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5 Oliver, with Williams, eds, Oxford History of New Zealand, p. ix.

6 See, for instance, the reviews in the New Zealand Journal of History, vol. 16, no. 1, 1982, pp. 68–76.


ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Editor met with Dr Ann Parsonson subsequent to this workshop meeting.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: REFRAMING NEW ZEALAND HISTORY

8 Phillips, 'Of Verandahs and Fish and Chips and Footie on Saturday Afternoon: Reflections on 100 Years of New Zealand Historiography', p. 131.
11 Pocock, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject', p. 21.
13 Wynn, 'Reflections on the Writing of New Zealand History', p. 108.
16 Howe, 'Two Worlds?', p. 57.


25. This phrase refers to the film made by the Government Film Studios in 1940–41 to commemorate the centennial of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. See further One Hundred Crowded Years, Government Film Studios, 1941 <http://audiovisual.archives.govt.nz/wiki/index.php/ONE_HUNDRED_CROWDED_YEARS>, accessed Wednesday, 3 December 2008.


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33. Olssen, ‘Where to From Here?’, p. 60.

34. L. Barber, New Zealand: A Short History, Century Hutchinson, Auckland, 1989.


49 Burton, *After the Imperial Turn*, p. 8.

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2. Thanks to Janet Davidson, Helen Leach and Geoffrey Irwin; and to Louise Furey and Geoffrey Irwin for permission to publish Figures 3 and 4, and Sophie Collins and the Cartography Unit, RSPAS, ANU for drafting Figures 1 and 2.


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91. Trotter and McCulloch, *Prehistoric Rock Art, passim*.


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28 Tony Whitaker, ‘Was the kawekaweau the world’s largest gecko?’, Forest and Bird, no. 264, 1992, pp. 44–6.


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34 Otago Witness, 6 October 1883, p. 6.


42 This is the case in K. Sinclair, A Destiny Apart: New Zealand’s Search for National Identity, Allen and Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1986, despite references to environment and climate on pp. 6–9.


47 W. Docherty to J. Haast [July 1870], Von Haast papers, MS 37/56, ATL.
65 Pawson and Brooking, eds, Environmental Histories of New Zealand, p. xii.
66 AJHR, 1915, C-6, p. 5.
68 See Roche, History of New Zealand Forestry, pp. 405–14.
76 R. Hodge, 'Seizing the day: Perrine Moncrieff and nature conservation in New Zealand', *Environment and History*, vol. 9, no. 4, 2003, pp. 407–18.
85 Young, *Our Islands, Our Selves*, pp. 79–189.
86 Young, *Our Islands Our Selves*, pp. 206–11.

1 The light wood of the whau (*nothopanax arboresum*) was used as floats for nets. *Great Britain Parliamentary Papers* (GBPP), 1845, XXXIII (108), p. 10. I am revisiting this metaphor, which I drew upon in ‘Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts: Two Forms of Telling History’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 21, no.1, 1987, p. 16.


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18 29 December 1841, ‘Journal’, CN/M13, p. 529, CMS microfilm, AUL. Colenso’s emphasis.

19 4 January 1842, ‘Journal’, CN/M13, p. 534, CMS microfilm, AUL.

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40 Kepa Te Uruhi, reporting Hohepa’s account, 20 February 1865, AJHR 1864–65, E-5, p. 4.

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OS: Robert (Boy) Biddle (secretary of the Haahi Ringatu, following his father), Kutarere, 14 December 1981, tape 3b; Binney, Redemption Songs, p. 402.

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The government took over the survey lien from Baker; thus it became a debt payable to the government.

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43 Bay of Islands Advertiser, 10 December 1840.
44 Stone, 'Auckland's Political Opposition in the Crown Colony Period 1841–53', p. 18.
45 New Zealand Gazette, 19 July 1843.
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52 Grey to Lord Grey, 3 May 1847, CO 209/52.
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64 Browne to Newcastle, 27 April and 1 November 1860, BPP, 1861 (2798) XLI, pp. 33, 160.
65 Browne to Newcastle, 22 March 1860, BPP, 1861 (2798) XLI, p. 17.
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This is taken from the song by the Strong Islanders, ‘Strong Island Flow’.


Scott, *Years of the Pooh Bah*; Scott, *Would a Good Man Die?*


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CHAPTER 8: MIGRATION AND ETHNIC IDENTITIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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2 James McIlrath (Southbridge) to his family (Co. Down), 21 December 1872.
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4 James McIlrath (Lakeside, Canterbury) to his brother William (Co. Down), 24 February 1891.
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94 Michael Flanagan (Charleston) to Richard Flanagan (Termonfeckin), 10 August 1867.
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96 Patrick Flanagan (Grahamstown) to Michael Flanagan (West Coast), 6 December 1869.
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*AJHR*, 1893 H-2, pp. 31–3; *AJHR*, 1902 I-10, pp. 1–4.

*AJHR* 1888, C-1, p. 5; Report by John Sawyers, Government Dairy Instructor, 1890, *AJHR*, H-23, p. 1; *AJHR*, 1890, B-6, p. 50; *AJHR*, 1892, C-1, p. 22.

*AJHR*, 1890, C-1, p. 3.


Arnold, *Settler Kaponga*, p. 142.


CHAPTER 10: COLONISATION, EMPIRE AND GENDER


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30 See P. Buckner, ed., _Canada and the End of Empire_, UBC Press, Vancouver and Toronto, 2005;


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43 Report from Wellington, November 1927, *YWCA aid to Immigrant Girls*, L 1 129a, National Archives (NA).


60 Woollacott, *Gender and Empire*, p. 1.


72 Mb367 series a, 5, Mr G. G. Hogg, Victoria League Annual Meeting 1936. Victoria League Collection, MacMillan Brown Library (MBL), University of Canterbury, Christchurch.


74 Victoria League Card: Aims and Work (1920s), Mb 367 series a, 2, MBL.


78 C. M. Coates and C. Morgan, Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine de Vercheres and Laura Secord, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2002, p. 4; Pickles, Transnational Outrage, passim.
91 Mb367, series a, 1, Minutes of 6 December 1922, MBL.
92 Mb367, series a, 1, Minutes of 14 August 1924, MBL; Mb367, series a, 2, Minutes of 4 March 1926, MBL.
96 Mb367, series a, 1, Minutes of 12 April 1923, MBL.
97 Mb367, series a, 5, Minutes of 15 April 1936, MBL.
98 Mb367, series a, 7, Minutes of 23 May 1940, MBL.
104 McGeorge, 1997, personal communication.
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124 Hillary, *View from the Summit*, p. ix.
133 Holmes Show; Television New Zealand (TVNZ), 20 April 1998.
139 Jenkins and D’Antal, *Kiri*, p. xii.
141 New Zealand Woman’s Weekly, 15 September 1969, p. 73.
144 Jenkins and D’Antal, *Kiri*, blurb.
CHAPTER 11: NEW ZEALAND'S WARS


For an explanation of the suspension of the ANZUS alliance, see David Capie’s chapter in this volume.


12. See M. McKinnon, ‘Opposition to the War in New Zealand’, in Crawford and McGibbon, One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue, pp. 28–45; M. Hutching, ‘New Zealand Women’s Opposition to the South African War’, in Crawford and McGibbon, One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue, pp. 46–57.


17 McGibbon, Path to Gallipoli, p. 123; Phillips, ‘National identity and war’, p. 348; Sinclair, Destiny Apart, pp. 125, 141.


19 See A. Gould, “Different Race, Same Queen”: Maori and the War’, in Crawford and McGibbon, eds, One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue, pp. 119–27.

20 E. Ellis, ‘New Zealand Women and the War’, in Crawford and McGibbon, eds, One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue, pp. 128–50.


23 Belich, Paradise Reforged, p. 81.

24 See McGibbon, Path to Gallipoli, pp. 171–80.


28 Sinclair, Destiny Apart, p. 91.


30 Belich, Paradise Reforged, pp. 108–12; see also McGibbon, ‘The Shaping of New Zealand’s War Effort’, passim.


35 Cited in Phillips, ‘75 Years Since Gallipoli’, p. 102.

36 Belich, Paradise Reforged, p. 212.


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53 McIntyre, *New Zealand Prepares for War*, p. 255.


55 McIntyre, *New Zealand Prepares for War*, p. 238.


64 Cited in McIntyre, *New Zealand Prepares for War*, p. 239.


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85 Cited in Rabel, New Zealand and the Vietnam War, p. 161.

86 This tendency is especially noteworthy in the treatment of New Zealand approaches to the world wars in Belich, Paradise Reforged.

87 Pugsley, Gallipoli, p. 357.


90 For recent reflections on these changes by leading New Zealand historian Jock Phillips, see M. Barry, ‘At Peace with the Past’, New Zealand Listener, 28 April–4 May 2007, pp. 14–19.

CHAPTER 12: WAYS OF BELONGING: SPORTING SPACES IN NEW ZEALAND HISTORY


6 J. Belich, Paradise Reforged—A history of the New Zealanders from 1880s to the year 2000, Allen Lane/Penguin, Auckland, 2000 is the only general history to devote more than passing mention to sport.

7 A search of national bibliographical database produces a list of seventy-two local and club history for bowls; the majority of these were for anniversary year celebrations.


The Ballinger Belt, New Zealand Rifle Champion Belt, dating from 1861, is often claimed as New Zealand’s oldest sporting trophy. See ‘Sporting Trophies’ and ‘Rifle Shooting’, in McLintock, *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.


The sports paper published from 1890 as the *NZ Illustrated Sporting Review & Licensed Victuallers Gazette* underlined the connection between the two activities. See also T. Collins and W. Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers: A Cultural History of Sport and Alcohol*, Berg, Oxford and New York, 2002.


William (Bill) Beach, from Australia, was the undefeated world champion sculler, 1884–87.

Alfred Warden (Auckland) to Fred Warden (England) 11 October 1886, NZMS 1037, Auckland Public Library. Jem (James) Mace, 1831–1920, was a famous British boxer, described as ‘the father of modern boxing’.


*Auckland Amateur Athletic Club, Official Programme Athletic Sports Domain Cricket Ground, Saturday, March 5, 1887*, Pamphlet collection, Auckland Institute and Museum Library.
Shops and Shop Assistants Act 1894 provided for a weekly half-holiday (usually taken on Saturday but in rural areas and in Christchurch often midweek). Martin, *Holding the Balance*, pp. 51–5.


The Taranaki Cricket Association was formed in March 1894, around nine months before the New Zealand Cricket Council; see R. Arnold (assisted by B. Arnold), *Settler Kaponga 1881–1914. A Frontier Fragment of the Western World*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1997, p. 160.


Fry, ‘“Don’t Let Down the Side”’, p. 103.


Edmund Tudor Atkinson to C. W. Richmond, 14 May 1871, MS-Papers-4298–61, ATL (underline in original).


For example, the New Zealand Amateur Swimming Association (1890), New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association (1887) and the New Zealand Amateur Rowing Association (1887).


W. Ingram, ‘Maori Personalities in Sport’, Te Ao Hou, no. 4, Autumn 1953, p. 64.


L. Richardson, ‘The Invention of a National Game: The Struggle for Control’.

McLintock, Encyclopaedia of New Zealand.


New Zealand qualified for the 1982 World Cup.


St Clair (Watea) Croquet Club—relief labour ‘under No 10’ made available through Chairman of Ocean Beach Domain Board, reference no. 91–059, Hocken.


Daley, Leisure and Pleasure, chap. 7.


Holt and Mason, Sport in Britain Since 1945, p. 14.


For example, in Dunedin there were seventy-three rugby teams playing in the 1946 club competition (including thirteen in the senior grade), a minimum of 1995 players; Lynch, ‘Otago 17–Southland 11’, chap. 2.


Lynch, ‘Otago 17–Southland 11’, p. 61. Prior to 1928 women were admitted free.


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102 CABTA Papers, 89–097–3, 89–097–5, also at MS-Papers-0404–11B, MS-Papers-2492–12, ATL.
103 Clipping, 10 October 1949, vol. 1, Alwyn Moon Empire Games, 1949–50, NZMS 923, Auckland Public Library.
113 Peter Snell radio interview, 1966, T2336/2, Radio New Zealand Sound Archives.
116 Colin Meads played his last game for the All Blacks in 1971. See Alex Veysey, Colin Meads All Black, 1974.
117 Richards, Dancing on Our Bones; Templeton, Human Rights and Sporting Contacts; Newnham, Interesting Times.
119 Women’s median income in New Zealand is, on average, 82 per cent of the men’s equivalent; Statistics New Zealand, Focusing on Women 2005, <www.mwa.govt.nz>.
SPARC (Sport and Recreation New Zealand), the Crown Entity responsible for sport and recreation, absorbed the functions of the New Zealand Sports Foundation, the Hillary Commission (established 1987) and the policy arm of the Office of Tourism and Sport when established on 1 January 2003 under the Sport and Recreation New Zealand Act 2002.


See ‘Pay up, pay up and win the game. The ruthless world of government funding’, *The Economist*, 22 July 2006, p. 61.

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**CHAPTER 13: THE TASMAN WORLD**

1. D. Denoon, ‘Re-Membering Australasia: A Repressed Memory’, *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 34, no. 122, 2003, pp. 290–304. Research for this chapter was supported by the Marsden Fund of the Royal Society of New Zealand (grant UOC208) and by a Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade Historical Research Grant.


15. ‘Anzac Neighbours’ project, supported by the Marsden Fund of the Royal Society of NZ, 2003–06. See P. Mein-Smith and P. Hempenstall, ‘Australia and New Zealand: Turning Shared


19 See further Grant, et al., eds, *Beyond Sovereignty*, p. 3.


32 Archives NZ, Decimal Currency Division Report on Visit to Australia, T 79 36, 28 June to 6 July 1965.


35 Council of Australian Governments (COAG), *Commonwealth-State Ministerial Councils: A Compendium*, July 2006; ‘New Zealand Participation in Ministerial Councils’, courtesy of Australia Division, MFAT.


38 Burnett and Burnett, *Australia and New Zealand Nexus*, p. 12.
41 Mein-Smith and Hempenstall, et al., *Remaking the Tasman World*, chap. 7.
42 New Zealand Government, Submission No. 9.
60 Sir John Hall, *Official Record of the Proceedings and Debates of the Australasian Federation Conference*, Melbourne, 1890, p. 175, Australian Federation Full Text Database.
61 At the Imperial Economic Conference, Ottawa, 1932, Australians had a ‘community of interest with other Dominions’. National Archives of Australia [NAA], Canberra, Microfilm, Lyons government, CRS A6006, 1934/12/31.

62 Archives NZ, The Tasman Partnership, 5 June 1970, ABHS 18069, W5402 Box 119 BRU 64/1/6 Pt 1.


70 Royal Commission on Federation, p. xxii.


74 See NAA, Department of Commerce, Potatoes New Zealand Part 1, A458 Q500/14 Part 1.

75 NAA, P. S. Macdermott, NSW Chamber of Fruit and Vegetable Industries, Sydney, to H. V. Thorby, Asst. Min. for Commerce, Canberra, 6 October 1936, A601 878/10/3, reporting on the New Zealand Committee of Enquiry into Fruit Marketing.

76 NAA, unreferenced newsclipping [Jan. 1935] re: deputation from Fishmongers’ Association to Commonwealth Minister of Health, A601 878/10/3; Archives NZ, Eleanor Glencross, President of Federated Association of Australian Housewives to PM of NZ, 16 October 1939, IC 1 12/76/1 pt 1.

77 NAA, Cablegram Acting PM NZ (Coates) 29 August 1933, A601 878/10/2.

78 Evening Post, 17 January 1945, EA 1 58/4/9, Archives NZ.


81 Kay, The Australian-New Zealand Agreement 1944, pp. 142, 144, 147.

82 Aust–NZ Economic Discussions Wellington, Jan. 1945, EA 1 58/4/2/1 Pt 1A, Archives NZ.

83 Ashwin to Fraser, 20 January 1948, EA 1 59/3/303 Pt 1; see also memo, conversations between the PM and Mr Chifley 30 December 1947 and Secretary to Treasury to PM 20 January 1948, EA 1 58/4/2/2 Pt 1, Archives NZ.

84 Semple to Chifley 25 February 1948, EA 1 58/4/2/2 Pt 1.


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2. *Auckland Examiner*, 11 December 1856, 2 April, 29 October 1857.


46 *Taranaki Herald*, 24 November 1860.


56 Lineham, ‘Freethinkers’, p. 78.


59 Lineham, ‘Freethinkers’.


95 Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, pp. 28–32.
96 Truth, 31 October 1914, p. 1.
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98 Truth, 4 March 1916, p. 5; 11 March 1916, p. 5; 14 November 1914, p. 1.
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99 Truth, 7 April 1910, p. 4; 18 November 1911, p. 5; 5 December 1914, pp. 5, 14.


110 Otago Workman, 28 June 1889, p. 5; Workman, 5 December 1896, p. 11.

111 Otago Workman, 9 July 1892.

112 Otago Workman, 13 August 1892, p. 4.

113 Otago Workman, 10 December 1892, p. 5.

114 Otago Workman, 15 November 1889, p. 5.

115 Otago Workman, 13 June 1891, p. 4.


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124 P. Lineham, 'The Unexplained Religion of the WCTU', Unpublished TS, Massey University, 1999. Thanks to Dr Lineham for a copy of this paper.


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CHAPTER 15: CONSTANTLY ON THE MOVE, BUT GOING NOWHERE?
WORK, COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL MOBILITY


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15 See Public Service Journal: vol. 3, no. 25, 1893, p. 2; vol. 3, no. 26, 1893, p. 8; vol. 5, no. 44, May 1895, p. 7; vol. 5, no. 44, July 1895, pp. 3–4; vol. 5, no. 60, September 1896, p. 5; vol. 5, no. 97, June 1896, p. 4, Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL).


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32 1956–7 Dunedin Housing Survey, MS CE 18/1, Dunedin City Council Archives.

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37 Olssen and Hickey, *Class and Occupation*, pp. 95–7, 133.


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82 H. Roth, Trade Unions in New Zealand: Past and Present, Reed, Wellington, 1973, pp. 11–12.
83 Lyttleton Times, 28 October 1889.
84 J. E. Jenkinson to J. A. McCullough, 28 July 1911, Box 1, Folder 1, H. A. Atkinson Papers, Christchurch Museum.
85 J. Wren, Woman’s Work and Destiny: Paper Read to the Thames Mutual Improvement Association, Thames, 1884, Alexander Turnbull Library.
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89 J. MacGregor, Member for Otago, New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, vol. 79, 1893, pp. 10–11.
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97 E. Olssen, Building the New World, p. 246.
99 1871 Parliamentary Select Committee on Chinese Immigration.


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G. Ferguson, Building the New Zealand Dream, Dunmore/Historical Branch, Palmerston North, 1994; B. Schrader, We Call it Home: A History of State Housing in New Zealand, Reed, Auckland, 2005.


Olssen and Hickey, Class and Occupation, p. 50.

Sorokin, Social and Cultural Mobility, p. 18.

Erikson and Goldthorpe, The Constant Flux.

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145 *New Zealand Official Yearbook*.
149 See *Evening Accountancy Students Journal*, August 1952, ATL.


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166 B. Patterson, ed., Ulster-New Zealand migration and cultural transfers, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2005.


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CHAPTER 16: THE CHANGING MEANINGS AND PRACTICES OF WELFARE, 1840s–1990s


20 Tennant, ‘Mixed Economy or Moving Frontier?’, p. 41. See also Oliver, ‘Social Policy in New Zealand: An Historical Overview’, pp. 4–5.

21 Tennant, ‘Mixed Economy or Moving Frontier?’, p. 18.


27


44 Tennant, *Paupers and Providers*, p. 47.

45 Tennant, *Paupers and Providers*, p. 23.

46 P. Mein-Smith, *Concise History of New Zealand*, p. 96.


50 Tennant, *Paupers and Providers*, p. 87.

51 Tennant, *Fabric of Welfare*, p. 35.


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88 Native Minister to Mayor of Auckland, 2 August 1943, Maori Affairs Department files (MA), Series 1, 36/1, volume 1, ANZ, Wellington.


96 McClure, A Civilised Community, p. 60.

97 For further detail see McClure, A Civilised Community, passim.


100 McClure, A Civilised Community, p. 111.

101 King, Penguin History, p. 293.


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McClure, *A Civilised Community*, p. 211.


Belgrave, ‘Needs and the State’, p. 36.

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CHAPTER 17: MODERNITY, CONSUMPTION AND LEISURE


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6 Even Eldred-Grigg’s book is more about the puritan repressors than those who had fun: S. Eldred-Grigg, *Pleasures of the Flesh: Sex and Drugs in Colonial New Zealand 1840–1915*,

See Belich’s idea of the ‘tight society’—the notion that New Zealanders were morally repressed: Belich, Paradise Reforged, pp. 157–88.


Fairburn, ‘Is there a Good Case for New Zealand Exceptionalism?’, p. 150.


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‘Sweating Commission’ (Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire Into Certain Relations Between the Employers of Certain Kings of Labour and the Persons Employed Therein), Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR), H–5, 1890, pp. 28, 56.

Trade Union History Project, Workers’ Holidays in New Zealand, p. 18.

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34 Munn and Barr, New Zealand Libraries, p. 7. The census category changed after 1926. From 1938 separate censuses of libraries were taken. In that year there were 401 public libraries in New Zealand: Census of Public Libraries, 1949, Government Print, Wellington, 1951, p. 3.


44 Auckland Industrial & Mining Exhibition, p. lxii.
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51 Eccles, The First New Zealand Exhibition and Dunedin in 1865, p. 9.


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62 Parks Committee Minutes, 25 March 1930 and 17 December 1934, ACC 107, Auckland City Council Archives, Auckland.


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65 Giddens, Modernity and Self-Identity, p. 15.

66 Giddens and Pierson, Conversations, p. 110.


69 Health and Physical Culture, 1 April 1937, p. 51. For an American discussion of 'spectatoritis' see Kammen, American Culture American Tastes, p. 89.
70 New Zealand Medical Journal, XXXV, June 1936, p. 144.
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93 Downes, 'The Royal Victoria and Beyond', pp. 36–7, 41; Simpson, 'Caterers to the public entertainment', p. 10.
94 Simpson, 'Caterers to the public entertainment', pp. 7–21.
95 Rowland, 'Entrée: A History of the Restaurant in New Zealand From the 1860s to the 1960s', pp. 48, 45.

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*Evening Post*, 8 August 1901, p. 6.


Diary of Mrs J. D. Ormond, 3 March 1859, MS 1747, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.


Diary of Mrs J. D. Ormond, 10 June 1859, MS 1747, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.


Butterworth, Jaycee, p. 10.


Butterworth, Jaycee, pp. 140–5.

Butterworth, Jaycee, pp. 145–9 for a discussion of Maori and Jaycees.


145 I. Brailsford, “If there’s not one near you now, there soon will be”: American Fast-Food Chains Come to New Zealand, NZJH, vol. 39, no. 1, 2005, pp. 57–74.


149 The ‘They’re drinking our beer here’ campaign was launched in 1987.

150 Kammen, American Culture American Tastes, p. 53; Stearns, American Cool, p. 274.


152 P. Smith, Twist and Shout: New Zealand in the 1960s, Random Century, Auckland, 1991. Playboy began in 1953 but was not imported to New Zealand until the 1960s.


155 Burgess, ‘Looking to the Heart’, p. 54.


158 Mirams, Speaking Candidly, p. 5.

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[38] Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand taken for the Night of the 3rd April 1881, Government Printer, Wellington, 1882, p. 12.

[39] Evidence of John Whitely before the Board of Inquiry, 7 April 1856, G 51/1, (ANZ-W).

[40] Evidence of J. Wilson, 5 May 1856, G 51/1, (ANZ-W).


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See The New Zealander, 25 August 1849, p. 2; Daily Southern Cross, 17 December 1852, p. 2; Daily Southern Cross, 23 May 1854, p. 2; Daily Southern Cross, 23 December 1853, p. 4.


Salesa, 'Race Mixing', p. 266.


E. Olssen, “For Better or Worse”: Marriage Patterns in Dunedin’s Southern Suburbs, 1881–1938, in M. Fairburn and E. Olssen, eds, Class, Gender and the Vote: Historical Perspectives From New Zealand, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2005, p. 75.


Pool, Te Iwi Maori, p. 59.
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88 See Brookes, et al., *Sites of Gender*.


97 Evidence of Isabel Howlett, p. 627.


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**CHAPTER 19: SEXUALITY, MORALITY AND SOCIETY**


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17 NZT, 8 June 1907, p. 1.
18 NZT, 25 May 1912, p. 1; 18 August 1906, p. 5; 13 October 1906, p. 4.
19 NZT, 11 July 1914, p. 6.
20 NZT, 11 July 1914, p. 6.
22 NZT, 1 July 1911, p. 4; 30 May 1908, p. 1; 23 February 1907, p. 5.
23 For a background discussion on the Truth newspaper, see Belich, Paradise Reforged, p. 179.
28 P. Christoffel, Censored: A Short History of Censorship in New Zealand, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1989.
33 NZT, 3 April 1915, p. 3.
36 Mort, Dangerous Sexualities, p. 122.
38 Tolerton, Ettie, pp. 175–6.
40 Belich, Paradise Reforged, pp. 184–5.
45 Chapple, Fertility, pp. 69–71, 105.
47 See the official correspondence in J W2304 12/17/1, Archives New Zealand (ANZ).
48 Robertson, “Production Not Reproduction”, p. 213.
49 C. Brickell, Mates and lovers: a history of gay New Zealand, Godwit, Auckland, 2008, chap. 3.


52 Wanhalla, 'To “Better the Breed of Men”', p. 178.


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56 *NZT*, 3 September 1931, p. 3.


66 Brookes, 'Housewives' Depression', p. 124.

67 Brookes, 'Housewives' Depression', pp. 125, 131; Smyth, *Rocking the Cradle*, p. 45.


69 M. Manse ('Purity'), *Needful Knowledge on Social and Sexual Hygiene*, Whitcombe and Tombs, Wellington, 1941, p. 6.


72 *NZT*, 5 Feb 1931, p. 7.


75 *Korero*, vol. 5, no. 12, 1945, p. 11; see also *Korero*, vol. 5, no. 11, 1945, pp. 7–10.


77 Mazengarb, 'Special Committee', p. 18; Brookes, 'Weakness', p. 144.

78 Mazengarb, 'Special Committee', p. 21.


81 See Brickell, 'Politics', *passim*. 

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Jim Robb, interview with Chris Brickell, 29 July 2005.


NZT, 6 April 1912, p. 5.


On both sides of the debate see McGeorge, ‘Sex Education’, *passim*; submissions to the Inquiry into Mental Defectives and Sexual Offenders (1924), Archives New Zealand, H1 54/79 (11305) and H3 W1628 13.


*The Human Touch*, June 1936, pp. 20–2.


Eli G., tape recorded interview with Chris Brickell, 12 September 2005.


Thursday, 23 January 1969, p. 29.

Smyth, *Rocking the Cradle*, p. 112. By this time about 12 per cent of births were to unmarried mothers.


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115 *NZT*, 5 April 1977, p. 52.


122 For example, *Thursday*, 9 January 1969, p. 43, and various issues of *Forum*. On feminists’ involvement in the New Zealand edition of *Forum* see Brookes, ‘When Dad Was a Woman’, p. 244.


125 Brookes, ‘When Dad Was a Woman’, *passim*.


137 Laurie, ‘Law Reform Campaign’, *passim*.


140 For example, Lesbian and Gay Archive of New Zealand, Alexander Turnbull Library, Associated Pentecostal Churches, Submission to the Statutes Revision Committee of Parliament, 1985, p. 3.


150 For a detailed account, see Janiewski and Morris, *New Rights, New Zealand, passim*.


159 Janiewski and Morris, *New Rights, New Zealand*, p. 120.


CHAPTER 20: HEALTH AND ILLNESS, 1840s–1990s


8 Lange, *May the People Live*, p. 7.

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17 Lange, *May the People Live*, p. 64.
21 Gluckman, *Tangiwai*, pp. 59, 70. This spelling is in the text presented by Gluckman.


Dow, Maori Health and Government Policy, p. 23.


Dow, Maori Health and Government Policy, pp. 28, 32; Dow, Safeguarding the Public Health, p. 12.


Denoon and Mein-Smith, A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific, p. 261; McCalman, Sex and Suffering, p. 117; P. Mein-Smith, Maternity in Dispute: New Zealand 1920–1939,


See F. Porter and C. Macdonald, eds, My hand will write, pp. 84, 390–17, 461.


National Archives, New Zealand (NANZ) Carrington Hospital, YCAA 1048/11, Patient Casebooks, folio 10. Surnames of psychiatric patients are usually obscured. NANZ, YCAA 1026/12, Case 4112, Letter from sister dated 5 January 1913; NANZ, YCAA 1026/12, Case 4112 Letter from Beattie dated 7 January 1913. See also Coleborne, “His brain was wrong”.


Brookes, ‘Health, Hygiene and Bodily Knowledge’, p. 298.

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76 Intercolonial Medical Congress, 1889.

77 H. N. MacLaurin, ‘Comparative View of the Mortality of the Different Colonies from Certain Diseases’, Section of Hygiene, President’s Address, Intercolonial Medical Congress of Australasia, 1889, p. 404.


87 Dow, *Safeguarding the Public Health*, p. 47. The Bubonic Plague Prevention Act was also passed into law in 1900.


95 Rosenberg, ‘Framing Disease’, passim.


97 See Dow, Maori Health and Government Policy, p. 124.


99 Harsant, They Called me Te Maari, pp. 98, 102; Dow, Maori Health and Government Policy, pp. 55, 139.


101 Rice, Black November, 1998, p. 63. Rice speculates that men were likely to move in public places where infection took place; Black November, 1988, pp. 221–3; see also Phillips and Killingray, The Spanish Influenza Pandemic, pp. 8–9.

102 Rice, Black November, 1988, p. 221. See also 2005 edn, p. 18.

103 Rice, Black November, 1988, p. 221. See also 2005 edn, p. 18.


107 Two of the latter division’s Directors were women: Ada Paterson from 1923 and Elizabeth Gunn from 1937 to 1940.


110 Mein-Smith, Maternity in Dispute, p. 1; Denoon and Mein-Smith, A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific, pp. 298, 297–301.


115 T. D. M. Stout, War Surgery and Medicine, War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1954.


119 S. Davies, Bread and Roses, David Bateman/Fraser Books, Auckland, 1993 [1984], p. 66.


122 W. H. Williams, Out of Mind, Out of Sight: The Story of Porirua Hospital, Porirua Hospital, Porirua, 1987, p. 208.


CHAPTER 21: MAORI AND STATE POLICY

1 I would like to warmly thank the anonymous reviewer of the initial draft of this chapter. See further R. S. Hill, *Policing the Colonial Frontier: The Theory and Practice of Coercive Social and Racial Control in New Zealand, 1767–1867*, Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Government Printer, Wellington, 1986, chap. 1.


6 The Waitangi Tribunal has examined the concept of tino rangatiratanga closely over the years, and its reports show variations consequent upon many factors, including scholarly fashion.


10 Hill, *Policing the Colonial Frontier*, p. 89.


For the MWO, see Hill, *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy*, chaps 8 and 9.


These need to take into account ethnicities and cultures from other than the two major ethnocultures, a quest that forms part of the ‘Treaty discourse’.

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**CHAPTER 22: THE NEW ZEALAND ECONOMY, 1900–2000**


11 This figure refers to the income of the white-settler component of the population.


14 Briggs, Looking at the Numbers, Figure 29, p. 61.


17 Sutch, Takeover New Zealand, pp. 50–1.


30 G. Bertram, ‘Factor Income Shares, the Banking Sector, the Exchange Rate, and the New Zealand Current Account Deficit’, *New Zealand Economic Papers*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2002, pp. 177–98, Figure 1, p. 178.


37 Belich, *Paradise Reforged, passim*.


42 Brooking, “Busting Up” the Greatest Estate of All, p. 78; Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 44.


58 Elkan, *The Meaning of Protection*, Table 9, p. 84.


73 NZIER, *Maori Economic Development*, p. 2; NZIER, *Maori Economic Development*, p. 9 (see Table 1).


75 Frieden, *Global Capitalism*, passim.


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Senghaas, The European Experience, pp. 124, 126.


Briggs, Looking at the Numbers, p. 71.


Greasley and Oxley, ‘Globalization and Real Wages’, p. 34.


See O’Malley, et al., Farming and Inflation, esp. chap. 8.


See Frieden, Global Capitalism, passim.


Sutch, Quest for Security, passim.

Denoon, Settler Capitalism, pp. 133, 137.

CHAPTER 23: NEW ZEALAND AND THE WORLD: IMPERIAL, INTERNATIONAL AND GLOBAL RELATIONS


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14 McKinnon, Independence and Foreign Policy, p. 82.

15 McKinnon, Independence and Foreign Policy, pp. 300–1.

16 Belich, Paradise Reforged, p. 30.

17 Mein-Smith, A Concise History of New Zealand, pp. 96–9.


Ballantyne and Moloughney, ‘Asia in Murihiku’, p. 76.

Ballantyne and Moloughney, ‘Asia in Murihiku’, p. 77.

D. McLean, *The Prickly Pair*, p. 44.


Dalziel, *The Origins of New Zealand Diplomacy*, p. 75.


Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 60.

Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 68 [emphasis in the original].


Belich, *Paradise Reforged*.


McKinnon, ‘New Zealand in the World’, passim.


Citation to Doidge, in McIntyre, *Background to the ANZUS Pact*.

85 M. Bassett, with Michael King, Tomorrow Brings the Song: A Life of Peter Fraser, Penguin, Albany, 2000, p. 291.
88 Memorandum of Conversation between John Allison and Frank Corner, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1949, pp. 1117–18.
90 Ralph Mullins cited in Rabel, New Zealand and the Vietnam War, p. 275.
92 Rabel, New Zealand and the Vietnam War, p. 361.
95 McKinnon, Independence and Foreign Policy, p. 185; B. Gustafson, Kiwi Keith, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2007.
96 Belich, Paradise Reforged.
97 McKinnon, Independence and Foreign Policy, p. 99.
102 McKinnon, Independence and Foreign Policy, pp. 206–7.
104 Mein-Smith, Concise History, p. 203.
107 Mein-Smith, Concise History, p. 246.
110 C. James, ‘The Pacification of New Zealand,’ speech to the Sydney Institute, 3 February 2005.
111 Belich, Paradise Reforged, p. 534.


