



Te Ope Whakāora

SOCIAL POLICY AND  
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# A Contest of Spirits

A discussion of the discourses and debates that have informed how The Salvation Army sees alcohol



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## **'Let us eat and drink, you say, for tomorrow we die!'**

Isaiah 22:13

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Alcohol has always been at the centre of public debate. A long line of vested interests have throughout history engaged in 'contests of meaning' to control the consumption and socioeconomic significance of alcohol. Today, with the growth of a global billion dollar drinking industry and a corresponding increase in the social cost of alcohol-related harm, this line is even longer, and the stakes even higher.

*A Contest of Spirits* is a discussion of the discourses and debates that have informed how The Salvation Army sees alcohol. From the East End of Victorian London to the new settlement of Aotearoa New Zealand, this paper traces some of the changing history of our own involvement in the drinking debate, and explores what will move the public discussion forward and fuel a cultural shift in the drinking question.

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# We Welcome Your Feedback

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Director: Major Campbell Roberts.





**A**LCOHOL is drunk too good to drink," a famous orator and naval officer writes, "and only a semi-temperance nation would make a national drink of it." When Prohibition comes we shall be wondrous with alcohol, it will not pull Britain down but will hold her up. It will no more ruin her people; it will give them power and great prosperity. It will no more make life a hell and misery for millions; it will shorten the hours of labour and make life easier. It will no more waste the savings of the poor; it will make hundreds of things cheaper than they ever were. All these things alcohol will do when we use it rightly.

### ALCOHOL—The Good Gift of God.

Such too good to be made a National Drink.

Prohibition simply means diverting it to a profitable and beneficial purpose.

God made alcohol. He made it to give us power, to help those chemists who will yet save the world from slipping back to the Age of Stone. He made it to drive our engines and our motor-cars, to light our homes and towns and cities—so it

the sure foundation of our industries and science and our social peace; and man has made alcohol the thing it is. If ever on this earth there was a tragedy of man it is this one that man has made of God's good gift.

God made the germ of what became of viniferous grapes; we therefore sinned these things them in a hundred thousand plant them in the lives of the nations.

We have nobler things to do, to take this trade in alcohol, not to ruin, and harvest it to take the road to happiness. We do it not for feeding public-houses we are ashamed, but for food houses, to be our pride and our

Prohibition is not destructive. We should keep it and do all our drinking in

Back cover of the War Cry, The Salvation Army, New Zealand, 29 March 1919

## Aperture

Alcohol has something of a chameleonic character. Depending on its context, it can have as many meanings attached to it as people present. As Professor Christopher Cook of Durham University notes:

*'Alcohol has many and contrasting associations. A glass of wine with a meal can symbolise love, friendship, relaxation and enjoyment of a special occasion. It can represent romance, coming of age, success, beginnings and endings, good news and good company. At a Christian Eucharist or Jewish Passover, where wine is also shared, thanks are given to God for divine salvation from all that enslaves, restricts and condemns ... But sadly, the sacredness and redemptiveness of these occasions contrasts with the associations of alcohol with drunken violence in our towns and cities, cirrhosis of the liver in our medical wards, debt in families, and death on our roads. It contrasts also, and more especially, with the enslavement that is alcoholism, or alcohol addiction.'*<sup>1</sup>

The intent of this paper is to explore some of the debates that have informed how The Salvation Army frames alcohol and alcohol-related harm. The paper will explore historical discourses<sup>2</sup> of temperance, good and evil, disease-habit, and temptation, and look at how these have shaped the Army's view of the 'drinking problem' and the 'problematic drinker'. A contemporary reframing of public health is offered as a means of moving the 'drinking debate' forward.

## A Contested Commodity

Alcohol has always been caught in a competition of meaning.<sup>3</sup> Ancient Egypt celebrated the mother who:

*'... sent (a child) to school when (they) were ready to be taught writing, and (who) waited for (the child) daily at home with bread and beer ...'*<sup>4</sup>

And simultaneously counselled the drinker:

*'... when you have eaten three loaves of bread and swallowed two jugs of beer, and the body has not had enough, fight against it.'*<sup>5</sup>

Dr Norman Kerr, founder of the *Society for the Study of Inebriety*, discerned a similar 'contest of meaning' in the nineteenth century and commented:

*'... in drunkenness of all degrees of every variety, the Church sees only the sin; the World the vice; the state the crime. On the other hand the medical profession uncovers a condition of disease.'*<sup>6</sup>

Today, alcohol continues to be a contestable and controversial commodity. It is cultivated, manufactured, packaged, promoted, distributed, taxed, sold, demanded, widely consumed<sup>7</sup> and vigorously debated. Divergent (and powerful) interests continue to go head-to-head for the control and custody<sup>8</sup> of the drinker and of drinking. A conflict of interest exists between the personal interests of the general population who simply want

to enjoy the choice of 'having a drink', the interests of groups who hope to minimise the harm of our drinking, and the interests of those who try to promote and profit from the drink trade.

The New Zealand Law Commission of 2009 concedes:

*'New Zealanders need to decide where the balance should lie between the benefits we derive from alcohol and the harms being experienced by individuals and society at large.'*<sup>9</sup>

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**'There are many and varied voices in the public discourse on alcohol. The unenviable task of the policy-maker is to attempt to reconcile the conflicting views of those, who coming from different sectors, have different primary goals to achieve.'**

Sally Casswell, 1997

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## Defining When Enough is Enough

The line of interested groups queuing up to define the dimensions of this balance is long.

The alcohol industry, a growing industry that contributes billions of dollars to our economy, connects alcoholic drinks and drinking to desirable and inflated images of coolness, deservingness, fun, masculinity, pride, sex, sociability, and sport. The breweries concoct a clever discursive mix of cultural icons and fantasy lifestyles with the sole intention of increasing the distribution and sale of liquor to drinkers (and future drinkers). The claim of the industry is that the enchanting hype of its marketing machinery is deliberately crafted to *'inspire good times—responsibly'*.<sup>10</sup>

*'Yeah right.'*<sup>11</sup>

The Alcohol and Liquor Advisory Council (ALAC) attempts to situate drink and our drinking culture in a discourse of calculated moderation: *'It's not the drinking; it's how we're drinking.'*<sup>12</sup>

The medical gaze of the World Health Organisation (WHO) is a little less gentle and has defined alcohol to be *'carcinogenic to humans'*, likening it to cancer-inducing asbestos, formaldehyde and tobacco.<sup>13</sup> The Council of Medical Colleges of New Zealand couches the misuse of alcohol within a medical discourse of *'disease, intoxication, abuse, and dependency'*.<sup>14</sup>

The Police similarly define excessive drinking to be something of a 'causal aggravator'.<sup>15</sup> Police Commissioner Howard Broad comments:

*'Before 1992 Police did not take ownership of crime prevention. But as soon as we began to focus on crime prevention it became abundantly clear that alcohol was a major driver of offending, both within families and in our communities.'*<sup>16</sup>



The Police Commissioner goes on to link alcohol to a discourse of ‘costly criminal dysfunction’:

*‘We know alcohol plays a part in making a family unit dysfunctional and we know that a dysfunctional family produces kids who are more likely to grow up and commit crime ... and we know that alcohol is a cause of family violence and sexual violence. And those two things alone are by far and away the greatest cost because of the impact on both victim and offender over the course of a lifetime.’<sup>17</sup>*

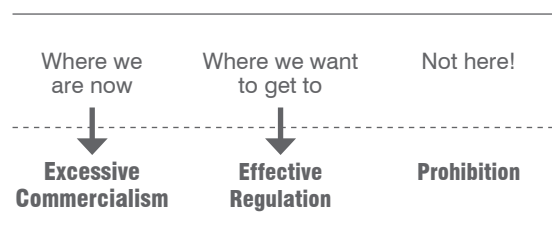
### ‘Say when’

ALAC campaign

The headlining infotainment of the news-media exploits these alcohol-induced images of disorder and excess to capture air time with a dramatic discourse of hysteria and ‘moral panic’. Sub-groups of the drinking population get ‘demonised’, and the debatable issue is shifted from a harmful or excessive drinking culture that has to be changed to a pathological and personalised drinking problem that has to be ‘treated’. Sally Casswell, Director of the Centre for Social and Health Outcome Research and Evaluation at Massey University (SHORE), notes that the media can in fact determine the feel and look of the public debate:

*‘The way in which a nation’s news media covers issues around alcohol use is likely to be crucial to the way in which the government responds to the policy needs created by alcohol’s use. The representation of ideas in the mass media legitimate them for debate, if not acceptance, in the eyes of policy-makers and other players (Milio, 1986). Policy-makers value information that comes to them naturally, not that which they have to work to obtain, and they are particularly receptive to mass-media messages because they know the same story reaches all the other players in the policy arena (Weiss, 1987).’<sup>18</sup>*

Doug Sellman, Professor of Psychiatry and Addiction Medicine and Director of the National Addiction Centre (NAC), is trying to recapture some of this media representation and has entered the public debate with a national speaking tour entitled ‘*Ten Things the Alcohol Industry won’t tell you about Alcohol*’. The hope of the tour is to increase public awareness and public pressure to demand ‘... a change in the way alcohol is supplied, marketed, sold and consumed in New Zealand’.<sup>19</sup> Professor Sellman frames the current circumference of the alcohol debate and suggests where these diverse discourses could go in a simple flow-diagram:



Source: [www.alcoholaction.co.nz](http://www.alcoholaction.co.nz)

And then there is Bruce Robinson of the Hospitality Industry of New Zealand (HANZ) who disputes the alarmist headlines of the public debate with a blame-transferring discourse of personal liability. The countercontention of HANZ is that with 70% of our drinking done at home and not on licensed premises we should focus the future direction of legislative policy on the fostering of ‘... greater individual responsibility, not new regulation’.<sup>20</sup>

These competing discourses entangle the alcoholic drink, the drinker and our culture of drinking in a continual dispute of definition and policy. The power-holding and seemingly polar interests of private rights, commercial profit and public good jockey to govern the importance and positioning of liquor in our national psyche. A conflict of attitudes, fears, ideas, problems and solutions ensues: a collision and contestation of meaning<sup>21</sup> that The Salvation Army is no stranger to.

### The cultural darlings of Kiwiana—rugby, racing and beer—seem ill-at-ease with communally held values of public health, responsibility and safety.

## The Booths of Darkest England

Alcohol has always been something of a nemesis for The Salvation Army. A context of meteoric social change, crime, miserable poverty and increasing drunkenness characterised Victorian Britain, the birthplace of The Salvation Army. A ‘*drink traffic*’ of ‘one hundred and twenty thousand licensed drink shops’ dispensed ‘one billion gallons of wine, beer, and spirits every year in Great Britain’, and generated ‘more than half a million drunkards ...’<sup>22</sup>

The ‘*drink bill*’, or social cost, of these statistics and the harshness of the East End of London compelled the founders of The Salvation Army, Catherine and William Booth, to create a Christian movement that could compete with and counter the damage and disorder that surrounded them. The Salvation Army and its enlisted ‘*Salvationists*’ were to be the makers of a different story; a story that would debunk the enticing hegemony of the drinking industry and stop the growing social carnage of its ‘*liquor traffic*’.

A childhood commitment to temperance and involvement in the East End disposed Catherine Booth to couch the excesses of strong alcoholic drink and the commercialisation of drinking within a discourse of fault and morality:

*‘The use of intoxicating drinks as a beverage is the cause and strength of a very large proportion of the wickedness, crime, vice, and misery which exist around us ... The baneful harvest of crime and misery which their consumption has entailed on us as a nation, has opened the eyes of almost every thinking and patriotic mind to the fact that the drink, not the abuse of it, but the drink itself, is an evil thing, in very*



Catherine Booth

*truth a 'mockery', the product of Satanic art and malice, to be rejected and eschewed by all who have any regard for their own or their neighbour's well-being. We have no hesitation in affirming that strong drink is Satan's chief instrumentality for keeping the masses of this country under his power.'*<sup>23</sup>

A similar childhood pledge of temperance and the shared experience of the East End left William Booth with the same impression of alcohol: 'Strong drink' and 'habitual drunkenness' were '... at the root of everything. Nine-tenths of our poverty, squalor, vice, and crime spring from this poisonous tap-root.'<sup>24</sup>

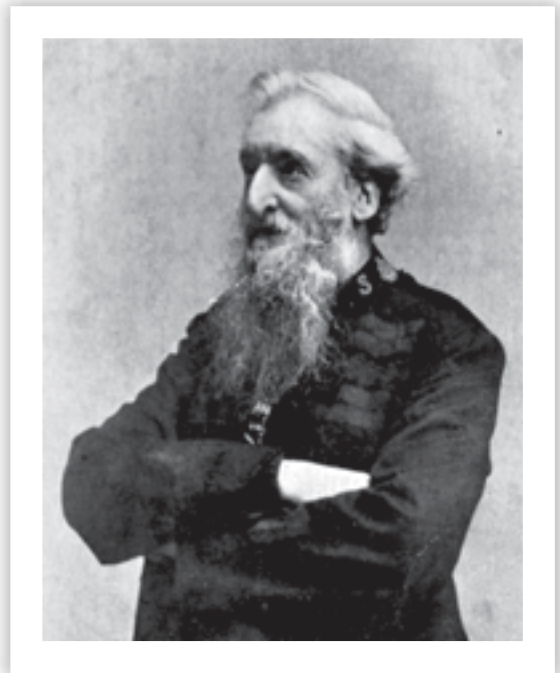
## A New Way Out

The despairing drinking problem demanded that something different had to be done. A new kind of engagement and a new practice of politics had to be imagined. William Booth contended that:

*'Many of our social evils, which overshadow the land like so many upas trees, would dwindle away and die if they were not constantly watered with strong drink. There is universal agreement on that point; in fact the agreement as to the evils of intemperance is almost as universal as the conviction that politicians will do nothing practical to interfere with them.'*<sup>25</sup>

William Booth imagined that The Salvation Army could counter this political indifference and, with a new mission-mix of personal redemption, rescue and social reform, point the future of drunkards and communities towards the possibility of a new way: the way of salvation, sanctification and temperance.

Salvationists considered temperance to be a marker of Christian fervor and integrity, a moral and political necessity.<sup>26</sup> Denouncing the 'demon drink', distancing



William Booth

oneself from its 'evil distilleries', love of God and love of neighbour were discursively interchangeable and practically indistinguishable. The embryonic church meetings of The Salvation Army frequently '... began with a call to repentance but ended with a plea for total abstinence'.<sup>27</sup>

## The Devil in the Drink

Catherine Booth couched drinking and temperance in a strong lexicon of good and evil, vice and virtue that left no room for moderation:

*'... to be successful in aggressive effort Christians must deal with the drink ... Doubtless one secret of the church's failure in nearly all aggressive measures has been her ignoring the power of this great adversary ... What is to be done? How shall we deal with the drink? We answer, in the name of Christ and humanity, deal with it as you do with all other Satan-invented, Christ-dishonouring, soul-ruining abominations. Wash your hands of it at once, and for ever! And give a united and straightforward testimony to the world that you consider it an enemy of all righteousness and the legitimate offspring of Satan!'*<sup>28</sup>

The 'Army Mother' continued in somewhat militant tones:

*'I submit that there is no other way for Christians to deal with strong drink. All other ways have been tried and have failed. The time has come for Christians to denounce the use of intoxicating drinks as irreligious and immoral; and God Almighty will put immortal renown on those of His servants who are sufficiently true, and brave, and self-sacrificing first to run the gauntlet of earth and hell in doing this. "They shall be had in everlasting remembrance", and counted amongst the greatest benefactors of their race. We contend that the*

attempt to make what is termed the moderate use of strong drink consistent with a profession of religion has signally and ignominiously failed; and the common sense of mankind is turning upon those who have made it with these most pertinent questions—How can that which produces all this crime and misery be a good thing? and if it be an evil thing, how can it be moderately used?’<sup>29</sup>

## Dramas of Death and Skeletons

Catherine Booth cast The Salvation Army and the drinking industry in a contrasting conflict of street-level-theatrics. The drama ‘demonised’ the drinking industry and left the Church with a holy mandate to denounce its complicity with the ‘devil drink’ and to de-totalise the discursive hegemony of the industry:

*‘Oh, Christians! by your peace of conscience on a dying bed; by the eternal destinies of your children; by your concern for the glory of your God; by your care for never-dying souls; by the love you owe your Saviour, I beseech you banish the drink. Banish it from your tables, banish it from your houses, and oh! for Christ’s sake, banish it from His house. Put no longer the sacrifice of Christ and of devils on the same altar! Banish also those who manufacture this ‘distilled damnation’ from your communion, aye, from your society. Have no fellowship with those who get rich by robbing man of his reason, woman of her virtue, and children of their patrimony and their bread. Cease to recognise, not only as Christians, but as men, those who fatten on the weakness, wickedness, and suffering of their fellow-men. Hoist the flag of death over their breweries, distilleries, and dram-shops, warning the unwary that death and damnation lurk behind their finely-decorated bars, and run like the lurid fires of perdition through their brightly-polished taps! Christians of England! The time has come when to trim on this drink question is the highest treason to the cause of Christ, and the grossest inhumanity to suffering, perishing millions. Tell me no more of charity towards brewers, distillers, and publicans. Your false charity to these has already consigned millions to an untimely hell! Tell us not of a charity that takes sides with the Pharisees who devour widows’ houses, and leaves the poor victims of avarice and power to groan, and suffer, and die.’<sup>30</sup>*

The ‘flags of death hoisted on top of breweries and in front of decorative pubs’ were in essence a form of ‘cultural jamming’<sup>31</sup>, a counter-cultural practice of ‘de-cooling’ and disrupting the cultural desirability and dominant hegemony of the liquor industry. The imagery of these ‘flags’ and the incitement to hoist these symbols of ‘death’ were countering gestures intended to sabotage the charm of the industry and provoke a kind of power-shift that would protect the public good of the community. The commitment of The Salvation Army to changing the excessive and harmful direction of the drinking culture that surrounded it lent the Army to engage in this ‘cultural jamming’ at every opportunity. A chorus from The Salvation Army Song Book penned in 1892 borrowed and parodied a common drinking song that included the

lyrics ‘... here’s to good old whiskey, drink it down’.<sup>32</sup> The alternative of The Salvation Army, cheekily set to the same culturally-entrenched, popular pub-music went:

*‘Storm the Forts of Darkness,  
Bring them down, bring them down!  
Storm the Forts of Darkness,  
Bring them down, bring them down!  
Pull down the devil’s kingdom  
Where’er he holds dominion  
Storm the Forts of Darkness,  
Bring them down! ...’<sup>33</sup>*

Even though these images of ‘devilish dominion’ and ‘Forts of Darkness’ were general enough to include a host of social ills, the borrowing and re-contextualising of the pub-music would have served to poke a finger of culpability and liability of the ‘drink traffic’ of the public houses. These borrowings and disruptive ‘jammings’ of The Salvation Army were threatening to the hegemony of brewers and publicans and were strongly opposed. Historian Roy Hattersley comments that:

*‘From the Army’s earliest days, [Salvationists] were in regular physical danger. Often the authorities regarded them as trouble-makers and refused to provide protection ... the ‘followers [of Catherine and William Booth] were vulnerable to the gangs of thugs who were bribed by brewers and paid by publicans to break up meetings which called for total abstinence from alcohol, and from a special sort of hooligan who took pleasure in assaulting hymn-singing eccentrics who refused to fight back.’<sup>34</sup>*

These clashes, fierce ‘contests of meaning’ between the breweries and the competing views of Catherine and William Booth, drew costly lines of division wherever The Salvation Army went. Roy Hattersley cites a letter of complaint that a frustrated William Booth sent to the Home Secretary:

*‘In nearly every town where there has been any opposition we have been able to trace it more or less to the direct instigation and often the open leadership of either Brewers or Publicans or their EMPLOYEES. The plan adopted is by treating or otherwise inciting gangs of roughs.’<sup>35</sup>*

## Disease and Habit

A decade later in the 1890s William Booth extended the confrontational lexicon of good and evil, vice and virtue to include the emerging scientific language of ‘disease and habit’.<sup>36</sup> The ‘diseased drinker’ has to drink: he or she has ‘lost control’ and has something of a disabled or ‘diseased’ free will. The ‘habitual drinker’ has formed a habit of drinking due to the mind-altering nature of alcohol, the excessive availability of drink and its predatory industry.

A fascinating and subtle shift in meanings is occurring. The simplistic moralism of ‘(m)ere lectures against the evil habit are ...’ deemed ... ‘of no avail’<sup>37</sup> and superseded by a closer look at the physiological and social causes of the problem. The discourse of disease (re)locates the responsibility of the drinking problem within the



pathology of the drinker, while the discourse of habit (re-)locates the source of the drinking problem within the pathology of a harmful drinking culture and environment of excess. The lines of causality and culpability that encircled the alcoholic drink and the drinker were for William Booth stretching to include the social conditions that compounded the plight of the poor and fostered the 'drunken intemperance' of Victorian Britain:

*'We have to recognise that the gin-palace, like many other evils, although a poison, is still a natural outgrowth of our social conditions. The tap-room in many cases is the poor man's only parlour. Many a man takes to beer, not from the love of beer, but from a natural craving for the light, warmth, company, and comfort which is thrown in along with the beer, and which he cannot get excepting by buying beer. Reformers will never get rid of the drink shop until they can outbid it in the subsidiary attractions which it offers to its customers. Then, again, let us never forget that the temptation to drink is strongest when want is sharpest and misery the most acute. A well fed man is not driven to drink by the craving that torments the hungry; and the comfortable do not crave for the boon of forgetfulness. Gin is the only Lethe of the miserable. The foul and poisoned air of the dens in which thousands live predisposes to a longing for stimulant. Fresh air, with its oxygen and its ozone, being lacking, a man supplies the want with spirit. After a time the longing for drink becomes a mania. Life seems as insupportable without alcohol as without food. It is a disease often inherited, always developed by indulgence, but as clearly a disease as ophthalmia or stone.'*<sup>38</sup>

Stopping short of mechanical determinism, the genesis of the drinking problem is held in tension:

*'All this should predispose us to charity and sympathy. While recognising that the primary responsibility must always rest upon the individual, we may fairly insist that society, which, by its habits, its customs, and its laws, has greased the slope down which these poor creatures slide to perdition, shall seriously take in hand their salvation.'*<sup>39</sup>

William Booth is engaging in a debate that can still be heard today. Is the abuse or misuse of alcohol a problem of individual pathology or is it a problem of how we collectively define drinking, a problem of our drinking culture? Is the drinking problem a problem of only a subgroup of the population or is it a problem of our laissez-faire liquor laws and ambivalent public policy?<sup>40</sup> The positioning and weighting of responsibility determines how we frame this debate and what it is we see.

## New Spaces

The newer discourse of 'habitual disease' held new implications for how the 'habituated drinker' and the drinking problem itself should be treated. A pragmatic William Booth contends:

*'The Church of the living God ought not to—and to say nothing about religion, the people who have any humanity ought not to—rest without doing something desperate to rescue this half of a million who are in the eddying*

*maelstrom. We propose, therefore, the taking away of the people from the temptation which they cannot resist. We would to God that the temptation could be taken away from them, that every house licensed to send forth the black stream of bitter death were closed, and closed forever. But this will not be, we fear, for the present at least.'*<sup>41</sup>

The new language of The Salvation Army culminated in a pioneering methodology of space:

*'While in one case drunkenness may be resolved into a habit, in another it must be accounted a disease. What is wanted in the one case, therefore, is some method of removing the man out of the sphere of temptation, and in the other for treating the passion as a disease, as we should any other physical affection, bringing to bear upon it every agency, hygienic and otherwise, calculated to effect a cure.'*<sup>42</sup>

The 'diseased drinker' and the 'habitual drunkard' were to be 'rescued' and physically isolated in City Homes and Country Homes. These new spaces of compulsion and exclusion would distance the 'habitual drinker' from the enticing temptations of the 'decorative drinking industry', and, at the same time, subject him or her to fresh air, outdoor employment and to the helpful, curative gazes of the medical and scientific professions.

The imaginative plan of William Booth ends with a special mention of the drink-fuelled criminal:

*'(The) one class of unfortunate creatures who must be objects of pity to all who have knowledge of their existence, and that is, those men and women who are being continually dragged before the magistrates, of whom we are constantly reading in the police reports, whose lives are spent in and out of prison, at an enormous cost to the country, and without any benefit to themselves.'*<sup>43</sup>



William Booth's new social campaign

These new spaces of The Salvation Army presented the courts and magistrates with a means of alternative sentencing; a novel and timely penal policy that would help lessen the economic burden of the criminal drunkard:

*'We should ... be able to deal with this class. It would be possible for a magistrate, instead of sentencing the poor wrecks of humanity to the sixty-fourth and one hundred and twentieth term of imprisonment, to send them to (the City and Country Homes), by simply remanding them to come up for sentence when called for. How much cheaper such an arrangement would be for the country!'*<sup>44</sup>

The legacy of Catherine and William Booth will follow The Salvation Army wherever it goes and earns Salvationists something of a public platform in the 'drinking question'.

## Dispatched to the Frontiers

The arrival of Captain George Pollard and Lieutenant Edward Wright in 1883 brought The Salvation Army to New Zealand. A concerned Miss Arabella Valpy of Dunedin had only twelve months earlier petitioned William Booth:

*'Dear Sir—can you see your way to send to the rescue of perishing souls in this respectable and highly favoured city? Herewith please find draft £200. The Lord reward you and yours.*

*'A Well-wisher.'*<sup>45</sup>

The emotive language of the letter captures the growing disquiet of the newly colonised settlement. A moralistic description of a 'booming' Dunedin in 1882 commented:

*'Excessive drinking—a vice which marred the pioneering community from the outset—growing lawlessness and larrikinism among the younger generation and widespread squalor and ignorance among the masses, aggravated by the arrival of poor immigrant types, called for urgent corrective action.'*<sup>46</sup>

These descriptions, and the human cost connected with them, count for some of the 'perishing souls' that Miss Valpy felt were in need of 'rescuing'.

## Drinking to Excess

The drinking of liquor and 'drinking at the pub' were entrenched early in the culture of colonial New Zealand. Jock Philips calls it the 'common currency of the male community'. He cites novelist George Chamier:

*'For in those early days of universal boom and companionship and unsophisticated manners, all good men and true drink together. It was considered a mean thing to drink alone; it was considered meaner still to not drink at all. To drink was the common lot of all; it was also the common bond, the great leveller ... Every bargain had to be sealed with a "nobbler" ...'*<sup>47</sup>

Despite the nostalgic claim of George Chamier, the drinking habits of colonial New Zealand could hardly be designated 'good' or 'true'; they were simply excessive. Historian Steven Eldred-Grigg has calculated that in the 1840s Pakeha men were consuming close to '45 litres of commercial spirits a year and 14 litres of beer'.<sup>48</sup> Jock Philips discovered that with 'limited legal restrictions on liquor outlets ... pubs spread fast. By 1879 there was one pub for every 287 people'.<sup>49</sup> And even though the average annual consumption of spirits had dropped to 24 litres by the 1860s, beer drinking of Pakeha men had increased to a destructive excess of 167 litres per man by the 1870s:<sup>50</sup>

*'New Zealand colonials ... frontier men ... drank to excess—a complete blow out—and the effects were, therefore far more socially disruptive than the per capita consumption might suggest ... There can be no question ... that drunkenness was a serious social problem in nineteenth-century New Zealand, and convictions for drunkenness were high. Until the 1890s convictions per head were considerably greater than in Britain—over five times greater in 1858 ... (Between 1870 and 1920 crimes associated with drunkenness bulk very large in ... the national crime statistics. In 1870 there were 12, 104 total convictions in the magistrates' courts; 4,660 were for drunkenness. In 1910 arrests had risen to 23,949, but still 11,718 (just under 50 percent) were for drinking.'*<sup>51</sup>

## Te Ope Whakāora

The competing discourse of The Salvation Army dovetailed nicely with the growing public condemnation of drunken disorder and the feared loss of civility in frontier New Zealand. Straight off, the enterprising Captain Pollard and Lieutenant Wright hired a Temperance Hall on Moray Place and started to hold nightly meetings to proclaim a timely message of a different way: the way of 'salvation', 'sanctification' and the social reform of temperance that they had imported with them from England. There is little doubt that the deliberate hiring of the Temperance Hall and the pro-temperance proclamations of The Salvation Army placed the newly-landed movement right in the middle of a raging public debate, and provided it with something of a momentum and right to speak. Cyril Bradwell explains:

*'The disillusionment and despair which set in as the country was engulfed in the economic depression of the next decade no doubt provided fertile ground for the growth of a revivalistic movement like The Salvation Army, with its uninhibited approach to evangelism, its joyous commitment to a cause, its vigorous, colourful and unconventional methods, and its concern for social justice. Another factor contributing to its growth was the Army's forthright teetotal stance at a time when the acute problems of drunkenness among the working classes had fostered the growth of a powerful and widespread Temperance Movement. It is significant that many of the early meetings of the Army were held in Temperance halls, and many women who supported temperance found the Army's policy of equality for women in its ranks an additional attraction.'*<sup>52</sup>

John C. Waite likewise links the early growth of The Salvation Army with its contextually-deliberate messages of salvation for the 'least and the lost', which most certainly included the 'drunkard':

*'Five officers landed in New Zealand in April, 1883. Nine months later The Salvation Army held its first Congress in Dunedin, there were thirty officers, most of them New Zealanders, and five to six hundred Salvation Army soldiers marching the streets of Dunedin ... In nine months The Salvation Army made and established over 5,000 converts. They included a great number of drunkards and immoral men and women of all sorts. What impressed people was the happy exuberance of those converts who became soldiers in the Army. They joyously shouted "Hallelujah!" and endorsed the remarks of speakers with loud "Amen!"'*<sup>53</sup>

John C. Waite and Cyril Bradwell both go on to concede that the competing messages of The Salvation Army caused the same lines of division that they had in England. Abstainers, drinkers and the drinking industry were caught in familiar 'contests of meaning'. Some local publicans who *'resented the strong pro-temperance views of the Salvationists and the conversion of some of their best customers'*<sup>54</sup> copied their English peers and incited larrikins to form 'Skeleton Armies' and throw insults, eggs, tomatoes, gravel and, on one occasion, even a dead cat, to try and silence The Salvation Army and its countering messages of sanctification and temperance. A colourful encounter in the little town of Milton, Otago captures something of how these 'contests of meaning' were consuming the national psyche:

*'Prohibition was a very live issue in the colony at the time. George Coombe, a hearty Englishman, was the publican of the Commercial Hotel. On previous occasions, he had jovially invited the Army lassies into his bar to sell the Way Cry (the official magazine of The Salvation Army) to his clients, but something had occurred to arouse his anger. Somebody told him, quite untruly, that it was the Salvationists who had chalked on the pavement outside his door: "This is the road to hell". The next night the Army began its open-air meeting near the hotel and its members were immediately confronted by a furious George Coombe, banging vigorously on his dinner gong in an attempt to drown the strident music of the Salvationists. A large crowd quickly gathered and a disturbance seemed imminent, but comparative peace was restored with the arrival of the town clerk and the local constable.'*<sup>55</sup>

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**'Bringing the Salvationists to New Zealand will be another of our many mistakes of acclimatization. It is the thistles, the sparrows, the rabbits over again. The army will prove a nuisance as troublesome as these pests, and perhaps as ineradicable.'**

Otago Daily Times, 6 Jan, 1883

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News of the incident journeyed from the streets of Milton to the Capital of Wellington, to the House of Representatives in Parliament, to the Minister of Justice,

the Hon. W. Pember Reeves, to the Office of the Prime Minister, Richard J. Seddon, to Cabinet, to the Legislative Council, and on to the Supreme Court. And even though the disgruntled confrontations of George Coombe and the Milton Borough Council were in the end more to do with constraining the free-speech and liberty of The Salvation Army, the public interest and national span of the incident shows how the pro-temperance stance of the Salvationists, the larger temperance movement and the drinking debate were obsessing the nation.

## The Criminal Drunk

Alcohol and the moral panic that encircled excessive drinking dominated the politics of colonial New Zealand. A flurry of ad-hoc government legislation took control of the drink, and into custody the drinker who consumed too much. The Vagrant Act of 1866 constructed a new class of criminal offender: the 'habitual drunkard'. Eldred-Grigg comments:

*'The Vagrant Act of 1866 ... defined a new class of offender, the "habitual drunkard" who had been convicted of drunkenness three times within a year. Habitual drunkards were subsequently branded "idle and disorderly" and were imprisoned "in any gaol for any time not exceeding three calendar months with or without hard labour" ...'*<sup>56</sup>

The habitual drunk and drunkenness were deemed criminal in that they were a disruptive nuisance of civility, efficiency, family-life, modesty and public order. The drunkard had lost control and could not be depended on to be hardworking, care for the family or live responsibly, championed traits of the dominant Protestant ethic of the new colony. Drunks were converted legislatively and punitively into something of a functional other; what Janus Head calls a 'serviceable other'. These deviants of indulgence, intemperance, slothfulness and intoxication were moral and now political entities employed 'discursively (by the Church, medical science, a concerned public and the State) to form the backdrop and negative comparison points against which normative ideals were configured'.<sup>57</sup>

These discourses of efficiency, moderation and temperance were to frame how the New Zealand public discussed drinking and would encompass the habitual drunkard for a large chunk of our national history. As Jock Philips notes:

*'From the 1870s through to the Royal Commission on Licensing in 1946 the chief effect of alcohol was seen as the "loss of self-control". Alcohol was condemned for releasing inhibitions and for undermining that precarious hold that the conscience or "a man's reasoning faculties" had over the baser instincts. W. H. Chapple, leading eugenist and doctor, even wrote a book entitled Alcohol and Self-Control to show in medical terms how alcohol created this moral disequilibrium. As Robert Stout said in Parliament in 1893, "drinking means a self-indulgence that is a curse". The drinking man chased after instant gratification and enjoyment. He did not plan carefully for a long term*



future. Temperance, the quality of restraint in all things, was the highest ideal of the campaign against drink. The overindulgence of the spree was the greater crime. As late as 1946 The Royal Commission on Licensing commented in connection with the school's role in combating drunkenness: "The teaching of temperance in the wider sense of moderation in all things is an essential part of true education". Here, then, was a model of behaviour which could apply to much else in life besides drink. Indeed, the 1946 commission recommended that it be applied initially to "overindulgence in sweets or moving pictures, or sports" ...<sup>58</sup>

## Licensing Temptation<sup>59</sup>

The snowballing drinking debates and the growing lobbying of Temperance moved the government to surround the drinking problem with increasingly controlling legislation. The Government sought to control the ease with which drinkers could get hold of the tempting drink and license or regulate the extent of tempting liquor on sale. The State, in effect, strove to license, limit, manage and police temptation. Simple causal lines were drawn. Speaking to the House of Representatives in 1873 William Fox claimed in somewhat exaggerated tones that 'moving a public house as little as a mile would reduce the people to a state of absolute sobriety—there is no temptation to drink whatsoever.'<sup>60</sup> James Wallis in 1881 spoke to the House with a similar cause-and-effect prose:

*"There is unquestionably a fixed relationship between the number of public houses and the amount of drunkenness in the country. Increase the number of public houses and you increase the amount of intemperance. Diminish the number and you diminish intemperance."*<sup>61</sup>

The comments of Fox and Wallis characterised the shape and practice of how the government would intervene to legislate the drinking problem for the next century. The Licensing Act of 1881 decreed that everyone involved in the sale of alcohol had to be licensed and formed local licensing councils that could deny, permit or renew liquor licenses. The number of licenses could only increase in districts if voting rate-payers consented to it in a local poll. The Act established a minimum purchase age, stopped Sunday opening, excluded the enticements of dancing girls, music and food from licensed premises, and softened some of the politically-sanctioned discourses that were encircling the habitual drunkard. A clause in the Act obligated 'policemen to protect alcoholics from "cold or exhaustion" and allowed courts to send convicted drunks to "some hospital, infirmary, or other fitting place for curative treatment and care"'.<sup>62</sup>

The Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Act of 1893 lifted the minimum drinking age from 18 to 21, shortened closing time from 12 pm to 11 pm, and included a new feature that shows the omnipresence of the temperance movement in the corridors of Parliament.<sup>63</sup> The powers of the 1881 local polls were in 1893 stretched into a new triennial poll in which districts could vote to reduce the number of licenses where they lived or close the

pubs completely. A district could declare itself 'dry' if three-fifths of the community voted for no-license (local prohibition). The State moved in 1911 to stretch the scope of these triennial polls even further to include the possibility of 'National Prohibition' and from 1911 to 1987 this is how legislators persisted in framing the drinking debate and possibilities of regulation. The triennial polls were critical contests of meaning; hotly disputed by the drinking industry and fiercely guarded by pro-temperance supporters, stirring even The Salvation Army to mobilise its competing political voice.

## The Island: Removing the Tempted

The House of Representatives continued to try and control the disturbance and civil menace of the habitual drunkard. The 1898 Inebriates Institutions Act directed that 'poor unfortunate drunks' be 'taken care of as they ought to be'.<sup>64</sup> There were no 'caring institutions' in existence. The Habitual Drunkards Act of 1906 empowered magistrates to declare a drinker convicted of inebriety three times within nine months to be a 'habitual drunkard'. The magistrate could then commit the certified habitual drunkard into the custody of a fit Inebriate Home for a period of one to two years. There were still no Inebriate Homes or fitting sanatoriums in existence. A deficient State invited The Salvation Army into the equation to provide a new space.

The haste with which The Salvation Army met the challenge of this spatial deficiency is nothing short of spectacular. On 1 November 1907, The Salvation Army purchased and converted the holiday destination of Pakatoa Island into a space that could care for and keep the habitual drunkard physically isolated from drinking temptations they could not resist. Governor General Lord Plunkett sailed to Pakatoa Island in May of 1908, and even though the Governor felt heartened by what The Army had commenced, Lord Plunkett desired to see a larger space dedicated solely to the custodial care of habitually drunk men.<sup>65</sup> The Salvation Army complied and in September of 1908 purchased the neighbouring seaside resort of Rotorua Island and started the construction of 100 new spaces for the custodial care of inebriate males. The properties were completed and men were moved from Pakatoa to Rotorua Island on 6 January 1911. The initial 50 places constructed on Pakatoa Island were dedicated to the custodial care of inebriate women. The conversion of these holiday destinations into certified 'Inebriate Homes' had only taken four years.

The Islands echoed of the Country Homes, that General William Booth had imagined in *In Darkest England and the Way Out*.<sup>66</sup> They were distant and distancing, exclusionary and restraining, politically sanctioned sites of moral connection and physical separation.<sup>67</sup> They functioned to keep the drunkard from disturbing the civility and peace of the colony and they removed them (and kept them removed) from the temptations of the drink. Through a mix of enforced abstinence, fresh air,

discipline, physical labour, a careful diet and a saving, transformative faith, these new spaces directed the habitual drunkard towards moral reform, sobriety and (optimally) temperance. Health, hygiene, hard work and self-control epitomised the normative expectations of the nation and some of how the State and The Salvation Army were collaborating to re-frame and re-imagine the drinking problem, superseding to some extent earlier discourses of good and evil, vice and virtue.

The Reformatory Institutions Act of 1909 expanded the definition of how a person could be committed into custodial care. The Act empowered magistrates to commit a person if drinking and drunkenness were determined to be a contributory factor in a crime or offense. The certified inebriate could be detained in care for a minimum of six months and a maximum of two years. The Act further licensed magistrates with the power to commit a certified habitual drunkard into custody without the stigma of a criminal conviction on the proviso that the inebriate had made a voluntary application or the family of the inebriate had petitioned the magistrate to have their relative committed. The containment, custody and moral cure of the habitual drunkard now sat on three pillars: the State, the Church, and the Family.

The Islands were not medical hospitals. These new and pioneering spaces were governed by the Justice Department and continued to be a criminal or justice concern through to 1966 when the Department of Health captured the meaning and ownership of the drinking problem with the Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Act.<sup>68</sup> The discourses and governance of the Justice Department naturally shaped the definitions and practices of the Islands and, to some extent, how The Salvation Army governed these new spaces. The habitual drunkards on the Islands were classified with the criminal or justice tag of 'inmates'. The 'inmates' were not objects for treatment; the 'inmates' were habitual drunkards who lacked the culturally-prized self-control and were in need of control and regulation. The Government recompensed The Salvation Army with 7/6 weekly for the keep of each

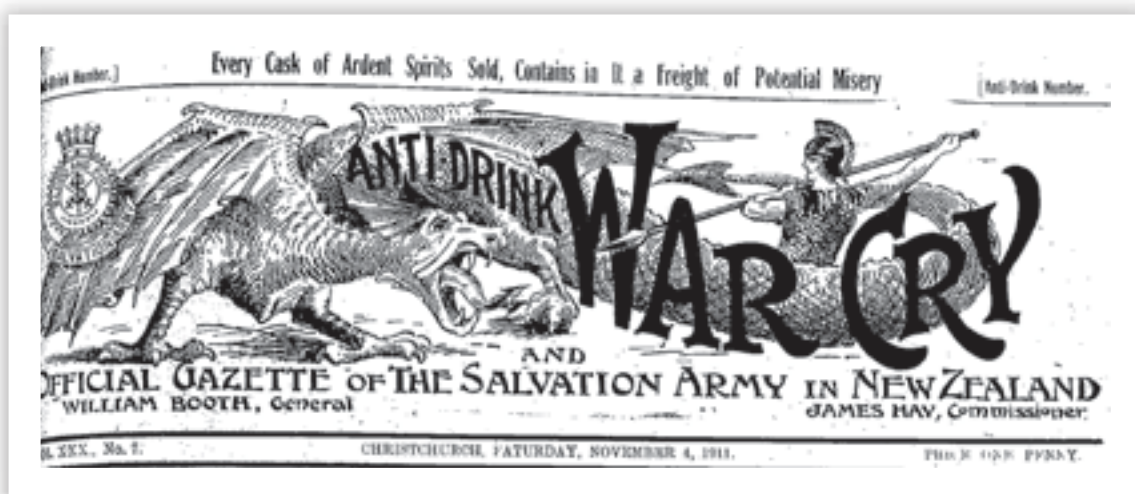
'inmate'. The Reformatory Institutions Act decreed that a person could not be committed to (or leave) the Islands without the consent of the Superintendent, a clause that converted the officers and Salvationists in charge of the 'Homes' into governors and keepers. 'Inmates' leaving the Islands for dental or medical treatment that necessitated a stay in Auckland had to be in the company of officers who were liable for a fine of £20 if the 'inmate' escaped. The escapee faced a penalty of three months in prison before being returned to the Islands to complete their commitment to custodial care. Detention cells were constructed on Rotoroa Island.<sup>69</sup> A change to the Reformatory Institutions Act in 1918 even granted the Superintendent the power to carry a pistol. The Salvation Army was, in effect, charged to be something of a 'Christian police', contracted and reimbursed by the State to contain and police the drinking problem.

## Subvertising the Temptation

The Salvation Army stretched its interest in the drinking debate from the care and custody of the Islands to commercial and political projects on the mainland. The Army constructed a chain of 'Peoples Palaces' in Auckland (1903), Wellington (1908) and Christchurch (1912), places of holiday and stay that were '*liquor-free and reasonably inexpensive but good standard accommodation for the traveling public, including families with children*'.<sup>70</sup> The Army then directed itself toward the mobilisation and political lobbying of its sympathisers.

The State had in 1910 constructed the possibility of voting for 'continuance' or 'national prohibition' in nationwide polls set for 1911, 1914, and 1919. The Salvation Army called these dates 'battles' and through the *War Cry*, its official national magazine, mobilised Salvationists and supporters to vote for prohibition at the polls.

The *War Crys* of 1911, 1914 and 1919 were deliberately crafted to contest the dominance of the culturally-entrenched meanings of drink and of the drinking industry. They echoed the 'cultural jamming'<sup>71</sup> of



Anti-drink header on War Cry, 1911

Catherine Booth and functioned similarly to 'de-cool' and disrupt the desirability and hegemony of the 'drinking traffic' and provoke a cultural shift and a power shift from continuance to national prohibition.

The *War Cry*s were divided into newspaper-like columns and featured correspondence from international and national leaders (excerpts from Catherine and William Booth were published in every special prohibition issue), costings of the drink bill, evidence from medical science, conversion-stories of 'drink slaves', legal definitions of what is national prohibition, emotive pleas for children, mothers and the future, and testimonies of loyal supporters of temperance. These contributions were intentionally designed to subvert the tempters and the temptation.

The *War Cry*s were combative in tone and directive in how people should vote at the polls. Even a hasty look at the headings would have been enough to influence voters:

*'Desperation, Death, and Damnation'* (1911)

*'A Terrible and Deceptive Foe'* (1911)

*'Prohibition is God's Plan'* (1911)

*'A Chance For Progressive Patriotism'* (1911)

*'To Trim on the Drink Question is Treason'* (1911)

*'We Stand for a Straight-out Condemnation of the Drink Traffic'* (1911)

*'Cleaning Up New Zealand'* (1914)

*'An Accursed Thing—Why Tolerated?'* (1914)

*'Death by Alcohol is Murder'* (1914)

*'The Hour Has Come!'* (1919)

*'A Case For Prohibition'* (1919)

*'Liberty!'* (1919)

*'Banish the Accursed Thing!'* (1919)

*'The Devil in Drink'* (1919)

*'The Destiny of To-morrow's Manhood is in Your Hands Today!'* (1919)

*'Alcohol—The Good Gift of God'* (1919). This eye catching and ironic heading had a smaller tag-line of *'Much too good to be made a National Drink'*.

The imagery and sketches that supported these columns were even less subtle.

The *War Cry* of 1911 carried a discrediting image of 'The Brewer', dominating, massive in size and in power to sow crops of *'drunkenness, poverty, crime and squalor'* (see below).

The 1911 polls were close: 55.8% of the nation favoured national prohibition, only a little shy of the 60% that Parliament insisted on to oblige the nation to go 'dry'.

The *War Cry* of 1914 featured a horror-like and subverting image of the 'crushing dominance' of drink (see page 15).

The caption at the top of the image reads:

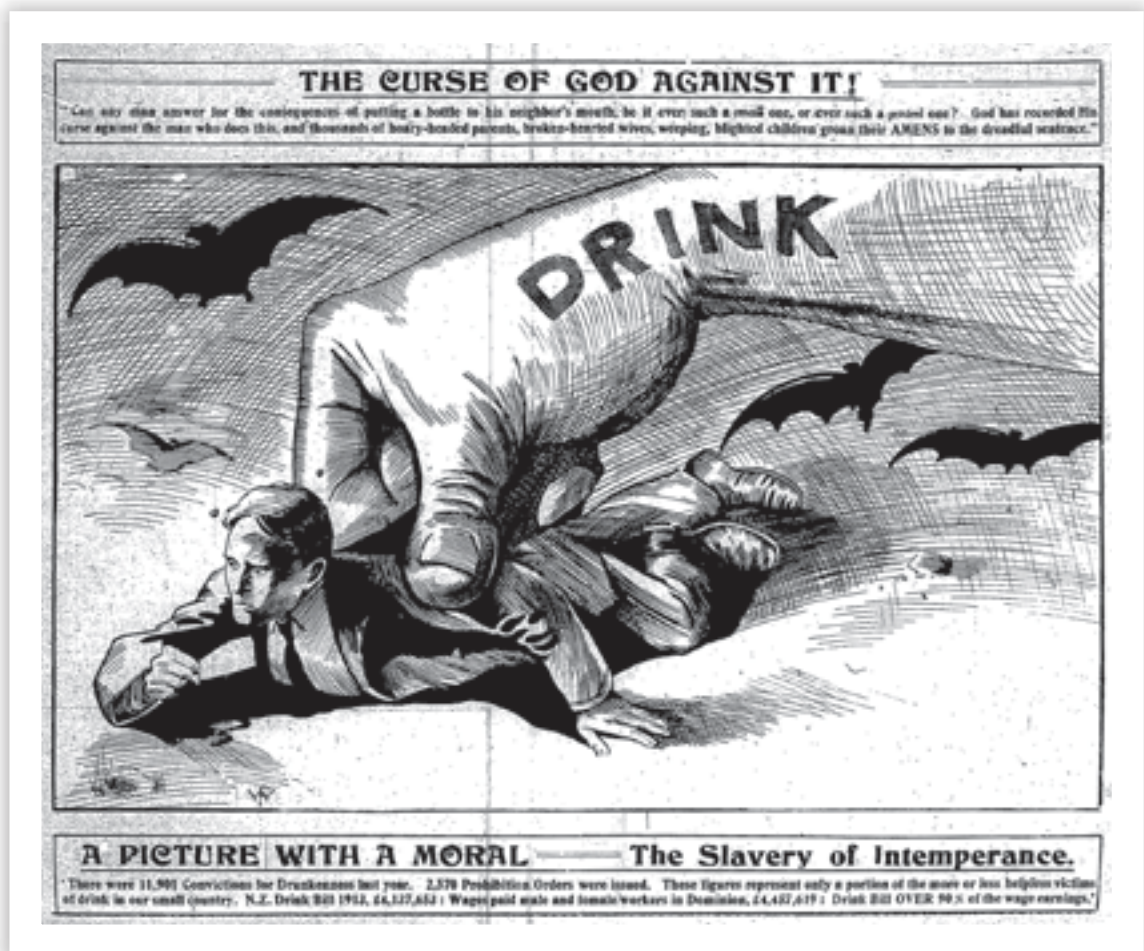
*'THE CURSE OF GOD AGAINST IT! Can any man answer the consequences of putting a bottle to his neighbour's mouth, be it even such a small one, or even a genteel one? God has recorded His curse against the man who does this, and thousands of hoary-headed parents, broken-hearted wives, blighted children groan their AMENS to the dreadful sentence.'*

The caption at the bottom of the image reads:

*'A PICTURE WITH A MORAL—THE SLAVERY OF INTEMPERANCE. There were 11,901 convictions for*







drunkenness last year. 2,570 Prohibition Orders were issued. These figures represent only a portion of the more or less helpless victims of drink in our small country. N.Z. Drink Bill 1913, £4,137,653; Wages paid to male and female workers in Dominion, £4,457,619; Drink Bill OVER 90% of the wage earnings.<sup>72</sup>

The 1914 polls were somewhat overshadowed by the First World War, and support for national prohibition dropped to 49% of the vote. However, the temperance movement secured even more energy and mileage from newer government circles. Discipline, self-sacrifice, efficiency, patriotism and thrift were dominating the look of wartime New Zealand and culminated in the National Efficiency Board of 1917.<sup>73</sup> The newly-formed governmental department engaged with the temperance movement and in the interests of national economy proposed that there should be wartime limits on picture shows, racing and the trading hours of the drink traffic.

The National Efficiency Board: '... suggested six o'clock closing on four days of the week, and nine o'clock on the fifth day'. A petition in support of early closing attracted 177,000 signatures—up to that time the largest in New Zealand's history.<sup>74</sup>

The State conceded to this political pressure and legislated a wartime measure of 'six o'clock closing', a temporary regulation that became permanent in 1918 and

stayed in law through to 1967.

The *War Cry* of 1919 held even more subverting images of the drink traffic. There is this sketch of 'The Nation's Most Deadly Enemy', complete with a directive and inciting comment from 'The General': 'How any Government or People can tolerate this evil or fail to answer the cry for deliverance, is beyond comprehension!'

The *War Cry* continued with politically-charged directives and 'subvertisms' of the drink traffic and its temptations. The image of a man enchained to and slouching on a magnified bottle connects prohibition and temperance to efficiency, family, happiness, manhood, responsibility and success. The caption is even more explicit: 'Strike off the captive's fetters on the 10th of April. Today he is the problem of his employer, and a monster in his home. Why should he not be a steady and efficient worker, and the centre of gladness in a family home?'

The 1919 polls were seen to be even more critical in the continuing contest of meaning given that the government had dropped the mandated threshold for prohibition from 60% to 50% of the vote. A staggeringly close 49% of voters supported national prohibition at a nationwide licensing referendum in April of 1919, the 40,000 votes of returning soldiers being the only thing that stopped New Zealand going 'dry'. A special poll at the General Election in December of 1919 added



The nation's most deadly enemy

in the possibility of state control of the liquor industry and went even closer with a nail-biting 49.7% of New Zealanders voting for national prohibition, only 3,263 votes short of the necessary threshold and the closest our nation has even been to prohibition.

These campaigns cannot be dismissed easily. There were still 48% of New Zealanders voting for prohibition at the polls of 1922, 47% in 1925, and 40% in 1928 before dropping to a smaller 29% of the vote in 1935.<sup>75</sup> Despite the decline of interest in prohibition at the polls, and despite a Royal Commission on Licensing in 1945 proposing a liberalisation of the hours drink could be sold, New Zealanders still elected to keep the pro-temperance wartime measure of 'six o'clock closing' in the licensing referendum of 1949. These contests of meaning were not simply the hobbyhorses of 'Salvationist teetotalers' and 'wowsers'. As Jock Philips notes:

*'...(the) prohibition movement had a major impact on moral codes and ideals. Although prohibition did not triumph in law, the language and the terms of the anti-drink campaign came to be widely accepted.'*<sup>76</sup>

## The Bridge: Resisting the Temptation

The Royal Commission of 1945 discovered something of a circularity in our drinking. The drinking debates had not moved that far (and have still not moved much today):

*'... witnesses gave evidence on the impact of trading hours on drunkenness; the number of licenses and conditions attached to them; and the relationship between hours and*



I believe in the liberty of the subject

*outlet numbers and levels of intoxication; public disorder and the disturbance of "domestic harmony". Submitters also petitioned the Commission about the moral perils alcohol posed for women, young people and Maori—all groups regarded as requiring special protection of the state when it came to regulating their drinking, and all singled out some sixty years later in less paternalistic terms as "at risk" groups by some of today's policy makers.'*<sup>77</sup>

This time The Salvation Army entered the debate with a new framing of the 'problem', something of a paradigm shift, a radical re-imagining of thought and practice. Cyril Bradwell comments:

*'Re-assessment and re-structuring in social work has nowhere been more evident than in The Salvation Army's work for alcoholics. The Army pioneered this field in 1908 when the government asked it to provide a suitable place to receive inmates under the Habitual Drunkards Act of 1906. The work on Rotorua did have some success and Colonel Walls claimed in his evidence to the Royal Licensing Commission of 1946 that 70 percent of men committed to the island did not return for a second time. However, under the appropriate legislation, committals to the island were largely penal: unless he committed himself, or a relative did so, a man had to be sent from a court for some legal offense, such as drunkenness, indecency, obscene language or vagrancy, and the minimum term for a man committed by the courts in those days was one year. With the growing realisation that alcoholism was a disease rather than a crime, this penal approach was subject to criticism. There were complaints that the inmates were not receiving adequate treatment, other than enforced separation from alcohol, and that they were being merely dried out before going back to the pubs on their eventual release.'*<sup>78</sup>



The discourses of moral connection and the practice of penal social exclusion that had fuelled the drinking debate from the nineteenth century were now deemed deficient. A growing psycho-medicalisation of the problem and a growing public sponsorship of knowledge that defined a habitual drunkard as somehow suffering from a pathological 'disease' colluded to demand a new space that could medically 'treat' the problematic drinker and not simply penally manage them in segregation. The newly-constructed medical categories of the alcoholic and alcoholism now framed the drinking question and grabbed centre stage in the policy-making of the State. These social constructs of disease were familiarised within public discourse and were imagined to be bona fide problems that could be medically observed, treated and rehabilitated. A new problem (and a new industry of helping professionals) had been born.

The Salvation Army embraced these developments and from a collaboration with the newly arrived Alcoholics Anonymous (AA)<sup>79</sup>, the psycho-medical professions and the government, it shifted how it conceptualised the drinking problem and how it structured the spaces it had consecrated to enclosing problem drinker. Drunks were no longer simply morally-corrupt sinners; they were now 'diseased' or 'sick-sinners' stricken with a triple frailness lurking somewhere in the body, mind and soul. At a government-sponsored National Conference on Alcoholism in 1956 Major Robert McCallum and Chief Secretary Colonel (Dr) A. Bramwell Cook disclosed plans that The Salvation Army had for a pioneering space designed to surround and engage problem drinkers with the latest psycho-medical practices and philosophies of 'treatment'. The conference endorsed the scheme, and in 1959 The Salvation Army purchased land on Vivian Street, Wellington, and started construction of 'The Bridge', a purpose-built space of residential treatment.

Architecturally, geographically and imaginatively, The Bridge was a stark contrast from the discourses and penal measures that governed the exclusionary spaces of the Islands. It was 'in' the community, not excluded from it and designed to be homelike or tasteful. The drinking debate shifted significantly and with it the problem drinker moved from being a deviant to be kept in isolation or *removed from temptation*, to someone governed by internalisation and self-regulation. The problem drinker within the new discourse and community enclosure of The Bridge was reframed to be an individual who was to '*... face temptation and to meet it—to resist that first drink*'.<sup>80</sup> The drinking problem was now individualised and managed to help individuals grow in personal responsibility and instruct them in coping strategies for *resisting temptation*. The shift was from controlling the problem externally to the psycho-medical gaze of The Bridge promising to instill and internalise a new form of ethical self-government, making this new space even more controlling and intrusive than the former framings of space on the Islands. External constraints were translated into internal resistance. And they had to be. The Salvation Army had constructed The Bridge close to a score of pubs, a

location that demanded and exhorted the new interest in self-control.

The disease imagery of problematic drinkers meant that The Bridge had a long-term interest in the commitment of the drinker to therapy. The alcoholic is deemed somewhat incurable; the continual presence of the disease means the alcoholic can never drink moderately or socially. Abstinence and life-long commitment to the alcoholic identity is the only known cure, a framing of the problem and its solution that fits nicely with the historic commitment of The Salvation Army to temperance. Dr Bramwell Cook commented in 1965 at the Piggott Memorial Lecture of The N.S.W. Temperance Alliance:

*'It is pertinent to note that the only way back to sobriety for the alcoholic is the way of total abstinence and it is superfluous to comment that total abstinence is the surest prevention.'*<sup>81</sup>

Trailing on from the experience and discursive expertise constructed spatially in Wellington, The Salvation Army created a nationwide network of 'Bridges' in Christchurch, Auckland, Hamilton, Dunedin and Invercargill. The drinking problem was now inextricably linked to individualising medical spaces, psychological therapies and health science. The Bridge's Statement of Policy in 1975 captures the new mix of discourses contesting the meaning of abusive drinking and with it guards something of its own peculiar interest in the drink question:



The Bridge, Wellington, New Zealand, Dec 1967



*'We welcome all that scientific research has contributed to the understanding and rehabilitation of alcoholics. Our programme needs the services of doctors, psychologists, and social workers, and welcomes the success obtained by various approaches used by other organisations. It would, however, be denying our experience, and therefore unscientific, if we failed to give a distinctive witness to the power of God to transform people's lives, and this included the alcoholic.'*<sup>82</sup>

## Liberalising Responsibility

The discursive influence of this individualised framing of the drinking debate is ironically evident in how the drinking industry and the State have employed this same imagery to legitimate the increasing liberalisation of our drinking legislation. The disease imagery of the drinking problem locates the problem within a few abusive or heavy drinkers, a marginalised and anonymous subgroup of the general population that has a problem for which they're personally responsible. The harm of excessive drinking is cast in *individualised* terms and is contrasted with the bulk of the general population who seem capable of enjoying a 'quiet one' without causing harm to themselves or to others. The drinking industry is within this individualising and market-driven framework only meeting a commercial demand, and because it promotes 'moderation' and sponsors *'good times—responsibly'* it is mitigated of responsibility.

Sir George Laking, in denying that the amount of available alcohol has any connection to alcohol-related harm, chaired a Working Party on Liquor in 1986 that seemed to echo some of this thinking. The Working Party downplayed the importance of *legislating* change and, given that *'59 per cent of all liquor was estimated to be consumed away from licensed premises'*,<sup>83</sup> they concluded that a cultural change in our drinking would only come from public education, better parenting and increased personal responsibility. Not surprisingly, the ensuing Sale of Liquor Act of 1989 entailed a marked liberalisation of the supply of alcohol, *'moving from a "quantity licensing" (the number of outlets) to "quality licensing" (anyone could set up an outlet, providing they met certain quality standards)'*.<sup>84</sup> A liberal framing of the problem naturally energised the expansion of licensed retailers, including entrusting supermarkets with the right to sell liquor, and contributed to the growth of a cafe-culture and inner-city night-life. A Liquor Review chaired by Sir John Robertson in 1997 deduced that deregulation and liberalisation had helped to promote safer drinking environments, vitalised inner cities and had generated *'a more mature and sophisticated drinking culture'*.<sup>85</sup> The Sale of Liquor Act of 1999 controversially lowered the drinking age from 21 to 18, extended the sale of beer to supermarkets, and imposed tougher hosting obligations on licensed premises.

Today, the discursive individualisation of our drinking problem is now heard in the voice of Bruce Robertson, Chief Executive of the Hospitality Association of New Zealand:

*'Perhaps it's time that New Zealand had a debate about an age of responsibility. An age where young people are expected to step up and take responsibility for their own actions and become entitled to the privileges of adulthood. This age of responsibility could cover when people can vote, drive a motor vehicle, place a bet, engage in sexual activity, marry, go to war and be deemed to be responsible for the consumption of alcohol. These are all what we consider adult activities for which maturity is required.'*

He goes on to shift the debate from the awkward issues of availability and drinking regulations to where the industry is more comfortable locating it, within the libertarian discourse of personal responsibility:

*'Simply debating the age of purchase or a drinking age does not embrace the wider issues about new adults taking responsibility and being accountable to the norms of adulthood. It ignores that alcohol is a symptom, not a cause of societal problems. Addressing the wider issues of the responsibility of adulthood at least attacks the fundamentals and has a much better chance addressing the cause rather than the symptoms.'*<sup>86</sup>

## Reframing Tomorrow: From Personal Morality to Common Good

The conflict of meaning that surrounds alcohol has shaped a large part of our history and is set to determine something of the shape of our shared future. Salvationist Dr Bramwell Cook commented back in 1965 that alcohol was something of a basic commodity within our culture:

*'(Alcohol) is regraded as a sine qua non of social life and a hallmark of culture and civilisation. Liquor is regarded as one of the basic commodities of life, and is reckoned in the budget, both by the individual and the government, as in the same essential category as bread and milk. It is considered a beverage, almost sacred in its value and qualities, and any encroachment upon its availability or interference with its price is regarded as an attack upon the rights and personal liberties of the common man. Traditions, social customs, propaganda, trade interests, governmental economics, and above all the group or herd instinct that slavishly follows the lead, all conspire to place alcoholic beverages amongst the most popular and most freely available forms of drink.'*<sup>87</sup>

Almost four decades later in 2003, the Alcohol and Public Policy Group of the World Health Organisation (WHO)<sup>88</sup> continued to lament the cultural commodification of drinking and claimed that *'alcohol is no ordinary commodity'*:

*'Alcoholic beverages are, by any reckoning, an important, economically embedded commodity. However, the benefits connected with the production, sale and use of this commodity come at an enormous cost to society.'*<sup>89</sup>

Are we going to be always caught between these polar and paralysing framings of *desire* and *harm*? Is the drinking debate at a kind of impasse, continually

spinning in circular contests of meaning between freedom, personal morality and profit, stuck in what Brian McClaren calls a gridlocked story? How can we get some fresh *go forward* in the debate? How can we challenge and change our harmful drinking culture without demonising drink and without marginalising the over 80% of New Zealanders who enjoy the occasional drink? How can we, in the legalese of the latest Law Commission on the Reform of Liquor Laws, '(design) a suite of measures that will target the harm without damaging the interests of the reasonable drinker ...'?<sup>90</sup> Is there more to the debate than simply harm minimisation and harm reduction? Should the drinking debate be extended to include a critical look at the cultural dominance of excess, the hegemony of over-consumption and over-production? Isn't the drinking question in essence a questioning (and possibly a re-imagining) of what we collectively value and of what kind of future we hope to share in together?

The Salvation Army believes that a public health discourse is the best option we have to answer these questions and to reinvigorate the drinking debate. A focus on public health will shift the debate (how the problem is framed, potential policies and solutions) from a sole focus on individual choice, personal freedom and individualising treatment models and look more to the interconnections, reciprocally-shared commitments and social relationships that exist in and structure communities. It is a critical shift. As Lawrence Wallack and Regina Lawrence observe:

*'Developing the language of interconnection is crucial because once the moral focus is broadened, the definition and response to public health problems can expand. As a moral and conceptual lens on the world, individualism restricts the range of public understanding, oversimplifying complex and multifaceted problems, boiling them down to their individual roots while leaving social responsibility and collective action largely out of the picture. Although personal responsibility is undeniably a key to health (including the minimisation of alcohol-related harm), so are a range of social conditions that are shaped not just by our individual choices, but by our collective choices manifest in public policy.'*<sup>91</sup>

Alcohol-related harm cannot be limited to a pathological complexity or the personal problem of a few. It is *our* problem; a collective problem that touches and impacts on the general population. The burden of our drinking culture is shared by everyone. And given that the body politic pays for the presence of alcohol misuse through accidents,<sup>92</sup> taxes, personal injury, insurance fees, court costs, lost wages, inefficiency and reduced productivity, stretched medical, penal and police resources, diminished public safety, domestic violence, and, tragically, with the loss of life, *everyone* has a stake in minimising and reducing the harm.<sup>93</sup> Because of this communal interest in the drinking debate, the mitigation of excessive drinking cannot be limited to only health measures that increase the health of *persons*, policies that over-stress personal responsibility while protecting the interests of

free trade and the open market. The scope of the debate has to be extended to include legislative mechanisms and policy measures that function to minimise the harm and maximise the health of *communities*.

A personal sense of wellbeing is determined by and interconnected with the quality of neighbourliness and social relationships we share. The debate on how to change our drinking culture will therefore only go forward when we construct a national alcohol policy that is formed from within a collective notion of *the common good*, a shared point of reference that can liberate the drinking question from the conflicting interests and competition of meanings that surround it. The drinking debate has to be recast in terms of a wider cultural change. As Christopher C. H. Cook contends

*'... the balancing of health concerns against the benefits of alcohol in society will never be an easy matter while health is merely set against the pleasures which some associate with alcohol. A point of reference is required which lies beyond profit, and even beyond health and pleasure.'*<sup>94</sup>

Politically, the Hon. Lianne Dalziel interprets our communal interest in the debate to mean:

*'(It) is so important to involve all parties in the law reform package. Society has a vested interest in designing law around alcohol that works for the good of society, not the opposite. The more of us contributing to lasting, worthwhile reform, the better it will be.'*<sup>95</sup>

A 'common good' reframing of the drinking debate would demand that the *cultural environment* of alcohol is seriously considered at the policy table. Attention needs to be given to altering the dominance of the inflationary discourses that surround alcohol. There has to be a critical examination of how alcohol is advertised, distributed, packaged, promoted, culturally esteemed; where it is located or placed in communities; and when it is sold. A national alcohol policy concerned with public health will need to look at how this social environment can be changed through:

- community-based campaigning that focus on attitudinal changes from harmful and risky drinking
- regulating to prohibit liquor outlets from operating in locations that could cause a harmful social affect on a community or neighbourhood
- regulating to restrict the opening hours when alcohol can be sold from off-license premises and regulating to restrict on-license premises from selling alcohol after a set time
- regulating to restrict how alcohol is advertised, promoted and made available for sale
- regulating the attachment of health warnings to alcohol products

A common good reframing of the drinking debate would mean:

- that everyone has the chance to contribute equally to the formation of a national alcohol policy and is

heard with the same weighting at the policy table. Recovering alcoholics should have the same political influence as breweries, cafe owners, ALAC, churches, the Police, politicians, the medical profession, sports clubs, the Hospitality Association, and youth. Imbalances of power will threaten the common good and skew the debate in favour of some vested interests at the expense of others.

- that divergent interests who come to the policy table declare openly any ‘*conflicts of interest*’ that they may hold in the debate, which is in a sense what we have tried to do in this discussion

Christopher C. Cook notes that:

*‘... true solidarity in (the) debate about alcohol policy cannot be achieved unless or until governments and industries publicly admit the conflict of interest that is inherent in their position in respect of alcohol. This conflict is a dynamic for which we all share responsibility, and in which we all participate, in some way or another, and it is the denial rather than the existence of it which is most contrary to the common good.’*<sup>96</sup>

A common good reframing of the drinking debate would necessitate:

- that the government clearly reframes its own involvement in the debate and votes on alcohol policy as a public health or regulatory issue and not as a conscience vote
- that there is a cross-party coordination of alcohol policy. The mitigation of alcohol-related harm currently falls into the portfolios of fourteen governmental departments, a division of duty and policy responsibility that reflects the extent of our problem and some of the ambiguity that the State has towards alcohol and its control.

The Minister of Justice, the Hon. Simon Power, commented in a speech to the Hospitality Association of New Zealand in September 2009 that:

*‘One of the reasons our liquor laws are in disarray is because the issue has traditionally been allowed to fall between the cracks of the Justice, Health and Education portfolios. This approach clearly doesn’t work and that is why the Prime Minister has decided to charge just one Minister with overseeing the reform.’*<sup>97</sup>

The interest in control or in custody of the drinking debate will always determine the scope of the problem that is discussed and the shape of the solutions proposed. If the Justice Department is leading the charge in setting a new alcohol policy does this mean that the debate will have a strong justice or legislative focus? The Opposition Minister of Justice, the Hon. Lianne Dalziel, is concerned that a singular justice focus may, in fact, limit what is looked at and what is done:

*‘Simon Power is talking about a single package of reform—“reforming liquor laws once”—the implication behind the process ... suggests Mr Power will only tackle issues that fall within the strict parameters of the existing law—the “who,*

*where and when” of the sale of liquor ... Does this mean that other measures are off the agenda—like reducing alcohol advertising and marketing techniques that treat alcohol as if it were an ordinary commodity; matters relating to price such as the recommendations around excise duty and minimum pricing; and addressing some of the underlying issues such as improving access to effective alcohol addiction treatment programmes.’*<sup>98</sup>

And lastly, a common good reframing of the drinking debate would require:

- that there is a deliberate commitment to and investment in developing evidence-based policy. The contours of the drinking debate have to be evidence-based and not simply driven by advocates of vested interests. The debate is a philosophical and empirical question.
- that the announcement of a national alcohol policy is accompanied and supported by the formation of a Reference Group or Special Select Committee who can monitor and develop strong evaluations of these policy investments
- that a voice of abstinence is shared at the policy table. Even though the government is not likely to resurrect a national poll on continuance or prohibition, there is still a place for the claim that *‘a personal commitment to total abstinence from all alcoholic beverages offers the best personal protection against alcohol-related harm, and is the most responsible stance in relation to wider society.’*<sup>99</sup> The promotion of alcohol-free lifestyle choices and the resourcing of alcohol-free spaces should be legitimately and equally considered within the formation of a national alcohol policy.

Reframing our drinking problem to sit within a discourse of public health and common good promises to move the debate on from the paralysing contests and polarising lobbying of vested interests. The mandate and power to shift our drinking culture will be restored to neighbourhoods and to the casting of our vote. The Salvation Army is confident that this is a vision of change and community development that will return the shared responsibility of our future to everyone.

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## Endnotes

1 Christopher C.H. Cook, 2006, *Alcohol, Addiction and Christian Ethics*. See Bernard Orsman, 'Banks scraps booze law change', *The New Zealand Herald*, Auckland Edition Monday, September 28, 2009 for a recent New Zealand example of the changing shape and scope of the 'drinking debate'.

2 *Discourse* in this paper means 'ways of constituting knowledge, together with social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations ... Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the 'nature' of the body, the unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern' (Chris Weedon, 1987, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*).

3 See Sally Casswell, 1997, *Public Discourse on Alcohol*, Health Promotion International, Vol.12, No.3, Oxford University Press; Robin Room 2001, *Governing Images in Public Discourse About Problematic Drinking* at [www.robinroom.net/govimage](http://www.robinroom.net/govimage); Janus Head, 2004, *A Sociohistorical View of Addiction and Alcoholism*. 7(1), 149-166, Trivium Publications, Amherst, NY; David Dingelstad, Richard Gosdn, Brian Martin and Nickolas Vaka, 1996, *The Social Construction of Drug Debates*, Published in *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 43, No.12, pp.1829-1838; and Joseph Gusfield, 1996, *Contested Meanings: The Construction of Alcohol Problems*, University of Wisconsin Press; Christopher C.H. Cook, 2006, *Alcohol, Addiction and Christian Ethics*.

4 Instructions of Ani, Papyrus Chester Beatty IV, cited at [www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/timelines/topics/drink.htm](http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/timelines/topics/drink.htm)

5 Instructions of Khet, cited at [www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/timelines/topics/drink.htm](http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/timelines/topics/drink.htm). Similarly the Egyptians were counselled 'Make not thyself helpless in drinking in the beer shop. For will not the words of thy report repeated slip out from thy mouth without thou knowing that thou has uttered them? Falling down thy limbs will be broken, and no one will give thee a hand to help thee up. As for thy companions in the swilling of beer, they will get up and say, 'Outside with this drunkard' ...' Cited in Robin Room, 2001, *Governing Images in Public Discourse About Problematic Drinking* at [www.robinroom.net/govimage](http://www.robinroom.net/govimage)

6 Cited in Robin Room, 1978, *Governing Images of Alcohol and Drug Problems: The Structure, Sources, and Sequels of Conceptualisations of Intractable Problems*, PhD Dissertation.

7 The World Health Organization (WHO) estimated in 2007 that 'globally less than half of the adult population (about two billion people) uses alcohol' (WHO Expert Committee on Problems Related to Alcohol Consumption, 2007, Second Report, Geneva). The New Zealand Law Commission estimates that 'Over 80 percent of the adult population of 2.98 million drink at least occasionally'. The Commission goes on to say that in 2008 'New Zealanders ... spent ... \$4 to \$5 billion ... on retail alcohol sales—roughly \$85 million per week' (Law Commission, 2009, *Alcohol in our Lives, An Issues Paper on the Reform Of New Zealand's Liquor Laws*).

8 See Robin Room, *ibid*. Dingelstead et. al. claim: 'The terms of debates are not "natural"; that is, they are not a simple reflection of the properties of the drug itself. Instead, we argue, debates reflect the nature of society, especially the influence of the groups with the greatest power over the perception and deployment of the drug in question. More precisely, debates reflect a complex process of interaction between social power and the properties of drugs' (Dingelstad et. al., *ibid*).

9 Law Commission, 2009, *Alcohol in our Lives: An Issues Paper on the Reform of New Zealand's Liquor Laws*.

10 Cited at [www.db.co.nz](http://www.db.co.nz)

11 See [www.tui.co.nz](http://www.tui.co.nz)

12 Cited at [www.alcohol.org.nz](http://www.alcohol.org.nz)

13 International Agency for Research on Cancer, *Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages*, cited at <http://monographs.iarc.fr/ENG/>

Meetings/96-alcohol.pdf

14 Cited in Appendix 2, Council of Medical Colleges New Zealand Preliminary Submission, Law Commission, 2009, *ibid*.

15 See Stevenson R., *National Alcohol Assessment*, New Zealand Police, April 2009 [www.police.govt.nz/resources/2009/Police-National-Alcohol-Assessment.pdf](http://www.police.govt.nz/resources/2009/Police-National-Alcohol-Assessment.pdf)

16 Cited in the Law Commission, 2009, *ibid*.

17 Cited in the Law Commission, 2009, *ibid*.

18 Sally Casswell, 1997, *Public Discourse on Alcohol*, Health Promotion International, Vol.12, No.3, Oxford University Press.

19 Cited at [www.alcoholaction.co.nz](http://www.alcoholaction.co.nz)

20 Cited at [www.hanz.org.nz](http://www.hanz.org.nz). A critic of the 'drinks industry' Professor Christopher C. H. Cook comments: 'Responsibility, education and promotion of responsible drinking behaviour are offered as effective policies, in preference to taxation and other measures directed at reducing the consumption of all drinkers ... even though there is a lack of evidence that the former policies are effective and a wealth of evidence that the latter policies are effective (Babor et al., 2003, pp.189-207, 263-272)', (Christopher C. H. Cook, *ibid*).

21 Joseph Gusfield, 1996, *Contested Meanings: The Construction of Alcohol Problems*, University of Wisconsin Press.

22 William Booth, 1890, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, The Salvation Army.

23 Catherine Booth, 1879, *Papers on Practical Religion*, S.W. Partridge and Co., London.

24 William Booth, *ibid*. There is a fascinating moment early on in the courtship of Catherine and William Booth that demonstrates how the competing definitions of 'drink' circulating in Victorian England were changing. A painful bout of diarrhoea and a fear of a cholera epidemic caused Catherine to drink a 'brandy and ginger' for 'medicinal purposes'. Catherine confessed to William in a personal letter: '... I went direct to bed, took a very strong dose of brandy and ginger which made me completely tipsy, sent me in a nice perspiration and the next morning I felt better.' Historian Roy Hattersley comments: 'It is not surprising that William, who already knew her unyielding nature, replied with a mixture of bewilderment, disapproval and anxiety. 'I do trust that our heavenly father will give his blessing to the means you are using so that you may be not only perfectly restored, but enjoy permanent health.' He went on to make a parallel admission which was almost a reproof. 'I finished the bottle of wine last night and am now more a teetotaler than ever. I did not think that I profited by it at all. I am drinking camomile tea every morning before breakfast' (Roy Hattersley, 1999, *Blood and Fire: William and Catherine Booth and Their Salvation Army*, Little Brown and Company, Great Britain). The incident simply shows how the alcohol-debate is a contextual construction that is malleable, re-framable, and shiftable.

25 William Booth, *ibid*.

26 Adult members of The Salvation Army, *Officers and Soldiers*, sign a demanding document entitled 'Articles of War' and pledge to: '... here and now, and for ever, renounce the world with all its sinful pleasures, companionships, treasures and objects, and declare my full determination boldly to show myself a soldier of Jesus Christ in all places and companies, no matter what I may have to suffer, do or lose by so doing. I do here and now declare that I will abstain from the use of all intoxicating liquor, from the use of tobacco in any form, and from the non-medical use of all addictive drugs ...' Children, *Junior Soldiers*, can sign a similar promise of temperance.

27 Roy Hattersley, 1999, *Blood and Fire: William and Catherine Booth and Their Salvation Army*, Little Brown and Company, Great Britain.

28 Hattersley, *ibid*.

- 29 Hattersley, *ibid.*
- 30 Hattersley, *ibid.*
- 31 Kalle Lasn, 2000, *Culture Jam: How to reverse America's suicidal consumer binge—and why we must*, Harper Collins, New York; see [www.adbusters.org](http://www.adbusters.org)
- 32 Cited in Major Ian Hutson, 2009, *The Salvation Army and Temperance—A Historical Connection and its Relevance for Today*, unpublished discussion paper.
- 33 Storm the Forts of Darkness, Song 696, *Song Book of The Salvation Army*.
- 34 Roy Hattersley, 1999, *ibid.*
- 35 Roy Hattersley, 1999, *ibid.*, emphasis in original. Hattersley goes on to describe a humorous (and no doubt embarrassing moment) when a mysterious Mr. Ebbetts discovered a legal loophole in a license of a building that The Salvation Army had leased. The Courts deliberated on the license and initially found that the building had to be a public house or tavern and consequently the 'lessees', at this time, The Salvation Army, were legally obligated to sell liquor. Catherine and William Booth were for a period of time ruled to be technically publicans. Major Ian Hutson, National Director of Community Ministries of The Salvation Army in New Zealand, draws on the historian Richard Collier and notes: 'In the 1880s all "too conscious that the Army had driven deep salients into the heart of their territory, publicans and brothel-keepers were launching a savage all out counter-attack ..." (Collier, 1965:104). The opposition expressed through the mobs was not motivated by the proclaiming of an abstract spiritualised message of the gospel with a primary focus on the next world, but by the Army's out and out attack on what they saw as the very real evils in this world. The opposition was so great that it has been stated that for "four embattled years, the fate of The Salvation Army trembled in the balance" (Collier, 1965:104). The Salvation Army was extremely bad for the business of Publicans with one gin seller offering Salvation Army personnel £300 to leave town' (Major I. Hutson, *ibid.*).
- 36 The connection of disease with drinking emerged most clearly from the work of Dr. Benjamin Rush, a pro-temperance physician of the 1800s. Interestingly Dr. Rush further coined the notion of sober houses, places where 'drunkards' could get special treatment, a new practice of space that would shape the future of The Salvation Army. See B. Rush, 1810, *Medical Inquires and Observations upon the Diseases of the Mind*.
- 37 William Booth, *ibid.*
- 38 William Booth, *ibid.*
- 39 William Booth, *ibid.*
- 40 The Law Commission of 2009 echo this debate in similar tones: 'So the question the Law Commission and the New Zealand public have been asked to consider is whether the pendulum has perhaps swung too far: whether we have struck the right balance between the benefits consumers have enjoyed from the liberalisation of the laws regulating the sale and supply of alcohol and the harms associated with the abuse of alcohol. More specifically, the Law Commission has been asked whether the lowering of the minimum purchase age, the proliferation of liquor outlets and the ready availability of cheap labour at all hours of night and day is contributing to unacceptably high levels of alcohol-related crime and injury in our country' (Law Commission, 2009, *ibid.*).
- 41 William Booth, *ibid.*
- 42 William Booth, *ibid.*
- 43 William Booth, *ibid.*
- 44 William Booth, *ibid.*
- 45 John C. Waite, *Dear Mr Booth*, cited in Cyril R. Bradwell, 1982, *Fight the Good Fight: The Story of The Salvation Army in New Zealand 1883-1983*.
- 46 A H. McLintock, *The History of Otago*, cited in Cyril R. Bradwell, 1982, *Fight the Good Fight: The Story of The Salvation Army in New Zealand 1883-1983*.
- 47 Jock Philips, 1996, *A Man's Country?*, A Penguin Book, Auckland, New Zealand. We cannot easily dismiss the claim that '... all good men and true drink together'. It is a cultural definition of manhood that continues to be heard today, and its counter, the discursive connection of meanness with non-drinking lingers even louder. Understanding how alcohol is deeply entrenched and intertwined within the history of our identity and the national sense of what we value is critical for going forward in how we consider the 'drink question'.
- 48 Steven Eldred-Grigg, 1984, *Pleasures of the Flesh: Sex and Drugs in Colonial New Zealand*, AH & AW Reed, Wellington.
- 49 Jock Philips, *ibid.*
- 50 Jock Philips, *ibid.*
- 51 Jock Philips, *ibid.*
- 52 Cyril Bradwell, *ibid.* Major Ian Hutson is even more explicit: '... it might seem that some of the Army's appeal was that it represented a real solution both to the ills of individual suffering of many people as well as the wider social ills of society. With this degree of relevance to the context of the times it is no wonder that many would respond to the proclamation of such a message whether in New Zealand or elsewhere around the world' (Major Ian Hutson, *ibid.*).
- 53 John C. Waite, *ibid.*
- 54 Cyril Bradwell, *ibid.*
- 55 Cyril Bradwell, *ibid.*
- 56 Eldred-Grigg, *ibid.*
- 57 Janus Head, 2004, *A Sociohistorical View of Addiction and Alcoholism*. 7(1), 149-166, Trivium Publications, Amherst, N.Y. Major Ian Hutson cites the same 'criminalisation of drunkenness' in the corridors of the Inspector General of Hospitals and Charitable Aid: '... authorities ... responded to anyone with alcohol problems, in a moralistic and punitive manner. The problem was that of a deviant individual who must be corrected. This was the case where alcoholics with a problem often associated with poverty, were defined clearly as the undeserving poor. They were seen as morally weak and deserving of punishment, rather than sympathy and help. This was very noticeable in the attitude of the Inspector General of Hospitals and Charitable Aid from 1886 to 1906 who was a major influence behind the old age pensions legislation. He categorized as undeserving of the pension, the aged with criminal records or with convictions for drunkenness ...' (Major Ian Hutson, 1999, *The Social Services of New Zealand*, unpublished paper).
- 58 Jock Philips, *ibid.*
- 59 See Paul Christoffel, 2006, *Removing Temptation: New Zealand's Alcohol Restrictions, 1881-2005*, PHD Thesis, Victoria, University of Wellington.
- 60 Paul Christoffel, *ibid.*
- 61 Paul Christoffel, *ibid.*
- 62 Eldred-Grigg, *ibid.*
- 63 Jock Philips comments: 'If drinking was to continue, then the prohibitionists would guarantee that it would be increasingly under siege ... In another provision which revealed much about the prohibitionists' concern that drink might unleash wilderness savagery, the 1910 (Licensing Amendment) Act prohibited the supply of liquor to an "intoxicated male Native" or to "any female Native, not being the wife of a person other than a Native" ...' (Jock Philips, *ibid.*). For a detailed exploration of alcohol and Maori see *Te Iwi Maori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori, Maori and Alcohol History*, Published by the Health Services Research Centre, ALAC, Wellington, 1999.

- 64 Eldred-Grigg, *ibid.*
- 65 See Karen Woods, 1986, *Rotoroa Island: A Short History*, a research project undertaken as a First Placement of a Bachelor of Social Work, for a detailed history of Pakatoa and Rotoroa Islands. The paper is available on request from Archives at The Salvation Army Headquarters, Wellington.
- 66 It is interesting to note that the Minister of Justice, William Pember Reeves, had engaged with the ideas of William Booth with the publishing of *In Darkest England and the Way Out* in 1890. Reeves found the book to be '... one of the greatest, most exhaustive, and most purely and practically benevolent books that ever was written' (Waite, *ibid.*). The innovative imagery of the 'City and Country Homes', places free from the temptation of drink, may have impacted on the development of our own legislation that enclosed the habitual drunkard in similar alcohol-free spaces.
- 67 See Michel Foucault, 1977, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, and 1988, *Madness and Civilisation*, for more in-depth discussions on the birth and history of 'disciplining spaces'.
- 68 Karen Woods comments: 'Alcoholism was to be officially recognised as a health issue, not a crime, and thus the administration of Rotoroa Island was to change hands from the Justice Department to the Health Department, with the inmates becoming officially recognised as "patients"' (Karen Woods, *ibid.*).
- 69 Karen Woods, *ibid.*
- 70 Cyril Bradwell, *ibid.*
- 71 Kalle Lasn, *ibid.*
- 72 *War Cry*, 1914, The Salvation Army, New Zealand (emphases in original).
- 73 Jock Philips, *ibid.*
- 74 Jock Philips, *ibid.*
- 75 [www.nzhistory.net](http://www.nzhistory.net)
- 76 Jock Philips, *ibid.*
- 77 Proceedings of the Royal Commission on Licensing, 1945; Paul Christoffel, 'Removing Temptation: New Zealand's Alcohol Restrictions. 1818-2005' (PHD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2006) cited in Law Commission, 2009, *ibid.*
- 78 Cyril Bradwell, *ibid.*
- 79 Alcoholics Anonymous came to New Zealand in 1946.
- 80 Transcription from the minutes of *The National Conference on Alcoholism*, August, 1956.
- 81 Lieut. Commissioner A. Bramwell Cook, *The Case for Total Abstinence*, O.A. Piggott Memorial Lecture of the NSW Temperance Alliance Delivered on 17 September 1965, at the Sydney Congress Hall.
- 82 Bridge Programme, *Statement of Policy*, November 1978, cited in Cyril Bradwell, *ibid.*
- 83 *Report of The Working Party on Liquor*, 'The Sale of Liquor in New Zealand' (October 1986), cited in Law Commission, 2009, *ibid.*
- 84 Dr Brian Eatson, *Advice to Law Commission*, cited in Law Commission, 2009, *ibid.*
- 85 *Report of the Advisory Committee 'Liquor Review'* (1997), cited in Law Commission, 2009, *ibid.*
- 86 Bruce Robertson, *Drinking Age or Age of Responsibility*, Hospitality Magazine Column, 8/04/09, cited at [www.hanz.org.nz](http://www.hanz.org.nz)
- 87 Lieut. Commissioner A. Bramwell Cook, *ibid.*
- 88 See Babor, T. F.; Caetano, R.; Casswell, S.; Edwards, G.; Giesbrecht, N.; Graham, K.; Grube, J.; Gruenewald, P.; Hill, L.; Holder, H.; Homel, R.; Österberg, E.; Rehm, J.; Room, R. & Rossow, I. (2003) *Alcohol: No Ordinary Commodity—Research and Public Policy*, Oxford and London: Oxford University Press.
- 89 Babor et.al, *ibid.*
- 90 Law Commission, 2009, *ibid.*
- 91 Lawrence Wallack and Regina G. Lawrence, *Talking About Public Health: Developing America's Second Language*, cited at [www.rockridgeinstitute.org](http://www.rockridgeinstitute.org)
- 92 Up to 22% of ACC claims are alcohol-related and for every 100 alcohol or drug impaired drivers killed in car crashes, 54 of their passengers and 42 sober road users die with them. Ministry of Transport Alcohol and Drug Crash Factsheet, 2008, cited in Law Commission, *ibid.*
- 93 The controversial and criticised BERL report estimated the social cost of harmful alcohol-use in New Zealand to be \$5.3 billion annually. See Business and Economic Research Limited (BERL) *Costs of Harmful Alcohol and Other Drug Use*, Report prepared for the Ministry of Health and Accident Compensation Corporation, 2009, Wellington.
- 94 Christopher C. Cook, *ibid.* I am indebted to Cook for this discussion of common good and alcohol policy.
- 95 Lianne Dalziel, 'Cross-party consultation on liquor laws needed', Media Statement, 1 October, 2009.
- 96 Christopher. C. H. Cook, *ibid.*
- 97 Simon Power, *Reforming New Zealand's Liquor Laws*, Speech to the Hospitality Association of New Zealand, 30 September 2009.
- 98 Lianne Dalziel, *ibid.*
- 99 Christopher C. Cook, *ibid.*





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