



The Demon Drink: Alcohol and Prohibition in New Zealand

ALCOHOL in New Zealand can be dated from March 1773 when Cook's men brewed up a concoction of beer using manuka in Fiordland. The prohibition movement also has a long history. In the 1830s the Bay of Islands had a reputation for wild drinking, so it is no surprise that the first temperance society was formed there in 1836. A broadsheet calling the meeting, along with the *Report of the Formation of the New Zealand Temperance Society* (Paihia, 1836) are held by the Hocken.

This Bulletin covers brewing, hotels, the wine industry, and the voluminous prohibition literature. When using the computer catalogue be aware that some of the items mentioned below cannot be sourced by both author and title, so if the publication does not appear under one heading, check the other. The Bulletin is restricted to published books and periodicals. Lack of space precludes the listing of every relevant item held by the Library. Users are advised to use as wide a choice of subject headings as possible when searching for further references, and remember to check the holdings in Pictures, Photographs and Archives.

GENERAL

An entertaining discussion of the role of alcohol in NZ society from 1840 to 1915 is to be found in Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *Pleasures of the Flesh* (Wellington, 1984), while Jock Phillips provides a very readable history of the role of drinking in the male culture of NZ in *A Man's Country* (rev. ed., Auckland, 1996). Conrad Bollinger's *Grog's Own Country* (Wellington, 1959; 2nd ed. Auckland, 1967) provides a readable account of the history of liquor licensing. Barrister Lowther Broad's *The Law of Innkeepers, and Licensing Committees Guide* (Nelson, 1887) provided a guide to the laws affecting publicans in the late 1880s, pointed out some difficulties of administering the Licensing Act, and reprinted the relevant statutes. A succinct but excellent coverage is given in the chapter 'Control of the Sale of Alcoholic Liquors' by Arthur P. Douglas in his *The Dominion of NZ* (London, 1909). R.A. Loughnan, *NZ at Home* (London, 1908) includes a general dispassionate discussion of 'Alcohol and Temperance'.

BREWERIES AND HOTELS

Gordon McLauchlan's *The Story of Beer* (Auckland, 1994) is a popular history of brewing in NZ, but the

volume is sponsored by Lion Breweries and, not unexpectedly, the prohibition movement is not dealt with dispassionately. Conrad Bollinger provides a potted history of NZ brewing in *The True and Proper Drink*, published in *NZ's Heritage*, Pt 51, 1972: 1423–1428. For those interested in beer labels Richard Wolfe, *Well Made NZ* (Auckland, 1987) includes many black and white illustrations of registered trade marks.

Alfred Eccles' *An Account of the Brewing Trade of Dunedin and Neighbourhood, Past and Present* (Dunedin, 1949) was the forerunner of Frank Leckie's *Otago Breweries Past and Present* (Dunedin, 1997), a well-researched account of breweries large and small which operated at some time in Otago. Donald Gordon's *Speight's, The Story of Dunedin's Historic Brewery* (Dunedin, 1993) is an exhaustive and well-illustrated history of the company which dominated brewing in the South for many decades. A century earlier the company published *The History of a Glass of Beer as Produced at Speight & Co.'s City Brewery* (Dunedin, 1893). *Hosts to the Nation — The First Fifty Years of NZ Breweries* (Auckland, 1973) looks at the formation and later history of one of the country's brewing giants.

Recent works on beer and brewing include R. Brimer & A. Russell's *Microbreweries of NZ* (Auckland, 1995); Kerry Tyack, *Guide to Breweries and Beer in NZ* (Auckland, 1998), and Carol Caldwell, *Beers Brewed in NZ* (Christchurch, 1995). The latter is a brief listing by breweries (national and boutique) of beers available.

R.W. Willett produced the first listing of Dunedin pubs and publicans, but it is not completely reliable. Frank Tod's *Pubs Galore* (Dunedin, 1984) updated Willett's book, but repeats many of its errors and omissions for the 19th century. *Barmaids, Billiards, Nobblers and Ratpits* (Dunedin, 1992) by Ray Hargreaves gives lists of pubs and publicans, along with an account of pub life in Dunedin, for the period 1861–1865. A.J. de la Mare provides a brief history of licensing law changes, the prohibition movement, early Invercargill hotels, and the city's prohibition years in *Drink or Drought* (Invercargill, 1981). James McNeish provides an entertaining mixture of history and yarns about pubs and publicans, past and present, in *Tavern in the Town* (2nd ed., Auckland, 1984). Now well out of date is Ian Jenkin's *The Travellers' Guide to Pubs of the North Island*, (Auckland, 1984) which both describes and assesses, often frankly, the hotels and taverns included. Kevin J. Fearon & Alexander S. Johnston's *Wairarapa*

Hotels Past and Present: A Photographic Journey (Masterton, 1998) contains minimal text. *Inn the Beginning* (Whangarei, 1975) by Andrew Rae is a brief history of some early Northland hotels, plus some excerpts from *The Law of Licensed Hotelkeepers in NZ* compiled by James Siddells in 1904. *In Beer Slops. An Exposure of the Liquor Trade* (Auckland, 1946) J.A. Manderson was not concerned with temperance, but rather attacked the apparently common practice in some Auckland hotels in selling wampo, from slops recycled into the beer kegs.

Pat Lawlor's *The Froth-Blower's Manual* (Wellington, 1955) is an idiosyncratic but entertaining account of his own beer-drinking experiences, a potted history of beer in NZ and a beer encyclopedia. Lawlor's *Old Wellington Hotels* (Wellington, 1974) is a well-illustrated account of the capital's old watering holes. Also of Wellington interest is *Wholesale Wine and Spirit Trade: a Wellington History* (Wellington, 1966), a short history of the 23 merchants in business at the time. Fred Gebbie and Judy McGregor *The Incredible 8-Ounce Dream* (Auckland, 1979), described as 'a manual for the boozer', includes advice on such topics as how to tell if your beer is flat, and even recipes using beer. On a light note is *Puborama* (Auckland, 1961) by Ian MacKay which is a collection of yarns and anecdotes, particularly concerning country hotels.

History of the Invercargill Licensing Trust (Invercargill, 1955) and Clive Lind, *Pubs, Pints and People: 50 Years of the Invercargill Licensing Trust* (Invercargill, 1994) tell the story of the community-run management of licensed premises after years of being dry. An entertaining few pages of the no-licence era, including the origin of the New Zealandism 'kegging', is told in M.H. Holcroft, *Old Invercargill* (Dunedin, 1976). John F. McArthur has written two books on licensing trusts, *Progress in Retrospect: A History of the Maitai Licensing Trust from 1955 to 1965* (Gore, 1966), and *Licensing Trust Development in NZ* (Gore, 1967).

VINEYARDS AND WINE

Dalmatian-born Romeo Bragato, brought over by the NZ Government from Victoria, offered the first detailed *Report on the Prospects of Viticulture in NZ, Together with Instructions for Planting and Pruning*. (Wellington, 1895). The author was impressed with the possibilities of Central Otago. Bragato also wrote a detailed text on grape culture, *Viticulture in NZ* (Wellington, 1906) published by the NZ Government. A later history is Dick Scott, *Winemakers of NZ* (Auckland, 1964).

Probably the best book on the subject is Michael Cooper, *The Wines and Vineyards of New Zealand*. First published in Auckland, 1984, it has gone through a number of subsequent editions. Similar, but with less detail, is James Halliday, *Wine Atlas of Australia and NZ* (Auckland, 1991). Not all wineries are detailed and 'atlas' is a misnomer as maps are but a minor part of the book. Richard Brimer's *Boutique Wineries of NZ* (Auckland, 1993) gives brief accounts of the smaller wineries: Frank Thorpy, *Wine in NZ* (Auckland, 1983) offers a general summary.

For the amateur vintner, T.W. Leys (ed) *Brett's*

Colonists Guide (Auckland, 1881) still has useful advice to offer. Beaven and Danny Schuster offer a starting point for would-be sommeliers in *Wine Care and Service* (Christchurch, 1985). D.W. Beaven *Wines for Dining* (Christchurch, 1977) offers advice on quality, price, value for money, etc.

SPIRITS

Stuart Perry's *The NZ Whisky Book* (Auckland, 1980) provides a history of distilling in this country, much of which was illegal.

PROHIBITION & TEMPERANCE

R.N. Adams' *The Origin and History of Good Templary* (Dunedin, 1876) looks at the movement's origins and history overseas as well as in NZ. J.A.D. Adams' *Early Days of the No-License Movement* (Dunedin, 1910) is a history of the temperance movement up to 1892, with a concentration on events in Otago, and the author's own part in it. *Temperance and Prohibition in NZ* (London, 1930), edited by J. Cocker & J. Malton Murray, provides a sympathetic history of the movement along with a who's who of temperance workers. Anthony Grigg's 1977 doctoral thesis 'The Attack on the Citadels of Liquordom' examines the prohibition movement during the years 1894–1914.

The arguments for and against prohibition spawned a voluminous collection of pamphlets, particularly by prohibition supporters. *The No-License Handbook* (Auckland, 1908), edited by George Dash, is an encyclopedia of short entries covering all topics providing ammunition for opponents of the drink trade, from Drink and Athletics, to Poverty and Drink, and even on chocolates that contained liqueurs. William Fox's pro-temperance speech in the House of Representatives was published under the title *The Permissive Bill* (Wellington, 1872). The Rev. Peter Mason's *Intemperance: a Sermon* (Auckland, 1874) was a moderate statement. *Three Sides of the Question. The Medical, Political & Social* (Auckland, 1883) provided evidence of the evils of alcohol. *Evidence Against Moderate Drinking* (Dunedin, 1910) by M.A. & R.J. Rosanoff was a report of experiments carried out in North America on mental and physical activities after 'strictly moderate doses of alcoholic liquors'. The pamphlet had originally been published in an American periodical. George Bernard Nicholls published in Dunedin, c.1910, a broadsheet titled *A Message to Christians* arguing for prohibition, and including statistics which showed how crime and accidents were associated with drink.

William Salmond, Presbyterian Minister and Otago University professor, wrote *Prohibition a Blunder* (Dunedin, 1911), which went through five printings from 24 February to 3 April 1911. Salmond was concerned that the prohibition movement had become so strong and vocal that its opponents were being covered into silence. He was immediately answered by A.S. Adams in *Professor Salmon's Blunder: Prohibition an Effective Social Reform, a Reply* (Wellington, 1911) and Arthur Atkinson, a lawyer, who described Salmon's arguments as 'inaccurate, unscientific, and unscriptural'

in his pamphlet *The Drink Traffic, a Blunder* (Wellington, 1911). Rev. Henry Jacobs' *Temperance: A Sermon* (Christchurch, 1864) argued that temperance 'is a necessary Christian virtue'. The Rev. T.J. Wills attacked Dunedin's Anglican Bishop's view — that prohibition enforced by the state was not morally defensible — in a long book, *Bishop Nevill's Mistake* (Christchurch, 1897). Rev. A.R. Fitchett's opposition to a motion before the Otago Anglican Synod which urged Church people to vote for prohibition was reprinted as *Dean Fitchett's Speech on the Religious Objection to Prohibition* (Dunedin, 1925). O.E. Burton wrote two pamphlets supporting the prohibition campaign, *Youth Versus the Liquor Traffic* (Auckland, 1925) and *Labour and the Abolition of the Liquor Traffic* (Wellington, 1925), the latter being an examination of the advantages for workers in adopting prohibition.

The Bible was quoted to support both opposing viewpoints. For the prohibitionists Samuel Edger's *Christ & the Wine Question Carefully Considered* (Auckland, 1871) is a sermon which considered whether Christ made intoxicating wine from water. *In Wines of the Bible Wherein It Is Asked, and Answered — Does the Bible Allow the Drinking of Fermented Wines?* (Christchurch, 1896) the conclusion of the anonymous author was 'No, it doesn't'. But Christchurch rabbi Adolph Chodowski earlier argued in *Wine, its Use and Abuse* (Christchurch, 1893) that 'the wines of the Bible were fermented and intoxicating: that their presence was looked upon as a blessing' and only their abuse is condemned. John L. Allan, *Prohibition and Christianity: A Protest* (Oamaru, 1897) was unhappy with the 'vulgar self-assertiveness' of prohibitionists, and described the movement as 'anti-Christian'. George Bailey, *The New Heresy; or Scripture Teaching Regarding the Use and Abuse of Intoxicating Liquors* (Invercargill, 1897) suggested that the 'Doctrine of Prohibition, viewed from a Bible standpoint is a HERESY.'

Selina J. Hancock, *The Two Processions: a Dream of Bye-Law 2* (Dunedin, 1894) gave her vision of two worlds — the depressing one where the drink trade flourished, and the happy procession when alcoholic drink had been abolished. A.R. Atkinson, *The Spoiling of the Poor. An Appeal to the Moderate Drinker* (Wellington, 1896) was an appeal for total prohibition. Alfred C. Morton, who claimed that he was a 'moderate drinker' before writing *The Liquor Traffic. Is It Beneficial to the Individual? Is It Profitable to the State?* (Wellington, 1905) said he had become a staunch abstainer after examining the social, economic, and political aspects of the drink question.

University of Otago Professor Harry D. Bedford examined prohibition from an economic viewpoint, and concluded that all countries would be better off without the liquor trade. His view that 'prohibition is patriotic' was expressed in 'War and Shortage' published posthumously in A.B. Chappell, *An Appreciation of the Late H.D. Bedford...* (Wellington, 1918). Also concerned with the economic impact of the liquor trade is John W. Jago's *The Economics of Drink* (Dunedin, 1887), reprinted as *Will Prohibition Increase Taxation*

(Dunedin, 1894). His brief pamphlet *The Liquor Traffic and the Revenue* (Wellington, 1923) argues that the economy has nothing to fear from prohibition. Arthur Atkinson's *What About the Revenue* (Wellington, 1911) was largely reprinted, with updated statistics, as *The Revenue and the Liquor Traffic* (Wellington, 1914) offering a mass of statistics and opinions which concluded that the way to a booming economy was to abolish the liquor industry.

Albert J. Orchard and J.P. Whetter warned their readers that alcohol is a poison which affects the working of the brain in *NZ Doctors on Alcohol* (Wellington, 1911). *The Amber Light: Caution* (Christchurch, 1979?) is an amateurish publication pushing prohibition, with recipes.

William W. Collins supported temperance but not total prohibition, as witness his two pamphlets *Prohibition: A Plea for Liberty* (Christchurch, 1892) and *An Address on the Injustice of Prohibition* (Dunedin, 1893). Collins was against enforcing prohibition by law, believing it impossible to obtain morality by legislation.

The role of the WCTU in the push for prohibition is examined by Patricia Grimshaw in *Women's Suffrage in NZ* (Auckland, 1972). A history of the WCTU from 1885 to 1985, written by Jeanne Wood, is *A Challenge Not a Truce* (Nelson, 1986?). Kenneth J. Manson *When the Wine is Red: the New Zealand Temperance Alliance Centennial Review* (Wellington, 1986) notes the continuing fight against drink. Ethel Benjamin's Letterbooks (1903–08); and records of various Dunedin branches of WCTU, Dunedin Tent Independent Order of Rechabites (1864–1976), and Dunedin Area Council of the NZ Alliance (1921–59) are among temperance archives held in the Hocken. The *Good Templar Guide for Quarter Ending May 1911* lists Dunedin IOGT lodges, their meeting nights, forthcoming programmes and officers.

In the 1920s there was some support for corporate control (including some government investment) rather than complete state control of the liquor industry. *Licensing Reform Proposals for Corporate Control* (Dunedin, 1924) is a broadsheet which supported the setting up of an Otago branch of the NZ Licensing Reform Assn, while F.W. Chatterton, *Liquor Reform. Corporate Control versus Prohibition* (Rotorua, 1925) was against the movement.

Several towns and areas went 'dry' for a number of years. James Baird, *Results of No-License in Invercargill, 1906–1911* (Wellington, 1911) listed all the good things that had happened to the city, including photographs of newly-erected buildings, though he was honest enough to admit that progress was not solely due to prohibition. Two dissertations have examined the same topic: 'Doing Away With the Demon Drink: Prohibition in Invercargill, 1893–1905' by Alastair Hercus (1987), and 'The Thirty-Eight Year Drought: Prohibition in Invercargill 1906–1963', by Janette Mollison (1988). *Ex-Prohibitionist on Prohibition in Clutha: A Failure* (Dunedin, 1899) wrote that as much liquor could be obtained in Clutha under No Licence as

previously, and that if figures for drunkenness were omitted the statistics showed that other crime had increased after Clutha went dry. W.H. Scotter's *Ashburton* (Ashburton, 1972) includes some pages on that town's experience.

The Success of Prohibition in the British Isles & North America, Together with Some of the Effects of the Licensing System as Seen in Dunedin (Dunedin, 1876) by 'Prohibitionist' included comments how local institutions could do more to promote the temperance cause. Henry J. Osborn, *Does Prohibition Prohibit?* (London, 1889) and H. Gilbert Stringer, *The Effects of Prohibition in the Prohibited States of America* (Wellington, 1893), take opposing viewpoints as to the success of prohibition in North America. Arthur Atkinson, *Prohibition Makes Good* (Wellington, 1922) refuted views expressed in a lecture by Rev. Wyndham Heathcote that it had failed in North America.

The Law and the Liquor Traffic (Dunedin, 1870) is the text of a lecture to a Dunedin audience by the Rev. William Gillies, concentrating on data from Great Britain rather than NZ. Rev. P.B. Fraser attacks the overturning on a technicality of the Bruce poll which gave a majority to no-licence in his *Judgment in Voiding the Bruce Licensing Poll Freely Criticised* (Milton, 1903).

John W. Jago writing as St Mungo, *The Publicans' Claim to be Compensated Under Local Option* (Dunedin, 1879); Samuel Edger, *Has the Publican any Claim to Compensation for the Loss of His License under Local Option?* (Auckland, 1882); the anonymous *The Publicans Claim to be Compensated Under Local Option* (Dunedin, 1886); Joseph Malins, *No Compensation!* (London, 188-) and William Fox in *Compensation: A Memorandum on the Question Whether It is Due to the Publican on the Refusal to Renew His License* (Auckland, 1890) all gave reasons for their resounding 'No' to the question.

Songs and verses in support of the cause are to be found in *The NZ Temperance Songster and Band of Hope Melodist* (Dunedin, 1868); C.O. Davis *Temperance Songs, etc. in the Maori Language* (Auckland, 1873); and George Dash, *Two Hundred Band of Hope Recitations* (4th ed. Timaru, 1948). Dash also produced *Te Pono: Temperance Dialogues in Prose and Rhyme* (Waimate, 1904). Five songs with reference to the temperance question are included in Rona Bailey and Herbert Roth, *Shanties by the Way* (Christchurch, 1967).

The liquor trade supported publications such as E.F. Hiscocks' *Saints and Sinners? Concerning Somewhat the 1905 Elections* (Wellington, 1905) — a collection of cartoons by Hiscocks plus anti-prohibition texts and a plethora of advertisements. The National Council of the Licensed Trade of NZ published *In Defence of the Licensed Trade* (Wellington, 1917) which refuted claims of prohibitionists and argued that no further restrictions should be imposed on the trade. A further publication sponsored by them was the 118-page *The Case for Continuance* (Wellington, 1922) by John A. Harrison.

Whereas prohibitionists wrote very seriously, at least one of their opponents took a light-hearted approach. O'Grady's *Views on Prohibition: An Exposure of a*

Quack Reform (Dunedin, 1911) by the pseudonymous Timothy O'Grady includes five short papers mostly written in an Irish manner with such titles as *Tea-Guzzlers and Millenium Mongers: or, The Prohibition of Tea*. In *Pills for Prohibitionists*, O'Grady provides statistics and quotations against prohibition, including some from medical men about the harm done to women by their over-indulgence in tea!

'Is It' was the pseudonym of the author of *Isitt and His Prohibition Fad Proved Complete Failures* (Kensington, 1893) which attacked the prohibition movement and Rev. Isitt for his exaggerations and abuse of those involved in the drink trade. The life of a leading fighter for prohibition, T.E. Taylor, is to be found in N.F.H. Macleod, *The Fighting Man* (Christchurch, 1964).

PERIODICALS

The Illustrated Temperance Advocate which changed its name after volume 1 to *The Temperance Advocate* (by which it is listed in the Hocken computer) was a Dunedin publication which attacked The Trade, took the ODT to task over any criticism it made of the prohibition movement, and reported on the activities of various temperance groups. The Hocken holds volumes 1 to 3 (July 1873 to June 1876). A complete file of the prohibition weekly *The New Zealand Liberator*, published in Dunedin in 1876, is also held. *The Prohibitionist and Direct Veto Advocate*, a Christchurch-based periodical, is held from August 1895 to December 1904.

A complete file of the *White Ribbon*, journal of the NZ WCTU, is held on microfilm. A useful aid is Caroline Brooks and Gay Simpkin, *A Bibliography of Articles Published in the White Ribbon* (Wellington, 1975).

TEMPERANCE NOVELS

In the earliest temperance novels the story tends to be less important than preaching about the evils of drink. Later novels tend not to take a moral stand. The Hocken holds the following novels dealing with alcohol or an alcoholic character: Alexander Fraser, *Raromi or the Maori Chief's Heir* (London, 1888); G.M. Reed, *The Angel Isafrel; A Story of Prohibition in NZ* (Auckland 1896); Kathleen Inglewood, *Patmos* (London, 1905); Guy Thornton, *The Wowser* (London, 1916); Herman Foston, *At the Front* (London, 1921); Prudence Cadey, *Broken Pattern* (London, 1933); and Graham Billing, *The Slipway* (New York, 1974 & 1994). John A. Lee in *For Mine is the Kingdom* (Martinborough, 1975) attacks the beer barons and reveals bribery and corruption associated with politicians and unions in a story, 'based on fact', of 'Sir Ernest Booze' — obviously Sir Ernest Davis, one-time Mayor of Auckland and leader of The Trade.

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