THE GREAT WRONG WAR

NEW ZEALAND SOCIETY IN WWI

— Stevan Eldred-Grigg —

Endnotes

Chapter One: The Eve of War

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.
13. Ibid., p. 1415.
15. Ibid., p. 1412.
20. Senior Cadets numbered 48,223 in schools and 30,112 were Territorials. *AJHR* 1914, H-19.
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.
24. Ibid., 17 August 1912.
25. *AJHR*, 1914, H-19, Appendix J.

32. New Zealand Truth, 26 August 1911.
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.
44. ‘I suppose there’ll be no peace anywhere till the rich are curbed altogether’, Brooke added. Quoted by McCormick, Absurd Ambition, p. 44.
48. New Zealand Truth, 3 January 1914.
49. The Press, 17 December 1919.


54. Ibid., 3 January 1914.

55. *NZPD*, vol. 169, 1914, p. 316.


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.


66. Ibid., p. 273, p 45.

67. Ibid., p. 18.


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.


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.


82. *New Zealand Truth*, 26 October 1912.


84. *Observer*, 15 August 1908.


92. *New Zealand Truth*, 26 September 1914.


97. *Poverty Bay Herald*, 1 August 1914.

98. Ibid., 26 July 1912.


102. Ibid., 28 March 1913.


105. Ibid., 12 September 1911.


110. Ibid., p. 562.

111. The word used in German to describe the intellectual freedom of teachers and students was Lehrfreiheit.


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.


120. *New Zealand Truth*, 9 June 1917.

121. *Poverty Bay Herald*, 1 November 1911.


127. Evening Post, 5 September 1914.


129. Evening Post, 7 July 1914.


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.


135. Search ‘berlin’ on www.paperspast.natlib.govt.nz


137. Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle, 7 September 1915.


142. Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle, 7 September 1915.


144. New Zealand Free Lance, 9 July 1904.


146. Evening Post, 2 January 1914.


149. Quoted by Hiery, Neglected War, p. 14.


151. Ibid., pp. 11–12.

152. New Zealand Truth, 7 June 1919.
Chapter Two: The Outbreak of the War

10. Ibid., 29 July 1914.
15. *Evening Post*, 1 August 1914.
16. Ibid., 3 August 1914.
37. Ibid., 12 August 1914.
38. MJ Forde, *Young Men to the Front! And Keep the Home Fires Burning*, Dunedin 1914.
42. *Evening Post*, 29 August 1914.
43. Ibid., 14 September 1914.
44. *Canterbury Times*, 12 August 1914.
46. Gertrude Von Tunzelmann (ed.), *Southland’s Tribute to Belgium*, Invercargill 1915.
47. *Public Service Queen*, p. 7.
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.


55. *Evening Post*, 17 October 1914.


60. *Evening Post*, 12 August 1914.

61. Ibid., 22 August 1914.


66. Ibid., p. 46.


69. Ibid., p. 33.


75. Ibid., 12 August, 22 August 1914.
81. Ibid., pp 200–1.
82. Wilhelmina Sherriff Bain, wife of merchant R A Elliot. Von Tunzelmann, *Southland’s Tribute to Belgium*.
85. *Public Service Queen*, p. 25.
90. *New Zealand Truth*, 10 January 1914.
100. Ibid., p. 63.
103. AJHR, 1917, H-11.
104. Evening Post, 12 August 1914.
105. The Sun, 12 August 1914.
113. Evening Post, 31 October 1914.
116. New Zealand Truth, 29 August 1914.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid., pp. 32–3.
122. Evening Post, 5 September 1914.
124. The Sun, 4 August 1916.
137. *Countess of Liverpool’s Giftbook*, p. 45.
144. Forde, *Young Men to the Front!*
151. *New Zealand Truth*, 26 September 1914.
158. Poverty Bay Herald, 18 September 1914.
159. Quoted by Smith, Samoa Expeditionary Force, p. 65.
162. Evening Post, 7 September 1914.
163. Grey River Argus, 2 October 1914.
164. Evening Post, 14 September 1914.
165. Poverty Bay Herald, 18 September 1914.
170. Evening Post, 30 October 1915.
171. Ibid., 29 August 1914.
172. H D Bedford, Cost of Living in New Zealand; War Profit; War Finance, Dunedin 1916, unpaginated.
175. Weekly Press, 2 September 1914.
176. Canterbury Times, 12 August 1914.
177. Evening Post, 12 August 1914.
178. Ibid., 22 August 1914.
179. New Zealand Truth, 26 September 1914.
180. Ibid., 29 August 1914.
181. The Star, 5 August 1914.
182. New Zealand Truth, 29 August 1914.
183. Quoted by Hardach, First World War, p. 157.
185. New Zealand Truth, 17 October 1914.
188. Ibid., 17 October 1914.
194. Ibid., 3 October 1914.
195. Ibid., 17 October 1914.
203. Ibid., p. 108.
208. *New Zealand Truth*, 1 August 1914.
209. Wright, “‘Beyond the Pale’”, p. 131.
211. Hucker, ‘*Rural Home Front’*, p. 64.
215. Ibid., 23 December 1916.
217. The technician was re-employed when it was found that nobody could take his place, and then when his workmates protested he was given work ‘by the day’. The captain of the Pakeha took his British crew to court for driving away the German crew, but the court upheld the British crew. Jean King, ‘Anti-German Hysteria During World War I’, in James N Bade (ed.), *Out of the Shadow of War: The German Connection with New Zealand in the Twentieth Century*, Auckland 1998, p. 21.
223. Ibid., 2 January 1915.
228. Quoted by Massie, *Castles of Steel*, p. 177.
231. R C Richardson, *Call Back Yesterday*, Lewes 1983, p. 120.
235. Ibid., 12 August 1914.
236. Ibid., 3 October 1914.
237. Ibid., 14 November 1914.
238. Ibid., 28 November 1914.
240. Hughes-Sparrow, *The Signature was Joy*, p. 143.
244. *Evening Post*, 3 October 1914.
Chapter Three: 1915

1. New Zealand Truth, 9 January 1915.
3. Evening Post, 2 January 1915.
8. Ibid., pp. 157–8.
10. McLaren, Thomas Sullivan, W W Williams from Auckland, W R Webb from Manunui, Edmund Tuckey from Island Bay, T Godfrey from Pahiatua, the young W Laurence Carr from the Rangitikei, Fletcher from the Horowhenua, Charles Webster from Christchurch, A T Jones from Christchurch, W Morris from Normanby, and George Wood Squire from Fairview, Canterbury, C J King of Napier and Horace Hunt, the pianist from Wellington.
13. Ibid., 16 January 1915.
34. Burton, *Silent Division*, p. 44.
35. Morrill, *South Sea Silhouettes*, p. 159.
40. Ibid., p. 150.
42. *Evening Post*, 22 August 1914.
44. *New Zealand Truth*, 9 October 1915.
47. Quoted by Pugsley, Gallipoli, p. 182.
48. Quoted ibid., p. 184.
49. Diary of Capt A Tahu Rhodes, 17 August 1915, MS-1691, ATL.
52. Quoted by Pugsley, Gallipoli, p. 168.
58. Ibid., p. 124.
60. Evening Post, 3 May 1915.
68. Eric Baume, I Lived These Years, London 1941, pp. 48–9.
72. Countess of Liverpool’s Giftbook, p. 45.
74. Ibid., 6 September 1915.
77. Ibid., 12 June 1915.
81. Ibid., 28 November 1914.
82. Ibid., 3 April 1915.
83. Ibid.
86. *Grey River Argus*, 4 December 1915.
88. Ibid., 29 May 1915.
97. Ibid., 26 June 1915.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid., 3 July 1915.
100. *New Zealand Truth*, 26 October 1918.
103. Ibid., 5 August 1915.


111. Ibid., 13 May 1915.

112. Ibid., 11 May 1915.

113. Ibid.

114. Ibid., 25 May 1915.


117. Ibid., 30 October 1915.


121. Ibid., 13 May 1915.


130. Ibid., 3 July 1915.


134. Ibid., 7 June 1915.
137. Val Burr, ‘From Valued Settlers to “Enemies Within”’,
http://www.geocities.com/somesprisonersnz/germanating/ger2.html (link no longer active).
144. Grey River Argus, 3 May 1919.
145. Evening Post, 26 June 1915.
146. Iris Hughes-Sparrow, The Signature was Joy, Nelson 1977, p. 159.
149. Grey River Argus, 28 October 1915.
150. Evening Post, 2 October 1915.
153. Catholics were only 12 per cent of volunteers as a whole, during the war, but because the Catholic population had a bigger share of young men this meant they were signing up in smaller numbers than the Protestants — when conscription was brought in, Catholics were 17 per cent of conscripts. Ibid., p. 127.
155. Ibid., 6 November 1915.
156. Evening Post, 16 October 1915.
159. Evening Post, 7 August 1915.
163. Ibid., 7 August 1915.
176. Ibid., p. 454.
181. Ibid., 19 June 1915.
187. Ibid., 18 December 1915.
188. *New Zealand Truth*, 20 November 1915.
200. Ibid., 4 December 1915.
201. Ibid., 20 November 1915.
204. An index number of 1000 for the year 1910 rose to 1229 for 1914 and then 2490 for the year 1916. *AJHR*, 1919, H-44.
213. Ibid., 24 July 1915.
216. Ibid., 17 July 1915.
218. *New Zealand Truth*, 4 September 1915.
220. Ibid., 4 September 1915.
221. Ibid., 10 August 1915.
222. Ibid., 6 September 1915.
223. Real GDP calculated on a base of $m2000 in 1913 may have been 8,481, followed in 1914 by 8,751 (an increase of 3.2%) and in 1915 by 9,235 (an increase of 5.5%). Statistics New Zealand, http://www.stats.govt.nz, search for ‘Long-term data series’, Table E1-2.


230. Ibid., 21 August 1915.


232. Ibid., 27 March 1915.

233. Ibid., 17 April 1915.

234. Ibid., 27 March 1915.


236. Ibid., 27 March 1915.


240. Ibid., 18 September 1915.


244. Ibid.


246. *AJHR*, 1919, H-44.


249. Ibid., 25 May 1915.


256. Evening Post, 3 April 1915.


258. Evening Post, 29 May 1915.

259. Ibid., 4 January 1915.

260. Phil Briggs, Looking at the Numbers: A View of New Zealand’s Economic History, Wellington 2007, p. 120.


262. Ibid., p. 510.

263. New Zealand Truth, 12 June 1915.


266. AJHR, 1916, H-41.


270. Evening Post, 12 June 1915.


275. Rogers, While You’re Away, p. 96.


278. The annual mortality of the soldier population, very crudely considered, approximated to seven per thousand. The annual death rate of the civilian population of the comparable class, males from 21 to 45,
the arm-bearing population, for the previous 5 years in the Dominion averaged a little over five per thousand per annum’. Carbery, Medical Service, pp. 68–71.

279. New Zealand Truth, 10 July 1915.
283. Quoted by Pugsley, Gallipoli, p. 266.
284. Smith, Marquette, p. 60.

Chapter Four: 1916

1. New Zealand Truth, 1 January 1916.
2. Poverty Bay Herald, 3 January 1916.
3. Ibid., 5 January 1916.
9. Margaret Haughton, Reminiscenses [sic], Levin c. 1950, p. 10.
15. Evening Post, 12 September 1914.
16. Ibid., 14 November 1914.
18. Ibid., p. 90.
19. Ibid., p. 94.
20. Ibid., p. 95.
22. Ibid.
31. Ibid., 4 September 1915.
32. Ibid., 11 September 1915.
34. Ibid., pp. 32–3.
35. Ibid., p. 39.
36. Ibid., pp. 43–4.
37. Ibid., p. 65.
43. The young man was a repatriated soldier. *Grey River Argus*, 4 March 1916.
44. *Canterbury Times*, 8 November 1916.
50. New Zealand Truth, 3 June 1916.
51. Grey River Argus, 6 December 1919.
52. Canterbury Times, 4 October 1916.
54. New Zealand Truth, 4 June 1916.
56. New Zealand Truth, 2 June 1916.
60. Weekly Press, 1 October 1916.
64. H E Holland, Armageddon or Calvary: the Conscientious Objectors of New Zealand, Wellington 1919, p. 10.
65. New Zealand Truth, 12 August 1916.
68. New Zealand Truth, 26 February 1916.
69. Ibid., 23 September 1916.
70. Holland, Armageddon or Calvary, p. 8.
72. New Zealand Truth, 2 December 1916.
74. Baxter, We Will Not Cease, p. 15.
76. New Zealand Truth, 30 December 1916.
83. Ibid., 29 June 1915.
89. *Countess of Liverpool’s Giftbook*, p. 76.
91. The *Rustler*, Auckland 1915, unpagedinated.
94. M L G Glassford, *A Mother’s Appreciation of her Sons and of the Men of the New Zealand Rifle Brigade (Lord Liverpool’s Own), by a Rifleman’s Mother*, Wellington 1919, p. 15.
101. Ibid., p. 65.
103. Ibid., pp. 101–19.
110. Ibid., 3 April 1915.
111. *Rustler*, unpaginated.
132. Luxford, ‘Passengers for the War?’, p. 28.


141. Ibid., p. 36.

142. Ibid., pp. 16–20.

143. Ibid., p. 37.


146. *AJHR*, 1918, H-44, p. 15.


149. Ibid., 19 August 1916.


159. *Countess of Liverpool’s Giftbook*, p. 76.

160. She saw it, however, as a proof of God working to end all war. *Canterbury Times*, 20 December 1916.

161. *Public Service Queen*, p. 13. The author of the verse is identified as ‘PEW’. Percy Edward Winter, who seems the most likely author, was a shop assistant working for a leather merchant. Other possible authors are Percy Ernest White, carpenter of Christchurch, Phoebe Ellen Walker, spinster of Halkett, and Phyllis Eldridge Watson, spinster of Christchurch.

162. Harkness was speaking of conditions in 1916. *Poverty Bay Herald*, 3 December 1917.

165. Ibid., 12 August 1916.
166. Ibid., 4 March 1916.
175. Ibid.
188. Real GDP calculated on a base of $m2000 in 1915 may have been 8,751 (an increase of 5.5% on the year before) and in 1916 may have grown to 9,969 (an increase of 7.9%). Statistics New Zealand, Statistics New Zealand, http://www.stats.govt.nz, search for ‘Long-term data series’, Table E1-2.
Chapter Five: 1917

18. Ibid., 7 March 1917.
25. Ibid., 9 April 1919.
27. Ibid., 20 January 1917.
29. Iris Hughes-Sparrow, The Signature was Joy, Nelson 1977, p. 158.
33. New Zealand Truth, 12 May 1917.
34. Ibid., 5 May 1917.
36. Ibid., p. 145.
42. Julia Millen, Over the Top with the Best of Luck, Wellington 1992, p. 69.


50. Boyack and Tolerton, *Shadow of War*, p. 34.


54. Ibid.


68. *Canterbury Times*, 7 March 1917.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid., 4 October 1916.

71. Ibid., 28 March 1917.


76. Ibid., p. 206.
77. Ibid., p. 203.
79. Boyack and Tolerton, Shadow of War, p. 121.
80. Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle, 18 December 1917.
81. Ibid., 23 January 1917.
82. Canterbury Times, 21 March 1917.
83. Ibid.
84. Grey River Argus, 8 December 1917.
86. Ibid., p. 352.
87. Grey River Argus, 8 December 1917.
89. Francis Bennett, A Canterbury Tale, Wellington 1980, p. 75.
91. Ibid., p. 67.
96. Boyack and Tolerton, Shadow of War, p. 59.
97. Pugsley, Fringe of Hell, p. 64.
98. The crime was capital only if the court martial deemed the ‘character and circumstances’ to be ‘sufficiently grave’. Manual of Military Law cited by Pugsley, ibid., p. 41.
100. Ibid., p. 100.
101. Ibid., p. 94.
102. Ibid., pp. 61, 178.
103. New Zealand Truth, 24 October 1914.
110. Ibid., p. 65.
120. *Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle*, 16 January 1917.
128. Real GDP calculated on a base of $m2000 in 1916 may have been 9,969 (an increase of 7.9% on the year before) and in 1917 may have shrunk to 9,485 (a decrease of 4.9%). Statistics New Zealand, http://www.stats.govt.nz, search for ‘Long-term data series’, Table E1-2.
130. Ibid., p. 421.
132. Ibid., 6 October 1917.
133. Quoted ibid., 27 October 1917.


139. *AJHR*, 1917, H-44.

140. Ibid.

141. Ibid.


144. Ibid.


154. Ibid.


156. *New Zealand Truth*, 3 November 1917.


165. Ibid., 20 January 1917.

166. Ibid., 7 July 1917.
170. Ibid., 16 February 1918.
171. Ibid., 6 January 1917.
180. Ibid., p. 106.
188. ‘L’ Smith is given as his name by *New Zealand Truth*, but this seems to be a printing error. The only Smith living near Te Araroa was Thomas Jackson Smith of Awatere. *New Zealand Truth*, 9 February 1918.
189. *New Zealand Times*, 8 April 1918; *New Zealand Truth*, 13 April 1918.
190. Wright, ‘“Beyond the Pale”’, p. 100.
191. Ibid., p. 129.
193. Ibid., 5 May 1917.


204. Ibid., 13 January 1917.


207. *New Zealand Truth*, 4 August 1917.

208. The two swear words were not spelled out by newspapers, but ‘bloody bastards’ seem the most likely.


211. Ibid.

212. Ibid., 7 July 1917.

213. Ibid., 3 November 1917.


216. Ibid., 5 August 1916.


224. Ibid., 29 May 1915.
226. Ibid., 22 July 1916.
228. *Canterbury Times*, 4 October 1916.
238. *Kai Tiaki*, April 1918.
239. ‘Should we really be surprised that the magical and mythical realm flared up at a time of mass death and destruction?’ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Place of the Great War in European Cultural History*, Cambridge 1995, p. 76.
245. Ibid., p. 81.

**Chapter Six: 1918**

3. Ibid., 15 June 1918, p. 3.
8. The autobiography in which these words were written has been lost, and cannot be corroborated. Jan C McLeod, ‘Activities of New Zealand Women during World War One: A Social, Political and Economic Study’, BA (Hons), University of Otago 1978, p. 24.
12. ‘Campeador’, *New Zealand Truth*, 16 March 1918.
17. *New Zealand Truth*, 6 April 1918.
23. Val Burr, ‘From Valued Settlers to “Enemies Within”?’,
http://www.geocities.com/somesprisonersnz/germanating/ger2.html (link no longer active).
28. Ibid., 2 March 1918.
31. Ibid., 16 February 1918.
32. Ibid., 23 June 1917.
33. Ibid., 19 May 1917.
34. Ibid., 1 June, 8 June 1918.
35. Ibid., 16 February 1918.
36. Ibid., 15 April 1916.
43. Ibid., p. 89.
44. Ibid., pp. 91, 96.
46. The *Green Ray*, 1 May 1918.
47. The *Sun*, 5 August 1918.
49. *New Zealand Truth*, 1 June 1918.
50. Ibid., 4 May, 1 June 1918.
51. Ibid., 5 October 1918.
55. Ibid., 25 May 1918.
60. *New Zealand Police Gazette*, 1918, pp. 540, 624.
62. Ibid., 9 March 1918.
63. Ibid., 6 July 1918.
64. Ibid., 4 May 1918.
66. Real GDP calculated on a base of $m2000 in 1917 may have been 9,485 (a decrease of 4.9% on the year before) and in 1918 may have shrunk to 8,946 (a decrease of 5.7%). Statistics New Zealand, http://www.stats.govt.nz, search for ‘Long-term data series’, Table E1-2.
68. *Grey River Argus*, 27 April 1918.
69. *New Zealand Truth*, 31 August 1918.
70. Ibid., 7 September 1918.
71. Ibid., 24 August 1918.
74. *AJHR*, 1919, H-44.


80. W B Sutch, *Price Fixing in New Zealand*, pp. 147–8; *AJHR*, 1921–2, H-44.


82. Ibid., 24 May 1918.

83. *New Zealand Truth*, 31 August 1918.

84. Ibid., 1 June 1918.

85. Ibid., 13 April, 4 May, 29 June 1918.


87. *New Zealand Truth*, 10 August 1918.


89. The same point of view has been argued recently by Everton, ‘Government Intervention’.


91. Phil Briggs, *Looking at the Numbers: A View of New Zealand’s Economic History*, Wellington 2007, p. 120.


94. *New Zealand Truth*, 5 October 1918.


97. Ibid., p. 509.


100. *New Zealand Truth*, 30 March 1918.


102. *New Zealand Truth*, 1 June 1918.

103. Ibid., 29 June 1918.
104. *Grey River Argus*, 16 November 1918.


106. Ibid., 4 May 1918.


109. Fraser computed the real rate of interest at 6 or 6.5 per cent by taking into account the fact that interest earned by buyers of war loans was free from income tax. *Grey River Argus*, 25 May 1918; Thorn, *Fraser*, p. 50.


111. The average percentage of wealth owned by the richest 1.0 per cent during the four years from 1915 to 1918 averaged 37.6 per cent, assuming the medium wealth distribution formula devised by Galt. The average percentage of wealth owned by the richest 10.0 per cent during the four years from 1910 to 1913 averaged 74.0 per cent, compared with an average of 75.2 per cent for the four years from 1915 to 1918, assuming the same medium formula for distribution of wealth. The average percentage of wealth owned by the poorest 51.0 per cent during the four years from 1915 to 1918 averaged 8.9 per cent, assuming the same medium formula for distribution of wealth. N M Galt, ‘Wealth and Income in New Zealand c. 1870 to c. 1939’, PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington 1985, p. 24.


113. Ibid., 2 February 1918.


115. *New Zealand Truth*, 3 August 1918.


117. *New Zealand Truth*, 10 August 1918.

118. *The Sun*, 5 August 1918.


120. Thorn, *Fraser*, p. 50.


137. *Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle*, 5 November 1918.
139. *Poverty Bay Herald*, 4 November 1918.
140. *Grey River Argus*, 5 October 1918.
141. Ibid., 28 September 1918.
145. ‘Sozialismus heißt nicht, sich in ein Parlament zusammensetzen und Gesetze beschließen, Sozialismus bedeutet für uns Niederwerfung der herrschenden Klassen.’ The full text of her speech can be found at http://www.marxists.org/deutsch/archiv/luxemburg/1918/12/uspdgb.htm
149. Ibid.
154. Ibid., p. 69.
183. Ibid.
186. Ibid., 18 November 1918.
Chapter Seven: Aftermath

4. Ibid.

9. Ibid., 22 July 1919.

10. Ibid., 17 May 1919.


12. Statistics provided by Gary Blick, New Zealand Treasury. State debt in relation to real gross domestic product shrank during the first two years of war — from 117.58 per cent in 1914 to 103.40 per cent in 1915 and 102.48 per cent in 1916 — in spite of heavy borrowing, because gross domestic product grew markedly. Afterwards state debt grew to 116.08 per cent in relation to real gross domestic product in 1917, followed by 126.38 per cent in 1918 and 139.01 per cent in 1919. The shrinking of gross domestic product, together with ballooning state spending, led to the blowout.

13. The face value of banknotes in circulation went from an index number of 1000 for the year 1910 to 1229 for the year 1914 and then 2490 for the year 1916. The index number rose to 3328 for the year 1917 and then 3854 for the year 1918. *AJHR*, 1919, H-44.


16. Ibid., 13 October 1917.


23. *AJHR*, 1919, H-44.


32. Ibid., pp. 240–3.
33. AJHR, 1918, H-44, p. 19.
34. Grey River Argus, 28 October 1916.
36. John A Lee, Civilian into Soldier, London 1937, p. 44.
41. New Zealand Truth, 7 September 1918.
44. Nicholas Boyack and Jane Tolerton, In the Shadow of War, Auckland 1990, p. 92.
46. Evening Post, 10 July 1915.
47. AJHR, 1920, H-18.
50. New Zealand Truth, 30 September 1916.
51. A total of 9,388 soldiers had been helped onto farms or into houses in the country, while 10,890 soldiers had been given loans to buy or build a house in a town, by the end of July 1922. W H Montgomery, ‘Repatriation’, in H T B Drew (ed.), The War Effort of New Zealand, Auckland 1923, p. 174.
53. Grey River Argus, 12 April 1919.
55. Grey River Argus, 28 April 1917.


70. *New Zealand Truth*, 13 January 1917.


72. Ibid., 28 April 1917.


75. Ibid., p. 193.


77. Ibid., p. 92.

78. *New Zealand Free Lance*, 7 November 1918.


80. *New Zealand Truth*, 4 August 1917.


84. Ibid., 18 January 1919.


87. Ibid., 28 January 1922.
88. Ibid., 12 December 1929.
91. Matthew Johnson, his roommate, said that Stubbs, shortly before the shooting, had asked whether in the event of his death Johnson would take his personal effects home to his mother. *Grey River Argus*, 18 September, 21 September 1920.
95. Luxford, ‘Passengers for the War?’, p. 94.
101. Deaths at the time of childbirth were more common among the mothers of the dominion than all but one other country surveyed by the United States Department of Labor, although deaths among babies were strikingly low. Mothers were dying not because the country lacked a good health system — quite the contrary — but because they were buying illegal abortions under the counter, often from women and men who did not carry out the procedure safely. Jane Tolerton, *Etty: A Life of Ettie Rout*, Auckland 1992, pp. 216–17.
102. The number of babies born within seven months of the mother’s wedding, calculated in relation to the number of babies born within ten months of the wedding, for each year are as follows: 1913, 52 per cent; 1914, 54 per cent; 1915, 50 per cent; 1916, 48 per cent; 1917, 50 per cent; 1918, 53 per cent; 1919, 52 per cent.
120. The *Star*, 12 November 1918.
121. *New Zealand Truth*, 20 July 1918.
122. *Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle*, 12 November 1918.
124. *New Zealand Truth*, 1 June 1918.
130. *New Zealand Free Lance*, 24 October 1918.
132. Ibid., p. 135.
134. Ibid., 3 January 1920.


146. Ibid., p. 323.


149. Ibid., 3 January 1920.


153. Ibid., p. 246.


157. Ibid., 13 December 1919.


159. *New Zealand Truth*, 17 May 1919.

160. Ibid., 12 April 1919.


164. Ibid., 16 October 1920.

165. Ibid., 2 October 1920.


177. Ibid., pp. 141, 143.


185. Ibid., p. 324.


191. Ibid., p. 254.


202. Ibid., p. 17.