

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

Company of Strangers:
Patea and Wanganui Hotels, 1866-1899

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in History at Massey University**

JASON LEONARD WRIGHT
2004

I dedicate this thesis to all of my educators, especially my parents, Lyn Davis, Bernie Noble-Campbell and Phillip Rankin. You told me I would accomplish something if I put my mind to it. Here is evidence that I was listening.

Contents

Illustrations	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Abbreviations	v
Introduction	1
1. A Physical Presence	8
i. Patea Settlement. ii. Wanganui Borough. iii. Boarding Houses. iv. Transport and Hotels. v. Depth and Breadth. vi. Promotional Activity. vii. Hotel Ownership.	
2. Controls and Consequences	47
i. Legislation and Licensing. ii. Public Debate Intensifies. iii. A Matter of Money. iv. Licensed Clubs. v. Unfair Maori Laws? vi. Consequences. vii. Ambiguity and Ambivalence.	
3. Cohesion and Division	86
i. On the Frontier. ii. Teetotallers and Temperance. iii. Attacking Social Liberties. iv. Free Trade. v. Gatherings.	
Conclusion	115
Bibliography	122

Illustrations

Graphs

1. Male convictions for drunkenness, Patea and Wanganui, 1870-1899..... 75

Maps

1. The location of Patea hotels in 1881..... 12
2. The location of Wanganui hotels in 1875..... 18

Plates

1. Accommodation House Plan, Patea..... 26
2. The Australasian Hotel, Patea 27
3. The Rutland Hotel, Wanganui 28

Acknowledgements

A number of people have assisted me during the twenty-four months I have worked to complete this thesis. They deserve my grateful thanks. Foremost, I thank my supervisor, Professor Margaret Tennant, for her patience and guidance throughout this time. I also thank Basil Poff and Nathan Hook for their interest and advice. I appreciate the support from Massey University Library Services and Patea and Wanganui museum and council archivists. Thank you also to friends and family for their support throughout this time. Finally, I acknowledge Sonya Reesby for her idea and enthusiasm for this topic, without which I would not have embarked on this thesis.

Abbreviations

AJHR	<i>Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives</i>
JP	Justice of the Peace
MHR	Member of the House of Representatives
NZJH	<i>New Zealand Journal of History</i>
NZPD	<i>New Zealand Parliamentary Debates</i>
STDM	South Taranaki District Museum
WRM	Whanganui Regional Museum
WTU	Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa

Introduction

Between 1866 and 1899 the Patea and Wanganui hotel was a changing institution that dominated social, economic and political spheres. At its heart, the hotel was an arena for social debate and social interaction, usually among men. It has been contended that the hotel is a 'legal creation' in that laws ensured hotels provided certain services during specified hours, and punished any transgressors.¹ Defined as public houses, their legal definition barely changed over the period under review, but the services that a hotel offered were regularly amended to take account of social pressures. While this notion of the hotel as legal creation may have informed much of the political debate and regulatory framework of the late nineteenth century, the hotel was a symbol of freedom from hard work, family constraints, boredom, long hours of travel, the physical difficulties of frontier life and political and social elites pushing for moral and social change. The hotel was also the accepted place to drink, and where liquor debates occurred, they usually centred on the hotel. Historians suggest that these elements were common in hotels throughout colonial New Zealand, Australia and USA, with links back to sixteenth century England and to previous Roman times. The nineteenth century hotel was also a gentleman's club for the working class. There, men could relax in warmth and relative comfort to share stories and news in the company of friends and strangers. During the nineteenth century views of the hotel underwent several changes at the hands of politicians and social commentators. However, it continued to serve the same basic functions, as provider of accommodation, entertainment and environment for social and political interaction.

There is a plethora of historical and sociological literature that examines the use of liquor and other drugs more generally, including Stevan Eldred-Grigg's *Pleasures of the Flesh: Sex and Drugs in Colonial New Zealand, 1840-1915*² and David Pitman and Charles Snyder's *Society, Culture, and Drinking Patterns*. Fewer histories discuss the specific role of the hotel, and even these fall within the greater parameters of particular

¹ Conrad Saunders, *Social Stigma: the Lower Grade Worker in Service Organisations*, England: Gower Publishing Company Ltd., 1981, p.91.

² Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *Pleasures of the Flesh: Sex and Drugs in Colonial New Zealand, 1840-1915*, Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed Ltd, 1984; Pitman, David J. and Snyder, Charles R. (eds), *Society, Culture, and Drinking Patterns*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962.

time periods or social and political movements. Despite this, historians are all but unanimous in their appraisal of New Zealand's nineteenth century hotel, suggesting that it extended into most areas of society. Few histories, in fact, deal with the hotel as a single entity. Even pictorial histories celebrating the country pub show an appreciation for hotels as places to meet and socialise.³ In their social histories, Conrad Bollinger, Raewyn Dalziel, Stevan Eldred-Grigg, Jeanine Graham, David Hamer, Jock Phillips and Len Richardson imply that the hotel was a complicated environment that fostered male culture and provided an impetus for the liquor debate on many levels, including frontier drinking habits, temperance advocacy, brewing interests, concerns about crime, politicking, Maori issues and the relationship between hotels and transport.⁴ Graham and Phillips also discuss the hotel as an alternative to the family and Christianity.⁵ They also examine the perceived need to increase family ideals in order to reduce frontier drinking habits, concluding that this anti-drink stance, combined with the greater moral push, resulted in small victories for the organised temperance movement. Ironically, these victories may have drawn liquor duties out of government coffers that in a way that increased the strain on the colonial economy through to the mid 1890s. Nevertheless, liquor consumption was often at the root of family and street violence, and while this was somewhat tolerated on the frontier, middle class New Zealanders protested its appearance in towns and cities.

While historians agree that the hotel was generally a male domain, they have also focused some attention on women and family concerns, discussing their increasing power in the public sphere as they headed toward women's franchise. The analysis of women in hotels is limited, although Graham and Phillips do suggest that women were the keepers of hearth and home, and rarely stepped into the male dominated domain that was the hotel, unless it was to work.⁶ Temperance advocates disdained this practice as being for the purpose of attracting weak men into drinking habits. Women who appeared in hotels for a drink or to sell their flesh were equally disparaged by anti-drinkers and

³ Malcolm Somerville, *Pubs of New Zealand*, Auckland: Hodder Moa Beckett, 2000.

⁴ Eldred-Grigg, *Pleasures of the Flesh*; David A. Hamer, 'Towns in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *NZJH*, 13: 1, (April 1979), pp.5-20; Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male - A History*, Revised Edition, Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd., 1996, pp.43-80; Raewyn Dalziel, 'The Politics of Settlement', Jeanine Graham, 'Settler Society' and Len Richardson, 'Parties and Political Change' in Geoffrey W. Rice, (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd Edition, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1996, pp.87-111; pp.112-140; pp.201-229.

⁵ Graham, pp.124-28; Phillips, pp.56-67.

⁶ Graham, pp.124-26; Phillips, pp.59-60; 69-70.

moderates. The hotel was viewed as no place for women. Graham and Phillips also report on the nineteenth century view that drinking among single men may have increased without the refining nature of women.⁷ This certainly appears to have been the case in Patea and Wanganui during the first few years of the towns' existence. At the same time that the towns grew and began to prosper, liquor consumption and drinking crimes decreased.

Phillips and Eldred-Grigg show that from the 1870s license administrators and temperance advocates were becoming increasingly involved in the liquor debate. As modern communications and industries expanded from this period, anti-drinkers and moderates grew increasingly intolerant of frontier drinking habits because they believed heavy drinking and a poor work ethic were undermining the public works and land improvements throughout New Zealand.⁸ In this environment, anti-drinkers believed that men needed to stop drinking and focus on making money if the colony and individual communities were to prosper. Yet, a hotel also reflected a town's 'health and hope'⁹ and the more hotels a town had, the greater its prosperity, or anticipation for better times. Likewise, the hotel was fiscally important to communities because hotel-keepers paid liquor duties and license fees to provincial authorities, and liquor duties to central government, which were used for public works. Hotels also attracted customers who spent money in other shops and services.

Liquor licensing became a major community concern from the 1880s, but like all nineteenth century liquor laws, they were often ignored by drinkers, licensed publicans, illegal operators and law enforcers. Phillips and Eldred-Grigg record that liquor laws were ineffectual. This claim is backed by primary evidence. From the 1860s politicians, newspaper correspondents and Maori leaders argued that liquor laws were not strong enough, or were unfair. When laws were strengthened to the satisfaction of anti-drinkers in the 1880s and 1890s, pro-drinkers claimed that they were being unfairly targeted, and more importantly, that laws were detrimental to local economies.

International historians also show that the hotel and liquor issues pervaded much of society throughout the Australian and American colonies and industrialised Britain,

⁷ Graham, pp.125-26, Phillips, pp.50-53.

⁸ Phillips, p.49.

⁹ Somerville, p.22.

although there is a distinct difference between the grand British hotels of the late nineteenth-century that catered to a more upmarket clientele, and the working class pub or inn common to city streets and rural settlements.¹⁰ Where the early nineteenth century English pub ‘began to assume particular social characteristics under the impetus of industrialism’,¹¹ difficult frontier life helped spawn the colonial New Zealand hotel of the 1860s and its associated male culture that included gambling and alcoholic sprees. Victorian British and colonial hotels are described as being mainly the domain of men. Diane Kirkby also suggests that Australian hotels employed women as barmaids, but the hotel was a workplace ‘dominated by the presence of men pursuing their leisure’.¹² Many international historians examine the anti-drink perception that hotels were bad, and discuss temperance advocacy rather than the social role that hotels played. Peter Clark is one major exception. His history of the English alehouse between 1200 and 1830 shows that there are parallels between England’s early drinking establishments¹³ and colonial hotels. In particular, Clark examines the social significance of drinking houses and the effects of law, brewing interests, women, temperance and the use of different establishments by different classes. Similarly, Michael A. Smith focuses on social uses of the public drinking house. International histories do show that people often viewed hotels as detrimental to social and moral order. Many histories also present hotels as service providers, and hoteliers as people concerned with the growth and prosperity of the towns, serving the town beyond their work in the bar.¹⁴ In so doing, historians disclose that hotels were far more significant than providing liquor. This notion has been overlooked in New Zealand histories, but as this thesis will demonstrate, was particularly evident in Patea where many of the publicans worked in the community as soldiers, firemen, councillors or on local committees.

It seems that most New Zealand histories concern themselves at least in part with liquor consumption and its consequences, either at a local or nationwide level.

¹⁰ Manning Clark, *Manning Clark’s History of Australia*, (1987), abridged by Michael Cathcart, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997; Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: a Social History 1200-1830*, London: Longman Group Limited, 1983; Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: the Temperance Question in England. 1815-1872*, London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1971; Derek Taylor, *Fortune and Folly: British Hotels and Catering from 1878 to 1978*, Great Britain: IPC Business Press, Ltd., 1977, p.3.

¹¹ Michael A. Smith, ‘Social Usage of the Public Drinking House: Changing Aspects of Class and Leisure’ in the *British Journal of Sociology*, 34, 3, 1983, p.369.

¹² Diane Kirkby, *Barmaids: a History of Women’s Work in Pubs*, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp.7; 25.

¹³ This includes taverns, inns, ale houses, gin palaces, public houses and hotels.

¹⁴ Joseph R. Gusfield, ‘Status Conflicts and the Changing Ideologies of the American Temperance Movement’ in David J. Pittman and Charles R. Snyder (eds), *Society, Culture, and Drinking Patterns*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962, p.104.

Primary sources also offer numerous and varied references to liquor consumption, licensing, liquor crimes and hotel management. The dichotomous themes of pro- and anti-drink within primary sources show that nineteenth century residents were closely divided on the subject, even when it came to voting for local prohibition. While most districts never introduced prohibition, or even sought to reduce the number of hotels, the outcomes were very close. It is of no surprise that politicians should also be representative of this pattern. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* provide lengthy debates on liquor licensing and licensing Bills. The major concerns among politicians were the effects of drinking on the wider community and soldier ability, demands for free trade, illicit sales to Maori, laws not being upheld and questions of the validity of individuals to make decisions on licenses. As a result of parliamentary debates over a 30 year period, laws-makers increased the power of liquor legislation, forcing one to conclude that parliament was changing in its assumptions about hotels, along with the population in general. The 1902 hearings over tied houses in *Appendices to the Legislative Council* and the 1898 police enquiry in the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* also provide a dichotomy of ideas about hotels. Clearly, police were concerned with the practice of some publicans and licensing committees, while publicans and brewers did not support the laws. In these documents, police were even accused of failing in their duties and overlooking illegal drinking among Maori. Meanwhile, licensing committees were condemned by police for their own interpretations of the law. Wanganui Licensing Committee minute books and Patea and Wanganui newspapers complement these official publications, providing an essential comparison between pro- and anti-drink arguments. Minute books and newspapers provide detailed reports of the license meetings, including outcomes, police recommendations and comments made by committee members and people protesting the licensing of hotels. Newspapers advertising and reports also demonstrate that hotels were significant social centres that provided accommodation, food, stabling, water and comfortable dining and bar rooms that were important to local economies.

Primary and secondary resources have a number of deficiencies that result in a mainly Pakeha male study. Evidence about women and Maori working in Patea and Wanganui hotels, or involved in drinking crimes and drink-related deaths in these two

centres has proved difficult to find. In these cases, examples from other geographic locations have been used, but even these are limited in number. Furthermore, detailed information about owners of hotels rather than licensees has not been forthcoming. With some exceptions, it is difficult to say with any certainty exactly who owned Patea and Wanganui hotels, and one is forced to draw tentative conclusions as to whether hotels in these two towns were owned by brewing interests, groups of shareholders, hotel barons or merely individuals. Also, much of the evidence for Patea licensing has come from newspaper reports rather than licensing committee minutes as these minutes were reportedly destroyed by fire during the 1960s. These deficiencies result in an over-reliance on official sources such as *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* and newspapers.

In previous histories, few attempts have been made to complement the generalised picture of the New Zealand hotel with detailed local studies. As a result, I have chosen to study the scope of Patea and Wanganui hotels between 1866 and 1899 because this was a period of enormous change in Patea and Wanganui. When comparing the two centres, it is clear they differed enormously in size, population, popularity as stopping places and in the number of hotels that each town boasted. This period saw the smaller settlement grow from frontier outpost to prosperous settlement catering to relatively small numbers of road travellers and local residents. At the same time, the larger one continued to expand as a significant service centre and transport depot that attracted a larger number of visitors and residents. Despite their differences throughout this period, hotels maintained an important social position in both towns that from this early date engendered a great deal of debate about the drinking among the towns' inhabitants. 1866-1899 was also a period that saw military hostilities between Maori and Pakeha subside. Maori gradually took their place in Pakeha society, although they continued to be treated differently by the law and society at large. Women also took on a greater role during this period, becoming a more prominent public force. Between 1866 and the end of the nineteenth century frontier ideas also gave way to notions of prosperity that continued into the twentieth century. As a result, hotels, drinking, licensing laws, public expectations and acceptance underwent dynamic transformation. This thesis examines how these changes affected hotels between 1866 and 1899 in two towns close in proximity, but widely different in other aspects.

The obvious starting point for a study of the hotel industry and liquor debate in the townships of Patea and Wanganui must be with a discussion of the physical nature of the hotel. This provides a backdrop for further investigation into the widespread role of the hotel, with respect to advertising, the role of publicans, transport, liquor laws, drink-related crime and death, the role of women, Maori licensing and socio-political debate. Chapter two, 'Controls and Consequences', is mainly focused on the role of the legislature and political debate on a wider scale, with some local evidence into the licensing debates that occurred in Patea and Wanganui, and the role of Wanganui police reports in licensing local hotels. Maori laws were seen as unfair, with evidence from commissions of enquiry that authorities were only intermittently upholding Maori liquor laws. The impact of drink-related crime and deaths specifically concerns Patea and Wanganui residents, with some reflection into the wider issues surrounding use of liquor and its role in drowning accidents throughout the colony. The third chapter of this thesis, 'Cohesion and Division', concerns the wide social implications of drink, initially on settler and soldier communities. The focus here is mainly on the debate that raged between pro- and anti-drinkers, and the perceived consequences of drinking on families and the prosperity of Patea and Wanganui. Religion, families and women are seen to be important to the liquor debate as deliverers from evil; however, men continued to have the wider powers of persuasion.

This thesis does not redefine the hotel or revise the history of colonial drinking. Instead, this work adds to the wider histories of male culture by Jock Phillips, Stevan Eldred-Grigg and Conrad Bollinger by detailing often overlooked details of the hotel and liquor debate in smaller provincial centres between 1866 and 1899. This includes analysis of the hotel as a physical presence, its uses by the public, the role of the publican, advertising, licensing committee meetings, drink-related deaths, pro- and anti-drink arguments, debates over Maori liquor laws and the extent to which these aspects were perceived by various groups directly and indirectly concerned with Patea and Wanganui. In sum, this thesis will show that Patea and Wanganui hotels maintained a dominant political, social and physical presence between 1866 and 1899.



1. A Physical Presence

Introduction

Between 1866 and 1899 Patea and Wanganui hotels were essential institutions, dominating their town's physical, financial and social landscapes. Throughout this period, they embodied the changing social and economic ideologies evident across the country. Initially, Patea and Wanganui hotels seemed more important for their provision of liquor, but as the settlements grew and road and railways into these settlements became safer and easier transport routes, accommodation became the primary function of the hotel, as it had been in Australia, and USA's colonial period 100 years before.¹ Hotel lodgings were especially important in country districts, and hotels were sometimes referred to as hostelrys.² Moreover, hotels provided meals, fresh water, stabling, entertainment and a warm, friendly environment for locals and travellers. Some rural hotels even supplied general goods to farmers.³ These services set hotels apart from taverns and grog shops. Drinking establishments without these services 'were nuisances'.⁴ Because many people wanted liquor, hotels were also more popular than dry boarding houses.

Hotels were often the most prominent buildings in both large and small New Zealand towns. Only banks, post offices and council buildings rivalled hotels for size and opulence. Their very presence and size indicates a building and business of great significance to owners, licensees, patrons and the whole community. Small, dark establishments were less attractive to potential customers, especially travellers. If men sought only drink, often anywhere would do, including bush shanties or illicit drink shops supplying home brew. But people, mainly men, sought more than liquor, resulting in promotional activity that included bigger, more appealing buildings and furnishings. Likewise, a hotel's location was important to its survival. According to sociologist

¹ Gusfield, p.104.

² 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 11 (1871), p.336 (Mr Swanson); 'The property of the Albion...', *Patea Mail*, 21 August 1875, p.2.

³ 'Obituary: the Late Mr T. Keane', *Patea County Press*, 5 April 1899, col. c, p.2.

⁴ 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 16 (1874), p.790.

Conrad Saunders, 'the key factors of the right location, correct capacity and high level of utilisation are...crucial to the viability of [the] hotel'.⁵

As public works increased from 1870, communications and travel between towns also improved. This meant that hotel advertising was more widespread, but also that any concerns people had with hotels became widely known. As a result, public expectations about hotels changed, and hotel services were altered. This change is particularly seen in the decreasing use of the hotel as a place of accommodation when the railway expanded. Consequently, hotels 'put more emphasis on their role as purveyors of liquor'.⁶ It was also during this period of public works consolidation that hotel numbers often decreased. To differing degrees, Patea and Wanganui establishments exemplified this national trend. Liquor was, therefore, important to soldiers and settlers, and on sports days when men and women gathered to share in the excitement of the event, where a drink from a hotel's liquor booth increased the euphoria of backing the winner or gave the losers a means to drown their sorrows.

Whatever the reason for the gathering, hotels were an important setting that impacted on the social and physical environment. This chapter examines the use of hotels for accommodation, their geographic placement, advertising, the significance of their names, their association with transport and the subsequent growth and decline of towns, and the role of some of Patea and Wanganui's publicans. This wide scope of the hotel as a business and *physical* entity indicates its importance to growing towns like Patea and to the more established centres such as Wanganui.

i. The Patea Settlement

Originally called Carlyle, Patea was established as a military post on the hills above Mana Bay. For the frontier settlement, the 1870s was one of relative growth that resulted in its borough status in 1881. As Patea expanded so did its number of hotels, to as many as seven. They were important to the fledgling settlement as providers of accommodation, entertainment and refreshment to travellers, soldiers and settlers, although the regular turnover of publicans indicates they were not easy business

⁵ Saunders, p.98.

⁶ James Watson, *Links: a History of Transport and New Zealand Society*, Wellington: GP Publications, 1996, p.115.

propositions.⁷ Economic depression from the early 1880s and the detrimental effects of the railway exacerbated this pattern, ultimately causing many Patea hotels to close. In fact, by 1894 only the Albion, Central and Masonic remained.

When John Casey opened the first of Patea's hotels, the Shamrock, in August 1866, hotel-keepers were reliant on road and ferry transport for customers, a reliance that became even more important after the establishment of the railway in 1883. Casey had been a storekeeper and sutler⁸ for local soldiers, including the 18th Royal Irish Regiment – a relationship that may have aided his success as a publican and spurred Casey to name his hotel after the symbol of Ireland. While the Shamrock was not the only source of accommodation, it was better placed than its boarding house competition because it stood next to the main road, near the ferry crossing at the mouth of the Patea River. There the Shamrock benefited from passing traffic, as many as 600 local militiamen and Imperial troops stationed in or near the settlement, and the settlement's twenty civilians who worked as either agents or contractors.⁹ Conversely, Alex Summers owned the only boarding house in the settlement, and this was further up on the flat, away from the ferry crossing and out of the immediate view of travellers in search of a place to stay.

Although there is no evidence that Casey operated the Patea ferry, he would have benefited from travellers' need for refreshment and shelter, as the nearest hotel was as far away as Nukumarū, some 20 kilometres south.¹⁰ The Shamrock was in fact 'the first home you come to on landing' on the western side of the Patea River.¹¹ From there, the main road led up 'a steep...very sandy...hill, to a sort of natural terrace' and the military camp.¹² The presence of a hotel so early in the town's history shows how important such a business was to the town's economic and social prosperity at the time. Without it, local soldiers, civilians and travellers may have suffered frontier difficulties and Maori insurgency without the accommodation and refreshments that Casey offered.

⁷ This information is available in license committee meeting newspaper reports in the *Patea Mail*, *Patea County Mail*, *Patea County Press*, *Star Almanac Taranaki*, *Wanganui Almanac* and [Wises] *New Zealand Directory* between 1870 and 1899.

⁸ A sutler is a merchant who specifically accompanies the military in order to sell provisions to soldiers.

⁹ Militiamen and imperial troops were renowned for their drinking and because of the regularity of their redoubts and camps, soldier use of hotels usually only extended as far as liquor consumption. *Wanganui Times*, 14 August 1866, p.2; K.W. Thomson (ed.), *The Legacy of Turi: an Historical Geography of Patea County*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press Ltd, 1976, p.102.

¹⁰ H.E.B. Newton, 'James Hirst, 1831-1887: notes on the life, family and background of one of Patea's earliest citizens and pioneers', based on the correspondence of Grace Hirst, James' mother, STDM, p.24.

¹¹ *Taranaki Herald*, 14 August 1866, p.2.

¹² *ibid.*

Without the Shamrock, the settlement may also have been without the early economic or physical prominence that local newspapers had accorded it.

As Patea's population increased, Robert Campbell also sought the benefits of soldier and settler spending when he established the Royal Hotel in 1867.¹³ The idea of monarchical control contrasts with that of symbol of Ireland, and may have been named to clearly differentiate between the two establishments. Like Casey, Campbell was already affiliated with local soldiers, initially supplying them food and equipment from his store. He, too, may have seen the benefits of running one of the few hotels in South Taranaki. Nevertheless, the Shamrock and Royal were closed in 1867 for a short period by resident magistrate James Booth because of habitual drinking among local troops.¹⁴

The number of hotels in Patea expanded quickly from 1870 when the town was relocated to its current position. This rise in hotel numbers suggests that residents and hotel owners expected their town to increase in size and prosperity, and is a common trend where hotels reflected a town's success.¹⁵ While the period 1866-1899 was an economic rollercoaster, the 1870s were a decade of relative wealth for Patea, when the population quadrupled, the river was bridged and the railway came ever closer. These improvements encouraged the establishment of more businesses and hotels in the town. In this environment, Casey and Campbell relocated their hotels to the settlement's new site. Thomas Quinlivan, however, bought the first section for *his* hotel, the Albion.¹⁶

Campbell renamed his new hotel the Masonic, and Casey named his the Australasian. Using some of the material from his beach hotel, Casey initially re-established his hotel on Norfolk Street, the expected main road.¹⁷ He was obviously astute enough to ensure his hotel remained on a major thoroughfare, again moving it to Bedford Street once that was designated the main road. Casey's hotel was no longer the first travellers came to on entering Patea from either direction, a position that may have contributed to its eventual demise. Despite its size and good condition,¹⁸ it was reduced to

¹³ Ian Church, et al, *Patea: a Centennial History*, Palmerston North, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1981. p.89.

¹⁴ 'Public Houses in Disturbed Districts Bill', *NZPD*, 3 (1868), p.446 (Mr Stafford).

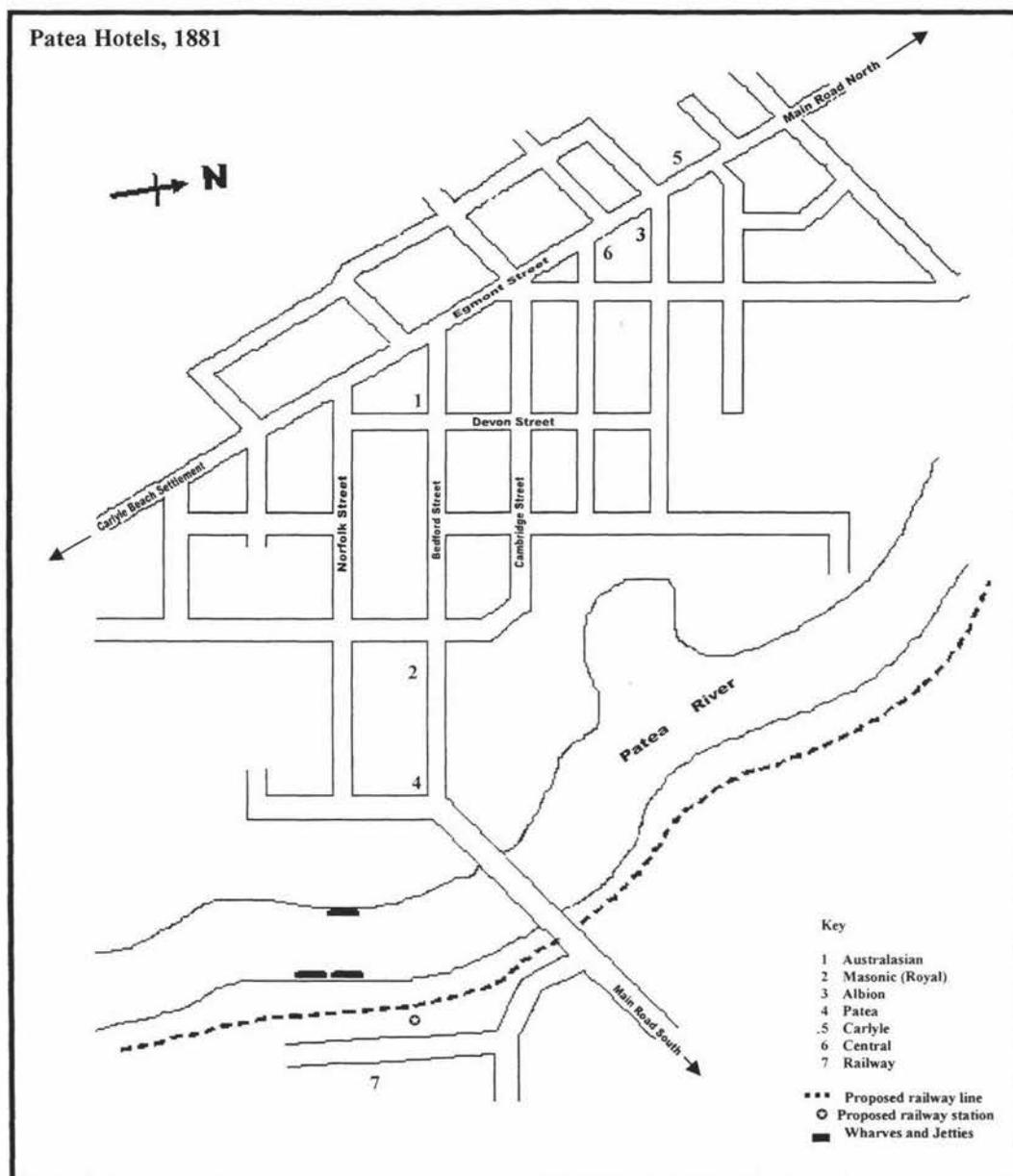
¹⁵ Somerville, p.22.

¹⁶ Quinlivan bought lot 1, block 4 and another section for £30 and £24 respectively – 'Register of Land Sales', *STDM*. Town sections were first gazetted for sale on 17 February 1868 – 'First Sale of Land', *New Zealand Gazette*, 1868, p.84; sections were again gazetted for sale on 16 March 1870 – *ibid.*, 1870, pp.130-31.

¹⁷ Church, p.89; 'Mr Taplin's New Warehouse', *Patea Mail*, 30 July 1883, col. f, p.2.

¹⁸ 'To be sold or let with a purchasing clause', *Patea Mail*, 2 May 1884, col. c, p.3.

a boarding house in November 1884 after creditors tried to wind up the estate of the then owner, William 'Skipper' Odgers.¹⁹



Map 1. Most Patea hotels were built along the main road within a short distance of each other.

¹⁹ This does not appear to be the same William Odgers that Ian Church claimed had received the first Victoria Cross awarded in New Zealand – Church, p.89. The winner of the VC is buried in Cornwall, England – www.victoriacross.net. William Odgers of Patea, on the other hand, died in 1916 at the age of 84 and is buried in Waverley cemetery. Odgers was given the nickname of 'Skipper' presumably because at one time he skippered a coastal trader called the *Dart* - 'Mr Taplin's New Warehouse', *Patea Mail*, 30 July 1883, col. f, p.2. Odgers VC had worked aboard the HMS Niger. This may also have been cause for confusion between the two men. Earlier in 1884 the Patea Borough Council had, in fact, threatened to sell up the Australasian because of unpaid rates, evidence that the depression was probably biting hard - 'To be sold or let with a purchasing clause', *Patea Mail*, 2 May 1884, col. c, p.3.

The main road through Patea was a popular and pragmatic choice for the location of hotels, with six of the seven established along its length. The Albion was the first hotel to be established on the main street, followed by the Masonic, Australasian, Carlyle, Central and Patea. As Map 1 demonstrates, the distance between the six main road hotels was remarkably short. There are two possible reasons why the small town of Patea had so many hotels over such a short distance: first, there was a need for entertainment and social gathering in the relatively isolated district with difficult living conditions; second, Patea was a popular stopping place for road travellers. Either way, Patea's hotels maintained an important relationship with transport services.

In 1879 John Milroy built the Central Hotel only metres from the Albion. Milroy owned the Central as part of a group of trustees, but he leased it to Owen McKittrick who became the licensee.²⁰ Like the Albion and Masonic hotels, the Central was a two-storey building. Next door, McKittrick used another double storey building to house commercial travellers.²¹ He also supplied sample rooms for salespeople to display their produce. These rooms, even in a relatively small hotel in a town like Patea, were a status symbol and a measure of the size and importance of the Central's business. By the 1880s the Central was increasing in value, despite the falling economy. In September 1881 Owen McKittrick sold his lease Mr Kirkwood of Christchurch for £500.²² In the following year, William Balmforth bought the lease for £1200.²³ This price difference may have occurred because of Kirkwood's success; however, this is unlikely as he only kept the hotel's lease for such a short time. It is more probable that the property had increased in value as the railway came closer to Patea.

Most of Patea's hotels were ultimately unsuccessful. The Carlyle Hotel, named after the original beach settlement, opened in December 1873 opposite what became the borough council chambers and the existing monument to Turi's waka.²⁴ The owner of the Carlyle, Henry Usher, remained its sole proprietor until 1881, when for reasons yet unknown it failed to retain its license and became a boarding house.²⁵ Like many

²⁰ Church, p.91; 'We hear that...', *Patea Mail*, 2 August 1882, col. f, p.2. In 1874 Milroy also built a wharf on the Patea River, just north of the road bridge on the eastern side of the river. It appears to have been built specifically for John Gibson, a local storekeeper and during the 1860s one of a group of military suppliers – Newton, p.19.

²¹ Church, p.88.

²² *Patea County Mail*, 2 September 1881, col. g, p.3.

²³ 'The Central Hotel...', *Patea Mail*, 11 August 1882, col. e, p.2.

²⁴ This monument was erected in 1933.

²⁵ Church, p.91.

hoteliers in Patea and Wanganui, Usher had already gained experience in the hospitality industry, initially as a storekeeper at the beach settlement,²⁶ then as a baker, and more importantly as the licensee of the Masonic Hotel in 1872. Patea Hotel was also originally owned by a man experienced in the industry and was likewise unsuccessful. Initially named the Shamrock Temperance Boarding House, it opened for business near the river in 1870 under the management of Alex Summers. There is no known connection between this and Casey's Shamrock, but the two men did share some history. It appears they were in competition against one another first when Summers ran a boarding house at the beach settlement, and second when he held the license for the Shamrock in 1868 while it was still under Casey's ownership. Summers tried to maintain a temperance slant from his boarding house days, but the desire for liquor proved too much and in 1882 George Beamish, whose brother operated the Masonic Hotel only metres away, was granted a liquor license for the Patea Hotel. The replacement of the ferry crossing with a single lane bridge in 1874 may also have influenced Beamish's decision to license his hotel, as travellers no longer needed to wait for so long to use the ferry, but might have been more interested in the refreshments a handy hotel might have offered. The closure of the Patea Hotel may have been influenced by its close proximity to the Masonic. It also appears that Beamish was 'removed' from the Patea Hotel in 1883, after which Patrick Hurley held a second tenure before Fanny and J. O'Dea returned it to its temperance origins, again running it as a boarding house.²⁷ Mr and Mrs O'Dea had earlier tried to encourage drinkers away from hotels with their Pier Dining Rooms, which, combining with the Patea Hotel, they renamed J O'Dea's Temperance Hotel Restaurant.

In 1881 Felix O'Sullivan McCarthy took advantage of the growing railroad and opened his hotel. Naming it the Railway, McCarthy advertised the arrival of its namesake transport service in the area. Boasting '14 bedrooms, dining room, billiards room, three parlours and bar', the Railway Hotel was established on Portland Quay, on the east of the Patea River, with Felix's brother Patrick as the licensee.²⁸ McCarthy relied on customers breaking railway journeys, just as Casey and the Shamrock had benefited from the ferry crossing at the beach. Pro- and anti-drinkers debated the Railway's initial

²⁶ 'Mr Taplin's New Warehouse', *Patea Mail*, 30 July 1883, col. f, p.2.

²⁷ License records for the Patea Hotel are not available as they were apparently destroyed by fire in the 1960s; however, local newspapers and almanacs provide some details about licensees.

²⁸ Church, p.91; 'Licensing Court: Railway Hotel', *Patea County Mail*, 17 March 1881, cols a-b, p.3.

license. Those against it believed it surplus to the town's drinking requirements, while those in favour maintained it was essential for workers' accommodation. Railway workers certainly abandoned their tents to stay there, showing that it was an important provider of lodgings.²⁹ McCarthy's success would, however, be short-lived. He remained the proprietor until 1884, and by 1890 the Railway was reduced to a boarding house, and eventually demolished.

The proportion of hotels to population in Patea was initially striking. In 1874 Patea boasted one hotel for every 39 Europeans living in the town. As hotels closed and the population grew, the number of people per hotel increased. In 1896 there were 246 people for every hotel.³⁰ Although hotel numbers declined and people per hotel increased, the rate of hotels in Patea was still almost twice the national rate, strengthening the notion that small town hotels could be economically viable, and were essential to town prosperity, even after railway workers moved on, taking their money with them.

ii. Wanganui Borough

Like Patea, Wanganui was well endowed with drinking establishments that were concentrated close to main thoroughfares, soldier garrisons and other services and businesses. Because of its bigger population this larger town had more hotels than Patea, but between 1874 and 1896 the proportion of hotels to population was not as high. In 1874 there were 151 Wanganui residents for every hotel, increasing to 283 in 1896.³¹ The proportion of hotels to population was also higher than the national rate in every Census year between 1874 and 1896.³² And so, like Patea, Wanganui's hotels were significant businesses that dominated Wanganui borough.

During Wanganui's earliest years, some of its first settlers provided liquor and a place to drink it four years before the arrival of any churches and other public buildings.³³

²⁹ To the Editor: Good Templars and Licenses', *Patea County Mail*, 13 January 1881, col. b, p.3; 'Licensing Court: Railway Hotel', *Patea County Mail*, 17 March 1881, col. b, p.3. This is discussed in more detail in 'Controls and Consequences' and 'Social Bonds'.

³⁰ 'Population and Dwellings', *Census*, 1874-1896; 'Licenses', *Statistics of New Zealand*, 1874-1896. In 1896 this was surpassed by only 21 of the 97 boroughs, and many of these were in Otago and Westland – 'Licenses', *Statistics of New Zealand*, 1896, p.495.

³¹ 'Population and Dwellings', *Census*, 1874-1896; *Statistics of New Zealand*, 1874-1896.

³² *ibid.*

³³ The first church was built for the Church of England, and the sermon delivered by Rev. Richard Taylor 'on the first Sunday in January 1844. The first Roman Catholic church was completed in the 1850s, although a Catholic missionary, Monsieur Le Compte arrived in Wanganui in 1849 'to minister to members of his faith serving in the Imperial Troops stationed in Wanganui' – Maxwell J.G. Smart and Arthur P. Bates, *The Wanganui Story*, Wanganui: Wanganui Newspapers Ltd., 1973, pp.81-82.

Up until the 1850s, most of Wanganui's drinking establishments did not offer accommodation. Rather, they were grog shops with bad reputations. There was simply no demand for public lodgings. Local pioneers wanted drink, and many of the locals were surveyors and bush farmers who erected their own tents or rudimentary huts. Up to the 1870s travellers were also relatively few because of poor road conditions and the lack of railways, further reducing the need for public accommodation. As Jock Phillips suggests, the absence of hotel accommodation was common in other areas of the colony. He explains that many of Westland's late nineteenth century urban hotels were 'drinking houses, little more than shacks' built to cater for the drinking needs of miners and early settlers – people often not requiring public lodgings.³⁴ According to historians Maxwell Smart and Arthur Bates, the first Wanganui drink shop was established in 1840, from which the number grew quite rapidly. They report: 'entry in a private diary dated Dec. 1840...had this to say on the subject, "Of the seven houses already built in Wanganui, three are being used as grog houses"'.³⁵ With the scarcity of hotel accommodation, urbanites looked on Wanganui as a hotbed of vice and debauchery, where its European residents had sadly 'given themselves over to drunkenness'.³⁶

By the 1850s hotels were being built with the need to accommodate locals and travellers in mind. The Wanganui Borough Council recognised the importance of the town's hotels for this purpose in a street map published in the *Wanganui Almanac*. The map lists 'Churches, Public Offices, Institutions, Banks', and the town's 17 'Hotels and Inns', ignoring its other businesses.³⁷ While New Zealand's lacklustre economic condition during the 1880s did help reduce the number of hotels in Patea, Wanganui hotel numbers remained fairly static until the 1890s, when they dropped to twelve. However, as in Patea, hotel ownership and proprietorship regularly changed hands. The Commercial Hotel alone had eleven owners between 1844 and 1870, changing hands at least thirteen times in 26 years.³⁸

³⁴ Phillips, p.57.

³⁵ Smart and Bates, p.85.

³⁶ *ibid.*, citing an unnamed Wellington newspaper of April 1841; James Belich also comments on this activity, describing the town as 'a hamlet of 200 with a reputation for debauchery' – *Making Peoples: a History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Auckland: Allen Lane: The Penguin Press, 1996, p.339.

³⁷ 'Plan of Wanganui Borough' from the *Wanganui Almanac*, 1875.

³⁸ 'The Old Commercial', *Evening Herald*, 2 June 1870, cols c-d, p.2.

While liquor abuse was common during Wanganui's formative years, it often gave way to the primary function of the hotel once roads were improved and railways were built. Thus, as more hotels catered to the accommodation needs of locals and travellers, the focus swung toward hotels as businesses essential to the success of towns. Wanganui's earliest officially licensed hotels offering accommodation were the Rob Roy and Churton's.³⁹ Both were established in the early 1840s near the Whanganui River, close to today's Moutoa Gardens.⁴⁰ By 1875 Wanganui boasted 19 hotels⁴¹ with accommodation, although most were established during the period of 'laissez-faire' licensing through to the 1870s.⁴² Hotel numbers increased as the population grew, showing that the early demand for hotels was as strong in Wanganui as it had been in Patea. According to Smart and Bates, 'the presence of several hundred garrison troops stationed in Wanganui gave a decided boost to trade, and a number of new business premises and hotels were erected to cope with this increased demand'.⁴³

As Map 2 demonstrates, most of Wanganui's hotels were clustered in a relatively small area on the western side of the river, taking advantage of travellers and soldiers. Where one hotel was built and became popular, usually on a corner section, others sprang up, attempting to cash in on customers already drawn to well-known areas. Taupo Quay, bordering the river, was an especially popular hotel strip, each hotel taking advantage of river, and later, rail traffic. The Ship Hotel on the corner of Taupo Quay and Wilson Street, for example, was a very important and successful business. It had continued a tradition of hotels on the same site from 1844 when it was originally the Commercial Hotel, commonly called 'Yankee Smith's' after its first owner, an American whaler named Alva G. Smith.⁴⁴ He had employed two former missionaries to build the hotel, but aside from four pence, 'they had taken all their wages out in liquor'.⁴⁵ The hotel

³⁹ M.J.G Smart, 'Early Wanganui Hotels', *Home & Building*, February 1962, pp.11-13. Captain John McGregor owned the Rob Roy. The Rob Roy was 'a low mud-walled cottage with the roof thatched in the fashion of the nearby Maori whares'. McGregor named his hotel after the famous Rob Roy McGregor, whom the hotel owner claimed as an ancestor – Smart and Bates, p.86.

⁴⁰ Moutoa Gardens was known as Market Place or the Market Square Reserve until 1872. It was here that the Wanganui purchase agreement was made in May 1848 – Flora Spurdle, *More Stories of Old Whanganui*, Wanganui: L.W.L. van den Broek, 1963, p.93.

⁴¹ 'Plan of Wanganui Borough', *Wanganui Almanac*, 1875.

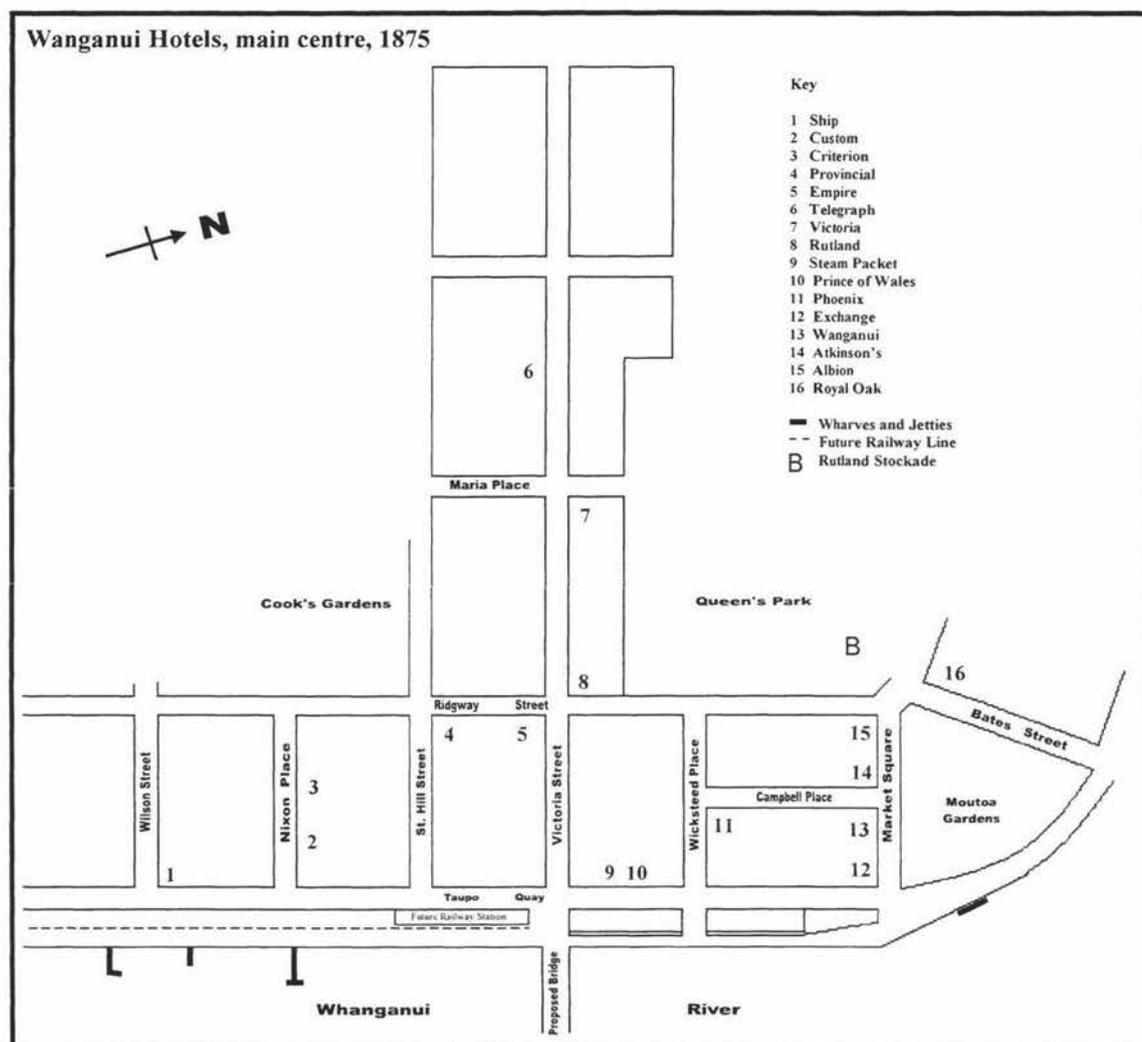
⁴² L.H. Southwick, Alan Dormer and G.R. Halford, *The Liquor Laws of New Zealand: a Successor to the Original Text of J.H. Luxford*, CMG, Wellington: Butterworths, 1983, p.1.

⁴³ Smart and Bates, p.89.

⁴⁴ Smart, p.12. As Yankee Smith's, the hotel served as a blockhouse in 1846 with 'its upper storey barricaded for the protection of women and children of the settlement'.

⁴⁵ 'The Old Commercial', *Evening Herald*, 2 June 1870, col. c, p.2. This article gives a detailed account of the Commercial's history, including its construction and character of landlords.

was destroyed by fire in 1870,⁴⁶ rebuilt as the New Commercial Hotel with notable differences, including a 'small theatre', before it was again replaced in 1880 as the Ship Hotel.⁴⁷



Map 2. Most Wanganui hotels were clustered in the main business area over a relatively small distance.

Having passed through many hands, the Ship's final owner, George Roberts, saw the Commercial through its best years, and 'he soon made a large amount of money', selling it for £1000.⁴⁸ Another site, near the corner of Victoria Street and Taupo Quay, was home to two hotels during the nineteenth century. The first, the York, started

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, col. d, p.2.

⁴⁷ Smart, pp.11-12. By 1908 the Ship Hotel had been reduced to a boarding house and turned into a 'coffee house' – 1908 Wanganui town plans, Wanganui District Library.

⁴⁸ 'The Old Commercial', *Evening Herald*, 2 June 1870, col. c, p.2.

business in 1852 when it was moved from Rutland Street because its initial site had proved inadequate for the demands of locals.⁴⁹ The original owner, John Foster Kells, named it after his ‘former regiment’, the 65th Yorkshire North Riding, with whom he had served as sergeant.⁵⁰ It was destroyed by fire in 1858, but rebuilt as the Steam Packet Hotel after the first passenger steamer to arrive in Wanganui in September 1857 ‘tied up on the river bank opposite’ Kells’ original hotel.⁵¹ At the time, it was the largest three storied building in Wanganui. Under new ownership in 1872, it was renamed Foster’s.⁵²

Moutoa Gardens was also a popular backdrop for a number of hotels where the Wanganui, Albion, Exchange, Royal Oak and Atkinson’s occupied a stretch of approximately 200 metres. From across Moutoa Gardens, this row of hotels had a clear view of the Whanganui River, with easy access to wharf facilities used later for berthing the *Waimarie* and *Manuwai*, two river ferries servicing the northern hinterland. The main anchor point along the foreshore had provided safe berthing since 1840, with ‘30 feet of clear water’ below ships’ hulls.⁵³ The Albion, a single story, high gabled establishment, was reportedly built in 1861 by a Mr Hoskins, only a few hundred metres back from the river. In 1861, not long after the Albion was built, Hoskins gave his title deed to Reverend Edward Wyvill as security for a substantial loan; an ironic twist in what would become a society strong in the temperance debate.

While hotel numbers of hotels in Wanganui might suggest a community with a drinking problem, the short distance between each hotel coupled with their number, is indicative of a settlement reliant on hotels for accommodation and entertainment. This need was supported by local option polling, when residents voted to maintain the number of hotels in their towns.⁵⁴ The foreshore area, including Moutoa Gardens, was a bustling arena of accommodation, drinking and commerce, with hoteliers’ clear reliance on public transport services for much of their custom. People obviously wanted licensed accommodation, with the choice to drink. Even after the introduction of more stringent laws and the rise of a stronger anti-drink lobby through to the 1890s, Wanganui’s cluster

⁴⁹ This move occurred five years after the hotel’s establishment.

⁵⁰ James Garland Woon, *Wanganui Old Settlers*, (1902), Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 2000, p.46.

⁵¹ Athol Kirk, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 May 1988, p.14.

⁵² The 1875 Almanac still referred to the hotel as the Steam Packet. The hotel was rebuilt in 1907 and again destroyed by fire in 1918.

⁵³ Smart, p.11.

⁵⁴ ‘Local Option Poll’, *Statistics of New Zealand*, 1894, p.458. This is further dealt with in ‘Controls and Consequences’.

of hotels continued to provide essential accommodation services for travellers and popular drinking places for local soldiers and civilians.

iii. Boarding Houses

Boarding houses were common throughout nineteenth century New Zealand. Patea had at least three, and Wanganui at least five. However, they were not as popular as hotels for accommodation purposes because they did not offer liquor, and stabling was rare.⁵⁵ Also, larger hotels such as Wanganui's Empire or Patea's Australasian also played the part of a boarding house by providing long term lodgings. Hotels were often more opulent, and so more popular among travellers, even prohibitionists, whereas boarding houses were usually smaller, less roomy establishments catering to the low-paying customer.⁵⁶ Some Wanganui hotels, including the Ship, Criterion and Phoenix, did however, grow from boarding houses, or were later reduced to them. Boarding houses, therefore, served the needs of long and short term lodgers, but if boarders wanted a drink, they were expected to go to a hotel because any drinking on the premises was frowned upon and often the grounds for eviction. Mr and Mrs Palmer also opened a boarding establishment at the Carlyle beach settlement in 1867, but remained in business only briefly. Summers' first boarding house also did not survive once the town was relocated, and his Shamrock Temperance Hotel proved unsuccessful even though it was built near the ferry crossing. In 1884 O'Dea's boarding and eating house upgrade was also unsuccessful. By 1887 the business had folded and the hotel building was moved to the northern outskirts of the town where it was used as a residence for one of the borough councillors and prominent landowners, Edward Honeyfield.⁵⁷ The closure of these two boarding houses strongly suggests that travellers and locals wanting accommodation or food also wanted the chance to have a drink. Although ideas about public drinking were changing and people were growing more intolerant of hotels as drinking places, hotels were still more popular than temperance boarding houses. Nevertheless, boarding house operators knew the value of liquor and a number of landlords graduated from boarding

⁵⁵ 'Temperance Boarding House', *Patea Mail*, 5 May 1875, col. f, p.3.

⁵⁶ 'Police Commission of Enquiry', *AJHR*, 1898, vol. III, H.2, p.1104.

⁵⁷ Church, p.91. Local historians still debate whether Patea Hotel was moved. There is anecdotal evidence that the Railway Hotel was, in fact moved to E.M. Honeyfield's Park Farm, Whenuakura.

houses to hotels. As mentioned, this occurred in Wanganui, the first owner of the New Criterion Hotel, Mr D. Roux Buisson, ‘a short, dark Frenchman with a heavy moustache’, had previously owned the Prince of Wales boarding house on Taupo Quay.⁵⁸

iv. Transport and Hotels

It is clear that Patea and Wanganui hotels were closely associated with public transport services. Patea hotels such as the Shamrock, Albion and Railway relied on road and railway travellers breaking their journeys with accommodation and refreshments. From the very first passenger coach trip between Patea and Wanganui in February 1867 hotels were involved. Cobb and Co. made the eight hour journey from the Rutland Hotel in Wanganui and arrived at the Shamrock where the passengers ‘were received with a very cordial welcome’ from locals and politicians, including William Fox.⁵⁹ The relationship between hotels and ferries was also strong, with hotels the main beneficiary of the association, as ferry crossings were convenient stopping places.⁶⁰ Some ferry operators carefully timetabled their crossings, and depending on the width and condition of the river, allowed only one or two crossings a day, waylaying travellers, all but forcing them to seek refreshment and shelter in the nearby hotel. In fact, hoteliers sometimes operated ferries, profiting from any river hold ups. By the 1870s road and railway travel was becoming increasingly reliable and widespread, and bridges were built, making ferry crossings obsolete; even with the changes, hotels and transport continued their significant relationship.

Because of Patea’s size and location, hotel survival depended upon transport, but the advance of the railway toward Hawera impacted negatively on the town’s hotels. In Patea, the close distance between McCarthy’s hotel and the railroad provided short term benefits to the publican. As the railway advanced toward the settlement, its population and hotel patronage swelled with the influx of railway workers looking for accommodation and a place to drink. In fact, one argument for licensing the Railway Hotel was to house railway workers who were living in tents and huts, drinking in public.

⁵⁸ Photograph details, no. B/H/48, WRM.

⁵⁹ ‘The First Journey of Cobb’s Coach to Patea’, *Weekly Herald*, 12 February 1870, col. b, p.3. This article provides an in-depth account of the trip, including stopping places – one being Titikowaru’s pa at Tauranga Ika.

⁶⁰ ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 16 (1874), p.790.

Once it was completed in August 1883,⁶¹ however, the railway proved detrimental to this and other hotels, taking workers and other customers away. This forced McCarthy and Patea's other hoteliers to rely on road travellers and the town's small number of settlers for their income. While the expanding railroad had promised greater prosperity for Patea, even before it was completed to the town its namesake hotel was struggling. While Patea was the railhead, railway travellers and workers provided only brief respite to what became known as the 'Linger and Die'.⁶² It shared a similar fate of many larger facilities, even whole towns.⁶³ At the same time, Patea's housing increased with the population growth and the need for public accommodation *decreased*, further impacting on the town. Residents had hoped that McCarthy's hotel would attract more customers; however, its demise was no doubt partly the result of its placement away from main road traffic.

It seems that main road hotels like the Albion were better options because at least they could draw in road travellers. Thomas Quinlivan established the relationship between the Albion and Cobb and Co. There the company changed horses before journeying to the growing settlements north of Hawera, and beyond to New Plymouth. This brought customers into the Albion for a drink or a rest. Travellers stopping for longer periods, or over night, were also likely to spend money in other shops.

Wanganui was a transport hub that benefited from road, rail and river services. As a result, the relationship between hotels and transport services was more discernible in Wanganui than in Patea. This association is clear upon examining the number of hotels in close proximity to the Whanganui River, and later to the railway which was originally constructed near the riverbank. Between 1891 and 1959 the Whanganui River was, in fact, the essential transport route for people living as far north as Pipiriki.⁶⁴ Some

⁶¹ The railway was opened between Waverley and Manutahi on 28 August 1883. Unlike other small sections, the Waverley to Patea and Patea to Manutahi sections were opened on the same day, meaning that train services to Patea did not begin until the railway was eight miles and 57 chains beyond Patea. 'Enclosure to Appendix G: Table of Lengths of Government Lines Authorised, Constructed, and Surveyed up to 31st March 1891', *AJHR*, 1891, D.1, Appendix G.

⁶² Church, p.91.

⁶³ This also occurred in Hawke's Bay where numerous small towns, such as the Manawatu Gorge Settlement, Makotuku and Matamau all but disappeared, and even Ormondville and Woodville severely declined once the railway was completed. My Honours research exercise, 'Progress and Prosperity? The Impact of the Napier-Palmerston North Railway Line on Southern Waipawa County, 1886-1896' and David Hamer's *NZJH* article, 'Towns in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', discuss this phenomenon in more detail, showing that while the railway was essential to a growing agriculture and timber industry, in turn benefiting town services, this benefit did not extend to hotels.

⁶⁴ Smart and Bates, pp.243-44. As numerous pa sites along the length of the Whanganui River indicate, Maori had used this important waterway as a trade and transport route between the coast and the hinterland since their arrival in the area. "An enterprising Norwegian captain" established the first European river service between Wanganui and Pipiriki in 1865. His was a short-lived enterprise. In 1890 a more feasible service was organised by Alexander Hatrick who, with the help of the Whanganui River Trust, inaugurated the more successful service, making his first trip to Pipiriki on 21 December 1891. The service was extended in 1903 to include Taumararua on the upper reaches of the river, using Maori canoe from Pipiriki.

Wanganui hotels were also built near jetties and, before the construction of Victoria Bridge in 1871, the main ferry crossing. George Roberts, the owner of the Commercial Hotel, invested in a wharf to increase his business, and to avoid government berthing fees, even though the public wharf was only a short distance from his own facility.⁶⁵ Roberts even commissioned a pathway from his wharf 'to the front door' of his hotel, providing easy access for potential customers.⁶⁶ Like many other hoteliers, he was indebted to the Whanganui River which had serviced him for many years, 'honoured all my draughts...and...been as good to me as £3000'.⁶⁷

From the mid 1880s Wanganui was also a major railway terminus with maintenance workshops, furthering its popularity as a transport centre. In fact, between 1881 and 1885 when the railway between Wellington and New Plymouth was complete, passengers on the Wanganui line increased by up to 37%.⁶⁸ As British historian Derek Taylor argues, railways 'pioneered the modern hotel industry'.⁶⁹ The railway boosted hotel numbers and hotel patronage throughout England as more and more people travelled by train. The same trend occurred in New Zealand, but usually only in larger towns like Wanganui. Despite the railway often proving a boon to railhead towns such as Patea, once the railway was completed, the need for lodgings dwindled 'as rail-borne travellers rumbled quickly past to their destinations in larger centres'.⁷⁰ Where towns a day's horse ride apart had once been logical stopping places, hence the string of settlements throughout New Zealand, now towns a day's train ride apart prospered as economically practical sites for railway workshops, industry and larger livestock and timber yards. At such places, passengers also disembarked for refreshments. A converse trend occurred in nineteenth century England where 'hotels retained much of their importance in fashionable society until the coming of the railways...[when] hotels and inns...suffered from the decline of longer distance carrying...and the migration of economic and other activities'.⁷¹ Small town hotels, on the other hand, suffered at the hands of longer distance train travel, despite an increase in the number of train passengers

⁶⁵ Smart, pp.11-13.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*

⁶⁷ Woon, p.50; Smart, p.13; 'The Old Commercial', *Evening Herald*, 2 June 1870, col. c, p.2.

⁶⁸ 'Traffic Returns', *New Zealand Gazette*, 1881-1886.

⁶⁹ Taylor, p.1.

⁷⁰ Watson, p.115.

⁷¹ Peter Clark, p.10.

travelling on the Taranaki-Wanganui line.⁷² Efficient railway operations and travelling distances meant that Wanganui, Hawera and New Plymouth were more logical stopping places than Patea.

v. Depth and Breadth

A hotel was important to a town as much as it was to the business itself. Anti-drinkers ignored these benefits, focusing instead on problems with drinking. Temperance advocates also claimed that drinking led to a personal hardship. However, hotels attracted travellers and tourists who spent money with other businesses and tradesmen, thus benefiting the whole community. Boroughs and provinces also earned money from license fees, and liquor duties helped bolster spending on public works. According to one newspaper correspondent, ‘Had the working classes of New Zealand never drunk a glass of liquor or smoked a pipe of tobacco...landgrabbers and capitalists would have had to pay...[more] taxes...or gone without many...railways, roads and bridges’.⁷³ This reinforces historian Raewyn Dalziel’s claim that the 1887 fall in government revenue was ‘caused largely by a decline in the consumption of liquor’.⁷⁴

Hotels were also important on race days. They provided accommodation and a drinks stall at the race meeting. On Wanganui race days, hotels were also essential ‘to the shopkeepers and trades people’ because visitors meant ‘a valuable addition’ to weekly profits, ‘and consequently a lot of money finds its way to Wanganui that would be spent elsewhere’.⁷⁵ In fact, Wanganui race days attracted so many people to the town that at times hotels found it hard to cope with the accommodation needs of visitors. Presumably, the Wanganui races and other such large events would have attracted fewer visitors had the number of hotels been reduced because finding a bed for the night would be difficult. Fewer visitors may also have created an economic loss for the entire community.⁷⁶

⁷² In 1880 the total number of railway passengers using either the Wanganui or New Plymouth lines was 203,864. In 1885 when the railway had been completed two years, 222,414 passengers travelled by train. This was an eight percent increase – ‘Traffic Returns’, *New Zealand Gazette*, 1881-1886.

⁷³ ‘Stonewalling’, *Yeoman*, 17 September 1898, col. a, p.12.

⁷⁴ Raewyn Dalziel, ‘The Politics of Settlement’ in Geoffrey W. Rice (ed.) *Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd Edition, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1996, p.109.

⁷⁵ ‘The Licensing Election’, *Yeoman*, 3 March 1894, col. b, p.12.

⁷⁶ ‘Hotel Accommodation’, *Yeoman*, 10 March 1894, col. b, p.12.

Hotel-keepers added to local economies by employing ‘local merchants, to say nothing of the large orders daily filled by the grocer, baker [and] butcher’.⁷⁷ Patea and Wanganui breweries also supplied local hotels,⁷⁸ and hoteliers often supported local industries in order to ‘give local tradesmen a chance of competing with outsiders’.⁷⁹ For example, in ‘a generous spirit of mutual help’, Felix McCarthy took order of ‘bedding [and] linen’ from a local draper and importer, Robert A. Adams.⁸⁰ McCarthy also employed local workmen to make the Railway Hotel’s furniture.⁸¹

Clearly, hotels provided more for their communities than temperance supporters would have society believe, and a large, sophisticated hotel was an obvious attraction. Although most Patea and Wanganui hotels were two storey buildings, the Shamrock, Carlyle and Patea hotels and Wanganui’s Albion were small. They supplied enough rooms for small numbers of travellers, lodgers and private accommodation for the publican. Plans for ‘a proposed Accommodation House’ on the Patea River show a simple, relatively small two storey building with four bedrooms, a dining room, bar, kitchen and ‘private parlour’.⁸² The largest bedroom was planned at 13 x 8 feet, while the bar and dining room, presumably where the largest numbers of people congregated, were each 13 x 12 feet, and without fireplaces;⁸³ sufficient for entertaining small groups. Although there is no evidence that this plan refers to either the Shamrock Temperance or Masonic hotels, as Plate 1 suggests, it was a small affair likely to have been overshadowed in stature and probably reputation by larger premises. The Australasian, for example, was an imposing three storey structure. By 1884 this establishment had been raised over fifteen feet above its original height,⁸⁴ and boasted ‘33 Rooms, stables...Out-buildings, 2 cottages, and a Butcher’s Shop’.⁸⁵ It also covered three town

⁷⁷ *ibid.*

⁷⁸ Both centres had breweries, and Hope Gibbons owned one in each town. No individual records of transactions have come to light to indicate which hotels Gibbons’ provided beer to. He advertised his ale and stout at 5s per dozen pints and 7s 6d per dozen quartz. Due to ‘increasing demand’ and ‘the improvement to the brewery and bottling departments’, Gibbons was ‘in a position to supply first-class draught or bottled ale in any quantity’ – ‘Patea Brewery’, *Patea County Press*, 12 September 1892, col. f, p.3. Two enterprising residents, George Adams and William Treweek, had established Patea Brewery before 1868. Like the Royal and Shamrock hotels, the brewers were surely taking advantage of the large number of soldiers in the town – ‘The Patea Brewery’, *Patea Mail*, 9 September 1981, col. c, p.64.

⁷⁹ ‘A license has been granted...’, *Patea County Mail*, 17 March 1881, col. f, p.2.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ *ibid.*

⁸² ‘Plan of Proposed Accommodation House, Patea River’ (facsimile), STDM.

⁸³ *ibid.*

⁸⁴ ‘The extensive alterations...’ *Patea Mail*, 14 February 1883, col. c, p.2.

⁸⁵ ‘To be sold or let with a purchasing clause...’, *Patea Mail*, 2 May 1884, col. c, p.3; ‘Hotel Property for Sale’, *Patea Mail*, 7 November 1884, col. c, p.3.

sections. Anyone approaching from the eastern side of the Patea River would have clearly seen the large structure and surely been attracted to it. The size of the Australasian adds to the irony of its downgrading to a boarding house and eventual closure.⁸⁶

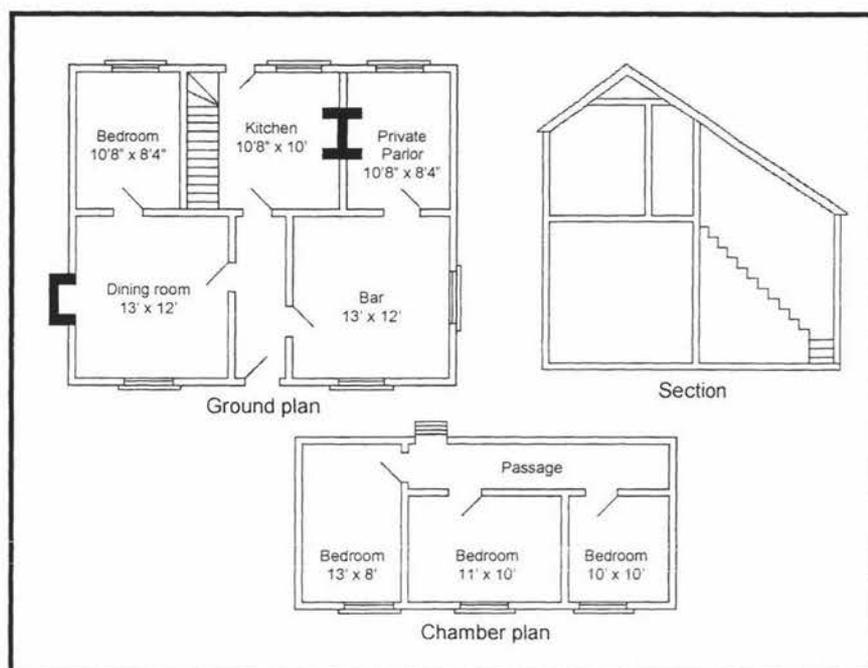


Plate 1. Facsimile of a plan for a proposed accommodation house. This was to be built near the Patea River.⁸⁷

As Wanganui increased in size, large premises became more popular. Plate 3 shows that the Rutland Hotel dominated Wanganui, dwarfing private dwellings and other early hotels like the Albion. Established on the corner of Ridgeway and Victoria streets by William Spears Russell in the early 1850s,⁸⁸ the Rutland's physical presence meant that it became known across the colony as providing 'ample accommodation for the needs of the young settlement', including its use by local organisations and well known politicians.⁸⁹ The Tongariro Lodge of Freemasons met at the Rutland for many years, and on 9 November 1869 they entertained the Superintendent of Wellington Province, Isaac Earl Featherston. Governor Sir George Ferguson Bowen also stayed in the noted

⁸⁶ The Australasian eventually ended life in the late twentieth century when it was deliberately set afire for the local fire brigade to practise their skills.

⁸⁷ 'Plan of proposed Accommodation House Patea River' (facsimile), STDM.

⁸⁸ Smart and Bates, p.88.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*

establishment prior to opening of Victoria Bridge.⁹⁰ The Rutland remained important into the twentieth century, although the original building burnt down on Christmas Day 1868 after a neighbouring American style bowling alley caught fire.⁹¹ Wanganui's other large hotels must also have been attractive to travellers. The original Criterion Hotel on Nixon Place was a relatively small two storey building providing livery, stables and 'genuine wines and spirits'.⁹² Built on a corner section, its replacement was far more spacious. It also maintained its own sample rooms, making the establishment more attractive to travellers and sales people wishing to display their wares.

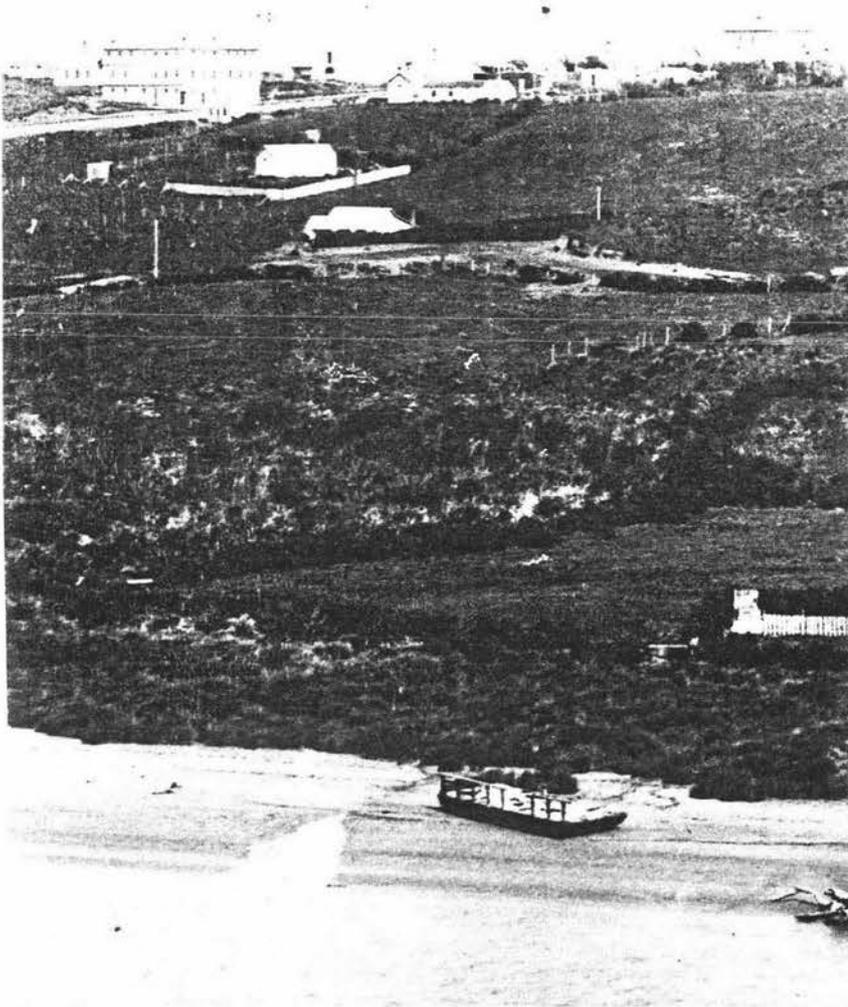


Plate 2. The three storey Australasian Hotel dominates Patea's other buildings.⁹³

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, pp.168-69.

⁹¹ *ibid.*, p.88.

⁹² 'Criterion Hotel', B/H/41; B/H/48, WRM.

⁹³ 'View of Patea looking across the river', ca1900s, F-55304-1/2, WTU.



Plate 3. Wanganui's Rutland Hotel dwarfed its neighbours.⁹⁴

To compete with growing numbers of hotels, hoteliers also improved their amenities, trying to attract travellers and tourists. Potential customers, including itinerant workers looking to go on the spree, were persuaded by the latest advances in hotel design and style. Frontier men might have tolerated the inauspicious drinking establishments of 1840s Wanganui and 1860s Patea, but public tastes changed as the two towns increased in population, and as society demanded improved public services and demonstrations of prosperity to reflect the growth of the colony. 1830s England had witnessed the growth of gin palaces where 'the domesticity of the old pub had given way to the commercialised glamour of new people's palaces, gaudy compensation for the meanness of everyday life'.⁹⁵ Like the British hotels and gin palaces, New Zealand hotels were also upgraded to

⁹⁴ 'Rutland Hotel', ca1850s, B/H/78, WRM.

⁹⁵ Smith, p.368, citing P. Bailey's *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978, p.16.

attract customers. Licensing committees picked up on this desire and made it clear that they wanted local hotels ‘up-to-date and suitable for all requirements’.⁹⁶ They also believed that Wanganui would need new hotel buildings, forcing hoteliers to consider the quality of their own buildings as essential to good business, and to gaining liquor licenses.⁹⁷ Committees obviously understood the economic value of the hotel. While Patea and Wanganui hotels never reached the grandeur of the larger English establishments, from the 1870s settlers and visitors expected the comforts of hotels in large towns, like those in Auckland and Wellington. Drinkers and certainly travellers wanted the best their pounds, shillings and pence could buy, and hotels were improved to attract them.

Frontier digs were becoming a distant memory as Patea and Wanganui hotels improved their furnishings and lighting, and from 1881 outside lighting was also a legal requirement,⁹⁸ but as advertising and photographs suggest, the fancier the doorway lantern, lintels or architraves, the greater a hotel’s promise of luxury inside. Patea’s Central Hotel appeared glamorous and its popularity was certainly well known. Advertisements suggest that hoteliers offered commodious buildings, lofty bedrooms and spacious dining facilities, and for road travellers, stabling, paddocks and water were essential amenities, as they were in Australian, American and English establishments. From 1873 hotels were legally required to supply bedrooms and stabling, as it was ‘a general complaint...that [many] public houses had not sufficient accommodation for travellers’.⁹⁹ From 1881 all hotels were to provide at least six rooms for travellers, and stabling enough for three horses.¹⁰⁰ Anything else was illegal, including bush shanties. This does not mean such abodes did not exist, but it does show that the hotel in particular was legally defined by its function as provider of accommodation for the benefit of the travelling public. As the railway became an increasingly popular form of transport, however, more extensive paddocks and stabling were often the preserve only of hotels in smaller towns like Patea, or those on the outskirts of larger towns like Wanganui, where road travellers were more common.

⁹⁶ ‘Wanganui Licensing Committee’, *Yeoman*, 18 June 1898, col. d, p.18.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*, col. c.

⁹⁸ ‘Licensing Act’, *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S. 124, p.154.

⁹⁹ ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 11 (1871), p.331 (Mr Creighton).

¹⁰⁰ ‘Licensing Act’, *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S. 38, p.137.

vi. Promotional Activity

To attract travellers, hoteliers advertised in local newspapers and almanacs. This practice became popular in Patea and Wanganui during the 1870s when numbers of travellers increased once road and railways were improved. In contrast, boarding house and cafeteria advertisements were rare. Between 1875 and 1899 local hoteliers perpetually focused on accommodation and transport services, only sporadically mentioning liquor. This focus reinforced the image that hotels provided important services rather than merely drink. On occasion, hoteliers also aimed accommodation and dining services at families, promoting the image of more respectable premises, an increasingly important attraction as town populations grew and ideas about the hotel and public drinking became more inflammatory.

The need for promotion was particularly important in more isolated towns like Patea where visitors were far less frequent than in Wanganui. Patea hotels were promoted for their location, size of buildings, ‘airy’ rooms, ample tables, stables, paddocks, water supply and the latest fire safety improvements. Hoteliers also tried to show that their establishments were as good as any in Wanganui. In 1875 Robert Daniels heavily promoted the quality of accommodation for ‘families’, travellers and horses at the Albion, claiming ‘comfort...not surpassed by any hotel in New Zealand’.¹⁰¹ Yet, he made only passing mention of the ‘quality and brands’ of liquor he offered. In 1877 the Albion’s Thomas Haywood and the Australasian’s William Odgers advertised their respective businesses in the *Wanganui Almanac*. The two men again promoted their hotels as homely places, presenting accommodation ahead of liquor. Odgers provided accommodation ‘on one of the best sites’ in Patea, including home comforts with ‘lofty...airy rooms’.¹⁰² Haywood promoted the Albion as the ‘stopping place of Cobb and Co’s Coaches’,¹⁰³ but by 1881 focused on his hotel’s hot and cold baths, shower, ‘spacious...rooms...[and] first-class stabling’, while its selection of food and, more importantly, ‘choicest Wines’, finest ‘spirits and cigars’ and range of beers seems of

¹⁰¹ ‘Albion Hotel’, *Patea Mail*, 14 April 1875, col. b, p.4.

¹⁰² *Wanganui Almanac*, 1877, p.49.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*, p.52. In 1883 Haywood also made known his ‘handy little timetable for gratuitous distribution, giving the arrivals and departures of trains’ – ‘Mr Thomas Haywood...’, *Patea Mail*, 31 August 1883, col. e, p.2.

secondary value, placed in small type near the bottom of the advertisement.¹⁰⁴ In 1884 William Balmforth advertised the Central hotel, promoting its stabling, paddocks and billiards room ahead of alcoholic beverages. In fact, he introduced readers to the ‘superior furniture’ of his ‘commodious’ hotel, with a promise to ‘spare no expense to make...[it] the Best and most Comfortable on the Coast’.¹⁰⁵ Any mention of liquor lacks definition and seems an afterthought, placed toward the end of the advertisement, printed in lower case italics.¹⁰⁶

Advertisements placed by Wanganui hoteliers also confirm how important travellers were to their industry. John Ruscoe promoted his Empire Hotel as the ‘largest and most commodious family hotel in Wanganui’, offering a dining room ‘capable of accommodating upwards of sixty people’, a lodge room, billiard room and ‘about twenty...spacious and well-ventilated’ bedrooms’.¹⁰⁷ Furthering his promotion as a hotel fit for families, Ruscoe offered private dining and bedrooms for families and gentlemen.¹⁰⁸ He was also one of the rare hoteliers to advertise prices for board and residence, charging £1 per week, or £1 5s for people wanting private bedrooms.¹⁰⁹ Compared to 35s per week to lease a Patea house, and the average weekly wage for farm workers and artisans at 43s, Ruscoe’s rooms might be deemed expensive.¹¹⁰ John Rawlings also advertised St John’s Hotel, promoting ‘good stabling...best hay, corn and chaff’, and ‘the best accommodation for travellers and boarders’.¹¹¹ Rather than attracting drinkers per se, he focused on accommodation needs, using bold, uppercase type. Rawlings did offer ‘Wines, Spirits and Beer of the Primest Quality’, but this also seems insignificant compared with his promotion of accommodation and livestock services.

The emphasis on services was not specific to New Zealand. English hotel advertising also focused almost entirely on accommodation. England’s Great Northern Hotel, for example, was promoted using a large illustration of the multi-storey building in the centre of its advertisement. It provided an extensive list of room and service prices, including servant’s quarters, dressing rooms, sitting room fire places, food and hot

¹⁰⁴ ‘The Albion’, *Patea County Mail*, 17 March 1881, col. b, p.1.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Central Hotel, Patea’, *Patea Mail*, 7 November 1884, col. f, p.3.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ ‘Empire Hotel’, *Evening Herald*, 29 August 1873, p.3. In 1908, the Empire section was listed on the Wanganui town plan as the Cosmopolitan Club.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Newton, p.32; ‘Wages and Prices’, *Statistics of New Zealand*, 1880, pp.172-73.

¹¹¹ *Wanganui Almanac*, 1877, p.7.

baths.¹¹² Local advertisements were far less lavish or detailed, but they still promoted the basic conveniences ahead of liquor, perhaps emulating the advertising and services of large English hotels, and the perception that smaller New Zealand hotels offered some of the luxuries of their British counterparts.

Hotel-keepers also promoted their towns by mentioning local scenery, amenities and improved transport facilities in their advertisements. The railway, bridges and transport services were particularly common. Indeed, the closer a hotel was to other businesses and services, particularly transport, the greater was its pulling power because these facilities were important to travellers. The promotion of local improvements in hotel advertising also alerted customers to the presence of the railway, wharves and road bridges, showing travellers that towns like Patea were prosperous and worthy stopping places. Thus, Thomas Haywood advertised his hotel's link with Cobb and Co. and its 'close proximity to the Post and Telegraph offices';¹¹³ William Balmforth promoted the Central Hotel's 'extensive views of the sea and country';¹¹⁴ James Beamish promoted local road improvements and the Masonic Hotel's 'close proximity to the Patea Bridge';¹¹⁵ Felix McCarthy focused on his hotel's geographic location to local improvements such as the road bridge and the railway.¹¹⁶ More importantly, McCarthy's May 1881 promotion was no ordinary advertisement: it appeared in the public announcements column.

Patea hotels were promoted outside of advertising columns. Newspaper reporters sometimes wrote favourably about hotels, especially at the changeover of licensees or after hoteliers had improved or altered their buildings. Newspapers also emphasised hotels above other businesses, indicating that once settlers established hotels, outsiders viewed settlements like Patea as progressive. In 1866 the *Taranaki Herald* described Patea in rudimentary terms, with '70 to 100 houses...composed of iron, timber or toi toi', also reporting the Shamrock as a 'timber house, well built...[with] eight rooms', a kitchen and a cellar.¹¹⁷ A newspaper correspondent also claimed that Patea had 'progressed faster than its most sanguine supporters could have dreamt of,' focusing on

¹¹² Taylor, p.3

¹¹³ 'The Albion', *Patea County Mail*, 17 March 1881, col. b, p.1.

¹¹⁴ 'Central Hotel, Patea', *Patea Mail*, 7 November 1884, col. f, p.3.

¹¹⁵ *Wanganui Almanac*, 1877, p.49.

¹¹⁶ 'Hotels', *Patea County Mail*, 17 May 1881, col. f, p.1.

¹¹⁷ 'Patea Hotel', *Taranaki Herald*, 14 August 1866, p.2.

the ‘two hotels in the township’.¹¹⁸ In an 1869 newspaper article Patea hotels were again mentioned ahead of the town’s other ‘local industries’, including butchers, bakers or brick and tile makers.¹¹⁹ Again, in 1870 a reporter for Wanganui’s *Evening Herald* described Patea hotels as ‘first class in style and size’, with the Albion described as ‘second to no hotel in Wanganui for nearly everything in which an hotel should excel’ [sic].¹²⁰

By the early 1880s Patea had grown sufficiently that reporters no longer focused on the town’s growth, but on the improvements to established hotels. Patea’s Masonic Hotel was known for its furnishings and services, but as one newspaper report indicated, the building had had a number of improvements, including ‘convenient and simple’ fire safety provisions such as fire escapes, ‘broad steps’ and a rear balcony for ‘escape from fire’.¹²¹ The hotel’s water supply was also developed. James Beamish had added a 3,500 gallon tank to supply ‘cool and sweet...roof-water’ to the hotel’s kitchen, bath and wash-house, with ‘a pipe running to a horse-trough at the front of the hotel, with a handy tap for the wayfarer to slake his horse’s thirst while taking his own refresher’.¹²²

An 1884 newspaper article provided the most telling example of the position hotels held in Patea. Having been sold, the Australasian Hotel was introduced as ‘our old friend’.¹²³ Joseph Richards had acquired the hotel which was described as a ‘hostelry’ and a ‘favourite place of resort’ with the ‘choicest liquors...a spacious billiard-room and excellent table...for passing callers, evening visitors, or permanent lodgers’.¹²⁴ Furthermore, the article was given its own headline, rather than appearing under the general ‘News of the Day’ like many other local, regional or national news reports. Such reports suggest that the nineteenth century hotel was indeed an important social institution, viewed by some as a source of local pride.

Why would newspaper reporters explain hotel accommodation in such detail? Indeed, why would advertisers emphasise services such as furnishings, water supply or fire safety when drinking was supposed to be so widespread? Perhaps people knew they

¹¹⁸ ‘Correspondent’, *Evening Herald*, 29 August 1867, col. b, p.2. Settlers had also built another hotel, but it had not been licensed.

¹¹⁹ ‘Patea: From our own Correspondent’, *Weekly Herald*, 18 December 1869, col. c, p.2.

¹²⁰ ‘From Wanganui to Patea’, *Evening Herald*, 5 May 1870, col. c, p.2.

¹²¹ ‘The lessee of the Masonic Hotel...’, *Patea County Mail*, 15 March 1881, col. g, p.2.

¹²² *ibid.* Ironically, the Masonic Hotel burned down in 1906.

¹²³ ‘Old Friends’, *Patea Mail*, 22 December 1884, col. g, p.2.

¹²⁴ *ibid.*

could find liquor in hotels, and so there was little point in advertising it. While a hotel's physical attributes might draw alcohol-seeking customers, it is clear that advertising building and safety improvements were aimed at travellers and lodgers. On each occasion, newspaper reporters also linked Patea's growing prosperity to the town's hotels, indicating how important they believed hotels were to the town's economic success. The press supported Patea hotels, according them some ascendancy in the hierarchy of business, rarely mentioning other services or shops. As Patea entered a period of economic and demographic decline, hoteliers were increasingly hard pressed to continue in business. Yet, they persistently avoided using liquor as their major draw cards, probably aware that quality accommodation rather than liquor would continue to attract travellers. For example, in January 1884 Arthur Haywood reduced board and lodging rates at Patea's Albion 'to suit the times'.¹²⁵

Advertising was clearly important to the life of a hotel. However, hotel names also 'had a commercial function'.¹²⁶ As historian David Garrioch asserts, business signs and names in general did not always reflect the trade that was 'carried on beneath them'.¹²⁷ On the other hand, it was usually quite obvious what English inn signs referred to, frequently alluding to the products offered, such as grape vines or a punch bowl.¹²⁸ Often, a drinking house's name also reflected beliefs, practices or local affiliations and symbols. Garrioch shows that some English inns used Britannia or royal insignia, while the Fleur de Lys was common to France, and the bear was used in Switzerland.¹²⁹ Over time, names also changed in response to political and ideological transformation. For example, many sixteenth century inns changed from "The Pope's Head" to "The Bishop's Head"; a century later "The King's Arms" became "The Parliament's Arms".¹³⁰

In New Zealand, hotel names also said something about their locality or the hotel's original owner. Hotels bearing their settlement's name advertised the setting as much as it did the hotel, whereas Ship, Steam Packet, Custom House, Anchor or Railway

¹²⁵ 'We hear that...', *Patea Mail*, 14 January 1884, col. c, p.2.

¹²⁶ David Garrioch, 'House Names, Shop Signs and Social Organization in Western European Cities, 1500-1900', *Urban History*, 21, 1, April 1994, p.22.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, p.24. He discusses the inconsistencies of two London examples from the eighteenth century where the 'Crown' was a dyer's business and the 'Sun' was a tradesman's workplace.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, p.26.

¹²⁹ *ibid.*, pp.26-27.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, p.27.

reflected a town's growth, and services and transport facilities, suggesting to travellers that the town had advanced. Such names also epitomise the link between transport and hotels. Similar to the names of English inns, hotel names like Rutland, Shamrock and Royal often reveal something of the original owner's heritage and patriotism. Spears Russell named the Rutland Hotel 'in honour of the 65th [Rutlandshire] Regiment' in which he had served as a sergeant.¹³¹ Likewise, the York and the early Rob Roy hotels honoured their original owners' military backgrounds.¹³² Patea's Shamrock and Royal also suggest the diverse origins of their respective owners and may have been named to attract patriotic settlers and soldiers from either England or Ireland. The naming of the Shamrock may also have been designed to attract or even identify with the 18th Irish troops stationed in Patea, or because of Casey's own affiliation with the regiment. Shamrock and Royal certainly provide a distinct contrast that, for historical reasons, is easily recognised. Likewise, the name of the Masonic also has an ideological meaning, stretching back centuries. While the Wanganui and Patea Masonic hotels were not specifically linked to freemasonry,¹³³ one can make sense of the original owners' reasons for naming their hotels after this moralistic order. The name evokes ideas of secrecy and community service of the archetypical male establishment. The name also induces notions of brotherhood, reflecting the common belief that hotels were for men, and only rarely trespassed upon by women, in the same way that the Masonic Lodge is a male-only environment. Thus, the Masonic Hotel might have been a place where like-minded men gathered to share news and experiences in a friendly atmosphere. The functions performed by hotel names were, therefore, similar to the role of English shop and inn signs. They were a form of advertising that became synonymous with their town, background and atmosphere of the hotel. Names rather than buildings were signposts, landmarks, 'familiar faces' or 'old friends' by which travellers and locals found their way through larger towns or rural counties.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Smart and Bates, p.88. This compares to the naming of the Rutland Stockade that overlooked the Wanganui's riverside businesses and dwellings. The stockade's name originated from its first inhabitants, the 58th Rutlandshire Regiment – p.68.

¹³² *ibid.*

¹³³ J.G. Beamish was a long time member of Patea Kilwinning Freemason's Lodge – Patea Kilwinning Lodge No.18, New Zealand Constitution, 'Tyler's Book', 1893-1901, 1901-11; Patea Kilwinning Lodge No.18, New Zealand Constitution, 'Minutes', October 1890-February 1905; Patea Kilwinning Lodge No.18, New Zealand Constitution, 'Registration Book', 1896-1995.

¹³⁴ Garrioch, pp.25; 36; 'Old Friends', *Patea Mail*, 22 December 1884, col. g, p.2.

vii. Hotel Ownership

Although the postmodernist revolution of the mid twentieth century encouraged historians to re-examine historical methodology, many histories and biographies are still concerned with popular events and heroes. Certainly, feminist literature and histories of men and male culture focus on previously ignored aspects of our past, but even these sometimes neglect the stories of individuals and ordinary people. However, relative unknowns also influenced past events, and remain important to history. Patea and Wanganui's ordinary people were integral to the liquor industry and subsequent debate because of their official roles, actions and expressions of opinion, just as a plethora of politicians and temperance organisations were integral to the nationwide debate. It is not always enough to refer to these men and women as pro- and anti-drinkers, temperance advocates or hoteliers with making some attempt to understand what other roles they played in their communities.

According to Joseph Gusfield, America's colonial 'innkeepers were respected members of the community' because of the services and facilities they provided, and their myriad other roles as soldiers, councillors, committee members, builders, importers and land owners.¹³⁵ In fact, there are distinctive similarities between the hotelier as provider of essential services and their volunteer work. As their voluntary membership to community organisations demonstrates, they cared about the social and economic factors concerning their community. While many publicans might have progressed from country to suburban and borough hotels, hoping to increase the size and profit margins of their businesses,¹³⁶ many Patea hoteliers stayed loyal to the area, either remaining in the trade or serving other community roles over many years. Although some hoteliers had financial difficulties, evidenced by the closure of more than half of Patea's hotels and several declarations of bankruptcy, many in the trade had previously held licenses elsewhere, and some moved among Patea's hotels, perhaps seeking to better themselves. Indeed, Patea's hotels witnessed at least 35 licensees between 1866 and 1899, adding to the town's rich past. Of the men and women that ran hotels, there is no clear pattern of

¹³⁵ Gusfield, p.104.

¹³⁶ Poff, p.2, citing B.F. Cadogan, 'Lace Curtain Catholics: the Catholic Bourgeoisie of the Diocese of Dunedin, 1900-1920', B.A. (Hons.) Thesis, University of Otago, 1984, pp.20-21.

one religious denomination or cultural group.¹³⁷ Their range of backgrounds, local and international affiliations and over all success in the hotel industry provides a stronger sense of local history, and demonstrates that personality and reputation may have been important to a publican's success. A history of hotels, therefore, is not a simple matter of social and moral battles between opponents in the liquor debate. The impact of hotels is far more complex than the divergent debate implies, and an examination of some hoteliers provides further insights into this complexity. In short, a publican brought hotel and community together, providing his or her establishment with a clear, well defined presence that neither laws nor anti-drinkers could completely undermine.

Felix McCarthy was a loyal soldier, businessman and family man. In 1864 at the age of 21 he arrived in New Zealand with brothers Patrick and Michael.¹³⁸ In the same year, Felix enrolled in the Taranaki Military Settlers.¹³⁹ He was initially based in New Plymouth, but in 1865 transferred to Number 8 Company at Patea where he served as a Private.¹⁴⁰ The company was a garrulous lot, often punished for going AWOL, refusing to follow orders and theft. Being based at the Carlyle beach settlement, and known for their drunkenness, Number 8 would surely have visited the Shamrock and Royal hotels, adding to the reputation of Patea soldiers as drunks incapable of a decent fight.¹⁴¹ However, they did fight against Hau hau at Pipiriki, Opotiki and Gisborne, sometimes charging with bayonets, and on one occasion forcing the surrender of some 200 of their enemy. On return to Patea, McCarthy helped protect surveys, but left 8 Company in 1866.¹⁴² For his loyalty to the Taranaki Militia, he was promised land at Waverley and drew a 50 acre rural block and a one acre town section.¹⁴³ He sold his land to join the Turakina Rifles, a family tradition. He served as Lieutenant until March 1874.¹⁴⁴ He also spent some time in

¹³⁷ Cemetery Records, Aramoho (Wanganui), Patea, Waverley and Hawera. For those publicans buried in the local areas, their religious denominations included: Catholic, Presbyterian, Anglican and Episcopalian. Many of Patea and Wanganui's previous licensees are buried outside of these districts, and records about their religious denomination have not become known.

¹³⁸ Felix was born in Kerry, Ireland in 1843 – Colleen O'Donovan, 'Reminiscences of Felix O'Sullivan McCarthy', STDM.

¹³⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ At various times, McCarthy was commanded by Major Frazer, Major Brassey, Brevet Major Stapp and Lt. Colonel Thomas McDonnell – Brevet refers to a temporary rank without the pay and privileges of that rank.

¹⁴¹ Public Houses in Disturbed Districts Bill', *NZPD*, 3 (1868), pp.447-48 (Mr Fox); O'Donovan.

¹⁴² Not one member of Number 8 Company remained on after 1866.

¹⁴³ These were sections 8 (rural) and 90 (town). Forty-two soldiers lost their promised land grants because they refused to march from Wanganui to Patea after their ship landed at Wanganui because of rough weather further up the coast. Initially, all of the men in the company had refused to make the trip, but a threat to withdraw their land grants got the majority of them moving – O'Donovan.

¹⁴⁴ 'Resignation of Volunteer Officers', *New Zealand Gazette*, 1874, p.179.

the ‘Kerry Militia’.¹⁴⁵ While serving in the Kerry Company, he even made the newspapers for tardiness, but was quick to defend himself:

Felix McCarthy...was generally late on parade. “Ah Felix,” said the Sergeant, “you are always last. “Be aisy, Sergeant Sullivan, was the reply; “sure some one must be last [sic]””.¹⁴⁶

McCarthy was one of Patea’s entrepreneurs. He arrived back in Patea in the early 1870s and established the Carlyle Boot and Shoe Depot on the main road. He again purchased two blocks of land near Waverley valued at £700 and £900 respectively, and in 1876 even spent £2 a grounded ketch, *Fawn*, but never re-floated it.¹⁴⁷ In 1879 he also established the Green Island Fellmongery for which he bought hides, sheepskins, wool and tallow from local farmers.¹⁴⁸ As a hotel-keeper, he continued his local loyalties by employing his brother Patrick as licensee, housing local workmen and purchasing locally made furniture. In return, he was supported by locals at licensing meetings. In contrast, he sold the award-winning Speight’s ‘XXX’ Beer.¹⁴⁹ Being so obviously loyal to Patea, why would Felix offer Dunedin beer when Patea had its own brewery? There are three possibilities for this action: one, he wanted to offer his patrons only the best colonial beer; two, his association with Speight’s, as the company’s local agent, and because he was the only hotelier selling their beer in South Taranaki; or three, because he was avoiding having to use beer brewed by the Haywood family.

Thomas and Arthur Haywood had a strong presence in the liquor trade, having managed the ‘Auckland Hotel’ before arriving in Patea.¹⁵⁰ Once in the small town, they bought the Albion and Wharnccliffe hotels and two blocks of land near Hawera.¹⁵¹ Thomas Haywood Sr. owned Patea Brewery and supplied other local hotels before going bankrupt and selling up to Hope Gibbons.¹⁵² During their tenure at the Albion, Thomas Jr and Arthur also found themselves in financial difficulty. They owed over £600 to creditors.

¹⁴⁵ O’Donovan.

¹⁴⁶ ‘Felix McCarthy...’, *Evening Herald*, 9 October 1867, col. c, p.2.

¹⁴⁷ O’Donovan; *Patea Mail*, 30 August 1876, p.2.

¹⁴⁸ He later leased the fellmongery to W.B. Howe – O’Donovan.

¹⁴⁹ ‘Public Announcements’, *Patea County Mail*, 4 August 1881, col. e, p.2.

¹⁵⁰ ‘The property of the Albion...’, *Patea Mail*, 21 August 1875, p.2.

¹⁵¹ ‘The Patea Brewery’, *Patea Mail*, 9 September 1981, col. e, p.64; ‘Meeting of Creditors’, *Patea Mail*, 19 December 1883, col. c, p.2.

¹⁵² [Wise’s] *New Zealand Directory*, 1880-81, p.232; ‘The Patea Brewery’, *Patea Mail*, 9 September 1981, col. e, p.64; ‘Mr Taplin’s New Warehouse’, *Patea Mail*, 30 July 1883, col. f, p.2. Like Patea’s hotels, the brewery has an interesting history. It passed through many hands and attracted many shareholders, including Wanganui brewers who were so impressed with Hope Gibbon’s reputation that in 1895 they offered him the Wanganui Brewery – ‘The Patea Brewery’, *Patea Mail*, 9 September 1981, col. f, p.64. He appears to have taken up the offer, as by 1902 he was part owner in the Gibbons and Hole brewery in Wanganui - ‘Minutes of Evidence’, *AJLC*, 1902, 2, p.19.

With takings of between £3 and £5 per day, this was not enough to pay their bills.¹⁵³ In December 1883 they met with creditors at the Patea Court House where they were also supported by their Masonic brothers, R.A. Adams and Gervase Hamerton.¹⁵⁴ Adams and Hamerton vouched that the debtors were trustworthy men who should be allowed to keep their personal possessions and pay back their debt at three percent rather than the five percent that creditors were seeking.¹⁵⁵ Aside from their involvement in the Masonic Lodge, Arthur also extended his community interests to include a local brass band, which he helped to establish.¹⁵⁶

The Beamish family was also well known in Patea for more than their involvement in Patea's hotel industry. James Gillman Beamish was born in County Cork, Ireland in 1846. He arrived in New Zealand in 1868. Like McCarthy, James joined the Armed Constabulary Force almost as soon as he arrived in Taranaki. In July, James fought to repel Maori who were trying to steal 'a great quantity of arms, and ammunition' at Turuturu-Mokai.¹⁵⁷ He fought gallantly, but was severely wounded. He finished the battle stripping cartridges for other soldiers until Gustavus Von Tempsky and the Mounted Armed Constabulary later joined the fight.¹⁵⁸ James started his business life as a shop assistant. He owned his own store before buying the Masonic hotel in 1875. James leased out the hotel for the first ten years that he owned it while he went farming, but eventually took over the license in 1884 during a period of economic depression, whereupon he leased out his farm. He finally sold the hotel in 1894 and returned to the land. Again he leased out his property, this time to a dairy farmer, and moved into town. James was also an active member of the Patea community, serving on the Borough Council, Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, Domain Board and Patea School Committee. He was also a JP, and as an Anglican, he worked as a vestryman and church warden of St George's Church.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ 'Meeting of Creditors', *Patea Mail*, 19 December 1883, cols c-d, p.2.

¹⁵⁴ Patea Kilwinning Lodge No.18, New Zealand Constitution, 'Minutes', October 1890-February 1905; Patea Kilwinning Lodge No.18, New Zealand Constitution, 'Registration Book', 1896-1995. Adams' and Hamerton's ranks shown in these documents imply they would have been in the freemasons during the 1880s. Adams was, in fact, a founding member of Patea Kilwinning in 1870.

¹⁵⁵ 'Meeting of Creditors', *Patea Mail*, 19 December 1883, col. d, p.2.

¹⁵⁶ 'The Brass Band', *Patea Mail*, 9 September 1881, col. e, p.103.

¹⁵⁷ 'J.G. Beamish', *Patea County Press*, 11 July 1924, p.2, citing *Wanganui Times*, 16 July 1868.

¹⁵⁸ *ibid* – Von Tempsky would have arrived sooner had Major W.M. Hunter not ordered the men 'to dismount and feed their horses before starting. During the battle, nine men were killed and a further seven were wounded.

¹⁵⁹ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand: Taranaki, Hawke's Bay. Wellington*, vol. 6, Christchurch: The Cyclopedia Company Ltd., 1908, p.268.

George Thomas Gillman Beamish was also affiliated with Patea's hotel industry and the wider community for many years, but did not have the same luck as his brother. George was present at the Carlyle beach settlement where he ran a store with W. Dale, supplying goods and liquor.¹⁶⁰ As vice chairperson of the welcoming committee, he even helped organise a reception for the first coach service between Patea and Wanganui.¹⁶¹ George also operated Oeo Hotel¹⁶² and general store, but in July 1879 was declared bankrupt.¹⁶³ It was not long before he took over as proprietor of Patea Hotel. His stay there was short-lived when he was again declared bankrupt, with debts of £594 to 31 people, including his brother James, and fellow freemason Gervase Hamerton.¹⁶⁴ He was replaced by Patrick Hurley as the licensee of Patea Hotel.¹⁶⁵ George had also served with local militia as Lieutenant of the Carlyle Light Horse Volunteers.¹⁶⁶ In 1879 he put his skills as a military leader to use when he took charge of the 34 strong Volunteer Fire Brigade.¹⁶⁷ He also worked on the county council as dog tax collector, for which he appeared before the local magistrates court charged with embezzlement of £67 in dog taxes.¹⁶⁸ He was later exonerated, but not before spending one month in prison for contempt of court because he had failed to 'furnish a statement' of the taxes he had collected.¹⁶⁹

Thomas Keane was also well known throughout Patea district. The 'genial', generous and hard-working publican farmed at Alton, some 10 kilometres west of Patea, before taking up the Alton Hotel and general store.¹⁷⁰ With 'unbounded energy and vitality', he delivered goods over the 'roadless' countryside.¹⁷¹ Aside from his Alton activities, Keane also spent some of his 'indomitable energy' working for Patea's 'advancement' and 'prosperity'.¹⁷² To the sadness of locals, he spent only a matter of

¹⁶⁰ 'Mr Taplin's New Warehouse', *Patea Mail*, 30 July 1883, col. f, p.2.

¹⁶¹ 'The First Journey of Cobb's Coach to Patea', *Weekly Herald*, 12 February 1870, col. c, p.3.

¹⁶² Oeo is settlement along the coast between Hawera and Opunake.

¹⁶³ 'Oeo Hotel', *Patea Mail*, 5 May 1875, col. f, p.3; 'In Bankruptcy', *Patea Mail*, 2 July 1879, col. b, p.3; *ibid.*, 13 July 1879, col. a, p.3.

¹⁶⁴ 'Mr G. Beamish's Bankruptcy', *Patea Mail*, 8 October 1883, col. a, p.3.

¹⁶⁵ There is no evidence as to why this occurred, although it may be related to his earlier bankruptcy.

¹⁶⁶ 'Certificate of Commission', 2 December 1872, STDM.

¹⁶⁷ 'Fire Brigade Meeting', *Patea Mail*, 13 August 1879, col. d, p.2.

¹⁶⁸ 'Mr Beamish's Case', *Patea Mail*, 2 March 1883, cols e-f, p.2; *ibid.*, 16 March 1883, cols c, d and f, p.2; 'Alleged Embezzlement', *Patea Mail*, 4 June 1883, cols d-f, p.2; *ibid.*, 8 June 1883, cols b and d-e, p.2. Beamish had lost a register of taxes, but solicitor Gervase Hamerton paid the money into Council's BNZ account. Having lost a register, he could not prove how money he had collected. The only crime Beamish had committed was that 'he had erred through ignorance only' – 16 March 1883, col. f, p.2.

¹⁶⁹ 'At the R. M. Court yesterday...', *Patea Mail*, 13 December 1882, col. c, p.2.

¹⁷⁰ 'Obituary: the Late Mr T. Keane', *Patea County Press*, 5 April 1899, col. c, p.2.

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*

¹⁷² *ibid.*

months keeping the Masonic Hotel in 1899 before being accidentally killed after falling from his horse.¹⁷³

John Milroy was a further resident publican with local prosperity in mind. Milroy was also a builder and leading pioneer of Patea. He established the Carlyle Timber Yard and a wharf for his ship the *Agnes*. He used his shipping interests to import timber from the Marlborough Sounds, although he sold the pier to the Harbour Board in 1878. He used his skills to build the Central Hotel which he owned in partnership with a group of other men. He leased the Central to Owen McKittrick, but built the Waimate Hotel in Manaia. Milroy began his civic and community life in 1873 on the Carlyle School Committee and the Patea Education Board the following year. In 1877 he was appointed to the Patea Harbour Board in recognition for 'his interest in the river and shipping'.¹⁷⁴ He served on the borough council from its establishment in 1877 and was Patea's second Mayor in 1882. He left for Manaia where he served as Mayor, and in fact died while in office in 1895.¹⁷⁵ At the time of his death, he was preparing to return to Patea to take over the license of the Central Hotel.¹⁷⁶

Wanganui hoteliers were also popular men, although the town's population and subsequent number of publicans between 1866 and 1899 meant they did not stand out in their communities as did Patea hoteliers. Nevertheless, many of Wanganui's better known publicans arrived in the settlement during the 1840s and 1850s while on military service. Once there, they realised they could make money by running a hotel. After all, citizens of Wanganui were renowned for their drinking, and from the 1870s, the town was growing as a transport centre where travellers took refuge from road and rail with a glass of ale, a cosy atmosphere and a bed at the night's end.

Notable Wanganui publicans included John Foster Kells who named his York Hotel after his own Yorkshire regiment, and William Spears Russell who had served as a sergeant in the 65th Rutlandshire Regiment. Russell arrived in Wanganui with the Royal Artillery aboard the *HMS Calliope* in 1847. Typical of early settlers, he took up a large block of land that extended from Whanganui River almost to Kai Iwi.¹⁷⁷ He built the

¹⁷³ 'Inquest: the Late Thomas Keane', *Patea County Press*, 7 April 1899, col. g, p.2.

¹⁷⁴ 'Twenty Mayors have served Patea', *Patea Mail*, 9 September 1981, cols e-f, p.10.

¹⁷⁵ Barbara Watkins, reminiscences, STD; 'Twenty Mayors have served Patea', *Patea Mail*, 9 September 1981, cols e-f, p.10.

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ Spurdle, *New Stories of Old Whanganui*, Wanganui: H.P. Willemsen, 1959, p.77.

original Rutland Hotel around 1853, and became well known among the gentry of Wanganui.¹⁷⁸ It was not many years before he gave up his hotel, selling it to ‘Honest John Gotty’.¹⁷⁹ He and Russell were also involved with community projects. In particular, the two men helped to establish a reading room in the town.¹⁸⁰

George Roberts was another well known Wanganui publican. James Woon described him as a ‘remarkable man’ who settled in Wanganui in 1848 where he began business as a ‘storekeeper and auctioneer’.¹⁸¹ Roberts entered the hotel industry in 1854 when he purchased the Commercial Hotel. It was essential that licensees and bar staff were pleasant, popular people. Roberts ensured his business became successful in part because of its place on the river, but also because of his ‘kind and obliging manner’.¹⁸² Of the Commercial’s eleven owners between 1844 and 1870, Roberts was described as the best, most successful of them all.¹⁸³ Like Patea’s John Milroy, Roberts was also involved in local politics. He was known as a great orator and before embarking to England for business and pleasure, he ‘waxed eloquent and poured out sentence after sentence with great fervour and rapidity, rising to lofty flights...that both astonished and delighted his audience.’¹⁸⁴ Roberts returned from England with a ‘large quantity of goods’ and established himself as a draper.¹⁸⁵

There are distinctive similarities between the hotelier as provider of essential services and their volunteer work. As their voluntary membership to community organisations demonstrates, they cared about their community and its prosperity. Hoteliers were not the suppliers of evil concoctions that degraded social morality. Rather, they supplied people with meals, fresh water, accommodation, stabling, entertainment, a warm and friendly atmosphere, and were involved in numerous community organisations whose aim was to improve their towns. Providing liquor was only one aspect of hotel service – the only aspect that temperance advocates focused on in their attacks on drinkers and on hotels.

¹⁷⁸ Smart and Bates, p. 88.

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ Smart and Bates, p. 231.

¹⁸¹ Woon, p. 48.

¹⁸² ‘The Old Commercial’, *Evening Herald*, 2 June 1870, col. c, p. 2.

¹⁸³ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ Woon, p. 49.

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 50.

What attracted hoteliers to smaller towns like Patea or early Wanganui? We know that people bought hotels in rural areas and minor boroughs because they were cheaper and allowed owners a way to increase their lot in life. For many, they had become familiar with the area during their time as soldiers. As Thomas Keane, James Beamish and George Roberts' experiences show, hotels gave their owners and licensees reputations they may have found hard to shake. In some cases this may have helped them gain a foothold in their communities, and gain entry to local committees, organisations and politics. Beamish, Milroy and Roberts were certainly men with political aspirations. They were exemplary service providers. For some, however, hotels meant financial ruin. George Beamish, Felix McCarthy and William Odgers presumably wanted their hotels to succeed, but they failed and their hotels were subsequently run as boarding houses before being closed. The Railway and the Australasian hotels were not small, dingy or renowned for poor service. On the contrary, these two businesses were promoted as some of the best on the coast. Clearly, hotels were not an easy option. They meant hard work, and as economic depression bit during the mid 1880s, many fell victim to a poor economy. Hoteliers initially saw Patea as a minor boom town that could accommodate seven hotels, but the high number of licensees over such a short period and the closures meant that this was not the case. Neither was this the case in Wanganui. The larger town maintained many more hotels than Patea, yet the number of publicans between 1866 and 1899 suggests that Wanganui establishments were not any easier to run, despite the size of the town and its greater number of residents, soldiers and visitors.

Hotel ownership in New Zealand was not always straightforward. Colonial society was smaller and simpler than Britain, and much of New Zealand had less of the wealthy classes. Transport networks were also relatively undeveloped. As a result, early hotels were small and usually only attracted single owners from the local area. This did not mean they were unpopular enterprises. As licensee turnovers indicate, they were quite the opposite. People wanted to get into the hotel trade because of the steady stream of customers who wanted liquor and accommodation. From the 1870s, when New Zealand was going through a financial boom, hotels increased in value. This meant that individuals could not always afford to get into the hotel trade. At this time, shareholders and tied houses became popular, and often meant that hotels had the financial backing of

brewers and liquor merchants to remain open. Patea's Central was one such hotel owned by shareholders, and the Haywood brothers owned Patea Brewery and sold their beer through the Albion and Wharncliffe hotels.

Basil Poff and Eldred-Grigg contend that by the 1890s breweries and liquor merchants had gained a strong grip on the hotel industry in several provinces.¹⁸⁶ Tied houses allowed some brewers to have control over the local hotel industry. Thomas and Arthur do not appear to have been as wealthy as some of the larger South Island brewers who bought several hotels through which they sold their liquor. This guaranteed them sales and resulted in local monopolies, making 'a few families very rich'.¹⁸⁷ Brewers also advanced money to hoteliers for leases and furniture costs, or guaranteed loan repayments to banks because hoteliers could not gather the funds themselves.¹⁸⁸ Without the assistance from breweries, 'it would be very difficult to maintain a hotel'.¹⁸⁹ As a result, hoteliers felt morally obliged to buy their guarantor's beer.¹⁹⁰ These hotels were termed tied houses. In one instance, Frederick Faber could not have bought the Rutland without the assistance of a Wanganui brewer and spirit and wine merchants. They had helped Faber 'over a difficulty' by lending him money at six percent.¹⁹¹ Faber's benefactors did not force him to buy their produce, but he felt morally obliged to do so.¹⁹² As many as 50% of hotels in New Zealand were tied houses. Most hotels in Wanganui and Taranaki were privately owned, but 75% of the owners had been assisted by brewers.¹⁹³ Being a tied house did not mean a publicans paid any more than normal rates for beer, and in some cases they may have paid less.¹⁹⁴ Therefore, brewers did not make any extra money from their beer, but they had 'a heavy responsibility to see that the house is properly managed' because a poorly managed hotel might affect their income.¹⁹⁵ This activity may have allowed publicans like George Beamish or the Haywood brothers to remain in the trade even though they were twice declared bankrupts. Despite the assistance that

¹⁸⁶ Basil Poff, 'The Canterbury Hoteliers, Papanui, Islington, Akaroa (1887-1909)' in 'The Journey and the Story: the James Poff Family in New Zealand', manuscript, pp.37-44; Eldred-Grigg, pp.79-80; 82.

¹⁸⁷ Eldred-Grigg, pp.76-80.

¹⁸⁸ 'Minutes of Evidence', *AJLC*, 1902, 2, p.20.

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p.19.

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p.74.

¹⁹¹ *ibid.*, p.73.

¹⁹² *ibid.*

¹⁹³ *ibid.*, pp.14; 75.

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*, pp.20; 3.

¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p.20.

brewers gave hoteliers, anti-monopolising measures were introduced in the early twentieth century and forced hoteliers to survive without the support of brewers.

With the need to repay brewery advances, hoteliers often sold their leases at inflated rates. Many hotel-keepers in the larger centres relied on hotel brokers for this purpose. While brokers were rare in Wanganui and Taranaki, lease and freehold prices on hotels increased dramatically. In Patea for example, the value of freehold titles increased by up to 800% over nine years.¹⁹⁶ This did not make the industry any less popular for budding publicans. In fact, it resulted in increased buying and selling of leases as people believed that higher priced leases meant higher incomes. In reality, costs and the demands of the legislature were increasing during the 1880s and 1890s while liquor consumption and people seeking accommodation was decreasing. Breweries helped keep hoteliers afloat which made the hotel business appear successful.¹⁹⁷ Brewers were not directly involved in the buying and selling of leases at inflated prices, as they did not receive any income from high rates of good will. In fact, Wanganui breweries often refused to make advances to hoteliers because of the high prices for good will.¹⁹⁸

Conclusion

The presence of tied houses was clearly beneficial to struggling hoteliers, but the help from brewers ensured that the hotel remained going concerns, but the size and construction of hotels, their range of services, advertising, use by travellers and lodgers, their proximity to one another, and the reputation of publicans ensured that Patea and Wanganui hotels remained significant to their communities from 1866 to 1899. Their growth, decline and popularity reflected each town's fluctuating prosperity as hotels became central to transport and accommodation services. Liquor drew customers, but accommodation alone drew travellers, an important commodity during the 1880s when the economy was declining but public transport was increasing. While Patea and Wanganui hotels were not owned by rich men or brewing conglomerates of the landed gentry, they were essential social and economic concerns for their communities,

¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p.75.

¹⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p.19.

¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.20.

definitely significant for drinkers, but essential to boarders, travellers and local economies. Certainly, liquor was sold to locals, and locals became drunk and disorderly as a result, but despite common beliefs, one cannot assume that because of this, drinking was the foremost reason for the hotel's existence. That status belonged to the hotel's poorer and less glamorous cousins: taverns and grog shops – places bereft of any of the hotel's services and refinements. For Patea, road transport became more important as trains bypassed the town, whereas Wanganui hotels were mainly reliant on the railway. Improvements to hotels further increased their quality, and ensured they retained their influential physical presence. However, as hotels became more popular drinking places, liquor laws and social debates came to dominate hotel history, and critics often concentrated on only this one aspect of hotel operation.



2. Controls and Consequences

Introduction

Although the primary role of hotels was to provide accommodation, the primary function of New Zealand liquor laws was to control drinking, with only minor provisions for hotel public services. This compares to the American experience where ‘Taverns were licensed, less to reform the habits of customers than to regulate inns for the benefit of the traveller’.¹ New Zealand governments generally believed that fewer licensed hotels would result in fewer crimes, consequently increasing social morality. Thus, between 1866 and 1899 liquor laws ensured increasingly constrictive controls over hotel licenses, undesirable drinking habits and Maori access to booze. During this period, liquor laws were ‘a product of the necessities of fortune, the changing climate of opinion, social pressures, changing incomes and lifestyles’.² Liquor laws were a reaction to the drinking habits of frontier society that had become prevalent in urban New Zealand, and the pressures of politicians and temperance advocates to control these habits.

Moderate politicians sought to avoid extreme laws, ‘neither on the one hand giving too much liberty, nor on the other imposing too great restrictions’.³ Despite this attempt, pro-drinkers believed New Zealand liquor laws curtailed social liberties and restricted hotel business whose economic loss impacted negatively on the wider community. Many moderates viewed legislative measures as a waste of time and resources, believing instead that a greater number of licensed hotels might control liquor consumption and its effects on society because people were not inclined to crave liquor if access to it was made easier. Politicians in particular suggested that too many liquor controls over Maori or Pakeha would actually result in increased occurrences of smuggling and illegal sales of liquor, known as sly-grogging. Despite the protests, liquor laws were introduced and amended with alarming rapidity, and Maori liquor laws were particularly deemed to be discriminatory. Pro- and anti-drinkers and moderates debated

¹ Gusfield, p.104.

² Southwick, Dormer and Halford, p.1.

³ ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 11 (1871), p.338 (Mr Steward).

the provisions of each liquor law, but they all but agreed that laws were unfair, inadequate or improperly enforced.

By the late 1860s liquor laws visibly affected licensing in Patea and Wanganui, but the most comprehensive licensing Act of the nineteenth century did not arrive until 1881. This and its amendment Acts fed the liquor debate, ensuring it remained in the public eye well into the twentieth century. People that could not control their urge to drink or who broke the law often regretted it. Patea and Wanganui newspapers are full of reports into lawbreaking, drunken behaviour, deaths following excessive drinking, and criminal investigations. In these cases, hotels were central to police and magistrate inquests. This chapter discusses New Zealand liquor laws, the licensing process after 1881, the resulting debates, Maori liquor laws, drinking crimes and drinking deaths. Combined, these incidents demonstrate that the law, drinkers and hotels maintained a close bond that impacted on a wide sector of society.

i. Legislation and Licensing

Numerous historians, including Jock Phillips and Stevan Eldred-Grigg, have referred to New Zealand's nineteenth century liquor laws as essentially ineffectual either because they did not reduce liquor licenses and consumption, or because people refused to observe them, including law enforcers. Their assertion is clearly evidenced in numerous newspaper reports and parliamentary debates of the late nineteenth century. Without doubt, liquor laws affected individual people and communities from time to time, but they failed to have any lasting effect on drinking throughout the country. Even Britain's approximately 300 liquor laws had been ineffectual in 'the Mother country' where liquor and the legislature sustained a far older relationship.⁴ It is of little surprise that similar failures occurred in this southernmost British colony where settlers, soldiers and traders were less constrained by a relatively inexperienced bureaucratic framework and 'the great want...of proper supervision by the police'.⁵ While liquor laws, their subsequent debates and cutting room provisions were not aimed specifically at Patea or Wanganui hotels and

⁴ 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 12 (1872), p.193 (Mr Clark).

⁵ 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 16 (1874), p.791 (Mr Holmes), Eldred-Grigg, p.89.

patrons, the interaction between the growing anti-drink fraternities provided a backdrop for social debate that permeated the two towns.

Pro- and anti-drinkers maintained a sometimes heated relationship: anti-drinkers demanded increasingly stringent laws and greater consequences for lawbreakers, while pro-drinkers demanded the right to drink or to sell liquor on their own terms. Prohibitionists argued in favour of control because of the effects of drinking ‘upon public welfare’.⁶ They also dismissed the pro-drink argument that laws were anti-libertarian. Prohibitionists were adamant that:

It is...a fallacy to assume that a Prohibition by the State which avowedly subordinates the liberty of the individual to the interest of the whole is necessarily inimical to liberty. Liberty is itself a creation of the law, for there is no liberty in a condition of anarchy; and though the State may, by a wise act of interference, provoke an immediate conflict with the tastes and prejudices of many of its citizens, it does not in the long run reduce the sum of the personal liberty by such an assertion of its authority, but on the contrary enlarges both.⁷

Anti-drinkers expected liquor controls to improve all of society. In this environment, they thought nothing of a personal liberty that might negatively impact on other people. At the same time, pro-drinkers were mainly concerned by their own rights, and often did not consider that drinking could be detrimental to the wider community. The debate between pro- and anti-drinkers helped to influence hotel licensing, liquor consumption and law enforcement through to the twentieth century, galvanising communities into prolonged, sometimes fiery arguments that ultimately brought about enormous changes in the sale, distribution and consumption of liquor throughout New Zealand.

Before 1840 countrywide liquor laws were non-existent. As Stevan Eldred-Grigg suggests, local people controlled local areas. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Ngapuhi Maori attempted to control liquor sales and consumption in Northland by allowing ‘drinkshops at seaports’ where they ‘levied taxes on them’.⁸ Thus, Maori, like their Pakeha counterparts during the latter half of the nineteenth century, recognised the economic value of liquor, and often sanctioned the presence of hotels as a means of income. After 1840 the colonial government adopted this notion, even if it was not officially recognised, through numerous liquor laws and ordinances that controlled the sale of alcohol, and ensured that publicans paid license fees and duties for the privilege.

⁶ Rev. J. Cocker and J. Malton Murray (eds), *Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand*, Wellington: The Epworth Press, 1930, p.17.

⁷ *ibid.*, p.18.

⁸ Eldred-Grigg, p.61.

Many of the New Zealand's liquor laws within 20 years of the Treaty of Waitangi were limited in nature to restrictions on distilling and the issuing of licenses. The first official liquor law was the Distillation Prohibition Ordinance of 1841. This law permitted only pharmacists to distil spirits for medical reasons or for the manufacture of perfume.⁹ This ordinance was not an attempt to control hotel numbers or drinking habits. Soon after, the legislature introduced laws that did specifically attempt to control licensing. The first of these measures was 'An Ordinance for Regulating the Sale of Fermented and Spirituous Liquors'.¹⁰ Introduced in 1842, this Ordinance established New Zealand's first publican license fees at £40 per annum for an urban license and £30 for a rural license. The Ordinance also demanded that 'Two Justices', one being the local Police Magistrate, consider license applications at an annual meeting.¹¹ While this was an attempt by the English-backed government to take licensing seriously, the ordinance, like its predecessor, was fundamentally flawed: it did not attempt to restrict the numbers of liquor licenses. If someone wanted a license to sell booze, they applied for it in writing, but unless the JP or magistrate disagreed with the application, the license was granted.¹² In 1844 an Amendment Ordinance designed to restrict the numbers of licenses in 'new settlements' was introduced.¹³ Under this Amendment, JPs and magistrates could not grant a license within a settlement 'beyond...two years after the arrival of the first Police Magistrate appointed' for that settlement.¹⁴ The Amendment also made it clear that hotels could only be licensed in order to 'promote the convenience of the public' and where they 'would greatly facilitate communication between the various settlements'.¹⁵ This small piece of legislation recognised the clear link between transport and hotels, and demonstrates how important hotels were to the establishment of early New Zealand settlements. Ironically, however, the Amendment denied new hotels to be built 'within three miles from the nearest limit of any town'.¹⁶ The Licensing Amendment Ordinance of 1851 finally meant that license numbers could be reduced by Justices. JPs could

⁹ Cocker and Murray, p. 144.

¹⁰ 'An Ordinance for regulating the Sale of Fermented and Spirituous Liquors', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1841-53, No. 12, pp. 105-110.

¹¹ *ibid.*, S.6, p.106. This section of the Ordinance also suggests that, in the 'unavoidable absence [of the Police Magistrate] three Justices...shall form a quorum'.

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ 'An Ordinance to Amend an Ordinance for Regulating the Sale of Fermented and Spirituous Liquors', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1841-53, No.21, Sess. III, p. 162.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, S.1.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, S.2, p. 163.

¹⁶ *ibid.*

reduce the number of licenses in their district if ‘they could do so by refusing renewals’.¹⁷ This provision did not guide JPs any more than giving them power where they thought reduction to be necessary or appropriate based on how publican’s ran their businesses, and not on local consumption or rates of drunkenness or drink-related crimes.

Arbitrary, unilateral decision-making by JPs and magistrates and spasmodic implementation of liquor laws up until the 1860s strengthened the call for stronger powers that would ‘put down that intolerable dissipation and drunkenness, and the other crimes which usually follow’.¹⁸ During the 1870s politicians edged towards stricter national laws; however, some provinces maintained their own liquor ordinances. This was looked on as detrimental to the licensing process and to law enforcement, causing ‘very great evils’.¹⁹ Auckland politician Robert Creighton insisted that one liquor law would greatly reduce the colony’s liquor problem.²⁰ In 1872 over half of the House of Representatives and ‘upwards of 12,000’ people agreed with Creighton, and a new Bill was introduced into the House of Representatives.²¹ This Bill took many leads from the Auckland Licensing Act of 1871.²² The government also ‘contemplated’ taking the authority to grant licences away from JPs, instead vesting the public with more power to decide.²³ JPs alone could not be expected to preside over licensing or to enforce liquor laws. There were simply too few JPs and too many social pressures on one person to decide who should and should not get licenses.²⁴ On Auckland licensing days, for example, publicans supposedly ‘packed the licensing bench’, exerting their own pressure on decision-makers.²⁵

JPs were ‘socially and geographically’ too close to publicans, and this pressure and potential for favouritism were some of the defining reasons why JPs lost their sole licensing powers from 1873.²⁶ Creighton even suggested that Justices had ‘grossly

¹⁷ Conrad Bollinger, *Grog’s Own Country: the Story of Liquor Licensing in New Zealand*, Auckland: Minerva, 1967, p.22.

¹⁸ ‘Correspondent: Temperance’, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 October 1867, col. c, p.2.

¹⁹ ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 12 (1872), p.190 (Mr Creighton).

²⁰ *ibid.*; ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 11 (1871), p.331 (Mr Creighton).

²¹ ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 12 (1872), pp.190; 216 (Mr Creighton).

²² ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 11 (1871), p.331 (Mr Creighton).

²³ ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 12 (1872), pp.190-91 (Mr Creighton).

²⁴ *ibid.*, p.190.

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ Stevan Eldred-Grigg discusses the use of JPs, reporting them as “respectable men” with friends in high places... “so intimately connected, from business relations and other circumstances, with those who kept public houses, that they were really not fit persons to be intrusted with the granting of licenses” – p.91, citing *NZPD*, 15 (1873), p.1450 (Mr H.J. Miller).

abused' their power to grant licenses.²⁷ Ordinary men and women could then 'protect themselves from the abuse arising from the sale of drink in public houses'.²⁸ The 1873 Licensing Act revoked JP licensing power, introduced licensing commissions, and stipulated that two-thirds of residents needed to sign a memorial in favour of a license before one was granted. This latter 'prohibitory and permissive clause' was an early attempt to introduce local prohibition.²⁹

Some politicians also supported ultimately unmanageable provisions. Some politicians argued that drinkers instead of publicans should be licensed, and 'bondmen' should take responsibility for any damage their intoxicated charges might cause.³⁰ MHRs also wanted publicans to be made responsible for violence or damage associated with drunkenness. Drunks and their families could then take legal action against the supplier.³¹ Although these provisions did not make the final 1873 Licensing Act, their presence in the Bill and the support they received clearly indicates that some politicians and thousands of settlers believed that the blame for the immorality of the bottle lay in the hands of publicans because they made money out of sin. From the 1870s liquor laws ensured that the colony's drinkers and publicans were put on the same footing. Yet, as Eldred-Grigg indicates, the 1873 Act 'was followed by jockeying among factions disappointed either because the Act was too liberal, or too restrictive'.³² This claim is borne out in several parliamentary debates over several years, which showed no sign of abating through to the 1880s.

By the 1880s prohibitive powers increased, and liquor licensing became even more of a public concern. With the roll of ineffective liquor laws as high as 51, there occurred a breakthrough with the 1881 Liquor Licensing Act.³³ This Act gave the expanding anti-drink lobby something worthy of upholding and has been described as temperance movement's 'first big victory'.³⁴ The 1881 Act was not a moral panacea, but it did strengthen earlier temperance calls for restricted hotel hours, Sunday closing, dry districts and fewer licenses. Anti-drinkers hoped the Act would stem the liquor tide

²⁷ 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 11 (1871), p.331 (Mr Creighton).

²⁸ 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 12 (1872), p.191 (Mr Creighton).

²⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰ *ibid.*

³¹ *ibid.*, pp.191; 197 (Mr Creighton; Mr Steward).

³² Eldred-Grigg, p.70.

³³ Eldred-Grigg, p.61.

³⁴ Bollinger, p.31.

throughout the colony, but its cumbersome nature made it as difficult to implement as earlier laws. The comprehensive nature of the Act exacerbated the atmosphere of ambiguity and ambivalence toward laws that even resulted in non-compliance among law enforcers and courts of inquiry. This was an interesting twist: previous laws were ineffectual because they did not give enough power to law enforcers, whereas contemporaries believed that the 1881 Act was so complicated that police and licensing committees often failed to uphold all of its provisions. Amendments to the Act in the early 1890s only added to the confusion.³⁵

Nevertheless, licensing was no longer dictated solely by government bureaucrats, military leaders or lawmen making unilateral decisions. The 1881 Licensing Act introduced licensing committees of five annually elected ratepayers who, according to one Wanganui Licensing Committee member, were 'a Court sitting to determine important matters'.³⁶ In their sometimes biased wisdom, licensing committees controlled the granting, renewal and transfer of liquor licenses, but election to the committee was not geographically restrictive: committee members could live outside of the licensing district they represented,³⁷ and could sit on multiple committees.³⁸ These provisions increased the possibility of unfair rulings based on local favouritism, although there is no evidence that this occurred in Patea and Wanganui. The government changed this provision in 1893 so that committee members had to be 'duly registered' electors living within an electoral district before they could sit on local licensing committees.³⁹

The 1881 Act attempted to forestall favouritism among committee members by prohibiting them from having any direct involvement in the liquor trade. In particular, brewers, distillers, liquor merchants and publicans could not be elected onto licensing committees.⁴⁰ Inequitably, however, people of temperance persuasions were allowed. Prohibitionists wanted to be a part of the licensing process so they could 'remove some of the glaring evils connected with the [liquor] trade'.⁴¹ Their presence brought the

³⁵ Phillips, p.65.

³⁶ Wanganui Courthouse Licensing Register, Wanganui Licensing Committee Minutes Book, No.2, 1895-1902, 10 June 1898, p.33.

³⁷ 'Licensing Act', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S.13 (1), p.131.

³⁸ *ibid.*, S. 13 (20), p.133.

³⁹ 'Alcoholic Liquor Sales Control', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1893, no.34, 57, S. 3, p.128.

⁴⁰ 'Licensing Act', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S.11, p.131. Other people not 'qualified to be elected or to act as a member of a Licensing Committee' included maltsters, people involved with importing or dealing in liquor, mortgagees of businesses involved in liquor sales or manufacture, anyone 'in partnership with any such person, or who acts as the agent or auctioneer for any such person', and anyone 'who has within four years been bankrupt or insolvent'.

⁴¹ Cocker and Murray, p.12.

condemnation of some Wanganui residents who argued how ‘utterly unfair that people of declared Prohibition proclivities’ should be allowed to decide upon liquor licenses when people involved in the liquor trade could not.⁴² One newspaper correspondent argued that prohibitionists ‘should not sit on a licensing bench any more than a hotel keeper, brewer, or wholesale wine and spirit merchant’.⁴³ In 1898 ‘the majority’ of one Wanganui committee was accused of being ‘strongly in favour of Prohibition’.⁴⁴ Pro-drinkers feared that those ‘antagonistic to any license at all being granted’ would refuse a license, ‘if they could do so legally’.⁴⁵ While there is no evidence that this occurred in Wanganui or Patea, pro-drinker fears can also be seen in Julius Vogel’s 1873 opposition to elected committees. He believed this would ‘lead to constant intrigues’ where pro- and anti-drinkers would struggle against one another for the right to sit on committees, and make decisions based on their own preferences instead of listening to members of the public.⁴⁶ Despite the protests, change was never forthcoming; an indication of the strength of prohibitionist support among MHRs at the time.

The 1881 Act also divided New Zealand into licensing districts. These were undivided boroughs, larger wards or county ridings, with no fewer than one hundred ratepayers.⁴⁷ Patea was itself a licensing district, although its boundary extended beyond the town limits to include the smaller settlements of Kakaramea, Alton,⁴⁸ Hurleyville and Whenuakura.⁴⁹ The Wanganui Licensing District, on the other hand, was divided into two areas: Queen’s Ward and Makirikiri. The latter extended toward Fordell, Marton and Turakina, while Queen’s Ward encompassed much of Wanganui borough. In 1893 the government made further changes when electoral districts were constituted as licensing districts, making the licensing process easier and cheaper to manage.⁵⁰ Richard Seddon also claimed another reason for the 1893 change. He stated that the law up to 1893 had allowed licenses to be ‘transferred for miles to an entirely different district...[or] taken

⁴² ‘Eleven O’clock Licenses’, *Yeoman*, 18 June 1898, col. b, p.12.

⁴³ *ibid.*, 24 September 1898, col. b, p.12.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 18 June 1898, col. b, p.12.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ Bollinger, p.27, citing *NZPD*, 14 (1873), p.288.

⁴⁷ ‘Licensing Act’, *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S.6, p.130. If a district contained less than 100 residents, they were constituted as Special Districts. Patea did not fall into this category.

⁴⁸ This township, west of Patea, was initially known as Woodville.

⁴⁹ Even though Patea and neighbouring Otoia licensing district, extending from Whenuakura to as far south as Waitotara, were separate, during the early 1880s their committees often held meetings in Patea’s civic buildings on the same day.

⁵⁰ ‘Alcoholic Liquor Sales Control’, *New Zealand Statutes*, 1893, no.34, 57, S. 3, p.128.

out of boroughs to county districts'.⁵¹ The principal Act had, in fact, overlooked this possibility, but certainly fostered it through inter-district committee memberships.

From 1881 district licensing committees held quarterly meetings where they issued, renewed, transferred or rejected requests for publican, New Zealand wine, accommodation, bottle, packet, wholesale and conditional licenses.⁵² They were granted depending on the situation, public need and testimonies of character for the prospective licensee. Moreover, committees were influenced by police evidence of criminal records and hotel warrants of fitness.⁵³ Probably because of the number throughout the colony and the concerns over drinking, publican's licenses caused the most friction. For each of these, locals could present submissions and petitions in favour or against license requests. In fact, applicants needed signatures from ten local householders attesting to their fitness to hold a license.⁵⁴ Groups of ten ratepayers or individual police inspectors or council representatives could likewise object to the license if they judged the applicant was 'of bad fame and character...of drunken habits...[had] previously forfeited a license, or...[had] been convicted of selling liquor without a license within...three years'.⁵⁵ If hotel premises were substandard or too close to a church, hospital or school, protestors also had clear grounds for public objections.⁵⁶

⁵¹ 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 85 (1894), p.648 (Mr Seddon).

⁵² The New Zealand wine license authorised 'the licensee to sell and dispose of... New Zealand... wine, cider, and perry [a wine made from pears]' of no more than 20% alc/vol. The licensee could sell up to 'two gallons' per person 'at any one time'. A New Zealand wine license could only be granted within boroughs. Like the publican's license, this license restricted wine, cider and perry sales between the hours of 6am and 10pm, although licensees could apply for up to two hours extension - 'Licensing Act', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S.31, p.136. By 1899 this license cost £1 per annum - *New Zealand Official Year-Book*, 1899, p.214. The bottle license authorised 'the licensee to sell liquor and dispose of bottles corked or sealed, capsuled or wired, of sizes of which six or twelve are usually reckoned to the gallon'. Any liquor sold could not be consumed on the premises. A bottle-licensed premises in the late nineteenth century was similar to the twenty-first century bottle store - 'Licensing Act', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S. 33, p.136. By 1897 this license cost £40 per annum. After 1893 licensing committees did not grant new bottle licenses - *New Zealand Official Year-Book*, 1897, p.347. The accommodation license authorised 'the licensee to sell and dispose of' alcohol on a specified premises, 'and may be granted on the terms of repairing or... [maintaining] any road or bridge in the vicinity of such premises, or providing good accommodation for travellers'. A specific accommodation license could not be granted if another licensed house was within 'five miles' of the proposed licensee's house - 'Licensing Act', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S. 32, p.136. This differed from the accommodation requirements for a hotel where the proprietor held only a publican's license. By 1899 this license cost £20 per annum - *New Zealand Official Year-Book*, 1899, p.214. The packet license authorised 'the master of steamer packet or other...passenger... vessel... to sell and dispose of liquor during her passage' - 'Licensing Act', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S. 34, p.136. By 1899 this license cost £10 per annum for a 50+ ton vessel and £5 per annum for a vessel of less than 50 tons - *New Zealand Official Year-Book*, 1899, p.214. The wholesale license authorised 'the licensee to sell and deliver liquor, in quantities of no less than two gallons' in any one delivery. Customers could not consume their purchase in 'the vendor's home or premises' - 'Licensing Act', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S. 35, p.136. By 1899 this license cost £20 per annum - *New Zealand Official Year-Book*, 1899, p.214. The conditional license authorised 'the licensee' who must also hold a publican's license 'to sell and dispose of liquor at any fair, military encampment, races, regatta, rowing-match, cricket-ground, or other place of public amusement', and could be obtained for 'up to seven days' - 'Licensing Act', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S. 36, p.136. By 1899 the cost of this license could not exceed £30, and depended on the time a publican required it for - *New Zealand Official Year-Book*, 1899, p.214.

⁵³ Wanganui Courthouse Licensing Register, Wanganui Licensing Committee Minutes Book, No.2, 1895-1902, 10 June 1898, p.33.

⁵⁴ 'Licensing Act', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S.40, p.142.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, S.62, p.143.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

Licensing meetings were held quarterly, in March, June, September and December.⁵⁷ These meetings were advertised one month in advance of being held by posting a notice on the ‘outer door of the Courthouse’, or wherever the committee met, and ‘at least thrice’ in local newspapers.⁵⁸ License applicants could also advertise their desire to obtain a license. It was probably in their best interests to do so, as it allowed them the opportunity to gather supporters. In 1884 one such advertisement read:

I, Arthur Hayward, of Patea, do hereby give notice that I desire to obtain...a certificate authorizing the issue of a Publican’s License for a house known as Albion Hotel, situate at Patea.⁵⁹

Similarly, licensing committees advertised the outcome of license meetings. In Patea in 1884 the *Patea Mail* indicated that Arthur Haywood and Patrick Hurley had been granted new licenses, while William Balmforth and James Beamish had theirs renewed; D.M. Harris gained his license via transfer.⁶⁰

Ratepayers crossed district and borough boundaries to try to influence licensing, showing their anti-liquor passions to be more than local fiscal concerns. This occurred in Patea in 1881 around the licensing of the Railway Hotel. Waverley residents thought Patea had enough hotels,⁶¹ and any more would ‘promote drinking’.⁶² As early as January 1881 Waverley settler and anti-drink campaigner James Kenah protested against the impending license. He wrote to the *Patea County Mail* attempting to sway the ‘order-loving and moral’ Patea residents, telling them that the hotel was ‘in a partially reclaimed swamp, nearly alone, and almost within a stone’s-throw of another hotel’.⁶³ He was partially correct. The hotel was no more than 300 metres from the Masonic, in a relatively unpopulated part of town. It was, however, built across the river from other hotels on solid ground only metres from the railway station, and over 100m from an estuary. Supporters claimed that it was ‘only human that there should be competition to put up a Railway Hotel...before a rival hotel is commenced’.⁶⁴ Kenah admitted that the hotel might become ‘a necessity when the railway is opened’, but also claimed that when

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, S.40, p.137.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, S. 41, p.138.

⁵⁹ ‘Notice of Application for a Publican’s License’, *Patea Mail*, 2 May 1884, col. c, p.3. Here, Hayward’s surname appears with a different spelling.

⁶⁰ ‘Licensing Committee’, *Patea Mail*, 4 May 1884, col. f, p.2.

⁶¹ ‘Licensing Court: Railway Hotel’, *Patea County Mail*, 17 March 1881, col. b, p.3.

⁶² ‘Control of Licenses’, *Patea County Mail*, 23 June 1881, col. e, p.2.

⁶³ ‘To the Editor: Good Templars and Licenses’, *Patea County Mail*, 13 January 1881, col. a, p.3.

⁶⁴ ‘Hotel Policy’, *Patea County Mail*, 15 January 1881, cols a-b, pp.2-3.

complete, the amount of rail 'traffic will not make it advisable to put up a public house for the travelling public'.⁶⁵ His beliefs proved correct. Kenah did not believe that Patea would extend further in the vicinity of the Railway Hotel. Indeed, he claimed a licensed hotel might scare future residents away, even though current property owners did not object. He stated: 'the presence of a public house always deteriorates the value of adjacent land: for respectable people prefer to live elsewhere'.⁶⁶ The Waverley Good Templars supported Kenah with a petition. But, this was discredited because lobbyists did not live in the Patea Licensing District and because the petition was presented 'out of order'.⁶⁷ Conversely, 'about 100' Patea residents signed a petition of their own favouring the Railway Hotel.⁶⁸ The police, two JPs and 'a number of other people' also wrote favourable references for McCarthy.⁶⁹ As a result, the Railway was licensed.

Arguably the Act's most important provision fortified the 1873 prohibitory clauses that gave people the power to decide over hotel licensing. Called local option, the provision enabled voters to decide the number of hotel licenses within their district.

Local option was introduced partly as a result of the growth and subsequent pressure from regional and national temperance bodies and the perceived need to reduce liquor consumption and the number of hotels.⁷⁰ It was not until 21 March 1894 that residents first voted on continuance, reduction or prohibition of licenses within their electorate.⁷¹ If 60% of voters within a licensing district wanted there to be fewer licenses, licensing committees carried out their wishes. On the other hand, for committees to even consider increasing the number of licenses in any one district, the population needed to increase by 25%.⁷²

Local option gave what prohibitionists sought. It allowed people the right to choose prohibition by a triennial referendum.⁷³ But some politicians and prohibitionists were concerned about the inequity of the provision. MHR for Franklin, William Buckland, believed that a vote for reduction might result in 'a vast amount of

⁶⁵ 'Licensing Court: Railway Hotel', *Patea County Mail*, 17 March 1881, col. b, p.3.

⁶⁶ To the Editor: Good Templars and Licenses', *Patea County Mail*, 13 January 1881, col. b, p.3.

⁶⁷ 'Licensing Court: Railway Hotel', *Patea County Mail*, 17 March 1881, col. b, p.3.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁷⁰ Southwick, Dormer and Halford, p.2.

⁷¹ Cocker and Murray, p.72; 'Licensing Act', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S.45-54, pp.140-41.

⁷² 'Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Act', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1893, no.34, 57, S.14, p.134.

⁷³ Southwick, Dormer and Halford, p.2.

corruption'.⁷⁴ He argued that 'supporters and friends' of one hotel might offer money to 'try to influence the Committee' to close an opposing hotel.⁷⁵ There is no evidence that this sort of corruption occurred in Patea or Wanganui, but the fear of it occurring in New Zealand was very real. Anti-drinkers were particularly annoyed that they needed a 60% majority to gain reduction or local prohibition, and were adamant that these unfair provisions only forced prohibitionists into politics in order to create a more balanced playing field.⁷⁶ They contended that, 'Had all votes been equal...[their] victory would have been achieved long ago', and hotels would have been closed down.⁷⁷ While Patea residents had the opportunity, most people did not have to concern themselves with license reductions, as over half of the town's hotels fell victim to the floundering economy rather than anti-drink voters. In fact, in 1894 the majority of voters throughout the Patea district favoured keeping all licenses: 52% wanted continuance, 35% sought no licenses and 8% opted for reduced numbers of publican licenses.⁷⁸ Wanganui's local option outcome was more dramatic with 64% voting for continuance, 6% for reduction and 30% for no licenses.⁷⁹ Thus, for the remainder of the nineteenth century, Patea and Wanganui maintained three and twelve hotels respectively.⁸⁰ Nationwide, twelve licensing districts demanded reduction of all licenses, twelve for continuance, and in only once case was 'the abolition of all licenses...carried'.⁸¹

As a forerunner to nationwide voting for prohibition, local option gave anti-drink organisations such as the New Zealand Alliance a moral victory, but large brewing companies were also quietly closing many poor performing hotels in favour of profitable inner city hotels where real estate gains were much greater. While these activities were not apparent in Patea and Wanganui, the actions, arguments about the benefits and detriments of liquor and hotels, and the subsequent outcome of local option voting among pro- and anti-drinkers reflected the strength of the nationwide debate. While pro-drinkers won many of these victories, anti-drink sentiment was obviously still very high.

⁷⁴ 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 80 (1893), p.524 (Mr Buckland).

⁷⁵ *ibid.*

⁷⁶ Cocker and Murray, pp.14; 73.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*

⁷⁸ 'Local Option Poll', *Statistics of New Zealand*, 1894, p.458.

⁷⁹ In 1894 for unnamed reasons, 33 polls were void – *ibid.*, p.459.

⁸⁰ 'Licensed Houses – Proportion to Population', *Statistics of New Zealand*, 1894-1900.

⁸¹ 'Local Option Poll', *Statistics of New Zealand*, 1894, p.459.

From 1895 local option polls were taken on general election days to save money, but also when, according to Richard Seddon, 'you will have...men and women with so much public feeling and public spirit...[and who] are bent upon electing the best man to make our laws' fired up enough to make decisions over licensing.⁸² Coupled with annual license committee elections, local option placed the decision more firmly into the hands of the voting public; a decision over the moral, economic and social impacts of liquor. Therefore, to take moral ground was to possibly affect local business. The provision seemed simple enough, but it had a potentially destructive outcome.

In a further 1893 amendment, resident magistrates needed to confirm an applicant's fitness to gain or renew a license.⁸³ Continuing with an 1873 provision, police reports to committees were guided by inspections of buildings and 'information received from patrons' who did not want to be publicly named.⁸⁴ This set the licensing process on a more even keel and helped ensure that lawyers employed by hoteliers were not going to 'pull the wool over the eyes of licensing commissions'.⁸⁵ Since 1872 politicians and anti-drinkers were concerned that police were not making enough such inspections which had resulted in inadequate hotels.⁸⁶ It seems that police and licensing committees interpreted the law differently. This is indicative of the breadth and depth of feeling about liquor licensing and the upholding of liquor laws. Indeed, decisions made by committees and police were often quite ambiguous; hoteliers could not expect consistent decision making at all. However, in what seems contradictory to the principles of the 1881 Act, committees could not refuse a license unless the evidence was 'almost sufficient to secure a conviction' against the applicant for breaking the liquor law.⁸⁷ Even convicted people were granted licenses.

On 10 June 1898 Queen's Ward and Makirikiri Licensing Committees met to consider license applications. They issued several warnings and recommendations to licensees based on police reports, and granted some licenses on the condition that the hoteliers would improve their premises. In this, their interpretation of the liquor law was

⁸² 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 85 (1894), p.649 (Mr Seddon).

⁸³ 'Alcoholic Liquor Sales Control', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1893, No.34, 57, S. 12 (2), p.132

⁸⁴ Wanganui Courthouse Licensing Register, Wanganui Licensing Committee Minutes Book, No.2, 1895-1902, 10 June 1898, p.33.

⁸⁵ Eldred-Grigg, p.91.

⁸⁶ Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 16 (1874), p.790.

⁸⁷ Wanganui Courthouse Licensing Register, Wanganui Licensing Committee Minutes Book, No.2, 1895-1902, 10 June 1898, p.33. Conrad Bollinger briefly discusses the Petone Licensing Committee that had a 'prohibitionist majority'. They 'tried to refuse the renewal of a license on a technical ground, and ended up by not only losing a long lawsuit but also having to meet the costs' - Bollinger, p.35.

inconsistent. David Sullivan of the Rutland Hotel was granted a license but had to install a new fire escape.⁸⁸ The committee found the police report of the Rutland was honest, but committee members did not believe Sullivan's license could be refused just because the hotel's fire escape was in ill repair;⁸⁹ somewhat antithetical to the public desire for safe buildings. Wanganui's Masonic Hotel also came into question when police reported on its 'dilapidated condition'.⁹⁰ They claimed that a new wing was planned for the hotel, and that it was 'fairly well conducted' with only 'one breach of the Licensing Act' in the previous year.⁹¹ The license was granted. Police reported that Thomas Coady, publican of the Aramoho Hotel, had breached the Act several times by Sunday trading. He was not convicted, but there appeared 'some foundation' for police claims.⁹² Despite his multiple transgressions, Coady was granted a license. T.J. Bennett of the Castlecliff Hotel was also convicted for Sunday trading, but because his business was 'fairly well conducted' the committee renewed his license, only issuing Bennett a warning for his trouble.⁹³ Nora Whelan, one of the rare female publicans, also sought a license renewal for the Albion. The police recommended 'repairs to the rear of the hotel' after 'a small door had been cut through the back wall of an outhouse in the yard'.⁹⁴ Police sergeant Ellison claimed it had 'apparently been made for carrying on the trade during unlawful hours' – a charge Whelan denied.⁹⁵ She claimed the door was 'for the benefit of persons' using the hotel toilets.⁹⁶ The police report had little impact on the outcome, and Whelan had her license renewed subject to the 'injudicious' back entrance being 'boarded up' to police satisfaction.⁹⁷

Licensing committees grew increasingly concerned about the safety of hotels, particularly after the many house and bush fires in Hawke's Bay and Taranaki throughout the 1870s and 1880s. Between 1866 and 1899, the Rutland, York, Red Lion and Commercial hotels burned down, but each was rebuilt, sometimes under a new name. During the same period, not one Patea hotel was reduced to ashes. Indeed, the low

⁸⁸ Wanganui Courthouse Licensing Register, Wanganui Licensing Committee Minutes Book, No.2, 1895-1902, 10 June 1898, p.51; 'Wanganui Licensing Committee', *Yeoman*, 18 June 1898, col. c, p.18.

⁸⁹ Wanganui Courthouse Licensing Register, Wanganui Licensing Committee Minutes Book, No.2, 1895-1902, 10 June 1898, p.33.

⁹⁰ 'Wanganui Licensing Committee', *Yeoman*, 18 June 1898, col. c, p.18.

⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁹² *ibid.*

⁹³ *ibid.*

⁹⁴ *ibid.*

⁹⁵ *ibid.*

⁹⁶ *ibid.*

⁹⁷ *ibid.*

number of hotel fires shows that fire safety was a concern, particularly considering high fire risks in hotels with the combination of liquor, liquor impaired patrons, dry wooden structures and candle lighting. Nevertheless, Wanganui licensing committees flexed their collective muscle, demanding that its town's hoteliers take responsibility for the safety of hotel patrons. For instance, in 1897 police were asked to 'see that every two storied hotel was provided with a ladder big enough to reach the top windows' and that a 'fire bell [was] placed upstairs'.⁹⁸ Nearly all had one of these even though many of these were only dinner bells 'placed on a table in the hall'.⁹⁹ Also, in September 1898 the Wanganui Fire Brigade investigated local fires and recommended that licensing committee chairperson, Charles C. Kettle, send 'a circular letter to all hotel keepers in the borough asking them to obtain a report as to the...means of escape in their hotels'.¹⁰⁰

Some hotels received more police and licensing committee attention than others. Patea's Railway Hotel was in the spotlight more than other hotels in the town, because opponents to its license did not believe it was in the public's best interest to have it licensed. In Wanganui, on the other hand, the Rutland and the Red Lion hotels received a lot of police attention because of perceived poor management practices. In 1885 Makirikiri Licensing Committee discussed the Red Lion's management and the instances of drunkenness on the premises so often reported. The licensing committee heard how the owner and licensee, Richard Reid, 'was lately taken to drink'.¹⁰¹ Relatives of John Higgins claimed that a coroner had found Higgins had 'died of alcohol poisoning' from liquor purchased there.¹⁰² The committee also heard how a husband and wife named 'Roger' lodged at the Red Lion and 'were continuously in a state of intoxication'.¹⁰³ The committee decided that Reid's substandard management had allowed this to occur, and his license application was declined. The decision did not stop him profiting from the Red Lion; on 29 June 1885 the committee granted John Robertson the hotel's license, while Reid retained ownership, and continued in business.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ Wanganui Courthouse Licensing Registers, Wanganui Licensing Committee Minute Book, No.2, 1897, p.20.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, No.2, 9 September 1898, p.55.

¹⁰¹ Wanganui Courthouse Licensing Register, Makirikiri Licensing Minute Book, 8 June 1885.

¹⁰² *ibid.* Higgins died on 20 March 1885.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, 29 June 1885.

As has been mentioned, police reports were not always enough evidence to allow licensing committees to make decisions. This caused delays to the licensing process and the need for further, independent reports. In March 1898 the Queen's Ward Licensing Committee met to consider the police report for the Rutland Hotel. The Courthouse meeting was called primarily to decide how the owner and licensee, Mr Parsons, was to rectify problems that police found with the building.¹⁰⁵ James Tawse and a Mr Russell independently examined the building, reporting that the hotel was 'exceptionally well furnished', that the structure of the building was 'in fair order' and the foundations, cellar, bar, dining room and bedrooms were 'comparatively new'.¹⁰⁶ However, the men's toilets were poorly maintained; instead of continuing to offer 'perforated pipe' as a urinal, the owner was advised to install 'earthenware basins'.¹⁰⁷ Tawse and Russell found that the building's floors, ceilings and wallpaper were also in need of repair. The investigators concluded that 'the only really bad parts...are the kitchen, pantry and scullery' which, they recommended, should be 'taken down and reconstructed'.¹⁰⁸ Although the owner had already spent £800 on the Rutland in only two years, including some of the best furnishings in Wanganui, he agreed to the recommendations and 'would see to the repairs'.¹⁰⁹

Some requests for licenses were also heard by Resident Magistrate's courts. This was usually where the licensing process fell outside of a licensing committee's jurisdiction. In October 1867, for example, R. Aitken applied for transfer of the license for Wanganui's Exchange Hotel into his name. The Queen's Ward Licensing Committee rejected the application, and the case was transferred to the Magistrate's court.¹¹⁰ Aitken had purchased the 'effects of the late landlord', Mr Testar, and ran the hotel without a license. In order to recoup money that Testar owed him, Aitken had also claimed the hotel furniture to the value of approximately £100. As a result, Testar's other creditors appeared to have missed out on any money owed them. The court granted the transfer,

¹⁰⁵ 'The Rutland Hotel', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 March 1898, p.2; Wanganui Courthouse Licensing Registers, Wanganui Licensing Committee Minute Book, No.2, May 1898, pp.47-48.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*

¹¹⁰ 'R.M. Court', *Evening Herald*, 21 October 1867, col. b, p.2.

but they saw ‘much to disapprove of in the transaction; Aitken should have ‘come in with the other creditors’, instead of unilaterally taking possession of the premises.¹¹¹

ii. Public Debate Intensifies

While Wanganui prohibitionists were defeated in the 1894 and 1897 local option polls, licensing benches had their own means of control: reduced hours. The 1881 Act shortened bar hours from midnight to 10pm.¹¹² Extensions to midnight were still available for a fee of £10 per annum, but only if the extension was ‘for the benefit and convenience of the public’.¹¹³ By 1893 extensions were further reduced to 11pm, and came at a cost of £5 per annum.¹¹⁴ Throughout the 1890s hoteliers fought for extended bar hours to accommodate late night travellers, but Wanganui licensing committees continually refused them. Some sectors claimed these decisions were arbitrary attempts at bolstering the prohibitionist stance in the town. This only added to the list of complaints about the ambivalence of the 1881 Act and its amendments, and kindled within the Wanganui hotel trade an intense dislike for committee decision-making.

To Wanganui licensing committees smattered with teetotalers, the social factor was more important than the economic, and between 1894 and 1899 the issue divided Wanganui: prohibitionists ‘opposed’ an extension because they saw hotels as socially damaging, while hoteliers ‘condemned 10 o’clock closing’ because of its effects on their income and the economic health of the town.¹¹⁵ Some saw 10 o’clock closing as an irritating hour for Wanganui hoteliers and ‘a serious inconvenience to the travelling public...causing the town a lot of harm’.¹¹⁶ Earlier closing times resulted in lost revenue as late night travellers struggled to find accommodation or refreshments after arriving from steamer, railway and coach trips.¹¹⁷ Some families were forced to walk the streets

¹¹¹ *ibid.*

¹¹² ‘Licensing Act’, *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S.30, p.136.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, S. 37, p.137.

¹¹⁴ ‘Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control’, *New Zealand Statutes*, 1893, no.34, 57, S. 12(3), p.132.

¹¹⁵ ‘Wanganui Licensing Committee’, *Yeoman*, 18 June 1898, col. d, p.18.

¹¹⁶ ‘Extension of Hours’, *Yeoman*, 9 June 1894, col. b, p.12; ‘Wanganui Licensing Committee’, *Yeoman*, 24 September 1898, col. c, p.13.

¹¹⁷ ‘Eleven O’clock Licenses’, *Yeoman*, 18 June 1894, col. c, p.12; ‘Wanganui Licensing Committee’, *Yeoman*, 18 June 1898, col. d, p.18.

until close to midnight before finding food and shelter in rudimentary accommodation houses because the town's finer hotels had closed so early.¹¹⁸

Many residents wanted Wanganui to be more like Dannevirke and Waipawa where hotels remained open until 11pm because of late trains, and for people wanting refreshments after attending meetings or other public gatherings.¹¹⁹ How, asked one correspondent, would visitors view Wanganui if the town could not attend to the accommodation and entertainment needs of tourists, travellers and conference goers?¹²⁰ Indeed, it risked becoming 'a fanatic ridden "Sleepy Hollow", where the bulk of the residents are too inert to bestir themselves in their own interests' and support a hotel industry that aided its community.¹²¹ On 9 September 1898 a number of people appeared at the license meeting to support the applicants for extended hours.¹²² They came from a variety of businesses, including the head of the Pollard Opera Company, president of the Cosmopolitan Club, a chemist and a grocer, seeking longer hours.¹²³

Anti-licensing committee sentiment continued to escalate throughout 1898, with newspaper correspondents showing increasing displeasure at policies that attacked male bonding and the right to drink. One pro-drinker asserted that teetotal licensing committee members did 'their utmost to make Wanganui a dull, uninviting town, where visitors will be treated almost as inmates of a reformatory...not allowed to enjoy the legitimate pleasures and social intercourse' such as an evening drink.¹²⁴ In short, hoteliers and their supporters felt that 10pm closing would affect the local economy, rendering the town a fiscal backwater. Wanganui 'property prices will fall in value, trade dwindle away, and stagnation, like a malarial mist, envelope and render life in such a fad-ridden place undesirable'.¹²⁵

There was some debate over whether Wanganui had enough hotel rooms to cater for local needs. The town's hotels had 'the amount of rooms required by law' but they were 'miserably below requirements of the visiting public', forcing disgusted tourists to

¹¹⁸ 'Eleven O'clock Licenses', *Yeoman*, 18 June 1894, col. c, p.12.

¹¹⁹ Wanganui Courthouse Licensing Registers, Wanganui Licensing Committee Minute Book, No.2, June 1898, p.52; 'Hotel Accommodation', *Yeoman*, 10 March 1894, col. a, p.12.

¹²⁰ 'Hotel Accommodation', *Yeoman*, 10 March 1894, col. a, p.12.

¹²¹ *ibid.*

¹²² Wanganui Courthouse Licensing Registers, Wanganui Licensing Committee Minute Book, No.2, September 1898, p.56.

¹²³ *ibid.*

¹²⁴ 'Eleven O'clock Licenses', *Yeoman*, 24 September 1898, cols b-c, p.12.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*

take accommodation in ‘shakedowns and crowded rooms’.¹²⁶ Hoteliers could have added rooms, particularly once train travel became more popular and the need for stabling decreased, giving hoteliers more room to build. But the constant prohibitionist threat forced accommodation entrepreneurs like Robert Kells or John Ruscoe to steer clear of such risky expenses.¹²⁷ Likewise, hotels could not revert to hostels and be expected to survive, with the majority of the Wanganui public wanting accommodation and refreshments, and the resulting social bonds found and strengthened within hotels.

People also gathered to oppose licensing, including the police who believed that extended hours would only increase drunkenness.¹²⁸ In June 1898 a ‘Mr Bridge’ also appeared ‘on his own behalf and on behalf of [the] Temperance League’.¹²⁹ Reverend Bond opposed extensions on behalf of the Minister’s Association, and Messrs J Aitken, W.G. Bassett and Reverend Spencer opposed on [their] own behalf’.¹³⁰ Licensing committee chairperson Charles C. Kettle also asserted that hotels could remain open until 11 o’clock; they simply could not serve liquor after 10pm, although ‘it was lawful...to sell liquor...to a lodger or *bonafide* traveller’ after that hour.¹³¹ His ‘narrow-minded’ comments failed to acknowledge that people on the street also wanted alcoholic refreshments or at least the right to visit hotels for late night social interaction once other entertainments had finished.¹³² Hoteliers, however, saw no point in staying open after their bars closed. The few non-drinking customers coming into a hotel did not warrant staying open if publicans could not sell anything until travellers arrived, and then only to put them to bed without refreshment. Thus, hotels closed their doors at 10pm, making it very difficult for someone to obtain admission to a hotel once that time had passed.¹³³ It seems that Kettle wanted locals to fit his teetotal mould, and return to their families once the theatre or community meetings were finished with.

To the surprise of the 11 o’clock advocates, committees finally offered them some leeway, increasing trading hours by fifteen minutes to give the travelling public the extra time to reach their lodgings. Hoteliers thought this decision laughable, and

¹²⁶ ‘Hotel Accommodation’, *Yeoman*, 10 March 1894, col. a, p.12. A shakedown can be described as a makeshift bed, especially of straw and blankets.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, col. b, p.12.

¹²⁸ Wanganui Courthouse Licensing Registers, Wanganui Licensing Committee Minute Book, No.2, 9 June 1899, p.70.

¹²⁹ In June 1899 Mr Bridge also opposed extended hours on behalf of the ‘Prohibition League’ and WCTU – *ibid.*, 10 June 1899, p.69.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*

¹³¹ ‘Wanganui Licensing Committee’, *Yeoman*, 18 June 1898, col. d, p.18.

¹³² *ibid.*

¹³³ *ibid.*

according to one newspaper correspondent, was an ‘absurd’ show of ‘knock-kneed weakness’.¹³⁴ Pro-drinkers did not believe that fifteen minutes was not enough time to see late night travellers to sleeping quarters, and continued to seek a full hour. To overcome the inconvenience of having to close early, lawyer William Barnicoat suggested that hoteliers might even have resorted to lawbreaking in order to serve their late arrivals.¹³⁵ Nevertheless, the fifteen minutes showed acquiescence to the pro-drink fraternity, albeit minor, that hotels were indeed important to travellers and the local economy. Kettle all but blamed the 1895 liquor law and its creators for the debate over bar hours, claiming that ‘the Legislature should fix the hours of closing, and so settle the question once and for all’.¹³⁶ If hotel-keepers believed themselves ‘special cases’, they could ‘attempt’ to have the time changed officially.¹³⁷

iii. *A Matter of Money*

It was commonly held that license fees and liquor duties were mainly revenue generating.¹³⁸ In 1871, for instance, Julius Vogel estimated that ‘he would receive £750,000 from customs duties’, something he advised other politicians to keep in mind when discussing liquor controls.¹³⁹ Likewise, money earned from liquor licensing was important to some provinces, and nothing could persuade them ‘to give up such a source of revenue’.¹⁴⁰ This was probably an essential source of income in Patea and Wanganui between the 1860s and 1880s when populations were relatively small and hotel numbers relatively high. During the mid 1860s customs duties for Wanganui supposedly provided £14,000 to government coffers – a huge amount of money considering the population of the town was under than 2,500.¹⁴¹ Similarly, in 1881 the Patea Borough Council would have netted £280 from publican licenses. This was a lot of money when comparing the £350 the council took through household rates. Also, when rural land could be purchased for only pounds and shillings, license fees seem rather expensive. In 1882 five or ten

¹³⁴ ‘Extension of Hours’, *Yeoman*, 9 June 1894, col. b, p.12.

¹³⁵ ‘Wanganui Licensing Committee’, *Yeoman*, 24 September 1898, col. b, p.13.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*, 18 June 1898, col. d, p.18.

¹³⁷ Wanganui Courthouse Licensing Registers, Wanganui Licensing Committee Minute Book, No.2, June 1898, p.55.

¹³⁸ H.S. Adams, p.144; ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 12 (1872), p.198 (Mr Tribe).

¹³⁹ ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 11 (1871), p.336 (Mr Swanson).

¹⁴⁰ ‘Liquor Laws’, *NZPD*, 7 (1870), p.162 (Mr Carleton). This notion was also alluded to in ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 12 (1872), p.198 (Mr Tribe) and ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 80 (1893), p.523 (Mr Buckland).

¹⁴¹ ‘Total Abstinence Society’, *Evening Herald*, 8 October 1867, col. b, p.2.

acre Southern Taranaki 'suburban sections' were selling from between £7 and £8 per acre, while half acre village allotments sold for £7 10s each.¹⁴² Similarly, bush land cost as little as £1 15s per acre, and open land sold for between £1 10s and £5 for one acre.¹⁴³

Despite the concerns, borough publican fees remained at £40 per annum for over sixty years, and rural publicans paid only £25 per annum, a drop of £5 from the 1840s. These fees were likely a reflection of the money that could be made in hotels, although small town hotels like Patea's would presumably generate less revenue because they attracted fewer customers than their Wanganui counterparts.¹⁴⁴ These fees may also have been a reflection of the reduced numbers of hotels and readily available money throughout the 1880s and 1890s, in an era when drinkers were under increasing social and fiscal pressures from temperance advocates and economic depression. Certainly the high turnover rate of Patea and Wanganui hotels suggests that this was the case. Because license fees were initially set in 1842 when temperance advocates were without political clout, the argument that fees were an attempt at bolstering government coffers is even less appealing. If license charges were solely for making money, why did governments not increase them?

iv. Licensed Clubs

With all of the restrictions on hotels, the pro-drink fraternity thought it unfair that clubs were subject to a different set of rules. From as early as 1871 some politicians could 'not see why clubs should not be subject to the same licensing laws as ordinary hotels'.¹⁴⁵ From 1881 clubs could remain open until 11pm, when hotels were forced to close at 10. Many men considered hotels to be 'their clubs...to meet their friends or for pleasure...to read the newspapers and for relaxation'.¹⁴⁶ According to Richard Seddon, publicans applied to the Colonial Secretary for club licenses when they had their publican licenses revoked. Seddon could not believe there should be separate laws for clubs and hotels. He stated that the law was 'a sham', left open to abuse, because even after hotels are closed, clubs remained open, allowing hotel patrons to 'get at the club what the majority

¹⁴² 'Public Notices', *Patea Mail*, 11 August 1882, p.2.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ 'Licensing Act', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S.108, p.151.

¹⁴⁵ 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 11 (1871), p.332 (Mr Creighton).

¹⁴⁶ 'Wanganui Licensing Committee', *Yeoman*, 24 September 1898, col. b, p.13.

of the people have said...[drinkers] should not obtain'.¹⁴⁷ This abuse further illustrates the important role of drinking, both economically and socially. People could drink at home, but chose not to because drinking was a social event, a medium for socialising in a tough, sometimes cold physical environment. It also shows how easily liquor laws, even one as comprehensive as the 1881 Act, were manipulated. Seddon suggested there be one law; workingmen's clubs objected, but wives of club members would surely support bringing clubs and hotels into line because this would mean their husbands would return to their homes earlier in the evening.¹⁴⁸ In fact, Seddon alleged 'some injustice had been done to the owners of hotel property by legislation of the past' that had allowed clubs to prosper while hotels could not.¹⁴⁹ In 1895 licensing reforms meant that hotels and clubs were put on the same footing.

v. Unfair Maori Laws?

When it came to hotels, Pakeha and Maori were treated differently. There are, however, clear parallels between Maori liquor laws and the laws specifically affecting Pakeha, in that many deemed them to be unfair, and a restriction of personal liberties. Excessive drinking by Maori, and land jobbers who tricked Maori out of land using liquor forced authorities to introduce liquor restrictions against Maori from the 1840s. Like most liquor laws of the nineteenth century, many politicians and Maori leaders believed these laws were unfair. However, supporters of the laws believed that European legislation would ensure Maori survival. The first attempt to control Maori drinking was introduced in 1836 by Thomas McDonnell, the 'Additional British Resident'.¹⁵⁰ Under James Busby's authority, McDonnell introduced a short lived regulation 'prohibiting the landing of spirits'.¹⁵¹ This mainly took effect in Northland, but did not last. Historian Alan Ward presents two reasons for the regulation's short life. First, McDonnell was concerned with self promotion rather than Maori drunkenness and its effects on tribalism; second, the

¹⁴⁷ 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 85 (1894), p.651 (Mr Seddon).

¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.652.

¹⁵⁰ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995, p.25.

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*

gulf between rangatira ‘objections to the demoralising influence of liquor’ and the desire to drink it was ever widening, making the job of restricting drinking a difficult one.¹⁵²

By 1846 Governor George Grey had introduced the Sale of Spirits Ordinance that was designed to prevent ‘social dislocation’ and rebellion among Maori.¹⁵³ Because this Ordinance restricted only Maori, there was almost immediate resentment toward the measure. It was also regularly defied. Maori unhappy with the presence of liquor did not want to be discriminated against. Instead, they wanted liquor totally prohibited.¹⁵⁴ People also criticised an 1847 Ordinance that outlawed the ‘sale or supply of spirits’ to Maori in specified districts because it restricted free trade and Maori liberty.¹⁵⁵

Because these early laws had also been regularly disobeyed, most people involved in the liquor debate agreed that change was required. As with mainstream liquor laws, politicians, liquor merchants and anti-drinkers demanded laws that would ensure a reduction in the amounts of liquor Maori were meant to be consuming.¹⁵⁶ The first major law change for Maori came in 1870. Called the Outlying Districts Sale of Spirits Act, it attempted to regulate liquor sales ‘within districts inhabited by Aboriginal Natives’.¹⁵⁷ This Act extended the powers under the 1847 Ordinance, giving the Governor authority to ‘define districts’ and ‘alter the boundaries of such districts’ where ‘at least two-thirds of the inhabitants’ were Maori, so long as this did not include ‘any town or city’.¹⁵⁸ The government quickly proclaimed much of Northland, Bay of Plenty, East Coast and Tongariro/Taupo as Native Districts.¹⁵⁹ Patea County was ‘included in the Upper Wanganui Native Licensing District’.¹⁶⁰ As a result, the county publicans were required to abide by the decisions of Native Assessors. The status of Patea township as a disturbed district resulted in liquor restrictions for everyone at various times during the 1860s, and by the 1880s authorities continued to restrict Maori from drinking freely at hotels in urban areas. In a similar to the role to JPs, Native Assessors were appointed to oversee any licensing in Native districts, including the immediate revocation of licenses if

¹⁵² *ibid.*

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, p.87.

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Eldred-Grigg, p.67.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.68.

¹⁵⁷ ‘Outlying Districts Sale of Spirits’, *New Zealand Statutes*, no.39, 33-34, p.117.

¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*, S.2-4, p.117.

¹⁵⁹ Eldred-Grigg, p.69.

¹⁶⁰ ‘A Licensing Fiasco’, *Patea Mail*, 18 June 1883, col. c, p.2.

the need arose.¹⁶¹ Unlicensed people could not sell liquor to Maori. To break this law could mean a fine of up to £50, 'to be paid immediately upon conviction'; quite a sum of money in the 1870s, and sure to bring at least short term hardship to the convicted.¹⁶² Suspected sly-groggers in Native Districts also risked having their doors broken in and their premises searched 'by day or by night'.¹⁶³ This Act was similar to mainstream Licensing Acts of the 1860s and 1870s in that people needed a liquor license to sell grog. To sell liquor in a Native District was to risk a fine. By 1873 Maori were becoming more involved in European licensing measures, although sales of liquor to Maori was still restricted in towns and town districts. Maori could, however, hold publicans' licenses, but were still 'subject to the approval of magistrates' and Native District assessors.¹⁶⁴

While separate laws were in force before 1873, like most of New Zealand's liquor laws, they were difficult to implement. For instance, licensing authorities only had power on licensing days, and 'magistrates had no power of enforcing the law in regard to the sale of liquor...to Natives', unless people told the magistrate or police.¹⁶⁵ Maori and Pakeha only reluctantly informed authorities about sly-grogging in Native Districts presumably because they did not wish to attract the attention of the police. According to Taranaki politician Thomas Kelly, laws 'preventing any person selling spirits to Natives, was one of the greatest shams in existence'.¹⁶⁶ Anyone thinking that such a law would be upheld was living in a dream world.¹⁶⁷ Without doubt, some Maori continued to break liquor laws because of perceived legislative inequities, and publicans often sold liquor to Maori out of hours and when Pakeha were absent; activities that might have diminished had laws been fairer. Pakeha, it seems, flouted the law while Maori were the ones being punished.¹⁶⁸

Maori certainly drank alcohol illegally, but only to defy what they saw as an unfair, essentially divisive law.¹⁶⁹ Donald McLean implied if there had not been such

¹⁶¹ 'Outlying Districts Sale of Spirits', *New Zealand Statutes*, no.39, 33-34, S.5-8, p.118

¹⁶² *ibid.*, S.9 and 12, pp.118-19.

¹⁶³ *ibid.*, S.10, p.119.

¹⁶⁴ 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 12 (1872), p.193 (Mr Katene). There is no evidence to suggest that Patea or Wanganui had any Maori publicans during the late nineteenth century.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, (Mr Carleton).

¹⁶⁶ 'Liquor Laws', *NZPD*, 7 (1870), p.164 (Mr Kelly).

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ 'Sale of Spirits in Native Districts Bill', *NZPD*, 9 (1870), p.72, (Mr Carleton).

¹⁶⁹ 'Liquor Laws', *NZPD*, 7 (1870), p.163 (Mr Carleton).

unfair laws, Maori ‘would not have coveted drink so much as they had’.¹⁷⁰ Maori only craved what was restricted to them; with freer access to alcohol, they would not have hoarded it in Native Districts.¹⁷¹ Restrictions on Maori drinking brought ‘contempt upon law in general...[because] Maoris *do* get drink.’¹⁷² A Whanganui leader, Mete Kingi Paetahi, also revealed that ‘twenty’ of his rangatira had ‘died from the effects of drinking’.¹⁷³ This was clearly a tragedy, but Paetahi asserted that it was their choice to drink. Thus, any law that brought Maori and Pakeha into line, even if it might appear to encourage Maori drunkenness, was the only fair option for Maori.¹⁷⁴ As Paetahi had implied, if Maori wanted to drink, they should be allowed to without being harassed. Indeed, Wanganui people believed that liquor laws were broken more often than they were upheld.¹⁷⁵ Laws could be effective if they were consistently enforced, but evidence against illegal sales to Maori often only came to light after ‘some quarrel, or out of spite’, and so information was not aimed at upholding laws, but at punishing a publican for personal reasons.¹⁷⁶

Wanganui hoteliers wanted to sell liquor lawfully to Maori to avoid continued law breaking and increase their income.¹⁷⁷ In February 1867 the Licensed Victuallers’ Association held its inaugural meeting with these things in mind.¹⁷⁸ Its members wanted ‘uniformity in the conduct’ of their businesses, and laws preventing this ‘denied...Maori...the liberty of procuring spirituous liquors’, and hoteliers from legally procuring a trade that was already prevalent.¹⁷⁹ For years, Wanganui publicans had been fined for infringing the law, yet sly-groggers, clubs and lodging houses supplied liquor to Maori. One publican, Elizabeth Davidson, complained that while she was forced to close by midnight, her neighbour served ‘spirits to Maoris and others by the glass, and...bottle’ without a license.¹⁸⁰ It seems that hoteliers were being punished when illegal operators and clubs were selling liquor to Maori with apparent disregard for the law. Wanganui solicitor H.B. Roberts argued that Maori had been ‘taught our manners’ and had been

¹⁷⁰ ‘Sale of Spirits in Native Districts Bill’, *NZPD*, 8 (1870), p.366 (Mr Gillies).

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*

¹⁷² ‘Correspondent: Licensed Victuallers Society’, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 6 February 1867, col. f, p.2.

¹⁷³ ‘Sale of Spirits in Native Districts Bill’, *NZPD*, 9 (1870), p.369 (Mete Kingi Paetahi).

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ ‘Correspondent: Licensed Victuallers Society’, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 6 February 1867, col. f, p.2.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Sale of Spirits in Native Districts Bill’, *NZPD*, 9 (1870), p.367 (Mr Carleton).

¹⁷⁷ ‘Correspondent: Licensed Victuallers Society’, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 6 February 1867, col. f, p.2.

¹⁷⁸ ‘Public Meeting: Licensed Victuallers’ Society’, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 2 February 1867, col. c, p.2.

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.*

given liquor only to have it taken away again.¹⁸¹ Wanganui Magistrates also disagreed with unfair liquor laws. Although they continued to uphold the law, they claimed that Maori prohibition laws ‘ought to be altered’.¹⁸²

William Fox declared that most Maori had no desire to abstain from alcohol.¹⁸³ He had witnessed ‘frightful drunkenness’ among Maori and had been told by rangatira that anti-drink politicians or licensing authorities could not stop drinking among Maori while they were ‘so fond of it’.¹⁸⁴ Fox was quick to add his support to policies that would allow the government ‘to co-operate with the Natives in carrying out the object which he had in view’:¹⁸⁵ total abstinence. As an avid anti-drink campaigner, would he have recommended otherwise?

Those people who supported Maori liquor laws and Maori prohibition believed that legislation would ensure Maori tribalism survived. Wesleyan missionary to west coast Maori, Reverend Thomas Godfrey Hammond, claimed that penalties for supplying Maori with drink were widely supported.¹⁸⁶ Maori Members of Parliament were unanimous in their support of prohibition. Representing Northern Maori, Wiremu Katene was adamant that despite harsh liquor laws, drinking among Maori would continue while liquor was around.¹⁸⁷ Katene would sooner put the liquor laws ‘into a pot and boil them’ for all the good they had done for Maori.¹⁸⁸ He believed that the only way to control drinking by Maori and Pakeha was to ‘prevent the introduction of spirituous liquors into New Zealand’.¹⁸⁹ Likewise, Hawke’s Bay’s Tareha Te Moananui thought the Government should ‘prevent public houses from being erected anywhere’.¹⁹⁰ He abhorred liquor and hotels because ‘they have an ascendancy over man’, and cause Maori to ‘sell their land to Europeans’.¹⁹¹ In Hawke’s Bay land jobbers and storekeepers sold liquor to local Maori putting them in debt, and so in order to repay their obligation, they were

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*

¹⁸² *ibid.*

¹⁸³ ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 12 (1872), p.165 (Mr Fox).

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, p.264; ‘Police Commission of Enquiry’, *AJHR*, 1898, vol. III, H.2, p.1124.

¹⁸⁷ ‘Liquor Laws’, *NZPD*, 7 (1870), p.163 (Wiremu Katene).

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ ‘Sale of Spirits in Native Districts Bill’, *NZPD*, 9 (1870), p.367 (Tareha Te Moananui).

¹⁹¹ *ibid.*, p.367 (Tareha Te Moananui). Conrad Bollinger also details this practice, stating it was common during the 1860s when ‘liquor was deliberately used by unscrupulous Pakehas as a means of debauching individual Maoris, especially chiefs, and swindling them out of their tribal lands’ – Bollinger, p.17.

forced to sell their land to avoid the threat of imprisonment.¹⁹² For these reasons, Te Moananui wanted Native Districts bereft of drinking establishments.¹⁹³

When Maori women were restricted from purchasing liquor in 1893, Rev. Hammond thought this a ‘very great blessing as it keeps the women away from the public houses’.¹⁹⁴ Finally, although Hone Heke demanded Maori have rights in deciding who were allowed liquor licenses, he also supported liquor embargoes against Maori. He wanted Native Districts ‘made prohibition districts’.¹⁹⁵ This would help sober Maori up and ensure that Maori tribalism was protected.

In 1898 a police Commission of Enquiry established that Patea and Wanganui Maori illegally purchased liquor. This was often followed by drunken behaviour. Patea Maori regularly drank in the town’s hotels ‘when they were paid their rents’.¹⁹⁶ The problem was not that Maori had a pocket full of money and a hotel close at hand, but that authorities were doing nothing about ‘the evils of the liquor trade’ that had resulted in Maori drunkenness.¹⁹⁷ After complaining to Patea police about the Maori drinking at the Waitotara Hotel, police told the publican who then paid Hammond back by ‘savagely’ accosting him, and the publican’s son-in-law also ‘insulted’ the clergyman.¹⁹⁸ This incident illustrates the lack of support for complainants and the law, and just how lackadaisical local police were. In fact, on ‘very many occasions’ the Patea constabulary failed to enforce the law against Maori drinking, whereas European lawbreakers had been policed far more effectively.¹⁹⁹

Maori women had ‘filled up’ Patea pubs, ‘were often drunk, and given to swearing’²⁰⁰ – one of the hated vices associated with drinking. In September 1867 a newspaper correspondent travelling with fifty militiamen described William King’s illegal grog shop: ‘The native keeps a sly grog shop, square gin being the most popular liquor, and as far as I could ascertain, the only one; he has also got an Accommodation House. I wonder who supplied him with the grog and other necessaries, they must come

¹⁹² This activity resulted in the sale of much of the Heretaunga block – parts of modern day Hastings – resulting in the establishment of the Repudiation Movement in 1872.

¹⁹³ *ibid.*, 367 (Tareha Te Moananui).

¹⁹⁴ ‘Police Commission of Enquiry’, *AJHR*, 1898, vol. III, H.2, p.1124.

¹⁹⁵ ‘Licensing Bill,’ *NZPD*, 85 (1894), p.655 (Hone Heke).

¹⁹⁶ ‘Police Commission of Enquiry’, *AJHR*, 1898, vol. III, H.2, p.1123.

¹⁹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.1124.

¹⁹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰⁰ *ibid.*

from New Plymouth. Two or three natives got drunk here in company with the landlord'.²⁰¹ Rev. Hammond wrote to Richard Seddon complaining about the drinking by Patea Maori, but nothing had been done about it.²⁰² Police failed to enforce Maori liquor restrictions and had allowed indiscriminate beer drinking among Maori attending public and private meetings.

According to customs collector James Garland Woon, a similar trend was evident in Wanganui. He implied that law enforcers rarely upheld the law and allowed Maori to drink: 'indeed, Magistrates and police alike, I fancy, winked and looked the other way whenever they saw a Maori in a public-house "bar," unless the aboriginal indulged too freely, got intoxicated, or kicked up a "row"'.²⁰³ Also, 'large numbers of Natives hang...about the doors of...hotels and in their very bar-rooms in a state of intoxication'.²⁰⁴

vi. Consequences

Throughout the Western World, 'the availability of alcohol was intimately linked to vice, prostitution...idleness...[and] criminality',²⁰⁵ and ardent anti-drinkers claimed that liquor was 'of all causes, the most frequent source of poverty, unhappiness, divorce, suicide, immorality, crime, insanity, disease and death'.²⁰⁶ At the heart of many drinking crimes lay the hotel.²⁰⁷ As early as 1854 Edward Gibbon Wakefield described drunkenness as 'the man cause of crime in this colony'.²⁰⁸ Even so, official statistics for the 1890s indicate that deaths as a result of intemperance were relatively low. In 1894 only four people died nationwide as a result of drinking, increasing to twelve in 1899.²⁰⁹ Indicated by fig.1, drunken crimes in Wanganui were in line with the national rate throughout the 1870 to 1899 period.²¹⁰ The number of drunken crimes in Wanganui in 1871 was 48.6 per 1000 head of population, while the national rate was 18.2. Twenty years later,

²⁰¹ 'Patea: From Our Own Correspondent', *Evening Herald*, 16 September 1867, col. c, p.2.

²⁰² Police Commission of Enquiry', *AJHR*, 1898, vol. III, H.2, p.1124.

²⁰³ Woon, pp.48-49.

²⁰⁴ 'Correspondent: Licensed Victuallers Society', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 6 February 1867, col. f, p.2.

²⁰⁵ Smith, p.370.

²⁰⁶ Cocker and Murray, p.16.

²⁰⁷ 'Correspondent: Temperance', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 October 1867, col. c, p.2.

²⁰⁸ 'Liquor Traffic', *NZPD*, 1854, S.2, p.409 (Mr Gibbon Wakefield); Eldred-Grigg, p.67.

²⁰⁹ 'Inquests', *New Zealand Official Year-Book*, 1896, p.248; *ibid.*, p.178.

²¹⁰ 'Law and Crime', *Statistics of New Zealand*, 1870-1900. Statistics for Patea began in 1869, when a Magistrate's court was installed in the town.

Wanganui's rate of drunken crime dropped substantially to 15.8 per 1000, while the national rate had also decreased less dramatically to 7.1. This trend continued in 1896 when a further drop in the Wanganui rate was recorded, with 10.9 drunken crimes per 1000 people, with the national rate decreasing to 5.9 per 1000. In Patea between 1870 and 1899 drinking crimes remained quite static throughout the period, and never rose above 25 cases in any one year. Compared to Wanganui, however, the rate per 1000 was a very high 61.7. Although there were fewer than ten convictions for drunken crime in 18 out of 29 years during this period, the low population in Patea meant that the rate was far above the national rate. By 1896 this rate had declined to 8.1 per 1000.²¹¹ While the actual number of convictions for drunken crimes was less 'palpable than in populous districts', the rate compared with national figures is astonishingly higher, resulting in the notion that Patea and Wanganui were hotbeds of drunkenness.²¹² There are possibly two reasons why enormous downward trends in convictions occurred in Wanganui and Patea: the fiscal decline evident throughout the country and the effect of laws and temperance agitation.²¹³

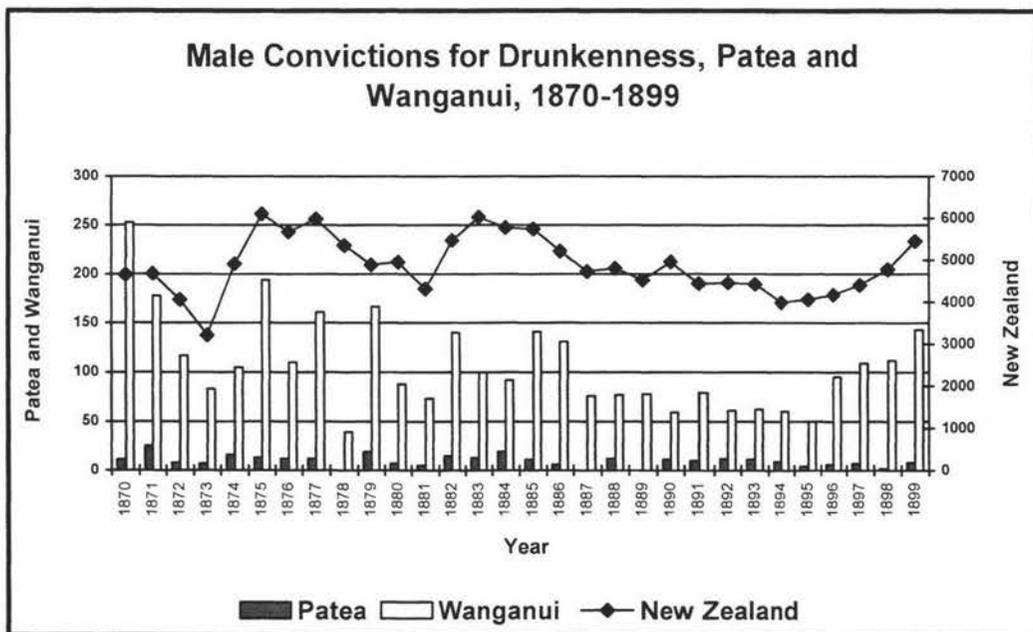


Fig.1. The numbers of drunken crimes in Wanganui and Patea showed a similar pattern to the national trend.

²¹¹ 'Law and Crime', *Statistics of New Zealand, 1870-1900*; 'Population', *New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1893-1900*; Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: the Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850-1900*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989, pp.206-217.

²¹² 'Control of Licenses', *Patea County Mail*, 23 June 1881, col. f, p.2.

²¹³ Fairburn, p.209.

Some politicians implied that the lack of hotel accommodation often resulted in accidental drowning because drunken men would sleep or wander about on river banks or on boats. When they fell into the river or the tide came in to cover a sleeping drunk, they were too incapacitated to save themselves.²¹⁴ Prohibitionist Reverend W.J. Williams, however, believed that ‘when licensed houses were planted in a district in which lumbermen, saw-millers, and sailors formed a considerable proportion of the population, it is not surprising that...the river swallowed up many brave fellows who had been overcome by liquor’.²¹⁵ Also, as Stevan Eldred-Grigg claims, alcohol sometimes reduced people ‘to a fuddled state in which they either acted violently or else were made vulnerable to exploitation by others’.²¹⁶ And, so, Patea and Wanganui newspapers reported incident after incident where hotels had played their part in crime and death, including the use of hotels for inquests, either because of their convenient size, or because they were specifically linked to the deaths being investigated. In all situations, it is clear that hotel drinking had consequences far more dire than fines or imprisonment.

From Wanganui’s first decade, the town had ‘a staggering death rate from drunken drowning’, itself the result of drunken ‘debauchery’.²¹⁷ In August 1867 Thomas Prenderville, previously a ship’s cook aboard the troop carrier *Christina Thompson*, drowned after heaving drinking in Wanganui.²¹⁸ Prenderville’s body was found two weeks after the incident. It was stored alongside another drowning victim in the Commercial Hotel’s outhouse for a jury to view them. During the inquest into Prenderville’s death, Private Patrick McGin of the 18th Royal Irish testified that he and Prenderville had ‘been drinking freely’ at the Commercial Hotel ‘for about two hours’, leaving the establishment before 11pm.²¹⁹ Prenderville was apparently in no state to care of himself, having spent the day ‘going the round of the public houses in town’.²²⁰ He was only missed when he failed to show to the ships’ guard that evening.²²¹

²¹⁴ ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 16 (1874), p.790.

²¹⁵ Cocker and Murray, p.30.

²¹⁶ Eldred-Grigg, p.88.

²¹⁷ Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.339. Official publications such as the *New Zealand Official Year-Book* and *Statistics of New Zealand* only indicate drowning and intemperance as causes of death. These sources do not provide specific statistical information for drowning as a result of drinking, or of how intemperance caused death.

²¹⁸ ‘Found Drowned’, *Evening Herald*, 22 August 1867, col. b, p.2; ‘Inquests’, *Evening Herald*, 23 August 1867, cols b-c, p.2

²¹⁹ ‘Inquests’, *Evening Herald*, 23 August 1867, cols b-c, p.2.

²²⁰ *ibid.*, col. b.

²²¹ ‘Found Drowned’, *Evening Herald*, 22 August 1867, col. b, p.2.

Prenderville's outhouse companion, Private Peter Gunn, was also from the *Christina Thompson* and drowned close to where Prenderville's body was found. Gunn was last seen 'on the bank of the [Wanganui] river in a state of inebriation'.²²² Gunn had habitually lain upon the ground when drunk, and had supposedly done so on the river bank on the day he died, where the incoming tide may have drowned him.²²³ Prior to the tragedy, Corporal Edward Roberts escorted Gunn onto the wharf near their ship. Although Gunn had been drinking at the Commercial Hotel until 11.35pm, proprietor James McDonald claimed that Gunn was not drunk.²²⁴ Wanganui surgeon Robert Charles Earle²²⁵ examined Gunn's body and found a bruise to the head, but he did not believe it had caused the death: the bruise only appeared 'formidable...[after] decomposition'.²²⁶

In September 1867 inquests continued. Michael Osbourne was this time 'found dead in the bar of the Wanganui Hotel' after he had apparently been drinking there.²²⁷ According to proprietor David Atkinson, the 'deceased had been sitting...[at the bar] for some time' when another customer bought Osbourne a glass of rum.²²⁸ Later in the evening, Osbourne either climbed from or fell off his seat and lay down on the floor where he remained for over an hour.²²⁹ Atkinson inspected Osbourne, finding his face 'discoloured', and his body 'turning cold'.²³⁰ Before his death Osbourne also visited other Wanganui hotels earlier in the evening. Having spent the previous fourteen days in gaol, appeared to want a place to sleep.²³¹ After inspecting the contents of Osbourne's stomach, Dr Earle concluded that the dead man had not been drinking, but that he was probably a heavy drinker because his liver was 'greatly enlarged and the heart in a very diseased condition', contributing to Osbourne's death.²³² In December 1867 Wanganui's Exchange Hotel hosted an inquest into the death of John Conroy. Like Prenderville, Gunn and Osbourne, Conroy's death appeared to be alcohol-related, where liquor had fuddled his ability to make reasonable judgements, resulting in his drowning. Conroy and James

²²² *ibid.*

²²³ *ibid.*

²²⁴ *ibid.*

²²⁵ Dr Earle M.R.C.S.E., L.S.A., L.M. was once the surgeon of the *Wymouth*, and on 9 March 1869 'was appointed Assistant Surgeon of the Wanganui Militia' – Smart and Bates, p.204.

²²⁶ *ibid.*

²²⁷ 'Inquest', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 24 September 1867, col. d, p.2.

²²⁸ *ibid.*

²²⁹ *ibid.*, col. e.

²³⁰ *ibid.*

²³¹ *ibid.* Police sergeant Timothy Kinsella had reported that Osbourne had been goaled, but did not indicate why this had occurred – there is no evidence that this imprisonment was related to drinking.

²³² *ibid.*

Horne, a 'Royal' artilleryman, purchased a bottle of rum from the Aramoho Hotel. After returning to their punt on the Whanganui River they continued their northward journey with a third party.²³³ Horne and Conroy consumed six glasses of rum between them. Soon after, Horne 'heard a splash...and saw Conroy [in the river] about the length of the punt behind'.²³⁴ He wanted to have a swim, and had jumped overboard once during the trip to retrieve the punt's driving pole.²³⁵ Horne saw Conroy trying to swim, but neither he nor the captain could save him. About two minutes after he went into the water, Conroy 'went down with his arms up'.²³⁶ Horne claimed that at the time of the accident that Conroy 'wasn't perfectly drunk, nor perfectly sober'.²³⁷

Patea residents also witnessed liquor-related tragedy, including suicide. Excessive drinking was possibly an attempt at escaping the realities of frontier soldiering, but suicide is an example of the measures a desperate man would go to escape for good. In July 1867 Owen Callaghan, a former Taranaki militiaman, committed suicide after a period of heavy drinking. He tied one end of a length 'of flax to his toe, and the other to the trigger of his rifle....[He] placed the muzzle to his left ear and blew his brains out'.²³⁸ Callaghan had been drinking heavily, and the *Evening Herald* certainly blamed the incident on liquor use. The day before shooting himself, Callaghan 'attempted to shoot his mate in the whare' where they lived, again after heavy drinking.²³⁹

In September 1869 Patrick Baylaw also killed himself after a bout of heavy drinking. He was initially arrested and charged with 'being drunk in Camp on...25...August 1869 whilst [on duty as] orderly Sergeant'.²⁴⁰ The following day, he was charged a second time 'for breaking his arrest' and again taking to the bottle.²⁴¹ While awaiting sentence, Baylaw attempted suicide for the first time. He later confessed to planning it earlier in the week while most of his comrades were in Kakaramea cutting firewood for the camp's use, but on the evening of his death, he had gone out drinking. Upon return, Baylaw tied a piece of flax 'to his bed post, the other end...to the trigger of

²³³ 'Inquest', *Evening Herald*, 26 December 1867, col. c, p.2.

²³⁴ *ibid.*

²³⁵ *ibid.*

²³⁶ *ibid.*

²³⁷ *ibid.*, col. d.

²³⁸ 'Suicide and Attempt at Murder at Patea', *Evening Herald*, 30 July 1867, col. b, p.2.

²³⁹ *ibid.*

²⁴⁰ Correspondence: Camp Patea, 9 September 1869, Police Records, P1/11a, National Archives.

²⁴¹ *ibid.*

the carbine, [and] by pressing his foot on the flax the piece exploded'.²⁴² The bullet and muzzle were lodged in Baylaw's body.²⁴³ Surprisingly, he did not die instantly.²⁴⁴

While deaths appear to have been the worst outcomes of drinking, theft and assault were also common in Patea and Wanganui. Such crimes often provided prohibitionists with the ammunition for their own assault on drinking, and a reason for controlling the liquor trade. On one occasion, P. Condron who worked as a barman at Wanganui's Red Lion Hotel was charged with assaulting Hone Hira with a bill hook outside the hotel in November 1867.²⁴⁵ Condron was reportedly defending himself against Hira and 'five or six' Maori who had pulled him from his horse. Condron initially used his whip to try to protect himself, followed by the more lethal weapon.²⁴⁶ He swung the bill hook, missing Hira's head, but catching his hand, 'inflicting a deep wound close to the thumb joint'.²⁴⁷ The attacking group also broke several of the Red Lion's windows. Liquor may have played a part in the incident, although both barman and Hira claimed not to have consumed alcohol.²⁴⁸

Petty crimes such as drunkenness and theft were also common in and around hotels. If men wanted a drink, but did not have the money, some stole it from hotels or patrons. In June 1867 'James Gill a private in the 2nd battalion 18th Royal Irish, was...sentenced to four months imprisonment with hard labour' after stealing two bottles of 'embrocation' from a Wanganui chemist.²⁴⁹ While Gill's theft was said to be nothing new, he committed this crime under the influence of alcohol. In another incident in July 1867 Charles Langley stole an iron bar from a Wanganui hotel after being refused a drink at closing time. He and his brother William were arrested at 12.30am for being drunk and disorderly. Police charged Charles with the theft of the iron bar, and with assault for kicking and punching the arresting constables. He was fined 50s for assault, plus 14 days imprisonment for the theft.²⁵⁰ For his part, William was fined 20s.²⁵¹ In September 1867 newspapers reported further crimes where a hotel had played its part. Private Patrick

²⁴² *ibid.*

²⁴³ *ibid.* The police report does not indicate where the muzzle and bullet were lodged.

²⁴⁴ *ibid.*

²⁴⁵ 'Resident Magistrate's Court', *Evening Herald*, 22 November 1867, cols a-b, p.2.

²⁴⁶ *ibid.*

²⁴⁷ *ibid.*

²⁴⁸ *ibid.*

²⁴⁹ 'Resident Magistrate's Court: Stealing Medicine', *Evening Herald*, 29 June 1867, cols c-d, p.2. Embrocation is a drug or agent for rubbing into the skin, such as liniment.

²⁵⁰ 'Resident Magistrate's Court: this Day', *Evening Herald*, 24 July 1867, cols b-c, p.2.

²⁵¹ *ibid.*

Lawlor of the 18th Royal Irish ‘pleaded guilty to having taken three shillings’ from the till of Wanganui’s Rutland Hotel.²⁵² Barmaid Sarah Beck claimed she saw Lawlor and some of his friends drink ‘half-a-gallon of ale’ in the bar room.²⁵³ Beck went outside briefly, but when she heard ‘the till open’ she returned to see Lawlor leaning over the bar.²⁵⁴ Although he denied the theft, Lawlor ‘dropped three shillings to the floor’ as he backed away from the counter.²⁵⁵ He was sentenced to three months imprisonment ‘with hard labour’.²⁵⁶

Drink-related theft and assault were also reported in Patea newspapers. For example, in May 1881 George White was accused of assaulting Mary Ann Mercer while he was drunk. White grabbed the woman by her shoulder, ‘pushed and kicked’ her across the ground, ‘struck her on the face...[and] used most abusive language’ toward her.²⁵⁷ White retaliated to Mercer’s behaviour by throwing a stick into his house, hitting Mrs White on the forehead. White also accused Mercer of trying to break up his marriage, causing him to ‘put her out of the gate with as gentle force as a man could use to a woman’.²⁵⁸ The case was dismissed.²⁵⁹

If hoteliers failed in their duty to provide certain services, they could also expect to be punished. For example, in September 1882 William Balmforth appeared before the Patea Resident Magistrate for breaching the 1881 Licensing Act because he had not properly maintained Patea’s Central Hotel. He was fined 1s and court costs for ‘allowing a chimney...to take fire’.²⁶⁰ In his defence, Balmforth stated that he had only ‘lately taken the hotel...[and] did not know the chimney was foul’.²⁶¹ In August 1884 James Beamish and Patrick Hurley were also fined for breaching the 1881 Licensing Act. Beamish had allowed ‘the light in front of his licensed house to go out’, and Hurley ‘had shown negligence in not repairing his lamp which had been broken’.²⁶² Because of Hurley’s continued neglect, he received a bigger fine of 10s and court costs, while Beamish’s fine

²⁵² ‘Resident Magistrates Court’, *Evening Herald*, 6 September 1867, col. c, p.2.

²⁵³ *ibid.*

²⁵⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵⁵ *ibid.*

²⁵⁶ *ibid.*

²⁵⁷ ‘Patea R.M. Court’, *Patea County Mail*, 7 May 1881, col. a, p.3.

²⁵⁸ *ibid.*

²⁵⁹ Following the incident, Mercer’s son James attacked White, exclaiming, ‘you kicked my mother’. James was fined 10s and court costs ‘for taking the law into his own hands’ – *ibid.*, col. b, p.3.

²⁶⁰ ‘Patea R.M. Court’, *Patea Mail*, 29 September 1882, col. g, p.3.

²⁶¹ *ibid.*

²⁶² ‘At the R.M. Court yesterday...’, *Patea Mail*, 6 August 1884, col. b, p.2.

was a light 1s with court costs.²⁶³ These seem to be the crimes of a most ‘trivial nature’,²⁶⁴ but they do indicate that society was generally concerned with upholding licensing laws and maintaining what were viewed as important hotel services.

These breaches of the Act, petty crime, suicide and death are all related to liquor consumption and hotels. Hotels were, after all, the accepted places to drink, although there is no doubt that drinking occurred outside of hotels, and resulted in crime and death. In these few examples, however, there were no suggestions that Gunn, Prenderville, Osbourne, Callaghan, Baylaw, Gill, Lawlor or White drank outside of hotels. Certainly, no newspaper reports suggest these men brewed or distilled their own liquor, or had purchased their drink from sly-groggers. Neither do they appear to have bought liquor and consumed it at home without first drinking at a hotel. Horne and Conroy purchased a bottle of rum, and drank it aboard their vessel, but even this incident is related to hotels in that they purchased their bottle from the Aramoho Hotel.

Sly-grogging was a concern throughout late nineteenth-century New Zealand. In 1912 the *New Zealand Official Year-Book* first dedicated a small section to the subject, where it was claimed that sly-grogging was generally under control.²⁶⁵ However, the concern throughout the 1870s and 1880s was palpable. Politicians regularly argued that laws and proposed Bills were not enough to stop the illegal sales, manufacture and consumption of liquor. From at least the 1870s moderate politicians suggested that if laws were too stringent, sly-grogging and smuggling might occur, as it had in England.²⁶⁶ They argued that no Act of Parliament could ‘make men sober’, and any Act attempting to prohibit or even restrict alcohol was likely to ‘call into existence men whose whole course of life would consist in deliberately breaking the law’.²⁶⁷ Henry Bunny, MHR for Wairarapa, maintained that liquor was ‘a great evil and source of great mischief’ all over the world, but no law could put a stop to it.²⁶⁸ It was a simple enough conclusion: people will crave what they are not allowed. Despite the concerns about sly-grogging around New Zealand, by the early 1890s this crime was rarely reported. In 1892, for instance, police apprehended thirteen people for sly-grog selling, while 168 people were arrested

²⁶³ *ibid.*

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*

²⁶⁵ ‘Licenses and Local Option’, *New Zealand Official Year-Book*, 1912, p.302.

²⁶⁶ ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 12 (1872), p.194 (Mr Johnson).

²⁶⁷ *ibid.*

²⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p.196 (Mr Bunny).

for ‘obscene and profane language’,²⁶⁹ yet politicians did not demand stricter laws against offensive language.

vii. Ambiguity and Ambivalence

Lawbreaking also permeated public services, including the very people mandated to oversee liquor licensing. In an 1891 report police argued that Auckland licensing committees had flouted licensing laws and granted licenses on questionable grounds. There seems to be some similarities between these accusations and those against JPs that had helped influence some of the provisions of the 1873 Licensing Act. Auckland police inspector Thomas Broham wrote to the Commissioner of Police, reporting his ambivalence at the granting of liquor licensing to married women, where from 1889 the Court of Appeal had forbidden the practice.²⁷⁰ Broham questioned the integrity of licensing commissioners, suggesting that commissioners and the police were failing to uphold the law: ‘If the police continue to remain inactive in all cases where Licensing Commissioners...run counter to the law, the law, after a time, will be quite shadowed over by by-laws quite illegal, and decisions contrary not only to law but to all sense and reason’.²⁷¹ Police Commissioner Gudgeon was equally ambivalent. He declared the need to ‘support the law’, but also suggested that licensing commissioners had breached the Act. William Fox, President of the New Zealand Alliance and an ardent anti-drink campaigner, also claimed that the 1881 Licensing Act had often been disobeyed ‘in various parts of the colony’.²⁷² He implored the Minister of Justice to reassess the actions of police where licensing commissioners had broken the law. Fox also requested that police ‘be instructed, in all cases where illegal sales are being effected...to take the necessary steps to bring...offenders to justice’.²⁷³ Inspector Broham’s quandary deepened. While he did not wish the police to ‘degrade the Commissioners’ by enforcing

²⁶⁹ ‘The Police Report of the Colony’, *AJHR*, 1893, H.26, p.5.

²⁷⁰ ‘Police Prosecutions Under “The Licensing Act, 1881”’, *AJHR*, 1891, vol. III, (S.2), H.5, p.1. In one case, a married woman, ‘Mrs Corbett’, held a publican license in Auckland. Inspector Broham claimed that Corbett had maintained a licensed premises near Papakura, Auckland ‘for over six years’, but had done so under the name of a deceased husband. She was not, in fact, a widow. Her surviving husband appeared in Corbett’s locale, uncovering her subterfuge. Although the ‘local constable’ informed the licensing committee of these facts, including the Court of Appeal decision, she was granted the license – *ibid.*, p.2. Commissioner Gudgeon stated that ‘it was very hard’ for licensing committees, but did not suggest that the Papakura Licensing Committee should pay for their indiscretion. Instead, Mrs Corbett must pay for withholding relevant, marital, information – *ibid.*

²⁷¹ *ibid.*

²⁷² *ibid.*

²⁷³ *ibid.*

the law against them, he believed that questionable actions of offending Commissioners continued to overshadow the law.²⁷⁴ As mentioned, Wanganui licensing committees sometimes ignored police reports where hotels were shown to be substandard, or where hoteliers had been convicted for Sunday trading or trading after hours. Instead, committees gave warnings or granted licenses subject to building improvements. Committees seemed to be ignoring liquor laws, and were issuing licenses for dubious reasons, just as their predecessors had done.

Stevan Eldred-Grigg claims that nineteenth century law enforcers were sometimes bought off.²⁷⁵ Police that were not entirely corrupt were guilty of lesser offences, such as drinking while on duty, or allowing Maori to obtain liquor. This brought accusations that police in general ignored the law. Some people did not believe that police were doing their job properly while others claimed they actively broke the law. In September 1898 politician T.E Taylor demanded an inquiry into the constabulary. He claimed that ‘members of the force were in league with the licensed victuallers, and did not try to enforce the licensing laws of the colony’.²⁷⁶ A royal commission was indeed held, but Taylor’s accusations were not supported. There was no evidence that police allowed hoteliers to break liquor laws. They were described as ‘too strict’ to allow hoteliers to break liquor laws; the police were ‘not a corrupt body of men in the private pay of the liquor trade...[but] were a fairly efficient body of men, who perform their...duties without fear or favour’.²⁷⁷ The police commissioner did, however, concede that ‘individual constables...on occasions neglected their duties’ for which they had been punished.²⁷⁸ Taylor assumed that individual misdemeanours were a measure of the entire police force, but seemed more concerned with illegal sales of liquor. He stated: ‘What the police cannot grapple adequately is sly-grog selling, and the procuring of liquor by prohibited persons’.²⁷⁹

Because of years of law-breaking, a police commission of enquiry was held into what amounted to negligent and sporadic law enforcement. The 1898 enquiry reported on overall crime and police failure to uphold liquor laws, providing evidence that the

²⁷⁴ *ibid.*

²⁷⁵ Eldred-Grigg, p.89, citing *NZPD*, 1873, 15, pp.1550-1551.

²⁷⁶ ‘The Police Commissioners Report’, *Yeoman*, 17 September 1898, col. d, p.12.

²⁷⁷ *ibid.*

²⁷⁸ *ibid.*

²⁷⁹ *ibid.*

country was, as P.F. McKimney described in his 1968 thesis, 'a society plagued by drunkenness and problems associated...with drink'.²⁸⁰ Wanganui Licensing Committee chairperson Charles C. Kettle thought there was 'a laxity with regard to the enforcement to the licensing-laws', with a number of police 'afraid to do their duty honestly and straightforwardly'.²⁸¹ Police fear came not from prosecuting drunkards, but from interfering with people of 'influence', involved in the liquor trade 'who might, unknown to the police, affect their positions'.²⁸² Policemen told Kettle that they had been transferred 'because they were too active in carry out the licensing-laws'.²⁸³ Kettle knew of the great many breaches of the law, where hotels had traded on Sundays, where the police had not always reported this illegal activity. On one occasion, the licensee of Wanganui's Albion Hotel had even 'lent a constable money'.²⁸⁴ The same hotel had a 'secret door' that had allowed the hotel to carry on their trade after hours, but police did not report it immediately.²⁸⁵ In sum, Kettle believed Wanganui's police force too small to be able to keep abreast of drinking activities in the town, with only two constables on duty during the day, and only one at night when many drinking crimes occurred.²⁸⁶

Conclusion

Politicians and anti-drinkers believed that liquor undermined social, physical and economic advancements. Liquor laws were, therefore, an attempt to improve Maori and Pakeha society by punishing unacceptable and illegal habits, and publicans failed to provide adequate services. At the same time, pro-drinkers maintained that liquor laws were essentially unfair because they curtailed social liberties. Maori in particular often felt discriminated against because they were governed by a completely different set of rules. Although pro-drinkers produced evidence that sales of alcohol could provide for better services because liquor duties public works had been funded in large part by drinkers, anti-drinkers demanded stronger laws that would ensure fewer people drank or committed drinking crimes. Pro-drinkers remained adamant that an easing of the laws

²⁸⁰ McKimney, 'The Temperance Movement in New Zealand, 1835-1894', MA Thesis in History, Auckland University, 1968, p.29.

²⁸¹ 'Police Commission of Enquiry', *AJHR*, 1898, vol. III, H.2, p.1111.

²⁸² *ibid.*, p.1112.

²⁸³ *ibid.*, p.1115.

²⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.1112.

²⁸⁵ *ibid.*

²⁸⁶ *ibid.*, pp.1114-15. Kettle also believed that police were underpaid.

would guarantee the liberties of free men and allow them to drink legally. Despite the laws, drunken crimes across the colony continued. Although liquor related crimes in Patea and Wanganui gradually declined between 1866 and 1899, the two centres could not escape the number of accidental deaths caused by excessive drinking. For all of their powers and attempts to improve hotel amenities and the colonial drinking environment, liquor laws proved ineffectual, and only increased the focus on drinkers, against whom temperance advocates and prohibitionists reacted, trying to control wanton drinking habits.



3. Cohesion and Division

Introduction

The hotel's secondary function was to provide liquor; a function that, combined with its accommodation, brought men and women together in a social melting pot. The presence of liquor and the ensuing liquor debates also meant that the hotel held a dichotomous place in society, where it was important to some, and a curse to others. The hotel was, therefore, a cohesive force, helping to create social bonds among those using or selling drink, and a divisive force because of the actions and demands of anti-drinkers and the legislature on the drinking habits of men, women and Maori. According to American historian Joseph R. Gusfield, 'In American society, drinking is often one important sign which differentiates age groups and sexes'.¹ Nineteenth-century New Zealand society maintained similar differentiations, but were specifically centred on the use of the hotel for drinking. Temperance advocates perceived the hotel as a male domain, one mainly frequented by working class. This notion no doubt grew from reported frontier drinking habits, such as the spree. However, between 1866 and 1899 this was not necessarily the case. Despite changes to drinking habits among men, and a decreasing rate of drink related crime, working class men, itinerant workers, Maori and women that regularly used hotels seemed to be of greater focus in the liquor debate than white, middle class New Zealand men.

While people drank liquor in their homes, hotels added an important place for frontiersmen and soldiers to socialise, regardless of the need to sometimes travel long distances in atrocious weather over poor roads. It was a warm and friendly gathering place, a catalyst for social interaction and entertainment in communities often bereft of public amusement. One British historian argues that 'drinking houses are both ubiquitous and indispensable social agencies, their importance extending well beyond the provision of alcohol and other forms of refreshment to their role as the centre for a host of economic, social, political and other activities'.² Likewise, colonial American taverns are described as 'major' social centres where people came together for company,

¹ *ibid.*, p.102.

² Peter Clark, p.3.

accommodation and refreshments.³ New Zealand hotels served similar functions to British and American drinking establishments, combining the characteristics of taverns that sold wine, inns that provided cheap accommodation, and alehouses that were the traditional drinking and meeting places ‘integral’ to village life.⁴ Like its international cousins, the New Zealand hotel was also ‘an extension of the social values’ of its patrons and community, a ‘diverse, variable and changing context’ where ‘the mug of ale or beer was the celebration of the common man’.⁵

The hotel’s reputation as a den of vice and ‘focus of social freedoms and sexual license’⁶ also grew from the reputation of British inns and alehouses, as did the settlers’ later desire for a more refined hotel than the working class drink shops of the industrialised Mother country. The New Zealand hotel industry did not have such a long and comprehensive relationship with the legislature as had the drinking establishments of England.⁷ This increased the attraction of the early New Zealand hotels to British immigrants looking for a drink or to set up in the liquor trade. However, the hotel’s reputation and the anti-drinker desire to quash the detrimental social effects of the hotel grew throughout the nineteenth century as towns like Patea and Wanganui expanded. A similar pattern is evident in colonial America, where ‘drunkenness increased with the development of towns in the eighteenth century’.⁸ This chapter examines the social role of Patea and Wanganui hotels with particular emphasis on the hotel as a drinking place and the actions of temperance organisations, but also illustrating their importance in a wider social setting as a meeting place and medium for social debate.

i. On the Frontier

In an increasingly modernised world, New Zealand’s frontier proved something of a shock to arriving men whose lives in ‘tents and backblock huts’ were often cold and lonely, and punctuated by battle against the environment and hostile Maori.⁹ Sharing a drink with friends or in the company of strangers in a ‘clean, comfortable room...[where]

³ Gusfield, p.104.

⁴ Smith, pp.367-68.

⁵ *ibid.*, p.367.

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 12 (1872), p.193 (Mr Clark).

⁸ Gusfield, p.104.

⁹ Phillips, p.57.

people are civil and obliging' provided them some comfort and an escape from hardship, even if only for brief periods.¹⁰ Itinerant workers, for instance, laboured hard for relatively short periods, but once their contracts were over, so was their sobriety.¹¹ Drinking was an expression of social freedom that affirmed masculinity, and any threat to that freedom was seen by drinkers as an attack on their social liberties.

Up to the 1870s liquor was an accepted part of colonial life, although drunkenness was generally frowned upon. Troops stationed in Patea and Wanganui frequently used local hotels as a place for social interaction. Wanganui's Albion Hotel perpetuated this connection between drinking and soldiers becoming the meeting place for off duty officers of the 57th Regiment' stationed at the Rutland Stockade on the hill behind the hotel.¹² During the 1850s George Roberts' Ship Hotel also 'did a "roaring trade"' entertaining local soldiers of the '65th Regiment Foot...a few artillery-men', engineers and Maori'.¹³ Before embarking on a business trip to England, Roberts held a farewell 'banquet' at the Ship Hotel at which 'he entertained his numerous friends and patrons, including the officers of the Garrison'.¹⁴

Excessive soldier drinking was a common occurrence in 'every country where they [politicians] read of wars'.¹⁵ Some politicians believed that New Zealand's colonial troops had drinking problems; recruits seem to have been the worst offenders. Colonel Whitmore even claimed that the troops between Patea and Wanganui were ill-disciplined, under-trained¹⁶ and 'stigmatized as a drunken rabble'.¹⁷ Politicians were concerned that soldier drinking in Patea during the late 1860s was affecting troops' ability to carry out their duties. People in the settlement seemed less concerned, and publicans rejoiced among the large population of drinkers. Like settlers, soldiers were inclined to drink or frequent hotels in the towns they visited or were stationed. This certainly occurred in Patea and Wanganui. Some MHRs argued that liquor was important to soldier life, helping them overcome the 'suffering and privation' that few politicians would

¹⁰ 'Correspondent: Temperance', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 October 1867, col. c, p.2.

¹¹ Phillips, p.58.

¹² Woon, p.16.

¹³ *ibid.*, p.48.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.49.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.449 (Mr O'Neill).

¹⁶ Belich, *The New Zealand Wars*, p.260, citing 'Whitmore, memo, 28 November 1868, and to Haultain 3 December 1868', A.D. 1/4370, 4595.

¹⁷ 'Prohibition of Canteens', *NZPD*, 5 (1869), p.188 (Mr Kelly).

understand in their ‘quiet homes’.¹⁸ The issue was probably made greater because ‘the West Coast was the more dangerous, and accordingly concentrated the vast majority of the colonial army there’.¹⁹ Charles Borlase, member for Wellington City, believed that soldiers ‘going in the middle of winter through forests and swamp, and undergoing all manner of hardship, required...an allowance of spirits at the hand of the Government’, believing this would reduce the ‘necessity for public houses’.²⁰ He argued that to refuse soldiers liquor was cruel.²¹ Major Harry Atkinson, MHR for Taranaki agreed, believing that Parliament ran a ‘great risk in debarring...men from getting any grog at all...for the class of men they had...would not submit to it’ and doubted whether ‘they could exist without it’.²² He did not, however, believe that supplying a daily ration was the answer, as it made men drink. Atkinson had seen soldiers forced to drink his issue ‘immediately it was given...which produced a habit of drinking in many young men who were ashamed to take the credit of teetotalism’.²³ He also reported that some men would ‘debar themselves from drinking for several days, so as to get enough to make themselves drunk at one time’.²⁴

Of course, soldiers could not physically run away from the frontier lest they be branded deserters, but they could drink themselves away and forget about life for a while. Patea soldiers got drunk so often at the Royal and the Shamrock hotels that in 1868 Edward Stafford had both hotels closed. The government then ordered all liquor found in them returned to Wanganui.²⁵ Casey reapplied for a license, but because the government deemed Patea to be ‘disturbed land’, he was refused.²⁶ William Travers, MHR for Christchurch City, called for an inquiry into drinking habits among Patea soldiers.²⁷ The settlement appeared to have been ‘abandoned to Bacchus’ and too many licenses had ‘marred the effects of discipline’, reflecting poorly upon the authorities.²⁸ Even a soldier delivering despatches from the Taranaki front to Colonel Gorton in Wanganui could not

¹⁸ ‘Public Houses in Disturbed Districts Bill’, *NZPD*, 3 (1868), p.449, (Mr Patterson).

¹⁹ James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd., p.220.

²⁰ ‘Public Houses in Disturbed Districts Bill’, *NZPD*, 3 (1868), p.449, (Mr Borlase).

²¹ *ibid.*

²² *ibid.*, p.451 (Major Atkinson).

²³ *ibid.*

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ ‘Public Houses in Disturbed Districts Bill’, *NZPD*, 3 (1868), p.446 (Mr Stafford).

²⁶ Newton, p.19.

²⁷ ‘Public Houses in Disturbed Districts Bill’, *NZPD*, 3 (1868), p.448 (Mr Travers).

²⁸ *ibid.*, (Mr Fox, quoting the *Wanganui Chronicle*), Eldred-Grigg, p.67.

abstain for long from drink; he was detained in Wanganui after being ‘found in a beastly state of drunkenness’.²⁹ William Rolleston, MHR for Avon, blamed hoteliers for soldiers’ intemperance: ‘wherever...[the government] sent a body of men for military settlement, they were always followed by hangers-on in the shape of grog-sellers and storekeepers, whose interest it was to keep the force under military pay’.³⁰ He believed that by restricting soldiers from using hotels, peace could be promoted like never before on the Taranaki frontier.³¹

Thomas Kelly went even further. He sought the prohibition of all military canteens because they also supplied liquor to soldiers. As MHR for Taranaki, Kelly claimed that some soldiers in his province had even petitioned the government to have canteens closed. The Defence Minister, Colonel T.M. Haultain, had neither heard about nor supported such a petition because canteens did not only supply soldiers with liquor, but also ‘with clothing and provisions of which...[troops] stood in need.’³² Haultain’s support for canteens suggests that he also supported the presence of liquor in the area. In fact, despite Kelly’s teetotal stance, Haultain claimed that if canteens and hotels could not legally sell liquor, then people would find a way to sell it illegally.³³ While canteens were not closed, hotels throughout Taranaki were, as they had been in Waikato during military operations.³⁴ Anyone holding a bush license in Taranaki was ‘prohibited...from selling spirits to any member of the local forces unless under an order from an officer’.³⁵ This did not stop ‘several officers’ who had themselves been discharged from the military because of their ‘considerable...drunkenness’.³⁶

Travers blamed soldier drunkenness on their class, stating that had Patea soldiers been better educated and trained, and less dominated by working class men, hotel use resulting in ‘drunkenness and disorder’ would not have been so widespread.³⁷ William Fox compared the drunken habits of Patea soldiers with those on the South Island’s West

²⁹ Public Houses in Disturbed Districts Bill’, *NZPD*, 3 (1868), p.448 (Mr Fox).

³⁰ ‘Public Houses in Disturbed Districts Bill’, *NZPD*, 3 (1868), p.449, (Mr Rolleston).

³¹ *ibid.*

³² ‘Prohibition of Canteens’, *NZPD*, 5 (1869), p.188 (Col. Haultain).

³³ Nevertheless, some politicians suggested that closing hotels would only increase clandestine liquor sales. Charles Graham, MHR for Newton, ‘felt convinced’ that if the government closed hotels, soldiers or civilians would establish sly grog shops. This had occurred in Tauranga where ‘non-commissioned officers and settlers were selling large amounts of grog to soldiers, and there was no reason it would not also occur in Taranaki – *ibid.*, p.449 (Mr Graham).

³⁴ *ibid.*, (Mr O’Neill).

³⁵ *ibid.*, p.447 (Mr Travers quoting the *Wanganui Chronicle*).

³⁶ *ibid.*

³⁷ *ibid.*

nourishing'.⁴⁴ Water was also frequently polluted, and milk was relatively expensive and could harbour disease. In 1880 a quart of colonial beer was average of one penny more expensive than the same quantity of milk, and beer would also have been a better, more popular thirst quencher for men than milk.⁴⁵ Because liquor was supposed to be medicinal, 'hospitals kept large liquor stocks and dispensed [them] freely' to ailing settlers.⁴⁶ He reports that in 1880, Wellington Hospital provided a convalescing patient with '581 ounces of spirits, 696 ounces of wine, eighty-eight bottles of porter and sixteen bottles of claret and champagne'.⁴⁷ Doctors even prescribed alcoholic tonics to pregnant women and people with 'low pulses'.⁴⁸ While debating the 'Public Houses in Disturbed Districts Bill' in 1868 Dunedin politician William Reynolds stated that liquor was conducive to 'high health...[and] sometimes absolutely supported life, and...an occasional glass of brandy had before now saved life'.⁴⁹ A *Wanganui Chronicle* correspondent also showed that liquor had a medicinal role, claiming that while travelling in Australia, 'if it had not been for a drop of brandy', he would not have survived.⁵⁰ The brandy 'acted both as beverage and...medicine', reviving his spirits and temporarily curing his dysentery, something, he stated, 'milk would not have done'.⁵¹ With such beliefs in its benevolent nature, there is little wonder that alcohol became so popular, and grew into such a problem, even though it was common knowledge that liquor could cause 'nausea, the "dry horrors", physical degeneration and melancholia'.⁵²

Moderates advocated their own teetotalism, but often claimed that drinking was a personal choice, and not necessarily a choice that politicians should make on everyone's behalf. One newspaper editor attributed his 'great powers' to years of teetotalism, but also claimed that workmen lived long lives 'at manual labour', by taking 'a glass of whiskey every morning and sometimes two or three at night'.⁵³ Not everyone subscribed to this idea. In March 1883 a Wanganui settler, W.G. Kemp, suggested that

⁴⁴ 'The Patea Brewery' *Patea Mail*, 9 September 1881, cols d-e, p.64, citing an April 1875 advertisement also in the *Patea Mail*.

⁴⁵ In Taranaki milk averaged 4d per quart, while a quart of colonial beer sold for an average of 5d – 'Wages and Prices', *Statistics of New Zealand*, 1880, p.174.

⁴⁶ Eldred-Grigg, p.60.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.60, citing L.H. Barber and R.J. Towers, *Wellington Hospital 1847-1976*, Wellington: Wellington Hospital Board, 1976, p.159.

⁴⁸ 'Correspondent: Temperance', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 October 1867, col. b, p.2.

⁴⁹ 'Public Houses in Disturbed Districts Bill', *NZPD*, 3 (1868), p.454 (Mr Reynolds).

⁵⁰ 'Correspondent: Temperance', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 5 October 1867, col. b, p.2.

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² Eldred-Grigg, pp.60;61.

⁵³ 'Correspondent: Temperance', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 October 1867, col. b, p.2.

liquor had its place. He stated: 'There undoubtedly are cases in which persons suffering from disease or illness require alcohol as medicine...[although] those in good health would be better without any'.⁵⁴ For some, however, the very idea of social drinking was 'perfectly ridiculous'.⁵⁵ Archibald Clark, teetotal MHR for Egmont, agreed that liquor was medicinal, 'but its proper place was the apothecaries' shops, to be administered from there with as much care as any powerful drugs'.⁵⁶ He believed that drinking sent young men in particular on 'slippery paths...upon which so many stumbled and fell never to rise again'.⁵⁷

Excessive drinking was tolerated among soldiers and frontiersmen in the 1860s and 1870s, but once populations expanded and the effects of frontier drinking habits became more visible to the wider community, they were considered unacceptable. During the 1860s and 1870s, social commentators often viewed Patea and Wanganui as hotbeds of drunken behaviour.⁵⁸ This description came despite the decrease in crime rates in the towns over the 1866-1899 period, indicating that the view common among locals was not necessarily consistent with the national trend.

Anti-drinkers saw the hotel as potentially undermining of progress. As towns like Patea and Wanganui showed signs of prosperity, hotels and the drinking man came under attack. Anti-drink campaigners felt that if the colony hoped to advance, drinking habits would need to change. As a result, liquor consumption became a public concern. Crime, excessive drinking, the 'allure...[of] artificial excitement' brought on by liquor and its believed attack on moral society drove social reformers into action against liquor and, consequently, against hotels.⁵⁹ Temperance organisations used the image of young men and children as emotional weapons, claiming that drink was a danger to these most vulnerable and valuable of society. Thus, politicians, 'churchmen, members of the urban elite and respectable settlers' became less tolerant of the *old ways*.⁶⁰ One anti-drink argument went that if a man drank, he risked his self control and potential for upward mobility, a belief that extended to the upward mobility of his community. The anti-drink

⁵⁴ 'The following letter...' *Wanganui Herald*, 3 March 1883, col. f, p.2.

⁵⁵ 'Correspondent: Temperance', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 October 1867, col. b, p.2.

⁵⁶ 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 12 (1872), p.192 (Mr Clark).

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ 'Correspondence: Temperance', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 October 1867, col. b, p.2; 'Total Abstinence Society', *Evening Herald*, 8 October 1867, col. b, p.2.

⁵⁹ 'We believe the teetotallers...', *Evening Herald*, 20 September 1867, col. b, p.2.

⁶⁰ Phillips, p.48.

fraternity judged all of frontier society and all drinkers by the action of the few by claiming that if men stayed at home, if they spent their money on the necessities, if they turned up at work on time, they improved their lot in life and that of their community. Thus, 'Men who could control their own impulses guaranteed a secure family-oriented capitalist society'.⁶¹

Hotels were alternatives to family life that kept married men away from home and dissuaded single men from marriage.⁶² As Wanganui clergyman Reverend G. Bond recommended, 'in the interests of wives and mothers of young men', hotels should close at 10pm so that men spend their time and money in the home, 'among...families'.⁶³ If men drank they could not save money for 'long-term investment and progress'.⁶⁴ For many, liquor was a 'social cancer' that men and communities could do without.⁶⁵ In a most damning indictment, prohibitionists compared 'liquor traffic' with the slave trade, where 'greed, appetite, custom and lavish expenditure of money by the defenders' of liquor had perpetuated the long-standing immorality of drinking.⁶⁶

Colonial frontier towns and soldier settlements were also said to have lacked the 'refining influence of female society'.⁶⁷ Statistics for Patea and Wanganui between 1874 and 1896 strengthen the temperance argument that men outnumbered women, and were as a result less inclined or able to marry and settle down.⁶⁸ In fact, in 1874 32% of the men in Wanganui borough over the age of 21 were unmarried.⁶⁹ By the 1896 the percentage of unmarried men over the age of 21 had increase to 53.⁷⁰

Historian Brian Harrison defines four distinctive anti-drink groups, each one with a different perspective on the drink issue and how they hoped to change drinking habits. While his definitions specifically target English groups, New Zealand's anti-drink factions also have the same characteristics. The first group, temperance reformers and prohibitionists, were 'at all times mobilised into a "movement"', often with their own

⁶¹ Phillips, p.62.

⁶² Phillips, p.59.

⁶³ 'Meetings: Wanganui Licensing Committee', *Yeoman*, 24 September 1898, col. d, p.13.

⁶⁴ Phillips, p.61.

⁶⁵ 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 11 (1871), p.335 (Mr Bathgate).

⁶⁶ Cocker and Murray, p.14.

⁶⁷ Manning Clark, p.305.

⁶⁸ 'Ages of the People', *Census*, 1874-1896.

⁶⁹ This figure does not include widowers. 'Conjugal Condition of the People', *New Zealand Statistics*, 1874, p.130.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, 1896, p.214.

pledge of abstinence.⁷¹ They also held public meetings and petitioned governments and licensing committees to try and bring about change to liquor consumption and liquor laws.⁷² The second group, the free traders, ‘were never organised’ but as the earliest anti-drink campaigners, they were ‘influential in government circles’ and tried to liberalise licensing and ‘make milder...drinks’ such as beer and wine ‘more accessible’, while simultaneously trying to reduce the amount of spirits on the market.⁷³ Harrison’s third group, the ‘moral suasionists’, were teetotalers who called for moral rather than legal change, and worked on the ordinary drinker.⁷⁴ They often included moderate religious leaders and politicians. They were more understanding of the drinker’s flaws, and more welcoming of the intemperate into their fold. In so doing, moral suasionists were more focused on changing a drinker’s habits through changing his or her moral habits, rather than trying to influence law changes. The fourth group, the ‘counter-attractionists’, sought to make ‘the environment more favourable to sobriety’.⁷⁵ Harrison describes this group as the more successful in bringing about change to the drinking habits of Victorian England because they established that liquor was inherently unhealthy, that water was no longer polluted, non-alcoholic beverages were socially acceptable, and hotels were not the only place to find refreshments and accommodation.⁷⁶

Although prepared for their moral push, anti-drinkers ‘often failed to distinguish between alcoholism, drinking and drunkenness’.⁷⁷ These three terms describe three very different states: alcohol dependence, consumption, and the state of being drunk. While alcoholism was specifically described in 1877 as ‘more a disease than a crime’,⁷⁸ these three terms were consistently linked to moral degeneration. From 1875 crime statistics also use the term ‘drunkenness’ to incorporate ‘disorderly conduct’, showing that the link between drinking and immoral behaviour was indeed common.⁷⁹ Thus, drunken people

⁷¹ Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: the Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872*, London: Faber and Faber, 1971, p.19. These organised groups are the main focus of P.F. McKimney’s 1968 MA Thesis, ‘The Temperance Movement in New Zealand, 1835-1894’, Keith Burt’s 1973 Masters Thesis, ‘Aspects of Prohibition and Drunkenness in Wanganui, 1880 to 1920’ and Anthony R. Grigg’s 1977 PhD Thesis, ‘The Attack on the Citadels of Liquordom: a Study of the Prohibition Movement in New Zealand, 1894-1914’.

⁷² Harrison, p.19.

⁷³ *ibid.*, p.19.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p.19.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, pp.297-98.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, pp.298-308.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p.21; Mark Keller, ‘The Definition of Alcoholism and the Estimation of its Prevalence’ in David J. Pittman and Charles R. Snyder (eds), *Society, Culture, and Drinking Patterns*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962, pp.310-317.

⁷⁸ Harrison, p.22, citing Chamberlain, ‘Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance’, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1877 (171), XI, Q. p.2294.

⁷⁹ ‘Law and Crime’, *New Zealand Statistics*, 1875, p.228.

were socially unacceptable, but for temperance advocates, this extended to moderate drinkers as well. It seemed that temperance campaigners were only interested in their beliefs; they failed to understand the reasons why men drank, and why they frequented hotels.

The presence of temperance workers in New Zealand stretches back to the 1830s when Northland missionaries promoted temperance principles. However, it was not until the 1870s that a number of missionaries and nationwide pressure groups combined Protestant work ethics and Christian principles in their establishment of numerous New Zealand temperance organisations that often had international links. Some of these included the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the Good Templars and Band of Hope. They became popular because of a 'perceived social problem...but encompassed wider areas of social concern'.⁸⁰ Drinking was viewed as 'a prevalent vice among the colonist population...and the unceasing cause of the degradation and ruin to individuals, and of misery to families'.⁸¹ It is not surprising, therefore, that New Zealand groups copied their English and American counterparts and sought to change colonial drinking habits by promoting the family as a moral way forward. In so doing, they demeaned all drinkers and suppliers of liquor, referring to them as either lazy or immoral.⁸²

Aside from the Good Templars, national temperance organisations did not have an overt presence in Patea, and even the Wanganui chapter of the WCTU was by national standards, a quiet bunch.⁸³ However, their influence in all parts of New Zealand was clear. Total Abstinence Societies, Bands of Hope, Good Templar Lodges, Rechabite Tents, and the Order of the Sons and Daughters of Temperance' came together to form the New Zealand Alliance in 1886.⁸⁴ They recognised that they would have more power in local option voting and a greater influence around the country as one nationwide pressure group, rather than small, splintered groups. According to Jeanine Graham, the WCTU, pre-Alliance groups and the New Zealand Alliance 'did much to foster and direct

⁸⁰ Bronwyn Labrum, "'For the better discharge of our duties": the Women's Movement in Wanganui, 1893-1903', BA (Hons) Research Exercise in History, Massey University, 1986, p.29.

⁸¹ 'Liquor Traffic', *NZPD*, 1854, S.2, p.409 (Mr Gibbon Wakefield).

⁸² James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: a History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland: The Penguin Press, 2001, p.164; Phillips, p.59.

⁸³ A.K. Burt, 'Aspects of Prohibition and Drunkenness in Wanganui, 1880 to 1920', MA Thesis in History, Massey University, 1963, p.43; Labrum, p.29.

⁸⁴ Cocker and Murray, p.54.

the...public feeling in favour of prohibition during the 1880s'.⁸⁵ Through the WCTU, women sought a greater say in public life. Essentially, this came through franchise. According to Jock Phillips, suffragists believed this would increase their control in society, and thus 'increase the influence of the settler and family man, as against the loafing single man' who was often targeted as the main cause of drunken communities.⁸⁶ Bronwyn Labrum supports Phillips' argument, claiming that 'legal changes would free women from oppression and grant them access to the public sphere', in turn playing a "cleaning role".⁸⁷

Wanganui residents 'called loudly for something to be done to stay the pestilence of intoxicating drinks'.⁸⁸ Moral suasionists responded to this call, and 1867 was without doubt a busy year for them. A particularly eager group of Wanganui anti-drinkers established a chapter of the Total Abstinence Society. Their three goals were typical of most temperance organisations: to 'reform the drunkard', to hold their hands out 'to the penitent' and to abstain from drinking themselves.⁸⁹ The abstainers even produced a pledge they hoped to ply among townsfolk to compel them to maintain their own self-denial, hoping it would give the society moral strength against any transgressing signatory. It stated: "I hereby agree to abstain from the use of all intoxicating drinks as a beverage, and to use all prudent endeavours to discountenance the causes and practice of intemperance".⁹⁰ The chairman of the society, Reverend Dr J. Elmslie, urged his followers to set an example and show society that even moderate drinking was still drinking, and therefore antithetical to Christian principles.⁹¹ A member of the association, Reverend Harding, advised members to unite against hotels, suggesting that hotels were profit-driven and made more money from liquor than from accommodation.⁹² He also objected to the 'drinking of health' and drinking after funerals.⁹³

Another campaigner, P. McWilliams, tried to establish the Triune⁹⁴ Society. He demanded 'love, truth and sobriety [sic]' among people, and wanted to establish a closed

⁸⁵ Jeanine Graham, 'Settler Society', in Geoffrey W. Rice (ed.) *Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd Edition, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1996, p.129.

⁸⁶ Phillips, p.54, citing *NZPD*, 80 (1893), p.544.

⁸⁷ Labrum, p.3, citing Erik Olssen, *A History of Otago*, Dunedin: McIndoe, 1984, p.93.

⁸⁸ 'Total Abstinence Society', *Evening Herald*, 8 October 1867, col. a, p.2.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, cols a-b, p.2.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁹² *ibid.*

⁹³ *ibid.*

⁹⁴ Triune is another term for the Trinity, referring to 'the three persons in one God of the Trinity' – *Collins English Dictionary*.

community of members with neighbourly love as its mainstay ethos.⁹⁵ To be successful, McWilliams wanted a government land grant.⁹⁶ With land, his community could maintain a strong work ethic so often espoused among temperance organisations. There is no evidence that the Triune Society or the Total Abstinence Society had any lasting success, but they illustrate the relationship between Christian ethics and the anti-drink message. The Triune Society particularly demonstrates the feeling among temperance advocates that problem drinking was endemic in civilised society, and the way to escape liquor was to escape society – an unrealistic goal somewhat akin to Samuel Butler’s depiction of the closed society of Erewhon where the inhabitants reject modernity, challenging ‘ethical and philosophical’ beliefs they found abhorrent.⁹⁷

One moral suasionist attacked shouting because it encouraged excessive drinking, as one shout leads to another, and then another. The self proclaimed ‘Commissariat’ did not believe men ‘should be obliged to swallow drink which he neither needs nor desires from fear of offending the shouter’.⁹⁸ He suggested a ‘non-shouting society’ might prove more successful than one advocating teetotalism, as it would suit people not ‘inclined to forgo the moderate use of...liquor’.⁹⁹ The ‘Commissariat’ attacked mateship and the right to shout your mates a beer – the type of temperance activity that Jock Phillips describes as ‘no clearer expression of the hostility to male community’.¹⁰⁰ In 1916 the War Regulation Amendment Act did prohibit shouting.¹⁰¹ While a ‘non-shouting society’ would not rule out drinking altogether, a protest against shouting of drinks suggests how strongly temperance advocates recognised and acknowledged the social bond that the hotel generated, and the role of the hotel as a social setting that encouraged men to perhaps drink more than they might have otherwise done.

Counter-attractionists tried to introduce coffee shops, cafeterias and eating houses into Victorian England,¹⁰² but these alternatives to the hotel were relatively uncommon in New Zealand. The closest thing to an alternative to hotels in Patea’s

⁹⁵ ‘Correspondence: Temperance Society’, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 3 August 1867, p.2.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*

⁹⁷ Samuel Butler, *Erewhon: or Over the Range*, (1872), Auckland: Golden Press Pty. Ltd., 1973; Roger Robinson and Nelson Wattie (eds), *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature*, Auckland: Oxford University Press New Zealand, 1998, p.166.

⁹⁸ ‘Correspondent: Non-Shouting Society Versus Teetotalism’, *Evening Herald*, 9 October 1867, col. d, p.2.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Phillips, p.71.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*

¹⁰² Harrison, pp.304-5.

advertising columns was the Patea Bakery. In fact, Patea and Wanganui hotels often offered dining and cafeteria facilities. Newspaper reports allude to coffee and food being served by Patea hotels. On 24 May 1892, for instance, Mrs Urquhart twice ‘despatched hot soup and tea’ from the Albion for members of the Patea Rifle Club for which she received ‘hearty thanks’ and ‘three cheers...lustily given’.¹⁰³ Mr and Mrs O’Dea also tried to attract travellers and lodgers away from Patea hotels with their Temperance Hotel Restaurant, but were ultimately unsuccessful. Clubs were also an alternative to the hotel, but probably not what anti-drinkers would have opted for, particularly considering that clubs also served liquor and until 1895 were allowed to stay open for longer hours than hotels.

Temperance advocates came from a wide group of denominations, yet not all religious groups officially supported prohibition, and not all anti-drinkers were declared Christians. The most common Christian groups included Methodists, Presbyterians, Anglicans, Baptists, Church of Christ, Seventh Day Adventists, the Salvation Army and Roman Catholics.¹⁰⁴ No one group dominated the anti-drink push, but the Catholic Church tended to be more moderate, and did ‘not support...the Prohibition movement which aims at the total abolition of the legalized sale of intoxicating liquors’.¹⁰⁵ Rather, they encouraged abstinence and taught ‘temperance truths’.¹⁰⁶ Some Catholic bishops also criticised prohibition which ‘served to weaken public support for the cause’.¹⁰⁷ Bishop Julius, the Dean of Christchurch, argued that prohibition would be ‘of very great injury to the community’, and would bring about ‘illicit dealing’ in liquor.¹⁰⁸ Reverend Elmslie was chairperson of Wanganui’s Total Abstinence Society, but he did ‘not approve of Prohibition’.¹⁰⁹ He saw it as ‘impracticable’ because it ‘would probably lead to much mischief’.¹¹⁰ Elmslie supported reduction of hotels where they were unwanted and where

¹⁰³ ‘A pleasant little reunion...’, *Patea County Press*, 31 March 1892, col. d, p.2; ‘Patea Rifle Club’, *Patea County Press*, 26 May 1892, col. e, p.2.

¹⁰⁴ Cocker and Murray, pp.38-43; 155-173;

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p.160.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Bruce Tristan Atwell, ‘A ‘God-Forsaken’ Wilderness? The Effects of Isolation on the Development of Rural Religion in the Wanganui Hinterland, 1880-c1920’, MA Thesis in Religious Studies, Massey University, 1998, p.73, citing M.D. Clark, ‘The Roman Response to the Protestant Mission: Bishop Cleary and Bible-in-Schools in the 1920s’, MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1984, p.3.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Clergymen on Prohibition’, *Yeoman*, 17 March 1894, col. c, p.12.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*

proprietors broke the law.¹¹¹ At the same time, he believed that where hotels were closed, bona fide publicans should be compensated for their loss because no person should be made to suffer.¹¹²

In 1871 MHR William Steward also implied there should be compensation for publicans if their hotels were forced to close.¹¹³ He argued that hoteliers who had conducted their houses appropriately and who might have spent upwards of £4000 'in providing accommodation for the public' should not have to risk losing their businesses when they came to renew their licenses simply because of a prohibitionist desire to reduce the number of hotels.¹¹⁴ Well-known prohibitionist politicians, Robert Stout and William Fox, did not agree.¹¹⁵ Fox claimed that hoteliers had injured the colony, and would only compensate a hotel owner or licensee if

he will pay the State for all crime, the destitution, the misery; for the human beings degraded to brutes, for widows left in desolation, for children left to run wild Arabs in our streets, for the million and half spent on drink every year, for the countless evils which flow from his trade; if he will pay the State for all this, I will be very happy to balance the account, and pay him what is due to him.¹¹⁶

Similar to the convict communities of New South Wales in the nineteenth century, New Zealand settlements like Patea or Wanganui did not always view drunkenness as an 'occasion for talk about hell-fire from a lugubrious parson, but just a part of the human comedy'.¹¹⁷ Where temperance zealots did talk of hell-fire, they were often 'held up to ridicule as pompous asses, men puffed up with vanity and pride'.¹¹⁸ Some clergymen were even concerned that the strength of the liquor debate could bring discredit on the Church. According to Bishop Julius, the prohibition debate 'was so vehement and, in many cases, so unrestrained, as to imperil both calmness of judgement and charity, and to lead many of the less well-informed...to the conclusion that Prohibition was synonymous with Christianity'.¹¹⁹ This was clearly at odds with some prohibitionists who believed 'their work is of a moral and religious nature'.¹²⁰ Julius

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, col. b.

¹¹² *ibid.*

¹¹³ 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 11 (1871), p.338 (Mr Steward).

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Len Richardson, 'Parties and Political Change' in Geoffrey W. Rice (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd Edition, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1996, p.205.

¹¹⁶ 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 11 (1871), p.410 (Mr Fox).

¹¹⁷ Manning Clark, p.133.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*

¹¹⁹ 'Clergymen on Prohibition', *Yeoman*, 17 March 1894, col. c, p.12.

¹²⁰ Cocker and Murray, p.14.

seemed to be asking for moderate habits, in both drinking and anti-drink protest, lest the innocent were made to feel guilty. He joined with Elmslie in stating that while drunkenness and illicit liquor sales were a menace to morality, ‘the bulk of the Prohibitionists are fanatics...quite ready to coerce their non-teetotal neighbours into total abstinence from alcohol’ without any concern for social liberty.¹²¹ The ‘extremists...are blind to everything but their own desire’, even though most people were ‘moderate drinkers’.¹²²

Prohibitionists did not seem to recognise how important or valuable hotels were to communities, or the significance that drinking had for the sometimes meagre, lonely social lives of the single, frontier male. In this environment, the civil liberties of drinkers and publicans came under attack. Campaigners denigrated drinkers and tried to force them into teetotalism or moderate drinking habits, simultaneously attacking hoteliers. Throughout the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, temperance ideology multiplied, increasing social and political debates in Parliament and in newspapers. While the anti-drink lobby did not achieve its goal of prohibition, its continual social, religious and political agitation brought about social change, resulting in law changes that had the potential to reduce drinking. The anti-drink lobby claimed that ‘if drinking was to continue...[they] would guarantee that it would be increasingly under siege.’¹²³

iii. *Attacking Social Liberties*

Historical sources would suggest that the drink issue was a simple matter of blue and white collar differentiation, but this is not the case. Blue and white collar workers were by no means specifically pro- or anti-drinkers, but working class men, women and Maori were most under attack from anti-drinkers. Drinking or abstinence ‘appeared in American life as one means for the validation of the social position of its users and non-users’, and abstinence was ‘becoming a potent sign of middle-class status, distinguishing the abstainer from the lower levels of the ne’er-do-wells, the unambitious and the irreligious’.¹²⁴ This showed a definite class bias where respectable men were believed to

¹²¹ ‘Clergymen on Prohibition’, *Yeoman*, 17 March 1894, cols b and c, p.12.

¹²² *ibid.*

¹²³ Eldred-Grigg, p.66.

¹²⁴ Gusfield, pp.102; 107.

be hardworking and moderate, while men who finished a day's work by drinking with mates in the nearest hotel, or who worked hard for short periods and then went on the spree, were disreputable, lacking the right to enjoy themselves in their own way.¹²⁵ In New Zealand, temperance rhetoric was thick with accusations that working class men who drank were the cause of the colony's financial, social and familial woes, while *decent* people struggled along in the presence of evil. 'Distinguished hospital physicians and surgeons' and some blue-collar workers believed that drinking 'among the working classes...[was] one of the greatest evils of the day, destroying...health, happiness, and welfare'.¹²⁶ They believed that working class drinkers neutralised the 'great industrial prosperity...of this nation'.¹²⁷

While debating the licensing Patea's Railway Hotel in 1881, Waverley settler and temperance advocate James Kenah believed that the hotel inhibited local workmen, the 'class' of people that 'above all' should not be supplied with alcohol.¹²⁸ He claimed that the 'multiplication of...hotels has been proved by statistics and...observation to increase drunkenness'.¹²⁹ The Waverley Good Templars supported him, claiming that 'on no good grounds could it be said that...[another licensed hotel] was needed at present, except...to supply men with intoxicating liquor'.¹³⁰ Kenah also remarked that 'respectable people' preferred to live away from hotels, 'not caring to see the sights and hear the sounds which emanate, with more or less frequency, from all colonial...“aids to civilisation”'.¹³¹ He maintained that a generation of children would follow 'in the track of the debauchees educated into drunkenness by the daily sip of wine or beer, which...they are not only allowed but encouraged to take'.¹³² As these examples indicate, teetotallers attacked male camaraderie and male bonding among the working class, implying that they encouraged the 'downward progression' of whole communities because of their drinking habits.¹³³ It is interesting to note that the rate of drunkenness among New Zealand born European residents was less than drunkenness among immigrants.¹³⁴ This

¹²⁵ Phillips, pp.49, 58.

¹²⁶ 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 12 (1872), p.192 (Mr Clark).

¹²⁷ *ibid.*

¹²⁸ 'Licensing Court: Railway Hotel', *Patea County Mail*, 17 March 1881, col. b, p.3.

¹²⁹ *ibid.*

¹³⁰ *ibid.*

¹³¹ 'To the Editor: Good Templars and Licenses', *Patea County Mail*, 13 January 1881, col. b, p.3.

¹³² *ibid.*

¹³³ 'Licensing Bill', *NZPD*, 12 (1872), pp.192-93 (Mr Clark).

¹³⁴ 'Summary Convictions', *New Zealand Official Year-Book*, 1896, p.240.

suggests that the New Zealand born group were more inclined to be successful, and may have been more socially acceptable because they were native to the country rather than being immigrants.

Yet, the drinking man was not without support. Many people supported social liberties and the right of men to choose to drink or run hotels. One Patea newspaper correspondent argued that moderate drinkers ‘ought not to be restricted like suspected criminals’ just because teetotalers did not want to drink or did not require the convenience of a hotel.¹³⁵ Teetotalers often harassed hoteliers directly and through the media, leading the argument against licensees as though their opinion was the opinion of the wider community, which as 1894 local option results indicate, was not the case in Patea and Wanganui.¹³⁶ The Patea correspondent suggested that if people did not want a license, teetotalers should not decide simply because they overlooked the convenience of hotels to travellers and lodgers. Instead, ordinary people without a declared bias for or against liquor licenses should decide who would hold licenses; ‘their protest will settle the question...in the form of a petition’.¹³⁷ Respectable people agreed with anti-drinker sentiments that drunkenness was ‘gross and disgusting’.¹³⁸ They also upheld social liberties, stating, nowhere ‘mankind should be forced to wear strait jackets because...[of a] small minority of creatures with weak intellectuals’.¹³⁹ While debating local option in 1893, William Buckland also believed that extremist temperance ideology enshrined in liquor laws impinged on personal rights and social liberties. He was of the opinion that:

Directly there is any talk about this liquor traffic we are brought face to face with the fact that the next thing we shall have from some of these extremists will be, that we are not to smoke; and from that they will go on to say that there is to be no more football, and no more cricket; and in the end we shall be told what we are to eat and what we are not to eat, until we shall become like the animals of the field and have to live on grass and water. I feel quite certain that such legislation can have no other effect than to destroy our independence.¹⁴⁰

If men found it increasingly difficult to purchase booze, women were under even more pressure, and were even castigated by some for merely working in hotels. Despite suffragist activities, Victorian New Zealand was seen as a man’s world, at least publicly, and the hotel was seen as a man’s place. While women were pushing for a

¹³⁵ ‘Hotel Policy’, *Patea County Mail*, 15 January 1881, col. g, p.2.

¹³⁶ ‘Local Option Poll’, *Statistics of New Zealand*, 1894, p.458.

¹³⁷ ‘Hotel Policy’, *Patea County Mail*, 15 January 1881, col. g, p.2.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*

¹³⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 80 (1893), p.525 (Mr Buckland).

greater public presence, temperance advocates believed that pretty barmaids made drinking more attractive to men by luring them into bars.¹⁴¹ These sentiments are not surprising when examining the following newspaper report when Arthur Haywood took over Patea's Albion Hotel, and planned some changes. It clearly demonstrates how important a pretty barmaid was to hotel patronage:

...a new bar is to be formed, at which a damsel will preside, who will "drink to thee with her eyes, while thou dost pledge with thine." So that the intoxication within the cup shall be as nought to that sweeter kind which you may draw from those ever-welling founts of hers. Thanks to the host Haywood, enterprising minister of our tastes! But – Oh pray, let the maid be charming!¹⁴²

Wanganui's Total Abstinence Society maintained that any hotel employing barmaids lacked respect – indeed, notwithstanding female managers, anti-drinkers believed that 'no man is respectable who makes money out of women'.¹⁴³ Successive governments agreed, and a woman's place in the hotel was increasingly controlled, not dissimilar to the control over men's drinking. In 1874 politicians debated the hours women could work in hotels. MHR Holmes 'was inclined to think that the hours...barmaids were to be employed would...encourage laziness'.¹⁴⁴ He wanted barmaids' hours set at between 10am and 10pm so they 'could begin their duties at an earlier hour...and be out of the bars.... before...“heavy drinking” commenced'.¹⁴⁵ In 1881 restrictions on barmaids' hours meant that women could only work for 10 hours per day in a hotel, and had to leave the bar before 11pm.¹⁴⁶ Prostitutes and dancing girls were also forbidden from lingering in hotels.¹⁴⁷ Politicians saw an obvious link between women and drinking, including the notion that women's employment in hotels as barmaids, servants and dancers, or hoteliers' tolerance of prostitutes only attracted drinking men. Therefore, by removing women from hotels, you removed at least one source of attraction to drinking.

Women could hold licenses,¹⁴⁸ but if they were married, their husbands were accorded license privileges, and these were often transferred wholly to the husband at the

¹⁴¹ Phillips, pp.69, 70, citing NZPD, 6 (1869), p.500; 'Total Abstinence Society', *Evening Herald*, 8 October 1867, col. b, p.2.

¹⁴² 'We hear that...', *Patea Mail*, 14 January 1884, col. c, p.2.

¹⁴³ 'Total Abstinence Society', *Evening Herald*, 8 October 1867, col. b, p.2.

¹⁴⁴ Licensing Bill', NZPD, 16 (1874), p.791 (Mr Holmes).

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ 'Licensing Act', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S.147, p.158.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ This had been stipulated as early as 1844, when 'nothing...shall be held to prevent a woman from holding a license' – 'An Ordinance to Amend an Ordinance for Regulating the Sale of Fermented and Spirituous Liquors', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1841-53, No.21, Sess. III, 7, S.3, p.162.

next licensing meeting.¹⁴⁹ However, in 1889 the Court of Appeal made its own licensing provisions when it decided that a married woman could not hold a publican's license.¹⁵⁰ The court's decision was ratified by government in 1893 when it was decided that unless a 'widow...[or] wife...has obtained a protection order' women could not become licensees.¹⁵¹ In May 1891 the Makirikiri Licensing Committee granted Maria Anna Brownlie a license transfer for the Campbelltown Hotel on the outskirts of Wanganui. In June the following year, however, the committee adopted the government's new policy and refused to renew the license. They also stated that they would not grant licenses 'in future to women'.¹⁵² By December 1892 the Campbelltown's license was permanently transferred to Thomas Bennett, further ratifying the committee's and the Court of Appeal's decisions to refuse women licenses.

The continued presence of women in hotels was a double failure. If women were in bars, then what hope did temperance advocates have of reducing men's drinking habits? After all, women were supposed to have a refining influence on men, and expected to maintain hearth and home, and not attract men to immoral activities. A 1905 prohibitionist propaganda cartoon even showed a woman as the saviour from Saturnalia,¹⁵³ draining *evil* from liquor barrels, and therefore slowing the tide of passion inflamed by strong drink. The caption read: "'Had we done thus, perchance our Nations had not died'", reflects 'one of the arguments used by prohibitionists against alcohol', that had New Zealand banded together and chosen temperance or the more extreme prohibition, and had the colony learned the 'lessons of the past', the effects of liquor on society would have been less dramatic.¹⁵⁴

The use of hotels by Maori is also significant, but like many other aspects of nineteenth century race relations, it was often an aside to Pakeha matters, usually only discussed at a political or religious level. At a social level, however, Maori drinking was a concern usually only when European livelihood was at risk. Maori initially rejected

¹⁴⁹ 'Licensing Act', *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S. 103, p.150.

¹⁵⁰ 'Police Prosecutions Under "The Licensing Act, 1881"', *AJHR*, 1891, vol. III, (S.2), H.5, p.1.

¹⁵¹ 'Alcoholic Liquors Sales Control', 1893, no.34, 57, S. 12(1), p.132. This law was to be used in conjunction with the 1881 Licensing Act.

¹⁵² Courthouse Licensing Register, Makirikiri Licensing Minute Book, 10 June 1892.

¹⁵³ This was an ancient Roman festival, well known as an occasion for drunkenness and revelry.

¹⁵⁴ 'The Rise and Fall of Prohibition' in *New Zealand's Heritage: the Making of a Nation*, vol. 11, Auckland: Hamlyn House, 1978, p.1431.

alcoholic liquor, showing ‘a strong repugnance to ardent spirits’.¹⁵⁵ Yet, Maori frequented Patea and Wanganui hotels in enough numbers to cause concern among locals. As we have seen, Rev. Hammond and Wanganui publican Elizabeth Davidson were concerned about the Maori drinking.¹⁵⁶ Stevan Eldred-Grigg also suggests that prohibitionists propagandised the fall of Maori from purity to alcoholism in ‘the blackest and most shameful chapter in the history of New Zealand’ in order to demonstrate the destructive nature that drinking could have.¹⁵⁷ However, this fall did not occur overnight. Instead, the increasing popularity of liquor among Maori can be measured over a period of thirty years. As the European population in New Zealand increased and Maori tribalism fragmented, tangata whenua often succumbed to alcoholism, particularly as imports of grog into rural New Zealand increased into the millions of litres, and ‘land jobbers’ illegally exchanged liquor for land.¹⁵⁸ Likewise, merchants and publicans flouted liquor laws, selling drink to Maori. It is not surprising, therefore, that historians like Eldred-Grigg and Bollinger would claim that ‘The effects of liquor on Maori in the first generation were devastating’.¹⁵⁹ Maori politicians were concerned about Maori drinking and its effects on tribalism, but they were ignored by Pakeha politicians. Pakeha wanted to control Maori drinking, but only to control Maori crime, not tribalism. Maori MHRs were also exerting their own powers of control. MHR Hugh Carleton also maintained that liquor should remain inside a hotel where it was the proper and accepted place to drink it, but he disagreed with excessive imports of liquor into Maori districts where locals ‘sweated it out’.¹⁶⁰ This sort of wholesale drinking would only bring about wholesale destruction to tribalism.

iv. Free Trade

While the liquor debate was mainly centred on hotels, drinking at home also concerned many people, particularly as home was meant to be the saviour of frontier society from its

¹⁵⁵ Eldred-Grigg, p.85, citing L.K. Gluckman, Tangiwai: *Medical History of New Zealand Prior to 1860*, Auckland: L.K. Gluckman, 1976, pp.218-220.

¹⁵⁶ ‘Police Commission of Enquiry’, *AJHR*, 1898, vol. III, H.2, p.1124; ‘Correspondent: Licensed Victuallers Society’, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 6 February 1867, col. f, p.2.

¹⁵⁷ Eldred-Grigg, p.85.

¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p.87.

¹⁵⁹ Bollinger, p.17.

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*

evil ways. Free-traders advocated home drinking or no licenses as a way to control liquor consumption. Politicians like Hugh Carleton thought drinking abhorrent, but believed that if people could buy liquor from grocers, and not have to go to a hotel, ‘the evil arising from the use of drink would be very much diminished.’¹⁶¹ Restrictions on liquor ‘had tended to increase drunkenness...[but] if there was more open trade in liquor, and no such thing as a license’ the problem would be defused.¹⁶² Presumably, if liquor was readily available, and thus able to be stockpiled in private homes, people would crave it less and drink it in a more civilised, restrained fashion. In turn, free trade may have decreased sly-grogging. Colonel Trimble, sardonically described by the *Patea Mail* as a ‘great...authority’ in Parliament, favoured free trade in liquor.¹⁶³ But, unless free trade would ‘keep people sober...reduce crime...teach children the true way of life, and promote health, wealth and wisdom’, the newspaper reporter saw no good in opening up the liquor industry.¹⁶⁴ Trimble told Parliament that free trade in Liverpool was successful. However, crime and the numbers of ‘loose women of the lowest type’ had apparently burgeoned because of the ‘nest of liquor shops’ in the city.¹⁶⁵ Few people had benefited from Liverpool’s ‘free trade spasm’, except for a ‘few men who had made fortunes’ by opening public houses ‘wherever a house could be got for the purpose’.¹⁶⁶ William Fox disagreed with free trade. He suggested that being able to buy liquor in hotels was bad enough, but allowing grocers to sell it might actually destroy families. He also questioned women’s honesty and family loyalty, stating a woman ‘would go to her grocer and get half a pound of tea entered against her husband, while she took away a bottle of spirit’.¹⁶⁷

From the 1870s people, even teetotallers, began to recognise that hotels could control drinking. Arthur Collins, a teetotal politician from Collingwood, did not agree with drinking, but supported hotels because they helped regulate the sale and use of liquor. Liquor was consumed in hotels for set periods of time, and was not being taken home to be supped at will.¹⁶⁸ He was ‘anxious’ that stockpiling of liquor for the drinker to

¹⁶¹ ‘Liquor Laws’, *NZPD*, 7 (1870), p.162 (Mr Carleton).

¹⁶² ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 12 (1872), p.198 (Mr Tribe); ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 11 (1871), p.337 (Mr MacAndrew).

¹⁶³ ‘A Protest’, *Patea County Mail*, 23 June 1881, col. f, p.2.

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p.164 (Mr Fox).

¹⁶⁸ ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 85 (1894), p.655 (Mr Collins).

enjoy ‘at his fireside’ did not occur as this would only cause liquor abuse.¹⁶⁹ Likewise, if hotels were closed, ‘the liquor trade would be carried on in quite an uncontrolled manner’, where men would buy their liquor from wholesale merchants, to be consumed at home.¹⁷⁰ As a result, lawmen would find the liquor trade even more difficult to control. Moreover, a traveller ‘would have to sleep in the bush, unless he managed to be put up at a friend’s house’.¹⁷¹ Patea solicitor Gervase Hamerton claimed that workmen needed hotels for accommodation instead of living in the tents and lodging houses where they also drank without police control; a practice more likely to cause social dysfunction than the licensing of hotels. Hamerton believed workmen should be allowed to drink, but under the gaze of the law.¹⁷² Patea settlers agreed. They called for hotels to control illegal consumption and drunken activity outside of licensed establishments.¹⁷³ Collins and Richard Seddon also questioned the existence of bottle licenses that allowed this type of activity.¹⁷⁴ Thus, pro-drink settlers and politicians understood that the hotel helped regulated liquor consumption, and if people chose to drink, they would be better doing it in clubs or hotels rather than turn their own private houses into such.¹⁷⁵

A case before the Patea Resident Magistrate C.A. Wray clearly illustrates that home drinking could be detrimental to family life. On 28 February 1881 Mrs James McCauly was ‘charged with threatening grievous bodily harm to her husband’.¹⁷⁶ Mr McCauly found his wife ‘lying drunk on the sofa’, where she threatened to kill him with a fire iron. He had forbidden his wife to drink at home, and claimed that ‘drunken men are there continually when I am at work’.¹⁷⁷ According to police Sergeant Donovan, the men frequenting the home use ‘abominable...language’ and ‘the house is a nuisance in the neighbourhood’.¹⁷⁸ Although Mrs McCauly claimed that she could not keep the drunken men out of the house, she was herself ‘drunk when apprehended’.¹⁷⁹ Wray ordered that

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*; ‘Eleven O’clock Licenses’, *Yeoman*, 24 September 1898, col. b, p.12.

¹⁷⁰ ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 80 (1893), p.523 (Mr Buckland).

¹⁷¹ ‘Eleven O’clock Licenses’, *Yeoman*, 24 September 1898, col. b, p.12.

¹⁷² ‘Licensing Court: Railway Hotel’, *Patea County Mail*, 17 March 1881, col. b, p.3.

¹⁷³ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 85 (1894), p.650 (Mr Seddon).

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p.655 (Mr Collins).

¹⁷⁶ ‘Patea R.M. Court: a Social Nuisance’, *Patea County Mail*, 3 March 1881, col. b, p.3.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.*

Mrs McCauly must ‘find two sureties of £5 for...good behaviour during three months’, or face imprisonment.¹⁸⁰

The hotel also regulated the quality of liquor. As mentioned, nineteenth century advertisements show that hotels offered finest quality ales, spirits and wine to attract customers. Yet, people distilled, brewed and fermented their own liquor, and sly-grogging was common throughout the colony. Lawmen could close illegal stills, but they had little control over the quality of liquor being sold outside of hotels. If someone wanted liquor badly enough and chose to buy home brew, only they could control what they bought; unlicensed sellers were not so concerned with losing these customers than bona fide hoteliers who had a greater financial stake. Henry Bunny was ‘no encourager of drunkenness’, but he maintained ‘it was the pernicious liquors which did the mischief, and not the plain glass of good whiskey or brandy which a man drank’.¹⁸¹ Many a person, it seems, who had taken ‘their occasional dram’ found themselves ‘in a state bordering on madness’, not because of quality beer, wine or spirits, but because of ‘the adulterated and poisonous mixture that had been supplied to them’.¹⁸² According to Edward McGlashan, ‘two-thirds of the cases which went before criminal Courts or filled the lunatic asylums arose from the wholesale poisoning of the people by the sale of the most deleterious mixtures’ rather than the quality that hotels offered.¹⁸³

v. Gatherings

As historian Basil Poff notes, ‘the hotel was sometimes the most significant permanent building’ inducing their use as formal meeting places.¹⁸⁴ The use of hotels for meetings may also have come from ‘the old English custom of holding political and other meetings in pubs’.¹⁸⁵ Although Patea had a number of public halls from the late 1870s, residents made many red letter decisions in their hotels.¹⁸⁶ In July 1867 Patea settlers held the first of many public meetings at the Royal Hotel when they acknowledged ‘the necessity of

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁸¹ ‘Licensing Bill’, *NZPD*, 12 (1872), p. 196 (Mr Bunny).

¹⁸² *ibid.*, p. 197 (Mr McGlashan) – MHR for Roslyn.

¹⁸³ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ Poff, p. 22. Stevan Eldred-Grigg also discusses the use of the hotel for meetings, with some ‘even used as polling booths’ – p. 83.

¹⁸⁵ Bollinger, p. 16.

¹⁸⁶ The first town hall was not a borough project, as the Borough Council was not installed until 1881. Instead, ‘The Patea Town Hall Coy’ erected the first hall. Patea’s other public halls of the nineteenth century included those for the Harmonic Society, Druid Lodge, Foresters, Freemasons, Buffalo Lodge and Anglican and Presbyterian Church halls. The first official borough council hall was not built until 1912: ‘Halls – A Feast or Famine’, *Patea Mail*, 9 September 1981, col. a, p. 76.

banding themselves together'.¹⁸⁷ There they argued to have the coastal trader *S.S. Waipara* use Patea as 'a port of call...giving the district the great advantage of regular steam communication'.¹⁸⁸ In July 1869 Patea residents again met at the Royal, this time 'to urge the payment of a steamship subsidy'. In August locals met under the chairmanship of James Hirst 'to start a school', and in September Waverley residents joined with Patea's to discuss a 'Loan Fund for resettlement'.¹⁸⁹ At the same meeting, those present deliberated over 'compensation for losses through native insurrection'.¹⁹⁰ In 1870 with the town's new position, the Albion became the more popular public meeting place. There, the Methodist Church ironically held its first meeting, as did the Light Horse Volunteers Corps' and fire brigade.¹⁹¹ Firemen continued to hold their meetings at the Albion into the 1880s.¹⁹² The original Carlyle Fire Brigade was disbanded in favour of a new brigade on 4 October 1881; at their final meeting, firemen waited on Thomas Haywood, thanking him 'for the liberal manner in which he had always found room and accommodation for the Brigade meetings' at the Albion Hotel.¹⁹³ By the 1890s the Patea Rifle Club also met at the Albion. Its inaugural meeting took place in early February 1892 where Gervase Hamerton was elected club chairperson.¹⁹⁴ Because the Central was a large hotel, it also hosted public meetings. Among them were regular meetings of the bowling club,¹⁹⁵ and in 1883 a meeting was held for local 'shareholders in the Colonial Land Settlement and Endowment Association'.¹⁹⁶ Members of this association were of the opinion that their organisation 'ought to be wound up as soon as possible' because of inept management on the part of the Association's Wellington administrators.¹⁹⁷ By 1899 the Central was still being used for meetings; the Ancient Order of Foresters, for instance,

¹⁸⁷ 'Patea: From Our Own Correspondent', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 13 July 1867, col. c, p.2.

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ Church, pp.90-91; *Weekly Herald*, 25 September 1869, col. e, p.1. Hirst was an influential settler and first Post Master for the town. MHR Kelly had proposed this loan.

¹⁹⁰ 'Patea: From our own Correspondent', *Weekly Herald*, 25 September 1869, col. e, p.1. At times, the meeting seems to have been heated, with some present expressing their 'personalities'. Their plan for compensation did not meet with approval. Those at the meeting agreed upon a loan fund approved by the House of Representatives.

¹⁹¹ Church, p.91; 'Fire Brigade Meeting', *Patea Mail*, 13 August 1879, col. d, p.2.

¹⁹² 'Fire Brigades' and 'New Brigade', *Patea County Mail*, 5 October 1881, col. c, p.3.

¹⁹³ 'Fire Brigades', *Patea County Mail*, 5 October 1881, col. c, p.3.

¹⁹⁴ 'Patea Rifle Club', *Patea County Press*, 11 February 1892, col. e, p.2. The first actual range meeting took place on 26 May the same year.

¹⁹⁵ 'Adjourned meeting...', *Patea Mail*, 31 August 1883, col. d, p.2.

¹⁹⁶ 'A meeting of shareholders...', *Patea Mail*, 23 July 1883, col. b, p.2.

¹⁹⁷ *ibid.*

held a reunion there, where its members had a ‘real good time’ with toasts, ‘songs and recitations’.¹⁹⁸

Wanganui hotels were also common meeting places for soldiers and social groups. The licensee of the Empire Hotel promoted his ‘spacious lodge room’ for this reason.¹⁹⁹ Wanganui’s Albion also hosted off duty soldiers and was the setting for many military functions. In June 1867, for example, the Sergeants of the 18th Royal Irish held a very successful ball at the Albion, where ‘the music was good, the ladies pretty, and the supper supplied by Mr. Thomas of the “Albion,” equalled anything...seen before...in Wanganui’.²⁰⁰ Because of their size, the large Rutland and Masonic hotels were also commonly used for public meetings and private functions. On 10 August 1867 the Wanganui Small Farm Association met at the Rutland Hotel to discuss their financial accounts including £800 that they decided to hand over ‘to the Provincial Sub-Treasurer to be invested’ at ten percent interest, probably quite a momentous occasion for its members.²⁰¹ In October the Wanganui Building Society also met at the Rutland ‘to consider...opening a New Series of shares’, but after a long discussion, they decided against the measure, believing it would not ‘enhance...[their] price’ or make them more saleable.²⁰² In October 1867 members of the ‘Wanganui River Boating Club’ met at the Masonic hotel, but because of a lack of attendance, they planned to reconvene at the Albion Hotel to decide the future of the club that ‘had begun so auspiciously’.²⁰³

There is a clear distinction between the type of meetings held in Patea and Wanganui hotels. Although hotels in both centres hosted the meetings of small organisations or clubs, Patea’s population was small enough in the 1860s and 1870s to also allow public meetings to be held in the town’s hotels. Wanganui’s larger population, on the other hand, meant that larger premises were often required for public meetings. Thus, the larger town’s hotels served smaller organisations and sports groups who were without club or lodge rooms.

¹⁹⁸ ‘The Foresters’ Reunion’, *Patea County Press*, 9 August 1899, col. c, p.2.

¹⁹⁹ ‘Empire Hotel’, *Evening Herald*, 29 August 1873, p.3.

²⁰⁰ ‘Ball – Wanganui owes its thanks...’, *Evening Herald*, 14 June 1867, col. b, p.2.

²⁰¹ ‘Wanganui Small Farm Association’, *Evening Herald*, 12 August 1867, col. c, p.2.

²⁰² ‘Wanganui Building Society’, *Evening Herald*, 9 October 1867, cols b and c, p.2.

²⁰³ ‘Boat Race’, *Evening Herald*, 15 October 1867, col. c, p.2. In 1881 the Wanganui Rowing Club took up residence in a ‘two storey, timber frame building’ – ‘Old Town: a Wanganui Heritage Walk’, Mainstreet Wanganui Inc. pamphlet, 2003.

Sport and hotels also held a common and sometimes very public relationship, maintaining an essential role in nineteenth century New Zealand society. Hotels sponsored sport events or sold liquor at sports venues and matches such as the races and cricket. The involvement of hotels in the sporting arena drew criticism from anti-drinkers because people were being plied liquor outside of hotels where temperance advocates suggested they had no right to be. One Wanganui newspaper correspondent stated that ‘if you hear of a boat race, steeple chase, or any other amusement whatever, publicans are particularly interested in it’.²⁰⁴ Despite temperance protests, hotels continued to support local events. In September 1867, for instance, Wanganui’s Masonic Hotel continued its link to local rowing when it sponsored a local boat race, offering a ‘silver cup’ to the winners.²⁰⁵ Two weeks later, the Masonic sponsored another boat race of three competitors, one of which snagged on a mooring line, overturning and failing to finish.²⁰⁶

Horse racing and drinking also maintained an association throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Official racing began in Wanganui on 21 December 1848 with “‘lads and lassies...the grand-dame and the Granny...a good sprinkling of the 65th [Rutlandshire Regiment,]...horsemen, officials and non-officials, racers, refreshment stands etc. all combined to give a general sporting character to the gathering’”.²⁰⁷ While there is no evidence that the refreshment stands at this early meeting served liquor, it is difficult to imagine a social gathering attended by such a cross section of society where liquor was not bought, sold and consumed. From 1881 the Licensing Act demanded that hoteliers with a publican’s license who wished to sell liquor at race meetings, cricket matches, regatta or fairs could do so under a conditional liquor license for up to seven days at a time.²⁰⁸ In 1898 D.P. Barrett, licensee for the Manchester Hotel, applied for a conditional license for two booths at the Wanganui races on 24 and 25 May. These were granted, and Barrett charged 10s per day for each booth, and his hours set between ‘9am and 6pm’.²⁰⁹ Patea’s Thomas Keane also operated a booth at the local racecourse.²¹⁰

²⁰⁴ *ibid.*

²⁰⁵ ‘Boat Race’, *Evening Herald*, 30 September 1867, col. b, p.2.

²⁰⁶ *ibid.*, 15 October 1867, cols b and c, p.2.

²⁰⁷ Spurdle, *More Stories of Old Whanganui*, p.82, citing an article of the *Wellington Independent*, n.p., n.d.

²⁰⁸ ‘Licensing Act’, *New Zealand Statutes*, 1881, no.21, 45, S. 36, p.136. This provision also included a license to ‘dispose of liquor’ at military encampments. The Act does not indicate any costs for this type of license, except that holders of conditional licenses had already paid publican’s fees of either £30 or £40 depending on their situation: rural or urban.

²⁰⁹ Wanganui Courthouse Licensing Registers, Wanganui Licensing Committee Minute Book, No.2, 21 May 1898, p.48.

²¹⁰ He was, in fact, killed while riding his horse at the racecourse, although he was not competing – ‘Inquest: the Late Thomas Keane’, *Patea County Press*, 7 April 1899, col. g, p.2.

Hotels were also known for pub games such as billiards or bagatelle,²¹¹ sometimes offering prizes in local competitions. In 1873 John Ruscoe promoted the Empire Hotel's 'well lighted' billiards room 'furnished with one of Thurston's best tables' and skittles in a 'detached...alley'.²¹² Fred Adams also hosted a 'Grand Billiard Tournament' at Patea's Albion, offering the winner a 'stereoscopic Cabinet'.²¹³ Such games typify male activities in hotels in the United Kingdom, USA and Australia. Although betting on two-up and poker was relatively uncommon in New Zealand, bagatelle was certainly associated with gambling. As a result, it was often disdained by social commentators. Yet, hotel drinking and hotel games were common entertainment 'in a world where organised amusements were few, books expensive, and the men hungry for news'.²¹⁴ Sometimes, hotels hosted theatrical companies which further attracted people.²¹⁵

Hotels were also one of the few places soldiers and the ordinary man could meet for enjoyment, or for 'a quiet conversation',²¹⁶ even though politicians supported the establishment of 'some intellectual means of enjoyment' such as a library, instead of allowing excessive drinking to continue on the frontier.²¹⁷ Aside from church groups, Patea boasted a number of social and recreational organisations such as a rifle club, cricket club, two bowling clubs and brass band. Wanganui also had numerous social clubs with 'facilities for writing, cards, billiards, dining and sitting,...cricket, quoits...chess and draughts'.²¹⁸ Both towns also had numerous men's lodges, such as Freemasons, Oddfellows and Foresters. However, these clubs and lodges were often for members of specific social backgrounds, and lodges in particular were not open to everyone. Thus, the hotel afforded all men a place to meet, drink, to catch up on the gossip and news of the day, and to find some amusement.

²¹¹ This was an early form of pinball, and was also known as bar billiards.

²¹² 'Empire Hotel', *Evening Herald*, 29 August 1873, p.3.

²¹³ 'Grand Billiard Tournament', *Patea Mail*, 17 April 1875, col. b, p.3.

²¹⁴ Phillips, p.56.

²¹⁵ 'The Old Commercial', *Evening Herald*, 2 June 1870, col. c, p.2.

²¹⁶ Phillips, p.56.

²¹⁷ 'Prohibition of Canteens', *NZPD*, 5 (1869), p.188, (Mr Kelly).

²¹⁸ Labrum, p.6, citing *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 1, Wellington, 1897, p.1390.

Conclusion

Between 1866 and 1899 the hotel attracted myriad groups into a changing social context where its virtues and vices were hotly debated in Parliament and through newspapers. Concerned Wanganui and Patea residents and would-be social commentators argued back and forth through local newspapers about the benefits and detriments of hotels, reflecting the strength of this nationwide debate. Pro-drink politicians and military men understood the difficulties of frontier soldiering and the pleasure that drinking gave the men. Frontier settlers and itinerant workers had the same need, having worked hard to break the land. For these men, drinking was not the simple act of getting drunk, but the act of drinking with friends or strangers, and celebrating the social bonds that grew from such activity. Drinking was also one means of escaping the realities of harsh frontier life, and the hotel offered drinkers a warm environment in which to do it. But having taken alcoholic respite from harsh lives, drinking men drew the condemnation of temperance advocates, including politicians, who disputed soldiers' ability to fight and settlers' ability to prosper if they also drank. As settlements grew more populous, teetotallers and temperance advocates increased their moral attack on settlers, arguing that frontier drinking habits were detrimental to community prosperity and could not be tolerated. People in favour of hotels claimed that temperance advocates were not only trying to change social habits, they were attacking social liberties and the right to drink. In what newspaper correspondents described as narrow-minded, wowser ideals, temperance advocates risked the pulse of the colony when they tried to force people to conform to their notions of abstinence. Despite the reasons, hotels provided a social setting for Patea and Wanganui that acted as a catalyst for the liquor debate, where the wide scope of the hotel was both supported and decried by a varied group of political, religious and social commentators, whose actions most surely influenced licensing issues and social debates well into the twentieth century.



Conclusion

A local study of wider issues complements existing literature in that the myriad aspects of the hotel industry and liquor debate at a national level were also locally significant. Patea and Wanganui were themselves in close proximity, but varied immensely in size and population. This allows a number of comparisons not just between national and provincial instances, but also between provincial centres, including the turnover of publicans, economic depression, advertising, the use of hotels for meetings, the use of the hotel by Maori, the role of publicans in the wider community, the physical presence of the hotel on the landscape and localised attempts at creating temperance organisations or chapters of national and international groups. A local comparative study also shows that the railway was not necessarily beneficial to hotels, whereas general histories might indicate that the railway was wholly beneficial to colonial New Zealand. In a small town like Patea, the railway was detrimental, adding to the economic pressures that ultimately caused four out of seven of its hotels to close. On the other hand, the railway was beneficial to Wanganui hotels, adding to the town's reputation as a transport hub. A study of Patea and Wanganui also demonstrates that the use of a hotel for meetings was dependent on the population. In Wanganui hotels hosted fewer public meetings and more private or club meetings because the population was much greater, and public meetings would usually attract greater numbers. Conversely, Patea hotels were commonly used for public meetings because even meetings that were large for the town could be hosted in hotel ball or lodge rooms. Again due to population differences, publicans were more important in other areas of the Patea community, while only two Wanganui hoteliers stand out as important local pioneers. Although there are similarities between local and wider studies, we cannot commit ourselves to generalised viewpoints without first examining smaller settings. Neither can we examine the Patea and Wanganui hotel industry and liquor debates of the nineteenth century and hope that the conclusions we draw will suffice for other small town experiences. The hotels of Patea and Wanganui certainly served similar purposes, but there are clear differences between the two centres as there are between local studies and generalised ones.

Clearly hotels were a part of New Zealand's nineteenth century identity. Social, economic, political and legislative pressures ensured that a hotel's functions, management and regulatory framework changed, but the role of the hotel remained basically the same between 1866 and 1899. Prior to the 1860s hotels in rural settlements like Patea were mainly known for drinking. In fact, throughout the nineteenth century, they were the accepted places to drink. With the development and further improvement to roads, bridges and railways from the late in the 1860s, accommodation and stabling for travellers became more important. Legislation from the 1870s ensured these services remained central to the hotel's existence. Questions remain over the impact of the hotel on society, and how different history would be without hotels. There can be no doubt, however, that the New Zealand hotel was a focal point where numerous factors converged to create a significant centre for economic activity and social and moral debate that pervaded communities like Patea and Wanganui between 1866 and 1899. During this period, changes to the hotel industry and the varying viewpoints of pro- and anti-drinkers ensured that the hotel remained in the public eye.

From the beginning of the 1870s the primary role of the hotel was to provide accommodation services to locals and the travelling public. Nevertheless, anti-drinkers attacked the hotel for its capacity to provide liquor. The rate of drunken crimes throughout New Zealand shows there was a real concern about this side of the hotel. Temperance organisations such as the Good Templars, WCTU and the New Zealand Alliance focused on the hotel as a drinking establishment, implying that the hotel's other services were insignificant. Although temperance organisations were not as prominent in Patea and Wanganui as they were in larger cities, anti-drink rhetoric still impacted on hotels in these two provincial centres. Temperance advocates protested the licensing of hotels, and many anti-drinkers in Wanganui tried to organise what seemed to be untenable temperance associations, all espousing some degree of Christian ideology.

While anti-drinkers often publicised the hotel as an unnecessary den of vice, pro-drinkers and hotel-keepers promoted their hotels as providers of services to the travelling public. This dichotomy meant that hotels came to represent all that was good and bad in colonial society. Newspapers and parliamentary debates are thick with anti-drink sentiments and arguments against the provision of alcohol, often overshadowing the role of the hotel as service provider. Advertising and arguments

for extended hours have shown that the hotel did provide essential services. In these two situations, drinking was considered less important to the hotel and the wider community than accommodation was for travellers. During the 1890s Wanganui victuallers demanded time and again that licensing committees extend hotel hours so they could accommodate and serve refreshments to late night travellers. Time and again, teetotal committee chairpersons such as Charles C. Kettle refused these requests, claiming that hotels could remain open, but could not sell liquor to people coming in off the street. In other words, Kettle expected hotel keepers to remain open and pay servants for an extra hour without the prospect of earning money until travellers appeared, and then only to put them to bed. This indicates that while accommodation was the main role of the hotel, liquor was a major attraction to many local residents not requiring a place to sleep.

Hotels have been shown by historians to be central to the masculine identity, where feats of excessive drinking often defined *real* men. This notion was perpetuated by Patea soldiers in particular, who were renowned and criticised for their riotous drinking habits. But anti-drinkers rejected this frontier perception of masculinity, and many temperance organisations promoted the family as the means for personal survival, and local prosperity. If a family man spent his time in a hotel bar rather than at home with his wife and children, or if the single man drank instead of saving his money, then society could not hope to prosper. These ideals became popular among anti-drinkers as public works projects increased, populations grew and towns expanded. Temperance ideals seem to reflect Julius Vogel's own ideals for a better society – one dedicated to economic and social progress. Thus, as frontier drinking habits crossed into an urban setting, anti-drinkers from political, religious and social backgrounds, including working class, sought to have them quashed. Between 1866 and 1899 people formed temperance organisations and teetotallers sat on licensing benches, but as local option results indicate, they failed to have any lasting impact during this period. Instead, the majority of Patea and Wanganui residents wanted their hotels to remain so they could serve both locals and the travelling public. Those favouring the continuance of hotels knew the economic value of hotels to local communities; hotels attracted travellers that spent money in other local shops; liquor duties were a source of income for public works projects throughout the country; hotels employed people and contracted other businesses for furnishings and consumable goods such as meat and vegetables. The hotel was

therefore an essential economic concern, despite the notion that hotels struggled to survive without the assistance of brewers.

Hotel survival and prosperity depended directly upon patronage. However, patronage was defined by location, promotion, transport, military activity and social and legislative controls. With so many pressures, Patea and Wanganui hotels suffered some losses, although remaining hotels continued in a pivotal social role. This indicates that despite outside pressures, hotels were significant to the people of Patea and Wanganui. In smaller towns like Patea the railway proved detrimental because of the lack of travelling public stopping over in the town. The economic prosperity so often promised to the town with the arrival of the railway did not come. As a result, the road became the more important source of income from travellers needing a place to rest. Under these circumstances, hotels situated off main thoroughfares were often cut off from this important source of income. As a result, many backstreet hotels closed. At the same time, the popularity of a hotel was absolutely essential to its survival, as hotels near to other important services such as the post and telegraph office also closed down. Thus, advertising, good services and a well-known publican were paramount to a hotel's success. These qualities ensured that hotels like Patea's Albion, Central and Masonic continued to provide accommodation and entertainment to the present day, while the Patea, Carlyle, Australasian and Railway failed to remain in business beyond the 1880s.

The pressures of fiscal decline combined with the effects of the railway caused Patea hotels to suffer, yet Wanganui escaped such a drastic reduction of hotels. As the larger of the two settlements, Wanganui benefited from road, rail and river transport, and a larger population. This meant that people stopped off in Wanganui where they would need accommodation. When this source of income was threatened, hotel-keepers naturally protested. Hence they sought longer hours. Victuallers were concerned that the anti-drink stance of local licensing committees would cause the town to become a sleepy hollow that people would rather bypass. Hotel hours were not extended, but neither did the town fall prey to an outflow of travellers as hoteliers had predicted. Instead, the town and twelve of its hotels survived because Wanganui was a transport hub, and travellers did stay in hotels even the bar was closed to drinkers after 10pm.

Pro-drinkers understood that the nineteenth century hotel was the gentlemen's club for the working class, where men socialised. It was for this reason

that temperance advocates often linked the problems of drinking to the working class. But the hotel also served a number of social functions. In a society with few other amusements, the hotel gave people a place to play games like cards, billiards and bagatelle. Of course, gambling and prostitution were also common in hotels, but these side effects were tolerated by most, with the obvious exception of the temperance movement. Hotels also offered a warm environment, where merriment was common. For single men, the hotel was, therefore, a place of salvation. Anti-drinkers suggested that men should spend their money on sober pursuits that would secure a prosperous future. For many single men, this notion would have seemed ridiculous. They wanted and needed to socialise, and the hotel provided them this opportunity.

The continuance of the hotel was dependent on an expanding legal framework that included legislation, police, licensing committees and magistrates. Many saw these laws, which seem to have taken their lead from temperance ideals, as divisive. Pro-drinkers believed that hotels were important social settings that the law was trying to undermine. Their comments were similar in style to those of temperance advocates who claimed that drinking would totally destroy society. Comments like these were hyperbolic in the extreme – drinkers did not destroy society and temperance advocates did not force society into a single mould where individual liberties were removed.

Nevertheless, women and Maori could claim that the hotel was generally discriminatory to them. Although women were having more say in their communities after they received the right to vote, some people still shunned them in the pub. Even as workers, they served only a limited role for most of the nineteenth century. This does not mean their role was insignificant. Rather, women were often central to the liquor debate, either portrayed as saviours of drunken society, or leaders in the temperance movement. Women were attacked from all sides. Politicians agreed that a woman's hours of work in a hotel should be restricted, that dancers and prostitutes should be banned from hotels, and that married women could not have the same rights to a liquor license as their husbands. Temperance advocates were adamant that women should not be in a hotel at all, as this would only lower their esteem, and undermine how they were viewed in the community. Instead, women needed to maintain their hearth and home. These notions of women and hotels did not diminish during the late nineteenth century. In fact, as restrictions on hotels increased in

general, and temperance ideology become more prevalent, women became increasingly unaccepted in the hotel.

Maori liquor laws were regularly broken by publicans and by Maori themselves. From the 1840s Maori laws tried to stop Maori drinking, initially by stopping the importation of liquor into Native Districts. Once Maori came under the provisions of mainstream legislation such as the 1881 Licensing Act, they were still discriminated against, and were refused entry into hotels. Maori leaders wanted their people to be treated as equals, but many rangatira also wanted to protect Maori tribalism. This meant that many leaders supported Maori prohibition. Despite the two sides to the Maori issue – equality and the protection of tribalism – Maori continued to drink and continued to break the law. This activity increased concerns about the use of the hotel for drinking, resulting in an 1898 police commission of enquiry that showed liquor laws to be ineffectual. The enquiry also brought into question the ability of police, but it can be concluded that police were carrying out their duties as best they could, but were being hampered by too few numbers.

The topic of hotels is wide and varied. The main areas of concern must always be with people. While this thesis has examined a wide scope, including the physical presence, laws and temperance issues, there are areas that require further examination. A greater study of the role that women played in hotels beyond that of temperance movements or bar work is needed if we are to understand more about the scope of the hotel. Women have always played an enormous part in colonial society, and although this thesis has been a study of the hotel as a mainly masculine environment, women were also important to the drink debate. Likewise, further study of Maori in the context of the hotel is also needed if our understanding of the nineteenth century hotel is to be more complete. Official information has provided basic information about attitudes toward Maori drinking, but an in depth analysis may show that a history of Maori and hotels is more about cultural issues and less about a cursory examination of the law. Another area in need of attention is employment. This thesis has mainly discussed the role of hotel owners and licensees. Employment records and employment contracts would surely provide interesting details about the expectations of the hotel worker, be it a servant, barmaid or cook.

What can we conclude? From the secondary and primary sources available, it is clear that to people living in Patea and Wanganui, hotels were essential social settings, whose influence stretched beyond the boundaries of the bar. Hotels were

fundamental to the lives of many people: hoteliers, licensees, newspaper columnists and readers, magistrates, business people, architects, soldiers and settlers, but they seemed more important to working class men, and to the travelling public. The hotel bound myriad groups together, for good or bad, providing entertainment, employment, local business, and causing a great deal of social and political debate that continues to the present day. This thesis has demonstrated that the hotel did not merely provide drink. Nor was it purely a setting for drunkenness or a place where gambling, violence and prostitution featured. Doubtless, these things occurred in Patea and Wanganui hotels, but the scope of the hotel between 1866 and 1899 was far wider. In short, the hotel was a changing entity that reflected the enormous political, social and physical changes evident throughout New Zealand during the latter half of the nineteenth century.



Bibliography

Primary:

Official:

Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1869 (A.12, D.6); 1880 (H.10); 1881 (H.18); 1882 (H.1, H.14); 1883 (H.8); 1884 (H.1); 1885 (H.4); 1886 (H.18); 1887 (H.5); 1888 (H.7); 1889 (H.9); 1890 (H.3); 1891 (S.2: D.1, H.5, H.28); 1892 (H.21); 1893 (H.26); 1894 (H.14); 1895 (H.28); 1898 (H.2).

Appendices to the Journals of the Legislative Council, 1902.

Census, 1874-1900.

New Zealand Gazette, 1865, 1868, 1870, 1874, 1880-86, 1890.

New Zealand Official Year Book, 1893-1900, 1912.

New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1865-1900.

New Zealand Statutes, 1841-42, 1846-47, 1865, 1870, 1873, 1876, 1878, 1881, 1884, 1893, 1895, 1899.

Statistics of New Zealand, 1865-1900.

Unofficial:

Cyclopedia of New Zealand: Taranaki, Hawke's Bay, Wellington, vol. 6, Christchurch: The Cyclopedia Company Ltd., 1908.

Wanganui Almanac, 1875, 1877, 1882.

Star Almanac Taranaki, 1887, 1889, 1893.

[Wises] *New Zealand Directory*, 1881, 1891, 1898.

Newspapers:

Evening Herald, 1867, 1870, 1873.

Patea County Mail, 1881.

Patea County Press, 1892, 1899, 1924.

Patea Mail, 1875-80, 1882-85, 1887-88, 1892, 1981.

Taranaki Herald, 1866.

Wanganui Chronicle, 1867, 1898, 1988.

Weekly Herald, 1867, 1869, 1870, 1874, 1877, 1883.

Yeoman, 1882, 1886, 1887, 1891, 1894, 1898.

Records and Minute Books:

Cemetery Records, Aramoho (Wanganui), Patea, Waverley and Hawera.

Correspondence: Camp Patea, 9 September 1869, Police Records, P1/11a, National Archives.

Correspondence: Wanganui-Patea-Dunedin, 'Return of Criminal Case Tried at the Resident Magistrate's Court at Wanganui for the Ending of 3rd February 1877', P1/68a, National Archives.

Hurley, Henry Albert Eaton, logbook, 1858-1928, MS: Papers: 5305, WTU.

Patea Kilwinning Lodge No.18, New Zealand Constitution, 'Minutes', October 1890-February 1905.

Patea Kilwinning Lodge No.18, New Zealand Constitution, 'Registration Book', 1896-1995.

Patea Kilwinning Lodge No.18, New Zealand Constitution, 'Tyler's Book', 1893-1901, 1901-11.

Wanganui Courthouse Licensing Register, Wanganui Licensing Committee Minutes Book, No.2, 1895-1902.

Wanganui Courthouse Licensing Register, Makirikiri Licensing Minute Book, 1885.

Books:

Butler, Samuel, *Erewhon: or Over the Range*, (1872), Auckland: Golden Press Pty. Ltd., 1973.

Cocker, J. Rev. and Malton Murray, J., (eds), *Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand*, London: The Epworth Press, 1930.

Pratt, W.T., *Colonial Experiences: or Incidents and Reminiscences of thirty-Four Years in New Zealand*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1877.

Wakefield, Edward Jerningham, *Adventure in New Zealand*, (1845), abridged version, Joan Stevens (ed.), (1955), Auckland: Golden Press Pty. Ltd., 1975.

Woon, James Garland, *Wanganui Old Settlers*, (1902), Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 2000.

Secondary:

Books:

Awatere, Donna, et al, *Alcohol and the Maori People*, Auckland: Alcohol Research Unit, School of Medicine, University of Auckland, 1984.

Arnold, Rollo, *New Zealand's Burning: the Settlers' World in the 1880s*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1994.

Belich, James, *Making Peoples: a History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Auckland: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1996.

———, *Paradise Reforged: a History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland: The Penguin Press, 2001.

———, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd., 1988.

Bollinger, Conrad, *Grog's Own Country: the Story of Liquor Licensing in New Zealand*, Auckland: Minerva, 1967.

Bordin, Ruth, *Women and Temperance: the Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981.

Church, Ian, et al, *Patea: a Centennial History, Palmerston North*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1981.

Clark, Manning, *Manning Clark's History of Australia*, (1987), abridged by Michael Cathcart, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997.

Clark, Peter, *The English Alehouse: a Social History 1200-1830*, London: Longman Group Limited, 1983.

Cocker, Rev. J., and Malton Murray, J., (eds), *Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand*, Wellington: The Epworth Press, 1930.

- De La Mare, A.J., *Drink or Drought: Liquor Licensing and the Prohibition Movement*, Invercargill: Craig Printing Co. Ltd., 1981.
- Denby, Elaine, *Grand Hotels: Reality and Illusion; an Architectural and Social History*, London : Reaktion, 2002.
- Eldred-Grigg, Stevan, *Pleasures of the Flesh: Sex and Drugs in Colonial New Zealand, 1840-1915*, Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed Ltd, 1984.
- Fairburn, Miles, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: the Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850-1900*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989.
- Gorham, Maurice and Dunnett, H. McG., *Inside the Pub*, London: Architectural Press, 1950.
- Harrison, Brian, *Drink and the Victorians: the Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872*, London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1971.
- Knox, Ray (ed.), *New Zealand's Heritage: the Making of a Nation*, Auckland: Hamlyn House Books, vol. 11, 1978.
- Kirkby, Diane E., *Barmaids: a History of Women's Work in Pubs*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Lindquist, Julie, *A Place to Stand: Politics and Persuasion in a Working Class Bar*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- McNeish, James, *Tavern in the Town*, Wellington: Reed Publishing Ltd., 1984.
- Phillips, Jock, *A Man's Country: the Image of the Pakeha Male – A History*, Revised Edition, Auckland: Penguin Books, 1996.
- Pittman, David J. and Snyder, Charles R. (eds), *Society, Culture, and Drinking Patterns*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962.
- Rice, Geoffrey W. (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd Edition, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Robinson, Roger and Wattie, Nelson (eds), *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature*, Auckland: Oxford University Press New Zealand, 1998.
- Saggers, Sherry and Gray, Dennis, *Dealing with Alcohol, Indigenous Usage in Australia, New Zealand and Canada*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Saunders, Conrad, *Social Stigma: the Lower Grade Worker in Service Organisations*, Farnborough: Gower Publishing Company Ltd., 1981.
- Smart, Maxwell J.G. and Bates, Arthur P., *The Wanganui Story*, Wanganui: Wanganui Newspapers Ltd., 1973.

- Somerville, Malcolm, *Pubs of New Zealand*, Auckland: Hodder Moa Beckett, 2000.
- Southwick, L.H., Dormer, Alan, and Halford, G.R., *The Liquor Laws of New Zealand: a Successor to the Original Text of J.H. Luxford*, CMG, Wellington: Butterworths, 1983.
- Spurdle, Flora, *New Stories of Old Whanganui*, Wanganui: H.P. Willemsen, 1959.
- , *More Stories of Old Whanganui*, Wanganui: L.W.L. van den Broek, 1963.
- Taylor, Derek, *Fortune and Folly: British Hotels and Catering From 1878 to 1978*, Great Britain: IPC Business Press, Ltd., 1977.
- Thomson, K.W. (ed.), *The Legacy of Turi: an Historical Geography of Patea County*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press Ltd, 1976.
- Ward, Alan, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995.
- Watson, James, *Links: a History of Transport and New Zealand Society*, Wellington: GP Publications, 1996.
- Wood, Jeanne, *A Challenge Not a Truce: a History of the New Zealand Women's Christian Temperance Union 1885-1985*, Nelson: NZWCTU Inc., 1986.

Articles:

- Garrioch, David, 'House Names, Shop Signs and Social Organization in Western European Cities, 1500-1900', *Urban History*, 21, 1, April 1994, pp.20-48.
- Hamer, David A., 'Towns in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *NZJH*, 13: 1, (April 1979), pp.5-20.
- Smart, Maxwell, J.G., 'Early Wanganui Hotels', *Home & Building*, February 1962, pp.11-13.
- Smith, Michael A., 'Social usage of the public drinking house: changing aspects of class and leisure', *British Journal of Sociology*, 34, 3, 1983, pp.367-385.

Theses and Manuscripts:

- Agog, 'Early Whanganui 1840-1873', MA Thesis, 1934.
- Attwell, Bruce Tristan, 'A 'God-Forsaken' Wilderness? the Effects of Isolation on the Development of Rural Religion in the Wanganui Hinterland, 1880-c1920', MA Thesis in Religious Studies, Massey University, 1998.

- Burt, A.K., 'Aspects of Prohibition and Drunkenness in Wanganui, 1880 to 1920', MA Thesis in History, Massey University, 1963.
- Grigg, Anthony R., 'The Attack on the Citadels of Liquordom: a Study of the Prohibition Movement in New Zealand, 1894-1914', PhD Thesis in History, University of Otago, 1977.
- Labrum, Bronwyn, "'For the Better Discharge of Our Duties": the Women's Movement in Wanganui, 1893-1903', BA (Hons) Research Exercise in History, Massey University, 1986.
- McKimmey, P.F., 'The Temperance Movement in New Zealand, 1835-1894', MA Thesis in History, Auckland University, 1968.
- Poff, Basil, 'The Journey and the Story: the James Poff Family in New Zealand', 2003 (unpublished), pp.2-68.
- Wright, Jason Leonard, 'Promise and Prosperity? the Impact of the Napier-Palmerston North Railway on Southern Waipawa County, 1886-1896', BA (Hons) Research Exercise in History, Massey University, 1999.

Other:

- Cemetery Records, Aramoho (Wanganui), Patea, Waverley and Hawera.
- 'Certificate of Commission', 2 December 1872, STDM.
- Lockyer Reminiscences, STDM.
- O'Donovan, Colleen, 'Reminiscences of Felix O'Sullivan McCarthy', STDM.
- 'Old Town: a Wanganui Heritage Walk', Wanganui: Wanganui City Council, Mainstreet Wanganui Inc. pamphlet, 2003.

www.victoriacross.net

