is the Round House, Becontree, London, designed by A. W. Blomfield; it is shown here soon after completion in 1936, in an image published in* The Builder. *The wing on the left of the main pub building contained a bowling hall, while that on the right contained a children's room. The off licence at the pub's centre has now been removed. The free-standing pub sign does not survive.*

Today, these are some of the most lauded pubs of the inter-war period, reflecting modern appreciation of and interest in the Moderne and Art Deco styles. However, at the time, their reception was mixed. The Royal Fine Art Commission, for instance, criticised the cutting of all links with tradition in external design, 'either by making mockery of historic styles or by adopting a new style, totally at variance with the character of the neighbourhood, in order to single out the building and make it conspicuous'.[128] A similar view was probably applied to pubs built in the Spanish,

5.17 *The Court Oak, Quinton, Birmingham, a Mitchells & Butlers pub of 1932 by George Bernard Cox, influenced by the Hispano-Moorish style. It is shown here shortly after completion. (Photo from Andrew Maxam's Mitchells & Butlers photographic archive, www.maxamcards.co.uk)*

128 Quoted in: Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 25



5.18 *A detail of the main façade of the Court Oak, Quinton, Birmingham (1932), showing the carved pub sign and the original green pantiles. The sign is probably the work of William Bloye or one of the sculptors in his circle. (© Historic England, James O. Davies, DP166395)*

Hispanic or Moorish styles, which became increasingly popular, although – as with Moderne and Art Deco – they remained in the minority. Pubs built in a Hispanic style or featuring Hispano-Moorish elements include: the Court Oak, Birmingham (1932, by George Bernard Cox; Figs 5.17-5.18, and see section 12.13); the Cock Inn, Cockfosters, Hertfordshire (c. 1934, by J. C. F. James; see Figs 7.2-7.3); and the Plough, West Sutton, Surrey (c. 1935, by Sidney C. Clark). A number of others included green pantiled roofs, again giving an impression of sunnier climes – for instance, E. B. Musman's the Royal Oak, Edgware, London (c. 1934), and the Fountain Inn, South Shields, Tyne and Wear (1938), by T. A. Page, Son and Bradbury.

In plan, public houses of the inter-war period continued to include the two main traditional bars – public bar and saloon bar – though these were increasingly accessed via entrance halls or vestibules, rather than directly from the street. Also, they were generally larger and more open spaces, without the 'snugs' and other small compartments that had characterised the pub plan of the Victorian and Edwardian eras. Indeed, overall, it was said that 'the new type of inn is as different from the average nineteenth-century public house as the skill of the best architects and the use of the best materials can make it'.[129]

Even with greater diversification and mixing of customers, a social grading continued to exist. The public bar (also known as the 'vaults' or tap room, especially in northern England) – the lowest status, busiest and most popular room of a pub – was intended for general use by the working classes (Fig. 5.19). Typically, it included fixed benching and an area for darts, and was often associated with a dedicated games room or meal room – as, for instance, at E. B. Musman's Berkeley Arms Hotel, a London pub of 1931-32 (see section 12.4), and at the Stag's Head, Hoxton, London (see section 12.33), a Truman's pub of the same date. Meanwhile, the saloon bar, with its more expensive, elaborate and refined decoration, was intended for use by skilled workers and the middle classes (Fig. 5.20). Drinks in the two bars were typically sold at different rates, and there were sometimes differing restrictions on dress. Although it was more refined as a space, the saloon, like the public bar, often included a dart board, and may also have had a snack counter or some other form of provision for food.[130]

In addition, the pub might also include a smoking or smoke room (Fig. 5.21), private bar (or bar parlour) and lounge (or saloon lounge), all of which shared or even surpassed the exclusivity of the saloon bar; they tended to be more secluded, and frequently featured tables and chairs, rather than fixed seating. The private bar was, according to Basil Oliver, for 'private transactions and intimate conversations',[131] and it often had its own access directly from the street or forecourt.

129 *The Brick Builder*, March 1934, p. 20
130 Musman, 'Public Houses: Design and Construction', *Architects' Journal*, op. cit., p. 834
131 Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 33

5.19 *Public bars were the lowest status, often the most frequented and generally the plainest rooms in inter-war pubs. This is the public bar at the Berkeley Hotel, Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (1938-40, by Scott and Clark), which retains its original counter (slightly shortened), bar back and fireplace. (© Michael Slaughter LRPS)*

5.20 *Saloon bars were of a higher status than public bars and often featured comparatively elaborate, modish and costly fittings and furnishings. Shown here is the saloon bar of the Stag's Head, Hoxton, London, designed in 1935-36 by A. E. Sewell for Truman's. (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP152392)*

5.21 *The gentlemen's smoking room at the Brookhill Tavern, Alum Rock, Birmingham, a Mitchells & Butlers pub of 1927-28 designed by George Bernard Cox. The door on the left of the picture led to a men's lavatory, and the glazed doorway on its right to the main servery. (Image courtesy of the National Brewery Centre, Burton on Trent)*

Meanwhile, the saloon lounge 'assumed the character and proportions of a club smoking-room, where men may sit and talk without feeling that the only thing that brings them together is a mutual desire for alcohol'.[132] For Francis Yorke, the saloon lounge – usually placed adjacent to the saloon bar – was to be considered 'the principal room' of the pub, and 'may be arranged to give a sense of privacy to small groups of customers' (see Fig. 4.4).[133] David W. Gutzke sees the lounge as 'an entirely new room introduced into reformed pubs soon after the war', continuing that:

> Lounges exuded respectability: upholstered seats and chairs, plants, pictures, fashionable decor, carpeting or linoleum floors, non-alcoholic refreshments, waiters, and separate female lavatories … In their brightness, cleanliness, and smooth surfaces, lounges projected precisely the type of clientele brewers most sought.[134]

Lounges, and smoke rooms, were frequently large and prominent, and were often grand in their architectural effect, as with the double-height circular lounge at the Bedford Hotel, a Watney's pub of c. 1931 in Balham, London (Fig. 5.22; see section 12.3), and the sixteenth-century style lounge at the Queen's Head in Cranford, London, also dating from c. 1931 (Fig. 5.23; see section 12.29). Such grandeur is especially well exemplified by the large suburban pubs of Birmingham, where the classic regional inter-war plan saw a public bar in the centre with smoke rooms in wings to either side, one typically being reserved for men and the

5.22 *The remarkable interior of the double-height circular saloon lounge at the Bedford Hotel, Balham, London (c. 1931, by A. W. Blomfield), as published in* Architectural Design and Construction *in 1934. As this image indicates, saloon lounges were refined drinking spaces and were often imposing in their architectural effect. Their serveries were usually small and discrete, where they existed at all, and customers would generally have been served by waiting staff.*

132 *Building,* vol. 4, February 1929, p. 89
133 Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 110
134 Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking in Britain During the First World War', *Social History*, op. cit., p. 385

5.23 *An example of an imposing saloon lounge is that at the Queen's Head, Cranford, London (c. 1931). Some of the furniture in the pub seems to be original to its completion, including the tables shown on the right of this image. (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP170079)*

5.24 *The gentlemen's smoking room at the Black Horse, Northfield, Birmingham, built in 1929 to designs by Francis Goldsbrough. Such rooms were a feature of pubs built in the Birmingham area, though this is a particularly grand example. (© Historic England, James O. Davies, DP166426)*

other for mixed drinking (though sometimes nominally for ladies).[135] At the Black Horse in Birmingham (of 1929; see section 12.7), both smoke rooms had lofty, open timber roofs and large, decorative fireplaces (Fig. 5.24).

At some improved pubs, counters were only included in the saloon and public bars, while customers using the private bar and related rooms were served at their tables by waiters or waitresses; they could alert staff by bell pushes, usually inset into bench backs or panelling adjacent to fixed seating. At other pubs, saloons, lounges, private bars and smoke rooms were served by small, comparatively discrete hatches or by short counters – as, for instance, with the lounge at the Bedford Hotel in Balham (see Fig. 5.22), and the lounge and dining room at the Rose and Crown (see section 12.30), a Truman's pub of 1930-32 in Stoke Newington, London.

According to H. R. Gardner, writing in 1937:

> The average house probably consists of a saloon bar with luncheon room adjoining, a private bar, sometimes set apart for ladies only, a public bar with a workmen's dining and games room, and an off-sales bar placed at the end of the building or in a wing annexe somewhat on the lines of a wine merchant's shop.[136]

135 Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 106; Crawford, Dunn and Thorne, *Birmingham Pubs, 1880-1939*, p. 51

136 H. R. Gardner, 'The Modern Inn: Design and Planning', *The Builder*, 15 October 1937, p. 675

As this makes clear, in the years after the First World War, some bars and associated rooms were devoted to use by customers of a single sex. At the Apple Tree in Carlisle (1925-27), for instance, Harry Redfern included separate rooms for 'men 2nd class', 'women 2nd class' and 'men 1st class' (see Fig. 5.25).[137] Similarly, at Redfern's Crescent Inn in Carlisle (1932; see Fig. 10.10), the first floor included a room for 'men 1st class' alongside a room for 'mixed 1st class'.[138] The sense was that the public bar was generally for the use of male customers only; it is interesting to note that Redfern had been under pressure to provide women's only rooms at his pubs in Carlisle because men had 'objected to women in their public bars',[139] and it is common to find that public bars were served only by men's urinals, rather than toilets for both sexes (see below). In Birmingham, too, inter-war pubs often had rooms for customers of a particular sex; the Black Horse in Northfield (1929; see section 12.7), for example, had a gentlemen's smoke room (see Fig. 5.24) and a mixed smoke room, as did the Brookhill Tavern in Alum Rock (1927-28; see Fig. 5.21 and section 12.9).[140] As David Gutzke has pointed out, such segregation was typically a feature of pubs in working-class areas, especially the 'fiercely masculine North', and the provision of separate sex rooms was sometimes required by the local justices.[141]

Some architects and breweries chose to include women's rooms on an experimental basis, just to see if they proved popular; in a paper on public house planning published in 1934, Charles Porte wrote, 'A room for "ladies only" is often worth including. I usually place this in such a position that if not a success it can be used as a smoke-room or be thrown in with the bar'.[142] However, the number of bars provided solely for women or for men declined rapidly after the early 1920s, reflecting the growing respectability of unescorted women and the fact that mixed drinking became the norm – even though a director of Truman's brewery was still advocating their creation in an article of 1933.[143] In a survey of improved pubs carried out in 1938, only three out of 54 included a ladies' bar.[144] This increasing mixing of the sexes is also reflected by the growing provision of men's and women's toilets serving each of a pub's major bars.

It might be noted that the widespread removal of the counter – as recommended by campaigners opposed to 'perpendicular drinking' – was something that never caught on in a general way, even though stand-up drinking was still being discouraged in the early 1930s (for instance, in the Licensing Commission's report of 1932).[145] At Harry Redfern's pubs in the Carlisle area, the prominence of counters was certainly reduced; historic

137 Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, pp. 63-4
138 Ibid, p. 66
139 Clennell Wilkinson, 'Public-Houses', *Architects' Journal*, 17 August 1927, p. 230. See also: Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking in Britain During the First World War', *Social History*, op. cit., pp. 378-9
140 Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 87
141 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 179. Gutzke gives the example of the Prince of Wales, a pub of c. 1937 in working-class Brixton, London, where a public lounge and a saloon lounge were provided just for women. See also: Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 104 and p. 107
142 Charles Porte, 'The Planning of Public Houses', *Journal of the Institute of Brewing*, vol. XL (1934), p. 34
143 E. N. Buxton, 'Public House Improvement', *A Monthly Bulletin*, vol. 3 no. 4 (April 1933), p. 62
144 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 179; Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking in Britain During the First World War', *Social History*, op. cit., p. 389
145 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives,* p. 178

photographs as well as surviving interiors, such as the first floor of the Apple Tree in Carlisle (1925-27; listed grade II; Fig. 5.25), show that Redfern's counters more closely resembled counters in shops: they were of limited width and were partly partitioned off from the room with screens.[146] The LCC went one step further with some of its pubs, removing bar counters entirely; most famous was the Downham Tavern (built 1929-30; demolished; see Fig. 3.15) on the Downham Estate, a development housing a population of 30,000 near Bromley, South London. As built, this had no provision at all for stand-up drinking; its huge number of customers were all expected to sit down, and were served by a vast staff numbering 35 individuals, emphasising the high cost of this kind of approach.[147]

5.25 *Counters in pubs built under the state management scheme in the Carlisle district were often of limited size and divided from the bar area by glazed screening. This was the case, for instance, with the first-floor rooms of the Apple Tree in central Carlisle (1927, by Harry Redfern; listed grade II). Shown here is the counter of the first-floor room reserved for 'men 1st class'. (© Historic England, Clare Howard)*

As early as 1933, the complete removal of the counter was seen as impractical: in the case of the Downham Tavern, Basil Oliver wrote that 'Reduction in length, rather than complete suppression, would probably have been wiser'; he felt it was a change and experiment 'unlikely to be repeated'.[148] More generally, architects chose to reduce the length and prominence of bar counters, and included some rooms (often with bell pushes) where orders could only be placed via waiters and waitresses. *The Brewers' Journal* reported in 1937 that 'People no longer stand at bars as they used to do, they prefer to sit down'.[149] Nevertheless, there remained advocates for the bar counter, including E. N. Buxton, a director of Truman's brewery, who felt that it was an important component of the public house.[150] Francis Yorke, too, wrote that 'The bar counter is the main feature and social centre of the bar, and there is little doubt that its removal would tend to destroy the character of the public house'.[151] Judging by the survival of the bar

146 See, for instance: Olive Seabury, *The Carlisle State Management Scheme* (Carlisle, 2007), p. 157, p. 163, p. 166 and p. 175

147 Elwall, *Bricks and Beer,* p. 38

148 Basil Oliver, 'The Modern Public House III: Characteristics of Modern London Public Houses', *A Monthly Bulletin*, vol. 3 no. 12 (December 1933), p. 188. The Downham Tavern attracted criticism from other quarters too. For example, in 1937, *The Brewers' Journal* opined that it, and other vast improved pubs, had been 'imposed at the behest of people who had never entered a public-house as customers in their lives'; quoted in: Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol*, p. 185

149 Quoted in: Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 178

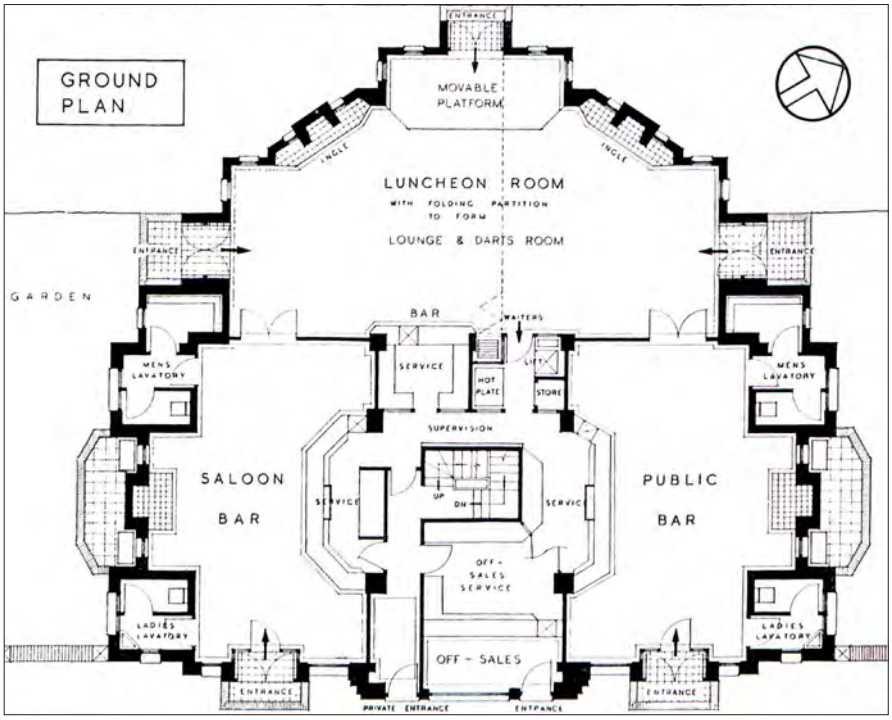
150 Buxton, 'Public House Improvement', *A Monthly Bulletin*, op. cit., pp. 61-2

151 Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 73

counter, it would seem that most customers tended to agree.

A major development of pub planning after the First World War was the increased emphasis placed on the arrangement of service areas and counters. The need for adequate supervision had been recognised since Victorian times,[152] but it became an expectation for newly built pubs in the inter-war period, especially those planned on 'improved' lines. It was believed that drunkenness and unseemly behaviour were more likely where there were dark, hidden spaces, such as 'snugs' and passages.[153] These were, therefore, removed from the plans of improved pubs, while the counters were arranged in such a way that it was possible for the landlord, tenant or manager, and their staff, to monitor the activities going on in the various rooms at a glance; sometimes this was achieved through the use of glazed screens. A maximising of efficiency was also an objective, as was the provision of a convenient, roomy, clean working environment for the pub's staff. To ensure the former objective was met, it was advised that service space and counters 'should be continuous and undivided by public passages'.[154] Where larger pubs required more than one counter area, these were to be connected, 'so that both service and stock may be centralised'.[155]

The ideal arrangement was considered to be a central servery – the service area forming an island or group at the centre of the building, with integral access to cellar, kitchen (where such a room was included) and the upper floors, and with the bar



5.26 *In the inter-war period, it was considered ideal for pubs to include a central servery, enabling staff to work with a maximum of efficiency and to readily supervise all bar areas. This plan form is well illustrated by the Oakdale Arms, Tottenham, London, a Whitbread's pub of 1938 (demolished c. 2011). The plan was published in* The House of Whitbread.

152 See: Fiona Fisher, 'Privacy and supervision in the modernised public house, 1872-1902', in eds Penny Sparke, Anne Massey, Trevor Keeble and Brenda Martin, *Designing the Modern Interior: From the Victorians to Today* (Oxford, 2009), p. 42

153 E. B. Musman advised that 'There should be no alcoves or portions screened off in which customers can carry on betting or other practices prohibited on the premises': Musman, 'Public Houses: Design and Construction', *Architects' Journal*, op. cit., p. 834

154 Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 122

155 Ibid

5.27 *The office at the Eastbrook pub, Dagenham, London (1937-38; listed grade II*). The glazing of this room enabled the pub's landlord/manager to see into the main bar areas. (© Historic England, Emily Cole)*

counters ranging around it (Fig. 5.26).[156] This was the exclusive province of a pub's landlord or manager and their staff, and was 'the hub of the business' – the focus for activities such as taking cash, storing glasses and bottles, washing up, serving meals and other refreshments (often sent down via a dumbwaiter), and accessing goods stored in the cellar (usually via a lift or beer hoist).[157] From here, as required, the staff could move easily and quickly to the various counters serving the pub rooms, including the off sales compartment and, as appropriate, the garden servery. At some pubs – as at the Angel in Hayes, London (1926; see section 12.1), and the Eastbrook in Dagenham, London (1937-38; listed grade II*; Fig. 5.27) – this service area included an office for the landlord or manager, used as a place for the storage of his safe, books, files and other items, and this too often had clear lines of vision into all bars. In Basil Oliver's book of 1947, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, he noted that in large pubs the licensee 'should have a private office with observation windows and mirrored glass. Every part of the most frequented bars should be visible to him'.[158] The customers, though, were not to be able to see from one bar room to another, 'with consequent lack of privacy and risk of draughts'.[159] The office, like the off sales compartment, often had the useful advantage of serving to block customers' sight lines from one bar to another.[160]

Just as this service area was expected to be organised and clearly arranged, so as to encourage efficient working, so too were the private areas of a pub. These focused on the accommodation of the landlord/manager/tenant and their family, and rooms for the various members of staff working at a pub. These were almost invariably located on a pub's upper floors, accessed by a private doorway and staircase, usually located on a pub's side or rear elevation and sometimes reached via a service yard (for instance, as at the Brookhill Tavern, Birmingham, a pub of 1927-28; see section 12.9). In the inter-war period, great emphasis was placed on the quality and convenience of these spaces,

156 Musman, 'Public Houses: Design and Construction', *Architects' Journal*, op. cit., p. 834, and see also: Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses,* p. 22, p. 74, p. 122 and p. 125

157 Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 73. For a detailed discussion of the planning and fitting out of cellars, see: ibid, pp. 135-149. As cellars do not generally include architectural or other fixtures of special note, and were usually not available for access during site visits undertaken as part of this project, they are not discussed in the text.

158 Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 33. See also: Gardner, 'The Modern Inn: Design and Planning', *The Builder,* op. cit., p. 675, and Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, pp. 131-2

159 Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 33

160 Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 123

thereby helping to attract respectable pub staff. As Francis Yorke noted, 'It is expedient for the tenant to house his staff decently. Good service is hard to procure, and perhaps more difficult to retain'.[161]

Typically, a landlord or tenant's flat was on a pub's first floor, and included a number of bedrooms along with a sitting room, bathroom and lavatory. Francis Yorke advised that:

> The licensee's living accommodation should be planned on the service side of the house, be shut off from all public rooms and passages, and be as private as any other dwelling house, but it should be in direct communication with the central services through a private entrance hall independent of all public entrances and lobbies…[162]

Additionally, a parlour or sitting room was sometimes placed next to a pub's service areas on the ground floor, for the landlord's exclusive use.[163]

In a separate 'zone' were rooms for the pub's staff, their privacy being given equal importance. Such staff were often numerous, as is indicated by the quantity of bedrooms that were provided. For instance, at the Prince of Wales in Covent Garden, London (see section 12.28), a comparatively small pub of 1932, surviving plans show that five bedrooms were included for staff (on the third floor), along with a staff or sitting room, a bathroom and lavatories; the second floor had an additional two bedrooms, a living room, a bathroom and lavatories, presumably intended for the pub's landlord/manager.[164] Meanwhile, at the Bedford Hotel in Balham, London (built c. 1931; see section 12.3), plans show that the second floor included a staff room and staff lavatories, while on the third floor were six staff bedrooms, along with two bathrooms and two WCs.[165] Bedrooms for male and female staff were generally separated – as, for instance, on the upper floors of the Stoneleigh Hotel, Ewell, Surrey (1934-35; see Fig. 12.34.3) – though staff sitting rooms could be used by members of both sexes.[166]

Where hotel rooms were provided for guests, these would generally have been placed in yet another separate zone. Pubs which included such overnight accommodation seem to have been in the minority, and were usually of a large size, situated on arterials roads – like the Comet in Hatfield (1933; listed grade II), and the Myllet Arms on Western Avenue, London (1935-36; see section 12.24).[167] Guest rooms were generally located on a pub's first floor, and were accessed by their own dedicated entrance or staircase. This was the case, for example, at the Berkeley Arms Hotel, Cranford, London (1931-32; see section 12.4), and the Berkeley Hotel in Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (1938-40; section 12.5).[168] The provision of guest rooms does not seem to have been that substantial, at least to a modern mindset. Of the two pubs mentioned here – both large buildings

161 Ibid, p. 132
162 Ibid, p. 150
163 Ibid
164 Westminster City Archives, WDP2/564/20
165 Wandsworth Heritage Service, document 4551 (drainage plan folder odd nos. 1-141)
166 Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 132
167 The focus of such buildings remained the ground-floor bars and associated areas, so at the time they would have been seen as pubs rather than hotels in the true meaning of that term.
168 See also: Fisher and Preston, 'The Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Public House in Bristol', p. 227 and p. 243

5.28 *One of the corridors of guest rooms on the first floor of the Berkeley Hotel, Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (1938-40, by Scott and Clark). This building is highly unusual in retaining original work in this area. The glazed partition on the right is the most prominent addition; it was probably put in between the corridor and the staircase during the 1970s for fire safety reasons. (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP152483)*

– the Berkeley Arms included seven bedrooms for guests together with a dedicated sitting room, bathroom and WC, while the Berkeley Hotel (Fig. 5.28 and see Fig. 12.5.3) contained nine guest bedrooms with a shared 'large writing lounge' and bathrooms. At the high end of the scale was the Mylet Arms, Perivale, London (1935-36; see section 12.24), the first floor of which included eight large bedrooms for guests along with a dedicated sitting room, dining room, two bathrooms and a WC. These corridors of rooms were divided by a door from the staff quarters, which comprised two bedrooms for the pub's tenant along with a bathroom, a male staff dormitory, a (smaller) female staff dormitory, two staff bathrooms and a WC.

As has been noted, access routes were considered and planned carefully, the aim being a total separation of the pub's private and public areas, the counters/serveries forming the only points of contact.[169] It is rare, for instance, to find entrances to inter-war pubs being used both by customers and the pub's landlord and staff, and where public spaces were included on the first floor, they were usually separated from the adjacent private sitting rooms and bedrooms, with distinct access routes – as at the Rose and Crown, Stoke

169 One of those who wrote about the importance of such segregation was: Porte, 'The Planning of Public Houses', *Journal of the Institute of Brewing*, op. cit., p. 35. Francis Yorke noted that it was desirable that a pub's manager/landlord 'should be able to reach his living accommodation without first having to cross a public room or passage': Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 132

Newington, London, of 1930-32 (see section 12.30), and the Stoneleigh Hotel, Ewell, Surrey, of 1934-35 (section 12.34).

At the same time as concentrating on areas for a pub's landlord and staff, architects and breweries worked to provide an increasing number of rooms for the refreshment and recreation of customers. As well as recesses for dart boards in or off the public and saloon bars, and games rooms adjoining public bars, many pubs included luncheon, tea or dining rooms, club rooms, assembly rooms, and even restaurants, snack bars, winter gardens and banqueting halls. Typically, tea/dining rooms were on the ground floor – close to a pub's gardens, if there were any – and were either adjacent to a kitchen or, more often, served by a first-floor kitchen via a dumb waiter and servery, as with the luncheon room at the Angel in Hayes, London (1926; see section 12.1), and (probably) with that at the Carlton Tavern in Maida Vale, London (1920-21; Fig. 5.29; see section 12.10).[170] In other cases, such rooms – and attendant spaces such as larders and sculleries – were positioned on the upper floors, especially where pubs were built on restricted sites. This was the case, for instance, at the Prince of Wales in Covent Garden, London (1932; see section 12.28), which had a restaurant on the first floor and a kitchen on the floor above. Some of these refreshment rooms were fully licensed while others were not; the latter helped to make the spaces family-friendly, suitable for adults as well as children (see p. 39).

5.29 *A photograph of 1924 showing the Carlton Tavern, Maida Vale, London, a Charrington's pub of 1920-21. The pub's rear block, on the left of the image, has tilework proclaiming its function as the 'Carlton Luncheon and Tea Room'. (Image courtesy of the National Brewery Centre, Burton on Trent)*

The serving of food as well as non-alcoholic refreshments became widespread during the inter-war years; even in 1924, it could be stated that 'the provision of meals to-day in public-houses is a quite common feature'.[171] It was obviously a major undertaking for the breweries and the pubs' staff, but meant that income could still be made outside of licensing hours and proved very popular. For instance, at the Cherry Tree in Becontree, East London (built 1933), around 50 meals were served a day, while at the Mitre in Holland Park, London, 150 lunches were served a day after rebuilding of the pub was completed in 1930.[172] In the year 1947, the Cherry

170 For more on kitchens, see: Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, pp. 126-127

171 Williams, *The New Public House*, p. 48

172 Oliver, 'The Modern Public House III: Characteristics of Modern London Public Houses', *A Monthly Bulletin*, op. cit., p. 188; Victor Hilton, 'Big Pubs and Little Pubs: The Public House Renaissance', *Architectural Design and Construction,* vol. 4, May 1934, p. 219

5.30 *Part of the interior of the first-floor kitchen at the Robin Hood, Becontree, London (1926-29; demolished c. 2005). The whole pub, designed by T. F. Ingram for Whitbread's, was state of the art; it was the subject of a lengthy article published in* The House of Whitbread *in 1930.*

Tree in Welwyn Garden City, Hertfordshire – a Whitbread's pub of 1932 – served just over 23,000 lunches, nearly 5,000 teas, around 6,600 dinners and nearly 18,500 snack meals.[173] In the same year, the Pear Tree (see section 12.26) – a smaller pub in Welwyn Garden City – served 4,540 lunches in the public bar and 842 in the saloon bar, with an additional 10,740 light snacks.[174] Reflecting the popularity of this facility and of developments of the time, kitchens became larger and more elaborate, often being fitted out with the most modern equipment and with cleanliness and hygiene in mind, tiling being especially common. At the Bull in East Sheen, South London, a now-demolished Watney's pub of 1939 designed by A. W. Blomfield (see Fig. 7.11), the kitchen spanned the entire first floor.[175] Another building with a lavish kitchen was the Robin Hood, a Whitbread's pub of 1926-29 (now demolished) on the LCC estate of Becontree, East London (Fig. 5.30).[176]

Meanwhile, it was common to find club and assembly rooms located on the first floor also, and these could be used for dancing, parties, social, religious and Masonic meetings, and other events.[177] Often substantial and elaborate, they had the advantage of being able to serve

5.31 *The interior of a 'dance hall and theatre', typically known as an assembly or club room, published in* The Improved Public House, *a work of 1929. The stage and the sliding partition, aiding flexibility of use, can be clearly seen.*

173 Elizabeth Glen McAllister and Gilbert McAllister, *The Inn and the Garden City* (London, 1948), p. 24
174 Ibid, pp. 28-30
175 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 152. The plan of the Bull appears in: *Architecture Illustrated*, July 1939, p. 17
176 *The House of Whitbread*, vol. 4, January 1930, pp. 17-29
177 Francis Yorke noted that the floors of such rooms were only to be sprung where dancing was their sole purpose: Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 113

5.32 *One of the largest and most impressive pub assembly rooms in the country is that at the Black Horse, Northfield, Birmingham (1929; listed grade II). This is at first-floor level, and forms part of an entertainment suite. (© Historic England, James O. Davies, DP166430)*

5.33 *The striking interior of the first-floor social hall at the Stoneleigh Hotel, Ewell, Surrey (1934-35, by A. E. Sewell), which survives as built. (London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, B/THB/D/398, from the Truman Hanbury Buxton and Co. Ltd collection; copyright Heineken UK)*

5.34 *The ground-floor ballroom at the Daylight Inn, Petts Wood, London (1935, by Sidney C. Clark for Charrington's). Sometimes, as here, the style of interior spaces contrasted with that of a pub's exterior; on the outside, the Daylight Inn is robustly Neo-Tudor in design. (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP170037)*

as additional dining or refreshment rooms, where required. Stages were sometimes a feature, and folding screens were frequently provided, enabling assembly rooms to be subdivided and aiding adaptability and versatility of use (Fig. 5.31). In larger pubs, the assembly room might form part of a complex of rooms which were all linked by doors or folding screens, meaning that a whole entertainment complex was available when required. Surviving examples of this can be found at the Black Horse in Northfield, Birmingham (1929; grade II; Fig. 5.32; see section 12.7), the Bedford Hotel in Balham, London (c. 1931; section 12.3), and the Stoneleigh Hotel, Ewell, Surrey (1934-35; Fig. 5.33; section 12.34), all of which had entertainment suites at first-floor level. Other pubs to feature such rooms are the Daylight Inn, Petts Wood, London (1935; see section 12.14), which has a ground-floor ballroom which was originally accessed via its own foyer (Fig. 5.34), and the Berkeley Hotel, Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (1938-40; see Fig. 12.5.7), where the ground-floor ballroom opens off a dining room and – in common with many such rooms – is connected via in and out doors to the adjacent kitchen and servery. The ballroom at the Middleton Arms Hotel in Leeds (1925; demolished; see Fig. 9.8) could accommodate 250 guests, while the first-floor banqueting or dance room at the Pilot Inn in Coventry (c. 1939; listed grade II; see Fig. 10.9) catered for 150-200 people.[178] The enormous Downham Tavern in London (1929-30; see Fig. 3.15) must have been exceptional in including a concert hall capable of seating 800 people.[179]

Assembly rooms were often planned in association with antechambers and/or 'crush rooms' (also known as 'crush halls'), which helped ease the quick and safe dispersal of crowds – an important consideration.[180] Such spaces could be found, for instance, at the Robin Hood, Becontree, London (1926-29; now demolished), the Black Horse, Birmingham (1929; Fig. 5.35; see section 12.7), the Bedford Hotel, Balham, London (c. 1931; Fig. 5.36; see section 12.3), the Rest Hotel, Kenton, London (1932; now in use as a Premier Inn), and the Green Man, Kingsbury, London (1936-37; see section 12.22; the assembly room block, with attached foyer or crush hall, has been recently demolished). Where assembly halls were positioned at first-floor level, fire escapes were generally provided – as at the Stoneleigh Hotel, Ewell, and the Black Horse, Birmingham. Another space that could more occasionally be found adjacent to an assembly room was a cocktail bar, which Francis Yorke stated 'should be attractive both in itself and its dressings', while

178 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 174; *The Parthenon*, January 1940, p. 56

179 'A Palatial Public House', *Nottingham Evening Post*, 30 May 1930, p. 8

180 J. C. F. James, 'Licensed House Design' in gen. ed. W. Bently Capper, *Licensed Houses and their Management*, vol. III (5th edn, London, 1950), vol. 1, p. 56. The provision of 'crush space' was also important near staircases; see: Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 101

cloakrooms were also sometimes provided nearby, as at the Bedford Hotel and the Daylight Inn.[181]

Where assembly or club rooms were located on a pub's first floor, they were typically carefully planned so as to be close to a first-floor kitchen and servery but separate from any adjacent areas given over to the private use of the pub's landlord/manager and their staff. This helped to ensure that a pub's staff were not disturbed, but also meant that drinking (that is, licensed) areas and domestic areas were clearly defined and divided.

5.35 *The first-floor anteroom at the Black Horse, Northfield, Birmingham (1929, by Francis Goldsbrough), adjacent to the assembly room, looking towards the stair head. Such spaces helped to ease the quick and safe dispersal of crowds. (© Historic England, James O. Davies, DP166432)*

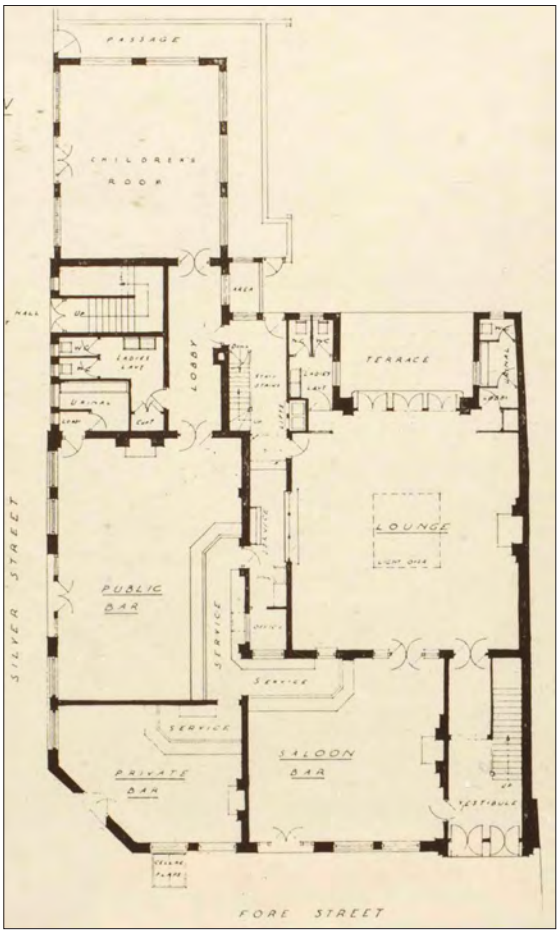
5.36 *The first-floor anteroom at the Bedford Hotel, Balham, London (c. 1931, by A. W. Blomfield), placed between the pub's assembly room and the buffet and connected to both by folding doors. (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP152261)*

5.37 *The panelled staircase at the Stoneleigh Hotel, Ewell, Surrey (1934-35), leading to the first-floor social hall. (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP152374)*

181 Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, pp. 108-9 and p. 113

Assembly rooms generally had their own access staircase – as with the Black Horse in Birmingham (see section 12.7), the Rose and Crown, Stoke Newington, London (1930-32; section 12.30), and the Stoneleigh Hotel in Ewell, Surrey (1934-35; Fig. 5.37; section 12.34).

Another development of the inter-war years was the provision of children's rooms. These were planned taking account of strict regulations and for valid purposes, helping to encourage families to frequent public houses (see above, p. 39), though they still attracted some controversy and criticism from those who felt pubs were inappropriate places for children. Children's rooms were apparently pioneered by Birmingham brewers in the city's suburbs in the 1920s and became a feature of pubs around the country, although they were never a standard component of inter-war pub planning.[182]



5.38 *The plan of the Angel, Edmonton, London (1930, by A. W. Blomfield), as published in* Architecture Illustrated *in 1934. The pub included a children's room in a single-storey extension at the rear, beyond the public bar and women's lavatories, with direct access from the street. The building was demolished in the 1960s as part of the construction of the North Circular Road.*

As has been noted, children were permitted to access areas of the pub that were not chiefly devoted to the sale of alcohol – such as tea and luncheon rooms. Some architects chose to provide special 'zones' for these children, including garden areas (see below, p. 85), thereby hoping to attract women and to make a visit to the pub more convenient and enjoyable for the whole family. The architect E. B. Musman recommended that children's rooms be positioned adjacent to the public bar (Fig. 5.38), this being 'particularly desirable in a crowded area where there is no space for children to wait where their parents are in the bar'.[183] Another popular position for children's rooms – which were afforded separate access from the pub's bars – was close to women's bars or lavatories and adjacent to gardens or yards, as at the Round House in Becontree, London (see Fig. 5.40 and section 12.31), designed by A. W. Blomfield and completed in 1936; this was also the case at the White Horse, Edmonton, North London, a pub of c. 1937 designed by E. B. Musman.[184] The City Arms in Leicester, built at some point before 1934 to designs by Pick, Everard, Keay and Gimson, even included a pram shelter, enclosed by sliding glazed doors.[185]

182 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, pp. 165-166
183 Musman, 'Public Houses: Design and Construction', *Architects' Journal*, op. cit., p. 834
184 *Architect and Building News*, 12 August 1938, pp. 186-7
185 Oliver, 'The Modern Public House V', op. cit., p. 30; Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public*

The chauffers' room was another interesting but apparently rare feature of inter-war pubs. These were to be found at some of the larger pubs built on major thoroughfares, like E. B. Musman's Comet in Hatfield (1933), where the room for waiting chauffeurs was set apart from the pub, off the yard at the back, next to the garages.[186] At the Berkeley Arms Hotel in Cranford, London (1931-32; see section 12.4) – another pub designed by Musman – there was a dedicated room for serving chauffeurs' and workmens' meals.[187] This was situated adjacent to (and had direct access with) the pub's car park, which had four garages on its north side.

5.39 *The tiled interior of the women's lavatories on the first floor of the Test Match Hotel, West Bridgford, Nottingham (1938; listed grade II*), adjacent to the cocktail lounge. The provision of adequate and convenient toilets was a development of pub planning in the inter-war years. (© Historic England, Emily Cole)*

All of these rooms and the main bars of a pub were to be served with adequate, conveniently situated lavatories for both sexes, a major development of the inter-war period (Fig. 5.39). Before the First World War, such provisions were basic, including outside privies, and generally were for men only.[188] As part of the drive to attract customers of both sexes and of higher social status to the pub, architects made particular efforts in this area, and took it extremely seriously, discussing in print the merits of placing toilets in various positions [189] – for example, directly off bars, where access could be supervised by staff, or in more secluded positions off vestibules or entrances, the latter being a form of planning that was especially popular in Birmingham, Liverpool and Carlisle.[190] The architect J. C. F. James summed up his ideal arrangement by stating that:

> the customers of every bar or room must be within reasonably easy reach of the accommodation proper to their sex … without passing through another room or bar used by a different type of customer, and if possible without going into the open air.[191]

At the majority of inter-war pubs, lavatories for both sexes were provided for each main

Houses, pp. 153-4

186 Such a position was recommended by Francis Yorke, who wrote that chauffeurs' rooms 'should be in close proximity to the garage block, adequately lightly and heated, and in telephonic communication with the house': Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 155

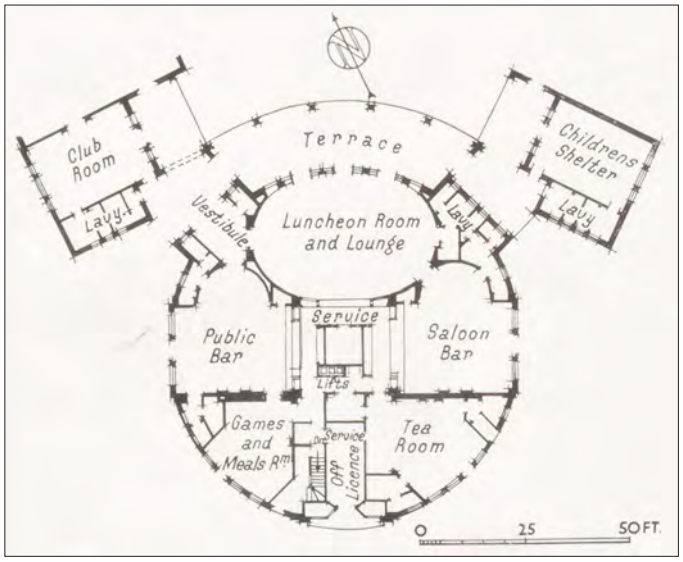
187 Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, pp. 37-38

188 Ernest Selley recounted how customers would use detached privies, while many women – often 'of the lowest type' – simply used the yard: Selley, *The English Public House As It Is*, p. 55 and p. 63

189 See, for instance: Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 34

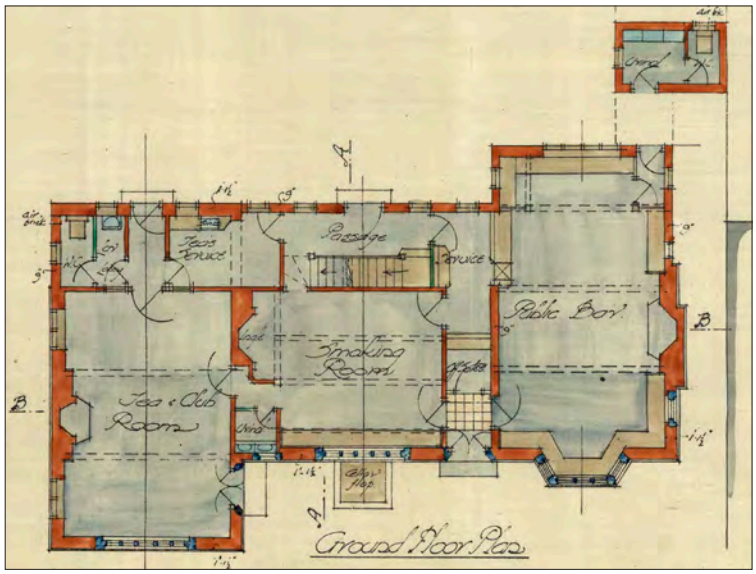
190 Ibid, p. 65

191 James, 'Licensed House Design', in *Licensed Houses and their Management*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 57



5.40 *The plan of the Round House, Becontree, London (1936, by A. W. Blomfield). This imaginatively designed pub included toilet facilities for every bar, all of which are shown but not labelled on this drawing, which was published in* Building *in 1937. Also of note is the children's room or shelter in the wing to the rear-right of the building, a distinctive component of the improved pub's focus on family-centred recreation. There was an indoor bowling alley in a wing which projected to the rear-left of the pub, beyond the club room.*

bar; for instance, this was the case at the Round House in Becontree, East London (1936, by A. W. Blomfield; Fig. 5.40; see section 12.31), and the Prince of Wales, Brixton, South London (c. 1937, by Joseph Hill). Of the toilets at the Stockland, Birmingham, a pub built by Mitchells & Butlers in 1923-24, a reporter wrote that they were 'almost as beautiful as the rooms'.[192] However, it is worth noting that at some pubs, architects continued to include detached or outdoor urinals; as, for instance, at the Angel, Hayes, London (1926; see section 12.1), designed by T. H. Nowell Parr. Even in 1949, Francis Yorke could note that 'the lavatory accommodation for the public bar is frequently planned externally to the house', though he stated that 'it is generally desirable to place the approach at least under cover' and that 'External lavatories should be under supervision'.[193] At other pubs – especially those built on more traditional lines – it also remained the case that public bars were served by men's toilets only, reflecting the general nature of their clientele; this was the case, for instance, at the Coach and Horses, Carlisle (1929; Fig. 5.41; see section 12.11), where the public bar was joined to a free-standing urinal block, the Palm Tree,

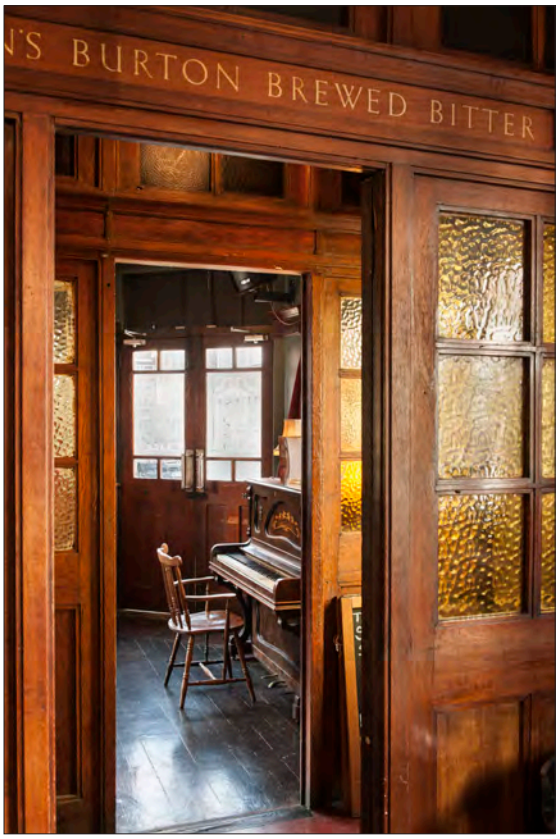


5.41 *Harry Redfern's ground-floor plan of the Coach and Horses, Kingstown, Carlisle, built in 1929. The pub was somewhat old-fashioned in some aspects of its planning; for instance, the public bar was served by only a men's urinal, placed in a separate block to the pub's rear. North is to the left. (Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlisle: CA/E/6/1/33)*

192 Quoted in: Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives,* p. 180
193 Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, pp. 120-121

Mile End, London (c. 1929; see section 12.25), and the Hanbury Arms, Islington, London (1936-37; section 12.23). Such plan forms often reflected the presence of restrictions, such as pre-existing walls or small/limited urban plots. For pubs of architectural pretension and greater scale, lavatories for both sexes were invariably incorporated into the plan of the main bars. Where a pub had large gardens, there might also be detached lavatories, as at the Brookhill Tavern, Birmingham (1927-28; see Fig. 6.7 and section 12.9).

Meanwhile, the off sales, out sales, 'jug and bottle' or 'outdoor department' took on even greater significance in the inter-war years. This dedicated part of the pub allowed people to purchase alcohol for consumption off the premises. Especially popular with women before mixed drinking became the norm,[194] it remained an important part of public house planning until the 1960s onwards, when distinct off licences became widespread and other shops selling alcohol began to extend their opening hours.[195] Off sales departments were effectively off licence shops, though in the majority of instances they formed part of the pub itself, customers being served by the pub's staff. The off



5.42 *View showing the off sales compartment at the Stag's Head, Hoxton, London (1935-36, by A. E. Sewell), placed between the saloon bar and the public bar (the latter seen in the distance). (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP152402)*

5.43 *The display windows at the Nag's Head, Bishops Stortford, Hertfordshire (1936, by E. B. Musman; listed grade II), in a photograph published in the* Architectural Review *in 1936. The doorway led into the off sales compartment. It is now the main entrance to the pub, which has been altered in its planning.*

194 In 1949, Francis Yorke wrote that 'Until recent years the "out-door" was often the only department in which women were allowed': Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 106

195 Francis Yorke wrote that 'With rare exceptions an out-door department should be provided in every public house': ibid, p. 116

5.44 *The former off licence shop or outdoor department of the Stoneleigh Hotel, Ewell, Surrey (1934-35, by A. E. Sewell). The shop formed a distinct unit of the pub's plan, separate from the bar areas, but is now part of the main ground-floor bar area. (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP152338)*

sales area was typically entered via its own door directly from the street, forecourt or car park (see Figs 5.16 and 6.3); this led the customer to a short, distinct area of counter for off sales. No seating was permitted in the outdoor department, and it had to be shut off from any adjacent drinking areas.[196] It was, however, an important part of a pub's plan, and was often used to separate other bars – as at the Stag's Head, Hoxton, London (1935-36; Fig. 5.42; see section 12.33), where the off sales is placed between the public and saloon bars. The doorway to the off sales department was often framed or flanked by showcases for the display of bottles and related wares – as, for instance, at the Rose and Crown, Stoke Newington, London (1930-32; see section 12.30), the Army and Navy, Stoke Newington, London (c. 1934; section 12.2), and the Nag's Head, Bishops Stortford, Hertfordshire (1936; listed grade II; Fig. 5.43).

In other cases, especially at larger pubs and the pubs of Carlisle, the outdoor department was housed in its own separate building, designed in the form of a shop and placed adjacent to the main pub.[197]

5.45 *The Green Man, Kingsbury, London (1936-37, by A. E. Sewell). The pub was comparatively unusual in having a detached off licence, to the left of the main building, a provision which reflected a high level of expected trade. (London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, B/THB/D/393, from the Truman Hanbury Buxton and Co. Ltd collection; copyright Heineken UK)*

196 Ibid, p. 21 and p. 116
197 *The Builder*, 29 April 1932, p. 759; Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, pp. 116-7

This was the case, for example, at the Fellowship Inn, Bellingham, London (1923-24; listed grade II), the Robin Hood, Becontree, London (1929, by T. F. Ingram for Whitbread's; demolished c. 2004), the Railway Hotel, Edgware, London (1930-31; listed grade II), the Bedford Hotel, Balham, London (c. 1931; see section 12.3), the Stoneleigh Hotel, Ewell, Surrey (1934-35; Fig. 5.44; see section 12.34), and the Green Man, Kingsbury, London (1936-37; section 12.22), the latter being a self-contained building to one side of the pub (Fig. 5.45 and see Fig. 9.20). As such off licences required their own staffing, detached or separate off sales departments were not the norm. None of them are known to remain in their original use today, and this is also the case for off sales areas within pubs (see pp. 110-111).

Some pubs also served food for consumption off the premises, especially the larger establishments; Basil Oliver noted that 'Only in crowded localities is a separate snack bar justified'.[198] The Downham Tavern, built in 1929-30 on an LCC estate near Bromley, South London (see Fig. 3.15), was one such pub, having a food and sweet shop associated with its tea room,[199] while at the Norbury Hotel, also in South London (see Fig. 2.3), the detached off licence was associated with a 'delicatessen shop'.[200]

Naturally, the plans of inter-war pubs varied with geographical area, reflecting different traditions, preferences, and types of customer and site. One example of this is provided by the fact that in Liverpool, the plan of the 'ideal' public house allowed complete circulation by the police, enabling officers to move from one room to another – as at the Farmers' Arms, Huyton, designed by H. Hinchcliffe Davies (c. 1934; demolished).[201] Meanwhile, the plan of the traditional London pub meant that the police had to enter each room in turn by using doors opening from the street, 'as they are in the form of watertight compartments'.[202] Birmingham also had a standard plan, typified (on a grand scale) by the Black Horse in Northfield, built in 1929 (Fig. 5.46; see section 12.7); this had a public bar in the centre, with smoke rooms and a dining/assembly room in projecting wings.[203]

Certain rooms and facilities were also more prevalent in certain parts of the country. Skittle alleys, for instance, were most popular in Wales, counties on the Welsh borders and in the South West of England.[204] They could be found, for example, at the Merchants' Arms, Stapleton, Bristol, and the Star Inn, Soundwell, Bristol (both opened in 1938); an

198 Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 37. The interior of such a 'snack shop', attached to a pub, is illustrated in: The Fellowship of Freedom and Reform, *The Improved Public House*, p. 9

199 'A Palatial Public House', *Nottingham Evening Post*, 30 May 1930, p. 8

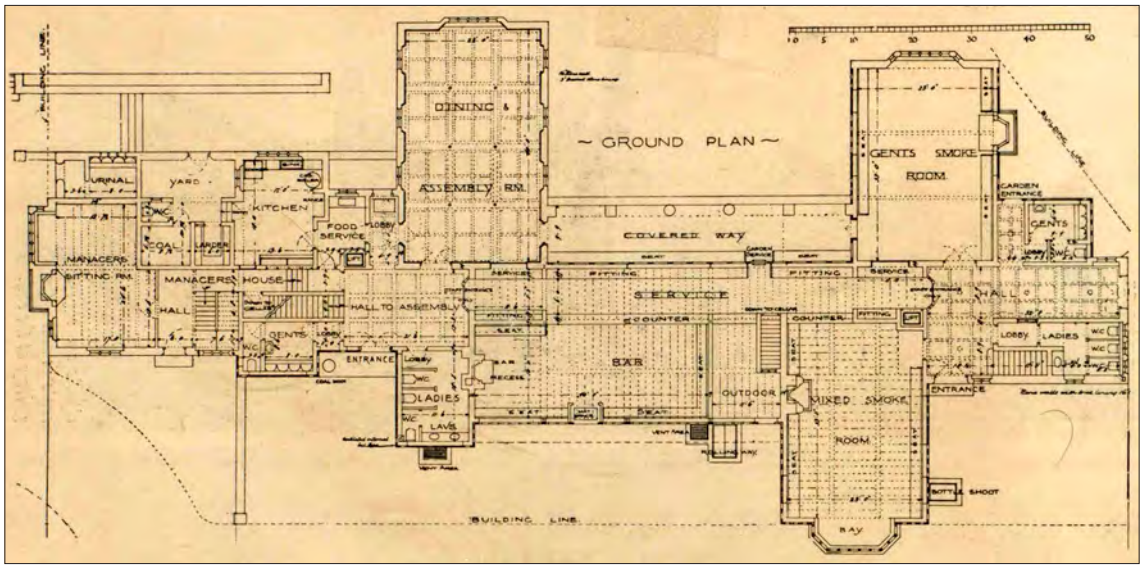
200 Oliver, 'The Modern Public House III: Characteristics of Modern London Public Houses', *A Monthly Bulletin*, op. cit., p. 189; *Anchor Magazine*, vol. XVII, no. 9, September 1937, p. 217

201 Basil Oliver, 'The Modern Public House IV: Liverpool Requirements', *A Monthly Bulletin*, vol. 4 no. 1 (January 1934), p. 13. See also: Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, pp. 21-22; Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, pp. 12-13

202 Oliver, 'The Modern Public House IV: Liverpool Requirements', *A Monthly Bulletin*, op. cit., p. 13

203 Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 106; Crawford, Dunn and Thorne, *Birmingham Pubs, 1880-1939*, p. 51

204 Basil Oliver noted that 'Skittle-alleys are features of most of the public houses in this district [Wales], just as bowling-greens are in the Midlands and the North': Basil Oliver, 'The Modern Public House V: Recent Progress at Cardiff, Brighton and elsewhere', *A Monthly Bulletin*, vol. 4 no. 2 (February 1934), p. 28. Nevertheless, this was not exclusively the case. Pubs in other areas to include skittle alleys included the City Arms, Leicester: ibid, p. 30



5.46 *The typical Birmingham inter-war pub plan, as seen on a grand scale at the Black Horse in Northfield, built in 1929 to designs by Francis Goldsbrough for Davenport's brewery. The pub's plan was published in the* Architects' Journal *in 1930. North is on the right.*

article discussing these pubs noted that the skittle alley was 'a unit which is returning to popularity'.[205] This feature could also be found at the King George VI Hotel in Filton, Bristol (1938),[206] and such an alley is still extant at pubs including the Corner House, Barnstaple, Devon (1935; Fig. 5.47; see section 12.12). The authors of *The Architect's Handbook*, first published in 1936, recommended that skittle alleys 'should be well lit, heated and ventilated and some seats (generally) fixed provided for spectators. A service connection to the general bar service, under cover, should be planned'. They continued that:

> As the game is noisy, the alley should be separated from the quieter parts of the house; it is sometimes housed in a separate building or annex or combined with a garage block and related to a garden layout.[207]

This was indeed the case at the Star Inn and the King George VI Hotel, where the alleys were in projecting single-storey ranges to the rear of the pub (that at the King George VI has since been demolished). Easy access to lavatories was another consideration in the planning of skittle alleys.[208]

However, whilst such alleys were distinctive to certain areas of the country, that is not to say that similar or related provisions were not included in pubs elsewhere. Many pubs featured games rooms, while the Round House in Becontree, London (1936; see Fig. 5.16 and section 12.31), even included an indoor bowling alley, which, stated Basil Oliver, 'must surely be unique'.[209] This filled an entire wing, to the rear of the pub (see Fig. 5.40).

The interiors of inter-war pubs were typically very plain, aiming to be 'a background to the people, and not as an end in themselves', although they were usually spacious, well

205 'Two Inns near Bristol', *Architect and Building News*, 17 June 1938, p. 328
206 *Architect and Building News*, 27 May 1938, p. 252
207 E. and O. E. [S. Rowland Pierce and Patrick Cutbush], *Planning: The Architect's Handbook* (London, 8th edn, 1959), p. 196. See also: Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 155
208 Oliver, 'The Modern Public House V', *A Monthly Bulletin*, op. cit., p. 28
209 Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 36

5.47 *The interior of the skittle alley at the Corner House, Barnstaple, Devon. The pub dates from 1935, but the alley seems to have been added to the rear of the building in the 1960s. (© Michael Slaughter LRPS)*

lit and with high ceilings.[210] Basil Oliver recommended that 'Sensible simplicity, devoid of unessential elaboration, should be the guiding principle in the selection of all fittings'.[211] Similarly, E. B. Musman recommended the guiding principles of 'simplicity and good proportion, durability and refinement, suitability and maintenance'.[212] This was part of an effort to move away from the 'over-poweringly fussy' interiors of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century public house, and also to be more practical. Certainly, the elaborate bar backs of the Victorian and Edwardian periods were replaced with simple arrangements, though in this area mirrors and carved woodwork continued to be used, with carefully designed decorative detailing (see Fig. 12.36.5). Simplicity and ease of maintenance was also a guiding principle for ceilings. Most were either beamed or plain, though some featured decorative plasterwork, particularly among pubs built in a Neo-Tudor style. Vitrolite, a form of glass which could be easily cleaned and maintained, was used for the ceilings in a number of pubs built by Truman's, including the Rose and Crown, Stoke Newington, London (1930-32; see section 12.30).

The fronts of bar counters were also usually plain, instead of having 'dust-collecting and hard-to-clean mouldings',[213] though designs were typically more basic in public bars and more modish in saloons – as, for example, at the Stag's Head, Hoxton, London (1935-36; see Fig. 5.20 and section 12.33), and at other Truman's pubs. Counters were often angled inwards at the lower levels, or their tops projected, to reduce damage of counter fronts by customers' footwear, while the front of some counters was edged by a border of tiles, mosaic, marble or terrazzo, as at the Palm Tree, Mile End, London (c. 1929; Fig. 5.48; see section 12.25), and the White Hart (see section 12.36), a Charrington's pub of 1938

210 James, 'Licensed House Design', in *Licensed Houses and their Management*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 63
211 Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 43
212 Musman, 'Public Houses: Design and Construction', *Architects' Journal*, op. cit., p. 837
213 Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 53.

5.48 *The counter in the saloon bar of the Palm Tree, Mile End, London (c. 1929), with its chequered tiled border. Such borders helped to protect floors and counters from damage by ash and discarded cigarette ends, and also from floor cleaning. (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP152214)*

in Grays, Essex. Seemingly, the main purpose of this was to reduce damage by ash and discarded cigarette ends, while it also protected the counter during floor cleaning.[214] Floors were typically covered with linoleum, the sawdust of yesteryear being banished, along with spittoons – though the decorative borders added at the foot of counters continued to recall the presence of these features of earlier, less salubrious pubs.

The use of wooden panelling was especially common in pubs of the inter-war years. The most popular type was fielded and the most popular material was oak, though both design and material varied according to the nature and class of the pub and the bar space. This is especially well illustrated by Truman's pubs, many of which have simple matchboard panelling in the public bars and panelling of more sophisticated and

5.49 *The saloon bar at the Berkeley Arms Hotel, Cranford, London (1931-32, by E. B. Musman), in a photograph taken on the pub's initial completion. The room's simplicity was typical of Musman's approach to interior design, though materials were of high quality; the room's panelling was of vertical-reeded Queensland oak, a material also used in the adjacent saloon lounge. (© Architectural Press Archive/RIBA Library Photographs Collection)*

214 Gardner, 'The Modern Inn: Design and Planning', *The Builder*, op. cit., p. 675; E. and O. E., Planning: *The Architect's Handbook,* p. 194

refined form in the saloon bars – as at the Rose and Crown, Stoke Newington, London (1930-32; see section 12.30). Other architects marked this distinction between different bar areas by using contrasting materials. For example, the saloon bar and saloon lounge at E. B. Musman's Berkeley Arms Hotel in Cranford, London (1931-32; see section 12.4), were panelled with Queensland oak (Fig. 5.49), while the public bar and meal room were both lined with 'pleased brown tiles'.[215] A similar distinction could be seen in a slightly later pub by Musman, the Myllet Arms, Perivale, London (1935-36), where the saloon lounge was lined in teak and the walls of the meals/games room were tiled (see Figs 12.24.4-5). It was rarer to find the use of tiles for higher-class bar rooms, a notable exception being Harry Redfern's Crescent Inn, Carlisle (1932; listed grade II; see Fig. 10.10), built under the state management scheme. This features elaborate Spanish-influenced wall tiles throughout the ground floor.

Although, by the inter-war years, pubs were generally provided with central heating, fireplaces continued to be included in at least the main bar rooms, and were seen to be important signifiers of comfort and hospitality.[216] They also had the added advantage of helping to clear 'the smoke-laden atmosphere',[217] and additional ventilation was sometimes incorporated within the design of a fireplace or overmantel, as at the Farmers' Arms, Liverpool (c. 1925; see Fig. 12.19.4), by Harold E. Davies & Son. In general, the inclusion of adequate ventilation was a noted feature of improved pubs, and many employed the use of up-to-date technology and imaginative solutions to ensure this.

Fireplaces in inter-war pubs were usually of wood, brick or stone, and – like the overall interior – tended to be simple in design; for instance, as at the Queen's Head, Cranford, London (c. 1931; Fig. 5.50; see section 12.29), and the Berkeley Hotel, Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (1938-40; see section 12.5). There were, however, exceptions, some architects aiming for an exotic approach to internal decoration. An example was the exuberant Hispano-Moorish-style lounge at the Fountain Inn, South Shields, Tyne and

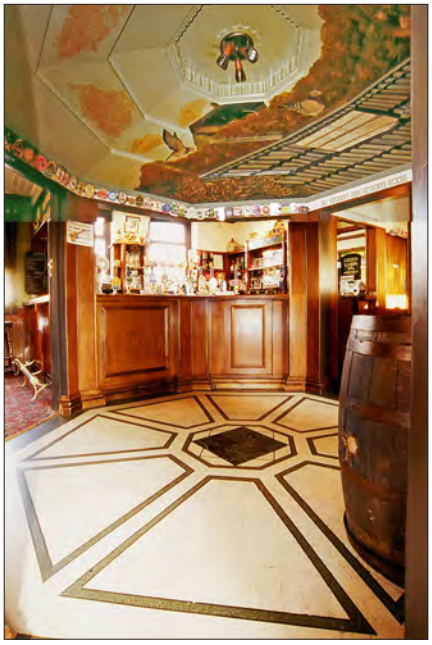
5.50 *The inglenook fireplace in the saloon bar of the Queen's Head, Cranford, London (c. 1931). Fireplaces were seen as important signifiers of comfort and hospitality in inter-war pubs, and were generally plain in their design. (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP170072)*

215 *Building*, vol. 7, April 1932, p. 175

216 Francis Yorke wrote that 'The breadth of a fireplace can hardly be too great as it conveys the idea to the subconscious mind that there is room for all, and offers the same sort of welcome as the wide open door': Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses,* p. 70

217 Ibid

5.51 The extraordinary interior of the lounge at the Fountain Inn, South Shields, Tyne and Wear (1938, by T. A. Page, Son and Bradbury), influenced by the Hispano-Moorish and Art Deco styles. The pub – illustrated in Architectural Design and Construction *in 1938 – retains its green tiled roof, but the interiors have been modernised.*



Wear (Fig. 5.51), a pub of 1938 designed by T. A. Page, Son and Bradbury,[218] while the King and Queen in Brighton, East Sussex (1931, by Clayton & Black; listed grade II), has highly imaginative and elaborate interior decoration inspired by the Tudor period. The King and Queen, though altered, is a rare survival: the vast majority of such fanciful interiors have, as far as is known, now been lost, a fact which has distorted our view and understanding of inter-war pub interiors. Nevertheless, fragments remain – such as the imposing brick inglenook fireplace at the Plough in West Sutton, Surrey (c. 1935)[219] – and there are a

5.52 *The octagonal hall or drinking lobby of the Art Deco-influenced Three Pigeons pub, Halifax (1932, by local firm Jackson & Fox; listed grade II). The painted ceiling is a replacement of the 1980s, but the terrazzo floor, panelling and counter are all original. (© Michael Slaughter LRPS)*

218 The room is illustrated in: *Architectural Design and Construction,* vol. 9 no. 12, December 1939, p. 422

219 This fireplace is illustrated in: Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, fig. 39. It survives, in altered form.

number of surviving interiors featuring a strong Moderne or Art Deco influence, including the Three Pigeons, Halifax (1932; listed grade II; Fig. 5.52), the Three Magpies, Birmingham (1935; listed grade II), the Vale Hotel, Arnold, Nottingham (1935-37; listed grade II), the Nag's Head, Bishops Stortford, Hertfordshire (1936; listed grade II), the Round House, Becontree, London (1936; see section 12.31), the Test Match, West Bridgford, Nottinghamshire (1938; listed grade II*; see Fig. 1.4), the Pilot Inn, Coventry (1938-39; listed grade II), and the Berkeley Hotel, Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (1938-40; see Fig. 4.5 and section 12.5).

In approaching public house design as a whole, architects of the inter-war period were the first to apply a vision or ethos to the pub building in its entirety (and to its grounds too). Even though rooms were decorated according to the needs and expectations of the different classes of customer, there was often a linking theme between different bars, similar styles, materials and fittings being used. Where there were differences, these too were carefully designed, architects using skill, style and space to mark a change of function/status or to add drama. Reflecting the fact that architects became increasingly involved in the detail of pub design – taking in furniture as well as fixtures and the main part of the building itself (see below, pp. 89-90) – many inter-war pubs worked well as a whole, even if they were never intended to be used in this way. Articles of the time make clear that one of the masters of this was E. B. Musman, as at the Berkeley Arms Hotel in Cranford, London, for instance, a 'roadhouse' of 1931-32 (see Fig. 5.49); contemporary coverage even mentions the various paint colours of the pub's rooms, which clearly worked together to create an overall effect.[220]

220 *Building*, vol. 7, April 1932, p. 172

CHAPTER 6 THE SETTING OF THE INTER-WAR PUBLIC HOUSE

It has already been noted that the typical large inter-war pub was detached and situated on or close to a major thoroughfare, and was often on an open or corner site.[221] Large inter-war pubs generally featured a garden; indeed, many smaller pubs of the period did also. More than at any other time, the relationship between the pub and its grounds took on great significance during the inter-war years, and pubs were regularly built on huge plots, the outdoor areas being afforded considerable attention by breweries and their architects (Fig. 6.1).

6.1 *The inclusion of large, carefully planned garden was a distinguishing feature of many inter-war pubs. This is the garden of the Black Horse Hotel, Wolverhampton (1933, by Norman W. Twist for Davenport's), shown after its initial layout. It is typical in including a detached shelter. The pub was demolished in 2009 after a period of dereliction. (Photo from Andrew Maxam's photographic archive, www.maxamcards.co.uk)*

The development of the road network and the rise in motor traffic made car parks essential for a large number of pubs – especially those in suburban and rural locations – and the provision of such spaces would have been required by the local road authority (usually the county council) as part of a pub's construction or rebuilding. In 1938, the noted pub architect E. B. Musman wrote that:

> The parking space for cars is a very important feature. With the tremendous growth of motor traffic it is becoming absolutely necessary to set aside as much space as possible on a site for this purpose.[222]

Similarly, Francis Yorke, writing in 1949, stated that 'The car park has become a vital adjunct to the modern pub'.[223] Car parks were typically enclosed with specially designed boundary walls or railings (Fig. 6.2), and often incorporated free-standing pub signs or decorative pillars or archways around the entrances – this was the case, for example, at the Court Oak, Birmingham (1932; see Fig. 5.17 and section 12.13), and at E. B. Musman's Nag's Head in Bishops Stortford (1936; listed grade II), which is notable for retaining its

221 See: Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 41
222 Musman, 'Public Houses: Design and Construction', *Architects' Journal*, op. cit., p. 835
223 Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 46

6.2 *The north elevation of the Daylight Inn, Petts Wood, London (1935, by Sidney C. Clark), in a photograph of 1936. The car park – placed by the entrance to the pub's ballroom and enclosed by low boundary walls – is here shown filled with cars. (© TopFoto)*

6.3 *The car park at the Berkeley Hotel, Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (1938-40, by Scott and Clark), extends around the front and south-west sides of the building. This enabled customers to park adjacent to the areas of the pub they wished to use. The doorways on the left elevation, for instance, led to the public bar and the off sales compartment. (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP152414)*

original free-standing sign. Part of the function of the enclosing low walls was apparently to 'prevent dazzle from car lights' for pub customers.[224] Car parks for larger pubs often also featured garages, as at the Berkeley Arms Hotel, London (1931-32; see section 12.4).

For Musman, it was preferable with larger pubs to 'arrange your parking all round the house, as the motorist, who thinks of stopping for a drink, would prefer to park his car near to the bar he wishes to enter rather than put it in a closed car park with the probable difficulty of not being able to get it out again easily'.[225] Pubs with an arrangement approximating this were Musman's own Comet in Hatfield, Hertfordshire (1933; listed grade II), the Myllet Arms in Perivale, London (1935-36, also by Musman; see Fig. 5.1 and section 12.24), and the Berkeley Hotel, Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (1938-40; Fig. 6.3; see section 12.5). This consideration for the convenience of drinkers, and drivers, seems surprising to the modern mindset, but was a crucial part of the thinking of inter-war pub architects, working long before the introduction of alcohol limits for motorists: the first legally enforceable maximum alcohol level for drivers was only brought in with the Road Safety Act of 1967. Car parks for 150 vehicles (or even more) were common, and had the added advantage – when placed at the front of the pub, visible from the road – of advertising its size, facilities, level of respectability and (when filled with cars) popularity. For smaller pubs, it was sufficient to provide a 'draw in' or 'pull in', either at the front or at the side, or even a lay-by, 'for passing trade and tradesmen's vehicles'.[226] Some larger pubs included such 'draw ins' in addition to a car park, as with the Robin Hood in Becontree, London (1926,39; see Fig. 4.7).

6.4 *The garden of the Osterley Hotel, Osterley, London, built in c. 1934 to designs by Eedle & Myers for Truman's brewery. This area is now occupied by modern blocks and a car park, though the building continues in its original use as a hotel/ pub. (London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, B/ THB/D/401, from the Truman Hanbury Buxton and Co. Ltd collection; copyright Heineken UK)*

To the rear and/or side of the pub, there was often a garden, especially at large pubs in suburban areas – where there was generally more room for such facilities than was the case in cramped, urban locations, and where land was usually cheaper (Fig. 6.4). Indeed, the garden became one of the features that was associated above all with pubs of the inter-war years.[227] Unlike in earlier periods, it became a focus for many architects, who

224 Ibid, p. 48

225 Musman, 'Public Houses: Design and Construction', *Architects' Journal*, op. cit., p. 835

226 Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 46

227 Gutzke has described gardens as a 'defining characteristic of interwar improved pubs': Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 175. For a full discussion of such gardens, with examples, see: Fiona Fisher and Rebecca Preston, 'The Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Public House in Bristol' (2015; English Heritage project

took on the outline design of the garden as well as that of the pub itself. Reflecting this fact, gardens are often included on plans prepared by architects – as with A. E. Sewell's drawings of the ground floor and garden of the Stoneleigh Hotel, Ewell, Surrey (1934-35; see Fig. 12.34.2). Gardens usually constituted a part of a pub's licensed premises, which was another incentive for including them as an integral feature of the overall design; architects needed to ensure that there was an adequate distinction between public gardens and staff/service gardens and yards (that is, between licensed and unlicensed areas), and may also have aimed to provide areas of garden which could be used outside of licensing hours. Additionally, taking on responsibility for garden design meant that architects could think ahead about possibilities for extension, were building over part of the garden to be deemed desirable at any point in the future.[228]

Many inter-war gardens featured crazy paving (see Figs 6.12 and 12.16.2), rockeries, stone walls, steps, small pools, fountains, narrow flower borders and rustic-work arches and benches. Such spaces were often linked to the pub by French windows, one or more loggias and/or terraces, and must have been seen as a reasonably cheap investment; they helped to make pubs attractive to customers of a broad range of ages and backgrounds, appealed to the whole family, and meant that customers had ready access to light and ventilation, considered important since Victorian times. Pub gardens were, therefore, an important tool in pub improvement; apparently, their inclusion in a pub's design/layout could be crucial to the success of a new licence application.[229] In certain areas, such as

6.5 *The original brick and pantiled shelter in the garden of the Court Oak, Quinton, Birmingham, built by Mitchells & Butlers in 1932. (© Historic England, James O. Davies, DP166401)*

NHPP 4A1 6245), pp. 265-286

228 Francis Yorke noted that 'The garden may be planned as a flexible unit to await later requirements': Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 48

229 Fisher and Preston, 'The Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Public House in Bristol', p. 266

the South East, gardens proved especially popular with charabanc parties, workers and others travelling out to the countryside and seaside and stopping at one or more pubs along the way.[230]

Many gardens included shelters – for example, the Court Oak in Birmingham of 1932 (Fig. 6.5; see section 12.13) – while some were even provided with outdoor serveries. Generally, these were connected to the pub's main service/counter areas and had hatches opening onto the garden or terrace. Such a garden servery survives at the Berkeley Hotel in Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (c. 1938-40; see section 12.5); its original role is distinguished by its place in the plan and by the presence of sash (i.e. sliding) windows – the only ones in the pub. Garden serveries also featured in pubs including the Downham Tavern, London (1929-30; demolished), where the servery opened off the recreation hall,[231] and the Three Magpies in Birmingham (1935; listed grade II), a counter at the rear of the pub originally opening onto the garden. Some of the large improved pubs included detached garden serveries catering for users of the outdoor areas, examples surviving at the Brookhill Tavern, Alum Rock, Birmingham (1927-28; see Fig. 6.8 and section 12.9), and the Black Horse, Northfield, Birmingham (1929; listed grade II; Fig. 6.6; see section 12.7), both serveries being adjacent to bowling greens. These were provided partly with the needs of charabanc parties in mind; Basil Oliver noted that that the presence of the garden servery at the Black Horse meant that such parties 'need not thus invade and congest the licensed rooms of the house'.[232]

6.6 *The bowling green and garden servery/pavilion at the Black Horse, Northfield, Birmingham (1929; listed grade II). The pavilion had its own self-contained bar for serving customers, and even its own cellarage. (© Michael Slaughter LRPS)*

It is no coincidence that such provisions were frequently found in pubs in Birmingham, for in creating lavish pub gardens, Mitchells & Butlers stood pre-eminent (Figs 6.7 and 6.8), and the brewery often chose keen gardeners as managers or tenants of their public houses. In a history of Mitchells & Butlers published in 1929, pleasure gardens were described as being 'an integral part of the scheme of improvement'. The book continues:

230 Breweries advertised pubs with such parties in mind, as is illustrated by the 'Notice to Char-a-banc Parties, Clubs, &c' included in issues of the brewery magazine *The House of Whitbread* – for instance, vol. 7, no. 1 (winter 1938), p. xxvii

231 Oliver, 'The Modern Public House III: Characteristics of Modern London Public Houses', *A Monthly Bulletin*, op. cit., p. 189

232 Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 86

6.7 *An aerial view of 1931 showing the extensive gardens of the Brookhill Tavern, Alum Rock, Birmingham, built by Mitchells & Butlers in 1927-28. The pub is on the left of the image; the gardens ascend gradually behind it, culminating in a bowling green with a stepped terrace beyond. (© Historic England. Aerofilms Collection.)*

> But they are not the old-fashioned tea-gardens of the last century. Gone are the insect-haunted bowers. Gone the rustic arbours and twisted, barbarous seats. The gardens of Mitchells & Butlers houses are open and "formal" in style, laid out with broad flagged walks, between wide flower beds or close clipped hedges, and with large bowling greens which are true enough to satisfy the most fastidious bowler. On a fine evening in summer there will be scores of people of all ages enjoying themselves in these gardens, which are the best approach to the open-air restaurant that our capricious climate allows.[233]

As has been alluded to in this passage, pub gardens often included bowling greens, especially in the West Midlands and the North West. Bowling greens – which often fitted neatly into the pattern of newly built suburban areas, and could be used by everyone, regardless of levels of fitness[234] – were an especially common feature in Birmingham, existing at improved pubs such as the British Oak (1923-24; Fig. 6.9), the Black Horse (1929; see Fig. 6.6 and section 12.7) and the Baldwin (1937), all listed grade II. They could also be widely found in Liverpool and at the new 'model' pubs in Carlisle, such as the Magpie Inn of 1933 and the Redfern Inn of 1940 (both listed grade II) (Fig. 6.10). They were often associated with bowling pavilions or shelters; these buildings were sometimes

6.8 *A photograph published in 1929 showing the gardens of the Brookhill Tavern, Birmingham. In the foreground is the 'yew garden', with steps rising to a thatched pavilion, which on its other side faced the bowling green. Also visible, in the distance, is the thatched 'dispense bar', serving customers using the garden and bowling green. (Image courtesy of the National Brewery Centre, Burton on Trent)*

233 *Fifty Years of Brewing*, p. 69

234 Steve Beauchampé, *Played in Birmingham: charting the heritage of a city at play* (Swindon, 2006), p. 109

6.9 *The bowling green at the British Oak, Stirchley, Birmingham (listed grade II), a Mitchells & Butlers pub of 1923-24. (© Historic England, Emily Cole)*

6.10 *The bowling green at the Redfern Inn, Etterby, Carlisle (listed grade II), built in 1939-40 under the state management scheme to designs by Joseph Seddon. (© Historic England, Clare Howard)*

6.11 *The rear aspect of the Farmers' Arms, Clubmoor, Liverpool (c. 1925, by Harold E. Davies & Son), as illustrated in* The Book of the Liverpool School of Architecture *(1932). The pub had two bowling greens, the larger one served by a pavilion (seen in the foreground) which was also used as a tea house. The single-storey stone loggia which is visible in the distance opened off the billiards room. The pavilion and loggia have now been demolished and the pub's rear elevation altered.*

grand in style and size, as at the Farmers' Arms in Clubmoor, Liverpool (see section 12.19), a pub of c. 1925 designed by Harold E. Davies & Son, where the bowling pavilion doubled as a tea house (Fig. 6.11). The Middleton Arms Hotel in Leeds, an improved pub of 1925 (demolished 2012; see Fig. 9.8), went a step further by including a bowling green as well as three hard tennis courts – but this was exceptional.[235]

Some pub gardens included dedicated areas for children – featuring facilities such as swings and slides [236] – while those at the Berkeley Arms Hotel (1931-32; see section 12.4) and the Robin Hood in London (see below; Fig. 6.12) even included areas for open-air dancing.[237] All of these facilities aimed to increase sociability, promote family recreation, provide an alternative to the 'offtimes stuffy rooms' of the pub, and reduce the focus on alcohol consumption.[238] The provision of space for children must have proved especially successful in attracting women to pubs. Of the children's playground at the Robin Hood in Becontree, London (1926-29; demolished), which had its own kiosk sweetshop and lavatories, Basil Oliver noted:

> These facilities for safely "parking" children, and doing away with the pathetic little groups to be so frequently seen waiting outside inns while their parents are inside, are greatly appreciated, as can be seen on any fine summer evening, especially on Sundays, when the garden (illuminated after dark) is full of happy laughing children.[239]

6.12 *A photograph published in* The House of Whitbread *in 1930 showing the main garden area of the Robin Hood pub in Becontree, London, completed in 1929 by Whitbread's. These gardens proved highly popular, especially the children's playground, which is just out of view on the right of this image. There was also a terrace and an area for open-air dancing. The pub was demolished in c. 2005 and its site is now occupied by a Lidl supermarket.*

235 Selley, *The English Public House As It Is*, p. 115. See also: *The British Builder*, September 1925, p. 417

236 Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, pp. 50-52

237 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 168; Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 96. See also: Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 53

238 Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 48

239 Oliver, 'The Modern Public House III: Characteristics of Modern London Public Houses', *A Monthly Bulletin*, op. cit., p. 188. The Cherry Tree in Welwyn Garden City (built 1932; now a Waitrose) was another pub that included a children's pavilion with a small sweet shop: McAllister and McAllister, *The Inn and the Garden City*, p. 22

CHAPTER 7 PROMINENT ARCHITECTS AND BREWERIES, AND GEOGRAPHICAL TRENDS

Before the First World War, commissions for public houses did not attract architects of the first or even of the second rank. Simpler structures were often the work of local builders, while pubs that were specially designed were usually the work of architects in general practice, some of whom specialised in public house design. As has been noted, 'The names of those who designed even the greatest pubs of the golden age [the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries] are unfamiliar to most architectural historians'.[240]

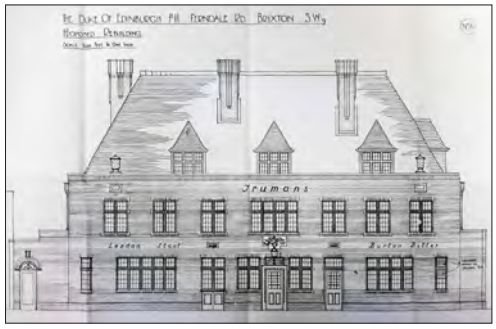
The inter-war period represented a change. As public houses and their customers became more and more respectable, and questions of design took on greater significance, pub commissions were increasingly sought by and awarded to architects of note – for instance, Fellows of the Royal Institute of British Architects. Perhaps the best-known architect to have designed a pub in the inter-war period was Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944), whose Drum Inn, Cockington, Devon, was opened in 1936 and is now listed grade II.[241] However, this was, for Lutyens, a one-off. Other noted architects made a specialism of pub design, while also undertaking commissions for other kinds of work. Of particular significance are: Harry Redfern (1861-1950; Chief Architect of the state management scheme in 1915-49); E. B. Musman (1888-1972; probably, with Redfern, the most respected pub architect of the inter-war period); T. H. Nowell Parr (1864-1933; who worked for Fuller's, both before and after the First World War); Joseph Hill (1888-1947; especially active as an architect for Hodgson's Kingston Brewery; Fig. 7.1); Basil Oliver (1882-1948; associated with Greene King; see Figs 2.4 and 9.10-9.11); Harold Hinchcliffe Davies (1900-60; a former student of Charles Reilly in Liverpool; see Figs 5.5 and 6.11); and T. Cecil Howitt (1889-1968; who undertook work for the Home Brewery of Nottingham). Also of note are: John L. Denman (1882-1975; designer for the Kemp Town Brewery, East Sussex; see Fig. 5.13); J. C. F. James (who undertook work for Benskin's Watford Brewery; Figs 7.2-7.3); Charles E. Bateman (1863-1947; whose practice designed a number of important pubs in the Birmingham area); the firm of Wood, Kendrick & Edwin F. Reynolds (who were active in the Birmingham area; see, for instance, Fig. 8.8); Robert G. Muir (1890-1968; who carried out work for Whitbread's and others; see Figs 3.12 and 8.2); A. W. Blomfield (1879-1949; who succeeded G. G.

7.1 *The Duke of Buckingham, Kingston-upon-Thames, London. The pub was built by Hodgson's Kingston Brewery in 1932 to designs by Joseph Hill. Hill was a noted and active pub architect in the inter-war years, though many of his buildings have subsequently been much altered. (© Historic England, Luke Jacob)*

240 Brandwood, Davison and Slaughter, *Licensed to Sell*, p. 61

241 As this pub is in a rural location, it falls beyond the remit of this study.

7.2-7.3 *An active and influential pub architect of the inter-war years was J. C. F. James, whose works included the Cock Inn, Cockfosters, London, built in c. 1934. The main elevation, facing a car park, is shown here in a photograph taken shortly after the pub's completion (above, published in* Architecture Illustrated *in 1934), and in a modern view (left, © Historic England, Emily Cole). The pub is notable for its green-tiled roofs.*



7.4 *A. E. Sewell's design for the west elevation of the Duke of Edinburgh, Brixton, London, dated March 1936. Sewell was staff architect for Truman's brewery throughout the inter-war period. (Image reproduced by kind permission of Lambeth Archives department)*

Macfarlane as staff architect for Watney Combe Reid & Co. Ltd of London; see Figs 7.8 and 7.11); A. E. Sewell (1872-1946; staff architect for Truman's brewery; Fig. 7.4 and see, for instance, Fig. 5.7); Sidney C. Clark (1894-1962; staff architect for Charrington's; see Figs 5.9-5.10); and F. G. Newnham (staff architect for Barclay Perkins; see Figs 3.10, 3.11 and 3.15).

Buildings by these and other prominent pub architects were regularly featured in architectural journals, and also in advertisements, and set an example for others active in the field.[242] Their pubs were seen as being 'comparable in design with any other type of public building', itself a major step forwards.[243]

242 Examples of pubs featured in advertisements are Musman's Bull and Butcher, Whetstone, London (*Architectural Review*, November 1929, p. xxxix), Musman's Berkeley Arms Hotel, Cranford, London (*Architectural Review*, May 1932, p. xxi), and the Blue Peter, Derby, designed by Browning & Hayes (*Architectural Review,* January 1936, p. xxvii).

243 Yorke, *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses*, p. 15

7.5 *A photograph published in* Architecture Illustrated *in 1933 showing the Crown Hotel, Walton, Liverpool, built in c. 1932 to designs by the acclaimed firm Harold E. Davies & Son. The pub, more recently known as Dickie Lewis's, closed in c. 2006, and was demolished after a period of dereliction and following damage by fire.*

Of one of Harold Hinchcliffe Davies's suburban pubs in Liverpool, a journalist commented in 1930 that it was 'of so balanced and chaste a design I took it for an art gallery'.[244] Four years earlier, another journalist had spared no praise in describing the pubs of Liverpool – especially those designed by Harold E. Davies & Son – writing that the 'beautiful public-houses in Liverpool must rank in the eternal judgment with oases in desert places, or the sudden beauty of sunshine flooding our dark and rain-swept streets' (Figs 7.5-7.6).[245] Speaking again of the transformation in pub design, he described the Davies pubs as being:

> of the most advanced type, where, in place of what was nothing more than a long, continuous stand-up bar, with flimsy partitions impinging on its outer edge, we have large, well-furnished rooms, where men may meet their friends, sit and talk, and have drinks brought to them; where they may play billiards or listen to concerts.[246]

By April 1932, credibility of pub architecture had risen to such an extent that Basil Oliver was able to select inns as the subject of a paper read to the RIBA.[247] In November the same year, another pub architect, Joseph Hill, gave a lecture to the Architectural Association on the subject of 'The Modern Inn'.[248] Architectural and related journals were supportive of viewing pubs as 'serious architecture',[249] and published a large number of articles highlighting the work of particular architects and breweries: among those especially well represented are Joseph Hill, E. B. Musman and the Liverpool firm of

7.6 *A photograph of 1933 from* Architecture Illustrated *showing the first-floor buffet bar at the Crown Hotel, Liverpool, a notable design by Harold E. Davies & Son. The Davies firm was responsible not just for the architecture of pubs, but, in many cases, also the interior decoration and furnishings. Here, the walls were lined with Australian oak, the cornice was picked out in gilt, and the ceiling was edged with a blue 'festoon'.*

244 Quoted in: Joseph Sharples, Alan Powers, Michael Shippobottom, *Charles Reilly and the Liverpool School of Architecture 1904-1933* (Liverpool, 1996), p. 109
245 Frederic Towndrow, 'Some new public-houses in Liverpool', *Architects' Journal*, op. cit., p. 749
246 Ibid
247 *The Builder*, 29 April 1932, pp. 758-9
248 Ibid, 18 November 1932, p. 849
249 'Revival of the English Hostel', *The Brick Builder*, June 1934, p. 44

Harold E. Davies & Son.[250] By 1935, the architect John L. Denman was able to write that:

> Fortunately it is no longer considered somewhat derogatory for an architect to design a public house; in fact, many of our best architects are engaged on this important work with the result that there has been an immense improvement throughout England, beginning with the experiments at Carlisle and elsewhere during the War.[251]

Pub designs were even exhibited at the Royal Academy – for instance, E. B. Musman's Greyhound, Wembley, London (in 1931), his Myllet Arms, Perivale, London (in 1935; see section 12.24), and A. W. Blomfield's Round House, Becontree, London (in 1935; see section 12.31) – while a number of architects wrote journal articles discussing the principles of pub design and planning.[252] Following the example set by Harry Redfern (see p. 26 and Fig. 3.8), a number of architects began to take on responsibility for the design of pub fittings and even furniture and decorative schemes. E. B. Musman was one such architect: in 1935, it was stated that 'Inside and out, from the whole building to the smallest detail, he gives us good taste'. [253] A year later, an article noted that at Musman's Nag's Head in Bishops Stortford (Fig. 7.7 and see Fig. 5.15), Benskin's Watford Brewery had:

> allowed the architect to exercise his complete control over the design throughout the house. Thus, co-ordination of every detail has been ensured; the decoration, the furniture, the curtains – even the flower vases – were his responsibility.[254]

Additionally, Musman was permitted to choose the artists for the Nag's Head's lettering,

7.7 E. B. Musman was one of those inter-war architects who took on responsibility for the design of the interiors and furnishing of pubs, as well as the buildings themselves. This was the case, for instance, at his Nag's Head, Bishops Stortford, Hertfordshire (1936; listed grade II), commissioned by Benskin's Watford Brewery. This view – published in the Architectural Review *in 1936 – shows the saloon bar shortly after the pub's completion; the tables and chairs were black, the latter with red leather upholstery, while the fireplace was of Portland stone.*

250 See, for instance: *The Brick Builder*, March 1929, pp. 18-22; ibid, pp. 40-44; *Architects' Journal,* 20 March 1929, pp. 462-4; 'The Modern Public House (new series) V: Some Public Houses designed for Benskin's Watford Brewery Ltd, by Mr E. B. Musman, ARIBA', *A Monthly Bulletin*, vol. 5 no. 12 (December 1935), pp. 187-189

251 John Denman, 'The Model Public Houses of the Kemp Town Brewery, Brighton Ltd', *A Monthly Bulletin,* vol. 5 no. 9 (September 1935), p. 139

252 For instance: Musman, 'Public Houses: Design and Construction', *Architects' Journal*, op. cit., pp. 833-890; John Denman, 'The Model Public Houses of the Kemp Town Brewery, Brighton Ltd', *A Monthly Bulletin*, op. cit., pp. 138-141; J. C. F. James, 'Licensed House Design', in *Licensed Houses and their Management*, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 52-65; Basil Oliver, 'The Modern Public House' series in *A Monthly Bulletin*, 1933-34 (see Bibliography)

253 'Some Public Houses designed for Benskin's Watford Brewery Ltd, by Mr E. B. Musman, ARIBA', *A Monthly Bulletin*, op. cit., p. 187

254 R. Ross Williamson, 'The Up-to-Date Pub', *Architectural Review*, vol. 79, March 1936, p. 125

sign and wall paintings.[255]

As this example makes clear, the increasingly ambitious, cohesive and successful design of pubs may have been the work of the architects, but a major driving force was the breweries. Over the course of the 1920s and 1930s, brewers became more open-minded and experimental in their approach to public house design – following, in particular, the example set by the state management scheme in the Carlisle area. Many breweries instituted large-scale programmes of remodelling and improvement after the First World War, undertaken with various aims in mind: commercial gain was naturally a particular incentive, but some brewers also held progressive ideals and were keen to contribute to the social aim of pub improvement. There can be no doubt that this drive for increased respectability and versatility was, for some, a specific intention, but it also had the advantage of strengthening the importance of the pub, repelling any government plans for prohibition or nationalisation, and increasing competition between breweries and other forms of popular entertainment, such as the cinema and dance hall.

David W. Gutzke's invaluable study of the inter-war public house has shown that a comparatively small group of breweries was, in particular, active in pub improvement. In

7.8 *The most active brewery in terms of building projects undertaken during the inter-war period was Watney, Combe & Reid of London. Their works included the Bedford Hotel, Balham (c. 1931, by A. W. Blomfield), shown here at night-time. The building tender for the pub totalled £30,000. (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP152236)*

255 Ibid. Harold E. Davies & Son of Liverpool was among other architectural firms who had a similar level of responsibility; they were given a free hand in matters such as furniture and wallpaper at some of the pubs they designed: Towndrow, 'Some new public-houses in Liverpool', *Architects' Journal,* op. cit., p. 750

terms of the number of building projects undertaken between 1918 and 1939, the clear leader was Watney, Combe and Reid of London, who undertook 285 such projects in that period (Fig. 7.8). Watney's was followed by Charrington & Co. of London (with 170), then by Truman, Hanbury and Buxton of London (151), Barclay Perkins of London (139), Mitchells & Butlers of Birmingham (142), Courage & Co. of London (115), and Whitbread & Co. of London (97). Gutzke has shown that 20 breweries, led by those mentioned above, were responsible for a total of 833 building projects undertaken in the inter-war years, equating to roughly 20% of the total carried out.[256]

Almost all of these major breweries employed staff architects, responsible for new pubs and the remodelling of existing buildings. For instance, the staff architect for Truman's was A. E. Sewell, employed in the architects' and surveyors' department between 1902 and c. 1940, while G. G. Macfarlane was succeeded in 1929 by A. W. Blomfield as architect for Watney, Combe and Reid, a post he held until 1940. These architectural and surveyors' departments were far from insignificant: some were of a large size, and many worked on highly ambitious buildings as well as more traditional public houses. In 1934, Watney's surveyor's/architectural division apparently consisted of 40 staff under Blomfield's leadership, augmented by outside architects, as necessary.[257] The employment of a dedicated staff architect helped to aid consistency and to create a house 'brand', though single architects frequently employed a range of different styles, and other variations were required based on the needs of the site, locality and the local justices.

7.9 *Birmingham was an area of particular activity in terms of pub building carried out during the inter-war years. This pub, the Rose Villa Tavern, Hockley (listed grade II), was built in 1919-20 by the major local brewery, Mitchells & Butlers, to designs by Wood and Kendrick. (© Michael Slaughter LRPS)*

As will be clear, the most energetic pub improvers were located in London and the South East – a fact recognised by Basil Oliver at the time[258] – with Birmingham being another area of particular activity (Fig. 7.9). The total number of inter-war building projects in Birmingham was 164, the resulting pubs being of a range of different styles, designed by various different architects, and frequently of a larger-than-average size.[259] There, Mitchells & Butlers was especially active, with strong reforming intentions, inculcated by the brewery's Chairman, W. Waters Butler (see p. 27), and supported by

256 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 202. It might be noted that this figure seems to take the number of around 4,200 as the total number of pubs built or substantially rebuilt in the inter-war period. In discussing this total number in greater detail, Gutzke states that diverse sources document 4,283 pubs as having been erected in England and Wales during the inter-war years. Allowing for buildings which are not covered by surviving records, Gutzke suggests a grand total in the region of 5,900, though he notes that a much higher number of pubs (over 20,000) were 'improved' to some degree during the inter-war period: ibid, pp. 210-211

257 Ed. Serocold, *The Story of Watneys*, p. 76; Elwall, *Bricks and Beer*, p. 45

258 Oliver, 'The Modern Public House III: Characteristics of Modern London Public Houses', *A Monthly Bulletin*, op. cit., p. 187

259 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 86

the local justices.[260] Possibilities for development were plentiful: 50,000 new council houses had been built in the suburbs of Birmingham by 1939, the largest number built by any municipal authority, while further houses were built under private enterprise.[261] As David Gutzke has shown, London and Birmingham together accounted for around a sixth of the total number of pubs built or rebuilt in the inter-war period, and pubs in these localities clearly set a benchmark for others.[262]

Another geographical area of particular activity was 'smallish urban areas' (those with populations under 25,000), like expanding suburbia, and rural areas containing 5,000 people or less. The remainder of inter-war pubs were 'scattered around the country with no pronounced tendencies'.[263] Aside from London and Birmingham, Gutzke names 13 English towns and cities as being conspicuous for their large numbers of pubs built in the inter-war years: Coventry (42), Southampton (42), Sheffield (39), Leicester (32), Brighton (30), Leeds (28), Norwich (27; Fig. 7.10), Portsmouth (26), Newcastle (25), Hull (25), Reading (25), Manchester (20) and Sunderland (20).[264] Gutzke further states that two thirds of all inter-war improved pubs were built in the Home Counties, the North and the Midlands; another quarter were built in London and the West, while the East of England was an area of comparative inactivity.[265] Outside these locations and these types of areas, pubs seem to have been largely unreformed, especially in city centres.[266]

Many inter-war building projects were undertaken by ambitious and forward-thinking local breweries, often in association with programmes of slum clearance, and are worthy of attention at a national level. However, it is worth noting that only few such projects were covered in the national architectural press of the time. In terms of national coverage, certain localities, architectural firms and breweries stand out – in particular, London and Birmingham, but also Liverpool (especially the work of Harold E. Davies & Son), Brighton and nearby areas (the Kemp Town Brewery and John L.

7.10 *One of the towns and cities that was a particular focus for pub building in the inter-war period was Norwich. Pubs built included the Morning Star (now the Birdcage) in Pottergate, which dates from c. 1937 and was a work of Bullards brewery, designed in the Moderne style. It was criticised at the time for its 'incongruous' design within its historic setting; the pub is adjacent to the medieval Church of St Gregory. (© Historic England, Luke Jacob)*

260 Mitchells & Butlers spent almost £1.7 million on building 142 pubs, almost three fifths of them in Birmingham: Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 88. See also: Crawford, Dunn and Thorne, *Birmingham Pubs, 1880-1939*, p. 48
261 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 71
262 Ibid, p. 204 and p. 302 (note 22)
263 Ibid, p. 204
264 Ibid, pp. 204-5
265 Ibid, p. 205
266 Ibid, p. 226

7.11 *One of the buildings included in David W. Gutzke's table of 'superpubs' is the Bull, East Sheen, London, built in 1939 by Watney's to designs by A. W. Blomfield and featured in* Architecture Illustrated *shortly after its completion. The building tender for the pub came in at £35,865, then a substantial amount – almost five times the average cost of an inter-war pub. The Bull was demolished in 1987 to make way for a shopping development.*

Denman), and the South East (Surrey, Berkshire, etc., including the work of Joseph Hill for Hodgson's Kingston Brewery). This may reflect the fact that quantity of building was not necessarily related to quality, but it is also a sign of the favouritism afforded to certain areas of the country by the national architectural press and by writers such as Basil Oliver. On account of this, the variety and nature of inter-war pubs in smaller urban areas is comparatively poorly understood, though modern area-based studies and other resources have helped to increase levels of knowledge and understanding.[267]

In terms of the cost of inter-war pubs, Gutzke has carried out further useful comparative work. He shows that the cost of a new pub in the inter-war period averaged £7,800.[268] However, breweries made substantial financial investments into the creation of such buildings, and a number were a great deal more expensive. Gutzke names these 'superpubs', and includes a list of 79 such pubs as an appendix to his book *Pubs and Progressives*, with building tenders running from £20,150 (the Nuffield Arms, Greenford, London; 1936) to £74,818 (the Windsor Castle, Victoria, London; 1926), though most

267 For example, the website http://www.norfolkpubs.co.uk/, which aims to be a comprehensive record of pubs in Norfolk, Lynn F. Pearson's book *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History* (Morpeth, 1989), and the study recently commissioned by English Heritage, 'The Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Public House in Bristol' by Fiona Fisher and Rebecca Preston (2015; English Heritage project NHPP 4A1 6245).

268 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 212

(54) of the pubs in the list cost between £20,000 and £30,000.[269] These 'superpubs' were primarily in and around London (Fig. 7.11), in suburban Birmingham, and in Lancashire and Cheshire.[270]

With regard to general trends of construction, Gutzke shows that, initially, pub improvement 'hardly qualified as a national movement'.[271] Just 292 building projects were undertaken in the early 1920s, but this number rose to 719 in the second half of the 1920s. It reached an annual peak in 1928, with 183 building projects. The first half of the 1930s represented something of a slump – reflecting various factors including the deepening Depression and higher beer taxes – but then there was a stage of phenomenal growth from 1935 until the Second World War. In 1935, the annual number of pub building projects reached a record high of 320, and it peaked in 1938 at 526.[272] Clearly, war put a stop to further development, the number of pubs built dropping to 340 in 1939 and to just 12 in 1940.[273] Many planned projects were never to come to fruition, since rebuilding pubs damaged by wartime bombing was soon to become the most pressing priority.[274]

269 Ibid, p. 215 and Appendix 3 (pp. 249-251). It should be noted that: the figures and dates given by Gutzke are for building tenders, not the final completion costs and dates (e.g. the Windsor Castle was eventually completed in 1928 at a cost of over £95,000); the list is not exhaustive, other known pubs costing more than £20,000 including the White Hart, Acton, London, a Truman's pub of c. 1930; and some of the pubs included in the list were not built, at least not during the inter-war period, as with the Fusilier, Wembley/Sudbury, London (constructed around the late 1960s).

270 Ibid, p. 215

271 Ibid, p. 208

272 Ibid, pp. 208-9

273 Ibid, p. 208

274 For instance, a history of Watney's reported in 1949 that 84 of the brewery's pubs had been either entirely destroyed or so seriously damaged that they required complete rebuilding, while a further 35 pubs were closed and required major reconstruction: ed. Serocold, *The Story of Watneys*, p. 74

CHAPTER 8 THE LEGACY AND INFLUENCE OF THE INTER-WAR PUBLIC HOUSE

As has been seen, the construction of large, ambitious inter-war pubs was at full tilt in 1939, when the Second World War was declared (Fig. 8.1). Some projects ran over into the war years; for instance, the Pear Tree in Welwyn Garden City (Fig. 8.2; see section 12.26), a Whitbread's pub, was begun in 1938 but only completed in 1940, and this was also the case with the Berkeley Hotel in Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (see Fig. 5.4 and section 12.5). In the following decade, once the government's controls on building had been lifted in 1954, a number of pubs were built which quite clearly belong to the inter-war trend, in terms of their style, planning and scale; they were probably pre-war designs carried out with little if any alteration, or were built before any new ideas about what was appropriate for pub architecture had been developed/circulated.[275]

However, the Second World War naturally gave rise to huge and far-reaching social change, and the pub was directly affected. The vision of the improved pub was largely dead by the 1950s, reflecting the rise of other forms of entertainment and facilities (such as television, cinema, restaurants and clubs), the need to focus on differing architectural and social priorities, the renewed preference for fewer numbers of smaller pubs, the 'normalisation' of the mixing of the sexes (something which could not be taken for granted in the 1920s and '30s), and other factors.

Somehow, too, memories of the Victorian and Edwardian pub as 'an evil-smelling fly-infested' institution,[276] and the need to conquer the 'drink problem', seem to have

8.1 *The Northover pub, Downham, London (c. 1936, by A. W. Blomfield), shown here camouflaged for the Second World War, in a photograph taken in 1939. (© TopFoto)*

275 Pubs with an inter-war style of design include the Cellarman (built 1954; now a Tesco) on the Havers Estate in Bishops Stortford, Hertfordshire, and the Happy Landing, Stanwell, Middlesex, of c. 1955.
276 Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, p. 69

8.2 *The Pear Tree, Welwyn Garden City, Hertfordshire, was one of comparatively few pubs which were completed during the years of the Second World War. It was built for Whitbread's in 1938-40, to designs by Robert G. Muir. This view shows the garden (south) front. (© Historic England, Emily Cole)*

faded greatly.[277] Although some writers continued to highlight the history and aims of the improved pub – for instance, Basil Oliver in his *Renaissance of the English Public House* (1947) and Francis Yorke in *The Planning and Equipment of Public Houses* (1949) – journalists and other writers began increasingly to extol the virtues of the 'gin palace', and inter-war pubs came to be dismissed as dull, plain and characterless: they were literally out-shone by the glass, mirrors and flare of the Victorian and Edwardian pubs they had sought to reform and repress (Fig. 8.3, and see Figs 3.1 and 3.3). Even in the years immediately before and during the Second World War, there began a romanticisation of the former 'gin palace'. Maurice Gorham's work *The Local* (1939) spoke admiringly of such public houses, as did the revised version, *Back to the Local*, published ten years later (see below).[278] In March 1940, an article by John Piper included in a special issue of the *Architectural Review* featured photographs of a large number of Victorian and Edwardian pubs, and of other 'ordinary' establishments, as part of a campaign to save them from 'the destroyer and "improver"'.[279] He noted with sadness that 'Gin Palaces are disappearing every year', and was disparaging about their modern counterparts: describing an *Architects' Journal* article of 1938 in which 54 pubs were illustrated, Piper wrote that 'Nowhere among them does a style emerge that is as definite,

8.3 *The 'gin palace' fell out of favour in the inter-war years, attracting criticism from various quarters, but came to be lauded once again from the late 1930s onwards. This example is the Tottenham, Oxford Street, London (listed grade II*), built in 1892 to designs by Saville & Martin. (© Michael Slaughter LRPS)*

277 At least one article shows that this issue had not been entirely forgotten, even if it was generally overlooked. In 1950, a piece defended the inter-war activities of brewers 'against the rudeness of the architectural critics'; it pointed out that the Victorian pub, 'now so popular', was derided in the 1920s: *Architecture and Building News*, vol. 198, 6 October 1950, p. 378 (citing *A Monthly Bulletin* article of the same month)

278 Maurice Gorham (text) and Edward Ardizzone (illustrations), *The Local* (London, 1939)

279 John Piper, 'Fully Licensed', *Architectural Review*, March 1940, p. 99

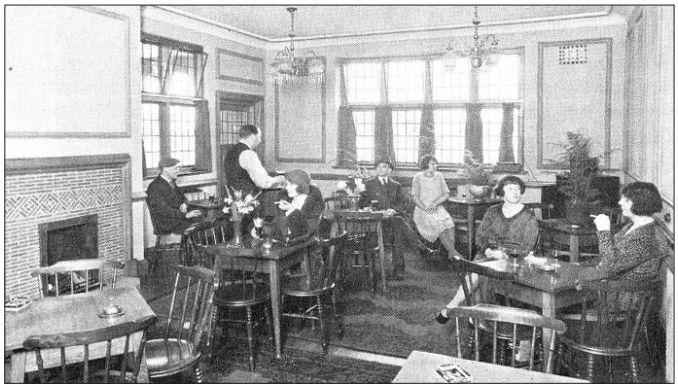
or as suitable and agreeable to every one – nostalgia apart – as that of the gin palace or the village pub'.[280] The largest improved pubs attracted particular attention, being seen as embodying inappropriate paternalism on the part of the brewers and justices, and engendering class snobbery.[281]

Criticism escalated in the post-war period: in 1950, the inter-war pub was described with great disfavour by the writers Maurice Gorham and H. McG. Dunnett, in their influential work *Inside the Pub.* This stated, for instance, that the widespread use of the 'mock-Tudor and mock-Georgian styles' was a 'misguided attempt' to create a sense of familiarity, something 'proved by their failure to achieve a genuine pub atmosphere'.[282] Pubs of Moderne and Art Deco design did not fare much better in the eyes of these writers; as with other designs of the inter-war period, these did not 'to the eyes of the traditionalist … look particularly like pubs'.[283] In *Back to the Local* of 1949, Maurice Gorham wrote, 'the modern pub may be better but the old-fashioned pub was nicer', and commented that he had 'seldom known a pub to be improved by rebuilding' while many had been 'spoiled'.[284] In 1981, Ben Davis wrote of inter-war pubs as being 'bleak, impersonal, barrack-like or pompous and self-conscious'.[285] Two years later, Robert Elwall concluded that the inter-war period had represented the end of the pub's architectural individuality, writing that 'Respectability had been achieved but at a high price'.[286] This view has, on the whole, continued up to the present day; in 2007, for instance, Paul Jennings wrote of the 'sterility' of 1930s pubs, and 'their appalling interiors'.[287]

As an architectural phenomenon, it is easy to see why pubs characterised by Victorian and Edwardian elaboration and elegance have been deemed more successful than the generally plainer pubs of the inter-war years. However, to approach the subject in these terms is to misunderstand the importance, and the variety, of the inter-war pub. As has been discussed (see pp. 19-22), the public house was in a state of considerable weakness, even disgrace, at the end of the First World War, and its future was by no means assured. There were some who wanted all pubs to be closed and for alcohol to be banned, or at least for all licensed premises to be brought under the control of the state. Improvement was the pub's only hope for survival, if such buildings were to remain in the hands of the brewers, and this was embraced, especially by brewers, architects and a number of more pragmatic temperance campaigners, but also, increasingly, by politicians and magistrates.

By the outbreak of the Second World War, the pub's disreputable reputation had been very effectively changed. Although the old-fashioned, 'ordinary' type of pub continued to exist, especially in city centres – customised largely by men, of the working classes – there were now a large number of pubs which were popular with working- and middle-class families, single women (as well as single men), motorists and travellers; it was noted

280 Ibid, p. 87 and p. 100
281 Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol*, p. 185
282 Maurice Gorham and H. McG. Dunnett, *Inside the Pub* (Ipswich, 1950), p. 11
283 Ibid, p. 12 and p. 39
284 Maurice Gorham (text) and Edward Ardizzone (illustrations), *Back to the Local* (London, 1949), p. 10
285 Ben Davis, *The Traditional English Pub: A Way of Drinking* (London, 1981), p. 12
286 Elwall, *Bricks and Beer,* p. 46
287 Jennings, *The Local*, p. 293 (caption)



8.4 *By the outbreak of the Second World War, the pub's disreputable reputation had been very effectively changed. A great many pubs now proved popular with women as well as men, and with people from a range of different classes and backgrounds. Shown here is the assembly room at the Merry Hill, Wolverhampton, rebuilt in 1929. (Image courtesy of the National Brewery Centre, Burton on Trent)*

in 1938 that improved pubs were 'patronized by people who would never have dreamt of entering a licensed house in the old days' (Fig. 8.4).[288] This is known to have had the result of alienating an older generation of predominantly working-class drinkers: in 1927, for instance, a parliamentary report noted that:

> where a public house is improved and enlarged there is a tendency for the old clientele which used to frequent it to remove to another unimproved house while another and better class of customer … comes to take their place.[289]

Nevertheless, brewers do not seem to have minded: the change in demographic reflected their specific intentions (see Chapter 4) and helped to increase levels of profit.

8.5 *Many inter-war pubs – especially those built on 'improved' lines, with a range of rooms and facilities – catered for a more exclusive trade, as is reflected by refined interiors such as that of the dining room at the Berkeley Hotel, Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (1938-40). (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP152474)*

288 Quoted in: Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 186
289 Quoted in: Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol*, p. 182

8.6 *A photograph of 1926 from* The House of Whitbread *showing a dance in the assembly hall of the Queen Elizabeth Hotel, Chingford, Essex (now London), an inter-war pub built by Whitbread's.*

New pubs were clean, attractive, spacious and well ventilated, with a range of facilities, indoor and outdoor (Fig. 8.5). Such was their success that in 1937 it could be said that 'to-day it is the exception rather than the rule to find a decrepit public-house', something which also reflected the large programmes of licence surrender and demolition.[290] The new breed of pub was, truly, the centre of the community, providing facilities for alcoholic consumption but also other refreshment, music, dancing, meetings, games and socialising. Pubs were used for wedding receptions, birthday parties, club, Masonic and religious meetings, bowls, darts and other sporting competitions, and social dances (Fig. 8.6).

As buildings, pubs had come to be recognised as 'serious architecture' – itself a major development (see pp. 86-89).[291] Writing in 1932, Basil Oliver stated that:

> It is no exaggeration to say that "every day and in every way" public-houses "grow better and better," and so excellent are many of them that they now vie with banks in raising the architectural standard, if not the tone, of the locality in which they are built.[292]

In 1946, an article stated that 'Unquestionably the planning and visual design of the improved public house had (with a few unhappy exceptions in "Brewers' Tudor") made

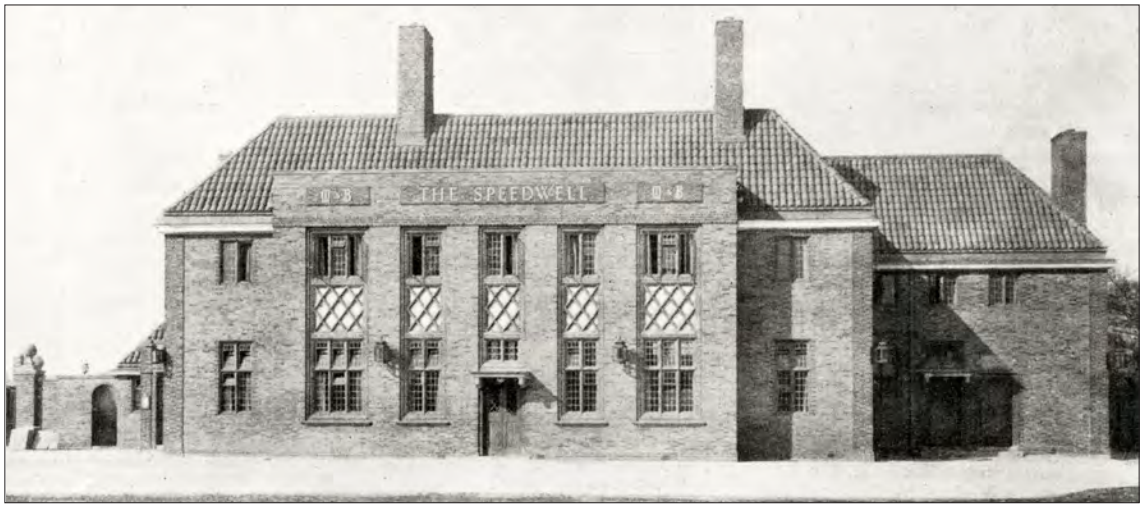
8.7 *The variety of pub designs in the inter-war period was much greater than has generally been recognised in more recent times. This is the Sun Inn, Romford, London, a Truman's pub of 1937 designed by A. E. Sewell in an unusual and distinctive style. It survives as a pub, with the same name. (London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, B/THB/D/396, from the Truman Hanbury Buxton and Co. Ltd collection; copyright Heineken UK)*

290 'The Future of the Licensed House', *The Builder,* 15 October 1937, p. 669
291 'Revival of the English Hostel', *The Brick Builder,* June 1934, p. 44
292 Basil Oliver, 'English Inns: Some Lessons from Carlisle', *Architects' Journal*, 27 April 1932, p. 550. Oliver further opined that 'the interiors have not yet reached the new standard of the exteriors'.

advances greater than in most classes of building between the wars'.[293]

The new breed of pub was, on account of its size, site and design, instantly recognisable, and served as a visual promotion for reform. Nor was it limited to the large, pure essays in Brewers' Tudor and Neo-Georgian that are frequently illustrated in modern works, such as the Black Horse in Birmingham (1929; see Fig. 2.7 and section 12.7) and the Myllet Arms, Perivale, London (1935-36; see Fig. 5.1 and section 12.24) (Fig. 8.7). Many pubs of the inter-war period took risks in their design – for instance, the Court Oak, Birmingham (1932; see Fig. 5.17 and section 12.13), influenced by the Spanish style, and the Ship Hotel, Skegness, Lincolnshire (1934; listed grade II; see Fig. 10.12), of Moderne style. These two examples survive in terms of their exteriors, but have been greatly altered internally, a fate they share with many inter-war pubs (see below).

A great number of these more experimental and inventive inter-war pubs have been entirely demolished (see pp. 104-107) – including the Speedwell, Acocks Green, Birmingham (1929, by Wood, Kendrick and Edwin F. Reynolds; Fig. 8.8), and the Northover, Catford, London (c. 1936, by A. W. Blomfield; see Figs 8.1 and 9.1). This has left us with an incomplete and obscured picture of pubs of the period, making it easier for critics to concentrate on the essays in Brewers' Tudor and Neo-Georgian. There can be no doubt that the range and success of architectural styles and approaches was far greater than has generally been recognised, and that the standard of quality and workmanship was generally extremely high during the inter-war years – often reflected by staggering construction costs. Money was, during this period, often no object – at least for the major breweries when undertaking ambitious, high-profile projects – and the cause of pub reform was one embraced and endorsed across all levels of society.



8.8 *An inter-war pub of unusual design was the Speedwell, Acocks Green, Birmingham, built in 1929 by Mitchells & Butlers to designs by Wood, Kendrick and Edwin F. Reynolds, and seen here shortly after completion, featured in the* Architect and Building News. *The pub was demolished in c. 2008.*

In terms of the role the improved pub played in helping to address the 'social evil' of drunkenness, there was also a sense of success. Even during the First World War, a journalist had commented that the improved pubs of Carlisle had 'replaced mere drinking

293 *Architect and Building News*, vol. 186, 17 May 1946, p. 104

shops by sanely managed houses of refreshment to which even an Archdeacon might take his wife and daughters'.[294] In 1933, the brewer and campaigner Sydney Nevile wrote that:

> The ghastly delusion, to which all classes seemed to contribute for many years, that drunkenness was inseparable from a licensed house has been exploded. Thoughtful American observers have acknowledged that Britain has solved the "drink" question.[295]

A few years later, the writer Valentine Williams noted that 'the new public-house is revolutionizing the drinking habits of the nation'.[296] The breweries made similar claims – for instance, in a 1929 pamphlet on the Black Horse, Northfield (see section 12.7), Davenport's of Birmingham stated that the movement for pub reform had 'brought into being a new type of inn, vastly different from the old, squalid, furtive, back-alley gin-palace, lurking in the shadows, afraid of the light'.[297] After the war too, this point was acknowledged: in an article of 1946 it was said that the social standing of 'the local' had 'advanced with the realization that every pub is not a mere boozing shop but a place where social intercourse is possible on a friendly basis'.[298] A year later, a Whitbread's publication noted that 'The local can look back upon the two decades between the wars with justifiable pride … It was borne in upon more and more people that there was nothing disreputable in a visit to the local, but on the contrary that it was a pleasant and refreshing way of spending an evening hour'.[299]

It seems incredible, with hindsight, how swiftly the problems of the pre-First World War pub were forgotten, and how lightly the successes of the inter-war pub were measured. Naturally, the movement for reform did not find supporters everywhere, and there were some who – even at the time of their construction – criticised the new breed of plain, 'dull' pubs. Also, it is important to bear in mind that the traditional, unreformed type of pub continued to exist, dominating pub stock around the country – especially in those geographical areas which were not a particular focus for inter-war building projects (see pp. 91-93).[300] Some of those who promoted pub improvement, and its successes, had vested interests in doing so (especially brewers and politicians), and claims must often have been exaggerated. Nevertheless, in terms of their scale, ambition, cost, quality and number, there can be no doubt that inter-war pubs represented a heyday for the building type. Certainly, very few pubs indeed were built along comparable lines after the Second World War.

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294 *The Brewers' Gazette* of March 1917, quoted in: Robert Duncan, 'Lord D'Abernon's "Model Farm"', op. cit., p. 129

295 Sydney O. Nevile, 'My Ideas for an Improved Public House', *A Monthly Bulletin*, vol. 3 no. 2 (February 1933), pp. 27-28

296 Quoted in: Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 225

297 Quoted in: Crawford, Dunn and Thorne, *Birmingham Pubs, 1880-1939*, p. 55

298 *Architect and Building News*, vol. 186, 17 May 1946, p. 104

299 Whitbread & Co. Ltd, *Your Local*, p. 19

300 It has been stated that around a quarter of the country's pub stock was altered or rebuilt in the period 1920-39: Brandwood, Davison and Slaughter, *Licensed to Sell*, p. 51

CHAPTER 9 THE SURVIVAL OF AND THREAT TO THE INTER-WAR PUBLIC HOUSE

The assumption is that the inter-war public house is a very common feature of our built environment. Certainly, as has been shown (see p. 4), a large number of new pubs were built or substantially rebuilt in the period 1918-39 – probably between 5,000 and 6,000. However, although this study has been limited to urban and suburban buildings and has not aimed for complete coverage even in this area, it has been clearly demonstrated that pubs of the inter-war period are becoming increasingly rare. A great number have been demolished, especially in recent years (Fig. 9.1). Of the 216 buildings selected for further investigation as part of this project (see Appendix 2), 39 (18%) have been lost in their entirety, the majority of these in the last decade – if this figure were applied to the national amounts, it would mean that 900-1,000 of the total number of inter-war pubs had been demolished. Others still remain but are closed and their futures uncertain (Figs 9.2-9.3). At the time of writing, this is the case, for instance, with ten out of the 73 inter-war pubs (i.e. 14%) included on the statutory list (see below and Appendix 6).[301] This reflects various factors, including the size of the buildings, their locations and plots (including usually quite expansive gardens and car parks; see pp. 78-81), the value of the land, and the comparative lack of protection afforded to these buildings (for example, through local and statutory designation; see Chapter 10).

Of the inter-war pubs that remain, even fewer retain a large part of their historic interiors, including room divisions, or a good sense of their original external character. Of the 216 pubs selected for investigation as part of this study, 97 (46%) were found to have been radically altered – for instance, opened up and stripped out internally, or transformed through the building of extensions or the removal of windows and other prominent external features (Figs 9.4-9.5). This general trend is noted in *Licensed to Sell*: 'Perhaps even more than their Victorian predecessors which were generally rather smaller and more homely, large inter-war pubs have suffered massive changes with the destruction of what we now regard as important historic fabric'.[302] Making a similar point in the mid-1980s, Alan Crawford, Michael Dunn and Robert Thorne stated that:

> It is significant that these [inter-war improved] pubs have been changed more than the turn-of-the-century ones. This is partly because they are in areas where it is worth the brewers' while to put money into modernising them; and partly because, being so spacious, they lend themselves to alteration … But it is partly too, because the pubs need to be made more interesting. The good-mannered reticence which the breweries adopted for quite specific purposes in the 1920s looks, now that there is no question about the respectability of pubs, simply dull.[303]

On the basis of CAMRA's national inventory of pub interiors, David Gutzke noted that only around 50 still authentic reformed pubs survive out of the 6,000 or so built in

301 The ten pubs are as follows: the Greenwood, the Doctor Johnson, the rear part of the Fellowship, the Rayners Hotel, the Railway Hotel and the Hope and Anchor, all in London, the Oxclose in Nottingham, the Beech Hotel in Leeds, and the Magpie Inn and the Horse and Farrier in Carlisle. At the time of writing (January 2015), this is also the case with the Brookhill Tavern, Birmingham (1927-28), the Racecourse Hotel, Salford, Manchester (1930), and the main part of the Punch Bowl Inn, Hoylake, Merseyside (1935-36).

302 Brandwood, Davison and Slaughter, *Licensed to Sell*, p. 88

303 Crawford, Dunn and Thorne, *Birmingham Pubs, 1880-1939*, p. 55

9.1 *The Northover pub, Downham, London (c. 1936, by A. W. Blomfield for Watney's), shown here in a photograph published in* Architecture Illustrated *in 1939. The pub, later known as the Governor General, was closed in c. 1992 and demolished by 2000. Its site is now occupied by a petrol station.*

9.2-9.3 *An example of a pub that was, until recently, closed with an uncertain future is the Morden Tavern, St Helier, London. This was built in 1933 on a new LCC estate to designs by Harry Redfern, best known for being the architect to the state management scheme. The pub was closed in 2010 and was subsequently left empty, during which time locals campaigned for its preservation in its original use. However, the building was converted in 2014 in a scheme of mixed retail and residential development. (both images © Nick Brickell, Morden Tavern Campaign)*

9.4-9.5 *One of those pubs that was found to have been substantially altered is the Grant Arms, King's Norton, Birmingham, built in 1932 to designs by Wood, Kendrick and Edwin F. Reynolds. Although the exterior survives well, the interiors of the ground-floor bar rooms are entirely post-war in date, with lowered ceilings. (both images © Historic England, Luke Jacob)*

England and Wales,[304] while Geoff Brandwood has suggested a number lower even than that: in an article of 2002, he wrote that 'There are now less than half a dozen 1930s pubs which retain their layout and fittings more or less complete'; one of them was the Vine, Wednesfield, West Midlands (1937-38; see Fig. 10.4), then newly listed at grade II.[305] The present study implies that the number of well-preserved inter-war pubs, taking account both of exteriors and interiors, and including those pubs already included on the statutory list, is somewhere in the region of 150-200.[306]

It might be noted that the percentage of inter-war pubs demolished or substantially altered includes almost all of the most notable buildings of the time, in terms of architectural and historic significance. As evidenced by contemporary journal articles and press interest, there were a group of buildings which attracted particular attention, and these were situated in certain geographical areas (including London, Birmingham

304 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 241

305 Geoff Brandwood, 'The vanishing inter-war pub', *C20 Society Newsletter*, September 2002, p. 13

306 As far as is known, the statutory list currently includes just over 70 pubs built or greatly rebuilt in the inter-war period (see Appendix 6). The current study highlights just under 40 pubs which are considered to be worthy of consideration for listing. However, it has not included full and detailed consideration of inter-war pubs in urban and suburban areas across the country, and has included no pubs in rural areas. Taking these into account, the figure of 150-200 is suggested as a total. This figure includes all pubs built/ rebuilt in the period. Those of architectural pretension or significance (in this context, not including those pubs which simply have high levels of intactness with regard to plan form and fittings) will be in an even smaller minority, probably numbering no more than 80.

9.6 *The modern interior of the former Berkeley Arms Hotel, Cranford, London (1931-32, by E. B. Musman), which today forms part of Hilton's DoubleTree hotel chain. The area that once housed the pub's saloon bar, saloon lounge and restaurant is now a hotel reception and dining area. (© Historic England, Emily Cole)*

9.7 *The interior of the Comet, Hatfield, Hertfordshire (1933; listed grade II), an iconic design by E. B. Musman, which has been much altered as part of the building's full conversion to a hotel. This photograph shows the hotel restaurant, on the site of the original restaurant but now substantially modern in its fittings. (© Historic England, Emily Cole)*

9.8 *The Middleton Arms Hotel, Leeds, built in 1925 for Ind Coope to designs by A. and F. Moseley. It was noted at the time for its design and the range of its facilities, which included a tea room, lounge/billiard room, smoke room and large first-floor ballroom, as well as a bowling green and tennis courts. The pub, shown here in a photograph of 2005, was demolished in 2012. (By kind permission of Leeds Library and Information Services, www.leodis.net)*

and Liverpool). Many if not all of these pubs were built on 'improved' lines, and were of substantial size, with substantial grounds. Many were experimental in their design or plan, as brewers attempted to break new ground and encourage a new sort of customer. Undoubtedly, the works of E. B. Musman attracted the most attention. His Myllet Arms in Perivale, London (1935-36; see Fig. 5.1 and section 12.24), must be the most written about pub of its time, and, at a cost of around £60,000, was also the second most expensive pub of the inter-war period, being the most costly to survive today.[307] Also much discussed was Musman's Berkeley Arms Hotel in Cranford, London (1931-32; see Fig. 3.13 and section 12.4), built in the form of a French château. Today, both of these survive, but with barely a trace of their original interiors: the Myllet Arms is still a pub but has been comprehensively refurbished and modernised, while the Berkeley Arms is a shell, with a plush modern hotel interior in place of the original bars, restaurant and guest rooms (Fig. 9.6). Although Musman's Comet in Hatfield (1933) was listed grade II in 1981, it too has been radically altered inside (Fig. 9.7), as has his pub on a smaller scale, the Nag's Head, Bishops Stortford (1936; also listed grade II in 1981), though here the work is at least sensitive to the building's style. Among Musman's other pubs on a smaller scale are the Bull and Butcher, Whetstone, London (c. 1929), and the Greyhound, Wembley, London (1930), both of which have been entirely remodelled internally.

Of other especially important or imposing inter-war pubs, the following have been demolished: the Gardeners' Arms, Liverpool (1924, by Harold E. Davies & Son; demolished 2012); the Middleton Arms Hotel, Leeds (1925, by A. and F. Moseley; demolished 2012; Fig. 9.8); the Robin Hood, Becontree, London (1926-29, by T. F. Ingram; demolished 2005; see Fig. 4.7); the Green Man, Catford, London (1927, by Grace and Farmer, with M. T. Saunders; demolished c. 2012; Fig. 9.9 and see Fig. 4.3); the Speedwell, Acocks Green, Birmingham (1929, by Wood, Kendrick & E. F. Reynolds; demolished c. 2008; see Fig. 8.8); the Downham Tavern, Bromley, London (1929-30, by

307 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 249; *The Caterer and Hotel Keeper*, 30 October 1936, p. 16

9.9 *The Green Man, Southend village, Catford, London, a large and important 'improved' pub completed in 1927. The pub closed in c. 2003 – it is shown here while vacant – and was demolished in c. 2012. (© London Borough of Lewisham)*

F. G. Newnham and W. H. Fleeming; demolished c. 1997; see Fig. 3.15); the Rose and Crown, Upperby, Carlisle (1930, by Harry Redfern; demolished 2013; see Fig. 3.8); the Uplands, Handsworth, Birmingham (1932, by George Bernard Cox; demolished 2009); the Crown Hotel, Liverpool (c. 1932, by Harold E. Davies & Son; demolished 2006; see Figs 7.5-7.6); the Black Horse Hotel, Wolverhampton (c. 1933, by W. Norman Twist; demolished 2009; see Fig. 6.1); the Farmers' Arms, Huyton, Liverpool (c. 1934, by Harold E. Davies & Son; demolished c. 1998); the Boundary Hotel, Liverpool (c. 1936, by A. Ernest Shennan; demolished 2010); the Rising Sun, Catford, London (c. 1937, by Sidney C. Clark; demolished 2013); the Paviours' Arms, Westminster, London (c. 1938, by T. P. Bennett & Son; demolished 2003); and the Bull, East Sheen, London (1939, by A. W. Blomfield; demolished 1987; see Fig. 7.11). As this list makes clear, the threat to such pubs has gathered pace since the end of the twentieth century.

Other notable inter-war pubs survive, but only as shells, their interiors having been gutted as part of conversion for other uses. This is the case, for instance, at the following: the Stockland, Erdington, Birmingham (1923-24, by Bateman's; converted to restaurant use in 2004), the Rose and Crown, Cambridge (1928, by Basil Oliver; converted as an estate agent's in c. 2010; Figs 9.10-9.11), the Malt Shovel, Carlisle (1928, by Harry Redfern; converted to restaurant use in 2004), the Manor House, Finsbury Park, London (1930, by A. W. Blomfield; converted to retail use in 2004; Figs 9.12-9.13), the Hop Bine, Wembley, London (1932, by A. E. Sewell; converted as a Tesco in c. 2011), the Cherry Tree, Welwyn Garden City (1932, by Robert G. Muir; converted to a Waitrose in 1990), the Earl Grey, Carlisle (1932, by Harry Redfern; converted as a martial arts centre in c. 2008), the Morden Tavern, St Helier, London (1933, by Harry Redfern; converted to mixed retail and residential use in 2014; see Figs 9.2-9.3), the Blue Pool, Derby (1936, by Browning & Hayes; converted as a Tesco in 2009; Figs 9.14-9.15), the Prince of Wales, Brixton, London (c. 1937, by Joseph Hill; now largely converted to a KFC; Figs 9.16-9.17), the Cumberland Wrestlers, Carlisle (1938, by Harry Redfern; closed in 2000 and converted as a fireplace centre), and the Holly Bush, Hinckley, Leicestershire (late 1930s; listed grade II; closed 2005 and now a restaurant; see Fig. 2.10).

Such high levels of demolition and change reflect a number of factors. Some of these are common to all public houses, such as a decline in popularity caused by increased competition from other forms of entertainment and the widespread availability of cheap alcohol, the smoking ban (introduced to England in 2007), demographic changes, the

9.10-9.17 *Then and now photographs showing (from top to bottom): the Rose and Crown, Cambridge, an acclaimed design by Basil Oliver, built in 1928 and converted to an estate agent's in c. 2010; the Manor House, Finsbury Park, London, built in 1930 to designs by A. W. Blomfield and converted to retail use in 2004; the Blue Pool, Sunny Hill, Derby, built in 1936 to designs by Browning & Hayes and converted to a Tesco in 2009; and the Prince of Wales, Brixton, London, built in c. 1937 to designs by Joseph Hill and now substantially altered as a KFC. (all modern photographs © Historic England, except that of the Manor House, © Simon Bradley)*

9.18 *The side (south-east) elevation of the Green Man, Kingsbury, London (1936-37, by A. E. Sewell). This pub has been the focus of a number of redevelopment schemes in recent years. The site of the former garden is now occupied by flats and, at the time this photograph was taken in 2014, the former assembly hall to the rear of the pub had recently been demolished to make way for another such residential scheme. (© Historic England, Emily Cole)*

decline of the off sales provision (see below), and the now widespread preference for pubs with open-plan interiors. Other factors, however, are specifically relevant to pubs of the inter-war period. For instance, the evolving function of the public house after the Second World War (e.g. there was less emphasis on tea and meal rooms), and the comparatively low regard for inter-war interiors and decoration. In particular, the substantial scale and plot sizes of inter-war pubs has left them at risk of change. The value of such sites/buildings is now greater for redevelopment – or even for conversion – than it is for pubs to continue as a going concern.[308] At those pubs which remain in business, surrounding land has often been sold off – as, for example, at the Green Man in Kingsbury, London (1936-37; Fig. 9.18; see section 12.22) – or has been left to become overgrown, as the appreciation of large gardens, and the popularity of features such as bowling greens, has declined. On account of their scale and their prominence within the streetscape, little used or vacant improved pubs often attract widespread attention and criticism, coming to be deemed 'eyesores'. This has led to particularly vocal calls for their demolition, whereas smaller, less imposing pubs – whatever their condition – often go unnoticed.

Meanwhile, the often complex and compartmentalised plans of the original inter-war pubs have been subject to alteration. Changes in the type and scale of customers who use these pubs mean that such a variety of different rooms (including bars, dining rooms and club rooms) is no longer required. The higher the number of these rooms in the original pub plan, the more likely that building is to have been altered. Thus, the Myllet Arms in Perivale, London (see Fig. 11.1 and section 12.24) is now largely one space internally, while the Blue Gates in Smethwick, Birmingham, a vast Mitchells & Butlers pub of 1930 which had public rooms on two storeys, is now largely disused; the only part which remains a pub is a ground-floor corner bar, occupying a small fraction of the original space (the site of the public bar and off sales).[309] There can be no doubt that the trend for internal opening out has proved particularly destructive: original room partitions have frequently been removed entirely or, where they survive, pierced with large openings; bar counters have been moved and chimneystacks removed to create

308 See: Duncan Robinson and Kate Allen, 'Pints or property? The dilemma for pubs', *Financial Times*, 29 June 2014: http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/cec7e05e-fdfb-11e3-bd0e-00144feab7de.html#axzz3OosWbu6k (accessed 30 June 2014). The article notes that in May 2014, Punch Taverns 'sold four central London pubs for nearly £7m – almost three times their book value'.

309 In an area which now has a large Asian community, the number of drinkers at the Blue Gates has plummeted since the Second World War.

9.19 *Often, all that remains of an off sales (or 'bottle and jug') compartment is the lettering or signage on the glass or on the outside of a pub. This is the case, for instance, with the Royal Oak, Bethnal Green, London, built in 1923. The pub's interior is now one single space, though the original location of the off sales partitions can be readily traced on the pub's wooden floor. (© Historic England, Derek Kendall, DP170196)*

larger internal spaces; and doorways have been blocked up, to produce more unified interiors.

The off sales area or outdoor department (see pp. 69-71) has proved especially vulnerable, in inter-war pubs as in pubs of other periods. This area was, by the 1960s, largely outdated and unnecessary: with the rise of separate off licences, convenience stores and supermarkets, people had the opportunity to purchase alcohol from places other than the pub, often at cheaper prices, and did so. In the light of this development, off sales areas were taken out of use and, in due course, altered – most were removed entirely, adding an extra area of floor (and counter) space to the bars of the pub, although the doors that served them, now redundant and blocked, are common survivals. Often, so integrated within the main part of the pub are these formerly distinct areas that, without the doors, the original off sales compartment can barely be traced (Fig. 9.19). Detached off sales buildings, meanwhile, were frequently sold off or rented out for an alternative use; that at the Green Man in Kingsbury, North London (1936-37; see section 12.22), for instance, is now in residential use (Fig. 9.20), while that formerly belonging to the Doctor Johnson in Barkingside, East London (1937-38; listed grade II), is now an estate agent's. No functioning off sales area or off licence is known to survive at an inter-war pub, and surviving off sales areas or compartments are extremely rare: those which survive are usually now private and used for general storage by the pub's staff – as,

9.20 *Detached or distinct off licences built adjacent to pubs were less common than integrated off sales compartments, and where they survive they have invariably been converted for other uses. This is the former off licence of the Green Man, Kingsbury, London (1936-37), now a residential unit. (© Historic England, Luke Jacob)*

for instance, at the Angel, Hayes, London (1926; see section 12.1), and the Berkeley Hotel, Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (1938-40; Fig. 9.21; see section 12.5).

Other areas of the inter-war pub that have been especially prone to change are former restaurants, guest rooms (where they existed) and related areas such as guest sitting rooms, and skittle alleys and bowling greens, both of these games having declined in popularity in modern times.

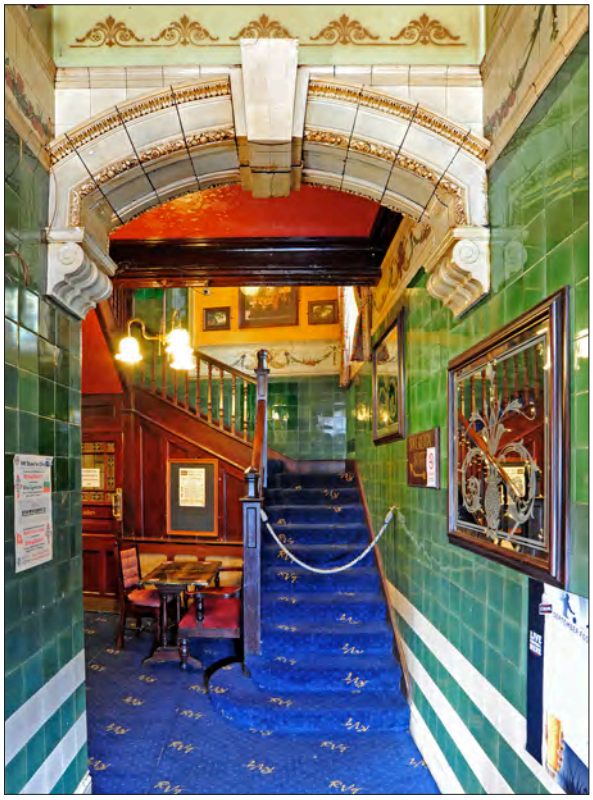
Inter-war pubs have been a victim of their own experimentalism: because they often sought to break with tradition, in design and plan, they came to be unpopular with those more attracted by pubs of a more traditional form (such as those of the Edwardian period). In part, this may explain the comparatively high rate of survival of the inter-war pubs built by Truman's brewery (such as the Royal Oak, Bethnal Green, London, and the Stag's Head, Hoxton, London; see sections 12.32 and 12.33), which were generally somewhat old-fashioned in design and scale, drawing upon the pubs built by the brewery in the decades before the First World War. In contrast, the huge detached improved pubs did not sit within an existing form of architecture, and their aims, and their plans, do not generally seem to have been understood by post-war generations.

9.21 *In cases where the off sales compartment survives, it is often in use as a general store by the pub's staff, as here at the Berkeley Hotel, Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (1938-40).*
(© Historic England, Emily Cole)

On account of the factors outlined here, and others more broadly associated with the decline of the public house in England, it is now incredibly rare to find an inter-war pub largely intact architecturally – externally and internally – and with its original grounds (gardens, car parks, etc.) and boundary walls. Going forward, as real estate becomes ever more valuable, and the pressures of keeping pubs running become even greater, it is likely that inter-war pubs will become even more scarce.

CHAPTER 10 LISTED INTER-WAR PUBS

It is difficult to provide exact statistics regarding the number of pubs on the statutory list which were built or substantially remodelled in the inter-war period. This reflects the weaknesses of the various listing/Historic England systems, and also the fact that new listings are being added all the time. At the time of writing (winter 2014/15), there are believed to be 73 inter-war pubs on the statutory list: three of these are at grade II*, and the remainder are at grade II (see Appendix 6).[310] Three of the grade II-listed pubs were added recently, as a result of the work carried out by Michael Bellamy in Designation (see pp. 5-6 and Fig. 1.5), while others were added as a result of the focused work carried out in the 1990s by Geoff Brandwood and CAMRA (see pp. 3-4), a group which continues to be active in proposing pubs for listing. Of the 73 pubs, 30 have been listed since 2001; 29 were listed in 1991-2000, 6 in 1980-90, and 8 before 1980.[311]



As inter-war pubs have been submitted and considered for listing on a one-off or limited basis rather than as a result of a thematic national project, the buildings represented are of a broad range of type, style, scale and even quality. Some listed pubs are by named architects and breweries; others can only be ascribed to a particular decade, and no

10.1-10.2 *Of inter-war pubs currently included on the statutory list, the majority are located in the West Midlands, and especially in Birmingham. These include the Rose Villa Tavern, Hockley (built 1919-20 to designs by Wood and Kendrick; © Michael Slaughter LRPS), and the Abbey, Smethwick (1931, by Wood, Kendrick and Edwin F. Reynolds; © Historic England, Emily Cole). Both pubs were built for Mitchells & Butlers and both are now listed grade II.*

310 The pubs listed at grade II* are as follows: the Margaret Catchpole, Ipswich, Suffolk (1936); the Eastbrook, Dagenham, London (1937-38); and the Test Match, West Bridgford, Nottinghamshire (1938). The total of 73 does not include pubs which date substantially from before the First World War but have interiors of the inter-war period.

311 Those listed before 1980 are as follows: the Drum in Devon, by Lutyens (1952), the Elephant Hotel in Liverpool and the City Arms and Carlton Tavern in Chester (all in 1972), the Horse and Farrier, the Spinners Arms and the Crescent Inn, all in Carlisle (1973), and the Cittie of Yorke in Holborn, London (1974). Other comparatively early listings include the Comet in Hatfield, the Nag's Head in Bishops Stortford, and the Black Horse in Birmingham, all listed in 1981.

10.3-10.4 *Many listed inter-war pubs are of modest scale and pretension, but survive especially well externally and internally. This is the case, for instance, with the Swan with Two Necks, Stockport, Greater Manchester (c. 1930), and the Vine, Wednesfield, West Midlands (1937), both of which are listed grade II. (both images © Michael Slaughter LRPS)*

architect's name has been identified. In terms of geographical coverage, it is interesting that, in general, the listed buildings follow the trends recognised by David Gutzke – that is, that the vast majority of inter-war pubs were built/rebuilt in London and the Home Counties, the Midlands (especially Birmingham) and the North (especially Lancashire and Yorkshire) (see pp. 91-93).[312] Of listed inter-war pubs, the majority are located in the West Midlands (where 17 pubs are listed, 11 of these in Birmingham; Figs 10.1-10.2) and in London (where there are 17 listed inter-war pubs). These are followed by 16 in the North West (including 7 in Carlisle and 3 in Chester), 8 in Yorkshire and the Humber, 5 in the East Midlands (4 of these in Nottinghamshire), 5 in the East of England (3 of these in Ipswich), 4 in the South East, and 1 in the South West (namely, Lutyens's Drum Inn, Cockington, Devon); there are no listed pubs in the North East (see Appendix 6).

In terms of date range, the number of listed pubs built/substantially rebuilt in the inter-war years grows higher as the period progresses – a fact which reflects both the gradual increase in quality and ambition, and also the increase in quantity, the peak years for pub building being the second half of the 1930s, as has been shown by David Gutzke (see p. 94). From the period 1919-25, there are 9 listed pubs (out of the total of 73), and there are 16 from the years 1926-30. The vast majority of listed inter-war pubs were built/rebuilt in the 1930s: 19 in the years 1931-35, and 29 in 1936-40.

Many of the listed inter-war pubs are what can be termed 'ordinary' or typical buildings – that is, they are modest structures built on a small scale, but which survive very well

312 Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, pp. 204-205

10.5 *Some listed pubs are notable in terms of their quality of architecture and design, an example being the Suffolk Punch, Ipswich, Suffolk (1936-37, by Cautley & Barefoot for the Tollemache Brewery; listed grade II). This photograph shows the pub's rear elevation and garden. (© Historic England, Emily Cole)*

in terms of their exteriors, interior fittings and layout, and are very good examples of their type. This is the case, for example, with the Swan with Two Necks, Stockport, Greater Manchester (c. 1930; Fig. 10.3), the Beech Hotel, Leeds (1931), the Holly Bush, Bollington, Cheshire (c. 1935), the Duke of York, Bloomsbury, London (1937-38), and the Vine, Wednesfield, West Midlands (1937; Fig. 10.4), all listed at grade II. Others are a step up in terms of quality of architecture and design, but still remain comparatively modest, including the Tally Ho, Eastbourne, Sussex (1927, by John L. Denman), the Kent Hotel, Ealing, London (1929, by T. H. Nowell Parr), the Suffolk Punch, Ipswich, Suffolk (1936-37, by Cautley & Barefoot; Fig. 10.5), the Royal George, Euston, London (1939-40, by A. E. Sewell), and the Oxclose, Nottingham (1939, by T. Cecil Howitt). The three inter-war pubs listed at grade II* – the Margaret Catchpole, Ipswich, Suffolk (1936), the Eastbrook, Dagenham, London (1937-38), and the Test Match, West Bridgford, Nottinghamshire (1938) (Figs 10.6-10.8) – are all more highly graded on account of their very high levels of preservation, both internally and externally, the quality of their fittings, and the light they shed on other pubs of inter-war date. None of the three was designed by a pub architect of national note or built for a prominent brewery.[313]

Only a small number of listed inter-war pubs attracted interest in the national architectural press at the time and can, on account of this, be considered of particular importance. The most notable are: the Comet, Hatfield, Hertfordshire (1933, by E. B. Musman; see Fig. 5.14), and the Nag's Head, Bishops Stortford, Hertfordshire (1936; also by Musman; see Fig. 5.15), both of which received critical acclaim for their design, especially the Comet, the only major pub-*cum*-roadhouse to currently be listed; the Fellowship Inn, Bellingham, South London (1923-24, by F. G. Newnham; see Figs 3.10-3.11), important for its early date, for being built on 'improved' lines (with a range of facilities), and for being built on an LCC estate; the Drum, Cockington, Devon (1936, by Edwin Lutyens), the only inter-war pub to be built by an architect of the first rank; the Railway Hotel, Edgware, London (1930-31, by A. E. Sewell), and the Pilot Inn, Coventry (1938-39; Fig. 10.9), both notable for their scale, ambition and range of facilities; the majority of the listed pubs in Birmingham, including the Black Horse, Northfield (1929,

313 The Margaret Catchpole was built for the locally based Cobbold brewery to designs by Harold Ridley Cooper; the Eastbrook was built for G. A. Smith & Dunning, a firm of wine merchants and off sales proprietors, and designed by an unknown architect; and the Test Match was built for Hardys & Hansons Ltd of Kimberley and designed by their architect, A. C. Wheeler.

10.6-10.8 *A particularly high level of preservation is reflected in the grade II*-listing of three inter-war pubs: the Margaret Catchpole, Ipswich, Suffolk (1936); the Eastbrook, Dagenham, London (1937-38; shown here is the vestibule to the music room); and the Test Match, West Bridgford, Nottinghamshire (1938). (all images © Michael Slaughter LRPS)*

10.9 *Listed inter-war pubs which attracted contemporary interest in the national architectural press include the Pilot Inn, Coventry (1938-39; grade II), a large Moderne-style pub that was illustrated in* The Parthenon *in 1940.*

by Francis Goldsbrough; see section 12.7), the Tyburn House (1930, by Bateman's), and the George V (1935, by John Burgess Surman), built to ambitious designs which proved influential; and all of the listed 'model' pubs in the Carlisle area, including the Apple Tree (1925-27; see Fig. 3.5), the Crescent Inn (1932; Fig. 10.10) and the Magpie Inn (1933; see Fig. 3.6), all by Harry Redfern and notable for their innovative and influential designs.

In terms of the breweries responsible for building the inter-war pubs included on the statutory list, Mitchells & Butlers of Birmingham are best represented, eight of the firm's pubs having been listed (all at grade II) (see, for instance, Figs 5.11 and 7.9).[314] There are also six listed pubs by Truman, Hanbury and Buxton (five in London, and one in the West Midlands) (Fig. 10.11).[315] As with geography, this rightly reflects the trends of the time, Mitchells & Butlers and Truman's being among the most important pub improvers

10.10 *Currently, seven of the pubs newly built in the inter-war period under the state management scheme in the Carlisle area are included on the statutory list, all at grade II. These include the Spanish-style Crescent Inn, built in 1932 to designs by Harry Redfern. The building now functions as a restaurant. (© Historic England, Emily Cole)*

314 The listed Mitchells & Butlers pubs are: the Rose Villa Tavern (1919-20), the Antelope (1922), the British Oak (1923-24), the Abbey (1931), the Wernley (1933-34), the Three Magpies (1935), the George V (1935), all in Birmingham, and the Crystal Fountain, Cannock Chase, Staffordshire (1937).

315 Those in London are the Railway Hotel, Brent (1930-31), the Ivy House, Nunhead (c. 1936), the Hope and Anchor, Hammersmith (c. 1936), the Rayners Hotel, Harrow (1937), and the Royal George, Euston (1939-40). The other listed Truman's pub is the Vine, Wednesfield (1937-38).

10.11 *Of breweries responsible for listed inter-war pubs, Truman's is comparatively well represented on the statutory list. This photograph shows the public bar at the Ivy House (previously the Newlands Tavern), Nunhead, London, built in c. 1936 to designs by A. E. Sewell, the brewery's in-house architect. The pub was listed grade II in 2012. (© Historic England, Luke Jacob)*

of the inter-war years (see pp. 90-91). Also significant was Courage & Co. (responsible for three listed inter-war pubs),[316] the state management scheme (responsible for seven listed pubs, all in the Carlisle area), Benskin's Watford Brewery (represented by Musman's Comet and Nag's Head in Hertfordshire; see above), and the Kemp Town Brewery (the only one of the brewery's pubs to be listed to date is the Tally Ho, Eastbourne, Sussex, of 1927 by J. L. Denman). In terms of other breweries of national significance, it is somewhat surprising that the statutory list currently includes only one inter-war pub built by Barclay Perkins (the Fellowship, Bellingham, London, of 1923-24; see Figs 3.10-3.11), one built by Charrington's (the Old Red Lion, Kennington, London, of 1929; see Fig. 5.9), and seemingly none at all built by Whitbread's and Watney, Combe and Reid, the latter the most prolific brewery in the inter-war years. Smaller breweries which are represented among listed inter-war pubs include the Home Brewery/Home Ales (the Ship Hotel, Skegness, Lincolnshire, of 1934 [Fig. 10.12], and the Vale Hotel of 1935-37 and the Oxclose of 1939, both in Nottingham) and the Tollemache Brewery (the Golden Hind of 1936 and the Suffolk Punch of 1936-37, both in Ipswich; see Fig. 10.5).

As to architects, as has been noted above, one listed pub is by Lutyens and two listed pubs are by E. B. Musman, perhaps the best-known pub architect of the inter-war years; both the Musman buildings are in the Moderne style, which is not especially representative of his overall *oeuvre*, largely carried out in Neo-Georgian. Six pubs are by Harry Redfern, architect to the state management scheme.[317] Of the other highly active and influential pub architects of the period, H. Hinchcliffe Davies is represented by two listed buildings (the Carlton Tavern, Chester, of c. 1929, and the Elephant Hotel in Liverpool, an inter-war rebuild of c. 1935, though neither description names Davies as architect or emphasises the importance of the pub's design); the firm of Bateman and

316 The pubs built (or seemingly built) by Courage are: the Doctor Johnson, Barkingside, London, of 1937-38, the Windermere, South Kenton, London, of c. 1938, and the Greenwood, Northolt, London, of the late 1930s.

317 The six listed pubs by Redfern are all in Carlisle and are: the Apple Tree (1925-27), the Horse and Farrier (1928-29), the Spinners Arms (1930), the Cumberland Inn (1930), the Crescent Inn (1932), and the Magpie Inn (1933). The seventh 'model' inter-war pub in Carlisle that is on the statutory list is the Redfern Inn, Etterby (1940); this was designed by Redfern's assistant, Joseph Seddon.

10.12 *The Ship Hotel, Skegness, Lincolnshire (listed grade II), built in 1934 to designs by Bailey and Eberlin for the Home Brewery and shown here in a photograph published in* Architecture Illustrated *that year. The building is notable for its Moderne style. It is located just along the road from the seafront.*

Bateman's in Birmingham is represented by the Black Horse, Northfield (1929, by Francis Goldsbrough; see section 12.7) and the Tyburn House of 1930; T. Cecil Howitt by the Vale Hotel and the Oxclose in Nottingham (see above); and A. E. Sewell, architect to Truman's, is known for certain to have designed three inter-war pubs on the statutory list (the Railway Hotel of 1930-31, the Ivy House of c. 1936 and the Royal George of 1939-40, all in London). Also listed are the Kent Hotel in Ealing, London (1929), by T. H. Nowell Parr, and the Prospect Inn, Minster in Thanet, Kent (1939), the only pub designed by the architect Oliver Hill. Currently, no pubs designed by the noted pub architects Basil Oliver and Joseph Hill are included on the statutory list, a fact which reflects a comparatively high level of alteration of the relevant buildings.

As with buildings of all types, the listing of a pub does not mean that a level of change (sometimes comparatively substantial) has not been carried out, either before or after the building was afforded statutory protection. A number of listed inter-war pubs have been altered, including: the Nag's Head in Bishops Stortford and the Comet in Hatfield, Hertfordshire, both of which retain little of their 1930s interiors (see Fig. 9.7), though the Nag's Head has been refitted in a sensitive style;[318] the Tyburn House in Birmingham, the plan of which has been opened up; and the Prospect Inn on the Isle of Thanet, which has been recently refurbished after a period of dereliction and has a Holiday Inn attached to the rear. Nor is statutory listing able to preserve the original function of a pub: the Dog and Patridge in Birmingham is now a church, for instance, while another listed pub in Birmingham, the George V, is now a restaurant; similarly, the Crescent in Carlisle and the Holly Bush in Hinckley, Leicestershire, now serve as restaurants (see Figs 10.10 and 2.10). Among 'live' cases is the Doctor Johnson in Barkingside, London (1937-38; listed grade II), which closed as a pub some time ago and has been boarded up ever since. There are

318 The Comet was listed after alterations had been carried out; those undertaken at the Nag's Head were minimised thanks to the campaigning of the Twentieth Century Society (then the Thirties Society); see: Alan Powers, 'The Inter-War Pub', in *Trouble Brewing: Pub Refurbishments – over the limit?* (London, 1991), p. 28

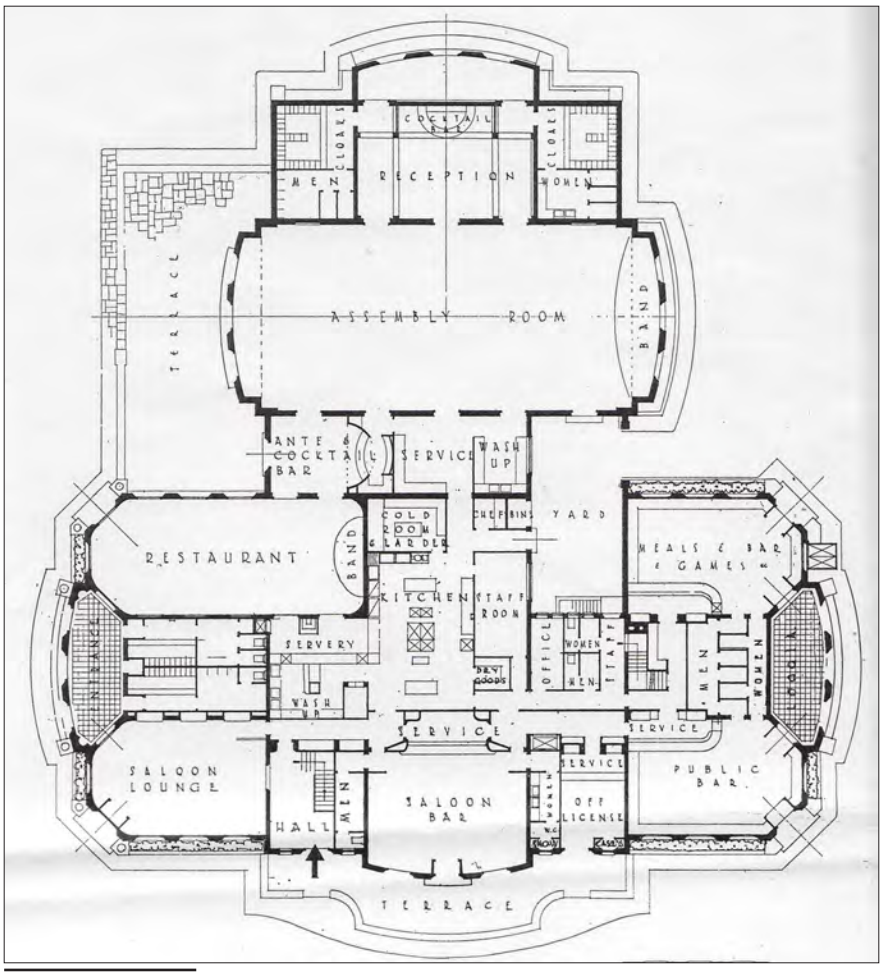
now plans to convert this building – which has some high-quality Moderne interiors but has recently undergone vandalism – to a Tesco, which will inevitably involve the loss of historic fabric. However, it is hoped that this is a rare case; generally, statutory listing is able to give inter-war pubs a measure of protection that they desperately need.

Such a measure of protection can also be provided by the inclusion of notable inter-war pubs on the local list maintained by a local authority. From the evidence of this project, the local listing of inter-war pubs is currently sporadic and infrequent. Not all local authorities maintain local lists, and where they do, they do not generally seem to have made a priority of post-First World War buildings. For instance, at the time of writing (January 2015), of the 37 pubs added to the final list as part of this project (see Appendix 5), only 11 were found to be included on the local lists maintained by the relevant local authorities.[319] It is hoped that one of the results of this report will be a heightened appreciation of inter-war pubs, and a greater representation of these fascinating buildings on local lists, and also within conservation areas.

319 The relevant pubs are as follows: the Angel, Hayes, London,„the Army and Navy, Stoke Newington, London; the Duke of Edinburgh, Brixton, London; the Round House, Becontree, London; the Daylight Inn, Petts Wood, London; the Stoneleigh Hotel, Ewell, Surrey; the Brookhill and the Court Oak, both in Birmingham; the White Swan, Manchester; the Duke William, Stoke-on-Trent; and the Coach and Horses, Carlisle. Four of the relevant local authorities do not maintain local lists.

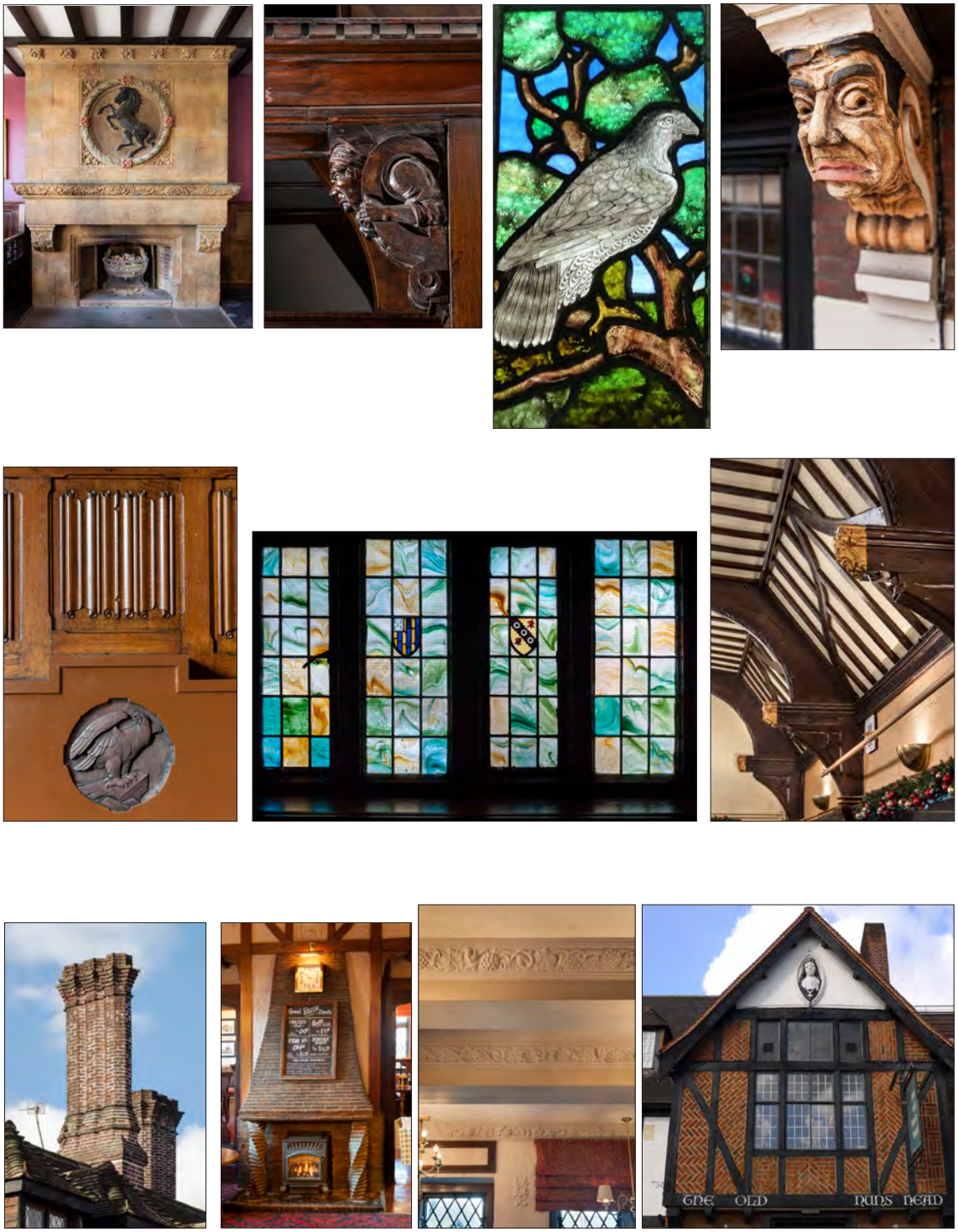
CHAPTER 11 CONCLUSION

From the evidence of the work undertaken as part of this project, pubs built or substantially rebuilt in the inter-war years are of special note for a number of reasons. Firstly, unlike pubs of other dates, they were – as a group – intimately bound up with social and political thought and idealism. The construction or alteration of pubs of this date coincided with a period of unsettlement and controversy regarding the 'drink question' in England, given force during the First World War. Debates regarding alcohol and the way and places in which it was sold and consumed waged throughout the inter-war period, though there was an increasing sense of resolution in the 1930s; even in 1932, the report produced by the Royal Commission on Licensing was able to state that 'drunkenness has now been reduced to a point at which it is no longer a social evil'.[320] On account of the rigorous and complicated licensing processes (at their height in the inter-war years), government – in the form of the licensing justices – was instrumental in the design, planning and location of pubs, in a way that was true for perhaps no other building type. Inter-war pubs are thus often of interest at a national level, especially those which follow the aims of pub improvement, reflecting as they do contemporary thought – by politicians, justices, brewers, planners and architects – about alcohol and how it was best managed and presented.



11.1 *The ground-floor plan of the Myllet Arms, Perivale, London (1935-36, by E. B. Musman), as published in the* Architect and Building News *in 1936. The plan shows that the largest pubs built in the inter-war years included a wide variety of different facilities and areas. The extension to the rear of the pub, containing the assembly room and associated spaces, was planned but never built. North is to the bottom of the plan.*

320 Royal Commission on Licensing, *Summary of the Report prepared by the National Commercial Temperance League*, p. 14



11.2-11.12 *Photographs showing the variety and quality of the craftsmanship often employed in inter-war pubs. From left to right, row by row, they show: a ground-floor chimneypiece with carved roundel and a carved corbel in the first-floor assembly hall of the Black Horse, Northfield, Birmingham (1929; listed grade II); a stained-glass window in the Avenue, Great Yarmouth, Norfolk (1929), featuring the falcon emblem of Lacons brewery; an external carved corbel, a detail of panelling with the Truman's brewery eagle emblem inset, stained glass in the first-floor smoking room, and a detail of the timber roof of the adjacent social hall at the Stoneleigh Hotel, Ewell, London (1934-35); a decorative brick chimney, brick fireplace and plasterwork at the Daylight Inn, Petts Wood, London (1935); and a gable with decorative brickwork, timbering and a carved bust at the Old Nun's Head, Nunhead Green, London (1935). (all images © Historic England)*

The resulting pub buildings were, therefore, generally very different from those constructed before the First World War. The range of facilities provided by inter-war pubs was immense. The Myllet Arms in Perivale, London (1935-36; Fig. 11.1; see section 12.24), one of the largest pubs of the period, included the standard pub areas (public and saloon bars, and off sales compartment) along with a meal/games room, saloon lounge, restaurant, staff room and office, first-floor guest bedrooms, and sitting and dining rooms for guests, which could be used as meeting rooms by local businesses; there were, additionally, plans for a banqueting/assembly room with adjacent anteroom/cocktail bar. In terms of their provisions, inter-war 'improved' pubs were effectively a new building type, combining elements of the modern hotel, bar, restaurant, social club, café and dance hall. To compare them with pubs dating from before the First World War – or even after the Second World War – is, to a large degree, to misunderstand them. Inter-war pubs were unique to their time, which, as has been shown, was a period of particular change and debate.

Architecturally, inter-war pubs are deserving of far greater appreciation and attention than they have hitherto received. It was far from the case that they were all plain, 'dull' buildings, their design being pure essays in Neo-Tudor or Neo-Georgian and their interiors stark and simple. This project has illustrated very well that a broad range of pubs were built and rebuilt in the inter-war years. Pubs of 1918-39 were designed in a variety of styles, including Moderne, Arts and Crafts, Hispano-Moorish and even Scottish Baronial, as well as Neo-Tudor and Neo-Georgian. They were often the works of notable architects – the first time this had happened in the history of the public house, earlier architect-designed pubs being the exception rather than the rule – and usually boasted high-quality craftsmanship and materials, including decorative brickwork, timberwork, plasterwork, glazing and tilework (see Figs 11.2-11.12).

In scale, there was a wider variety of pubs than at any other time in the history of the building type. At one extreme were the vast pubs-*cum*-roadhouses, like the Berkeley Hotel in Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (see Fig. 5.4 and section 12.5); at the other, there were modest, urban pubs which were little different from those built in the Victorian and

11.13 *The inter-war period saw a greater variety in the scale of new pubs than at any other time. This pub is on the smaller side of the spectrum; it is the Hanbury Arms, Islington, London (1936-37). (© Historic England, Luke Jacob)*

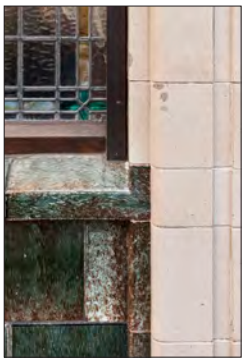
Edwardian years, as with the Palm Tree, Mile End, London (c. 1929; see section 12.25), and the Hanbury Arms, Islington, London (1936-37; Fig. 11.13; see section 12.23). Pubs at the larger end of the scale were especially common; after the Second World War, excepting a handful of ambitious projects, pubs never approached these dimensions again. Binding all (or almost all) inter-war pubs together was a shared outlook on the part of brewers and architects about what was important in design and planning. For instance, clear lines of supervision into and efficient service of the various bar areas, convenient and adequate sanitary provisions, and clear distinctions between licensed and non-licensed areas.

11.14 *Pubs of the inter-war years were responsible for a number of innovatory features, one of the most significant being the development of large and attractive pub gardens, which helped to attract customers of a range of ages and backgrounds. This is the garden of the Friendship pub, Knowle, Bristol (1933), published in* One Hundred and Fifty Years of Brewing *(1938), issued by Georges brewery of Bristol. (Courtesy of Fiona Fisher and Rebecca Preston)*

The pubs of the inter-war years were responsible for a number of innovations. In particular, the period saw the heyday of the pub garden and car park. Outdoor space was a major focus of attention for breweries and their architects, and many pubs included substantial areas for the entertainment and recreation of their customers, including pavilions, bowling greens and children's play areas (Fig. 11.14, and see Chapter 6). At a time before a formal drink-driving limit (one was finally introduced with the Road Safety Act of 1967), motorists represented a major customer base, and car parks often catered for well over 100 vehicles. Additionally, the inter-war years saw the heyday of the pub's off sales area or off licence, and of the assembly, club or function room; these were provided in the majority of pubs built at the time, and served an important role for the community. Other areas of novelty were the increasing refinement and formalisation of pub plans, the large increase in rooms for dining and the consumption of refreshments other

11.15 *Inter-war pubs were very often plain in their external design, as here at the Berrylands Hotel, Surbiton, London, a pub of c. 1934, built for Hodgson's Kingston Brewery and designed by Joseph Hill. This plainness was a specific aim at the time, intended to differentiate pubs from their 'uncouth', often elaborate Victorian and Edwardian predecessors, but came to be viewed with criticism by those who felt pubs should 'stand out' in their settings. (© Historic England, Emily Cole)*

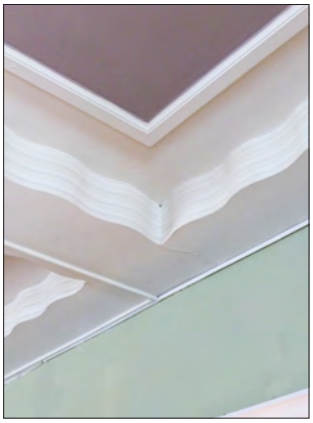
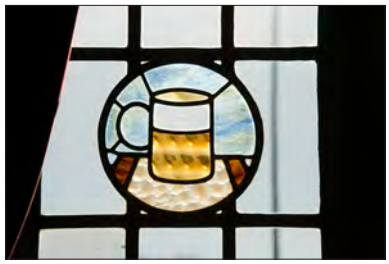











11.16-11.27 *Despite the overall simplicity of their design, inter-war pubs often have elegant, high-quality detailing, as can be seen in this group of images. From left to right, row by row, they show details of: the glass of the first-floor assembly room and the plasterwork in the adjacent anteroom at the Black Horse, Northfield, Birmingham (1929); the faience tiles and coloured glass at the Palm Tree, Mile End, London (c. 1929); the curved doors to the public bar at the Duke of Buckingham, Kingston-upon-Thames, London (1932); the fireplace in the former saloon bar at the Rose and Crown, Stoke Newington, London (1930-32); a vent with the initials of the Home Brewery in the smoke room of the Vale Hotel, Daybrook, Nottingham (1935-37); waved plasterwork and the mirrored bar back in the public bar at the Berkeley Hotel, Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire (1938-40); the staircase at the Bedford Hotel, Balham, London (c. 1931), with its Art Deco-influenced balustrade; the relief sign on the façade of the Adam and Eve, Hayes, London (1938); the waved cornice in the former saloon lounge of the Berrylands Hotel, Surbiton, London (c. 1934); a stained-glass roundel at the Gate House, Norwich (1934); the fireplace in the saloon dining room at the Stag's Head, Hoxton, London (1935-36). (all images © Historic England)*

than alcohol, the introduction and popularity of the lounge (or saloon lounge), and the provision of spacious lavatories for both sexes attached to the major bars. It was during the inter-war years that pubs first became respectable places of resort for all members of society, and the period saw a huge rise in the number of female customers, especially those of a younger generation.[321] Before the First World War, it would generally have been unthinkable for such women to enter a public house without risking their reputations. By the time of the Second World War, many pubs were considered appropriate and desirable places of resort for all members of the family.

Yet, in spite of their varied and strong claims to attention, inter-war pubs generally suffer in comparison with the often elaborate pubs of the Victorian and Edwardian years. The comparative simplicity of their exterior and interior design has been seen as negative, even inappropriate, in that inter-war pubs do not 'stand out' as it is now felt that pubs should. In fact, this simplicity of design was considered an objective at the time,[322] and helped to ensure the very survival of the public house – a fact which deserves to be much better known. Although often plain (Fig. 11.15), inter-war pubs usually have an elegance which is typical of a great many buildings dating from the inter-war years: their impact is in their form and in the detail, in areas such as the variety of brickwork, the shaping of the bar counters, the mirrored bar backs, the waved and profiled cornices, the coloured terrazzo on the floors, the elaborate glass skylights, the decorative faience on the exteriors, and the individually designed pub signs (Figs 11.16-11.27). Often, inter-war pubs also have a sensitivity to the design and character of a streetscape or locality which gives them added success, and this is especially true of those pubs built as part of new

11.28 *Many inter-war pubs were designed to be sensitive to the character and style of the surrounding buildings, as here with the Daylight Inn, Petts Wood, London (1935), seen in a photograph taken in 1936. The surburb of Petts Wood was built from the 1920s, mainly in the Neo-Tudor style. (Courtesy of Bromley Local Studies and Archives: C/OUDC/F/G213/3)*

321 By the time of the Second World War, two thirds of female pub customers were under the age of 40: Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol*, p. 189. See also: Gutzke, 'Gender, Class, and Public Drinking in Britain During the First World War', *Social History,* op. cit., pp. 386-8

322 One brewer stated, 'our purpose must be to give the people public-houses that don't have the look of pubs as we know them'; quoted in: Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, p. 189

suburbs (Fig. 11.28). Part of the vision behind the 'improved' pub was that they should blend into their environment rather than proclaim themselves in what was considered, at that time, an inappropriate fashion.

11.29 *The Baldwin, Hall Green, Birmingham, is one of the many inter-war pubs that have now been converted into carveries or family-friendly pub/restaurants. The pub was built in 1937 by Mitchells & Butlers to designs by the local firm Bateman's. It is now part of the Hungry Horse chain, owned by Greene King brewery. (© Historic England, Emily Cole)*

Although inter-war pubs were built and substantially rebuilt in large numbers – the total amount seems to have been somewhere around 5,000-6,000 (see p. 4) – those numbers are reducing rapidly. This project has shown that the level of threat posed to inter-war pubs is probably greater than for pubs of any other date – or is at least second only to that posed to pubs built in the post-war period, especially the years 1960-85. This reflects the current comparatively low levels of appreciation of inter-war pubs, but in particular the large scale that was so often used for pubs of the period and their grounds. On the whole, pubs of this size do not fit modern requirements – indeed, this has been the case since the 1970s, or even before. In many cases, pubs have been converted into hotels, supermarkets, 'carveries' and other family restaurants (Fig. 11.29). The grounds of many have been redeveloped, partially or completely, while others have been entirely demolished. Original windows have very often been removed, unsympathetic extensions added, doorways closed up, and plans opened out, creating more unified interiors. Levels of change and demolition have been especially high in the last two decades. From the evidence of this project, the number of well-preserved inter-war pubs – taking account both of exteriors and interiors, and including those pubs already included on the statutory list – is somewhere in the region of 150-200 (see p. 104), a maximum of 4% of the total built/substantially rebuilt. It is vital that something is done at a national level, before this number reduces any further.

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