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WHEN THE EMPIRE CALLS

Patriotic Organisations In
New Zealand During
The Great War

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Patriotic Organisations In
New Zealand During
The Great War

'If we are wise we shall bundle every Hun out
of the country.'

Lady Anna Stout, President of the
Women's Anti-German League.
(Hawkes Bay Herald, 20 June 1916, p.6)

A thesis presented in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts
in history at
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Graham Hucker

1979

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Abbreviations

AFEL	All For Empire League
AJHR	Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
APPWRA	Auckland Provincial Patriotic and War Relief Association
AR	Auckland Institute and Museum Library
AWN	Auckland Weekly News
EDPL	Empire Defenders Parents League
ESL	Empire Service League
ETL	Empire Trade League
HBH	Hawkes Bay Herald
MDT	Manawatu Daily Times
NDL	National Defence League
NZH	New Zealand Herald
NZPD	New Zealand Parliamentary Debates
NZT	New Zealand Times
SDL	Second Division League
WAGL	Women's Anti-German League
WARc	National Archives

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PREFACE

One noticeable feature of theses completed in New Zealand in recent years has been the absence of studies dealing explicitly with aspects of the Great War. Some thesis writers have used the War years as convenient departure and initiation points for their particular topics of study. Others have spanned the War years using a wider chronological context with the result that a limited number of studies have been presented on the watershed years 1914 to 1918.

Upon researching this topic, maps were constructed to plot the location of patriotic organisations and kindred bodies active during the War in an attempt to achieve some sort of illustrative perspective. The ensuing result virtually left no corner of New Zealand untouched. The situation is quite different today however. At present there exist fourteen provincial patriotic councils which focus primarily on the Second World War. The only exception being the Otago Provincial Patriotic Council which has retained files covering the Great War. These files have recently passed into the possession of the Hocken Library.

Documents, files and other related papers pertaining to patriotic organisations are held by the Alexander Turnbull Library, Auckland Institute and Museum Library and the National Archives centre. Annual Reports and statements of Accounts figure prominently in the quantitative make up of documentary material. A certain bonus for researchers exists in the form of a near complete set of minutes of the meetings conducted by the executive committee of the Auckland Provincial Patriotic and War Relief Association. It is this particular organisation which I wish to concentrate on throughout chapters two and four of this study, not because it served as a model, but because of the ease of access to material.

At this stage I welcome the opportunity to thank several people who have been most helpful throughout the research and writing stages of this thesis: my supervisor, Professor W.H. Oliver, who initially suggested the topic and gave me guidance; Dr R. Gwynn for allowing me access to his collection of the Auckland Weekly News; Simon Johnson for his comments and interest shown; the Reference staffs of the Auckland Institute and Museum Library (especially Lorraine Wilson), the New Zealand section of the Auckland Public Library, the Alexander Turnbull Library, National Archives and the staff of Massey University Library. I am most grateful also to the Alexander Turnbull Library for granting permission to reproduce photographs. I would also like to thank friends and relatives in the main centres who made floorspace available to me while on my research trips. Finally, I would like to thank my typist, Jill Cheer, for her contribution.

Palmerston North

December 1980

Graham Hucker

INTRODUCTION

This thesis involves a study of the patriotic organisations which emerged in New Zealand in response to the Great War. Any study involving patriotism is confronted with an initial problem of definition. What is patriotism, or more to the point, what are patriotic organisations? By avoiding a display of pedantics the problem can be solved if one bears in mind the topical nature of the study and focuses on a distinctive period in history. For the purpose of this thesis, a war time patriotic organisation can be defined as the collective formation of civilians into groups on a voluntary basis with Government approval in direct response to aspects of the war. These organisations have an operational function of catering for the welfare of members of the armed forces and their dependents, while sharing the common goal of working for the national war effort towards a satisfactory cessation of hostilities.

The study of patriotic organisations provides an interesting examination of an institutional phenomena which surfaces only in times of human suffering such as a natural catastrophe, or in times of war and threats of war, and when the moral and physical well being of one's own country is threatened. In the years prior to the Great War many organisations emerged in response to the latter. They emanated from a wide variety of areas and for an equally diverse number of reasons. They did not outwardly label themselves as patriotic, but they were imbued with an ideal of patriotism in the service of New Zealand's best interests. For instance, there were the various anti-liquor groups of the prohibition movement, the anti-gambling leagues, anti-militarist groups, anti-Chinese leagues, Navy Leagues, National Defence Leagues, Victoria Leagues, Legions of Frontiersmen and others. How and why a number of these organisations saw themselves as being patriotic does not concern us here. The fact of the matter remains that these organisations sincerely believed in their principles and they considered their objectives as catering for the physical and moral well being of New Zealand.

The type of patriotic organisations which do concern us are

those which emerged in response to internal and external problems of Empire. Some of these organisations responded to the call to unite the Empire more closely and further the bonds of imperial solidarity. Other organisations were defence oriented and emerged in response to the distorted interpretations perceived in the actions and intentions of Germany, Russia and to a lesser extent China and Japan. Chapter one provides a brief survey of these organisations set against the pre-war years.

When war came in August 1914, after a decade of preparation and speculation that war might occur, it seized the belligerent participants in a manner unlike that experienced in September 1939. Amidst the climate of war fever a relatively new type of patriotic organisation emerged to administer war relief. Appearing in infant form during the Anglo-Boer War, the patriotic war relief associations during the Great War burgeoned, matured and became an integral part of the home front activities. Chapter two examines the war relief associations and in particular their origins, nature, activities, members and role within war time society.

War can be a creator of polarised extremes and this was evident where the patriotic organisations were concerned. On the one hand there existed the war relief associations and on the other hand there were organisations which were anti-German by nature. Their activities were often uncomplimentary, but their presence was a necessary tool of total warfare which dictated a need of civilians to despise the foe. Chapter three examines the anti-German leagues and also those other organisations which emerged for reasons other than providing war relief and comforts for soldiers and their dependents.

The activities of the organisations administering war relief were undertaken with considerable sums of money involved. Throughout the Great War and post-1918 period war funds were the subject of Government legislation and attempts to secure an efficient management of funds. Chapter four surveys the legislation and the main issues involved in the attempt to manage the funds more efficiently at the regional and national levels.

Chapter One

DAYS OF BRITISH RED; PRE-WAR PATRIOTIC ORGANISATIONS

The patriotic organisations established in New Zealand during the years preceding the Great War, emerged at a time when patriotism came to mean more in the popular mind than at any previous time. During the early years of the new century closer imperial ties, the sense of belonging to a greater empire and the unfailing allegiance to Great Britain, contributed to the underlying ideology of these organisations. Their emergence in New Zealand coincided with a unique chapter in the history of the British Empire which was characterised by the zest for heroism, adventure, physical assertiveness, the glorification of past history and devoted loyalty to the Empire. The character and temper of this period partly explains the existence of patriotic organisations, but more concrete stimuli responsible for their germination may be found. In a general sense such stimuli as the rise of European militarism, the fear of rapacious adversaries encroaching on British held territory, and the need for unity and imperial strength in a military and moral sense, helped move individuals to form patriotic organisations.

More explicitly, the imperial stimuli focused on the presence of a number of specific variables, such as the military presence of Russia and Germany (and more notably the latter's undeclared challenge to Britain in numerous fields including trade and commerce), the problem of imperial decadence and the loosening of the moral fibres of society, and the problems of maintaining such a vast empire while attempting to unite and mould such a responsibility into a more cohesive force. It was in response to these variables, aligned also with Britain's uncertain future on the world stage, that patriotic organisations assumed the imperial task of educating New Zealanders about the problems involved and how they could be eliminated so that Britain would not go the way of Rome. After all, Britain's ills were the Empire's ills and consequently New Zealand's also.

Very few organisations which emerged in response to imperial stimuli were exclusively New Zealand products. Only the North Canterbury

Defence League and a league set up in Oamaru in 1902 could boast of such a distinction. The majority of pre-war patriotic organisations were the offspring of parental bodies already in existence in Britain. These organisations included the Victoria League, National Defence League, the various youth movements, League of Empire and the Navy League.¹

At the beginning of the twentieth century imperialists perceived a direct and significant connection between educational reform and the survival of the British Empire.² Education was considered to be an integral element in the functioning of imperial unity and the Navy League³ was an unabashed advocate of this attitude. The schools were therefore to provide a platform for the dissemination of a considerable amount of the League's propaganda and activities.

The Navy League had heavy leanings towards a maritime bias. This remained apparent in the League's activities and underlying philosophy, '...that on the British Navy mainly depends the integrity of the Empire and the surest guarantee of peace.'⁴ This philosophy was more aptly expressed in the symbolism of the League's wall map.

A glance at the Navy League map would show that the Empire was...a large house containing many different sized rooms. But there was only one house, one pathway or passage connecting the different rooms and that pathway or passage was the ocean. It was necessary for all who lived in this house that the great highway be kept always open. The fleet was the custodian and keeper of this highway.⁵

The League sought to instil this philosophy in the minds of school children in an attempt to foster a sense of patriotism, awareness and loyalty to the Empire. Given the tenor of the times, with Great Britain recoiling under the criticism heaped upon her during and after the Boer War coupled

¹ Studies re British and New Zealand Navy Leagues are minimal whereas the German model has been the subject of closer research. See e.g. Geoff. Eley, 'Reshaping The Right; Radical Nationalism and the German Navy League: 1898-1908', in Historical Journal, Vol.21, No.2, 1978, pp.327-354.

² J.G. Greenlee, 'Imperial Studies And the Unity of the Empire', in The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, Vol.7, No.3, 1979, p.321.

³ The Navy League was inaugurated in Great Britain during 1895 in response to the expansion of the Russian and French fleets. On 21 February, 1896 the first New Zealand Navy League was established in Auckland.

⁴ The Press, 5 February, 1897, p.5.

⁵ Navy League (Wellington Branch), Annual Report 1909, p.13.

with the persistent notion of decadence, such an act of indoctrination was considered fully justified. After all the youth of today would inherit the Empire and if the problems of Empire were tackled at the grass roots level then they would disappear with each succeeding generation of adults.

The methods employed by the Navy League within the confines of the schools were practical by nature in attempting to create an awareness that, '...naval unpreparedness may be looked upon by all true Britons as nothing short of criminal.'⁶ Members of the League visited the schools expounding the glories of Britain's past history and in their wake they established a number of school branches. In addition, magic lantern entertainments and lectures were organised, naval literature was circulated, prizes were awarded for competitive essays on naval history topics and trips were undertaken to examine visiting naval ships.

Although a great deal of the League's activities were confined to the schools the general public were not neglected. The press gave more than adequate coverage to the League's ideas, activities and general presence,⁷ and public lectures were conducted with the bravado of a patriotic extravaganza. Take for instance, a lecture conducted by the League in Dunedin on 7 December, 1906. Hundreds of schoolchildren were in attendance and lantern slides were employed to illustrate the lecture. The slides included illustrations of Lord Nelson, H.M.S. Victory, H.M.S. Dreadnought, Kaiser Wilhelm II, the Lusitania, Sir John Fisher and others. Accompanying this who's who of the naval world was a band trumpeting the inevitable patriotic airs, including the 'Death of Nelson' during the interval. The balcony was adorned with bunting depicting Nelson's famous signal and at the conclusion of the lecture there was a further patriotic display. A slide of King Edward VII dressed as the Admiral of the Fleet was presented and three cheers were given for flag and Empire which was followed by the National Anthem. An estimated 2000 people attended while hundreds were turned away.⁸

Members of the public who were unable to participate at indoor activities of the League due to attendance restrictions, were adequately

⁶ Navy League (Wellington Branch), Annual Report, 1907, p.8.

⁷ See e.g. Dominion, 4 December, 1911, p.9; Mataura Ensign, 6 October, 1904; New Zealand Herald (NZH), 3 March, 1905, p.5.

⁸ H.T.C. Knox, The Navy and Foreign Warships, Dunedin, 1908, p.20.

catered for during outdoor activities when the Navy League celebrated Trafalgar Day. These annual celebrations enabled the League to command Dominion wide attention by the use of well planned co-ordinated activities. Thus, all branches of the League were able to mount the platform of propaganda simultaneously. A typical Trafalgar Day celebration in 1911 in Christchurch saw shields framed in wreaths placed before the memorial of Queen Victoria bearing inscriptions to the memory of the British, French and Spanish who fell in 1805; in Ashburton, one Professor Elert gave a speech on the British Empire traced through three centuries and recounting the events leading up to Britain's supremacy at sea; in Dunedin, speeches were rendered on, 'Why I Am A Member of the Navy League', 'The Need for National Patriotism', and 'Some Critics of Imperial Defence'; in Wellington, a Trafalgar supper was held with patriotic speeches and a musical programme to follow and in Invercargill, a demonstration was held in Queen's Park with a march past, exhibitions of physical drill, semaphore signalling and a mimic battle between the high school and public school cadets.⁹

However, not all of the public were overtly receptive to such celebrations or the ideas of the League. The League was at times the subject of criticism from individuals who corresponded to newspapers, and from pamphleteers such as one Morton Aldis. At an address delivered before the Auckland branch of the International Arbitration and Peace Association on 28 September, 1905, Aldis condemned the Navy League's planned celebration of the centenary of the Battle of Trafalgar. Anglo-French colonial differences had been settled in 1904 and Aldis believed that the existing relationship should not be impaired. Aldis envisaged this celebration not as a national affair, but the vent of, 'partisan propaganda.'¹⁰ Similarly, the Navy League were at times accused of attempting to foster a spirit of jingoism¹¹ which must have conjured up visions of an aggressive spirit, a preoccupation with fighting and in many New Zealanders, attitudes reminiscent of the Boer War. Such a claim was denounced by a League spokesman who described the League's work as being a, 'grim necessity.'¹² Despite minor criticisms the Navy League

⁹ Navy League Journal, Vol.16, No.1, 1911, p.22.

¹⁰ Morton Aldis, The Lessons of Trafalgar, Auckland, 1905, p.2.

¹¹ Navy League (Wellington Branch), Annual Report, 1908, p.3.

¹² Ibid.

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¹² *ibid.*

was accepted favourably within the Dominion¹³ because of the objectives involved.¹⁴

The Navy League's recognition that the educational milieu provided the solution to the Empire's problems and future was also recognised by two other patriotic organisations - the League of Empire and the Victoria League.¹⁵ A basic tenet of their ideology was that the bonds of Empire must be solidified even further and that English speaking peoples must, '...learn to think Imperially.'¹⁶ Underlying their projects was the basic assumption that the unity of the Empire depended in the final analysis not on constitutional arrangements but on a deeply rooted mutual sympathy and sense of kinship amongst its peoples.¹⁷

The idea to form a Victoria League in New Zealand was first mooted in Auckland during November, 1909 and was formally established in January, 1910. Apart from the important work of education, the League provided services unique to the New Zealand situation such as providing books for people in the backblocks and providing information for intending settlers. However, throughout the Victoria League's existence, education was to form the basis of their philosophy. For instance, it was adamantly believed by the League that,

...education of the young in imperial matters with the view to stimulating in them an imperial sentiment was an important branch of their work.... only by the education of the young in imperialism could the League obtain a strong hold.¹⁸

Although the Education Act of 1877 effectively kept religious instruction out of the New Zealand primary school curriculum, there was, nevertheless, a substitute of a kind.¹⁹ The youth of the Dominion were the recipients of this substitute in the form of imperial teachings and were encouraged to be competitive because competition was viewed as a

¹³ see the editorial on the Navy League, NZH, 23 December, 1903, p.4. cf., supplement, p.1.

¹⁴ see Appendix A.

¹⁵ Both were founded in England in 1901 in an attempt to stave off the challenge to Imperialism raised during the Boer War.

¹⁶ re League of Empire ideology see The Press, 24 May, 1904, p.7.

¹⁷ Greenlee, p.322.

¹⁸ Auckland Weekly News (AWN), 8 March, 1917, p.34.

¹⁹ E.P. Malone, 'The New Zealand School Journal And The Imperial Ideology', in New Zealand Journal of History, Vol.7, No.1, 1973, p.12.

moral virtue. For instance, the Cecil Rhodes Patriotic Competition was designed to assist in developing a sense of patriotism in New Zealand's youth²⁰ by the writing of competitive essays on imperial topics. The topic for 1909 was 'Patriotism: And What It Has Done For The British Empire In the Past.'²¹ The youth of the Dominion who perhaps best exemplify the teachings of the imperial ideology were the Boy Scouts and Girl Peace Scout movements.²²

The Scout movement was introduced into New Zealand by Lieutenant Colonel David Cossgrove in 1908 as a gesture of imperial solidarity coupled with the desire to introduce the Dominion's youth to an outdoor education. Like their counterparts in Great Britain²³ the scouts were intensely patriotic in their attempt to develop good citizenship in order to prepare the next generation of adults. The desire for such a movement was partly due to the Boer War. This war had outlined weaknesses in the imperial structure which had helped later in the Tory notion of decadence in Britain. Coupled with this was the poor physical calibre of recruits which were seen as living testimony of the detrimental inroads urban living was making on the quality of life. These factors and the humiliating military exhibition of Britain weighed heavily on the imperial conscience during the post-Boer War years.

The scouts thus became advocates of imperial unity, exponents of physical fitness and the proud bearers of a quasi-militarist exterior. Subsequently, this exterior was a creator of alarm in some circles. Opposition to this militarist image ranged from mild expressions of disapproval to venomous attacks of condemnation.

²⁰ cf., Roger Openshaw, 'Patriotism In The Primary School Curriculum: 1900-1930,' in Delta, No.24, June 1979, pp.42-50.

²¹ Defence, Vol.2, No.24, March 1909, p.12.

²² For material re New Zealand Scouting see Michael E. Hoare, 'Our Comrades Beyond The Seas: Colonial Youth Movements: 1880-1920', in The Turnbull Library Record, Vol.12, No.2, 1979, pp.73-95.

²³ For material re British youth movements see J.O. Springhall, 'Lord Meath, Youth and Empire', in Journal of Contemporary History, Vol.5, No.4, 1970, pp.97-111; Springhall, 'The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism In Relation to British Youth Movements: 1908-1930', in International Review of Social History, Vol.16, 1971, pp.125-159; and Paul Wilkinson, 'English Youth Movements: 1908-1930', in Journal of Contemporary History, Vol.4, No.2, 1969, pp.3-23.

A Boy Scout is an incipient assassin, a budding jingo, a germinating butcher of men - a boy being transformed into a blood lusting fool and tool to serve in the great class struggle as an iron fist²⁴ for the employer class against the working class.

The flaunting of a quasi-militarist image gave rise to the propagation of ideas that the scouts were being prepared as the Empire's next generation of soldiers. A belief which was hard to deny when Cossgrove told his girl peace scouts that,

The surest way to prevent war is to be well prepared for it. So encourage your brothers and boyfriends to learn drill, shooting and scouting and when they are old enough, to join some company where they can prepare themselves to stand up for the Empire against all her enemies.²⁵

While Cossgrove defended the quasi-militarist nature of the scouts their imperial teachings imbued them with a view that they belonged '...to the grandest Empire in the world - an Empire on which the sun never sets.'²⁶ This was an all important view if decline was to be arrested and the Empire achieve a more effective state of preparedness.

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.²⁷ Central to this militarist conscience was the theme of preparedness made manifest by the need to prepare the Empire for a future war. At various times Russia, China and Japan were envisaged as possible foes bearing swords, but none of these possible antagonists could match the consistent fear which Germany generated in the popular mind. Under Wilhelm II, Germany steered a course of competitive opposition to Great Britain on the world stage. New Zealand sought a greater allegiance to the imperial centre during these years and was quick to express disapproval at foreign adversaries who challenged the supremacy of Britain.

A prime example of this was the response to reports of anglophobic rhetoric and caricatures appearing in what one newspaper described as the

24 Unquoted source by S.G. Culliford, New Zealand Scouting - The First Fifty Years: 1908-1958, Wellington, 1958, p.16.

25 David Cossgrove, Peace Scouting For Girls, Christchurch, 1910, p.154.

26 *ibid.*, p.153.

27 Simon Johnson, 'The Home Front: Aspects of Civilian Patriotism in New Zealand During the First World War', M.A. Thesis, Massey, 1975, p.4.



Die Wacht Am Rhein.

MADAME NEW ZEALAND: No! we don't want to buy anything from you at all: you were calling us nasty names over the fence just now; besides it's not a watch, it's an alarm clock we want when you're about.
 [A movement to boycott German goods has been inaugurated in Oamaru. It is being warmly supported, and other parts of the colony will be called on to join it.]

'German gutter press.'²⁸ Meetings were held throughout the colony and resolutions were passed condemning the Germans and calling for a boycott of German goods.²⁹ In Oamaru, a League of an anti-German nature was formed in which citizens signed the boycott pledge.³⁰ Whether other bodies were formed is not known, but it did indicate the support which the Colony was willing to lend Great Britain.

The militarist saturation of the pre-war mind was aggravated further by the distorted fear of German invasion which produced the inevitable flow of invasion stories³¹ in the Dominion and throughout the Empire. For instance, at Palmerston North the high school was rocked by a loud explosion followed by a terrible smell. Many explanations based on speculation were expounded by pupils and teachers alike. The most popular being that the German invasion had begun. Upon investigation it was found that a chemistry class had been experimenting with red phosphorous and potassium chlorate.³² Why the Germans should want to invade the Dominion, let alone Palmerston North High School surpassed the bounds of reason and reality. However, in a time of sensitivity and tension, suspicion and excitement based on exaggerated fear could override practicalities and common sense. Furthermore, a development in the invasion scare was the alleged sightings of German airships³³ whose occupants it was believed, 'were busy spying out the land with hostile intent.'³⁴ Also at Palmerston North High School, 'the airship scare evidently took fire among the boarders, for a few were in the habit of looking out for mysterious aerial vessels every night before going to bed.'³⁵

The invasion scares and the vexed problem of imperial defence provided the stimuli for the emergence of defence oriented patriotic

28 The Press, 16 January, 1902, p.4.

29 cf., Johnson, pp.10-12.

30 see The Press, 17 January, 1902, p.5.

31 see I.F. Clarke, Voices Prophesying War: 1763-1894, London, 1966; and Samuel Hynes, The Edwardian Turn of Mind, Princeton, 1969.

32 see Palmerstonian, Vol.2, No.4, 1912, p.11.

33 see e.g. NZH, 6 August, 1909, p.6; 10 August, p.5; 11 August, p.10; and The Press, 11 August, 1909, p.7.

34 Lyttelton Times, 7 August, 1909, p.4.

35 Palmerstonian, Vol.1, No.5, 1909, p.30.

organisations. One such organisation was the Legion of Frontiersmen³⁶ which was formed shortly after the cessation of the Boer War. Imbued with a patriotic spirit the Legion strove to prepare for war in a time of peace. Similarly, one A. Joyce of Lyttelton was motivated into forming a patriotic body.

In August, 1909, A Paper Advocating The Formation of A North Canterbury Defence League was published in which Joyce outlined plans for the defence of Lyttelton and the equipping of a local field force to repel the German invader, should he come. Joyce was adamant in his belief that New Zealand's first duty to the Empire was the protection of ports and coaling stations and that Lyttelton was the most important of these ports. The total cost proposed by Joyce for the project was £230,250.³⁷ Joyce was going to raise the money by forming a North Canterbury defence district which would contribute, '...£11,500 a year for about thirty years.'³⁸

A letter to the editor of the Lyttelton Times on 7 August agreed with Joyce's scheme, but felt that the whole country should help in financing the defence of the port. Trigger, a columnist writing for the Canterbury Times stated that Joyce's scheme, '...will have at least aroused curiosity,' but, '...such a proposal to defend North Canterbury cannot for one moment be taken seriously.'³⁹ Instead, if the invader came, Trigger advocated immediate submission. This attitude incurred the wrath of one correspondent.⁴⁰ Whether Joyce's North Canterbury Defence League materialised is not known for certain, but one feels that it probably did not come to fruition.⁴¹

³⁶ The Legion exists to the present day and it has its headquarters located in Palmerston North.

³⁷ A. Joyce, A Paper Advocating The Formation of A North Canterbury Defence League, Lyttelton, 1909, p.6.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p.7.

³⁹ Lyttelton Times, 17 August, 1909, p.10.

⁴⁰ see Lyttelton Times, 21 August, 1909, p.2.

⁴¹ A search through The Press for August and September 1909, failed to find any mention of Joyce's North Canterbury Defence League.

The pre-war mind was consistently being conditioned by militarist activities. These were made manifest in the actions and thoughts of individuals such as Joyce and by newspaper articles, pamphlets, Government legislation, visiting naval squadrons⁴² and the move to place school boys in military uniforms.⁴³ This in turn helped produce the almost ceaseless supply of speculations about future war.⁴⁴ Even aerolite phenomena was perceived by sceptics to be the planet Mars.⁴⁵ Amidst the militarist mood of the period there was to emerge the National Defence League (NDL).⁴⁶

The NDL was formed in Hamilton on 3 July, 1906 under the name New Zealand Empire and National Service League. In August, this body moved to Auckland whereupon it became the NDL. The League was introduced to readers of the New Zealand Herald as a, '...patriotic movement with a duty to the Empire of implanting in the breasts of youths, love of country and a knowledge of the meaning of obedience, discipline and patriotism.'⁴⁷ In the attempt to have universal defensive training accepted, the NDL hoped to make rifle shooting a favourite pastime in the Colony. To gain acceptance the NDL made appeals to one and all, to Conservatives, Liberals, Radicals, Democrats, Socialists, Employers, working men, clergymen, the Peace Society and haters of jingoism.

Are you a Radical? Then join the League which desires a reform truly radical, distributing the burdens of national defence equally among all classes instead of allowing them to weigh crushingly on the proletariat.⁴⁸

The acceptance of the NDL was aided by the threat of Germany which

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- 42 see G.P. Taylor, 'New Zealand and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the 1908 Visit of the American Fleet,' in Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol.15, No.1, 1969, pp.55-77.
- 43 see Roger Openshaw, 'The Patriot Band; The School Cadets From Their Evolution to the Great War,' M.A. Thesis, Massey, 1973.
- 44 see e.g. The Press, 31 December, 1910, p.8; 31 December, 1912, p.6; NZH, 31 December, 1906, p.4; 26 December, 1907, p.4; 31 December, 1908, p.4; 24 December, 1910, p.6; 24 December, 1912, p.6; and 31 December, 1912, p.6.
- 45 see NZH, 5 August, 1909, p.5 and Lyttelton Times, 7 August, 1909, p.4.
- 46 Secondary material re the National Defence League is minimal. see e.g. E.M. Fraser, 'New Zealand Military Policy From the Boer War to the Great War,' M.A. Thesis, Auckland, 1958 and J.D. Milburn, 'New Zealand's First Experiment with Compulsory Military Training', M.A. Thesis, Victoria, 1954.
- 47 NZH, 18 August, 1906, p.7.
- 48 New Zealand Empire and National Service League, Objects and Constitution, Hamilton, 1906, p.4.

came to impinge on the Dominion's conscience more consistently than in earlier years. As a result New Zealanders were consistently being told to wake up and prepare. The NDL saw the need to wake up in terms of training more soldiers while the Herald saw the need in terms of naval armament and aid to Britain in response to German naval expansion.

By financially sustaining the League; by establishing a central office to co-ordinate national activities; by enrolling the support of sympathetic men and women; by organising a lecture programme; by house to house canvassing supplying literature and arousing patriotism in the young, and by obtaining a referendum on universal defensive training the NDL sought to educate public opinion and secure its objectives.⁴⁹

One of the League's prime tools in the education process was its official organ - Defence. With such sensational articles as, 'Get A Gun - In A Hurry' - 'Our National Danger' - 'The World is Arming' - 'Is Invasion Possible?' and 'If War Occurs - What?', the NDL attempted to instil its propaganda in the pre-war mind. The rhetoric used was repetitive in content, illustrative of two well defined threats in the Asiatics and Germany and extremely alarmist by nature.

We must train, arm, equip, prepare - now....to be drilled and armed, to have our forts gunned and manned, is our only hope if in the fortunes of war a German army corps appears on our coasts...⁵⁰

Russia was also subject to attack by the NDL even though Anglo-Russian relations were more cordial by 1907. In a fictional column called, 'From My Gossip Betsy; Being Her Confidences Per Post,' Betsy recalls an account of how her boyfriend Tom and herself came across some Russian spies in the park exchanging plans of fort positions in New Zealand and of how Tom and Betsy killed one of the spies in a struggle. Betsy's brother, Harry, was envious when he heard of the news.

...[Harry] sulked himself to bed for sheer jealousy of Tom and afterwards went prowling about with rubber heels every night. But, so did every body else that heard of it and the Russians never came there any more. So you see, killing Russians must be some how different to killing ordinary people, for Tom got a letter from the Governor with all sorts of nice things in it and a gold watch...⁵¹

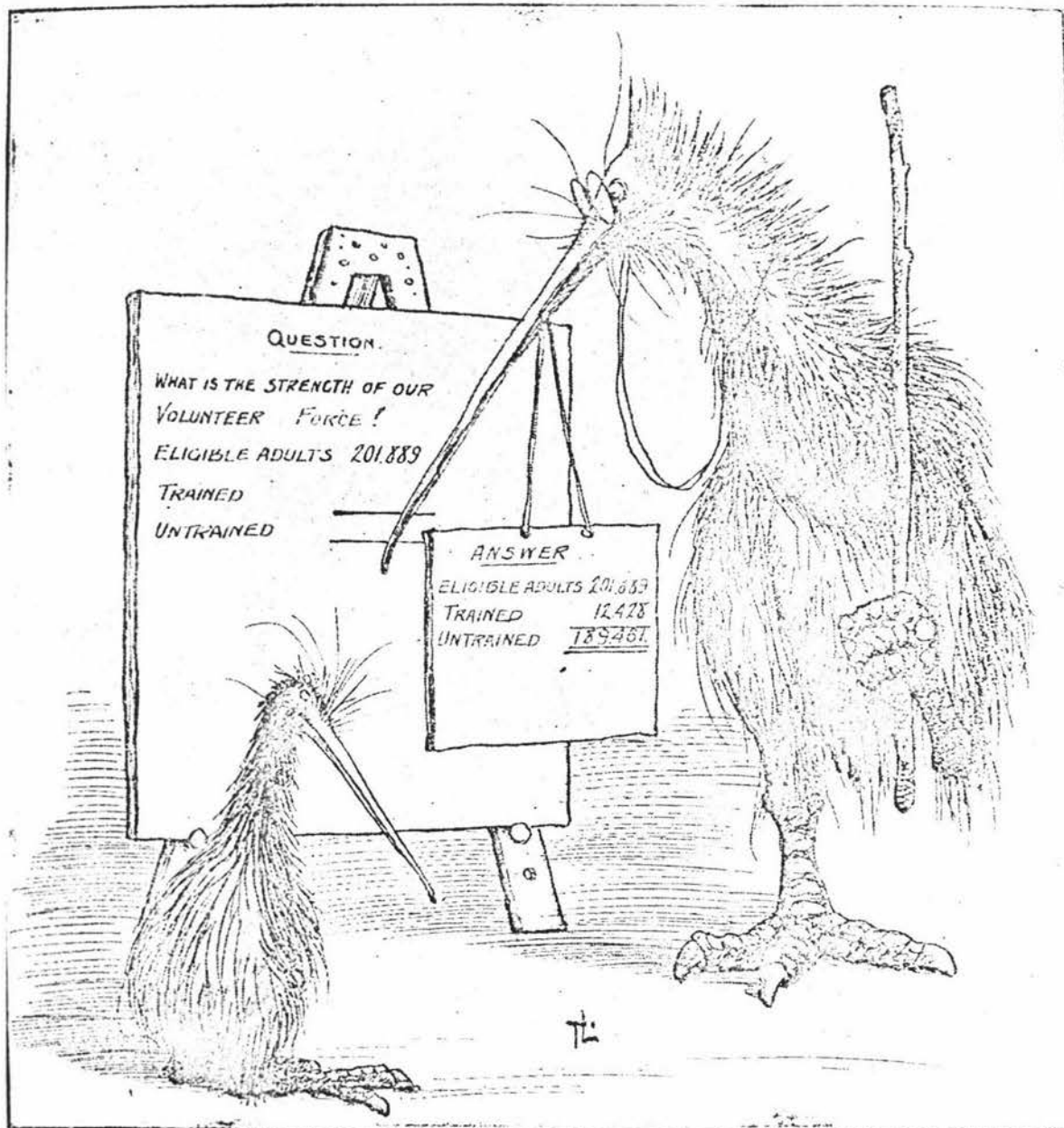
⁴⁹ see Appendix B.

⁵⁰ Defence, Vol.2, No.24, March 1909, p.3.

⁵¹ Defence, Vol.1, No. 2, December 1906, p.14.

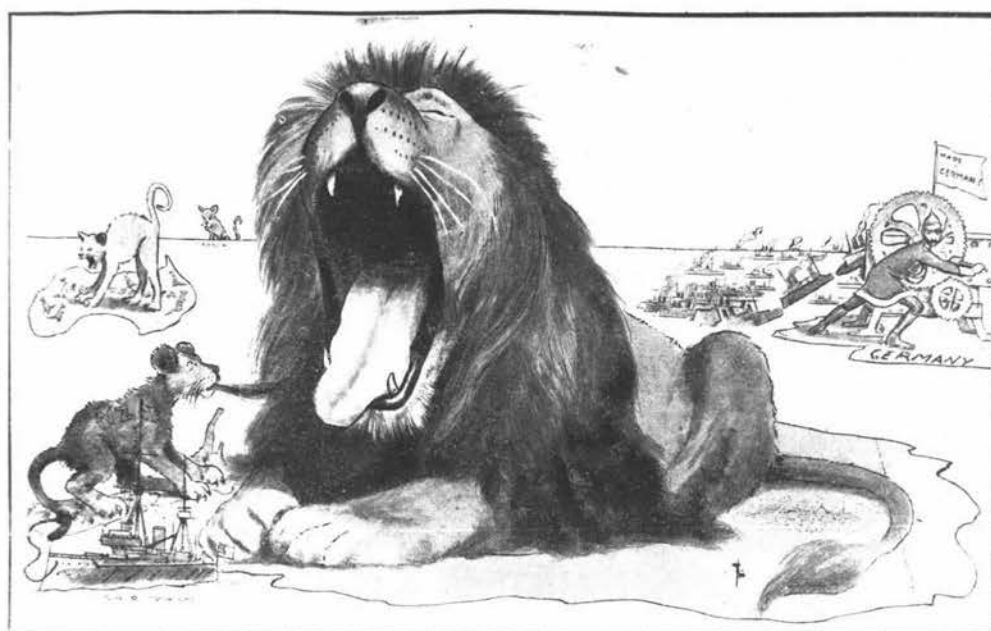
Variations of A Theme

Wake Up, New Zealand!



Dominic Kiwi: "Just so, my child, but we must have many more trained men than that for the defence of New Zealand."

Variations of A Theme



"TIME TO WAKE UP"

—AUCKLAND WEEKLY NEWS

(NZH, 31 March, 1909, p.9)

Clearly it was a view which seemed rather callous, but in disseminating propaganda in favour of universal defensive training all rhetoric was struck with a chord of legitimacy. Some, however, failed to believe in the rhetoric or in the NDL.⁵²

With the passing of the Defence Act of 1909, which did not pass entirely unopposed,⁵³ the NDL had its aims fulfilled and passed from the Dominion's midst in early 1910.⁵⁴ Other patriotic organisations such as the Navy League and Victoria League were to survive the pre-war years to render valuable service in the fund raising ventures of the Great War when new types of patriotic organisations were to make their impact felt. The degree of impact which patriotic organisations had on pre-war New Zealand is debatable. Their effectiveness and contribution to the mood of August, 1914, can only be measured against the efforts of newspaper editors, ministers, school masters and politicians in trumpeting before the public the imperial ideology and the theme of preparedness. Whatever the degree of impact, the contribution to the notion of a popular war had to be a combination of the aforementioned efforts. 'Otherwise it is difficult to understand,' wrote Caroline Playne in 1928 about a problem which has puzzled commentators ever since, 'how it came about that practically the whole of youth rushed with blind nobility, but absolute heedlessness of causes into the arena of war at the first moment possible.'⁵⁵

52 see NZH, 31 December, 1906, p.3 and 24 May, 1907, p.3.

53 see R.L. Weitzel, 'Pacifists and Anti-Militarists In New Zealand: 1909-1914' in New Zealand Journal of History, Vol.7, No.2, 1973, pp.128-148.

54 Revival of NDL after the Great War encountered criticism. See the following pamphlet, League Against Extension of Militarism, The National Defence League of New Zealand, Auckland, c. 1920.

55 Caroline Playne, quoted by Springhall, 'The Boy Scouts...', p.158.

Chapter Two

FOR 'OUR BOYS' AND THEIR DEPENDENTS:
PATRIOTIC ORGANISATIONS ADMINISTERING WAR RELIEF

When the Great War began it broke a rare forty three year span of peace in Europe that had lasted since the cessation of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. The subsequent response by the peoples of Europe has been told on countless occasions, and in New Zealand the response was no different.¹ 'People who had never consciously thought of their country as a whole or of themselves as called upon to make voluntary sacrifices for their country's good were seized with a patriotic frenzy and infected by the general contagion of public service.'² In Auckland, the Mayor, C.J. Parr, had received many calls from citizens offering their services, but at this stage it was not known publicly what the Dominion's role was to be during the war. However, in the background schemes of how the community and Dominion could be best served during the hostilities were in motion. Parr intended to suggest to the Prime Minister the establishment of a Citizens Council representative of the community which would serve the city not only by helping the defence authorities, but also the interests of those men who were to answer the Empire's call.³

A sense of urgency prevailed of a magnitude unprecedented in the Dominion's history. When the press publicised the news that a New Zealand Expeditionary Force was to be despatched the comfort of the soldiers and well being of their dependents was immediately perceived as being a legitimate need and a supplement to the ordinary pay of the soldier was considered virtuous. In response to the urgency, mayors and other leading community figures called for the establishment of patriotic funds controlled, at first, by committees. The patriotic committees which assumed control of these funds burgeoned to proportions of an extensive Dominion wide movement. All were imbued with the idea of

¹ see NZH, 5 August, 1914, p.10; AWN, 6 August, 1914, p.20; and any other daily newspaper re fervour at the outbreak of war.

² H. Fisher, The Common Weal, London, 1924, p.101. Original passage has been altered slightly. The words, 'had' and 'were' are substitutes for the original words of, 'have' and 'are' respectively.

³ see NZH, loc.cit.

raising funds and providing comforts and luxuries for members of the expeditionary force,⁴ who, in the popular parlance of the day, were affectionately known as 'our boys'. The raising of funds and the provision of commodities also witnessed the emergence of knitting and sewing guilds by the women and schoolchildren of the Dominion.

The origins of the patriotic organisations administering war relief emanated from the patriotic fund committees established during the August days of 1914. The prototype of which had first appeared during the Boer War. The failure of the fund raising⁵ committees of the Boer War to develop and mature into war relief administering organisations can be partly explained by the contrast in intensity between the two wars. The war that began in 1914 was universally expected to be concluded by Christmas, but a change of attitude became apparent when the war rolled into 1915 and wounded New Zealand soldiers began returning from Gallipoli, a location which was to be forever indelibly etched into the minds and hearts of contemporary New Zealanders.

The prevailing mood and speculation about when the war might cease helped produce a fear that if the patriotic funds were not properly managed then they may become exhausted prematurely. Action was taken to unite the numerous committees and funds, within their respective regions, into one efficient body controlled by a single executive. As a result, in the latter half of 1915, the patriotic war relief administering organisations began to emerge. For instance, on 12 August, there emerged the Auckland Provincial Patriotic and War Relief Association (APPWRA) after the amalgamation of the Auckland Patriotic League Fund and the Hospital Ship Equipment Fund. Among others to be formed were the Wellington War Relief Association on 18 October and the Hawke's Bay War Relief Association on 8 December.

Upon their formation the war relief associations became the recipients of a considerable amount of finance. The amounts received were by no means meagre because of the overwhelming response that patriotic appeals had received from New Zealanders. Once these amounts

⁴ see Johnson, pp.45-69, re fund raising efforts for 'our boys'.

⁵ see Johnson, 'Sons of the Empire: A Study of New Zealand Ideas and Public Opinion During the Boer War', B.A. (Hons.) Research Exercise, Massey, 1974, pp.29-32.



(Volunteer Lunch time Sewing At Frankton School. 'We made handkerchiefs and also cheese cloth singlets if you remember.'

By Courtesy Waikato Art Museum)

had become the responsibility of the associations, portions were invested in various schemes, including fixed deposit accounts, British Exchequer bonds, local boroughs and road districts throughout the region in order to earn interest. The preoccupation with finance and the obsessive need to provide welfare for 'our boys' and their dependents contributed markedly to the overall nature and philosophy of the war relief associations. Their nature reflected a formal, bureaucratic business structure which was managed and controlled by members of a conservative temperament. While their philosophy was based on the idea that New Zealanders should care for their fellow New Zealanders in a time when there was less contemplation of immediate recourse to central authority for welfare. Throughout the war and immediate post-war years the nature and philosophy of the war relief associations remained unaltered.

The hiring of full time, paid staff also reflected the bureaucratic nature of the war relief associations. During the early stages of the war the number of paid staff was minimal. For instance, in 1916, the Wellington War Relief Association employed a staff of four⁶ which burgeoned to thirteen⁷ by 1919. This increase also reflected the escalating demand placed on patriotic bodies as the war became older and nearer its conclusion. In Dunedin, the patriotic work of the Otago Patriotic and General Welfare Association appears to have been an extension of the city council activities because all secretarial work pertaining to patriotic affairs was conducted by the Town Clerk and his staff.

The relationships between members serving in the administration of patriotic associations tended to be formal and impersonal because clearly formulated rules governed their behaviour within the confines of the association. Those who participated in the management and administrative sector of the patriotic associations were generally middle aged, married men who were the holders of positions of responsibility within the community. Those in the community who were not leading figures found their participation in the war effort through their pockets by contributing to the patriotic funds.

⁶ War Relief Association of Wellington, Annual Report, 1916, p.9.

⁷ War Relief Association of Wellington, Annual Report, 1919, p.24.

Women in the community seldom played a role in the upper echelons of the war relief associations. Instead they were confined to participating in the activities of the Red Cross, Women's National Reserve and the Victoria League. Their activities were primarily of a domestic nature in helping raise comforts for 'our boys'. The war relief associations did recognise the need of involving women in their numbers and as a result, separate women's branches were established. Whether the creation of a separate identity catered for the patriotic zeal of New Zealand women or not was debatable. However, in the final analysis women failed to become a respected force within the procedure of administering war relief and in matters concerning the state.

Women were thus absent from the machinery of the patriotic war relief associations which were instead, driven by separate committees consisting wholly of men who were responsible to an executive committee. All associations had an executive as well as a relief committee and a finance committee. There were additional exceptions. The Canterbury Patriotic Fund executive had under its auspices an Agricultural and Farming Committee which provided assistance to soldiers who wished to go onto the land. The Otago Patriotic and General Welfare Association had a Clergy Committee and a Recruiting Committee. The Clergy Committee had the function of providing special services for anniversaries such as the declaration of war and the landing on Gallipoli, as well as troop arrivals and departures. The services that the committees provided were intended to aid in the efficient management of funds. Although the committee's activities were purely mundane in nature they did represent a tangible contribution to the welfare of the soldier and his dependents.

The soldier and his dependents became the lifeblood and sole reason for the war relief association's existence. Their activities revealed a distinct willingness of attachment to the cause at hand. In resigning themselves to the welfare of 'our boys' the patriotic war relief associations seldom deviated from the task at hand to consciously pursue other programmes. However, on one occasion a deputation from the Wellington Patriotic Society brought to the mayor's attention their concern about Germans residing in Wellington. H.G. Hill, the president of the Society, presented a resolution expressing their horror and indignation at the sinking of the Lusitania and urged the internment of Germans in New Zealand and the closer scrutiny of Germans

who were naturalised British subjects.⁸

At various times during the war the activities and administration of the patriotic war relief organisations became subject to criticism. The criticism levelled at the organisations was often coloured by moral overtones. A case in point was the opposition to the well organised patriotic Queen Carnivals which attempted to raise funds for 'our boys' and other similar causes. People who attended the Queen Carnivals received small gifts and prizes for their monetary contribution. Those who criticised this form of fund raising felt that true patriotism was not being adhered to. The Wellington weekly newspaper, Defender, which described itself as the Dominion's national paper, stated,

How long is this deplorable folly [Queen Carnivals] to continue? How many more years of war will be needed to convince the public that an abandonment to gaiety - the revels and gambles of carnivals - is not a decent method of expressing gratitude to the dead and the wounded.

Defender described the carnivals as, '...trivialities, utterly unworthy of the soldiers', and that, '...it is one dark blot on the National Government that it lacked the courage to oppose the carnival craze.'¹⁰

The decision to support or not to support the carnivals became a question of conscience for some. To the majority of New Zealanders the question of whether or not the Queen Carnival was a legitimate and moral way of raising funds would not have arisen. The public gave liberally to the patriotic funds because it was regarded as their national duty and not as a method to be questioned. For those who were not in the forefront of patriotic activities subscribing to carnivals and other fund raising ventures provided them with a concrete way of contributing to the war effort. It was only a minority who were compelled by their conscience in the belief that a moral code must govern all activities in life.

The criticism levelled at the patriotic organisations over the merits of fund raising ventures may or may not have been justified, but the criticism concerning the expenses incurred in operating such ventures was justified. A portion of all contributions donated to

⁸ see AWN, 20 May, 1915, p.17.

⁹ Defender, Vol.I, No.6, 1917, p.11.

¹⁰ ibid.

patriotic fund raising ventures was not channelled for their initially intended purpose. Instead some amounts helped cover the operating expenses. Defender quoted the Wellington Queen Carnival of 1915 as an example. At that carnival, taxi hire amounted to £296, petrol £105, print and stationery £780 and advertising £1,173.¹¹ The view that wasteful methods resulted in a high rate of expenses was confirmed in a letter of 10 April, 1918, written by J.M. Kinniburgh, officer in charge of the War Funds Office to W. Ferguson, chairman of the National Efficiency Board,

...high rate of expenses was the result of the wasteful methods employed to raise funds in the early stages of the war. The general cost of collection...decreased to a very low rate as the result of better organisation and control of the various methods of raising funds.¹²

During the organisational stages of the APPWRA's Queen Carnival to raise funds for the future welfare of 'our boys' and their dependents, opposition was encountered from the church leaders of Auckland. The church took exception to the manner in which the APPWRA had set about the task of raising funds. To the church, Queen Carnivals represented gambling in its worst form and when one considers the past history of attitudes towards gambling in the Dominion, it was not difficult to comprehend why lotteries and raffles in raising funds for patriotic purposes was considered anathema to the church.

On 11 August, 1915, at a meeting of the Auckland Presbytery there was a call to the congregation, '...to abstain from and discourage, questionable forms of raising money such as art unions...'¹³ The meeting also protested against the Government,

...granting its official sanction to the robing of the demon of gambling in the white - alas bloodstained - robes of the true patriot as being an insult to the intelligence, conscience and generous patriotism of the people.¹⁴

In late September, action was taken by the ministers in Auckland. A deputation from the Auckland Clergy Association and from the Auckland Ministers Association waited on the executive committee of the APPWRA.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.15.

¹² National Efficiency Board re Cost of Patriotic Effort, File IA 30/1/147 (held National Archives [WArc]).

¹³ NZH, 11 August, 1915, p.9.

¹⁴ *ibid.*

Their business was to ask the APPWRA to eliminate the art unions and instead to appeal to the citizens by direct giving. The APPWRA failed to reciprocate and instead remained loyal to the cause which had prompted their existence.

The carnival preparations and the resistance of the APPWRA slowly began to draw the annoyance of the churches. The New Zealand Herald reported on 27 September, that a number of sermons were preached in the city pertaining to the carnival. During the morning services, the ministers urged the congregation to support the funds and in the evening sermons, the evils of gambling were referred to. At the Edendale Presbyterian Church a resolution was passed protesting against the relaxation of present laws on lotteries, believing that lotteries were detrimental to the best interests of the community.¹⁵ Also a meeting of sixty ministers representing the Salvation Army, Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches decided to protest to the APPWRA again and also to the Government.¹⁶ The churches were to continue their opposition to the gambling nature of the fund raising efforts throughout the latter half of 1915, but to no avail. Using sermons and the press as vehicles for their propaganda the churches painted a grim picture of the Queen Carnivals. In connection with the carnivals one minister, a Reverend E.A. Kirkwood, wanted to know whether or not it was '...the hour and the power of the hosts of darkness?'¹⁷

The fund raising ventures provided the patriotic organisations with their sole source of criticism and opposition. It became easier to understand why such ventures as Queen Carnivals were viewed as legitimate sources for criticism when one considers that the Queen Carnivals and other fund raising ventures involved considerable amounts of finance, coupled with the persistent fear that if the funds were not managed properly then they would become exhausted. Opposition and criticism of any other avenue of war relief activity would have been interpreted as unpatriotic by many.

The accumulation of patriotic funds provided the nucleus of the

¹⁵ see NZH, 27 September, 1915, p.7.

¹⁶ see NZH, 28 September, 1915, p.5.

¹⁷ NZH, 7 October, 1915, p.4.

activities and affairs of the war relief organisations. In Auckland, the APPWRA had committed to its charge two funds with clearly defined and separate objectives. They were the Sick, Wounded and Dependents Fund and the Fund of £20,000, known respectively as the 'A' Fund and the 'B' Fund. The 'A' Fund was established,

For soldiers, sailors, members of the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces, the nurses enlisting from the area of the Association's operations who may be wounded, injured or otherwise wholly or partially incapacitated from any cause arising during active service, and the dependents of such persons and of those killed or dying on active service or from any cause arising during active service.¹⁸

The 'B' Fund was primarily for the relief of distress in Auckland precipitated by the war and for general patriotic purposes. The funds administered by other patriotic war relief bodies which were working in the interests of those, '...who have been fighting the battles of the Empire in the cause of Freedom and Liberty,'¹⁹ were similar to those of the APPWRA.²⁰

The total amounts in the 'A' and 'B' Funds were never made secret by the APPWRA. All donations, donors and succeeding totals were made public through the newspapers and from time to time the APPWRA's funds were subject to requests for donations from organisations such as the Young Men's Christian Association, Salvation Army and the Roman Catholic church.²¹ However, all claims other than those from 'our boys' and their dependents were refused. The APPWRA and other patriotic organisations administering war relief were extremely loyal to New Zealand's soldiers and their dependents and were extremely reluctant to draw on the funds for other than their intended purpose. To the APPWRA 'our boys' were perceived as making the, '...supreme sacrifice... in defence of national justice and for benefits and privileges of British rule.'²² Hence, no claim on the funds other than from a soldier

18 Auckland Provincial Patriotic and War Relief Association (APPWRA), Annual Reports: 1915-1916, p.7.

19 Gisborne Citizens Defence Fund, Annual Report: 1918, p.1.

20 see Canterbury Patriotic Fund, Information Booklet, Christchurch, 1916, p.7.

21 see AWN, 22 February, 1917, p.22.

22 Minutes of Auckland Provincial Patriotic and War Relief Association, 25 November, 1915 (held Auckland Institute and Museum Library [AR]).

or dependent was legitimate.

In refusing claims by organisations the APPWRA directed them to appeal to the public for financial assistance. After all, the APPWRA had done so, and on occasions in a quite inflammatory tone as George Elliot, chairman of the executive committee did in October, 1915.

More of our boys are wanted; THEY do not hesitate, their ready answer to the call means your safety at Home. But they are coming home wounded, maimed, sick. What have YOU done for them? What are you going to do NOW? Some will never return; think of the graves on Gallipoli. Think not only of the bereavement, think of the NEED of the widow and orphan. We who cannot go, MUST PAY, and until every penny required for this Fund is secured we must go on working and giving.²³

The funds periodically required augmenting by the use of lotteries and carnivals and in late 1915 a new method was introduced - the sale of war seals. The seals were in effect stamps which depicted an image of the New Zealand soldier. The advertising of the war seals stressed a sense of urgency coupled with an appeal to the individual, but the sale of war seals only realised £500²⁴ for the APPWRA. The failure can be partly explained by their untimely introduction. The Government had recently introduced an additional half penny stamp and much of the energy of the APPWRA was being absorbed by the Queen Carnival preparations. Also the war seals were rather limited in their usage. The Post Office refused to handle any mail carrying war seals on the addressed side of the envelope. All seals had to appear on the reverse side.²⁵ The attitude of the Post Office was quite possibly an attempt to protect one of their sources of income. In effect, to use a war seal was to pay double the normal postage rates. Only businesses and individuals who corresponded frequently and who subscribed to the war seals could have made this fund raising venture a success in monetary terms.

The activities of the APPWRA revolved exclusively around the maintenance of the patriotic funds and the welfare of 'our boys' and their dependents. Only on sporadic occasions did the APPWRA venture

²³ Auckland Provincial Patriotic and War Relief Association, War Relief Funds...Official Statement, Auckland, 1915, p.2.

²⁴ minutes, 11 November, 1915.

²⁵ see AWN, 2 September, 1915, p.61.



PATRIOTIC WAR STAMP.

The Auckland Provincial Patriotic and War Relief Association has issued a stamp designed as above for the purpose of raising money for the relief funds. The stamps may be placed on the back of envelopes by those who desire to assist a deserving cause.

AUCKLAND PROVINCIAL PATRIOTIC AND WAR
 RELIEF ASSOCIATION.

WAR SEALS

Appeal to the Public of Auckland Province

You will require a sum of £250,000 for War Relief purposes
 throughout the Province of Auckland!

One simple means of helping to raise this sum is for **YOU** to
 determine that every letter you post shall bear the **WAR SEAL**
 of the **WAR RELIEF ASSOCIATION**.

They may be obtained at **any Store** in the Province, from your
Local Patriotic Committee, from the **Mayor or Chair-**
man of your Borough or Board, or from **WAR SEALS**
Committee, Town Hall, Auckland.

24 for 1/-

480 for £1

Tell your friends how they may assist in this way. Sell them some
 of the Seals. Push them along for all you are worth.

Remember that if every man and woman in the Auckland Province,
 over the age of 20 years, uses only **three seals per week**,
 it will result in a **weekly sum of over £1000**.

NOW, AUCKLAND! ALL TOGETHER! Don't be
 satisfied with doing your own little bit. Do a bit more for
 the other fellow in such a cause.

Already 25 Firms have agreed to use them, and have taken first
 supplies of £5 each. Some have already placed additional
 orders for same amount.

into new activities and even then for only a brief period. For instance, in an attempt to combat the lassitude of war, which became more pronounced amongst the belligerents in 1917, the APPWRA moved to keep the subject of war constantly before the public. They suggested that, '...brief, pithy statements and striking extracts from speeches by leading men be placed on cinema screens.'²⁶ It was hoped that such a move would stimulate a dogged resolve in the attitude of New Zealanders to the war.

The task of administering the patriotic funds and general war relief work was conducted by six committees within the organisation of the APPWRA. By July 1916, the APPWRA had established the following committees: Claims, Finance, Relief, Soldiers Club, Soldiers Employment and Disabled Soldiers Tuition. The Claims Board Committee was established in connection with the 'A' Fund and applicants appeared in person before this committee to have their case heard. This committee held its inaugural meeting on 27 December, 1915, in an attempt to administer the 'A' Fund more effectively. The 'A' Fund operated by supplementing Government pensions where needed and it gave temporary relief while claims were being investigated. The finance given by the committee was to supplement the pay allotted to wives and widowed mothers by husbands and sons. A typical applicant was the wife whose husband had been killed. She was paid a supplementary pension of five shillings per week from the 'A' Fund and one shilling per week for each of her two children. She automatically received state aid of £1.5s. for the children. In one week she collected a total of £2.2s.²⁷ Another type of applicant was the incapacitated soldier who received one pound weekly without state aid and five shillings for each of his three children.²⁸ In operating the 'A' Fund the Claims Committee was deliberately liberal and they attempted to follow a non-stringent policy because they believed that,

...there are very few cases which have proved or may prove unworthy of assistance given...in the administration of this fund, to be successful there must be a certain amount of elasticity; hard and fast business methods should not be the guiding policy of its administration.²⁹

26 minutes, 14 February, 1917, p.2.

27 see AWN, 30 December, 1915, p.53.

28 ibid.

29 minutes, 28 June, 1916, appendage, Report of Claims Board to Executive.

As the war progressed the Claims Committee dealt with an escalating number of applicants. At the end of the financial year in 1917, 1,741³⁰ cases had been dealt with while at the same time the following year 3,301³¹ cases were to be dealt with.

The Relief Committee of the APPWRA was established in connection with the 'B' Fund. This committee was assigned to deal with cases arising out of local distress caused by the war. The Relief Committee employed interviewers to venture into the homes of dependents who had made claims on the 'B' Fund in order to investigate their situation. During the 1915-1916 period, the relief committee was relieving some 300 cases, at a cost of £160 weekly.³²

A major task undertaken by the APPWRA from 1916 onwards was the repatriation of the discharged soldier. Committees were formed to administer this task such as the Discharged Soldiers Tuition Committee, Discharged Soldiers Employment Committee and the Soldiers Club Committee, of which the latter attempted to create a convivial social environment for the soldier to relax in. The move to repatriate discharged soldiers represented an important new phase in the activities of the APPWRA. The accent of the repatriation programme was on recreation, employment and the teaching of trade skills in an attempt to assist the discharged soldier in returning to civilian life.

The Discharged Soldiers Tuition Committee which was set up in 1916 attempted to assist disabled men to learn technical skills and trades which would best accommodate a particular disability. However, much to the disappointment of the APPWRA, the committee was a failure, not because of the way in which the committee was administered, but because of a distinct lack of interest on the part of the soldiers.³³ Those few soldiers who did take advantage of the service the committee provided, found themselves being tutored in basket weaving, boot and shoe making. Perhaps the failure of the committee's services can be explained in human terms. It was probably too much for one's pride to engage in such mundane tasks.

³⁰ APPWRA, Annual Report: 1917, p.14.

³¹ APPWRA, Annual Report: 1918, p.12.

³² APPWRA, Annual Reports: 1915-1916, p.8.

³³ see minutes, 30 August, 1916, p.4, cf. APPWRA, Annual Report: 1917, p.11 and Annual Report: 1918, p.11 re lack of interest in Tuition Committee.

The role of the Discharged Soldiers Employment Committee was to assist soldiers in finding suitable vocations. One of its tasks was to introduce the prospect of farming to Auckland's discharged soldiers, but it had to report in 1917 that, '...a disinclination on the part of the men to go on the land was evident...'³⁴ The APPWRA executive was not daunted by this prospect and they set about the task of remedying the situation. They consulted with representatives of the Auckland Agricultural and Pastoral Association and the Farmers Union in an attempt to produce a scheme that would train discharged soldiers who desired the rigours of an outdoor life. The scheme centred around soldiers training farms which were to be located on suitable land provided by the Government. Eventually, it was hoped, the soldiers farming the land would be given the option of acquiring the land at reasonable rates. J.H. Gunson, the Mayor of Auckland, was supportive of this scheme on his return from Australia because he believed, 'In them [soldiers on the land] we have the possibility of New Zealand's best asset of the future.'³⁵ Gunson was, however, aware of the problems that might be encountered and sounded the warning; many are physically incapable at the outset of undertaking hardships; many owing to lack of experience of any kind whatever in connection with agricultural or pastoral pursuits were quite unsuited for pioneering and consequently were likely to fail and many owing to lack of financial ability to secure stock or deal with unimproved land were incapable of engaging on practical grounds.³⁶

When the Government passed the Repatriation Act which established the Repatriation Board, the APPWRA expressed the attitude that the Government's scheme was 'weak' and 'insufficient'.³⁷ The APPWRA expressed its dissatisfaction further by declining to nominate any of its members as delegates to the District Repatriation Board. The passing of this act witnessed the close of the APPWRA's war time repatriation activities in the Discharged Soldiers Tuition Committee and

34 APPWRA, Annual Report: 1917, p.11.

35 minutes, 28 June, 1916, appendage, Report from J.H. Gunson to APPWRA executive re land for returned soldiers.

36 *ibid.*

37 see Geo. H. Burgess, 'The Auckland Garden Settlement Scheme', in New Zealand Capital and Labour Review, Vol.4, No.1, March, 1919. pp.36-39.

Employment Committee, but the APPWRA embarked on a private post-war repatriation venture in the Auckland Garden Settlement Scheme.

In this scheme the APPWRA purchased 282½ acres of land at Mangere at a cost of £20,000.³⁸ The executive hoped to allocate two acres to each successful applicant, upon which houses would be erected and light employment such as poultry farming, bee culture and vegetable growing would be hopefully carried out to supplement pensions.

The patriotic organisations which administered war relief and managed the funds were not the only patriotic bodies with a vested interest in the welfare of 'our boys' and their dependents. Some of the other patriotic bodies were as prominent as the war relief associations, while some were totally obscure such as the Te Horo Self Denial League which had donated £95³⁹ to the patriotic funds at the war's close, also the Women's Ministering League and the Snapshots From Home League. The Women's Ministering League was established in Wellington on 1 September, 1915 with the aim of concentrating and organising the raising of comforts for 'our boys'. The idea behind the Snapshots From Home League was to present the soldiers at the front with an additional comfort consisting of photographs of the home and family. The motto of the League was 'All Our Soldiers Want Snapshots From Home'⁴⁰ and the League was administered under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association in the four main centres. The Navy League, Victoria League and the Young Men's Christian Association also catered for the interests of 'our boys'.

Another less known patriotic body was the Swankers Club⁴¹ of Wanganui. This club was a non-political and non-denominational body which contributed £2,815⁴² to the patriotic funds at the war's close. The idea of forming such a club was mooted by one T. King who, after visiting England, was imbued with the idea that such a club should exist

³⁸ APPWRA, Annual Report: 1919, p.15.

³⁹ Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR), H-46, 1920, p.7.

⁴⁰ AWN, 22 June, 1916, p.77.

⁴¹ I am indebted to Tony Byers of the Wanganui Regional Museum for bringing the Swankers Club to my attention.

⁴² AJHR, H-46, 1920, p.17.

in New Zealand. The London based Swankers Club collected funds for those soldiers blinded in the war. King explained that the club was formed by, '...those who put on a lot of swank and as we colonials would say, they were just "it" in dress and brains...' ⁴³ The club in Wanganui departed from the aims of the London based Swankers Club and collected funds for the benefit of New Zealand nurses who had gone overseas to help 'our boys'. The club's official attire was top hat and tails and by December, 1916 the club had a membership of 400 ⁴⁴ people. The nature of the club was a jovial one as one of their fictitious war stories from the Swankers Howler shows

Our troops are falling back on all fronts to new positions. The intention is to fall back and back till we come up on the other side of the world and attack our enemies in the rear. ⁴⁵

The two patriotic organisations which were as prominent as the war relief associations were the New Zealand War Contingent Association and the Red Cross. For the first two years of the war the money collected by the Red Cross was sent directly to the British society or accepted on behalf of the St. John Ambulance Brigade. The comforts for New Zealand soldiers such as cigarettes, tobacco, stamps, stationery, garments and other such commodities raised by the Red Cross were distributed under the auspices of the New Zealand War Contingent Association. ⁴⁶

The Association was formed in London during the August days of 1914 with the object of affording assistance to 'our boys' while overseas in service of the Empire. The service that was to be provided by the Association was primarily an extension of the activities of the war relief societies in New Zealand. The machinery of the Association consisted of committees such as the Hospitality Committee with its two branches, the Visiting and Entertainment sub-committees. There was also

⁴³ The Swankers Howler, 16 December, 1916, p.1.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ see AJHR, H-40, 1917, pp.1-4 re detailed account of this organisation's activities.

the New Zealand Expeditionary Force Club Committee, Stores Committee, Finance Committee and the Executive Committee which consisted of New Zealanders residing in London such as the High Commissioner, Sir Thomas Mackenzie. One of the first responsibilities undertaken by the Association was the creation of the New Zealand War Contingent Hospital at Walton-On-Thames which was supposed to represent, '...a little corner of New Zealand...'⁴⁷ During the war other hospitals and convalescent homes for 'our boys' were established under the auspices of the Association at Weymouth, Hornchurch, Otlands Park, Codford, Brighton and the Brockenhurst hospital which consisted of the Lady Hardinge Hospital with its two minor homes at Forest Park and Balmerlawn. All would have been familiar to 'our boys' who were wounded in France and who had to be shipped back to 'dear old Blighty'.

During the Great War the patriotic organisations rendered invaluable service in alleviating distress on the home front. They contributed a total of £5,447,991⁴⁸ to the grand patriotic fund total of £5,481,002⁴⁹ at the close of patriotic fund activity in 1920. The patriotic organisations administering war relief played a service role in wartime society which provided a comfort and sense of solidarity to those on the home front which no doubt created an ease of mind in those serving overseas. To 'our boys' and their dependents the war relief organisations represented a source of easily obtainable financial aid without the usual stipulations of financial obligations. Finance was given, it was not borrowed.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.2.

⁴⁸ AJHR, H-46, 1920, p.1.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

Chapter Three

OF VENOM AND IDOLS: ANTI-GERMAN LEAGUES AND FRIENDS OF 'OUR BOYS'

Looking at the Great War in retrospect, one commentator wrote in 1924,

As the war proceeds, the sense of exhilaration wears away and gives place to a mood of dogged resolve... but so long as a war lasts, it gives scope for the exhibition of many noble human qualities, and upon the whole tends to exhibit man at once in his highest as well as in his lowest and most savage aspect.¹

This comment aptly applies to the patriotic organisations which emerged in response to German 'frightfulness' and the needs of 'our boys'. The newspaper reports of German 'frightfulness' in Belgium prompted the emergence of civilian indignation in the form of anti-German leagues. These bodies appointed themselves the task of denigrating Germany and perpetuating the image of Germans before the Dominion as gross manifestations of every thing brutal in life. Their collective goal was a unanimity of animosity towards Germany within the Dominion.

During the early months of the Great War, the public were informed through the press of how they had been unwittingly subscribing to the German war effort by purchasing German made goods. This, coupled with the realisation that trade, production and economics were the life source of a country's well being and initial provider of its fighting power, moved ordinary and not so ordinary citizens to stifle the process. The idea of preferential trade and the harm that could befall the Empire through trading relations was first publicly mooted in a New Zealand Herald editorial, entitled, 'Trading with Neutrals', on 27 January, 1915. The Mayor of Auckland, C.J. Parr, was an advocate of preferential trade and he was adamant in his belief that, '...we should alter our trade policy for the future....Now is the time to educate the masses of the people as to the necessity of buying only British made goods.'²

¹ Fisher, p.101.

² NZH, 27 January, 1915, p.8.

Motivated by a sense of self-preservation, a meeting was held in Auckland on 4 February, 1915, to discuss the proposal of forming an Empire Trade League (ETL) which would attempt to encourage trade within the Empire. At the meeting, which was attended by over 100³ prominent citizens, it was made clear that the Empire had committed a great folly by strengthening the trade of Germany. In no uncertain terms one speaker claimed,

The money we have spent on German goods has helped to arm an unscrupulous foe against us, to increase her militant population, to build her baby killing cruisers and her piratical submarines.⁴

At the meeting, a committee including W.A. Beddoe (Canadian Trade Commissioner), B. Kent (President of the Auckland Chamber of Commerce), Arthur Rosser of the Trades and Labour Council, and Major Lusk (President of the Auckland Provincial Farmers Union) were appointed to draw up the League's constitution. The meeting also witnessed the birth of an Association for the Promotion of British Trade.

The objectives of the ETL were made public prior to the meeting and they reflected the pro-British spirit and the desire to oust German trade from the Empire. The objectives were, 'To promote trade within the Empire; to patronise goods of New Zealand manufacturers and thus assist local industries; to pledge ourselves not to buy enemy goods after the war; to enter into closer trade relations within the Empire and to help the Empire to grow stronger and thus fulfil its destiny.'⁵

Members of the ETL hoped to acquire official sanction for their objectives in the form of Government legislation once the League had obtained a certain measure of maturity and effectiveness. They wanted legislation passed to provide protection for the Dominion's manufacturers, reciprocal trade arrangements between Britain and the Dominions, and closer ties with other parts of the Empire by means of cheaper steam, postal and telegraphic communications.⁶ However, the ETL was never to acquire the desired maturity, the effectiveness, or the implementation of long term plans. In January 1916, the ETL ceased to exist as a single entity due to its amalgamation with the Auckland Provincial

³ NZH, 5 February, 1915, p.6.

⁴ AWN, 11 February, 1915, p.51.

⁵ NZH, 3 February, 1915, p.12.

⁶ see NZH, 16 March, 1915, p.5.

Industrial Association which was to be thereafter known as the Auckland Industrial and Empire Trade Association.

With the demise of the ETL, another anti-German trade league emerged, this time in Christchurch. On 10 February, 1916, a draft of the All for Empire League's (AFEL) constitution was approved by the annual conference of the United Commercial Travellers and Warehousemen's Association of New Zealand. Other branches of the League were formed in Auckland, Dunedin and Wellington. Their objectives were closely akin to those of the ETL although there were a few exceptions. The AFEL advocated more efficient means of defence, promotion of legislation against the naturalisation of enemy aliens, and the prevention of aliens holding property in land or in company shares.⁷ However, like the ETL, the life of the AFEL was short and by June 1916, the activities of the League had been concluded.⁸

The short durations of the ETL and AFEL led Mercutio, a columnist for the Herald, to ask, 'What has become of all the Empire Trade leagues formed since the beginning of the war?'⁹ Apathy would have appeared to be the obvious conclusion. However, Mercutio dispelled this notion.

Neither in Christchurch, nor in Auckland are the people apathetic, but everywhere they are confused by the number of anti-German leagues. Perhaps one such organisation with some sort of official recognition might have succeeded, but where one was piled on another the plain man was at a loss to know which to attach himself to and in the end he mostly left them alone. But there is no apathy.¹⁰

Mercutio was of the belief that the anti-German trade leagues, '...should be one great movement, well organised from the foundation and commanding support everywhere...' ¹¹ If Mercutio's opinions were credible then one could deduce that the anti-German trade leagues were localised and not affiliated to a national movement. Also they were poor in organisation, idealistic in nature, lacking in impact, and unable to sustain themselves. A year later Mercutio was to write,

⁷ see AWN, 24 February, 1916, p.56.

⁸ see NZH, 13 June, 1916, p.6.

⁹ NZH, supplement, 17 June, 1916, p.1.

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ *ibid.*

The enthusiasm with which anti-German trade leagues were formed a year or so ago has apparently evaporated due to a lack of nourishment. There are occasional suggestions that German goods are still reaching the Dominion, but such incidents are so rare and inconspicuous that the public is not greatly concerned about them.¹²

The ineffectiveness of the anti-German trade leagues to register an impact on the Dominion's conscience can be explained further by the existence of anti-German trade literature and the actions of the Government. Throughout the war the newspapers waged their own anti-German trade campaign by printing advertisements urging the purchase of British made goods¹³ and articles on British and German trade.¹⁴ Similarly, there appeared anti-German trade pamphlets. In Christchurch in 1916, a pamphlet entitled, War Pictures and Their Obvious Lesson was printed. The pamphlet was given weight in content with articles written by such individuals as J.B. Laurensen (President of the Industrial Corporation of New Zealand), James Macintosh (President of the Wellington Chamber of Commerce), and D.G. Sullivan (President of the New Zealand United Federation of Labour). The pamphlet also made an appeal to the individual to sign a pledge not to purchase enemy goods and thus strike a blow at the Germans. Similarly, women were asked when shopping to think of 'our boys' and when buying British made goods, to ask for them by their British or colonial name.¹⁵

With the use of atrocity pictures, a venomous rhetoric and horrific cartoons, the writers of this piece of anti-German trade literature attempted to incite anti-German feelings. Heading each page was the caption, 'When You See The Words Made In Germany, Remember What Germany Made In The Year 1914.'¹⁶ Similarly, the cartoon, Will You Traffic With The Murderer, asked, 'Did you buy from this monster?'¹⁷ This theme

¹² AWN, 5 July, 1917, p.14.

¹³ see e.g. re 'Buy British' advertisements, AWN, 11 February, 1915, p.73; 18 February, pp.75, 83; 29 April, p.7; 22 June, 1916, p.69; 27 July, p.79; 8 March, 1917, p.7 and 12 July, p.58.

¹⁴ see e.g. re British and German trade, AWN, 3 February, 1916, p.51; 2 March, p.19; 23 March, p.51 and 26 October, p.49; The Press, 20 January, 1917, p.7; 23 January, p.7; 27 January, p.7.

¹⁵ see Anti-German Trade Campaign, War Pictures and Their Obvious Lesson, Christchurch, 1916, p.20.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, *passim*.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.44.

WHEN YOU SEE THE WORDS
"MADE IN GERMANY"



REMEMBER WHAT GERMANY
MADE IN THE YEAR 1914.



The conquered loves the conqueror. It now behoves Germany to treat with kindness its shy new friend, Belgium.—Max Harden, the German publicist

(The above eloquent cartoon is taken from the Sydney "Bulletin".)

WILL YOU TRAFFIC WITH THE MURDERER?

LOOK at this true-to-life representation of the temporary triumph of a fiendish, blood-glutted, 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 reddens 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 you will but believe it!). Stay! Can you commence this damnable 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, unattractive 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-scourge—Germany!

prevailed throughout the war and in 1918 another pamphlet entitled, The Empire's Task, The Story of the Menace of German Trade, continued to peddle the same tune.

Keep Germany out of our markets and the noxious super growth of the German superstate will be attacked at the root, the deadly nightshade foliage will wither and super Germany will cease to be a menace to the peace of the world; i.e. Germany will be forced to give up the superman pose and will revert to normal human conditions.¹⁸

The anti-German trade leagues and the patriotic literature helped to create an awareness of the issues involved, but they contributed little in concrete terms to effectively oust the German trader. The Government, however, was more successful in reducing the number of German goods entering the Dominion.¹⁹ Prior to 1915, Germany was one of the principal countries from which the Dominion imported goods. After 1914, imported goods from Germany decreased markedly as the table of statistics indicates.

Imports From Principal Countries: 1913-1919
(Value in Pounds)²⁰

	United Kingdom	Australia	Canada	United States	Germany
1913	13,312,193	2,914,848	452,519	2,107,990	687,935
1914	11,985,946	3,376,371	479,140	2,282,966	620,400
1915	11,141,067	3,554,535	797,816	2,600,248	7,790
1916	13,869,455	4,002,171	757,286	3,969,925	4,287
1917	8,817,519	3,660,931	757,041	3,900,658	733
1918	8,977,725	5,133,412	930,964	4,980,748	393
1919	11,839,430	5,081,968	1,622,234	7,576,314	23

¹⁸ The Empire's Task: The Story of the Menace of German Trade, Christchurch, 1918, p.39.

¹⁹ see commerce section on enemy trading in New Zealand Official Yearbook, 1917, pp.375-379.

²⁰ New Zealand Official Yearbook, 1920, p.153.

TO COMMERCIAL
TRAVELLERS

THE
**STRAIGHT
 TIP**



**NO
 GERMAN GOODS**

TO-DAY. THANK YOU!
 EXCEPT AS GIFTS
 TO THE BELGIUM FUND

A STRAIGHT TIP AT THE OFFICE WINDOW.

A similar trend was evident in other countries opposed to Germany.²¹ It was 1924 when New Zealand began to import in earnest from Germany again. By 1939 Germany was still unable to retain the pre-1914 status as one of the Dominion's principal trading partners.

In late 1915, the Women's Anti-German League (WAGL), of which Lady Anna Stout was the President, emerged to reinforce the task of denigrating Germany. The League was supportive of the anti-German trade leagues, but it concentrated primarily on Germans already resident within the Dominion. The objectives of the WAGL reflected the desire to place all Germans under close scrutiny by preventing their enlistment in the army and employment in positions of responsibility. The League also wanted the laws relating to the naturalisation of aliens amended and the return to Parliament, irrespective of party, candidates who sympathised with the League's objectives. Consequently, the WAGL was eager to assist John Payne's (Member of Parliament for Grey Lynn) campaign against enemy aliens and in particular the case of Lieutenant Grierson. They were also supportive of J. Vigor Brown's (Member of Parliament for Napier) Naturalised Subjects Franchise Bill.

The League was active throughout the early months of 1916 and they received much publicity over the support given to Payne in the case against Lieutenant Grierson. Payne was an ardent alien hunter who acquired notoriety in the House for his anti-German statements and questions. On one occasion Payne said,

The public are beginning to wonder whether we have not Germans in the Cabinet....I have been told that the Minister of Justice is of German extraction - that he had a German mother.²²

Payne and the members of the WAGL accused a young New Zealand Army officer, Lieutenant Grierson, of being a German sympathiser on the basis that he applauded the efficiency of Germany at a social gathering. Such a statement in mixed company in 1916 was a folly and Grierson's military

²¹ see Canada Yearbook, 1922-23, p.553; Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1917, p.542; 1918, p.567 and 1920, p.589; Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1928, p.673.

²² New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (NZPB), Vol.173, 1915, p.132. For further questions by Payne see Vol.171, 1914, p.417; Vol.175, 1916, pp.373-76, 449 and 680.

career was no doubt jeopardised by the undue publicity. Madame Ida Boeufvé²³ led the League's delegation at the inquiry and she was often cross examined for presenting faulty evidence. The case against Grierson was lost.

The League failed to accept the decision and continued to agitate for Grierson's dismissal. On 3 May, 1916, the WAGL waited on the Minister of Defence, James Allen, to plead their case before him.²⁴ Allen, however, disagreed with the League's argument. The League now considered sending a petition to the King via the Governor asking for his intervention and the removal of Grierson from the army.²⁵ The Grierson inquiry did not receive the support which the WAGL would have hoped for. Instead, The Press saw the New Zealand Times as, '...endeavouring to stimulate ill feeling...' ²⁶ and the WAGL as, '...making mischief.'²⁷ Similarly, one writer in Palmerston North interpreted the League's activities in the inquiry as being 'backstairs business'²⁸ while a pamphlet described the inquiry as, 'solemn burlesque.'²⁹

During breaks in the inquiry the WAGL campaigned in Hawkes Bay in an attempt to enlist sympathy for the League by appealing to women. At their opening meeting in Hastings, Boeufvé asked the women present to help, '...put down the pro-German movement in New Zealand.'³⁰ What Boeufvé meant by a pro-German movement was not made clear. Perhaps she was attempting to sensationalise her rhetoric by focusing on shirkers and apathetic citizens as being pro-German. At a second meeting in Hastings, in true patriotic fashion, Beatrice Day, the treasurer of the WAGL recited, 'We Want A Hundred Thousand Men' and Mrs Dudley Hill sang 'The Marseillaise

23 Madame Boeufvé, vice president of the WAGL, was the wife of Robert Boeufvé, Resident Minister of France, in South America. She had an only son in the New Zealand forces and a brother who was a British General. see New Zealand Times (NZT), c. April, 1916.

24 NZT, 3 May, 1916, p.4.

25 see The Press, 6 May, 1916, p.9.

26 The Press, 5 May, 1916, p.7. The NZT supported the WAGL in their agitation for Grierson's dismissal.

27 *ibid.*

28 Manawatu Daily Times (MDT), 25 April, 1916, p.5.

29 The Truth About The Grierson Inquiry, Wellington, 1916, p.1.

30 Hawkes Bay Herald (HBH), 17 April, 1916, p.6.

and 'Till The Boys Come Home.'³¹

The campaign meetings conducted by the WAGL were distinctly patriotic in nature. For instance, at a meeting held in Napier, which was presided over by J. Vigor Brown, Boeufvé pleaded,

I appeal to you the women of Hawkes Bay to join the Anti-German League and come forward to help us put down this horrible pro-German feeling in New Zealand. The hand of Germany is gripping New Zealand in its iron grasp. Let us stand together and free the country from this curse....For the sake of the living and the dead help us now and stand together. To be truly British we must be anti-German.³²

After representatives of the WAGL had left Hawkes Bay an advertisement appeared in the Hawkes Bay Herald urging the people to 'Be Patriotic - Join the Anti-German League.'³³ The next centre to feel the sting of the WAGL venom was Palmerston North.

The members of the WAGL were invited by the Palmerston North authorities to participate in the first annual celebration of ANZAC day. Upon arriving the League found that their reputation had preceded them. One correspondent who wrote to the Manawatu Daily Times described their rhetoric as, 'cock and bull stories.'³⁴ The writer attempted to qualify the statement by quoting a segment of the League's propaganda from the recent Hawkes Bay campaign, '...that the spread of infantile paralysis in New Zealand is due to German agents spreading microbes about.'³⁵ Similarly, the editor of the Times commented on the League's presence as a, '...somewhat unfortunate inspiration.'³⁶

The ANZAC service was supposed to witness the passing of eulogies in commemoration of those soldiers who fell at Gallipoli. Instead, the WAGL used the service as a platform for the dissemination of their own brand of anti-German propaganda. At the forefront was the propagation of unqualified statements based on the ubiquitous German spy who was

31 HBH, 19 April, 1916, p.5.

32 HBH, 18 April, 1916, p.5.

33 HBH, 24 April, 1916, p.1.

34 MDT, loc.cit.

35 ibid.

36 MDT, 26 April, 1916, p.4.

believed to be masquerading as the naturalised alien. At the service the League informed the audience that, volunteering was waning in the far north because the men in that locality were afraid to leave their homes for fear of the imminent menace involved in the presence there of 10,000 armed Austrians; that German firms in New Zealand were being allowed to wax fat on war profits; that Heligo land was being used as a Zeppelin base for attacks upon Great Britain; that all naturalised or unnaturalised Germans were the pledged obedient vassals of the Kaiser; that there were one thousand Germans in different departments of the Government service here; that there was evidence to show that New Zealand troopers at Gallipoli with German sympathies had altered the time fuses in the guns in such a way as to decimate the front line of Australian troopers; that an interned German consul's son with a commission was being taught flying at an aeroplane school at Auckland; that German sympathisers were habitually given military preferment and promotion by those in high places.³⁷

The claims of the WAGL remained largely unsubstantiated and the Times editorial reflected a disposition of doubt. Furthermore, it sounded a note of regret, that the League had ever been invited, '...we regret that these untoward disputations were allowed to superimpose themselves upon a function promoted for quite a different purpose.'³⁸ From Palmerston North the WAGL ventured back to Wellington to prepare for the first general meeting of the League and the analysis of the activities over the first quarter of its existence. From that meeting the WAGL boasted of 1500³⁹ members and the distribution of forty packages of literature and 31,000 pamphlets.⁴⁰

One suspects that the WAGL did not assume any extensive size, but rather remained a singular Wellington based patriotic organisation. It failed to demonstrate any influential clout and at times the League was the brunt of criticism. The overall impression one gets of the WAGL is twofold. Firstly, the organisation was desirable in the disorganised campaign of denigration towards Germany, but the rhetoric was somewhat

37 see *ibid.*

38 *ibid.*

39 NZT, 20 May, 1916, p.4.

40 *ibid.*

questionable. Secondly, they stood in the rank-and-file as a further expression of animosity rather than as a tangible contribution to the war effort. Furthermore, their virulent anti-German rhetoric, instead of being respected polemical issues, may have been a source of literary entertainment for some.

The members of the WAGL saw their patriotic vocation in agitating against the resident enemy alien, whereas other organisations envisaged their vocation in the role of the provider. Motivated by the events of Gallipoli a small gathering of fifty⁴¹ parents met in the St. Mathews Hall in Auckland to discuss John Potter's proposal to establish an Empire Defenders Parents' League (EDPL). The aim of the EDPL was to provide for the well being of sons who were on active duty. One of the arguments expounded in support of the League was that no one could cater for a soldier's need as adequately as a parent. Also as members, they would be able to console one another in times of grief. This was something which the war relief associations were unable to perform because of their size and formal, bureaucratic nature.

The EDPL were not interested in establishing another patriotic fund, but they did desire representation on the executive of the APPWRA as an auxiliary unit. The members of the APPWRA were not overtly receptive to this idea because they perceived the EDPL as being an organisation which could encroach on their territory. A.G. Lunn of the APPWRA said, 'If another League was formed then it would be an ill thing for the former and it would mean duplication and extra cost.'⁴² Those members who participated in the activities of the EDPL were not from the upper echelons of Auckland society, but were merely ordinary citizens who wished to contribute more to the war effort than through their pockets. One parent claimed the EDPL could include the workers whereas the APPWRA was mainly composed of, 'well-to-do-folks.'⁴³ A distinctive feature of the League was the wearing of badges in the shape of a maltese cross to indicate that their sons were at the front. This cross was worn in a bid to put to shame those eligible men who stayed behind.⁴⁴

⁴¹ NZH, 31 August, 1915, p.4.

⁴² AWN, 2 September, 1915, p.22.

⁴³ NZH, 31 August, 1915, p.6.

⁴⁴ see *ibid.*

In January, 1916, the National Service League (NSL) was founded in Auckland by one F. Norris at the request of soldiers leaving for the front. During 1916, in response to the request, Norris toured the Dominion attempting to gain support for the NSL. In some areas like Masterton, which later became the League's headquarters, agencies were established to distribute literature and conduct the League's business. The NSL was formed with a view to maintain and ensure a future interest in the Dominion's men who were fighting for the Empire. One of the League's aims was to arouse respect for the soldiers, especially amongst children, and to assist the soldier in any way possible.⁴⁵

The members of the NSL were guided by a code of charitable ethics. For instance, they were asked to refrain from treating a returned soldier to liquor; to enlist the aid of the nearest war relief association; to endeavour to acquire a vocation for the soldier; to patronise stores employing disabled soldiers; to refrain from engaging a returned soldier in a conversation about the war and members were asked to purchase New Zealand made goods.⁴⁶ The NSL also had cards placed in shop windows declaring that, 'This Business Is Under The Patronage of the National Service League.'⁴⁷ This indicated that a returned soldier was employed in that particular shop.

In November, 1917, Norris attempted to enlist the aid of the APPWRA. He suggested that the two organisations should conduct a lecture campaign throughout the Auckland province showing lantern slides of what disabled soldiers could accomplish on return to the community and also help strengthen the anti-German trade campaign.⁴⁸ It is quite possible that the campaign was also an attempt to help boost interest in the APPWRA's Discharged Soldiers Tuition Committee.⁴⁹ The NSL attempted to re-settle the returned soldier into civilian life and the overall motivating philosophy of the League was borne by their motto - 'Fighting Men First.'⁵⁰ It is interesting to note that the NSL antedates the Returned Soldiers

⁴⁵ see AWN, 14 December, 1916, p.19.

⁴⁶ see National Service League, Fighting Men First, Auckland, 1916, p.8.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁸ see minutes, 14 November, 1917, p.3.

⁴⁹ see ch.2, p.29.

⁵⁰ AWN, 27 January, 1916, p.19. The motto was adopted after the Marquette Incident in which the nurses on that ill fated vessel stood back crying 'Fighting Men First.'

Association, at least in objectives.

The Military Service Act of 1 August, 1916, and the call up of second division reservists prompted the emergence of the Second Division League (SDL). This League closely mirrored the intentions of the EDPL, although in character the SDL was akin to the APPWRA. The SDL desired a revision of pay and war pensions so that appeals to patriotic funds would be eliminated. One suspects that the SDL had lost confidence in the efficiency and administration of the war relief associations. Either that, or, the SDL were pro-Government and wished to popularise the idea that the Government should accrue the administration of war funds and not the war relief associations. In the light of the uncertainty surrounding the Government's designs on the funds and the possessiveness which the war relief associations displayed in the administration of war funds such an assumption was a valid possibility.

Throughout 1917, branches of the SDL were formed. A preliminary meeting of the Canterbury SDL, held in March, witnessed a very argumentative display. The motion to carry out the provisions of the Defence Act and Military Service Act was defeated due to the presence of a strongly represented anti-militarist lobby.⁵¹ In July, the Auckland branch was formed with an initial membership of 400⁵² people. At the first SDL conference held in New Plymouth in July, there was a delegation present representing 91⁵³ branches of the League, by far the most extensive of any patriotic organisation (excluding the war relief associations). Prior to the conference there existed a number of disparities between the various constitutions of the League. However, the outcome of the conference witnessed an affiliation of the branches under one constitution which was thereafter named the National Federation of New Zealand Second Division Leagues.

In January, 1917, at Hastings, there emerged another patriotic organisation which was neither anti-German nor concerned with 'our boys.' Rather, it was concerned for society and, in particular, the society

⁵¹ see AWN, 8 March, 1917, p.30.

⁵² AWN, 19 July, 1917, p.45.

⁵³ Proceedings of the Second Division League Conference, New Plymouth, 1917, p.28.

weathering the struggle for civilisation. The Empire Service League (ESL), '...sprang from an idea...and was not the outcome of a carefully prepared and deliberately thought out plan.'⁵⁴ The ESL was a very idealistic movement whose philosophy was utopian in character and impossible to implement. For instance, the broad ideal which the ESL aimed for was,

...national unity - a closer and more sympathetic comradeship and cooperation between all citizens and classes and between all peoples and countries of the Empire combined with the freedom of each of such peoples to manage its own individuality, the privilege of self Government being extended to every community within the Empire that proves capable of exercising it.⁵⁵

Percival Witherby, the founder of the ESL, in an interview with the Evening Post, said,

...I sometimes wonder whether we ought not, in one way, to be grateful for it [war], for it has already done for the British race what nothing else could have done. It has wakened it.⁵⁶

Witherby was of the belief that the war concealed a moral purpose and he wondered whether Europe deserved peace, '...when "our boys" were being killed at the front and yet there was still gambling being carried on, class was still set against class...and labour and capital were still in contest.'⁵⁷ If the Empire was to learn from the war then, '...wars will be impossible and will cease.'⁵⁸

The views propagated by Witherby were idealistic and nebulous. The titles of ESL pamphlets also reflected this idealism, for instance, Witherby's What Freedom Means (1917), America's Peace Programme...With An Interpretation of Its Inner Meaning (1918), and Earl Roberts', The Supreme Duty of A Citizen (c.1917). One wonders how the ESL envisaged influencing public opinion when their rhetoric bordered on intellectual pedantics. The ordinary citizen would have been at a loss to comprehend their writings. Of all the patriotic organisations the ESL was the most impractical because

54 P.L. Witherby, The Empire Service League: Report of the First Conference, Wellington, 1918, p.14.

55 'The Empire Service League', in New Zealand Capital and Labour Review, Vol.2, No.4, June, 1918, p.15.

56 Evening Post, 9 May, 1917.

57 *ibid.*

58 *ibid.*

of what it desired to achieve. If the ESL had included provisions within the objectives⁵⁹ of an anti-German nature or for the welfare of 'our boys' then by its versatility it may have acquired serious attention. Instead, only six⁶⁰ branches of the ESL were ever established, but interestingly enough the ESL was still in existence in 1932.⁶¹

Many of the patriotic organisations which can be categorised as either anti-German or concerned for the welfare of 'our boys' were rather obscure, especially in comparison with the war relief associations. For instance, amongst the more obscure there was Gisborne's British Protection League of 1914, which boycotted the shops of foreign tradesmen and the War League which mirrored the SDL. However, despite their overall ineffectiveness and short comings one should not neglect the significance of the aforementioned patriotic organisations. By their very existence they lent weight to the fact that the Great War was viewed as a popular war. The mere fact that the conflict moved not so well known individuals to establish patriotic organisations was indicative of the impact which the Great War had on the popular mind. If these patriotic organisations served any purpose at all during the 1914-1918 conflict it was to visibly express and or measure the gravity of the war and its impact on the Dominion.

59 see Appendix C.

60 Witherby, p.3.

61 see Ross Borough Council Queen Carnival File: 1915, G.16 (held Canterbury University Library). Contains ESL objectives and sundry information for 1932.

Chapter Four

IN QUEST OF EFFICIENCY: WAR FUND LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATION

The Great War was not the first occasion which saw New Zealanders subscribe to patriotic funds. During the Boer War, funds had been established to help equip the contingents bound for South Africa. However, the existence of patriotic funds may be traced back further than the Boer War years to the year 1855. In that year a patriotic fund was established in the Auckland province, which, at its close realised a total of £1,051 from Aucklanders and £106 1s 6d from the Bay of Plenty.¹ It is quite possible that the fund was established to help equip British soldiers who were engaged in hostilities in the Crimea. Similarly, the Great War was not the first occasion upon which legislation was passed in the Dominion in the name of patriotism. In 1903, the Patriotic Funds Act was passed which was intended to act as an official guideline to the expenditure of surplus patriotic funds raised in connection with the Boer War.

Unlike the Boer War, legislation pertaining to patriotic funds was passed from the outset of the Great War and beyond its cessation. Not only did this reflect the gravity of the situation, but it was also necessary in order to control the large amounts of incoming funds. On 15 August, 1914, the War Contributions Validation Act was passed which enabled monetary contributions to be paid into the Empire Defence Fund.

During the early months of the war it became visibly apparent that the war had disrupted the normal functioning of life in the Dominion. Nowhere was this more pronounced than at the base of society - the family. Sons and husbands who had volunteered left behind dependents who were suddenly faced with the ominous reality that the 'bread-winner' had departed. Apart from savings that each family may have had a regular source of income was now absent. In order to relieve

¹ see Subscriptions In Aid of Patriotic Funds, Auckland Province, 1855 (held Auckland Public Library).

this distress on the home front the War Contributions Validation Act Number Two was passed on 5 November, which enabled money to be paid into funds established by the Government and local authorities. These acts were to form the basis of patriotic fund legislation for the first year of the war.

Once the New Zealand Expeditionary Force had departed the fund raising ventures switched to the Empire's allies and in particular 'brave little Belgium.' However, after the events of Gallipoli and the return home of wounded and disabled soldiers the fund raising emphasis switched yet again to 'our boys.' This, coupled with the increased responsibility and growth of patriotic societies administering funds helped make the War Contribution Validation Acts obsolete. They were simplistic in structure and designed for a short war and were thus, unable to cater for the increased war momentum of 1915.

On 11 October, the War Funds Act was passed which was, '...to make provision for the administration and control of moneys raised wholly or in part by private subscription for purposes of or incidental to the present war.'² The Act also made it an offence to collect subscriptions to funds without a permit. The Government's representative in patriotic fund matters, the National War Funds Council, was also established under the Act. Very little debate was entered into in the House over the War Funds Bill. The war time necessity of providing quick, effective legislation outweighed the need for lengthy debate. The Act was to remain the single most important piece of legislation pertaining to the war funds and patriotic societies during the war and post-war period. The Act in effect became the cornerstone of war fund administration which was subject to minor amendments in the War Legislation Amendment Act (1916), the War Legislation Act (1917) and the War Funds Amendment Act (1918).

To cater for the patriotic fund activity two other pieces of legislation were amended: the Auctioneers Act of 1908 and the Gaming Act. On 11 October, the Auctioneers Amendment Act was passed which gave individuals the authority to conduct an auction in the name of patriotism

² New Zealand Statutes, No.41, 1915, p.285.

as long as the proceeds were contributed to a named fund. The Act was intended to protect donors from unwittingly subscribing to auctions where the proceeds were not intended to be contributed to a fund. The auction was a novel way of raising funds and unscrupulous auctioneers knew that objects auctioned would realise more than their true value if it was advertised that proceeds would go to a fund. The amended act was in effect a protective device to prevent such unscrupulous activities.

On 12 October, the Gaming Amendment Act was passed which enabled property to be disposed of by way of raffles for the benefit of the war funds. The Act also stipulated that on the cessation of hostilities that part of the Act relating to the war funds would be repealed. The debate in the House over the Gaming Amendment Bill provided the liveliest discussion of the legislation pertaining to the funds. Those who opposed the Act did so on the grounds that gambling was unpatriotic.³

The legislation pertaining to patriotic funds and the attempts to achieve a more effective management of the funds was dominated by an unwritten, invisible element. This was the imperial theme of efficiency which pervaded the British Empire during the early years of the twentieth century.⁴ The main issues involved in the administration of the funds such as: the lack of uniformity in the administering of relief; the avoidance of duplication and overlapping; the questions of reciprocation of funds between societies; the domicile of the soldier in relation to claims on the funds; and the control of the funds at the regional and national levels were all manifestations of the theme of efficiency.⁵

In order to secure an efficient management of the funds patriotic societies sought to avoid duplication and overlapping of patriotic activities. A case in point was the North Taranaki Patriotic League's application to become incorporated under the War Funds Act on 22 June, 1916. There was some reluctance to allow incorporation from Wellington because

³ see e.g. NZPD, Vol.174, 1915, pp.379, 381, 385.

⁴ see G.R. Searle, The Quest for National Efficiency, Oxford, 1971, for an account of the theme's presence in Britain from 1899-1914.

⁵ In 1917, the theme of efficiency was given institutional status when the Government established the National Efficiency Board.

it would have meant, '...the incorporation of two societies working practically over the same district.'⁶ Instead, the War Funds Office suggested that the League become a branch of the Taranaki War Relief Association so that the activities of two distinctly separate organisations operating the same area would be avoided. Another case in point was the conference held between the APPWRA and the Red Cross Society of Auckland, '...with a view of securing efficient administration and the prevention of over lapping.'⁷ The executive of the APPWRA wanted to define the spheres of operation of both organisations. After much discussion it was agreed that the Red Cross should cater for the needs of the soldiers overseas in England while the APPWRA should assume similar responsibilities on the soldiers' arrival in the Dominion. Other more specific areas of responsibility were also defined.⁸ The effort to eliminate the twin evils of overlapping and duplication was also made manifest in the attempt by patriotic societies to achieve a regional coordination of fund activity.

During the early part of 1915, schemes were mooted in an attempt to procure a nationalisation of funds so that Dominion wide uniformity could be achieved. However, there was an inclination on the part of the patriotic societies to repudiate such schemes because adherence would have meant servitude to a central authority sitting in Wellington. Instead, a regional control of funds was sought with a view of unifying the various societies and funds.

On 7 October, J.H. Gunson, President of the APPWRA, travelled to Rotorua on the first segment of his tour to promote the amalgamation of funds in the Auckland Military District. As well as attempting to popularise the notion of amalgamation, so that overlapping and duplication could be avoided in the interests of efficiency, the APPWRA was motivated by an altruistic concern. Each military district would have included an area which had sent more men out of proportion to its material means and

⁶ J.M. Kinniburgh to Under Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, 6 July, 1916, War Funds Act - Incorporation of Societies - North Taranaki Patriotic League, File IA 30/5/34 (held WARC).

⁷ minutes, 22 January, 1918, appendage Report of Conference Between Representatives of the APPWRA and the Auckland Joint Committee of the Red Cross Society and Order of St. John.

⁸ see *ibid.*, p.2.

would therefore be unable to support those men on their arrival home. By supporting amalgamation the less affluent areas would be able to acquire assistance from the more prosperous. The APPWRA was thinking in terms of the less advanced areas of North Auckland and the King Country.⁹ By 21 October, nine of the ten centres¹⁰ visited by Gunson had adopted the amalgamation proposals and by early November unification of funds had been secured.

A similar attempt was also made in the Wellington district in May, 1916. The response was generally favourable although the Rangitikei and Waverly Patriotic Committees were not in favour with the proposal. Waverly expressed its disapproval by stating that such a proposal,

...would probably mean the loss of a number of energetic patriotic workers who would decline to assist further if local patriotic societies were to surrender their identity to one controlling body.¹¹

This, in microcosm, succinctly sums up in part the failure to achieve a unification of funds at the national level.

The regional attempts to coordinate the funds produced two contentious issues; soldier domicility and reciprocity of funds between different societies. At the root of the problem was the confusion surrounding the rights of the returned soldier when applying for claims on the funds. Was a soldier eligible to claim from any society he wished to choose from, or did he have to claim from the society which administered his area of residence prior to enlistment? The ensuing debate which was conducted between patriotic societies and by the press only served to exacerbate the situation. This confusion no doubt swung the attitudes of some pundits of fund administration in the direction of central control.

The APPWRA adopted a liberal policy of reciprocity and assistance.

⁹ see AWN, 2 September, 1915, p.22.

¹⁰ AWN, 21 October, 1915, p.22.

¹¹ Secretary, Waverly Patriotic Committee to G.W. Russell, Minister of Internal Affairs, Conference of Patriotic Societies - Forming of Federation of Societies In Wellington Provincial District. File IA 29/15/5 (held WARC).

They aided returned soldiers regardless of where they had enlisted or resided prior to enlistment. Some soldiers, however, depending on where they made a claim were less fortunate. The APPWRA was of the belief that if a soldier required assistance then he should receive assistance.¹² In attempting to popularise the notion of liberal reciprocity throughout the Dominion the APPWRA displayed short-sightedness. They failed to consider the positions, in relation to their own, of less affluent societies such as those in Westland and the geographical significance of such societies as those in Wellington. The close proximity of two army training camps and the disembarking of troops at Wellington would have placed heavy demands on the Wellington society if liberal reciprocity had been adopted. Other societies were not so willing to adhere to such a policy advocated by the APPWRA. Instead, they were more responsive to soldiers from their own area. By June, 1917, the domicile issue was far from resolved and societies such as the South Canterbury Patriotic Society sought a definite ruling on the subject.¹³ The confusion surrounding these issues coupled with the failure of the societies to conform to one ruling highlighted the lack of uniformity in fund management. This in turn helped favour the need for central control.

One of the early advocates of central control of funds was C.P. Skerrett of Wellington. In July, 1915, at a conference of patriotic society delegates from Wellington, Taranaki and Hawkes Bay, Skerrett outlined proposals for a Dominion wide coordination of funds. Skerrett stated that,

...all money raised should in some shape or form be constituted a Dominion fund by 'pooling' or by organising some form of federation so that the subscriptions...could be administered...upon some uniform basis.¹⁴

At the basis of the scheme was the overall desire to achieve uniformity in the interests of efficiency and the well being of the soldier and his dependents. Skerrett was no doubt prompted, at least in part, by the different rates of relief paid out and by the variations in treatment received by returned soldiers from district to district. For instance,

¹² see AWN, 10 August, 1916, p.18.

¹³ see The Dominion, 8 June, 1917.

¹⁴ C.P. Skerrett, Patriotic Funds; Suggested Scheme For the Organisation of the Funds, Wellington, 1915, p.2.

the Wairarapa Patriotic Society paid out grants of £5 to every returned soldier while the Taranaki Patriotic Society offered loans of £500 alongside the state loan for those wishing to go onto the land.¹⁵ The Defender sympathised with the need for uniformity and lamented further that,

Overseas they [soldiers] were on an equality of pay, according to rank, as New Zealanders fighting for the Empire. On their return home they are either Aucklanders, Wellingtonians and so on.¹⁶

The overall response to Skerrett's scheme was not altogether favourable. The New Zealand Herald believed that the scheme would, '...tend to eliminate that healthy rivalry and emulation which exists between the various districts and communities.'¹⁷ The APPWRA added that the funds could be, '...administered more effectively by each relief association possessing complete autonomy uncontrolled by a central or national organisation.'¹⁸ Also the delegates attending the conference failed to agree on one point of the proposal. Under the scheme, '...the controlling body would have power, under certain circumstances, to compel a solvent society to contribute to one that was insolvent.'¹⁹ Skerrett's scheme failed to come to fruition largely because it was voiced prematurely.

In late 1915, the Government increased its involvement in war fund affairs which in turn saw the concept of central control figure more prominently. The presence of the Government was received as an ominous threat by patriotic societies who envisaged the Government attempting to gain absolute control of the funds. While the Government expressed a desire to nationalise the funds in the interest of efficiency they were not overbearing in attempting to persuade the societies to adhere to their line of thinking. The societies, however, grew more suspicious of the Government's designs on the funds. This in turn motivated the increased protection afforded to fund management as

¹⁵ see Defender, Vol.1, No.8, 1917, p.19.

¹⁶ ibid.

¹⁷ NZH, 8 July, 1915, p.4.

¹⁸ NZH, 20 August, 1915, p.5.

¹⁹ H.T.B. Drew, ed., The Official History of New Zealand's Effort In The Great War (4 vols., Auckland, 1923), Vol.4, p.177.

scepticism towards the Government escalated.

The scepticism directed at the Government was voiced early in the war when the War Funds Bill was passing through the House. The New Zealand Herald stated,

The Minister of Internal Affairs evidently desires to gain control of the war relief funds, presumably in order that the money may be employed largely in²⁰ relieving the Government of some of its obligations.

This allegation may have been true. The War Funds Act established rigid guidelines which made obligations on the part of the societies to the Government. For instance, the societies were compelled to furnish the Minister of Internal Affairs, G.W. Russell, with a written statement describing their particular fund. Fines were imposed if statements were false or if a society refused to furnish a statement. Penalties were also imposed if funds were expended for an unauthorised purpose. Finally, all funds administered by a patriotic society were subject to a Government audit. This, combined with the establishment of the National War Funds Council, which had the authority to assume control of a fund should the trustees desire them to do so,²¹ was indicative of the Government's early attempt to assume a gradual control of patriotic funds.

Some patriotic societies, however, were not overtly receptive to complying with the stipulations laid down by the War Funds Act. The report of the officer in charge of the War Funds Office stated that,

There has been evidence of reluctance on the part of some societies to satisfy the requirements of the Act, and a few have expressed their intention of discontinuing their efforts rather than go to the trouble of supplying the particulars...²²

The report also stated that a number of societies had failed to comply with the requests made in a circular of 22 December, 1915, that a balance sheet covering the period up to and including 31 December should be forwarded.

²⁰ NZH, 1 September, 1915, p.6.

²¹ During the course of the war the National War Funds Council assumed control of the Westland Patriotic Committee, the Buller Sick and Wounded Fund and the Public Service Sick and Wounded Fund.

²² AJHR, H-22, 1916, p.19.

In an attempt to establish better relations and define areas of responsibility a fully represented patriotic society conference was held at Parliament Buildings on 19 November, 1915. Matters of general importance and suggestions concerning the functions of societies; the expenditure of funds and the responsibility of the Government in connection with returned soldiers was discussed. Russell attempted to dispel any preconceived notions of doubt and suspicion in his opening address,

Let me now remove one impression that has got abroad that the Government in passing the War Funds Act...desired to do what I think one Auckland paper described as 'collaring' the patriotic funds. There has been no such idea on the part of the Government...²³

However, the proposals put forward by the Government did little but enhance the doubts and suspicions. The functions of the societies were clearly indicated by the proposals,²⁴ whereas the responsibilities of the Government were defined in a nebulous manner. It was proposed that the Government should accept,

The responsibility as far as possible for the restoration to mental and physical health of every returned soldier including his transit to hospital or convalescent camp on his return therefrom to his home.²⁵

The societies were also expected to assist the Government financially in some of the Government's areas of responsibility. For instance, the Government established two convalescent homes at Rotorua and Hanmer Springs and invited the societies to assist financially in their establishment.

It is hoped the patriotic societies will take part in establishing these camps thus relieving the war loan from charges for this purpose and leaving the loan moneys to be employed solely for the prosecution of the war.²⁶

Also, regarding the Government's scheme to allot farmland to soldiers, it was felt that, '...the bounty of the Government should be supplemented by the local patriotic societies...'²⁷

23 Advisory Board - Patriotic Societies, File IA 29/15/6, Appendage Report of Conference of Patriotic Societies, p.2 (held WARC).

24 see Appendix D.

25 File IA 29/15/6, p.23.

26 ibid.

27 ibid., p.24.

The conference failed to produce anything of significance. Instead, further doubt was created. The APPWRA representative at the conference, E.A. Craig, in reflecting on the conference said,

It appeared to me that the Government were feeling the pulse...of the various associations as to how far the Government might call upon our future funds for expenditure....The sole object of the conference in my opinion was an attempt to relieve the Government of some of its responsibilities.²⁸

If anything positive was gained from the conference it was the desirability on behalf of the societies to form a central board for consultation and advice representing all of the societies.

On 5 January, 1916, Russell sent a circular to the patriotic societies with a proposal to convene a second conference. Russell felt that the proposals pertaining to the first conference should now be agreed upon due to the increased number of soldiers who had returned to the Dominion. There was also a suggestion in the circular to discuss devoting part of the funds to subsidising hospitals and similar institutions for soldiers.²⁹ The APPWRA was not in favour of the suggestion because it was considered to be, '...the clear and obvious duty of the Government...',³⁰ nor was the APPWRA in favour of a second conference. Russell reacted to the APPWRA's decision with an accusation that the APPWRA, '...stands charged with misappropriation of its patriotic funds.'³¹ The APPWRA considered Russell's statements 'irresponsible' and 'idle talk.'³²

The APPWRA were not alone in their criticism of Russell. The Otago Daily Times stated,

We suspect that Mr Russell's very proper concern ...is not wholly disassociated from a desire that the funds under the control of the patriotic associations should be employed, in part, for objects other than those for which they are present held to be utilisable.³³

28 minutes, 25 November, 1915, Appendage Report of Conference of Representatives of Patriotic Organisations.

29 see minutes, 13 January, 1916, p.3.

30 ibid.

31 AWN, 20 January, 1916, p.21.

32 ibid.

33 Otago Daily Times, 11 January, 1916.

The Times went further to say that Russell was,
 ...desirous of securing a devolution to the
 patriotic associations of certain of the
 responsibilities which should be discharged
 by the Government.³⁴

Similarly, the New Zealand Herald stated,

Mr. Russell has shown a great interest in the
 funds, but unfortunately his concern for their
 administration and his desire for their union
 have always been accomplished by an evident
 anxiety to get the departments he controls
 into the position of being able to draw upon
 their banking accounts. This has...made local
 committees suspicious of Mr. Russell's
 conferences.³⁵

In response to the circular requesting another conference the Canterbury
 Patriotic Fund executive suggested that a, 'united front'³⁶ was necessary
 because, '...any invasion of the committee's funds or functions on the
 part of the Government is undesirable and unnecessary.'³⁷ The impression
 that Russell was attempting to lumber the societies with more than their
 share of responsibilities and obtain control of the funds was evident.
 It was quite possible that he was attempting to divert the funds into
 repatriation schemes.

On 17 February, the second conference was convened without the
 presence of the APPWRA who refused to participate at a conference
 organised by Russell. After two days of discussions, three special
 committees, which had been formed to discuss the issues, reported back
 to the conference. They were in agreement that an Advisory Board
 representing all of the societies should be established. The objective
 of the Board was to achieve and eradicate overlapping and duplication in
 the interests of efficiency. The role of the Board was to advise the
 societies on matters of mutual interest. The officer in charge of the
 War Funds Office hoped that the Advisory Board would be the first step
 towards the federation of all societies so that a general scheme of
 centralisation of control and expenditure could be achieved.³⁸

34 *ibid.*

35 NZH, 15 January, 1916.

36 NZH, 4 February, 1916, p.9.

37 *ibid.*

38 see AJHR, H-22, 1916, p.19.

The Lyttelton Times viewed the conference as being 'useful',³⁹ and the Sun expressed a hope that the conference would form the basis of useful federation.⁴⁰ However, the general response to the conference by the press was not favourable. The Otago Daily Times was at a loss to comprehend Russell's suggestion that,

...the patriotic associations should supplement by fifty percent the annual payments by the state in respect of pensions and allowances.... Russell spoke of the state 'paying its share' which should be supplemented by the patriotic associations.⁴¹

The Auckland Star also expressed its confusion over this issue. Some local funds would have been unable to make such payments. 'The Government,' stated the Star, '...must realise its responsibilities and not put them on private shoulders.'⁴² The Evening Post viewed the conference as 'patriotic confusion.'⁴³ The Post also stated that after the patriotic confusion of the past months that, '...the only satisfactory policy for the Government will be to assume a non-existence of patriotic societies...'⁴⁴ and that '...probably the societies would be better left to work on separate plans...'⁴⁵ Finally, the Dominion viewed the Government as displaying, 'narrowness of vision.'⁴⁶

The first meeting of the Advisory Board was held on 6 April, and at that meeting a request was forwarded by the Minister of Defence, J. Allen. The request was for the societies to contribute £3000 monthly for extra comforts for the sick and wounded soldiers overseas. A quota system was devised to decide the monthly amounts to be contributed from each region. From the total monthly contribution it was decided that £1500 would be paid to the New Zealand War Contingent Association through the High Commissioner, Sir Thomas Mackenzie, and the remaining £1500 was to be at the disposal of Mackenzie. However, complications soon arose⁴⁷ which prevented accurate accounts of expenditure from being

39 Lyttelton Times, 19 February, 1916.

40 see the Sun, 19 February, 1916.

41 Otago Daily Times, 19 February, 1916.

42 Auckland Star, 18 February, 1916.

43 Evening Post, 18 February, 1916.

44 *ibid.*

45 *ibid.*

46 Dominion, 21 February, 1916.

47 see Patriotic Societies: Disposal of Funds, File AD 78 BR 17/20, Appendix, Government and The Patriotic Societies, for detailed account of complications and confusion surrounding the £3000 contribution.

forwarded to New Zealand. The cause of which was to remain unknown to the Advisory Board and the societies.

When the Advisory Board met on 22 June, the representatives enquired about the expenditure of the contribution because financial statements had not been received. The absence of statements was to persist. This began to draw alarm. The APPWRA felt that the contributions were being paid 'blind fold.'⁴⁸ One J.T. Paul of the Advisory Board was worried that the prestige and credibility of the Board would be impaired if the situation was not resolved. Paul believed that something was 'radically wrong'⁴⁹ and the question of a misuse of funds was also raised.⁵⁰ By September, the societies had refused to forward contributions. On 3 November, a statement pertaining to Mackensie's accounts up to 18 August, 1916 was submitted to Allen and then to the Advisory Board. This was the first detailed statement of expenditure supplied to the societies since the first contribution was forwarded in April. From this they could gather some general ideas, but the obscurity of the accounts prevented them from identifying the details of expenditure of funds supplied by the societies.⁵¹

Investigations by the Government into Mackensie's accounts revealed some interesting features. The investigation discovered that, Mackensie, who had been receiving money forwarded by the Internal Affairs department and outside sources since the beginning of the war appears to have made no attempt to furnish accounts until April, 1916.⁵²

The Government was also unaware of the titles of the accounts. It was also discovered that contributions designated for one particular fund appeared in other funds for which it was not intended. For instance, in May, 1915, £1000 was forwarded for extra comforts for soldiers in Egypt, but instead of passing through the comforts account, the amount passed through the sundry account.⁵³ Similarly, contributions forwarded by the

48 AWN, 24 August, 1916, p.22.

49 NZT, 17 November, 1916.

50 see Dominion, 17 November, 1916.

51 see File AD 78 BR 17/20, p.3.

52 *ibid.*, p.4.

53 *ibid.*

Otago Daily Times for wounded soldiers appeared on a number of accounts.⁵⁴ The ineptitude surrounding the accounts exacerbated the task of the investigators because the composition of the accounts was ill defined; the accounts were dated irregularly; no attempt was made to effect a balance between receipts and payments to separate accounts and it was difficult to locate where money received for a special purpose was expended. For instance, on 20 January, 1915, £500 was received by Mackenzie for the Walton Social Hall, but it was discovered that the amount was not expended until November, 1916.⁵⁵

Following the controversy surrounding the £3000 contribution, the patriotic societies settled firmly into the task of administering the funds and repatriating the returned soldier. The Advisory Board continued to meet monthly to exchange views on patriotic affairs and the Government ceased to appear as an ogre. From time to time the desire to nationalise the funds, controlled from Wellington, was mooted. In May, 1917, the Returned Soldiers Association was of the opinion that,

...the various patriotic funds were becoming nothing more nor less than charitable institutions and that the Government should take control of all these funds and have them administered by one central body.⁵⁶

Even the APPWRA on 13 June, 1917, suggested that,

The time had arrived for consideration of the advisability of attempting the unification of all the patriotic funds of the Dominion along the lines of the Auckland provincial scheme.⁵⁷

The APPWRA had always opposed such a scheme on the basis that it did not, '...provide reasonable latitude to associated societies in the matter of policy, control and disbursement of funds.'⁵⁸ The reasons for the change in attitude was due to: the lack of uniformity in the scale of relief and the policy of the societies throughout the Dominion; the difficulties with, and the unsatisfactory position of the reciprocal arrangements existing between patriotic societies; and in view of the fact of the desirability of a continuance of patriotic administration during the war and for some considerable time thereafter, it was

⁵⁴ see File AD 78 BR 17/20.

⁵⁵ see *ibid.*

⁵⁶ AWN, 31 May, 1917, p.47.

⁵⁷ AWN, 21 June, 1917, p.21.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*

necessary, in the interests of the returned soldier and dependents, that patriotic administration should be unified and consolidated throughout the Dominion.⁵⁹

However, the APPWRA's Dominion Scheme for New Zealand Soldiers was never implemented, nor was any national scheme for the unification of patriotic funds administered under the auspices of one controlling body. It seemed that all ideas on centralisation were perceived to be faulty in some way. For instance, Mercutio believed such schemes to be premature.

...the national scheme will yet come, but it will not be a haphazard scheme based on a Wellington dictatorship. When all provinces are thoroughly organised it will be a good time to talk about nationalisation.⁶⁰

Also the Southland Times believed that the rights of those who provided the money should be recognised.

The people who pay have the right to control and no system of administration is satisfactory which hands over such funds as our war funds to the control of a body which is not in any way amenable or responsible to the subscribers.⁶¹

while the APPWRA were of the belief that the returned soldier had,

'...everything to lose and nothing to gain by Government control of the patriotic funds.'⁶² Nevertheless, representatives of the societies were willing to listen to ideas on central control, but in the long term they appeared quite content to repatriate the returned soldiers and administer their funds independently at the regional level rather than adhere to one controlling body at the national level.

⁵⁹ minutes, 13 June, 1917, Appendage, President's Address at Second Annual Meeting of APPWRA, p.3.

⁶⁰AWN, 18 November, 1915, p.14.

⁶¹ Southland Times, 9 November, 1915.

⁶² minutes, 13 June, 1917, p.2.

Chapter Five

CONCLUSION

'Patriotism, combining courage, devotion and self-sacrifice is still required to consolidate the Empire,'¹ reported the Wellington branch of the Navy League in 1907. Patriotism became popular and acquired greater clout during the pre-war years in the light of Great Britain's diminishing stature on the world stage. In response to the uncertainty surrounding the Empire's future, organisations of a patriotic nature emerged in an attempt to help solidify the bonds of Empire. These organisations were predominantly the offspring of bodies already in existence in Britain which helped qualify the sense of kinship felt by New Zealand for the Motherland. Aided by individuals from varied occupational stations within the community, the organisations attempted to create an awareness of the issues involved by preaching the theme of preparedness and by fostering a patriotic spirit amongst New Zealanders. The support and encouragement which the organisations encountered was undoubtedly motivated by New Zealand's natural affinity with the imperial centre and by the belief that New Zealand's destiny was ultimately bound up with that of Great Britain.

The popularity of patriotism had taught the Dominion that it was tantamount to service and during the Great War three types of patriotic organisations emerged to provide service. They were the war relief administering bodies; the anti-German leagues and the organisations concerned for the welfare of the soldier. Of the three types, the war relief bodies were the more extensive and were able to accommodate the patriotic zeal of the people which was undoubtedly accentuated by the Dominion's geographical isolation from the theatre of war. By dealing with the New Zealand soldier and his dependents their cause was considered to be more sacred. They were thus able to exercise a greater impact over the popular mind because they dealt visibly with the unit at the base of the struggle and were therefore able to command a greater audience. However, the popular patriotic image of a flag waving,

¹ Navy League (Wellington Branch), Annual Report, 1907, p.9.

propaganda disseminating, all for empire mob hell bent on repelling the enemy in a wrathful manner, which could be likened to the anti-German leagues, was absent with the war relief bodies. Instead, they were subdued business like organisations dedicated to the mundane, laborious task of raising finance and providing relief. They were in essence an altruistic expression of New Zealanders caring for New Zealanders.

By far the more colourful were the anti-German leagues which attempted to parade the German before the Dominion as either, '...a brutal bully or a low, sneaking, cringing, spying fraud.'² However, in attempting to maintain civilian animosity towards Germany, they were relatively ineffective. This was due to their sporadic nature as well as their failure to command little support. Perhaps their cause was considered insignificant when compared with the cause of the New Zealand soldier and his dependents. This in the final analysis was to the detriment of the anti-German leagues because they dealt with a cause which uncovered very little in the way of pro-Germans and, or, German trade. Hence, they dealt with issues which were probably perceived as being more abstract than practical.

The organisations which were concerned for the welfare of the soldier acquired a greater following than the anti-German leagues because their cause was akin to that of the war relief bodies. However, unlike the war relief bodies, they catered for the soldier's business and domestic concerns in his absence and thus provided a more personalised form of service. They were in essence, the patriotic organisational vent of the ordinary citizen who wished to contribute more than just finance.

During the Great War two polemical issues emerged which hung over the administration of patriotic funds. They were the failure to implement a central control of funds and the tension between the Government and patriotic societies which was precipitated by both parties. On the one hand, the Government resented the societies' failure to agree to proposals on central control as well as their obstinate possession of

² The Empire's Task..., p.10.

the funds. While on the other hand, the societies resented the Government's attempt to economise on repatriation schemes by charging the societies with more than their share of responsibilities. This would have meant that the funds would have been utilised for other than their intended purpose. Also the Government's refusal to adopt proposals recommended by societies only served to exacerbate the tension. On one occasion, Allen, the Minister of Defence, in his opening address at a SDL conference, stated that he probably appeared, in the eyes of some, as the Devil,³

The failure to implement central control was a more complex issue. The efficient management of the funds was desired by all concerned, but the failure was due possibly to three variables. Firstly, there was a clash of proposals which subsequently produced a reluctance to experiment with new ideas. This in turn produced a stalemate situation. Secondly, there was not one body in existence which could have effected central control because of tension and an absence of confidence. For instance, the Government was considered, at least in the eyes of the societies, to be untrustworthy. Also, it was believed by some that,

Having given freely towards a purpose which commanded their [subscribers] interest and sympathy, they [subscribers] are entitled to set up an administering body which they can hold responsible for the proper use of their money.⁴

The Government was considered not to be such a body. The Advisory Board was considered ineffective and the APPWRA was of the belief that the Board, '...falls short of what is required...'⁵ Also, one of the larger societies, such as the APPWRA, could not have effected central control because other societies would not have been willing to adhere to the dominance of a kindred society. Thirdly, there was the all important feeling of identity. The Great War provided the one time when people and groups had a chance to elevate their station in society to that of national importance like that of the Government. Central control would have eliminated that sense of self importance and enthusiasm felt by each society. They were thus reluctant to part with their newly acquired identity and sense of purpose by adhering to central control.

³ see Proceedings of The Second Division League Conference, p.1.

⁴ Southland Times, loc.cit,

⁵ minutes, 13 June, 1917, p.4.

Finally, one should not overlook the overall significance of patriotic organisations. They were in themselves a product of total warfare and of how far the new warfare could be brought to the civilian population. With anti-German leagues attempting to maintain their hatred of the foe and patriotic war relief organisations inviting them to contribute their all, civilians soon found themselves indirectly fighting the war on the home front,

APPENDIX A

OBJECTS OF THE NAVY LEAGUE AND WHY THE LEAGUE
SHOULD BE SUPPORTED BY ALL LOYAL NEW ZEALANDERS

'The Navy League is in no sense a political organisation. It works for the welfare of the Empire, the preservation of peace and the prosperity of the British community. It seeks to educate people to an appreciation of our enormous commercial interests, our gigantic mercantile marine, our immense vulnerable assets in the shape of colonies and possessions. It wants to bring home individually the fact that an all powerful navy is our main safeguard in the event of war and it recognises that only individual appreciation of this fundamental fact can secure the absolute control of the seas for Great Britain as a *sine quâ non*. Here in New Zealand the League seeks;

- A) to educate public opinion as to what our naval strength really is.
- B) to educate people as to how the navy can be best helped locally in time of war.
- C) to see that our own boys have their maritime interests looked after and to try and get a training ship for New Zealand.
- D) As knowledge is power, so want of knowledge is weakness; and this League seeks to remedy the prevailing ignorance on naval matters by distributing literature on the subject to its members and associates.

This League appealing as it does to all that is patriotic in them, is worthy of the full support of all New Zealanders, as tending, by another link in the already strong chain of attachment to the mother country, to bind us yet closer together.'

APPENDIX BOBJECTIVES OF THE NATIONAL DEFENCE LEAGUE

To ensure domestic peace and security from all possible invasion by obtaining the national adoption of the following safeguards:-

- (a) Universal defensive training, either ashore or afloat, of all boys and young men until the age of 21, with encouragement of continued training.
- (b) All men engaged in every branch of the local maritime and waterside industries to be licensed; preference in all state employment and licensed occupations to British citizens who fulfil special training conditions.
- (c) All assisted immigration to be confined to British stock and to those who have fulfilled or agree to fulfil special training conditions.
- (d) Rifle ranges to be provided in every township and Morris tube ranges in every urban and suburban school district.
- (e) Sufficient rifles to be kept in the country to arm every capable citizen and sufficient ammunition in suitable centres to make all riflemen effective for defence.
- (f) Any other legitimate means for strengthening national defence.

APPENDIX C

Empire Service League

WELLINGTON

President:

The Hon. J. G. W. AITKEN, M.L.C.

Hon. Secretary:

Capt. de R. BARCLAY
3 Wesley Road, Wellington
Telephone 4456

Hon. Treasurer:

Mr. JAMES MACINTOSH
c/o Wright, Stephenson & Co.,
Wellington

Hon. General Secretary for the Dominion:

Mr. PERCIVAL WITHERBY
Napier

A National Crusade

The object of this League is to support and extend the practice of those principles which, while they form the basis of civilized society and good Government, and are accepted generally by all civilized communities and religions, still are not as earnestly followed in our daily life and in the present crisis, as they should be. These principles include:—

1. To unite more thoroughly for the defence of the Empire, and for the extension of the freedom we have inherited.
2. To extend our personal sympathy and active support to all reasonable efforts to improve the moral and material conditions of life in this Dominion.
3. To promote the closer and more earnest exercise of sympathy and mutual trust between employers and employed, and a better understanding of each other's aims and aspirations.
4. To discourage waste arising from extravagance in living and recreation among all classes.
5. And, above all, to fulfil our most urgent and sacred duty by ensuring that those who are now giving their services and risking their lives for us at the Front shall be properly supported in the present crisis, and shall not be sacrificed or abandoned through those of us who remain here in safety, selfishly occupying ourselves in promoting our own interests or pleasures, forgetful of our duty.

The War which is devastating the world has shown the urgent need for educating ourselves to exercise more active personal sympathy and service to one another. At present it is above all things essential that those living in safety in New Zealand, should do their duty towards those who are engaged in far more arduous and noble duties at the Front.

Every man and woman who agrees with these sentiments can assist in furthering them in some way. The Churches, the Schools and the Press have exceptional opportunities. Leaders of industrial unions, members of public bodies, private employers of labour and men of business, have opportunities for special influence; but without the willing and sincere co-operation of all citizens, irrespective of position, no great improvement can be attained.

Branches of this League will be formed in various centres throughout the Dominion to give effect to these views. It is not intended that these Branches be mere debating societies, but each of them should form a committee to circulate the pamphlet "What Freedom Means," and other suitable literature, and in addition, to issue forms for signature by citizens of every class and occupation, pledging themselves to join and support the Empire Service League.

The movement being entirely a voluntary one, it is not proposed to have a membership fee. The small expenses incurred in its furtherance will be met by voluntary contributions from members, which will be duly acknowledged by the Hon. Treasurer.

It is believed that many thousands of people appreciating the spirit of this movement will readily sign the form of membership, and that widespread active co-operation will thereby be ensured.

The Badge of the League (price 1/-) can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary.

APPENDIX DSUGGESTED RESPONSIBILITIES OF PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES

The following suggested functions of, and expenditure by, Patriotic Committees was carried out;

- 1) Provision for supplementing separation allowance for the wives of married soldiers where necessary.
- 2) Assistance to parents or others depending wholly or partially on soldiers or sailors.
- 3) Assistance to and comforts for, children of soldiers so that none may suffer from the absence of parents at the front.
- 3A) Additions to the incomes of soldiers whether on service or discharged, where necessary.
- 4) Providing comforts and other things not being actual necessities, to the sick and wounded outside the Dominion. The Minister named £6,000 as the sum required monthly to adequately provide these in England, Egypt, Malta, etc.

The following suggestions were made by Dr. Valentine, Inspector General of Hospitals, that, as a general principle, it might be agreed that all necessities for the sick and wounded should be provided by the Government, and that anything partaking of luxury should be provided by the patriotic societies, and, further;

- 1) The Government provides various institutions, such as Hospitals, sanatoriums, etc., that are necessary, with a view of restoring sick and wounded to their normal state of health, and the Patriotic Societies to provide any special accommodation that might be necessary, such as,
 - (a) Convalescent Homes attached to the hospitals or thermal Sanatoria.

- (b) Convalescent Homes, where patients could be provided with facilities for sea bathing, a very important form of treatment for some cases.
- 2) Also that Patriotic Committees might very well attend to the expense connected with minor wants of such patients, such as,
 - (a) Provision of stamps, stationery, telegrams and conduct the correspondence of those unable to write, and,
 - (b) The provision of reading material, and luxuries as regards food and drink, sanctioned by the Medical Authorities.
 - 3) To assist in providing suitable clothing, outer as well as under garments, for hospital patients.
 - 4) The payment of travelling expenses of relatives of patients unable to afford the cost of visiting their soldier relations in hospital.
 - 5) The provision of suitable games for the patients and means of recreation and employment.
 - 6) Finding suitable work for maimed patients or others.
 - 7) Providing motor cars, boats, etc. for patients for trips at health resorts, such as, Rotorua, etc.
 - 8) Entertainments, concerts, theatres, etc. where possible under control of members of the Local Committee.
-

(minutes, 25 November, 1915, appendage
report of Patriotic Society conference).

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