

THE GREAT WRONG WAR

NEW ZEALAND SOCIETY IN WWI

— Stevan Eldred-Grigg —

Endnotes

Chapter One: The Eve of War

1. Quoted by E H McCormick, *An Absurd Ambition: Autobiographical Writings*, Auckland 1996, p. 37.
2. ‘Ein glücklicher Mensch im glücklichen Lande’, Max Herz, *Das Heutige Neuseeland*, Berlin 1909, p. 345.
3. ‘Es ist überraschend, zu sehen, wie schnell sich in Neuseeland das Unterrichtswesen entwickelt hat, wo vor etwa achtzig Jahren außer der einheimischen Bevölkerung einige wenige Europäer lebten.’ M F Blassneck, *Neuseeland nach seiner Geschichte und seiner Natur*, Bonn 1908, p. 116.
4. Doris Gordon, *Doctor Down Under*, London 1958, p. 53.
5. *Kai Tiaki*, January 1919.
6. M F Lloyd Prichard, *An Economic History of New Zealand*, Auckland 1970, pp. 192–3.
7. David Greasley and Les Oxley, ‘Refrigeration and Distribution: New Zealand Land Prices and Real Wages 1873–1939’, *Australian Economic History Review*, vol. 45, no. 1, pp. 35–4.
8. ‘Jetzt ist es . . . der reichste und der am weitesten vorgeschrittene Staat der Welt.’ Alfred Bojsen, *Das Land der Sozialen Reformen: Neu-Seeland*, Leipzig 1906, p. 34. He quotes Mulhall’s *Dictionary of Statistics* to show that the yearly average income in the dominion was 880 marks, followed by North America at 840 marks and Britain at 720 marks, with an average of 440 marks in Germany.

9. *New Zealand Free Lance*, 19 August 1905.
10. Quoted by Megan Hutching, “‘Mothers of the World’: Women, Peace and Arbitration in Early Twentieth-Century New Zealand”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 27, October 1993, pp. 180–1.
11. James Courage, *The Young Have Secrets*, London 1954, p. 214.
12. *NZPD*, vol. 148, 1909, p. 1013.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 1415.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 1421.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 1412.
16. Michael Bassett, *Sir Joseph Ward: A Political Biography*, Auckland 1993, p. 180.
17. *NZPD*, vol. 148, 1909, p. 1012.
18. David Low, *Low’s Autobiography*, London 1956, pp. 43–4.
19. Bassett, *Ward*, pp. 196–7.
20. Senior Cadets numbered 48,223 in schools and 30,112 were Territorials. *AJHR* 1914, H-19.
21. *NZPD*, vol. 148, 1909, p. 1413.
22. They consisted not only of ‘the shirker’, he claimed, but also ‘the man who had genuine difficulty in getting to camp’. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
23. *New Zealand Truth*, 22 July 1911.
24. *Ibid.*, 17 August 1912.
25. *AJHR*, 1914, H-19, Appendix J.
26. Gwen Parsons, ‘Debating the War: The Discourses of War in the Christchurch Community’, in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds.), *New Zealand’s Great War*, Auckland 2007, p. 555.
27. Len Richardson, ‘Politics and War: Coal Miners and Conscription’, in P R May (ed.), *Miners and Militants: Politics in Westland 1865–1918*, Christchurch 1975.
28. ‘The Other Side of Compulsory Military Service’, Napier 1912? Reprinted from *White Ribbon*, 18 June 1912.
29. Quoted by Hutching, “‘Mothers of the World’”, pp. 180–1.
30. New Zealand Anti-Conscription League, *Jailing the Boys. Will the People Stand It?* Wellington 1911; Alfred Goldsbury, *Peace and the Defence Act*, Auckland 1912; Alfred Goldsbury, *The Reasonableness of Peace*, Wellington 1912; W H G Alexander, *The Peril to Civil and Religious Liberty from Modern Imperialism*, Auckland 1913; Colonial Observer, *A Blot on the Empire: Conscription in New Zealand*, London 1913?; *Compulsory Military Training in Schools. Is it of Moral or Physical Benefit? An Appeal to Common Sense*, Wellington 1912; C R Ford, *The Case Against Compulsory Military Training*, Wellington 1912; C R Ford, *The Cost of War and Militarism*, Christchurch 1912; C R Ford, *The Defence Act; A Criticism*, Christchurch 1911; T C Gregory, *New Zealand and Conscription. The Sellar Case: A Warning*

- to *Emigrants. Family Ruined by Conscription*, Bristol 1913; T C Gregory (ed.), *Warning to Emigrants. New Zealand. Plain Facts about Conscription (Disguised Under the Term Compulsory Military Training for Defence)*, Principally by Colonials, Bristol 1912; H E Holland, *The Crime of Conscription*, Sydney 1912; *Imperialism v. Citizenship in New Zealand*, Wellington 1913; National Peace Council of New Zealand, *The Defence Amendment Act, 1912. Tightening the fetters of conscription. The knell of our freedom*, Christchurch 1912?; C M Williams, *The Great White Elephant*, Christchurch 1914.
31. David Grant, 'Anti-Conscription, Conscription and the Referendum', in Margaret Clark (ed.), *Peter Fraser Master Politician*, Palmerston North 1998, pp. 130–2.
 32. *New Zealand Truth*, 26 August 1911.
 33. Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, Wellington 1986, p. 141.
 34. D R Jenkins, *Social Attitudes in the New Zealand School Journal*, Wellington 1939, p. 4; E P Malone, 'The *New Zealand School Journal* and the Imperial Ideology', *New Zealand Journal of History*, April 1973.
 35. Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male — A History*, Auckland 1987, p. 154.
 36. McCormick, *Absurd Ambition*, p. 23.
 37. Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. 157.
 38. Thomas Ellison, cited by J O C Phillips, 'Rugby, War and the Mythology of the New Zealand Male', *New Zealand Journal of History*, October 1984, p. 95.
 39. E H C Ridder, 'Character Building' for Boys. *Baden-Powell's 'Boy Spys'*, Wellington 1913.
 40. J A Larsson, *Zealandia Song Book*, n.p., 1917.
 41. He was not awed by this show of military strength, observing that the squadron escorting the governor was weak ['einer schwachen Eskadron'] and that the other Territorials and Senior Cadets were strung out along the route in a 'rather thin' ['ziemlich dünnes'] way. Paul Ebert, *Sudsee-erinnerungen*, Leipzig 1924, pp. 219–20.
 42. *New Zealand Free Lance*, 26 September 1908.
 43. Arnold Wall, *A Century of New Zealand's Praise*, Christchurch 1950, (first published 1912), p. 104.
 44. 'I suppose there'll be no peace anywhere till the rich are curbed altogether', Brooke added. Quoted by McCormick, *Absurd Ambition*, p. 44.
 45. Greasley and Oxley, 'Refrigeration and Distribution', pp. 35, 38, 43–4.
 46. M N Galt, 'Wealth and Income in New Zealand c. 1870 to c. 1939', PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington 1985, p. 24.
 47. J E Le Rossignol and William Downie Stewart, *State Socialism in New Zealand*, New York 1910, p. 299.
 48. *New Zealand Truth*, 3 January 1914.
 49. *The Press*, 17 December 1919.

50. *New Zealand Truth*, 19 December 1914.
51. *Grey River Argus*, 19 September 1912; 3 July 1913.
52. James Thorn, *Peter Fraser: New Zealand's Wartime Prime Minister*, London 1952, p. 40.
53. *Evening Post*, 3 January 1914.
54. *Ibid.*, 3 January 1914.
55. *NZPD*, vol. 169, 1914, p. 316.
56. *Evening Post*, 3 January 1914.
57. James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*, Auckland 2001, p. 95.
58. Pat Lawlor, feature article in *The Dominion*, republished in Karl du Fresne, *The Dom: A Century of News*, Wellington 2007, p. 23.
59. L J Wild, *The Life and Times of Sir James Wilson of Bulls*, Christchurch 1953, p. 148.
60. T E Y Seddon, *The Seddons: An Autobiography*, Auckland 1968, p. 217.
61. The key role of the military has been explored by John Crawford in, 'Overt and Covert Military Involvement in the 1890 Maritime Strike and 1913 Waterfront Strike in New Zealand', *Labour History*, no. 60, 1991.
62. Christopher Pugsley, *Gallipoli: The New Zealand Story*, Auckland 1984, p. 44.
63. John Crawford and Peter Cook (eds), *No Better Death: The Great War Diaries and Letters of William G Malone*, Auckland 2005, p. 35.
64. *Grey River Argus*, 28 October 1916.
65. H J Hiery, *The Neglected War. The German South Pacific and the Influence of World War I*, Honolulu 1995, p. 20.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 273, p 45.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
68. *Evening Post*, 14 August 1914.
69. Hiery, *Neglected War*, p. 20.
70. Pugsley, *Gallipoli*, Auckland 1984, pp. 41–2.
71. E J Lyttleton, *The Altar Stairs*, London 1908, p. 217.
72. Germany spent \$7.4 per head every year on its army and navy, while Britain laid out \$7.8 and more than \$8 per head were spent by France. Gerd Hardach, *The First World War 1914–1918*, Berkeley 1977, p. 150.
73. Linda Gill (ed.), *Letters of Frances Hodgkins*, Auckland 1993, p. 287.
74. Wall, *New Zealand's Praise*, p. 107.
75. Gregory O'Brien, *A Nest of Singing Birds*, Wellington 2007, p. 16.

76. *The Sun*, 5 August 1915.
77. Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, London 1988, p. 273.
78. D K Wyatt, *Siam: A Short History*, Chiang Mai 2004, p. 192.
79. The electorate in the United Kingdom was about 18 per cent of the population, or in other words around 8.3 million of a total of around 46 million.
80. Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World*, London 2001, p. 323. Davis cites Burton Stein, *A History of India*, London 1998, and Lance Davis and Robert Huttenback, *Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire: The Economics of British Imperialism*, Cambridge 1988.
81. J M McLean, member of parliament for Cardiff, House of Commons Debates, 6 July 1896, vol. 42, pp. 838–40.
82. *New Zealand Truth*, 26 October 1912.
83. Quoted by Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost*, London 1998, p. 165.
84. *Observer*, 15 August 1908.
85. Thomas Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa, 1876–1912*, New York 1991.
86. Winston Churchill, *The River War: An Historical Account of The Reconquest of the Soudan*, London 1899, pp. 82–164.
87. Pakenham, *Scramble*, p. 654.
88. Ken Swindell, 'The Struggle for Transport Labour in Northern Nigeria, 1900–1912: A Conflict of Interests', *African Economic History*, no. 20 (1992), p. 142.
89. K O Akurang-Parry, "'The Loads are Heavier than Usual": Forced Labor by Women and Children in the Central Province, Gold Coast (Colonial Ghana), ca. 1900–1940', *African Economic History*, no. 30 (2002), pp. 31–51.
90. Alyssa Phillips, review of Parimal Ghosh, 'Brave Men of the Hills: Resistance and Rebellion in Burma, 1825–1932', *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*, vol. 2, no. 1, Spring 2004, p. 7.
91. *NZPD*, vol. 148, 1909, p. 1012.
92. *New Zealand Truth*, 26 September 1914.
93. J C Beaglehole, *Victoria University College*, Wellington 1949, p. 158.
94. O E Burton, *The Silent Division*, Sydney 1935, p. 320.
95. National Peace Council, *Compulsory Military Training for Defence of New Zealand, or, Imperial Aggression?* Christchurch c. 1912, p. 4.
96. *Evening Post*, 23 July 1912.
97. *Poverty Bay Herald*, 1 August 1914.
98. *Ibid.*, 26 July 1912.

99. *Evening Post*, 27 May 1914.
100. Sarah Dowling, 'Female Imperialism: The Victoria League in Canterbury, New Zealand, 1910–2004', MA thesis, University of Canterbury 2004.
101. *Evening Post*, 18 June 1912.
102. *Ibid.*, 28 March 1913.
103. *Poverty Bay Herald*, 15 April 1913.
104. *Evening Post*, 14 February 1913.
105. *Ibid.*, 12 September 1911.
106. Volker Ullrich, *Die nervöse Großmacht 1871–1918*, Frankfurt 1997.
107. David Chapman, *A Prize Essay in Favour of the Federation of the Whole World*, Christchurch c. 1890; E W Cole (ed.), *Cyclopedia of Short Prize Essays on the Federation of the Whole World*, Melbourne c. 1890.
108. H E Hyde, *Dawn of the Age of the Appeal to Reason . . . Is War Inevitable? Answer No. Reason — the Parliament of the World*, Wellington c. 1914.
109. Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600–1947*, London 2007, p. 589.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 562.
111. The word used in German to describe the intellectual freedom of teachers and students was *Lehrfreiheit*.
112. Horace Mann, *Report on an Educational Tour in Germany and Parts of Great Britain and Ireland*, London 1846, p. 163.
113. Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgesichte*, Munich 1995, pp. 1248–9.
114. Peter Jelavich, 'German Culture in the Great War', in Aviel Roshwald and Richard Stites, *European Culture in the Great War: The Arts, Entertainment, and Propaganda, 1914–1918*, Cambridge 1999, p. 37.
115. The essay was first published as *Das Maschinenzeitalter*; the novel as *Die Waffen nieder*. The quote about the memory of mankind was as follows: '*Das Gedächtnis der Menschen ist so furchtbar kurz*'; Bertha von Suttner, *Lebenserinnerungen*, Berlin 1979, p. 28.
116. *New Zealand Herald*, 30 June 1914.
117. *Observer*, 15 August 1908.
118. *Weekly Press*, 12 August 1914.
119. Charles Brasch, *Indirections: A Memoir 1909–1947*, Wellington 1980, pp. 7–9.
120. *New Zealand Truth*, 9 June 1917.
121. *Poverty Bay Herald*, 1 November 1911.
122. *New Zealand Free Lance*, 19 August 1905.
123. *New Zealand Truth*, 27 January 1917.
124. Dorothea Joblin, *Behold the Plains; the Story of the Old Houses of Massey*, Auckland 1970, p. 121.

125. Herz used the words 'friedlicher Gemeinschaft', 'einen alten Königsberger Knaben' and 'haben seinen Keenigsbarjer Dialekt nicht abgeschliffen'. Herz, *Neuseeland*, p. 236.
126. *Weekly Press*, 12 August 1914.
127. *Evening Post*, 5 September 1914.
128. *New Zealand Truth*, 23 September 1916.
129. *Evening Post*, 7 July 1914.
130. Julian Grande, *Constance Grande, War Correspondent — Traveller — Alpinist — and Imperialist*, London 1925, p. xiii.
131. A D McLaren, *Germanism from Within*, New York 1916, p. 5.
132. Ernest McKinlay, *Ways and By-Ways of a Singing Kiwi With the N.Z. Divisional Entertainers in France*, Dunedin 1939, p. 15.
133. *New Zealand Free Lance*, 9 February 1907.
134. *Poverty Bay Herald*, 20 April 1920.
135. Search 'berlin' on www.paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
136. *New Zealand Truth*, 17 February 1917.
137. *Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle*, 7 September 1915.
138. Millicent Baxter, *The Memoirs of Millicent Baxter*, Whatamongo Bay 1981, pp. 42–3.
139. A S Eve, *Rutherford*, Cambridge 1939, pp. 183, 185.
140. A W Rutherford, *The Impressions of a New Zealand Pastoralist on Tour*, Christchurch 1912, pp. 211, 214–15.
141. McLaren, *Germanism*, pp. 156–7.
142. *Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle*, 7 September 1915.
143. W H Montgomery, *Notes on My Life*, Christchurch 1995, pp. 31–2.
144. *New Zealand Free Lance*, 9 July 1904.
145. *Weekly Press*, 12 August 1914.
146. *Evening Post*, 2 January 1914.
147. Quoted by J D Vincent-Smith, 'The Anglo-German Negotiations over the Portuguese Colonies in Africa, 1911–14', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 17, no. 3, p. 623.
148. *New Zealand Truth*, 5 January 1918.
149. Quoted by Hiery, *Neglected War*, p. 14.
150. M P Lissington, *New Zealand and Japan 1900–1941*, Wellington 1972, p. 5.
151. *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12.
152. *New Zealand Truth*, 7 June 1919.

153. M P Lissington, *New Zealand and the United States, 1840–1944*, Wellington 1972, p. 13; Lissington, *New Zealand and Japan*, pp. 5–8.
154. *Otago Witness*, 19 August 1908.
155. *Observer*, 15 August 1908.
156. *New Zealand Tablet*, 13 August 1908.
157. *Evening Post*, 2 January 1914.
158. *Ibid.*, 2 January 1914.
159. Marshall, SLA, *World War I*, New York 2001, p.26.

Chapter Two: The Outbreak of the War

1. Dorothea Joblin, *Behold the Plains the Story of the Old Houses of Massey*, Auckland 1970, pp. 114, 128.
2. *Canterbury Times*, 21 November 1917.
3. *Evening Post*, 14 September 1914.
4. *AJHR*, 1919, H-29B, p. 1.
5. David Wilson, *Rutherford: Simple Genius*, London 1983, p. 341.
6. *Evening Post*, 1 July 1914.
7. Michael King, *Te Puea*, Auckland 1977, pp. 74–5.
8. Walter Görlitz (ed.), *The Kaiser and His Court: the Diaries, Notebooks and Letters of Admiral Georg von Müller*, New York 1964, p. 5.
9. *Evening Post*, 27 July 1914.
10. *Ibid.*, 29 July 1914.
11. Stig Förster, ‘Der deutsche Generalstab und die Illusion des kurzen Krieges, 1871–1914. Metakritik eines Mythos’, *Militär-geschichtliche Mitteilung*, 54, 1995, pp. 61–98.
12. Gerd Hardach, *The First World War 1914–1918*, Berkeley 1977, p. 157.
13. *Weekly Press*, 5 August 1914.
14. N J Wright, “‘Beyond the Pale of Human Recognition’”: The Image of the Enemy as Portrayed in the Otago/Southland Press During World War One: Attitudes Towards British Propaganda and Censorship’, MA thesis, Otago 1996, pp. 12–13, 32.
15. *Evening Post*, 1 August 1914.
16. *Ibid.*, 3 August 1914.
17. *Weekly Press*, 5 August 1914; *The Sun*, 4 August 1914.
18. Evelyn Mary Fürstin von Blücher von Wahlstatt, *An English Wife in Berlin*, London 1920, pp. 5–6.
19. *NZPD*, vol. 169, 1914, pp. 380–1.

20. *New Zealand Truth*, 26 September 1914.
21. Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World*, London 2003, pp. 299–300.
22. Quoted by Luigi Albertini, *The Origins of the War of 1914*, trans. and ed. I M Massey, Oxford 1952, vol. 3, p. 34.
23. Linda Gill (ed.), *Frances Hodgkins*, Auckland 1993, pp. 287–9.
24. *New Zealand Herald*, 8 August 1914.
25. *Evening Post*, 6 August 1914.
26. *Otago Daily Times*, 6 August 1914; *Evening Post*, 6 August 1914.
27. *Canterbury Times*, 12 August 1914.
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29. Ian McGibbon, ‘The Shaping of New Zealand’s War Effort, August–October 1914’, in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds.), *New Zealand’s Great War*, Auckland 2007, p. 50.
30. *New Zealand Truth*, 15 August 1914.
31. Jürgen Tampke (ed.), *Ruthless Warfare: German Military Planning and Surveillance in the Australian–New Zealand Region before the Great War*, Canberra 1988, p. 47.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 153–5.
33. *New Zealand Truth*, 8 August 1914.
34. Graham Hucker, ‘The Rural Home Front. A New Zealand Region and the Great War, 1914–1918’, PhD thesis, Massey 2006, p. 36.
35. *Grey River Argus*, 29 January 1916.
36. *Canterbury Times*, 4 October 1916.
37. *Ibid.*, 12 August 1914.
38. MJ Forde, *Young Men to the Front! And Keep the Home Fires Burning*, Dunedin 1914.
39. *The Sun*, 12 August 1914.
40. Julian Grande, *Constance Grande, War Correspondent — Traveller — Alpinist — and Imperialist*, London 1925, p. 253.
41. *Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle*, 2 March 1915.
42. *Evening Post*, 29 August 1914.
43. *Ibid.*, 14 September 1914.
44. *Canterbury Times*, 12 August 1914.
45. *Weekly Press*, 9 September 1914.
46. Gertrude Von Tunzelmann (ed.), *Southland’s Tribute to Belgium*, Invercargill 1915.
47. *Public Service Queen*, p. 7.
48. *Evening Post*, 26 June 1915.

49. The Krupp family and their business role in the war has been discussed by W Boelcke, *Krupp and die Hohenzollern in Dokumenten*, Frankfurt 1970.
50. Hardach, *First World War*, p. 239.
51. One argument of such historians is that New Zealand wealth was based on trade with the motherland; McGibbon, 'New Zealand's War Effort', p. 53. One more argument is that British bankers and buyers, had they turned their backs on the dominion, would have led to its 'economic collapse'; Pfeiffer, Rolf, 'Exercises in Loyalty and Troublemaking', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 38, no. 2, 1992, p. 178. The consensus among such historians is that New Zealand leaders 'had a keen appreciation of their country's own interests'; Richard G H Kay, 'In Pursuit of Victory: British–New Zealand Relations During the First World War', PhD thesis, University of Otago 2001, p. iii.
52. *New Zealand Truth*, 22 May 1915.
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56. Anna Rogers, *While You're Away: New Zealand Nurses at War 1899–1948*, Auckland 2003, p. 155.
57. W H Scotter, *A History of Port Lyttelton*, Christchurch 1968, pp. 205–6.
58. Alice F Webb, *Miss Peters' Special and Other Stories*, London 1925, pp. 94–7.
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60. *Evening Post*, 12 August 1914.
61. *Ibid.*, 22 August 1914.
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64. *Weekly Press*, 19 August 1914.
65. Anna Rogers, *While You're Away*, Auckland 2003, p. 45.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
67. Joan Woodward and Glenys Mitchell, *Nurse at War, Emily Peter 1858–1927*, Christchurch 2008, pp. 114–15.
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70. Grande, *Constance Grande*, p. 263.
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75. *Ibid.*, 12 August, 22 August 1914.
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78. Ute Daniel, *The War from Within: German Working Class Women in the First World War*, trans. Margaret Ries, Oxford 1997, p. 23.
79. Evelyn Mary Fürstin von Blücher von Wahlstatt, *English Wife in Berlin*, pp. 25, 28.
80. Horne and Kramer, *German Atrocities*, p. 211.
81. *Ibid.*, pp 200–1.
82. Wilhelmina Sherriff Bain, wife of merchant R A Elliot. Von Tunzelmann, *Southland's Tribute to Belgium*.
83. J R B A'Deane, *German Kultur and Other Rhymes*, Napier 1915, unpaginated.
84. J C Thomson, *War Verses and Others*, Wellington 1917, unpaginated.
85. *Public Service Queen*, p. 25.
86. Frank Sargeson, 'The Last War', in *The Stories of Frank Sargeson*, Auckland 1982, pp. 16–17.
87. Robin Hyde, *The Godwits Fly*, Auckland 1970 (first published 1938), p. 66.
88. A L F Liverpool, *Countess of Liverpool's Giftbook*, Christchurch 1915, p. 69.
89. Millicent Baxter, *Memoirs of Millicent Baxter*, Whatamongo Bay 1981, p. 47.
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91. Cited by Barry Gustafson, *Labour's Path to Political Independence: The Origins and Establishment of the New Zealand Labour Party 1900–1919*, Auckland 1980, p. 86.
92. Eric Baume, *I Lived These Years*, London 1941, pp. 59–60.
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94. Terry Sturm, *An Unsettled Spirit: The Life and Frontier Fiction of Edith Lyttleton (G. B. Lancaster)*, Auckland 2003, p. 129.
95. Edgar Jones, *Autobiography of an Early Settler in New Zealand*, Wellington 1933, p. 163.
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101. Ibid., pp. 182–3.
102. *Countess of Liverpool's Giftbook*, p. 21.
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104. *Evening Post*, 12 August 1914.
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107. Allan Davidson, 'New Zealand Churches and Death in the First World War', in Crawford and McGibbon, *Great War*, pp. 450–2. Megan Hutching, "'Mothers of the World': Women, Peace and Arbitration in Early Twentieth-Century New Zealand, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 27, October 1993, p. 174.
108. Quoted by Margaret Anderson, 'The Female Front: The Attitudes of Otago Women towards the Great War 1914–1918', BA Hons thesis, University of Otago 1990, p. 56.
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111. Richard G H Kay, 'In Pursuit of Victory: British-New Zealand Relations During the First World War', PhD thesis, University of Otago 2001, p. 28.
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115. Robert K Massie, *Castles of Steel: Britain, Germany, and the Winning of the Great War at Sea*, New York 2003, pp. 513–14, 521.
116. *New Zealand Truth*, 29 August 1914.
117. Mitch Peeke, Kevin Walsh-Johnson and Steven Jones, *The Lusitania Story*, Barnsley 2002, p. 46.
118. Gill, *Frances Hodgkins*, pp. 288–9.
119. Hucker, 'Rural Home Front', p. 20.
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125. K R Howe, *Singer in a Songless Land: A Life of Edward Tregear 1846–1931*, Auckland 1991, p. 195.
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130. C R Allen, *The Hedge Sparrow*, Dunedin 1937, pp. 211–12.
131. Nelle Scanlan, *Tides of Youth*, London 1933, p. 243.
132. T E Y Seddon, *The Seddons: An Autobiography*, Auckland 1968, pp. 221–2.
133. W M Watt, *Arbroath Abbey and Other Poems, By a Prisoner of War*, London 1919, pp. 66–7.
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137. *Countess of Liverpool's Giftbook*, p. 45.
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140. Iris Hughes-Sparrow, *The Signature was Joy*, Nelson 1977, p. 121.
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Chapter Four: 1916

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