

Kia ora, gday and welcome to the History of Aotearoa New Zealand. Episode 89: Speight's – Rise of Prohibition. This podcast is supported by our amazing Patrons. If you want to support HANZ go to patreon.com/historyaotearoa. Last time, we started the story of Speight's in earnest, detailing the founding of James Speight & Co. and their City Brewery. We went over some of the early successes they had, the death of the company's namesake, James Speight, and the brewery's rise to prominence taking over the overseas markets of Marshall & Copeland. Today we continue that story, moving a bit more into the political theatre.

August 1890 saw the beginning of the Maritime Strike. This involved the Australian and New Zealand Seamen's Unions stopping work in response to alleged mistreatment from the Union Steamship Company, the largest shipping company in the southern hemisphere and possibly New Zealand's largest employer at the time. This strike had a fairly significant impact on Speights given it interrupted exports to Australia and the Pacific Islands, the markets that they had filled due to the vacuum Marshall & Copeland left. Once again though, this reduction in sales and thus production didn't seem to bother the company too much and the staff were even given a day out in the bush to do some shooting and have a bit of a picnic. At the same time, William Dawson's political career was on the up and up. He completed his one year term as mayor of Dunedin and remained on the council until 1890 at which point he was elected to parliament as MP for Dunedin Suburbs for the Liberal Party. His interests included the establishing of a Department of Agriculture, training schools for said department, replacing property tax with income tax, reducing postage prices, railway construction and putting an import duty on coal. However, it probably comes as no surprise that his main area of interest was the legislation of booze. To explain why that was a chief concern for him, apart from the obvious, we need to back track a little to discuss something that is going to be central to our story for the next couple of episodes. Prohibition and the temperance movement.

Temperance societies popped up pretty quick in response to breweries, in Nelson a new brewery was set up in 1841 and a society was set up the following year. These societies had been around since the 1820s and were collections of mostly upper working and lower middle class usually church going people that wanted to see the limited sale of alcohol. That is to say they wanted some national restraint in how alcohol was consumed through some form of government regulation. In some cases, groups wanted outright prohibition, that is a total ban. Temperance movements tended to be more popular in urban areas since alcohol was seen as being against civilised society, in fact it was blamed for almost all of societies ills from poverty to disease, domestic abuse and just general immorality. Alcohol did have an effect on some of these issues but it would be a stretch to say that it was the sole cause and removing it all together would suddenly solve them. Given that the wowsers, as the prohibitionists were known, were very Christian people, they thought of themselves as God's holy army while they saw the Wets, those who were were for alcohol, as the servants of evil. Although the movement had been present in Aotearoa for quite some time, it wouldn't be until the 1880s that the temperance societies got organised nationally and really made headway on their goals.

The first major win for the movement came in the form of the Licensing Act 1881. This Act was the first big piece of legislation that restricted the sale of alcohol. Much of this law was actually still in effect all the way until it was revised in 1962 so it has had a long history and significant influence on the country. What this law did was allow each electorate, that is each region who is allowed one MP in parliament such as Dawson's Dunedin Suburbs, to elect a committee of representatives who held the exclusive right to issue, deny and withdraw liquor licences. That is to say, they alone controlled who could sell alcohol in their area. Keeping in mind, that from the sources I read it is likely that only landowning males could vote in this. Although, men had just received universal suffrage that year so it is unclear. This passed and the committees did their job for a few years without much issue

until 1886. The major organisations of the temperance movement figured out how they could use the system to their benefit. They realised they could effectively enforce prohibition in an area if all the members of the committee were wowsers, since they would just vote to revoke current licences and not issue any more. They managed to do this in the Christchurch electorate of Sydenham but local publicans took them to court, who ruled that the committee had “an incurable bias”. With that idea dead in the water, the movement switched gears and instead campaigned for the law to be amended so electorates could directly vote to become dry.

This led to some scraps in parliament, the near fracture of the Liberal party and ultimately women being able to vote in national elections, all of which we are just going to skip over. The only bit that we are interested in right now is that in 1893, Premier Richard Seddon made a compromise with the temperance portion of his party by introducing the Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Bill. When this was passed into law every general election would be accompanied by a referendum, voters could vote as to whether they wanted their electorate to reduce the number of licences or go dry entirely. The catch was they could only go dry if more than 50% of eligible people turned out to vote and additionally if at least 60% of those voted dry. Some wowsers thought that the high threshold was unrealistic to get past but the recent addition of the women’s vote gave some confidence that it could be possible as women were perceived to be more in favour of prohibition. It should be noted though, that there was no guarantee that women would generally be in favour. In fact, we will see that this was an incorrect assumption, just like men, women had a range of opinions on alcohol and this was expressed in the voting.

With the question of prohibition laid before the nation, the propaganda wheels of both sides began turning. The temperance movement made what was called ‘No License Leagues’ whose goal it was to get as many votes as possible to reach the 60% majority needed for local prohibition. These were usually led by Protestant and Methodist ministers or prominent members of their congregations. Campaigns started about 6 months before each poll and they used a variety of strategies from posters, pamphlets, newspaper ads and public demonstrations.

The alcohol industry in response, formed the rather generic sounding National Council of New Zealand. Since this was backed by corporations and wealthy businessmen, it was generally better resourced than the more grassroots Leagues. This Council spent heaps on advertising and cartoons designed to portray the temperance movement as fun sponges and joyless puritans, or in other words wowsers. There were also groups that popped up to argue that in a free, democratic society such as New Zealand, people should be allowed to choose whether they drink or not. Lawyers of the booze companies would keep close eyes on the election results and often sent the courts long lists of ‘irregularities’ in the voting whenever an electorate went dry.

Voter turnout in the first referendum in 1894, the year after the election, was pretty low but by the next election in 1896, things had heated up. Especially since that year the elections and the prohibition referendum were on the same day, leading to a much higher turn out. Once the 1899 election rolled around, the liquor issue was one of the key political questions of the day, with the press coverage of the referendum sometimes being much greater than the actual parliamentary election itself.

So it’s pretty obvious why Speight’s would be concerned about this, electorates going dry means that was an area they couldn’t sell their product in. Thankfully, the brewery had a man on the inside. As a recently elected member of parliament, Dawson vehemently opposed the Alcoholic Liquor Sales Control Bill with everything he could possibly throw at it. This potentially even involved taking some rather underhanded measures, as he was called out on it on the House floor. This underhanded

tactic saw Dawson and a fellow brewer MP somewhat infiltrate a group of fifty women from the temperance movement who came to chat to the Premier. This was considered eavesdropping and a bit dodgy. In more standard forms of opposition, during the debate for the Bill, Dawson engaged in a filibuster so as to stop it's passing. His hour long speech being beat by another Dunedin MP who did his own filibuster for four and a half hours. We don't know exactly what was said cause the press was excluded from the House but we do know that despite their efforts, the Bill was passed into law. Something you may be wondering is whether Dawson was still involved with Speights during his time in parliament which would be a clear conflict of interest nowadays. The answer was yes, he was still pretty closely involved as vice chair of the board but obviously didn't have much to do with the day to day runnings.

Speight's was also opposed to the Bill, which is to be expected and they made their own separate efforts to convince voters to not vote for reduction of licences or even straight prohibition. The way they did this was by publishing a booklet called *The History of a Glass of Beer* which gave a history of brewing and added in quite a fair amount of detail on how Speight's in particular brewed their beer, overall pointing out the positive aspects of a cold one. "A drink that has been for centuries the staple beverage of the nation, and which has not yielded even to tea, coffee and cocoa in its rank in the dietary scale, is not going to give way to the clamour of the rabid prohibitionists, who see only the drunkards and ignore the masses to whom the daily consumption of beer is a benefit and a pleasure," The book also mentions how Speights had bought 41,494 bushels of barley over the last 12 months, so naturally they went for the 'we create jobs!' angle, "Now just imagine what this one outlet means for farming, and ask yourself, reader, whether it is true that brewing does not benefit Colonial industry," To illustrate the health benefits they talk about how their 55 year old copperman hadn't been sick in 40 years and hasn't missed a day of work in his five years of being with the company. Of course the fact that James Speight died of complications due to excess drinking, you know, the guy whose name was on the building, was not mentioned.

Naturally the booklet had to mention all the awards they won from around the world with their latest being a prestigious gold medal from the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London. They boasted about how the medals "handsomely fill a large glass case, while an adjacent one contains fully sixty certificates of prizes," Additionally they wrote this, "Emphatically an honest article is turned out, and that fact alone has procured for the enterprising, liberal and far seeing firm, the unique success it has achieved – the first rank in Colonial breweries," What does that mean? Well translated into more modern English, Speight's are saying that they are now the largest brewery in New Zealand. Although some of their other claims could be argued this one was pretty clear cut, the City Brewery of James Speight & Co. was, by sales and production volume, the largest producer of beer in Aotearoa. Another title that they would hold for some time as a result of their increasing share of both the local and overseas export markets.

Much like Dawson's efforts in Parliament, Speight's efforts to turn voters off the idea of prohibition wasn't entirely successful, The Clutha electorate went dry and a few Dunedin suburbs voted for reduction of licences with two hotels closely linked to Speight's losing theirs. Thankfully one of those hotels, The Apollo, was able to pivot to becoming the sole bottler for Speight's for the Middle and South Island. That is, the South Island and Stewart Island as they were known back then. The Apollo, now known as Powley & Keast became NZ's leading bottling company and exported a lot of Speight's to Australia. In those days the label on a bottle of beer wasn't dictated as much by the brewer but rather the bottler. Obviously the brewery's name was front and centre so you knew what kind of beer you were getting but the overall design of the label was the demesne of the guys who owned the bottles. In Powley & Keast's case, they used the image of a moa as their trademark which

became rather famous and widely synonymous with Speight's. In the North Island, things were a bit more complicated with bottlers all over the place to meet demand. Some of these had their own very different labels, for example one label had the letters S and P in the two holes of the number 8, spelling Speight.

Things went relatively quiet for the next couple of years. Speight's once again needed to expand to accommodate their increasing sales and production to match but instead of constructing an entirely new building this time, they bought an existing one, the Britannia which had stood next to the brewery since 1876. This was a hotel that had lost its licence in the most recent election. The ground floor of the three storey building was converted into offices and was the main office of Speight's for quite a while, while the top floors were converted into residential flats for rent. In 1894 things had somewhat come full circle with James Wilson of Well Park Brewery now being employed by Speight's! He was their new travelling salesman which I'm sure was an interesting change but he left a few months later.

1894 also saw Dawson's three-year Parliamentary term ending. It's not that he wasn't voted back in but rather his seat was abolished due to the number of Dunedin electorates being reduced. This is something that happens from time to time, even today, as electorates are based on population and are changed, added or removed based on how many people live in an area. He still remained in public life though as he had been made a Justice of the Peace and he tried to have another crack at being mayor of Dunedin but he was defeated by his fellow former Parliamentarian Henry Fish, the same guy who made the four-and-a-half-hour filibuster. Dawson did manage to make it back onto the council though and was selected to the hospital Board of Trustees and later was a member of the Otago Harbour Board. As you might expect, Dawson at this point was one of the wealthiest men in Dunedin. From 1895 onward, Dawson took a six month overseas holiday every couple of years, partly for his health, he had rheumatism, and partly so he could catch up on the latest in brewing technology. It seems that these trips were used to the benefit of Speight's as in 1896 there were a bunch of improvements to the brewery yet again, the biggest being two extra floors were added to the current malthouse, making it six storeys, the largest building on the property at the time. Other improvements to the brewery included a new kiln, a bigger boiler and two 18m elevators, which were suggested by Dawson after he saw them being used in the United States. The Britannia was also renovated a bit on the bottom floor to become a counting house and a new well was dug. This gave the brewery a lot of the recent innovations in the industry, so now that the production side was up to modern standards, it was time to sort the admin side of things.

In 1895 documents were made up to make Speight's a Limited Liability Company, or LLC. It's unimportant what this means in detail but basically they were looking to restructure how the company operated at its top levels as well as allowing them to expand more easily and give them a firmer footing for long term survival. This meant the company needed name some directors, which was pretty easy to pick, Greenslade, Dawson and Charles Speight. Charles was now head brewer and works manager but not actually a shareholder unlike the other two, his mother still owned his father's shares. This changed in April 1896 though when his mother died and left him three eighths of her share, with the rest going to his five other siblings. However, his brother and four sisters were paid out when the company became an LLC. This meant that the mostly original trio once again were the only shareholders. The problem with this was that to become an LLC there was a legal requirement to have at least seven shareholders, which was a bit ironic since they just got rid of the exact number they needed. So they went out and added four more shareholders, Walter Speight, Charles' brother who had just been paid out, Bob Greenslade, who was Charles Greenslade's son and a junior brewer at the company, James Michie, the accountant and Peter Wilson the chief

traveller, not sure if he was any relation to James Wilson, the former chief traveller and former head of Well Park. Each were given five shares to fulfil the requirement. This may seem like the whole process was a bit redundant, why didn't they just leave the Speight siblings with their shares and use them to fulfil the seven shareholder requirement? This is just speculation but something tells me that the trio weren't happy with that distribution of shares and wanted to retain a controlling stake in the company while also having the other four shareholders be much closer to the business side of the brewery. Overall, James Speight & Co, now James Speight & Co Ltd had a value of 60,000 pounds, about \$13mil today, which was split into 6,000 ten pound shares, Greenslade holding 2491, Dawson 2496 and Charles 993, if you just did some quick maths that all adds up to 5,980 shares, which makes sense with the other 20 being held by the four new shareholders at 5 shares a pop.

With the rearrangement of the admin portion of the business, which largely kept the status quo, came a new company secretary, one Hugh Adam. Adam was another Scotsman who had worked as an accountant for the Colonial Bank, an independent bank that had its head office in Dunedin. It was actually pretty significant cause it had 27 branches around the place and even an office in London. Adam lost his job in 1895 when the Colonial Bank was bought out by the other major local competition who you may have heard of, the Bank of New Zealand, who were forced to watch their investment collapse a few years later. This eventually led Adam to join Speight's since he had no job and given his skill set, along with becoming secretary he was given the position of company accountant too. Michie, who I just mentioned was the accountant and now held shares, decided to take a bit of a step back from the role after doing it for 15 years but he was still around helping out. Unfortunately, despite being held in high enough regard to be given a few shares, it seems Michie may have been doing a bit of a sub-par job. Speight's finances were a fucken trainwreck. For example sometimes no one had taken into account that the company would need to pay for duties on the latest shipment meaning wages to the staff weren't paid on time. This was an extremely rookie error, each cask before it was exported had to have a duty stamp on it, which was purchased from the Customs House. This would have been something Speight's were very familiar with for years and it was pretty standard procedure in New Zealand and across the world at the time. It was also possible that some of the higher ups would take money from the till when they went to the races. It doesn't take a genius to figure out that this is not a good idea and very unsustainable. Thankfully for Speights' finances, Adam was ruthless and ended such behaviour. Unfortunately, this was less than good for his workforce. Adam was very hard on his staff to achieve his goals, even sacking his chief clerk when he refused to come back at night when asked. Under Adam there were no morning or afternoon breaks and he pinched every penny he could, even reusing used envelopes as note paper. Adam most assuredly helped bring the brewery's financial management to a good place, probably having to wrest its control from the owners who were used to seeing the company money as their money. He was both very good and very devoted to his job, but it is bosses like him who worked their staff to the bone that would give rise to union leaders like Bob Semple in 10 years time.

With the LLC rearrangement giving him some more shares as well as rising from apprentice to head brewer, Charles Speight now held a fairly large amount of power within the company and would remain in an executive position for Speight's for the rest of his life. Many described Charles as not having much of a commanding presence, he had a bung leg due to an injury but he quickly gained much renown and recognition amongst the Kiwi brewing industry not just for his talents as a brewer but also just being an all-round stand-up bloke. It seems his two partners thought he was a pretty good guy too. You see, Speight's had a rule that said every cheque made had to be signed by one of the directors and then countersigned by the secretary. As you might expect, this made Adam indispensable to the running of the brewery and as such he pretty much never took a holiday.

However, there were three directors so any one of them could sign cheques but what we find is that it was pretty much always Charles Speight's name on the dotted line, so clearly Greenslade and Dawson thought he had a good head on his shoulders if they trusted him to approve large purchases. This faith seems to have been well placed as Adam and Charles ran the brewery between them for the next 30 years without the help of the other two directors, in what some describe as the golden age of Speight's.

Although they weren't involved in the day-to-day runnings, naturally Greenslade and Dawson still wanted to be kept in the loop with what was going on in the brewery, well except when the latter decided to head off overseas, as he did in 1897 for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. He went to London to take part in the celebrations and even had enough social standing to be invited to the Lord Mayor's Banquet for Colonial Premiers. Dawson was so proud of the invitation that he had it framed in his office. He didn't spend the whole-time socialising though, he did go see some breweries, chat to some industry leaders and learn what he could to bring back home. When Dawson returned, more improvements were made to the brewery based on what he had learned, their capacity to make beer was doubled by adding an entirely new plant that could output 50 hogsheads worth of beer with each brew. The main issue at this time though was that they needed to expand their malting and cellar capacity, given that they fell short of their malt demand by just over half a million litres that year. Thankfully they were able to make this up by buying malt from other breweries so it wasn't entirely a disaster but it highlighted the need to expand even more as buying from others meant they had less control over the product and its quality. This led them to purchase the land on the other side of Rattray Street, land that they still operate on today. During the excavation for the buildings to go here, another well was put in to access another aquifer beneath, this being part of the current water supply that the brewery uses. The new building was used not only as a cellar and malting house but also as storage for barley, which gave easy access for the malting guys to be able to use it. Once the malting was done and the malt ready for the next stage of brewing, it was sent to the main brewery by a pipe in an underground tunnel, pushed forward by a fan. All employees were able to drink free beer but obviously it wasn't a good look to be pissed on the job so access was generally limited. There were about 20 guys employed on the malt floor and it was hard work, likely garnering a mean thirst at times. As such, they had no restriction on their access to beer to quench it. There was even a bit of a legend that if anyone was caught drinking water rather than beer they would get the sack. Speight's also had a bunch of cats who were used to keep rats away from the grain and even taken home as pets. Interestingly, these cats were fed beer as well rather than water!

Greenslade, as well as being a maltster by trade and chairman of Speight's had a number of other commercial interests around this time, such as being in insurance, cable cars, electricity, gold mining and owned a farm in Southland. He was a member of the Chamber of Commerce and was high up in the sports of rowing and sailing. He was also apparently a fairly big philanthropist and often claimed he was short of cash from giving it away to so many people and groups, despite undoubtedly having a large income. He had a holiday home on the shore of the Otago Harbour and also suffered from rheumatism like Dawson, the both of them regularly visiting Hamner Springs and Rotorua hoping that the mineral waters there would do them some good. Unlike Dawson he didn't really leave New Zealand since his arrival in 1864, other than some trips to Australia, but in 1900 he did travel to San Francisco and then overland to New York before sailing to London with a few of his kids. He visited some old haunts of his and made some business contacts but didn't make it a regular thing. Dawson for his part, headed off again in 1901 while his house was vastly expanded and went up for mayor upon his return but was once again defeated. Dawson was also a rather a big philanthropist having given some of his property to become the bowling green for the Otago Bowling Club when it was

founded in 1906 as well as contributing a fair share of money to the construction of St. Paul's Cathedral in the Octagon and some other projects and groups around the city.

The brewery had also grown with the stables being put into a bigger building and the old stables being made into a storeroom. The horses were used either in pairs to pull two wheeled carts or in fours to pull four wheeled carts, delivering beer throughout town. They were said to know the city extremely well and apparently one employee from the brewery hired one of the horses to pull his wedding carriage. He was rather embarrassed though when the horse insisted on stopping at every pub they passed! At the same time as the stables were expanded, a new coopers and carpenters shops were built behind the Britannia building, the latter being a rather roughly put together lean to, protecting it from the weather. The coopers were in a basement under the carpenters with two of their walls just being bare earthen clay. The idea was that Speight's would be able to produce all the casks they needed on site but this wouldn't occur for a few years more, most of the casks were imported from Britain or Australia. Even so, there was lots of work for the carpenters and coopers. All new casks had to be branded with the company name and the metal hoops painted white, a famous hallmark of Speights' beer casks by this time. Returning casks also had to be looked over, repaired and washed. Although all casks were made of oak due to its durability, Speight's found that kauri was also pretty good for casks used for fermenting that didn't leave the brewery. Raupo was also used as seal for the top of the barrel as it would absorb liquid and swell after it was dried.

It was around the turn of the century that there was a concern that other companies could pawn off their own product as Speight's, so the name was officially trademarked in late 1901. By the next year, the two brewing plants, which could pump out 50 hogsheads each brew, were barely keeping up with demand so the older one was outfitted to handle 100 hogsheads. The building actually had to be strengthened to be able to take the weight of the equipment as the brew plant was the largest in New Zealand at the time. The bottlers, Powley & Keast also expanded to keep up with increase so everything was looking up.

Another election rolled around in 1902 and since the Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Act was still in effect it meant that along with choosing who would run the country, it was also time to have a say on booze. It seems that this year the prohibition side had been particularly persuasive as Greenslade laments that a number of electorates in the Otago Southland region voted in favour of prohibition, which was unexpected. Despite Greenslade's reaction it was more of a potential omen rather than a current problem. The only three electorates out of the 76 in the country that had gone dry were Clutha, Mataura and Ashburton. Although these are all in the lower South Island we find that Speights' sales kept increasing. In fact, they kept growing as they concentrated on marketing to areas that showed potential for growth, such as Auckland, Australia, Fiji and other parts of New Zealand. With the potential of the local market lowered and the prospect that this may continue, travellers were expected to bring a load of new sales or else they were gotten rid of, with one traveller doubling sales in the West Coast. All these extra sales and the improved brewing capacity, meant that Speights was producing 70% of the beer sold in Otago Southland. Additionally, 20% of all beer sold in all of New Zealand was Speight's.

That isn't to say that the temperance movement wasn't felt. In 1903, Speight's bought more land from a hotel that lost its licence due to the reduction vote. Dawson bugged off to England again and brought a couple of relatives with him, one of which would be trained by his son Bob and join Speight's later on. In 1904 another malthouse/cellar was built adjoining the already existing one on the opposite side of Rattray Street to the main brewery. Speight's now had six malting floors and three kilns, with a smaller kiln used for higher roasting that was needed to make stout.

By 1905 it was election time again however this time, Speight's came out guns blazing. They made a 42 page picture book called 'With Speight & Co's Compliments' containing pictures of basically every part of the brewery as well as the staff. The front of the book showed a painting of the brewery that was later applied to casks and became a famous poster. book was quite staff focussed telling the reader about them, like how long they had been at the company, which for many of them was a long time, up to two decades. It also mentioned where they were from and little charming tidbits about them, such as Robert Shepard from Aberdeen who they said "may often be heard crooning to himself". This was clearly a propaganda piece to get people to think about the human impact of prohibition, in the sense that these men may lose their jobs and trying to make them seem endearing and relatable. To be fair, as working-class men, they were quite relatable. Murdoch Mackenzie, the cellar foreman, was known to be a bit of a wild character throughout the brewery. He would often break the rule of no smoking in the cellar and would quickly whip his pipe into his apron if one of the bosses approached. One time this occurred with Charles Speight asking what the burning smell was, without hesitating Mackenzie claimed it was the biscuit factory next door. He was also known to drink at the brewery long after he was meant to have headed home. Again, he was caught by Charles Speight when he rang and Mackenzie answered the phone, "Is that you Mac? What the hell are you doing there?!" Speight asked, "No, Mr Speight, it's no' me. It's Geordie Dickson." Dickson being another Scotsman who would have been on site legitimately. It's uncertain whether Charles picked up on Mackenzie outing himself which I assume the Scot did cause he was drunk. Speight's at the time also employed the lightweight wrestling champion of New Zealand, one Mick Powley, brother of Richard Powley of the Powley & Keast bottlers. Mick was a cooper and he was used in the book as an example of how strong and healthy the staff at Speight's were and presumably by extension trying to connect being happy, healthy and strong with beer. The book did also talk about the quality and purity of Speight's as a product, saying that it helped with making "the burden of life one long, sweet song" and of course mentioned farmers and how brewing helps their honest and noble profession. We don't know how much this influenced the vote but both Dunedin and Central Otago remained Wet while Oamaru and Invercargill went dry, bringing the total dry electorates to five. As a little personal aside, Invercargill, my hometown, was the first city in the country to be dry and would remain so for the next 40 years. It's quite an interesting tale and its influence can still be seen. For example, because of the liquor ban in the 20th century, which ended after WW2, some people got together and made the Invercargill Licencing Trust to control all alcohol sold within the city. The ILT is still the entity that controls all alcohol sales in Invercargill to this day and as such all pubs, liquor stores, restaurants and other outlets that sell booze are all owned by the them. Of course, this leaves the situation of supermarkets which are nationally controlled companies. Well, I grew up in Invercargill and because of all this I had never seen alcohol sold in a supermarket until I went to university in Dunedin. The ILT do actually put all of their profits back into the community, I got a scholarship off them so that was cool. What I'm trying to say is that what we are seeing here that occurred over a hundred years ago still has ripples that a felt to this day, and you can be damn sure this isn't limited to the Pākehā experience.

Next time. the prohibitionists ramp their efforts and start to make some real headway, becoming even more of a threat. As such, the nationwide brewing industry starts having to make some hard choices, one of which that would change Kiwi brewing forever.

If you want to send me feedback, ask a question, suggest a topic or just have a chinwag you can find my email and social media on historyaotearoa.com. You can also find helpful resources there like transcripts, sources and translations for some of the Te Reo Māori we have used. You can help support HANZ through Patreon, buying merch or giving us a review, it means a lot and helps spread the story of Aotearoa New Zealand. As always, haere tū atu, hoki tū mai. See you next time!