

for himself and band to Canberra ... He made it clear that his call was merely a matter of form, and seemed a little disturbed that he could not have the whole permit instantly.' On a second visit 'Graff became abusive and finally stated he couldn't be bothered about permits.' (pp.236–7) This and similar passages suggest that cultural difference and sense of professional status (likely to be perceived as arrogance, a quality that Dreyfus notes was 'stereotypically attributed to German Jews in wartime Australia' (p.240) also played their part in the Weintraubs' story. It gives life to its protagonists and hints at the self-perception and possible dynamic of the group.

Dreyfus's book is so tightly and clearly constructed that it is only on a second reading that one realizes just how many issues it covers and how much material it explores from a study of a single band over a five-year period. It is valuable for that, but not only that. It is the first analytical account of a group that, had circumstances been different, might have occupied a much more prominent place than it presently does in the history of European jazz, and merits the attention that, with any luck, Dreyfus's fine study will give it.

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*Wanted, a Beautiful Barmaid: Women Behind the Bar in New Zealand, 1830–1976.* By Susan Upton. Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2013. NZ price: \$50.00. ISBN 9780864738943.

*Wanted, a Beautiful Barmaid* is a thoroughly researched and impressive book on a group of women outside the temperance sisterhood for which New Zealand was more famous after 1893. Susan Upton traces the work of women in bars from the 1830s, when regulation of liquor sales began in New Zealand, to 1976, when the last of the gender-specific restrictions on liquor licensing and working in licensed hotels was removed. The title of the book comes from a poem used by the prohibitionists in their campaign to rid New Zealand of barmaids: 'Wanted, a beautiful barmaid/ To shine in a drinking den/ To entrap the youth of the nation/ And ruin the city men' (p.92). Upton looks at all women working behind the bar, noting that, as in the case of Australia, the lines between working behind the bar and being the licensee were often crossed. After legislation banning women from working as barmaids in 1910, the only exceptions were a female publican, a publican's wife, and daughters and barmaids already working before the legislation who had to be registered in order to continue working. Although Upton's interest is in women publicans, as well as waged and family barmaids, she notes the evidence that the three groups were typically treated differently in the campaign to defeminize the public bar.

Upton effectively delineates the legal detail of alcohol legislation, the hypocrisies surrounding it and the ways in which local communities interpreted and disregarded the law. Upton's explanation of the licensing legislation as it pertained to European women is comprehensive and clear. Information on Māori women and liquor legislation is tantalizing, but not so clear. Kohe Te-Rau-ote-Rangi of Te Ati Awa, one of only five women to sign the Treaty of Waitangi, married whaler Jack Nicholl and with him ran a licensed accommodation house at Paekakariki for 20 years from 1845. Their guests included Governor George Grey. The Nicholls' tenure at Paekakariki overlapped with the 1847 Ordinance to Prohibit the Sale of Spirits to Natives. In 1895 the sale of alcohol to 'any female aboriginal native' was prohibited, with the exception of Māori women married to European men. When Agnes Noble, licensee of the Taupo Hotel, was censured for serving Māori men and women in the kitchen, the inspector warned that if complaints continued 'the sale of alcohol to all Māori would be forbidden from her hotel.' (p.102) There is no discussion of Māori barmaids beyond the wives of the retired whalers, and this would make interesting further study.

Gold fever prompted the first rounds of tightening up on liquor legislation. It was also on the goldfields that the role of the barmaid developed, as distinct from women working as hotelkeepers alone or alongside their husbands. Upton places this change in the context of the changing physical spaces of bars in English cities, where the gin palace was centred around a bar, in contrast with older tavern styles which served drinks in the front room of a house. In New Zealand, both forms existed in the early period, with legislation from 1873 making it more difficult, but not always impossible, for accommodation houses to hold liquor licences.

Upton has an eye for the hypocrisies of liquor politics. She notes how Richard Seddon, a vocal opponent of unmarried women holding hotel licences when he was in parliament, was very quiet about his previous occupation as a publican, and the role his wife Louisa took on in running their hotel while he was away electioneering. Another hypocrisy which Upton explores is that of the Women's Christian Temperance Union towards barmaids. Ostensibly, they wished for women to have more autonomy, but this did not extend to these employees. The WCTU considered barmaids doubly dangerous: they needed to be protected from contact with rapacious men and also removed from their role as sirens luring men to the bar, for the good of those men.

Upton's work on barmaids also indicates the power of individuals outside the law to control women's access to drinking. Despite it being legal for women to be served in the public bar from 1948, Upton's research finds a number of publicans proudly defying the law, including the head of New Zealand Breweries, who made it company policy not to serve Māori women. There is scope for more research exploring how women negotiated controls on public drinking in New Zealand.

Upton contributes a great deal to the history of licensing legislation in *Wanted*. She places it in the context of Australian and US parallels and contrasts. Some further comparison with twentieth-century England, Ireland and Scotland would have been valuable. Upton notes that the war brides returning from England were surprised to find social spaces segregated by gender and it would have been interesting to know more about the factors which made for a different culture in Britain, and how British and Irish migrant women to New Zealand viewed bar work in their new country.

Six o'clock closing is discussed in depth, and Upton makes clear that the removal of barmaids from bars alongside the curtailment of opening hours created spaces which were anything but domestic and welcoming. Although there is a six-year gap between the lifting of the prohibition against barmaids at the end of 1961 and the end of six o'clock closing in late 1967, the hotel workers' union immediately made arrangements with HANZ to stop women from accessing bar work. It was only after six o'clock closing ended and there was a sudden shortage of bar workers that barmaids were in widespread work again.

Between temperance campaigners, most particularly the WCTU, the NZLVA and the bar workers' union, women's bar work was judged, curtailed and lampooned. Upton works hard to bring the actual women bar workers to the fore in this book, particularly with the use of oral histories of twentieth-century barmaids, and succeeds in showing that for the largest part, barmaiding was a job, hard work and undertaken for the purpose of economic survival. Barmaids themselves were not much interested in the endless judgement of their work, but in earning enough to keep themselves and their families. Upton returns dignity to this previously little explored aspect of labour and gender history and contributes to our understanding of nineteenth-century New Zealand women beyond the temperance campaigners and the silent mothers and helpmeets.

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