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THE RIGHTEOUSNESS WHICH EXALTETH A NATION:

PROHIBITION IN DUNEDIN 1919 - 1923

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for the degree of Bachelor of Arts (honours) at the University of
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1987
God said: "Let us make man in our own image."—Genesis 1, 26.

"Lo here," said He, "the images ye have made of Me."

As a Leaflet, 2/- per 100. Amethyst Hall, Littlebourne Crescent, Dunedin.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE PRESBYTERIANS</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE CATHOLICS</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOMEN AND PROHIBITION</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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INTRODUCTION

From his study of the prohibition movement A. Grigg concludes that the prohibition movement grew out of the middle class ideology that thrift, sobriety and industry were a means to self-improvement and respectability(1). In New Zealand this ideology was also connected with the wish to prevent 'old world' social evils recurring in the new land. The 'old world' evils of disease, poverty and crime were considered by prohibitionists to be the result of the excessive consumption of alcohol(2). Preventing people consuming alcohol was thought to prevent the evils associated with it. The long depression of the 1880's and early 1890's had brought poverty into the view of respectable New Zealanders and they began to espouse a programme of reform which focused on prohibition(3). This reform programme did not entail any radical changes to the basically capitalist structure of society. By preventing the working classes wasting their wealth on alcohol through prohibition the evils which afflicted the working classes would be done away with without changing the structure of society(4). While this may have clashed with the political aspirations of the fledgling labour movement many working class people did support the prohibition movement. These people were often skilled workers who were aspiring to middle class respectability. The movement also expressed the middle class wish to suppress divisions in society based on socio-economic class(5).

Grigg sees the movement as being the result of a particular group in society trying to impose its values on the rest of society at a time when New Zealand was changing from a settler/frontier society to a more complex civilised society(6). While Grigg argues there was a
decline in the movement after about 1914 it remained important as the vote for prohibition continued to remain at just below half of the total vote through the 1920s. Changes in legislation were probably important in preventing there ever being nationwide prohibition. However the local option legislation in operation from 1894-1918 meant that some areas did go ‘dry’. While total prohibition of alcohol might seem to be a cranks dream to us today, the existence of these areas would have provided encouragement to prohibitionists at that time to continue trying to obtain national prohibition.

In the early part of this century the prohibitionists had some success in reducing the numbers of licenses. The ratio between head of population to licensed house increased from 437:1 to 948:1 in the period 1894 to 1915. However the amount of money spent on alcohol and the consumption of alcohol increased in this period as it has continued to do so ever since(7). Grigg attributes the inability of the prohibitionists to slow the growth of the liquor trade or to reduce the consumption of alcohol to their concentration on trying to get restrictive legislation introduced and on campaigning at the times of liquor polls. For the most part prohibitionists did not become involved in the practical rehabilitation of alcoholics. Grigg sees this lack of involvement as an expression of the middle-class ideals of self-help and self-control(8). While Grigg believes that this prevented them from getting stronger support I feel that practical involvement with those who had been harmed by alcohol would have had limited success in getting support. The average drinker, then as now, did not consider himself to be in need of help and was not considered by most of society to be in need of help. In fact one body, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union did set up alternatives to the pub
as a place of entertainment and refreshment in the form of temperance hotels, seamen's rests and refreshment booths at public functions such as agricultural shows. In Dunedin members were actively involved in raising money for the seamen's rests. Other groups such as the New Zealand Alliance (set up in 1886, the N.Z.A. was a combined council of temperance groups and churches, it is now called the NZ Temperance Alliance) and the Presbyterians published great quantities of literature on the problems alcohol caused. Pressure on the government also resulted in getting temperance education introduced into schools in the 1920's. These practical measures would have gained support without incurring resentment from those who were not prohibitionists.

The prohibitionist movement conflicted with the aims and ideology of the labour movement. Both were movements to reform society but the changes in New Zealand society though the early twentieth century meant that by the end of the twenties the ideology which the labour movement presented seemed more applicable to the problems of society. The simplistic ideology of the prohibition movement no longer seemed to hold water when applied to the problems of society in the twenties and thirties. The prohibitionists realised this conflict existed and made some limited attempts to get the labour movement on their side. In 1919 the Presbyterian Church invited a Canadian Labour politician to speak to the General Synod.

New Zealand's first comprehensive licensing legislation was the 1881 Licensing Act. This Act set up local licensing committees which were elected by ratepayers. The committees had the power to refuse or grant licenses. This system was subject to abuse if the prospective licensee had friends on the committee. The 1893
Alcoholic Liquor Sales Control Act made each electoral district into a licensing district with a committee consisting of a Resident Magistrate and eight elected members. Elections were to be held every three years and an amendment to the Act in 1895 made the liquor polls coincide with the General Elections (12). The Act also provided for a poll every three years giving voters three options; that the number of existing licenses remain the same, that they be reduced or that all licenses be cancelled. A 60% majority was required to carry prohibition. Under this legislation 12 out of the 76 European electorates went dry before 1910. These electorates were areas which were neither on the frontier nor in the inner city but were settled farming districts and suburbs of the cities. J. Phillips attributes them going dry to them being places where the proportion of women was highest and the concern for the family unit was strongest (13). In 1910 legislation dropped the issue of reduction from the local poll and a second national poll was introduced with the two options of continuance or prohibition so that there was a possibility of prohibition at a local or a national level. The 60% majority for prohibition was retained. The drinking age was raised to twenty-one and closing hour was made 10 p.m. instead of 11 p.m. (14). At the first vote under this legislation in 1911 prohibition attracted more than 55% of the vote (15).

The pressures of the first World War appealed to the middle class values of patriotism, self-sacrifice and economy and this affected wartime legislation. A 1916 War Regulation prohibited the practice of shouting on the grounds that it would reduce liquor consumption. This regulation was impossible to enforce and Phillips interprets it as an expression of hostility to the institutions of the male community.
which were regarded by puritans as morally dangerous and leading to hooliganism and disorder (16). Another associated concern at this time was the danger of sexual promiscuity to young men. The regulation prevented women from purchasing alcohol in the belief that immoral women used the promise of liquor to entice men into their homes.

Pressure began to mount to have the hours of opening reduced so that pubs would close much earlier (17).

As a result of this pressure the National Efficiency Board was asked to report on the advisability of the restriction, continuance or abolition, during war conditions, of the vending of wine, beer and spirits. The Board reported in 1917 on evidence collected from sixty various witnesses who represented the interests of the "Trade", barley and hop growers, the New Zealand Alliance, other temperance organisations, churches and other interested parties. Judicial, magisterial, medical and military evidence was also taken (18). The Board found there were three points to be considered in its investigation; firstly the moral effects upon the life and progress of the nation by the manufacture, sale and consumption of alcohol; secondly the effects of the public revenue derived from the operations of the liquor trade and thirdly whether or not the liquor trade encroached on, hindered or retarded the efficiency of the nation. The last point also involved the consideration of whether or not alcohol reduced the physical and mental standards of individuals and so caused the nation economic loss (19).

As to the first point the Board believed it should not allow the moral aspects of the question to affect its judgment. With regard to the second point the Board thought that if the sale of alcohol was stopped then people would be better able to pay taxes and the amount
of expenditure on the Police and Prisons Departments, the Hospital and Charitable Aid Boards, the mental hospitals, the inebriates homes and other public institutions would be reduced. The Board thought that the increased national thrift would more than compensate the revenue lost if the sale of alcohol was abolished. Money spent on alcohol would be spent or invested in other ways which would continue to contribute public revenue. On the third point the Board concluded that the greatest national efficiency and well-being of the people would be obtained if alcohol was entirely prohibited. This view was supported by the results of conditional prohibition in New Zealand in "dry" areas. While the Board was satisfied that the greatest efficiency would result from the prohibition of alcohol it recognised that the question had to be solved by the people and recommended that legislation should be passed allowing for a national poll on prohibition at the soonest possible date. If prohibition was carried it was to be introduced immediately with a sum of compensation to be paid to the liquor industry. The Board believed it would be unjust to terminate all licenses without some form of compensation to the "Trade" and felt that much of the money would be reinvested in New Zealand's industries. No compensation was to be given to individual employees as it was believed they would be absorbed into other industries.

The Board also recommended that in the interests of national efficiency immediate legislation be passed to enforce six o'clock closing on four days in the week and nine o'clock closing on the fifth. Pubs could open between 8 a.m. and 1 p.m. on the weekly half holiday. No alcohol could be sold on Sundays or statutory holidays. All alcohol was to be consumed on the premises where it was bought
except for wholesale orders and heavy penalties were recommended against those who took liquor into business premises and work places. The strength of spirits was also to be reduced. Finally in conclusion the Board recommended that these measures and total prohibition (if it was approved by the people) if applied permanently and not just for the duration of the war would result in increased efficiency of the State and the individual (20). Six o'clock closing was immediately introduced as a war measure and in 1918 was made permanent (21).

In 1918 new legislation introduced a reformed triennial referendum on the liquor question (to be held at the same time as General Elections). This referendum was to offer the choices of national continuance, state purchase and control and national prohibition. A fifty percent majority was required for prohibition to be introduced. Because of the near success at the 1911 poll and the encouragement which was gained from the Report of the National Efficiency Board a strong nationwide campaign was mounted in 1919 to obtain prohibition at two polls. The first was the referendum recommended by the National Efficiency Board which offered the two options of national continuance or prohibition with compensation. Its adoption was prompted by a petition of 242,000 signatures in late 1918 (22). The second poll was the first three option poll held under the 1918 Licensing Act. It was held concurrently with the General Election on 17 December. The next poll in the period studied was on 7 December 1922.

Despite their confidence inspired by the 55% majority in 1911 the prohibitionists knew that the option of state control in the December poll was likely to split the prohibition vote and so made a great effort to secure prohibition at the April poll. However their efforts were hampered somewhat by the need to pay compensation to the liquor
industry if prohibition won the poll. Many staunch prohibitionists could not countenance paying money to an industry which they regarded as inherently evil. The amount to be paid to the liquor industry was estimated to be about four and a half million pounds but there was provision for up to ten million pounds to be paid (23). Prohibitionist leadership and organisations argued that while compensation was abhorrent if it meant securing prohibition it was acceptable.

The editor of the Outlook (the Presbyterian Churches' official magazine) argued for the payment of compensation in a reply to "Civis" of the Otago Daily Times. "Civis" was generally anti-prohibitionist and said that it would be foolish to pay four and a half million pounds for something which could be had for free at the next General Election. In his reply the editor reprinted a letter from the National Efficiency League which criticised the idea of waiting until the General Election on the grounds that it was less likely that prohibition would win in the three option poll and that the money paid out in compensation would soon be recouped in the savings which prohibition would result in (24). Later in the year the editor was arguing against the state purchase and control option. This option also involved paying a large sum of money to the liquor industry and the editor argued that this would be a waste of money as the existing legislation already gave state control over the "Trade". He thought that the control of the liquor industry had been shown not to work in reducing the damage caused to society by alcohol and that systems of state control in operation overseas did not reduce the consumption of alcohol. Voting prohibition would get rid of the problems caused by alcohol for free (25). The 1918 Act made no provision for compensation to be paid if prohibition got the majority.
The National Efficiency League was set up by a body of businessmen who were impressed by the Report of the National Efficiency Board. They wished to secure prohibition to create an efficient post-war economy. They left the scene after 1919 but the prohibitionists thought they had done good work in destroying the economic arguments of the liquor industry and had lent an air of normalcy to the prohibition movement which had previously been considered to be composed of cranks and faddists (26).

In the two polls of 1919 the prohibitionists only just missed winning. In the April poll prohibition gained a majority in New Zealand but the expeditionary force voted overwhelmingly for continuance. The results in New Zealand were 232,208 for continuance and 246,104 for prohibition. The soldiers overseas and in transit voted 31,981 for continuance and 7,723 for prohibition (27). This made a total of 264,189 (50.99%) for continuance and 253,827 (48.99%) for prohibition. In the December poll the vote was 241,251 (44.37%) for continuance, 32,261 (5.93%) for state purchase and control and 270,250 (49.70%) for prohibition. In 1922 the results were 282,669 (45.68%) for continuance, 35,727 (5.77%) for state purchase and control and 300,791 (48.58%) for prohibition (28).

In Dunedin there was a strong prohibitionist vote but the area never went dry in the pre-war period. As in the rest of the country the prohibition movement arose in response to the existence of 'old world evils' in Dunedin in the 1880s (29). Polls in 1893, 1902 and 1908 reduced the number of hotels in Dunedin by half. C.B. Kerr also credits the prohibition movement in Dunedin with cutting the number of convictions for drunkenness by more than half in the period 1895-1900 as compared with 1880-1885. However subsequent to this only the number...
of female convictions for drunkenness declined, probably in response to new expectations of female behaviour growing in the early twentieth century(30). Dunedin continued to have a strong prohibition vote in the early 1920s.

In the April poll in 1919 all the electoral districts in Dunedin gave prohibition a majority. Out of 83 polling booths in the districts of Dunedin North, Dunedin West, Dunedin Central, Dunedin South and Chalmers only 12 carried a majority for continuance. In most of these booths the majority was small, the exceptions being Deborah Bay and Allanton, both in rural areas where the pub may have been the centre of the community. Other booths which showed a majority for continuance were in the central city or the rural outskirts of the city. Overall there was a majority of 58.93% for prohibition and a minority of 41.07% for continuance(31). In the poll held on 17 December the majority for prohibition had been reduced by a few percent to 54.49%, this reflects the small vote of 3.28% for the new option of state purchase and control. The continuance vote had increased slightly to 42.22%(32). By the time of the poll in December 1922 voting for the state purchase and control option had increased to 5.71% of the vote at the expense of the prohibition vote which dropped to 52.42%. The continuance vote was 41.87%(33).

In April 1919 the Otago Daily Times reported that the prohibitionists had been well organised and transported voters to the polling booths in cars. People took a keen interest in the results and a large crowd assembled outside the offices of the O.D.T. that night to see the results. They were amused by a lantern slide show and speeches by two recently returned soldiers who were in favour of continuance. Results were also announced in the picture theatres as
they came to hand(34).

Although it was clear that the majority wanted some change to licensing law in the period 1919-1923 no changes were made as none of the three options had an outright majority. The state purchase and control vote was added to the continuance vote to give a majority to non-prohibition. In the earlier three option local polls people had been able to vote for both prohibition and reduction which meant that even if a district did not go "dry" there could be a reduction in the number of licenses granted if there were strong sentiments about the consumption of alcohol in the area.

Dunedin was the home town of several prominent prohibitionists in the early twenties. Mrs. Don, the Dominion President of the Women's Christian Temperance Union resided here. Mrs. Hiett, the president of the Dunedin District branch later became the Dominion President from 1935-45. Mrs. Peryman was the editor of the W.C.T.U. magazine, the White Ribbon, which had been the first magazine to be owned, edited and published by women in New Zealand. Mrs. Peryman lived in Port Chalmers until she moved to Carterton in 1920. She edited the White Ribbon from 1913 until 1945(35). Herbert Stanley Adams was a Dunedin barrister and solicitor who was prominent in the New Zealand Alliance, the Otago United Temperance Reform Council (a somewhat elusive organisation) and was business manager for the Outlook(36). Charles Todd was a prominent Catholic businessman in Dunedin who was vocal against the anti-prohibitionist stance of the Tablet(37).

This study has concentrated on the activities of three groups in Dunedin; the Presbyterians, whose Church had an official policy of the support of prohibition; the Catholics whose Church claimed that loyal Catholics could not vote for prohibition and remain loyal; and women...
as represented by the Women's Christian Temperance Union. At the time women were thought to have a special place in the prohibition movement and were often considered to be the cause of high votes for prohibition. At the time of the April 1919 poll a reporter for the O.D.T. commented that women, especially young women were in evidence voting at the polling booths(38). However in recent times the importance of women in the movement has been questioned by A. Grigg who has concluded from his study of voting that there is no reason to believe that women were any more involved in the movement than men were. There was no sharp increase in voting for prohibition after women gained the vote in 1893 as would be expected if women were voting for prohibition en masse(39).

The involvement of the two Churches, the Presbyterians and the Catholics, in relation to the prohibition movement reflects their position in society. The Presbyterians tended to be part of the respectable middle class or upwardly mobile group from which prohibition ideology had evolved. The Catholics tended to form their own community and to reject the basically Protestant programme of reform which the prohibitionists preached.

NOTES

2. Ibid, p iii.
3. Ibid, p iii.
4. Ibid, p iii.
5. Ibid, p iv.
6. ibid, p 2.
7. ibid, p 374.
8. ibid, p 375.
14. ibid, pp 65-6.
15. ibid, p 65.
16. ibid, p 71.
17. ibid, p 72.
19. ibid.
20. ibid.
22. A.J.De La Mare, op cit, p 37.
23. ibid, p 38.

27. ibid, p 126.

28. ibid, p 271.

29. C.B. Kerr, op cit, pp 44-5.

30. ibid, p 47-8.

31. O.D.T., 11 April 1919.

32. New Zealand Official Yearbook 1920, p 111.

33. New Zealand Official Yearbook 1924, p 691.

34. O.D.T., 11 April 1919, p 5.


38. O.D.T., 11 April 1919, p 5.

The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand played an important role in the prohibition movement. It had an official policy of prohibition and the official Presbyterian newspaper, the Outlook, which was published in Dunedin weekly, expressed this forcefully. While in the whole of New Zealand at this time Presbyterians formed about 25% of the total population they formed 41.5% of the population of Dunedin(1).

At the 1919 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand the Temperance Committee made five resolutions; firstly that the Assembly declare its continued adherence to urging all ministers, office bearers and church members to vote prohibition. Secondly that the Assembly declare its conviction that State Purchase and Control were wrong. Thirdly that the Committee issue a pastoral letter to be read in all churches the two Sundays before the next Poll (December 1919) urging all members to vote and work for National Prohibition. Fourthly to thank the Outlook for its articles on Prohibition and fifthly to declare that the second Sunday in November be Temperance Sunday (Temperance Sunday was usually a day when temperance sermons were preached in the individual churches)(2).

This official attitude was reflected in pages of the Outlook and scarcely an issue went by without some mention of the Prohibition movement in New Zealand or North America. The Outlook undoubtedly played an important role in familiarising its readers with the prohibition cause and always urged them to vote for prohibition. However the Church and the Outlook could not, of course, dictate the thinking and voting of ordinary Presbyterians.

The editor of the Outlook at this time was Alfred Henry Bishop
Grenling. He had edited the Outlook since 1901 and was also a journalist for the Otago Daily Times. Grenling had previously edited various Salvation Army publications (including the War Cry) before this in Sydney and Christchurch(2a).

The activity of the church in relation to prohibition varied from year to year according to whether there was a poll in that year. Thus 1919 and 1922 were years of activity. In 1919 there were two polls, one on 10 April which offered the chance to make the whole country dry at the expense of paying a large sum of money as compensation to the liquor trade and the second in December at the same time as the General Election. The second poll offered three choices to the voters; National Prohibition (without compensation), State Purchase and Control of the liquor trade and National Continuance.

Prohibitionists no doubt realised that it would be easier to win the April poll as the three issues offered at the second poll threatened to split the temperance vote between the options of Prohibition and State Purchase and Control. Early in the year the editor of the Outlook started fundraising with what it termed a ‘P.W.P.’ - Peace With Prohibition campaign to raise money for the ‘S.O.S.’ fund. The ‘S.O.S.’ fund had been launched in 1918 and the initials stood for various slogans; Seven Outlook Supplements on alcohol for free distribution, Stamp Out Strong Drink and Save Our Soldiers(3). They had already raised six hundred pounds but five hundred had been spent in the previous year(4). The ‘P.W.P.’ campaign finally raised seven hundred and twenty six pounds, only one hundred and fifty seven pounds more than it had had in January(5). The money was used to print and distribute pamphlets about Prohibition.

Articles often had themes of patriotism, peace and concern for
returned soldiers, and women's uplifting role in society entwined in their arguments for prohibition. The example of the United States and Canada was frequently alluded to. A mammoth editorial from early 1919 combined all these themes, "The menace of German militarism has been defeated" it began, "but the enemy of strong drink remains in our midst still unconquered." All over the Anglo-Saxon world battle was being engaged:

"In the fight for the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic the people of New Zealand are in step with a similar movement in America and in all parts of the British Empire. The United States of America and the Dominion of Canada have agreed and decided to banish the Liquor Traffic, .... The Commonwealth of Australia is organising in the same direction; thus the people of New Zealand, during the struggle of the next two months, will be nervy by the thought that they have the prayers and the sympathies of thousands of the finest and noblest spirits in Anglo-Saxondom, and that the eyes of the civilised world will be focused on the fight with the enemy of strong drink in which they have engaged...."

The editor then quoted the report of the Temperance Committee of the Presbyterian Church which argued against the option of state ownership on the grounds that experiments along these lines in Russia and Canada had failed, that it was wrong for the state to administer something so detrimental to the community. He cited British publications which urged women to use their newly acquired votes to save the returning soldiers from drink. The climax of the article was the text of a sermon by Dr. Rutherford Waddell. Waddell's sermon was inspiring stuff and painted a very rosy picture of the world without alcohol; poverty, crime and social distress would disappear. Hospitals
would almost be eliminated. Art would be available to everybody. The money wasted on alcohol would be invested in educational institutions. People would have more leisure as workers would be more efficient and would invent labour saving devices. In fact the Kingdom of God would be on earth(6). Waddell identified the whole escatological basis of Christianity; the hope of reaching the Kingdom of God, with the Prohibition movement.

The Prohibitionists in Dunedin as throughout New Zealand were very concerned about how returning soldiers were going to vote in the April poll. Within New Zealand it was highly likely that Prohibition had a majority but the soldiers' vote was uncertain. An editorial from February 1919 expressed the hope that the Bible Class men among the soldiers would have exerted their influence and suggested that soldiers' committees be established in every electorate for the purpose of organising the soldiers' vote. The editor also believed that prohibition of alcohol would benefit returning soldiers as the more efficient economy that would result would prevent a post-war depression occurring(7). However a letter to the editor in the next issue from a soldiers' chaplain expressed his view that it was unlikely soldiers would vote for prohibition, as they felt they deserved a good time after the war; and the soldiers who were in favour of prohibition were often quiet people who were therefore unlikely to spread their opinions effectively(8). A short story was also devoted to the problem alcohol posed to returning soldiers. The story described a young man who returned from the war with an injury. To the horror of his family he began to drink so the parents decided to move the family to a no-license district (North Otago). The son made friends with the young local minister. Gradually he came to
realise that he needed a strength not his own to overcome his alcohol problem and he and his family ended up agreeing that it would be a good idea if there was total prohibition before all the soldiers returned to New Zealand(9).

In the April poll Prohibition won in New Zealand, but overseas the soldiers voted overwhelmingly for Continuance and by April 15 the editor of the Outlook admitted defeat even though there were still about 40,000 votes to be counted from overseas. His comments were headed "The Easter Hope! It’s Darkest before the Dawn" comparing the disappointing result with Easter Friday and implying that the next result must be better(10). In a later issue the editor blamed this result on information which was published in a magazine distributed free to the soldiers called the New Zealander. He did not elaborate on what this information was(11). The final results showed a majority for Prohibition in New Zealand of 13,896 but when the votes of the expeditionary forces were added there was a majority for Continuance of 10,362(12). A regular columnist in the Outlook thought that once the boys were back in New Zealand they would understand the situation more clearly and vote prohibition in the next election(13).

By June when more soldiers had returned the editor had changed his tone. Undoubtedly the soldiers who were returning from Europe had been changed by their experiences and were a far cry from the men who had originally left. It must have been very difficult for the older generation who had remained at home to relate to the returned soldiers. The editor described them as restless and wanting a good time and many indulging in liquor. They also showed a marked disinclination to attend church. While the editor was obviously trying to understand these men, he thought that it was important to make the
country dry at the November election to prevent the next generation becoming intemperate. He also urged the Church to try to make favourable impression on these men, although how they could do this at the same time as fighting for prohibition is unclear (14). J. Phillips believes that being sent to the war placed young New Zealand men into an all male "frontier" context which reinforced the traditional male role model of the strong, drinking, gambling, promiscuous New Zealand man which had evolved out of the pioneering days (14a). When these men returned to New Zealand they inevitably clashed with the second important male role model which had evolved out of Protestant middle class urban society, the sober, respectable right minded citizen who placed a high value on spirituality as the "keen man" valued the "mateship" he had found at the war.

Alcohol was perceived to be threatening the health as well as the moral wellbeing of returned soldiers, especially those already ill. In May the editor reprinted two letters originally printed in the Otago Daily Times from Dr. Lyth, the medical superintendent at the Pleasant Valley Sanatorium, directed to the Hospital Board. Apparently the patients were being supplied with alcohol secretly and this had led to a group of patients being found drunk under a hedge at night. Dr. Lyth estimated that about 10% of the 300 adult male patients habitually became excessively drunk. He asked that the Hospital Board publicise that alcohol was considered to be one of the causes of tuberculosis and a hindrance to recovery from the disease. He also requested that the Patriotic Association get approval from the medical superintendent before they supplied "comforts" to the patients (16).

The United States and Canada were used as models on which to base reform in New Zealand; progress of the prohibition movement in these
countries was frequently reported on. Opinions from North America were considered to be modern and advanced. "Civilis" from the Otago Daily Times was behind the times because he was anti-prohibitionist(17). An article entitled "American Idealism For the World" expressed the view that America led the world; Americans were believed to have a special responsibility to make the idealism of democracy a practicality in the life of the world. The article praised American idealism and its part in prohibition and other ideas and movements such as Liberty Bonds, the Y.M.C.A. and the Red Cross. It rested on the American people to demonstrate that "righteousness and nothing but righteousness exalteth a nation". The article was referenced as being from "World Facts and America's Responsibility". The patriotic tone about the U.S.A. suggests it originated there(18). A reprint of a letter to the ODT also expresses praise for the U.S.A. The writer claimed the the United States were pushing ahead of Britain in trade as Britain was still crippled by its liquor industry. Capital and Labour joined hands on the drink question in America, but in contrast there were no public polls on alcohol in Britain and the owners of the "Trade" were favoured by the British Government(19). The writer does not mention the possibility that Capital and Labour had also joined hands in Britain in their acceptance of the consumption of alcohol.

A little later in the period when prohibition in North America had become established it continued to be compared to the situation in Britain in a favourable way. Reports in New Zealand newspapers about prohibition in North America were evidently unfavourable and the Outlook felt the need to refute what it felt was misleading information. An editorial with the title "Persistent Wetness of Merrie England" contained an unfavourable description of Britain as compared
to the U.S.A. (20). About a year later prohibition in America was declared to be a "Startling Success", definitely not a failure. The editor claimed that less than 5% of the liquor consumed in the U.S.A. before prohibition was consumed now and that certain cities which had previously produced whiskey were now more prosperous than ever. He also refuted claims made by the Liquor Trade in New Zealand that prohibition had been imposed on the American people by pointing out that they had voted for it and continued to do so (21).

The Church was concerned to get the labour movement on its side. W.D. Bayley the Vice-president of the Winnipeg Labour Party spoke to the General Assembly on 15 February 1919 and his speech was printed in the Outlook. His visited New Zealand expressly to get labour men to vote for prohibition, and to overcome their dislike of some aspects of the church. Bayley had been an assistant minister in a wealthy Presbyterian church in Canada before he became involved in the labour movement. He felt that certain sections of the church were opposed to the labour movement and that this put labour men off voting prohibition; "One of their chief stumbling blocks is their opposition not to Prohibition, but to some Prohibitionists". Bayley explained that in his opinion socialism was not opposed to Christianity and he pointed out how their ideals were similar. He felt that the press in New Zealand was hostile to the labour movement and was responsible for some misunderstanding about it. He recommended reading articles in the Maoriland Worker as an antidote to the reports about the Russian revolution which appeared in the ordinary press. He went on to make three points on "Why Prohibition Promotes Labour Progress?". Firstly, Labour was against profiteering and brewers profiteer from the Drink Trade because it is not a labour intensive industry and only a small
proportion of the profits go to pay wages. Bayley noted that three former distilleries in Washington State employed four to eight times more men after they became goods manufactureres. Secondly, Labour men were turning against drink as they realised that it was harmful to their health which they regarded as their capital. Thirdly the consumption of alcohol led to the neglect of worker's families as the money that would otherwise be spent on the family was spent on alcohol. Children of alcoholics were also more likely to be "dullards" and were more susceptible to disease. He noted that in prohibition areas there were increases in the sales of women's and children's clothing. He went on to say that the unions benefited as men became more interested in organising and had more money to save for periods of strike. Bayley ended by saying that after Prohibition had been won they must carry on to attack the owners of production and landlords as they do more harm than the brewers. Bayley had been an assistant minister in a wealthy Presbyterian church in Canada before he became involved in the Labour movement(22). Copies of this speech were later reprinted by the Outlook for distribution(23). While in New Zealand Bayley also had two pamphlets published; "Ballots and Bullets"; The Story of Taking the Soldiers' Vote at the Front, and Canada's Challenge: The Story of Prohibition in Canada. These pamphlets were bound together in a single volume and published by "The Worker" Print in Wellington in 1919(23a). "Ballots and Bullets" was about Bayley's involvement with taking soldiers votes in a referendum on prohibition and how many of these votes were found to be invalid as the names of dead and absent soldiers were used to cast multiple votes. Canada's Challenge described the great improvements in Canada after prohibition was introduced.
In an editorial about the Labour movement in New Zealand and the dangers inherent in conflict within a society Sir Robert Stout, the Chief Justice, was quoted as saying that there were problems which could be solved by self-sacrifice on the part of individual citizens; this included the problems of conflict between Labour and Capital and the problems caused by alcohol consumption. The self-sacrifice involved in attaining Prohibition was for the good of all (24). This stance would appeal to the prohibitionists but probably not to those workers influenced by the labour movement ideology as they did not accept that prohibition was likely to bring about the reform of society. After 1919 there was no more mention of Labour and prohibition. This was probably because the two movements were incompatible in ideology; the labour movement required the middle classes (and those who aspired to the middle class but were occupationally working class such as tradesmen and skilled workers) to sacrifice their capital and the prohibitionist movement required the working classes to make sacrifices in their lifestyle.

The Outlook regularly ran a page devoted to prohibition by a "world missionary" for the Women's Christian Temperance Union and Superintendent of the "Scattered Members" Branch, Mrs. Harrison Lee Cowie. Mrs. Harrison Lee Cowie was of Australian origin and had married Mr. Andrew Cowie of Southland about 1918. She toured New Zealand in 1899 and 1902 under the auspices of the New Zealand Alliance and was later based in Dunedin and moved to Auckland about 1921 (25). Her pages contained her own comment on alcohol and prohibition, inspiring poems and stories, Bible quotes and she was never short of practical suggestions for carrying out prohibition work.

In January 1919 she suggested organising a "Grand Patriotic
Prohibition Pageant" in every district of New Zealand including songs which she had written. Personae representing various countries were to sing the rousing songs(26). Another page included 30 phrases to be cut out and hung in a prominent place(27). Her language was florid and emotional; in an article on a scheme to turn disused pubs into homes for returned soldiers she said;

"I believe the time has come for us to call on every Church, Y.M.C.A., Patriotic Society, Efficiency League, Alliance and philanthropic body to move forward in the name of the great "Home Builder" of the Universe, and make the State one vast "Sweet Home"."(28).

In another article entitled "The Call to Arms" she urged;

"It is time, O men of might, that you shook yourselves from sloth and slumber and began the war, for while you have been at ease, the Giant has never halted for a moment. Day and night he has crept up to our bright boys and gripped them one by one. He has snared some of our innocent girls, he has wrecked some of New Zealand's happy homes."(29).

Mrs.Harrison Lee Cowie welcomed contributions from others and included a compilation of "Texts against the Drink" by the children of the Caversham Band of Hope(30). A Band of Hope was a children's organisation set up by a local church or the W.C.T.U. They held regular meetings at which the children gave temperance skits and listened to temperance lectures by the local minister or other suitable person(30a).

She also included figures and facts about alcohol consumption and its effects on society. Comments by Sir Robert Stout, the Chief Justice, compared the "dry" district of Masterton with the "wet"
Wairarapa where there were many more offences (31). Figures quoted from
the Sceptre of Life Association which provided life assurance for
total abstainers showed that they lived longer (32).

Mrs. Harrison Lee Cowie approved the use of alcohol in industry and
suggested a grape growing industry in the North Island as a way to
provide jobs for soldiers and to help bring down the price of
foodstuffs. The industry would provide fresh fruit, juice, vinegar,
industrial alcohol, dried fruit, cream of tartar and grape sugar (33).
Industrial alcohol was needed for certain processes in the manufacture
of other products and chemicals.

While the Church had an official policy of prohibition and this was
reinforced in the Outlook the degree to which individual churches were
involved varied. In Dunedin the North-East Valley Church was active.
They had a policy that temperance teaching would be a prominent part
of their work with young people. A hoarding on a church owned site was
expressly not allowed to be used for liquor advertising (35). They also
printed and distributed prohibition pamphlets before the 1922
poll (36). The Annual General Meeting of 1922 recommended to the United
Temperance Reform Council that a prayer meeting be held in all
districts one evening a week, that a similar women's meeting be held
one afternoon a week and that all Ministers and the Christian public
remember the cause in their public, private and family prayers. This
suggestion was printed in the annual report of the churches work in
the Outlook (37). A little later the Outlook also reported that the
North-East Valley Church had resolved that all New Zealand churches
should consider holding a prayer meeting each week for prohibition,
that all Christians should devote some time each day to prayer for
prohibition and that all church papers give prominence to

page 26
prohibition(38). Temperance Sundays were celebrated in 1921 and 1922 by inviting the Dunedin Women's Christian Temperance Union to attend a service and in 1923 the Reverend John Dawson made an address appealing for funds for the New Zealand Alliance(39). The Rev. Dawson was a Methodist Minister who as secretary of the New Zealand Alliance worked as a lobbyist in Wellington. In a discussion about the way communion wine was served at the communion service the prices of various wines was also discussed. It was not clear whether the church was using alcoholic wine or not at communion(40).

A class analysis of the communion roll of 1917 for the North-East Valley Presbyterian Church was revealing. The method of analysis was that described in "Confessions of a Caversham Conspirator" by Dr. T. Brooking and Prof. E. Olssen. The names on the communion roll who attended communion at least once in 1917 were checked for their occupation in the volume of Stone's Street Directory for that year. These directories provide information on the residence and occupation of the heads of households. In many cases the information is inaccurate because of the method which was used to compile the Directory. The information was taken on one day of the year and never rechecked. If no one was home that day the enumerators employed asked the neighbours who may have elevated or demeaned the occupations of the absent family. Children under 21 were not mentioned. Sons over 21 were often not mentioned and wives often only appeared after the death of their husband. Where the communion roll listed a whole or part of a family attending communion I have assumed their class status to be that of the head of the household (not always male). The Caversham project used a list of occupations, each of which was assigned a code from 01 to 09 which denoted the major occupational grouping of the
TABLE 1 - Occupational Groupings of Members of North-East Valley Presbyterian Church.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Grouping</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01 - Employers/Higher Managerial</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02 - Professional</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03 - Semi-Professional</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04 - Petty Proprietors/Self Employed</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05 - Officials and Petty Executives</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06 - White Collar</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07 - Skilled</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08 - Semi Skilled</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 - Unskilled</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>152</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources - The Communion Roll of the North-East Valley Presbyterian Church; T. Brooking and E. Olssen, "Confessions of a Caversham Conspirator", p 9 and p 12.
particular occupation listed. 01 was the highest status grouping and included employers and higher managerial workers. 09 denoted unskilled workers, the lowest status group (41). There were 289 people on the North-East Valley Presbyterian Church communion roll for 1917 and of these 163 were listed in the Directory with occupations or could be assumed to be relatives of those with occupations listed. 11 of those with occupations listed had occupations which could not be indentified such as "checker" or "assce supt" [sic]. 75 people could not be found in the Directory at all and 47 were listed but had no occupation listed. Of this 47, 41 were female and it could be assumed that many were widowed women or single. It is possible that some of these women did work to support themselves but the prevailing ideology about women at the time defined them as single before their occupation was even considered. Of the 6 men with no occupation listed it is probable that they were retired. Of the 289 people on the communion roll 199 (68.8%) were female and 90 (31.14%) were male. Of the 152 whose status could be indentified the largest group were petty proprietors or self employed. However the majority of people were in the groups including white collar, skilled, semi skilled and unskilled. The large numbers of people in these groups, especially 06 and 07, probably indicate that to a certain extent these people were seeking respectability by their church-going. It is difficult to know how much their personal faith prompted their activity in the church. In relation to the question of whether or not the prohibition movement was middle class or not, the table shows that North-East Valley Presbyterian Church had a large group of middle class members and an even larger group of members who probably aspired to he middle class. As this Church was active in the movement as a church and not just individuals the findings of this
analyses tend to support Grigg's thesis that the prohibition movement was based on the middle class ideology of self-help, self-improvement and respectability as a program of social reform(42).

Reports from other Dunedin Presbyterian churches published in the Outlook make no mention of their temperance work and in reading the Session minutes of the Maori Hill church there was no mention of temperance work or the prohibition polls(43). The minute book of the Women's Training Institute Committee (run by the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand Deaconess Association) did not mention any instruction on prohibition or temperance being given to the students(44).

NOTES
3. Outlook, 23 July 1918, p 3.
4. ibid, 7 January 1919, p 8.
5. ibid, 8 April 1919, p 5.
6. ibid, 28 January 1919, pp 3-5.
7. ibid, 11 February 1919, p 3.
8. ibid, 18 February 1919, p 7.
9. ibid, 18 March 1919, p 21.
10. ibid, 15 April 1919, p 3.
11. ibid, 20 May 1919, p 3.
12. ibid, 1 July 1919, p 5.
13. The columnist was Mrs. Harrison Lee Cowie, the Outlook, 29 April page 29
1919, p 20.

14. ibid, 3 June 1919, p 4.


15. Outlook, 11 February 1919, p 17, and 19 February 1919, p 17.

16. ibid, 20 May 1919, p 5.

17. ibid, 4 February 1919, p 3.

18. ibid, 5 August 1919, p 14.

19. ibid, 12 August 1919, p 4.

20. ibid, 26 September 1921, p 3.

21. ibid, 21 August 1922.

22. ibid, 18 March 1919, pp 17–8.

23. ibid, 25 March 1919, p 5.

23a. W. D. Bayley, “Ballots and Bullets” The Story of Taking the
Soldiers’ Votes at the Front, and Canada’s Challenge, The Story of
Prohibition in Canada. 1919.

24. Outlook, 1 July 1919, p 4.

25. J. Cocker and J. Malton Murray eds, Temperance and Prohibition in
New Zealand, p 177, and the Otago Witness 18 December 1928, p 54,
obituary of Andrew Cowie.


27. ibid, 18 March 1919, p 20.


29. ibid, 17 June 1919, p 20.

30. ibid, 1 July 1919, p 28.

30a. See chapter on Women and Prohibition for information about the
North-East Valley United Band of Hope.


32. ibid, 14 February 1919, p 27.
33. ibid, 13 May 1919, p 28.


35. The Session Minutes of the North-East Valley Presbyterian Church 1915-1930, 27 June 1922, p 166.

36. ibid, 26 September 1922, p 175, and 24 October 1922, p 179.

37. ibid, 9 August 1922, p 177, and the Outlook, 4 September 1922, p 26.


40. ibid, 28 March 1922.


42. This information was derived from the Communion Roll of the North-East Valley Presbyterian Church 1912-1917. Later rolls were not available.

43. The Session Minutes of the Maori Hill Presbyterian Church 1906-1921 and 1921-1931.

44. Women's Training Institute Committee Minute Book. The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand Deaconess Association 1906-1922 and 1922-1940.
In Dunedin Catholics debated the merits and faults of the prohibition question with vigour. The view of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church was that loyal Catholics should not vote for prohibition and the New Zealand Tablet (published in Dunedin) told them this in no uncertain terms. However there was a body of Catholic opinion in New Zealand at this time which supported prohibition. This opinion was represented by Bishop Cleary of Auckland and in Dunedin by the businessman Charles Todd. Catholics in Dunedin represented about 11% of the population in 1921. They were the third largest denomination after the Presbyterians and the Anglicans.

The New Zealand Tablet was vocal about the issue of prohibition in 1919 especially in the earlier part of the year and later in the period became silent. This may be because the editor believed that he had made his point clear and was satisfied that Dunedin Catholics were not supporting prohibition or because other issues, such as the provision of Catholic schools and the situation in Ireland, became much more important for New Zealand Catholics.

The editor of the New Zealand Tablet at this time was Dr. James Kelly who had taken over the position in 1917. A native of Ireland, Kelly displayed ardent devotion to the Sinn Fein cause and approval of the New Zealand Labour Party. B. Cadogan, in his study of middle class Catholics in Dunedin, thinks that Kelly was chosen by the Hierarchy because they wanted to accommodate the growing feeling of sympathy with Ireland among New Zealand Catholics. Cadogan describes Kelly as being volatile, effusive, talkative and opinionated.

In an answer to a correspondent with a query about the issue the
editor replied that a Council composed of the Apostolic Delegate and the Archbishops of Australasia was the highest authority for Catholics in Australasia and loyal Catholics should obey directions from this Council. In a statement which identified loyalty to the Church with loyalty to one’s country this Council had ruled that,

"We deem it our duty to co-operate with every wisely-directed effort to stem the evil of drink in Australia and to promote temperance among the people. We have no sympathy with those who oppose well considered legislation... But, needless to say, we have just a little sympathy with those - and they are very active at present - who do not distinguish between the use and abuse of alcoholic drink; who seem to regard drink as something essentially evil, who... convey to the world by their reckless statements that Australia and New Zealand are drink-sodden lands, and that their people - and especially the soldiers who have risked their lives - are dishonoured and degraded by intemperance."(2)

In another reply to a correspondent who must have shown signs of dissenting (the Tablet did not always publish the letter which was being replied to) the editor said; "It does not matter two brass pennies what a few cranks think or say... The Prohibition movement is disapproved by the bishops of the Catholic Church. And if you do not heed the Church we must look upon you as a - publican."(3) The reply also contained a reference to "no matter what imported Canadians say" which may indicate the writer of the letter had heard or read the ideas of the visiting Canadian W.D. Bayley who claimed that the labour movement and christianity and prohibition were all compatible. His ideas were reported in the Outlook in early March 1919.

Another answer to a correspondent expressed the fear that since the
prohibition movement was primarily associated with Protestants, Catholics could expect no mercy or justice from them. Presumably the editor was referring to Catholics being prevented from using alcoholic wine in celebrating mass(4). Before the April poll the editor commented that a majority vote was not sufficient reason to make laws that interfere with personal lifestyle and choice and quoted the Australasian Council's pronouncement which described the proposed legislation of the prohibitionists as being unjust to those engaged in the drink traffic and "an unwarrantable infringement on the reasonable liberty of the people... and which in the end might produce more evil than it would remove."(5).

An editorial entitled "Prohibition" quoted a letter by Archbishop Redwood of Wellington who thought that prohibition was contrary to scripture, the example of Christ and commonsense as well as an extreme that would lead to lawlessness, hypocrisy, moral ruin and the abolition of the Ten Commandments, not to mention being a menace to the Holy Religion and "an insult, an outrage, an indignity, a prying interference with our altars and our priests". He also thought that a Catholic who voted for prohibition was not true to his common sense, his love of freedom or his Holy Religion(6). In a later editorial Archbishop Redwood described prohibition as a substitute law for education in responsibility. The burden of the law would fall mainly on the poor as rich men continued to maintain winecellars while the working man was deprived of his daily glass of beer and an occasional stronger drink(7).

While the Outlook extolled the virtues of North America under prohibition, the New Zealand Tablet criticised it. The editor believed that America's example was likely to encourage the prohibitionists in
New Zealand but was convinced that prohibition in America was going to lead to an increase in opiate addiction. A special Treasury committee investigating drug addiction found there were more than a million and a half drug addicts in America at that time but the editor did not specify whether this was an increase or not. He thought that the use of drugs would spread to England as people there tried to cope with the effects of the war and concluded that a prohibition against opiates was justified but that since alcohol in his view could be used with moderation, it should not be prohibited(8). In another article he quoted three prominent Americans who opposed prohibition on the grounds that it would undermine the constitution and other laws, it would give dangerous powers to the authorities, it would threaten the Holy Mass and lead to the illegal manufacture of bad liquor(9).

An article entitled "Fanaticism" described America as the happy hunting ground of fanatics, and drew attention to a certain prohibitionist priest called Father Zurcher (who was later to visit New Zealand), "who would set himself up as a higher authority than Archbishop Mesmer and Cardinal Gibbons, and who is as active as any Methodist parson in throwing mud at the Church.". Zurcher had apparently commented that the Church in the U.S.A. was silenced by the money of the liquor Trade and that the Catholic Total Abstinence Union was serving as a rampart protecting the liquor trade(10).

An article by Professor Steven Leacock expressed the middle class anti-prohibitionist view that moderate drinking was one of life’s little comforts and that the middle class knew how to drink moderately. The working classes needed a little drink every day to help them cope with their unequal situation. To take alcohol away from the workers would result in a spurt of efficient production and then
Bolshevism would set in (11).

Catholic prohibitionists were not given much space in the New Zealand Tablet. Bishop Cleary’s opinion was never mentioned although his other activities were reported. Cleary’s ideas were reported in the Outlook and he published a magazine devoted to Catholic interests called the Month (12). Cleary had in fact been an earlier editor of the New Zealand Tablet from 1898-1910 before his appointment as Bishop of Auckland and like James Kelly was a native of county Wexford in Ireland (12a). Through the pages of the Month, Bishop Cleary expressed his opinion that neither the Catholic Church or Catholic theology had defined what Catholics were to think or do in relation to the question of prohibition, therefore they were free to vote as they wanted on the issue. He also thought that the clergy were free to advocate any cause which their conscience approved of as long as it did not interfere with their spiritual duties (13).

The businessman Charles Todd had one of his letters printed in the Tablet and was severely criticized. The editor implied that Todd was not a "living member" of the Church and therefore should not presume to speak on behalf of Catholics. A "living member" was defined as "All those who, being baptised, receive the Sacraments and are united under one visible Head, the Pope..." (14). Clearly anyone who dissented from the official church line on any issue could be excluded from the Church on the basis of this definition and the editor went on to repeat that the Church Hierarchy of Australasia had published a statement which made it clear that loyal Catholics should not vote for prohibition. While there was no way the Church could prevent Catholics from voting for prohibition or finding out if they did, the pronouncement of the Church and its reinforcement in the New Zealand...
Charles Todd was outstanding among Catholics who were also prohibitionist. Born in 1868, he had emigrated from Scotland at an early age and had spent his childhood in central Otago. He moved from Heriot to Dunedin in 1915 and opened a stock and station business known as Todd Bros, which had branches in Dunedin, Invercargill, Gore and various central Otago towns, this was sold to Dalgety and Co.Ltd. in 1925. Meanwhile Todd had set up Todd Motors in 1923 which had branches throughout New Zealand. He held a variety of public positions; he was Mayor of St.Kilda, president of the Otago Expansion League, president of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce, a director of the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, president of the Otago Cricket Association, president of the Otago Temperance Council and later was Dominion President of the New Zealand Alliance(14). In 1922 he brought Father George Zurcher from the U.S.A. and accompanied him on a speaking tour of New Zealand(16).

In 1919 Todd wrote a pamphlet which he hoped would help Catholics to solve the prohibition question for themselves. He thought the editor of the New Zealand Tablet had not dealt with the issue fairly and claimed he had refused to publish articles by Catholics in favour of prohibition(17). Todd believed that alcohol was a gift from God and it had many uses but that it had no value as nourishment. He cited the American Medical Association which denounced the use of alcohol as a beverage or a therapeutic agent and The Catholic Encyclopedia which named alcohol as the most frequent cause of poverty and unhappiness(18). Todd quoted from the London Tablet on prohibition in America; "Nowhere is there a trace of fanaticism or a wish to condemn alcohol as in itself an evil thing, The war is simply against the
waste and inefficiency which result from the consumption of alcohol. The majority who can indulge in alcohol without fear of going beyond the bounds of temperance are willing to forgo the pleasure for the sake of the 'weaker bretheren and the common good'."(19). He contrasted this with the attitude of the New Zealand Tablet which argued against prohibition on the grounds that it was unethical and an interference with the free practice of religion(20).

Todd noted that the New Zealand Tablet had used arguments from an earlier pamphlet by Professor William Salmond which argued that since Christ turned water into wine at the Cana wedding and drank it, therefore it was acceptable to drink wine and fermented liquors(20a). Todd thought it was wrong to emulate Christ in every way and besides this that Salmond's interpretation of the bible was false. He also believed that drunkenness was not as common in Christ's time as it was in 1919(21). Todd allayed Catholic fears that wine would not be available for Catholic Mass as there would be express provision in a Prohibition Act for the supplies of altar wine(22). Todd included in his pamphlet two articles by Catholics on prohibition.

The first was by Bishop Cleary of Auckland. Cleary gave his opinion that Catholics should follow their own consciences when voting but pointed out his belief that alcohol caused crime, vice, domestic unhappiness and moral and material loss to the nation. He also thought that the existing measures of State supervision had failed to prevent alcohol causing problems. It was futile to hope that the Trade would reform itself. Cleary believed that the only defensible use of alcohol was in celebrating Mass and that this use was a divine right(23).

The second article was by the Reverend P.Coffey who was Professor of Logic at St.Patricks College in Dublin. It was dated December 1918.
Coffey thought that Catholics criticised prohibition in America because it was mainly promoted by non-Catholic bodies who claimed that alcohol was an intrinsically evil thing. These bodies may have also used the prohibition movement as an excuse for attacks on Catholics. Coffey thought it was unfortunate that Catholics had remained aloof from the movement as they could have exercised a beneficial effect on prohibitionists by preventing the movement adopting "erroneous principles" or running contrary to "Moral Law". Coffey especially wanted Catholics to get involved in the prohibition movement in countries where Catholics were in a minority. He recommended this because in some States of America prohibition laws had been passed with no provision for the use of altar wine. This led to indignation from Catholics which could have been avoided if they had been involved in the movement in the first place. Coffey thought that the argument against prohibition which stated that prohibition would remove the opportunity for virtue by practising temperance and resisting temptation was "puerile" and creating a Prohibition law created the opportunity to practise the virtue of obedience. He believed the State had the authority to act in promotion of common good and economic and social well being. If Prohibition could achieve this then the State should enforce it. He also emphasised his belief that the State should act in accordance with the wishes of the majority (24).

A pamphlet published by the Tablet about 1920 and signed by "Liberty and Regulation" was named "National Prohibition opposed to the Old Testament, The New Testament, the spirit of Christ, sound ethics, common sense, enlightened politics, is a fallacy, a tyranny, a failure, a cure worse than the disease." The pamphlet elaborated many of the arguments against prohibition found in the New Zealand Tablet.
and may have been published in response to Todd's pamphlet. It seems likely that the author was in fact James Kelly. The author admitted that the argument for prohibition had a certain plausibility for the "popular" mind but refuted the existence of a real alcoholism problem in New Zealand (25). The author firstly condemned prohibition as being opposed to both testaments of the Bible and pointed out the example of the wedding at Cana where Christ performs a miracle to create more wine for the guests. "Liberty and Regulation" interpreted this to imply that Christ could find no fault in drinking wine and a moderate amount of "merriment" at wedding ceremonies. The author also stated that Christ required that wheat bread and grape wine be used at His sacrament and felt that this might not be possible under prohibition unless there was a special clause in an Act of Parliament or a regulation by the Governor General. The author quoted a Psalm; "Bless the Lord, O my soul... He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and the herbs for the service of men, that He may bring forth food out of the earth, and wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face shine, and bread which strengtheneth man's heart." in order to make the point that wine was a gift of God and man has a right to purchase it as he has a right to purchase bread. "Liberty and Regulation" maintained that the prohibitionists had confused drunkenness with drink and had come to the conclusion that alcohol was evil in itself, whereas it was not the alcohol which was evil but the drunkenness (26). The author pointed out that some acts were considered intrinsically wrong but that drinking alcohol was not one of these as it was not commanded or forbidden but left up to the volition of the individual. To limit the freedom which God had given man on this question was to run in the face of divine rule (27). To the
prohibitionist argument that if Christ had been alive in the twentieth century He would have been a prohibitionist the author replied that while he did not have facts to compare alcoholism in Judea with alcoholism in New Zealand or Great Britain he had noted that there were frequent warnings against drunkenness in the Bible, particularly in Isaiah but there were no words on prohibition or abstinence. The author used an example from the New Testament where St. Paul was shocked to find some newly converted Corinthians have become drunk at a "congregational love-feast" but never condemned the wine nor suggested a substitute. "Liberty and Regulation" inferred from this that the ancient Hebrews and early Christians regarded drunkenness as a sin and believed that the guilt of any drunken misdeeds should be laid firmly on the head of the drunken sinner. This was averse to the modern idea that the alcoholic was a hapless victim(28).

Drawing on examples from "History" the author came to the conclusion that trying to make people virtuous by imposing legislation on them did not work, as it was not the business of government to pry into peoples private lives. Also he believed this type of law may have removed the possibility of vice but it also removed the possibility of virtue as virtue must be voluntary(29). He also came to the conclusion that people should have the choice to damage their bodies with alcohol as they have the choice to damage their bodies in pursuit of other goals; the saints had harmed their bodies in corporal mortifications and the pursuit of sport, business and knowledge also carried health risks(30). The author refuted the claims of science and medicine that alcohol even in moderation was harmful and claimed it was wholesome, strengthening, a comfort in old age and "an excellent restorative of many forms of debility, as was shown in the recent influenza plague".
To the claim that alcohol was a wanton luxury he replied that luxury is a symptom of civilisation and is therefore desirable and good in moderation (31).

Perhaps getting carried away with his own eloquence "Liberty and Regulation" defeated his own arguments by admitting that there would possibly be circumstances when prohibition was necessary, for example in a nation where most of the population was affected by alcohol. This was exactly what the prohibitionists were claiming about New Zealand but the author refuted the statistics used by prohibitionists which showed that the majority of crime in New Zealand was connected with the consumption of alcohol, and claimed that not more than 5% of crimes were caused by alcohol. He believed that drunkenness was a symptom of a greater social problem including poverty, unemployment, sweating, high rents, unearned increment, avaricious combines, drainage, sanitation, fresh air, overcrowding, education and recreation. He thought that drunkenness was common in Great Britain because of the gloomy conditions of life there, but under the blue skies of New Zealand and its good living conditions drunkenness could not be so bad (32). The argument that drunkenness was caused by undesirable social conditions was the opposite to the prohibitionists' assertion that these undesirable conditions were caused by drunkenness.

"Liberty and Regulation" linked the causes of alcoholism with undesirable social conditions as did the labour movement, but then denied that undesirable social conditions existed in New Zealand and therefore an alcoholism problem did not exist either. In the face of the facts about the alcohol problem in New Zealand which prohibitionists published widely "Liberty and Regulation"s argument
collapses. It is interesting to note that in New Zealand at this time
27.6% of all licensed hoteliers were Catholics while Catholics made up
only 13.9% of the total population. In Dunedin B. Cadogan found that of
181 bourgeois and petty bourgeois Catholics 19.3% were publicans(33).
It seems likely that alcohol consumption played an important part in
the social and business lives of many Dunedin Catholics. As the
prohibition movement was primarily a Protestant one, many Catholics
who did disapprove of the consumption of alcohol were probably turned
away from the movement(34). At this time there was strong sectarian
suspicion and hostility between Protestants and Catholics. The
Protestant Political Association had been formed in 1917 and expressed
Protestant fears in the face of growing Catholic assertiveness. In
1919 the F.P.A. had a membership of about 200,000 nationally(35). A
strong Catholic community developed in the fifty years before the
First World War. Catholic values combined with the predominance of
unskilled Irish in the Catholic community made most Catholics
unsympathetic to the moral reform movements of the period(36). It
would take a Catholic with very strong convictions and strength of
character to join the prohibition movement publically in the face of
Protestant hostility and the criticism of the Catholic Church which
was expressed so forcefully in the New Zealand Tablet. Probably for
this reason Charles Todd was in a noticeable minority of one Dunedin
Catholic who was able to publicise his views.

NOTES

1a. B.H.Cadogan, "Lace Curtain Catholics; the Catholic Bourgeoisie of

2. New Zealand Tablet, 6 March 1919, p 35.

3. ibid, 13 March 1919, p 13.

4. ibid, 20 March 1919, p 7.

5. ibid, 3 April 1919, p 25.

6. ibid, 10 April 1919, p 25.

7. ibid, 11 December 1919, p 25.

8. ibid, 20 March 1919, p 18.

9. ibid, 27 March 1919, pp 14-5.

10. ibid, 16 January 1919, p 14-5.

11. ibid, 10 April 1919, p 18.

12. Outlook, 10 June 1919, p 4 and p 27.


18. ibid, pp 3-4.

19. ibid, p 5.

20. ibid, p 5.

20a. William Salmond, Prohibition; a Blunder, 1911. Salmond was Professor of Moral and Mental Philosophy at the University of Otago.


22. ibid, p 6.

page 44
23. ibid, pp 7-8. The article was called "The Liquor Issues" and was originally published in The Month.
24. ibid, pp 12-6.
25. "Liberty and Regulation", National Prohibition Opposed to the Old Testament, the New Testament, the spirit of Christ, sound ethics, common sense, enlightened politics, is a fallacy, a tyranny, a failure, a cure worse than the disease, p 1.
26. ibid, pp 2-3.
27. ibid, p 2.
28. ibid, p 4.
29. ibid, pp 5-6.
30. ibid, p 7.
31. ibid, p 10.
32. ibid, p 8 and pp 11-2.
34. A.Grigg, "Attack on the Citadels of Liquordom", p iv. Grigg describes the movement as essentially middle class, and supported and led by the pietistic and non-episcopal churches.
In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries women were supposed to have had a special relationship with the prohibition cause. This stemmed from middle class beliefs about women as moral guardians of their homes and families. Throughout the prohibition literature of the time there was an emphasis on the home and family as the basic units of a stable society. Prohibitionists saw alcohol as destructive of the home environment and therefore destructive of the nation. Because women were the moral guardians of the home they were expected to play a large part in the movement to prohibit alcohol (1). Through the Women's Christian Temperance Union women were indeed associated with the prohibition movement but the popular belief that the prohibition movement stemmed from female attempts to abolish liquor is highly questionable (2).

A. Grigg in his study of women and prohibition names five reasons why women were supposed to be more involved in the prohibition movement. The first was that women and their children were the people who suffered most from the consumption of alcohol. They could suffer physical abuse and neglect when a man's wages were spent on alcohol. The second reason stemmed from the first as women would gain economically if their husbands stopped spending money on drink and instead spent it on their families. The third reason was that the pubs where men did most of their drinking were believed by some to be associated with prostitution. The consumption of alcohol was believed to weaken self-control and create desire with nasty consequences for the man's physical and moral health. The Women's Christian Temperance Union and the National Council of Women worked to reduce prostitution
by demanding the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act which allowed men complete freedom of action while prostitutes were subjected to examinations for venereal disease(3). They wanted the age of consent raised from 16 to 21 to try to reduce child prostitution and they attacked the employment of barmaids on the grounds that they lured young men to drink in pubs and were degrading themselves as women. The prohibitionists did not appreciate that women who worked as barmaids probably did so because it was the best paid and most pleasant employment open to them. The issue of barmaids was expected to attract the support of women who were thought to object naturally to their husbands associating with women of doubtful repute. A clause that forbade the employment of any new barmaids was included in the Licensing Act of 1910 but there had been surprisingly little agitation for it. A petition to Parliament in 1904 asking for the abolition of barmaids contained only 145 signatures and its eventual incorporation in the Act of 1910 was part of a compromise between the Trade and prohibitionists to achieve alterations in the form of the licensing poll. Grigg reports that public opinion never expressed itself on the issue(4). The fifth reason women were expected to get involved in the prohibition movement was their interest in religion. Women were supposed to be more emotional than men who were believed to be rational beings and religion was held to involve more emotion than reason. Women were also supposed to be more interested in the ethical and moral codes espoused by religion (including prohibition) as they were the moral guardians for their families(5).

While the prohibitionists believed women would be naturally attracted to the movement the evidence shows that they were no more involved than men(6). In the organisations associated with the
movement the leadership was mostly male. In this period women were not encouraged to appear publicly to campaign for political causes. The results of the 1894 and 1896 elections showed that women did not vote for prohibition in great numbers. In the first decade of the twentieth century prohibitionists changed emphasis to educate women about why prohibition would benefit them. By the time of the 1908 election there was an all out campaign to mobilise women to vote for prohibition.

There was a large vote for prohibition on this occasion (55.83% for prohibition) but it is not clear whether this was due to women voting for prohibition or due to an increase of both sexes voting prohibition. Grigg points out that the total prohibition vote had been increasing since 1902(7). The percentage of women eligible to vote who were voting remained only slightly less than the percentage of men and any increases do not correlate with increases in the prohibition vote(8). The Women's Christian Temperance Union was one body in which women could be involved in political agitation; its membership was small but vocal(9).

In New Zealand the Women's Christian Temperance Union was established in 1885 as a result of a visit by Mrs Mary Leavitt of the U.S.A.(10). Mary Leavitt had been dispatched from America to spread the ideal of a world-wide united women's movement dedicated to outlawing alcohol, suppressing gambling and the enfranchisement of the women of all nations(11). A branch in Dunedin was established at this time(12). The Dominion President from 1914 to 1926 was Mrs W.R. Don who lived in Dunedin. Noted for her oratory skills, Mrs Don became the first woman in New Zealand to become a preacher in the Methodist Church. She lectured all over New Zealand on prohibition, foreign missions and evangelical work. In 1920 she visited Britain and her
letters were published in the White Ribbon(13). In 1924 she attended the National Jubilee Convention of the W.C.T.U. in the United States and was invited to speak before Congress. Mrs Don was also prominent in several Dunedin charitable and Christian organisations(14). The White Ribbon was the magazine of the New Zealand W.T.C.U. and was published monthly. It had been established as the first magazine owned, edited and published by women in New Zealand in 1895.

Mrs. Nellie Peryman was the editor from 1913-1945 and until 1920 she lived in Port Chalmers when she moved to Carterton. She was a Vice-President of the the Sawyers Bay Branch until her move(15).

The availability of the records of the North-East Valley branch of the W.C.T.U. made a case study possible. The branch held meetings about once a month and had quarterly evening meetings. The evening meetings had a much larger attendance than the ordinary meetings and were social occasions with singing, recitations, supper and sales of flowers and vegetables to raise money. Between 1918 and 1923 membership of the branch grew from 100 to 146(16). In the 1911 Census (the last in which the population of North-East Valley is listed separately from the rest of Dunedin) the female population of North-East Valley was 2670 (males 2536)(17). As a percentage of this figure the membership of the W.C.T.U. in North-East Valley was 5.47%. In Dunedin the early twenties were a period of growth in the W.C.T.U. and several branches showed a significant growth in membership, notable were the South Dunedin branch (10 members in 1919 to 60 in 1921) and Kaikorai (8 members in 1919 to 28 in 1921)(18).

Like all branches of the W.C.T.U. the North-East Valley branch was organised into departments under superintendents. These positions varied from year to year but they usually had two Superintendents for
the Band of Hope, a Good Citizenship Superintendent (responsible for getting people in the community enrolled on electoral rolls and to vote), an Evangelistic Superintendent and a White Ribbon Agent. They usually had a guest to speak at their meetings. These guests included local ministers, visiting temperance speakers and national office holders of the W.C.T.U. such as the President, Mrs. Don and the editor of the White Ribbon, Mrs. Peryman. Mrs. Peryman spoke on Privileges Women have as Citizens, which was about the opportunities women had in comparison with a few years earlier. She urged them to use their influence in their own sphere to help abolish the drink trade(19).

Before the election in December 1919 Mrs. Don gave a speech on the three issues to be voted on to a combined meeting of the W.C.T.U. and the Young Peoples League. Members also contributed a musical solo and recitations at this meeting(20).

The example of North America as a successful model of prohibition seemed to be important to the W.C.T.U. as it was to the Outlook. In 1919 they had two visitors from America, the first was the Reverend Ray Stewart who gave an address on temperance education in America and concluded that it was important that the women and children of New Zealand were also given temperance education(21). The second was by Mrs. Wheeler who talked about the work of the American W.C.T.U. in achieving prohibition in the U.S.A.(22). Mrs. Wheeler’s visit had been organised by the W.C.T.U. nationally to help in the lead up to the election(23). Mrs. Wheeler inspired thirteen women to join the W.T.C.U. and gave a recitation entitled "A Mother’s First Baby" when she spoke at North-East Valley. She also attracted crowds to meetings of the Dunedin District W.C.T.U. and several other organisations. She was described as a "fine elocutionist" in the White Ribbon(24).
and Southland organiser for the New Zealand Alliance, Mr. Marion, spoke on his experiences in America where he felt Prohibition was successful. Soon after he "practically died at his post" and the North-East Valley W.C.T.U. contributed five pounds to a fund for his wife and children(25). In 1923 Miss Jean Begg who had represented New Zealand at the World W.C.T.U. Convention in Philadelphia spoke about her work in America(26). Jean Begg later became the General Secretary of the Y.W.C.A. and directed their services in the Second World War(27).

The North-East Valley branch of the W.C.T.U. were closely involved with their community in educational and fund raising events. No mention was made in their minute books of members becoming practically involved in the care and rehabilitation of alcoholics. Probably they thought this work was best left to experts such as the Salvation Army. In 1921 Ensign Coombs spoke to the October quarterly meeting about her work as a probation officer and the "sad cases" she came in contact with(28).

On a National level the W.C.T.U. provided Sailors' Rests in some ports. The Rests provided alcohol-free accommodation for sailors on shore as an alternative to hotels and pubs. The first was set up in Dunedin after a resolution at the second Annual Convention in 1887. The members of the Union held a bazaar of work and raised four hundred pounds and the government granted a building near the wharf. The Rest was run by the W.C.T.U. until 1917 when control passed into the hands of a committee(29). The W.C.T.U. set up and continued to run Rests in other centres under the Department of Work among Seamen. In 1920 the North-East Valley branch joined efforts with the Mothers' Union to organise a concert to raise money for the Department of Work among
Mrs Lee Cowie's Page.

13 Littlebourne Crescent ("Amethyst Hall"), Dunedin.

A MODEL PROGRAMME
FOR BAND OF HOPE OR PUBLIC MEETING.

Knowing well the difficulty experienced in many places, in getting up a real, bright, thoroughly public meeting, according to the local Band of Hope, I thought it might help some if I outlined a programme, and gave a few original items for the young people to try. Every item should be thoroughly learned, and given with clear, ringing voice.

THE PROGRAMME.

Opening Hymn, No. 1 Hoyles' or 521 S.S. and Solos.

PRAYER.

SCRIPTURE-CHAIN.

"[This chain should be given by several of the children, one at a time in turn, repeating the last 15 verses from memory, then in unison repeating the last set of verses]."

Hab. xvi. 20 ; Isa. xxviii. 7; Prov. xx. 1; Isa. xxviii. 1; Prov. xxviii. 9 to 32; Prov. xxviii. 12; Hab. ii. 12; Prov. x. 19; Jer. xxxiv. 6 and 19; Isa. xiv. 9.

For the word of the Lord-

Eph. v. 18; II Cor. v. 17-20; Isa. lxxvii. x.; xiv.; 7-8.

Sing, S.S. and Solos. No. 579. "Have Courage, my boy, to say No."

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

(Brief, light, and breezy.)


Invocation.

THE LAND OF PROHIBITION.

No broken windows, or hanging down.
No greasy walls, or filthy floors.
No swears and oaths.
Scour of sweet flowers-perfumes the air.

In the land of Prohibition.

No "ragged reapers," no merry noise.
No men of pleasure.

In the land of Prohibition.

No tempting bars, or drink-shops low.
No meat or drink, or liberty.
No crops or harvests.

In the land of Prohibition.

No tempting bars, or drink-shops low.
No empty coffers in the State.
No unemployment.
No debt or money.

In the land of Prohibition.

No trees or verdure.
No breaking hanks to make us frown.
No broken windows, or hanging doors.

In the land of Prohibition.

The seasons of the year behold,
Spring-in pretty dress, basket of flowers, crown of flowers.

In the land of Prohibition.

At London, he was met by some students of Oxford who insisted on his preaching to them in a hollow tree, from the word Prohibition, and in others, T, Treason. And in the word to come, 1st, in this world, the effects are, in some, M, Misery; in other, A, Anguish; in one, L, Languishing; in others, T, Torment.

Wherefore my use shall be exhortation: M, my Masters; A, All of you; L, Leave off T, Tippling; or 2nd, by way of commentation, I say, M, miseries; A, all of you; L, Look for T, Torment. So much for the time and text.

Only by way of caution take this: a drunkard is an annoyance of modesty, the trouble of civility, the spoil of wealth, the destruction of reason, the brewer's agent, the ale-wife's benefactor, the beggar's companion, the constable's trouble, his wife's woe, his children's horror, his neighbour's scoff, his own shame, a walking scull tub, the picture of a beast and monster of a man.

Sole-"Throw out the Life Line" . . . . . . . S.S. and Solos.

Dialogue.

THE FOUR SEASONS.

[Spring-in pretty dress, basket of flowers, crown of flowers.]
I know you, my friends, as beautiful Spring.

And a thousand gifts in my hand I bring;
Behold, my friends, from a lavish Hand,
And Heaven above, where all is Love.
And crowds shall pass away.
And from the snows of Winter,
And from the clouds shall pass away.

[Summer-white dress, white satin gloves, golden crown.]
As Summer I stand before you,
Arrayed in my beauty rare,
With the golden sun for everyone.
And gladness everywhere.
I bring to you all the promise.
That clouds shall pass away.
And Heaven above, where all is love,
Shall be one sweet Summer day.

[Autumn-with sable, sheaf of wheat, basket of fruit, dress covered with Autumn leaves.]
Behold, my friends, from a lavish Hand,
The fruits and grains of our blessed land,
The Lord of the harvest, who cares for all,
Has bountifully given to great and small.
Look on His gifts, then lift your voice.
And sing the glad song, "Rejoice, rejoice!"

[Winter-in thick ulster, fur cap, muff, spotted with wool.]
I am Winter, cold and dreary,
And lived by few; I know;
I strip the trees of foliage,
And crown the hills with snow.
And you could not do without me.
For the hills I fertilise,
And from the snows of Winter.

[Spring-in pretty dress, basket of flowers, crown of flowers.]
Young girl in ordinary dress."

"Then a willing offering lay at His feet,
And the Harvest Home be mine to come.

[Winter-in thick ulster, fur cap, cape, muff, spotted with wool.]
I am Winter, cold and dreary,
And lived by few; I know;
I strip the trees of foliage,
And crown the hills with snow.
But you could not do without me.
For the hills I fertilise,
And from the snows of Winter.

[Spring-in pretty dress, basket of flowers, crown of flowers.]
Young girl in ordinary dress."

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[Winter-in thick ulster, fur cap, muff, spotted with wool.]
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And crown the hills with snow.
But you could not do without me.
For the hills I fertilise,
And from the snows of Winter.

[Spring-in pretty dress, basket of flowers, crown of flowers.]
Young girl in ordinary dress."

"Then a willing offering lay at His feet,
And the Harvest Home be mine to come.
Seamen. They sold 11 dozen tickets raising six pounds and eighteen shillings for the cause(30).

In 1920 the North-East Valley helped organise a United Band of Hope for all the Churches in the Valley. By the end of its first year the Band of Hope had 159 members and met every first Tuesday night in the month. By the end of 1923 the membership was 279. The local Methodist minister, the Rev. R.E. Fordyce was President and the leaders of other protestant churches were vice-Presidents. The W.C.T.U. decided to help because the Methodist Church had had difficulty getting people to help organise the meetings of its Band of Hope. At the beginning of the year each church had been responsible for a night's entertainment but this was changed so that each church was responsible for two items each night. They found this arrangement improved attendances. The items performed were restricted to a temperance theme and there was always a speech on temperance by one of the local ministers or by a guest. Mrs. Harrison Lee Cowie of the Outlook published a model programme with the instructions that each item "be thoroughly learned, and given with a clear, ringing voice."(31). Collections were held at each meeting and a concert given in December 1920 in the Valley Town Hall raised ten pounds for the New Zealand Alliance and one pound for the services of the school band. The W.C.T.U. sponsored the prizes for an essay competition each year on the subject "Why Should every girl or boy be a Band of Hope member?". They also awarded a trophy to the member who got the most people to join the Band of Hope(32).

The branch sent letters approving or disapproving government policy on alcohol and gambling to their local MP, the Minister of the Government Department concerned and to the Prime Minister. In August 1920 there was "animated discussion" about whether or not to protest
WHY I AM A TEETOTALLER.

CHAIN FOR FIVE GIRLS AND EIGHT BOYS.

1st girl—Because the flowers drink water and grow so fair,
Chorus—So will we.
2nd girl—The lambs are teetotallers everywhere,
Chorus—So are we.
3rd girl—The oxen are so strong, can work all day long,
Chorus—So can we.
4th girl—The birds are teetotallers, and sing with zest,
Chorus—So do we.
5th girl—Everything says that water is best,
Chorus—So do we.

BOYS.

1st boy—Weston, the walker, says "Abstain,"
Chorus—So do we.
2nd boy—Webb, who breasted the mighty main,
Chorus—We all agree.
3rd boy—Hanlan, who dipped the feathered oar,
Chorus—Says Abstain.
4th boy—Grace, who reached Australia’s shore,
Chorus—Cries Abstain.
5th boy—Sir William Gull, of world-wide fame,
Chorus—Says Abstain.
6th boy—Canon Farrar once and again,
Chorus—Says Abstain.
7th boy—Sir Wilfred Lawson, our Nestor Grand,
Chorus—Cries Abstain.
8th boy—The noble and good of every land,
Chorus—Say Abstain.

ALL TOGETHER.

Since God, whose wisdom cannot err,
Has placed pure water everywhere,
We’ll drink of that, and stronger grow
To fight our Country’s deadliest foe.
And here we pledge our heart and hand
For God, and Home, and Native Land.

I promise, by God’s gracious love, to abstain from strong drink and every evil, and use my political powers to vote in the righteousness which exalteth a nation.

(Signed).
to the government that Bellamy's license had been renewed. It was decided not to protest as the license had already been granted(33). A letter of appreciation was sent to the Honourable C.J.Parr, Minister of Education, for his action in getting "scientific Temperance" teaching into schools(34). The branch wrote to urge that provision be made in the Juries Amendment Act for women to be eligible for jury duty, presumably so that women would be able contribute their superior morality to the justice system. They asked Miss Henderson (the Dominion Secretary of the W.C.T.U.) to support a message of appreciation being sent to President Harding of the U.S.A. because he was a total abstainer(35). Another concern was the introduction of liquor licenses into the King Country and the Prime Minister was urged to keep the governments promise to the Maori chiefs that liquor would not be introduced to the area(36).

Generally the North-East Valley W.C.T.U. functioned as a support for the National body by raising funds (fifty pounds was collected in 1922) and educating the community about the prohibitionist and temperance point of view. They also contributed to other organisations such as the New Zealand Alliance which did most of the organising for political campaigns. Members were asked to contribute sixpence a month to the Fighting Fund in 1923 (not even an election year)(37). The members also helped to collect money for the Dr. Barnado's Home in 1920 and collaborated with the Mother's Union in a street collection for the West Ham Mission in London(38).

The branch undoubtedly served an important social function for it's members and kept them in contact with what was happening nationally and internationally in the women's movement. At a time when public action by women was still circumscribed by convention the W.C.T.U
provided a socially acceptable means for women to act publicly. The North-East Valley branch often received invitations from local churches to attend services en masse and also joined the Dunedin District Union in a Church Parade held outside the Hanover Street Baptist Church (39). Mrs. Peart, the president of the branch, gave a speech on the first woman MP in 1920 (Lady Astor in Britain) who was also an ardent prohibitionist and read points from Lady Astor's first speech to Parliament (31). An "American Tea" given by one of the members to raise money was obviously enjoyed as entertainment for the party each woman had to tell how she had obtained the money she gave (40). While the North-East Valley branch usually acted in the most respectable ways and did not compromise their traditional femininity openly, the camaraderie of the group gave women support to travel around New Zealand to the various conventions and to occasionally stand on street corners and go from door to door campaigning. In 1918 the women took part in a "Hurricane Campaign" and collected 1503 signatures (it is not clear what the campaign was about in the minutes) (41).

Initiation into the Women's Christian Temperance Union must have been an emotional occasion which would have created strong bonds between the members and the Initiatory Service contained powerfully emotional language;

"Dear Sister,

We welcome you to Our Union in the name of Him who hath sent us to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of prison doors to them that are bound. Thousands of the sons, and the daughters of our land are bound by the cruel chains of drunkenness and we pledge ourselves in the name of
Jesus our strength and our Redeemer, to go forth and seek to break their bonds asunder and to work and pray till death or victory, to remove the stumblers out of the way of our weaker Bretheren and Sisters, in the name of Jehovah who says now, as He said old 'certainly I will be with thee'.... Unite and Sing, Praise God from whom all blessings flow, Praise Him who heals the deepest woe, Praise Him who leads the Temperance Host, Praise Father, Son and Holy Ghost."(42).

While in actual numbers women may not have been as important as men in the prohibition movement, they certainly played a large part. The activities of the W.C.T.U. must be seen in the light of the fact that it was unusual for women to be publicly politically active in the early twentieth century. Although their numbers were small the fact that women were commonly perceived to be a strong force in the prohibition movement points to the conclusion that they were. In Dunedin the membership of the North-East Valley branch was much higher at 5.47% of the total female population than the national figure of below 1% of the total female population over 21. The fact that several national leaders of the W.C.T.U. lived in Dunedin probably helped raise the consciousness of women here to a greater extent than in other areas. The W.C.T.U. allowed women in Dunedin to act politically and publicly while retaining their respectability.

NOTES

2. ibid, p 144.
3. The Contagious Diseases Act was introduced in New Zealand in 1869. It was modelled on similar legislation introduced in Britain in 1864, 1866 and 1869. The Act was offensive to women as it was unjust to prostitutes and ineffective in controlling the spread of venereal diseases. Feminist leaders had drawn attention to the Act in New Zealand in the mid 1880's and it became one of the first issues taken up by the National Council of Women and the W.C.T.U. after women were granted the vote in 1893. See C. Macdonald, "The Social Evil: Prostitution and the Passage of the Contagious Diseases Act", p 15.


5. ibid, p 151.

6. ibid, p 152.

7. ibid, p 158.

8. ibid, p 160.

9. ibid, p 152. In 1915 W.C.T.U. membership represented 0.94% of women over 21 in New Zealand.


20. ibid, 24 November 1919.
21. ibid, 24 September 1919.
22. ibid, 15 October 1919.
23. ibid, 28 August 1919.
25. N.E.V.W.C.T.U. minutes, 30 November 1920, 28 February 1921 and 23 April 1921.
26. ibid, 13 October 1923.
32. N.E.V.W.C.T.U. minutes, Annual Reports 1920 and 1923; North-East Valley United Band of Hope Reports, 26 July 1921 and 25 July 1922
33. ibid, 26 August 1920.
34. ibid, 24 March 1921.
35. ibid, 28 June 1923.
36. ibid, 26 July 1923.
37. ibid, 22 March 1923.
38. ibid, 28 October 1920 and Annual Report 1921.
39. ibid, 23 July 1921.
40. ibid, 28 July 1920.
41. ibid, Annual Report 1918.
42. From the N.E.V.W.C.T.U. minutes.
CONCLUSION

In Dunedin from 1919 to 1923 the prohibition movement continued its work as before. It mainly concentrated on obtaining prohibition through the polls in 1919 and 1922 although some, notably the W.C.T.U., were involved in other activities such as fund raising for the Seamen's Rests.

This study has concentrated on the Presbyterians, the Catholics and the W.C.T.U. because evidence of their activities was available in Dunedin. The other protestant churches were also involved in the movement to varying degrees. The minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church of New Zealand give some clue as to their attitudes on the question. Like the Presbyterians they urged their members to work for prohibition and designated certain Sundays as Temperance Sundays(1). Some Methodist churches ran Bands of Hope and the number of these and their membership grew throughout the period. In 1919 the Temperance and Morals Committee urged increased effort with the Bands of Hope as they had been declining. In 1919 in Otago there were 3 Bands of Hope with 178 members altogether. By 1923 there were 6 Bands of Hope in Dunedin with a total of 406 members(2). The Temperance and Morals Committee passed resolutions expressing support to the introduction of temperance instruction in schools, support of removal of the State Control and Purchase option from the ballot paper, objection to the "misleading statements" in the press about prohibition in America, and concern about the state of the electoral rolls(3).

The Anglican Church generally left the prohibition question up to the individual's conscience. At an Otago Anglican Synod debate in 1922
a motion was discussed "that this synod desires church people to vote in favour of prohibition." In the discussion of the motion it became clear that the people of the Anglican Diocese were divided on the issue and the motion was lost(4). The example of Christ was commented on in the discussion, especially the miracle at the Cana wedding (John 2:6-12) when Christ was reported to have made wine out of water and St. Paul's Preaching of voluntary abstinence(5).

A strong concern of the prohibitionists was that the electoral rolls used in the 1919 polls were "stuffed" and "unclean"(6). In her history of the W.C.T.U. in New Zealand, J.Wood has investigated this problem. She quotes from John A. Lee's book 'For Mine is The Kingdom'. Lee tells of a friend who was an organiser for the Hotel and Restaurant Worker's Union who said, "I know of over a thousand votes the Trade polled in the wartime referendum. On the day of the poll twenty-eight of us were carried from booth to booth. We were given a name at each polling place.

"I polled thirty votes in that referendum and was well paid for polling them... The Trade had sent along people to register as poll clerks, people with qualifications who applied for the jobs the moment returning officers were appointed. Our group polled eight or nine hundred votes and we were not the only group in New Zealand. I'm sure Prohibition polled enough to carry prohibition in spite of the soldiers' vote, if a couple of thousand other votes had not been polled."(7)

While it is difficult to prove these allegations of corruption in the polls it is certain that the introduction of the State Purchase and Control option did prevent National Prohibition ever being carried. After it was introduced prohibitionists began to urge that it
be removed from the ballot paper and accused the government of
sucumbing to pressure from the "Trade" when it was introduced.

C.B.Kerr has found that the activities of prohibitionists in
Dunedin as in New Zealand in the early twentieth century did not
lessen the consumption of alcohol and transformed the pub from a
community centre of entertainment (in the 1850's) to little more than
drinking shops where men raced to consume as much beer as possible
before six o'clock(8). It is questionable as to whether pubs would
have remained a centre of the community as they had been in the early
years of New Zealand. In fact they were a centre for the male
community which predominated in the frontier society and as the
proportion of women in children in the community there was inevitably
a clash of interests. Prohibitionists were rightly concerned at the
plight of women and children whose husbands and fathers drank too
much.

Breweries by the 1920s had become New Zealand wide organisations
rather than family owned businesses. In Dunedin in 1923 three
breweries amalgamated under New Zealand Breweries Ltd. At the time a
meeting was held by prohibitionists for the purpose of selling
"liberty bonds". In contrast with the 10% which the "Trade" gave
investors over 3 years the "liberty bonds" were claimed to give 10% in
perpetuity, 10% in greater efficiency and 50% in happier homes. The
Reverend John Dawson (a representative of the New Zealand Alliance from
Wellington) commented that he hoped that the merger of the brewery
companies would help the prohibitionists slay the Trade, he did not
say how. Several prominent Dunedin prohibitionists were present at
the meeting; Mrs.Don, Dominion President of the W.C.T.U., Mr.Charles
Todd occupied the chair and H.S.Adams (a Dunedin representative of the
N.Z.A. and the elusive United Temperance Reform Council thanked the speakers for their addresses (9).

In Dunedin in 1919-22 it seems that the prohibition movement basically conformed to Griggs' thesis that it was a based on a middle class ideology of thrift, sobriety and industry as a means to self-improvement and respectability. Here as elsewhere prohibitionists believed that if only they could stop the consumption of alcohol then the problems of society would be solved. The class analysis of the North-East Valley Presbyterian Church communion roll shows that many of its members were middle class. Although there was also a large group from the lower status occupational groupings it seems probable that this group was aspiring to respectability through their church attendance. It cannot be assumed that all the people who attended communion at the church supported the Presbyterian Church's stand on prohibition but the North-East Valley Church was one which was prominent in its public statements on prohibition so it seems likely that the majority of its members supported prohibition. The opposition to prohibition expressed in the New Zealand Tablet may have reflected the opinions of local Catholics. Because of the strong condemnatory attitude of the Tablet and the Church Hierarchy it was unlikely that many prohibitionist Catholics would have widely publicised their views, Charles Todd being the exception. Because of this it is difficult to gauge the local Catholic community's involvement but it is likely that it was mostly negative. A large proportion of publicans were Catholic and it is probable that alcohol consumption was more acceptable in the Catholic community than in the Protestant.

After the 1922 poll, H.S. Adams commented in the Otago Witness that
the results of the poll were encouraging, prohibition had gained more votes than continuance, and the prohibition issue had permeated all of society and proceeded to name a list of middle class occupations to which prohibitionists belonged(10). Adams assumed that the movement's association with the respectable middle class gave the movement credibility. However the poll results through the rest of the 1920s were to prove him wrong. The changes in society which occurred in the later twenties eventually undermined the prohibitionist ideology and gave greater credibility to the labour movement and the Labour Party in the thirties. Prohibition was no longer the answer to the problems of society and modern living which it had seemed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

NOTES

2. ibid, General Returns for 1919 and 1923.
3. ibid, Reports of the Temperance and Morals Committee, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922 and 1923.
5. ibid.
10. ibid, 12 December 1922, p 24.
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Every District in New Zealand is urged to work up the following Pageant as a great Spectacular Appeal to the Public:

PERSONÆ:

THE ANGEL OF TEMPERANCE rising out of ruins holding in her hands the globe of a New World, and white ribbon. She sings "All Round the World" while tying the ribbon around the globe. Unseen singers take up the chorus "It's Coming," to tune of "Poor Old Joe."

RUSSIA advances, accompanied by all her smaller States—Poland, Finland, Lithuanis, etc., etc. National Anthem, "God the All Terrible." Russia recites. Choir sings "The Bright Future Day."


ROUMANIA. National Anthem. Recites. Choir sings "He Cares for Me."

ITALY. National Anthem. Recites.


CANADA. National song. Recites. Choir sings "Victory."

AMERICA. "The Star-spangled Banner." Recites. All sing "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

AUSTRALIA. "Haste to New Zealand." Recites. All sing "When the Drink is Swept Away."

GRAND FINALE. DOXOLOGY.

Women of our nation, join the women's band;
Men, arise, the call of God obey;
Children, Jesus needs you—one and all
Must stand again against the fearful demon's hold.

(Chorus.)

Upon the altar, let us see the素 embracing ways;
In every land, our triumphs song we raise;
No jarring notes shall mar that rapturous lay,
Glory waits to crown us on before.

(Chorus.)

Mrs Harrison Lee Cowie's Page.
Address: 13 Littlebourne Crescent, Dunedin.

Grand Patriotic Prohibition Pageant.
By Mrs Harrison Lee Cowie.

APPENDIX
Grand Patriotic Prohibition Pageant.—Continued.

BY H. L. HARRISON.

Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done; Deliver us, oh, God's dear Son; And let the children all be fed Each day with love and daily bread.

To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Direct leaders of our Temperance Host, We come for strength and power and grace, To save our land from drink's disgrace.

ROUMANIA.—"He Cares for Me." By Miss Hannah Lee Cowan. Tune: "Ye Banks and Braes." Oh, soaring bird, sweet songs you sing; With rapturous joy you praise your King. Your faith and trust how can I reach? Oh, come, sweet bird, my soul to teach.

I can believe, I do believe That God, my Maker, cares for me; And so on soaring wing I rise To trill my anthems in the skies.

Oh, whispering wind, I hear your song— Now soft and low, now loud and strong. Oh, tell me who directs your way! Teach me the power that you obey.

I can believe, I do believe That God, my Maker, plans my way; Oh, I am so glad I know, I know! My sovereign laws I gladly keep.

Oh, soul redeemed from drink and sin, How could you such a victory win? Who helped you break your galling chain? How did you rise to heaven again?

I do believe, I can believe That God, my Father, cares for me; That from above He stooped in love From drink and death to set me free.

RUSSIA.—"The Bright Future Day." Tune: No. 8, Stanley's. There's a work that is grander than rest, There's a fight that's more glorious than peace, And a Captain to lead forth His hosts Till strong drink and its powers shall cease.

Chorus: In the bright future day We shall stand as our Lord's conqu'ring host. (Repeat.)

We shall tell of the triumphs of right; Of the victories gained through the King; All the warring nations shall be saved, And the songs of the ransom and shall ring. (Chorus.)

All the chains from the captives shall fall, All the drunkards shall soon be set free, And all the widows and orphans shall shout, Praise the Lord for the grand victory. (Chorus.)

RUSSIA.

"God the All Terrible." (National Anthem.) (Accompanied by her Dependencies: Finland, Poland, Lithuania, etc., etc.) Steeped in ignorance, vice, and drink My soul enslaved that I could not think; Crushed and tramelled within, without, My goal a prison my way the knout. Yawning with great dumb cries for light, Answered only by blacker night; Then the war, like a surgeon's knife Cut through the blackness of my life.

Vodka was banished and I became A human being in more than name, With soul and body and brain redeemed Never a foe but I light esteemed. I knelt to my knees, sprang to the fray, A mighty nation born in a day. While vodka was banned and I was free Never an ally but trusted me. Then came the withering blast again— Vodka, anarchy, riot, and pain; And every ally now mourns my loss And falls with me 'neath the iron cross.

Men and women, oh, stay the drink! Or Russia is doomed in honor to sink, And the world will reel 'neath the fearful blast. If vodka and anarchy reign at last.

FRANCE.—"Marsellaise." (With her attendants: Algiers, Morocco, etc., etc.) Careless of danger, I danced and smiled, With wine in my right gleam I quaffed; And oftentimes stooped to the stronger draught.

The abstinence—foremost of liquid fire, With holier zeal for God and home and state. God was forgotten, and life was joy, And every passion stoned was given full sway. When, hark! at our gates the cannons roar. Remembered from forty years before Merely, mighty, and keen for the fray, Prepared for the awful, ominous "Day; And, I, so careless and light and gay, Had sinned my sons and my powers away.

But into my soul a new life poured; And out on me the great guns roared, And General Joffre, loyal to France, Flashed o'er her land his eagle glance, And saw one cause for his country's woes Greater than even the German foe, And might and wrong, banished the abstinence, And smile of the traffic a funeral pile. And the makers, in wisdom, acquired: "We are patriots first, distillers next." And the soul of France has found a road To service and sacrifice, duty and God.

Choir sings "The Bright Future Day.""RUOMANIA.—National Anthem. I stood between opposing forces great, Seeking to be a peaceful, neutral State, But fierce and wild the war of all the world Against me all its mighty forces hurled, And I, in self-defence unbarred the sword, And sought to stay the war of advancing horde. (The liquor first I banned, that men might again With hope and for God and home and right; Then stood beside the Allies, this my cry: "For honour and for truth I dare to die." Choir sings "He Cares for Me.""

ITALY.—National Anthem. My land of sunshine and of song, Of romance, art, and fame, Shrank back when belched the deadly draught; And gleamed war's lurid flame.

But Italy could not withstand The cry of helpless States, When battering rams with ruthless Beat down the neutral gates. To face her nation's ancient foe— Greece, the Hellenic race, Hail!!'s sons unsheathed the sword, Prepar'd to win or die. But first the wine must be curtailed, To keep the Austrian out So thirty thousand liquor shops Were turned to right about. And Italy has done her part Against the deadly three— The German, Austrian, and the Drink— To set the wide world free.

BRITAIN.—National Anthem. Accompanied by England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. In shame I bow my head and mourn my gallant dead— My noble dead, whose blood was spilt in vain; For in that awful hour when rose the German Power, A mightier wrong declared its right to reign.

Though our own noble King cast out the evil thing, And called on everyone to do and dare, This hydra-headed foe dealt hunger, death, and woe, And brought to England's leader black despair.

The golden grain did pour into its raving maw While starving women cried in vain for bread, No sugar for our brave, no coal to warm and save; The drink fiend mocked the living, shamed the dead.

Two hundred million pounds wrung from an Empire's wounds, Enriched the brewers on their throne to-day, While little children cry and brave men weep and die, And the Drink reigns in undisputed sway.

Oh, children of my love, cry to your God To wrench the drink fiend's shackles from my lies, For military dreams and German submarines Are not so deadly as the brewer's wiles, Cease not to pray and plead for Britain in her need Your own chains snap; then help me loose my load Out of the awful pit on Christ's own throne to sit, Owning no conqueror but the Son of God.

Hosanna to His name, whose right it is to reign, Whose love redeems and makes a nation great, With Drink forever slain, my Empire once again Shall stand for right-and truth in every State.

Choir sings "My Promise."-

CANADA.—National Song. The British lion's cubs roared far and wide, 'Neath India's palms and by Atlantic's tide, Up Arctic heights and 'neath the fiery sun Faithful to friend and just to every foe.
Grand Patriotic Prohibition Pageant.—Concluded.

Young, brave, and free, the cubs with
vivacity sang
Gambolled, and played, and fought in
the battle's range.
And, answering roar with roar, the young
cubs now spring
To face the foe's steel; the battle's clash,
But are they reached the fiery Flanders
front;
They hung all weights, to face the battle's
brunt.
They rolled the liquor traffic from the
land,
That curse of nations stamped with Cain's
own brand;
Then, freed from sin that could but black
the height,
Forth stood Canadian cubs in dauntless
might.
And glorious in their prowess leaped the
need.
To bring the fierce oppressors to their
knees.
And over sea and land and battlefield
The conquering cubs held high the glittering
shield.
Freed from the drink fender's thrall, they
now can free
All other tyrants of the human race.
And when they shanter the sword, o'er
compelled wrong,
To God and God alone 'twill raise their
song;
And, though the fallen leaves come not
again,
In righteousness shall Canada, our great
Dominion, reign.
Choir sings "Victory."

AMERICA.

"The Star Spangled Banner."

Under the star-spangled banner behold
A nation uniting the new and the old,
Great Liberty's torch lighting up a new
way for
America's sons in battle array.
Mighty the country and wondrous its
speed,
Pouring its millions to meet the world's
need—
Men and munitions, grain, gold, and gear;
But, half! there's no room for the enemy
—Bea;
Destroyer of men, of food, and of power,
Thy doom is decreed in the world's tragic
hour.
You have lost us the battles that valor
should win;
By leading our legions through pathways of
sin.
You have robbed us of food, of ships,
and of trains,
Of coal, and munitions, of genius, and
glory,
And now as a traitor, betrayer, and spy
The States have decreed that the traffic
shall die.
And never again shall the flag of the free
Preside in health (it folds such a brighter
as they.
The victory in France shall be final and
great.
Because we have banished King Booze
from our land,
And the star-spangled banner in beauty
unfurled
Leads temperance heroes to conquer the
world.
All sing "The Battle Hymn of the
Republic."

AUSTRALIA.

Accompanied by six States.

My boastful land of the wattle tree bloom
His guardian of gold and limitless room.
Mountains and forests and wide-stretching
plains
Asking of God but His life-giving rains.
Water to us in a blessing unfeud,
Greater than even our mountains of gold.
The drink trade in arrogance boastfully
prates
Of "customs" and "revenue" given the
States.
One shower from heaven rebukes the
black hand,
And proves that pure water is wealth to
our kind.
The struggle is on against Liquorism's
reign,
And never shall cease till the victory we
gain.
God's workers may die, but the work
shall not cease
Till righteousness heralds the Angel of
Peace,
Till Drink, the destroyer, is hurled from
his throne.
And the Saviour of men comes into His
own,
And the cross that shines o'er us shall
blest the road.
To freedom and glory, to heaven and God.
Choir sings "A Voting Prayer."

NEW ZEALAND.

Choir sings, "Haste to New Zealand."

Haste to New Zealand the land of the
Fairlest of isles of the great southern
sea.
Here from Drink's bondage my nation
shall be freed.
Rising in triumph to glorious untold,
Chorus.
Vote out the drink trade, vote out, etc.,
Sweep the drink traffic away.
Vote out, etc., etc.
This is our message to-day.
Haste to New Zealand, and here you will
find
Hearts that are lofty and noble and kind.
Free men and women now vote as they
pray,
SwEEPing the curse of our nation away.
Chorus (tune, 29 Sankey's N.E.)
The land of the long white cloud am I,
A star gem dropped from the southern
sky.
Loyal to Britain, to truth, and to right,
"The last man and shining" we've pledged
to the fight.
But Drink, the Han's ally, drains much of
my gold—
Four millions a year is the least, I am
told—
While intellect, character, courage, and
place
Go down through the traffic to endless
disgrace.

My men of New Zealand shall rise
their wealth.
And hurl the vile traitor clean out of the
path.
My women beloved shall reach out the
arms
To save the young children from Drink's
dread alarms.

The wounded and sick we will comfort
and heal,
The aged and poor shall no poverty feel
For great are our resources, and greater our
love,
And great is our Saviour Who rides first
above.
For "God's Own Country," in truth a
in name,
Shall banish the traffic of sorrow and shame.
And radiant in power and beauty shall
b
And raise the Austral, this land of the
free.
Then onward, my people, the goal is in
sight,
And the God of all battles will carry you
through.

GRAND FINALE

"When the Drink is Swept Away."

Tune: "When the Mists Have Rolled
Away." (Sankey's, 606)

Fight on, comrades, don't give over,
For I'm sure we're gaining ground.
Some drunkards now Me I ouud.
Keep on fighting, every day,
And the drink is swept away.

Chorus.

When the beer is swept away,
When the drink is swept away,
When the bar is closed for ever,
And the drink is swept away.

Chorus.

Swept away; Oh, swept away,
When the drink is swept away,
There'll be work for everybody,
And we'll all get better pay.
When the bars are closed for ever,
And the drink is swept away.

All the little hungry children
Will have quite enough to eat,
Our jails will be emptied,
And our nation will get better,
And the drink is swept away.

Chorus.

All our taxes will be lessened,
Our police will have less to do;
Our jails will be emptied,
And our nation will get better,
And the drink is swept away.

Chorus.

Truth and righteousness will flourish
And the cause of Christ increase.
For, instead of homes of sorrow,
There'll be homes of joy and peace.
And our nation will get better,
And grow richer every day.
When the bars are closed for ever,
And the drink is swept away.

Chorus.

DOXOLOGY.

The above Pageant won a Prize in Australia. Copies may be obtained from Mrs. Lee Cowie. Price 3d (post free)