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T H E H O M E F R O N T

Aspects of Civilian Patriotism
in New Zealand during the
First World War.

A thesis presented in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts
in History at Massey University.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJHR	-	Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives.
AWN	-	Auckland Weekly News.
MDT	-	Manawatu Daily Times.
NZF	-	New Zealand Farmer.
NZH	-	New Zealand Herald.
NZPD	-	New Zealand Parliamentary Debates.
WH	-	Wanganui Herald

INTRODUCTION

As yet, little concerted research appears to have been done on New Zealand society during the Great War. Some topics concerned with the period have either been covered in books on more general topics, theses, or historical articles. The position of the Labour movement during the war, for instance, is dealt with in Bruce Brown's The Rise of New Zealand Labour, B.S. Gustafson's thesis The Advent of the New Zealand Labour Party, and more closely examined in O.J. Gager's The New Zealand Labour Movement and the War, 1914-1918. However, no New Zealand equivalent of Britain's Arthur Marwick has emerged to provide a more comprehensive social history of the war.

This thesis must, unfortunately, follow the former practice, and deal with only certain aspects of the effect of the Great War on New Zealand society. Hopefully this limitation will be partially compensated for by the fact that the themes explored in the following chapters are fundamental to an understanding of civilian behaviour during the First World War. As contemporary observers such as H.G. Wells (particularly in his novel Mr Britling Sees it Through) and the patriot/sociologist W. Trotter noted, many civilians, denied any active participation in the war, felt a desperate need to be of service. Although no corresponding New Zealand intellectuals appear to have commented on the subject, there is every reason to believe that New Zealanders felt a similar need, since they responded in virtually the same fashion. These effects were magnified by the gravity of the war, coupled with a propaganda campaign felt in New Zealand equally as in Britain, and this ensured a high level of emotional involvement on the part of civilians.

This study proposes to look at two major areas in which this process was felt, the positive and negative aspects of patriotism which were in effect two sides of the same coin. The first chapter will look at pre-1914 war scares and the perception of potential enemies by New Zealanders. Chapter

two will follow the change in attitude towards the nations which became Britain's allies, and the ways in which New Zealanders manifested their new found friendship. The following chapter, continuing with the positive theme, looks at the formation of patriotic societies and their attempts to provide for New Zealand servicemen and their dependents. The final chapters turn to the negative aspects of war fever, particularly attitudes towards Germans and Germany. Chapter four deals with the growth and manifestations of a generalised anti-German dogma, while Chapter five examines the specific effects of these sentiments on the treatment of Germans and other foreigners living in New Zealand. Other groups affected by the war, notably socialists and conscientious objectors, have been mentioned simply in passing, as more detailed information on their fortunes during the war is available elsewhere.

As this study is intended as one of civilian behaviour rather than one of political response to the war, my principle sources have been contemporary newspapers. The Auckland Weekly News and the Manawatu Daily Times formed the bulk of these, the former giving a good national picture (as well as containing useful District and Women's pages) while the Daily Times provided more detailed information on the response of Palmerston North, a fairly typical provincial town. These were supplemented by the Parliamentary Debates and by Police Department files from the National Archives, the later being extremely useful for gaining a worm's eye view of anti-German attitudes.

In its final form, this thesis owes much to many people, particularly to my supervisor, Professor W.H. Oliver. Dr. M.H. Pugh was also of great help, as was Professor P.S. O'Connor of Auckland University, who generously gave me a great number of references from his own research, and Mr. Bill Gammage of the University of Papua - New Guinea. Ease of access to the Auckland Weekly News of the period was due to Mr. R.D. Gwynn, who allowed me to use the relevant copies from his own collection until I had finished my research.

I would also like to thank the staffs of the National Archives and the Alexander Turnbull, Palmerston North, and Massey University libraries. Mr. R.C. Lamb, of the Christchurch Public Library was of particular help, sending me xeroxed exerpts from Christchurch newspapers and the splendid photograph of the destruction of the Lutheran church bells in Christchurch.

Thanks must also go to Mrs. Ruth Foster who kindly agreed to type this thesis at short notice, and to my Father, who helped with the proof reading. My comrades in arms the history post graduate students also made a significant, if less tangible contribution.

CHAPTER ONETHE PRE-WAR YEARS.

Let him who desires peace prepare for war.

(Epitoma Rei Militaris.)

During the years between the end of the Boer War and the outbreak of the First World War, New Zealand became a very defence conscious society. In the main this was a response to two perceived threats - Germany, whose growing naval strength and aggressive foreign policy seemed an overt challenge to the Empire of which New Zealand was a part, and Asia, an old bogey which received new life with Japan's arrival as a naval power after her victories over Russia in 1905.

These two different threats placed New Zealand in an ambiguous position. Germany was an imperial problem, and hence aroused as much concern in Britain as in New Zealand. Asia, however, was a purely Pacific problem, and a far more immediate one than Germany. Britain showed little concern for these fears, allying with the dreaded Japanese and reducing her naval presence in the Pacific to maintain her strength in the North Sea. The passing of the Defence Act of 1909 and the growing popularity of Sir James Allen's scheme for a New Zealand naval unit were, as we shall see, largely a response to the 'Asian menace' and the fear that Britain could no longer absolutely guarantee the Dominion's safety.

By the 1900's the notion of an Asian threat to New Zealand's 'purity of race', founded on the immigration of a small number of Chinese in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, had become a truth which was seen to be self evident.¹ However, Asia was not looked upon as a direct threat, simply a source of limitless hordes of people who, if given the chance,

1. See Thom, S., Some thoughts on R.J. Seddon and the Emergence of New Zealand Patterns of Identity. M.A. thesis, Massey, 1973.

would settle in the colony in such large numbers that it would cease to be a white man's country. New Zealand's response was a series of restrictive acts which culminated in the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act in 1920 which left the acceptance of individual applications for immigration to the discretion of the Minister for Internal Affairs.² The 1900's brought graver fears. For most New Zealanders Asia was synonymous with China, an aimless, albeit large nation. The Boxer Rebellion clouded this picture a little, but it was Japan's decisive naval victories over Russia in May 1905 which apparently provided a military threat of the first order.

Initial response to Russia's defeat was favourable. Russia had posed a great invasion threat in the eyes of many New Zealanders, being responsible for a number of war scares in the later nineteenth century. A Herald editorial in late May 1905 praised Japan's strategic use of her smaller warships, expressing some surprise that a 'mongolian' nation could advance so far as to humble a European power,³ while a correspondent in the same paper noted that the Mikado had recently given £1000 to the YMCA, and predicted Japan's eventual conversion to Christianity.⁴ One F.A. MacKenzie, in an article in the Herald, stated that ju-jitsu and Japanese fashions were quite popular in New Zealand during the Russo-Japanese war.⁵ However, it was not long before doubts began to appear. These doubts are well expressed by the Herald's forthright columnist 'Tohunga':

The Jap is our ally and we are glad the Russian is wiped out, but - thats just it, there is a 'but'.... we ought to have rung the bells and hoisted the flags and beaten the drums... and we didn't. Now why didn't we.... It is a question easily answered

2. O'Connor, P.S., Keeping New Zealand White, in New Zealand Journal of History, Vol. II, no. I, April 1968.

3. NZH, May 31, 1905, p.4.

4. NZH, June 1, 1905, p.7.

5. NZH, June 13, (Supplement) 1905, p.1.

because we all know, though possibly the open answering may give offence. It is because in the back of our minds ... we are all beginning to be afraid. This time we are afraid of a new enemy, of our faithful 'ally' herself, this marvelous Japan.... Not too much afraid, you know, but just enough afraid not to feel exuberantly glad.⁶

Soon, this growing fear of Japan had given New Zealanders' anti-Asian sentiments a new perspective as they visualised a "New Asia, looking hungrily southward through the battle-smoke of Tushima".⁷ Allen, in common with many other home defence advocates, believed that New Zealand and Australia's anti-Asian immigration laws rendered war inevitable.⁸ With the naval scare of 1909 and the fear that the Royal Navy might be seriously weakened in a great battle with the German Fleet, Japan was seen as a nation posing an alternative threat to a German invasion:

The very moment we admit that there is an unfortunate possibility of the two great Teutonic nations wrestling for sea-power we admit that, whatever the issue, the great navy of England may become a mere remnant of what it is today. What, then would be our situation in the Pacific? Every New Zealander ought to keep constantly present in his thoughts the shutting of our gates against Asia. Russia is one of the great states of the world... yet Russia went down in a contest with a modernised Asiatic state... Is it not logical and absolutely certain, that were the Imperial Navy to be seriously weakened by a naval war with

-
6. NZH, June 3 (Supplement) 1905, p.1. William Lane, the journalist responsible for the 'Tohunga' column had come to New Zealand from Australia in 1899, where he had been a leader in the labour movement. A Utopian Socialist, he had attempted to found a communal settlement in Paraguay, and with its failure, he appears to have become disillusioned and more reactionary. In New Zealand he became a leader writer for the Herald, becoming editor in 1913. He died in 1917, aged 54.
7. NZH, Feb 18, 1910, p.4.
8. NZPD, Vol. 143, p.287. See also Fraser, E.M., New Zealand Military Policy from the Boer War to the Great War, M.A. thesis, Auckland, 1938.

Germany, Japan and China would seize the opportunity to seek admission for their people into New Zealand and Australia?⁹

Another popular notion was that of an East/West confrontation, an idea apparently put forward by the Kaiser.¹⁰ The Herald noting the unrest in many Asian countries and in India, accepted the possibility of a combined yellow peril, and as late as June 1914 was still peddling the same idea:

A further objection to the [Anglo-Japanese] Alliance is that it encourages other Asiatics to claim the same rights. The fires of Indian nationalism have been fanned by the alliance, and the white population of Vancouver may be excused if at the present time they see something foreboding in the coincidence that Japanese warships and a vessel filled with Hindoos demanding entry are in the harbour at the same time.¹¹

In July of the same year, when the dogs of war were about to be loosed from an entirely different source, 'Forewarned', in a letter to the Herald, portrayed Japan as the mastermind behind the troubles brewing in Europe: "It appears that the Japanese are in collusion with Russia to create trouble with Britain and her colonies and India. The trouble in the Balkans [i.e. the assassination of Franz Ferdinand] would form part of the program to divert attention."¹²

In view of this alarm at Japan's growing power and influence, it is not surprising that New Zealanders viewed the Anglo-Japanese alliance with considerable misgiving. When it was signed in 1902, the alliance did not provoke any sustained criticism in New Zealand¹³ and was actually seen by the Herald, later an ardent critic, as a natural strategic and diplomatic

9. NZH, Mar. 24, 1909, p.4.

10. NZH, July 26, 1906, p.4.

11. NZH, June 25, 1914, p.6.

12. NZH, July 11, 1914, p.12.

13. See Weir, T.G., *New Zealand's Naval Policy 1909-14*, M.A. thesis, Canterbury 1973.

step.¹⁴ After the Russo-Japanese war, however, the alliance was viewed with an almost universal apprehension. Integral to this apprehension was a suspicion that Britain might sacrifice New Zealand's interests in order to serve a wider diplomacy, the greatest fear being that the Dominion might be pressured to modify its immigration restrictions. In a speech given in Palmerston North in February 1906, Seddon, with characteristic bombast, spoke ominously of this possibility: "Under the altered conditions there was a cloud on the horizon. It might be no bigger than a man's hand but there was a cloud.... We'll have no interference. We will sink political difficulties and show a bold front to maintain the purity of the race." Commenting on the speech, the Herald noted that "Treaty or no Treaty New Zealand must be kept racially pure; and this can only be accomplished by preventing Asiatics, whether they be subjects of the King or the Mikado, from pouring into the country in numbers large enough to constitute a real menace."¹⁵ Insecurity was also fostered by the concentration of British naval strength in the North Sea, which had been one of Britain's aims in allying with Japan. The two Bristol cruisers and three destroyers which Ward had been promised in 1909 as patrol boats for New Zealand waters did not eventuate, and it was only after much haggling with Churchill in 1913 that Allen secured two light cruisers of "the unspeakably useless 'P' class."¹⁶

Allen's response to Britain's reluctance to defend the Pacific and her reliance on the Anglo-Japanese alliance was to advocate a New Zealand naval unit, financed and manned by the Dominion and subject to a controlling board consisting of a British, Australian, and New Zealand representative.¹⁷ In putting forward these views Allen rarely mentioned Germany, perhaps because Asia was a national rather than an imperial

14. NZH, Feb 14, 1902, p.4.

15. NZH, Feb 9, 1906, p.4.

16. Weir, pp. 100-1.

17. Ibid., p.89.

enemy, and he believed strongly in autonomy in defence as a means of promoting national pride. During the debate on Ward's offer of a Dreadnought to the Royal Navy in 1909¹⁸ he warned against the possibility of a 'Little New Zealander' complex being built up by relying too greatly on Britain. A local navy, he argued " is the argument of nationality, the argument for the growth of a national spirit here."¹⁹ During the Address in Reply debate in the same session, Allen had been the only member not to speak dolefully of the inevitable war between Britain and Germany, switching instead to the more immediate Asian threat:

Why is all this talk about Germany alone.... What is this German growth and her shipbuilding for?... What Germans want is not so much to attack Great Britain as to be able to say when any important event takes place in the world... what their own desires are, and to have behind them the power... to have their desires carried out... By constantly talking about Germany we are forgetting our responsibilities and our possible dangers in this Pacific Ocean. There are other nations - the Japanese, the Chinese - of entirely different race from ourselves... upon whose inhabitants we in Australia and New Zealand have imposed very galling restrictions"²⁰

Allen's scheme came to nought, partly because of the expenditure involved, and partly because of the vigorous opposition of Ward, who believed in the time-honoured practice of naval subsidies. However, the doubts aroused by the naval situation along with the growing fear that New Zealand might some day have to repel an Asian invasion, were the main forces which led to the passing of the Defence Act in 1909 by which compulsory military training was introduced.

Germany posed a threat of a different kind. As mentioned above, the pretensions of the German Empire were an imperial problem, and hence only New Zealand's by implication. Except

18. See below p.15.
 19. NZPD, Vol. 146, p.182.
 20. Ibid., p.57.

for the presence of German Samoa and the odd German cruiser in the Pacific, the main fear lay in the dubious outcome of an 'inevitable' naval battle in the North Sea. During the nineteenth century Germans had not occupied a low rung on New Zealand's racial scale since until her acquisition of Samoa, Germany's actions rarely impinged on the colony's consciousness. The French, on the other hand, frequently drew the ire of New Zealanders, particularly over the vexed problem of the New Hebrides.²¹ The presence of French penal colonies in the Pacific was also an emotional issue, raising fears that the islands (and ultimately New Zealand) would somehow become 'polluted' and that inferior 'mixed breeds' would result from the union of French convicts with native women.²² These long-standing racial sentiments persisted, although to a lesser degree, in the early 1900's. 'Tohunga', who during the war was to use his weekly column for vitriolic anti-German tirades or eulogies of the French people, reflects this in an article written in September 1905:

It is irritating... in these days of Teutophobia to remember... that the perverse German is at his worst only a caricature of what we are ourselves. When he has learned our English modesty of demeanour and suavity of manner... When he has refined his appetites and can enjoy a 6 by 8 by 1 inch cut of good red beef hot and underdone, with plenty of horseradish, instead of his barbaric sausage and saurkraut... then we may not object to proclaiming the relationship. But in the meantime it is irritating to remember that while our dear friends the French, worship at another shrine and set up another ideal, and look to the making of a different future, our hated brother, the German, kneels before the same altar and strives towards the same light, and speaks, as we do, a mere dialect of a common mother tongue.²³

The 'Teutophobia' referred to by 'Tohunga' did not appear in any widespread way until late 1901 and 1902. Its source was

21. See Ross, A., New Zealand's Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century, Oxford, 1964, pp. 291-2.

22. e.g. NZPD, Vol. 45, pp. 18-19, Grey.

23. NZH, Sept 9, 1905, (Supplement), p.1.

the anti-British feeling which grew in Germany as a response to alleged British atrocities in South Africa. Coarse cartoons appeared in many German newspapers in which English officers were portrayed as child murderers and Edward VII as a blood-thirsty monarch egging them on²⁴ - very similar, in fact, to the cartoons and rhetoric which emerged in response to German 'frightfulness' in Belgium in 1914. The various manifestations of this 'German anglophobia' as it came to be called were given full coverage by the New Zealand press, and in a war situation in which the public mind was already incensed against any 'pro-Boer' dissent²⁵ the reaction was much greater than it would normally have been. The most common response was the passing of resolutions condemning Germany by public meetings, City Councils, and the like, an action which parallels similar proclamations of imperial solidarity during the First World War. In February 1902, for instance, a meeting was held in Katikati "to protest against the lying slanders and infamous caricatures in the German press... and to support the Colonial Secretary in his South African policy". The Borough councils of Gisborne, Dunedin, Auckland and Thames all passed similar resolutions.²⁷ In Wellington a grand public meeting was held in which Seddon, Stout, and the Mayor of Wellington addressed the people. Bells were pealed, bunting displayed, and an orchestra played patriotic airs.²⁸ The resolution passed was cabled to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Others proposed more direct measures, the most common being the boycotting of German goods. Letters to this effect were received by the Herald in January 1902,²⁹ while a Sydney cable printed by the Manawatu Evening Standard suggested the setting up of anti-German Leagues whose members would pledge

24. NZH, Jan 20, 1902, p.6.

25. Johnson, S., Sons of the Empire, B.A. (Hons) Research Exercise, Massey 1974, Chap. II.

26. NZH, Feb 5, 1902, p.6.

27. NZH, Jan 22, 1902, p.6.

28. NZH, Jan 17, 1902, p.6; Jan 31, 1902, p.3.

29. NZH, Jan 9, 1902 p.3; Jan 17, 1902, p.3.

themselves not to buy German goods.³⁰ In some centres, such as Oamaru, leagues were actually set up.³¹ Along with this venting of the national spleen, an archetypal image of the 'enemy' began to emerge, a necessary prerequisite for the contempt which helps create popular support for war.

The Herald printed an English report of a 'typical' German sitting in a bier halle abusing Joseph Chamberlain and his misdeeds: "'Ach Ja' he sobbed. 'Die children - poor little helpless children' - his eyes were now very watery - 'that he [Chamberlain] murders in South Africa mit the bayonets he makes for the Government and the screws for their coffins he makes too at his great factory'."³² The Herald's editorials, which were initially a little contemptuous of the "fit of Continental hysteria"³³ which had struck New Zealand soon sounded a graver note:

behind this outburst of calumny and slander is a bitter envy and hatred of all Anglo-Saxondom. Its source is traceable not merely to the commercial and industrial rivalry of Germany with the United Kingdom but to the gnawing rancour with which Germany sees the pre-emption by the Anglo Saxon nations of the new lands of the earth.³⁴

In the atmosphere which prevailed, it did not seem unreasonable to suggest that German lighthouse keepers in New Zealand should be relieved of their jobs as they would make such good spies if war broke out.³⁵

War, as we shall see in the following chapters of this study, is a creator of extremes, of friends who do no wrong and enemies who are at best deluded or at worst demons. It is also a promoter of co-operation of a type rarely seen in peace time - whether it be fund raising for 'our boys' or meeting to condemn the enemy and his works. The virulence of the anti-German feeling which manifested itself during the Boer War stemmed largely from an existing war hysteria coupled,

30. Evening Standard, Jan 14, 1902, p.2.

31. NZH, Jan 17, 1902, p.3.

32. Ibid., p.6.

33. Ibid., p.5.

34. NZH, Jan 22, 1902, p.4.

35. NZH, Jan 23, 1902, p.6.

perhaps, with growing doubts about the Empire's invulnerability. With the end of the Boer War things settled on to a more even keel, although Germany was now established as imperial enemy number one, and the tensions and competition which occurred between Britain and Germany in the 1900's served to strengthen this belief.

Until the naval scare of 1909, there were no violent outbreaks of anti-german feeling, but fears of Germany's intentions, particularly as they were reflected in her aggressive colonial policy, lead to grave doubts. In August 1907 the Herald noted: "As we have often pointed out She [Germany] is a great "have-not", a leading nation which was just a generation too late to share in the plums of the world-pie.... Her very quietude has been an ominous hint of the depths of her feelings...."³⁶ It is clear then, that in common with Britain and the rest of the Empire, New Zealand came to look upon Germany as a major threat, a factor which made the transition from antipathy towards the German nation to an intense hatred of Germans all the easier when war broke out in 1914. By the mid 1900's too, many had begun to think in terms of an inevitable conflict between Britain and Germany,³⁷ and this, as we shall see, was a common theme in 1909 when New Zealand's gift dreadnought and the Defence Bill were being discussed. In 1906 the Herald, which had supported compulsory military training since the Boer War³⁸ printed a serial called 'The Invasion of 1910' by William le Queux, an advocate of home defence in Britain.³⁹ In this lengthy saga an unprepared Britain is defeated on land and sea by Germany, and only after many reverses does she drive off the blockading fleet and expel the Germans from her soil. The story must have made compelling reading at the time since it was presented in the manner of newspaper reports from a war correspondent, and headlines such as 'Sheffield Doomed' and 'Fierce fighting at Chelmsford' strike the reader's eye.

36. NZH, Aug 19, 1907, p.4.

37. e.g. NZH (letter) June 1, 1905, p.7.

38. e.g. NZH, Jan 10, 1900, p.4.

39. NZH, May-Sept. 1906.

Such invasion scare literature had a long history. It was common in England before the Napoleonic wars when extravagant tales of French invasions by means of balloons or a Channel tunnel appeared, and similarly in the 1880's and 90's when France once more emerged as the national enemy. From 1903 to 1914 Germany was the sole antagonist in these stories, which appeared in unprecedented numbers. In an age of mass literacy and the wide circulation of newspapers (in which most of the invasion stories were serialised), such literature could not fail to have an effect on public opinion. When Le Queux's 'Invasion of 1910' was published as a book, it sold over a million copies.⁴⁰ The degree to which New Zealand was covered by this propaganda is difficult to assess. Apart from the Herald's serialisation of 'The Invasion of 1910' one would suspect that, in common with other popular literature published in Britain, invasion stories reached New Zealand in book form. The immensely popular play 'An Englishman's Home' which was an instant success when it opened in January 1909 in London, causing a rush of young men joining the Territorials,⁴¹ was performed in New Zealand later the same year.⁴² Obviously this growth of public animosity towards Germany in no way rendered war inevitable, but it built up the image of an unscrupulous enemy, 'German' methods, and spy networks.

Apart from temporary crises such as those which occurred over Morocco, one of the most abiding sources of tension between Britain and Germany was the naval race. New Zealand was intimately concerned with this, since as an isolated sparsely populated country, she had always put her faith in the Royal Navy as her first line of defence. The navy, like the Empire itself, had acquired an air of invulnerability, hence the growth of Germany's navy aroused many popular fears and generated great interest in the dreadnought, that tangible unit of naval power. This growing insecurity came to a head

40. See Clarke, I.F., Voices Prophesying War, 1763-1984, O.U.P., London, 1966.

41. *Ibid.*, p.154.

42. NZPD, Vol. 148, p. 1011, Hogg.

in early 1909 with the so called naval crisis which arose out of fears that the Liberal Government in Britain was not keeping pace with Germany's naval programme.⁴³ In New Zealand the incident, which was as usual widely reported in the press, gave rise to Sir Joseph Ward's offer of a dreadnought for the Royal Navy on 23 March. This offer, and New Zealand's reaction to the naval crisis, reveal the increased fear of Germany's intentions, and as such deserve closer consideration.

In response to the crisis Ward called the cabinet on 20 March and made the offer to Britain two days later - without consulting Parliament.⁴⁴ He also sent secret telegrams to all national newspapers to achieve a simultaneous press release.⁴⁵ By this move he aroused the ire of some M.P.'s for his unconstitutional action⁴⁶ but since few dared to question the desirability of maintaining the strength of the Royal Navy, the "wonderful effect" Ward aimed for was largely achieved. Ward, as well as being a strong believer in naval subsidies, consistently opposed co-operation with Australia or establishing a New Zealand naval unit,⁴⁷ so his gift of a dreadnought to the Mother Country was a setback for Allen and the advocates of local naval defence.⁴⁸

The inevitability of war with Germany is one of the strongest single themes running through the debate on the Dreadnought offer - both in the House and by the press. Mr. W. Nosworthy maintained that "We will, in the near future, be called upon to face the great Teutonic race."⁴⁹ Mr. T.M. Wilford, with much reference to articles in the German press,

43. See Terraine, John, Impacts of War 1914 and 1918, Hutchinson, London 1970, p.27ff for the British reaction to the naval race.

44. Weir, p.36.

45. Ibid., p.44.

46. e.g. NZPD, Vol. 146, p.159, Herries p.175, Wright.

47. Ward's opposition to naval co-operation with Australia seems to have stemmed from racial beliefs. During the debate on the dreadnought offer he maintained that "the future destiny of this country is as distinct from that of Australia as is daylight from dark." (NZPD, Vol. 146, p.199).

48. Weir, pp. 37-8.

49. NZPD, Vol. 146, p.165.

concluded that Germany's fleet was being built expressly to destroy the Royal Navy,⁵⁰ a conclusion also reached by the Herald.⁵¹ All this, of course, was of great concern to New Zealand. As Mr. J.C. Thomson, M.P. for Wallace, pointed out, "The colonies can only be conquered in London", and Germany's intentions in this direction were obvious.⁵² The fears generated by these beliefs were all the greater, because the old confidence that the Royal Navy was an invincible shield had been eroded, both by the growth of German power and a believed decline in Britain's strength. The latter consideration was undoubtedly a legacy of the Boer War, but was also fostered by the apparently lukewarm attitude of the Liberal Government to defence matters. In June 1906 the Herald claimed that England was not taking sufficient interest in the naval race: "Either England must maintain or she must abandon her position of the world's great naval power.... if she consents to abandon it she must also abandon the prospect of a united Empire, greater than any which the world has seen or even imagined possible".⁵³ Earlier in the month the same paper had made a more scathing attack on British defence generally, and called England "the most defenceless of the European states". New Zealand, the Herald maintained, should show Britain the way, "for we have been freed from the petrifying influence of stagnant and restricted living; we know something more of England than those who only England know".⁵⁴ Nor did Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's enlightened treatment of the Transvaal impress the Herald,⁵⁵ and this no doubt added to the belief that the Liberal Government "ought to be turned out from the point of view of an Imperialist".⁵⁶

Such doubts as to Britain's moral and military strength are probably behind the fears for New Zealand's security which are expressed during the naval crisis and later in the year during discussions on the Defence Bill. A correspondent in the

50. Ibid, p.62.

51. NZH, Mar. 29, 1909, p.4.

52. NZPD, Vol. 146, p.168.

53. NZH, June 14, 1906, p.4.

54. NZH, June 9, 1906, p.4.

55. NZH, Aug. 3, 1906, p.4.

56. NZPD, Vol. 146, p.160, Herries.

in the Herald imagined a victorious Germany turning on New Zealand, using captured British dreadnoughts as troop transports.⁵⁷

One J.W. Kenah painted a much more detailed picture:

Simultaneously with her striking in the North Sea, She [Germany] could despatch privateers under letters of marque which would attack Australia and New Zealand, the soil and climate of which would suit her best.... And if Germany were to conquer this Dominion [would] the flood of German farmers who would follow conquest... be content with the back blocks? Nay, verily: they would occupy the fertile plains of Mangere and drive us inland, if they allowed us to live.⁵⁸

W.H. Herries, M.P. for Tauranga, saw the possibility of New Zealand's becoming a prize in the diplomatic wrangling that might follow a German victory: "The Germans might ask for Harwich as a fortified port, like we had formerly Calais or Dunkirk in France, and the English might offer in lieu of it Australia or New Zealand".⁵⁹

By 1909, then, Germany had become a major potential threat in New Zealand eyes. As will be further brought out by the defence debate, this notion of a territorial threat to the Dominion became a powerful one, and a very necessary ingredient in the arousal of hostility towards Germany. During the war it became one of the commonest justifications for New Zealand's total involvement in the Allied war effort.⁶⁰ It also contributed largely to war hysteria and intolerance towards Germans, and some evidence of this can be seen in the 1909 scare. In Nelson some believed they had seen airships,⁶¹ while 'A Schoolboy', writing to the Herald, expressed horror that some British warships had German pianos on board, and stated that when he grew up he would "only buy things made by the British".⁶²

As noted above, defence consciousness was also maintained in 1909 by the final passing of the Defence Act. Agitation for

57. NZH, May 17, 1909, p.7.

58. NZH, May 8, 1909, p.6.

59. NZPD, Vol. 146, p.162.

60. See Chap. II.

61. Fraser, pp. 79-80.

62. NZH, May 15, 1909, p.3.

a more efficient form of local defence involving compulsion had existed since the Boer War, but owing, perhaps, to a colonial dislike of regimentation,⁶³ but more likely to the fact that there were fewer perceived threats in the early 1900's, little was done. When the National Defence League of New Zealand was set up in August 1906 it had the Japanese victories of 1905 and rumours of Germany's naval programme to back up its rhetoric: "In Europe and Asia both, great militarist states are steadily increasing their armaments, and we may be sure that they do not do this for amusement".⁶⁴ The importance of these threats in gaining support for the League and the Defence Act which it helped bring about is seen in the fact that very little is said about imperial defence either by universal training advocates or by the legislators who eventually passed the Act. It is home defence they were concerned about - the possibility of an Asian invasion or of a German descent on Australasia after the Royal Navy had been shattered. This reflects the general belief, fostered by the naval race, that the 'titanic conflict' which would take place would be naval and that the next stage, should Germany win, would be the invasion of Britain's choicer colonies. It was never considered that the impending war might be a prolonged land battle in which New Zealanders would take part, and hence the home defence movement was in many ways very parochial. "Why", asked the Herald, should New Zealand be dragged under with Britain in the event that she was defeated?

But even if the worst came to the worst in an Imperial War... and another Hastings struck the Motherland to the heart, is New Zealand therefore to pass to the conqueror like another Alsace, to be snatched by some watchful neutral like another Manchuria?⁶⁵

The popular fears aroused by the naval crisis furthered the cause of the universal training agitators. The Herald, which had long supported local defence, neatly linked the two issues:

63. Milburn, J.D., *New Zealand's First Experiment with Compulsory Military Training*. M.A., Victoria 1954, pp.18-19.

64. quoted, *Ibid.*, p.137.

65. NZH, May 4, 1909, p.4.

If there is no danger of the navy 'being overpowered' why does our Government offer and why does the Imperial Government accept the gift of a Dreadnought, with another to follow if required? And if there is this danger... Why is not every man being trained and armed to defend his country?⁶⁶

'Tohunga' followed this up a few days later with an inflammatory article in which Germany was singled out as the nemesis which would ultimately overtake New Zealand should she fail to "recognize that only those who are strong to defend themselves have any right to peace". He then raised the bogey of Germany's designs on Britain's colonies, a fear promoted by Anglo-German commercial and colonial rivalry and Germany's obvious desire for a 'place in the sun'. Why, he asked, was Germany building so large a navy?

Why? Beyond all question to take in his strength from some country that has great colonial possessions it is too weak to hold against him. That country is England, the British Empire, us, for there is no other worth attacking, no other that a navy is needed to attack, no other that is as helpless as a pet lamb, if once its navy is beaten. Now; what about ourselves?

Germany has three million men trained to fight.... If Germany could 'hold up' the British Navy without actually crushing it, anything may happen. And what about ourselves?.... Sir Joseph Ward, echoing Mr. Asquith, has told New Zealanders that only a 'raid' is possible here. How does he know? If the navy is held up what is to stop Germany sending out, under naval escort a dozen or two liners with 20,000 or 30,000 or 40,000 or 50,000 troops to the Pacific. Is that a raid? Now what about ourselves?... The big fight, the decisive fight, with Germany assuredly will be fought in the North Sea. But the secondary fight, the decisive fight to us, will assuredly be fought here, in New Zealand.⁶⁷

What about ourselves? The question was put at a critical moment when fears as to New Zealand's vulnerability were high. City Councils passed resolutions in favour of universal training in March and April,⁶⁸ and the Defence League's campaigns

66. NZH, Mar. 26, 1909, p.4.

67. NZH, Mar. 27 (Supplement) 1909, p.1.

68. e.g. NZH, April 2, 1909, p.4.

met with increasing success. This would seem to be the reason behind Sir Joseph Ward's late conversion to compulsory training⁶⁹ and the somewhat hurried way in which the Defence Act was passed at the end of the 1909 session. Milburn maintains that few people actually knew what compulsory military training would entail, and that this reduced the possibility of organised opposition.⁷⁰ Once the act was passed and problems such as exemption for farm workers, and non-registration by objectors⁷¹ arose bodies such as the Peace Council and the Passive Resisters Union⁷² were formed, but too late to achieve any more than the disruption of the act's administration.

Popular interest in defence and overseas threats did not again reach the heights of 1909 until the outbreak of war in August 1914, but the public remained mentally prepared for war in a way which could not be said of, say, the generation of 1939. However, the naval crisis had been an issue of apparent simplicity involving an easily perceived German threat, and even the uneasy situation in central Europe after the Sarajevo assassinations on 28 June 1914 failed to arouse the same fears. The implications of Austria's ultimatum to Serbia were too oblique to lead to any popular outbursts, although had Germany been instrumental in proceedings the response would no doubt have been different. Hence the war caught New Zealand, as it indeed caught Britain and Europe, somewhat unawares. By far the most common topics in the Herald's editorials during June and July were the Anglo-Japanese alliance and Asian immigration.⁷³ Sport also received more than its fair share of attention with the All Blacks' victories in Australia in July and early August.⁷⁴ It was only by the end of July that

69. Mr. G. Fisher, M.P. for Wellington City, stated that Ward had opposed compulsory military training the previous year because he thought public opinion would never tolerate it. (NZPD, Vol. 148, p.1014.)

70. Milburn, p.39.

71. Ibid, pp. 61-65.

72. Ibid, p. 76ff.

73. e.g. NZH, July 13, 1914, p.6; July 18, 1914, p.4.

74. NZH, July 27, 1914, p.6; Aug. 3, 1914, p.6.

the complications were realised, and events happened too quickly for any one nation to be singled out for blame, although Serbia was given a bad press for having set the ball rolling.⁷⁵ By August 4 France had been invaded, Britain stood in the wings, and Massey had sent a telegram to the British Government offering New Zealand support should Britain declare war.⁷⁶ The Manawatu Daily Times, commenting on the eagerness for war in Europe, indulged in a little philosophising which contained more than a grain of truth:

When national feeling is aroused people abandon sentiment and resort to the practice of primitive man.... After all the centuries of evolution and advancement in knowledge and science the brutal instincts still survive and overcome all philosophy.⁷⁷

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75. e.g., NZH, July 28, 1914, p.6.
76. NZPD, Vol. 169, pp.379-81.
77. MDT, July 28, 1914, p.4.

CHAPTER TWO

ALLIES

The brave and suffering BELGIANS
 Impetuous and warmhearted FRENCH
 Slow but sure tenacious RUSSIANS
 Stoical and clever little JAPANESE
 The gallant and suffering SERVIANS

(Quips and Caricatures for the Belgians.
 Christchurch 1915, p.1.)

New Zealand's response to the outbreak of war was one of wild excitement. The Manawatu Daily Times described Palmerston North's reaction:

From an early hour people began to assemble [outside the Daily Times office], and each one was eager to snap up every particle of information available. The crowd was fully charged with enthusiasm, and as each smattering of reassuring news was announced there was a spontaneous outburst of cheering. The excitement was intensified by the presence of the Palmerston Band, the members parading round the Square and taking up a position in front of the Times office where several patriotic airs were played.... Later, the Technical Cadets appeared on the scene headed by the British flag, which was responsible for another spontaneous outburst of cheering.... When it was announced that more men would be required for the expeditionary force the echo of cheering reverberated through the town, followed by cries of 'Let us at them'.¹

Similar scenes of marching, cheering, and crowding around newspaper offices were common during the first week of the war,² reflecting the widespread support for an imperial war, and more importantly, the belief that Germany was wholly to blame, particularly after her violation of Belgian neutrality. The Manawatu Daily Times declared that "Britain is the champion of Freedom as against the domination of Force and the tyranny of the mailed fist".³ The Herald similarly emphasised the moral justifications:

1. MDT, Aug. 8, 1914, p.5. For Britain's reaction see Terraine, John, Impacts of War, 1914 and 1918, Hutchinson, London 1970.p.43.
 2. Graham, J. Mck., The Voluntary System and Recruiting, 1914-1916. M.A. Auckland, 1971, p.2ff.
 3. MDT, Aug. 8, 1914, p.4.

"It is a battle for the freedom and security we ourselves enjoy, and which, if we dare not defend them for others, we do not deserve to have them for ourselves".⁴ These beliefs were further strengthened by the tales of German 'frightfulness' which soon began pouring in, strongly reinforcing the notion that the war was being fought to preserve Civilisation.⁵ This situation not only increased New Zealanders' hatred of the Germans, but served to drastically reduce dissent at home, renew loyalty to the Empire, and create a new category of friends, the allied nations whose cause was the same as the Empire's.

Robert Ardrey has put forward a simple equation which illustrates this process well. He notes that amity (i.e. the harmony within a society or between nations) in an animal or a human society is equal to the sum of the forces of enmity and hazard ranged against it.⁶ Viewed in this light, amity can be seen to be largely the product of a common source of antagonism. On a national level this process is illustrated by the complete cessation of internal dissent - at least until new issues arising out of the war, notably conscription, created a minor, if much publicised source of agitation. It must be noted, however, that the violence with which the rest of society turned on this minority illustrates the continued validity of the amity/enmity equation. The effect of the war on national harmony is reflected in the frequent references in the press to the fact that all classes were getting behind the war effort.⁷ During a speech in the Wellington Town Hall in August 1914 Massey spoke glowingly of labour's support, noting that even the Red Feds had added "a bit of the white and blue" to their colours.⁸ Politics ceased to arouse public interest, and the Bible in Schools League, a significant source of agitation before the war, stopped its campaign and donated £1000 to the War Fund.⁹ Much was said of

4. NZH, Aug 6, 1914, p.6.

5. See Chap. IV.

6. Ardrey, Robert, The Territorial Imperative. Collins, London 1971, pp. 291-2.

7. Graham, p.15.

8. AWN, Aug. 20, 1914, p.19.

9. NZPD, Vol. 169, p.477.

how the war would revitalise the Maori and improve race relations since Maori and Pakeha troops were fighting together. A pamphlet printed for the Canterbury Queen Carnival held in 1916 contained a cartoon story of the white kiwi and the brown kiwi who were brought together when a wild boar (complete with picklehaube helmet) attacks their nest.¹⁰ Without recourse to theory, people knew instinctively that war has a unifying effect on society.

The realisation that war promotes co-operation is also seen in the rhetoric of those who claimed that the war would create a stronger Empire. An Auckland Weekly News columnist, in an article entitled 'What we owe to the Hun', stated that the Empire would be much more tightly knit after the war,¹¹ while the Hon. Mr. Barr M.L.C. saw the pre-war Empire as slack and lacking in the "spirit" now in evidence.¹² 'Tohunga' revealed an even closer understanding of the basis of amity in his article 'The British as Brothers' in which he shows that a common enemy is the surest way to national unity. Fear of Asia united Australia, he claims, and the 'Black Peril' keeps the peace between Boer and Briton in South Africa. At last Britain, whose apparent 'decadence' had caused colonials some concern,¹³ was to be strengthened through an ordeal by battle:

War, with all its evils and horrors teaches the great lesson of nationality. We know, when the bugles blow, that we must be brothers or perish.

During the century of peace that has closed on Britain... the British at home have almost lost their nationality.... They have boasted the British Flag but they have allowed British sailormen to be crowded from British ships, British toilers to be ruined by a flood of undesirable immigrants, and British industries to be crushed by the "dumping" of foreign goods.... From all such peace, from all such philosophy, Good Lord deliver us!¹⁴

10. Canterbury Queen Carnival, 1916. Public Services Queen, Her Book. Smith and Anthony, Christchurch 1916, p.19.

11. AWN, Nov. 9, 1916, p.14.

12. NZPD, Vol. 172, p.44.

13. In 1909 the Hon. Mr. Rigg M.L.C. referred to the English masses as a "race of weeds and inefficient and degenerate people" (NZPD, Vol. 148, p.1421).

14. NZH, Aug. 8 (Supplement) 1914, p.1.

"Nationality", for 'Tohunga', involved looking after one's own and excluding others - sentiments comprehensible to New Zealanders with their long-standing fear of Asian immigration.

As well as promoting loyalty to the Empire, hatred of Germany fostered active support of the Empire's allies. This interesting departure from the Dominion's previously insular concerns illustrates the ability of antagonism and fear to create a 'common cause'. This process is highlighted by the fact that many of the allied nations such as Belgium, Serbia, Roumania, and Italy, had barely impinged on New Zealand's consciousness before 1914 while others, notably France, Russia, and Japan were, or had once been, feared enemies. "Never have national barriers been broken down as in the past two years" declared the Auckland Weekly News in 1916, "French and British, Italians and Russians are as bretheren. Japan is no longer watched with suspicion. The Belgian is a kinsman".¹⁵ The corollary of this state of affairs was, however, that never had hatred of a single foe been so strong. The blacker Germany was painted by the British press (New Zealand's principle source of war news) the higher the allied cause was elevated. In New Zealand this process was supplemented by the feeling that the Dominion enjoyed security and affluence while the European allies faced the immediate threat of German militarism and were fighting for their very existence. In the New Zealand Farmer's Children's Post Office 'Uncle Ned' told one juvenile correspondent that "We can hardly realise what life in Belgium and France is like because we never have such great troubles out in New Zealand".¹⁶ New Zealanders' recognition of these services and of the 'sacred cause' of the Allies manifested itself in the form of fund raising campaigns; indeed, the various funds are one of the best indications of the foci of interest which existed during the war.

Of all the allied nations deemed worthy of aid, Belgium occupied pride of place. The reasons are not hard to find.

15. AWN, July 13, 1916, p.45.

16. NZF, Mar. 1915, p.ix.

Belgium's status was that of a martyr, a gallant little country which had stemmed the German advance and so altered the course of the war. By this action it was believed that she had indirectly saved New Zealand, since had Germany overrun France and Belgium before Britain had had time to enter the conflict, her next step would surely have been a descent on the Pacific. This belief was inherited from pre-war fears of Germany's intentions. One of 'Uncle Ned's' correspondents wrote "I think if it was not for the Belgians the Germans would have smashed England and France up, and then come out and conquered New Zealand also. I think we ought to help them as much as possible".¹⁷

However, Belgium's claim to martyrdom lay in the fact that she had suffered some of the worst German 'atrocities'. It was German 'frightfulness' which ennobled Belgium in the eyes of New Zealanders, and which made her the most respected of the allies. Reports of the killing of civilians began appearing in the press during August,¹⁸ and these were later followed by more detailed accounts such as those of Belgian refugees with fingers or hands cut off, and of men and boys "mutilated in a manner scarcely printable".¹⁹ The razing of ancient Belgian cities also served the double purpose of elevating Belgium in the eyes of New Zealanders and stiffening the resolve to be revenged on the barbaric German:

A week ago Louvain was a city of about the population of Dunedin... enriched by the slow and patient accumulation of public and private possessions, begemmed with irreplaceable architectural treasures.... Today Louvain is a heap of ruins... its wonderful churches, its great public buildings, its pictures, its statuary, its every relic of centuries bygone have been destroyed.... The wilful burning of Louvain will kindle the fire of righteous indignation in every British heart, and will harden its determination to pursue the struggle with Germany until the power of that viciously - militant nation to oppress the weak and to trample the innocent is gone for ever.²⁰

17. NZF, April 1915, p.vi.

18. e.g. NZH, Aug. 22, 1914, p.8; Aug. 24, 1914, p.6.

19. AWN, Jan 14, 1915, p.26 see also NZF, Dec. 1914, p.viii.

20. NZH, Aug.31, 1914, p.4.

Another factor which linked Belgium's cause more closely with the Empire's was the fact that it was the German violation of Belgian neutrality which had brought Britain into the war. Because of the 'righteousness' of Britain's action it was to be used as a justification for imperial involvement, and a means of elevating the Empire's cause (and hence New Zealand's) to a higher moral level. At last, wrote the Herald, Britain has once more emerged as the champion of small European nations as she had in the days of Queen Elizabeth:

"When will the English come" they asked one another in Liege.... Simple words but meaningful and heart-stirring, for they tell the British world how in her hour of trial Belgium has turned for aid to the great nation that has ever fought for the liberties of struggling nationalities.... These Belgians trust us. Relying on our coming to their rescue they have dared to withstand the hosts of the Kaiser.... Surely this is enough in itself to justify the mustering of troops in all the free states of the British, and the swelling²¹ from our abundance of the Patriotic Funds....

This use by the press of Belgium's martyrdom as a device to urge a greater public support of the war effort was quite common. After all, would not New Zealand suffer similarly if she were invaded by Germany? "If Germany were successful in her piracy", declared the Auckland Weekly News, "German officers would swagger on the streets of Auckland, New Zealand women would be treated as Belgian women have been treated".²² The fact that Belgium was a small nation without military pretensions lent itself well to this kind of rhetoric, and made it easier for New Zealanders to identify with the Belgian cause. 'Tohunga' exploits both these themes in one of his articles by portraying 'ordinary' Belgians dying for their country in a way New Zealanders may some day have to if they do not support them:

If we do not fight now for the Belgians
we shall some day have to fight the Germans
in our own New Zealand and fight alone....
Because they loved their country and sought

21. NZH, Aug. 14, 1914, p.4. See also MDT Sept. 2, 1914, p.4.

22. AWN, Jan. 7, 1915, p.14. The notion that New Zealand was ear-marked for such an invasion is more fully explored in Chapter III.

to defend it from unprovoked and gratuitous attack, Belgian farmers and shopkeepers and factory men are being shot down today on the soil that bore them.... The divine courage that inspires a woman to defend her children and a man to defend his home has entered into those peaceful Belgians and enobled them.²³

Fund raising for the Belgian cause did not begin immediately since the gathering of the Main Body of the Expeditionary Force loomed larger in the public mind than did the suffering of the Belgians. Most of the local patriotic funds which were setup in August had unspecific aims related to equipping or providing relief for New Zealand soldiers.²⁴ Women's organisations responded to Lady Liverpool's Appeal by making vast numbers of socks, woollen caps, and other garments for the men.²⁵ By mid-November, however, with the Main Body on its way to Egypt, the Belgian Relief Fund, which had been set up by the acting Belgian consul, became the principal beneficiary of the country's fund-raising endeavours.

Initially these were minor efforts compared with the well organised campaigns and carnivals which emerged in 1915. A report in the Auckland Weekly News in early December on the progress of the Belgian Relief Fund reveals that small, easily planned campaigns were held in many centres. In Thames, for instance, woman and girls wearing the Belgian colours sold buttonholes in the street, raising £400, while in Auckland goods that had been donated to the Fund were auctioned at the Agricultural Show.²⁶ In Palmerston North the Congregational Church raised money for both the Belgian Relief Fund and its own Pipe Organ Fund by means of a Bazaar.²⁷ As those Belgians who were refugees in England had need of more than simply money, a large amount of

23. AWN, Dec. 3, 1914, p.14.

24. e.g. Auckland's patriotic fund was set up to deal with "local matters arising out of the present crisis" (AWN, Aug.13, 1914, p.22.

25. See AWN, Women's Page, Aug-Oct. 1914. Also Chap.III.

26. AWN, Dec. 3, 1914, p.18.

27. MDT, Dec.15, 1914, p.5.

clothing was also collected throughout the country, £20,000 worth being shipped out in early December.²⁸ Fruitgrowers in the Thames district donated several tons of fruit, while local tradesmen provided the necessary sugar to convert it into jam and preserves.²⁹

1915 saw the beginning of larger and better organised efforts to raise money for Belgian relief. Patriotic extravaganzas such as Queen Carnivals and Fairs containing a large number of stalls took some time to plan, and this would seem to be the reason why these more effective fund raising techniques did not appear in 1914. Moreover they required overall co-ordination, a task best suited to the committees of local patriotic funds, and these had not long been in existence. By early 1915, however, most seem to have taken the question of Belgian relief in hand. In February the Manawatu Patriotic Committee met to plan its Belgian campaign. A door to door canvass was proposed in which money and promissory notes would be collected and a Belgian Fete planned for March 24.³⁰ The latter took the form of a gala day at the Palmerston North Showgrounds with a rifle range, donkey rides, hoop-la, the inevitable Kaiser's head coconut shy, and stalls of all kinds organised by local clubs and committees. Over £3,000 was raised.³¹ Other centres held similar campaigns. In Timaru a Patriotic Carnival was held in March which raised £10,000³² and a similar effort in Ashburton raised £14,000. Despite this increased co-ordination in local fund-raising efforts, large sums of money continued to arrive in the form of donations from private firms, prominent men, and the like,³³ and this pattern continued throughout the war, regardless of the cause for which money was being collected. Similarly, there were isolated cases of individual fund raising efforts, as in Dunedin, where:

28. MDT, Dec. 4, 1914, p.5.

29. AWN, Dec. 3, 1914, p.18.

30. MDT, Feb. 26, 1915, p.4.

31. MDT, Mar. 25, 1915, p.6.

32. MDT, Mar. 12, 1915, p.6.

33. AWN, Mar. 4, 1915, p.19; MDT, Mar. 7, 1915, p.4. In Palmerston North Mr. Percy McHardy donated £1,000 to the Belgian Fund.



Belgian day in Whakatane, April 1915. (AWN)

two youthful sympathisers made up their mind to help the gallant Belgians in their hour of need, and with the aid of some fowl feathers, paint, and other necessary 'make-up' they proceeded in true Indian style to hold up pedestrians and householders demanding 'your money or your life'. The advent of these youthful pirates caused considerable perturbation to the inmates of the residences which they honoured by their presence, but as a result of the raid the handsome sum of 25s has been handed to the 'Times' office as a contribution from 'Two Youthful Indian Desperados'.³⁴

Public sympathy with Belgian war victims was such that in February and March resolutions to the effect that the Government should levy a special tax for Belgian relief were passed by public meetings all over the country. These demands appear to have been made in response to an appeal from the Belgian Commission in England for £1,250,000 per month to keep seven million starving Belgians alive. New Zealand's monthly share of this was £25,000.³⁵ When the Manawatu Patriotic Committee decided to hold its Belgian Fete it also petitioned the Prime Minister to institute a Belgian tax,³⁶ as did a public meeting in the nearby township of Sanson.³⁷ By early March the Government had received many such petitions,³⁸ and public support of Belgian relief reached the highest level it was to attain during the war. In an editorial recommending a Belgian relief tax the Auckland Weekly News painted the well established picture of Belgium the Martyr:

And the Fate of Belgium would be the fate of New Zealand if German invasion reached us, all the agonies and horrors her people suffer will be ours someday if Belgium is not freed and Germany is not conquered.... Our help should go to her, without grudging and without hesitation, not only because she starves and suffers, but because she starves and suffers vicariously for us and for the world.³⁹

In response to this pressure Massey asked for an imperial

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34. MDT, Mar. 31, 1915, p.4.
 35. AWN, Feb. 25, 1915, p.51.
 36. MDT, Feb. 20, 1915, p.4.
 37. AWN, Mar. 11, 1915, p.56.
 38. AWN, Mar. 4, 1915, p.19.
 39. AWN, Feb. 25, 1915, p.51.

directive on the matter, and after a Cabinet meeting decided on a £15,000 monthly grant to supplement money raised by the public.⁴⁰

With the landing of New Zealand troops on Gallipoli on April 28, the focus of fund raising activity shifted sharply from the Belgian Relief Fund back to the Dominion's own men. Although there were no more major campaigns for Belgian relief as there had been in early 1915, smaller scale efforts continued. A Belgian Children's Fund was opened in July 1916,⁴¹ and a Belgian Christmas Campaign in November of the same year. The latter involved sending Christmas gifts to the Belgian Consul, thereby becoming a shareholder in 'New Zealand Santa Claus Unlimited'.⁴² Paraparaumu was holding a monthly 'Belgian Rally' in 1916 at which donated goods were auctioned,⁴³ while around the middle of the same year a large number of schools organised bottle drives for the Belgian Fund.⁴⁴ Little girls still appear to have been urged to knit caps and scarves for Belgian orphans.⁴⁵ Throughout the war £450,265 was raised for Belgian relief, almost three times as much as the total raised for aid to all other allied countries.⁴⁶ It must be remembered, however, that nations such as France and Russia were usually represented as great fighting allies rather than as needy martyrs to the cause. Nevertheless, their new-found status as enemies of Germany raised them rapidly in New Zealanders' estimation.

Both Russia and France had been feared imperial enemies in the late nineteenth century. France's Pacific colonies were a source of colonial trepidation from the 1840's onwards, while Anglo-French Colonial rivalry in the 1890's further reinforced the notion of France as a threat to the Empire. The Fashoda

40. AWN, Mar. 4, 1915, p.19.

41. AWN, July 6, 1916, p.21.

42. AWN, Nov. 30, p.23.

43. NZF, Oct. 1916, p.1485.

44. NZF, Sept. 1916, pp.1340-2.

45. NZF, Aug. 1916, p.1193; Sept. 1916, p.1340.

46. AJHR, 1919, H46, pp. 2-3.

incident in 1898 reveals the depth of these sentiments:

... there will be in these colonies a deep sense of disappointment if the occasion is not taken by the Imperial Government for smashing up and scattering to the winds the navies of a power which for years has been strengthening its naval forces with the principal object of tormenting and weakening and if possible annihilating the power of England.... But we have our own grievances against France, and so long as the penal colony of New Caledonia flies the tricolour as a menace and social pollution to the Australasian colonies, so long will our feelings swell in indignation against the longer toleration of a power which would be swept from the seas as one of the first fruits of war.... Knowing, therefore... that war waged on France would be the annihilation of the French fleet, it is natural that we should wish for war. For we see it as the compulsory transport back to the shores of France of all the social wreckage and seething criminality that have been polluting these colonies with their overflow, and we look to the conversion of that magnificent island into a wholesome British Colony; and we see the New Hebrides in the north, and those gems of the Pacific, Tahiti and her sister islands in the further East, all gathered under the flag of England.⁴⁷

Francophobia was eclipsed in the early 1900's by the rise of Germany, and the chances of an Anglo-French war greatly reduced by the signing of the Entente Cordiale in 1904. Whether or not this altered the view expressed in the editorial quoted above that Frenchmen were vain, blustering, and full of "cock-a-doodle-doo" is doubtful. In 1905 'Tohunga' had remarked that the French as a race were less like the English in their aims and ideals than the Germans,⁴⁸ while earlier, in an article written on the 1901 outbreak of 'German anglophobia' he concluded that "sooner or later the Anglo-Teutonic race will form one Empire with English as its language and the Saxon institutions as its palladium". France, however, dwelt in decadence beyond the pale: "She palms her flat-figured women on us as beauties, her evanescent wit as wisdom, her deadly vices as virtues, and

47. NZH, Oct. 28, 1898, p.4.

48. See below p.

her millinery as civilisation.... She actually palmed her language upon us as superior to our own, and some still believe that it has a special literary value".⁴⁹ He was to play an entirely different tune in 1914.

Support for French relief funds during the war was good, probably because France, like Belgium, had been partially occupied by Germany, and also because her soldiers were fighting alongside British and colonial troops on the Western Front. The Herald reflects this view in an editorial written in support of 'Tricolour Day' (25 Feb. 1916) when money was to be collected for the French Red Cross:

With the enemy on their soil, with the ruins of Rheims testifying to the intent of the invader, the French are enduring their trial with a simple faith which tells us of their inherent greatness.... in France the British and French are brethren... drawn by immortal principals which will endure for all time.⁵⁰

The French were soon rehabilitated by the New Zealand press, and given a national image, usually that of the heroic defenders of their ancient ideals.⁵¹ 'Tohunga' was one of the first converts to this new stance, and he waxed eloquent on the glory of France until his death in 1917. In December 1914 he wrote "The France that the world thought decadent burns with a devotion and gallantry, and an unpretending daring that purges her of every weakness and inspires her with new life, new hope, new aspirations, new ideals".⁵² This notion that France had never really been a decadent nation recurs frequently, and is seen in a pamphlet printed specially for 'Tricolour Day' where one writer states that "we had wrongly judged the French Nation when we thought it frivolous, degenerate, and senseless", and that it has "suddenly dawned" on the Britisher that the French are "polished, refined, accomplished and unobtrusive".⁵³ The same pamphlet also did its best to popularise French culture and history, containing several poems in French with parallel English translations and a French one-act comedy.⁵⁴ There were also

49. NZH, Nov.23 (Supplement), 1901, p.1.

50. NZH, Feb. 22, 1916, p.4.

51. e.g. AWN, Nov. 28, 1918, p.14.

52. AWN, Dec. 24, 1914, p.14.

53. Du Flou-Mestdagh, L.J. (ed) Tricolour Day in New Zealand. Buelens and Co. Auckland 1916, pp.20-1.

54. Ibid., pp. 181-90.

photographs of French generals and a romanticised colour picture of an archetypal French soldier entitled 'le Poilu'.⁵⁵

'Tricolour Day' was a national effort, and seems to have taken a similar form all over New Zealand. In Auckland stalls were set up in Queen Street where donated goods were sold, including some livestock from country areas. A cafe chantant was set up, and women and girls suitably decked out in the French national colours sold tricolour buttons and flags. In the evening a large body of Boy Scouts marched up Queen Street headed by a French flag which was later auctioned and re-auctioned until it had realised £501. 6. 6. This flag was eventually donated to the Boy Scouts of France as a token of esteem. As a result of these efforts £2,000 was raised.⁵⁶ In Palmerston North similar festivities took place. Badges and booklets were sold in the streets along with copies of the 'Marseillaise'. In the evening a concert was held in the Square during which "the Marseillaise was sung with vigour by the whole assemblage".⁵⁷ A cafe chantant was held in the Opera House a month later.⁵⁸

It was hoped that 'Tricolour Day' would raise £10,000 for the French Red Cross,⁵⁹ not a large sum when it is placed alongside the huge amounts raised at local carnivals for New Zealand soldiers.⁶⁰ This, however, is understandable. War relief for the sick and wounded and their dependents was an immediate problem which only New Zealanders could solve; monetary aid to the French was as much a token of solidarity as a practical donation. The Auckland Weekly News wrote:

Of course we owe a debt to the French which will take years to repay, and this midget effort, [i.e. Tricolour Day] so to speak, will, if it does nothing else, let our allies see that we do appreciate what they have done for us... and will have a sentimental value of great worth which the French, with their spontaneous, warm hearted natures will quickly recognize.⁶¹

55. Ibid., p.165.

56. NZH, Feb. 26, 1916, p.7.

57. MDT, Feb. 26, 1916, p.5.

58. MDT, Mar. 25, 1916, p.5.

59. NZH, Feb. 25, 1916, p.4.

60. The Auckland Queen Carnival, held the previous year, raised over £266,000 for the sick and wounded. (AWN, Dec.9,1915,p.47).

61. AWN, Feb.17, 1916, p.65.

French funds continued to enjoy a modest degree of success throughout the war. There were French Orphans' Funds in many centres⁶² as well as the odd fund raising campaign. Auckland held a French Fete in September 1918 similar in style to the earlier Tricolour Day. Primary School children marched in formation on Auckland Domain to form the words 'Vive la France' and a mock-up tank travelled down Queen Street where it was later christened 'Poilu' by the Mayoress.⁶³

Russia's progress closely parallels that of France. She too had been a source of frequent war scares which arose out of crises such as the Russian advance on the strategic Afghan town of Herat in 1884. Such threats usually stimulated volunteering in New Zealand. Even in Patea the local newspaper urged its readers that "In the prospect of a war between Russia and Patea it behoves every man to become a marksman".⁶⁴ As Russia had no Pacific possessions the most commonly perceived threat was that of a sudden naval attack on New Zealand, hence the success of the 'kaskowski' hoax in 1873.⁶⁵ The defeat of Russia at the hands of Japan in 1905 and her alignment with Britain and France virtually removed the possibility of any Russian descent on New Zealand, but as with the French, there does not appear to have existed a corresponding desire to treat the Russians as friends - at least not until Germany became a nation of child murdering barbarians, a process which transformed her opponents into crusaders dedicated to the preservation of Civilisation.

When war broke out, much hope was placed in Russia's huge army, and the 'Russian Steamroller' myth seems to have been as strong in New Zealand as it was in Britain.⁶⁶ Some saw the anomaly in the fact that the old bugbear was now the new ally. The Auckland Weekly News commented that "It is strange that freedom should depend so much on the subjects of

62. See AJHR, 1919, Vol. II, H.49, p.3ff.

63. AWN, Sept.12, 1918, p.22.

64. New Zealand's Heritage, Vol. 4, Part 51, p.1421.

65. Openshaw, R., 'The Patriot Band', M.A. thesis, Massey, 1972, p.12.

66. e.g. AWN, Dec. 10, 1914, p.15.

of the Tsar, but Providence moves in mysterious ways, and Wisdom is justified to all her children".⁶⁷ This dilemma does not appear to have existed for long, however, as the Russian people were soon rehabilitated by the press. The editorial quoted above remarked on the great advances made by Russian women, and reports on the conduct of Russian troops were always favourable. As with other allies, a respectable national type was manufactured by the press. This image was usually one of simple stoicism, and intense loyalty to 'Mother Russia'. Frank Morton, one of the Auckland Weekly News' regular columnists, concluded that the Russians "are a simple superstitious people; but they are brave and true, and have great qualities" and dismissed the pogroms as a passing "phase".⁶⁸ Reports of Russian women fighting at the front were frequently held up as an example of Russian patriotism.⁶⁹

The Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 seems to have reinforced these beliefs. The Revolution was widely believed to be a German plot,⁷⁰ and the Manawatu Daily Times identified the 'pro German' elements in Russia with the westernisers who had been in existence since the time of Peter the Great. "Few sharper psychological contrasts can be found than that between the typical Muscovite and the typical German", concluded the Times, "The result has been that the two types have never been fused".⁷¹ The earlier March Revolution, on the other hand, was seen by the same paper as the casting off of these German elements,⁷² while 'Tohunga' believed that the Tsar would have sold out to the Kaiser had not his loyal subjects forced him to abdicate.⁷³ After all, if the Russian people were as dedicated to their country and the defeat of Germany as the press maintained, internal discord could only be explained in terms of loyalty and disloyalty. As late as August 1918, when there had been

67. AWN, Sept. 3, 1914, p.34.
 68. AWN, Mar. 25, 1915, p.15.
 69. e.g. AWN, Mar. 9, 1916, p.18.
 70. MDT, Oct. 8, 1918, p.3.
 71. MDT, Nov. 24, 1917, p.4.
 72. MDT, Mar. 17, 1917, p.4.
 73. AWN, July 12, 1917, p.4.

peace between Russia and Germany for five months, the Times believed that the "moral forces" of Russia were still anti-German.⁷⁴

Fund raising for Russian causes was never high on the list of New Zealanders' priorities, perhaps because less was known about conditions in Russia than in, say, Belgium or France. In 1916 5 May was designated 'Russian day' in Auckland, and a bazaar was held in Queen Street, donated goods were auctioned, including a Russian flag, and Russian tea was prepared by Russian women.⁷⁵ Later the same year the Gisborne branch of the Victoria League held a Russian Day along similar lines in which a flag was also auctioned.⁷⁶ These, however, would appear to have been isolated examples.

Although Russia and France had aroused considerable hatred in New Zealand, much of this had dissipated by 1914, so that while New Zealanders might not have entertained positive notions about their old enemies, no grave impediment existed to prevent a war-based feeling of kinship from springing up. Japan, however, occupied a somewhat different position. She too had been seen as a threat to New Zealand's security, but unlike Russia or France, this had been a threat of more recent standing. As we saw in Chapter I, suspicion of Japan's intentions continued well into 1914, and was backed up by a long history of anti-Asian prejudice.

In view of this, it is perhaps understandable that praise of Japan's war effort was usually guarded, and not often couched in the same rhetoric reserved for other allies. The fact that Japan did not take part in any major land battles must have aided this stance, since her role in the war consisted mainly of patrolling the Pacific. However, one significant duty in this respect was escorting the Main Body of the NZEF when it left New Zealand in 1914. This action appears to have caused some

74. MDT, Aug. 30, 1918, p.4; also AWN, May 30, 1918, p.43.

75. AWN, May 4, 1916, p.65.

76. AWN, June 1, 1916, p.61.

worry. Might not New Zealand and Australia be expected to relax their immigration restrictions after the war for services rendered? The Manawatu Daily Times delivered a strong negative: "The British newspapers who deduce from the service of Japan to the Empire that the overseas Dominions will be ready to welcome the "little brown man" are sadly mistaken. Neither he nor the Hindu will be received, even though the one smashes hostile forts and the other wins the Victoria Cross".⁷⁷

However, these suspicions did not prevent the amity expressed towards other allies from emerging, since hatred of Germany far outweighed the traditional fear of Japan. When the Japanese training ships Iwate and Azuma visited New Zealand ports in July 1916 the Auckland Weekly News wrote:

We have all learned much during the past two years, for events have swept away clouds of misunderstanding and taught us lessons which our British nations can never forget.... we bear constantly in mind the fact that the navy of Japan patrols the Pacific to free our British ships for other oceans, and that the workshops of Japan work at high pressure to feed the Allied battle-front with munitions of war.... Our coasts are guarded by the flag of the Rising Sun. Such services as these, given in time of need, are not lightly thought of by our people....⁷⁸

Although the ladies of the Wellington branch of the Navy League avoided holding an afternoon tea for the Japanese naval cadets on the grounds that they could not find a free date,⁷⁹ the visitors seem to have been well received wherever they went. When the two vessels anchored in Auckland harbour a reception was held on Queen's Wharf, and much was said in praise of the once suspected Anglo-Japanese alliance, the Hon. G.W. Russell maintaining that "The far-seeing statesmen of Great Britain recognised that while allied with Japan, the peace of the Far East was assured". Admiral Matsumura, with a singular grasp of good diplomacy, told those present that "The New Zealanders' achievements at Gallipoli are as well known and appreciated in

77. MDT, Dec. 17, 1914, p.4.

78. AWN, July 6, 1916, p.47.

79. Ibid., p.67.

Tokio as they are here", and the singing of 'Auld Lang Syne' concluded proceedings.⁸⁰ Later in the month the cadets visited Rotorua, where the Auckland Weekly News' columnist 'Mercutio' described them "doing the sights in the charge of small boys and girls.... One of the cadets, on being questioned on the subject, said all his countrymen loved little children".⁸¹ Hence Japan's ally status led to even this once dreaded nation being viewed through rose-tinted spectacles. As late as 1919, when the Hon. Mr. Earnshaw denounced the Japanese occupation of the Liotung Penninsula, the Hon. Sir Francis Bell felt sufficiently moved to say "You were denouncing Japan in terms we ought never to apply to an Ally."⁸² Just as France lost her 'decadence' and Russia became staunchly patriotic, Japan too was elevated by the struggle against the Hun.

In spite of this New Zealanders never quite lost sight of the old bogey of Asian immigration. During the various debates in the House in November 1918 much was said about how Japan had been misjudged and how she had "played the game".⁸³ Nevertheless when Massey rose to discuss the apportioning of Germany's empire and other aspects of the coming Peace Conference he stated darkly that although Japan must get something for her trouble, "it must be understood that no proposal can be assented to by us that will be to the detriment of the British dominions or to any part of those dominions".⁸⁴ Obviously he was referring to Australia and New Zealand's Asian immigration restrictions; the opinion expressed by the Daily Times in 1914 still held good, and the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act passed two years later registered New Zealanders' continuing determination to exclude whom they saw fit.

One final ally deserves our consideration, principally because she spent over half the war as a suspected neutral, and

80. AWN, July 13, 1916, p.21.

81. AWN, July 20, 1916, p.14.

82. NZPD, Vol. 184, p.304.

83. e.g. NZPD, vol. 183, p.111 Hornsby, p.537, Massey.

84. Ibid., p.540.

the transition to a trusted ally is an interesting one, reflecting as it does on the mental attitudes fostered by the war. Opposition to American neutrality stemmed from a number of causes. The first of these was the belief that American businessmen were happy to stand by and make money out of the war, unmoved by German 'frightfulness'. The Manawatu Daily Times was a frequent exponent of this view: "Nothing can divert the Yankee from his pursuit of dollars. He is the modern equivalent of John Bunyan's 'man with the muck-rake' and he stands by with a watchful eye, to increase his profits while civilisation is in arms against its would-be destroyers".⁸⁵ This belief was reinforced in early 1915 when it was found that some American firms were still exporting goods to Germany, and news reports entitled 'Yankee Dollar Hunters' were a common feature in the Times during February and March.⁸⁶ Some thought that America's apparently unfriendly action should be rewarded with trade restrictions and other measures suitable for a hostile nation. 'Observer', writing to the Wanganui Herald, suggested that American tyres have a duty of 50% imposed on them to prevent the "cute Yank" from flooding the New Zealand market with his cheap products.⁸⁷ A Manawatu Daily Times correspondent was angered at the fact that the Ministry of Railways had ordered American locomotives in preference to British ones: "We are sending orders to a country which supplies our enemies at the present time. Is this just or patriotic?.... I would as soon support the order being sent to Germany at once. President Wilson is now congratulating his friend and our enemy, the Kaiser, on his birthday, something after the notorious Kruger telegram".⁸⁸

Woodrow Wilson's response to the sinking of the Lusitania similarly lowered the Dominion's respect for America. To people already convinced of Germany's criminal insanity, it seemed

85. MDT, July 8, 1915, p.4.

86. e.g. MDT, Mar. 6, 1915, p.4. See also NZF, June 1915, p.ix.

87. WH, Aug. 17, 1915, p.6.

88. MDT, Feb. 1, 1915, p.2. Similar letter Feb. 4, p.6.

inconceivable that Americans could not be moved to demand war after such an outrage. Obviously the pacifist President was to blame:

It is almost inconceivable that while the civilised world is struck with horror and humanity by the atrocities perpetrated by Germans, the temporary head of a great nation is practically telling the savage wolves that so far as he and his people are concerned they may continue to murder with impunity provided they will listen to some milk-and-water morality.... Did moral principles avail to protect the innocent and helpless people on the Lusitania when the torpedo tore into her vitals, and Americans, as well as others, were engulfed in the waves?⁸⁹

Nor did Wilson's various peace proposals endear him to New Zealanders, since the hatred generated against Germany demanded nothing short of a total defeat. Any proposal which might stay the execution was therefore to the Kaiser's advantage. 'Tohunga' believed that Wilson was in league with the Kaiser "to save Germany from the defeat she cannot escape if the war is fought to a finish",⁹⁰ while the Auckland Weekly News' cartoonist, Trevor Lloyd, portrayed the President writing a diplomatic note while the mailed fist of Germany twisted his ear.⁹¹ In early 1917 much was written in the press against Wilson's final attempt to secure peace, and one Auckland man felt sufficiently moved to publish the following disclaimer in a local paper: "Harry Wilson, milkman, of Devonport, has no connection of any kind with Woodrow Wilson, of United States of America".⁹² However, March 1917 found America ranged alongside the Allies, and this changed situation brought about a change in attitude towards the once reviled "Weak Kneed Yankees".

89. MDT, May 21, 1915, p.4.

90. AWN, Feb. 1, 1917, p.14. This almost universal rejection of the possibility of a negotiated peace led to peace advocates being viewed in the same light as German spies or plotters. In 1916 a pamphlet with the remarkable title Foul Work! A Conspiracy to Brand New Zealand's Name with Dishonour (Wellington Printing Co. 1916) was printed, and claimed that German agents were at work in New Zealand fostering war-weariness.

91. AWN, Feb. 22, 1917, p.46.

92. MDT, Feb. 22, 1917, p.4.

The Auckland Weekly News, which earlier had accused Woodrow Wilson of promoting peace to preserve American trade⁹³ now described him as a "cultured and learned American",⁹⁴ while even the Manawatu Daily Times saw fit to recant once American troops were fighting in France.⁹⁵ The ancient rift between Britain and the United States which originated from the War of Independence was glossed over by the common excuse that George III was a German, and that the American colonists were "British to the very marrow of their bones".⁹⁶ As with other allies, a favourable image of the American was built up, somewhat different to the soulless dollar hunters of February 1915: "The Americans have many noble qualities. Their hospitality is boundless. They are wonderfully tolerant among friends. Once they pledge themselves they can be trusted to keep their faith.... They have remarkable courage and pertinacity. Their attitude to all good women is sensitively chivalrous. They take more interest in children than any other nation on earth does".⁹⁷

The example of America's rise to 'ally' status embodies an important principle. In a situation generating stress, the individual's tolerance of ambiguity drops,⁹⁸ in this case leaving two categories, allies and enemies. The fact that America, or at least President Wilson, had had dealings with Germany and showed little of the indignation felt by most New Zealanders made it easier to include her in the latter category; with matters clarified by her declaration of war on Germany, however, America was uplifted in New Zealand eyes by the sacred cause of the Allies. Amity is created by enmity and fear, and the same forces which created an imaginary German wireless station in every suburb⁹⁹ also impelled New Zealanders to collect almost half a million pounds for the Belgians, a people who before 1914 had barely impinged on the Dominion's consciousness.

93. AWN, Jan. 4, 1917, p.47.

94. Jan. 17, 1918, p.47.

95. MDT, Sept. 26, 1918, p.4.

96. e.g. AWN, Dec.12, 1918, p.14; MDT, Sept.26,1918, p.4.

97. AWN, May 17, 1917, p.14.

98. McNeil, E.B. (ed) The Nature of Human Conflict, Prentice Hall, New York, 1965, pp. 56-7.

99. See Chap. V.

The notion of sacrifice also lay at the roots of this new-found devotion. Since it was widely thought that if Germany won she would eventually turn on New Zealand, the European nations who were grappling with her on her home ground were in effect preventing the Prussian hordes from reaching the Pacific. We have already seen how Belgium was held up as a martyr, and a similar, if not as intense rhetoric emerged in relation to the other allies, however small. 5 May 1917 was designated 'Roumanian Day' in Palmerston North, and the Manawatu Daily Times urged its readers to give generously with the exhortation "Roumanians are Suffering - for YOU!"¹⁰⁰

As well as donating money to allied causes, often as an expression of solidarity rather than a serious attempt to allieviate war distress, New Zealanders recognised their allies in a host of minor ways, such as flying the French flag from every flag pole on Bastille Day, or the American flag on the 4th July. Virtually no Patriotic Carnival was complete without its 'Allies' tableau or procession:

The "Triple Entente" was a charming group of little children - Belgium (Bubbles Waite) a pathetic little figure in rags, supported on either side by Billie Maguire as England and Jack Davy, France, both most correctly costumed. Then came a group of visitors from the Indian Empire, and representatives of our allies - France, Italy, Russia, Servia, and Japan....¹⁰¹

As we have already noted, the allied nations rapidly became paragons of virtue. In many cases history was rewritten to preserve this illusion, particularly in the case of nations which had once been suspected. Just as the American War of Independence became a struggle of English virtues against German rule, France's past was brought into line with her heroic present. When discussing the Battle of Waterloo the converted Francophobe 'Tohunga' stated that Napoleon was a Corsican and hence not a real Frenchman, and that our Prussian ally Blucher had yearned

100. MDT, May 5, 1917, p.2.

101. AWN, Dec. 9, 1915, p.65. (Auckland Queen Carnival). See also AWN June 24, 1915, p.65; MDT, Mar. 14, 1918, p.5.

to sack London.¹⁰² On another occasion he expressed surprise at Lord Salisbury's giving Heligoland to Germany and almost going to war with France over Fashoda. Obviously he had not seen that Germany was the "real enemy".¹⁰³ On the other side of the same coin, German history was re-written to illustrate the inherent evil in the German people.¹⁰⁴ These simplistic interpretations of the past reflect the conditions which gave rise to them. As the Manawatu Daily Times stated in February 1918 "'Who is not for me is against me' is a greater truism in the present emergency than at any other period in the world's history".¹⁰⁵

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102. AWN, July 15, 1915, p.14.
 103. AWN, Sept. 23, 1915, p.14.
 104. See Chap. IV.
 105. MDT, Feb.12, 1918, p.4.

CHAPTER THREEOUR BOYS

God bless our splendid men
 Send them safe home again
 God bless our men.
 Keep them victorious,
 Patient and chivalrous
 They are so dear to us
 God save our men.

(Suggested National Anthem, Dominion, June 25, 1915, p.4.)

The spirit which impelled New Zealanders to set up funds for allied relief demanded even greater generosity wherever the Dominion's own troops were concerned. After the Gallipoli landing, fund raising for the sick and wounded and their dependents continued until the end of the war, efforts for other causes being sporadic in comparison. The reasons for this are not hard to find. In the fight against Germany New Zealand's troops represented a tangible commitment to the cause, and their progress was followed with pride at home. The immediacy of the of the situation was undoubtedly helped by the fact that with over 100,000 men in khaki by 1918, there were few New Zealanders who had neither friends nor relatives in the forces. Whether they were returning on hospital ships or marching through the streets of Wellington before embarking for Gallipoli or France, their troops brought the war home to New Zealanders who were otherwise insulated from its horrors.

The extremes of emotion fostered by the war also favoured fund raising for the troops. Just as socialists, 'shirkers' and enemy aliens came to occupy one end of the home spectrum, 'our boys' quickly rose to the other, and hence collecting money for local sick and wounded funds, the Red Cross, and soldiers' clubs became a sacred cause. During the war £1,290,337 was collected for purposes associated with New Zealand troops and their dependents.¹

1. AJHR, 1919, Vol. II, H 46, pp.2-3.

When war was declared amidst a wave of popular excitement, New Zealanders' thoughts turned quickly to providing for their own men. The Boer War had set the precedent of an expeditionary force equipped partly by public donations of money, horses, and provisions,² a practice which enabled those at home to feel involved in the war effort. During the Boer War over £113,000 had been collected to help raise the third and fourth contingents.³ In August 1914 the same sum was raised in three weeks, mainly from funds set up by newspapers, local funds set up to deal with the emergency, and larger sums donated directly to the Government by banks, businesses, and affluent individuals.⁴ The Boer war had not been notable for its New Zealand casualties, so early efforts to help the troops, like those of 1899-1902, concentrated almost solely on equipping the Expeditionary Force. It was not until the first news of the Gallipoli landing arrived in early May the following year that patriotic efforts for 'our boys' switched almost wholly to providing relief for the sick and wounded and their dependents, although the practice of gathering 'comforts' for the men continued. In August 1914, however, helping equip the Dominion's force was the only field open to patriotic New Zealanders, and they threw themselves into it with a will. Farmers donated horses,⁵ since it was thought that, as in the Boer War, the New Zealand soldier would be a picked mounted man, while others offered motor vehicles, fodder, and provisions.⁶

At a local level money, goods, and items of clothing were gathered under the auspices of Lady Liverpool's Fund, which the Governor's wife instigated with an appeal to the Mayoresses of the Dominion to organise comforts for the troops.⁷ There

2. Johnson, p.31.

3. Hall, D.O.W., The New Zealanders in South Africa, War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1949, p.9.

4. See N.ZPD, Vol. 169, pp. 479-80, 498-9, 527, 569, 600-2, 817-20.

5. MDT, Aug. 14, 1914, p.3.

6. e.g. NZPD, Vol. 169, p.569.

7. AWN, Aug. 13, 1914, p.70.

was no time for any fund raising efforts which required any long term planning (such as the Queen Carnivals which emerged in 1915) and most of the money and goods collected locally in August and September came from private donations and street collections.⁸ Patriotic concerts and pantomimes were common, however, as they appear to have needed little more than the aid of local talent. In Gisborne the local Savage Club held a patriotic Korero. "The stage was decorated with flags, whilst long streamers of ensigns were hung on the walls. During the singing of one song the crowd, carried away with patriotic enthusiasm, showered the stage with donations in silver for the war-fund".⁹ Another easily organised enterprise was the patriotic stock sale, at which donated animals were often sold and resold several times, thus realising many times their value. At a Feilding sale a little girl's pet lamb raised £36.5s.6d. in this way.¹⁰

Probably the most enduring patriotic activity to emerge from Lady Liverpool's Appeal was the knitting and sewing of socks, balaclavas, shirts, cholera belts, hussifs, and other 'necessities' for the men. When the appeal went out social events were postponed and sewing bees set up, often at the local Council chambers or Town Hall.¹¹ In Palmerston North, as elsewhere, the Mayoress took charge almost immediately, urging women's groups to begin sewing or knitting.¹² Meanwhile, money, clothing, cigarettes, books, and other 'comforts' flooded in.¹³ Although less mention was made of it in the press as the war progressed, sewing and knitting for the troops seems to have remained a fairly constant activity. When 'Uncle Ned' asked his correspondents to write to the Farmer's Children's Post Office in 1916 with suggestions as to what country children could do to help the soldiers, a number of girls suggested knitting scarves, mittens, and socks.¹⁴ In many areas women's sewing guilds were set up

8. For a collector's eye view of street collecting see NZH, Aug. 22 (Supplement) 1914, p.1.

9. AWN, Aug.20, 1914, p.63. See also Aug.27, 1914, p.63.

10. NZH, Aug.15, 1914, p.8. See also Aug.19, 1914, p.7.

11. See AWN, Aug.20, 1914, pp.63-4.

12. MDT, Aug.11, 1914, p.5.

13. MDT, Aug.12, 1914, p.4.

14. NZF, Sept. 1916, p.1340.



Knitting for the boys.

(Photograph Courtesy Alexander
Turnbull Library)

which appear to have functioned throughout the war to provide for local men going to the Front.¹⁵

Sewing and knitting, as with patriotic activities generally, played the important role of offering civilians a sense of involvement in the war effort. This need is also reflected by the constant attempts of patriotic individuals to expose enemy aliens or evidence of German influence.¹⁶ An English sociologist, W. Trotter, writing at the time of the war, noted that war exerts a powerful influence over what he called the 'herd instinct'.

Despite his patriotic bias, Trotter makes a number of valid comments on the effect of war on non-combatants:

It must surely be clear that in a nation engaged in an urgent struggle for existence the presence of a large class who are as sensitive as any to the call of the herd, and yet cannot respond in any active way contains very grave possibilities. The only response to that relentless calling that can give peace is service....¹⁷

This need to serve is admirably illustrated in 'The Song of the Socks', a poem printed in the Farmer in 1918 in which the civilian effort, particularly that of women, becomes one with the military effort:

Knit-knit-knit!
An army of women too,
Who have none of their own to give to fight,
But whose hearts are staunch and true.
They are eager to help the cause
That, in hour of victory fair,
That joyous hour of the boys' return
The triumph they may share.¹⁸

As the war progressed and the concept of total war and a war of attrition grew stronger, more emphasis was placed on the civilian effort whether this involved abstaining from race-going and other pastimes or increasing the country's agricultural production. However, fund raising still offered the most tangible means of supporting the troops who were doing the actual fighting. The

15. See AJHR, 1918, Vol. II, H.49, pp.4-15.

16. See Chap. V.

17. Trotter, W., Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War. Fisher Unwin Ltd., London, 1921, pp. 148-9.

18. NZF, Sept. 1915, p.1215.

49.

Manawatu Daily Times stated that "the people who stay at home fight with their money just as the men in the trenches fight with rifle and bomb, and the fact that it is much safer to fight in this way... should not obscure the importance of this kind of warfare."¹⁹

The co-ordination of patriotic activities, whether for allied relief or for New Zealand soldiers was undertaken by the local patriotic societies, most of which were formed in August 1914 in response to the wave of donations. In Auckland a meeting was convened by the Mayor, who moved that a fund be formed "for the purpose of assisting the Government in the defence of the country and for mitigating the loss and suffering inseparable from a state of war". The fund was to be "applied within the discretion of the committee".²⁰ The latter condition, common to all patriotic committees, meant that money could be transferred from the main fund which was supplied by regular subscriptions to subsidiary funds set up in response to new needs arising out of the war, such as equipping hospital ships for victims of the Gallipoli campaign. During the war over £2 million was transferred by societies in this way.²¹

On the whole, patriotic committees seem to have been dominated by men already prominent in local affairs, and were usually headed by the Mayor. In Palmerston North a similar meeting to that held in Auckland was convened by the Mayor Mr. J.A. Nash, to set up a patriotic society. Mr. Nash addressed the meeting on the righteousness of the war, and read the poem 'England goes to Battle'. He was followed by Mr. Maurice Cohen, a previous Mayor, Palmerston's M.P. Mr. D. Buick, and local clergymen. When the new society's committee was set up it included Mr. Nash, Mr. Cohen, a future Mayor, Mr. F.J. Nathan, and Mr. E.H. Crabb, a prominent businessman and City Councillor.²² Lady Liverpool's appeal set a precedent for the Mayoresses of the Dominion, who appear to have supervised women's activities

19. MDT, Mar. 19, 1918, p.4.

20. AWN, Aug. 13, 1914, p.22.

21. AJHR, 1919, Vol. II, H 49, pp.2-3. See also Gisborne Citizens' Defence Fund Annual Reports 1917-1922.

22. MDT, Aug. 15, 1914, p.4.

throughout the war.²³ Palmerston's Mayoress Mrs. Nash was particularly zealous in this respect. As well as organising sewing bees and the like for Lady Liverpool's Fund she had overall control of the 'Paddy's Market' held in 1917.²⁴ In 1918 she received the OBE for her efforts.²⁵ However such people, along with the patriotic committees to which they belonged, merely exerted an organising influence, and more often than not, the actual activities themselves, particularly in large scale campaigns such as Queen Carnivals, were run by existing clubs, societies, or regionally based groups. The 1915 Otago Queen Carnival boasted a Tramways' Queen, a Retailers' Queen, a Travellers and Warehousemen's Queen, and a North Otago Queen,²⁶ while Palmerston North's Paddy's Market included stalls run by Church groups and the Women's Christian Temperance Union.²⁷

Individuals not directly involved in patriotic enterprises were either approached by canvassers at their homes or, if they were well-to-do, received letters inviting their support. The processes involved can be inferred from the Palmerston North Soldiers' Memorial Campaign,²⁸ which was based on the 1918 'Final Battle' campaign for the sick and wounded.²⁹ Palmerston North and the surrounding rural areas were divided into canvassing areas, in which volunteers did the actual canvassing, sometimes with the aid of loaned vehicles.³⁰ Schools, which proved valuable collecting agencies,³¹ were approached through their principals who were asked to urge the pupils to bring small sums to help the fund, while prominent men and local businesses were

23. AWN, Aug.24, 1914, p.63; Feb.22, 1917, p.52; Aug.12, 1915, p.65.

24. AWN, Feb. 22, 1917, p.62.

25. MDT, Mar.16, 1918, p.4.

26. Otago Queen Carnival 1915, J. Wilkie, Dunedin, 1915, pp.1-4.

27. MDT, Feb.15, 1917, p.5.

28. The correspondence for this campaign is held in the Palmerston North Public Library's archives.

29. The Memorial Committee's correspondence indicates that the 'Final Battle' was used as a model for the more basic fund raising requirements such as canvassing, finding support, etc. For details of the actual 'Final Battle' campaign, see below p.61.

30. Memorial Committee, Outward Correspondence, Permain to the Manager, Watt Motors, 20.12.23.

31. See NZF, Children's Post Office, Sept. 1914 - Dec.1918.

asked for donations.³² Those approached by canvassers seem to have either made small cash donations or signed promissory notes. Without the anonymity of a sealed envelope, the donor of 1914-18 would have found it hard to avoid paying a reasonable sum, since fund raising had become inextricably linked with the national effort against Germany. One correspondent writing to the Wanganui Herald referred to a family who refused to contribute to any patriotic funds, and suggested that the Herald print their name and address "so we may give [them] the reception they deserve when they... appear in town".³³ Promissory notes must have provided a welcome escape for those badgered by patriotic collectors, since one meeting of the Manawatu Patriotic Society commented on the fact that a number of people who had signed notes were not honouring them.³⁴ Another regular source of revenue was the sale of war seals, which appeared in 1915. Issued by the larger patriotic societies, war seals took the form of a half penny stamp depicting a wounded soldier or something equally appropriate. Such seals were usually affixed to letters, no doubt as a testament to the patriotism of the sender.³⁵

As the war progressed and the funds controlled by the patriotic societies grew, the societies became business concerns in their own right. Larger societies hired staff; the Wellington War Relief Association's salaried staff included a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Interviewer (to deal with claims made by soldiers or their dependents) and an Assistant.³⁶ More common was the temporary hiring of professional organisers to help with extravaganzas such as Queen Carnivals. In 1915 the Auckland Patriotic Society imported one Owen Cardston from Western Australia to manage its Queen Carnival.³⁷ A more ubiquitous

32. Memorial Committee, Report of a Public Meeting to be held 23.10.23.

33. WH, Nov.30, 1915, p.4.

34. MDT, Feb.5, 1916, p.4.

35. Captain Cook - Newsletter of the Christchurch Philatelic Society, Oct.1975, Vol.4, no.2. I am indebted to Mr. Robin Gwynn for this interesting piece of information.

36. The War Relief Association of Wellington, Annual Reports 1916-1918, p.8.

37. AWN, Sept. 16, 1915, p.19.

personality was William Lints, whose specialty was organising patriotic stage shows. In October 1917 he was in Napier where he produced and took part in a show called 'Our Reveille'.³⁸ In March 1918 he was hired by the Manawatu Patriotic Society for £25 a week to produce a similar revue (also called 'Our Reveille') containing song and dance routines and a special act by Mr. Lints himself, in which he "danced a clog dance on ball bearing skates on an electric table".³⁹ With the stage lights dimmed, and dressed in a skeleton costume, he presented an "eerie sight" with the sparks spluttering from his skates.⁴⁰ The following month found Lints in Dannevirke training dancing girls for yet another 'Our Reveille' in which he played the part of a Chinaman.⁴¹ Later in the year he was engaged by the Christchurch branch of the R.S.A. to help raise money for a club room.⁴²

As we have seen, the patriotic societies were born amidst the outburst of popular hysteria and generosity which attended the outbreak of war. As the war progressed and their capital increased, new funds were opened in response to new demands on the patriotic conscience. As well as funds for allies these sometimes included responses to German 'frightfulness' such as the Wellington War Relief Association's London Air Raid Fund.⁴³ However, throughout the war it was New Zealand's own troops who were responsible for the setting up of the largest funds, and the organising of the most extravagant fund raising ventures. The war had begun with profuse offers of comforts and equipment for the men in the jingoistic tradition of the Boer War, and the New Zealanders' battles and their unprecedented casualties transformed them into heroes worthy of all that their country could offer them.

The Gallipoli landing was the principle cause of this transformation. Although the papers continued to be full of information and anecdotes about the New Zealanders' training camp

38. AWN, Oct. 18, 1917, p.55.

39. MDT, Mar. 18, 1918, p.4.

40. MDT, Mar. 19, 1918, p.5.

41. MDT, May 16, 1918, p.4.

42. MDT, Nov. 13, 1918, p.4.

43. War Relief Association of Wellington, Annual Reports 1916-1918, p.4.

at Zeitoun in Egypt, fund raising endeavours centred largely on the Belgian Relief Fund in early 1915.⁴⁴ The strongest effect of the landing was the national pride it engendered. Henceforth New Zealand troops had a military tradition readily appreciated by their countrymen, a tradition immortalised by the tales of heroism which appeared in the press every Anzac Day for the rest of the war. Unlike the later campaigns in France in which the New Zealanders were simply part of a British offensive, the landing at Gallipoli involved a relatively high proportion of colonial troops, and had the virtue of being more spectacular than much of the fighting in France. Hence it had great appeal to a nation whose dearest hope was that her men would 'prove their British blood' and play a noble part in the fighting. The eventual withdrawal of the Allies from the Dardanelles did not affect this pride. "Its immortal and unequalled place in the history of war", wrote the Auckland Weekly News, "depends on the fact that a military feat considered 'impossible' - the landing from boats upon a defended and difficult coast - was accomplished by troops wholly fresh from training camps.... Not useless was the landing at Anzac; not wasted was the matchless courage.... For a great example has been given to mankind - the example of how peace-bred men can fight for a great cause, how willingly they can die for a great ideal".⁴⁵

The magnitude of the feat was frequently emphasised by the portrayal of the Dominion's troops as non-professional 'citizen soldiers':

The army of New Zealand was, is and always will be made up of ordinary men. Before they donned khaki they used to build your houses, mend your boots, deliver your bread or your letters, draft the deeds of your property, grow the potatoes you eat, handle them on the railway or invoice them when they left the warehouse. In their leisure time they tried to pick winners, played football, danced, patronised the pictures, and stood on the kerb of Saturday nights smoking cigarettes and keeping a wary eye open for a pretty face and a trim ankle. Some went to church three times on Sunday, and some went down to the sea in yachts. Some drank too much on pay-night and some never drank at all.⁴⁶

44. See Chap. II.

45. AWN, April 27, 1916, p.30.

46. AWN, June 7, 1917, p.4. See also NZH, May 12, 1915, p.4.

They were, in other words, men whom those at home either knew or could at least readily identify with. If Belgians and French were indirectly protecting New Zealand by fighting the German in Europe and preventing him invading the Pacific, so were the Anzacs. The New Zealand Herald stated that "Our soldiers are the heroes who stand between us and intolerable evil, who ward us from the fate of Belgium...." and maintained that their deaths were as meaningful as if they had "died within sight of Auckland town".⁴⁷ Urging the public support of an art union for Auckland's Sick and Wounded Soldiers' Fund, an advertisement in the Auckland Weekly News ran "They [the soldiers] have made, and are making, the GREAT SACRIFICE for us that we may be saved the horrors of Belgium or Serbia".⁴⁸ In 1917 'Uncle Ned' asked contributors to the Farmers' Children's Post Office to write on what they would do if they were given £5. A boy wrote "I would send it to the boys at the front, because if the Huns came here and massacred us all, it would be no use to me".⁴⁹

The demands made on New Zealanders by the plight of their own men caused a sudden change in the foci of their patriotic concern. By December 1915 the Rangitikei Patriotic Society could no longer see its way to sending regular contributions to the Belgian Fund because of "numerous other calls on the Society's funds".⁵⁰ No doubt these 'other calls' included wounded soldiers and their dependents. In 1914 the proceeds of Palmerston North's Spring Show had gone to the Belgian Fund. In 1916 it was decided that they should be given to the Sick and Wounded Fund.⁵¹ In May 1915, a patriotic rugby match in Auckland, organised, no doubt, before the news of Gallipoli reached New Zealand, was eventually played in aid of the Hospital Ship Fund, and not the Belgian Fund as originally planned.⁵²

The Dominion's initial response to the Gallipoli landing and the lengthy casualty lists which began appearing in the press was to equip a hospital ship, the Maheno, to carry the sick

47. NZH, May 5, 1915, p.4.

48. AWN, Nov.11, 1915, p.10.

49. NZF, Dec.1917, p.1459.

50. AWN, Dec.23, 1915, p.56.

51. MDT, Aug.17, 1915, p.5.

52. AWN, June 3, 1915, p.22.

and wounded from the base hospital in Egypt back to New Zealand. The fund was initiated by the Governor, Lord Liverpool, and met with an immediate response. Funds were set up by local newspapers, £5,642 being subscribed to the Auckland Weekly News fund in a matter of weeks,⁵³ and street collections were made.⁵⁴ As with the earlier response to the equipping of the Expeditionary Force, goods as well as money were donated. A meeting of the New Zealand Furniture Trades Industrial Association of Employers decided to give 400 mattresses and pillows for use on the hospital ship, while the New Zealand Power Boat Association donated a motor launch.⁵⁵ There was ample opportunity for women to provide home made articles. The Opawa branch of the Red Cross supplied

23 pairs socks, 2 balaclavas, 35 pairs bed socks, 4 caps, 8 pairs slippers, 8 mufflers, 21 flannel vests, 15 underpants, 10 pyjamas, 13 body belts, 13 blanket dressing gowns, 300 bandages, 20 face cloths, 80 operation cloths, 25 fomentation packs, 80 tray cloths, 3 body bandages, 6 triangular bandages, 24 gauze veils, 345 medicine cloths, 6 pack wringers.⁵⁶

Many private hospitals offered beds free of charge for soldiers who still required treatment when they returned, while a large number of well-to-do owners of large houses offered accommodation for the convalescing.⁵⁷

The equipping of the hospital ship, like the earlier donating of horses and vehicles to the Expeditionary Force, gave the public a close sense of being a part of the war effort. However, unlike the earlier efforts of August-September 1914, a greater sense of urgency and public involvement lay behind the fitting out of the Maheno. By mid 1915, it had become obvious that the war would be a prolonged affair, and that such a war demanded total commitment, by those at home as well as at the Front. Much was said of the need for austerity in national life, some talked of conscription, and anti-German feeling, aided by the sinking of the Lusitania, reached new heights with demands

53. Ibid., p.19, see also p.56.

54. Ibid., p.56.

55. Ibid., p.17.

56. AWN, July 22, 1915, p.66.

57. AWN, June 3, 1915, p.19.

for the internment of enemy aliens.⁵⁸ The Gallipoli landing, and its direct influence on New Zealand added greatly to this trend. Fund raising, whether for the hospital ship or sick and wounded funds, acquired a greater moral weight. It represented the nation's love and respect as well as a practical attempt to help New Zealand servicemen:

There is the gift that is made to the beggar in the street and the gift that the lover makes to the girl his heart adores. It is the lover's gift that is due to the Hospital Ship; those who are not glad to give should keep their money in their pockets and hide away from the company of the eager and the proud.... It is not because our wounded have no resort but ourselves that it is good to give in this fashion... it is because we want to give - as love gives, as friendship gives - wanting to give because we love them.... Those who feel it will give to the Hospital Ship and rejoice in giving.⁵⁹

The strength of these feelings is best illustrated by the scenes which were enacted when the first batch of New Zealand wounded were taken up the Main Trunk Line in a Red Cross train in July 1915. Wherever the train stopped crowds composed largely of women crammed around the carriages, forcing open the windows to shower the men inside with gifts and flowers. Everywhere there were reports of women and girls weeping at the sight of the wounded, and of the solemnity displayed by the crowds as well as the patriotic fervour.⁶⁰ Wounded New Zealand servicemen exercised a more powerful influence over the patriotic conscience than any European ally could, however great its need. Those who could not fight must at least support the nation's soldiers, and this belief is reflected not only in the large sums raised for the sick and wounded, Red Cross, and camp comforts between 1915 and 1918, but also in the more serious tone struck by those urging public support of these funds. Addressing the Auckland Provincial Patriotic and War Relief Association (APPWRA) on the proposed Queen Carnival, the Chairman, Mr. George Elliot accused Aucklanders of not making sufficient sacrifices for

58. See Chap. IV.

59. AWN, June 3, 1915, p.14.

60. AWN, July 22, 1915, pp.17-18.

their men:

Do you think we have played the game? I don't.
 Do you think we have done our duty?. I don't.
 God knows we have not.... Out there at
 Gallipoli, on the shores of the Aegean Sea,
 there are the graves of 1000 New Zealanders,
 while probably 5000 of our lads have been
 wounded.... Can we who do not go to the front
 for one reason or another, expect the other
 fellow to go and do our job for us, unless
 we give him the assurance that his dependents
 will be looked after if he is killed or maimed?
 (Applause and cries of "No".) ⁶¹

Fund raising for the Sick and Wounded funds opened by the local patriotic societies in response to the catastrophe of Gallipoli began in earnest as soon as the Maheno had been equipped. The amounts raised were sizeable; in Masterton a flag was auctioned for £21,574, the total sum being made up of a number of successful bids in the manner of the patriotic stock sales mentioned above. There was one bid of 3,000 guineas, three of £1,000, and many of £500. ⁶² In Otago the regional patriotic society had raised over £150,000 for local men by September 1915, the equivalent of £75 per soldier. ⁶³ It was during this period that the majority of the patriotic shops were set up. Such shops usually sold donated goods such as farm produce, jams, cakes, and garments, ⁶⁴ and were manned by voluntary staff drawn from local clubs and societies or suburban womens' groups. In Palmerston North, for instance, the shop was run on a regional basis, both country and city districts taking weekly turns at stocking it. ⁶⁵ Although Queen Carnivals and the like raised more spectacular amounts of money, patriotic shops, by virtue of their regularity also made a valuable contribution. Palmerston North's patriotic shop, originally called the Dardanelles Shop when it was set up in June 1915, ⁶⁶ averaged £40-£50 per week in early 1917 ⁶⁷ and by September the same year takings of over

61. AWN, Sept.23, 1915, p.17.

62. MDT, June 24, 1915, p.4.

63. AWN, Sept.23, 1915, p.17.

64. See AWN, District News page, Jan. - April 1917.

65. MDT, Mar.26, 1917, p.4.

66. MDT, June 28, 1915, p.4.

67. e.g. MDT, Mar.26, 1917, p.4.



The 'Allied Nations Fete', held in the Auckland Town Hall in September 1915 by the Girls' Realm Guild. £700 was raised for the Sick and Wounded Fund.

(AWN)

£100 were common.⁶⁸ Marton's patriotic shop made £583.19s.7d. in June 1917 alone, the running costs being only £5.1s.2d.⁶⁹ As with the Belgian and other allied funds, individual acts of charity were common. As well as the usual subscriptions to the patriotic funds, many wealthy farmers and businessmen donated land, stock, and even vehicles, usually for art unions held in association with carnivals. Mr Percy McHardy of Palmerston North, who donated large sums of money to many funds,⁷⁰ provided 2,000 sheep for the Anzac Art Union held in 1916,⁷¹ while one J. McMaster gave 60,000 acres in the Waikato to the National Sick and Wounded Fund.⁷² Lesser mortals sometimes made similar sacrifices. Mrs. A. Geange of Pahiatua raffled her pug dog, selling £6.10s.0d worth of tickets for the Sick and Wounded Fund,⁷³ while many country children grew vegetables to sell for the sick and wounded, Y.M.C.A. or Red Cross.⁷⁴ The Tawa Flat school had an acre of land cultivated by the pupils, the vegetables grown being sold for the Red Cross.⁷⁵

However, it was the large scale patriotic campaigns which offered the most opportunities for the participation of ordinary New Zealanders. The principle virtue of the queen carnival and 'sham battle'⁷⁶ type of campaign (the two most common) was their all-encompassing nature. Both involved a number of regionally or sectionally based groups competing between themselves to raise the largest sum of money. This meant that in effect many campaigns with their associated fund raising devices - bazaars, art unions, concerts, fairs, etc. - were in operation at once, and that while such an effort lasted, it dominated local affairs. A closer study of two campaigns will better illustrate

68. MDT, Sept.17, 1917, p.6.

69. MDT, July 7, 1917, p.4.

70. e.g. MDT, Mar.28, 1918, p.5.

71. AWN, July 6, 1916, p.56.

72. The Carnival Book, Yeoman and Barker, Wellington, 1915, p.8.

73. MDT, Dec.5, 1917, p.5.

74. See NZF, Sept.1915, p.1225; Dec.1917, p.1457; July 1918, p.928.

75. NZF, June 1918, p.85.

76. See below p. 61.

the process involved.

The second half of 1915 was notable for its Queen Carnivals, which were held in large districts such as Canterbury and Otago, as well as smaller centres such as Northern Wairoa. In Auckland, the APPWRA decided to hold a carnival in October with twelve carnival queen candidates representing all the districts in the Auckland region as well as occupational and sectional interests. These were the Waitemata Queen, Professions and Commerce Queen, Allied Retailers Queen, Queen of the North (i.e. Northland), Queen of the South, Soldiers' Queen, Licensed Victuallers' Queen, Labour Unions and Friendly Societies' Queen, Public Services' Queen, Sports Queen, Queen of the East, and Commercial Travellers and Warehousemen's Queen. 'Voting' for the candidates was on the principle of 3d representing one vote, the money being raised by canvassing and money raising schemes.⁷⁷ As well as having a central committee to devise such schemes, each Queen appears to have had local committees working in the suburbs and rural areas, so it can be appreciated that there was ample scope for the involvement of a large number of people. The Soldiers' Queen, Mrs. J.A. Wallingford, had women's committees in all the Auckland suburbs which organised small scale efforts such as garden parties, bridge and euchre evenings, and bazaars.⁷⁸ The central committees organised larger ventures. The Soldiers' Queen executive was early in the field with the opening of the 'Anzac Tearooms', a temporary restaurant set up in premises loaned free of charge and furnished with either loaned or donated furniture.⁷⁹ Later, a children's paper and calico dance was held in the Town Hall. The dance, like the many functions of its type, reveals an obvious love of organisation and patriotic symbolism on the part of its planners:

The dance was opened with a grand march, the feature of which was when the children had taken their places round the room led by a number of sailor boys (many of whom were girls), who were harnessed to a boat smothered with pink roses, and at a given signal, the band struck up the "Red, White, and Blue", and from

77. AWN, Oct.7,1915, p.23.

78. AWN, Oct.14,1915, p.65; Nov.4, 1915, p.65.

79. AWN, Oct. 7, 1915, p.65.

behind a large Union Jack there emerged three tiny girls dressed in the colours, who walked down the hall and took their places in the boat, and were dragged round the hall in the lead of the march. It was quite a charming sight and was heartily applauded by the large number of onlookers in the gallery.⁸⁰

Mock courts, at which prominent people were 'fined' were a popular feature at many carnivals,⁸¹ and a successful court organised by the Soldiers' Queen executive raised over £1100.

Women 'policemen' played an important part in proceedings:

This band went out all over the city and suburbs and "arrested" their more or less willing victims. The hourly sessions were attended by large numbers of the general public who certainly had a good shilling's worth of amusement.... The judge at intervals descended from her throne, dressed in a loud patterned chintz gown, and sang in a very "manly" voice stirring patriotic songs.... One of the constables at intervals broke into song, and, assisted, by others, held a large Union Jack, into which the audience were invited to throw coins, and in this way large amounts were gathered in.⁸²

The other queens and their committees organised similar events, and after a month of fund raising, the carnival itself was held, followed by the coronation of the victorious queen, Mrs. Bollard (Queen of the South). Extravagant coronation ceremonies were a feature of all the larger carnivals⁸³ and Auckland's was no exception. The Town Hall, in which the ceremony was held, was profusely adorned with red velvet hangings and the emblems of the various queens, while the stage on which the throne was set was covered with deep pile carpet. Each queen was accompanied by a host of attendants dressed in full court regalia including sword bearers in satin coats and knee breeches. The queen elect was provided with Bearers of the Crown, Sceptre, Royal Sword, Orb, Speeches, and Canopy. The Allies and British Dominions were represented by women suitably attired and carrying their national emblems.⁸⁴ After the Carnival a massive art union was

80. AWN, Nov.4, 1915, p.65.

81. e.g. MDT, June 21, 1915, p.4, Carnival Book p.12.

82. AWN, Nov.11, 1915, p.65.

83. Otago Queen Carnival 1915. J. Wilkie, Dunedin, 1915, p.12. Carnival Book, p.14.

84. AWN, Dec. 9, 1915, p.65.



Northern Wairoa's Carnival Queen. Note the lavish costumes worn by the Queen and her attendants.

(AWN)

drawn. The prizes included a Wolsely car valued at £1,075, four sections in Remuera, a motor launch, single sections in Huntly and Morningside, horses, an oil engine, a roll top desk, and £2,500 worth of silver.⁸⁵ The result of the entire campaign was a profit of £260,000 for the APPWRA's Sick and Wounded Soldiers' Fund.⁸⁶

Palmerston North's 'Final Battle' campaign, held in March 1918, was a small affair by comparison, raising just over £31,000 for the local sick and wounded.⁸⁷ However, it embodied the same principle as a queen carnival; the city and surrounding districts were divided into 'armies', each army competing against the other in its attempt to raise funds by the usual methods. The fighting strength of the opposing forces was measured in money, £50 equalling 1000 men. Each army's General could utilise the money at his disposal to either add to his own forces or to remove the equivalent number of 'men' from another army.⁸⁸

'Commissions' in the various armies were bought, prices ranging from £125 for the rank of Colonel to one shilling for a private. There were ten armies: the Pohōngina Rangers, Ashhurst Pioneers, Fitzherbert Light Horse, Kairanga Lancers, Manawatu Hussars, Kelvin Grove Camel Corps, Western Grenadiers, Northern Fusiliers, Southern Bombadiers and Eastern Guards.⁸⁹ As with the Auckland Queen Carnival, the competing groups formed numerous committees to organise the many fund raising efforts. The Western Guards formed a Ladies' Committee, an Amusement Committee, a Produce Committee, an Art Union Committee, and a Baby Show Committee.⁹⁰ The senior officers of each army were usually wealthy men already prominent in patriotic affairs. Percy McHardy, whose generosity has already been mentioned, was Commander in Chief of the Fitzherbert Light Horse,⁹¹ the ex-mayor Maurice Cohen was General of

85. AWN, Nov.11, 1915, p.10.

86. AWN, Dec.11, 1915, p.47.

87. MDT, Mar.28, 1918, p.5.

88. MDT, Feb.20, 1918, p.1.

89. MDT, Mar.1, 1918, p.5.

90. MDT, Feb. 21, 1918, p.5.

91. MDT, Feb. 20, 1918, p.1.

the Northern Fusiliers, while Alfred Seifert, whose family owned the largest flax mill in the Manawatu, was a Colonel in the Eastern Guards.⁹²

Battle commenced with a grand parade of floats around the Square, the feature of which was a 'tank'⁹³ constructed by the Eastern Fusiliers. The campaign was opened by the Mayor, who proclaimed 'martial law'.⁹⁴ The size and degree of organisation of the campaign is indicated by the large number of events planned. The Manawatu Daily Times usually contained at least three front page columns of entertainments held in association with the campaign; on 5 March these included a gymkhana, a children's fancy dress party, a euchre party and dance, a casino and masked ball, a swimming tournament, a tug of war, and a motorcycle race at the Awapuni racecourse between Coleman, the Australasian champion, and a number of challengers.⁹⁵ During the last week of the campaign the armies manned stalls at a Paddy's Market (a fair similar to a school gala day) and sold votes for their princesses, the successful princess playing the part of Britannia at the peace ceremony which marked the end of the enterprise.⁹⁶ An art union was drawn, the prizes, which included a £600 car and a race horse,⁹⁷ being donated, as with the majority of patriotic art unions and raffles.

The Final Battle was marked by considerable 'military' ardour. Perhaps the form of the campaign gave those participating an even greater sense of being a part of the war effort, and as we have seen, this was an important function of all patriotic ventures. Before and during the Final Battle, the local papers were filled with military notices:

Business: To organise a plan of campaign against the hostile armies now threatening our gates on

92. MDT, Mar. 4, 1918, p.4.

93. Dummy tanks, usually mounted on cars or motor-cycle combinations, were a feature of many patriotic events. See AWN, May 2, 1918, p.42,; Sept.12, 1918, p.37.

94. MDT, Feb. 28, 1918, p.5.

95. MDT, Mar. 5, 1918, p.1.

96. MDT, Mar.13, 1918, p.5.

97. MDT, Feb.20, 1918, p.1.

the North, South and East.

Dress order: One of everything, but particularly one pair of trousers, pockets well lined with ammunition, and one hat filled with the desire to win or die.

All leave stopped.

For the Officer Commanding,

.CHAS.H.WARDEN⁹⁸

Battle plans were described with considerable attention to detail:

A GREAT ATTACK on the enemy TODAY at dawn. Many casualties on the side of the enemy. Terrific shelling at short range at 8.30 by Badge Brigade and Art Union Sharpshooters, lasting till midnight. The slain will be enormous. Our Generals are confident of victory.⁹⁹

However behind this apparently tongue in cheek attitude to the campaign lay much stronger sentiments. By 1918 the war was entering its fourth year, and the belief that every man must pull his weight had rapidly replaced the early confidence, having led directly to the Military Service Act introducing conscription in 1916. The moral pressure which had been applied to 'shirkers' was similarly applied to civilians, perhaps with even greater success, because everyone knew that only the fighting man was making the greatest sacrifice. Before the Final Battle got underway, the Manawatu Daily Times contained several hard-hitting 'recruiting' notices:

WHAT ARE YOU
DOING?
ARE YOU FIGHTING?
IF NOT, WHY NOT?
IF YOU CANNOT FIGHT YOU
CAN PAY.

If you can pay, will you, and help
NOT US, but the man who is doing
YOUR fighting?

THINK IT OVER! 100

The war had simplified basic issues, creating demoniac enemies and noble allies, shirkers and heroes, even reaching non-combatants and forcing them to occupy one of two positions. A Times

98. MDT, Feb.16,1918, p.1.

99. MDT, Feb.23,1918, p.1.

100.MDT, Feb.16,1918, p.1.

editorial states the case clearly:

Every man who refuses to help in the forthcoming "Final Battle" struggle to raise money for the patriotic funds in this district has got to find either a reason or an excuse.... Each community has its solemn obligation to its fighting representatives.... To be plain the men who make... any... excuses for failure to do their whack according to the full measure of their capacity are quitters and shirkers. To the extent that they are not backing up their friends and champions they are showing an active interest in the enemy. "Who is not for me is against me" is a greater truism in the present emergency than at any other period in the world's history. ¹⁰¹

As with almost all aspects of the war effort, any criticism of fund raising was unacceptable, even if fault was only found with the ways in which money was raised. "Everybody knows the man who sees faults in every effort", an advertisement for the 'Final Battle' noted, "You know and we know that it is he who is wrong. DON'T JOIN WITH HIM." ¹⁰²

In spite of this dire warning, criticism of certain aspects of fund raising was common throughout New Zealand. More often than not it came from churchmen and 'wowers' - people already opposed to the gambling spirit inherent in raffles and art unions. In 1915 a large number of Protestant ministers became involved in a debate in the Wanganui Herald over the art unions held in association with the 'Battle of the Bullion', a sham battle similar to Palmerston's 'Final Battle' described above. In particular they criticised the Gaming Amendment Act which had been passed earlier the same year to facilitate the raffling of donated goods by patriotic organisations. ¹⁰³ "These art unions are immoral", claimed a typical letter signed by twelve ministers, "They are the most seductive form of one of the greatest evils in the Dominion today. Special and shameful legislation was necessary... to permit them.... God's law remains unaltered, notwithstanding the petty trucking of our law makers". ¹⁰⁴ During the 'Final Battle', the Anglican vicar

101. MDT, Feb.12, 1918, p.4.

102. MDT, Feb.18, 1918, p.2.

103. NZPD, Vol. 174, pp. 377-387, 390-398.

104. WH, Oct.29, 1915, p.8.

of All Saints, the Rev. H.G. Blackburne, put forward a more moderate version of the same view: "A lottery is not teaching [children] the true principles of patriotism or giving.... To put before them art union tickets is to inculcate in them the desire to get something for themselves out of the war, instead of themselves giving something for the sake of others".¹⁰⁵

Those putting forward such arguments usually suggested a graduated war tax to take the gambling and pleasure out of fund raising, thus avoiding being branded as unpatriotic. Some even suggested that using entertainments to raise money was in itself unpatriotic. After all, frivolity of all kinds was frowned upon, since it was deemed out of place when issues of such moral importance were being decided in Europe and New Zealand's own men were in the thick of the fighting. In Britain such sentiments led to the banning of football, while in New Zealand racing was constantly criticised. Mr. C.J. Talbot, M.P. told the House of his disgust at seeing Wellingtonians heading for the races in droves while on the same day a fresh batch of soldiers was embarking for the front:

I went down to the wharf and saw some of our men going away; and it did seem somewhat incongruous that the motor cars should be running with people on pleasure bent while our men were leaving for the front. It was quite touching to see the tears of their mothers, sisters, wives and sweethearts. And to think that only a few miles away on the same day there was a saturnalia going on....¹⁰⁶

Similar sentiments moved even the Marton Cricket Club to cease playing "until the war assumes a more hopeful aspect".¹⁰⁷

The basis of these feelings was the concept of sacrifice, which formed such an important part of patriotic sensibilities. Conscription was justified on the grounds that it provided equality of sacrifice, mothers 'gave' their sons, while those at home sacrificed time and money to help patriotic causes. Pleasure seeking in all its forms was the antithesis of sacrifice. And yet it was pleasure seeking of an extravagant kind which formed

105. MDT, Mar.12,1918, p.2.

106. NZPD, Vol.178, p.633.

107. AWN, Oct.28,1915, p.56.

the basis of much fund raising. A queen carnival or similar enterprise crammed all kinds of entertainment - albeit for patriotic purposes - into a relatively short time, art unions, stage shows, balls, and grand parades playing a prominent part. In view of this it is understandable that some preferred the simplicity and impartiality of a war tax. While at a carnival in Pongaroa Mr. G.R. Sykes M.P. was reported as saying "While we are holding carnival joys here, death was perhaps holding high carnival elsewhere.... We gambled in cash, while our boys gambled with their lives at the front".¹⁰⁸ When the Anglican Synod met in 1916, it denounced carnivals as "a great game" which detracted from the issues at stake, while in 1915 Mr. E.H. Crabb urged the Manawatu Patriotic Society not to hold a queen carnival for similar reasons. A flag auction was held instead.¹⁰⁹ Other patriots argued that giving money to funds "in that indirect manner for our own pleasure"¹¹⁰ could not be considered true sacrifice. During the debate on the Gaming Amendment Bill Mr. J.T.M. Hornsby, who was by no means a 'wowsler', stated that such self interest was a slight on the nation's patriotism.¹¹¹ In the Legislative Council the Hon. Mr. Carson expressed the same view: "When you find people with greedy eyes looking at a motor car and hoping to win it by the payment of 2s.6d., and when you find people in the moonlight going round to look at a cottage that is put up in a raffle I say the effect is all bad.... Patriotism indeed!"¹¹²

In spite of this opposition, even the claim that carnivals promoted an inferior form of patriotism, these extravaganzas continued to be popular. The reason is clear; however efficient and fair a war tax might be, it could not make up for the satisfaction many derived by serving on committees, manning stalls, and the like. As we have already noted, the magnitude of the war and the powerful antagonisms it aroused had a considerable integrating effect on New Zealand society, and indeed, on

108. MDT, Mar.1,1916, p.4.

109. MDT, Nov.27,1915, p.5.

110. NZF, June 1916, p.916.

111. NZPD, Vol.174, p.380. See also pp.385-6 Malcolm.

112. Ibid., p.390.

most of the other nations involved in the struggle.¹¹³ Most felt the need to render some sort of service; for young men opportunities were easier, and until the end of 1915 they offered themselves for recruitment in greater numbers than were required.¹¹⁴ For the rest of the population it was different. In the novel Mr. Britling Sees it Through H.G. Wells describes the frustration which must have been common to New Zealand as well as British civilians: "People talked unrestrictedly; everyone seemed to be talking; they waved flags and displayed much vague willingness to do something. Any opportunity of service was taken very eagerly".¹¹⁵ Mr. Britling crystallizes these feelings in his oft repeated phrase "this is our war".¹¹⁶

Fund raising and war work provided an outlet for these needs, needs which remained at a high level as long as the deadlock in Europe remained, New Zealand's reinforcements continued to leave every month, and the papers were filled with war news and casualty lists. New or significant developments in the war often resulted in an immediate public response in the form of a fund or appeal, as if civilians, too, wanted to keep up with the action. The naval battle off Jutland resulted in a host of funds being set up all over the country to help the dependents of sailors who had perished. Even small centres, such as Mangaweka and Waverly, had a Jutland Relief Fund.¹¹⁷ New weapons aroused much interest, and on some occasions led to the purchasing of token aeroplanes and tanks with special funds. A Wanganui man donated £1,500 to buy an aeroplane which was to be called "The Wanganui, New Zealand" and manned, if possible by a New Zealand aviator.¹¹⁸ In Timaru a Mr. Edgar Jones donated a similar sum to buy an aeroplane, and started a fund with £750 to buy another.¹¹⁹ The use of tanks on the Somme in 1916 captured the public imagination, particularly as the drawbacks of the early models were rarely mentioned, and in March 1917 the Auckland branch of the Victoria League considered setting

113. Trotter, p.142.

114. Graham, p.75.

115. Wells, H.G., Mr. Britling Sees it Through, Cassell and Co., London, 1917, p.209.

116. Ibid., p.237.

117. AWN, July 6, 1916, p.52.

118. AWN, Feb.14, 1918, p.20.

119. MDT, April 30, 1918, p.4.

up a tank fund.¹²⁰ Obviously the provision of tangible items of war material held a considerable appeal.

However, as we have seen, it was the Dominion's own men who provided the basis for the most elaborate fund raising ventures, since it was they who embodied New Zealand's commitment to stamping out Prussian militarism, and by 'fighting at home with their money', to use the Manawatu Daily Times rhetoric, civilians were helping their men and hence the war effort. The degree to which this belief was accepted can be measured by the attitude taken towards those who were thought backward in their support of patriotic funds. As early as August 1914 a letter in the New Zealand Herald suggested the selling of patriotic badges throughout New Zealand. Needless to say, as well as raising money, this would enable those holding back to be counted. "I think it would be safe to say", the writer concluded, "that no adult would be seen out of doors without his badge".¹²¹ During Wanganui's 'Battle of the Bullion' and Palmerston's 'Final Battle' badges representing the colours of each army were sold,¹²² the Manawatu Daily Times maintaining that everyone should wear a badge. It was also suggested that the mock court martials which were held during the 'Final Battle' be used in earnest against "men blessed with fair incomes and who 'cannot see their way to help' in the present campaign".¹²³ With the same end of exposing 'financial shirkers' the Times also suggested that each army publish a pamphlet containing the names of all contributors "in order that there may be a permanent record of those who for any reason have failed to make good".¹²⁴ This moral pressure on the public is also reflected by the responses to Uncle Ned's question in the Farmer "If you had a £5 note, what would you do with it?"¹²⁵ Almost all gave no less than 50% of the £5 to a war fund, one child dutifully writing "I should like to buy a bicycle... but as this is wartime the best thing to do would be to give it to the soldiers".¹²⁶ Only one small boy succumbed

120. AWN, Mar. 8, 1917, p.18.

121. NZH, Aug.19,1914,p.11.

122. WH, Nov.11, 1915,p.6; MDT, Feb.20,1918,p.5.

123. MDT, Mar.1, 1918,p.5.

124. MDT, Mar.28,1918, p.4.

125. See NZF, Children's Post Office, Sept. - Dec. 1917.

126. NZF, Oct.1917,p.1209.

to temptation, and said that he would buy his sister's hack. Scandalised, Uncle Ned replied "What about the soldiers in the trenches and the homeless Belgians as well as the War Loan which so many cousins desire to help? Do not these make any appeal to you?"¹²⁷

The first response to a declaration of war, wrote Trotter in 1915, "is a thrill of alarm which passes through the herd from one member to another with magic rapidity. It puts him on the alert, sets him looking for guidance, prepares him to receive commands, but above all draws him... in the first instinctive concentration against the enemy".¹²⁸ For those who could not fight, patriotic work partially satisfied this need for solidarity, and although it is often difficult for the historian to discover the extent to which ordinary people were involved, the scale of many efforts leaves little doubt that it must have been considerable. Wanganui's 'Battle of the Bullion', for instance, raised the equivalent of £2.12.0. per head of population in the Wanganui district.¹²⁹ Unfortunately fund raising and associated war work does not seem to have been sufficient to absorb the fear and antagonism aroused by the war. It is to this aspect of war fever to which we must now turn.

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127. Ibid., p.1209.
 128. Trotter, p.147.
 129. WH, Dec.10, 1915, p.4.

CHAPTER FOUR

BABY KILLERS

Germany is not civilised yet, for she would not torture little children as she has done if she were. Why, they have acted worse than barbarians.

(N.Z. Farmer (Children's Post Office).
Jan.1915, p.iv.)

"Human beings", observed Stanislaw Andreski, "being social animals, always align themselves into factions when they fight, and the feeling of solidarity varies inversely with the feeling of hostility towards outsiders".¹ We have already traced the feeling of solidarity noted by Andreski, particularly the strong sense of kinship with the Allies, and the desire to do everything possible for the Dominion's own troops. From the strength of these sentiments and the way in which they dominated the popular mind, it follows that feelings of antagonism towards the Central Powers, particularly Germany, must have been equally strong. This chapter will follow the development of anti-Germanism, its justification and basis of appeal, while the following chapter will observe the ways in which this new hatred was vented on New Zealanders of German or foreign descent.

As we saw in the first chapter, Germany had come to be viewed as a major military threat before August 1914. However, these fears, profound though they were, were not usually accompanied by a violent hatred of the German people themselves. Public interest tended to concentrate on naval strength rather than on any innate capacity for evil Germans may or may not have had. In all probability many still saw them as a kindred race, in spite of the threat they posed. When it seemed as though confrontation between Austria and Russia was inevitable the New Zealand Herald attacked Serbia for disturbing the peace (later, Serbia became one of the 'small nations' whom Britian

1. Andreski, Stanislaw., Military Organisation and Society, RKP, London, 1968, p.7.

was defending) and stressed the ethnic ties between Britain and Germany:

Even in the heat of international rivalries and jealousies, we need not forget that Germans and British are only antagonistic because they desire the same thing and because our German cousins seek to oust us from the position in the world we inherit from our Fathers. Otherwise the Anglo-Teutonic peoples are almost identical in ideals and aspirations.... We have much more in common with the Germans and with the German-Austrians than we have with the Russians....²

A month later, with war between Britain and Germany almost inevitable, the Herald was still playing the same tune. Germany's naval building had been provocative and unwise, a leader writer noted, but "In religion, in national aspirations, in social tendencies and in ethical conceptions, British and German are one and the same".³ By the end of the same month, the Herald, in common with practically all New Zealand newspapers, had taken a somewhat revised viewpoint more in keeping with the already extensive number of atrocity stories received from British propaganda sources:

During the past month it has been abundantly proved that Germany has no honour and no code.... To set mines adrift at sea... was natural to this perverted German mind... no matter how many neutrals suffered he was content if he could injure his enemy. To drop bombs on an invested city, to fire on the Red Cross, to use the Red Cross as cover, were but further steps in the swift descent,⁴ of the German army to the pit of dishonour.

The speed with which Germany and all things German became anathema to most New Zealanders had a number of causes. The first, and most obvious, was the psychological pressures of war which simplified the public response to issues such as loyalty and disloyalty, and allies and enemies. Despite New Zealand's distance from the battle zone, a number of factors served to maintain a strong sense of involvement in the war, and hence

2. NZH, June 30, 1914, p.6.

3. NZH, Aug.1, 1914, p.6.

4. NZH, Aug.31, 1914, p.4.

a bitter hatred of the enemy. One of the most important of these was, as we have seen, the participation of the Dominion's own men in the fighting in sufficient numbers to bring home the severity of the war to most civilians. The British connection also helped maintain a high level of interest in the war. Whether out of self interest or altruism, New Zealand had always been the most devoted of Britain's self-governing colonies, and identification with the British cause came naturally. Had New Zealand sent no troops to the war, hatred of imperial enemies would still have been high. Membership of the British Empire had another side, rarely mentioned, but always at the back of people's minds. Were Britain to be beaten, the Kaiser, whom all believed aimed at world domination, would ultimately invade and annex Britain's colonies. New Zealand, being one of the choicest, would be high on the list. A territorial threat, or even the fear of one, is one of the most powerful forces which can induce social solidarity and its attendant hatreds.⁵ During pre-war scares, much had been said of New Zealand's vulnerability to a German naval attack should Britain or her navy be defeated;⁶ in war time the possibility of such a defeat was rarely entertained, but the fears remained. More often than not they were held up as a threat of what might happen if New Zealand did not pull its weight in the war effort. At a recruiting meeting in Palmerston North Robert McNab M.P. painted a gloomy picture of what the outcome would be if Germany dictated the peace terms:

A victorious Germany could not turn its attention to a European country, not to Canada, because of the Munroe Doctrine, nor to South Africa because the Germans could never hold it. The country that would be demanded by the Germans would be New Zealand.⁷

'Tohunga' held similar views:

Had Britain not stepped into the ring on behalf of outraged Belgium... she herself would have been attacked in turn with New Zealand, South Africa, and other territories as the prize of a German victory.... Our freedom is being fought for on the Yser, in the Argonne, and amid the icy waters of the Vistula.⁸

5. See Ardrey, Territorial... pp. 308-313.

6. See Chap. I.

7. MDT, Nov.29, 1915, p.4.

8. AWN, Jan.7, 1915, p.14. See also NZPD, Vol.172, p.58, Parr.

New Zealand's fate was inextricably linked with that of Britain and her allies, hence the hysteria and hatred which marked British society during the war was closely reproduced in her most isolated Dominion. This state of affairs was greatly stimulated by the fact that New Zealand's war news came almost exclusively from Britain, and all the tales of German atrocities devised or embellished by Britain's propaganda agencies reached the antipodes via the telegraph, thence to appear in the nation's newspapers.

The importance of propaganda in increasing and maintaining anti-German feeling should not be underestimated. Although the simple fact of being at war with Germany ensured that Germans would drop rapidly in New Zealander's estimation it could not create the intense hatred of all things German which became a feature of the public response to the war. This grew from the belief that Germans were a race of barbarians, a belief fostered by propaganda. In a war of the length and magnitude of the Great War, such propaganda became of paramount importance in combatting war-weariness. The length and demands of the war made some flagging of civilian morale inevitable, particularly as newspaper reports invariably spoke of Germany's losing battle against superior Allied numbers while the military situation remained unchanged. Evidence of war-weariness is seen in the hope expressed by some that America's entry into the war would obviate the need to send further New Zealand troops to France,⁹ while in Britain Lord Lansdowne's famous letter to the Daily Telegraph in November 1917 suggesting a negotiated peace with Germany indicates that disillusionment had even reached high places. As Lord Ponsonby explained in his book Falsehood in Wartime (1928), which exposed some of the better known atrocity stories, the propagandist's job was to maintain public morale by stimulating an even greater hatred of the enemy.

The psychological factor in war is as important as the military factor.... People must never be allowed to become despondent; so victories must be exaggerated and defeats, if not concealed, at any rate minimised, and

9. NZPD, Vol.178, p.238, Newman. See also p.254, Allen.

the stimulation of indignation, horror, and hatred must be assiduously and continuously pumped into the public mind.... Facts must be distorted, relevant circumstances concealed, and a picture presented which by its crude colouring will persuade the ignorant people that... the indisputable wickedness of the enemy has been proved beyond question.¹⁰

In a perceptive observation of the mechanisms and purpose of propaganda, J.F.C. Fuller observed that one of its prime aims was "to stimulate the mass mind on the home front" and "by awakening the tribal instincts latent in man, and, in order to focus these instincts, to transform the enemy into a devil".¹¹ In other words propaganda plays on the loyalties and antagonisms which are aroused by war; the Great War, with its wealth of existing hysteria fostered, perhaps, by the relative novelty of a major conflict, provided the propagandists with a fertile field.

Some of the most prominent atrocity stories appeared early in the war, and were associated with the German occupation of Belgium. Although it had been Britain's commitment to France rather than Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality which had brought Britain into the war, protecting little Belgium from the Hun had a far greater public appeal.¹² Hence British propagandists paid particular attention to Belgian atrocities, since as well as arousing anti-German sentiments they emphasised the righteousness of the Empire's cause. The most horrifying of these tales were those which involved the mutilation of Belgian civilians by German soldiers, the most common version being the cutting off of children's hands.¹³ Few stopped to consider that such children could not have survived more than a few minutes without having the severed arteries tied, and accepted the newspaper reports of maimed children reaching England as refugees.¹⁴ Such stories left few doubts as to whether or not Germany was a nation of savages, and made it much easier for other atrocity

10. Ponsonby, Arthur, Falsehood in Wartime. Dutton and Co., New York, 1928, pp.14-15. See also Terraine, p.177.

11. Quoted, Terraine, pp. 178-9.

12. Ponsonby, pp.50-2.

13. e.g. AWN Jan 14, 1915, p.26; NZF, Mar. 1915, p.ix. One of 'Uncle Ned's' juvenile correspondents was obviously impressed with the evidence, writing in December 1914 "Are not the Germans doing dreadful things, cutting the hands off the poor Belgian children". (NZF, Dec. 1914, p. viii).

14. Ponsonby pp.78-82.



"Germans clubbing a dummy Belgian soldier." Suitably captioned photographs, sometimes faked, were useful propaganda weapons.

(AWN)

stories (such as the burning of Belgian civilians and burying people alive), to gain acceptance. In Britain a commission under Lord Bryce was set up to investigate Belgian atrocities. Often evidence taken from single witnesses was accepted as proof,¹⁵ and the tales of children being nailed to barn doors, women having their breasts cut off, and the mass raping of women tied to tables, gained official acceptance. The findings of the Bryce Commission were published in New Zealand newspapers in May 1915.¹⁶

Another common means of casting Germany in the role of a barbarian was to present innovations in warfare introduced by the Germans as inhuman and contrary to the 'rules' of war. The naval bombardment of Yorkshire coastal towns was seen as "beastly",¹⁷ while aerial bombing aroused considerable rhetoric on the part of newspaper leader writers, despite the fact that the allies employed similar tactics. In this way what was a wartime commonplace could be turned into a typically 'German' deed. The headline "Germans Maim Children" which appeared in the Auckland Weekly News referred simply the aerial bombing of certain French towns.¹⁸ Poison gas, which had been devised by the French before the war and which was later perfected by Britain,¹⁹ aroused a storm of righteous indignation when it was first used by the Germans in 1915.²⁰ Submarine warfare, Germany's answer to Britain's naval blockade, was also presented as an underhand means of waging war, and the sinking of the Lusitania in May 1915 elevated it to the level of a major atrocity.

Germany's justifications for sinking the Lusitania need not concern us here, simply the effect of the news on New Zealand civilians. The press presented the deed as the worst atrocity to date: "It was murder, murder so foul and monstrous that words fail to deal with it, murder that will never be forgiven

15. Ibid., p.128.

16. e.g. MDT, May 14, 1915, p.5.

17. AWN, Dec.31, 1914, p.52.

18. AWN, June 29, 1916, p.26.

19. Ponsonby, pp. 146-7.

20. e.g. AWN, May 13, 1915, p.27.

as long as German 'kultur' remains to menace mankind".²¹ For many the sinking was the last straw, and led to violent outbursts of anti-German activity such as the attacking of German tradesmen's shops and the passing of resolutions demanding the internment of all enemy aliens (i.e. people of German and Austrian descent.)²²

One final atrocity deserves our consideration, mainly because despite its outrageousness, it was widely accepted as what one would expect of Germans. In April 1917 tales began appearing in the press of a German corpse factory where dead soldiers were boiled down to produce oils and pig meal. There can be little doubt that the story was created by Britain's Department of Information, whose propagandists had even planned to plant forged diaries on German soldiers for war correspondents to find.²³ As with other such stories, the corpse factory became embellished with sufficient details to render it completely believable. A report in the Auckland Weekly News headed "The Kaiser's Ghouls" stated that there were a number of corpse processing factories behind German lines and that the bodies were bound in bundles like faggots and transported by rail. "Only Germans could do these things", concluded the report.²⁴ Such evidence obviously impressed 'German Hater' who wrote to the Manawatu Daily Times drily suggesting other possibilities: "Who knows but that potted Hun may be sent out after the war and sold.... It would not surprise me to hear that the Huns were busy skinning their old people to make leather".²⁵

The importance of propaganda in creating the widespread acceptance of German bestiality is seen when Turkey, an enemy, nation not deemed worthy of the propagandists' attention, is considered. Turkey was usually portrayed by the press as a German dupe rather than a nation capable of calculated evil. This

21. Ibid., p.51.

22. See Chap.V.

23. Ponsonby, pp. 102-113.

24. AWN, June 28, 1917, p.57.

25. MDT, April 12, 1917, p.6.

image was supplemented by the tales of Gallipoli veterans who told a chivalrous enemy who had won the New Zealanders' respect.²⁶ Alexander Aitken, a New Zealand infantryman at Gallipoli, wrote that these sentiments stemmed from the fact that most of the men had no preconceived notions about the Turks created by atrocity reports.²⁷ Nor did the press object to taking a moderate view towards an enemy on whom so little damning 'evidence' was available. Frank Morton wrote in the Auckland Weekly News that "Talk about the 'Unspeakable Turk' was never anything more than unspeakable slander. I have no anxiety whatsoever about one or two friends of mine who are prisoners in Turkey. If I had to be a prisoner, I'd sooner be a prisoner in Turkey than anywhere."²⁸ Later he excused the Armenian massacres on the grounds that Turkey did not claim to be a civilised christian nation as did Germany.²⁹ 'Uncle Ned' was of a similar opinion.³⁰ Had the propagandists so wished, they could have had a field day with the Turks - Turkish prisoner of war camps were no pleasanter than German ones, and the Armenian massacres could have been used in the same way as the alleged German murder of Belgian civilians. However whereas Turkey's activities caused little comment, Germany's were the source of constant vilification.

Widespread anti-German feeling resulting from the tensions of war and the proliferation of atrocity stories was not long in emerging. Initially it was less common for leader writers to attack the German people than for them to indulge in tirades against their nation and rulers, particularly the Kaiser. Ponsonby explains the latter: "Having declared the enemy the sole culprit

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26. An article in the Auckland Weekly News, ostensibly written by a New Zealand soldier who was wounded and carried back to his own lines by a Turk captures the spirit well: "When Johnny Turk reaches the trench parapet and quietly hands me down to my mates, then along the whole line of Anzac trenches within sight bursts out real Anzac cheers, cheers from the heart for a man who is a hero, though our enemy". (AWN, May 11, 1916, p.15.)
27. Aitken, Alexander. Gallipoli to the Somme; Recollections of a New Zealand Infantryman. OUP, 1963, p.34.
28. AWN, Sept.30, 1915, p.15.
29. AWN, Mar.22, 1917, p.15.
30. NZF, July, 1915, p.vii.

and originator of the war, the next step is to personify the enemy.... The sovereign is the obvious person to choose.... The Kaiser turned out to be the most promising target for concentrated abuse".³¹ Wilhelm II was indeed a promising target, since as well as seeming the very embodiment of 'Prussian militarism', the evil the Allies were fighting to crush, he was easily made into a figure of fun, with his ornate helmet and upturned moustache. On 5 November, 1914, children all over New Zealand burnt effigies of the Kaiser instead of the usual Guy Fawkes. A Fordell child writing to 'Uncle Ned' in the Farmer described a typical Guy Fawkes evening: "We celebrated the 5th of November yesterday by burning the Kaiser. The bonfire was not very big, but it made a splendid blaze, and the Kaiser looked very funny. He had pine-needle pins for his moustache and a German helmet on".³² In 1915, a Wellington toy shop offered an inflatable 'Dying Kaiser' which, "When blown up look full of importance. They die down and look dejected and comical".³³

However, such humour usually masked stronger feelings. It was widely believed that the Kaiser had directly caused the war because of his ambitions of world dominion,³⁴ and hence was responsible for all the atrocities. The sinking of the Lusitania was seen as "directly and unmistakably" the work of Wilhelm and his councillors,³⁵ as were the Belgian atrocities, and one man was sufficiently moved to try to prove that the Kaiser was the beast mentioned in Revelations xiii 18.³⁶ The strength of these sentiments is reflected in the widespread demand for the Kaiser's execution in the latter half of 1918.³⁷ The hope that the Kaiser would suffer for his misdeeds was given symbolic utterance by the burning of effigies all over the country during local peace celebrations in November.³⁸ These burnings were different

31. Ponsonby, p.70.

32. NZF, Dec.1914, p.vii. See also p.viii.

33. Dominion, Sept. 1, 1915, p.1.

34. e.g. MDT, Sept. 3, 1914, p.4. See Ponsonby, pp. 72-3.

35. AWN, May 13, 1915, p.51.

36. AWN, Feb.17, 1916, p.14.

37. e.g. AWN, Oct. 31, 1918, p.16.

38. NZF, Mar.1919, p.376.



"The Modern Pirate." A cartoonist's response to the sinking of the Lusitania, May 1915.

(AWN)

in spirit from the Guy Fawkes revelry of 1914, having the air of ritual executions rather than crude attempts to humiliate the enemy. Palmerston North's victory parade, which was held a few days after the signing of the Armistice, contained a float on which a suitably dressed effigy hung from a gallows. Later the same effigy was burned on a large bonfire, the public being admitted at 6d a head.³⁹ In Orawia a group of children made an effigy out of sacks containing a charge of powder, hoisted it to the top of a pole, and blew it up.⁴⁰

Although the Kaiser remained the bête noir of the patriots, anti-German feeling whipped up by the continuing stream of propaganda, sought wider channels. The Kaiser might be mad, but it was ordinary German soldiers who were burning Belgians alive and cutting off children's hands. Could there not be some innate evil in the German people themselves? It was not long before many thought that there was. Frank Morton, who as late as January 1915, was urging moderation on his readers by reminding them that the Germans were our "first cousins"⁴¹ came to the conclusion in 1918 that

.... in the crimes of Germany the whole German people has connived.... The German people connived at the violation of Belgium. The German people have connived at every evil thing the German war-lords have countenanced and condoned.... People will tell you still - a few people here and there that the atrocities and shames of the war do not represent the will and attitude of average German people. It is rubbish, that. The hideous outrages in Belgium and elsewhere were committed by average German people of all grades, by clerks and labourers, by aristocrats and tinkers, by drapers, butchers, plasterers, cobblers, sweeps, divinity-students, rogues of the various peace-time sorts, and plain loafers. The man who sang a sentimental lay to his Gretchen in July 1914 was the same man who shamed and drove mad some innocent Belgian girl in August.⁴²

'Tohunga', who before the war had portrayed Germany as closest to Britain in her ideals and aspirations, was speedily converted

39. MDT, Nov.13, 1918, p.5.

40. NZF, Jan.1919, p.112.

41. AWN, Jan.14, 1915, p.14.

42. AWN, June 6, 1918, p.14.

to the notion that the Germans were an evil race. His favourite theme was that the Kaiser, culpable though he was, simply mirrored the wishes of his people:

The Kaiser is no more responsible for the war than the casual captain of an organised band of pirates is responsible for their piracy.... The Kaiser! Why the Kaiser is only a wretched meglomaniac.... Every typical German has the same mania, is rotted by the same madness. Whether this typical German lives in Auckland or in Berlin, in the palace or in the slum, he is one and the same....⁴³

The constant stream of atrocity stories had, to borrow Fuller's phrase, converted every German into a devil. There were few who did not accept the Manawatu Daily Time's conclusion that "the Germans as a people have collectively gone mad".⁴⁴

The strength of these beliefs led to the wholehearted rejection of all things German. German products in New Zealand shops were a particularly emotional issue. The police, M.P.'s, and Government departments were constantly plagued with complaints that so and so was selling German goods in his shop.⁴⁵ Mr. T.M. Wilford, M.P. for Hutt, told the House that a returned soldier had unwittingly bought a pair of German made gloves in Wellington, and said he thought it "was getting beyond the limit when a returned soldier who had been fighting the Hun was given a pair of Hun-made gloves when he wanted to go to a dance".⁴⁶ In all probability the few German goods still in the Dominion's shops in the latter half of the war represented stock bought before the war, as the Manawatu Daily Times pointed out:

Naturally there is a large hold over of German stocks, and, as materials grow scarcer, they are being taken off the back shelves and handed to necessitous customers. The politicians know this, but they like to make a fuss about it because making a fuss about German goods appeals to the unthinking, who are the great majority.⁴⁷

43. AWN, Aug.12, 1915, p.14.

44. MDT, July 14, 1916, p.4.

45. e.g. P.68. Police report on German slate pencils, 16.10.18. also NZPD, Vol. 180, pp. 312-13, Herdman.

46. NZPD, Vol. 180, p.430.

47. MDT, Sept.29,1918, p.4. See also Christchurch Sun May 17,1915, p.6.

It is unlikely that the Times' moderation represented public opinion, since although refusing to buy German goods already in New Zealand harmed local tradesmen and not Germany, it was the notion of buying products made by the ravagers of Belgium which dominated the popular mind. This is well illustrated by a remarkable pamphlet put out by the Anti-German Trade League in 1916. Called War Pictures and their Obvious Lesson, it contained, along with articles written by prominent New Zealand businessmen, a number of photographs of German troops executing civilians and committing other atrocities,⁴⁸ each bearing a label with the words "Made in Germany".⁴⁹ The League was apparently formed to prevent any trade with Germany after the war, thus keeping her in a permanent state of weakness and patriotic hands undefiled. The following tirade was printed beneath a grotesque cartoon of Germany (see opposite).

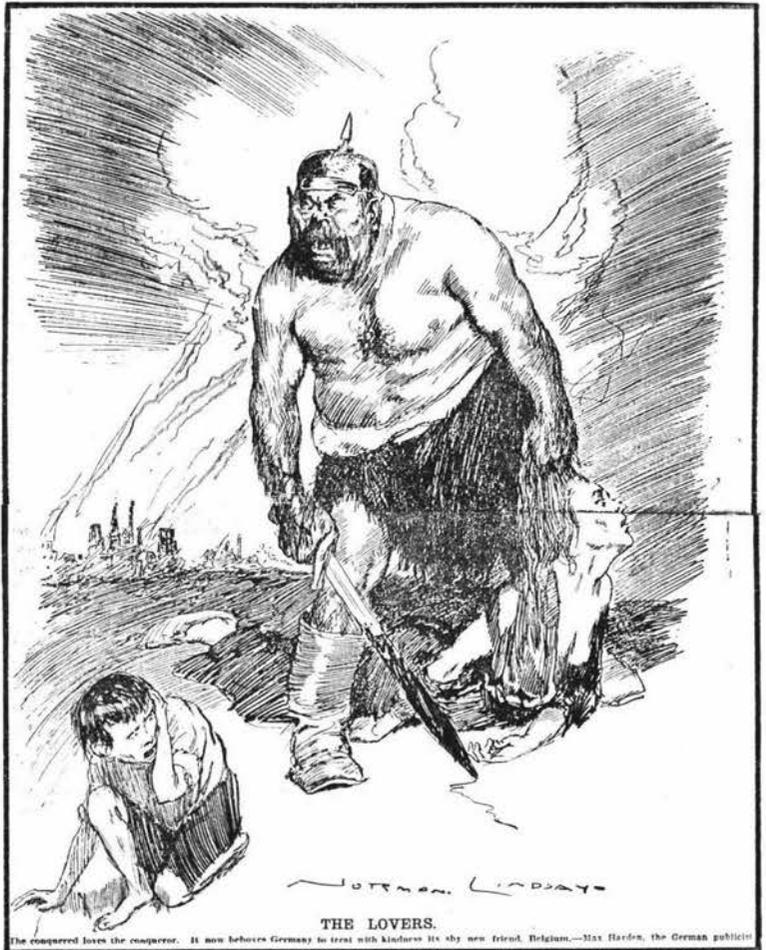
Look at this true-to-life representation of the temporary triumph of a fiendish, blood-gluttled, bestial and perfidious foe. Look at those bulging, brawny sinews, so eloquent of brute force. They were produced largely by a diet of British gold. Did YOU buy from this monster? Did you? Then you helped (perhaps innocently enough) to redden that reeking blade. After the war - crushed, but still German at heart - this lawless brute will shave, wash, powder, and perfume himself out of all recognition. Once again he will present himself at the Dominion's commercial door - silk hat, frock coat, gloves and all. With a veneer of English politeness he will again solicit your patronage for his goods - cheap, cheaper, and cheapest yet! "Made in" - well, every place under the sun except Germany (if

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48. Whether these photographs were genuine is difficult to say. As Ponsonby noted (pp. 132-7) photographs have an illusion of verity, and hence were very useful to the propagandists. Sometimes photographs were created with the use of actors, but more often than not existing photographs were given captions which had nothing to do with their subject matter. A photograph of a German soldier bending over a wounded comrade, for instance, was given the caption "German Ghoul actually caught in the act of robbing a Russian". (Ponsonby, p.137.)
49. Anti-German Trade League, War Pictures and their Obvious Lesson, Smith and Anthony, Christchurch, 1916, p.5.

WHEN YOU SEE THE WORDS
MADE IN GERMANY



REMEMBER WHAT GERMANY
MADE IN THE YEAR 1914



WILL YOU TRAFFIC WITH THE MURDERER?

Cartoon from War Pictures and their Obvious Lesson. The representation of Germany is closely akin to the image which existed in the popular mind.

you will but believe it!). Stay! Can you commence this detestable outlawed trade again? Can you? Could you ever look an innocent woman or a prattling child in the face again if you helped to replace this cruel, lustful, untameable beast upon the commercial throne? No, never! Insist upon no purchase of yours encouraging any firm which would make an unpatriotic penny in such a loathsome way. See that picture? God knows, it's true! And yet no picture can represent to the full the wanton bloodshed, the lust, the ocean of suffering inflicted by this world-scurge - Germany! 50

The blight which struck all things German also removed virtually all German street and place names, 51 and even Auckland's Jermyn Street became Anzac Avenue because the original name had been pronounced 'German'. 52 Palmerston North's Liedertafel (choral society) became the Orpheus Society 53 and excerpts from Wagnerian opera were no longer sung. German music and literature rapidly became unpopular, 54 and the University of New Zealand Senate considered dropping German language from the syllabus in 1917 and substituting Russian. 55 Just as allied history had been reinterpreted to emphasise the virtues of the Empire's friends, Germany's was similarly treated to illustrate the continuity of her past misdeeds with the present atrocities. The commonest comparisons were with the races believed to be Germany's ancestors, the Goths and Huns of Europe, who, the Manawatu Daily Times assured its readers, broke treaties like their twentieth century successors. 56 Frank Morton, commenting on the raping and pillaging carried out by German mercenaries during the Thirty Years War, concluded that "Germans behaved

50. Ibid., p.44. This theme appears to have been a common one, and probably had its source in Germany's pre-war commercial rivalry with the Empire. Britain's Ministry of Information produced a propaganda film entitled "Once a Hun always a Hun" which depicted two German soldiers in Belgium intimidating a woman with a baby. Later the same men are shown selling pots and pans in England.

51. NZPD, Vol.179, p.741, Scott.

52. AWN, July 1917, p.23. Similarly German Bay in Akaroa became Takamatua Bay. (AWN, Jan.13,1916, p.20).

53. MDT, July 8, 1915, p.4.

54. AWN, Jan.14,1915, pp. 14-15.

55. AWN, Feb. 1, 1917, p.31.

56. MDT, Sept.29, 1915, p.4.

pretty much as Germans are behaving now".⁵⁷

The hatred reflected in these and other attempts to destroy all things German is also seen in the attitude to how Germany should be treated after the war. Few entertained the thought that they would ever see Germany in a different light,⁵⁸ and wanted to see the scourge of Europe crushed for good. The demand for reparations, which was as strong in New Zealand as elsewhere, stemmed more from a desire to make Germany pay for her moral wrong doing than to cover the cost of sunken shipping, ruined settlements, and the like.⁵⁹ In many cases an extreme vindictiveness manifested itself. John Payne, a Labour M.P. and devout German hater, said of reparations: "Our doctrine must be the old Mosaic doctrine of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, and two eyes and two teeth if we can get them".⁶⁰

Such feelings were simply the end result of four years of war against Germany and a constant stream of propaganda released to prevent morale from flagging. It must be remembered, however, that hatred of the enemy in war-time is natural, particularly among the civilian population, which has few outlets for this antagonism. The importance of propaganda lay more in playing on these sentiments and maintaining them over a long period. Nor should the length of the war be forgotten as a significant influence on anti-German feeling. 1914 had, been marked by considerable troop movement, and newspapers were full of reports of how the Germans were on the run and Russia was poised for a massive blow in the East.⁶¹ By the end of 1915 these hopes had been replaced by the belief that the war was just beginning,⁶² and this inevitably strengthened the public desire to lash out at anything associated with the enemy.

57. AWN, May 30, 1918, p.14.

58. e.g. NZPD, Vol. 174, p.713, Hunter.

59. See Fowlds, George, and others, Opinions on the War, Custom Press, Auckland, 1915, p.35, also AWN, Oct.31, 1918, p.16, MDT, Nov.9, 1918, p.4.

60. NZPD, Vol. 183, p.178.

61. e.g. See MDT, Nov - Dec. 1914, p.5.

62. e.g. MDT, Nov.12, 1915, p.4.

However, many New Zealanders did not simply vent their anger on German gloves and street names, but mounted a campaign on what they believed to be the enemy himself. The various attacks on enemy aliens, whether verbal or physical, were directly linked to the frustrations of those could play no direct part in the war to save Civilisation. Propaganda stories both aggravated these tensions and made it easier for people to justify relieving them by taking direct action against Germans in New Zealand. After all, were not all Germans tainted with the same evil? One correspondent, writing to the Manawatu Daily Times in April 1917 reveals the close connection which was made between the alleged barbarity of the Germans in France and Belgium and the need to impose penalties on enemy aliens in New Zealand:

We read this morning in a cable from French Headquarters in France of fresh atrocities and unpardonable crimes enacted by our enemies, the Huns. Apparently they... are now robbing the dead in their graves, stealing their tombstones, and desecrating their sacred bed with filth and refuse. Does not this demonish act fill one's heart with disgust and horror?... If our Government does not deem it their duty to intern every German in this country, confiscate their property and disfranchise them for ever, we as individuals should absolutely refuse to mingle with them, refrain from buying from their shops, and disallow them membership in our clubs and societies....⁶³

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE ENEMY WITHIN

Lady, to Palmerston butcher, ordering the evening meal and striving to be patriotic: "I want er - er - two pounds of er - er - sausage". Butcher, briskly: "Ah yes, madame, two pounds of the enemy!"

(Manawatu Daily Times, July 5, 1918, p.4.)

Commenting on the renewed demand in 1918 for the internment of all enemy aliens, the Manawatu Daily Times noted that

It may be that in times of national calamity, when nerves are on edge, when emotions are stirred to their depths, and when the progress of events creates sharper divisions, the generous sentiments of rationalism and tolerance suffer a partial eclipse.¹

We have already seen some of the reasons why this came about - the adverse portrayal of Germany by the press, the involvement of New Zealand's own men in the struggle and the inevitable casualty lists, and the length and uncertain outcome of the war. The extremes of emotion fostered by this situation are the principle causes of the persecution of enemy aliens.² Fear, and a desire for revenge, were the immediate motives behind this persecution. Vengefulness stemmed not only from a hatred of Germans fostered by war news and propaganda, but an inability to vent these feelings in a satisfactory way. Fear was generated by the belief that German influence was everywhere in the form of spies, wireless and signalling stations, and enemy agents in the Expeditionary Force. After, all, if Germany had planned the war as many believed, was it not reasonable to suggest that

1. MDT, June 7, 1918, p.4.

2. The term 'enemy alien' which was glibly used by contemporaries, generally refers to people of German and Austrian descent. Although they became New Zealand citizens in law if they were naturalised, naturalised Germans and Austrians were invariably referred to as 'naturalised enemy aliens', probably because of the growing belief that all Germans, regardless of status, were dangerous. I have also used the term, for ease of definition.

she had planted spies and communications networks in enemy countries before war was declared? Throughout the war patriots were on their guard against foreigners who acted suspiciously, and kept an eye open for peculiar looking aerials.

Reports of alleged German wireless stations seem to have been particularly prevalent in the early months of the war.³ An anonymous letter received by Sir James Allen in December 1914 claimed that there was a wireless station located on the top of an Auckland freezing works:

[The Auckland Meat Co.] commands a magnificent view of the city of Auckland and... I am informed, [it] is run by German capital with Germans at the head of affairs, whom, it is believed, have a wireless machine on top of the building which has some strange looking enclosures of wood etc.... I think it wise to investigate knowing that the earth is overrun with German spies who are trying to deceive and crush us, and so upset the peace and honor (sic) and freedom of the world.

A police investigation discovered that the German influence amounted to one German employee working at the factory and that the "strange looking enclosures" on the roof contained the condensers of the refrigeration plant.⁴ In Masterton a guest staying at a hotel kept by a German thought he heard the sound of a wireless in the attic. An enquiry revealed that all the attic contained was a somewhat antiquated hot water system, the bubbling and whistling of which had been taken for a wireless at work.⁵ Suspicious lights, particularly in the homes of known Germans, were frequently interpreted as signalling. In Karori, Wellington, there were a number of reports that one H. Joosten, was signalling with lamps, which the investigating Constable attributed to "nervous people imagining things". Later, in 1916, it was claimed that Joosten kept homing pigeons. Apparently the odd pigeon had been seen to land on his roof.⁶

3. See Police Dept. Files, P.61-8, esp. under 'wireless'. Britain was afflicted with a similar outbreak of wireless-mania. See Terraine, p.76.

4. P.61, Report on Auckland Meat Co., 22.12.14.

5. P.61, Report on Crass. 31.10.14.

6. P.64, Reports on Joosten. 22.9.14 and 25.2.16.

The police, who had to follow up the numerous reports of alleged German activities, appear to have become somewhat cynical. Superintendent C'Donovan of the Karori Police Station, after writing a report on a case of signalling in March 1916, attached a rider for the Commissioner of Police: "this is a specimen of the will-o-wisps the police are frequently required to chase with much loss of time of men required for other really important duty, and with a similar result in every instance that I am aware of."⁷

However, there were few who did not believe that New Zealand formed a part of Germany's world wide spy network. Mr. C.J. Parr, M.P. for Eden stated that "Germans in New Zealand have an organised system of communicating with headquarters in Berlin",⁸ while Dr. Thacker, M.P. for Christchurch East, thought that there were "vicious intermarriages" of female spies with local men.⁹ The police were assailed with reports of people believed to be German spies. Such reports tended to follow a common pattern; foreigners about whom little was known formed ideal subjects for gossip, particularly if they seemed well off. A pair of Dutch travelling salesmen selling cotton goods in late 1914 aroused suspicion wherever they went because as well as being obviously foreign (and seemingly German) some felt that as ordinary salesmen they could hardly afford to run a 30h.p. Hupmobile. Perhaps the car's motor was used to generate a wireless transmitter.¹⁰

The possibility of spies in the Expeditionary Force was an even more emotional issue, since this posed a threat to New Zealand's own men. A common complaint, and one which helped give rise to the Women's Anti-German League (WAGL)¹¹ was the presence of the sons of naturalised German settlers in the army. A letter in the Dominion claimed that "We train young

7. P.68, Report, 8.3.16.

8. Quoted in Anderson, John 'Military Censorship in World War I; Its Use and Abuse in New Zealand', M.A. Victoria, 1952, p.179.

9. NZPD, 128, p.849.

10. P.62. Report on de Winter, 11.11.14. See also P.62 Ecklestein.

11. See Appendix I.

Germans, along with our own Territorials, and send them.... to fight the Empire's battles and... are astonished to find that the Germans are kept very well informed as to our military movements".¹² In mid 1916 a New Zealand soldier defected to the enemy, after which the New Zealanders' trenches were accurately shelled.¹³ Rumour had it that the man's parents were a German couple living in Carterton, and military police had to guard their house to prevent attacks by patriotic mobs.¹⁴ A more celebrated case was that of Lieutenant Grierson. Grierson's greatest sin appears to have been a visit to Germany before the war and the comment he made to some friends that the German army was every efficient.¹⁵ His family was English, and had been for three hundred years. Nevertheless he was accused of being a German spy by John Payne M.P. and Madame Boeufve, vice-President of WAGL, and brought before a Royal Commission.¹⁶ Although he was exonerated, some at least were not prepared to accept the Commission's findings. An anonymous pamphlet, possibly written by WAGL, appeared soon after, with claims that the enquiry was rigged to avoid a government scandal. The same pamphlet contained an article on German atrocities.¹⁷ As late as 1918, when Grierson had been to France and returned to New Zealand, Dr. Thacker called him an "arrant German spy".¹⁸ All war time rumours, once begun, were impervious even to the truth. In Britain in late 1914 it was believed Russian troops were passing through en route for the Western front, and no amount of official denials could quash the vast number of rumours that people had seen the Russians with snow on their boots or drinking vodka in a local pub.¹⁹ The fever generated by the war made rumours of all kinds far quicker to spread and considerably more resilient.²⁰

As the war progressed, the atrocity tales increased in volume and anti-German sentiment consolidated, vindictiveness

12. Dominion, June 31, 1915, p.6.

13. MDT, Aug.30, 1916, p.5.

14. MDT, Aug.29, 1916, p.2.

15. MDT, Mar.29, 1916, p.5.

16. MDT, Mar.23, 1916, p.8.

17. The Truth about the Grierson Enquiry, N.Z. Times, Wellington, 1916.

18. MDT, Sept.2, 1918, p.4.

19. Ponsonby, p.63.

20. Trotter, p.141.

supplemented the simple fear of the enemy within. Not only were suspected spies the subject of patriotic concern, but also Germans of all types, however harmless. The importance of atrocity propaganda in bringing about this hardening of public opinion is seen in the case of a Port Albert man, Benjamin Gubb, who employed a German reservist on parole from the Somes Island internment camp. A public meeting was held to protest against Gubb's action, and a petition sent to the Prime Minister.²¹ Gubb's son, who supported the petitioners, stated what he believed to be the issue:

Well, with respect to the man [i.e. the German] himself, I have no fault to find except his nationality. But that is sufficient, when I remembered that it was his countryman, including his friends and relations, that sank the *Lusitania* and butchered thousands of women and little children... then I decided that no German should enter my home.... It is the 'German nature' that is responsible for the devilish acts perpetrated in Belgium and elsewhere... and that nature is probably inherent in all Germans.²²

It was this approach which led to attacks on ordinary naturalised or unnaturalised Germans living in New Zealand. Shop keepers came in for particular attention, no doubt because of the distaste many had of dealing with the enemy. In England the wrecking of German and even foreign shops was more common than in New Zealand, and on one occasion all the German premises in the London suburbs of Hackney and Islington were visited by mobs in response to the sinking of the *Lusitania*.²³ New Zealand's largest anti-German riot, which took place in Wanganui also occurred in May 1915, which appears to have been an important watershed in the development of anti-German feeling. Not only had the news of the *Lusitania* been recently received, but also reports of the first gas attacks and, more importantly, the landing of New Zealand's own men on Gallipoli. The widespread demand for the internment of all enemy aliens²⁴ also dates from this point.

21. AWN, June 1, 1916, p.19.

22. AWN, June 8, 1916, p.18.

23. MDT, May 14, 1915, p.7.

24. See below p.93.

The first significant anti-German riot in New Zealand occurred in Gisborne on New Years eve in 1914, the subject of the attack being a German pork butcher by the name of Wohnsiedler. A few weeks before the riot an organisation known as the British Protection League had been set up by local tradesmen and J.P.'s with the intention of boycotting the shops of all foreign tradesmen. Theirs appears to have been the idea of enforcing such boycotts with pickets, although their link with the actual riot is difficult to prove.²⁵ Pickets had been placed outside Wohnsiedler's butchery on Christmas eve, but had been dispersed by the police. On New Year's eve, however, the crowd grew too large for the police to handle. As in the case of most acts of mob violence, the majority, although hostile, did not act until incited by a minority of hotheads. P.C. Cooper reported that "The vast majority of the crowd were only spectators... There was (sic) about 1000 people in the crowd. I heard John Hutchinson Cook at the Strand Cafe say, come, rush them, let us Britishers have our rights, fuck them".²⁶ Once it was seen that the police were powerless, the stones began to fly, and those grabbed by the police were forcibly dragged back by the crowd. Commenting on the nature of the crowd, the Poverty Bay Herald wrote

Although there were a number of semi-intoxicated young men about, there was nothing in the nature of a drunken mob, and a great many people I saw there were not those who would be regarded in any sense as rowdy; but of course when the trouble got fairly going, many persons seemed to regard the thing as in some way a matter of vindication, and there were many references to what Germans had done during the course of the war.²⁷

In other words the crowd was composed mainly of ordinary civilians who appear to have taken advantage of the opportunity to vent their anti-German feeling.

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25. P.62 Gisborne Riot. Report of P.C. McLeod, 2.1.15, Report of Snr. Sgt. Hutton, 1.1.15.
 26. Ibid., Report of P.C. Cooper 2.1.15.
 27. Ibid., Poverty Bay Herald clipping, 2.1.15.

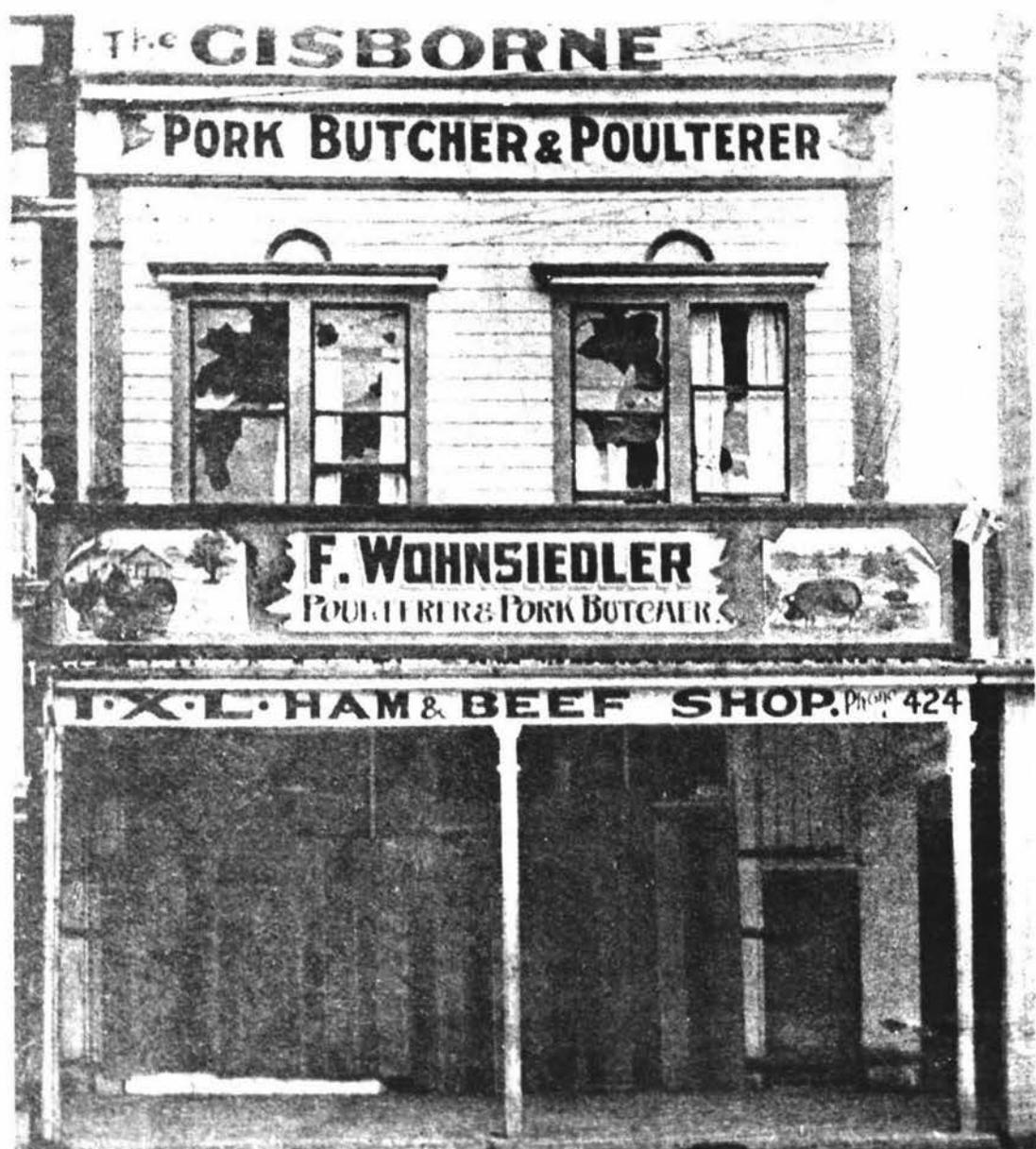
The Wanganui riot which occurred in May 1915, although a more serious affair, followed a similar pattern. A week or so before violence broke out it was an "open secret" that a German pork butchery was to be attacked.²⁸ The proprietor, a Mr. Heinold, received a message which read "German sausage, Avenue, Wanganui, Look out for trouble. Saturday 9.30a.m." It was signed "Lusitania". As in Gisborne the crowd grew to such proportions that the police were unable to cope. After Heinold's had been wrecked and less scrupulous patriots had collected the hams and sausages, someone cried "What about Hallensteins" and the crowd moved off down the street. The Mayor, who was standing on a theatre balcony nearby, urged those below not to "come down to the German level", but he was hit on the head by a brick.²⁹ Before the evening was out both Hallensteins and the Bristol Piano Co., (which before the war had been the Dresden Piano Co., although the owners were British) had had their windows smashed. May 1915 saw threats of anti-German riots in many centres³⁰ but the police would appear to have nipped them in the bud. Reflecting on the Wanganui riot, the Christchurch Sun offered as sound an explanation of the cause of wartime riots as any a historian can offer:

A great war always causes widespread unrest, but there is besides this the anxiety of relatives and friends of those fighting at the front, of those who have been wounded or killed, and this anxiety communicates itself, and creates a restlessness which is as liable to find relief in an explosion of feeling when some incident touches it off as gunpowder is to explode when ignited.... The climax came when Germany, with the sinking of the Lusitania, piled Pelion on Ossa. It is not to be wondered then, that crowds should grow hysterically mad and destroy property, in some vague manner seeking revenge, perhaps, but more from a desperate impulse to relieve pent up emotion.... The impulse actuating a crowd is hysteria - a crowd in such a mood ceases to be an aggregation of reasonable beings, but is swayed subconsciously to

28. P.62, Wanganui Riot, Wanganui Herald clipping, undated.

29. Ibid., Wanganui Herald clipping, undated.

30. Christchurch Sun, May 18, 1915, p.6.



The end result of Gisborne's New Year's eve riot.
(AWN)

become a destructive monster.... a wave of insanity once started infects others, even the most conventional, and probably a number of orderly citizens of Wanganui will be wondering what possessed them to take part in the excesses of Saturday night.³¹

Rioting and major acts of violence do not appear to have been common, and although undoubtedly satisfying for the participants, they were frowned on as 'unbritish'.³² More frequent were the demands for the internment of enemy aliens or the vendettas waged by individuals or WAGL for the internment of specific aliens. Demands for internment began in May 1915, sparked off by the sinking of the Lusitania. Before the severity of the war had been fully realised, tolerance of local Germans (except those believed to be spies) appears to have been greater. In October 1914 the Manawatu Daily Times, whose war reports reflected the common belief that the war would soon be over, urged people not to vent their anger on German settlers:

We believe at least the great majority of Germans who have settled among us are peace-loving. Naturally their sympathies are with their country, just as ours would be if we were living in Germany, but they have no sympathy with Kaiserdom and Prussian militancy.... Let us fight fairly that the victory may be unsullied.³³

By May the following year, with the war apparently just beginning, New Zealand's men digging in on the slopes of Gallipoli, and the papers filled with tales of women and children drowning when the Lusitania was sunk, popular emotions were considerably strained. No quarter could be given to any German, regardless of his position. The Times reflects the loss of whatever moderation may have existed in 1914:

.... one of the first acts of Parliament should be to disfranchise all persons of German blood and expel them from every office they may at present hold under the State. Anyone even breathing treason or sympathy with savages should be arrested, for he must either be a lunatic or a traitor. This is no time for consideration

31. Sun, May 17, 1915, p.6.

32. MDT, Jan.4, 1915, p.4, Dominion, June 8, 1915, p.6.

33. MDT, Oct.31, 1914, p.4.

of anything but the fact that we can take
no risks.³⁴

Public meetings and organisations of all kinds passed resolutions to the effect that all enemy aliens should be more tightly controlled and those in Government employment relieved of their jobs. In Palmerston North the Mayor and a committee of prominent men convened a meeting to impress upon the Government the need to deal firmly with enemy aliens, interning those who were unaturalised and imposing an oath of allegiance on naturalised aliens.³⁵ Similar resolutions were passed by public meetings in other centres.³⁶ A meeting in Te Kuiti took a particularly hard line, demanding that "the Government... take all necessary steps to confiscate all German property in the Dominion and intern every one of the Huns irrespective of his social position".³⁷ Such a demand was, of course, totally impractical. There were a total of 6264 people living in New Zealand who had been born in Germany or the Austrian Empire, and the only internment camps in the Dominion - Somes and Motuihi islands - held only 450 prisoners between them.³⁸ Most of these men were either enemy reservists or known enemy sympathisers. By far the majority of unnaturalised enemy subjects reported regularly to the police and remained at large in the community. The internment islands themselves were a source of constant criticism, since it was widely believed that compared with the lot of Allied prisoners in Germany, P.O.W.'s in New Zealand lived a life of ease.³⁹ A correspondent writing to the Manawatu Daily Times believed that internees on Motuihi lived "the life of Nabobs", eating oysters and drinking lager and waited on by New Zealand soldiers.⁴⁰ Criticism of the camps acquired greater justification when a small number of German prisoners led by the recently captured Count Felix von Luckner escaped from Motuihi in December 1917.

34. MDT, May 13, 1915, p.4.

35. MDT, May 25, 1915, p.5.

36. MDT, May 19, 1915, p.4.

37. NZH, May 20, 1915, p.4.

38. AJHR, 1919, Vol. I, H.33, p.2.

39. e.g. MDT, May 31, 1918, p.7.

40. MDT, Mar. 18, 1916, p.4.

Although they were later recaptured, the ease with which von Luckner and his eleven companions stole a launch and escaped reflected badly on New Zealand, and caused many angry outbursts in the press.⁴¹

Throughout the war, sweeping demands for the internment or disfranchising of enemy aliens occurred from time to time, reaching a new peak in early 1918.⁴² By now, any distinction between unnaturalised and naturalised enemy aliens appears to have been lost, and resolutions passed generally refer to all those of enemy origin regardless of their status in law.⁴³ After all, if all Germans were alike, what difference did naturalisation make? In December 1917 the Auckland Weekly News carried a Christmas story entitled "Naturalised" which told of three archetypal Germans living in London who although naturalised and married to English wives, induce a young British lieutenant to become a traitor.⁴⁴ During the discussion in the House of a measure to restrict the civil rights of unnaturalised enemy aliens, Mr. R.A. Wright stated that the measure should be extended to include the naturalised as well, since "some of our most treacherous enemies.... are men from enemy countries who are naturalised."⁴⁵

Many of the resolutions regarding enemy aliens which were passed during 1917 and 1918 demanded that those not interned be conscripted at Expeditionary Force pay and their labour used for public works. Obviously the notion of compelling Germans to perform menial labouring jobs had a considerable appeal, but there were other more important motives. With the introduction of conscription in August 1916, men wishing to be exempted from military service had to plead their case before a Military Service Board. For young men of German or Austrian parentage, the most successful means of escape was to declare an interest in the

41. AWN, Dec.20, 1917, p.48; MDT, Dec. 28, 1917, p.4.

42. A similar peak was reached in Britain at the same time (Terraine, p.180ff), and can probably be attributed to the successful German offensive in France which was taking place at the time.

43. e.g. MDT, July 17, 1918, p.5.

44. AWN, Dec.20, 1917, p.13. The tale makes amusing reading.

45. NZPD, Vol.181, p.347. See also p.336 Payne.



Internees on Somes Island.

(AWN)

enemy.⁴⁶ Naturally this state of affairs caused considerable antagonism, since on the face of it, it seemed that Germans were having an easy time of it while loyal New Zealanders were making greater sacrifices. Closely linked to this grievance was the belief that while New Zealand's men were fighting for the Empire, aliens at home were able to take advantage of the shortage of labour and make higher wages.⁴⁷ This was an emotional issue, and rumours inevitably appeared, usually gross exaggerations of how a particular German was profiting at the expense of honest Britons. John Payne, who acted as a sort of parliamentary agent for WAGL, told the House how Anthony Max, an unnaturalised German, was appointed as ganger on the Carterton section of the railway after his predecessor had gone to the front. To make matters worse, the German had been appointed in front of a 'Britisher' who had a sick wife and three children. In actual fact Max was a naturalised Pole who had come to New Zealand at the age of two, and his predecessor had gone to Stratford and not France.⁴⁸ A similar tale appeared in Truth concerning an unnaturalised German carpenter who had been employed to refurbish the interior of the Mangaweka police station. According to the report, the German in question was keeping a destitute British carpenter with a large family out of work and continually said "ve will vin, ve will vin" whenever the war was discussed. The police report on the matter revealed that the man in question was German, but had been naturalised in 1893, and that both he and his son (who was now in the army) had been special constables during the 1913 strike. Nor, concluded the report, did he use v's for w's.⁴⁹ The nature of the distortions in these and other rumours concerning Germans points to the effect of war fever on the popular mind. We have already seen how, as the war progressed, issues became oversimplified and viewed as if they were events in melodrama, where the villain is totally evil, and the hero totally blameless.

46. e.g. AWN, Mar. 1, 1917, pp. 17,22.

47. e.g. NZPD, Vol. 178, p.420, Hudson.

48. NZPD, Vol. 180, p.543, Payne.

49. P.67, Report on Rodewold. 16.5.18. File also contains Truth clipping.

This process is well illustrated by rumours of the kind described above. The offending German is invariably unnaturalised, perhaps disloyal, and always replacing or excluding a loyal Briton or returned serviceman.

The widespread desire to intern or conscript enemy aliens came largely to nought,⁵⁰ mainly, one suspects, because of the impracticality and because the New Zealand Government closely followed the Imperial Government in its dealings with enemy subjects. When the Palmerston North Borough Council moved to send a resolution to the Government demanding the conscription of enemy labour, Councillor Crabb saw the whole exercise as futile. "You can pass resolutions until you are black in the face", he declared, "but the Government will take more notice of the Imperial Government than all the Borough Councils in New Zealand".⁵¹

As well as attempting to influence the treatment of enemy aliens generally, many directed their attention towards individual Germans or supposed Germans in the community by reporting them to the police or writing letters to the Prime Minister, M.P.'s, WAGL, and even the Governor. As well as the usual suspicious foreigners, many cases brought to the attention of the police were the result of private or business quarrels. In 1917 a number of Island Bay ladies wrote to WAGL claiming that a Mrs. Lockwood, President of the Women's National Reserve, was a German. The Constable checking the ladies' sources of information found an endless chain of gossip founded he believed, on envy of Mrs. Lockwood's status.⁵² In December 1914 an anonymous Tauranga man wrote to the Governor claiming that a local man who had served in the vestry and on the Borough Council was an enemy alien and should be deported. The investigating constable concluded "He [the writer of the letter] is taking advantage of the present intense feeling to try and vent his

50. Except in the case of the Dalmations in Northland. See below, p.103.

51. MDT, Aug. 21, 1918, p.5.

52. P.65, Report on Lockwood, 27.2.17.

petty spite against an old man [the German], who has succeeded in making comfortable provision for his old age, precisely what the originator of the attached letter has failed to do, owing to his indolent habits".⁵³ The Police, much to their credit, seem to have shown a singular freedom from popular prejudices when reporting on alleged Germans. In all probability they knew more of the baselessness of these prejudices than most, owing to the number of public complaints they had to deal with.

Action against individual Germans or groups of Germans occurred all over the country throughout the war.⁵⁴ However, it was particularly concentrated in areas where there was a higher proportion of German settlers such as the Rangitikei township of Marton and the Upper Moutere district in Nelson. In both these areas most of the members of the German community were practising Lutherans, and the use of German in the Church and Sunday Schools led to rumours of 'secret meetings'. Divergence of any kind produced a stronger reaction during the war, particularly if its true significance was not understood and it involved the 'enemy'. The greater number of Germans in such areas, one might presume, also added to public trepidation. In a report on disturbances in Marton, Detective Sergeant Hollis noted that German families owned 8,312 acres in and around Marton, and that "they are fairly numerous for so small a place as Marton District".⁵⁵

Agitation in Marton began early in 1915 when the Marton Defence Rifle Club (MDRC) held a meeting to discuss the rumours that 'secret meetings' were being held by local Germans, and to appeal to the Minister of Defence to deal with the situation.⁵⁶ A resolution was passed which read "That the attention of the Minister of Defence be drawn to the fact that it has been reported that the German residents of Marton and district are holding secret meetings, which, if

53. P.65, Report, 22.1.15.

54. See Police Dept. Files P61-8.

55. Defence Dept. File, C/17/11, Report of Det. Sgt. Hollis, 31.3.18.

56. Ibid., Rangitikei Advocate clipping, 20.1.15.

persisted in, may lead to a serious breach of the peace."⁵⁷ At the same time Allen received another request, this time from the Chairman of the Evangelic - Lutheran Concordia Conference of New Zealand, the Rev. Hassold, who pointed out that the Lutheran Church had no connection with the German state church, and that services held in German were for the benefit of older settlers.⁵⁸ A police report confirmed this, and Allen told the MDRC that nothing would be done to interfere with the Lutherans. With the sinking of the Lusitania a further spate of reports broke out, this time of secret meetings held at the residence of one Rudolf Schlapbach, and of the ringing of the Lutheran Church bell to celebrate the sinking. The police found no evidence of such activities.⁵⁹ In 1918 the bell was in the news again. This time it was claimed that it had been cast from cannon captured during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1. This belief undoubtedly stemmed from a similar rumour circulating in Christchurch concerning the bells in the Lutheran Church in Worcester St. The strength of this rumour had been such that the Minister of Internal Affairs, G.W. Russell, had taken possession of the bells under the Enemy Reserves and other Lands Disposal Act. In August 1918 they were melted down at a local foundry where it was found that they were made not of gun metal, but ordinary bell metal.⁶⁰ Similar claims concerning Lutheran church bells were made in Upper Moutere.⁶¹ In Marton, news of the melting of the Christchurch bells led to an eager acceptance of this new means of harassing the enemy. In August the Marton Borough Council sent a request to Russell that Marton's bell be confiscated and melted down, because it had been made from French cannon. Investigating the affair, the local constable climbed into the bell tower to look at the offending bell. It was inscribed with the date 1883, twelve years after the conclusion of the Franco Prussian War. The case was

57. Ibid., Hatherly (Secretary MDRC) to Allen, 21.1.15.

58. Ibid., Hassold to Allen, 21.1.15.

59. Ibid., Report, 28.5.15.

60. Christchurch Star, Aug. 7, 1918, p.6.

61. Department of Internal Affairs, 29/113/3. Report on Lutheran Church bells in Upper Moutere.



Shades of Louvain. The destruction of the three Lutheran Church bells in Christchurch, August 1918. The Manawatu Daily Times, with a little more insight than most, called the act "extraordinarily barbarous and Hun-like".

was dropped.⁶²

The affair of the bells reveals not only how baseless the majority of charges against local Germans were, but also the degree to which war fever had affected the minds of many New Zealanders. When dealing with German communities, politicians frequently had to defer to these fears, even though they themselves knew better. In March 1916 the Rev. Hassold wrote to Sir James Allen concerning a projected Lutheran conference to be held at Upper Moutere, sending him an agenda so that all should be perfectly clear.⁶³ Allen advised against the meeting, since he knew full well what effect a large meeting of Germans would have had on settlers in the Nelson province: "At the present time there is a suspicion in the minds of the people of the Dominion that Germans are constantly meeting for evil purposes. I have not the slightest doubt that your meeting, if held, would be looked upon with disfavour and cause a good deal of comment throughout New Zealand."⁶⁴ In 1917, he found an expedient solution to agitation in Marton over the existence of a Lutheran school. It was customary for the Government to provide free railway tickets to rural children attending country schools, and this provided a simple answer.

The Railway regulations governing the issue of school tickets state that such tickets "may" be issued and although no evidence of alien influence over the pupils [at the Marton Lutheran school] has been disclosed, still I considered that in deference to public sentiment ... advantage should be taken of the wording of the railway regulation by refusing to grant free railway passes to children attending the school.⁶⁵

It is difficult for the historian to fully appreciate the effect of public, and to a lesser extent political pressure on Germans living in New Zealand. As we have seen in the reaction to German goods in New Zealand shops, there was a wholesale rejection of all things German. Needless to say, the reaction

62. Department of Internal Affairs, 29/113/2. Report on Lutheran Church bell in Marton.

63. Defence Dept. C/17/11, Hassold to Allen, 7.3.16.

64. Ibid., Allen to Hassold, 16.3.16.

65. Ibid., Hoffman to Allen 7.6.17, note on reverse of sheet.

was even stronger where Germans themselves were involved. For many, the loss of their jobs was the immediate, and most far reaching effect of this reaction. In May 1915 the Mayor of Wellington agreed to support a resolution demanding the internment of all enemy aliens because he continually received requests for help from unemployed Germans and Austrians who "had to be kept alive somehow".⁶⁶ Since securing employment was virtually impossible, many requested that they be interned, only to find that the Government did not have the room to accommodate them. In February 1918 Maurice Brecholt, who had lost the position in the Auckland Gas Company which he had held for 18 years due to spy rumours, wrote to the Auckland Commissioner of Police requesting to be interned. Blaming police surveillance for his plight, he concluded that "the responsibilities for my future actions must fall on those who have driven me to qualify as an Alien Enemy".⁶⁷ German tradesmen were similarly affected. In Auckland Robert Winkler, a hairdresser, found business so bad that he gave himself up to the police as a vagrant. The Magistrate later concluded that "it would probably be kindness to have him taken in charge as a military prisoner".⁶⁸ In Palmerston North another hairdresser, H. Bittlemeyer, appears to have found that business was not what it was, and sold out. The new owners promised their customers "a good British shave".⁶⁹

The most celebrated case of public pressure on an individual German is that of Professor von Zedlitz. Von Zedlitz was Professor of Modern Languages at Victoria University, and although unnaturalised, had been born of a German Father and English mother.⁷⁰ With the upsurge of anti-German feeling in May 1915 and the demands for expulsion of Germans from the public service, von Zedlitz became a prime target for the patriots. After all, what was a German doing teaching the nation's youth? A correspondent writing

66. NZH, May 14, 1915, p.8.

67. P.61 Report on Brecholt. Brecholt to Cullen, 28.2.18.

68. MDT, Feb.16, 1915, p.4.

69. MDT, July 11, 1916, p.6. See also P.61 Report on Bittlemeyer.

70. Beaglehole, J.C., Victoria University College, NZUP, Wellington, 1968, p.162.

to the Dominion raised what was the most common fear: "We retain a German teacher... thereby providing a unique opportunity of instilling the Aetheistical German 'kultur' into the minds of young New Zealanders".⁷¹ In June the newly formed Alien Enemies Commission considered von Zedlitz's position. Witnesses heard included members of the College Council, the Professorial Board, and students who had studied under von Zedlitz. Its conclusion was that the Professor constituted no threat whatsoever,⁷² and the Government registered its acceptance of this decision.⁷³ Many, however, were not prepared to leave it at that. Editorials and letters in newspapers continued to hammer the theme that whatever the extenuating circumstances might be, there was something wrong in employing a German to educate New Zealanders.⁷⁴ The nationwide nature of the debate soon transformed von Zedlitz into a German scapegoat, representative of all those Huns the Government ought to be dealing with.⁷⁵ Public pressure for his resignation or internment grew as a result. In August the Wellington Patriotic Society, whose Chairman, H.G. Hill, had been prominent in the initial attack on von Zedlitz, passed a resolution demanding the Professor's resignation. In spite of earlier promises not to interfere in the affairs of the Victoria University Council, and Sir Francis Bell's personal assurance that he would not be forced to resign,⁷⁶ the Government eventually bowed to the public clamour. As early as July Massey had telegraphed the New Zealand High Commissioner in London asking how many "alien Professors" were still employed by British Universities.⁷⁷ In September he received a telegraph from Bonar Law to the effect that the British Government did not interfere in the governing bodies of schools and universities.⁷⁸

71. Dominion, June 21, 1915, p.6.

72. Alien Enemies Commission Report on von Zedlitz.

73. Dominion, June 17, 1915, p.6.

74. Dominion, Aug.26, 1915, p.4; Aug.12, 1915, p.6.

75. In Britain agitation against enemy aliens focused on Prince Louis of Battenburg, who was forced to resign as First Sea Lord in October 1914. (Terraine, p.80).

76. Beaglehole, p.165.

77. Papers Relating to the Treatment of Enemy Aliens (N.A.), Memorandum from High Commissioner to Massey, 19.7.15.

78. Ibid., telegraph, Bonar Law to Massey, 19.9.15.

This was common practise in New Zealand also, and since the Victoria Council refused to dismiss von Zedlitz, or to accept his resignation (he attempted to resign twice), Massey introduced the Alien Enemy Teachers Bill.⁷⁹ The Bill provided for the removal of all unnaturalised teachers of enemy origin, and was clearly inspired by the need to get rid of von Zedlitz in as diplomatic a way as possible. The passing of the Bill was virtually the end of the affair, as von Zedlitz was forced to resign. However, the Bill provided for a full year's salary compensation for those affected, and the Victoria College Council voted von Zedlitz £700. This inspired John Payne, whose anti-German fanaticism has already been noted, to introduce his unsuccessful Von Zedlitz Grant Restitution Bill, which sought to recover the £700 from "the Kaiser's espionage system".⁸⁰

Few Germans in New Zealand were subjected to a concerted nationwide campaign as was von Zedlitz, but as we have seen, the end result for many was still the same - loss of trade or employment. Other pressures, less obvious to the historian, must also have existed. Abusive letters were sent to the intended victims before the Gisborne and Wanganui riots, and there is reason to presume that, like the practice of sending young men white feathers by mail,⁸¹ this occurred at other times as well. Doubtless, too they would have been subject to the odd physical attack, since even foreigners were sometimes attacked in the heat of the moment.⁸² The effect of such treatment on individuals is difficult to gauge, although some appear to have reacted more violently than others. In Palmerston North an unnamed man of German extraction hid himself in Collinson and Cunningham's department store one evening. The next day he was found dead, strangled with strips of cloth he had torn from the Union Jack which the store used to fly from its flagpole. The Manawatu Daily Times concluded "He belonged to the Grey Rat family, widely known but not highly respected".⁸³ Little sympathy could be wasted on barbarians.

79. NZPD, Vol.174, p.706ff.

80. NZPD, Vol.175, p.18.

81. MDT, Sept.29, 1915, p.6.

82. Star, May 19, 1915, p.6.

83. MDT, Jan 25, 1915, p.4.

Anti-German feeling formed one of the main driving forces of war time hysteria. It gave initial impetus to the new found kinship with the Allies since, as we noted earlier, amity is largely the product of enmity and fear. Within a very short time two extremes had been created, and whatever did not conform to the restricted popular notion of loyalty was immediately suspect. Hatred, once generated and maintained for any length of time, readily spreads to other areas. It was not by chance that the Protestant Political Association, with its lurid tales of popish plots, gained such widespread support when it was set up in 1917.⁸⁴ War time antagonisms also fostered a desire to look after one's own, which in turn led to a great suspicion and dislike of foreigners. In July 1918 the R.S.A. passed a resolution condemning "the importation of Norwegians, Danes, Russians, etc. into New Zealand"⁸⁵ while the Merchant Service Guild protested at the holding of masters' certificates by aliens. Worst hit by this xenophobia were the Dalmatians in Northland.

Like the Chinese, the Dalmatians had always been a suspected element in New Zealand society, probably because of their different customs and because it was thought that they were sending the money they earned on New Zealand gum fields back home.⁸⁶ When war broke out renewed anti-Dalmatian feeling was given its initial impetus by the existing belief that most Dalmatians were in fact Austrian. Nominally they were Austrian subjects, but like the many slavie people under Austrian rule, few had any sympathy with the Hapsburg monarchy. This took some time for Northlanders to accept, however, and at the beginning of the war rumours were rife concerning the drilling of 'Austrians' on Ninety Mile beach.⁸⁷ In 1916 the Alien Enemies Commission investigated

84. By 1917 the PPA had over 20,000 members, almost double the membership of the Labour Party at the same time - Moores, H.S. 'The Rise of the Protestant Political Association', M.A., Auckland, 1966, p.208. See also p.321.

85. AWN, Aug.1, 1918, p.21.

86. Marshall, B.W., 'Kauri Gum Digging, 1885-1920', M.A., Auckland, 1968, p.174.

87. Trlin, A.D. 'From Dalmatia to New Zealand', M.A., Victoria, 1967.

and after gathering evidence throughout Northland, came to the conclusion that the Dalmatians were loyal and safe.⁸⁸ The report had little effect on popular opinion, however, since by now antagonism towards the Dalmatians had developed from a simple fear of attack to a more deep seated prejudice, the commonest facet of which was the belief that Dalmatians were profiting from the war and, worse still, at the expense of the men going to the front. At one sitting of the Commission a bushman stated that he would not serve in the army "while aliens remained in the country".⁸⁹ Such fears were particularly prevalent because of the relatively high numbers of Dalmatians in Northland, and hence they were a readily identifiable 'threat'. Like the Chinese, the majority of Dalmatians were single men, and perhaps this led married men to fear for the welfare of their wives should they be called up.⁹⁰ In 1917 these sentiments led to the widespread demand in Northland that all able bodied Dalmatians be conscripted for public works at military pay.⁹¹ The clamour was such that Sir James Allen set up a Yugoslav labour board in late 1917, and by 1918 Dalmatians were engaged on heavy labouring jobs such as land drainage and railway work.⁹² The anomaly in the fact that of all aliens and enemy aliens in the Dominion, only the Dalmatians were being forced to work does not appear to have occurred to many New Zealanders. If it occurred to Allen he probably dismissed the thought, since if fears of Dalmatians taking New Zealanders' jobs and wives impeded the calling up of the Second Division, the Government might have been embarrassed.

In the polarising process brought about by the war, not only foreigners were relegated to the category of dangerous or undesirable. Being war-oriented, these new found hatreds usually reflect their anti-German source in that the groups or

88. AWN, Sept. 28, 1916, p.31.

89. AWN, July 20, 1916, p.18.

90. NZPD, Vol. 180, p.193, Poole.

91. AWN, Mar.22, 1917, p.17; MDT, July 16, 1917, p.5; Marshall p.283 ff. Marshall's thesis, particularly the final chapter, contains a full account of the fortunes of Northland's Dalmatian community during the war.

92. For full details see Army Dept. file 86 (N.A)

individuals under attack were usually referred to as 'pro-German', 'Shirkers', and later conscientious objectors, were high on this list. The almost universal contempt in which such young men were held is illustrated by an affair in Christchurch in 1916 in which a recruit assaulted and killed a man he believed to be a 'shirker'. The Judge was obviously sympathetic, since the defendant was only sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment, and told that if his friends applied to the Government, his sentence might be even further reduced.⁹³ In Wanganui a returned serviceman was fined for calling a man a shirker, and received two offers by people wanting to pay his fine.⁹⁴ War-time pressures affected not only tolerance of divergent views, but even the interpretation of the law.⁹⁵

Contempt for the shirker and the widespread desire to force him to do his duty formed the basis of support for conscription, which was introduced in August 1916. The corollary of this was that those who opposed conscription became public enemies, even if they otherwise supported the war effort. J.T. Paul, the moderate Labour leader and Legislative Councillor, was Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Federation of New Zealand Patriotic and War Relief Societies. However he also opposed conscription on the grounds that it constituted militarism of the type New Zealand was helping to overthrow.⁹⁶ In November this resulted in considerable pressure on Paul to resign, culminating in a scene at the Commercial Travellers' Club in Dunedin, where many members walked out in protest at Paul's presence.⁹⁷ Other members of the labour movement, particularly those who actively campaigned against conscription, came under an even heavier attack. The Manawatu Daily Times, which in 1915 had launched many attacks of its own on the 'conscription cacklers',⁹⁸ denounced James Thorn as pro-German the following

93. MDT, Aug. 2, 1916, p.4.

94. MDT, Feb.3, 1917, p.4.

95. The 'Black Book' affair in Britain shows a similar effect of popular fears and prejudices on justice. (Terraine p.181).

96. See NZPD, Vol. 172, p.877 ff., for Paul's views on conscription.

97. MDT, Nov.21, 1916, p.5.

98. MDT, May 18, 1915, p.4; Aug.5 1915, p.4. The basis of the Times argument was that conscription was 'unbritish', and that a voluntary army of citizen soldiers was better.

year because he was holding anti-conscription meetings.⁹⁹ At Robert Semple's trial on charges of sedition, the judge concluded "Supposing the Germans had paid agents in New Zealand, what better speeches [i.e. Semple's anti-conscription speeches] would the German Government want than these".¹⁰⁰ Socialists had never been particularly popular, but the war, and the simplistic responses to loyalty and disloyalty which it fostered, forced them even further beyond the pale. The conscription issue also modified attitudes towards Australia, since Australians had rejected conscription after a national referendum. G.W. Russell thought that this rejection probably had something to do with the "convict taint" in Australians,¹⁰¹ while the Second Division League, an organisation set up to protect the rights of married men who were called up, passed a resolution demanding the restriction of Australian immigration. The main fear seems to have been that, like New Zealand's alien population, unscrupulous shirking Australians would fill jobs left by loyal New Zealanders joining the forces.¹⁰² No quarter was given to those who could not wholly be trusted.

With the emergence of a powerful external threat, the antagonisms of a society are directed outwards. We have already noted how internal conflict involving groups such as labour and the Bible in Schools League disappeared with the first flush of war fever,¹⁰³ while in Britain the Suffragettes suspended their activities. This process of social integration, strengthened by new articles of faith provided by anti-German propaganda, intensified the attack on Germans and all things German. It also led to a reduced tolerance of other groups or individuals who appeared different or who did not toe a well defined line, since with the closing of society's ranks against a common enemy, there is less room for divergence. This process was helped by the fact that the intense hatred generated against the German frequently overflowed into other channels of prejudice. Gisborne's

99. MDT, Dec.5, 1916, p.4.

100. AWN, April 5, 1917, p.19.

101. MDT, Nov.20, 1916, p.4.

102. MDT, Sept. 28, 1917, p.5.

103. See Chap. II.

British Protection League, which contributed to the eventual attack on Wohnseidler's pork butchery, had pledged itself "to boycott all Germans and Austrians and any person with a Dago name",¹⁰⁴ while in Britain, shops belonging to foreigners were often attacked during anti-German riots.¹⁰⁵ These reactions stemmed both from fear and a misdirected desire for revenge. Fear of the enemy - or supposed enemy in the case foreigners and dissidents - is natural in war time, but it would seem that the vindictiveness displayed by many civilians was a result of features peculiar to the Great War - its length, the numbers of men involved, and above all the constant stream of propaganda which left no doubt as to the barbarity of Germany or the righteousness of the Allied cause. The desire for participation in the war effort on the part of civilians was largely absorbed by fund raising and other more positive aspects of patriotism. However, many, influenced by anti-German propaganda which built up the belief that all Germans were evil, wanted to fight them in New Zealand, if only by demanding their internment or by boycotting their shops. A Napier man, rejected by the army for varicose veins, said that if he could not kill Germans in France he would kill them in New Zealand.¹⁰⁶ His reaction, however extreme, provides a valid reflection on the motivation behind most anti-German activities.

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104. P.62, Gisborne Riot, Report of P.C. McLeod.

105. MDT, May 14, 1915, p.7.

106. MDT, Aug.12, 1916, p.7.

CONCLUSION

Clannishness is as old and as vicious and as virtuous as the herd. Clannishness induces co-operation, helps a boot find the chin of a prostrate foe.

"Who's down Bill?"

"A Hun."

"Kick him in the bloody teeth."

(Lee, John A. Civilian into Soldier, N.Z. Books, 1963, p.57.)

The patriotism displayed by New Zealand, and indeed by almost all the other belligerents in the Great War, was formed of two extremes, hatred of the enemy and intense loyalty to the forces working to overthrow him. In New Zealand, anti-German feeling probably gained its initial impetus from the pre-war suspicions of Germany's intentions, but by far the most important ingredient was the atrocity stories which started appearing almost as soon as the war began. This in turn converted the Allies, and particularly the Dominion's own men, into crusaders for Civilisation, and created considerable unity at home. This unity was such that myths and prejudices rapidly achieved the status of truths. The propagandists understood the principles involved, maintaining unity at home by maintaining antagonism towards Germany.

When considering these twin poles of patriotism we should remember Andreski's statement that social solidarity varies inversely with the feeling of hostility towards outsiders, and also Ardrey's simple equation that amity is equal to the sum of the forces of enmity and hazard ranged against a group or society. A state of war, naturally enough, accelerates the process, producing a degree of social integration rarely present in peace time. Trotter, although a patriotic sociologist, left a good record of his fellow Britons' behaviour during the war. In Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War he noted that the traditional British reserve disappeared and that "Loneliness

became an unpleasant feeling, and the individual experienced an intense and active desire for the company and even physical contact of his fellows. In such company he was aware of a great accession of confidence, courage, and moral power".¹

The process described by Trotter is well illustrated by the proliferation of war-oriented gatherings which took place. The most regular of these was 'Declaration Day' which was held in early August each year to commemorate the declaration of war on Germany. Celebrations took place in settlements all over New Zealand, and were overtly aimed at creating a sense of solidarity. In Dannevirke in 1918 over a thousand citizens formed a hollow square and listened to the Mayor and chief magistrate, who addressed the crowd from the back of a lorry.² The general topics of such speeches were Germany's infamy and Britian's justification for entering the war. In Palmerston North the Mayor, local M.P., and returned servicemen addressed a full crowd in the Opera House, and the following resolution was passed:

That on this fourth anniversary of the declaration of a righteous war, this meeting of the citizens of Palmerston North records its inflexible determination to continue to a victorious end the struggle in maintenance of those ideals of Liberty and Justice which are the sacred cause of the Allies.³

When in October and November 1918 the Central Powers began capitulating to the Allies one by one, similar, if more lively demonstrations took place. When Bulgaria surrendered in October, Palmerston North responded enthusiastically. The Mayor requested that all shops be closed from noon to 2 p.m., and an impromptu procession containing bands, cars, school children, and the municipal fire engine gathered in the Square. Speeches were delivered from the band rotunda, and playful attempts made to wring a live turkey's neck, no doubt as "an indication

1. Trotter, pp.140-1.

2. MDT, Aug.6; 1918, p.3.

3. Ibid., p.5.

of the measures soon to be meted out to its nation-namesake."⁴ When Germany surrendered, larger, and far more splendid celebrations were planned.⁵ Smaller war oriented gatherings were more common. Recruits, even in isolated rural areas, were always given a send off by the local population,⁶ while public lectures, a popular form of entertainment and instruction, were almost solely concerned with war topics.⁷

The popular agitation described by Trotter no doubt also stemmed from the widespread public desire to do something. This, as we have seen, was at the bottom of both negative and positive forms of patriotic activity. Fund raising played a major part in satisfying the need for involvement, but so did anti-German campaigns. Since they were denied any active participation in the war, one would expect that women in particular would reflect this process. This was, of course, the case; women were prominent in fund raising ventures of all kinds, even if the organisers were usually men. Palmerston North's Paddy's Market, held in February 1916, comprised twenty stalls, eighteen of which were manned by women,⁸ while the cakes, preserves, and knitted goods sold during such ventures would undoubtedly have been made by women or women's groups. On the other side of the same coin, women were frequently involved in more negative enterprises. The Women's anti-German League, as its name suggests, was an organisation directed by women, and seems to have been a blatant attempt to give women the opportunity to hunt Germans at home while the 'boys' were pursuing a similar end in France and Belgium. Although men sometimes took advantage of the League to expose people they believed to be German, the majority of WAGL's informants appear to have been women. Women also seem to have made up a significant proportion of riot mobs,⁹ while in Kurow two married women, one of them the local

4. MDT, Oct. 8, 1918, p.3.

5. MDT, Nov.13, 1918, p.5.

6. e.g. MDT, Nov.13, 1916, p.4; NZF, Aug.1917, p.963.

7. e.g. MDT, Sept.3, 1916, p.3; Aug.10, 1918, p.4.

8. MDT, Feb.15, 1916, p.5.

9. In a report on the mobbing of a Greek fish-shop in Wanganui (See below) the Manawatu Daily Times said of the crowd "It was for the most part merely a curious assembly of a kind that might be expected on such an occasion, comprising a large number of youths and women". (MDT, Dec.12, 1916, p.5.)

constable's wife, wrecked the house of a German neighbour.¹⁰

Although partly relieved by war-oriented activities, emotional pressures built up by the war remained high. In addition to propaganda, general war-weariness brought about by the length and uncertain outcome of the war probably did much to maintain these pressures, along with personal causes such as the loss of friends and kin. Nor should the importance of the press be ignored. Propaganda aside, newspapers performed the important function of spreading war news quickly and effectively, keeping New Zealand almost as well informed as Britain herself. War news in itself was often sufficient to stimulate action. News of the Battle of Jutland led to the setting up of naval oriented funds¹¹ while, news of Greece's uncertain loyalty to the allied cause led to considerable speculation in 1915 and 1916.¹² In Wanganui this uncertainty, bred, no doubt, by headlines such as "Greece defying the Entente", led to a minor riot, in which the fish shop of one B. Spiro was surrounded by a hostile crowd and stoned.¹³

Thus, a number of factors served to maintain a constant state of tension, the existence of which is illustrated by the speedy public response to war-oriented stimuli. As the war's effects widened, so did the scope of the Dominion's patriotic funds, while Germany's alleged atrocities in Europe led directly to anti-German activities in New Zealand. It was this tension, permeating all levels of society, which was responsible for what is broadly termed 'war hysteria'. An incident which took place in Palmerston North in July 1916 reveals the strength of this hysteria. The audience at a local cinema were watching a newsreel on riots in Berlin when a sub title apparently reading 'Death of the Kaiser' appeared. In actual fact the film had been mutilated, and the message referred to the fact that crowds in Berlin were crying "Death to the Kaiser". In the Kosy Theatre, however, the response was almost instantaneous:

10. MDT, April 10, 1917, p.4.

11. See Chap. II.

12. e.g. NZF, Jan, 1916, p.141; Dec.1915, p.1698.

13. MDT, Dec.12, 1916, p.5. See also P.68, Report on Spiro.

The assemblage was for a moment stunned.... then an exultant frenzy took possession of the audience.... Men shouted themselves hoarse, some women became so worked up that they wept, and generally tumultuous pandemonium reigned, the house ringing again and again with excited cheering. The cheering subsiding, the lady at the piano played 'God Save the King' which was sung with fervour, the audience rising.... The Medical Corps was present from the camp, and they gave their war cry with infinite relish. Many people got up and left the theatre, and soon the 'news' was all over town.¹⁴

Such outburst were not peculiar to Palmerstonians, nor indeed to New Zealanders. When America entered the war in May 1917 she too was gripped by war hysteria. At a church meeting in New England a speaker demanded that the Kaiser, when caught, should be boiled in oil. The entire congregation stood on the seats and screamed approval.¹⁵ New Zealand was not alone in the strength of its loyalties and its hatreds, but simply reflected a world in which war had become the measure of all things.

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14. MDT, July 8, 1916, p.5.

15. Squires, D. British Propaganda at Home and in the United States from 1914 to 1917., Harvard, 1935, p.68.

APPENDIX I

ANTI-GERMAN LEAGUE

Hannah's Buildings, Lambton Quay

President - Lady Stout
 Vice-Presidents - Mrs. H. Lowry and
 Madame Boeufvé.
 Treasurer - Miss Beatrice Day.
 Secretary - Mrs. E.J. Moore.
 Chairwoman - Miss Holmes.
 Executive - Mrs McVicar, Mrs Boden,
 and President and other officers
 ex officio.

THIS LEAGUE IS NON-POLITICAL

1. The object of the Women's Anti-German League is first to protest against the employment of Germans, sons of Germans, and naturalised Germans in our Army, or in any position of trust where they can obtain information detrimental to our country's interest to impart to Germany.

2. We ask the members of the league to endeavour to assist the league with obtaining information regarding Germans or foreigners enlisting and obtaining commissions in the New Zealand Army either for the reserves or for active service.

3. We ask the women of New Zealand to pledge themselves to buy no German and Austrian goods and to render all assistance to New Zealand and British manufacturers, where possible, and in all cases where foreign goods be purchased that preference be given to our Allies.

4. To try and induce Parliament to amend the law relating to the naturalisation of all Germans, Austrians, and hostile nations, as British subjects.

5. The presentation of petitions to Parliament in all matters relating to the welfare and safety of our soldiers.

To assist in returning to Parliament any candidates, irrespective of party, who will pledge themselves to support the objects of the Anti-German League.

To circulate Anti-German literature throughout New Zealand and arrange for public meetings for the purpose of obtaining public support and approval.

New Zealand for New Zealanders; no Germans need apply.

(WAGL pamphlet, printed 1915, held W.Tu.)

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