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 170 *NZT*, 27 Aug 1914, 25.
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 184 Vesta, Correspondence, *NZMT*, 20 Feb 1915, 5.
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 186 See e.g. *NZT*, Editorial, 3 Jan 1918, 25-8; Editorial, *ibid.*, 31 Jan 1918, 26.
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 188 *CG*, Jul 1915, 107-8; correspondence, *NZMT*, 19 Feb 1916, 12; Letter by T.W. Cameron, *ibid.*, 29 Apr 1916, 5.
 189 Correspondence, *NZMT*, 8 Jul 1916, 12; C. Murray, letter to editor (on article by Hardy), *Outlook*, 19 Jan 1915, 25; 'To Men and Women of Goodwill... A Message from the Religious Society of Friends', *ibid.*, 26 Jan 1915, 13.

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 195 *ibid.*, 18 Mar 1916, 5; *WC*, 6 Feb 1915, 4; Reverend. S. Lawry, reporting from his son's letters in *NZMT*, 20 Mar 1915, 14.
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- 60 Defence Forces, Annual Reports, *AJHR*, H-19: 1917, 18; 1918, 20; 1919, 22.
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- 70 Report on the Conference of Patriotic Societies held in Wellington on 17 and 18 February 1916 (J.P. Luke, Wellington, J.J. Clarke, Otago, C. Williams, Canterbury), 11/2/38, SS7, Acc W2756 11/2/38, Patriotic Societies and War Relief Funds, 1915-68; *Dominion*, 12 Jan 1916.
- 71 *QM*, 2 Sep 1918, 14. See also discussion of the RSA Annual Report, 2, 14 (Jun 1919), 15-25.
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- 73 For debate about cost of living rises, see Alan Everton, 'Government Intervention in the New Zealand Economy 1914-18' (MA thesis, VUW, 1995).
- 74 Wellington Branch SPWC, 22nd Annual Report, 1918-19, 5, NZSPHF Annual Reports 1897-1919, MSx 3292, ATL.
- 75 Hawke's Bay Patriotic Society records have recently been deposited in ANZ.
- 76 Yvonne Margaret Robertson, 'A Victorian Lady in an Age of Change: The Life of Mary Downie Stewart 1876-1957' (PGDA thesis, UO, 1990), 51-2.
- 77 Margaret Tennant, 'Service Organizations', in Anne Else (ed.), *Women Together: A History of Women's Organizations in New Zealand: Nga Roopu Wahine o te Motu* (Wellington: Daphne Brasell/Department of Internal Affairs, 1993), 293.
- 78 For photographs of the carnivals see *Canterbury Times*, 28 Apr 1915, 37, which provides a detailed account of the crowning of Queen Maude (Nurse Maude), Queen of the Belgium Harvest Festival, and the Christchurch Queen carnival. See 5 May 1915, 30, for Ashburton's Queen; 9 Jun 1915 for Wellington Carnival and so on.
- 79 Otago Provincial Patriotic Society, MS AG 113, Hocken.
- 80 No. 311, OSDWC Casebooks, MS 982/138, Hocken.
- 81 The Otago Benevolent Society investigated the respectability of families on relief much more carefully than the OSDWC. See for instance Otago Benevolent Society's consideration of Mary Lee and her family. By contrast, the OSDWC extended support to Mary Lee during the First World War without investigation. Mary Isabella Lee, *The Not So Poor, An Autobiography*, edited and introduced by Annabel Cooper (Auckland: AUP, 1992), 25-32; No. 1046, OSDWC Casebooks, MS 982/138, Hocken.
- 82 No. 185, OSDWC Casebooks, MS982/138, Hocken.
- 83 *Ibid.*, 12 Oct 1918, No. 1194.
- 84 *Ibid.*, No. 299. See also *Evening Star*, 22 Feb 1916.
- 85 There are about 11,000 case files on applicants and recipients of the patriotic society's welfare from 1914 to the 1970s. I am interested only in the files on First World War soldiers' 'grass widows', that is women applying and/or receiving welfare while their husbands were serving overseas.
- 86 OSDWC Acting Secretary to Mrs Breese, 21 Jun 1917, OSDWC Casebooks, MS 982/138, Hocken.

- 87 This is in keeping with the Return of relationship of dependent applicants for war pension to 31 March 1917, Pension Department report, *AJHR*, H-18, 1917, Vol. 2, 90: 360 wife; 424 widow; 340 father; 1360 mother; 5 guardian; 3 mother-in-law; 1 stepfather; 7 stepmother; 2 grandfather; 2 grandmother; 2 fostered mother; 38 guardian of children; 19 mother of illegitimate child; 1 step daughter; 10 brother; 96 sister; 3 guardian of sister; 2 guardian of brother; 1 guardian of nieces; 2 step-sister; 4 sister-in-law; 9 aunt; 2 uncle; 1 niece; 3 not a relative; total 2698.
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- 89 Nolan, *Breadwinning*, 71-2.
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- 94 *Ibid.*, No. 342.
- 95 *Ibid.*, Mrs C. to Society, 14 Jan 1916, No. 386.
- 96 *Ibid.*, No. 311.
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- 100 *Ibid.*, No. 6/416.
- 101 *Ibid.*, No. 1133.
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- 103 *Ibid.*, No. 215.
- 104 *Ibid.*, No. 828, No. 386.
- 105 *Ibid.*, No. 953.
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- 109 'Address given on the formation of the Otago Women's Reserve', MS 985 44/20, Hocken.
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- 113 Wellington SPWC, Annual Report, 1917-18, 5, ATL.
- 114 See similar development in Auckland: Raewyn Dalziel, *Focus on the Family, The Auckland Home and Family Society 1893-1993* (Auckland: Auckland Home and Family Society, 1993), 19.
- 115 Wellington SPWC, Annual Report, 1917-18, 4, ATL.
- 116 *Ibid.*, 1919-20, 7; 1920-21, 5; 1921-22, 7-8.
- 117 *Ibid.*, 1919-20, 7.
- 118 R.J.F. Aldrich (Secretary Wellington RSA) to the Prime Minister, 5 Jun 1920, Legislative Department records (L)1, Damaged Files Box, 3 1/618, cost of living 1920, RSA and NCW resolutions, ANZ.
- 119 *Ibid.*, Secretary to the Hon. Secretary to Minister of Labour, 29 Jun 1920.
- 120 *MW*, 13 Nov 1918, 9, Women's Column 'Wahine'.
- 121 *NZPD*, Vol. 185, 121-2 (H. Poland), 122 (R. Semple), 122-3 (P. Fraser), 123 (J.P. Luke).
- 122 For example, Mrs Ruth Day (Corresponding Secretary, Christchurch WCTU) to Minister of Pensions, 8 Oct 1919, SS, Acc W1844, Box 1, A80 Act Amendment 1919 (Pensions Act 1913).

- 123 NZPD, Vol. 161, 1912, 66–7 (Payne).
- 124 NZ Labour Party 7th Annual Conference, Christchurch, Apr 1923, NZ Labour Party, MS Papers 270, folder 345, ATL. See also *MW*, 29 Mar and 6 Dec 1922.
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- 126 Francis G. Castles, *The Working Class and Welfare: Reflections on the Political Development of the Welfare State in Australia and New Zealand, 1890–1980* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1985). See Melanie Nolan and Pat Walsh, 'Labour's Leg Iron? Assessing Trade Unions and Arbitration in New Zealand', in Pat Walsh (ed.), *Trade Unions, Work and Politics, The Centenary of the Arbitration System* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1994), 9–37.
- 127 Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers, The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (1992; reprint, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1993). See also, Edwin Amenta and Theda Skocpol, 'Taking Exception: Explaining the Distinctiveness of American Public Policies in the Last Century', in Francis G. Castles (ed.), *The Comparative History of Public Policy* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1989), 292–333.
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- 2 Baker, 14, 138–40, 225–6.
- 3 For manpower issues see Baker generally. Also Sir James Allen, 'New Zealand in the world war', in *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. 7, Pt 2, *New Zealand* (Cambridge: CUP, 1933); Sleeman, in Drew, *War Effort*. Correspondence between Allen and Godley in the Allen Papers, M1/15, ANZ, also offers much insight into these issues.
- 4 Graph based on figures from Carbery, App. B.
- 5 Allen to Godley, 4 Jan 1916, Allen Papers, M1/15.
- 6 *Ibid.*, Allen to Godley, 15 Feb 1916.
- 7 Barry Gustafson, *Labour's Path to Political Independence: The Origins and Establishment of the New Zealand Labour Party 1900–19* (Auckland: AUP/OUP, 1980), 110–13. Two other Labour MPs who would have voted against the Bill were paired.
- 8 NZPD, Vol. 175, 786.
- 9 Myers to Cabinet, 18 Dec 1916, National Efficiency Board records (NEB)1, 243, ANZ. Myers supplied a tentative list of essential industries that would be developed by the NEB.
- 10 Baker, 117, 119.
- 11 Christchurch Sun, 27 Jan 1917.
- 12 Allen to Robin, 7 Nov 1916, cited in Baker, 138.
- 13 *AJHR*, 1917, H-43, 3. The files more specifically refer to what industries should be considered 'essential', how women could replace men in the workforce, and the rehabilitation of servicemen. NEB to Allen, 2, 5 Feb 1917, NEB1, 2/1. NEB minute book, Vol. 1, ATL.
- 14 Allen to Godley, 27 Mar 1917, 25 Aug 1917, Allen Papers, M1/15. See above, ch. 14, John Crawford, 'New Zealand is Being Bled to Death: The Formation, Operations and Disbandment of the Fourth Brigade'.
- 15 For members of the NEB, see Scholefield and *Who's Who*, 1925. DNZB database, Ministry for Culture and Heritage, Wellington.
- 16 DNZB, III. Henderson, 45. Conrad Bollinger, *Grog's Own Country: The Story of Liquor Licensing in New Zealand* (Auckland: Minerva, 1967, 2nd ed.), 186.

- 17 *NZ Free Lance*, 16 Mar 1917.
- 18 *AJHR*, 1917, H-43A. Schedule of recommendations, 11 Jun 1917, NEB1, 581. NEB memoranda, Vol. 1, 1917, report on liquor question, 9 Jul 1917, MS Papers 1525, ATL.
- 19 NEB1, 243, 696. NZG, 31 Jul 1917. *AJHR*, 1917, H-43, H-43B.
- 20 NEB1, 767.
- 21 John E. Martin, 'War Economy', in McGibbon, *Companion. Statistics of New Zealand, 1914–1918*. NEB1, 774, 870, 863, 919.
- 22 Baker, 141. The figure of 35.1 per cent was slightly higher than the percentage of those with rural occupations balloted.
- 23 *Women's War Work*, 3, copy in NEB1, 77.
- 24 NEB1, 443. NEB minute book, Vol. 1, letters of 26 Apr, 23 May 1917, MS Papers 1528, ATL.
- 25 NEB1, 453. *Dominion*, 18 Jun, 2 Jul 1917.
- 26 NEB minute book, Vol. 1, meeting with Allen, 30 Apr 1917.
- 27 NEB1, 265.
- 28 *EP*, 4 Jul 1917. NEB memoranda, Vol. 2, 1917–18, Frostick, NEB deputation to Massey and Ward, 5 Oct 1917, NEB to Allen, 9 Jul 1917. This conference drew in 19 unions and a trades council as well as the Labour Party. Bruce Brown, *The Rise of New Zealand Labour: A History of the New Zealand Labour Party* (Wellington: Price Milburn, 1962), 32.
- 29 Gustafson, 166.
- 30 NEB to Allen, 9 Jul 1917, Massey to NEB, 16 Nov 1917, NEB1, 639.
- 31 Sources cited by Baker, 139.
- 32 Letter to George Nelson, 1 Aug 1917, NEB1, 688.
- 33 Ferguson to Allen, 15 Aug 1917, NEB minute book, Vol. 2.
- 34 Letter to George Nelson, 25 Aug 1917, NEB1, 688. For the resignation and reappointment of NEB members, also see NEB correspondence, 1917, MS Papers 1524, ATL.
- 35 NEB memoranda, Vol. 2, NEB deputation to Massey and Ward, 5 Oct 1917.
- 36 Len Richardson, *Coal, Class and Community: The United Mineworkers of New Zealand, 1880–1960* (Auckland: AUP, 1995), ch. 6. John E. Martin, *Holding the Balance: A History of New Zealand's Department of Labour, 1891–1995* (Christchurch: Canterbury UP, 1996), 152–4.
- 37 Allen to Godley, 11 Oct 1917, Allen Papers, M1/15.
- 38 *Ibid.*, Allen to Godley, 11 Oct 1917, 27 Nov 1917; Godley to Allen, 16 Oct 1917, 6 Jan 1918.
- 39 *Ibid.*, Allen to Godley, 26 Apr, 21 May 1918. NZPD, Vol. 182, 64–6.
- 40 NEB minute book, Vol. 2, 10, 11 Jun 1918. NZG, Vol. 2, 1918, 2406–8, 24 Jun 1918. National service was defined as employment by the government, road and railway construction, drainage works and in the rural economy – probably shaped more by consideration of public works' kind of employment than by any notion of essential industries.
- 41 NZPD, Vol. 182, 217. See 216–40 for discussion of the section and the antagonism of Labour members towards it if it meant transfer of workers for 'private gain'.
- 42 Allen to Godley, 6 Sep 1918, Allen Papers, M1/15.
- 43 *EP*, 9 Feb 1918.
- 44 NEB minute book, Vol. 2, 14, 17 Jan 1919. NEB memoranda, Vol. 3, NEB to Allen, 15 Jan 1919. Typewritten NEB 1918 annual report of 105 pages, qMS 1523, ATL.
- 45 NEB, 1918 annual report, 104.
- 46 Martin, *Balance*, 155–6. NEB1, 784, 987. NEB minute book, Vol. 2, 8 Aug 1918. NEB, 1918 annual report, 20, 24 – memo to government on relations of capital and labour, 24 Jun 1918; NEB to Massey, 10 Aug 1918.